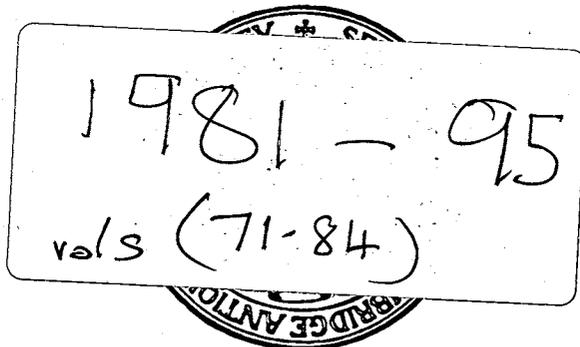

Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society

(incorporating the Cambs and Hunts Archaeological
Society)

Volume LXXXIV

for 1995



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Erratum

In volume LXXXIII, p. 6, Journals exchanged with the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*:

Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, Macclesfield, Cheshire
should read

Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, Manchester

Belsar's Hill, Willingham, Cambridgeshire: a Survey by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England

Jane Kenney & Alastair Oswald

Introduction

An analytical earthwork survey of Belsar's Hill was requested by Cambridgeshire County Council, to provide a detailed record for management and research purposes, and was undertaken by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England during October 1993. Belsar's Hill is a massive sub-circular, univallate enclosure, very well-preserved by fenland standards, which is protected as a Scheduled Ancient Monument (CAMBS 1). It is conventional to refer to such earthworks as either 'forts' or 'ringworks', and though both terms have connotations which may or may not be appropriate to Belsar's Hill, the former will be used here for convenience. The site lies in an isolated area of pasture, surrounded by intensively cultivated arable land, 1.5 km to the east of the village of Willingham, in the parish of the same name (NGR TL 423 703, see Fig. 1). The fort is located at about 5 m O.D., on the southern edge of the fens; the variation in the natural topography of the site is today almost imperceptible, but the fort stands at the tip of a slight spur of 'harder' ground which projects for a short distance northwards into the fens, a distinction which may have been much more apparent in the past. Belsar's Hill has never been excavated, and interpretations of its date and function still rely on the superficial appearance of the earthwork. Early studies assumed Belsar's Hill to be a medieval fortification (VCH 1948: 3), but the earthwork is now generally believed to have originated in the Iron Age (Malim 1992; Evans 1992). The evidence for the dating and development of the site will be discussed below. The important medieval route known as the Aldreth Causeway extended from the tip of the

spur across the fenland to Aldreth village. An eighteenth-century droveway, which continued the line of the Aldreth Causeway and is now called by the same name, bisects the site, dividing the interior into two fields (see Fig. 2). Both fields have probably been under pasture since the enclosure of Willingham parish in the early 1850s. That the land was previously ploughed is clearly demonstrated by the well preserved ridge-and-furrow cultivation, which almost surrounds the monument, and lies within its interior.

The preservation of ridge-and-furrow is relatively rare in Cambridgeshire, and the surviving fragment of an open field system at Belsar's Hill provides a potentially useful comparison with the classic Midland field systems. Historical maps of Willingham parish have contributed to the interpretation of the field systems; particularly useful is the 1841 Tithe Map (CRO 1841) (see Fig. 3), which shows all the strips in the survey area. The numbers allocated to the strips on this map are used to identify individual strips in the text. As strips were units of tenure they sometimes include more than one 'land' or ridge; the field book accompanying the Tithe Map records the number of 'lands' in each strip.

Description

The Fort

The fort (see Fig. 2) is sub-circular, 250 m by 225 m in overall dimensions. Its longer axis is orientated northwest to southeast, and it has an internal area of 2.57 hectares. The ramparts are best preserved along the northern and western sides, where they reach 2 m in height, and there is a trace of a berm (a). The southern

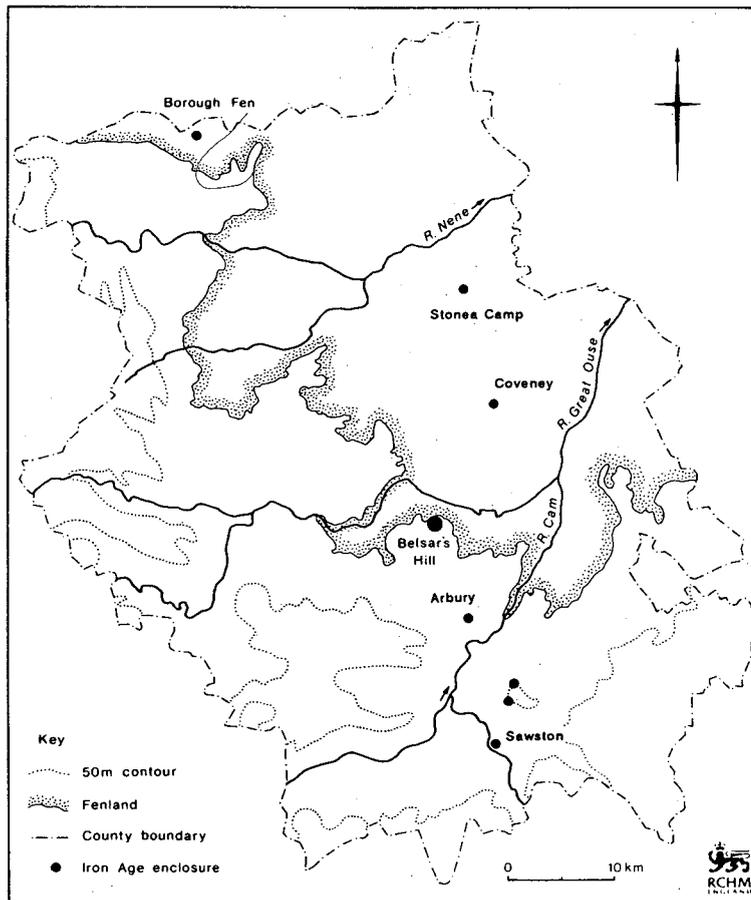


Figure 1. Map showing the distribution of Iron Age enclosures in Cambridgeshire. (RCHME, Crown Copyright.)

sections of rampart are much reduced by ploughing, and the eastern section is also disturbed by later activity. The ditch is shallow for most of the circuit, with a maximum depth of 1 m, and varies in width between 6 m and 12 m. The wider eastern and northern sections are particularly steep sided, and may have been recut. The construction of the present Aldreth Causeway, and infilling of the ditch related to it, has distorted the southern section to some extent.

On the eastern side of the fort a broad, shallow ditch (**b**) curves out from the main ditch. This forms the boundary between Common Hill and Mole Hill Close (see Fig. 3 for furlong names) and is flat bottomed and waterlogged, like the fort ditch. In the northeastern sector of the fort a bank (**c**), 0.5 m high and aligned northeast to southwest, crosses the ditch. The causeway on which bank **c** crosses the fort ditch appears to be too broad to be primarily constructed to carry the bank. It seems possible that this causeway is an original entrance into

the fort; the eastern ditch terminal is well preserved, but the western one has been disturbed by the Aldreth Causeway.

On the western rampart lie two mounds with a low saddle between (**d**); the saddle represents a remnant of the rampart, implying that this gap was not an original entrance. The mounds, which stand 2.2 m above the bottom of the ditch, have certainly been deliberately constructed, rather than resulting from natural erosion or ploughing. Both are similar in size and shape, and their regularity can be seen on the aerial photographs (NMR (**a**)). On the western side of the fort ditch, opposite feature (**d**), is the start of a low bank (**e**), up to 0.4 m high, which runs northwards across Loose Hill Furlong to join strip 2380, near the corner of the present west field. This is indicated on the 1841 Tithe Map (CRO 1841) as an arable land (strip 2377), which appears to cut across the other lands in the furlong. However, its eroded condition suggests it is a feature of some antiquity. Towards its northern end furrows clearly cut across the bank; further south they are less clear, and rather distorted.

Most of the fort's interior is occupied by Belsies Hill Furlong, some lands of which cross the rampart (strips 2363 to 2367), and continue northwards. The southern rampart has been lowered, and, in parts, almost entirely levelled by ridge-and-furrow cultivation. Belsies Hill Corner, on the northern side of the fort, includes the highest surviving section of rampart, along the top of which lies a furrow. The eastern section of the rampart stands up to 1 m high, and has not been ploughed, but has suffered disturbance from trees and small-scale quarrying. Within this area a level platform (**f**), 26.0 m by 9.0 m, has been dug into the rampart, with a neat bank, 0.3 m high, along the western side. This would seem to be the foundation for a later structure facing east across the ditch.

The Field System

The 1841 Tithe Map (CRO 1841) provides a detailed picture of land use at Belsar's Hill when the area was still cultivated under the open field

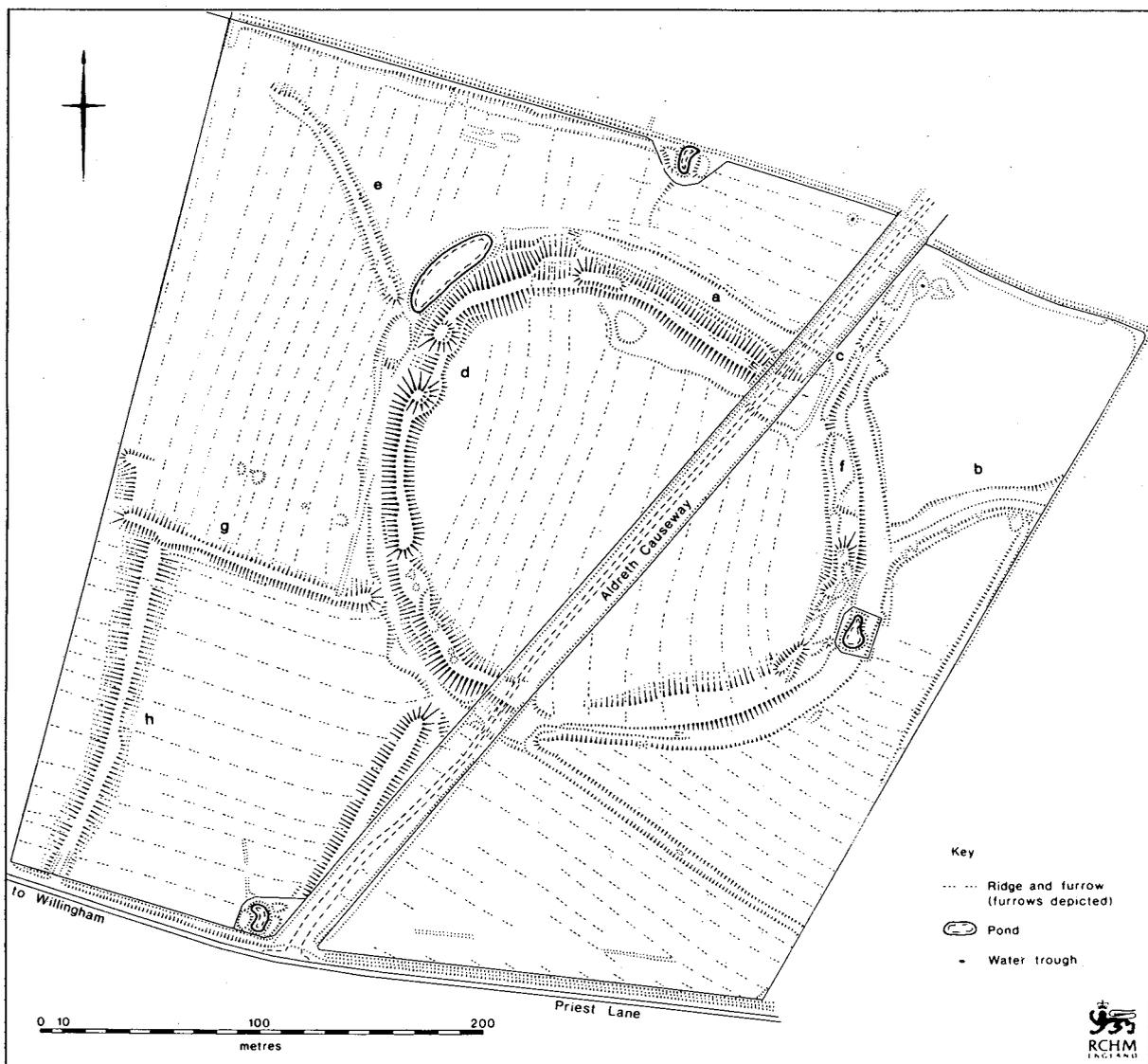


Figure 2. Plan of Belsar's Hill fort surveyed by RCHME. (RCHME, Crown Copyright.)

system. In 1846 an enclosure act was passed for the parish of Willingham (CRO 1846), the allotments awarded in 1853 (CRO 1853) resulting in considerable changes to the landscape. The 1841 Tithe Map reference book lists field and furlong names, land use and the names of owners and tenants. Though land ownership will not be discussed in detail, it is worth noting that even in 1841 an individual's land was composed of widely scattered strips distributed throughout the five great fields of this open field system. However, there were also enclosures, mainly the result of fenland reclamation (CRO 1841). The 1811 Ordnance Survey draft one inch-map (OS 1811) gives a general picture of the parish, showing that despite fenland enclosure considerable areas

were still uncultivated fen. The enclosed fields of the reclaimed areas contrast with the much larger, older furlongs of the open fields on the slightly higher ground.

Most of the RCHME survey lay within Belsies Field, which was under arable in 1841. A small part of the survey area, Common Hill, was part of the Meadow, which was under pasture at this time; no earthworks survived to contradict the suggestion that this fen-edge area had always been common grazing land.

The ridge-and-furrow has been preserved by pastoral land use since enclosure; beyond the survey area modern ploughing has levelled the ridges which can now only be detected on aerial photographs (NMR (b)). The ridges vary considerably in height and width; in Headway

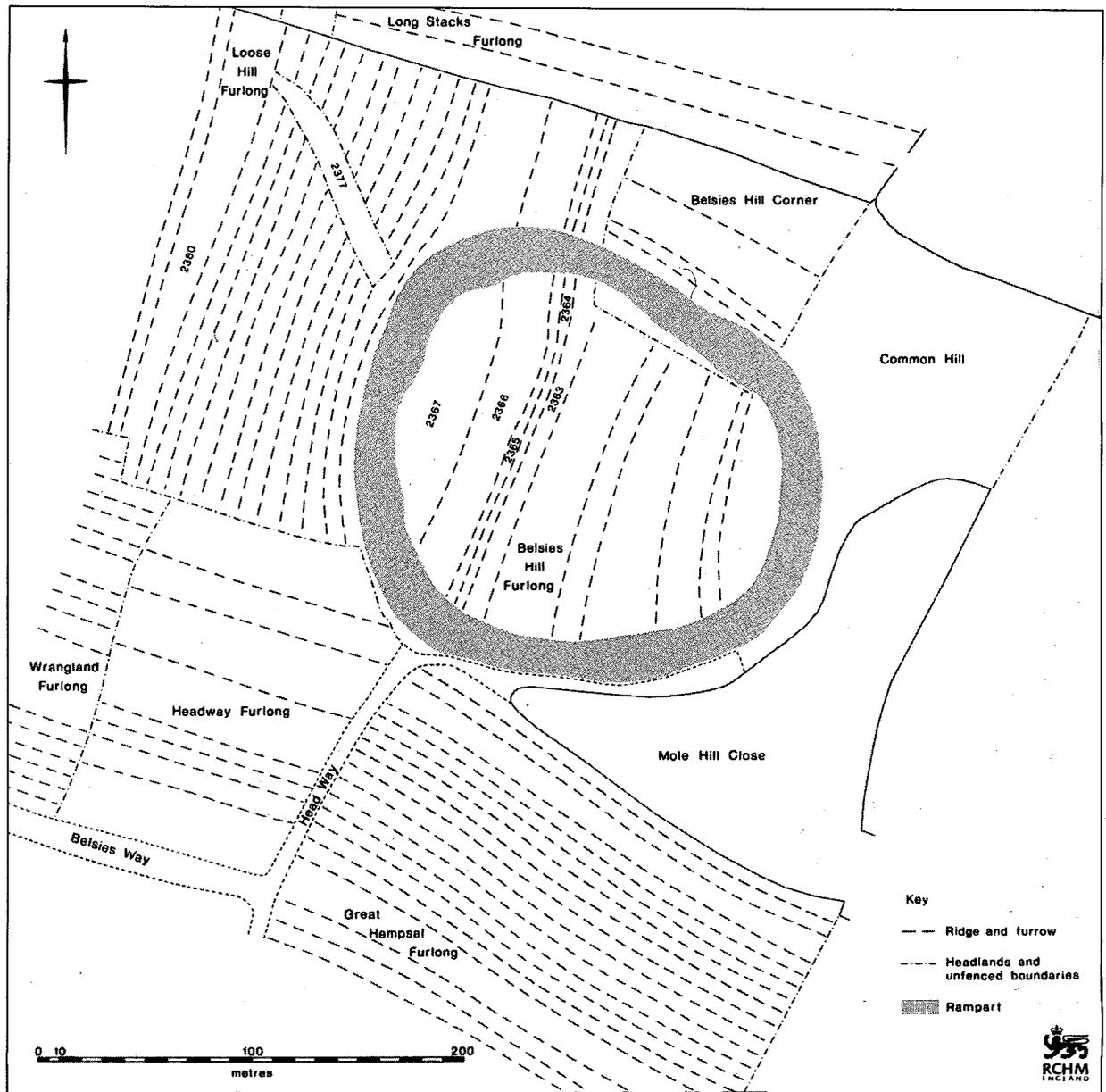


Figure 3. Copy of part of the 1841 Tithe Map, adjusted slightly for direct comparison with Figure 2. (RCHME, Crown Copyright.)

Furlong most are c. 18 m wide and up to 0.6 m high, whereas in Loose Hill Furlong they are c. 7 m in width and less than 0.25 m high. The ridges can vary within a single furlong, notably in Belsies Hill Furlong; the largest lie towards the middle of the furlong, while to the east and west the ridges become lower and narrower. These narrow ridges were probably produced by sub-dividing a broader ridge. Elsewhere in the survey area narrow, split ridges are significantly lower than their broad neighbours, e.g. lands 2347 and 2348 in Headway Furlong, which are little more than 0.1 m high. The

furlongs generally have well defined headlands, several of which are 0.6 m high on average; the most prominent is 0.8 m in height, but this formed part of the Aldreth droveway before the Enclosure of Willingham parish. Not all these headlands are contemporary, as demonstrated by the southern headland of Loose Hill Furlong (g) which overlies a headland (h) running perpendicular to it. Other minor features visible in the survey area relate to field tracks, former hedges and animal ponds, many of which are recorded on various maps and aerial photographs (NMR (c), CRO 1793, OS 1888, OS 1902).

Discussion

The Fort

Belsar's Hill has been claimed to be both a medieval and an Iron Age fortification; though the latter interpretation is now generally accepted (Fox 1923; Malim 1992; Evans 1992), it is worth considering both arguments. There may even be a possibility of Saxon or Norse use or re-construction, though it should be noted that Norse defences in Britain are notoriously difficult to recognise (Richards 1991: 22). The siting of the fort in relation to the natural topography may have been significant in the early medieval period, when the Aldreth Causeway extended from the tip of the 'hard' spur across the fenland to Aldreth village. Belsar's Hill was traditionally associated with William I's campaign against Hereward the Wake (Ravensdale 1974: 35), a connection based largely on the fort's strategically dominant position in relation to the southern end of the Aldreth Causeway and the ford leading to the Isle of Ely (Ravensdale 1974: 35). The earliest recorded name of the site, 'Bellassise' (VCH 1948: 3), which appears in the Hundred Rolls (Ravensdale 1974: 35), and in documents of the Bishopric of Ely dating to 1221 and 1251 (Reaney 1943: 174), is Old French. It has been argued that the fort would not have a Norman name if it were pre-conquest in origin, given the predominance of Old English 'bury' names amongst prehistoric earthworks elsewhere in the fen-hinterland (Renn 1973: 89; VCH 1948: 3).

Indirect support for medieval activity at Belsar's Hill lies in references to a 'Castle of *Alrehede*' (an early form of Aldreth, meaning 'landing place where there are alders': Reaney 1943) and battles for the control of the Isle of Ely between 1069 and 1071. Renn (1973: 89) considers the only two possible sites for this 'castle' to be Belsar's Hill and the square earthwork at Braham Farm, near Ely. However, Braham overlies ridge-and-furrow and is, therefore, presumably of a later date (Taylor 1974: 59). This might lend weight to the claim of Belsar's Hill to be the site of *Alrehede*, but it is possible that the wrong area of fenland is being considered. The geographical description of William's attack on Ely in the *Liber Eliensis* is vague, and although the attack may have come from the west it could equally have been directed from the east, where medieval artefacts have been discovered and where the fen was narrower (Blake 1962: lvii).

A brief comparison with ringworks of a known medieval date is informative. Circular ringworks with a single bank and ditch were

built in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Clarke 1984; Kenyon 1990; King 1991). They vary in form and size, but do not exceed 110 m in diameter, and usually have large defences in relation to their size (King & Alcock 1969: 95). The only known Cambridgeshire ringwork, Bourn Castle (King & Alcock 1969: 111), is 150 m in diameter (RCHME 1968: 16). Consequently, in comparison to known medieval ringworks Belsar's Hill has smaller defences in proportion to its enclosed area, which is considerably larger than even the largest known ringwork (King & Alcock 1969: 107). This suggests that Belsar's Hill was not originally built by the Normans, but it is possible that it was adapted by them as a campaign castle; Norman re-use of pre-existing fortifications has been recorded elsewhere (Davidson 1969: 43; Kenyon 1990: 8). The partial breach in the ramparts on the western side of Belsar's Hill (d), with its flanking mounds, may be evidence of re-use, but the date or nature of that reuse cannot yet be demonstrated.

The relatively few known Iron Age forts in and around the fenland appear to have varied so greatly, both in appearance and function, that it is difficult to define any yardstick against which to compare Belsar's Hill (see for example Malim 1992; Evans 1992; Malim & McKenna 1993). Indeed, even those enclosures elsewhere in East Anglia, which seem in some respects to have more in common with the Wessex typesites and are therefore termed 'hillforts', are distinctly unusual, both as a group and individually (Martin 1991). The fen-edge location of Belsar's Hill, discussed above in relation to the medieval Aldreth Causeway, is common to a number of late prehistoric enclosures, including those at Stonea Camp, Borough Fen and Coveney; it is possible that the peninsularity of the sites lent the monuments a visual and strategic dominance which the level ground did not (Evans 1992). Indeed, it is possible that the Aldreth Causeway itself originated in the prehistoric period (see below). In terms of form and size, the other known and presumed Iron Age forts tend to be predominantly sub-circular, ranging from 2 to 20 hectares in area, and located on plateaux or on low-lying gravels (Gregory & Rogerson 1991: 69).

One of the closest parallels to Belsar's Hill in form, size and location is the fort at Borough Fen, or Peakirk Moor (TF 192 073), which was surveyed by RCHME in December 1993 (Fig. 4; Oswald 1994). The main earthwork is sub-circular, c. 220 m in diameter, enclosing an area

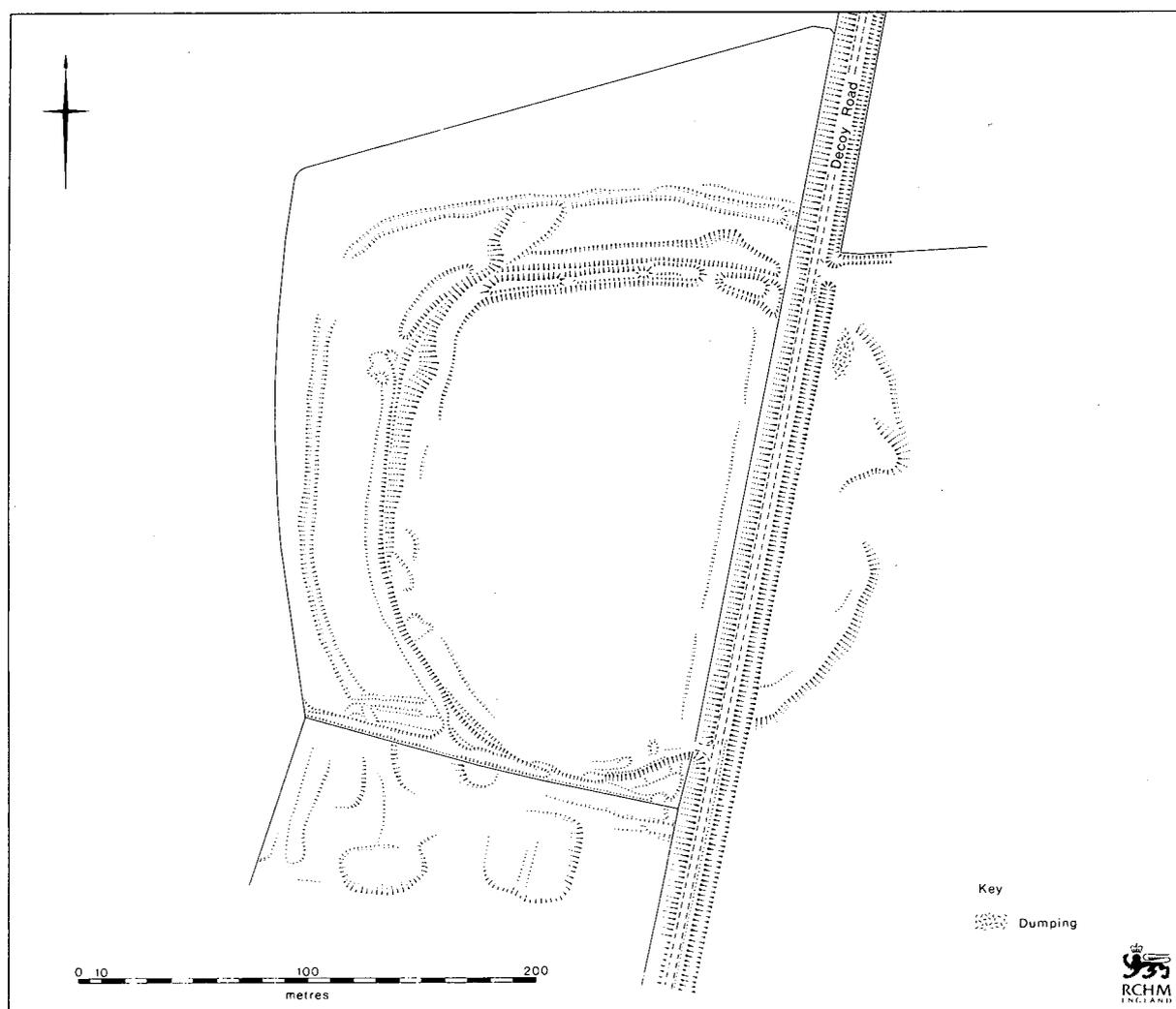


Figure 4. Plan of Borough Fen fort surveyed by RCHME. (RCHME, Crown Copyright.)

of 3.8 hectares, and is situated on a gravel spur on the fen-edge at 4.0 m O.D.. Archaeological investigations of Red Cow Drain, which cuts through the Borough Fen fort, revealed sections through the ditches and evidence for occupation (French & Pryor 1993; Malim & McKenna 1993). The pottery recovered was dated to the third to second centuries BC, and the quantity of occupation debris far exceeded that from comparable excavated forts in Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire, suggesting considerable variability in function (Malim & McKenna 1993). The earthwork was originally less massive than Belsar's Hill, and has been severely degraded by modern ploughing, the rampart now surviving at best as a scarp 1.2 m high. The most significant difference is that the Borough Fen fort has a second, outer enclosure, which follows the course of the inner rampart concentrically at an average distance of 28 m,

and appears, by its precise replication of the course of the inner earthwork, to be contemporary with it. On the northern side of the enclosure, the RCHME survey recorded very slight traces of a possible bank outside the outer ditch, whose existence was first noted by David Hall (1987), but which did not survive in the excavated sections. This, together with the breadth of the space between the inner and outer earthworks, may suggest that the fort comprised two socially or functionally distinct zones. The wide, slightly in-turned entrance through the inner rampart may be similar to the gateway at Arbury (Evans 1992), and in its easterly orientation is comparable to the majority of Iron Age forts and enclosures throughout the country. In Cambridgeshire, Arbury, and possibly Sawston (Taylor *et al.* 1994) and Wandlebury (Oswald & Pattison forthcoming) may have single eastern entrances.

However, the circuit of the ditch at Belsar's Hill appears unbroken, except on the northeast where bank (c) enters Belsies Hill Furlong. This may have been the site of a simple entrance, partially obscured by the later bank (e), which probably originated as a headland. Further disturbance by the Aldreth Causeway makes interpretation difficult, and the identification of an Iron Age entrance must remain tentative. In conclusion, while there are several significant differences between Borough Fen and Belsar's Hill, on balance the similarities suggest that Belsar's Hill is also Iron Age in origin.

The Aldreth Causeway

The Aldreth Causeway is part of a major routeway to the Isle of Ely, which was certainly of considerable importance in the early medieval period (Ravensdale 1974: 22). Finds of Neolithic and Bronze Age artefacts near Aldreth High Bridge (though recovered in the course of dredging and consequently biased in terms of recognition) suggest that the causeway may have originated in the earlier prehistoric period (Fox 1923: 141), like the example at Stuntney, and remained important into the Iron Age and later. The medieval causeway began immediately to the north of Belsar's Hill, and a number of trackways, from Cambridge and elsewhere in the 'hardlands', may have conjoined to cross the fenland at this point. The importance of the route in the medieval period is demonstrated by the existence of a bridge at the Aldreth crossing of the River Great Ouse; most other crossings in the county, excepting that at Cambridge itself, were served by ferries at this time (Ravensdale 1974: 35).

The post-medieval droveway, also called the Aldreth Causeway, has been confused by some previous authors with the early medieval route. By the end of the eighteenth century, maps record the droveway as discontinuous (CRO 1793 and CUL 1795), suggesting that its use as such may have been intermittent. The maps variously show a track skirting the eastern edge of Belsies Hill Furlong (CRO 1793 and CUL 1795), and running along the bottom of the southern and eastern sections of the ditch (CRO 1841); the post-medieval route could have followed either, or both, of these. The droveway was reinstated as a through-road bisecting the fort by the Enclosure of the parish in the early 1850s. A plan drawn by Henry Dryden in 1838 (NCL 1838) depicts the Causeway cutting across the fort, roughly along the modern line, prior to the construction of the present track, which would presumably have destroyed evidence of any

earlier routeway. However, the plan is far from accurate, and it may be significant that the 1841 Tithe Map shows no indication of this route.

On the 1841 Tithe Map (CRO 1841) the route is shown following the Headway from the south into the fort ditch, which it followed eastwards as far as the eastern side of Belsies Hill Furlong. The track may formerly have continued further round the ditch, possibly exiting along the gully east of bank (c). The broad, flat-bottomed profile of the fort ditch suggests recutting to accommodate the road. This route along the fort ditch would have minimised the loss of arable land; the proximity of the furrow terminals to the edge of the ditch shows no inclination to waste good land. The fort ditch may have been prone to waterlogging and ditch (b) may have acted as a drain to counter this.

By the eighteenth century the Causeway appears to have devolved into a track providing access to Belsies Hill Furlong (CRO 1793, CUL 1795). Bank (c) is probably the remains of this track, the Aldreth Causeway continuing on this line across the fort as far as the ditch. The apparent recutting of the northern section of ditch may suggest other routes, though the steep ditch side could result merely from erosion by cattle. However, the 1793 map (CRO 1793) does show a track round the western section of the ditch.

Bank (e) may also be a trackway. Both the bank (strip 2377) and a land (2923) in Long Stacks Furlong, were called 'Scotch Load', and were owned by Sarah Lack in 1841 (CRO 1841). Eighteenth-century maps (CRO 1846 and CUL 1795) show these lands conjoined to form what appears to be a track across the fields and fort ditch, and onto the rampart. The name 'Scotch Load' does suggest a water course and a certain water course west of the village is referred to as 'The Load' (CRO 1841), but the low bank which survives resembles a track rather than a drain.

The maps (CRO 1841, 1846, and CUL 1795) clearly show the bank (e) overlying the ridge-and-furrow, contradicting the field survey evidence of furrows cutting the bank. It appears that the bank predates the ridge-and-furrow, but after a period of cross-ploughing the bank was reinstated as a track across the fields, and finally as an arable land. The nature and date of this feature may be clarified through excavation.

The Field System

The furlongs surrounding Belsar's Hill are a small remnant of an extensive open field

system. It is not possible to date precisely the origin of this field system without extensive research, though a medieval date can be presumed. It continued as an open field system until the local Enclosure Act in 1846 (CRO 1846); the considerable height of the headlands and ridges suggests they developed over a relatively long period (Taylor 1975: 79). The modification of the fort by medieval cultivation is paralleled at the hillfort at Chipping Warden, Northamptonshire (RCHME 1982).

There is also evidence showing that the field system does not belong to a single phase. The sub-division of older, broader ridges into narrower ridges is probably related to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century attempts to increase the amount of grass in open fields by the creation of greensward balks (Hall 1993: 10). In the eastern part of Loose Hill Furlong it is possible that the ridges have been entirely realigned at 90 degrees to the originals; the reorientation of strips to tackle localised drainage problems is found in other field systems (Hall 1982: 52). Several of the furlongs named on the Tithe Map appear to be sub-divisions of larger furlongs, for example furlongs both north and south of Belsies Way were called Wrangland Furlong, and presumably formed a single furlong before the road was constructed. It is probable that Headway Furlong was, similarly, originally joined to Little Hempsal Furlong, now south of Belsies Way, and that Mole Hill Close was part of Great Hempsal Furlong. The sub-division of long furlongs during the medieval period is known in many areas, and implies that the original layout is of some antiquity (Hall 1982: 46–52).

Enclosures existed within the field system before 1846, and that of Mole Hill Close is an example unrelated to fen reclamation. In the late medieval period certain strips were enclosed to allow the owners freedom to cultivate different crops (Taylor 1975: 113). The Close would appear to have been such an enclosure, and there are further examples in other furlongs around Belsar's Hill. Though the ridge-and-furrow indicates that the Close had been ploughed, it was recorded as pasture at the time of the 1841 Tithe Map (CRO 1841). The ridges must be earlier than the enclosure of the Close, because many would be too short to plough effectively.

Conclusions

The RCHME earthwork survey has recorded Belsar's Hill in detail, enabling the identification of some original features and other later

modifications, mostly related to the medieval agricultural use of the site. Comparisons with medieval ringworks suggest the fort is not of this date, although the possibility of medieval re-use remains. An Iron Age context for the enclosure seems most likely from the surface evidence, with a causewayed entrance on the northeastern side of the fort. Other gaps and disturbance to the ramparts are due mostly to the open field cultivation of the area. The post-medieval droveway which is an extension of the early medieval (or earlier) Aldreth Causeway has added to the confusion, since it has variously passed through and around the site. The identification of Scotch Load as a surviving earthwork feature may be of some importance, and further work might reveal the true function, date and history of this feature.

The recent survey demonstrates the relationship between the fort and the later field system. These fields preserve a variety of features demonstrating changes in land use and the structure of the open field system. There are small-scale changes, such as the sub-division of strips, and larger developments, such as early enclosures, the sub-division and reorientation of furlongs, and finally the nineteenth-century Enclosure movement which created the present fields and roadways. Belsar's Hill is a well preserved example of the landscape as a palimpsest of activity of succeeding periods; each period alters existing earthworks, confusing subsequent interpretations.

Survey Method

The surveys of Belsar's Hill and Borough Fen were carried out by Jane Kenney and Alastair Oswald of RCHME using a Wild TC1610 Electronic Theodolite with integral EDM, the data captured electronically on a Wild GRM 10 Rec Module. These data were subsequently transferred to a computer, and a plot at 1:1000 scale was obtained.

A more detailed description of the site can be obtained from the National Monuments Record Centre, Kemble Drive, Swindon, Wiltshire SN2 2GZ, where the full site archive has been deposited as NMR No. TL 47 SW 24 (the fort), NMR No. TL 47 SW 51 (the Aldreth Causeway), and NMR No. TL 47 SW 52 (the field system), NMR No. TF 10 NE 17 (Borough Fen fort).

Acknowledgements

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Belsar's Hill, Miss Ambrose, and her tenants, Messrs Bailey, for permission to carry out this survey. This article was edited by Peter Topping, and the illustrations were drawn by Philip Sinton.

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The Romano-British Temple Precinct at Great Chesterford, Essex

T.E. Miller

The Romano-British temple site at Great Chesterford lies just over one kilometre east of the Roman town (NGR TL 514 436). The site is situated at c. 48 m above O.D. on the lower slope of the nearby hill. This slope falls westward in the direction of the present village and southward towards a narrow valley running eastwards into the chalk ridge. The site lies roughly at the interface of the hill chalk and the valley gravels. The subsoil is predominantly brick earth above gravel and areas of marl.

The site came to light as a result of ploughing in 1847 and the central square temple was subsequently excavated by the Hon. R.C. Neville (1848), later Lord Braybrooke of Audley End. Unfortunately he did not record the exact location and its whereabouts remained unknown until it was identified by Major Brinson during 1948/9 (Hull 1963). In 1976 the temple was re-excavated by the Great Chesterford Archaeology Group under the direction of A.E. Collins (1978). In subsequent years it was noticed that a little to the east of the temple, cultivation was bringing to the surface building material, and in 1983 the Group decided to carry out an exploratory excavation in this area. That excavation and subsequent ones in 1984, 1985, 1987 and 1988 are the subject of this report (Fig. 1). These excavations revealed a previously unknown substantial temple precinct defined by a wall and an external ditch with a further major building and a nearby secondary site (Site B, Fig. 1:4).

The Ancillary Building

The building was situated 7.5 m inside the eastern precinct wall and faced the east front of the temple with a similar alignment (Fig. 2). Its south wall was apparently aligned with the

south wall of the temple but because its north-south length was less than that of the temple, it appears offset. (It is possible that it was in fact aligned centrally with the temple and the apparent misalignment is a plotting error. The plotting data of the 1976 excavation of the temple, and hence its exact location, were not available at the time of these excavations. The temple's position was determined from re-excavation of small areas of the edge of the 1976 excavation.) In plan the building appears rather like half of a temple (Fig. 3). Its overall north-south length was 9 m and there was a 2-m-long wing to the west (towards the temple) at each end. The overall width, in each case, of the wings and the north-south section was 2.5 m. The western end of each wing had a doorway just over 1 m wide.

Little remained of the southern wing except the gravel foundation. The north wall and a large part of the eastern wall still stood to a height of up to 25 cm above the original floor level. The 'outer' north, east and south walls were more substantial than the 'inner' north, west and south walls. The 'outer' walls were 45 cm wide and constructed of layers of mortar alternating with layers of flint-faced chalk rubble, above foundations of two layers of flints separated by a layer of gravel in a 20-cm-deep trench (Fig. 4). The 'inner' walls were narrower, only 38 cm wide, and were constructed of layers of flint and mortar above a foundation of gravel in an 8-cm-deep trench. The layers of the wall had been constructed by spreading a smooth layer of mortar above each layer of flints and chalk rubble, rather than bedding them into a layer of mortar. The corners and the door reveals were finished with tile quoins; the larger rectangular *bipedalae* being used for outer corners and the reveals, and the small square

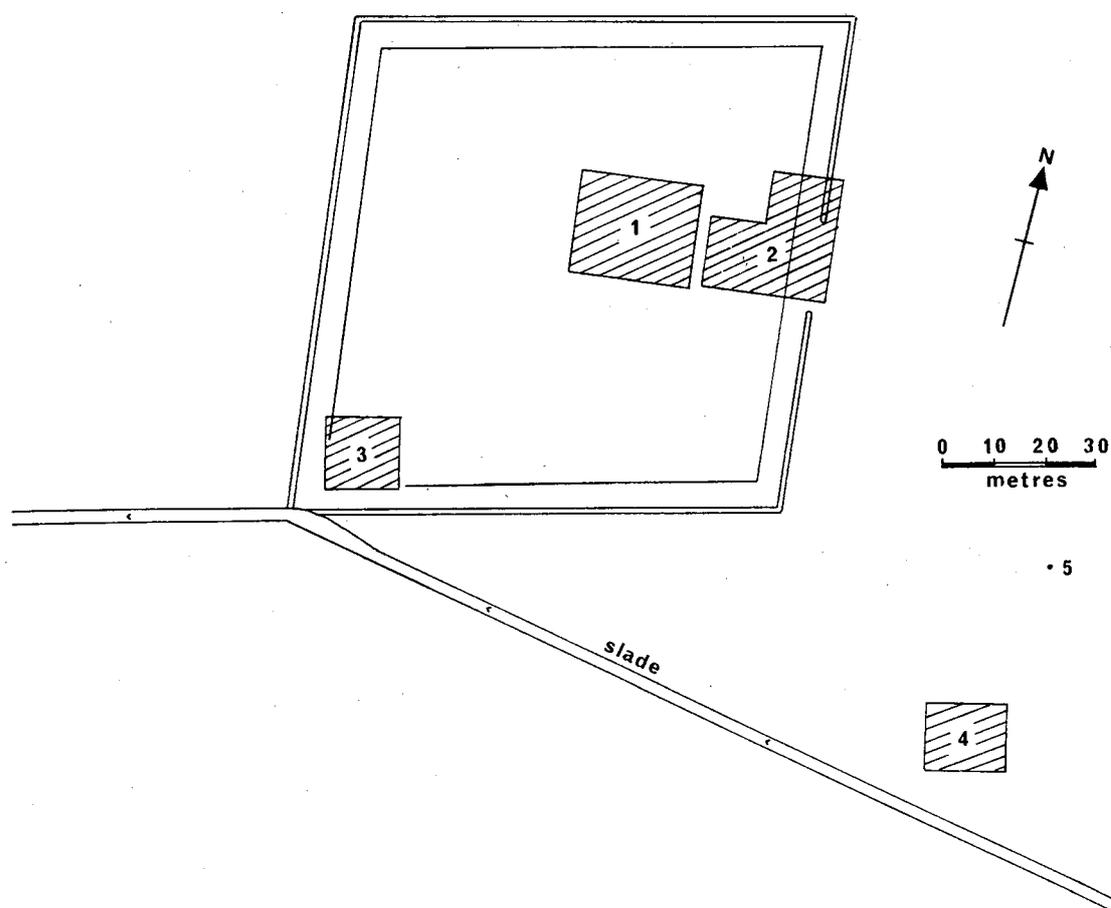


Figure 1. Plan of the temple precinct area showing the general relationships of the main areas of investigation.

ones for the inner corners of the 'inner' wall. In the uppermost remaining layer of mortar close to the western end of the 'outer' north wall, a distinct gully had been left traversing the full width of the wall; its purpose was not obvious.

The internal surface of the 'outer' wall had been coated with painted plaster, some of which was still *in situ* on the northern and eastern walls. This had been painted to give the appearance of marble. The background colour was pale pink with added irregular spots of maroon and dark blue. Several pieces of similar plaster were found in the fill of the building. The fill also contained fragments with bands of darker colours — maroon, brown or black — on a lighter background of pink, cream or white. Although no fragment was found displaying the full width of a band, it seems reasonable to assume that the dark colours were framing panels of the lighter colours surrounded by the pink marbled background. One fragment carried the curved outer edge of a brown band

on a white background, and several fragments of white painted plaster were also found. These may indicate that the upper walls and the ceiling were painted white and that the tops of the panels were arched. A few mauve and yellow fragments were also found. No evidence of any pictorial or motif design was found. The plaster was, in fact, a fairly coarse mortar containing at least pea-sized gravel. It had been applied to the walls in a single 1- to 5-cm-thick layer and the paint had been applied directly to its smoothed surface. One pink-painted fragment was of a fine pink plaster containing pieces of crushed red tile.

Remnants of a chalk and flint floor were still in evidence adjacent to the eastern wall and there were areas of mortar and gravel towards the north end and wing.

The fill of the northern end was fairly well packed fallen building rubble, including part of the identifiable quoin column from the inner corner of the 'inner' wall. As well as the usual

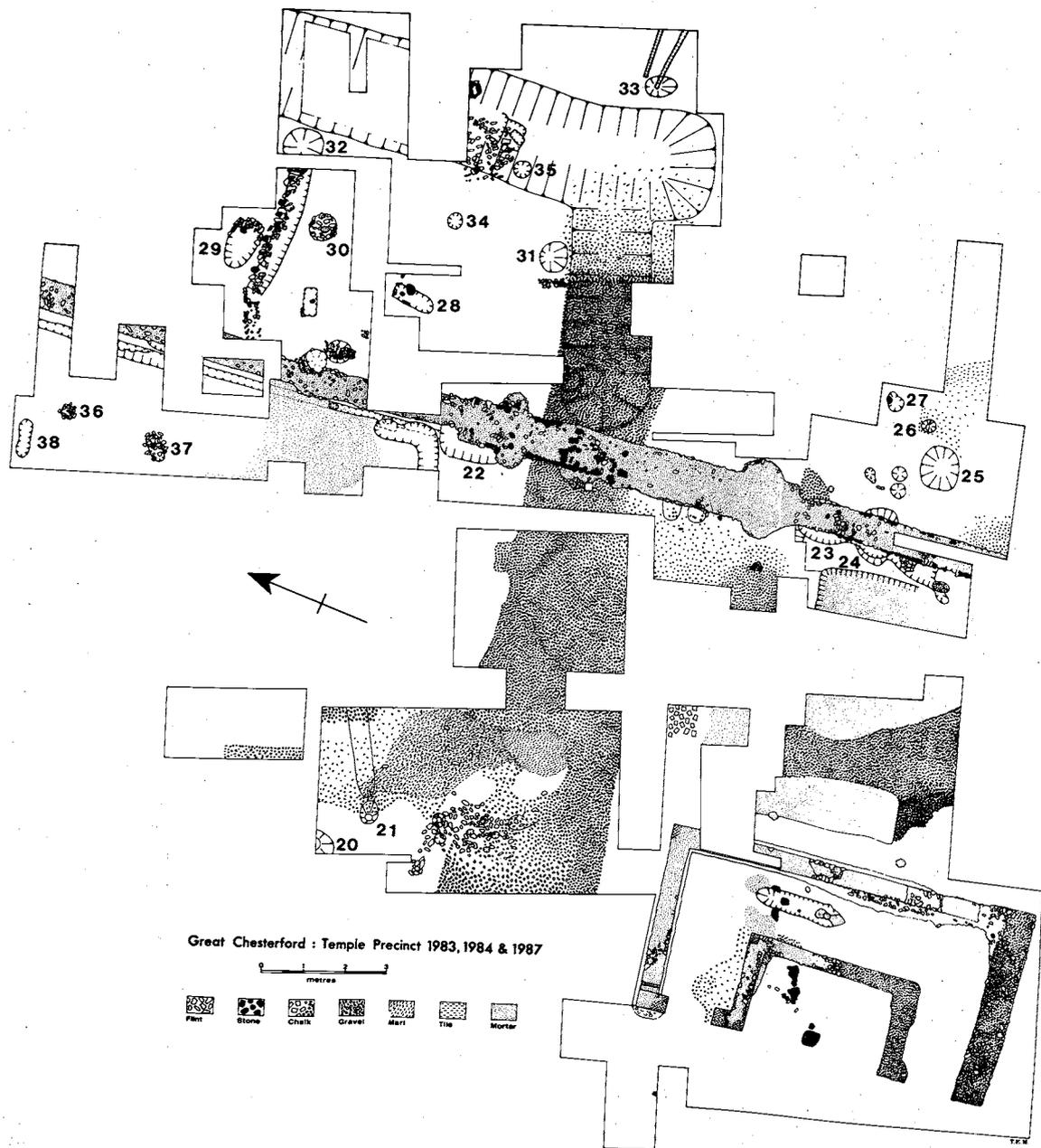


Figure 2. Main area of excavation.

wall and roof-tile fragments, it also contained a small number of sawn chalk blocks all with a slight taper. If one extrapolates the curve formed by placing these blocks side by side, an arch of approximately 1.6 m in width is formed. This dimension is close to the between wall distance of the building and may suggest that the doorways were arched, or perhaps less likely the whole roof was arched.

The remains of a kiln or oven were situated close to the centre of the building with an elongated stokehole (about 2 m) running

towards the north end. Nothing of this feature remained above the floor level, but it still retained a mortar pedestal which presumably supported the floor of the kiln or oven. A kiln or oven seems an unlikely feature in what must have been an elaborately decorated building. Moreover, its position would have almost entirely blocked the centre of the building. A more feasible explanation is that it was a later addition when the building no longer served a religious purpose or was abandoned or partly robbed.

No clear dating evidence for the construction

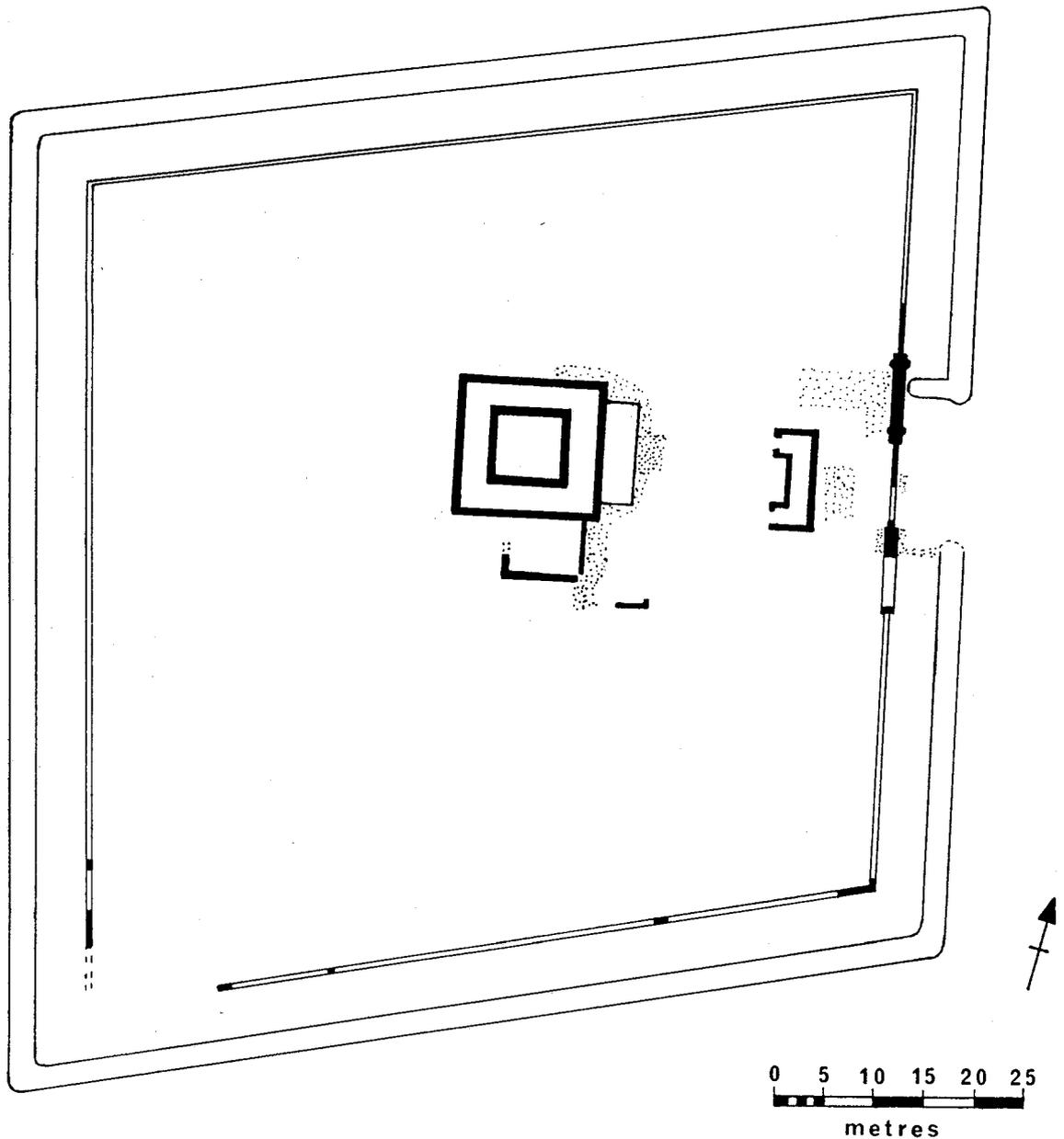


Figure 3. Plan of precinct showing main features identified to date.

of this building was obtained and only a small amount of pottery of the late third and early fourth century AD was recovered from the lowest level of its internal fill.

The Precinct Wall

The temple precinct was surrounded by a wall enclosing a rhomboid area of almost one hectare (Fig. 3). The lower levels of much of the eastern and southern sections were still intact, the

eastern section being clearly visible on the aerial photograph (Fig. 5). The wall was examined at several points, the largest portion to be exposed being that part of the eastern section directly opposite the temple and the ancillary building (Figs. 2 & 3). The southeast corner was uncovered along with three small lengths of the southern section and two of the western side close to the southwest corner. Investigation of the northern section produced only the 75-cm-wide foundation trench which was cut 20 cm

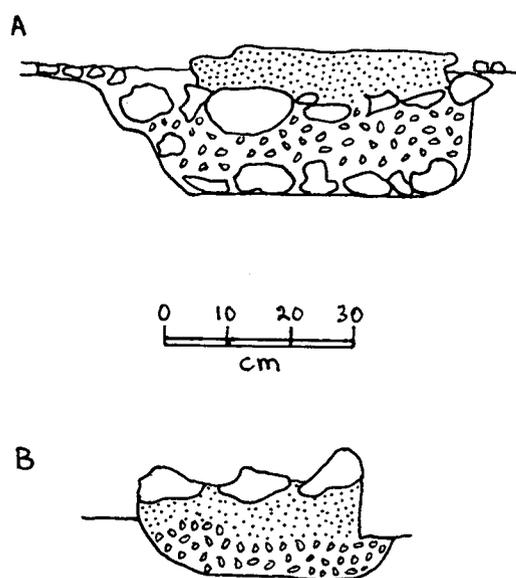


Figure 4. Sections through ancillary building walls: A) west-east section through east (outer) wall with remnant of floor at left; B) west-east section through west (inner) wall.

into the natural chalk; it had presumably been robbed in antiquity. The eastern side was 65 cm wide and constructed of mortared flint and other stones above foundations of alternate layers of rammed chalk and flints to a depth of 35 cm in a U-shaped trench cut into the natural brickearth.

Just north of the ancillary building, for a length of 8.5 m, the wall foundation was much wider (c. 1 m) and deeper (70 cm). Towards each end of the wider section, there were a pair of opposing semi-circular buttresses with 30 cm deep foundations. The two pairs of buttresses were separated by a distance of 5.5 m. The section between them was flanked on both sides by the remnants of a gravelled path. At the level of the path the uppermost remaining layer between the buttresses was faced with squared stones. This was almost certainly the threshold of an entrance into the precinct. The greater width and depth of the foundations and the presence of the buttresses make it reasonable to postulate that the entrance was surmounted by an arch. Supporting evidence for the section being a gateway comes from the filling in of the ditch directly outside it (see below for details). In a similar position, to the south of the ancillary building, a similar wide length of wall also existed, but without the buttresses. This suggests that there may have been twin entrances in the eastern wall of the precinct

leading to pathways that ran immediately to the north and south of the ancillary building (Fig. 3).

On the aerial photograph (Fig. 5), the southeast corner can clearly be seen as a cropmark. A small area was therefore excavated at this point to confirm the exact position of the corner and the line of the southern wall. The angle of the corner was greater than a right angle (Figs. 3 & 4). The eastern wall adjacent to the corner was c. 50 cm wide. The construction was again of mortared flint, but with two and possibly three spaced courses of tile both internally and externally at the corner. These extended for 2 m on the outer side of the southern wall, but only for a single tile on the inside. The extent of the tiles along the eastern wall was not established. No tiles were found in the other parts of the wall. Tile quoins were obviously essential in the construction of the corner and tile courses might be expected along the length of wall. If these did exist they must have been at higher levels than the present-day remains.

Hard against the wall in the internal angle of the corner a well-preserved iron spearhead was found (small find no. 448, Fig. 25). To further confirm the line of the southern wall small slots were excavated 21 m west of the southeast corner and 25 m east of the southwest corner (Fig. 3). At these points it was still 75 cm wide and of the same mortared flint construction. The southern wall stopped 13 m short of the southwest corner; beyond this point there was an area of about 2 m of loose flints, then no further evidence of a wall having existed right up to the corner. At the point where it finished, the southern wall foundation was c. 70 cm wide and again of flint and chalk, but showed no evidence of being neatly finished with quoined corners.

Of the western wall the first 4 m adjacent to the southwest corner only existed as a trace of rubble. A further 4 m north of this was excavated and the foundations were again intact, consisting of chalk and flints c. 90 cm wide in a 40-cm-deep trench. A small length was also uncovered 15 m north of the southwest corner and this was of similar construction.

The Palisade

The wall had apparently been preceded by a palisade, which had stood on, or very close to, the same alignment as the wall. Evidence for this was found in the form of a slot on both the eastern and western sides, and much more undoubtedly exists below the wall foundations, which in the main were not fully excavated. On

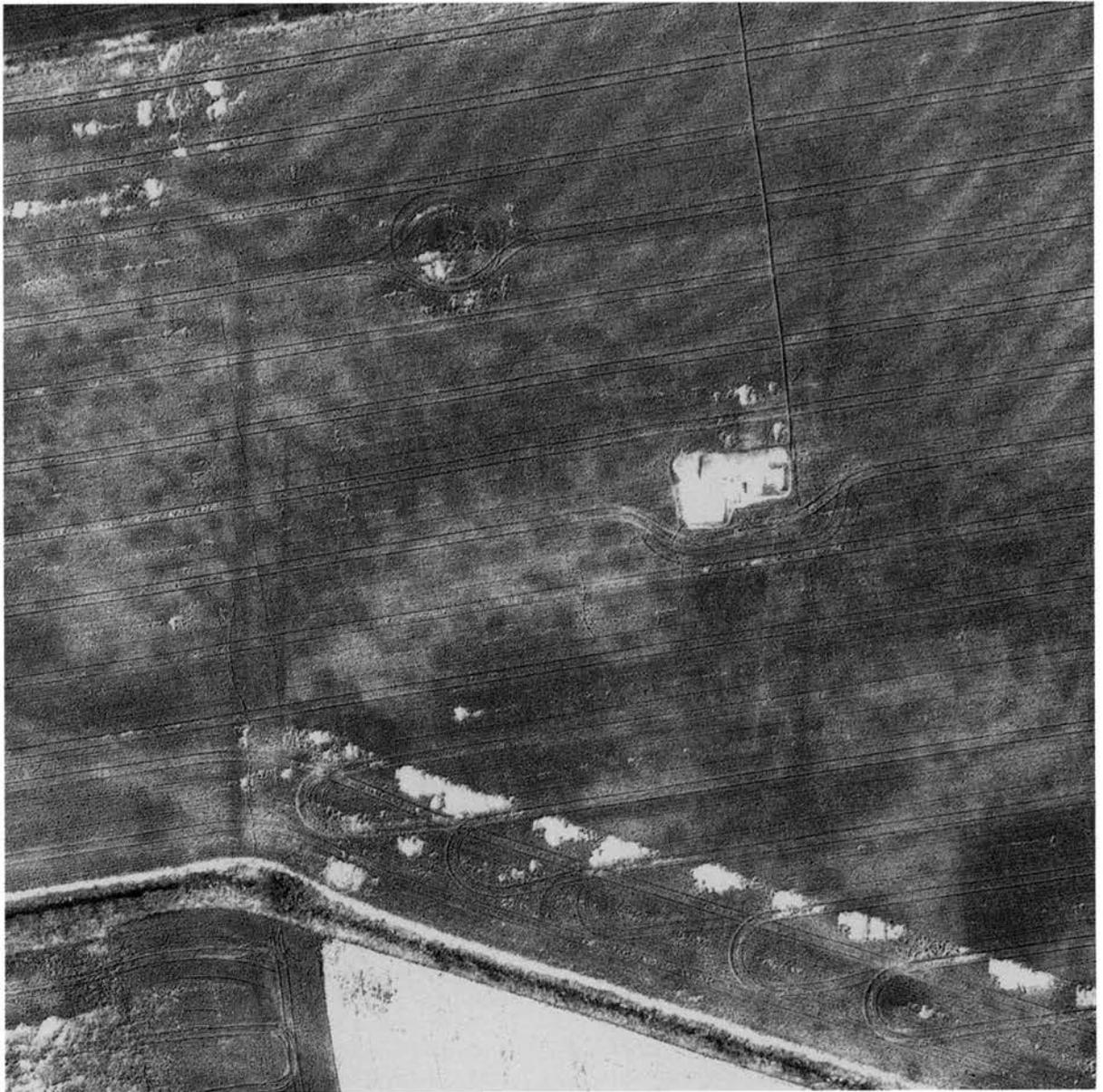


Figure 5. Aerial photograph of precinct clearly showing surrounding ditch and partial line of wall. (ADAS Aerial Photography Unit, Crown copyright.)

the eastern side, to the north of the northern gateway in the wall and 25 cm inside the wall, there was a slot, 25 cm wide and 40 cm deep, which had been cut into the natural reddish brickearth and the underlying marl (Fig. 2). There was evidence of recutting in places and of the slot having held vertical timbers with larger posts in deeper settings at intervals. Three such post settings were clearly identified at 1.3 m and 2.6 m; the latter being twice the former, suggesting a regular spacing of 1.3 m for the major uprights. In the region of the gateway the slot was not discovered. Several reasons are possible for this: the line may have

veered slightly and hence been lost beneath the wider wall foundation at this point; it may not have existed as there may have also been an entrance in the palisade at this point (see also section on the ditch); or it may have been overlooked due to the difficulty of detecting such a feature in dry brickearth.

A similar slot was found below the inner edge of the western wall (Fig. 8). It had been cut by the later wall foundation trench, but 25 cm of its depth still remained beneath the wall foundation. The 1.2 m length excavated did not contain any large post settings, but did contain a few sherds of possibly late first- or early

second-century AD pottery. This western slot finished in a large 45 cm square posthole about 4.5 m short of the southwest corner of the precinct. There was no evidence of there having been any contemporary enclosing structure for this final length, although a shallow square post setting existed at the actual corner.

Similarly, there was no slot for the southern section adjacent to the southwest corner where there was also no wall. As the wall foundation was not removed at any point along the southern side it is conceivable but seems unlikely that no slot and hence no palisade existed along the southern side of the precinct. No evidence for a palisade along the northern side was found either, but only one very small exploratory trench was opened midway along this section.

Midway between the western end of the southern wall and the southwest corner there was a feature on the wall line which may have been contemporary with either the wall or the palisade. This consisted of two almost circular (c. 70 cm diameter) pits or post settings cut c. 50 cm into the natural, connected by a shallower gully and containing a small quantity of early second-century potsherds (Fig. 8, southern edge of excavated area).

The Ditch

The aerial photograph (Fig. 5) shows that the precinct was surrounded on all four sides by a ditch. It was first located close to its southwest

corner where its western side was sectioned in 1985. The ditch at this point was c. 2.6 m wide, U-shaped in section and cut c. 1.0 m into the natural gravel with some evidence of recutting (Fig. 6). On the inner side the natural gravel was 50 cm below the surface, but 80 cm below on the outer side.

The fill on the inner slope from base to lip was a very gravelly brown soil. A similar but less gravelly layer extended down the outer slope and overlay the base of that down the inner slope. Above this in the centre of the ditch the main fill was dark grey and silty and contained a few undatable potsherds and a late third-century coin. Above the main fill, there was a 20-cm-thick layer of large stones and tiles. Next, spanning the full width of the ditch, was a 40-cm-thick layer of brown silty soil separated by a thin stoney layer from a 30 cm layer of brown soil beneath 25 cm of plough soil. These upper layers contained third- and fourth-century AD pottery and a late third-century coin.

In 1987 an area outside the northern gateway in the eastern wall was excavated to elucidate the apparent absence of the eastern ditch in this region. The ditch as indicated in Figure 3 was not continuous, but finished in a butt-end directly opposite the gateway with a westward arm at right angles towards the wall foundation and with a butt-end immediately against it.

The eastern ditch like that on the western side was c. 2.6 m wide and at this point cut

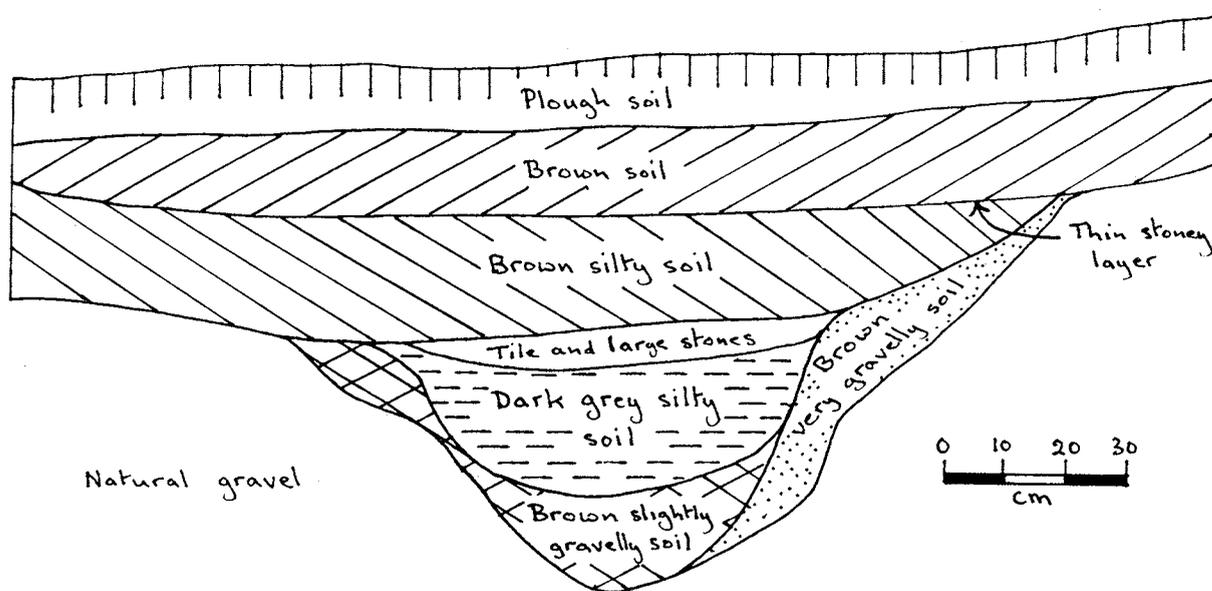


Figure 6. West-east section through surrounding ditch on western side of precinct.

c. 1.2 m into the natural marl. The end was squarish with rounded corners and cut slightly less deep (c. 90 cm). The arm towards the gateway was of similar depth (c. 90 cm) but was only 1.2 m wide. There was no evidence of recutting, but at one point about 4 m from the end, where the depth reduced to 90 cm, there were distinct cut edges in the marl base. These were probably the edges of the final deeper spade cuts of the original ditch construction. In this area the ditch appeared to have been deliberately filled. In the two sections drawn from the south-facing baulks (Fig. 7), a layer of silting is visible in the base of the ditch. The southernmost section, nearest the butt-end, has a grey/brown silty layer above a thin white clayey layer, and the other has a fine brown silty layer. Above these layers the ditch was filled almost to the top of the natural by a single heterogeneous fill. In the southern section this was mainly of brown soil becoming a yellow/brown mixture with chalk and flints towards the north. At one point on the inner slope between the fill and the lower silty layer there was a thin distinct layer of charcoal. There was also a distinct tip of large flints down the inner slope within the fill. This major fill contained: pottery from no later than the second century AD; oyster, mussel and snail shells; bone fragments, mainly sheep; a few nails; a few tile tesserae; a few fragments of mortar and wall plaster; and a number of small finds. At one point a layer of yellow/white chalk, up to 20 cm thick, spread over the fill from the inner edge. The whole ditch was sealed by a layer of dark grey soil up to 40 cm thick containing a similar range of inclusions to the main ditch fill, but in this case the pottery was of the late third or early fourth century AD. In one area of this layer, a quantity of flints and tile fragments had been deposited, and a stone-lined post setting existed; the latter indicating use of the area after the ditch was filled. The coins from this layer ranged from the late first century AD to the early fourth century AD.

The arm of the ditch running towards the wall had a brown sandy fill at the base below the main fill of stoney soil with some ash and a large number of oyster shells. The pottery from both of these layers was from the late first and early second century AD. This area of the ditch was sealed by the remnants of a gravel path which was also just discernible over the end of the main ditch. The full extent to which the ditch had been deliberately filled was not ascertained, but it seems reasonable to suppose that only sufficient was done to allow access to the new gateways created when the wall replaced the palisade. The earlier gateway was

presumably just south of the butt-end of the ditch and between the later two gateways. A similar end and filling would be expected to the ditch south of this gateway, but further excavation will be required to confirm it.

Excavation of a 1 m length of the southern ditch, 21 m west of the southeast corner of the wall, showed it to be cut c. 90 cm into the natural gravel and filled with dark loamy soil. Directly above the ditch fill there was a shallow 30-cm-wide groove filled with stones; a similar parallel groove existed above the natural just south of the ditch edge. The two grooves were, centre to centre, 1.5 m apart and had the appearance of wheel ruts. These could not be dated and in all probability were more recent, perhaps from a time when the wall was being robbed.

The Pits

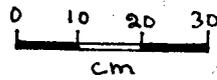
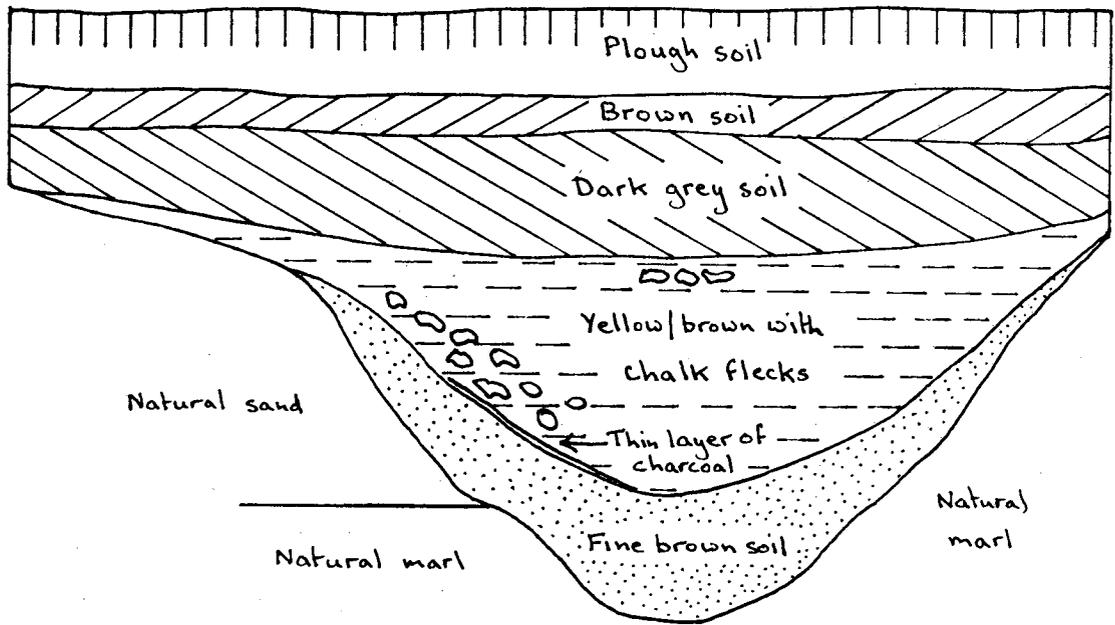
Pits existed throughout the site but the most significant, because of their size and content, were those excavated during 1985 at the southwest corner of the precinct (Fig. 8). After the 1984 harvest a deep furrow at the edge of a fire break ploughed around the field turned up some patches of chalk in the region of the southwest corner of the precinct. A trial trench revealed the presence of a large pit, Pit 1, and resulted in a wider investigation of the area in 1985.

Pit 1

This was 2.7 m deep. The lower 1.75 m which was cut 1.5 m through the natural gravel and 20 cm into the underlying chalk was approximately square, 2 m x 2 m. The upper section sloped out to a much wider oval-shaped top 30 cm below the surface.

The fill consisted of a large number of layers with no evidence of loamy layers between them, suggesting that there was little or no time gap between the deposit of each one. The lowest layer was 30 cm thick and greenish in colour with sandy and ashy patches. The lower 10 cm of this layer above the almost flat bottom consisted almost entirely of animal bones (mostly sheep). The rest of the fill of the square lower part of the pit was of slightly variable layers of greenish-brown soil, again with some ashy patches. The layers in the upper wider part of the pit were more distinct. Because of the confined space and loose nature of the lower fill it was not possible to obtain a complete section drawing, but a partial section is shown in Figure 9. A layer of loamy soil was evident between the fill of the upper and lower parts

A



B

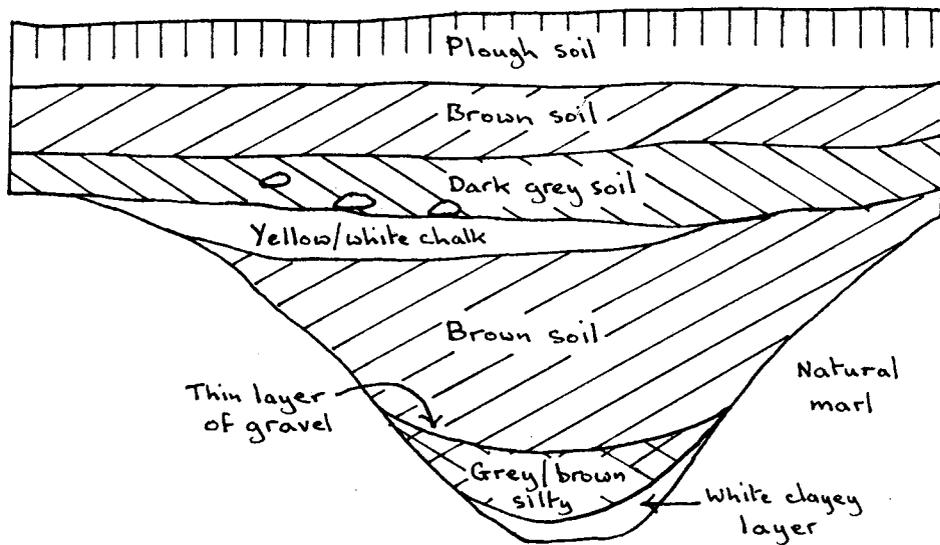


Figure 7. Two sections through the deliberately filled part of surrounding ditch on eastern side of precinct.

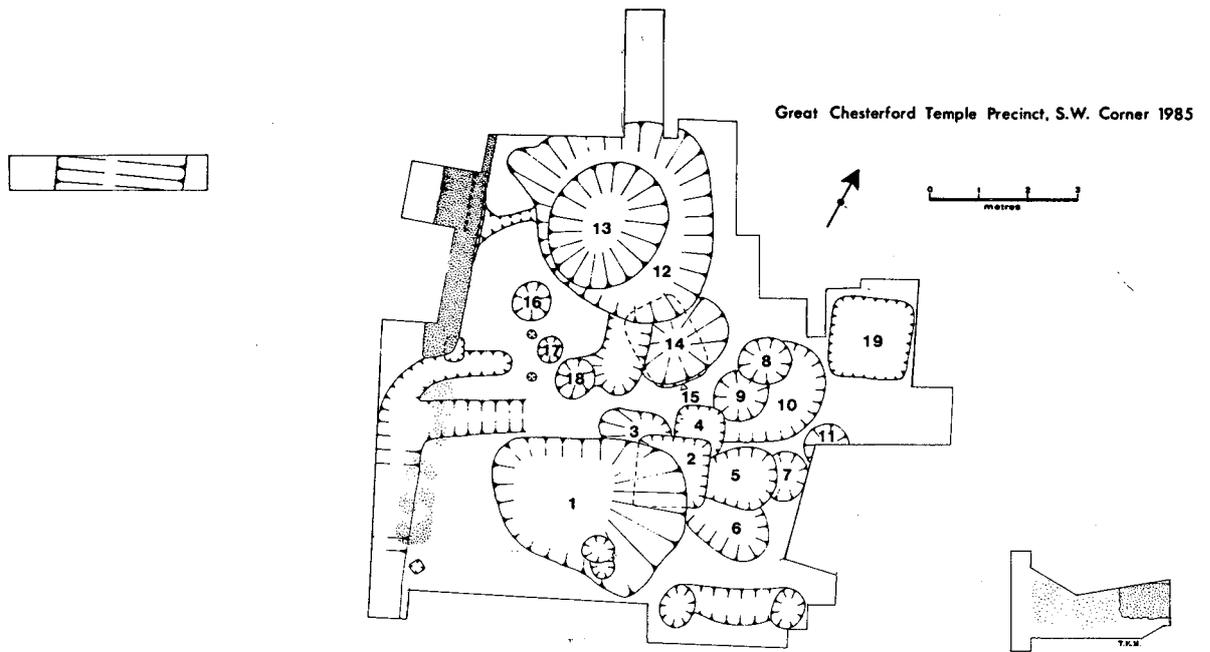


Figure 8. Plan of the area of excavation at the southwest corner of the precinct.

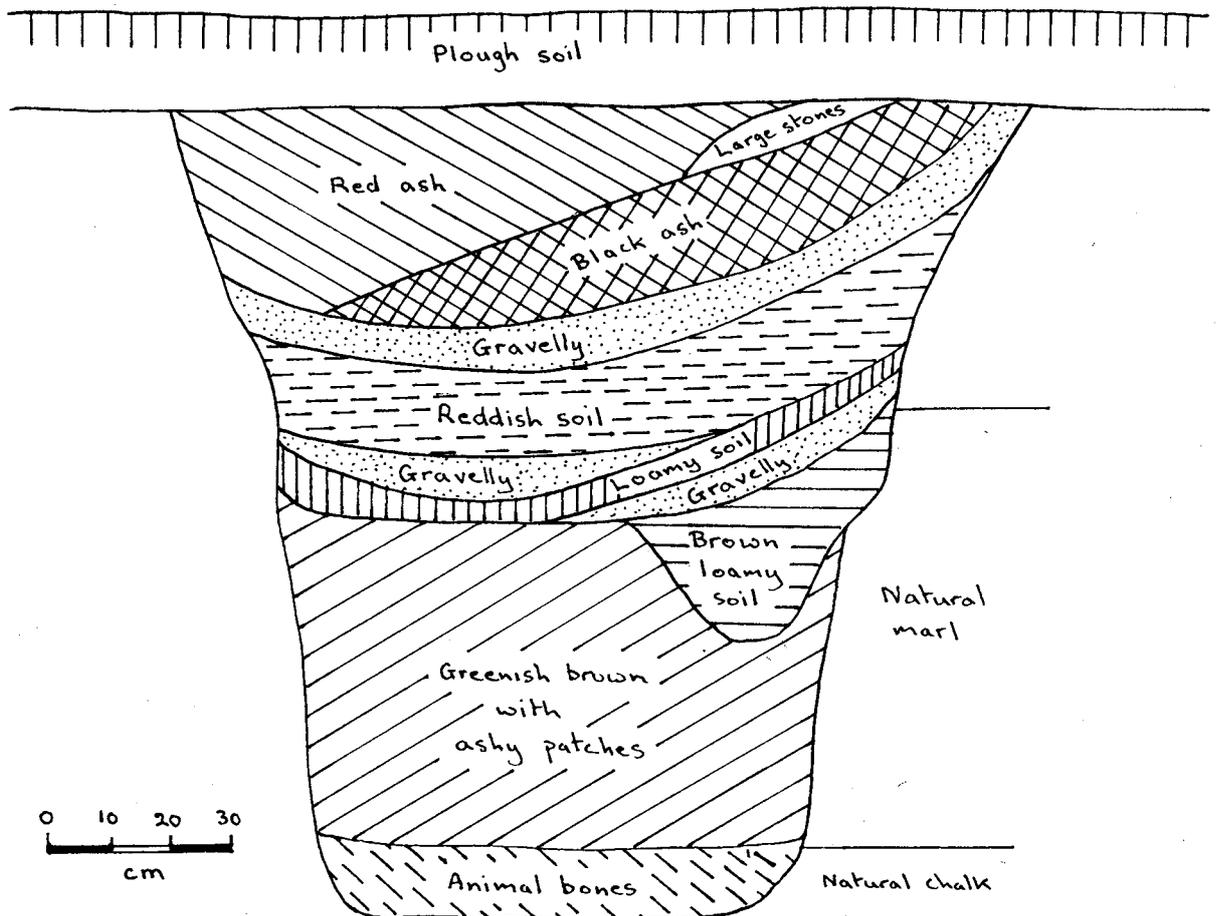


Figure 9. Drawing of section through Pit 1.

and may indicate discontinuity in the filling. Above this loamy layer there was a clear gravelly layer which did not extend the full width of the pit. Above this there was a 30-cm-thick reddish layer then another gravelly layer. Next, on the southern side and sloping up to the base of the plough soil there was an up to 40-cm-thick layer of black ash. On the north side, above the gravel and partly above the black ash, there was a layer of red ash up to 60 cm thick which also reached up to the base of the plough soil. The eastern lip and upper slope of the pit had a coating of marl. At the southern side of the pit two probable post settings, one cutting the other, had been sunk into the fill. The first was dug 1.3 m and the second 1.7 m into the fill.

All layers of the pit contained pottery of the early second century except for the upper red and black ash layers which contained pottery of the late third and the fourth century and coins of the fourth century. No coins were found in the lower fill. Chemical analysis of the upper layer of very red ash showed a high iron content, 3.5 per cent. This level although high was not as high as would be expected as a result of iron working. Its cause remains a mystery. One possible hypothesis is that it results from the haemoglobin of large quantities of discarded offal.

Pit 2

This was 3.5 m deep. Its top was cut to the southwest by Pit 1 and it in turn cut Pits 3, 4, 5 and 6 (Fig. 8). The upper 2.7 m was square, 1.4 m × 1.4 m, but the lower 80 cm which was cut into chalk was circular (1.1 m in diameter) with a flat bottom. The fill of the lower section was a greenish friable soil with a very large number of bones. The only other inclusions were a single mussel shell, a few sherds of late first-century pottery, an iron knife and a piece of glass. The upper fill was a reddish loamy soil with pottery of the late first and early second centuries, a few oyster shells, a few snail shells, a few nails, two pieces of maroon wall plaster, a number of small finds and a quantity of bones. There were a large number of bones close to the sides of the upper section in what may have been a thin residual continuation of the lower fill; the upper fill being a later intrusion resulting from a recutting. Because of the depth of the pit and the proximity of Pit 1, it was necessary to use shuttering during excavation; this restricted detailed examination of the sides and it is therefore not possible to categorically state that recutting had occurred. It also appeared that the corners of the square part may have had timber uprights suggesting a boarded

lining. It is difficult to give a precise estimate but the lower fill was probably over 25 per cent bones. On excavation these were separated by dry coarse sieving and placed in large sacks. All complete mandibles (750) were individually wrapped to ensure no teeth were lost.

Pit 3

A shallow, c. 50 cm deep, oval bowl-shaped pit, c. 1.5 m long containing black ashy loam and cut by Pits 1 and 2. There were only a small number of inclusions: second-century pottery; oyster and snail shells; and a piece of mortar with lath impressions.

Pit 4

A shallow, c. 50 cm deep, almost square, 1-m-wide pit with rounded corners and near vertical sides. It was cut by Pits 2 and 5 but cut Pit 9. The fill was a slightly gravelly soil with many animal bones, a few oyster shells, and a few fragments of second-century pottery.

Pit 5

Another shallow, c. 50 cm deep, oval bowl-shaped pit, c. 1.25 × 1.5 m. It was cut by Pit 2 but cut Pits 6 and 7 and was partly sealed by the marl lining of the eastern edge of Pit 1. The fill was a dark loamy soil with evidence of burning. It contained early second-century pottery, a quantity of oyster shells, a few nails, a quern fragment, a few fragments of painted plaster (one cream, five maroon and one maroon and blue), and a number of small finds.

Pit 6

A very shallow, c. 25 cm deep, oval bowl-shaped pit (c. 1.25 × 2 m) cut by Pits 1 and 5.

Pit 7

A small shallow circular (c. 1 m diameter) bowl-shaped pit cut by Pit 5 and sealed by c. 75 cm of sterile redeposited natural subsoil. There were no datable inclusions.

Pit 8

A shallow (c. 40 cm) circular (c. 1 m diameter) bowl-shaped pit cutting Pits 9 and 10 and filled with dark soil containing many animal bones, a few oyster and snail shells, and second-century potsherds.

Pit 9

A slightly deeper (c. 60 cm) but otherwise identical pit to Pit 8 by which it was cut, but it in turn cut Pit 10.

Pit 10

An oval bowl-shaped pit (c. 1.9 × 2.2 m wide, c. 60 cm deep) cut by Pits 4, 8 and 9 and with a similar fill to the latter two. The fill again contained second-century pottery along with animal bones, oyster and snail shells, and a fragment of glass.

Pit 11

Another shallow (c. 40 cm) circular (c. 1 m) bowl-shaped pit with a dark fill containing animal bones.

Pit 12

A large squarish oval pit, 1.4 × 2 m towards its base, widening to c. 3.6 × c. 4 m at its lip. It was cut 3.85 m through the natural gravel, which was only 40 cm below the surface, into the underlying chalk. The lower 1.15 m was not excavated; the depth of the bottom was determined by auger. The southern lip cut Pits 14 and 15 and the adjacent gully. A later pit, Pit 13, had been dug within its fill (Figs. 8 & 10).

The fill of the excavated lower section (Fig. 10) consisted, as far as could be determined, of a gravelly soil with large flints, some ashy patches, animal bones and a few potsherds. Above this there was an approximately 30-cm-thick red ashy layer containing mid second-century pottery. In the northern half of the pit, this was below a c. 70-cm-thick greenish layer, which had a thin 10-cm-thick layer of red ash above it at the eastern side. These layers were all below a layer of chalk rubble, up to 75 cm thick. Above the chalk were several complete and incomplete layers of varying coloured soil — reddish-brown, brownish-red, brown (Fig. 10) — all of which contained early to mid second-century pottery, but few other inclusions (oyster and snail shells, nails, four tesserae, and a cut chalk block). A number of coins were found, mostly close to the top of the fill; the majority were from the fourth century and may be contemporary with the later Pit 13 as there was some difficulty in separating the upper fills. However, there was one coin from the second century, a dupondius of Crispina wife of Commodus from AD 177, which adds support to the pit being of the second century AD.

Pit 13

This almost circular pit was dug entirely within the fill of Pit 12 to a depth of 2.7 m and had a flat bottom (Figs. 8 & 10). The lower section was vertically sided and 1.1 m in diameter. The upper section sloped outward to a rim diameter of about 2.5 m. The fill consisted of a 10–20 cm layer of brown stoney soil at the base, then a thin red-brown layer containing animal bones. The rest of the lower section was filled almost entirely with a single layer, up to 90 cm thick, of a brown soil containing large stones. This was separated from the fill of the upper part by a thin (c. 10 cm) slightly chalky layer. Above this there was a single upper fill of brownish soil with large stones similar to the main lower fill. The layers contained pottery mainly from the fourth century AD with a few pieces from the second century AD. There were very few other inclusions: oyster, cockle and snail shells; four tesserae; 35 nails; and a number of small finds.

Pit 14

A 50-cm-deep circular (c. 2 m diameter) bowl-shaped pit, cut by Pit 12 to the north and a gully to the west and almost entirely obliterating the top of Pit 15. The fill was an almost black loamy soil and could not be easily separated from the fill of Pit 15 below it.

Pit 15

A rectangular (1.3 × 1.8 m) pit with rounded corners cut c. 90 cm into the natural. Only a very small portion of the southern edge had not been destroyed by other features. The bottom of the pit contained a layer of animal bones. The almost identical fills of this and Pit 14 contained many animal bones and a few oyster shells. There was only a small number of potsherds, but one near complete flagon; these again appeared to date from the early second century.

Pit 16

A shallow bowl-shaped pit, diameter 75 cm, with no dateable material.

Pit 17

A shallow (c. 10 cm) circular (c. 50 cm diameter) bowl-shaped pit with a black ashy fill but with no dateable inclusions. There were two probable post settings just to the west of this pit, these also contained a black ashy fill.

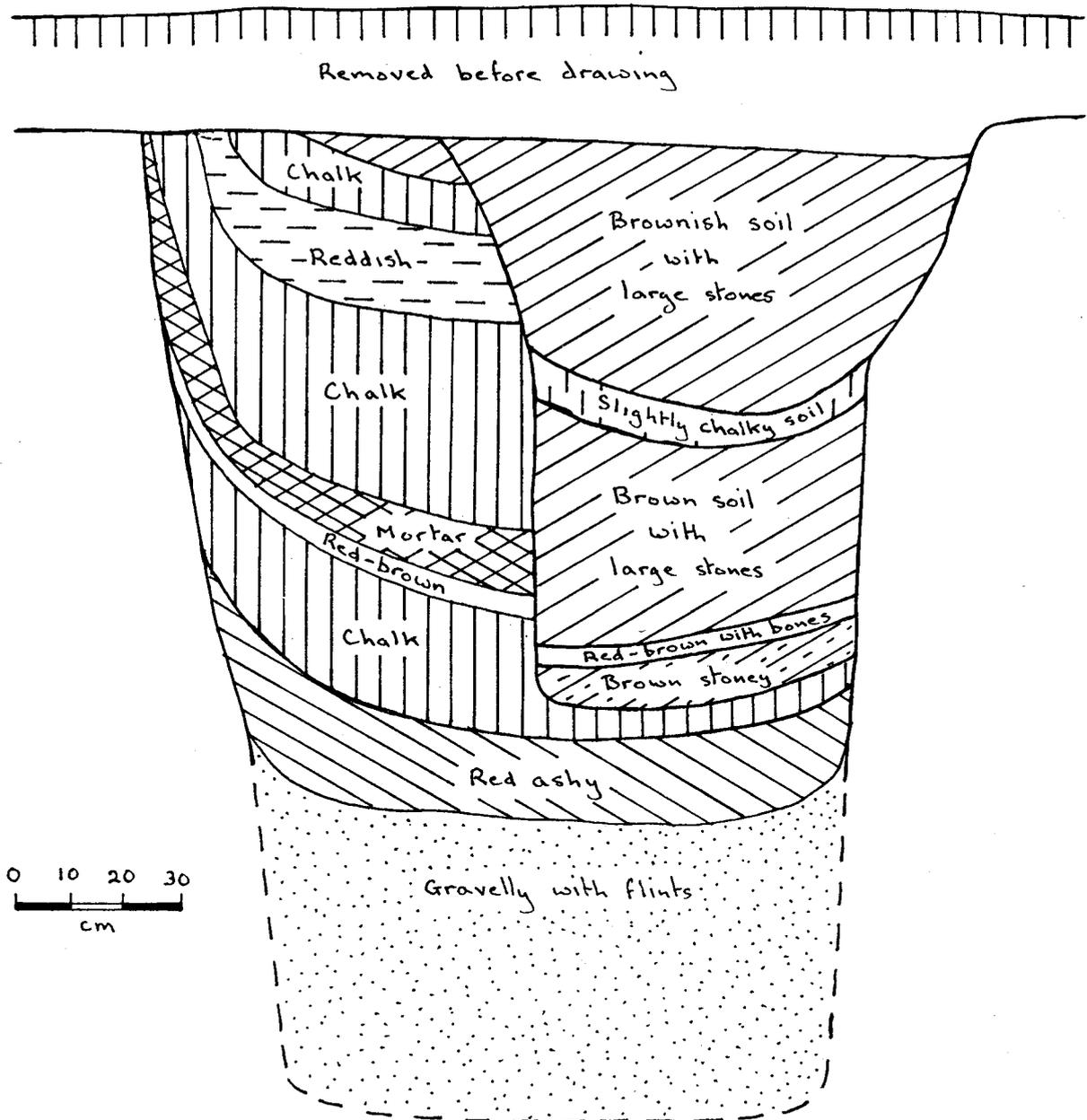


Figure 10. Drawing of section through Pits 12 and 13.

Pit 18

A shallow (c. 30 cm) circular (c. 80 cm diameter) bowl-shaped pit with a black ashy fill and signs of burning, possibly a hearth. Again there were no dateable inclusions.

This pit was associated with a gully which ran from just east of it in a northerly direction until it was obliterated by Pit 12. The gully was about 1 m wide and about 30 cm deep. The fill below a layer of crushed and compressed bones was a slightly reddish soil containing pottery from the first half of the second century. A

second branched gully lay to the west of this pit (Pit 18) and Pit 17. The two branches of the gully ran westwards to approximately the line of the western precinct wall where they united and turned south. The northernmost branch had a distinct butt-end, but the end of the southern arm which became very shallow had been destroyed by ploughing. The gully reached a maximum depth of 40 cm at the southernmost part of the excavation. The fill was grey and clayey with only a few bone and undateable pottery fragments.

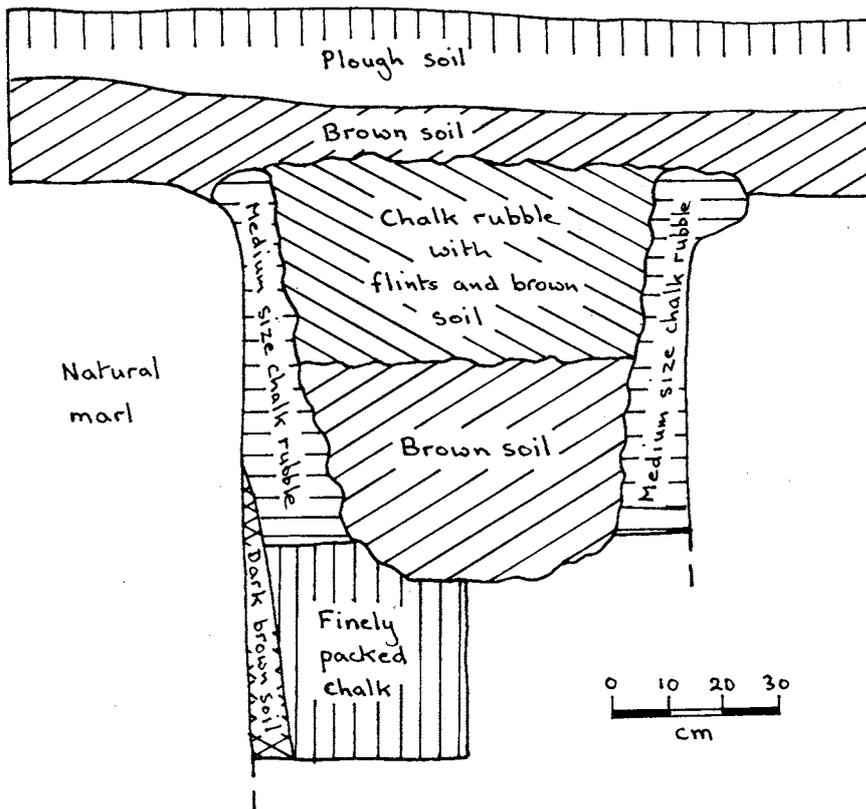


Figure 11. Drawing of section through excavated part of Pit 19.

Pit 19

A square pit (c. 1.6 × 1.6 m) of unknown depth. The pit was not fully excavated and the fill was not amenable to augering. The pit was dug into the natural marl, which at this point was 60 cm below the surface. Excavation was only carried out to a depth of two metres (Fig. 11). The main fill was solidly packed chalk. Below about 1.25 m the chalk was very fine, above this level it was of medium-sized lumps. Between the edge of the pit and the chalk fill a narrow lining of dark brown soil was evident particularly at the lower level of excavation. No artefacts were found in the chalk fill. A secondary pit, also square, appeared to have been cut 1.5 m into the upper chalk fill, leaving a roughly 20-cm-thick surrounding wall of chalk. The fill of this secondary pit consisted of two layers. The lower half was of brown soil and the upper half a mixture of chalk rubble, large flints and brown soil. These two layers contained animal bones, oyster shells, a tessera, four herringbone tiles, a large piece of mortar, a few nails, and mid second-century pottery. Three coins from these layers, however, dated from the fourth century.

Below the plough soil and above the pit there was a layer of brown soil with similar

inclusions; the pottery was also probably from the second century. It therefore seems most likely that the secondary pit like Pit 13 was a fourth-century feature cut into an earlier pit and later backfilled with soil containing pottery from an earlier period. The date of the earlier pit was not established. One can only wonder as to why it was felt necessary to backfill it with chalk which would have had to have been brought to the site as most of the pits were not dug deep enough to yield any quantity of chalk.

By comparison with the pits of the southwest corner of the precinct, those in the region of the ancillary building and the gateway (Fig. 2) were rather insignificant in terms of size and content,

and are described briefly below.

Pits 20 & 21

These were possibly early post settings but may just conceivably have been natural features. They were 90 cm below the surface and sealed by a sterile layer of brickearth. Both were 20 cm deep. Pit 21 had a 40-cm-wide and 40-cm-deep vertically sided gully running from it in a southeasterly direction. A number of other small but doubtful post settings were also found in this area.

Pit 22

This probably square pit partly underlay the wall at the northern end of the gateway and was therefore not fully investigated. It contained whelk and oyster shells and a few fragments of pottery which were possibly from the second century.

Pit 23

This pit lay almost entirely beneath the wall and was therefore not fully excavated. The lower fill was a brownish soil, but the upper part had

been filled with gravel with large stones at the centre near the top. The wall foundation was deeper than usual above the pit indicating that the wall builders were aware of it and had partly replaced the fill with gravel and stones as a base for the wall foundation. There were no dateable inclusions but the pit obviously predates the wall.

Pit 24

Like Pit 23 this also lay beneath the wall and consequently was not fully excavated. It was roughly circular (c. 1.5 m in diameter) and may not have been a single pit; it may have been one within another. There were insufficient inclusions to provide a date, but again it must predate the construction of the wall. It is also possible that this and Pit 23 were associated with the pre-wall palisade and could perhaps be large post settings of the early gateway.

Pit 25

A roughly circular pit (c. 1 m in diameter) filled with brown soil containing second-century pottery identical to the layer above the pit which contained the same pottery. Above this there were the thin remnants of a gravel path.

Pit 26

A very small shallow bowl-shaped pit containing crushed pot.

Pit 27

A small shallow pit probably a hearth. A number of shallow possible post settings also existed in this same area just outside the wall.

Pit 28

A small oven or kiln aligned north-south. The pit was c. 1.1 m long and c. 40 cm wide, rounded at the stokehole (southern) end and almost square at the closed end which was lined with tiles, mortar and a large stone. There was a central column of mortar, presumably to support the floor of the oven or kiln (*cf.* similar feature in the Ancillary building). The fill was a black ash with fourth-century pottery.

Pit 29

A hearth or oven. An oval pit, 1.15 m long by 70 cm wide and 25 cm deep lying east-west with the stokehole to the west. The closed end

was lined with large stones, broken tiles and pieces of mortar. The fill was black and ashy and contained fourth-century pottery, a few oyster and mussel shells, a few nails, and a few animal bone fragments.

Pit 30

A shallow (30 cm) circular (65 cm diameter) bowl-shaped pit filled with rubble, almost certainly a post setting.

Pit 31

A shallow circular (70 cm diameter) pit filled with black ash.

Pit 32

An 85-cm-diameter pit cut 50 cm into the natural. Its position at the end of a gully associated with a wall foundation suggests a large post setting.

Pit 33

A shallow (20 cm) oval (2 m × 50 cm) pit almost certainly a post setting. Above and adjacent to this feature were two very narrow (10 cm wide) gullies running in an easterly direction. They had the appearance of very narrow beam slots but were covered with a layer of sterile brown soil. They may have been the result of recent deep chisel ploughing.

Other probable post settings existed in this area just outside the wall, *eg.* Pits 34 and 35. Most were of small diameter and were very shallow. Similar post settings also existed just inside the wall (Pits 36 & 37). The former was obviously a post setting being 30 × 30 cm square and 60 cm deep.

Pit 38

This was a shallow ash-filled depression, c. 20 cm deep and c. 95 cm long. It was notable in containing a first-century samian-ware dish.

Pit 39

This was an isolated pit approximately 75 m southeast of the precinct (Fig. 1:5). Apart from the precinct wall and ditch it was one of the very few features visible on the aerial photograph. The main shaft was roughly square (1.2 × 1.5 m) flaring out at the top to about 3 m across (Fig. 12). It had been dug 3.95 m into

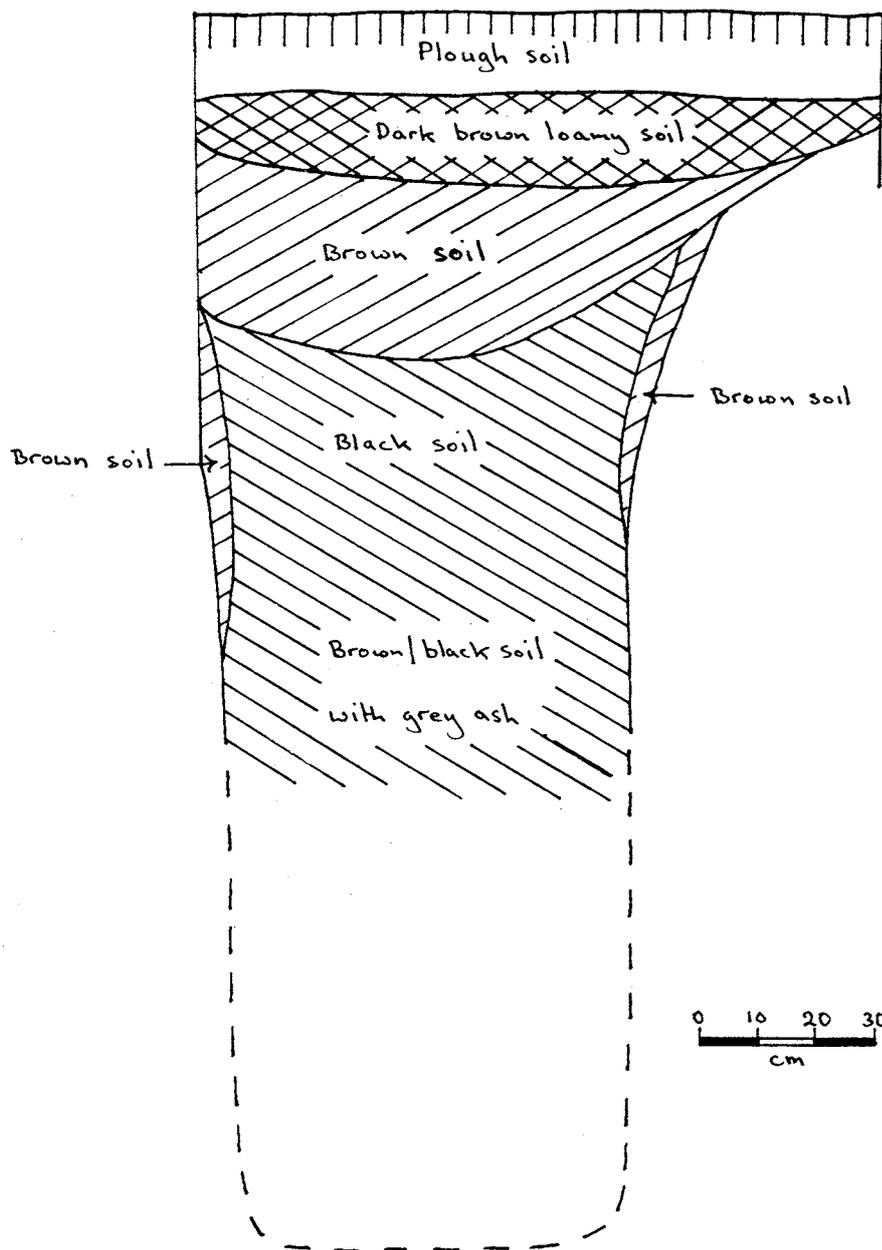


Figure 12. Drawing of section through isolated Pit 39.

the natural gravel and marl. Only 2.1 m of this depth was excavated, but the full depth was determined by auger. The main fill was a brown/black soil with patches of grey ash, becoming blacker towards the top. Above this there was an up to 60-cm-thick layer of brown soil. The uppermost layer (c. 30 cm) was a dark brown silty soil which was immediately below the ploughsoil. With the exception of the upper layer, the other layers all contained a good sample of pottery dating from the period AD 70–AD 125 (Figs. 14 & 15). Potsherds in the upper regions were found to match sherds from lower

down indicating that the whole of the main fill was contemporary. Other inclusions consisted mainly of oyster shells, a few whelk shells, a few nails, a few animal bone fragments, and a few small finds. In contrast the uppermost layer contained pottery from the fourth century.

The Pathways

The major pathway discovered was that running in an easterly direction past the north side of the ancillary building and out through the gateway in the wall (Fig. 2). This path lay about 40 cm below the surface. Above it and below the ploughsoil there was a layer of brown soil containing a quantity of building rubble, particularly just north of the ancillary building. This was the source of the building material that initially drew attention to the area. This layer produced a number of small finds including coins, mainly from the late third century and the first half of the fourth century. The pottery was also mainly from the fourth century.

The path consisted of a layer of gravel up to 10 cm thick and 3 m wide. It was traceable for 6 m outside the gateway where it was above the deliberately filled part of the ditch. The

first 4 m outside the gateway were substantial but the last 2 m were very thin. This suggests that the pathway had only been gravelled for a short distance outside the wall; the thinner layer being just a spread resulting from usage. No dateable material was recovered from the gravel but it did include a few boot nails which provide evidence of it being an area where people walked.

Areas of gravel were also discovered between the ancillary building and the precinct wall, and just outside the wall in the same area. Some of these may have been remnants of the pre-wall

entrance to the precinct, but they were not sufficiently contiguous to draw any real conclusions.

Part of another distinct pathway was also found between the ancillary building and the wall, but running roughly parallel to both (Fig. 2). It was 1.5 m wide and consisted of an even layer of gravel and mortar, 10 cm thick. Below this path and separated from it by a thin layer of brown soil containing second-century pottery lay an earlier path with the same orientation. This path consisted of, on its western side, a layer of crushed chalk 60 cm wide and 1 cm thick. Its eastern side consisted of a further 1.4 m width of large stones. No clear date was obtained for these two paths, but the soil between, beside and above them, which could not be distinguished into separate layers, contained second-century pottery.

In the trench in the area of the proposed second gateway in the eastern wall of the precinct, areas of gravel were located adjacent to both the inner and outer faces of the wall. That on the inside spread only 1 m from the wall and would seem to be insufficient evidence for a major pathway similar to that inside the other gateway. However, the present surface slopes away to the south and there has been disturbance in this direction (*cf.* the southern end of the Ancillary building). The gravel on the outside of the wall covered a wider area and was up to 10 cm thick.

Excavation of a small area immediately south of the main temple and adjoining the 1978 excavation located a 5-m-long and up to 20-cm-thick continuation of the gravel path running southwards from the southeast corner of the temple (Fig. 3). This trench also enabled the excavations reported here to be fairly precisely tied into the 1978 excavation. The wall foundation running along the western edge of the path from the temple (Fig. 3) was also located in 1978. Further foundations were discovered in this area. One ran at right angles to the end of that found in 1978, but was not joined to it and was more substantial. It ran parallel to the south wall of the temple for 7.7 m before making a right-angle turn back towards the temple. This north-south section had been partly removed but not recorded during the 1978 excavation. The foundation was 65 cm wide and of mortared flint construction; the eastern end was finished with large stones and tile quoins; the north-south section was of large unmortared flints and although badly plough-damaged there was evidence of tile quoins at the corner. On the same line as the north-south foundation found in 1978 beside the path but 2.2 m south of the

east-west foundation and about 20 cm in from the edge of the path a 20-cm-square post setting had been cut 10 cm into the underlying marl.

Interpretation and Discussion

From the coin and pottery evidence the site was occupied for most of the period of the Roman occupation. Pottery forms from the late first century (*c.* AD 70) until well into the fourth century were abundant. The coins ranged from an As of Vespasian, AD 69–79 to an AE4 of Arcadius, AD 388–408. The adjoining site (Site B, see below) produced a slightly later centenionalis of Honorius, AD 393–423. Apart from a single sherd of mid first-century BC pottery, no evidence of earlier occupation was found, although it remains possible that the undateable postholes and gully below the pathway just north of the ancillary building could be earlier. As a result of the 1978 excavation Collins (1978) concluded that the temple had been initially constructed during the period AD 60–90 and nothing revealed by these later excavations contradicts that.

It has been possible to show that the temple was not an isolated structure but was placed centrally in a large precinct, containing at least one other masonry building. The area of the precinct appears to have been defined at the outset and was surrounded by the ditch and initially by a wooden palisade. But why was the precinct constructed as a rhombus and not a square; was this just an error or was it planned? The temple itself was however constructed parallel to and opposite the mid-point of the eastern side. The excavations did not determine the precise sequence of events, and it is not possible to say whether the building of the temple was contemporary with the initial ditch and palisade or with the construction of the masonry wall.

The entrance to the precinct would have been through a single eastern gateway approached through a gap in the ditch and flanked by ditches connecting the main ditch to the palisade. It is also possible that some form of entrance also existed at the southwest corner of the precinct. The exact width of the gateway and the gap in the ditch were not determined. Assuming it was symmetrically aligned with the temple and at the mid-point in the eastern side then the gap in the ditch would have been about 15 m wide. Confirmation of the true width will require further excavation. Likewise the details of the assumed gateway in the palisade can only be determined by complete further excavation of the wall foundations, but even then the depth

of the foundations may have obliterated the evidence.

The majority of the pits investigated at the southwest corner of the precinct and the isolated pit, Pit 39, relate to the early phase of the site. From the evidence of the bones (Legge *et al.* 1991; forthcoming) a major activity at the site occurred in the spring and the autumn during this phase. Most of the bones were two month old lambs or six to eight month old male lambs. This suggests a spring and autumn cull, the latter being necessary to reduce the size of the overwintering flock; only a small number of males would be required for mating with a much larger number of females. The reason for a large spring cull is less obvious and since this is a religious site a religious feast must be a possibility. The lack of vertebrae and pelvic bones does, however, suggest butchering with the main joints of meat being perhaps consumed elsewhere. Whether this was a short-lived activity or whether it continued throughout the late first and early second century AD is hard to say; the pits although large were relatively few in number. Unless each pit was used for several years, a short period for this activity seems more likely. It is of course possible that other pits exist in the vicinity as the excavated area was small, but none were indicated by cropmarks either on the ground or on the aerial photograph.

From this early period a large number of small finds were discovered, many of which were found at random in the area between the temple and the gateway. These were predominantly of copper alloy and were probably votive offerings. Many of the items had been damaged in antiquity, perhaps suggesting that if it was necessary to donate an item of bronze jewellery such as a brooch or hairpin, then the devotees were careful to donate their damaged possessions.

Although no precise date for the construction of the masonry precinct wall and the ancillary building could be deduced from the excavations, it seems reasonable to assume that they are contemporary. This assumption is based on the ancillary building having its back towards the earlier palisade entrance and thus in effect blocking direct access to the front of the temple, and on the two entrances in the wall being positioned to give access on either side of the ancillary building. The presence of late third- and fourth-century pottery above the gravel pathway and associated with the ancillary building shows that they were in existence by at least the late third century. The presence of pottery from the late first to the mid second century in pits below the wall

foundations gives a construction date no earlier than the middle of the second century.

Collins (1978) proposed, from the evidence of the main temple re-excavation, that the temple had undergone a period of dilapidation and repair during the second and early third century followed by a major reconstruction after AD 280. The artefacts from the excavations reported here indicate that the site was in regular use at least until the middle of the second century.

Coins of the first and second century were rare (Table 1); the latest being a dupondius from AD 177 of Crispina wife of Commodus. There is then a gap in the coin record until approximately two-thirds of the way through the third century, in particular around AD 270 (Table 1). This coin record would seem to fit fairly well into Collins' proposed chronology. The sudden increase in coins around AD 270, however, seems to suggest an increase in activity about a decade earlier than his proposed reconstruction date of after AD 280.

There is one piece of evidence that may suggest an earlier date for the ancillary building and hence possibly for the wall; that is the earlier of the two north-south paths between the ancillary building and the wall. This path apparently dates from the second century and lay across the line of the earlier entrance. If the early single entrance existed until the late third century and the ancillary building was not constructed until then, it is difficult to explain the presence and alignment of this early pathway. A further piece of evidence for an earlier reconstruction date comes from the pottery from the purposeful filling of the ditch outside the gateway. This suggests that it was filled during the second century, presumably when the wall and its gateways were constructed.

There was undoubtedly considerable activity on the site (and the adjoining site B) from the late third century until well into the fourth century and possibly even into the early part of the fifth century. The coin record is almost continuous from AD 250-350 but becomes less so for the second half of the fourth century (Table 1). The upper north-south pathway between the ancillary building and the wall belongs to this later phase as does the adjacent mortar mixing area on its western edge immediately behind the ancillary building. This mixing area consisted of a flat layer of pink mortar, c. 8 cm thick, above a 4-cm-thick layer of white mortar. The eastern edge had clearly been retained by a 'straight-edge', presumably of wood but no longer in evidence. On the opposite side of the path, between the path and

Table 1. Frequency of coins.

Period	AD 55-100	101-150	151-200	201-250	251-300	301-350	351-400
Precinct	2	5 (1)	1	-	57	50 (31)	8 (1)
Site B	1	1	1	-	2	8 (8)	1
Total	3	7	2	-	59	97	10

Numbers in parentheses indicate coins not clearly identified.

the wall, there was a similar area. This was a rectangular hollow, 15 cm deep, lined with mortar and covered with building rubble. The rubble contained a small number of fourth-century potsherds and towards its bottom a coin of Arcadius, AD 388-408. This suggests a fairly late date for the deposition of the rubble, although by the open nature of the building rubble it is possible that the coin could have found its way into it at a later date.

A number of other features also from this later period were discovered outside the wall and immediately to the north of the gateway, particularly in the area between the ditch and the wall (Fig. 2). These included the two ovens/kilns, Pits 28 and 29, and the loose wall foundation running between the wall and the ditch just south of Pit 29. This foundation was associated with a shallow gully which terminated in a large posthole, Pit 32. The foundation and the associated postholes suggest a late phase building, much less substantial than the temple or the ancillary building, but utilising the precinct wall as one side.

An interesting fourth-century feature of this area was a hard chalk/soil base partially set into the outside of the wall. It was roughly circular — 70 cm wide and 60 cm from front to back. The base was set into a bowl-shaped hollow. Of particular interest were the artefacts included in its make-up: an enamelled disk brooch, a lead finger ring, three copper alloy finger rings, a bone pin, an iron lock, shale bangle fragments, several copper alloy tacks, washers, and other items of scrap and pieces of eggshell. This feature was not contemporary with the wall; rather it appeared to have been crudely set into its side. Does this indicate that the wall was already crumbling by this time? Further evidence of this phase of occupation comes from many of the pits, which had late third- and fourth-century pottery in their upper layers, and from one large pit, Pit 13, dating from this period.

This late third- and fourth-century phase shows evidence of a change in activity at the

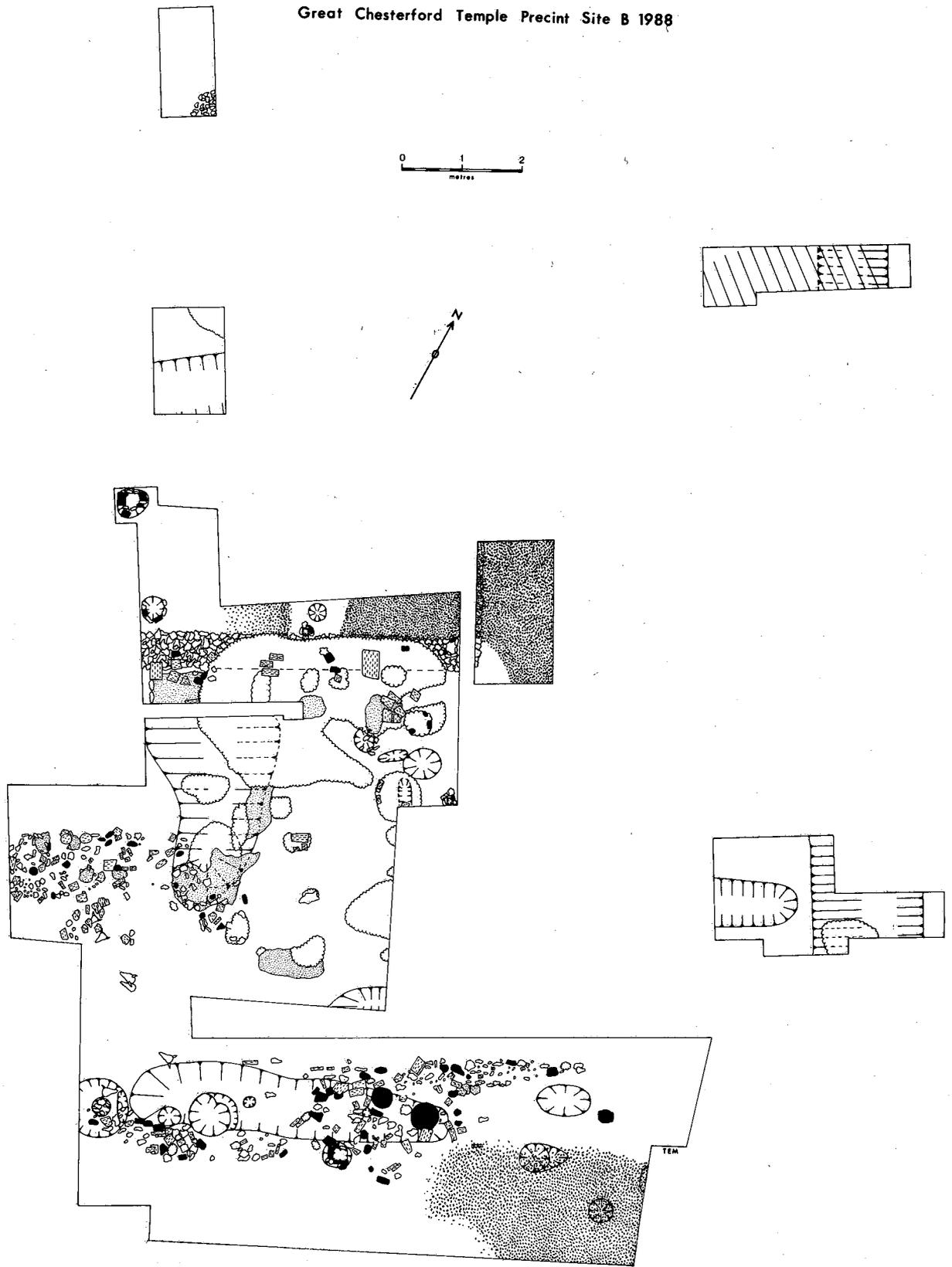
site. There were three ovens/kilns, two in the area outside the gateway (Pits 28 & 29) and one in the ancillary building. Whether the changes are the result of changes in religious practice or indicate a change to secular activity it was not possible to determine. There was a considerable increase in the number of coins found for this period. This may indicate a more commercial activity or a change to monetary votive offerings or it may just show an increased loss of coins which were of much lower value than those of earlier centuries.

Site B

Field-walking of the surrounding area identified a concentration of potsherds and building material about 60 m southeast of the temple precinct (Fig. 1:4). This area was partially excavated in 1988 (Fig. 13). Although the current tenant farmer had refrained from deep ploughing the precinct area, as he was unaware of remains outside it, he had carried out deep (c. 45 cm) chisel ploughing. This had further added to the already considerable damage from earlier cultivation. For example at one point a large roof tile, at a depth of almost half a metre, had been broken in two and one portion moved horizontally just over a metre.

The main feature of this site was the fragmentary remnants of a c. 5-cm-thick chalk rubble floor. This was best preserved at its northern edge where it was at its greatest depth below the surface. There were small areas of mortar associated with the chalk which also appeared to be part of the floor make-up. There were no artefacts in this floor material. Towards the northern edge there were a number of small areas of greater depth consisting of larger pieces of chalk, which may have been bases for some form of superstructure. At its northern side the floor overlay a foundation of large flints, with the floor edge coinciding with the northern edge of the flints. The flint foundation, the full extent of which was not determined, continued in a westerly direction well beyond the apparent end of the floor. Its eastern end, however, lay just

Great Chesterford Temple Precint Site B 1988



beyond (50 cm) the eastern edge of the floor. The foundation was c. 20 cm deep and c. 60 cm wide. It was not in any obvious trench and was bounded to the north by a 4-cm-thick area of gravel.

A series of post settings, 2.6 m apart lay just beyond the northern and eastern edges of the chalk floor. The northern row was not quite parallel to the flint foundation; the post at the northeastern corner of the floor being set into the flints. Two of the holes showed obvious evidence of having held square posts and all had been packed with large stones and tile fragments. The western edge of the floor could not categorically be determined, but an alignment of a tile and two chalk lumps coinciding with the edge of an area of mortar may have indicated its position. At one point above the butt-end of a shallow depression there was a much deeper area of mortar containing large flints. Whether this was to support some form of superstructure or was just an infilling of a low area could not be determined. The latter seems unlikely as the area appeared to have been levelled before the floor was laid (see below).

The soil above the remnants of the floor generally contained a scatter of building rubble. However, there were two areas with a concentration of rubble. One to the west contained many broken roof-tiles, lumps of mortar and large flints and other stones. Among this rubble there were two distinct circular tiles. These had been cut from presumably square or rectangular tiles and both had a small depression chipped into the centre of one face. They suggest that somewhere the building had contained a circular column constructed of such tiles; perhaps as the central support of a window. The other concentration of rubble was in the southern part of the excavation and associated with an east-west gully, the eastern end of which was partly filled by it. The length of the gully, just over 5 m, matched the assumed east-west dimension of the chalk floor, and may therefore have been an eaves-drip gully for the building. Its width, up to 1 m, was irregular as was its depth of c. 20 cm. No postholes matching those to the north and east of the floor were found. A number of possible postholes were associated with the gully but they did not fit any definite pattern. Within the gully there were three small and shallow, and one large, 70 cm diameter and 40 cm deep. Beyond the gully, close to its southern edge, there was one definite post setting. This consisted of a small pit 40 cm diameter and 30 cm deep into which had been set a 20 cm square post. The post had been set on a large stone and packed

round with other large stones. The gully, like the soil above the floor, contained late third- and fourth-century pottery. At its western end there was a pit 1 m in diameter and 45 cm deep, which from the pottery inclusions was of an earlier date, possibly late second century. However, a posthole in its fill may have been contemporary with the gully.

An area of gravel, only 30 cm below the surface, lay to the southeast of the gully; although somewhat disturbed, its northern edge appeared to coincide with an extrapolation of the line of the gully to the east, and its western edge aligned with the eastern end of the gully. A number of small pits, possibly postholes, were found beneath the gravel layer and cut into the underlying natural gravel. It is possible that the apparent sealing of these by the gravel layer was the result of the more recent disturbances and they could therefore have been contemporary with, or even later than, the gravel layer. Only the largest of them produced dateable material and that as on most of the site, was from the fourth century. Beneath the gravel layer there was only a layer of brown soil, c. 5 cm thick, above the natural ground. One small interesting feature of this area was a stone, c. 40 cm diameter, with a tile placed squarely on top of it. It may have been a chance occurrence but this seems unlikely; a purposely laid base seems a more likely explanation, although for what purpose must remain conjecture.

To the west of the gravelled area there was just the brown brickearth above the natural gravel, but at about the same level as the gravel layer there was some evidence of a contemporary surface in the form of a thin layer of horizontal oyster shells and potsherds, again dating from the fourth century. At this same level, southwest of the chalk floor area, a number of animal skulls were discovered — five cow and one horse. All but one lay base uppermost and all lacked mandibles. Below the western edge of the chalk floor there was a 30-cm-deep depression filled with dark loamy soil; from the pottery inclusions this also dated from the same period as the floor. Below the main area of the chalk floor there was a patchy layer of brown soil containing late third- and fourth-century potsherds, quern fragments, nails, oyster and cockle shells, and a few animal bone fragments. Below this there was a dense layer of yellowish re-deposited subsoil with few but similar inclusions to the layer above. This layer appeared to have been laid as a level foundation for the chalk floor. Finally below this and above the undisturbed natural there was a layer of dark brown soil with few inclusions. The few

potsherds possibly dated from the second century. A similar layer was found above the natural to the southwest of the chalk floor, again with possibly second-century pottery. This layer also produced a silver pre-conquest Roman Republic coin.

Few features of this earlier phase were found; there were a few shallow depressions containing darker soil, a small bowl-shaped pit (c. 60 cm in diameter) filled with chalk and a few burnt areas. One other feature also probably from this phase was found below the depression at the western edge of the floor; this was an almost 1 m diameter base of crushed chalk. The soil surrounding it was much reddened, and it and the base had been subjected to considerable heat. Surrounding the base there was a suggestion of a ring of small stakeholes. There were no artefacts associated with the feature and no evidence of any superstructure.

Three and a half metres north of the chalk floor a shallow east-west ditch/gully was discovered. It was 30 cm deep and 1 m wide. The fill was a fine yellowish soil which also spread over the northern edge and contained fourth-century pottery. On the northern edge there was an area of burnt pink mortar and an area of chalk. The whole was covered by a layer of fine dark silty soil which dipped above the ditch. This layer also contained fourth-century pottery. Immediately below the plough soil the whole area was sealed by a c. 10 cm layer of sterile brown soil, probably hill wash. Between the ditch/gully and the chalk floor the strata were similar with the addition of a trace of a gravel surface at the same level as the gravel surface adjacent to the northeast corner of the floor. A substantial post setting was also found in this area.

On aerial photographs there was a suggestion of a north-south ditch to the east of the site. This was investigated at two points. The first was directly east of the floor area and 6 m from it. At this point the ditch was c. 2 m wide and cut 35 cm into the natural gravel which was 70 cm below the surface. The lower fill was a fine greyish soil with a few oyster shells, animal bones, and potsherds, possibly dating from the early second century. Above this there was a layer of dark soil with many oyster shells, a few cockle shells, a few animal bones, and fourth-century potsherds. Above the ditch at 45 cm below the surface there was a Roman surface layer with many oyster shells. At one point above the ditch at a depth of 35 cm below the surface there was a 5-cm-thick patch of chalk similar to the make up of the chalk floor. The whole area was again sealed by the sterile layer of hill wash. Running west from a butt-

end close to the ditch ran a 80-cm-wide and 35-cm-deep gully filled with black soil again with fourth-century pottery and fragments of a quern; the latter matched fragments from the thin layer of soil below the chalk floor. The length of the gully was not determined, but it must have terminated before it reached the area of the chalk floor.

The ditch was also investigated further north at its intersection with the east-west ditch/gully. Here it had an orange stoney fill very similar to the natural subsoil into which it had been dug c. 60 cm. It again yielded early second-century pottery. The east-west ditch/gully cut the western edge of the north-south ditch but not its eastern edge. Although the precise relationship was not clear, the east-west ditch/gully appeared to end at the line of the north-south ditch. At this point the east-west gully contained dark loamy soil but still with fourth-century potsherds.

Site B lies at the southern edge of a roughly circular area of deeper soil (c. 1 m) above the natural gravel. Whether this is a natural depression or a manmade one is difficult to judge without further excavation. However, the few earlier (second-century) layers discovered were close to the bottom of this area, indicating that at least it was an open low area during the second century. Moreover, before the construction of the chalk floor it had been necessary to raise the level.

Due to considerable plough damage, no clear conclusion could be drawn as to the site's use. Its proximity to the temple precinct might lead one to suppose it was part of the religious complex but there was no positive evidence of this. What little evidence exists perhaps suggests a more secular use. The pottery covered a wider range of forms than found in the precinct. This together with a number of quern fragments and the animal skulls tends to suggest a domestic or agricultural use; perhaps linking with the apparent change of use of the temple precinct during the fourth century.

The Slade

The ditch known locally as the Slade, which runs from east to west just south of the temple precinct and Site B (Figs. 1 & 5), is an early nineteenth-century re-alignment of an earlier watercourse. The earlier line of this watercourse, which meandered along the valley bottom, is still just discernible. In the vicinity of the sites the straightened alignment lies to the north of the original course and consequently cuts through possible areas of

occupation on the temple side of the original course.

Little detail has come to light in the Slade, even during deep mechanical recutting in the winter of 1988–89. At one point close to the southwest corner of the temple precinct a 5-m-long layer of oyster shells was visible in the southern bank at a depth of 1.2 m below the surface. At a few points further east, still in the vicinity of the sites, there was some evidence of surfaces from the Romano-British period. These were mainly thin layers of oyster shells, bone fragments, and potsherds. A few small finds also occurred.

Appendix 1. The Pottery

In common with most Romano-British sites the excavations yielded large quantities of pottery. A detailed description and study of this is a major task and has not yet been fully carried out. Moreover, space does not allow the inclusion of a full-scale study in this report.

The majority of the pottery was native coarseware and two assemblages of this are described and illustrated. These are: the pottery from Pit 39, a single stratum assemblage showing a good range of late first-century and early second-century pottery from the early period of the site (Figs. 14 & 15); and the Site B fourth-century pottery representing the latest period of occupation (Figs. 16 & 17).

The imported wares consisted almost entirely of Samian Ware, predominantly from Central Gaul, although a few sherds of greenish-yellow glazed St Remy ware were also found. The following Samian forms were represented:

Plain: Form 18, 18R, 18/31, 31, 31R, 27, 27g, 33, 35, 36, 38, 42, 79, 80, 81, Curle 11, Curle 15, Curle 23, Curle 23 (cup version), Ritterling 6, Ritterling 8?, Ritterling 9? and Ritterling 12?
Decorated: Form 29, 30, 37.

Pottery from Pit 39, AD 60–120 (Figs. 14 & 15)

1. A straight-sided bowl of black micaceous fabric with burnished exterior and rouletted decoration, probably imitating Samian Ware Form 30.
2. A carinated bowl of fine grey micaceous fabric with burnished exterior and rouletted decoration, probably imitating Samian Ware Form 29.
3. A carinated jar of fine grey slightly micaceous fabric, burnished inside rim and on exterior and decorated with combing on the shoulder.
4. A bowl of fine grey slightly micaceous fabric with a brown slip, burnished on exterior and decorated with wavy lines. Again probably an

attempt to imitate Samian Ware, possibly Form 27 or Form 29.

5. A bowl of fine grey slightly micaceous fabric burnished on exterior possibly another Samian Ware imitation, Form 29 or 37?
6. A bowl of fine grey slightly micaceous fabric with interior burnished lines and burnished exterior with a decoration of applied grey coarse slip. Probably a Samian Ware Form 37 imitation.
7. A bowl of coarse grey slightly micaceous fabric with a flattish burnished rim.
8. A bowl of brownish-grey slightly micaceous fabric with a bead rim and burnishing of both internal and external surfaces.
9. A bowl of fine grey slightly micaceous fabric with a slightly hooked bead rim and burnished exterior.
10. A shallow bowl of fine buff-grey slightly micaceous fabric, burnished on both internal and external surfaces.
11. A bulbous beaker of black micaceous fabric with burnished neck and rim and decoration of small incisions.
12. A beaker of fine black fabric with flared rim, burnished on exterior and inside rim.
13. A poppy-head beaker of fine black slightly micaceous fabric, the rim is flared and there are only a few large dots.
14. A poppy-head beaker of fine grey fabric with a pale grey burnished slip on exterior and inside the rim. The dots are dark grey and applied over the burnishing.
15. A poppy-head beaker of orange-buff fabric with a cream burnished slip on exterior surface; very small dots.
16. A shallow almost carinated jar of coarse red sandy fabric.
17. A jar of coarse black fabric with sparse flint temper; incised decoration on shoulder.
18. A jar of coarse black slightly micaceous fabric, burnished on rim and neck and decorated with horizontal grooves.
19. A jar of grey slightly micaceous fabric, burnished on rim and neck and decorated with horizontal grooves.
20. A jar of grey slightly micaceous fabric with flint temper; burnished on rim and lower exterior; decoration of burnished diagonal lines on shoulder.
21. A carinated jar of dark grey micaceous fabric, burnished inside rim and on exterior surface.
22. A small jar of grey fabric with grooves on shoulder.
23. A very small round jar of grey micaceous fabric.
24. A jar with double carination of black micaceous fabric, burnished inside rim and on

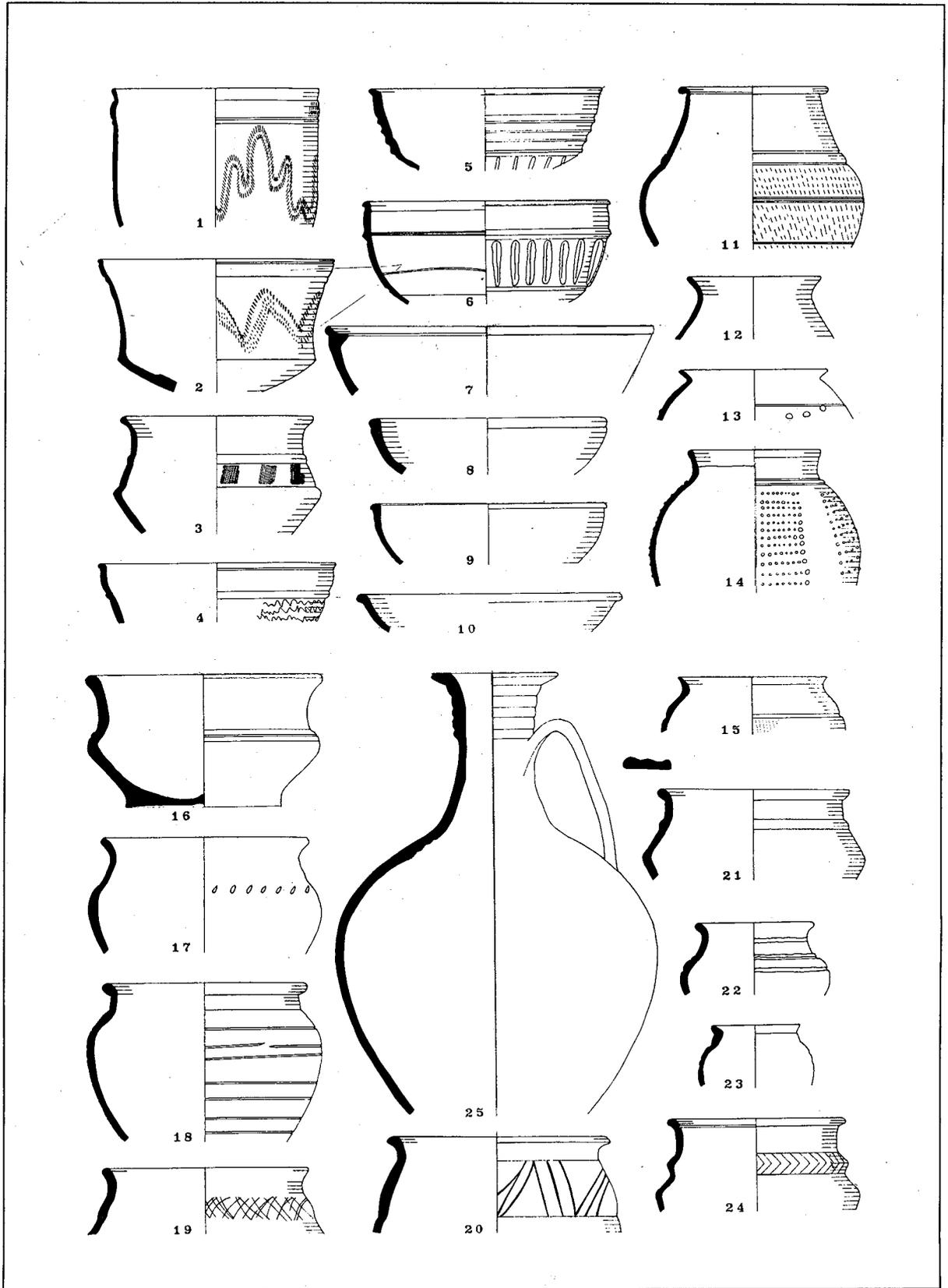


Figure 14. Pottery from Pit 39 (late 1st century AD–early 2nd century AD). $\times 1/4$.

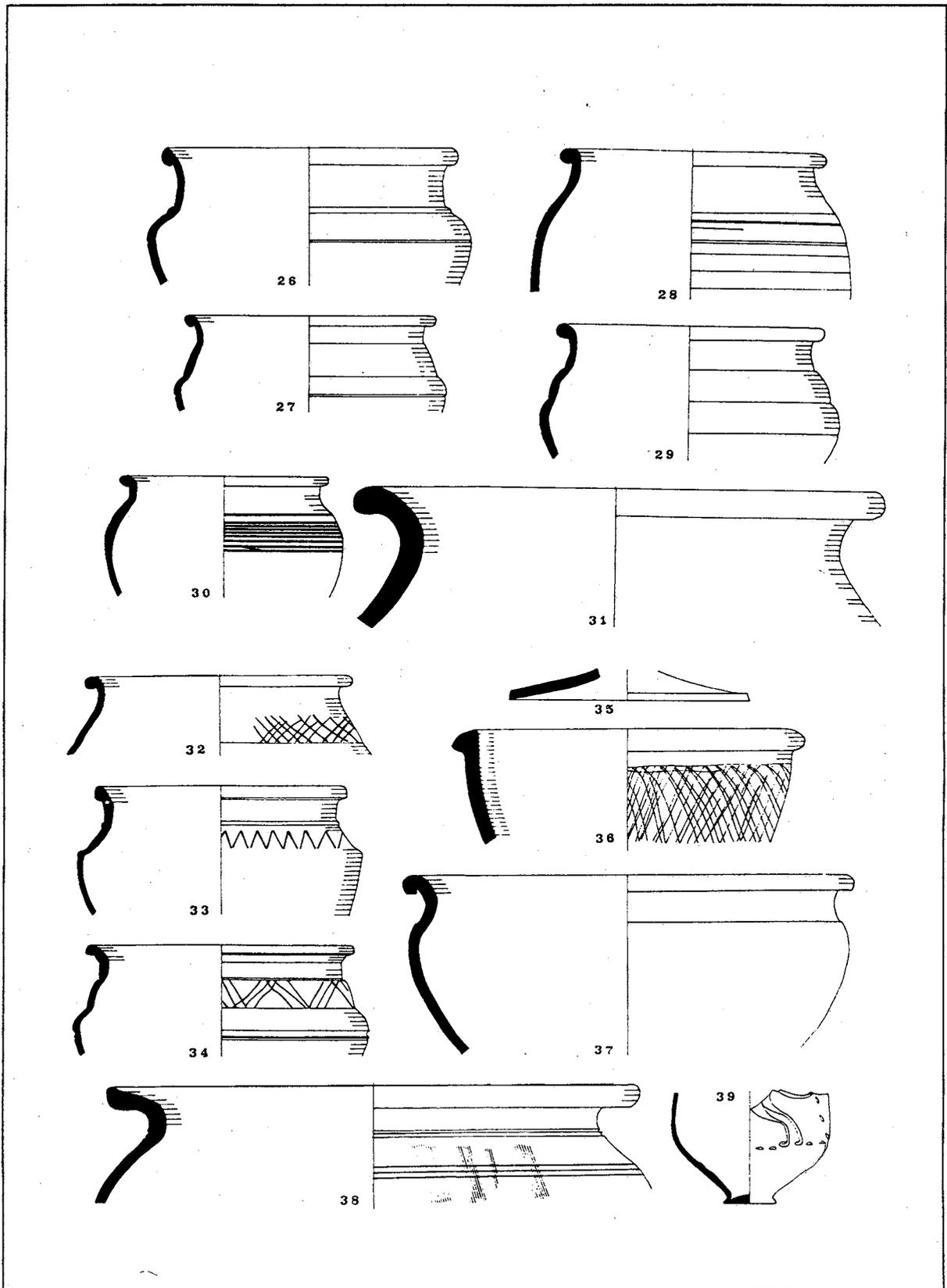


Figure 15. Pottery from Pit 39 (late 1st century AD-early 2nd century AD). $\times 1/4$.

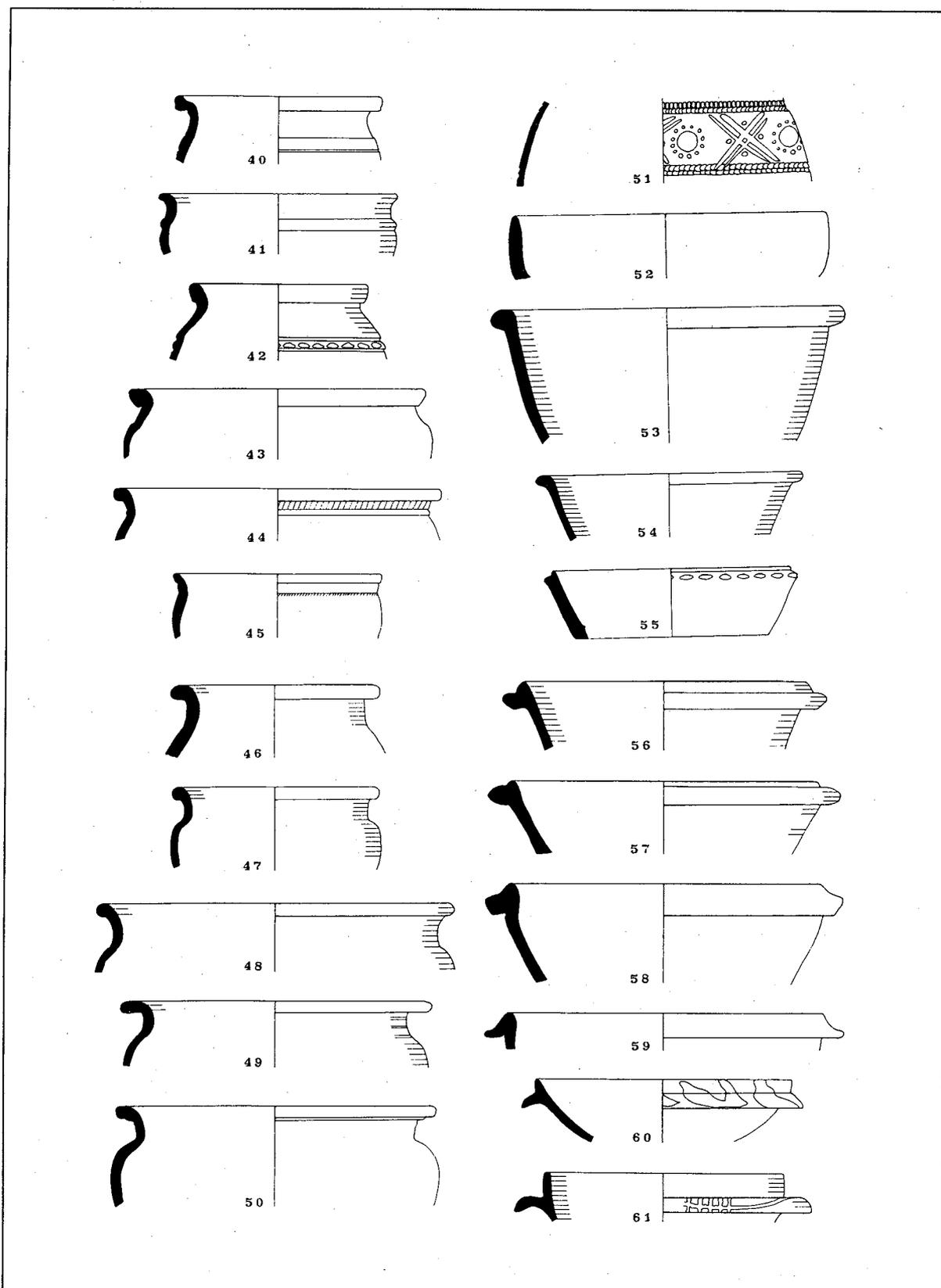


Figure 16. Pottery of the late period of occupation of Site B (4th century AD). $\times 1/4$.

exterior surface. Incised pattern on shoulder.

25. A flagon of buff fabric with single handle.

26. A jar of black micaceous fabric, burnished inside rim and on exterior surface and with a single groove around the body and a ridge at base of neck.

27. A jar of black micaceous fabric, burnished inside rim and on the exterior surface and with a single groove around the body.

28. A jar of grey fabric with flint temper, burnished on the rim and on the neck; with grooves and lines around the body.

29. A jar of black slightly micaceous fabric, burnished on the neck and upper part of body.

30. A jar of coarse black micaceous fabric, burnished on the rim and neck with several grooves around the body.

31. A large jar of grey-black grog fabric, burnished both inside and outside of the neck and rim, and with burnished bands on the body.

32. A jar of grey slightly micaceous fabric burnished on rim and exterior and with burnished lattice pattern on unburnished shoulder.

33. A carinated jar of black micaceous fabric, burnished inside rim and on exterior, with a ridge at base of neck and a burnished inverted V pattern on unburnished shoulder.

34. A jar of hard black micaceous fabric, burnished on rim and exterior of neck and body and with a burnished band on inside of neck; burnished semi-lattice pattern on unburnished shoulder; groove at base of neck and small and large groove around body.

35. Lid of coarse grey slightly micaceous fabric.

36. Bowl of grey fabric; burnished inside, on rim and just below rim on exterior; rough lattice decoration on body.

37. Large shallow jar of grey slightly micaceous fabric with slight offset at base of neck.

38. Large jar of red fabric, burnished on rim and inside of neck; two grooves around neck; three horizontal lines and lightly combed vertical decoration on shoulder.

39. A beaker of white fabric with brown metallic slip. Animal and dot barbotine decoration.

Fourth century AD pottery from Site B
(Figs. 16 & 17)

40. A jar, with squarish rim, of coarse grey slightly micaceous fabric with flint temper; slight offset at base of neck and groove round upper body.

41. A bowl of grey fabric with black micaceous slip, burnished inside rim and on exterior, and with a ridge on the shoulder.

42. A jar of grey slightly micaceous fabric, burnished on outside of rim and neck; row of irregular depressions between two grooves on shoulder.

43. A jar, with turned over rim, of white fabric with orange-brown colour coat.

44. A jar, with squarish rim, of orange micaceous fabric with orange red slip; incised pattern on neck is beneath slip.

45. A bowl of orange fabric with a brown slightly micaceous slip and rouletted decoration on shoulder.

46. A jar of coarse grey slightly micaceous fabric, burnished only on inside of rim and outside of neck.

47. A jar of grey slightly micaceous fabric, burnished on inside of rim and outside of neck and upper body.

48. A jar of grey slightly micaceous fabric, burnished inside and outside of rim and on exterior surface.

49. A jar of hard red fabric, burnished inside rim and on exterior of body and with burnished bands around the neck.

50. A jar of orange slightly micaceous fabric.

51. A vessel of buff fabric coated in brown slip with a decoration of orange slip.

52. A 'dog' dish of off-white fabric with fine flint and tile temper and coated with orange-brown slip.

53. A basin of grey fabric, burnished on internal and external surfaces.

54. A dish of grey fabric, burnished on internal and external surfaces.

55. A dish of black micaceous fabric with slightly flanged rim with decoration of oval depressions.

56. A dish, with a flanged rim, of brown micaceous fabric with a black surface, burnished on internal and external surfaces.

57. A dish, with flanged rim, of brown micaceous fabric with a black surface, burnished on flange and with two burnished bands around body.

58. A dish, with a squarish flanged rim, of shell-tempered fabric with a black outer and red inner surface.

59. A bowl of black shell-tempered fabric with the exterior fired brown.

60. A hemispherical bowl of pale buff fabric with a black slip decoration on the flange, possibly imitating Samian Ware Form Curle 11.

61. A hemispherical bowl of grey micaceous fabric with the surface fired red-brown and a white slip decoration on the flange. Also possibly an imitation of Samian Ware Form Curle 11.

62. A mortarium of buff fabric with coloured

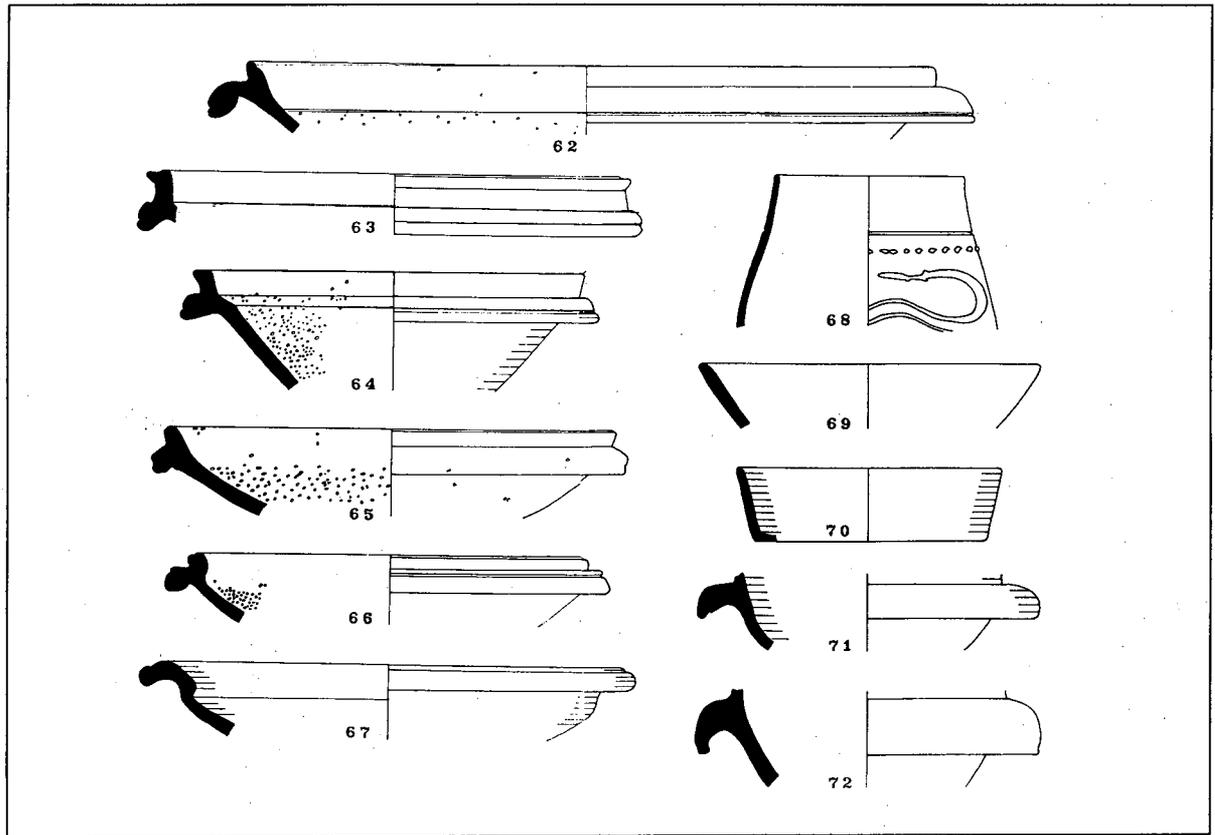


Figure 17. Pottery of the late period of occupation of Site B (4th century AD). $\times 1/4$.

grit.

63. A mortarium of buff micaceous fabric with coloured grit.

64. A mortarium of orange fabric with coloured grit, burnished on lower half of flange and exterior of body.

65. A mortarium of buff fabric with a cream slip on rim and inner surface, coloured grit.

66. A mortarium of buff fabric with coloured grit.

67. A bowl of orange-brown slightly micaceous fabric, burnished inside and out.

68. A beaker of pale buff fabric, brown metallic slip inside and orange brown slip over the applied decoration on outside and with a single horizontal groove at base of neck.

69. A dish of grey micaceous fabric with a black surface.

70. A 'dog' dish of black slightly micaceous fabric, burnished on all surfaces.

71. A flanged bowl of orange fabric, burnished inside, on outside of rim and on flange. Possibly an imitation of Samian Form 38 or Curle 11.

72. A bowl of orange micaceous fabric with a very large flange.

Appendix 2. The Small Finds

Copper Alloy (Figs. 18-23)

- 1-5. Brooches, type 10 Nauheim derivatives.
- 6-12. Brooches, type 11 Nauheim derivatives.
- 13-18. Brooches, Nauheim derivatives.
19. Brooch pin, Nauheim derivative.
- 20-24. Brooches, type 92 Colchester B.
25. Brooch, intermediate Colchester B and BB types.
- 26-34. Brooches, type 93 Colchester BB.
35. Trumpet brooch, cf. Hattatt 433.
36. Polden Hill brooch.
37. Knee brooch.
38. Knee brooch bow fragment.
39. Brooch bow fragment.
40. Disc brooch, enamelled.
41. Disc brooch.
42. Penannular brooch.
43. Penannular brooch, cf. Hattatt 653.
44. Brooch spring fragment.
- 45-7. Brooch pin fragments.
- 48-53. Finger rings.
- 54-6. Finger ring fragments.
57. Finger ring?

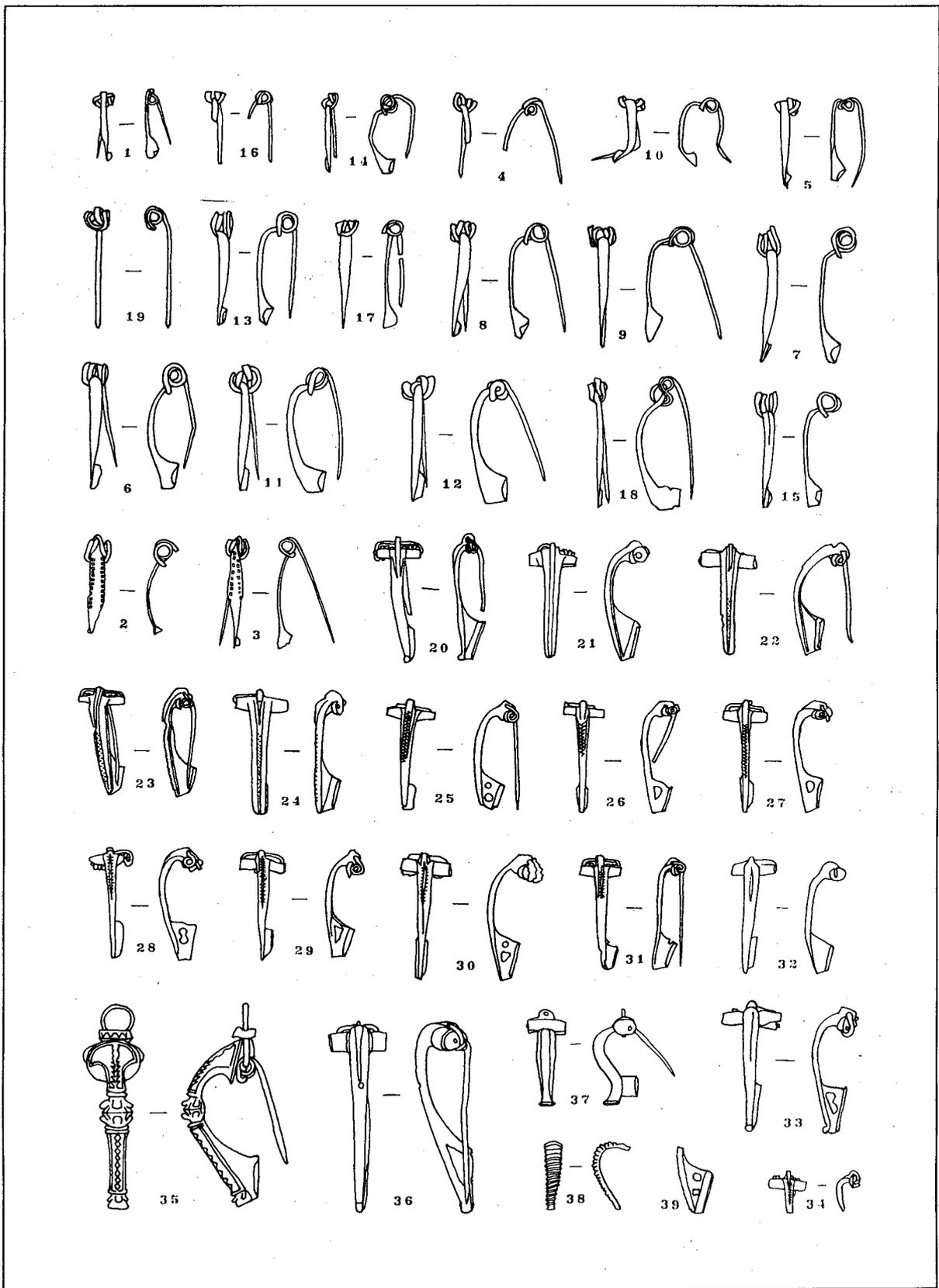


Figure 18. Objects of copper alloy. $\times \frac{1}{2}$.

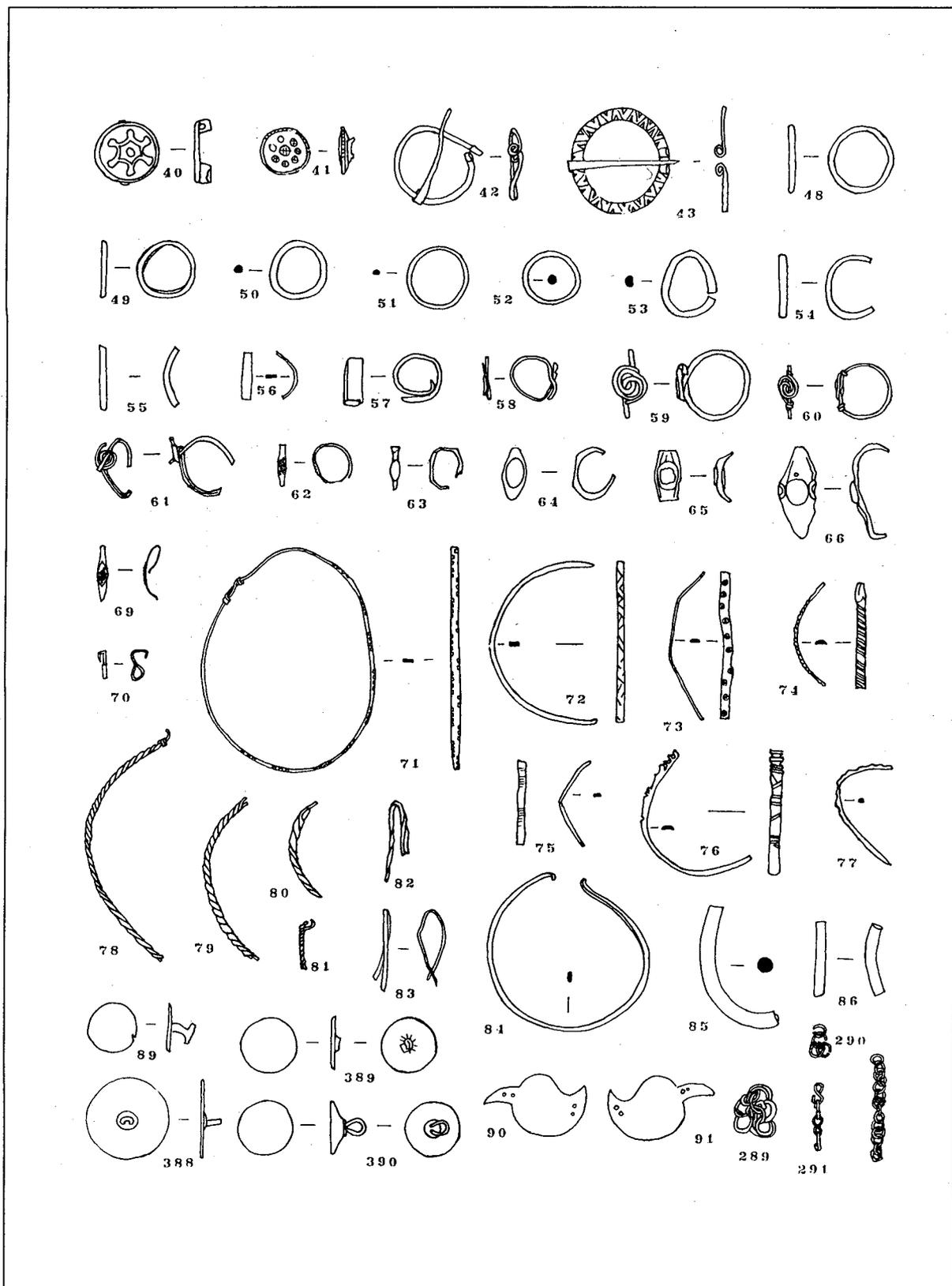


Figure 19. Objects of copper alloy. $\times 1/2$.

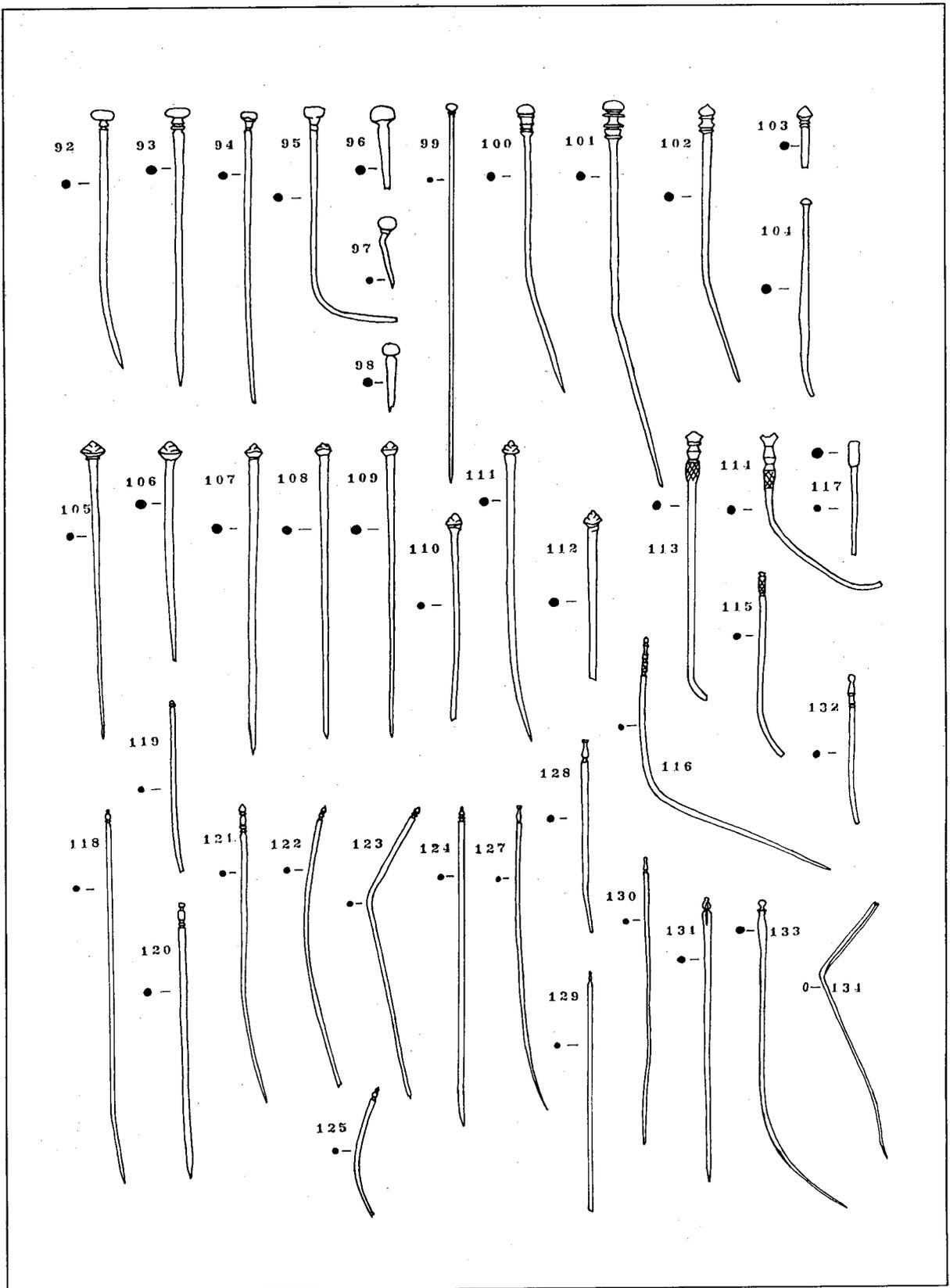


Figure 20. Objects of copper alloy. $\times 1/2$.

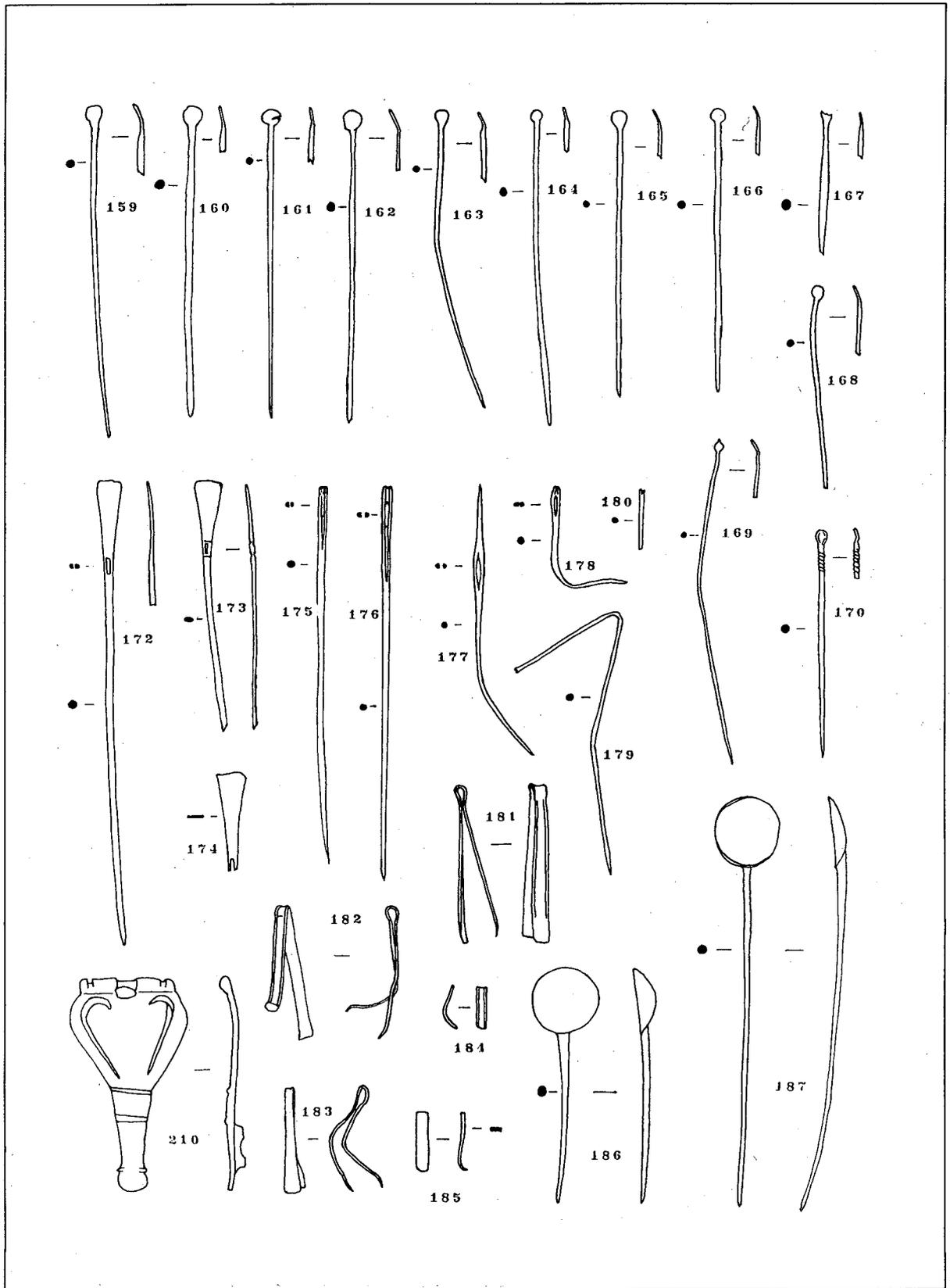


Figure 21. Objects of copper alloy. $\times 1/2$.

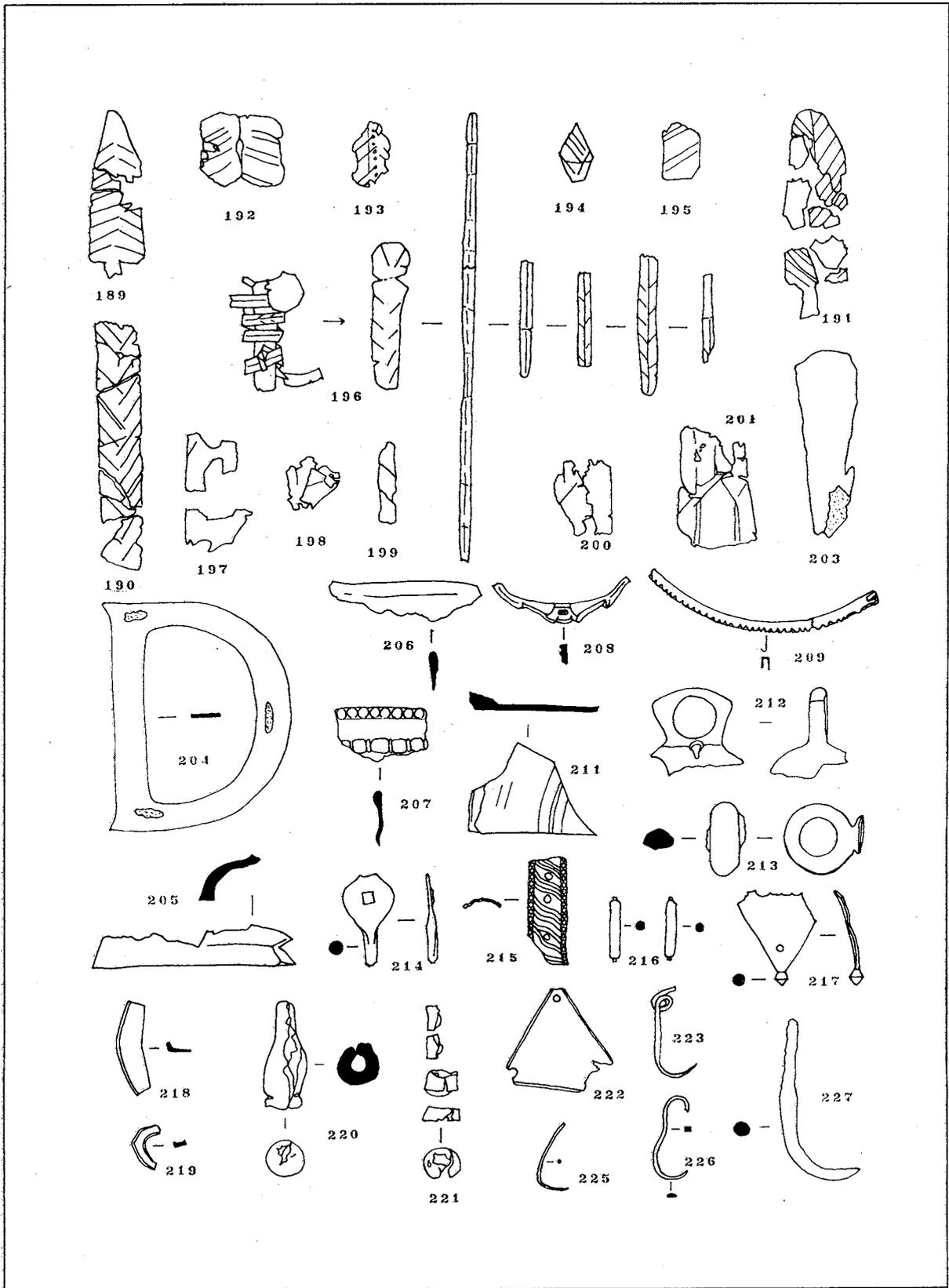


Figure 22. Objects of copper alloy. $\times 1/2$.

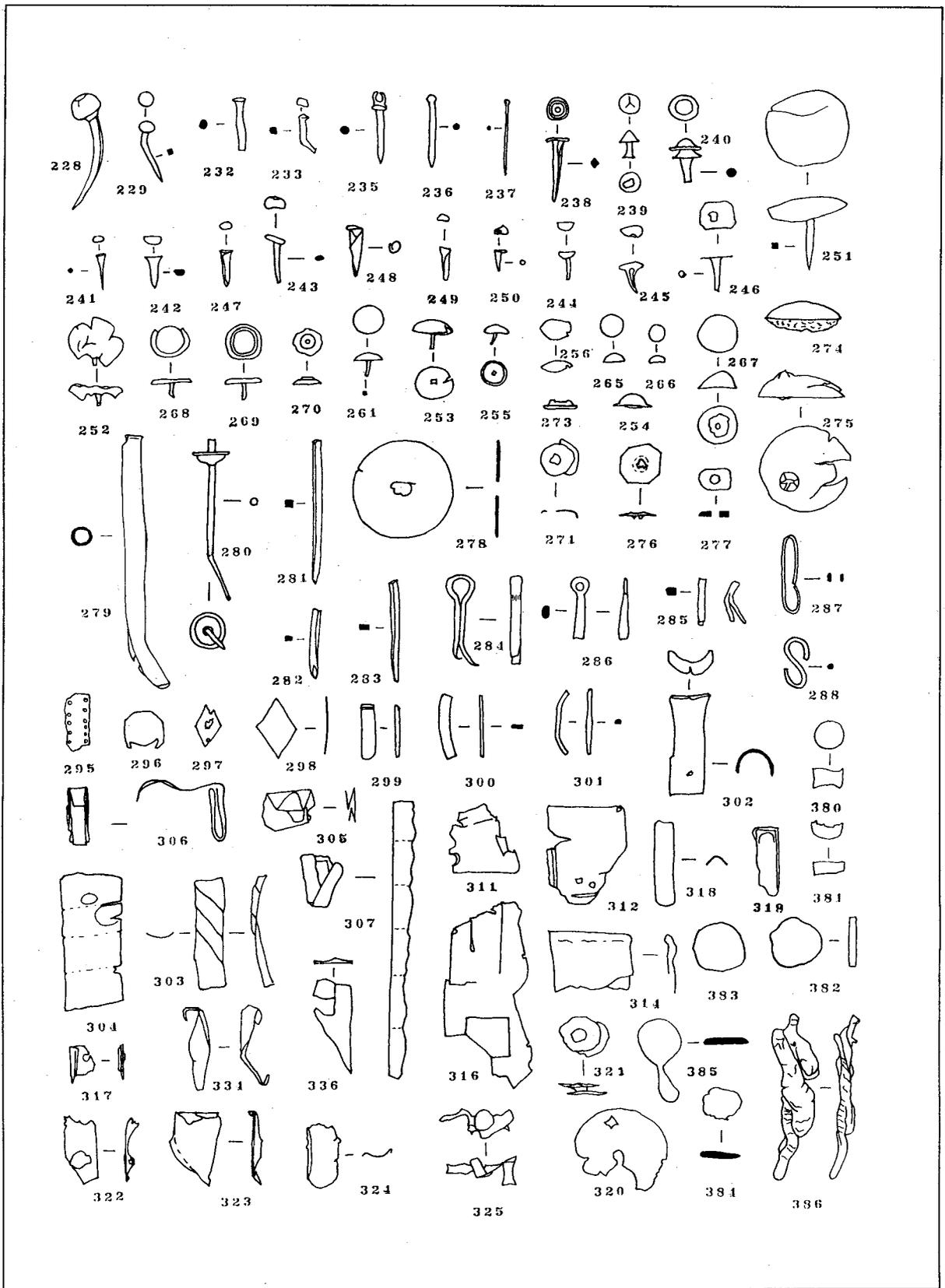


Figure 23. Objects of copper alloy. $\times 1/2$.

- 58-62. Finger rings.
63-8. Finger ring fragments.
69-70. Earrings for pierced ears.
71. Armlet.
72-82. Armlet fragments.
83. Armlet(?) fragment.
84. Armlet.
85-8. Armlet fragments.
89. Button.
90-91. 'Birds'.
92-158. Hair pins and hair pin fragments.
159-71. Toilet spoons and toilet spoon fragments.
172-4. Needles (styli?), Colchester Type 1.
175-6. Needles, Colchester Type 3.
177-80. Needles.
181-3. Tweezers.
184-5. Tweezer fragments.
186-7. Spoons, white metal coated.
188-88a. Spoon handle fragments.
189. Votive feather.
190. Strip with feather pattern.
191. Votive feather fragments (silver).
192-202. Votive feather fragments.
203. 'Leaf' with patch of solder at base.
204. Letter D, three soldered attachment points at rear.
205. Fragment of a base.
206-7. Rim fragments.
208. Curved handle?
209. Edging with serrated edges, two fragments.
210. Seal box lid.
211. Fragment of a base.
212. Bell fragment.
213. Circular handle.
214. Fitment fragment.
215. Strip, curved with pattern of wavy lines and dots along edge.
216. Two hinge pins?
217. Fitment fragment.
218. Flat object, angular inner edge, curved flanged outer edge.
219. Flat curved object with raised edges.
220. Plumb bob.
221. Plumb bob?
222. Flat triangular weaving plate with one corner missing.
223-4. Fishing hooks with loop for attaching line.
225. Fishing hook.
226. Hook, flat in section, with loop.
227. Hook.
228. Nail with hemi-spherical head.
229-31. Nails with spherical heads.
232. Nail?
233 & 236. Nails.
234. Nail fragment.
235. Pin, ring head with flange beneath.
237. Dressmaker's pin.
238 & 241-6. Tacks.
239 & 247-50. Rivets.
240. Upholstery nail, iron with copper alloy dome-shaped head.
251-65. Dome headed upholstery nails.
266. Dome head of nail?
267. Dome upholstery nail head with lead filling.
268-9. 'Drawing' pins.
270-71. 'Drawing' pin heads.
272. Dome-shaped head with upturned rim.
273. Upholstery nail with mortar filled dome head.
274. Upholstery nail with lead filled dome head.
275. Octagonal washer or nail head.
276. Washer.
277. Disc.
278. Tube with longitudinal seam and slight flange at one end.
279. Tapered tube, with conical washer.
280-82. Tapered bars, rectangular in section.
283-4. Split pins.
285. Bar fragment.
286. Strip bent to form oval ring.
287. S-shaped hook or link.
288. Chain fabric, corroded lump of circular links.
289. Links of chain material.
290. Chain fragment, S-shaped flat section links.
291. Chain fragment, circular links.
292-3. Chain links.
294. Strip with repoussé decoration of dots.
295. Disc with two curved projections.
296-7. Lozenges.
298. Small flat bar with groove across one end.
299. Small curved strip.
300. Small angled bar.
301. Tube fragment with outward turned end.
302. Strip, slight lateral and longitudinal curvature and two diagonal grooves.
303-11. Folded strips.
312. Sheet fragment, folded, groove along two edges, appears to be cut from large sheet.
313-15. Folded sheet fragments.
316. Sheet fragment, with cuts and folds; a grey alloy.
317. Fragment with notch; found with tooth in notch.
318. Strip, U-shaped in section.
319. Corner fragment of box fitting?
320. ?Circular key hole plate with 8-shaped key hole.
321. Two circular fragments joined by a rivet.
322 & 325. Fragments with rivets.
323. Fragment with curved turned down edge.
324. Fragment, curved in section with folded over edges.
326-35. Sheet fragments.
336. Ridged fragment.

- 337-43. Strip fragments.
 344. Several sheet fragments riveted together.
 345. Sheet fragment with nail hole.
 346. Fragment with nail hole.
 347. Curved flat fragment.
 348-71. Fragments.
 372. Wire loop.
 373. Twisted length of wire with loop at one end.
 374. Wire fragment.
 375. Thin roughly cut oval disc.
 378. Tube fragment with spiral groove.
 379. Oval disc.
 380 & 382. Weights, 3.2 g and 3.8 g.
 381. Weight fragment.
 383-4. ?Weights.
 385. Solidified molten droplet.
 386. Solidified molten fragment.
 387. Quantity of scrap.

White metal

388. Blazer type button.
 389-90. Blazer type buttons, probably modern.
 391. Bullet, spherical, probably modern.
 392. Strip with one rounded end.
 393. Strip fragment.
 394. Three sheet fragments (base silver?).
 395. Triangular fragment.

Lead (Fig. 24)

396. Ingot, incisions on one side.
 397. ?Amulet, trace of motif on both sides.

- 398-9. Weights, 69.2 g and 8 g.
 400. Bullet, probably modern.
 401. Rough disc.
 402. Folded sheet.
 403. Spoon bowl fragment.
 404. Oval ring with external lug, possibly a harness fitting.
 405. Finger ring.

Iron (Figs. 25 & 26)

406. Knife with bone handle.
 407-8. Knives.
 409. Knife or spear head.
 410-22. Knives.
 423. Knife/strigil?.
 424-7. Styli.
 428. Hair pin.
 429. Brooch, Nauheim derivative?
 430-31. Flesh hooks.
 432-3. Ladles.
 434. Implement with socket for haft.
 435. Punch.
 436. Chisel.
 437. Wood chisel?
 438. Chisel?
 439. Implement?
 440. Wedge.
 441. Chisel.
 442. Finger ring with blue-grey stone.
 443-44. Boot nails.
 445. Arrow head.
 446. Knife or spear head.

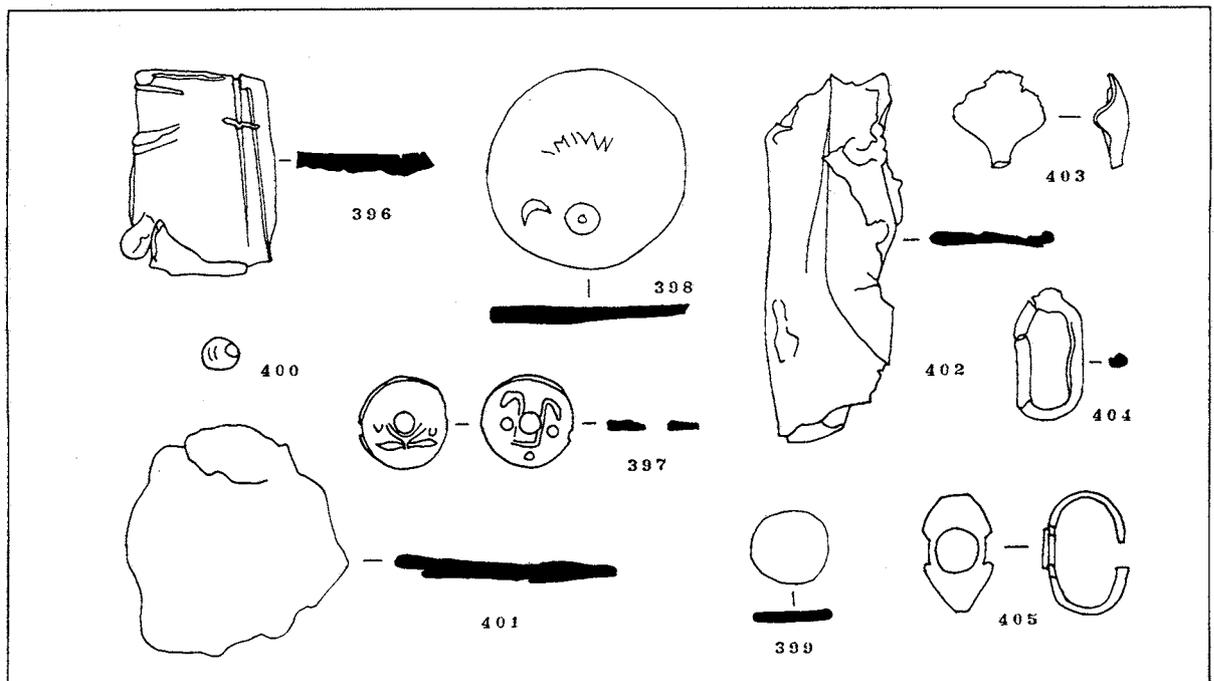


Figure 24. Objects of lead. $\times 1/2$.

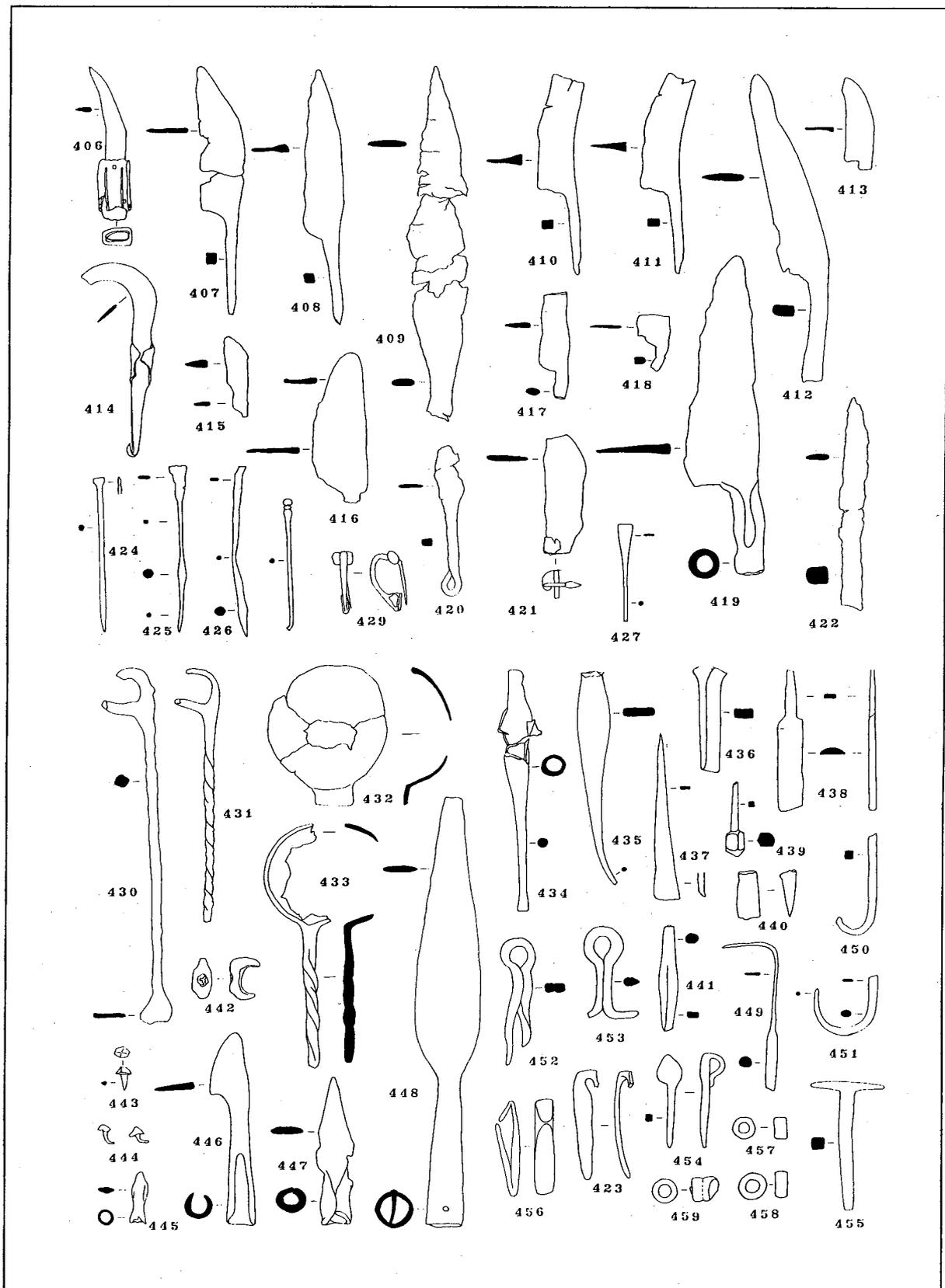


Figure 25. Objects of iron. $\times 1/4$.

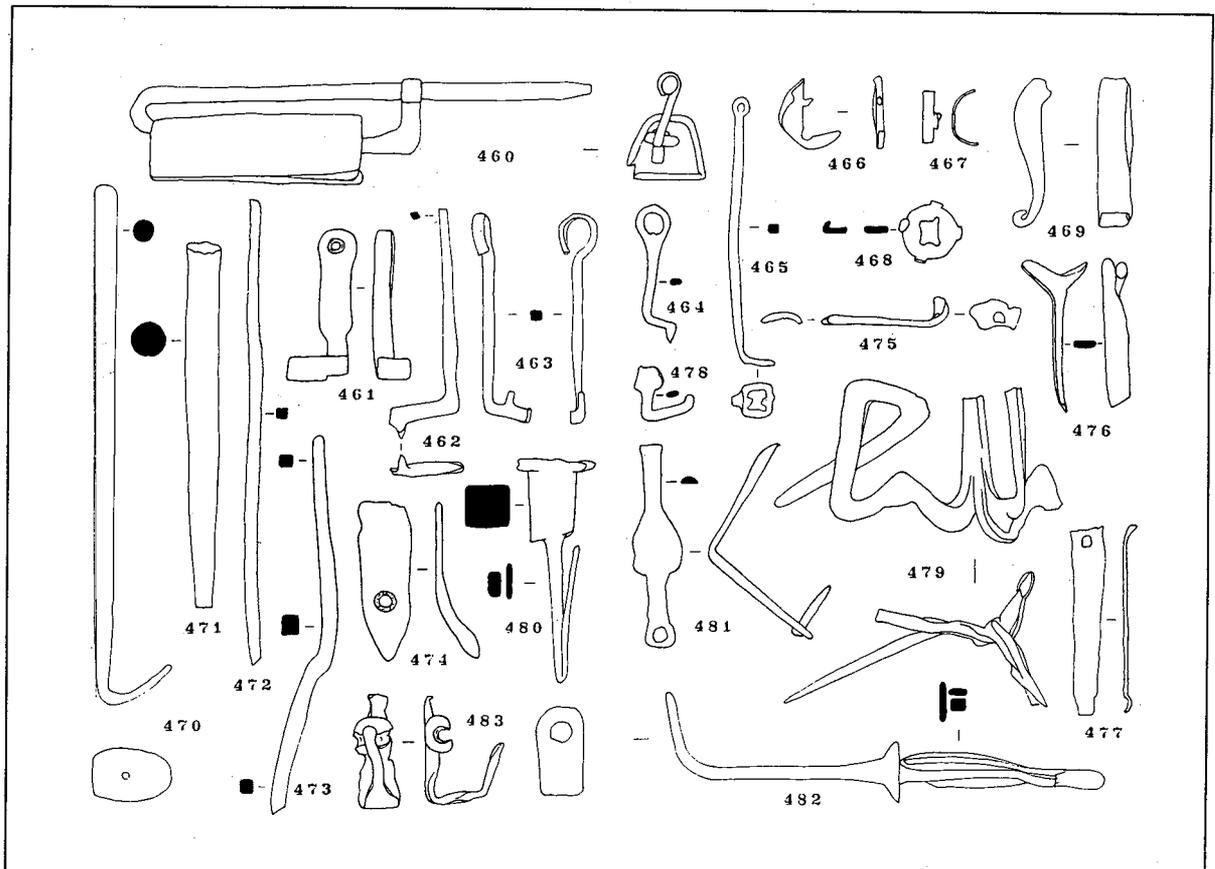


Figure 26. Objects of iron. $\times 1/4$.

- 447-8. Spear heads.
- 449. Strigil.
- 450-51. Hooks.
- 452-3. Split pins.
- 454. Pin, tapered.
- 455. Linch pin or large nail.
- 456. Strap.
- 457-9. Ferrules.
- 460. Lock.
- 461. Tumbler lock slide key.
- 462. Key?
- 463 & 465. Tumbler lock keys.
- 464. Lever lock key.
- 466. Lock or key fragment?
- 467. Curved strip with lug
- 468. Locking washer?
- 469. Handle fragment.
- 470-73. Bars.
- 474. Strap with hole.
- 475. Strip, bent end with hole.
- 476. Y-shaped object.
- 477. Slightly tapering strip (hinge?).
- 478. Hook fragment?
- 479. Object with four arms, three broken.
- 480. Wall nail, square, sprung reflexed point to prevent withdrawal.

- 481. Corner fitting, right angles, possibly for a box.
- 482. Barrel-lock bolt and spring.
- 483. Hook?
- 484. Y-shaped fragment.

Bone (Fig. 27)

- 485-8. Hair pins, Colchester type 1.
- 489-97. Hair pins, Colchester type 2.
- 498-501. Hair pin fragments with head missing.
- 502. Hair pin, Colchester type 2 extreme form?
- 503. Hair pin, Colchester type 2, dyed green.
- 504. Hair pin, Colchester type 5.
- 505-7. Hair pin fragments, Colchester type 3.
- 508. Hair pin, Colchester type 4.
- 509-11. Hair pin fragments.
- 512. Hair pin.
- 513-24. Hair pin fragments.
- 525. Spoon.
- 526. Needle fragment, Colchester type 1, dyed green.
- 527-8. Needle fragments, Colchester type 2.
- 529-32. Needle fragments.
- 533. Whistle.

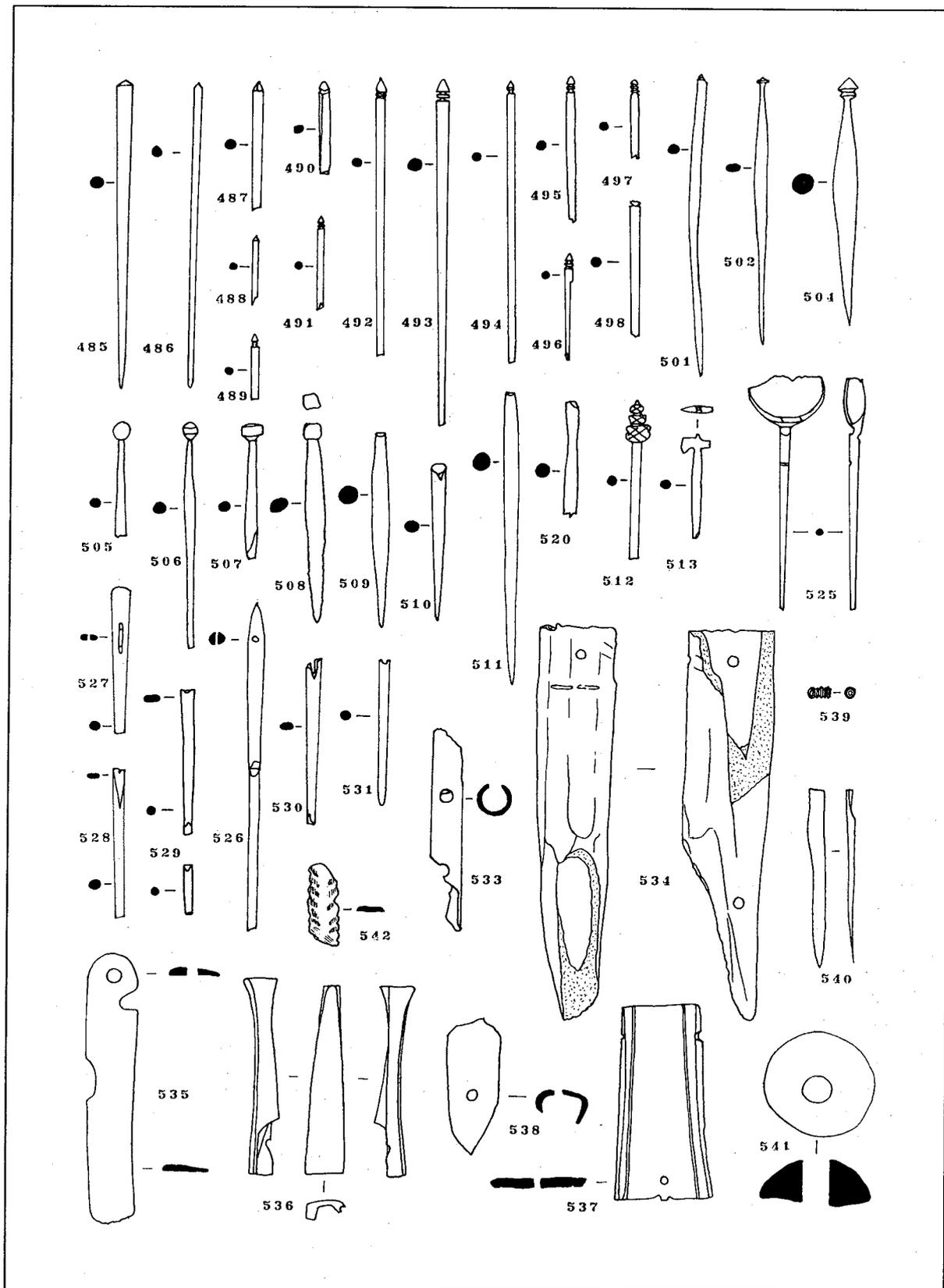


Figure 27. Objects of bone. $\times 1/2$.

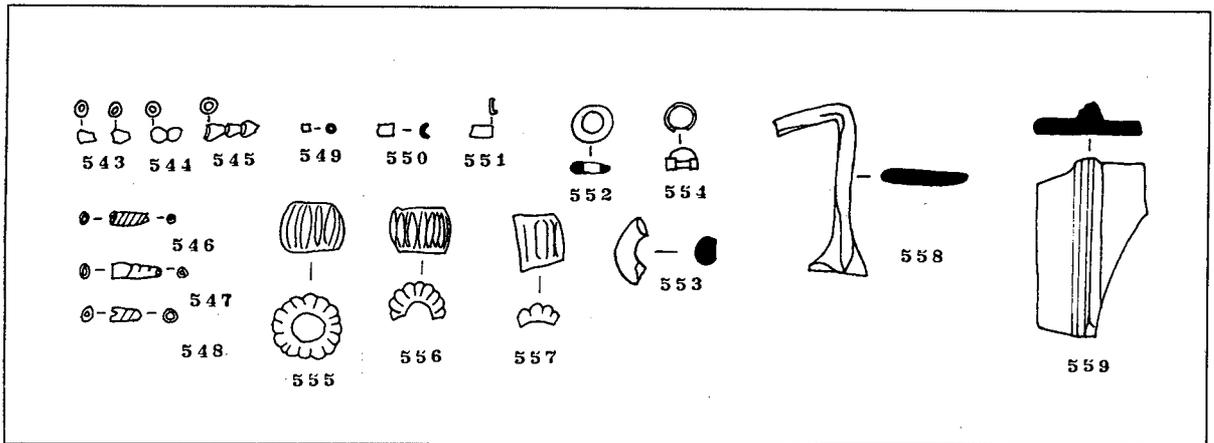


Figure 28. Objects of glass. $\times 1/2$.

534. ?Tool.
 535-6. Knife handles.
 537. Handle, one side only.
 538. ?Handle fragment.
 539. Small reel.
 540. Shaped sliver.
 541. Spindle whorl, made from head of femur or humerus.
 542. Mother of pearl 'feather' fragment.

Glass (Fig. 28)

543. Two small tapered cylindrical green beads.
 544. Double tapered cylindrical green bead.
 545. Triple tapered cylindrical green bead.
 546-8. Cylindrical green beads.
 549-50. Translucent green beads.
 551. Square green bead fragment.
 552. Annular translucent green bead.
 553. Annular bead fragment.
 554. Piece of jewellery, translucent green glass stone set on a clay disc and encased by a copper alloy band.
 555-7. Turquoise frit melon beads.
 558. Slightly frosted clear handle.
 559. Clear pale green handle fragment.
 560. Clear fragments.
 561. Dark blue fragments.

Stone (Fig. 29)

562. Jet finger ring.
 563-75. Shale armlet fragments.
 576. Gaming counters: three white quartzite, one pale grey quartzite, one black quartzite, one dark blue glass; found embedded in a lump of heated iron.
 577. Spindle whorl, chalk.
 578. ?Spindle whorl, clay disc.

- 579-87. Hone fragments.
 588. Clay marble.
 589. Flint knife with saw-tooth cutting edge.
 590. Flint backed blade.
 591. Flint burin.
 592-3. Flint points.
 594. Flint scraper.
 595-7. Flint blade fragments.
 598. Flint spear point.

Not illustrated:

599. Quern, puddingstone, hemispherical upper stone fragment.
 600. Quern, grey lava, lower stone fragment.
 601. Quern, white micaceous millstone grit, lower stone fragments
 602. Quern, grey millstone grit, two upper? stone fragments.
 603. Quern, pink millstone grit, small fragment.

Pottery (Not illustrated)

604. Spindle whorl, made from pot base of buff fabric.
 605. Spindle whorl, broken, made from pot base of black fabric.
 606. Spindle whorl, made from pot base of grey fabric.
 607. Spindle whorl, broken, made of red tile.
 608. Gaming counter, base of orange-buff fabric pot.
 609. Gaming counter, broken, base of orange-buff fabric pot.
 610. Gaming counter, pot base, buff fabric with brown colour coat.
 611. Gaming counter, brown fabric pot base.
 612. Gaming counter, black fabric pot base.
 613-14. Gaming counters, grey fabric pot bases.
 615. Loom weight, cut from tile.

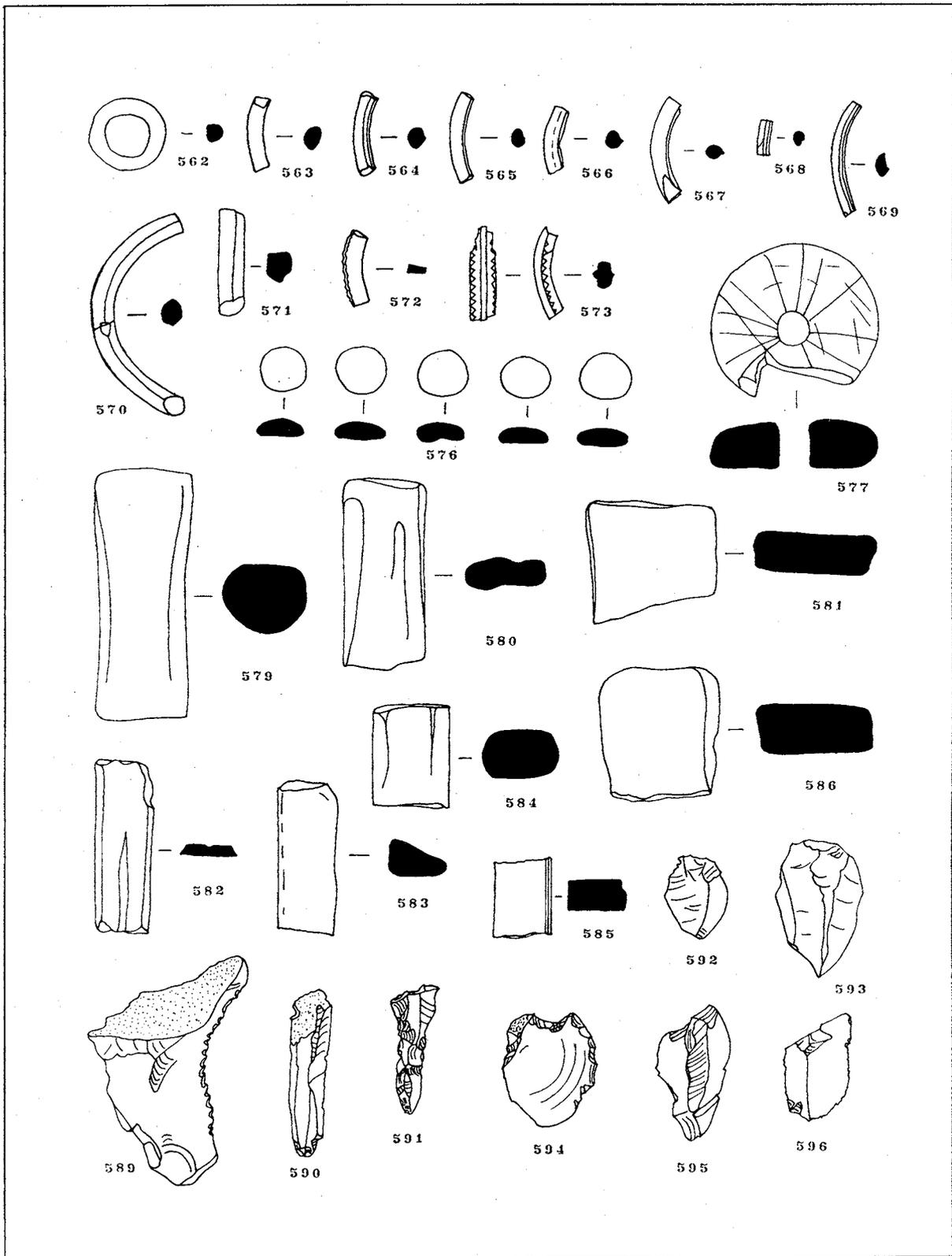


Figure 29. Objects of stone. $\times 1/2$.

Appendix 3. Building Material

A considerable amount of building material was present around the area of the temple and the ancillary building. With the exception of a few items from the fill of the Ancillary building it consisted of small fragments.

The building tiles were of two sizes; square ones, 19.5 × 19.5 cm, these were of two qualities, good square ones with a thickness of 3.5 cm, and thinner 2.5 cm thick ones with less straight sides, usually concave; and rectangular ones with double the length (*bipedalae*). Only one complete *tegula* tile was found, this was 44 cm long and 30 cm wide with notched corners at one end to facilitate overlapping. Several fragments with notches were found but the notches were frequently of different configuration. Some fragments had a central nail hole at one end, presumably to allow fixing to the rafters. Several fragments of *imbrex* were also found; these were generally slightly pointed in section and were tapered to allow overlapping. One similar tile fragment was semi-circular in section, wider and showed no evidence of taper, which may suggest that it was a ridge tile. A single fragment of a tile that was S-shaped in section was also found.

A number of herringbone floor tiles and tile fragments were found although there was no evidence of the presence of a herringbone floor from these or previous excavations. These tiles

were 12 cm long and 3 × 3 cm or 3 × 2.5 cm square. Many *tesserae* were present on the site and it is known from the original excavation of the temple that a mosaic floor existed. The *tesserae* were predominantly of red tile, but dark stone and white chalk ones were also found. They were all approximately 2.5 × 3 cm square and mostly 2 cm thick although a few were only 1 cm thick.

A number of sawn chalk blocks were found in association with the ancillary building. They varied slightly in size. They were approximately 20 cm long and were tapered; their larger ends being for example 6 × 12 cm, 6 × 10 cm and 7.5 × 11.5 cm, and their smaller ends being 2 cm narrower in one dimension e.g. the block with a large end of 6 × 12 cm was 6 × 10 cm at the narrow end.

A number of the tile fragments carried imprints. One *tegula* fragment had a 6-cm-wide and 8-cm-long human handprint. Another had the imprint of a studded boot, with a curved outer row of stud marks and two inner longitudinal rows. There were two fragments with cat paw prints, both with the claws extended. Ten examples of dog paw prints and three goat hoof prints were also found.

Perhaps the most interesting item was a number of fragments of a tile with the inscription TERTIOLVS VENEDVS (Fig. 30).

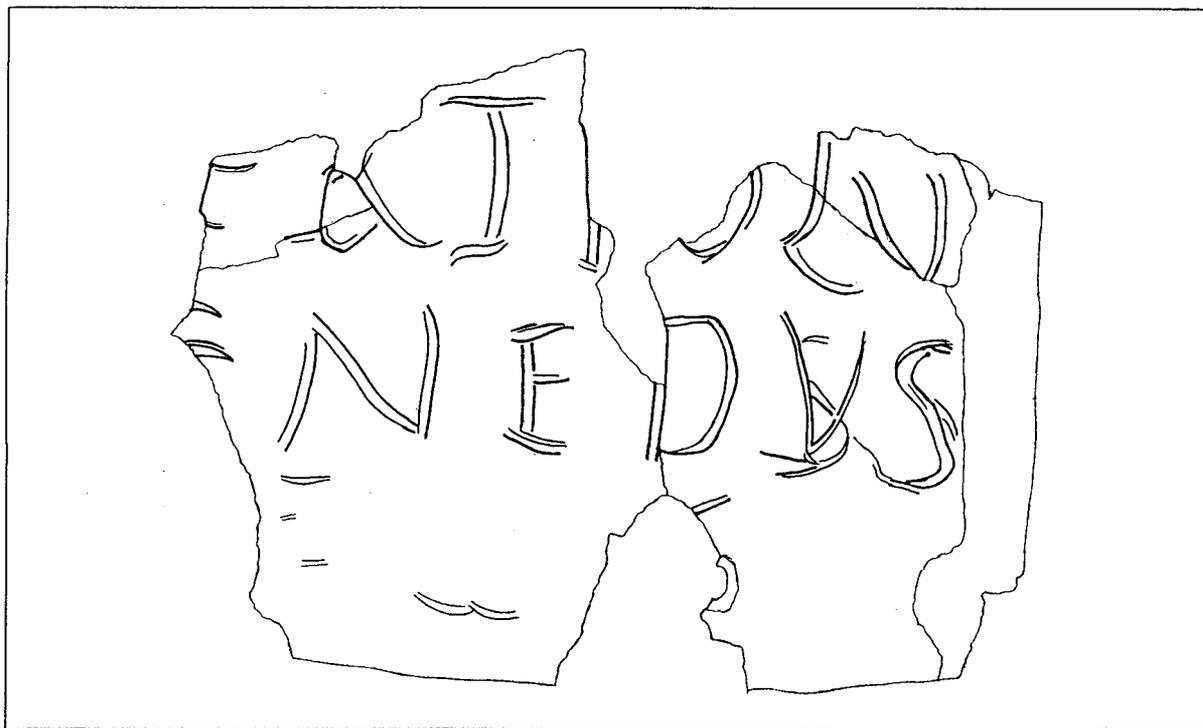


Figure 30. Tile with inscription: TERTIOLVS VENEDVS.

Site B produced two approximately 19 cm diameter circular tiles. These had been cut from c. 19 × 19 cm square tiles; one had a tapered pit c. 4 cm diameter and c. 1.5 cm deep cut into the centre on each side; the other had a slight central depression on one surface. Were these components of a cylindrical column?

A single fragment of a box flue tile was also found on Site B.

Acknowledgements

On behalf of the Great Chesterford Archaeology Group I wish to thank Hinxton Estates, the landowners, for their kind permission to excavate the site. Special thanks are due to Messrs William and Gavin Hamilton, the tenant farmers, for their tolerance and not inconsiderable help during the several years of the excavations. Valuable encouragement and support was provided by the Archaeology Section of Essex County Council Planning Department. Last, but by no means least, I would like to thank those members of the Gt Chesterford Archaeology group who partici-

pated in the excavations — especially my wife Mary — without them none of this would have been possible.

All of the finds have been deposited with the Saffron Walden Museum, Essex.

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Land Tenure in Cambridgeshire on the Eve of the Norman Conquest

Cyril Hart

In a monograph entitled *The Hidation of Cambridgeshire* published in 1974, I used the Cambridgeshire section of Domesday Book (DB Cambs) and its satellites the *Inquisitio Comitatu Cantabrigiensis* (ICC) and the *Inquisitio Eliensis* (IE) to reconstruct the assessment of the shire for geld (taxation) and other public burdens hundred by hundred and vill by vill as it stood in 1086. This was compared with the assessment as it stood in 1066, and a sequence was suggested for the evolution of Cambridgeshire's cadastre during the two centuries preceding the Norman Conquest. When this early study was undertaken the only convenient method of identifying each of the individual estate holdings in any particular vill was to supply the name of its tenant-in-chief in 1086, at the time of the Domesday Survey (TRW). As we shall see, a more sophisticated system of identification is now available, using the Phillimore edition of Domesday.

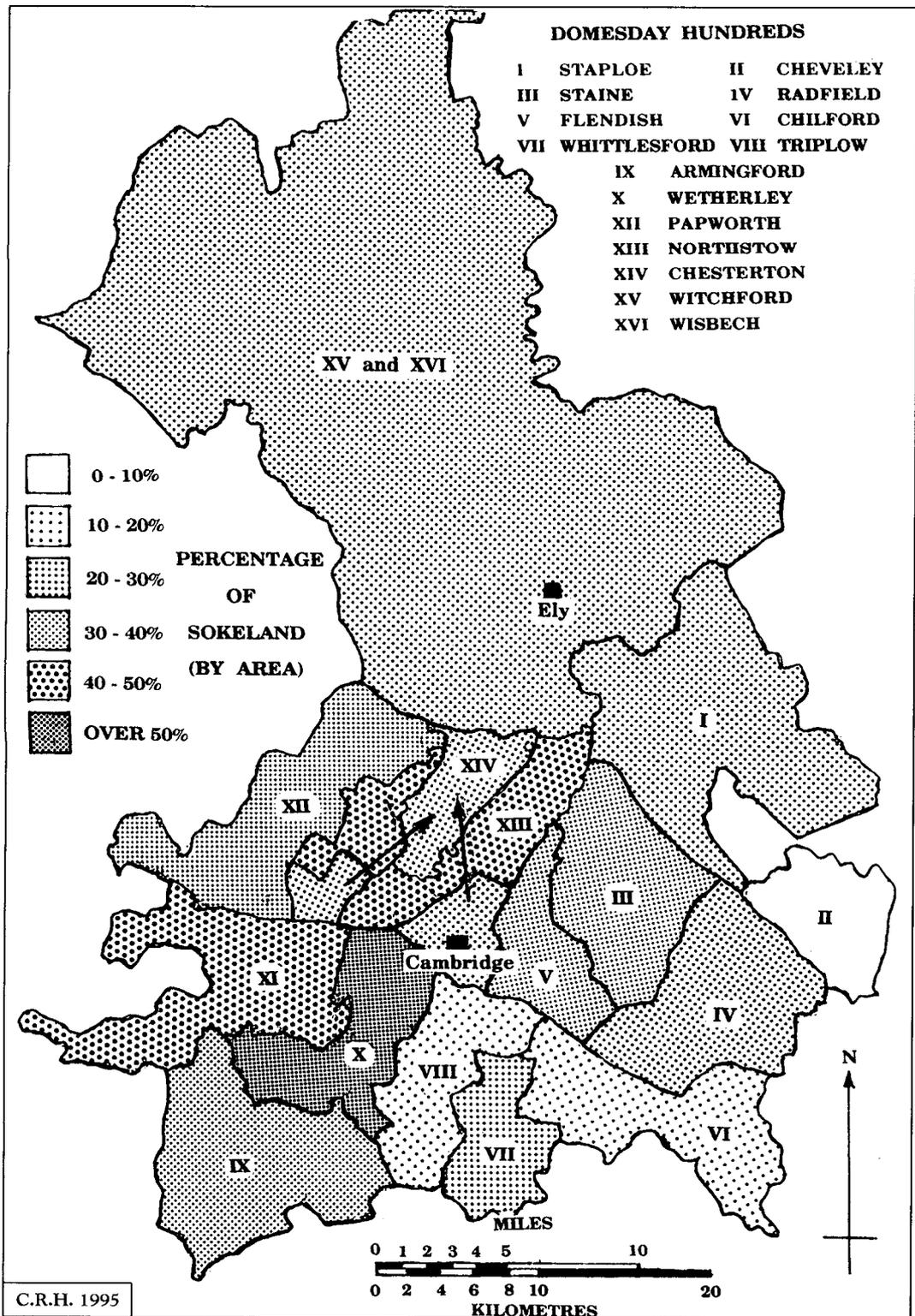
A few factual details in the 1974 monograph stand in need of revision — particularly those concerning the DB ploughland figures — but the bulk of its argument is still valid. At that time, however, I had not appreciated to the full that sufficient information survives in these selfsame sources to go still further, and to list in detail the Cambridgeshire landholdings and their tenants in each vill as they existed in 1066, on the eve of the Norman Conquest (TRE). This exercise has been attempted in the present study, in which the individual holdings are identified according to the numbers assigned to them in the Phillimore edition of the Cambridgeshire Domesday, subdivided where necessary by the addition of letters of the alphabet. Wherever possible the previous history of particular landholdings has been provided in footnotes. Tables for the whole

shire, constructed on this basis, are printed below as an Appendix to this paper.

With the aid of these two studies, readers can now compare the patterns of land tenure in 1066 and 1086 vill by vill and they will find that the differences are substantial. The most obvious change lies in the amount of sokeland (land held and farmed by sokemen), a form of tenure which became markedly less common in Cambridgeshire between the Norman Conquest and the time of the Domesday Survey and which disappeared almost completely soon afterwards. The main purpose of the present study is to report the results of a detailed investigation of this phenomenon.

The tables and footnotes in the Appendix enable us, I will argue, to get a glimpse of the pattern of land tenure which had been established by the Danes at the time of their settlement of Cambridgeshire in or soon after AD 870. True, this had been vastly altered by the time of King Edward the Confessor, nearly two centuries later, but sufficient evidence remains of the original structure for us to be able to make a reasoned judgement of the impact of the Danes.

I would not claim that the Cambridgeshire sokeland in the time of the Confessor remained wholly in the possession of descendants of the Danish settlers. Obviously by then the English and Danish elements in the population had become inextricably mixed by intermarriage. What I would aver, however, is that sokeland tenures were introduced by the Danes at the time of their settlement, and that substantial remnants of such tenures survived in Cambridgeshire until the time of the Norman Conquest. Manorialisation both before and after the coming of the Normans proved destructive to the free tenure of sokeland, but the strip



Map 1. Cambridgeshire Hundreds: percentage of sokeland in 1066.

cultivation of open fields, which characterised arable farming in Cambridgeshire on the eve of the Conquest, was not destroyed. Instead, the social organisation of this form of cultivation was redirected to serve the needs of the developing feudal system, control of ploughing operations and other details of the agrarian economy having passed from the sokemen into the hands of reeves appointed by the new landlords to preside over the manorial courts.

Armed with this preliminary information, we can now proceed to examine the overall statistics of sokeland tenure in Cambridgeshire TRE (Tables 1 & 2). We find that Domesday and its satellites record the existence of 932 sokemen in Cambridgeshire on the eve of the Norman Conquest. Their numbers varied greatly according to locality, from none at all in Cheveley Hundred to as many as 132 in Wetherley Hundred. The precise amount of sokeland as a percentage of the total arable in each hundred in 1066 cannot be ascertained, but a good approximation may be achieved from the figures for geld acres (nominal units of taxation), which show that just before the arrival of the Normans the proportion of sokeland varied from 0% of the total arable in Cheveley Hundred to 61% in Wetherley Hundred, the percentage of sokeland for the whole shire being 30% — nearly one third of the total geldable land then under the plough (Map 1).

Table 2 shows that TRE the lordship of Cambridgeshire sokemen was concentrated

overwhelmingly in the hands of four major landowners — the king, the earls of East Anglia (held in succession by Ælfgar, Gyrrh and Harold during the later years of the Confessor's reign), Ely Abbey and the mysterious Edeva the Fair. Between them these lords held the commendation of over six times as many sokemen as all the rest of the Cambridgeshire landlords put together.

The Origin of Cambridgeshire Sokes and Sokemen

For well over a century now, the origin of sokeland tenure has been a matter of controversy between English historians. Strangely enough, the debate started in Scotland as long ago as 1862, when E.W. Robertson in his *Scotland under her Early Kings* noted that in England, what he called 'free socage' was limited to the Danelaw. In his great book *The English Village Community*, dated 1883, F. Seebohm printed a map which showed for the first time the concentration of Domesday sokemen (that is, in 1086) within this area, to the virtual exclusion of all other parts of England. Another of his maps showed that by contrast, the Domesday slaves were most numerous in the West of England and particularly in Wessex. In 1897, F.W. Maitland in his even greater book *Domesday and Beyond* investigated for the first time the incidence of sokeland holdings in Cambridgeshire on the eve of the Norman Conquest. Drawing attention to the large

Table 1. Cambridgeshire sokemen TRE — overall statistics.
(Use with Map 1).

Domesday Hundreds	Sokemen numbers	Geld Acres		Percentage sokeland total arable (approx.)	Geld Acres per sokeman (approx.)
		total arable (approx.)	sokeland (approx.)		
I STAPLOE	42	10,800	2360	21.9	56.2
II CHEVELEY	0	6000	0	0	0
III STANE	45	6000	1840	30.7	40.9
IV RADFIELD	61	8400	1735	20.7	28.0
V FLENDISH	48	5520	2000	36.2	41.6
VI CHILFORD	31	6120	1006	16.4	32.5
VII WHITTLESFORD	37	9600	2775	28.9	75.0
VIII THRIFLOW	41	10,800	1429	13.2	34.9
IX ARMINGFORD	114	12,000	4212	37.0	35.1
X WETHERLEY	132	9600	5863	61.0	44.4
XI LONGSTOW	116	12,000	5520	47.6	46.0
XII PAPWORTH	80	12,000	3745	31.2	46.8
XIII NORTHSTOW	84	13,320	6610	49.6	78.9
XIV CHESTERTON	38	14,400	3000	20.8	78.9
XV ELY I (WITCHFORD)	21	4800	825	17.2	39.9
XVI ELY II (WISBECH)	42	4800	975	23.2	23.2
TOTALS	932	146,160	43,895	30.0	47.1

Table 2. *Lords of sokes and their sokemen in Cambridgeshire TRE.*

Lord of Soke	Number of Sokemen
King Edward	338
Ely Abbey	204
Edeva the Fair	142
Earl Ælfgar	74
Earl Waltheof	22
Abp Stigand	20
Ulf Fenisc	18
Ramsey Abbey	15
Earl Harold	14
Thorbert	12
Robert fitz Wimarc	11
Wulfmær of Eaton	10
Bp Wulfwig	10
Esgar the Staller	9
Earl Gyrrh	6
10 others (named)	23
Unknown	4
TOTAL SOKEMEN	932

reduction in these tenures in the two following decades, he quoted in evidence the overall numbers of Cambridgeshire sokemen listed in the Exchequer Domesday and its satellites for 1066 and 1086. His totals were around 900 and 200 respectively, for a shire containing about 160 vills. From these figures he drew the conclusion (and I quote) that 'the Eastern Counties were the home of liberty'. Nevertheless he noted DB evidence for a few sokemen in Middlesex, Surrey and Kent, where the Danes had not settled. This prompted him to warn us that 'we should be rash if we were to find anything characteristically Scandinavian about the sokeman'.

Maitland's view was not adopted by Sir Frank Stenton. In 1925 he delivered a lecture in Sweden, which was printed in 1969 in his book *The Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw*. He wrote: 'It seems certain that the sokemen of the Danelaw represent, as a class, the rank and file of the Danish armies which settled this district in the ninth century . . . The social history of the Danelaw is essentially the history of the Domesday *sochmanni* and their descendants.'

Stenton based his opinion on the density of sokeland tenures in the territory of the Five Boroughs (Leicester, Stamford, Lincoln, Nottingham and Derby) — especially in Lindsey, which he called *the essential Danelaw* — as revealed by the Domesday Survey. He provided maps of these tenures, relating to the situation in 1086. Stenton's views received substantial

confirmation in a little-quoted paper by Barbara Dodwell on the free peasantry of East Anglia (1939: 145–55). She noted that for some areas the concentration of free peasants in Norfolk and Suffolk (i.e. the core of the Eastern Danelaw) was even greater in 1066 than it was in Lindsey in 1086 (figures for 1066 are not available for Lindsey). By 'free peasants' she meant the classes of society known in Little Domesday as *sochmanni* and *liberi homines*. She agreed with Stenton's opinion as to their origin, and she also established that the 'free peasants' were involved primarily with arable farming, rather than with pastoral husbandry (sheep and cattle farming and the management of swine pastures). This association of sokemen with ploughing, which extended throughout the Danelaw, is of paramount importance.

In a recent review of all the evidence for Essex I concluded that in that shire also there were far more 'free peasants' (sokemen and freemen) in 1066 than in 1086 (Cooper 1993: 171–204). In most cases the social differences between *sochmanni* and *liberi homines* in Little Domesday (which covers Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk) are not great. It seems likely that the tenures of the latter class were less restricted in terms of service than those of the former, possibly because of their commutation of boon work by payment to the lord of a fixed sum. The *liberi homines* were also, in general, the more substantial farmers of the two classes, with larger holdings than the sokemen, although there was a considerable overlap. There seem to have been innumerable small differences from locality to locality between various forms of tenure, according (one supposes) to individual bargains struck between sokemen and freemen on the one hand, and the lords of the sokes (who were also the manorial lords) on the other. Adding this all up, I came down strongly in favour of Stenton's supposition that the origin of sokeland tenures was linked in some way to the Danish settlement.

However, such views have not gone unchallenged. We have noted already Maitland's *caveat*. Stubbs also, at about the same time, claimed that 'the differences between the customs of the Danelaw and the rest of England might almost with equal certainty be ascribed to the distinction between Angle and Saxon'. This point was taken up with characteristic gusto by R.H.C. Davies, whose paper on 'East Anglia and the Danelaw' has formed the sheet anchor for the sceptic's position ever since. One might cite, for example, Eric John's statement (1982: 164): 'It is increasingly clear that sokemen represent an ancient, pre-Danish form of tenure.'

I do not propose to offer a critique of Davies' paper here, though this will have to be attempted at some time in the not too distant future. Instead, I wish to draw attention to the work of G.R.J. Jones on 'Multiple estates and early settlement' (1976: 15-40). A multiple estate comprised a substantial homestead occupied by a lord or his steward, together with a number of appendant tenures for which it acted as the administrative centre. Jones established the importance of these large landed units in early England, and showed how widespread they still were at the time of the Danish settlement. While examining and mapping out the sokes of the Danelaw for my recent book, I ended up with the strong impression that individual sokes often arose from occupation by the Danes of pre-existing multiple estates. Moreover, I concluded that north of the Welland, wapentake boundaries were largely modelled on them (*The Danelaw* 1992: 264-7).

Of the existence throughout England of these primitive multiple estates there can now be little doubt; what is still conjectural is their original social organisation. My thesis is that the contribution of the Danes was to impose the characteristics of sokeland tenure on multiple estates which they took over at the time of their settlement of the Danelaw. Sokeland itself, in this analysis, was a Danish innovation, limited initially to the Danelaw (and rarely spreading outside that area in later years). But these new features were not destined to remain inviolate. I would argue that there were two further metamorphoses. First, after the conquest of the Eastern and Outer Danelaw by the English crown in 917, the administration of many sokes within these territories was taken over completely by the conquerors and radically modified, with the re-introduction of serfdom. Secondly, from this time onwards a system of manorialisation was gradually imposed by the conquerors on those sokes that remained in Danish hands.

Individual Sokes in Cambridgeshire

The existence of a sokeman implies the existence of a soke. Every one of the 932 Cambridgeshire sokemen reported in DB as holding land in 1066 was under the jurisdiction of a particular soke. In all but a few exceptional cases we know the name of the lord of each of these sokemen, but we have no idea to which soke the individual sokeman belonged. This is because we have not yet identified the number of sokes held by each of the larger landlords in the shire. As a corollary we do not know the

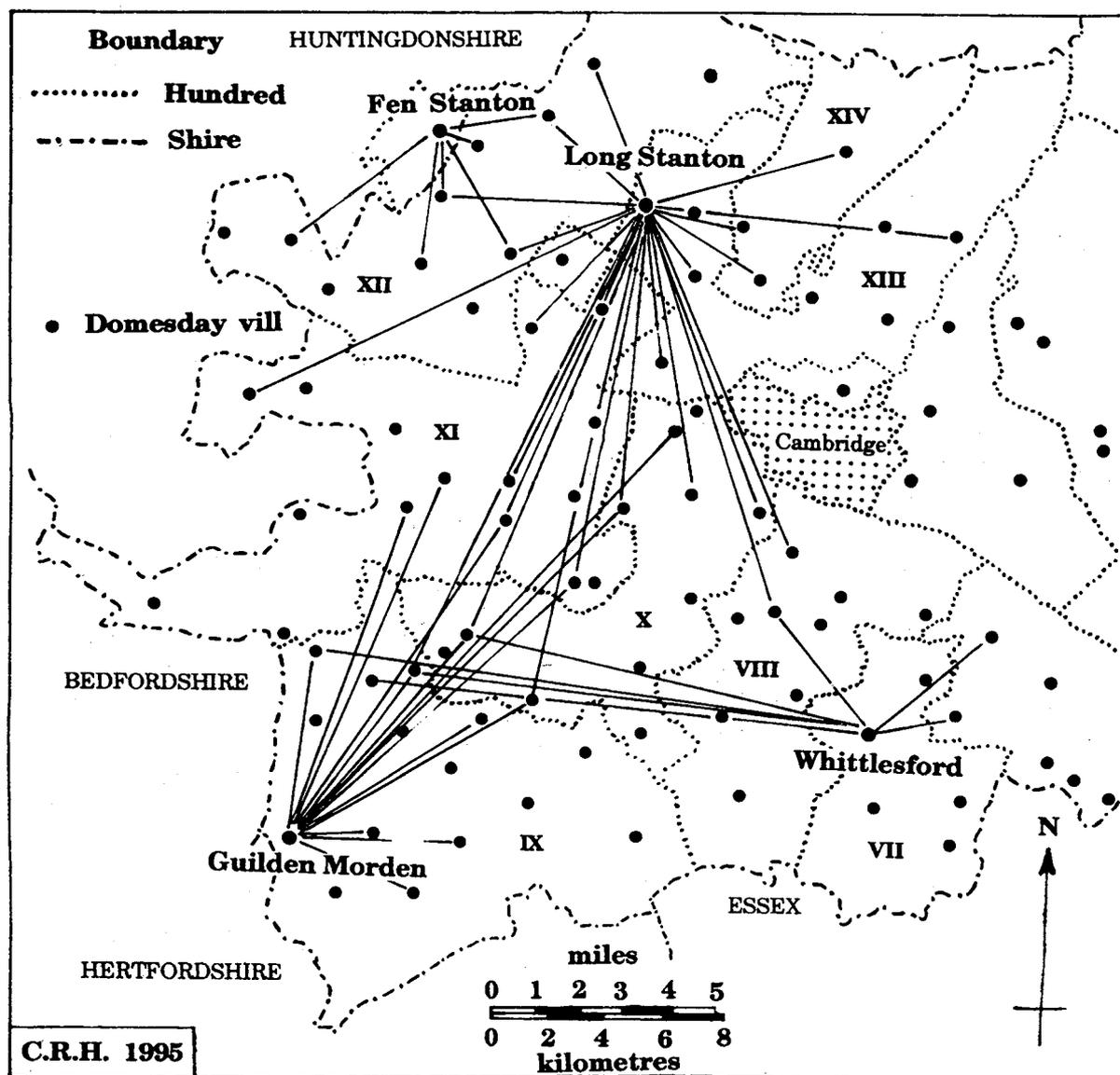
locations of the administrative centres (here called the 'heads') of their sokes.

The king, for example, was the lord of 338 Cambridgeshire sokemen in 1066. We can be sure (from the picture of sokeland tenure which has been built up for other Danelaw shires) that these sokemen were not all members of one vast soke, but at present we do not know how many Cambridgeshire sokes the king held, nor do we know to which particular soke each of the king's sokemen owed suit of court. The king may have held as few as three or four sokes in the shire, or as many as 10 or 20. Our ignorance is complete.

Sizes of individual Cambridgeshire sokes may also have varied considerably. There may, for instance, have been a large number of small sokes, each of say four to seven 'members' (i.e. separate parcels of sokeland under the jurisdiction of the head of the soke), or just a few large sokes each with 15 to 35 members, or perhaps there was a mixture of large and small sokes. We may suspect that the third alternative applied by the time of the coming of the Normans, but this is mere supposition. We just do not know for sure.

For most other parts of the Danelaw the situation is now a lot clearer. In my book *The Danelaw*, the major Domesday sokes in the carucated shires north of the River Welland were mapped out for the first time. I noted that individual sokes were more difficult to identify in the Eastern Danelaw; nevertheless the book discusses briefly the pre-Conquest sokes of Fakenham, Aylsham and Holt in Norfolk, and East Bergholt in Suffolk. To these may be added a number of sokes which were mapped for northern Northamptonshire (*The Danelaw*, map 4.3).

More recently, while assembling the pre-Conquest statistics for Cambridgeshire, I came to realise that here, too, it was possible to map out a small but significant number of sokes, for which the administrative centres could be identified. Those completed so far are for the lordships of Ulf Fenisc, Archbishop Stigand of Canterbury, Earl Waltheof of Huntingdonshire and Earl Gyrrh of East Anglia (Map 2; Tables 3-6). Of these, the soke for which the best evidence is available is that of Fenstanton in Huntingdonshire. On the eve of the Norman Conquest, all of its sokeland (which was farmed by 18 sokemen and a priest) lay across the border in Papworth Hundred in Cambridgeshire and it could be argued that the limits of this hundred boundary were dictated by the locations of members of the soke. Probably the Fenstanton soke had once extended widely in Huntingdonshire, but as we shall see, sokeland



**SOME PRE-DOMESDAY SOKES
 OF SOUTH-WESTERN CAMBRIDGESHIRE**

SOKES		HUNDREDS	
GULDEN MORDEN	Archbishop Stigand	VII Whittlesford	XI Longstow
LONG STANTON	Earl Waltheof	VIII Triplow	XII Papworth
FEN STANTON	Ulf <i>Fenisc</i>	IX Armingford	XIII Northstow
WHITTLESFORD	Earl Gyrrh	X Wetherley	XIV Chesterton

Map 2. Some pre-Domesday sokes of southwestern Cambridgeshire.

Table 3. Ulf Fenisc's soke of Fenstanton.

DB entry	Member	Population	Assessment
Hunts DB	TOSELAND HUNDRED		
21/1	Fenstanton (head of soke)	24 villeins 8 bordars church + priest	13 hides
Cambs DB	PAPWORTH HUNDRED		
23/1	Papworth Agnes II	? 1 sokeman ? 1 villein	1½ virgates
23/2	Elsworth II	2 <i>sochmanni</i>	½ hide - 5 acres
23/3	Conington II	8 <i>sochmanni</i> 8 cottars	2 hides + 3 virgates
23/4	Boxworth VI	6 <i>sochmanni</i>	1 hide + 1 virgate
23/5	Swavesey IV	? 1 <i>liber homo</i> 2 villeins 3 bordars 2 cottars 1 eel fishery	1 hide
23/6	Fen Drayton	1 <i>sochmannus</i> 4 villeins	3 hides + 1 virgate
	TOTALS	? 1 <i>liber homo</i> 18 <i>sochmanni</i> 1 priest 31 villeins 11 bordars 18 cottars	22 hides + 10 acres

in that shire was obliterated in 917. The small Cambridgeshire soke of Earl Gyrrh based on Whittlesford was far more widely dispersed TRE than that of Fenstanton.

A much larger soke was that of Earl Waltheof of Huntingdonshire, based on Longstanton. TRE this consisted of 13 members scattered over seven Cambridgeshire hundreds. Here, too, it is probable that the original soke extended widely into Huntingdonshire. A feature of the Domesday entries for this soke is that whereas they name each of the 15 men belonging to it who owed commendation only, its 22 sokemen are not named. Presumably the commended men were of a status similar to that of the *liberi homines* of Little Domesday. If so, it seems from the size of their tenancies that in Cambridgeshire they were more upwardly mobile than their East Anglian counterparts. Some of them held more than one tenancy within their soke. Between them they shared 21 hides (averaging well over 1½ hides each) against a mere 15 hides shared between the *sochmanni* (less than ¾ hide each). By contrast, the Domesday account of Archbishop Stigand's soke of Guilden Morden has no reference to commend-

ation; but its three named tenants were probably all *liberi homines*, and in addition the soke comprised 21 unnamed *sochmanni* and a priest on 14 hides, a similar set of holdings to those of the *sochmanni* on Earl Waltheof's estates.

This mixture of *sochmanni* and *liberi homines* who populated these two sokes of Waltheof and Stigand may have been typical of many others in the Eastern and Outer Danelaw, including the majority of those sokes in Cambridgeshire whose composition is not yet known. In fact one may postulate that most of the named men of the larger landholders in 1066 in the Cambridgeshire Domesday and its satellites were *liberi homines* of sokes. I have in mind such entries as those for Exning III concerning Alfsi, a man of Edeva (14/68), Cheveley II concerning her man Horwulf (14/62), Weston Colville V tenanted by Earl Ælfgar's man Thorgar (26/6), perhaps Isleham IV relating to Wulfwin the royal huntsman (4/1a), and many similar tenancies scattered throughout DB Cambs.

It should be noted that while the holdings of these *liberi homines* in 1066 were not manorial,

Table 4. Archbishop Stigand's soke of Guilden Morden.

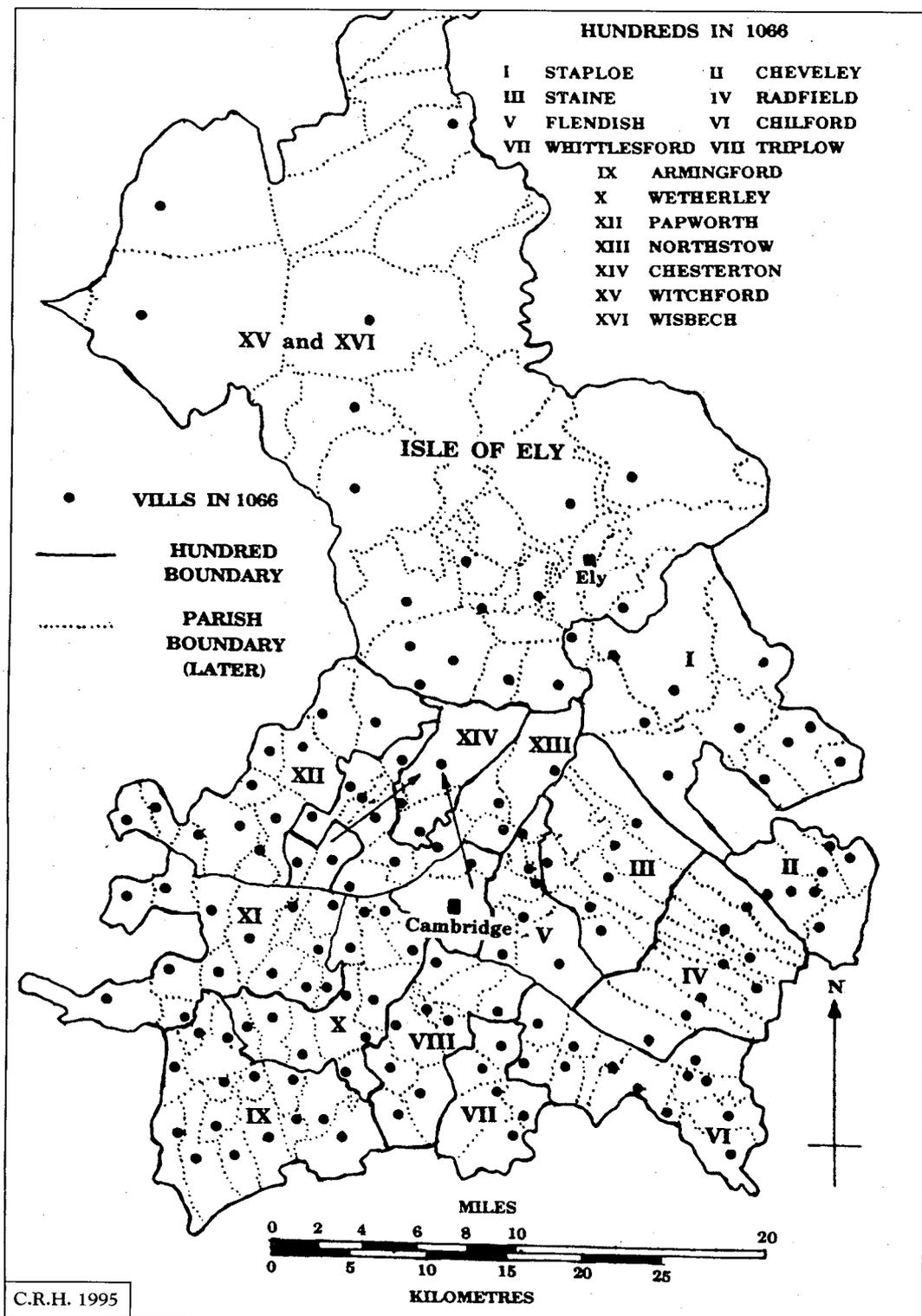
DB entry	Member	Population	Assessment
IX ARMINGFORD HUNDRED			
32/8b	Guilden Morden IV (head of soke)	3 <i>sochmanni</i>	1 hide + 3 virgates
32/10b	East Hatley IV	3 <i>sochmanni</i>	3 virgates (approx.)
2/3b	Abington Pigotts IV	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	1/2 virgate
32/13	Abington Pigotts VIII	Ansgot, ? <i>liber homo</i>	1/2 virgate
26/21a	Croydon V	Alfred, ? <i>liber homo</i>	1 hide
26/23a	Litlington II	Algar, ? <i>liber homo</i>	1/2 hide
2/4b	Bassingbourn II	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	1/2 virgate
26/26a	Whaddon X	1 priest	1h (approx.)
X WETHERLEY HUNDRED			
32/14b	Comberton IV	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	1 1/2 virgates (approx.)
44/1b	Comberton IX	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	1 1/2 virgates
13/8b	Orwell III	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	1 1/3 virgates
13/9b	Wratworth II	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	3 virgates
13/10a	Whitwell I	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	1/2 virgate
XI LONGSTOW HUNDRED			
31/7a	Eversden IV	2 <i>sochmanni</i>	1 hide + 1 virgate
32/21c	Kingston IX	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	3 virgates
32/23c	Bourn V	3 <i>sochmanni</i>	4 hides
26/41	Longstow III	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	3 1/2 virgates
	TOTALS	3 ? <i>liberi homines</i> 20 <i>sochmanni</i> 1 priest	14 hides + 55 acres

Table 6. Earl Gyrrh's soke of Whittlesford.

DB entry	Member	Population	Assessment
VI WHITTLESFORD HUNDRED			
41/7	Whittlesford (head of soke)	13 villeins 15 bordars 5 servi	11 hides + 1 virgate
26/13	Whittlesford IV	1 ? <i>sochmannus</i>	1 virgate
VI CHILFORD HUNDRED			
41/5	Babraham IX	Lemmar, ? <i>liber homo</i>	1 1/2 virgates
41/6	Pampisford VII	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	1/2 virgate
VIII THRIPILOW HUNDRED			
26/18c	Little Shelford IV	3 <i>sochmanni</i>	1/2 hide
IX ARMINGFORD HUNDRED			
25/4	Clopton II	7 bordars	1 1/2 hides
25/6	Croydon	6 1/2 villeins	2 hides
32/10c	East Hatley V	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	not given
X WETHERLEY HUNDRED			
25/7	Wimpole II	1 villein 1 <i>servus</i>	1 hide + 1 1/2 virgates
	TOTALS	6 <i>sochmanni</i> 1 ? <i>liber homo</i>	17 hides + 1 1/2 virgates

Table 5. Earl Waltheof's soke of Longstanton.

DB entry	Member	Population	Assessment
XIII NORTHSTOW HUNDRED			
36/1	Longstanton VII (head of soke)	Hoch, ? <i>liber homo</i>	1/2 virgate
41/12	(Madingley V)	4 <i>sochmanni</i>	3 hides
41/13	Oakington VI	Godwin, ? <i>liber homo</i> 1 priest	1 1/2 hides + 10 acres
43/1	Oakington VII	Siward, ? <i>liber homo</i>	1 1/2 hides
40/1a	Waterbeach V	1 ? <i>liber homo</i>	1 1/2 hides
VIII THRIPLow HUNDRED			
41/8	Trumpington V	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	1/2 hide
IX ARMINGFORD HUNDRED			
13/3	Croydon	Ælfmær, ? <i>liber homo</i>	3 virgates
X WETHERLEY HUNDRED			
1/6b	Comberton II	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	1/2 virgate
32/14c	Comberton V	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	1 1/2 virgates
37/1	Comberton VI	Arelī, ? <i>liber homo</i>	1 1/2 virgates
44/1c	Comberton X	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	1 1/2 virgates
37/2a	Barton IV	2 <i>sochmanni</i>	1 hide + 2 1/2 virgates
37/2b	Barton V	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	1/2 hide + 1/2 virgate
37/2c	Barton VI	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	1 virgate
26/34a	Orwell XI	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	3 virgates
26/35a	Wratworth VII	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	1/2 hide + 2/3 virgate
38/3b	Grantchester VIII	3 <i>sochmanni</i>	2 hides
13/11b	Arrington II	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	1 hide
XI LONGSTOW HUNDRED			
13/12	Kingston II	Ælfmær, ? <i>liber homo</i>	2/3 virgate
25/8	Kingston III	Ælfmær, ? <i>liber homo</i>	10 acres
39/1	Caldecote III	Sigar, ? <i>liber homo</i>	1 virgate + 20 acres
39/2b	Croxton III	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	1 1/2 hides (approx.)
XII PAPWORTH HUNDRED			
21/7	Conington I	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	1 hide + 1 virgate
41/11	Boxworth II	1 <i>huscarle</i>	1 hide
21/8	Boxworth X	Leofsige, ? <i>liber homo</i>	3 1/2 hides
21/9	Swavesey III	Leofsige, ? <i>liber homo</i>	1 hide
41/14	Over VII	Godwin cild, ? <i>liber homo</i>	1/2 hide
XIV CHESTERTON HUNDRED			
38/5	Dry Drayton VIII	Sigar, ? <i>liber homo</i>	3 hides
41/15	Dry Drayton IX	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	3 virgates
41/16	Childerley IV	1 ? <i>liber homo</i>	5 hides
32/40c	Cottenham V	1 <i>sochmannus</i>	14 acres
39/3	Westwick III	Godmund, ? <i>liber homo</i>	1 hide
TOTALS		22 sochmanni 16 liberi homines	14 1/2 hides + 49 acres 21 hides + 15 acres



Map 3. Cambridgeshire vills and Hundreds in 1066 with boundaries of later parishes.

they must often have had villeins and bordars and even slaves (*servi*) working under them (e.g. at Alfsi's holding at Exning III, which by 1086 was farmed by 4 villeins and 8 slaves). Such tenancies within the sokes represent a type of holding intermediate between that of a manor and true sokeland; they may in fact have formed a major route through which in the course of time full-blown manorialisation evolved in both the Outer and the Eastern Danelaw. Manorial evolution appears to have taken a different course in the sokes of the carucated Danelaw north of the River Welland, where *liberi homines* were unknown as a class of society by the time of the Domesday Survey.

Another pre-Conquest soke in Cambridgeshire was that of Earl Ælfgar at Ickleton in Whittlesford Hundred (DB Cambs 15/1; 26/14b). Domesday records that the sokeland of Alwin Hamelecoc the beadle at Abington Pigotts II lay in this lordship (DB Cambs 1/20), as did the holding of Earl Ælfgar's man Alfwy at Litlington III (DB Cambs 26/23b). As yet, however, the remainder of the soke has not been reconstructed and I have not attempted to map it.

Unfortunately the great majority of the heads of sokes belonging to the largest lordships in Cambridgeshire are not named in Domesday or its satellites. Because of this, only the barest skeleton of the system has been ascertained at the present time. It may be possible to fill this out in the future by identifying the heads of these large sokes from later records such as those used by the late W. Farrer in his *Feudal Cambridgeshire* (1920). Meanwhile, for some idea of what form the fuller picture may have taken, the maps of Lindsey sokes in *The Danelaw* may be consulted.

Sokes were organic institutions, forever growing and contracting in size and influence, at least in their early years. It must not be thought, therefore, that the Domesday sokes of Cambridgeshire represent fossilised versions of much earlier arrangements. For example, there is a suggestion in Archbishop Stigand's DB entries that some of his sokemen were of recent introduction. Apart from the Fenstanton soke in Papworth Hundred, there is at present no evidence that the early sokes (supposing they existed at the beginning of the tenth century) fashioned the shape of the hundreds or their predecessors during the early period of the Danish settlement. Such influence may appear very likely, but there is no clear-cut proof of it.

Groups of Sokemen in Cambridgeshire

A feature of the Cambridgeshire Domesday shared with most of the other Danelaw shires

is the large number of *groups* of sokemen who farmed individual estates co-operatively TRE, sharing the geld liability between them. In fact, the great majority of Cambridgeshire sokemen farmed in groups, rather than singly. Groups could consist of any number of sokemen from 2 to 26, the average holding of each sokeman varying from 10 to 137 geld acres. I have selected for inclusion in the following list (Table 7) those groups that consisted of 5 or more sokemen. By the time of Edward the Confessor all of these had for their lords very large landowners. Indeed, just four lords (the king, Earl Ælfgar of East Anglia, Ely Abbey and Edeva the Fair) held jurisdiction over three-quarters of all groups of Cambridgeshire sokemen. With only two exceptions (Bassingbourn III and Longstanton I), all members of each group had the same lord.

As with single sokemen farming independently of each other, Domesday usually records whether or not groups could sell their holdings and/or seek another lord; the custom varied from estate to estate. Any such decision would probably, however, have been made jointly within each group, for it seems that each of its individual members had the same status and privileges. Most groups shared out equally between their sokemen the carrying duties and other similar services imposed by the lord on the group as a whole. Presumably the collective geld liability of the group was also shared out equally, if each of its sokemen had the same number of strips of land. These considerations lead one to conclude that the land held by a group was farmed according to the collective decision of its members. A high degree of co-operation must have been necessary over such matters as the priority of ploughing of individual strips, when to harvest and what land should lie fallow.

It seems most likely that the collective farming by sokemen of parcels of sokeland was an integral feature of such tenures from the outset. If so, when we encounter in the Cambridgeshire Domesday an individual sokeman farming on his own, the likelihood is that his separate tenure was of more recent establishment than those of the groups. In other words, group farming by sokemen appears to have been the norm when the Danes took over tenancy at the time of the settlement. Tenure of a piece by an individual sokeman came later; possibly such individuals had broken away from their groups. Such hiving-off may have been taking place throughout the period between the Danish settlement and the arrival of the Normans. One cannot prove such a supposition, but it is the most easy way to

Table 7. Groups of Cambridgeshire sokemen and their Lords TRE.

Hundred	Estate	Lord	No. of sokemen	Size of holding	Geld per sokeman	
I	STAPLOE	Isleham V	Thorbert	12	1h	10a
III	STAINED	Swaffham Bulbeck III	king	19	2h	12 ¹ / ₂ a
IV	RADFIELD	Dullingham II	king	8	110a	13 ³ / ₄ a
		Dullingham III	Earl Ælfgar	8	1h	15a
		Westley Waterless IV	Edeva	7	1h	17a
		West Wratting II	Ely	10	3h	36a
V	FLENDISH	Fulbourn III	king	26	4h	18 ¹ / ₂ a
		Teversham I	Edeva	5	1h	24a
VI	CHILFORD	Babraham I	Edeva	6	2h + 84a	54a
VII	WHITTLESFORD	Hinton II	king	19	15h	95a
		Duxford VI	king	11	1h 3v	19a
VIII	THRIPLOW	Harston II	king	6	2h	40a
		Little Shelford II	Ely	7	1h + 66a	26 ¹ / ₂ a
		Little Shelford III	Edeva	6	1h + 66a	31a
		Little Shelford VII	king	5	195a	21a
IX	ARMINGFORD	Steeple Morden III	king	6	93a	15 ¹ / ₂ a
		Wendy II	Edeva	6	1h	20a
		Bassingbourn III	Edeva	8	7h + 45a	88a
			Earl Ælfgar	2		
		Whaddon II	Ely	12	1 ¹ / ₂ h	18a
		Whaddon XIII	Ely	12	1 ¹ / ₂ h	18a
		Meldreth III	Ely	9	1h 3v	23a
		Meldreth V	Earl Ælfgar	5	1h + 15a	27a
		Melbourn VI	Ely	8	1h + 15a	32a
		X	WETHERLEY	Comberton III	king	7
Barton II	king			23	3h	15 ¹ / ₂ a
Whitwell V	king			6	5v	25a
Grantchester V	king			5	3v	18a
Haslingfield VII	king			5	3h	72a
Barrington IV	king			15	4h + 45a	35a
XI	LONGSTOW	Eversden V	Earl Ælfgar	6	3v	15a
		Eversden VII	king	14	1h + 70a	13 ¹ / ₂ a
		Kingston VII	king	10	2h + 45a	28 ¹ / ₂ a
		Toft IV	Ely	5	1h	24a
		Bourn IX	king	13	2h	18 ¹ / ₂ a
		Caxton III	Earl Ælfgar	18	6h - 15a	39a
		Gamlingay	?	9	4h 1v	57a
XII	PAPWORTH	Conington III	Ulf Fenisc	8	2h 3v	41a
		Boxworth I	king	7	1h	17a
		Boxworth IV	king	7	1h	17a
		Boxworth V	Ulf Fenisc	6	1h 1v	25a
		Swavesey II	Edeva	8	3h	45a
		Fen Drayton III	Edeva	5	4 ¹ / ₂ h	108a
		Over V	Ramsey	7	1h	17a

Table 7. (cont.) Groups of Cambridgeshire sokemen and their Lords TRE.

Hundred	Estate	Lord	No. of sokemen	Size of holding	Geld per sokeman
XIII NORTHSTOW	Longstanton I	Edeva	12	4h + 45a	40a
		Bp Wulfwig	1		
	Longstanton IV	king	11	1 ¹ / ₂ h	16 ¹ / ₂ a
	Lolworth II	king	7	1 ¹ / ₂ h	27a
	Madingley I	king	7	8h 1v	1h + 17a
XIV CHESTERTON	Histon II	Bp Wulfwig	9	9h 3v	1h + 10a
	Dry Drayton III	king	6	2h - 15a	
XV WITCHFORD	Doddington II	Ely	8	1h	15a
	Haddenham	Ely	7	3h	51 ¹ / ₂ a
XVI WISBECH	Wisbech II	Ely	13	2 ¹ / ₂ h	23a
	Witchford II	Ely	5	1 ¹ / ₂ h	12a
	Witcham II	Ely	12	2h - 15a	19a

explain the diversity of sokeland tenure that one encounters in Domesday.

The Attrition of Sokeland Tenure in Cambridgeshire

In many cases the status of sokemen, whether they farmed singly or in groups, was reduced to villeinage or even slavery by 1086, their holdings having been assimilated into the manorial structure. It is for this reason that the number of sokemen in Cambridgeshire was very much smaller in 1086 than it had been in 1066, a feature of local landholding which has been insufficiently appreciated by modern historians. (But as early as 1897 Maitland gave the two figures as c. 200 and c. 900 respectively, totals with which I would agree from my own counts.)

There is good evidence that the process of reduction in the number of Cambridgeshire sokemen began long before the Norman Conquest. When Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester was building up the endowment of his monastic foundation at Ely in the 970s, he bought many small pieces of land. A long account of these transactions is preserved in the *Liber Eliensis*, which is epitomised in my *Early Charters of Eastern England* (pp. 213-30). They included parcels such as 24 acres at Stretham, 10 acres at Chippenham, 16 acres and 7 acres at Witchford, 1 acre at Witcham, 5 acres at Hill Row and so on. It is now clear that these smallholdings were sold by sokemen, who presumably became villeins in the process, having surrendered their freehold. In one case it seems that a group of sokemen similar to those encountered in Domesday sold their land jointly,

for we are told that many acres at Hill Row and Haddenham were bought by Bishop Æthelwold from 'numerous poor peasants'. By the time of the Confessor only seven sokemen were left at Haddenham and none at all at Hill Row.

It is my firm opinion that countless other transactions of a similar nature went unrecorded as manorialisation proceeded in Cambridgeshire throughout the century-and-a-half before the Norman Conquest. In other words, the further back in time one goes, the larger was the proportion of sokemen in the rural population, right back to the time of the conquest of the Outer Danelaw (Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire) by the campaigns of King Edward the Elder in 916-17. A well-known passage in the *Liber Eliensis* states that those Danes in Cambridgeshire who submitted to the king in person were allowed to keep their lands. In Huntingdonshire, however, their estates were confiscated. It is surely not just a coincidence that sokemen are such rare birds in the Huntingdonshire Domesday. We hear of 10 sokemen at Broughton and four at Norman Cross, and that is all. The Domesday evidence tallies remarkably with what the *Liber Eliensis* tells us was happening in the previous century.

I would argue therefore that sokeland tenure was a Danish introduction. It was all but obliterated in Huntingdonshire at the time of its conquest by Edward the Elder in 917, but it persisted in Cambridgeshire, in an ever-attenuated form, until the Norman Conquest. The Normans secured a huge reduction in the shire to a mere 200 or so sokemen by the time of Domesday, a remnant which appears to have been got rid of entirely during the following

century. In this, as in other social features, the contrast between Cambridgeshire and most of the carucated Danelaw (lying north of the River Welland), where sokeland tenure remained largely unimpaired well into the High Middle Ages, is remarkable.

Some Unresolved Issues of Sokeland Tenure in Cambridgeshire

Sokeland tenure remains one of the least understood features of Cambridgeshire society in the late Anglo-Saxon period. It is only in recent years that its nature has come under scrutiny. At least we have now reached the stage of being able to formulate some of the crucial questions. The first of these must be the impact of sokeland tenure on the development of manorialisation within the Danelaw (or to put it another way, the impact of manorialisation on sokeland tenure). Already we may suspect that in Cambridgeshire, manorialisation forged ahead at a much earlier period than in Lindsey. Another fundamental issue is the impact of sokeland tenure on the incidence of slavery and on the burdens borne by slaves in Cambridgeshire. David Pelteret's superb recent book *Slavery in Early England* has revolutionised our

knowledge of the subject, but the Domesday evidence of regional variations has yet to be studied in detail. Finally and most importantly, the contribution of sokeland tenure to the development of strip cultivation in open fields in Cambridgeshire remains to be explored.

Local historians are likely to be occupied with these and related topics for many years to come. Their starting-point will be the tables in the Appendix below.

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**Appendix. Land Tenure in Cambridgeshire in 1066.
Hundredal Tables.**

Identification of manors in the Cambridgeshire Domesday

The manorial basis of landholding in Cambridgeshire on the eve of the Norman Conquest has recently been discussed by J.J.N. Palmer (*Domesday Studies*, ed. J.C. Holt, Woodbridge, 1986, 139–54), who established the following criteria for the detection of manorial units.

- Palmer's rules:
- 1 all undivided villis are manors.
 - 2 no vill may contain more than one manor.
 - 3 in divided villis, the manor will be the largest holding.
 - 4 where a vill contains no manor, it is subordinated to a manor in an adjacent vill.

These rules do not always apply but they are sufficiently valid for our purpose. Accordingly, in the following tables I have labelled manors as 'M' according to the following criteria:

- M = (a) holding labelled as a manor in DB or ICC.
 (b) formula 'x holds y'; holding is an entire vill or the largest in its vill.
 (c) formula 'pro . . . hidis se defendit'; applied originally to an entire vill.

Abbreviations

In the notes to the hundredal tables which appear below, the following abbreviations apply:

h = hide; v = virgate; a = (geld) acre; 1h = 4v = 120a

- Chron Rams* *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, ed. W. Dunn Macray (London: Rolls Series, 1886)
- DB Domesday Book. Entries are listed by the numbers assigned to them in the Phillimore edition of the Cambridgeshire Domesday (ed. A. Rumble, 1981)
- Danelaw* C.R. Hart, *The Danelaw* (London, 1992)
- ECEE* C.R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Eastern England* (Leicester, 1966)
- Farrer W. Farrer, *Feudal Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge, 1920)
- Hid Cambs* C.R. Hart, *The Hidation of Cambridgeshire* (Leicester, 1974)
- ICC *Inquisitio Comitatu Cantabrigiensis*, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton (London, 1876)
- IE *Inquisitio Eliensis*, in ICC
- Lib Elien* *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E.O. Blake (London: R. Hist. Soc., 1962)
- S P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (London: R. Hist. Soc., 1968); charters listed by number
- TRE In the time of Edward the Confessor.
- VCH Cambs* *The Victoria County History of Cambridgeshire*

I STAPLOE HUNDRED

vill	entry	manor	tenant	TRE	sokemen	hides	TRE	
Kennet I	18/8a	M	Tochil, king's thegn		0	3½h-1v	}	7h
Kennet II	18/8b		Godric, sokeman of Tochil		1	1v		
Badlingham	14/67	M	Ordmar, under Edeva the Fair		0	3½h	}	15h
Chippenham I	22/6a	M	King Edward		0	5h		
Chippenham II	22/6b		2 sokemen of King Edward		2	2h	}	15h
Chippenham III	22/6b		Ordgar, the king's sheriff *		0	3h		
Snailwell I**	28/2a	M	Ely Abbey		0	5h	}	15h
Snailwell II	28/2b		6 sokemen of Ely Abbey		6			
Exning I***	1/12a	M	Edeva the Fair		0	13½h	}	15h
Exning II	1/12b		7 sokemen of Edeva		7			
Exning III	14/68		Alsi, man of Edeva		0	1½h		
Burwell I****	7/9	M	Ramsey Abbey		0	10h1v	}	15h
Burwell II	26/2		Turchil, man of Ramsey Abbey		1	½h		
Burwell III	11/2		Chatteris Abbey		0	½h		
Burwell IV§	14/69		2 sokemen of Edeva the Fair		2	2½h		
Burwell V§	14/70		Ædwin, sokemen of Edeva the Fair		1	1h1v		
Soham I	1/1	M	King Edward		0	9½h-6a	}	11h
Soham II	6/3		Bury St Edmunds		0	6a		
Soham III§§	5/8		Ely Abbey		0	½h		
Soham IV	14/73		Alsi, man of Edeva the Fair		0	1h		
Fordham I§§§	1/2a	M	King Edward		0	5½h	}	10h
Fordham II	1/2b		Bruman, sokeman of King Edward		1	1h		
Fordham III	14/71a		Dot & Ulmar, sokemen of Edeva the Fair		2	2h		
Fordham IV	14/71b		Anselm, sokeman of Earl Ælfgar		1	1½h		
Isleham I	1/3a	M	King Edward		0	5h	}	10h
Isleham II	1/3b		4 sokemen of King Edward		4	1h+40a		
Isleham III	14/72		2 sokemen of King Edward		2	40a		
Isleham IV	4/1a		Wulfwin (King Edward's huntsman)		0	½h+ 20a		
Isleham V	4/1b		12 sokemen under Thorbert		12	1h		
Isleham VI	28/1		Ordgar the sheriff		0	1½h+20a		
Wicken	14/74	M	Edeva the Fair		0			7h

TOTAL SOKEMEN TRE = 42

TOTAL HIDAGE TRE = 90h [2 units, each of 45h]

- * 2 or 3 estates at Chippenham, each of 3 hides, occur in transactions of c. 980 in *Lib Elien* II, ch. 11 (ECEE 216-17).
- ** One hide of 240 acres at Snailwell was sold to Ely c. 975-90. Another estate there of unknown assessment was sold to Ramsey in 979 x 1016. *Lib Elien* ch. 32; *Chron Rams* 76; ECEE 223, 239.
- *** 8 hides at *Heninge* (= Exning, then in Cambs but from the twelfth century onwards in Suffolk) were given to Ramsey Abbey in 965 x 975 (*Chron Rams* 51). There was evidently some early confusion in the spelling of this place-name, which appears as *Esselinga* in ICC and *Essellinge* in DB.
- **** 5 hides at Burwell were given to Ramsey in c. 965; other estates there were given to Ramsey in 965 x 975. *Chron Rams* 47-51; ECEE 41, 238.
- § Given to Ramsey in 1043-56. *Chron Rams* 174-5; ECEE 239-40.
- §§ Given to Ely in 1000-1002. ECEE 47.
- §§§ 2 hides at Fordham (each of 240 acres) + 37 acres were sold to Ely in 980-90. *Lib Elien* II, ch. 11, 31; ECEE 217, 222.

II CHEVELEY HUNDRED

vill	entry	manor	tenant	TRE	sokemen	hides	TRE	
Silverley	29/3	M	Wulfwin	(King Edward's thegn)	0	6½h	} 10h	
Ashley	29/1	M	Wulfwin	(King Edward's thegn)	0	3½h		
Saxon Street	29/2	M	Wulfwin	(King Edward's thegn)	0	5h	} 10h	
Wood Ditton I	14/61	M	Edeva	the Fair	0	5h		
Wood Ditton II	1/11	M	Ely	Abbey	0			10h
Kirtling	41/1	M	Earl	Harold	0			10h
Cheveley I	1/4	M	King		0	8h+40a	} 10h	
Cheveley II*	14/62		Horwulf	(Edeva's man)	0	1½h+20a		
TOTAL SOKEMEN TRE = 0				TOTAL HIDAGE TRE = 50h [5 units, each of 10h]				

* One hide at Cheveley was given to Ely in 1000-1002. *ECEE* 27.

III STAINE HUNDRED

vill	entry	manor	tenant	TRE	sokemen	hides	TRE	
Bottisham I	17/1a	M	Earl	Harold	0	8h	} 10h	
Bottisham II*	17/1b		Ailric,	monk of Ramsey	0	2h		
Swaffham Bulbeck I**	17/2a	M	Ely	(tenant, Alwy the Harper)	0	3h	} 10h	
Swaffham Bulbeck II	17/2b		3 sokemen	of Ely Abbey***	3	2½h+10a		
Swaffham Bulbeck III	17/2c		19 sokemen	of King Edward	19	2h		
Swaffham Bulbeck IV	14/63		6 sokemen	of Edeva the Fair	6	1h3v		
Swaffham Bulbeck V	29/4		1 sokeman	of King Edward	1	½h+20a		
Swaffham Prior I	5/9		Ely	Abbey	0	3h	} 10h	
Swaffham Prior II	5/10; 26/53		4 sokemen	of Ely Abbey	4	2h3v		
Swaffham Prior III	17/3		Ely	(tenant, Wulfwin)	0	3v		
Swaffham Prior IV•	26/1		6 sokemen	? of Ely Abbey	6	1v		
Swaffham Prior V	14/64a		Huscarle,	the king's man	0	3v		
Swaffham Prior VI	14/64b		Edeva	the Fair	0	1h1v		
Swaffham Prior VII	14/64c		Wulfwi,	Edeva's man	0	1h1v		
(Great) Wilbraham II†	4/65		Ordmer,	Edeva's man	0	4h	} 10h	
(Little) Wilbraham II	29/5		Wulfwin,	king's thegn	0	4h††		
(Little) Wilbraham III	1/5	M	King	Edward	0	2h†††		
Guy and Stow I	14/66		Grimbald,	Edeva's man	0	1h	} 10h	
Guy and Stow II	29/6		Godric	the Deacon	0	½h+20a§		
Guy and Stow III	32/1a	M	Aluric,	monk of Ramsey Abbey	0	1h		
Guy and Stow IV	32/1b		Godric,	man of Ramsey Abbey	0	2h		
Guy and Stow V	32/1c		4 sokemen	of King Edward	4	1½h+10a		
Guy and Stow VI	32/2		Brihtwine & Aluric,§§	sokemen of Ely Abbey	2	3h 3v		
TOTAL SOKEMEN TRE = 45				TOTAL HIDAGE TRE = 50h [5 units, each of 10h]				

* Rated at 3 hides when given to Ramsey in 1020-34 (*Chron Rams* 144-5, which mentions the tenancy of Ailric). See further *ECEE* 239.

** It is uncertain whether the land transactions of c. 970-90 recorded in *Chron Rams* 78-80 and *Lib Elien* II, ch. 34, concerning various estates at Swaffham, refer to Swaffham Prior or Swaffham Bulbeck. See further *ECEE* 42, 46, 50, 224-5.

*** Named Huscarle, Brihtwine and Alsi in ICC and IE.

• Perhaps the virgate at Swaffham given to Ely in 995 x 1001 (*Lib Elien* II, ch. 67; *ECEE* 46-7).

† The church and glebe of 40 acres at Wilbraham mentioned c. 970-75 in *Chron Rams* 74-5 could have been at Great or Little Wilbraham (*ECEE* 233-4, 239).

†† Hidage in ICC; omitted in DB.

††† Perhaps the 2 hides at Wilbraham which formed the *morgengifu* of Ælghelm Polga's wife in 989 (S 1487; *ECEE* 45-6).

§ Entry in ICC; DB has ½h+ 30a.

§§ Named in IE only.

IV RADFIELD HUNDRED

vill	entry	manor	tenant	TRE	sokemen	hides	TRE
Dullingham I	10/1	M*	Earl Algar		0	6h	
Dullingham II**	26/3a		8 sokemen of King Edward		8	1h-10a	} 10h
Dullingham III**	26/3b		8 sokemen of Earl Ælfgar		8	1h	
Dullingham IV**	14/75a		Horulf, Edeva's man		1	1/2h	
Dullingham V**	14/75b		Alestan, Orgar's man		1	1/2h-10a	
Dullingham VI**	14/75c		Wiching, Earl Harold's man		1	10a	
Dullingham VII	41/2		?		0	10a	
Stetchworth I	5/1	M	Ely Abbey		0	8 1/2h+1/2v	
Stetchworth II	5/2a		Ely Abbey		0	1 1/2v	
Stetchworth III	5/2b; 26/50		Godwin, man of Ely Abbey		0	1v	
Stetchworth IV***			Godwin, sokeman of Ely Abbey		1	1v	
Stetchworth V	14/76		Grim, Edeva's man		0	1/2h	
Borough Green	14/78	M	Edeva the Fair		0	5h	} 10h (-5a)
Westley Waterless I	5/3		Ely Abbey		0	3h	
Westley Waterless II	41/3		2 sokemen of Earl Harold		2	3v+10a	
Westley Waterless III	26/4		2 sokemen of Earl Harold		2	15a	
Westley Waterless IV§	14/77		7 sokemen of Edeva the Fair		7	1h	
Carlton I†	18/1	M	Toki, king's thegn		0	2h+7 1/2a	} 10h (-3 1/2a)
Carlton II	18/2		Earl Ælfgar		0	4h+22a§§	
Carlton III	26/5c		1 sokeman of Earl Ælfgar		1	8a	
Carlton IV	41/4a		a man of Earl Ælfgar		0	2a	
Carlton V	41/4b		Earl Harold		0	3h-6 1/2a	
Carlton VI	41/4c		3 sokemen of Earl Harold		3	4 1/2a	
Carlton VII	26/5a		2 sokemen of Earl Harold		2	38a	
Carlton VIII¶	26/5b		?		0	11a	
Carlton IX	14/79		1 sokeman ? of Edeva		1	1v	
Weston Colville I	18/3a	M	Tochi, of Ely Abbey		0	7h	} 10h
Weston Colville II	18/3b		2 sokemen of Godwine <i>cild</i>		2		
Weston Colville III	18/4		1 sokeman of ? Earl Ælfgar		1	1v	
Weston Colville IV¶¶	14/80		Edeva (tenant, Godwine <i>cild</i>)		0	1 1/2h	
Weston Colville V	26/6		Earl Ælfgar (tenant, Thorgar)		0	1h	
Weston Colville VI	26/7		2 sokemen of Earl Harold		2	1v	
West Wratting I¶¶¶	5/4	M	Ely Abbey		0	4 1/2h	} 10h
West Wratting II	5/5; 26/51		10 sokemen of Ely Abbey		10	3h	
West Wratting III	26/8		2 sokemen ? of Ely (Tochi & Wihtgar)		2	1v	
West Wratting IV	18/5		1 sokeman of King Edward (Tochi)		1	3v	
West Wratting V	14/81		2 sokemen of Edeva the Fair		2	1 1/2h	
Balsham I	5/6	M	Ely Abbey		0	9h	} 10h
Balsham II	5/7; 26/52		3 sokemen of Ely Abbey		3	80a	
Balsham III	14/82		Edeva (tenant Leofled)		0	40a	

TOTAL SOKEMEN TRE = 61

TOTAL HIDAGE TRE = 70h (-8 1/2a) [7 units, each of 10h]

* Only ICC records this holding as a manor.

** Only ICC gives details of the lords of these sokemen.

*** Omitted in DB but recorded in ICC.

† The Carlton entries include Willingham, given to Ely in 996-1001 but not mentioned in DB (*Lib Elien* II, ch. 66; *ECEE* 47).§ 1/2h at Westley Waterless is mentioned in the will of Thurstan, dated 1043-5 (S 1531; *ECEE* 50-51).

§§ So in ICC; DB has 2a (wrongly).

¶ This represents the remainder of the (1/2h-3a) of ICC and of the DB entry 26/5.

¶¶ Not located in DB, but identified in ICC.

¶¶¶ 2 1/2 hides at West Wratting were given to Ely by Ælfhelm Polga in 987 (*ECEE* 44).

V FLENDISH HUNDRED

vill	entry	manor	tenant	TRE	sokemen	hides	TRE
Fulbourn I	14/1	M	Godwin	<i>cild</i> under Edeva the Fair	0	8h	} 25h
Fulbourn II	33/1a		King Edward	(tenant, Sigar)	0	3h	
Fulbourn III	1/14		26 sokemen	of King Edward	26	4h	
Fulbourn IV	33/1b		Earl Ælfgar		0	2h	
Fulbourn V	33/1c		3 sokemen	of Edeva the Fair	3	1h	
Fulbourn VI¶	5/12		Ely Abbey		0	4½h	
Fulbourn VII	22/1		Esgar the Staller	(tenant, Alfsi)	0	2½h	
Cherry Hinton	14/2	M	8 sokemen	of Edeva the Fair	8		7h
Teversham I	14/3	*	2 sokemen	of Edeva the Fair	2	1½h	} 7h (-2a)
Teversham II	14/4		5 sokemen	of Edeva the Fair	5	1h	
Teversham III	35/2a		2 sokemen	of Earl Ælfgar	2	1½h+20a	
Teversham IV	35/2b		Earl Ælfgar		0	1h	
Teversham V	35/2c		2 sokemen	of Godwin <i>cild</i>	2	½h**	
Teversham VI§	5/13		Ely Abbey		0	1h+8a***	
Horningsea§§	5/14	M	Ely Abbey		0		7h

TOTAL SOKEMEN TRE = 48

TOTAL HIDES TRE = 46h (-2a) [1 unit of 25h; 3 units of 7h]

- ¶ Presumably this was the estate willed to Ely by Ealdorman Byrhtnoth in 991 (*Lib Elien* II, ch. 62; ECEE 46).
- * Teversham had no manor because it gelded with Cherry Hinton, see DB 14/3. This appears to have been a recent arrangement, due to Edeva being the main landholder in both villis.
- ** Only ICC gives the hidage of this holding.
- *** Only IE and ICC give the additional 8a of this holding.
- § Presumably this was the estate willed to Ely by Ealdorman Byrhtnoth in 991 (*Lib Elien* II, ch. 62; ECEE 46).
- §§ Included Eye, Fen Ditton and Clayhithe, none of which appear in DB. This is the 5 hides at Horningsea + 2 hides at Eye sold to Bishop Æthelwold c. 975 (*Lib Elien* II, ch. 32-3, 45; ECEE 222-5).

VI CHILFORD HUNDRED

vill	entry	manor	tenant	TRE	sokemen	hides	TRE
Camps I	29/7a	M	Wulfwin, king's thegn		0	2½h	} 5h
Camps II	21/1		Earl Harold	(tenant Lefsi)	0	2h	
Camps III	29/7b		Wulfwin, king's thegn		0	½h	
Horseheath I	14/5a		Edeva the Fair		0	2h+1½v	} 5h
Horseheath II	14/5b		2 sokemen	of Edeva	2	1v*	
Horseheath III¶	29/8	M	Wulfwin, king's thegn		0	1½h	
Horseheath IV**			King	(tenant Godwin of Linacret)	0	½v	
Horseheath V	26/9		Wulfwin	(tenant Ledmer)	0	½v	
Horseheath VI**			3 sokemen	of King Edward	3	1v	
Horseheath VII	14/6		Godwin <i>cild</i> ,	Edeva's man	0	1v	
Horseheath VIII	19/2		? antecessor	of Wulfvea	0	½v	
Hildersham	29/9	M	Wulfwin, king's thegn		0		5h
(Great) Abington I	29/10a	M	Wulfwin, king's thegn***		0	5h	} 6½h+½v§
(Great) Abington II	29/10b		Edeva the Fair	(tenant a priest)	0	1h	
(Great) Abington III	29/12		King Edward	(tenant Ælfmær)	1	½h	
(Great) Abington IV	1/16		King Edward	(tenant Ælfmær)	0	½v	
(West) Wickham I****	14/7a	M	Edeva the Fair		0	2h-1v	} 5h
(West) Wickham II	14/7b		3 sokemen	of Edeva the Fair	3	1v¶	
(West) Wickham III	18/6		sokeman	of Toki	1	1h	
(West) Wickham IV	5/15		Ely Abbey		0	1½h	
(West) Wickham V	26/10		3 sokemen		3	1v	
(West) Wickham VI	19/3a		? antecessor	of Wulfvea	0	½v	
(West) Wickham VII	19/3b		?		0	½v	

VI CHILFORD HUNDRED (continued)

vill	entry	manor	tenant	TRE	sokemen	hides	TRE	
Barham I	14/8	M	Edeva the Fair		0	3h- $\frac{1}{2}$ v	} 5h	
Barham II	14/9		Edeva the Fair		0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ h		
Barham III	14/10		1 sokeman of Edeva		1	1v		
Barham IV	5/16		1 sokeman of Ely Abbey		1	1v \textasciitilde		
(Great) Linton I	14/11a	M	Edeva the Fair		0	3h+3v \textasciitilde	} 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ h \textasciitilde	
(Great) Linton II	14/11b		1 sokeman of Edeva the Fair		1	1v		
(Little) Linton	14/13	M	Edeva the Fair		0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
(Little) Abington	14/14	M	Edeva the Fair		0			5h
Babraham I	14/15	M	6 sokemen of Edeva the Fair		6	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ h+24a	} 7h $\bullet\bullet$ (+39a)	
Babraham II	14/16		Alric the priest (under Edeva)		0	1h- $\frac{1}{2}$ v \textasciitilde		
Babraham III	38/1		Godiva (under Earl \textasciitilde lfgar)		0	1h1v		
Babraham IV \bullet	1/15		Wulfwin, King Edward's thegn		0	$\frac{1}{2}$ h+ $\frac{1}{2}$ v		
Babraham V	26/11a		1 sokeman of Ely		1	1v \textasciitilde		
Babraham VI	26/11b		2 sokemen of King Edward		2	2v \textasciitilde		
Babraham V	26/57; 5/17		2 sokemen of Ely		2	1v $\bullet\bullet\bullet$		
Babraham VII	25/1		\textasciitilde lfric Kemp (under the king)		0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ v		
Babraham VIII	29/11		Godric, Wulfwin's man (under Earl \textasciitilde lfgar)		0	$\frac{1}{2}$ v		
Babraham IX	41/5		Lemmar, man of Earl Gyrth		0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ v		
Pampisford I $\bullet\bullet\bullet\bullet$	5/18	M	Ely Abbey		0	2h+3 $\frac{1}{2}$ v	} 5h (+22a)	
Pampisford II	14/17		\textasciitilde lmer, sokeman of Edeva		1	1h+22a		
Pampisford III	32/3		Edric, man of \textasciitilde lfric <i>cild</i>		0	3v		
Pampisford IV	5/19; 26/55		Snelling, man of Ely Abbey		0	10a		
Pampisford V	25/2		Burro, under \textasciitilde lfric Kemp		0	5a		
Pampisford VI	26/12		2 sokemen (under the king)		2	$\frac{1}{2}$ v \textasciitilde		
Pampisford VII	41/6		1 sokeman of Earl Gyrth		1	$\frac{1}{2}$ v		

TOTAL SOKEMEN TRE = 31

TOTAL HIDES TRE = 51h (-44a) [7 units of 5h; 3 units of 7h]

[Flendish and Chilford Hundreds were assessed together at 100 hides.]

* The rating of this holding is recorded only in ICC.

** These entries occur only in ICC; DB 26/9 covers Horseheath IV-VI in rather less detail.

*** Leased to Wulfwin by Ramsey Abbey c. 1044 (*Chron Rams* 152-3; *ECEE* 36).

**** Note that the Wickham entries include Streetley and Yen Hall, both mentioned in IE.

§ The later assessment of Great Abington was 7h (Farrer, 56). Some small items appear to have dropped out of ICC and DB.

† Linacre is a lost place-name in Horseheath.

‡ The account of this holding in ICC differs somewhat from the DB version.

¶ Note that Wulfwin held 'sacam et socam' according to DB; this holding was therefore manorial.

§§ IE says $\frac{1}{2}$ v, wrongly.

¶¶ So in DB; ICC has 3h+4v, evidently including Great Linton II.

§§§ DB and ICC both give this total for the two Lintons, but they were assessed at 7 hides when given to Ely in 1008 (S 919; *ECEE* 48).

†† So in ICC; DB has 1h-1v.

• This holding lay in Chesterford and was assessed in Essex.

††† Details from ICC, not DB.

•• ICC gives 7h for Babraham; the individual entries in ICC and DB appear to add up to an additional 39a.

••• So in IE & ICC; DB has $\frac{1}{2}$ v.•••• Presumably this was the estate willed to Ely by Ealdorman Byrhtnoth in 991 (*Lib Elien* II, ch. 62; *ECEE* 46).

§§§§ So in ICC; DB has 1v.

VII WHITTLESFORD HUNDRED

vill	entry	manor tenant TRE	sokemen	hides TRE	
Whittlesford I	41/7	M Earl Gyrrh	0	11h 1v	} 20h
Whittlesford II	14/18a	Edeva the Fair	0	1/2v	
Whittlesford III	14/18b	1 sokeman of Edeva	1	1 1/2v	
Whittlesford IV	26/13	1 man of Earl Gyrrh	0	1v	
Sawston I	25/3	M 3 sokemen of Ælfric Kemp	3	4h	} 8h
Sawston II	22/2	Sigar under Esgar the Staller	0	2h	
Sawston III	12/1	Ordgar under Earl Harold	0	2h	
Hinxton I*	32/4a	M 1 sokeman of Earl Ælfgar	1	1/2h	} 20h
Hinxton II*	32/4b	M 19 sokemen of King Edward	19	15h	
Hinxton III	1/10, 22	Earl Ælfgar	0	1 1/2h	
Hinxton IV	3/1	Siward under Earl Harold	0	2h	
Hinxton V	26/14a	Estred under Earl Ælfgar	0	1h	
Ickleton I	15/1	M Ælfsi, King Edward's thegn	0	19 1/2h	} 20h
Ickleton II**	26/14b	Estred under Earl Ælfgar	0	1/2h	
Duxford I	15/2a	M Archbishop Stigand	0	3 1/2h	} 20h
Duxford II	15/2b	Horwulf, King Edward's thegn	0	1h3v	
Duxford III	15/2c	Ingvar under King Edward	0	1/2h	
Duxford IV	14/19	Edeva the Fair	0	6h	
Duxford V	20/1	Ulf, King Edward's thegn***	0	4 1/2h	
Duxford V I	26/16a	11 sokemen of King Edward	11	1h3v	
Duxford VII	26/16b	1 sokeman of Edeva the Fair	1	3v****	
Duxford VIII	26/16c	1 sokeman of Earl Ælfgar	1	3v	
Duxford IX	21/2	Ælfric under King Edward	0	1/2h	

TOTAL SOKEMEN TRE = 37

TOTAL HIDES TRE = 80h [4 units, each of 20 hides]

* DB states that this holding (Hinxton I & II) was acquired as 2 manors.

** One hide at Ickleton is mentioned in 989 in the will of Ælfhelm Polga (S 1487; ECEE 46).

*** The royal holding at Duxford dates back presumably to 942-51 when the vill was given to the king by the bishop of London as part of his heriot (S 1526; ECEE 40).

**** So in ICC.

VIII THRIPLow HUNDRED

vill	entry	manor tenant TRE	sokemen	hides TRE	
Thriplow I	5/20	M Ely Abbey	0	5 1/2h*	} 8h
Thriplow II	5/21; 26/56	Ely Abbey	0	1h	
Thriplow III	22/3a	Sigar under Esgar the Staller	0	1 1/2h	
Fowlmere	21/3b	M Ælfric Kemp under King Edward	0	10h	10h
Foxton I	11/1	M Chatteris Abbey	0	5h+40a	} 10h
Foxton II	22/4	Sigar under Esgar the Staller	0	3 1/2h+20a	
Foxton III**	14/20	2 sokemen of Edeva the Fair	2	1h	
Harston I	32/5a	M Ordgar under Earl Harold	0	4h	} 10h (+1/2v)
Harston II	32/5b	6 sokemen of King Edward	6	2h	
Harston III	5/24; 32/5c	Fridebert, sokeman of Ely Abbey	0	1 1/2h	
Harston IV	21/4	1 sokeman of King Edward	1	1h1v	
Harston V	14/21a	4 sokemen of Edeva the Fair	4	4 1/2v	
Harston VI	14/21b	1 priest under Ordgar	1	1v	
Hauxton I	5/23	M Ely Abbey§	0	8 1/2h	} 10h
Hauxton II	26/17a	Bondi, sokeman of Ely Abbey	1	3v	
Hauxton III	26/17b	1 sokeman of Earl Ælfgar	1	3v	

VIII THRIPLow HUNDRED (continued)

vill	entry	manor	tenant TRE	sokemen	hides TRE
(Great) Shelford I§§	5/25	M	Ely Abbey	0	9h+14a†
(Great) Shelford II	1/17		King (berewick of Newport)	0	3h (+14a)
(Little) Shelford I	5/26; 26/18a		Ely Abbey	0	2½h+9a
(Little) Shelford II	5/27; 26/18b	M	7 sokemen of Ely Abbey***	7	1½h+6a
(Little) Shelford III	14/22		6 sokemen under Edeva	6	1½h+6a
(Little) Shelford IV	26/18c		3 sokemen under Earl Gyrrh	3	½h
(Little) Shelford V	26/18d		Ælfsi under Earl Ælfgar	1	½h (-17a)
(Little) Shelford VI	26/18e		2 sokemen under Earl Harold	2	1v+7a
(Little) Shelford VII	26/18f		5 sokemen under King Edward	5	3½v
Trumpington I††	18/7		Thorkil under Ely Abbey	0	4½h
Trumpington II	32/6		Horwulf under King Edward	0	2h + 1½v
Trumpington III	15/3	M	Horwulf, King Edward's thegn	0	2h + 1½v†††
Trumpington IV	38/2		Norman under Earl Tosti	0	1h 3v
Trumpington V	41/8		1 sokemen under Earl Waltheof	1	½h
Trumpington VI	omitted		1 burgess of Cambridge	0	1v††††
Stapleford	5/28	M	Ely Abbey♣	0	10h

TOTAL SOKEMEN TRE = 41

TOTAL HIDAGE TRE = 90h (+12a) [5 units of 10h; 2 units of 20h]

* DB 6½h in error (makes Thriplow II additional to this). ICC & IE have 5½h. Thriplow was willed to Ely by Ealdorman Byrhtnoth in 991 (*Lib Elien* II, ch. 62; *ECEE* 46).

** Entered wrongly as Fowlmere.

*** IE has 6 sokemen.

§ Includes Newton, not mentioned in DB (*Lib Elien* 100). 4½ hides at Hauxton + 3 hides at Newton were willed to Ely in 975 (*Lib Elien* II, ch. 27; *ECEE* 222).

§§ For the early estate history of the Shelfords, see C.R. Hart, *The Aldewerke and Minster at Shelford, Cambridgeshire, Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 8 (1995), 43-68.

† So in IE; ICC has 9h+29a. DB has 9h+24a.

†† Presumably this was the estate willed to Ely by Ealdorman Byrhtnoth in 991 (*Lib Elien* II, ch. 62; *ECEE* 46).

††† So in DB; ICC has 2h½v (wrongly).

†††† ICC figure; omitted in DB.

♣ Given as a 15 hide estate to the church at Ely by King Eadred in 954-5 (S 572; *ECEE* 40).

IX ARMINGFORD HUNDRED

vill	entry	manor	tenant TRE	sokemen	hides TRE
Steeple Morden I	2/1	M	The Old Minster, Winchester♣	0	8h
Steeple Morden II	13/1		Goda under Earl Ælfgar	0	1h+¼v
Steeple Morden III	26/19		6 sokemen of King Edward	6†	1h-¼v
Guilden Morden I	13/2		Goda under Earl Ælfgar	0	½h+½v
Guilden Morden II*	22/7		Godwin Wabestrang of Esgar the Staller	1	3v
Guilden Morden III*	26/20		Winterled, sokeman of Earl Ælfgar	1	½v
Guilden Morden IV*	32/8a		Osgot, sokeman of Abp Stigand	1	1½h (-½v)
Guilden Morden V*	32/8b		Godwin & William, men of Abp Stigand	2	1v
Guilden Morden VI*	32/8c		Gotman & Alwin sokemen of Earl Ælfgar	2	3v
Guilden Morden VII*	32/8d		Ælnod & Aluuard sokemen of K. Edward	2	3v
Guilden Morden VIII*	32/8e		Ælfmær, sokeman of Edeva	1	½v
Tadlow I*	32/7a		Orderic, sokeman of King Edward	1	1h+1½v
Tadlow I*	32/7b		Ansil, man of said Orderic	1	½h+¼v
Tadlow III*	32/7c		Godric, Esgar's man	1	½h+¼v
Tadlow IV	41/9		Thorkil, Earl Tostig's priest	0	1h+1½v
Tadlow V	42/1		Wulfmer of Eaton, King Edward's thegn	0	1h+1v

IX ARMINGFORD HUNDRED (continued)

vill	entry	manor tenant TRE	sokemen	hides TRE	
Clopton I	2/2	The Old Minster, Winchester	0	3½h	} 5h
Clopton II	25/4	Earl Gyrrh	0	1½h	
East Hatley I	14/23	Ælfmær under Edeva the Fair	0	1h+3v	} 10h
East Hatley II	25/5	Ælfmær under Robert Fitz Wimarc	0	1h+1v	
East Hatley III*	32/10a	2 sokemen of King Edward	2		
East Hatley IV*	32/10b	3 sokemen of Abp Stigand	3	2h	
East Hatley V*	32/10c	1 sokeman of Earl Gyrrh	1		
East Hatley VI*	32/10d	1 sokeman of Robert fitzWimarc	1		
East Hatley VII*	32/10e	1 sokeman of Wulfmær of Eaton	1		
Croydon I	13/3	Ælfmær, man of Earl Waltheof	0	3v	} 10h
Croydon II	14/24	Godiva under Edeva the Fair	1	2½v	
Croydon III	14/25	Leofeva under Edeva the Fair	1	1v	
Croydon IV	25/6	Earl Gyrrh	0	2h	
Croydon V	26/21a	Ælflæd under Abp Stigand	0	1h	
Croydon VI	26/21b	4 sokemen of King Edward	4	1h 3h+1v	
Croydon VII*	26/21c	Aluric, man of Esgar the Staller	0	5v	
Croydon VIII*	32/11	Gotmar, man of Esgar the Staller	0	2h-½v	
Croydon IX*	32/12	Eluard, man of Robert fitz Wimarc	1	1h+1v	
Wendy I	14/26a	Edeva the Fair	0	3h+3v	} 5h
Wendy II	14/26b	6 sokemen under Edeva the Fair	6	1h	
Wendy III	26/22	Goda under Earl Ælfgar	0	1v	
Shingay	13/4	Goda under Earl Ælfgar	0	5h	} 10h
Litlington I	1/18	M Earl Ælfgar	0	4½h+½v	
Litlington II	26/23a	Algar, man of Abp Stigand	0	½h	} 5h
Litlington III	26/23b	Alfwy, man of Earl Ælfgar	0	½v (+1v)	
Abington Pigotts I	1/19	The King	0	½h	} 10h
Abington Pigotts II	1/20	Alwin Hamelecoc, the beadle	0	½v	
Abington Pigotts III	2/3a	M The Old Minster, Winchester	0	2½h	
Abington Pigotts IV	2/3b	1 sokeman of Abp Stigand	1	½v	
Abington Pigotts V	13/5	Goda under Earl Ælfgar	0	1v	
Abington Pigotts VI	26/24a	2 sokemen of Earl Ælfgar	2	1h+½v	
Abington Pigotts VII	26/24b	1 sokeman of King Edward	1	1v	
Abington Pigotts VIII	32/13	Ansgot, man of Abp Stigand	0	½v	
Bassingbourn I	2/4a	The Old Minster, Winchester	0	1h+2v	} 10h
Bassingbourn II	2/4b	1 sokeman Abp Stigand	1	½v	
Bassingbourn III	14/27a	M 8 sokemen of Edeva the Fair	8	7h+1½v	
Bassingbourn IV	14/27b	2 sokemen of Earl Ælfgar	2		
Bassingbourn V	26/25	2 sokemen of Earl Ælfgar	2	1h	
Whaddon I	5/29a	Thorbern the White under Ely	0	1h	} 10h
Whaddon II	5/29b	12 sokemen of Ely	12	1½h	
Whaddon III	14/28	Colswain under Edeva the Fair	0	½h	
Whaddon IV	14/29	Leofwy, man of Asgar the Staller	0	2h+1v	
Whaddon V	14/30a	1 sokeman under Colswain	1	1v	
Whaddon VI	14/30b	1 sokeman under Ely	1		
Whaddon VII	14/31a	Edeva the Fair	0	2h+½v	
Whaddon VIII	14/31b	1 sokeman under Edeva	1	½v	
Whaddon IX	19/4	Saeva under Edeva the Fair	1	1v	
Whaddon X	26/26a	Turbert** priest under Abp Stigand	1	1h+3v	
Whaddon XI	26/26b	1 sokeman under Earl Ælfgar	1		
Whaddon XII	26/27a	Thorbern under Ely	0	1h	
Whaddon XIII	26/27b	12 sokemen under Ely	12	1½h	
Whaddon XIV	26/28	Danemund, man of Asgar the Staller	1	½v	

IX ARMINGFORD HUNDRED (continued)

vill	entry	manor tenant TRE	sokemen hides TRE		
Meldreth I§	5/31	Ely Abbey	0	2h+3v	} 10h
Meldreth II	5/32; 26/30	minster (<i>monasterium</i>) under Ely	0	1½h	
Meldreth III	5/33; 31/1a	9 sokemen of Ely***	9	1h+3v	
Meldreth IV	5/33; 31/1b	1 sokeman of Ely***	1	1½v	
Meldreth V	5/33; 31/1c	5 sokemen of Earl Ælfgar	5	1h+½v	
Meldreth VI	13/6	Goda under Earl Ælfgar	0	2h	
Meldreth VII	14/32	Colswain under Edeva the Fair	0	1v	
Meldreth VIII	5/30; 26/29	Ælfmær the priest under Ely	1	1v	
Melbourne I	5/34	Ely Abbey☛☛	0	2h+1v	} 10h
Melbourne II	13/7	Goda under Earl Ælfgar	0	½h-¼v	
Melbourne III	14/33	Colswain under Edeva the Fair	0	3v	
Melbourne IV	26/31	Sired under Earl Ælfgar	0	1h+1v	
Melbourne V§§	31/2a	Edric Snipe§§§, thegn of King Edward	0	2½h	
Melbourne VI§§	31/2b	8 sokemen of Ely****	8	2h+½v	
Melbourne VII§§	31/2c	2 sokemen of King Edward****	2	⅔v	

TOTAL SOKEMEN TRE = 114

TOTAL HIDAGE TRE = 100h [10 units of 10 h]

☛ Given to the Old Minster in 1015 by the will of the Ætheling Æthelstan (S 1503; ECEE 48). The estate at Steeple Morden may have included parts of Clopton, Bassingbourn and Abington Pigotts.

☛☛ 5 hides at Melbourn and 3½ hides at Armingford (probably in Whaddon) were given to Ely by King Edgar in 970 (S 779; ECEE 42-3)

¶ So in ICC; DB has 7 sokemen. Land at Hatley was willed by Ælfhelm Polga in 989 (S 1487; ECEE 45-6).

¶¶ Called a sokeman in ICC.

* Only ICC gives full details of these holdings.

** ICC and DB have Thorbern.

*** Named in IE as Grimm, Alsi *cild*, Wenesi, Alsi, Leofwine *presbyter*, Godricus *presbyter*, Godwin *presbyter*, Ælmar *ps* (? priest), Æluric brother of Godwin *presbyter*, and Ædric *pur*. We have here 3 (or perhaps 4) clergy who were evidently staffing the minster church of Meldreth. See also Meldreth VIII.

**** Named in IE as Alsi *berd*, Alric *godingessune*, Alric *mus*, Godinc *bolt*, Alsi *beressune*, Wenesta, Ælwin *blo(n)d*, Ælwin *prefectus abbatis*, and Æluredus.

§ Note the considerable number of duplicate entries for Meldreth.

§§ Mistakenly entered under Meldreth in ICC and DB. IE rightly enters them under Melbourne.

§§§ ICC and DB consistently call him Edric *pur*, translated as 'snipe' by the editors of the Phillimore Domesday. I have followed this here, although in fact OE *pur* seems to represent a number of long-billed wading species. But I am suspicious that *pur* in this context might represent Latin *puer*, 'boy, child', (OE *cild*), a more common nickname.

X WETHERLEY HUNDRED∞

vill	entry	manor tenant TRE	sokemen hides TRE		
Comberton I	1/6a	M King Edward	0	2½h	} 6h
Comberton II	1/6b	1 sokeman of Earl Waltheof	1	½v	
Comberton III	32/14a	7 sokemen of the king	7	1h 1v	
Comberton IV	32/14b	1 sokeman of Abp Stigand	1	} 3v	
Comberton V	32/14c	1 sokeman of Earl Waltheof	1		
Comberton VI	37/1	Areli, man of Earl Waltheof	0	1½v	
Comberton VII	44/1a	1 sokeman of the king	1	1v	
Comberton VIII	44/1b	1 sokeman of Abp Stigand	1	1½v	
Comberton IX	44/1c	1 sokeman of Earl Waltheof	1	1½v	
Barton I	12/2	Judichel, the king's huntsman	0	1h	} 7h
Barton II	31/3a	23 sokemen of King Edward	23	3h	
Barton III	31/3b	1 sokeman of Edeva the Fair	1	½h	
Barton IV	37/2a	2 sokemen of Earl Waltheof	2	1h 2½v	
Barton V	37/2b	1 sokemen of Earl Waltheof*	1	½h ½v	
Barton VI	37/2c	1 sokemen of Earl Waltheof*	1	1v	
Grantchester I	12/3	Judichel the Huntsman	0	1v	} 7h
Grantchester II	14/34	Godman under Edeva the Fair	0	1½v	
Grantchester III	15/4a	2 sokemen of King Edward	2	2h 1v	
Grantchester IV	15/4b	1 sokeman of Asgar the Staller	1	½h	
Grantchester V	31/4	5 sokemen of King Edward	5	3v	
Grantchester VI	32/15	Wulfric, sokeman of King Edward	1	½v	
Grantchester VII	38/3a	1 sokeman of Earl Ælfgar	1	3v	
Grantchester VIII	38/3b	3 sokemen of Earl Waltheof	3	2h	

X WETHERLEY HUNDRED (continued)

vill	entry	manor tenant TRE	sokemen hides TRE		
Haslingfield I	1/7	M King	0	7h 1v	} 20h
Haslingfield II	14/36	Aldred under Edeva the Fair	0	1h $\frac{1}{2}$ v	
Haslingfield III	14/37	Edeva the Fair	0	$\frac{1}{2}$ h	
Haslingfield IV	14/38	Meruin under Edeva the Fair	0	12a	
Haslingfield V	22/8	Sigar under Algar the Staller	0	5h	
Haslingfield VI	32/16a	1 sokeman of Asgar the Staller	1	1h 3v	
Haslingfield VII	32/16b	5 sokemen of King Edward	5	3h	
Haslingfield VIII	omitted**	2 sokemen of the king	2	1h 1v 3a	
Harlton I	17/4a	4 sokemen of Aki, king's thegn	4	4h- $\frac{1}{2}$ v	} 5h
Harlton II	17/4b***	1 sokeman of Ernulf	1	$\frac{1}{2}$ v	
Harlton III	32/17	Godman under Algar the Staller	0	1h	
Barrington I	11/3	Chatteris Abbey	0	2h	} 10h
Barrington II	14/39	1 sokeman of King Edward	1	$\frac{1}{2}$ v	
Barrington III	17/5	Akil Danauus, man of Earl Harold	0	40a	
Barrington IV	21/5a	15 sokemen of King Edward	15	4h+ $\frac{1}{2}$ v	
Barrington V	21/5b	4 sokemen of Earl Ælfgar	4	2h- $\frac{1}{2}$ v	
Barrington VI	21/5c	3 sokemen of Asgar the Staller	3	(1h)§	
Barrington VII	21/5d	Edric Snipe under Chatteris Abbey	0	$\frac{1}{2}$ v	
Barrington VIII	21/5e	Edric Snipe under King Edward	0	3v	
Barrington IX	32/18	Edsi under Robert fitz Wimarc	0	20a	
Shepreth I	5/35; 26/33	Ely Abbey	0	$\frac{1}{2}$ v	} 5h
Shepreth II	11/4	Chatteris Abbey	0	1h+ $\frac{1}{2}$ v	
Shepreth III	14/40	Heming, man of King Edward	0	$\frac{1}{2}$ v	
Shepreth IV	22/9	Sigar under Asgar the Staller	0	1h	
Shepreth V	26/32a	4 sokemen of King Edward	4	$\frac{1}{2}$ h	
Shepreth VI	26/32b	1 sokeman of Earl Ælfgar	1	$\frac{1}{2}$ h+ $\frac{1}{2}$ v	
Orwell I	11/5; 31/5	Chatteris Abbey	0	$\frac{1}{4}$ v	} 4h
Orwell II	13/8a	2 sokemen of Edeva the Fair	2	$\frac{2}{3}$ v	
Orwell III	13/8b	1 sokemen of Abp Stigand	1	$\frac{1}{3}$ v	
Orwell IV	13/8c	1 sokeman of Robert fitz Wimarc	1	$\frac{1}{3}$ v	
Orwell V	13/8d	1 sokeman of King Edward	1	$\frac{2}{3}$ v	
Orwell VI	13/8e	1 sokeman of Earl Ælfgar	1	$\frac{1}{3}$ v	
Orwell VII	14/41	Thorbern under Edeva the Fair	0	$\frac{3}{4}$ v	
Orwell VIII	17/6	Akil, man of Earl Harold	0	1v	
Orwell IX	21/6	1 sokeman of King Edward	1	1v	
Orwell X	22/10	Sigar under Asgar the Staller	0	$\frac{1}{3}$ v	
Orwell XI	26/34a	1 sokeman of Earl Waltheof	1	3v	
Orwell XII	26/34b	1 sokeman of King Edward	1	$\frac{1}{3}$ v	
Wratworth I§§	13/9a	1 sokeman of Edeva the Fair	1	$\frac{3}{3}$ v	} 4h (+ $\frac{1}{2}$ h)
Wratworth II	13/9b	1 sokeman of Abp Stigand	1	3v	
Wratworth III	13/9c	1 sokeman of Earl Ælfgar	1	$\frac{1}{3}$ v	
Wratworth IV	13/9d	1 sokeman of King Edward	1	$\frac{2}{3}$ v	
Wratworth V	13/9e	1 sokeman of Robert fitz Wimarc	1	$\frac{1}{3}$ v	
Wratworth VI	14/42	1 sokeman of Edeva the Fair	1	$\frac{1}{3}$ v	
Wratworth VII	26/35a	1 sokeman of Earl Waltheof	1	$\frac{1}{2}$ h $\frac{2}{3}$ v	
Wratworth VIII	26/35b	1 sokeman of Robert fitz Wimarc	1	$\frac{1}{3}$ v	
Wratworth IX	31/6	2 sokemen of King Edward	2	$\frac{1}{2}$ h	
Wratworth X	32/19	1 sokeman of King Edward	1	3v	
Whitwell I§§	13/10a	1 sokeman of Abp Stigand	1	$\frac{1}{2}$ v	} 4h (-1v)
Whitwell II	13/10b	1 sokeman of Edeva the Fair	1	$\frac{1}{3}$ v	
Whitwell III	13/10c	1 sokeman of ?	1	$\frac{1}{2}$ v	
Whitwell IV	14/43	Godwin under Edeva the Fair	0	$\frac{1}{2}$ h	
Whitwell V	26/36a	6 sokemen of King Edward	6	5v	
Whitwell VI	26/36b	1 sokeman of Robert fitz Wimarc	1	$\frac{1}{2}$ h	
Whitwell VII	26/36c	1 sokeman of Earl Ælfgar	1	1v	
Whitwell VIII	32/20a	1 sokeman of Earl Ælfgar	1	$\frac{1}{2}$ h $\frac{1}{3}$ v	
Whitwell IX	32/20b	1 sokeman of Robert fitz Wimarc	1	1v	
Whitwell X	32/20c	1 sokeman of King Edward	1	$\frac{1}{3}$ h	

X WETHERLEY HUNDRED (*continued*)

vill	entry	manor tenant TRE	sokemen	hides TRE	
Wimpole I	14/44	Edeva the Fair	0	2h+2 ¹ / ₂ v	} 4h
Wimpole II	25/7	Earl Gyrrh	0	1h+1 ¹ / ₂ v	
Arrington I§§	13/11a	M Ælfric, King Edward's thegn§§§	0	(1 ¹ / ₃ v)	} 4h
Arrington II	13/11b	1 sokeman of Earl Waltheof	1	1h	
Arrington III	13/11c	Æduuard, sokeman of Ely§§§§	1	2h	
Arrington IV	13/11d	1 sokeman of Robert fitz Wimarc	1	² / ₃ v	
Arrington V	14/45	Leofeva under Edeva the Fair	0	¹ / ₂ h	

TOTAL SOKEMEN TRE = 132**TOTAL HIDES TRE = 80 [4 units of 20 h]**∞ For Maitland's reconstruction of this hundred, see *Domesday and Beyond*, 131-4.

* So in ICC; DB differs.

** Omitted in DB; recorded in ICC.

*** Only in ICC.

§ This hide should be counted as part of 21/5a or 21/5b, I think.

§§ Wratworth (lost) was in Orwell parish. Whitwell Farm was in Barton parish. The Wratworth, Whitwell and Arrington holdings have been reconstructed from ICC and DB combined.

§§§ Land at Arrington was willed to the king by the bishop of London in 942-51 (S 572; ECEE 40).

§§§§ Named in IE.

XI LONGSTOW HUNDRED

vill	entry	manor tenant TRE	sokemen	hides TRE	
Eversden I	14/46	2 sokemen of Edeva the Fair	2	1h	} 8h 40a
Eversden II	26/37	1 sokeman of Earl Ælfgar	1	1v	
Eversden III	27/1	Edwy, man of Ely Abbey	0	1h	
Eversden IV	31/7a	2 sokemen of Abp Stigand	2	1h 3v	
Eversden V	31/7b	6 sokemen of Earl Ælfgar	6	3v	
Eversden VI	31/7c	1 sokeman of Edeva the Fair	1	1h	
Eversden VII	31/7d	14 sokemen of King Edward	14	1 ¹ / ₂ h 10a	
Eversden VIII	31/7e	(? demesne)	0	1h	
Kingston I	1/8	King Edward	0	1h 3v	} 8h 40a (+44a)
Kingston II	13/12	Ælmær s. of Goding, man of Earl Waltheof	0	2/3 v	
kKingston III	25/8	Ælmær s. of Goding, man of Earl Waltheof	0	10 a	
Kingston IV	14/47	Ælfgeat <i>gaest</i> , man of Earl Ælfgar	0	1v	
Kingston V	26/38	Thorbert, man of Edeva the Fair	0	1v	
Kingston VI	26/39	Wulfmær, man of Robert fitz Wimarc	0	9a	
Kingston VII	32/21a	10 sokemen of King Edward	10	2h 1 ¹ / ₂ v	
Kingston VIII	32/21b	2 sokemen of Earl Ælfgar	2	1h*	
Kingston IX	32/21c	1 sokeman of Abp Stigand	1	3v	
Kingston X	32/21d	1 sokeman of Ely	1	1v	
Kingston XI	32/21e	2 sokemen of Earl Ælfgar	2	2h	
Hardwick I	5/36	Ely Abbey☛	0	3h 1v 12a	} 8h
Hardwick II	5/37	Algar Cappe§, under Ely Abbey	0	10a	
Toft I☛☛	14/48	Edeva the Fair	0	2h 1v 8a	} 40a
Toft II	32/22a	1 sokeman of King Edward	1	1h 4a	
Toft III	32/22b	Siward§§, sokeman of Ely Abbey	1	¹ / ₂ h 6a	
Toft IV	44/2	5§§§ sokemen of Ely Abbey	5	1h	
Little Gransden	5/38	M Ely Abbey☛☛☛	0	5h	} 25h
Bourn I	7/1	Ramsey Abbey☛	0	1	
Bourn II☛	14/49	Ælmær under Edeva the Fair	0	4h 1v	
Bourn III	32/23a	M a thegn of King Edward	0	3h	
Bourn IV	32/23b	2 priests, the thegn's men	0	1h	
Bourn V	32/23c	3 sokemen of Abp Stigand	3	4h	
Bourn VI	32/23d	1 man of Asgar the Staller	1	1h	
Bourn VII	32/23e	2 men of Ramsey Abbey	2	1 ¹ / ₂ h	
Bourn VIII	32/23f	1 man of Earl Ælfgar	1	¹ / ₂ h	
Bourn IX	32/23g	13 men of King Edward	13	2h	
Bourn X	33/1	Ælmær, thegn of King Edward	0	1h 3v	

XI LONGSTOW HUNDRED (continued)

vill	entry	manor tenant TRE	sokemen	hides TRE
Caldecote I ^{¶¶}	14/50	Ælmær under Edeva the Fair	0	1/2h
Caldecote II	26/40	2 sokemen under Edeva the Fair	2	3v 10a
Caldecote III	39/1	Sigar, man of Earl Waltheof	0	1v 20a
Longstow I	7/2	M Ramsey Abbey [¶]	0	2h
Longstow II	14/51	Ælmær under Edeva the Fair	0	1 1/2v
Longstow III	26/41	1 sokeman of Abp Stigand	1	3 1/2v
Caxton I	26/42a	M Thorgar, thegn of King Edward	0	3h
Caxton II	26/42b	4 sokemen of King Edward	4	1h 1/2v
Caxton III	26/42c	18 sokemen of Earl Ælfgar	18	6h-1/2v
Croxton I	26/43	2 sokemen of King Edward	2	1h
Croxton II	39/2a	3 sokemen of Earl Ælgar	3	6h
Croxton III	39/2b	1 sokeman of Earl Waltheof	1	
Eltisley	16/1	M Earl Ælgar	0	3h
Gamlingay I**	25/9a	M Wulfmær of Eaton	0	13h 3v
Gamlingay II	25/9b	9 sokemen	9	4h 1v
Gamlingay III	34/1	Ingvar, thegn of King Edward	0	1h
Gamlingay IV	38/4	1 man of Earl Ælfgar	0	1h
Hatley St George I	14/52	Ælmær, man of Edeva the Fair	0	1v
Hatley St George II	25/10	2 sokemen of Robert fitz Wimarc	2	1h
Hatley St George III	32/24	Alfward, man of Edeva the Fair	0	2h ^{¶¶¶}
Hatley St George IV	32/25	3 sokemen of King Edward	3	1h
Hatley St George V***	41/10	2 sokemen of King Edward	2	3v

TOTAL SOKEMEN TRE = 116

TOTAL HIDES TRE = 100 [4 units of 25h]

¶ Hardwick was left to Ely by the will of Ealdorman Byrhtnoth, who died in 991.

¶¶ 10 hides at Toft were sold to Bishop Æthelwold (for Ely) in c. 975 (*Lib Elien* II ch. 26; *ECEE* 221-2).

¶¶¶ 15 hides at Gransden (Great and Little Gransden, Hunts & Cambs) were sold to Bishop Æthelwold in 970-73 (*S* 792; *Lib Elien* II, ch. 46; *ECEE* 24-5, 29, 50, 170).

¶ Land at Bourn and Longstow was left to Ramsey Abbey in c. 985 (*S* 1809; *ECEE* 44-5); more land at Longstow went to Ramsey in 1016-1034 (*Chron Rams* 144; *ECEE* 239).

§ IE variants *Chaba* (MS A), *Cloppa* (MS C).

§§ Named only in IE, which goes on to say that Siward is 'now' replaced by hercheng pistor.

§§§ IE has 'hercheng' holding 1 hide, and names the 5 sokemen as Alric Brunnesune, Alware, Hunuð, Hunwine and Brihtstan.

¶¶ A leaf missing here from ICC.

¶¶¶ Perhaps the 2 hides in the will of Æthelstan Mannessune dated 986 (*Chron Rams* 59-60; *Lib Elien* 91; *ECEE* 45).

* So in ICC; DB has 1v.

** 9 hides at Gamlingay were given to St Neots in 975 x 984 (*Lib Elien* II ch. 29; *ECEE* 44).

*** Unnamed in DB; see Round, *Feudal England* 48; *VCH Cambs* I, 398.

XII PAPWORTH HUNDRED

vill	entry	manor tenant TRE	sokemen	hides TRE
Papworth Everard	14/53	M Goda, under Edeva the Fair	0	5h
Papworth St Agnes I	19/1	Ælfric the priest, under Ely	0	1v
Papworth St Agnes II	23/1	Ulf, thegn of King Edward	0	1 1/2v
Papworth St Agnes III	26/44	2 sokemen of King Edward	2	1 1/2v
Papworth St Agnes IV	30/1	Ordnoth, man of Robert fitz Wimarc	0	1h 3v
Papworth St Agnes V	30/2	Ordnoth, man of Robert fitz Wimarc	0	1h 3v
Papworth St Agnes VI	30/3	Godwin, <i>presbyter</i> * under Ely Abbey	1	1 1/2v
Papworth St Agnes VII	32/26	1 sokeman of King Edward	1	1/2v

XII PAPWORTH HUNDRED (continued)

vill	entry	manor	tenant	TRE	sokemen	hides	TRE
Graveley	7/3	M	Ramsey Abbey	♣	0		5h
Elsworth I	7/4	M	Ramsey Abbey	♣	0	9h 1v 5a	} 10h
Elsworth II	23/2		2 sokemen under Ulf, king's thegn		2	1/2h-5a	
Elsworth III	26/45		2 sokemen of King Edward		2	1v	
Knapwell I	7/5a	M	Ramsey Abbey	♣♣	0	3 1/2h	} 5h
Knapwell II	7/5b		4 sokemen of Ramsey Abbey		4	1 1/2h	
Conington I**	21/7		1 sokeman of Earl Waltheof		1	1h 1v	} 6h
Conington II	23/3		8 sokemen of Ulf, king's thegn		8	2h 3v	
Conington III	26/46		3 sokemen of King Edward		3	2h	
Boxworth I§	1/23		7 sokemen of King Edward		7	1h	} 6 1/2h
Boxworth II§	41/11		1 huscarle of Earl Waltheof		0	1h	
Boxworth III	26/47a		1 thegn of King Edward		0	3 1/2h	
Boxworth IV	26/47b		7 sokemen of King Edward		7	1h	} 5h
Boxworth V	23/4		6 sokemen of Ulf, king's thegn		6	1h 1v	
Boxworth VI§	32/2		2 sokemen of Ely Abbey		2	3h 3v	
Boxworth VII	7/6		Ramsey Abbey		0	1/2h	} 5h
Boxworth VIII	14/54		2 sokemen of Edeva the Fair		2	1h	
Boxworth IX	21/8		Leofsig, man of Earl Waltheof		0	3 1/2h	
Swavesey I	14/55a	M	Edeva the Fair		0	10h	} 15h
Swavesey II	14/55b		8 sokemen of Edeva the Fair		8	3h	
Swavesey III	21/9		Leofsi, man of Earl Waltheof		0	1h	
Swavesey IV	23/5		Ulf, thegn of King Edward		0	1h	
Fen Drayton I	1/21		2 sokemen of King Edward		2	1/2h	} 10h
Fen Drayton II	7/7		Ramsey Abbey		0	3v	
Fen Drayton III§§	14/56		5 sokemen of Edeva the Fair		5	4 1/2h	
Fen Drayton IV	23/6a		Ulf Fenisc, King Edward's thegn		0	2h	
Fen Drayton V	23/6b		1 sokeman of Ulf Fenisc		1	1h 1v	
Fen Drayton VI	32/27a		Gold, §§§ sokeman of Ely Abbey		1	1h	
Fen Drayton VII	32/27b		1 sokeman of King Edward		1		
Over I	7/8	M	Ramsey Abbey		0	10h 3v	} 15h
Over II	11/6		Chatteris Abbey		0	1h	
Over III	26/48a		Stanhard, §§§ sokeman of Ely Abbey		1	1/2h	
Over IV	26/48b		2 sokemen of Ely Abbey		2	3v	
Over V	26/48c		7 sokemen of Ramsey Abbey		7	1h	
Over VI	32/28		Godric the Falconer, sokeman of Ramsey Abbey		1	1/2h	
Over VII	41/14		Godwin cild, man of Earl Waltheof		1	1/2h	
Willingham I	5/39	M	Ely Abbey	§§§§	0	7h	} 7 1/2h
Willingham II	14/57		Oswulf, man of Edeva the Fair		1	1v	
Willingham III	32/29		Gold, man of Ely Abbey		1	1v	

TOTAL SOKEMEN TRE = 80

TOTAL HIDAGE TRE = 100 [3 units of 30h; 1 unit of 10h]

♣ The reversion of land at Graveley and Elsworth was left to Ramsey Abbey in 986 (*Chron Rams* 59-60; *Lib Elien* 91; *ECEE* 45). Other land at Graveley was left to Ramsey in 1056 (*Chron Rams* 199; *ECEE* 240). Other land at Elsworth was forfeited to Ramsey in 1020-34 (*Chron Rams* 129-34; *ECEE* 49).

♣♣ Land at Knapwell was left to Ely in 1043-4 (S 1531; *ECEE* 50-51) but it seems to have been acquired by Bishop Eadnoth II of Dorchester, who gave it to Ramsey (*Chron Rams* 159; *ECEE* 240).

* Only IE describes Godwin as *presbyter*.

** Conington was rated at 10 hides or more in 989, and presumably then had berewicks (S 1539; *ECEE* 45-6).

§ These holdings in Papworth Hundred are unnamed in DB, but it is clear from their hidage assessments that they were located in Boxworth. See further Hart, *Hidation of Cambridgeshire*, 24. The transposition sign in DB placing entry 32/2 under Guilden Morden must be mistaken.

§§ ICC recommends here.

§§§ Only IE names this sokeman.

§§§§ Given to Ely in 996-1001 (*Lib Elien* II, ch. 66; *ECEE* 47).

XIII NORTHSTOW HUNDRED

vill	entry	manor	tenant	TRE	sokemen	hides	TRE
Longstanton I	14/58a			12 sokemen of Edeva the Fair	12	4h+1 ¹ / ₂ v	} 12h
Longstanton II	14/58b			1 sokeman of Bishop Wulfwig	1		
Longstanton III	24/1			Saxi, thegn of King Edward	0	4 ¹ / ₂ h	
Longstanton IV	32/20a			11 sokemen of King Edward	11	1 ¹ / ₂ h	
Longstanton V	32/30b			3 sokemen of Ely Abbey	3	1h	
Longstanton VI	32/30c			1 sokeman of Saxi	1	1 ¹ / ₂ h	
Longstanton VII	36/1			Hoch, man of Earl Waltheof	0	1 ¹ / ₂ v	
Rampton III	32/31a	M		4 sokemen of Ely Abbey	4	5h 1v	} 6h
Rampton II	32/31b			1 sokeman of Ely Abbey	1	1 ¹ / ₂ v	
Rampton I	32/31c			1 sokeman of Edeva the Fair	1	1 ¹ / ₂ v	
Lolworth I	32/32a	M		Saloua, an almswoman of King Edward	0	3 ¹ / ₂ h	} 15h
Lolworth II	32/32b			7 sokemen of King Edward	7	1 ¹ / ₂ h	
Lolworth III	32/32c			1 sokeman of Ely Abbey	1	1 ¹ / ₂ h (-1 ¹ / ₂ h)	
Lolworth IV	32/32d			2 sokemen of Edeva the Fair	2	2h	
Madingley I**	32/32a	M		7 sokemen of King Edward	7	8h 1v	} 15h
Madingley II	32/32b			4 sokemen of Ely Abbey	4	2 ¹ / ₂ h+1 ¹ / ₂ v	
Madingley III	32/32c			1 sokeman of Ely Abbey	1	1 ¹ / ₂ h	
Madingley IV	3/2			Blackwin, sheriff of King Edward	0	1 ¹ / ₂ v	
unnamed	41/12			4 sokemen of Earl Waltheof	4	3h	
Girton I	12/4			Judicael	0	2 ¹ / ₂ h+1 ¹ / ₂ v	} 15h
Girton II	7/10	M		Ramsey Abbey	0	8h+2 ¹ / ₂ v	
Girton III	32/34			Blackwin, sheriff of King Edward	0	3h 3v	
Oakington I	5/40			Alfgeat the priest, under Ely Abbey	1	1v***	} 15h (+1a)
Oakington II	9/1	M		Crowland Abbey	0	7 ¹ / ₂ h	
Oakington III	32/35a			Blackwin, sheriff of King Edward	0	1 ¹ / ₂ h+9a	
Oakington IV	32/35b			2 sokemen of King Edward	2	1h 3v	
Oakington V	32/35c			1 sokeman of Ely Abbey****	1	1 ¹ / ₂ h+10a	
Oakington VI	41/13			Godwin, man of Earl Waltheof	0	1 ¹ / ₂ h+10a	
Oakington VII	43/1			Siward, man of Earl Waltheof	0	1 ¹ / ₂ h	
Impington I	5/41	M		Ely Abbey	0	6 ¹ / ₂ h	} 10h
Impington II	32/36a			2 sokemen of Ely Abbey	2	1h 1v	
Impington III	32/36b			Albert§, sokeman of Ely Abbey	1	2h 1v	
Milton I	32/37a	M		Albert, steward of Ely Abbey	0	6h 3v	} 12h
Milton II	32/37b			4 sokemen of Ely Abbey§§	4	4h 2 ¹ / ₂ v	
Milton III	32/37c			1 sokeman of King Edward	1	2 ¹ / ₂ v	
Waterbeach I	32/39a			Blackwin, sheriff of King Edward	0	2h 3v	} 11h
Waterbeach II	32/39b			4 sokemen of King Edward	4	2h	
Waterbeach III	32/39c			Albert, man of Ely Abbey	1	1h	
Waterbeach IV	32/39d			1 sokeman of Ely Abbey	1	1v	
Waterbeach V	40/1a			1 man of Earl Waltheof	0	1 ¹ / ₂ h	
Waterbeach VI	40/1b			Oswy, man of Ely Abbey	1	3 ¹ / ₂ h	
Landbeach I	14/59a	M		Edeva the Fair	0	2h 1v-12a	} 6h
Landbeach II	14/59b			1 sokeman of Edeva	1	2h 1v	
Landbeach III	32/38a			Blackwin, sheriff of King Edward	0	3v 12a	
Landbeach IV	32/38b			4 sokemen of King Edward	4	3v	

TOTAL SOKEMEN TRE = 84

TOTAL HIDAGE TRE = 111h [probably 4 units of 15h;
1 unit of 10h; 2 units of 24 h; 1 unit of 16h]* Clearly, 1¹/₂ hide has been lost from the account of Lolworth in ICC and DB.♣ Part of this was given to Ramsey in 971-92, the remainder in 1016-34 (*Chron Rams* 65-6, 144; *ECEE* 46, 239).♣♣ Given to Ely Abbey by Ealdorman Byrhtnoth in 991 (*Lib Elien* II, ch. 62; *Chron Rams* 116-17; *ECEE* 46).

** ICC ends here.

*** So in IE; ICC and DB give 15a, wrongly.

**** IE has, uniquely, *et modo habet eam uxor Boselini de Diua*.

§ Only IE names Albert in this entry.

§§ Possibly the 4¹/₂ hides at Milton given to Ely in exchange by St Paul's c. 971-84 (*Lib Elien* II, ch. 31; *ECEE* 222).

XIV CHESTERTON HUNDRED

vill	entry	manor	tenant	TRE	sokemen	hides	TRE
Cottenham I	5/42	M	Ely Abbey	♣	0	10h	} 30h
Cottenham II	9/2	M	Crowland Abbey		0	11h	
Cottenham III	32/40a		Oswi*, sokeman of Ely Abbey		1	3 ¹ / ₂ h-14a	
Cottenham IV	32/40b		1 sokeman of Ely Abbey		1	1 ¹ / ₂ h	
Cottenham V	32/40c		1 sokeman of Earl Waltheof		1	14a	
Cottenham VI§	32/41		Ely Abbey		0	40a	
Cottenham VII§§	32/42		Crowland Abbey		0	40a	} 4h
Westwick I	32/43a		Blackwin, sheriff of King Edward		0	3h-40a	
Westwick II	32/43b		Leofwine*, sokeman of Ely Abbey		1	40a	
Westwick III	39/3		Godmund, man of Earl Waltheof		0	1h	} 30h
Histon I	3/3	M	Bishop of Dorchester		0	16h 3v	
Histon II	3/4		9 sokemen of Bp of Dorchester		9	9h 3v	
Histon III	3/5		Wulfwin <i>medarius</i> ¶, man of Ely Abbey		1	1h 1 ² / ₃ v	
Histon IV	5/43		Abbot of Ely		0	1h 3v	
Histon V	12/5		? Judichael the Huntsman		0	1v 10a	} 30h
Dry Drayton I	9/3		Crowland Abbey		0	7 ¹ / ₂ h	
Dry Drayton II	14/60		Edeva the Fair		0	3h	
Dry Drayton III	26/49a		6 sokemen of King Edward		6	2h-1 ¹ / ₂ v	
Dry Drayton IV	26/49b		4 sokemen of Edeva the Fair		4	1 ¹ / ₂ h	
Dry Drayton V	26/49c		4 sokemen of Ely Abbey		4	1h	
Dry Drayton VI	26/49d		1 sokeman of Ely Abbey		1	1 ¹ / ₂ v	
Dry Drayton VII	26/49e		4 sokemen of Crowland Abbey		4	1h 1v	
Dry Drayton VIII	38/5		Sigar, man of Earl Waltheof		0	3h	
Dry Drayton IX	41/15		1 sokeman of Earl Waltheof		1	3v	} 10h
Childerley I	3/6	M	Siward, man of Earl Harold		0	3h	
Childerley II	32/44a		3 sokemen of King Edward		3	2h	
Childerley III	32/44b		1 sokemen of Edeva the Fair		1		
Childerley IV	41/16		1 man of Earl Waltheof		0	5h	} 30h
Chesterton	1/9	M	King Edward		0		

TOTAL SOKEMEN TRE = 38

TOTAL HIDES TRE = 120 [4 units of 30h]

♣ Given to Ely in 996-1001 (*Lib Elien* II, ch. 66; *ECEE* 47).

§ Probably part of Cottenham III.

§§ Probably part of Cottenham I.

* Only IE names these two sokemen.

¶ Only IE calls Wulfwin *medarius* ('maker of mead'). He paid a rent in honey.

XV WITCHFORD HUNDRED*

vill	entry	manor	tenant	TRE	sokemen	hides	TRE
Whittlesey I	5/44	M	Ely Abbey	♣	0	2h	} 6h
Whittlesey II	8/1	M	Thorney Abbey	♣	0	4h**	
Doddington I	5/45a	M	Ely Abbey	¶	0	4h	} 5h
Doddington II	5/45b		8 sokemen of Ely Abbey	¶¶	8	1h	
Doddington III	5/45c		12 villeins, each with 12a***		0		
Chatteris I	5/46		Ely Abbey		0	2h 1 ¹ / ₂ v	} 5h
Chatteris II	7/11		Ramsey Abbey	♣♣	0	3h-1 ¹ / ₂ v	
Littleport	5/47	M	Ely Abbey		0	2 ¹ / ₂ h	} 10h
Stuntney	5/48		Ely Abbey		0	1 ¹ / ₂ h	
Little Thetford	5/49		Ely Abbey	♣♣♣	0	1h	

XV WITCHFORD HUNDRED (continued)

vill	entry	manor	tenant	TRE	sokemen	hides	TRE
Stretham	5/50	M	Ely Abbey	§	0	5h	} 10h
Wilburton I	5/51a	M	Ely Abbey		0	5h	
Wilburton II	5/51b		4 sokemen of Ely Abbey	¶¶¶¶	4		
Linden End I	5/52a	M	Ely Abbey	§§	0	4h-1 ¹ / ₂ v	} 4h
Linden End II	5/52b		2 sokemen of Ely Abbey		2	1 ¹ / ₂ v§§§	
Hill Row	5/53		Ely Abbey	§§	0	2h	} 9h
Haddenham	5/54		7 sokemen of Ely Abbey	§§§§	7	3h	
TOTAL SOKEMEN TRE = 21				TOTAL HIDES TRE = 40h			

- * ICC is missing for the two hundreds of Ely, but IE contains important information on the individual vill, chiefly concerning stock, which was not utilised in the DB account.
- For these estates see S 792 (ECEE 177-8).
- ** IE allots 4 hides to the Thorney holding in the vill of Whittlesey. DB gives Thorney only 3-¹/₂v (the same as the Ramsey holding in Chatteris). The IE assessment is clearly correct, as this gives the hundred its correct total of 40 hides. The DB figure for Whittlesey may result from confusion with the Chatteris assessment.
- *** At March, a berewick of Doddington.
- See Hart, *The Danelaw*, 618 n. 18.
- Given to Ely in c. 1007 (*Chron Rams* 84-5; *Lib Elien* II, ch. 61; ECEE 80).
- ¶ The DB and IE accounts of Doddington appear to include berewicks at Benwick and Wimblington.
- ¶¶ For this estate see *Lib Elien* II, ch. 21; ECEE 220.
- ¶¶¶ Due to a transcription error, all copies of IE omit reference to these sokemen.
- § Estates there amounting to 9 hides and 24 acres were given to Ely c. 971 (*Lib Elien* II, ch. 10; ECEE 215).
- §§ Linden End, assessed in 970 as 10 hides, once had berewicks at Hill Row, Witcham and Wilburton (S 780; ECEE 43-4). These were lost by 1066.
- §§§ Only IE gives the assessment of this holding.
- §§§§ For estates at Haddenham acquired by Ely c. 970, see *Lib Elien* II, ch. 16; ECEE 218.

XVI WISBECH HUNDRED*

vill	entry	manor	tenant	TRE	sokemen	hides	TRE
Wisbech I	5/55a	M	Ely Abbey	•	0	7 ¹ / ₂ h	} 10h
Wisbech II	5/55b		13 sokemen of Ely Abbey		13	2 ¹ / ₂ h	
Wisbech III**	5/56		2 fishermen of Ely Abbey		0	(14,000 eels)	
Wisbech IV**	6/2		1 fisherman of St Edmunds Abbey		0	(5000 eels)	
Wisbech V**	7/12		8 fishermen of Ramsey Abbey		0	(5260 eels)	
Wisbech VI**	9/4		3 fishermen of Crowland Abbey		0	(4000 eels)	
Wisbech VII**	18/9		6 fishermen of Wm of Warenne***		0	(3500 eels)	
Ely I	5/57a	M	Ely Abbey		0		} 10h
Ely II	5/57b		fisheries		0	(3750 eels)	
Henny	5/58		an island, which rendered no geld	§	0	1 ¹ / ₂ h	
Downham	5/59	M	Ely Abbey	••	0	4h	
Witchford I	5/60a	M	Ely Abbey	••••	0	1 ¹ / ₂ h	} 3h
Witchford II	5/60b		5 sokemen of Ely		5	1 ¹ / ₂ h	
Witchford III	5/60c		17 villeins each with 7 acres		0	119a	
Wentworth I	5/61a	M	Ely Abbey		0	1 ¹ / ₂ h	} 10 ¹ / ₂ h
Wentworth II	5/61b		2 sokemen of Ely Abbey		2	1h	
Wentworth III	5/61c		9 villeins each with 10a		0	90a	
Wentworth IV	5/61d		1 sokeman of Ely Abbey		1	1v	
				} 3 ¹ / ₂ h§§			

XVI WISBECH HUNDRED (continued)

vill	entry	manor	tenant	TRE	sokemen	hides	TRE
Witcham I§§§	5/62a	M	Ely Abbey		0	2h	} 4 ¹ / ₂ h (-19a)
Witcham II	5/62b		12 sokemen of Ely Abbey		12	2h ⁻¹ / ₂ v	
Witcham III	5/62c		2 villeins, each with 15a		0	30a	
Witcham IV	5/62d		1 bordar with 10a		0	10a	
March	6/1		Bury St Edmunds Abbey			16a	} 9 ¹ / ₂ h (-19a)
Sutton I	5/63a		Ely Abbey		0	2 ¹ / ₂ h	} 5h
Sutton II	5/63b		9 sokemen of Ely Abbey		9	2h	
Sutton III	5/63c		8 villeins each with 7 ¹ / ₂ a		0	60a	
TOTAL SOKEMEN TRE = 42				TOTAL HIDES TRE = 40h (-20a)			

- * ICC is missing for the two hundreds of Ely, but IE contains important information on the individual villis, chiefly concerning stock, which was not utilised in the DB account.
- ♣ Wisbech was regarded as 'one quarter part of the hundred of the Isle [of Ely]' when given to Ely in c. 1016 (*Lib Elien* II, ch. 75; *ECEE* 214).
- ** IE shows that these fishermen were all within the Ely soke. They were treated as sokemen. The fisheries were at Upwell, Outwell and Elm, which do not appear by name in DB, being included under Wisbech. For their early history see *ECEE* 182-3.
- *** The pre-Conquest lord of these fishermen is not given in DB or IE but one presumes that they were part of the Ely soke.
- § IE says that Henny was parcel of Ely and was tenanted by a slave. Note that my identification as Henny, Cambs of the place named *Heninge* in *Chron Rams* 49 is mistaken; the correct location is Exning, then in Cambs but from the twelfth century onwards in Suffolk. This lies next to Burwell, Cambs mentioned in the same transaction. (*ECEE* 238).
- ♣♣ Two estates at Downham, each of 2 hides, were acquired by Ely Abbey c. 970-80 (*Lib Elien* II, ch. 11; *ECEE* 216).
- ♣♣♣ For estates at Witchford acquired by Ely Abbey c. 986 see *Lib Elien* II, ch. 12; *ECEE* 217.
- §§ So in IE; this gives a more accurate account than DB, which has the same total hidage.
- §§§ I have used the DB account of Witcham, which appears to improve on that of IE. Originally it was a berewick of Linden End (*Lib Elien* II, ch. 8). For estates there acquired by Ely c. 970-80, see *Lib Elien* II, ch. 14, 16, 17, 20; *ECEE* 218-20.

Little Linton and the Linton Landscape

A.E. Brown & C.C. Taylor

Introduction

Little Linton is the name now given to a single farmstead situated on the western edge of Linton parish, Cambridgeshire, on the south-western side of the River Granta, on gravel at 50 m above O.D..

In 1987 the writers ran an archaeological survey course, jointly organised by the then Cambridge University Board of Extra-Mural Studies and Leicester University Department of Adult Education. One of the sites recorded was at Little Linton. This site comprised two separate parts: the remains of a former garden and moat, which have already been published in these Proceedings (Brown & Taylor 1991), and an area of slight earthworks southwest of the farmhouse which appears to represent former settlement.

This paper is intended to publish the results of this second survey and, more importantly, to explain why Little Linton is a deserted settlement. To do so requires an examination of the history of the whole landscape of Linton parish. The results will show that, unusually, Little Linton seems to have been deserted as a consequence of its inhabitants moving, or being moved, to a new settlement laid out as part of a thirteenth-century commercial development.

The Little Linton Settlement (TL 555473) (Fig. 1)

The remains of the former settlement of Little Linton lie in a field of old pasture. The surviving earthworks are in very poor condition and probably represent a number of phases of occupation. Little can be deduced from their plan except perhaps that they represent a

number of long closes possibly set along the southeastern side of a former track or street, now occupied by the present drive to the farm. A few sherds of thirteenth-century pottery were recovered from mole-hills on the site, but field-walking of the arable land immediately to the northwest produced no finds at all. The field of old pasture to the east and southeast is covered by the remains of what appear to be shallow gravel diggings. Excavations here in 1923 by W.M. Palmer revealed animal bones, pottery and tiles of both medieval and Roman date (Palmer 1926).

In 1991 the Archaeology Section of the County Council carried out limited excavations here during the construction of a pipeline which cut through the northeastern edge of the earthworks and prior to building work within the farmyard. The significant finds from the pipeline included further evidence of Roman occupation to the southeast of the site and features and pottery within the remains themselves dating from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries. Some pottery, described as Iron Age, was also discovered close to the southern edge of the settlement remains (Shotliff 1992). This, as well as similar wares from the farmyard excavation, has been re-examined, subjected to thermoluminescence tests and is now regarded as of early Saxon date. The excavations within the farmyard revealed evidence of occupation throughout the whole of the Roman period together with what may have been part of a ditched enclosure dating from very late Roman or early Saxon times. Further pottery and features dating from the late eleventh century to the thirteenth century were also discovered (Bray 1992).

There is no direct evidence as to the size of

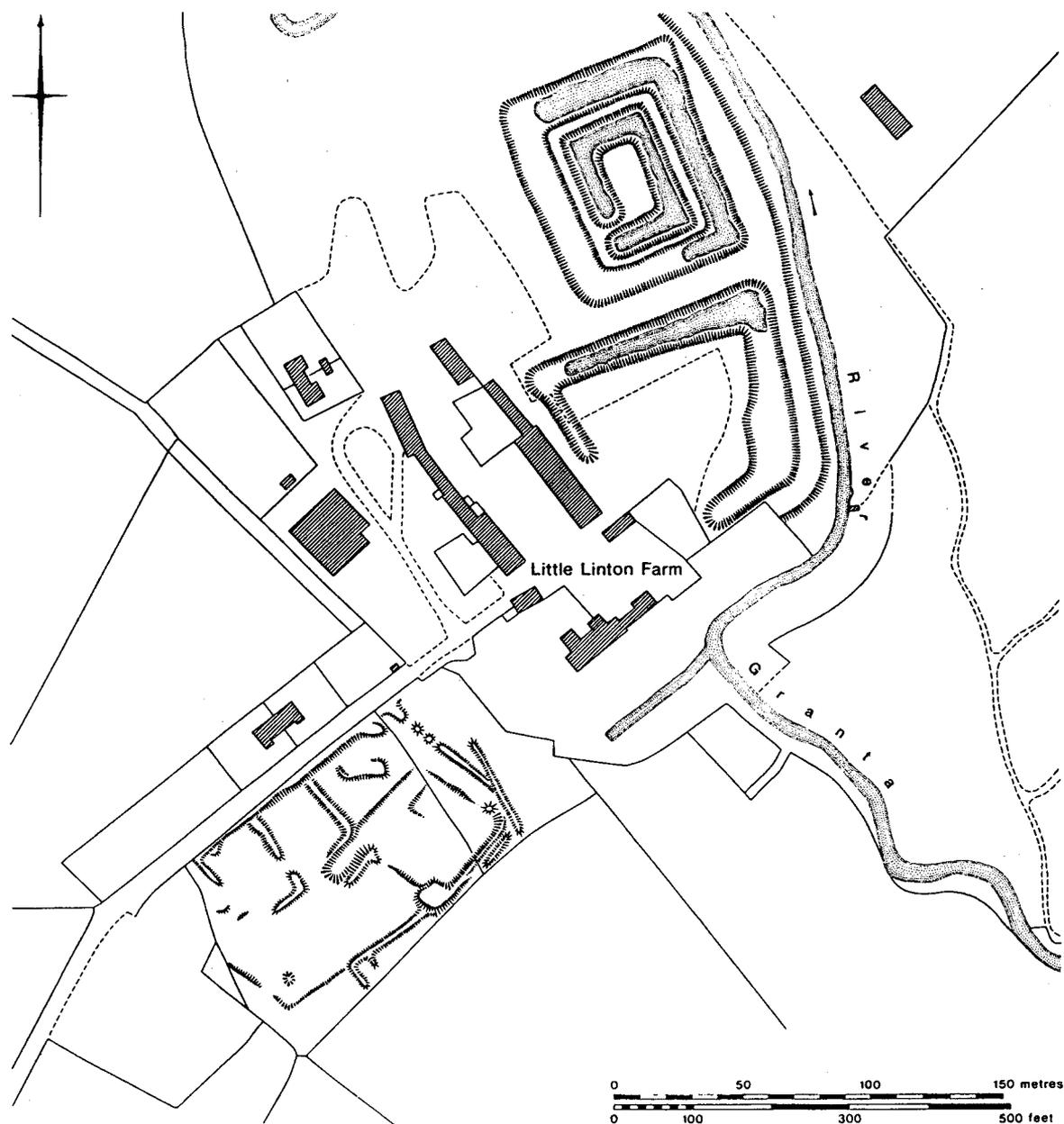


Figure 1. *Little Linton Farm: the archaeological survey.*

Little Linton at any time in the later medieval period. Only in Domesday Book, if the entry normally interpreted as Little Linton is accepted, is there a record of population. At that time there were 8 villeins, 2 bordars and 4 serfs, perhaps indicating a total population of between 45 and 55 (Rumble 1981: 14.13). Nor is there any clue as to the date of the desertion, beyond the fact that it had occurred before 1600. At that date a map now in Pembroke College archives (Barham Tic) shows that the site was already reduced to a single farmstead.

Linton in the Eleventh Century (Figs. 2 & 3)

The remains of the former settlement at Little Linton are only one part of a complex settlement pattern within the whole parish. To fully understand the development of that pattern it is necessary to establish the situation as early as possible in the medieval period. Although there is archaeological and documentary evidence for Saxon and even earlier occupation in a number of places, the first reasonably complete picture that can be established, albeit

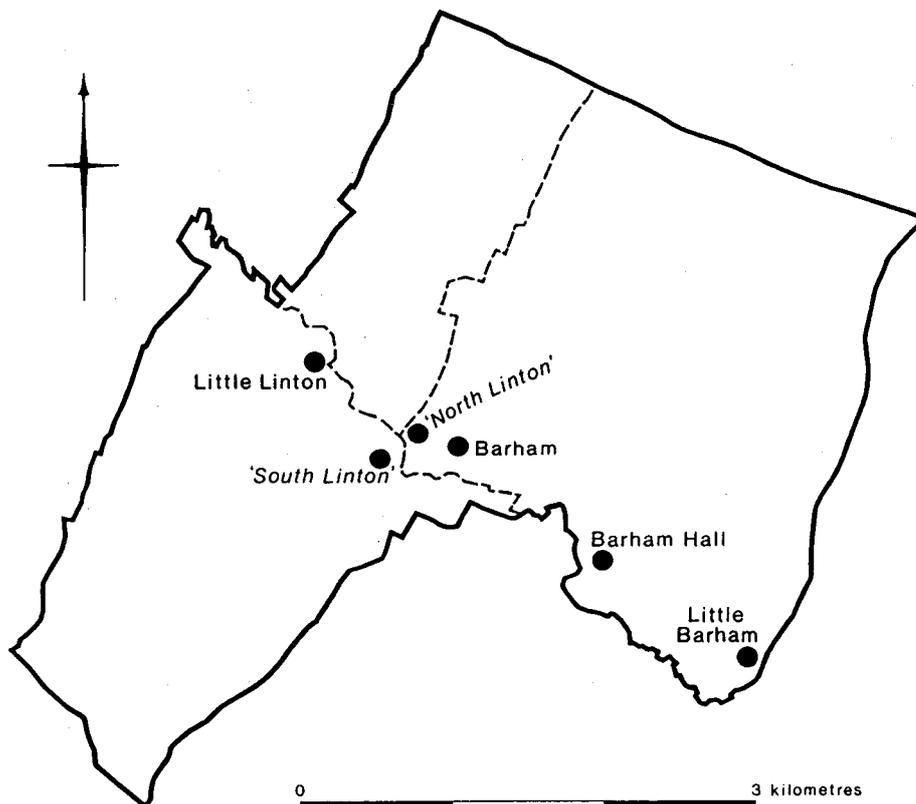


Figure 2. Settlements in Linton parish. The broken lines are the sixteenth-century manorial boundaries.

with some difficulty, is in the late eleventh century. In Domesday Book most of the land in Linton is described as four separate holdings of Count Alan. These comprised just under 4 hides in Linton, $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides in 'the other' Linton, $2\frac{3}{4}$ hides in Barham and another $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides also in Barham. In addition one sokeman held one virgate in Linton and another sokeman a virgate in Barham, the latter of the Abbot of Ely (Rumble 1981: 5.16, 14.8–11, 14.13).

Recent work in Cambridgeshire and elsewhere has established that separate holdings in Domesday Book such as these can sometimes be equated with separate settlements (Brown & Taylor 1978). If this hypothesis is applied to the existing settlements in Linton, however, problems arise. Linton village today, as well as on the 1600 map, falls into two quite separate parts (Fig. 3). There is a long east to west section north of the River Cam, hereafter called 'North' Linton, linked by the bridge across the river to a shorter, more compact, north to south section, hereafter called 'South' Linton, to the southwest. In addition, also north of the river and well to the southeast of 'North' Linton,

is the isolated Barham Hall. To the south of the river, and northwest of 'South' Linton, is the Little Linton Farm settlement (Fig. 2). Thus there seem to be four settlements in Linton and four holdings in Domesday Book. However, although Count Alan's Linton might be, and has been, equated with 'North' Linton, and his 'other Linton' with either 'South' Linton or Little Linton, this leaves one settlement too many south of the river. Likewise, the two holdings called Barham seem to be equated only with Barham Hall, producing one holding too many north of the river.

These difficulties can be partly resolved by examining the later history of the Linton and Barham manors. The descent of the Linton manor in 'North' Linton, later known as Great Linton, is reasonably straightforward. By the early thirteenth century it was in the hands of the de Say family from whom it passed to the Northwoods in the late thirteenth century. It was divided into moieties soon afterwards but was reunified under the Bustlers in the mid fourteenth century and then passed to the Parys family. The Parys family held it until the mid

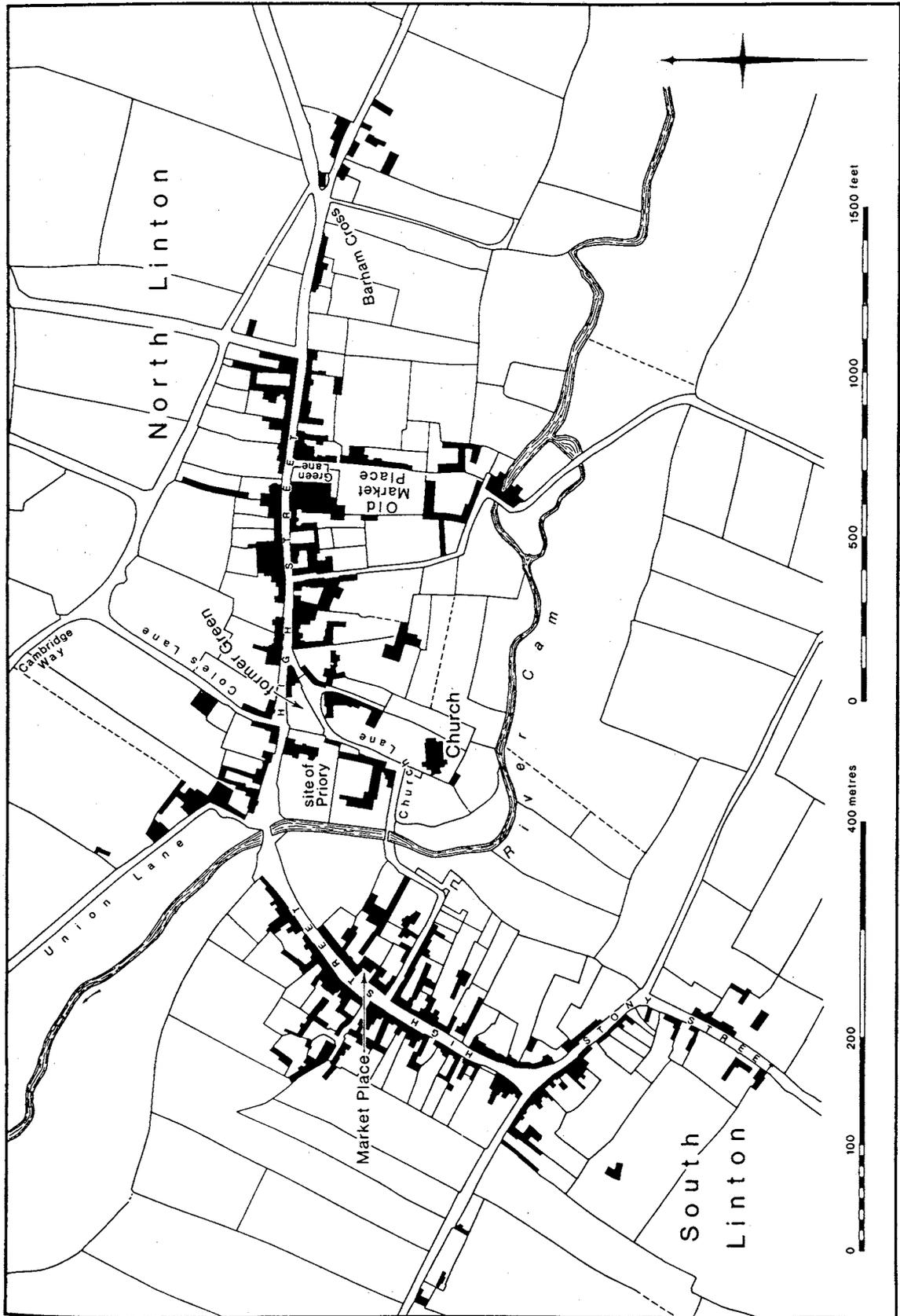


Figure 3. Linton village.

seventeenth century. It is possible to identify this manor more closely as the western part of 'North' Linton. This is partly because of the known location, immediately south of the parish church, of the site of the alien priory founded by the successors of Count Alan probably before 1163 (Fig. 3; VCH 1978: 84–5).

The history of 'the other' Linton manor is also clear. It was subinfeudated from Count Alan's holding by the 1190s and was held as two separate manors by the Follifoot and Belhus families until the mid thirteenth century when both manors were acquired by one Roger de Leicester. The unified manor passed to the Huntingfield family soon after 1302, by whom it was held until at least 1369. By 1428, however, the manor was held by the Parys family and thus the two main Linton manors became one (VCH 1978: 86).

From late medieval documents it is clear that by the fifteenth century at the latest what had been 'the other' Linton manor included not only Little Linton Farm but also the whole of the present village south of the river, that is 'South' Linton (VCH 1978: 80–105). Whether both these places existed as fully-fledged settlements in the late eleventh century is not certain. There is also a sokeman with one virgate said to be living in Linton to be accounted for. It is just possible that this sokeman may have lived at one of the two settlements south of the river, and that the second settlement may have been the 'other' Linton. This hypothesis will be further explored later.

The descent of the two Barham manors is again well documented (VCH 1978: 86–9). Certainly by 1236, and perhaps as early as 1100, both appear to have been united under the de Furneaux family. The de Furneaux held it until the late fourteenth century, after which it passed through a series of hands, finally coming to the Millicent family in the mid sixteenth century. In the mid thirteenth century the de Furneaux created a small sub-manor known as Michaelotts which was later acquired by the Parys family. Of more significance was the house of Crutched Friars which Robert de Furneaux established at Barham around 1293 (VCH 1948: 291–2). This was later known as Barham Priory and although it had little land in Linton, its site, the present Barham Hall, is important. After the suppression of the house in 1539 it was sold to the Millicent family who turned it into their manor house.

There is no doubt that Barham Hall was the site of this priory. Indeed some fragments of the medieval buildings survive there and earthworks, probably of outbuildings, exist to the north of the present farm. The problem is

to associate this farm and the former priory with the site of one or both of the early medieval manors of Barham. The *Victoria County History* made this association (1978: 88–9) but there is a body of evidence which suggests that at least part of Barham, and perhaps one of its manors, lay within 'North' Linton. Certainly J.H. Clapham made this connection (1932: 197).

At the eastern end of 'North' Linton, on the south side of the High Street, is a former open space, now divided into gardens, but still clearly recognisable as a large rectangular green. This area has for long been known as Old Market Place (Fig. 3). The history of Linton's markets has been discussed in an earlier paper (Taylor 1982) and will be examined in more detail later in this. Suffice it to say here that this market place is certainly that created by Simon de Furneaux in 1282 when he was granted a weekly market and an annual fair at his manor of Barham (VCH 1978: 96).

This being so, it is hardly likely that de Furneaux would have placed his new market place within the land and settlement of another manor. Thus there is every likelihood that the de Furneaux family owned at least part of what is now the eastern end of 'North' Linton. This suggestion is supported by three other pieces of evidence. The first is that, at least in late medieval times, the messuages of both the Great Linton and Barham manors lay in 'North' Linton and that large blocks of Barham tenements lay on the south side of the High Street (Clapham 1932: 197; Palmer 1932: 2–3; VCH 1978: 82). The second is that the tenants of the Barham manor in 1279 (*Rot. Hund.* 1818: 418–20) included a number of individuals apparently engaged in urban pursuits. These activities are likely to have taken place at 'North' Linton rather than at Barham Hall. The third piece of evidence is that of the arrangement of fields associated with the manors of Great Linton and Barham which are shown on the map of 1600. This map, partly redrawn in the *Victoria County History* (1978: 90), shows that at that date over two-thirds of the land of the parish north of the river lay within the Barham manor and only a relatively narrow strip in the northwest of the parish was the land of the Great Linton manor (Fig. 2). The division between the lands of the two manors was a continuous boundary extending from the northern parish boundary southwest to the present Back Lane near the northern end of Coles Lane. No boundary is shown farther southwest within the village itself, presumably because of the intermingling there of the properties of both manors. The earlier situation is likely to have been that the eastern half of

the present 'North' Linton was once wholly in the hands of the Barham lords. Indeed there is a presumption that the original name of this part of the village was Barham. Certainly its position, on a slight spur between the river to the south and a dry valley to the northwest, is a better situation for the place-name 'enclosure on the hill' than Barham Hall which lies close to the river in the bottom of a dry tributary valley (Reaney 1943: 109).

This interpretation seems to fit the geographical situation and the eleventh-century and later tenurial pattern north of the river. That is there were three medieval settlements, Great Linton and Barham, both in 'North' Linton, and Barham Hall, and three manorial holdings, one Linton and two Barhams. However, mere mathematical agreement is not enough. The priory at Barham Hall was very poorly endowed. Even at its most extensive it never had more than 84 acres of land in Linton and its original endowment was apparently only 32 acres or one virgate (VCH 1948: 291). Unless there had been a massive reorganisation of the Barham manor between 1086 and 1279, not of course impossible, Barham and its lands seem far too small a place for the centre of a large eleventh-century manor. Further complications also arise from the fact that on the map of 1600 an otherwise unrecorded and unnamed settlement is depicted in the extreme southeastern corner of Linton parish against the boundary with Bartlow and adjacent to the present Little Barham Hall. The name Little Barham is not apparently recorded until 1761 (Reaney 1943: 110) but the 1600 map shows at least five inhabited houses there. Some at least of these houses survived into the nineteenth century (OS 1834) but had disappeared and been replaced by the present farmstead by the end of the century (OS 1885).

The origin of this settlement is difficult to determine. It may have been an early medieval settlement, perhaps even the centre of one of the two Barham manors of 1086. As such it should be taken into account when trying to understand the early Linton landscape. On the other hand, it may date only from the sixteenth century. Between 1564 and 1590 waste land in this area was enclosed and divided into small rectangular fields (VCH 1978: 90, 92). The settlement here may have been the result of this enclosure. No firm conclusion can be reached on this matter. If the sixteenth-century date is accepted then the difficulty of equating the Barham manors with recognisable settlements remains, unless they were both located in 'North' Linton. The site of the house of the Cruched Friars at Barham Hall and its 32-acre

original endowment might be explained by assuming that both its site and its land were that of the single sokeman and his one-virgate holding recorded under Barham in 1086.

Linton and its Roads and Tracks

(Figs. 3 & 4)

The pattern of settlement at Linton in the late eleventh century which has been partly established in the foregoing section may be refined by looking at the postulated settlements in relation to the overall communication pattern of the area.

Many years ago one of the present writers pointed out that the majority of medieval settlements in South Cambridgeshire are arranged in a significant way in relation to the natural topography (Taylor 1979: 106-7; 1989: 210-13). That is, the great majority of the settlements lie along, and thus have their main streets on, roads or tracks aligned generally southwest to northeast at right angles to the adjacent rivers. This can be seen in the valley of the Saffron Walden Cam at both Great and Little Shelford, Whittlesford, Duxford (twice), Ickleton and on through to Great and Little Chesterford and Littlebury in Essex. The same feature occurs in the Granta valley at Stapleford, Babraham, Great and Little Abington and Hildersham. Even when the feature appears to be absent, as at Hinxton and Sawston, it is only later changes which are obscuring a similar underlying pattern (Taylor 1992: 13-15). This repetitive orientation is quite different from the main northwest to southeast river-edge routes which often pass through the villages on long dog-legs as at Great and Little Shelford, Duxford, Ickleton and Littlebury. It has been suggested that this southwest to northeast orientation reflects the earliest medieval pattern of roads in existence when the villages acquired their present layouts.

Linton is no different from its neighbours and close examination of the situation there may help to clarify the development of medieval settlements in the parish. The pattern of the main river-edge through-routes in Linton parish is very similar to elsewhere in South Cambridgeshire. On the north of the River Granta the present minor road from Little Abington continues the line of the present A604 from Cambridge, well to the northeast of Hildersham and northeast of the High Street of 'North' Linton, before dividing and running southeast along the river valley to Bartlow or on as the A604 to Haverhill and Colchester (Fig. 3). This, including the latter section to Haverhill, was obviously an ancient and primary route,

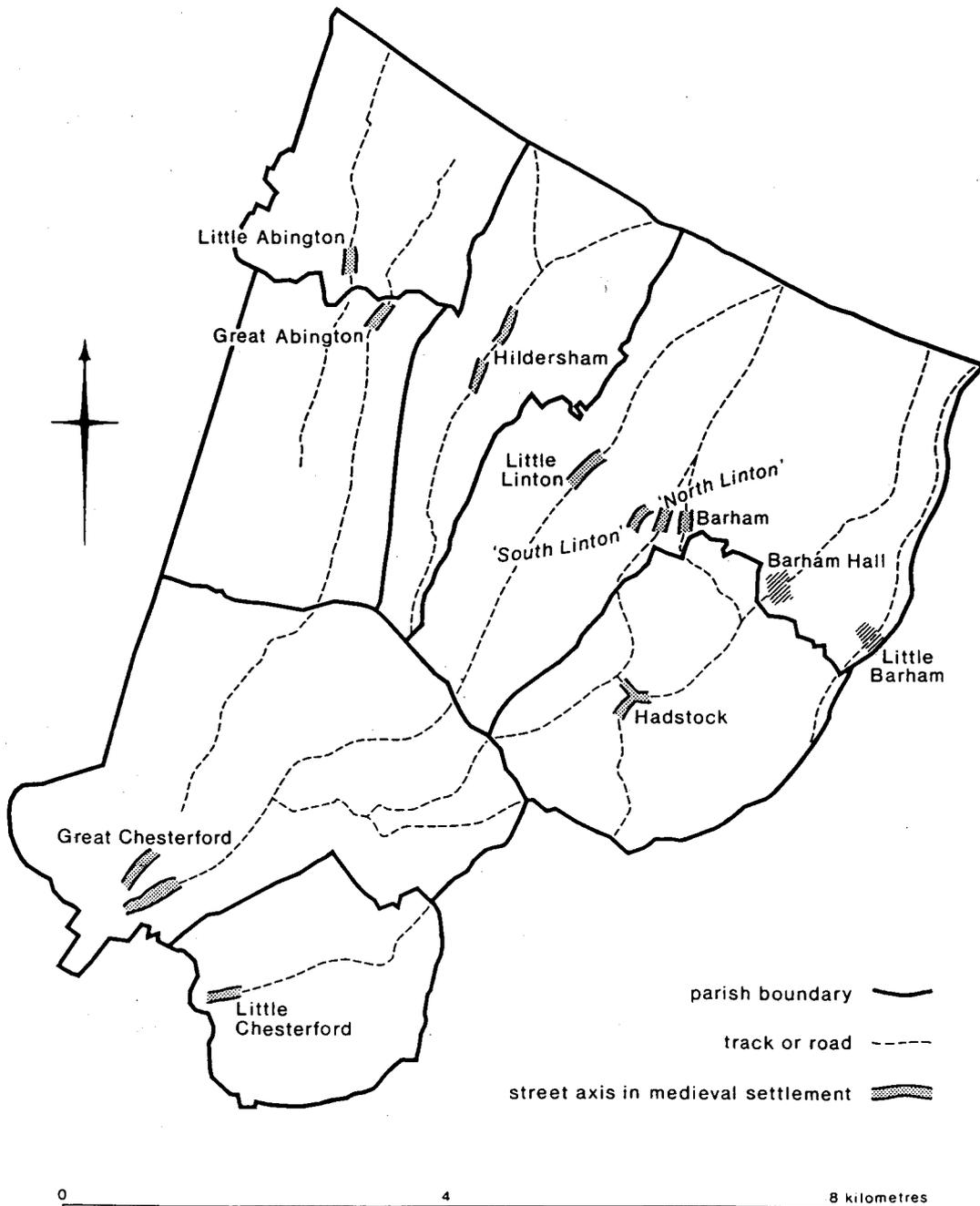


Figure 4. Cross-river roads and tracks in the Linton area.

perhaps the Saxon successor to the Roman road to the northeast. The map of 1600 calls the section of this road immediately northeast of 'North' Linton 'The Cambridge Way', which suggests that it had once been the main route to Cambridge. Yet, significantly, it effectively bypasses 'North' Linton High Street completely.

To the south of the river, if the modern bypasses at Linton and Abington are excluded, the recent main road from Cambridge to

Haverhill left the old Cambridge Way north of the river at Little Abington, crossed the river through two sharp right-angled bends at Little and Great Abington and passed along the south side of the river towards Linton. Although it now turns sharply northeast into 'South' Linton, originally it continued southeast towards Bartlow, effectively ignoring South Linton (Fig. 3). Again significantly, Little Linton, as well as Barham Hall and the presumed other

Barham, also have no direct relationship to either of the two river-edge roads. Yet all these settlements, with one exception, relate to the usual pattern of northeast to southwest cross-river routes. This pattern will now be examined (Fig. 4).

Little Linton has no modern river-crossing. The existing farm track southwest from Little Linton, however, connects directly with an ancient lane leading into one of the two main streets of Great Chesterford on the Saffron Walden branch of the River Cam. Further, the fragmentary earthworks of the settlement remains at Little Linton, for what they are worth, seem to be aligned along this farm track. Its presumed line northeast of the river is not attested in any way except by the track to the modern Chilford Hall. However, somewhere in the area was the river-crossing known as *Childeforde*, near which was the meeting-place of a Hundred in Saxon times (Meaney 1993: 74; VCH 1978: 1–2). At 'North' Linton a pattern older than the river-edge routeway also seems to have existed. The old route from Balsham, over Rivey Hill, ran down to the northeastern side of the village. Its alignment, much as now, is shown on the 1600 map. It seems likely that, somewhere close to the northeastern end of Coles Lane, it once divided into two. The western branch is the now deeply hollowed Coles Lane which runs southwest as far as the present High Street (Fig. 3). At its junction with High Street is a former triangular open space now almost entirely built over. The continuation of Coles Lane carries on as a footpath along the western side of the former open space and then on southwest as Church Lane. This lane now terminates at the parish church, just short of the river, though a side lane dog-legs its way across the river via a ford to 'South' Linton to the west. It is probable that this dog-leg was on or near an original river-crossing and that south of the river a track originally ran on along what is now the southeastern boundary of 'South' Linton. At the southern end of 'South' Linton it met what is now Stony Street. This street then continues south as the old route to Hadstock in Essex. The close correlation of Church Lane with the church, the site of the alien priory of Linton, the vicarage and the medieval guildhall, together with the former triangular 'green', suggests that Church Lane was indeed once the main street of Great Linton. Equally significant is that the overall extended alignment of Church Lane does not pass through 'South' Linton at all.

The eastern branch of the Balsham to Linton route, which joins another main route from the

north, the existing Greenditch Lane also shown on the 1600 map, becomes the present Green Lane in the Barham end of 'North' Linton (Fig. 3). This, as with Church Lane, is orientated almost northeast to southwest; it has the Old Market Place on its west side and an eighteenth-century house near its southern end, traditionally said to be the site of a manor house. Its alignment continues as a minor lane past Linton Mill. This lane crosses the river and then runs southeast until it becomes Chalky Road leading southeast to Hadstock. Again the central section of this overall alignment, Green Lane, can be interpreted as the former main street of the Barham settlement.

Further east (Fig. 4), Barham Hall, although now unrelated to any through-route except the river-edge road to Bartlow, a little to its north, perhaps once lay on another northeast to southwest track. A gated lane called 'Milsents Balk' is shown on the 1600 map extending north from Barham Hall to the present Linton to Haverhill road and beyond to the northern parish boundary as 'Wickhamway'. To the south of Linton parish its general alignment is followed by Chalky Road which runs on to Hadstock. Even the settlement of Little Barham, although its antiquity is in some doubt, has a similar relationship to a northeast to southwest through-route. The present road from West Wickham to Bartlow along the eastern boundary of Linton parish, which is shown on the map of 1600, passes alongside its site and may be continued south by an unnamed green lane leading to Ashdon.

The only Linton settlement which does not conform to this pattern is 'South' Linton (Fig. 3). The main street there is certainly aligned northeast to southwest but at its northern end it swings sharply east to cross the river and meets the present 'North' Linton High Street end-on. At its southern end it terminates at a T-junction which requires a sharp turn northwest to join the Cambridge road and a double dog-leg to reach the Hadstock road through Stony Street. The latter is, of course, aligned on the presumed main street of Great Linton across the river.

There is no apparent topographical reason for the disjunction of 'South' Linton from the road system. Thus the existence of this disjunction raises the question as to whether 'South' Linton is perhaps not an original settlement at all but is a later addition which has led to an earlier road pattern being modified to meet it. If this is so, then perhaps 'South' Linton may be connected to the development of Linton as a borough.

Interpretation of the Eleventh-Century Settlement Pattern

At this point a tentative interpretation of the Linton landscape in the late eleventh century may be attempted. On the north side of the river there were a number of discrete settlements. To the northwest was a settlement with its church and manor house, perhaps called Great Linton, lying along the Coles Lane/Church Lane axis and being related to Count Alan's three-hide and three-virgate holding. A little to the southeast was another settlement, presumably known as Barham, aligned on the Green Lane axis with its manor house and perhaps at least one mill close by. This settlement related to either one or both of the two Barham holdings of Count Alan. Further southeast again was perhaps a single farmstead held by a sokeman, now Barham Hall. Nearer to the Bartlow boundary there may have been another settlement, Little Barham, although this is not certain. If it did exist it presumably related to one of the two Barham holdings of Count Alan.

To the south of the river there was a settlement at Little Linton and another at 'South' Linton, one of which may have been only a single farmstead. It is tempting to assume that 'South' Linton was the major settlement, Count Alan's 'other' Linton, and that Little Linton was the farmstead of a single sokeman. However, three facts suggest that this relationship should be reversed and that Little Linton was the major settlement. The first is the matter discussed above, that the 'South' Linton settlement is the only one in the parish that does not fit the communication pattern, indicating perhaps that it was a relatively late intrusion into the landscape. The second is that although 'South' Linton had its own common field system to the south of it, until Parliamentary Enclosure in 1838, in 1600 the area was known as Little Linton Field. The land of Little Linton, occupying the extreme southwestern part of the parish south of the river, was then already enclosed (VCH 1978: 90, 91). This might mean that Little Linton was indeed the large 'other' Linton manor in the eleventh century and that either 'South' Linton did not exist or that it was merely where the other recorded sokeman, with his one virgate of land, lived. The third piece of evidence pointing to the identification of 'the other' Linton with Little Linton is that a mill is recorded at 'the other' Linton in 1086 (Rumble 1981: 14.13). A mill at Little Linton is mentioned in various documents (VCH 1978: 95), is shown west of the farm in 1600 and survived into the present century. No mill is

known at 'South' Linton.

Whatever the situation was in detail in the eleventh century, it is clear that in general terms Linton parish then comprised a group of settlements of varying sizes and all within a wholly rural economy.

Linton in the Thirteenth Century

By the late thirteenth century the pattern of settlement in Linton was very different. Little Barham, if indeed it existed, remained an entirely rural settlement. Barham Hall was by then the site of a friary. Little Linton, if the archaeological evidence is accepted, was already deserted except for the single moated farmstead and the mill.

However, the two settlements of 'North' Linton and perhaps that of 'South' Linton had expanded and coalesced into a minor urban centre, indeed the only urbanised settlement in South Cambridgeshire except for Cambridge itself (Fig. 3). How had this come about? The answer lies partly in the documentary record and partly in the existing topography of the three former settlements. Neither is unequivocal with the result that the exact sequence of development is unclear.

At first sight the documentary record seems to be straightforward. By 1246 at the latest at least part of Linton had acquired commercial status, for in that year William de Say, lord of Great Linton, obtained a charter for a weekly market and annual fair (VCH 1978: 96). On his death in 1272 the urbanisation of the manor was even more marked. By that time not only had de Say introduced burgage tenure, but also over a quarter of the annual value of the manor came from the rents of free tenants, burgage and assize (Clapham 1932: 198). In 1279 (*Rot. Hund.* 1818: 416-18) the de Say manor was a town in all but name. The Hundred Rolls record that out of a total of 80 tenants 35 separate people held their land by burgage tenure. Over half of the latter had surnames which were both occupational and of an urban character. For example there was a cobbler, two bakers, a smith, two potters, a tanner, a tailor, a mercer and a fellmonger, as well as several unspecified merchants. Further, many of these people held only tiny pieces of land, suggesting that their livelihood did indeed come from trade not agriculture.

To the east, at the de Furneaux manor of Barham in 'North' Linton, a similar, although perhaps later, urban development took place. There the first indications are not until 1279 (*Rot. Hund.* 1818: 418-20). Then some 72

tenants are listed and although none held land by burgage tenure, again many of them had occupational surnames of an urban character. They included two bakers, a tanner, two tailors, a clothier and a merchant. Even more significant is that, three years later in 1282, Simon de Furneaux was also granted a weekly market and annual fair. These two factors indicate that the Barham manor too was at least partly urbanised.

The physical changes consequent upon these developments recorded in documents are also clear. Both of the 'North' Linton settlements had to accommodate markets and, presumably, an increasing population. The market places are still there. At the de Say manor, the former triangular open space at the junction of High Street and Church Lane can only be the remains of its market place. At the de Furneaux manor at Barham too the former large open space on Green Lane, known as the Old Market Place, was the centre of the commercial activity there. There is, however, other evidence to indicate the changes which occurred at 'North' Linton as its urban status developed. The growing importance of the two settlements must have led to their expansion and, in particular, to their growing together so that eventually they became one settlement aligned on a new east to west axis, the present High Street. That this took place cannot be doubted and must have led to the documented intermingling of the Barham and Great Linton properties which had occurred by the end of the thirteenth century. More interesting perhaps are the details of the expansion here, between the two older settlements. For even today a number of the property boundaries on the north side of High Street have marked curves. This feature has been widely recognised elsewhere (Taylor 1973: 226-7; Everson *et al.* 1991: 13-14; RCHME 1981) and normally indicates that such properties have been laid out on former arable strips. Undoubtedly this happened at Linton as the two older north to south settlements grew into an east to west one.

This east to west growth is also important from another aspect. Unlike the older settlements at each end, the new axis was the same as, although slightly to the south of, the presumed ancient Cambridge Way along the north side of the river. At its eastern end the High Street actually joins the older way at Barham Cross. To the west it is likely that the present Union Lane, which connects High Street with the Cambridge Way in that direction, is also part of a diversion of the Way south to pass through the developing urban 'North' Linton.

How did 'South' Linton fit into this new commercial centre? Here difficulties arise, for while the entrepreneurial activities of the de Says and the de Furneaux north of the river are well documented, there is no comparable record for the de Leicester holding at 'South' Linton. There is no market grant at 'South' Linton and the Hundred Rolls do not indicate any real urban growth there on the scale of 'North' Linton. In 1279 'South' Linton is by far the smallest of the three main parts of Linton, having only 23 tenants (*Rot. Hund.* 1818: 419). Nor are there occupational surnames to suggest marketing there, except for one shopkeeper. On the other hand, as at 'North' Linton, the free tenants include some half a dozen people who hold only land of an acre or so in extent which again hardly suggests they were engaged in full-time agriculture. The documentary record for urban activities at 'South' Linton in the late thirteenth century is therefore ambiguous and what there is could be explained by the proximity of the commercial activities on the other side of the river.

The landscape of 'South' Linton, however, suggests something quite different, for both its plan and its position indicate that it is a planned settlement with urban pretensions. The disjunction of 'South' Linton from its road system has already been noted. Its layout is even more significant. Overall 'South' Linton consists of a neat rectangle divided by a single north to south, almost exactly straight, street although with later growth at each end. The closely packed buildings on either side are also set on a straight and continuous building line. And although much altered the associated plots all seem once to have been 66 m long on the northwest side and probably 124 m on the southeast. Their widths now vary considerably but there are indications that originally they were a regular 17 m across, or multiples of that distance. Further, it is possible that there were once ten plots on each side of the street. All this produces what would normally be described as a regular two-row settlement. Equally notable is that at the north end of this settlement there was formerly a broad open area usually described as a market place and used as such until the nineteenth century (*VCH* 1978: 89, 96). Although now almost entirely built over its original form can be ascertained, its length being the overall width of the settlement and its width about 50 m, that is it occupied the equivalent of six house plots.

This neat rectangular pattern is clearly shown on the 1600 map of Linton although because of the schematic cartography the scale is inaccurate. The only explanation for such a

regular settlement with a market place is that 'South' Linton is a planned unit created for commercial purposes. However, its location, with its northern end meeting the western end of 'North' Linton across the river, meant that it was awkwardly situated to meet the existing road from Hadstock. As a result the double dog-leg at Stony Street was produced. Further, for the new settlement to be successful a new road from Cambridge was necessary. This developed, or was perhaps deliberately created, from Abington on the south side of the river, but it still required a sharp bend in order to enter the new 'South' Linton.

Interpretation of Thirteenth-Century Linton

When could this third urban unit at Linton have been created, and by whom? Did it precede the mid to late thirteenth-century urbanisation north of the river, or did it postdate it? Or was it contemporary with it? Its creation almost certainly led to the desertion of Little Linton, which is the prime concern of this paper. Regrettably there is no certainty in the matter, only a series of arguments for and against each possibility.

A date before the mid twelfth century is possible although there is little firm evidence for it. Such an early origin, predating the developments north of the river, could have resulted in an improvement to the road from Cambridge and thus assisted in the growth of urban functions in 'North' Linton shortly afterwards. Against this is the limited evidence for urbanisation at 'South' Linton in 1279 with only one shopkeeper recorded and no evidence of a market grant there. On the other hand the twenty free tenants listed are, perhaps coincidentally, close to the estimated twenty or so plots in 'South' Linton. Perhaps the most cogent argument against an early date, however, is the lack of a suitable lord to instigate such development. Prior to the purchase of two-thirds of the manor of Little Linton by Roger de Leicester in 1266 and his acquisition of the rest in 1275, Little Linton had been divided between non-resident minor lords since at least 1190. Unless 'South' Linton was created well before that date, not impossible but unusually early for a relatively minor urban centre, it seems very doubtful that it predates the 'North' Linton changes.

A date roughly contemporary with the 'North' Linton developments, that is perhaps between 1270 and 1300 for 'South' Linton, is possibly more likely and certainly more convincing. Such a hypothesis would see the de Say manor of

Great Linton beginning the urbanisation in the 1240s with the other two manors and settlements, Barham and 'South' Linton, following rapidly. The expansion of 'North' Linton village and the alteration to the road system both north and south of the river would then all have been part of the same process. Again, however, the lack of documented urbanisation in 'South' Linton in 1279 makes this difficult to accept unless 'South' Linton was very new at that time. On the other hand the alleged existence of a single resident lord at Little Linton and 'South' Linton, Roger de Leicester, between 1260/75 and 1302/16 at least provides a possible instigator of the 'South' Linton development. Unfortunately Roger de Leicester is a shadowy figure. He is described in the Hundred Rolls as 'justiciar'. But the only contemporary references to someone of this name and rank are to a man whose family and estates lay in Cheshire and who may not have been resident in Linton (Foss 1851; *Cal. Fine Rolls*).

The third and last possibility is that 'South' Linton was created after the main developments in 'North' Linton and perhaps as late as the fourteenth century. This would explain the lack of a market charter for 'South' Linton and its apparently limited urbanisation in 1279. Against this there is again no important resident lord at Little Linton in this period. Indeed it is not until the mid fourteenth century, when the Parys family, originally from Norfolk, began buying land in South Cambridgeshire including some at Linton, that a major resident lord appears (*VCH* 1978: 8-9, 62, 193, 207, 251-2). Even then it was the early fifteenth century before the family finally owned all of Little and 'South' Linton as well as the bulk of 'North' Linton (*VCH* 1978: 85). Further, a date after 1300 would be late for a deliberate urban foundation. Although Beresford's figures for the foundations of 'new towns' are perhaps suspect in detail, he records very few after 1280 (Beresford 1967: 637-41). Nor would the overall economic climate of this period be conducive to such urban development. This does not, of course, preclude a fourteenth-century date for 'South' Linton, but it makes it less likely and an early fifteenth-century date is probably impossible. Finally of course, if 'South' Linton was not established until after 1279 then the references in the Hundred Rolls must relate to the Little Linton settlement. This again is very unlikely for it would mean that Little Linton had a much larger population and thus covered a greater area than the field evidence would suggest. It would also be difficult to explain the apparently incipient commercialisation in a settlement entirely cut off from the main urban

centre of the parish as well as from the through-road system. On the whole a date towards the end of the thirteenth century for the creation of 'South' Linton is the most likely. Such a date would agree with the admittedly very weak archaeological evidence for the abandonment of at least part of Little Linton by the fourteenth century.

There is one final piece of evidence which may indicate that 'South' Linton dates from before, and perhaps not long before, 1279. This emerges from a comparison between the land-holding structure recorded in Domesday Book and that in the Hundred Rolls. The method has been used before by the writers (Brown & Taylor 1989) and is based on the assumption that the ploughs recorded in Domesday Book are actually *ploughlands* and that, with four virgates to the ploughland, if these are multiplied by four the resulting figure is the number of virgates there in 1086. Because the land recorded in the Hundred Rolls is expressed in virgates it is possible to note changes in the patterns of land-holding between 1086 and 1279. If therefore such a comparison is made between the two Lintons and the Barhams at these dates the results are significant.

For Great Linton Domesday Book records 3 ploughs in demesne, that is the equivalent of 12 virgates, and 5 ploughs held by villeins and bordars, that is 20 virgates. In 1279, there were 11.25 virgates in demesne and 19.89 held by customary and free tenants. The close correlation between the figures for the two dates suggests that little had changed in the land-holding at Great Linton by 1279. On the two Barham manors the situation was slightly different. In 1086 there were 20 virgates in demesne and 14 held by villeins and bordars. By 1279 peasants still held 15.3 virgates but the demesne virgates had apparently declined to only just over 12. However, some of the 7 lost virgates can be accounted for by earlier gifts of land to religious houses, for the latter held a total of 3.8 virgates in 'North' Linton in 1279. So, although changes had occurred in Barham since 1086 these were not considerable.

At Little Linton however the figures indicate a significant change in the pattern of land-holding. In 1086 there were only 8 demesne virgates but these had increased to 13.25 by 1279. Conversely the 12 peasant virgates of Domesday Book had declined to 7.5 in 1279. What explanation can be offered for these changes? Perhaps the best interpretation is that the lords of Little Linton had deliberately increased the size of their demesne and cut down on the peasant holdings. It is not without interest that the bulk of the peasant virgates

at Little Linton in 1279 were in the hands of freeholders, many of whom also held shops in Great Linton. Presumably the demesne at Little Linton, perhaps by then the enclosed land southwest of the farm, was being worked by waged labour and some of the small freeholders may have provided this.

If this hypothesis is accepted then there is a strong possibility that the original settlement of Little Linton may have been reduced in size deliberately in the thirteenth century by its lord in order to develop the perceived commercial opportunities by creating and populating 'South' Linton. This would be a remarkable and so far unique explanation for settlement desertion.

There is an alternative mechanism for the abandonment of Little Linton at this time which would have given rise to the same evidence and produced the same result. So far it has been accepted that it was manorial lords who provided the direction and leadership in the market foundation and settlement reorganisation at Linton. This seems to be irrefutable for 'North' Linton but at Little Linton and 'South' Linton it seems to be less certain. If Roger de Leicester and his predecessors were indeed non-resident then strong lordly control may have been absent at Little Linton since the late twelfth century. Could therefore 'South' Linton have been laid out not by lordly power but by the initiative of the manorial peasantry? On witnessing the success of the new urban development north of the river the peasant community at Little Linton might have created a new settlement, albeit with the tacit approval of the lord. Such action would have produced the same change in the pattern of land-holding in 1279 and the same form of new settlement. The role of peasant communities in reorganising settlement in places such as 'South' Linton, where lords were perhaps non-resident, has been discussed by a number of scholars (Dyer 1985; Harvey 1989). The lack of any formal reference to a market at 'South' Linton may be significant in this respect.

Conclusion

The urban growth within Linton parish in the thirteenth century was thus perhaps the result of a combination of deliberate encouragement, entrepreneurial flair, satisfactory location and a suitable economic climate on three manorial near-neighbours. As Clapham said in 1932 (201), this produced a combined settlement larger, more prosperous and better-organised than many other places which had true borough status in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. And again, as Clapham also noted,

Linton's failure to become a fully-fledged borough may have been precisely because of the intricacies imposed on the place by its divided lordships rather than because of any broader economic considerations.

Certainly, although Linton survived as a marketing centre until the nineteenth century, it never fulfilled its early promise. The market place at Barham was being described as 'old' in 1363 (VCH 1978: 96). This may have been the result of the sale of the Barham manor by the de Furneaux family soon after 1350 which was followed by a rapid succession of absentee lords until the sixteenth century. The only market place to survive in 1600 was the one at 'South' Linton, perhaps encouraged by the Parys family who between the mid fourteenth and the mid sixteenth centuries lived at manor houses in Little Linton, 'South' Linton and Hildersham (VCH 1978: 85; *Misc. Gen. Her.* 1916-17: 123-6).

So finally, the origins, development, decline and abandonment of Little Linton emerge, albeit dimly. Certainly occupied in Roman and Saxon times, it grew up along an ancient trackway leading to an important crossing of the river. The settlement became the centre of a late eleventh-century manor with its own field system, but was, probably deliberately, abandoned or cleared in the thirteenth century and replaced by a newly planted settlement nearby. This settlement was placed close to a developing urban area, perhaps by the same lord who depopulated Little Linton, or possibly by the peasant community there. In addition Little Linton was also bypassed as a result of the growth of a new communication pattern, associated with the new urban area. From then on it became first a moated manor house with an elaborate garden and then, from the seventeenth century, a working farmstead.

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A Perambulation of the Manor of Barham, Linton, Cambridgeshire in 1761

L. Potter

There is in the archives of Pembroke College, Cambridge, a description of a perambulation in 1761 of the manor of Barham, which comprised the southeast two-thirds of the parish of Linton (see Brown & Taylor in this volume). It is first recorded in Domesday Book and its subsequent history is well documented (VCH VI: 87). In 1553 the manor was purchased by the Millicent family who held it until 1731 when Robert Millicent, the last of the direct male line died. The heavily mortgaged estate was then sold to pay the accumulated debts of the family, but in 1748 it was bought by Sarah Millicent the widow of Robert. She immediately married the Rev. Christopher Lonsdale who had been vicar of Linton 1741–45. Sarah and Christopher Lonsdale lived on in Linton until Christopher's death in 1783. On her death in 1807, and following her husband's wishes, Sarah Lonsdale left the manor to Pembroke College, Cambridge who still own it.

Christopher Lonsdale, and perhaps his wife as well, was interested in the history and customs of Linton. They both knew William Cole the well-known Cambridgeshire antiquarian and entertained him at Linton (Palmer 1935: 104). As a result of their interest, Lonsdale and his wife collected a series of records which related to numerous perambulations of the manor of Barham as well as organising and participating in others. One of these later perambulations, in 1761, is the subject of this paper.

The document recording this perambulation (Pembroke College Archives S14) is written in ink and appears to be in Sarah Lonsdale's own hand. It is corrected in pencil with minor alterations, almost certainly by Christopher Lonsdale, and is attested by 'G.A.' — presumably Gilbert Ainslie, Master of Pembroke 1828–70. In his notes Lonsdale refers to 'the other

book', and this presumably refers to a leather-bound note-book containing 2 terriers, another perambulation of Barham dating from about 1786, and brief notes concerning earlier perambulations. Associated is a map of Barham drawn by Charles Wedge for Sarah Lonsdale in 1789 (Pembroke College Archives S14/17). There are also fragmentary notes, some written by Christopher Lonsdale, on another perambulation which took place in 1715 as well as an undated copy of a perambulation of the manor of Little Linton and other details (Pembroke College Archives S14b–e; see Appendix).

The 1761 perambulation, here discussed, was given oral authenticity by an 'aged man' of 80 years, John Thompson, who had '60 years ago & several times gone the bounds with John Millicent Esq., the then owner of Barham, wher [sic.] he had worked as a sawyer from his youth & continued in the same employ to the year 1742'.

The oral tradition is again invoked in one of the Pembroke Fragments (S14b) where William Law, apprenticed as a glover in 1712, attests by his mark in July 1769 (aged 70), that 'he had done the bounds in 1715 with Capt. John Millicent, when the Vicar of Lynton, Mr Stephens, was bump'd at the cross in the Rivey' (See note (Y), p. 111).

Ten Crosses are mentioned in the 1761 Barham perambulation, two of which are described as also belonging to Bartlow and Horseheath. All the crosses were 'opened and filled with stones', but some seem to have been standing crosses as well. The placing of stones in all the crosses might suggest a connection with the custom of placing stones on cairns to mark funeral resting places. They are also suggestive of 'Turf Crosses', but these were usually cut at the site of a fatal accident, or a

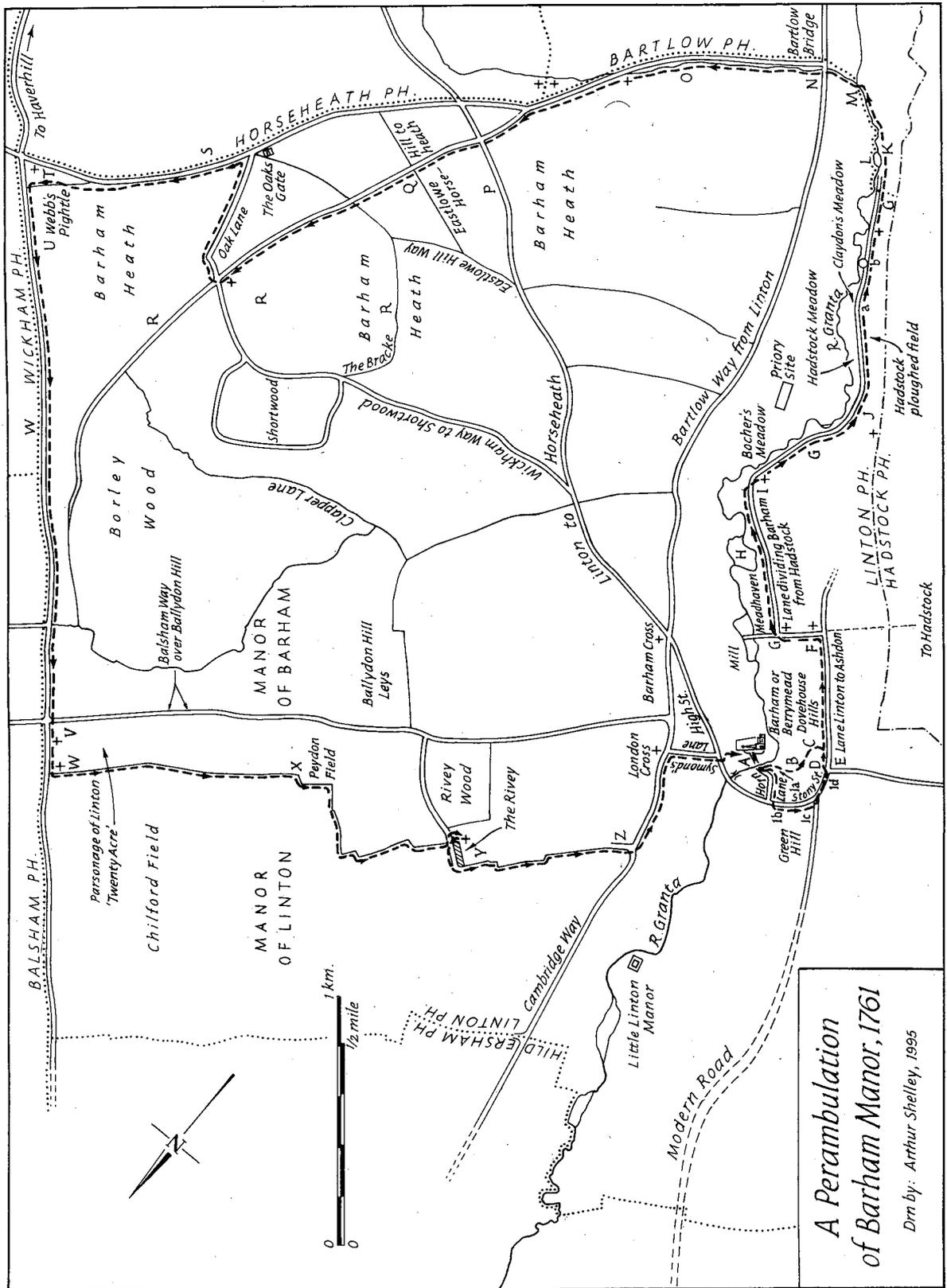


Figure 1. A perambulation of Barham Manor, 1761.

Key to the route:

- 1.**
 A. Church Bridge
 B. Berrymead or Midsummer Meadow
 C. Dovehouse Hills
 D. Norton's Pasture
- Diversion 1*
 1a. Horn Lane
 1b. Greenhill
 1c. Stony Street
 1d. The Gripe
- 2.**
 E. The Lane from Linton to Ashdon
 F. A lane on the left leading from Hadstock to the Mill (Hadstock) +
 G. The footpath dividing the manor of Barham and Hadstock +
- 3.**
 H. Ledwell and Cuxstool commonly called Hogsholm
 I. Bocher's, now Flack's meadow +
 J. Hadstock meadow +
- Diversion 2*
 3a. Clayden's one acre garden
 3b. The Swan's Nest adjoining the Cartwheel
- 4.**
 K. Reeve or Keur meadow in Ashdon, Essex
 L. Bergham Swan's Nest
 M. Little Barham (the spelling of the manor is erratic)
- 5.**
 N. Bartlow Bridge
 O. Readen or Dearne Way
 P. The road Linton to Horseheath (+. +/)
 Q. The road from Eastlow Hill to Horseheath Mill
 R. Barham Heath +
 S. Oak Lane
 T. Webb's pightle (at the crossroad with Wool Street) +
 U. The Great Oak
 V. Saxby's Grave (at the crossroad with Wool Street) +
 W. The balk at the end of the Parsonage Twenty ace, dividing the manors of Barham and Linton
 X. Reydon Field and Michaelotts
 Y. The Rivey
 Z. The road called Cambridge Way
 + Where crosses were found.

crime (G. Monger, pers. comm.). The crosses at Mark's Grave and Saxby's Grave may be of this type (notes 5T and 6V). Both stand at ancient and important crossroads (Fox 1923: 53, map V) the traditional sites for the burial of suicides, murderers, and witches — although evidence is inconclusive as to whether this was because they were considered safe and hallowed places because of their cruciform shape, or dangerous pieces of 'no-man's land' (Richardson 1993: 91). The Barham crosses seem to be following parish and county boundaries, and to mark changes of direction. It is possible that some were standing crosses, which may have had a religious significance, and in this case they were probably destroyed after the Act of August 1643 which banned all Wayside Crosses — 'All crosses in any open place shall be taken away and defiled'. The names of two crosses survive, and a medieval cross base and fragments of worked stone have been found near the estimated sites (note 5R and 6Y). Manydale Crosse Way is marked on the 1600 map adjacent to Webb's pightle, at Mark's Grave (note 5T) and Manidale is mentioned in the Hundred Rolls of 1279 (Vol. II: 422, 569) in connection with the bounds of Horseheath and Wickham. Webb's pightle can be used to pinpoint Manidale further — in the Court Rolls of Barham 1588 (Palmer Collection no. 26) William Webb acknowledges 'holding one acre of arable at Manydale Crosse, for one-tenth of a knight's fee, the land formerly de Lynton's'. Bellayses Grange is recorded here in 1327, and in 1412 described as a sheep-fold. By 1500 it is called 'the lord's Grange at the Okes', and by 1588 Thoman Millecent had hedged 87 acres (VCH VI: 96). Manydale Crosse and site were obviously important and it seems feasible to suggest that the cross base found on the heath nearby had been preserved after its destruction — it now stands in Linton Churchyard. The same Court of 1588 also mentions land held by Millecent, 'In West-field, one piece, three acres at Lez Deep Pittes, and one acre at Cruceum Lapidum'. The fragments found by the Rivey might be part of this cross.

The transcript of the 1761 perambulation here is printed in italics, and divided into sections for convenience, with appended notes after each section. The perambulation party divided into two groups in two places, and where it divided the alternative routes are called 'Diversions 1 and 2'.

The map accompanying the text is based on a schematic plan of 1600 (CRO L95/14), a pre-enclosure map of 1824 by G.M. Arber (CUL MS Maps 629) and the modern O.S. 1:25,000 map;

Sheets TL 44/54. The perambulation may still be followed on the ground today and although the modern Linton bypass and the line of the old Cambridge–Haverhill–Sudbury railway create difficulties, parallel routes exist on public right of ways. A key to the route is next to the map on the previous page.

The Perambulation

Christopher Lonsdale, Lord of the manor of Bergham, alias Barham, upon January the First 1761, went the bounds of Barham Manor:

1. Beginning at the CHURCH BRIDGE (A), proceeding in the river from hence to the entrance of Barham mead (B), commonly called Midsummer Meadow, crossing the said meadow to Dovehouse Hills (C), round Norton's pasture (D) to the lane leading from Lynton to Ashdon (E).

N.B.: Here the party divided. I have called this Diversion 1.

Some of the company, together with Christopher Lonsdale went up Horn Lane (1a) to the Greenhill (1b), to the messuage and house there holden of Barham manor, so down Stone Street (1c), meeting the others at the corner of Norton's pasture, thence to a Gripe (1d), joyning there viz Joseph Stubbing etc. etc.

(A) Church Bridge is where the 'ancient tracks' crossed at the ford over the Granta (Fox 1923: 153). A large monolith lies here (similar to the stone at Royston where Icknield Way crossed Ermine Street, or the 'leper' stone at Newport) showing what appear to be two cup hollows 5 × 3 inches.

(B) Barham mead, or Berry meade, as spelt on the 1600 map, has been disturbed by the Linton bypass, and is very liable to flooding.

(C) The 'Dovehouse Hills' were excavated and thought to be medieval dovecotes over Romano-British huts (S.M.R. 06121a).

(D) Norton's pasture appears on the 1600 map, but the name appears to be unrecorded elsewhere.

(E) The 'Lane leading from Lynton to Ashdon', diverts towards Hadstock, crossing the disused railway line by the windmill, and becoming 'Chalky Road' on the O.S. maps.

The diversion from Horn Lane (1a), to the top of the High Street, and Greenhill (1b), to the messuage houses and Stony Street (1c), returns via the Gripe (1d), to rejoin the main party at Norton's pasture. These are marked on the 1600 map, and are still extant. Iron Age finds have been made by the railway line

(S.M.R. 06069). The Gripe is still liable to flood.

2. In the lane from Lynton to Ashdon (E), they proceeded into the lane, so to another lane on the left hand leading from Hadstock to the Mill (F) at the entrance of which lane on the right hand side was made a CROSS going through the lane, and at the bottom thereof turning immediately to the right hand into the footpath which divides the manor of Barham and Hadstock (G), they opened an ANCIENT CROSS on the right hand, 2 paces from the hedge of the aforesaid lane, at the end of a balk, whereon had been in their remembrance an ancient road.

(E) Now called Long Lane, it is a hollow way, with bank about 4 feet high on the Linton side, and 6 feet on the Hadstock side. The Hadstock hedge appears the oldest and has 7 species, old pollarded elms, sycamore, hawthorn, elder, field maple, sloe, and hazel. Towards the top of the hill the Linton bank disappears and the Hadstock bank is only 3 feet high. This lane is the parish and county boundary (Linton–Hadstock and Cambridge–Essex).

3. From the cross, they proceeded, in the aforesaid footpath (G) dividing the manors of Barham and Hadstock, leaving Leadwell, Cuxstool, commonly called Hogsholm, and Rede meadow (H), on the left hand and strait on to Bocher's now Flack's meadow (I), where, on the left hand at the hedge they opened an old CROSS, and then turning to the right hand, they proceeded in the footpath (G) aforesaid having the said Bocher's meadow on the left hand and at the end thereof turning to the left in the same footpath (G), they went on, having the River and Hadstock meadow (J) on the left and Hadstock ploughed field on the right hand, in it to the end of the meadow, where they turned to the right and going up the hill there, with the river on the left and the ploughed field on the right, they proceeded in the said path and with it and in it turning to the left hand and going down the hill having the river on the left and an old CROSS on the right, on the greensward was opened and filled with stones (as were all the preceeding and following ones), proceeding in the said footpath (G), having Hadstock 2nd meadow and the river on the left, and ploughed field on the right, to the enclosures which leaving on the left and proceeding in the footpath to beginning Hadstock 3rd meadow.

N.B.: Diversion 2.

Some of them leaving the rest to proceed in the often mentioned footpath turned to the left, and

going down by the side of the aforementioned enclosures, to the river, and going on with the river on the left and the said Hadstock 3rd meadow, to Claydon's 1 acre of meadow free (3a) and so round to the Swan's nest (3b), adjoining thereto, or properly the Cartwheel lying in the said 3rd Hadstock meadow till they came to Claydon's 2 rood of meadow free which leaving on the left proceeded up to the aforesaid footpath dividing (G), they turn of round and went down to the riverside and going by the side of Bocher's 2nd free meadow they turned to the right there, and went on with the Bocher's 2nd on the left, and Hadstock 4th meadow on the right until they came up again to the often mentioned footpath (G) dividing the manors of Barham and Hadstock, where they again joined such of the company as they had left, and there turning to the left, with Bocher's 2 rood of free meadow on the left and R. Willow's 1st meadow on left, they opened a gap, where was formerly a gate in the hedge of Reeve meadow in Ashdon parish and went down the same by the side of R. Willow's 1 acre of meadow. On the left to Bergham Swan's nests there, which they went round and so followed the river on the left to near the end of Reeve meadow, where the river divides.

This section is difficult to follow as the disused railway line to Bartlow and the Linton bypass cross and sometimes over lie the old path (G), although it is possible to use public paths to get to Bartlow. The fields are private, although it is possible to get into Deepholm and Hogsholme from the unnamed lane by Barham Cross site, through the Meadhaven. These are water meadows, and Deepholme retains a pattern of drainage ditches used to regulate the flooding; it is still a rough pasture used for cattle, one orchid seen. Hogsholme is covered in impenetrable willow.

(3a) These meadows are also very wet and liable to flood, although regrassed and used for sheep (farmer pers. comm.).

(3b) The Swan's nest is still a small island, rich in phosphates judging by the virulent nettles. It seems to be by an old ford, which is in Essex. A map in Pembroke College, made for Sarah Lonsdale in 1785 shows 'The Cart wheel or Swans Nest'. Further reference is made to 'le Cartwehle' in a rental of 1380, where Thomas Bowhill de Berklowe pays 2 pence for it (Palmer Collection 20).

4. At the division place they crossed that part of it which comes out of the said Reeve meadow (K), into a close of Bartlow parish, going on in the said close with the other part of the river on

the left to the end of the close, where the stream divided again, here they turned to the right branch of the stream, a close of the lord of Barham (formerly John Adam's pightle) on the left, and proceeded on by the said Bartlow close till they came to a point opposite to the end of the lord's pightle where turning short to the left, they went over the hedge out of the said Bartlow close, into a piece of garden ground belonging to Bartlow parish and being over the hedge with the stream and the lord's pightle aforesaid on the left, they went by the side of the stream, till they came to the next corner of the pightle, leaving garden ground by turning to the left, they went into a close in Bartlow parish, just across by the said pightle on the left to the river near the house called Little Barham (L) and at the river turning to the right, and having the river on the left, they went in the said Bartlow close to Bartlow Bridge (M).

This sounds very confusing, but it can be followed on the 1600 map of Barham Manor. The boundary strays across the county boundary, and into the parishes of Hadstock, Ashdon and Bartlow. The messuages and pightles of the manors are very mixed here and the perambulation zigzags around the individual plots.

5. At the Bridge (M), they went over the hedge at the end of the bridge next Bartlow, then they proceeded in the Readen Way, or Dearne valley (N), near the enclosures of the lord of Barham on the left, at the ditch belonging to said enclosure with whole Readen Way on the right, strait on to the end of the furthest enclosure, at the end of which an old CROSS was opened, and having Barham Heath on the left, they proceeded in the said road to point opposite a bank (A) on the right, on which bank appeared two CROSSES, which were said to be the crosses of Bartlow and Horseheath, at the same point a turning was made to right up to the two crosses, and there, turning to the left, leaving the said bank on the right, they proceeded by the side of it, in a strait line, with the Road (belonging to Linton) on the left, to the road leading from Linton to Horseheath (P) which they crossed and went on in the strait like aforesaid in the ditch there, with the bank dividing Horseheath and Linton on the right, to the road from Eastlow to Horseheath Mill (Q), which crossing they went on in the same strait line in the ditch there with the bank aforesaid dividing Linton and Horseheath, on the right, in the said road belonging to Linton, until they came to the enclosures belonging to the parish of Horseheath, at which they turned the left at the end of the aforesaid

road belonging to Linton and crossing the road to the ditch and bank at the side of Barham Heath (R), at the edge of the said ditch they found and opened an old CROSS and in it put many small stones and one large one which was found in one end of the cross next to the bank aforesaid, and then turning to the right in the ditch next to the bank aforesaid belonging to Barham Heath (R), on the left, and Oak Lane (S), on the right, (which lane was then said to belong to Horseheath), they went on in the said ditch, with Oak Lane (S), on the right, to the end of the Lane and so till they came to the road called Wool Street Highway (T), and at the end of Barham Heath on the right hand in the ditch aforesaid with the bank of a pightle belonging to the lord of Barham and formerly called Webb's pightle (U) end of Oak lane aforesaid (belonging to Horseheath) on the left, and the road leading from Oak Lane (S), on the right, till they came to the corner of the said pightle next Wool Street highway, and then on the right hand of the ditch an old CROSS was found and opened.

(O) Readdon Way is a small valley and the Bank with the crosses of Bartlow and Horseheath is probably Bartlow Broad Balk, a track to the left of present new crossing Bartlow-Streetly/Linton-Horseheath, The bank is still visible and the road a slight hollow way. Neville excavated a large tumulus in 1853, on Linton Heath, probably here called Eastlow Hill TL582/467). The primary internment was probably Roman, although two Bronze Age cinerary urns, similar to ones found at Mutlow Hill, were also discovered. 104 Anglian inhumations of the fifth to sixth centuries AD were also excavated. There is no trace of a tumulus now (Fox 1923; Cambridgeshire Sites and Monuments Register 06179/A/B).

(R) The Heath can be traced by bracken which still grows at the edges of the track, and the banks and ditches mentioned in the perambulation are visible. The area was turned over to arable land in the War years and the line of Oak Lane may have gone, and have been nearer to the present road; I have suggested a field path leading to the site of Heath Farm as easier to follow. Near what is called Heath Farm on O.S. maps, now demolished, the remains of a small stone pillar were found. Nearly 3 ft by 1 ft 6 in., it has a deeply cut diagonal mark on one face. It is listed in the Cambridgeshire S.M.R. as a 'Medieval cross base' (07723).

(T) This is the crossroads known as Mark's Grave on Ordnance survey maps, the name possibly coming from **merc** boundary

(Reaney 1943: 110). Four parishes meet here (Linton, Wickham, Horseheath, and Balsham). Wool Street (W) crosses the Bartlow-Wickham road where there is a ford. Webb's pightle was an enclosure apparently including Mark's Grave.

(S) There is now no sign of oaks until Borley Wood. Oaks are typically found in ancient woodland next to heath, but there are only scattered specimens left. Could the woods which used to lie along Wool Street have been planted and used for organised timber production? They were on through routes from Neolithic times (Fox 1923: 153).

(D) The hedge between Balsham path and the crossroads going to Shardeloes Well and Mutlow Hill, on the Barham side, has a similar mix to that along an old track at Fulbourne, called 'Highloaders', said to be a branch of Icknield. It holds nine species — spindle, sloe, wayfarer tree, elder, hawthorn (*Craetagus laevigata*), crabapple, wild privet, oak, and field maple — within a 30 metre section. It stands on the bank of Wool Street, here about 4 or 5 feet high, and with a 4 pace ditch, giving the appearance of a small dyke. Plants include Dog's Mercury, *Pimpinella major* and *Fluellen kickxia elatine*. The last is said to be 'rather uncommon' on arable land, and was found at the edge of one of the old enclosures on the 1600 map (Lang 1983). A specimen has also been seen at the Cambridge University Botanical Gardens in a bed for endangered local plants and is currently in the systematic beds. It is now considered a rare plant in this area.

6. Then proceeding in the ditch aforesaid, and turning in the ditch to the left at the corner of the said pightle (T), with one end of it on the left, and Wool Street (W), on the right, they passed by the great Oak (U), standing at the corner of the heath (R), leaving it on the left and proceeding in the ditch with the boundary of Barham Heath (R), on left, and Wool Street Way on right, all the way to the place call Saxby's Grave (V), where the road from Linton to Balsham crosses at right angles the Wool Street Road, on the Cambridge side, at which piece of the road from Lynton to Balsham by the side of the ditch aforesaid an old CROSS was found and opened, on the bank of the Parsonage of Linton 20 acre (W) on the left and Wool Street Way on left, one shott beyond the said Parsons 20 acres, on the Cambridge side of 20 acres, at the end of which balk a CROSS was opened and then turning to the left they went upon the said balk (which here divides the manor of Barham and Linton) and at the end of the balk, they turned to the left and went onto

the hedge call Fullwells Hedge, where they turned to the right and with Fulwells hedge on the left, and Chilford on the right, they went up the hill upon the balk dividing Barham and Linton (W), to the enclosure lying on the left, and so up the balk aforesaid, with Chilford Field on right and Reydon Field on left, they proceed to the side of a three acre piece belonging to a farm called Michaelotts (X), which was on left in said Reydon Field, at the end of which 3 acre, they turned to the right in a straight line, and crossing over a few roods of ground to a balk there, at which balk they turned to the left and upon that said balk went in a straight line to a style and over that style to a place called 'The Rivey' (Y), and winding a little to the right from the same style, about 3 or 4 roods downwards, they found and opened an old CROSS, and going from that cross downward, about 3 or 4 roods, then turned right about 2 or 3 roods and then turning to the left and went down the Rivey, bearing a little all the while the right, to a gateway hedged up, which hedge been trampled down, they went through to a balk and descended the hill to the road leading from London Crossway to Cambridge (Z), and crossing the road through a gate way into a close occupied by Mr Lindsell, and in a straight line down the said close, to a wall belonging to the house and garden of Francis Belham (occupied now by Wm. Bell), in which a place of entry was made, and several boys passed over into the yard of Bell, and into and through his house, and from it to the end of the lane called Symonds, and so to the river at Bar or Barham Bridge (commonly called Westrope Bridge), and up the stream, on the side of it next the Bull Close, to the Church Bridge whence we began where the lord gave a guinea, (of which half was spent at the Red Lion, Horseheath, and half at the house of Joseph Stubbing) to the persons who had perambulated in times past and to those who attended him in this perambulation. The following persons perambulated with Chr. Lonsdale the Lord of Barham, John Thompson an aged man of 80 years upwards, who had sixty years ago and several times gone the Bounds with John Millicent Esq. the then owner of Barham, whear [sic.] he had worked as a sawyer from his youth and continued in the same employ to the year 1742. He also went the bounds of Barham manor with John Millicent Esq. son of the above John Millicent of Barham which John Millicent 2nd son of the above John Millicent, about the year 1733. John Brown, Philip Brown, Ed Levens, Thos Smith, Robt Simpson, Ric Tofts, (Jos. Stubbin, Mr John Webb) these two went the bounds of Barham with Charles Millicent, eldest sone of the first John Millicent, about the year 1727. Ric

Webb, Robt Briggs, Henry Webb, John Drew, Robt Flack, John Baldwin, James Marsh, Jacob Coe, Richard Wilson, James Gibbs, Morris Lindsel, Sam Burford, of Hildersham, Robt Pament, John Branch, Thos Lindsel, James Lindsel, James Rand, Robt Pament, Wm Branch, Henry Lindsel, Thos Samford, servant to Mr Pocklington, James Harley, Henry Branch, John Seaman Jnr., Mr Pocklington

—N.B. All the above persons walked the Bounds of Bergham with Christopher Lonsdale Thursday, January 1st, 1761.

- (V) Nan Saxby's grave is shown on a map made for Sarah Lonsdale in 1785, now in Pembroke College Library (P.C.L. LIN78501 16/17). A family called Saxby are mentioned in the Linton Parish Registers of 1648–1708. There is no identifiable 'Nan', but it might be that she was buried at the crossroads as a suicide (N. Halliday pers. comm.)
- (W) This balk still exists, by the water-works, but the Chilford estate now takes in the fields. An aerial photograph in the Cambridge University Aerial Survey (TL 54 NE 578/491) shows enclosures and a possible settlement.
- (X) Michaelotts was a small medieval manor made out of Barham, and later absorbed into Little Linton. It had a sheepfold for 30.
- (Y) The Rivey was sometimes called Ballydon Hill. At the point described here, at the edge of the present treeline, were fragments of stone, which had been shaped, and which suggested another medieval cross base.
- (Z) The London–Cambridge road is now the back road to Hildersham, or Back Lane through Linton. Symonds Lane runs down to the High Street bridge. Bull Close was on the right hand bank.

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Appendix

Loose associated papers are numbered S.14b–e (P.C.A.). They are in the hand of Robert Tindal, steward of the estate, with superscriptions by Christopher Lonsdale.

S.14b

S.14b consists of two loose papers, the first is in Robert Tindal's hand, with a note by Chr. Lonsdale simply stating 'NB This day the Bounds of Barham Manor were perambulated by C.L. with these and other persons, Chr Lonsdale.'

4th October 1774 the forgoing writing having been read to William Law, he did declare the Contents thereof to be true in the presence and hearing of us — Wm Serocold, Charles Marshall, Edmd. Fisher, Thos. Bridge, John Warnor, Thos. Barker, John Burgoyne, Robt. Tindale.

The other paper is in Lonsdale's hand.

Wm. Law, 70yr old July 1769, Glover, went apprentice in 1712 to W. Playle Smith ['that' deleted] with Captn. John Millicent he went the bounds of Bergham manor in particular in ye year 1715, and that Mr Stephens, then ye Vicar of Lynton, went with them, and that Mr Stephens was bumpd at the cross in the Rivey — Robt. Cole, Snr and Jnr, Mr Huppin, S. and R. Moore, and may others of the Parish — went with them, and to all this the said W. Law has herunto set his hand, and is ready to attest upon Oath. Nov6 1769 (c.L) Wm Law his Mark [a blurred cross]

S.14c and d

These papers are damaged at the edge and were

once pinned together. Both appear to be in Lonsdale's hand. Paper c is undated and may be a copy of an earlier perambulation of Little Linton manor.

From linton Bridge to the upper end of Piggotts lane, from thence up limekiln Field by the Hedgeside (to a river on the right) to the Stile X from thence to Woodstreet Way without the Hedge up Barley Wood X from thence along Wood-street to the Turning down by Hildersham X from thence by Hildersham Field to Sheepsway X etc. from Stump Cross by the Ditches up long Lane by Mr Flack's House thro' Mill Lane to Hadstock Mill and then thro' Linton to Balsham Cross.

Note: X appears on the Barham map of 1785 marking the cross stopping places.

S.14d

This paper is incomplete.

Linton Procession Tuesday the 12th of may, 1680, and begun at 12 o'clock because it (was) very rainy till that hour. Notice was publickly in the Church the Sunday before, and the 12th of may at 8 o'clock in the morning the great Bell was tolled to call the Parishioners, being than very rainy, at 12 o'clock was tolled again. The Procession began (from) Linton Bridge, and at the upper end of Pigot's Lane . . .

S.14e

S14e is headed in Lonsdale's hand, 'May 3 1786. Names of those who went the bounds', and a loose paper with it is in Tindal's hand.

Tuesday in the forenoon May 3rd 1786 the following persons did then walk Bounds of Barham manor with Mr Robert Tindal the Steward of the said manor, viz. Mr Charles Wedge, Mr John Doverile, Mr Abraham Jamison, Mr Jacob Eve, Mr Edward Jacob Eve, Thomas Ford, Harry Star, Robert Briggs, Robert Parmenter, Charles Pettit, late gamekeeper, John Chapman, John Hills, Richard Tofts, Edward Lindsell, George Hiles, Richard Nichols, Joshua Brown, Joseph Glasscock, Stephen Glasscock, John Gordon, John Patton, Richard Lindsell, Thomas Burgoigne, James Crane, John Paunce snr, and his sons Richd, William, Robt and Joseph. Matthew Lindsell and his three sons, Robert Paccocourt, George Payne snr, Richard Pryor jnr.

Witness from my hand Thos. Fletcher
(signed) Robt Tindal Steward.

Wayside Graves and Crossroad Burials

Robert Halliday

The burial of the dead beside the highway, particularly by crossroads, was carried out in England until 1823, as a posthumous punishment for those who consciously took their own lives. Although there is an extensive literature on suicide, there has been little previous study of the practice of wayside and crossroad burial. This article will examine documented Cambridgeshire examples.¹

Criminals who die while committing a crime, or who are executed in punishment for their crimes may continue to be regarded with abhorrence after their deaths, and so be refused normal funeral rites. There is archaeological evidence for the denial of proper burial to criminals during the Anglo-Saxon period. Between 1924 and 1931 archaeological excavations were directed by Cyril Fox, W.M. Palmer and T.C. Lethbridge, on the course of the now levelled Bran Ditch at Fowlmere (TL 409 439).

About sixty skeletons were uncovered in shallow, irregular graves, at a spot called 'Gallows Gate' (i.e. Gallows Way) adjoining 'Hangman's Field', where 'The Joint Way', a pre-enclosure track, once crossed the ditch. (There were difficulties keeping count of the skeletons, as they were mixed together, and some were missing skulls or other bones.) No grave goods were discovered, but associated finds suggested that the burials belonged to the Anglo-Saxon period. Mostly adult males, they included two women (one interred with a newborn child), and some youths who may have been only twelve years old. Many skeletons were decapitated, others had distended necks, or showed signs of poleaxing or throat slitting, and there were indications of decomposition prior to interment. It seems plausible that this represented an Anglo-Saxon **cwealmstow**: a cemetery for criminals, who had been executed and displayed

at a crossing point of the Bran Ditch before a hasty burial.²

In 1977 Alison Taylor, the county archaeologist, directed a rescue excavation at a crossroad of a Roman road, on the parish boundary of Dry Drayton and Oakington (National Grid reference TL 395 630) where road works had uncovered about twelve skeletons, (many of which were disarticulated or damaged by the road works prior to excavation). The *Quo Warranto Rolls* mentioned a gallows owned by the Abbot of Crowland at Dry Drayton, and a map of 1809 referred to a neighbouring field as 'Gallas Field' (i.e. Gallows Field). It may therefore be surmised that the skeletons uncovered here were executed criminals.³

The use of rural crossroads for the execution and burial of criminals may have created an aversion to these spots. At the start of the eleventh century Ælfric of Eynsham described crossroads as burial sites and the haunt of spirits in his *Homilies*:

Witches still go to crossroads and to heathen burials with their delusive magic; and call to the devil; and he comes to them in the likeness of the man who is buried there, as if he arise from death; but she cannot bring it about that the dead arise through her magic.⁴

Ælfric did not specify who these 'heathen burials' may have been, but implied that they were regarded as evil.

Crossroads may have been chosen for this type of burial to hinder the deceased's ghost from finding its way back to its home, while the cross of the road would disperse evil energy from the corpse. The limit of the settlement or parish may have been preferred because it would be distant from human habitation, and also because it represented the death boundary. Passing traffic might press down to prevent the

ghost from rising. Passers-by would see the grave, and be deterred from following the example of the person buried there. The highway may also have been used for such burials in preference to other ground, as it would not encroach on private property.⁵

The practice of burying suicides at crossroads is documented from the Elizabethan period. William Harrison's *Description of England*, first published with Raphael Holinshead's *Chronicles* in 1577, says 'Such as kill themselves are buried in the field with a stake driven through their bodies'.⁶ In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, act three, scene two, Puck says how:

... Damned spirits all
That in crossways and floods have burial
Already to their wormy beds are gone.

Crossroad burials were not normally entered in parish registers, which were only intended to record burials in the relevant parish church or churchyard. But Castle Camps parish registers contain an entry for 9 December 1665, describing how George Miller hanged himself in Langley Wood, and was buried in a field by the highway on the parish boundary. Possibly a parish official thought the episode did not belong in the register, for the entry was crossed out, but it can still be deciphered.⁷

A possible instance of a suicide burial at a rural crossroads may be mentioned in an account of a perambulation of the boundaries of Barham Manor at Linton on 1 January 1761. The route traversed ran:

all the way to a place called *Nan Saxby's Grave*, where the road from Linton to Balsham crosses at right angles the Wool Street Road aforesaid on the Cambridge side, at which place of the road from Linton to Barham by the side of the ditch aforesaid.⁸

Wool Street cannot now be identified, but Nan Saxby's grave may have been at the crossroads of the B 1052 (National Grid reference TL 575 492) or of the Harcamlow Way to Balsham (National Grid reference TL 584 488). Linton parish registers record baptisms and marriages of members of several Saxby families between 1648 and 1688, with four burials between 1655 and 1708. These may have included 'Nan' Saxby or her relatives. No other information about 'Nan' Saxby or the circumstances of her burial is available, but it is not inconceivable that she had taken her life and been buried by Linton parish boundary. *Mark's Grave*, shown on the Ordnance Survey Map, at the junction of the parishes of Linton, Balsham, Horseheath and West Wickham (National Grid reference TL 595 484) may be the site of a similar burial, but P.H. Reaney in his *Place Names of Cambridge-*

shire suggests the name may instead be derived from the Anglo-Saxon *mearc*, or boundary.⁹

The expression *suicide* did not enter the English language until the mid-seventeenth century, and only became common usage during the Victorian period. ('Suicide' did not appear in Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755)). During the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries the preferred expression for the taking of one's own life was *self-murder*.¹⁰

Popular and intellectual consensus held self-murder with particular abhorrence. The legal attitude was described by Michael Dalton in his *Countray [sic.] Justice*, (1618), where he wrote: 'if a man kill himself with a mediate hatred against his own life, or out of distraction or other humour, he is called *felo-de-se*,'¹¹ (i.e. a felon of himself). Michael Dalton specified that only those who consciously and deliberately took their lives were classified *felo-de-se*. As murderers their goods and chattels were forfeit to the crown (but not their estate, which still passed to their heirs). Dalton added 'if one that wanteth discretion killeth himself, as an infant, or a man *non compos mentis*' they were guilty of a lesser crime, and their goods were not forfeit to the crown.

The third, (1635), edition of Dalton's *Countray Justice* expanded on this to show that self-murder was reprehensible:

for the heinousness thereof, it is to be observed, that it is an offence against God, against the king, and against nature, also it is within the degree of, or the quality of murder . . . yea it holds to be a greater offence than to kill another man.¹²

Self-murder, like all cases of sudden, unexpected or violent deaths, was investigated by a coroner. This office was created by Richard I in 1194, with the title *custos placitorum coronae*: keeper of pleas of the crown, to ensure that appropriate penalties were imposed on criminals. Coroners investigated deaths to determine whether murder or foul play had taken place, and ensure that the culprits were punished.

The office of coroner was modified over time. Originally drawn from those of knightly status, by the eighteenth-century coroners were normally minor members of the gentry class, particularly lawyers, as the office required knowledge of legal procedure. In 1752 a statute of 25 George II cap. 29 restricted the office primarily to investigating deaths.¹³

Eighteenth-century modifications to coroners' duties led Edward Umfreville to write a coroners' manual, *Lex Coronatoria, Or the Office and Duty of Coroners* (1761). When a sudden,

unexpected or violent death occurred the coroner was to convene an inquest in the community where this took place. Here witnesses with personal knowledge of the circumstances leading to the death or discovery of the body made statements, after which a jury of twelve local men determined the cause of death.

Umfreville wrote that the crime of *felo-de-se* was the worst form of murder, and the only punishment that could be directly applied under the circumstances was denial of Christian burial. Thus, if a coroner's jury found the deceased to be *felo-de-se* the coroner was to direct the constables or churchwardens of the parish where the inquest was taken to bury the deceased in a public street or highway. Umfreville gave no reason for this practice. It is uncertain whether common belief was incorporated into official thought and practice, or if official procedure influenced popular tradition. Umfreville repeated Dalton's pronouncement, that the goods of a *felo-de-se* (and his wife, if he were a married man) were forfeit to the crown, although the deceased's inheritance remained within his or her family.

Umfreville specified that a self-murderer could not be classified as a *felo-de-se* if he or she could be shown to be mentally unbalanced (a lunatic or an idiot in eighteenth century parlance), or a child under fourteen, or 'one distracted through sickness, grief, infirmity or accident'. Under these circumstances the deceased could be in a churchyard, but without ceremony.¹⁴

Bartlow parish registers record an instance of Edward Freeman, being buried in the parish churchyard on 14 June 1785: 'in consequence of recommendation from the coroner, whose verdict was lunacy, he having died from his own hands'.

Crossroad burial can be documented from the second half of the eighteenth century through the *Cambridge Chronicle*. Jane Bennet of Molesworth, who became pregnant in 1763, married her child's supposed father on 10 June 1764; although her husband later swore that he could not be the father. Jane Bennet complained of ill-health on 11 June, and next morning at one o'clock, when her husband described her as a 'wicked girl', she fled the house. People seeking her discovered that she had drowned herself and her daughter in a pond. Being declared a *felo-de-se* Jane Bennet was buried at a crossroad (*Cambridge Chronicle* (*Camb. Chron.*) 16 June 1764: 3, cols. 1-2). In 1765 Thomas Howard, a schoolmaster and clerk at Litlington, fell into arrears with rent. When his landlord, Peter Wedd of Fowlmere, came to his house on 9 November to seize goods

in lieu of rent, Howard took a fowling piece from a cupboard and shot Wedd in the chest. Howard then cut his own throat. Being declared a *felo-de-se* Thomas Howard was buried in the highway. Peter Wedd died on 3 January 1766 (*Camb. Chron.* 16 November 1765: 2, col. 4; 23 November 1765: 3, col. 1; 11 January 1766: 2, col. 3). The *Cambridge Chronicle* reports how John Ashby, a Fen Drayton horsekeeper who hanged himself in his master's stable on 15 March 1775 was buried in the highway, while John Stanford, who hanged himself at Kneesworth on 16 November 1779, was buried at a crossroad (18 March 1775: 2, col. 4; 20 November 1779: 3, col. 2). On 30 December 1805 a man whose identity was not known went from Alconbury to Buckden. Staying at the George Inn at Buckden, he appeared to be clear-minded when retiring to bed, but next morning was found to have poisoned himself, leaving a letter suggesting this was due to disappointment in love. A coroner's inquest on 1 January declared him guilty of self-murder, and he was buried in the road from Buckden to Huntingdon. (*Camb. Chron.* 18 January 1806: 2, col. 3). Local newspapers mention a man only identified as a discharged soldier, who poisoned himself with vitriol at Godmanchester on 25 July 1814, and was interred at the crossroad leading to Offord.¹⁵

Cambridgeshire Record Office holds records kept by Hugh Robert Evans, an Ely lawyer who held the post of Coroner for the Isle of Ely and Witchford Hundred from 1796 until 1832.¹⁶ Between September 1796 and June 1823 Hugh Robert Evans convened 271 inquests. These showed that the commonest cause of unexpected death to have been drowning, with 60 cases, almost certainly due to the large number of lakes and waterways in that region. The second most frequent cause of death was 'visitation of God', in 56 cases. This was a general term for sudden death with no obvious external cause, which might now be ascribed to a stroke or heart attack. There were 44 cases of burning or scalding, and 32 accidents involving carts and wagons. Self-murder was the fifth commonest cause of death, in seventeen cases. Of the remaining 62 deaths, eight were 'found dead' (the jury being unable to determine cause of death); eight were milling accidents; seven were killed by horses or cattle; eight by falls; five by accidental injury; five by manslaughter and two by murder; while one person was killed by another in self-defence. Changes in medical knowledge may have led to six deaths being diagnosed as apoplexy between 1816 and 1819, and there was one case of typhus in 1819, and two cases of 'fits' during

1820. Five individual accidental deaths were due to crushing by a beer barrel; suffocation after swallowing a penny; and being struck by an anchor, a timber gill, and a lighter pole, respectively.¹⁷

Self-murder accounted for 6% of the inquests at which Hugh Robert Evans officiated. Of the seventeen people who took their lives, twelve were declared lunatics and five declared *felo-de-se*. Depositions survive for fifteen of these, including all five cases of *felo-de-se*. When the death was discovered an inquest was convened at a public house in the parish where the body lay. Inquests took place on the day, or the day after, the discovery. Witnesses who had knowledge of the deceased's actions immediately before his or her demise, and the people who first found the dead body gave testimony, from which affidavits were written, which the witnesses signed. The jury then consulted and returned a verdict, after which Hugh Robert Evans pronounced the cause of death, and, if appropriate, made directions for burial.

John Layton, a porter of Ely, hanged himself on 30 June 1799. At an inquest in the *Anchor* public house at Ely on 1 July Robert Jervis told how he found John Layton's body, and called Benjamin Feast and John Bearcock to help take it down. John Layton's cousin, Mary Woodbine, testified that a week previously he asked for the return of a rope he had lent her, when she noticed 'great wildness' in his eyes. Thomas Cunningham saw John Layton on 29 June, when he appeared 'quite as sensible as he ever saw him'. Robert Bristow, a fellow porter had discussed a case of suicide at Barnwell with John Layton, when he seemed sensible. When John Layton was declared *felo-de-se* Hugh Robert Evans directed that he be buried at Barton Pits, on the road between Ely and Stretham. The *Cambridge Chronicle* records that ten weeks later a subscription was raised to place a stone over the grave, with an inscription on three sides saying:

All ye that pass by, pray to God to preserve and keep you from the crime of Self Murder; on which occasion this stone was erected in memory of John Layton, 1799.¹⁸

This memorial cannot now be found.

On the night of 6 August 1807 Jacob Sallis came into the Woolpack public house at Ely, where he was recognised by Richard Butcher, a Littleport labourer, as a fellow Littleport native who had been absent from that community for several years. Leaving the Woolpack, the two walked to Littleport, while Jacob Sallis complained of an unhappy domestic life, saying

he disliked his wife and would become a sailor. Richard Butcher believed that Jacob Sallis appeared wholly clear-minded throughout their conversation. At 4 a.m. next morning two people found Jacob Sallis hanging from a chestnut tree.

Hugh Robert Evans held an inquest in the *Marquis of Granby* public house at Littleport that same day, 7 August. The *Cambridge Chronicle* says the jury debated the case for five hours before returning a verdict of *felo-de-se*, whereupon Hugh Robert Evans directed that the parish constable and churchwardens bury Jacob Sallis below Portway Hill at Littleport.¹⁹ The inquests for John Layton and Jacob Sallis include printed certificates produced by T. Jones of Clifford's Inn Gate, Fetter Lane, London, giving an outline declaration that the deceased was a *felo-de-se*, with blank spaces for the coroner to insert appropriate details of names, dates and places, and directing the churchwardens and constables to bury the deceased by the highway at midnight.

On Sunday 5 January 1807 William Lofts discovered George Gay's body hanging in a house at Littleport. William Lofts had known George Gay for two and a half years. Three other acquaintances testified that they had never seen derangement or insanity in George Gay, who was accordingly declared a *felo-de-se*. But Hugh Robert Evans' report does not say what burial arrangements were made, nor does the local press mention the case (Cambridge Record Office (CRO), Es/Co/P.70).

Elizabeth Carter of Little Downham was found to have hanged herself at 1 pm on Saturday 6 May 1809. At an inquest at the *Anchor* public house in Little Downham on Sunday Elizabeth Brown, an acquaintance, testified that Elizabeth Carter had been unhappy and unsettled for several years. Sarah Tingley said she had spoken about committing suicide over the previous two weeks, and hoped that she might still be buried in the churchyard. Although the coroner's jury declared Elizabeth Carter *felo-de-se*, neither the inquest nor the *Cambridge Chronicle* mention any burial arrangements, but the *Bury St Edmunds and Norwich Post*, which also reported the case, said she was buried in the highway.²⁰ The fifth case of *felo-de-se* in this sequence was Richard Hubbard of Little Downham, who took laudanum on 25 May 1816. At an inquest at the *Windmill* public house at Little Downham on 26 May William Tingley (probably a relative of Sarah Tingley who testified at Elizabeth Carter's inquest), and Robert Murrel stated that Richard Hubbard appeared sober and clear-headed after taking poison, and had said that he would have

done so the previous day if he had made his peace with God. Hugh Robert Evans' report does not mention burial arrangements, neither was Richard Hubbard's suicide reported in the local press. Possibly the news was overshadowed by agricultural demonstrations then taking place at Littleport and elsewhere (CRO, Es/Co/P.115).

In the other twelve cases of self-murder for which reports survive (the depositions never use the expression 'suicide') the verdict was 'that the deceased, being a lunatic did hang, (or poison, or drown) himself (or herself)'.²¹ James Read, aged twelve, who hanged himself at Stretham on 21 October 1800 (described by two witnesses as 'a boy of weak intellect, not like other boys') was considered mentally unbalanced because of his youth (CRO, Es/Co/P.29). When John Golding hanged himself at Wentworth on 8 October 1796 a female acquaintance testified that he had been 'melancholy and uneasy in mind' for six months (CRO, Es/Co/P.2). When William Johnson, an Ely tailor, drowned himself in a well on 25 June 1799, his wife and two other people said he frequently showed signs of depression, especially after drinking, and believed he had neglected his family (CRO, Es/Co/P.20). There was at least one witness to attest to depression or mental instability when William Murfitt and Ann Sears of Manea hanged themselves on 27 June and 18 October 1803, when Ann Freeman of Littleport poisoned herself on 27 March 1810, when Thomas Talbot of Ely drowned himself on 29 November 1811, and when John Hopkin of Downham hanged himself on 17 August 1816 (CRO, Es/Co/P. P.46; P.47; P.93; P.104; P.117). When Thomas Curtis of Manea cut his throat on 23 April 1816 several people observed that violent efforts were made to restrain him, leaving little doubt as to his mental condition (CRO, Es/Co/P.114).

The two cases of self-murder where a lunacy verdict was returned but where depositions have not survived were Ann Craddock who drowned herself in a well on 1 August 1799, and Sarah Gile who hanged herself on 21 July 1804.²²

Coroners' juries may have exercised discretion in returning verdicts. When Gotobed Goody of Witchford hanged himself on 27 August 1805 his wife testified that he had been in sound mind, but it is possible that the jurors returned a lunacy verdict to save her distress, and prevent the State seizing his goods (CRO, Es/Co/P.61). Conversely, available information on Jane Bennet and Thomas Howard, who took their lives in 1764 and 1765, suggests that they were mentally unstable, possibly from the

situation in which they found themselves. But since they killed another person in the process of taking their own lives the jurors may have wished to punish them for murder, and accordingly authorised roadside burial.

The tradition of driving a stake through a suicide's corpse during burial may have derived from a belief that this would prevent the ghost from rising. Umfreville wrote: 'This practice hath no countenance from the coroner's warrant, though it may serve to make the ignominy the more notorious'.²³

There is one documented Cambridgeshire example. At Oakington on 15 June 1768 Richard Cole, a horsekeeper, hanged himself.

As it did not appear to the coroner's jury that he was or had been disordered in his senses, or in any other ways affected by misfortunes, they brought in their verdict *felo-de-se*, and he was accordingly buried in a cross-way, with a stake drove through his body.²⁴

The tradition of a tree growing from the stake driven through a suicide or murderer's body symbolises life arising from death, or the cycles of death, burial and rebirth, and planting and harvest. Parallels include the legend of the trees that grew and intertwined from the graves of Tristram and Iseult. 'The Cruel Tree', which may have marked the site of a gallows at a crossroads of the Great North Road between Buckden and Brampton, was said to have grown from a stake driven through the body of a murderer who had been hanged there. A print in the Norris Museum at St Ives shows the tree with three blocks at the base, which may either have been tombstones, or stakes driven through corpses. 'The Cruel Tree' was destroyed by roadworks in 1865.²⁵

Enid Porter published a study of the diary of Willie Tredgett, a Victorian resident of West Wrattling. In 1885 Willie Tredgett described a journey to Castle Camps, passing 'Barrack's Tree', which had grown from an ash stake driven through the body of 'Barrack', a highwayman who was executed and buried by the road. Possibly this was associated with George Miller's burial, mentioned previously, as nobody called Barrack is mentioned in Castle Camps parish registers.²⁶

Perhaps the best known wayside grave in Cambridgeshire is 'The Boy's Grave', on the B 1506 (part of the Icknield Way) at the junction of the parishes of Chippenham and Kennett with Moulton in Suffolk, (National Grid Reference TL 687 661). My grandmother, Mrs Margaret Halliday (née Starling) was born nearby in Ashley in 1878, and lived with considerable vitality until 1976. She said a shepherd boy believed he had lost a sheep. Afraid of being blamed for its theft, and hanged

or transported to Australia, he hanged himself. When the sheep were counted none was missing. As a self-murderer he was buried at a crossroads on the parish boundary. At the start of this century the grave was marked by a large, grass-covered mound, which was maintained by road workers. When I first saw 'The Boy's Grave' as a child, in the early 60s, it was marked by a small earth mound, about three feet long and two feet high, usually covered with flowers, on the northeastern angle of the crossroad. This mound has since disappeared, but there is now a patch of ground about ten feet from the main road which is still tended and marked with fresh flowers. Efforts to trace the truth behind the story of the shepherd have been unsuccessful. The details of the story can neither be proved nor disproved, but the grave is at an appropriate location for a suicide burial. If, as my grandmother asserted, the shepherd boy was afraid of being transported to Australia for sheep stealing, his death would have taken place between 1787 and 1847, when this punishment was enforced. Presumably he was aged at least fourteen at his death. From about the 1930s a tradition held that the boy had been a gypsy, and that gypsies tend the grave in secret. Although gypsies are excellent horsemen, they do not normally keep sheep. This recent tradition may represent a belief that a family or wider community could claim the body by tending the grave.²⁷

The true story behind one Cambridgeshire wayside grave can be established. At Peterborough on May 22 1811 Elizabeth James, a young woman of 22, being disappointed in hopes of marriage, took arsenic. She regretted her action, but died twelve hours later. (Umfreville stated that a person might take action to end their life, and then regret this, but the crime could not be purged by repentance.)²⁸ The fact that a person regretted the action might indeed have been taken as proof of their sanity. Elizabeth James was buried near the Spalding Road, attended by six female relatives dressed in white, before many onlookers (*Stamford Mercury* 31 May 1811: 3, col. 2; *Camb. Chron.*, 7 June 1811: 3, col. 2). Andrew Percival's *Notes On Old Peterborough* (Peterborough, 1905: 31-2), said the *Girl's Grave* was once marked by a small gravestone in a cottage garden at the crossroads of Crawthorne Lane (now Burghley Road) and Park Road (which lay in the general direction of Spalding). This must have been Elizabeth James' grave. Percival added that a stake was driven through the girl's body, but this probably was not the case, not being mentioned in contemporary accounts of Elizabeth James'

burial. Although the grave was known and recognised, it took less than a century for the suicide's identity to be forgotten.

Catherine Parsons and Enid Porter recorded traditions concerning Cambridgeshire 'wise women' or witches. 'Daddy Witch', a notorious Horseheath witch, was supposedly buried in the middle of the road between the main village settlement and Horseheath Green. Local folklore said that the grave stayed dry in the rain, and one could obtain good luck by nodding nine times before passing over it. A Bartlow witch was also supposed to have been buried at a crossroad in the village, where a mound was seen as late as the 1930s.²⁹

The practice of roadside burial was abolished by an act of 4th George IV c. 42 on 8 July 1823. After this those who took their lives were to be buried in cemeteries between 9 pm and midnight, without ceremony.³⁰ Hugh Robert Evans held an inquest on Elizabeth Atkin of Ely, who poisoned herself on Saturday 1 August 1823, and was declared a *felo-de-se* (CRO, Es/Co/P.133). The *Cambridge Chronicle* reported how 'the poor woman was buried by torch light at ten o'clock on Saturday night' (15 August 1823: 3, col. 4).

From the nineteenth century there may have been a change in attitudes to those who took their own lives, as shown by the manner in which the expression 'suicide' was to replace the stronger phrase 'self-murder'. There was greater sympathy for those who took their own lives, who were seen increasingly as objects of pity, rather than loathing. Hugh Robert Evans' inquests show that by the late eighteenth century coroners and their juries were more likely to return a verdict of lunacy rather than *felo-de-se* when a person took their life. There appears to have been a general predisposition to declare a lunacy verdict unless there was strong evidence to the contrary. With eighteenth- and nineteenth-century population growth, and improvements in transport, rural crossroads may have seemed less remote, and there may have been greater aversion to burying the dead in areas that were no longer seen as so distant from settlement, or not designated as official burial grounds. (Even executed criminals were to be buried in the prison where they were hanged.) Most burials mentioned in this article failed to pass into popular memory, and may have been forgotten quite rapidly. By the nineteenth century the practice may no longer have been regarded as a deterrent to prevent others from taking their lives. Some burials have been remembered due to the melodramatic quality of the story behind them, such as those of the *Boy's Grave* on the county boundary, or

that of Elizabeth James of Peterborough, even so it only took a century for the identity of the person buried there to be obscured. The abolition of roadside burial represented part of a general change in the popular perception of death.

Endnotes

- ¹ For a survey of the literature on suicide and attitudes to this subject see M. MacDonald, 'The secularization of suicide in England, 1660-1800', *Past and Present* 111 (May 1986), 50-99.
- ² David Hill, 'Bran Ditch: the burials reconsidered', *PCAS* 66 (1975), 123-8; W.M. Palmer, C. Fox & W. Duckworth, 'Excavations in the Cambridgeshire dykes: Bran or Heydon ditch, first report', *PCAS* 27 (1924-5), 16-42; W.M. Palmer & T.C. Lethbridge, 'Excavations in the Cambridgeshire dikes: Bran ditch, second report', *PCAS* 30 (1927-8), 80-88; W.M. Palmer, T.C. Lethbridge & C. Leaf, 'Further excavations at the Bran Ditch', *PCAS* 32 (1930-31), 54-6.
- ³ 'Medieval Britain in 1977', *Medieval Archaeology* 22 (1978), 186; A. Taylor, 'A saxon glass beaker from a possible round barrow, and a medieval gallows site at Dry Drayton', *PCAS* 71 (1981), 90-91.
- ⁴ J. Pope (ed.), *Homilies of Ælfric*, Early English Text Society, (London, 1968), ii: 259-60; cited in A. Meaney, 'Ælfric and idolatry', *Journal of Religious History* 13 (1984), 130-31.
- ⁵ On the folklore surrounding these subjects see James Hastings (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (London, 1908-26) sv Crossroad; Suicide.
- ⁶ William Harrison, The description of England, book 2, chapter 11, in Raphael Holinshead, *The Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1807 edition) i: 312.
- ⁷ All parish registers cited in this article can be consulted in the Cambridge Record Office (CRO).
- ⁸ Pembroke College Library Manuscripts, Barham, S.14.a, p. 5.
- ⁹ P.H. Reaney, *The Place Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, English Place Name Society, vol. xix (Cambridge, 1943), 110.
- ¹⁰ Macdonald 1986, 52-7; *The Oxford English Dictionary* (London & Oxford, 1989), sv suicide.
- ¹¹ Michael Dalton, *The Country Justice* (1st ed., 1618), 208-9.
- ¹² Michael Dalton, *The Country Justice* (3rd ed., 1635), 235.
- ¹³ For a history of the office of coroner see R. Hunnisett, *The Medieval Coroner* (Cambridge, 1961). Also of local interest is D.V. Durell, 'Some historical notes on the Cambridge City Coronership', *Bulletin of the Cambridgeshire Local History Council* 35 (1980), 14-17.
- ¹⁴ Edward Umfreville, *Lex Coronatoria, or The Office and Duty of Coroners* (1st ed., 1761), i: 1-10, 358-65.
- ¹⁵ C.F. Tebbutt, *Huntingdonshire Folklore* (St Ives, 1984), 19, citing *The Huntingdon, Bedford and Peterborough Gazette and Weekly Advertiser* 30 July 1814, 179, col. 2; *The Cambridge Chronicle (Camb. Chron.)*, 29 July 1814, 3, col. 2 mentions the event, but does not give details of the burial.
- ¹⁶ Hugh Robert Evans took his sons, 'Hugh Robert Evans the younger' and William, into partnership, to start Evans and Sons, which operated in Ely until the 1960s. Documents from Evans and Sons, solicitors, can be seen at CRO, class number 283.
- ¹⁷ Notebooks detailing inquests from September 1786 to April 1808, CRO, Es/Co/R1; April 1808-May 1816, CRO, Es/Co/R2; July 1816-October 1827, CRO, Es/Co/R3. Forms detailing Hugh Robert Evans' travel expenses as coroner, CRO, Es/Co/P.263. Depositions from September 1786 to June 1823, CRO, Es/Co/P.1-131.
- ¹⁸ CRO, Es/Co/P.21; *Camb. Chron.* 6 July 1799, 3, col. 3; 21 September 1799, 3, col. 3.
- ¹⁹ CRO, Es/Co/P70; *Camb. Chron.* 10 January 1807.
- ²⁰ CRO, Ex/Co/P89; *Camb. Chron.* 13 May 1809, 3, col. 3; *Bury and Norwich Post* 10 May 1809, 2, col. 3; see also *Norwich Mercury* 13 May 1809, 3, col. 5.
- ²¹ Verdicts are entered in Hugh Robert Evans' notebooks, CRO, Es/Co/R.1-3.
- ²² Details of Ann Craddock and Sarah Gile appear in Hugh Robert Evans' notebooks, CRO, Es/Co/R.1-3.
- ²³ Umfreville, *op. cit.* (1761), i: 8.
- ²⁴ *Camb. Chron.*, 18 June 1768, 2, col. 4.
- ²⁵ Tebbutt, *op. cit.* (1984), 17-18.
- ²⁶ Enid Porter, 'Willie Tredgett's diary', *Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and Peterborough Life* January 1969, 28-30.
- ²⁷ The earliest published account of the story appears in Charles G. Harper, *The Newmarket, Bury, Thetford and Cromer Road* (London, 1904) 168-9. Versions of the story also appear in Enid Porter, *The Folklore of East Anglia* (London, 1974), 40, and *Folklore, Myths and Legends of Britain* (Reader's Digest Association, 1977), 240. *The Newmarket Journal*, August 15 1985, 6, reported that Angela Redshaw, a woman from Northolt in Middlesex had maintained the grave. A file of material on the grave, collected in 1935, can be seen in the archives of the now defunct Eastern Counties Folklore Society, Cambridge University Library, additional manuscripts 7515, but this contains little further information of significance.
- ²⁸ Umfreville, *op. cit.* (1761) i: 4.
- ²⁹ C. Parsons, Notes on Cambridgeshire witchcraft, *PCAS* 19 (1915) 39; E. Porter, *Cambridgeshire Customs and Folklore* (London, 1969), 161, 163-4.
- ³⁰ A copy of the 1823 act is filed with Hugh Robert Evans' papers, CRO, Es/Co/P.285.

The Late Glass in King's College Chapel: Dierick Vellert and Peter Nicholson

Hilary Wayment

A lack of documents concerning the genesis of a major work of art is a challenge to the art historian. This article attempts to trace in the great windows of King's College Chapel, especially on the south side, the work of two outstanding glass-painters who are nowhere specifically recorded as having taken part in the glazing, but whose involvement can be shown to have been more than likely. The article is intended to supplement (and where necessary to modify) the author's earlier publications, especially his *Introduction and Guide* (2nd edition 1992) on the great windows of King's Chapel.¹ This last contains a plan of the Chapel with the notation of the great windows, and a full list of the subjects represented in them. The plan reproduced here (Diagram 1) indicates the subjects of the scenes discussed in the article, while Diagram 2 shows the notation used for both north and south windows.

Contemporary documents concerning the sixteenth-century glazing of King's College Chapel give the names of seven master-glaziers.² The first, Barnard Flower, was a subject of the Duke of Burgundy, and probably came from the southern Netherlands. Flower was paid two advances of £100 each in 1515 and 1517, and was evidently responsible for the equivalent of four windows, all on the north side, though his actual hand can only be traced, if at all, in part of one window.³ Of the six who signed contracts in 1526 for the remaining twenty-two windows, four — Richard Bond, Thomas Reve (or Neve), Francis Williamson and Simon Symondes — can be traced with some confidence in the whole or part of seven windows, almost all on the north side;⁴ the two others, Galyon Hone and James Nicholson, are more easily identifiable as glass-painters in the late glass, and specifically in the east window

and in 14C. In addition, there are two outstanding master-glaziers whose names (Dierick Vellert and Peter Nicholson) are never mentioned in connexion with the King's College glass, but whose work it is the main purpose of this article to follow and identify, more particularly in the south side windows 14-23 and 25.

The Tudors and their Three Chief Glaziers

The Tudor kings and queens, over more than seventy years, seem to have been served by three Chief Glaziers only: Barnard Flower, Galyon Hone and Peter Nicholson, all of continental origin. The full range of documents referring to Flower was described by Arthur Oswald in two articles of the fifties, and supplemented in a vital contribution from Angela Smith in 1988; his career can now be traced in outline from 1496 to 1517, when he died.⁵ Galyon Hone worked at Eton College between 1517 and 1526, and is described as 'the king's glazier' in 1520, when he received the large sum of £88, in all probability for glazing the temporary palace at the Field of Cloth of Gold.⁶ In 1526 he was the chief signatory of the contracts for the glazing of the twenty-two windows in King's Chapel which remained unglazed after the campaign of 1515-17; these were intended to be completed by 1531, but only eight more seem to date from this time. On 8 April 1535 Galyon dined at King's, together with 'James' and 'another', and there is other evidence of a resumption of work at this time.⁷ Our knowledge of his multifarious work in the king's service is vastly enlarged by the survival of the 'particular books' kept by James Nedeham, Clerk-Surveyor of the King's

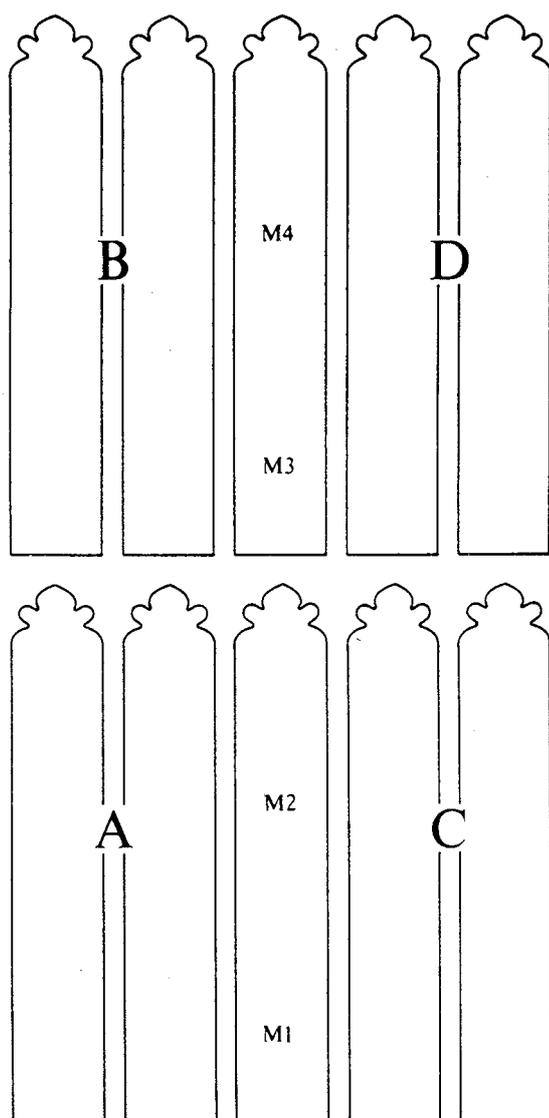


Diagram 2. Key to main lights of a window with notation of scenes.

1545 they had fallen to 20s., and in 1549 to less than that.¹¹ He probably died in 1551–2. Meanwhile, on 21 February 1550, Peter Nicholson had been appointed King's Glazier for life.¹²

From the beginning of Edward VI's reign in January 1547 until the early seventeenth century very little figural glass was painted in England. Heraldic glass was still produced more or less by the same techniques, but the growing use of enamels in place of potmetal led to a sharp decline in its splendour; in ecclesiastical buildings, apart from heraldry, only quarries in paint, yellow stain, and occasionally sanguine wash were installed. It is therefore hardly surprising that Peter Nicholson's annual

fee was rather less than that paid to Barnard Flower.

Until the very end of Henry VIII's reign, however, the foreign glaziers had prospered. Henry used the Protestant movement to rid himself of Catherine of Aragon and to establish himself as head of the English Church, but he remained a conservative in religion, and by no means discouraged religious imagery. Throughout his reign there was strong resentment on the part of the Glaziers' Company in the City of London towards the foreign glaziers who worked for the King and his counsellors.¹³ This resentment erupted into open struggle in the last decades of the reign. An undated letter from the guild to Thomas Cromwell protests against infringements of the law by Peter Nicholson, who, they point out, in addition to the two 'servants' permitted by statute employs five men to work for Cromwell himself, and moreover imports glass ready made from overseas, thus depriving Englishmen of work and the King of his dues; a second complaint brought before the Barons of the Exchequer on 17 November 1536 seems likely also to refer to the same affair, and thus to date it.¹⁴

This is the first occasion on which Peter is mentioned in any surviving document, though another Nicholson, James, had been active since 1518 at least, and was scarcely less prominent than Hone among the foreign glaziers.¹⁵ Wolsey, who could be satisfied with nothing but the best, employed James Nicholson in 1529 as his master-glazier at Cardinal College, Oxford, and at his death in November 1530 owed him the large sum of £58 for work done at his archiepiscopal mansions of Southwell, Cawood and Scroby. At Oxford Thomas Cromwell had been in charge of the building operation,¹⁶ including the glazing for which James Nicholson was responsible; but James was also a printer, and, as becomes clear a few years later, shared Cromwell's Lutheran leanings. In 1535 he published an edition of part of Coverdale's Bible, printed abroad, but with a dedication to the King which he had printed himself. A letter has survived which he sent to Cromwell with a copy of the book and also one of Melanchthon's *Commonplaces*; he appeals confidently for Cromwell's support as 'an only patrone unto the Trouth'.¹⁷ In 1537–8 James Nicholson printed two editions of the Bible, and other Protestant books; but soon after this he seems to have given up printing and passed on his equipment to others.

On 8 April 1535, as we have seen, 'Galyon, James and another' are recorded as having dined at King's College, Cambridge, no doubt with a view to the resumption of glazing work

in the Chapel. The 'James' concerned must have been James Nicholson, as will later appear. He seems likely in fact, what with his printing and his glazing, to have been fully committed when Cromwell turned instead to Peter Nicholson for what was obviously important glazing work, in all probability at his house within the City at Austin Friars.

Can we doubt that there was either a professional link, or consanguinity, or both, between the two Nicholsons? They are both reported as living within the liberty of St Thomas' Hospital, Southwark, James in 1526 (and probably for the rest of his life), and Peter in 1541.¹⁸ James had died c. 1541–2, and by January 1543 (new style) his widow had remarried.¹⁹ J.A. Knowles conjectured that Peter was James' brother, but he is far more likely to have been the son of a man whom he was to survive for at least twenty-seven years.²⁰

The struggle between the London Company and the foreign glaziers finally came to a head in 1546, the last full year of Henry VIII's reign. The Company's *Complaint* against the foreigners and their English followers, which can be dated soon after 10 June 1546, is a most informative document.²¹ It recalls the recent history of the struggle, their rivals' practice of entering the City to work there (almost certainly not to paint or fire glass, but to fix in place panels which had been made 'outside the walls'), and the imprisonment of Galyon Hone, Francis Williamson and two others. It then adds the names of six other 'strangers born', including Peter Nicholson and 'longe Deryk', and of twelve Englishmen not Londoners. Another document of 18 October 1546 cites Peter Nicholson, with Hone and Godfrey Trice, as having refused to contribute when the Company 'harnessed men for the king's wars'.²² Trice and Nicholson confessed that they had 'made privy meetings amongst themselves and . . . gathered sommes of mony to beare out this matter agynst the glasyers ffremen'. A judgement of the Star Chamber issued on 27 October 1546 decided the case in favour of the Company, which continued during the next reign to have the upper hand.²³

In this final struggle, though Hone (despite his impoverishment) was the foreigners' ringleader, Peter Nicholson clearly played an important part. Meanwhile his affairs prospered: the Returns of Aliens show that his goods were rated in 1541 at £10, and £13 in 1549; in 1551 he had £20 and two servants.²⁴ On 10 March 1552 he received a letter of denization.²⁵ He moved from the parish of St Thomas' Hospital in Southwark to that of St Saviour's c. 1545, but returned to St Thomas' by 1559–

60. In 1562, however, he was allotted a tenement in Westminster by the queen,²⁶ and in 1563 he signed accounts as churchwarden in the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields.²⁷

In 1539–40 Galyon Hone had worked at the Tower of London on the glazing of the Jewel House.²⁸ In the autumn of 1547, however, after Henry VIII's death, it was Peter Nicholson who worked in the Tower,²⁹ and in 1549 he was glazing at Whitehall Palace.³⁰ On 21 February 1550 he was appointed Chief Glazier to Edward VI; his fee was fixed at 1s. a day, with 24s. a year for livery (i.e. £19 9s. p.a.).³¹ The grant was for life, and although there is no record of his activity or status during Queen Mary's reign (1553–8), on 25 January 1559, soon after the accession of Elizabeth I, he was assessed on a 'fee' of £18, which corresponds roughly to the 1s. a day granted for life in 1550.³² In February to June 1566 he installed royal arms and badges in the Queen's lodging at Collyweston, Northants,³³ and in 1568 at Reading Abbey, Berks, when he is expressly called 'the queen's Master Glazier'.³⁴ Peter Nicholson died on 16 March 1569³⁵ and was buried at St Martin-in-the-Fields the next day.³⁶

Dierick Vellert

There is another figure whose work in England is nowhere clearly attested by documents, but has been inferred by a number of scholars during the last century and a half. In 1855–6 Sir George Scharf, in a general and wide-ranging account of foreign influences on the King's Chapel glass, mentioned more than once an engraver then known as 'Dirk van Staren'.³⁷ Max Friedländer in 1899 made a more general comparison with this artist,³⁸ and soon afterwards Glück identified the engraver as Dierick Jacobsz Vellert of Antwerp.³⁹ N. Beets worked out in detail Vellert's responsibility for the designs of two windows, 13 (east) and 20 (to the south of the screen).⁴⁰

K.P. Harrison, writing in 1952, carried this idea further, and in particular saw him as 'deviser' of window 6 (north of the screen).⁴¹ It was not, however, until 1972, when my *Corpus Vitrearum* volume appeared, that Vellert was seen not only as the designer of most of the later windows, but as one of the leading painters of the glass.⁴²

There is no documentary proof of Vellert's presence in England at any time between 1515 and 1547. He might well be identical with the stranger 'longe Deryk' whose name was included in the London glaziers' *Complaint* of 1546.⁴³ It does not, however, appear in the Returns of Aliens: Vellert, as an intermittent

visitor at most, is unlikely at this time to have set up house in Southwark or Westminster, which would have rendered him liable to tax (and thus inclusion in the records). It is not unlikely, however, that he settled in England after the death of Henry VIII and figures as the 'Olde Father Derrick, Douchman', who in 1567 was living in the ward of Faringdon Within.⁴⁴ As he was probably born in Amsterdam c. 1486 and was based in Antwerp from 1511 onwards this may seem improbable; but there was good reason for emigration at that time from a city under Catholic rule to one with a new Protestant government. The glaziers, like other craftsmen, were notoriously inclined to Lutheranism, and the evidence of the glass in King's Chapel suggests that Vellert, like James Nicholson, was in fact a keen Lutheran. The late Christopher Morris drew attention to the ambiguity of the inscription on Caiaphas' throne in window 11A; this reads SIC RESPO(N)DES PO(N)TIFICE(M) (Is that how you answer the Pontiff?). The word for a high priest can also mean 'bishop' or 'Pope', and a medieval Pope had been dubbed Caiaphas;⁴⁵ the Lutherans made the same comparison. In Lutheran Nuremberg c. 1535 Peter Flötner, in his *New Passion of Christ*, was to show a Pope standing behind Christ's Cross in place of Caiaphas. Vellert, who must have designed the Caiaphas scene and painted the figure of Caiaphas himself, appears also to have designed and painted the figure of the Penitent Thief in the *Crucifixion* (east E) and that of the Prodigal Son returning to his Father (19B) — both monuments of Penitence, which to the Lutherans was a cardinal virtue.

There are indications that Vellert may have been preparing for a move from Antwerp before the end of Henry VIII's reign. A document of 4 April 1543 records that he sold the rents of seven 'fine dwelling-houses' on the Meir, in the centre of the city; but it would surely have been more profitable for him to farm the rents himself, or employ an agent, if he had been intending to stay in Antwerp.⁴⁶ Then on 1 September of the same year Vellert and his wife are recorded as having sold two houses, also on the Meir, which they had bought in 1522.⁴⁷ On 30 December 1547 he signed an act of procuration, in which he is described as a citizen of Antwerp, authorising two lawyers in Amsterdam to look after his affairs; this again might seem to indicate that he at least felt foot-loose.⁴⁸

It may in fact be possible to follow Vellert's family well into the second half of the century. In July 1569 a certain 'Jacques Vellaert, peintre de verrieres', who was 53 years old and lived in Antwerp, testifies to the character of Corneille

van Houte, another glazier, who was probably a son of the Mechlin glazier Adrian Vandenhoute.⁴⁹ Since the name Vellert (Felaert, Vellaert) is very rare, this Jacob Vellert must surely have been the son of Dierick, who will have given him his own father's name, in accordance with a practice common at the time. Finally, in the London Returns of Aliens for 1588 the name of 'Derick Jacobson' appears, as a contributor for life to the maintenance of students through the Dutch Church in London.⁵⁰ This man might well, by the same token, have been the son of 'Jacques Vellaert', and the grandson of Dierick Jacobson Vellert.

The Three Guests at Dinner in April 1535

There is, in any case, good reason to believe, as we shall see, that Vellert must have been the other man who dined in King's College with Galyon (Hone) and James (Nicholson) on 8 April 1535. In this country during the last twelve years of Henry's reign by far the most important glazing campaign that we know of concerned the east window of King's Chapel and, as I believe, the equivalent of eleven other windows, 4 and 9A on the north, and the rest on the south side (14A and C, 15–23, and the Messengers in 25). The campaign no doubt began after the visit of Hone and his two companions in April 1535, and appears to have continued, off and on, until the end of the reign.⁵¹ It is now possible to discern the co-operation of Galyon Hone, James Nicholson, and Dierick Vellert first in 14C (Fig. 1), probably in the year or two following, and in the east window (with a number of other glaziers) in 1540.

Of Hone's style little need be said. In the scene which shows the Queen of Sheba presenting gifts to Solomon (4D) the head of Solomon bears the features of Henry VIII (Fig. 2); a shield with the capitals HR which originally stood above the scene, but within the main lights, proves that the resemblance is not coincidental.⁵² This head will inevitably have been painted by the King's own glazier. Hone must also, as chief contractor for the glazing, have painted the key figure of Christ on the Cross in east E, which is in the same style (Fig. 3). Other notable heads are those of the Virgin Mary at the *Crucifixion* (east E), of the young woman at the foot of the Cross in the *Lamentation of Christ* (window 14C, Fig. 1, upper L), and of the villainous Carpenter in the *Christ Nailed to the Cross* (east D, Fig. 4). I find no sign of his hand in any of the south side windows except 14C (the *Lamentation of Christ* already mentioned); the east window (c. 1540) is most probably the last he was concerned



Figure 1. The Lamentation of Christ (*window 14C, part*).



Figure 2. Solomon, from the Queen of Sheba presenting gifts to Solomon (4D).



Figure 3. Head of Christ on the Cross, from the Crucifixion (east E).



Figure 5. Pilate, from the Carrying of the Cross (east C).

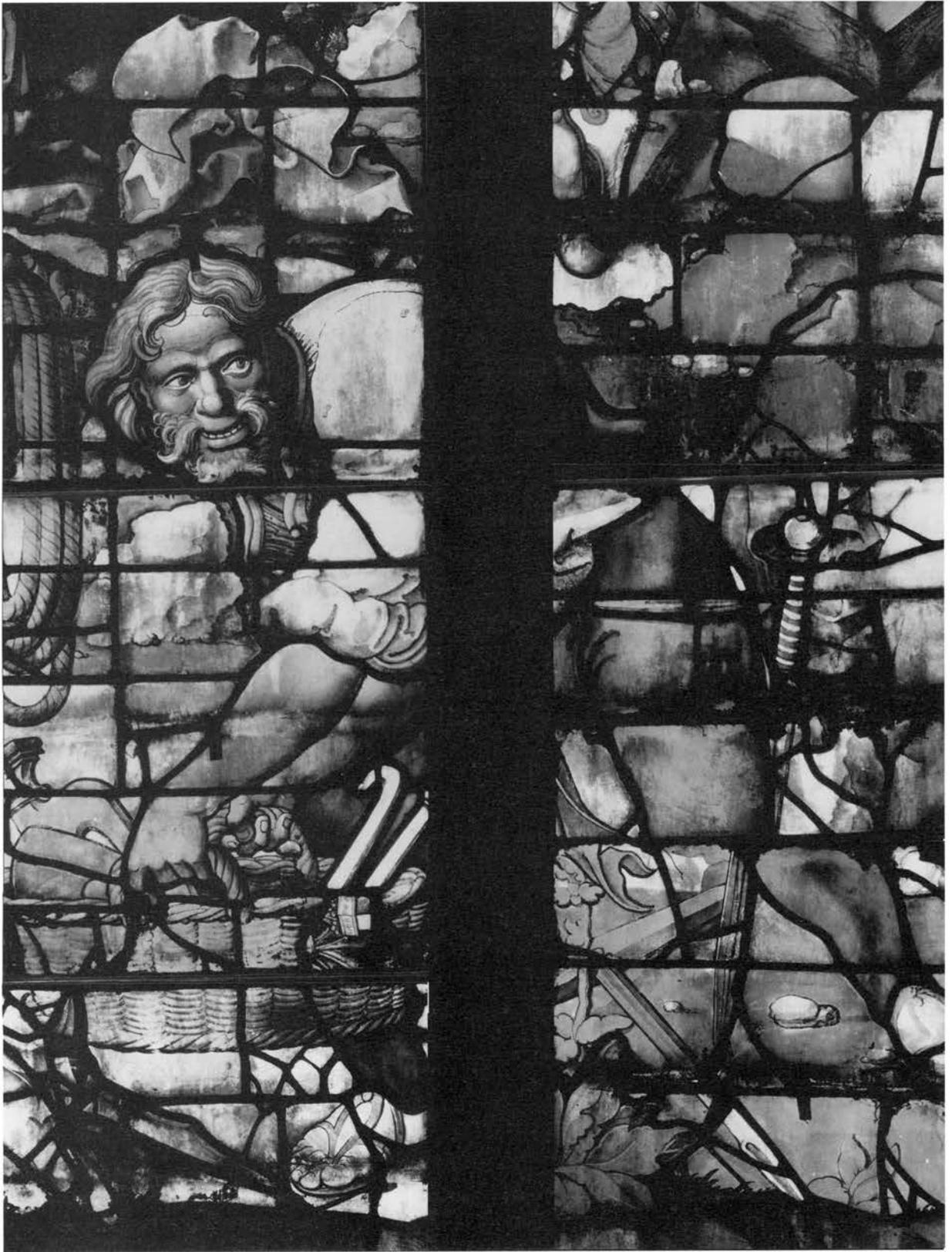


Figure 4. *The Carpenter, from the Nailing on the Cross (east D).*

with. We have seen that in the 1540s his affairs declined, though he lived until at least the end of the decade. Hone's late style, as indeed one might expect from what other documents reveal about his character and exploits, is insensitive and almost brutally assured; his noses have a broad, prominent bridge and bulbous tip, his eyelids an exaggerated curve, defying perspective, and his mouths a wide, rather loose lower lip, often showing the teeth. The hair is often aggressively unruly. He sometimes uses too much paint, a fault shared by many of his contemporaries, though not by the three most accomplished of his colleagues, whose work we have now to examine.

Before doing so, however, we must consider the processes involved in the painting of heads, or at least the more important heads. The full-size cartoons for many of the later windows, especially for instance the east window and the *Lamentation of Christ* in the next window on the south side (14C, Fig. 1), must have been prepared under Vellert's supervision; and he seems likely himself to have made full-size drawings for the more important heads. This arises from the homogeneity of style and the close proximity of different heads in a single panel which exhibit clearly the hands of two or more different painters.⁵³ It is obvious, however, that heads painted by different glaziers from drawings all from a single hand must closely resemble each other, and in many cases be practically indistinguishable in style. Nevertheless there are nearly always slight discrepancies, and the effort to distinguish the various hands may well be worth while.

There is another cautionary remark to be made. In these late south side windows a number of heads have either lost their paint or been replaced by modern restorers, so that in some cases it is difficult or even impossible to tell which of the chief glaziers had the main responsibility for a particular scene. However, since the glass as a whole is in exceptionally good condition, not much more than five per cent having been replaced, the general pattern of work remains clear.

The Style of James Nicholson

The style of James Nicholson has lately been illuminated by the discovery of a series of vidimuses (from Nuremberg c. 1526) for the windows of Wolsey's chapel at Hampton Court Palace.⁵⁴ Several of these are annotated in James' hand, and others have evidently been used in the design of some of the panels now in the east window of Balliol College, Oxford (c.

1529), which have long been suspected of being painted under his direction. It is a fair assumption, therefore, that the key figure of the *Christ before Pilate* at Oxford is his work, and that a comparison of this with figures of Pilate in the east window of King's (e.g. 13C, Fig. 5) establishes his style c. 1540, just before his death, which probably took place in 1541–2.⁵⁵ In the earlier scenes of the new campaign (from 1535 onwards) he must have painted the figures of Christ in the *Lamentation* (14C, Fig. 1), and in the *Harrowing of Hell* (15C, Fig. 7). Here the crown of the head is visible, and the hair is rendered by rounded, concentric strokes behind a tight, wavy lock which sweeps back to cover the ear. It is always picked out of a thin wash rather than painted in line, so that the light predominates over the dark. In the Christ of the *Harrowing* it breaks into spiral folds at the tips. Elsewhere the loose ends of hair or beard tend to curl extravagantly into small circular ringlets. Mouths tend to show the teeth, even to the point of snarling. The lips are full, even pouting, and sometimes a bit surly, as in the figures of Pilate in the *Christ Shown to the People* (13A)⁵⁶ and the *Christ Carrying his Cross* (13C, Fig. 5) in the east window (c. 1540). The eyes are rendered in perspective, without Hone's exaggeration of the curve in the upper lid. In the *Crucifixion* (13E) James Nicholson must have painted the Impenitent Thief⁵⁷ and the bearded dicer at the foot of the Cross (Fig. 8). Here Hone's influence is paramount; the hair is more unruly and the gestures more frantic than ever.

The Style of Dierick Vellert

Vellert, as a glass-painter, is a much more classic stylist than Galyon Hone or James Nicholson. It is true that his anatomy is often at fault. In his designs he cannot show striding legs in recession, and frequently makes hunchbacks of figures in profile (Fig. 4);⁵⁸ but his heads are a different matter. His hand as cartoonist and glass-painter was identified through comparison of the lower register of window 6A, the *Fall of the Idols*, dated 1517, with a photograph of two angels from a roughly contemporary window at Lübeck which was signed with Vellert's five-pointed star.⁵⁹ The identification of a male figure (Charlemagne) and two female demi-figures in Madingley Church (Cambs) as Vellert's autograph work (c. 1520) serves to confirm this judgement (see Fig. 12).⁶⁰ These panels are clearly part of the same set of Worthies and Virtues as those which were formerly at Warwick Castle and are signed with

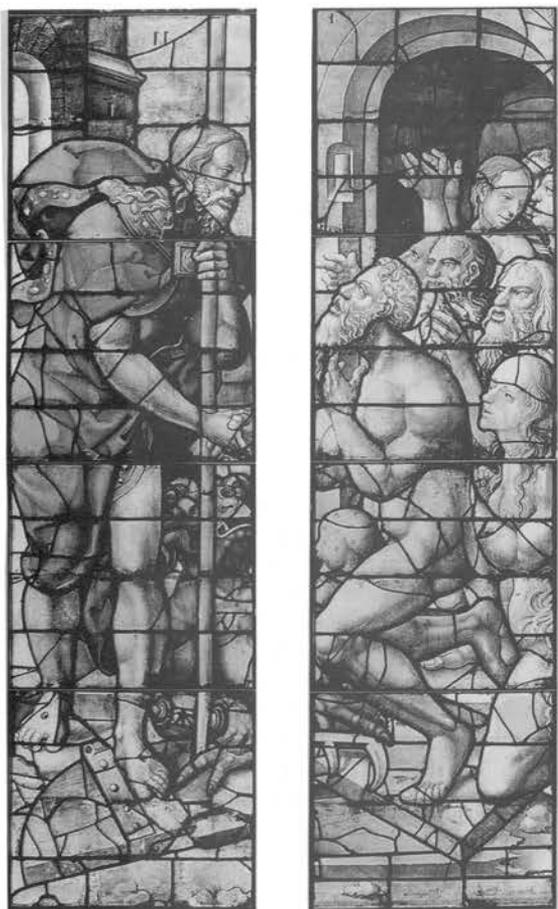


Figure 6. The Harrowing of Hell (15C, part).



Figure 7. Christ from The Harrowing of Hell (15C).



Figure 8. Dicer at the foot of the Cross, from the Crucifixion (east E).



Figure 9. The Penitent Thief, from the Crucifixion (east E).

Vellert's monogram, as seen in the plate commemorating his deanery of St Luke's Guild at Antwerp in 1526.⁶¹ Vellert's developing style can be traced in at least five of the late windows in King's Chapel, and it reaches its climax in the east window, above all in the head of the Penitent Thief (13E, Fig. 9). This he modelled after that of Adam from Michelangelo's *Creation of Man* in the Sistine Chapel. The face and the



Figure 10. *Eve, from The Harrowing of Hell (15C).*



Figure 11. *Mary Magdalene, from the Descent from the Cross (east F).*

vigorous neck are rendered by delicately graded washes which are interrupted by the dark gash of the mouth, the pale, dying eyes, and the golden curls of hair and beard. In his female heads, such as those of Mary Magdalene in the *Lamentation of Christ* (14C, Fig. 1) or of Eve issuing from the gate of Hell (15C, Fig. 10), the same finely controlled washes are set off by sparse but telling line-work, so that they are indeed 'painted with light'. Another figure of the Magdalene as she comforts the swooning Virgin in the *Descent from the Cross* (13F) repeats almost exactly the profile of Charity at Madingley, despite the passage of two decades between the two (Figs. 11 & 12). The deeper shading in his male heads is illuminated by conspicuous highlights, especially on the cheekbones. His beards are sometimes composed of short curls (Fig. 9), and the hair often sticks out in loose, untidy tufts, as for instance in the case of Joseph of Arimathea (14C, Fig. 1), or the Lame Man (21B, Fig. 14). His grown men have flowing hair and beards which often seem to imitate Pieter Coecke's sinuosity (Christ turning towards Veronica, 13C, Fig. 15);⁶² but Vellert, in his heads at least, never, like James Nicholson, oversteps the bounds of probability. His eyes are soberly outlined by a dark linear upper lid and a picked-out lower lid (Fig. 26); the tear-duct is often shown as it were in 'lost profile', just emerging from the further curve of the eyeball (Eve in 15C, Fig. 10, or the raffish young Prophet, 19M3, Fig. 19). His mouths are usually half open, sometimes showing the teeth, and sometimes crossed by a wisp or two which falls from the moustache; the upper lip, if visible, is usually defined by a dark line of paint (Figs. 9, 10, 11, 14 & 26). The most remarkable thing about Vellert, however, is the breadth and warmth of his humanity; he paints with equal



Figure 12. *Charity, demi-figure from a south window in Madingley Church, Cambridgeshire.*

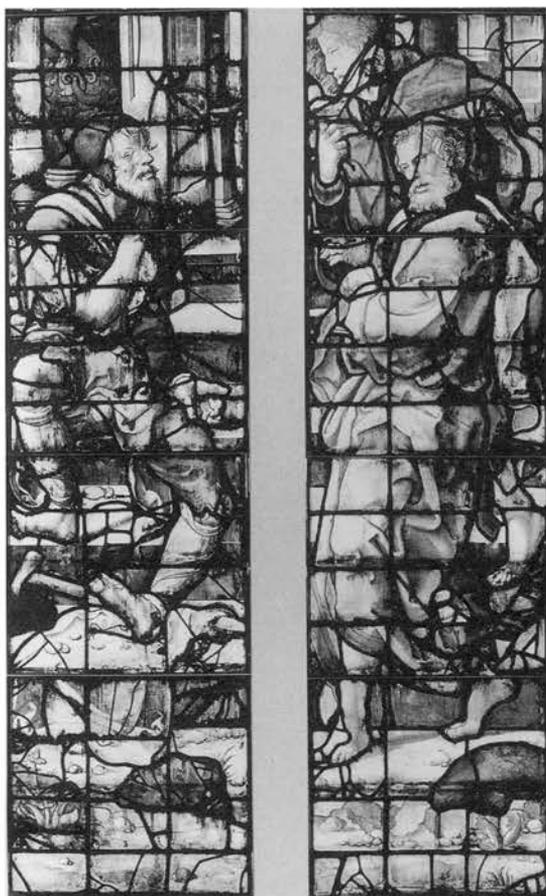


Figure 13. Peter and John healing the Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple (21B).



Figure 15. Head of Christ, from *The Carrying of the Cross (east C)*.

realism and sympathy Christ's suffering (13C, Fig. 15), the grief of the Magdalene in the *Lamentation* (14C, Fig. 1), her solicitude as she tends Christ's sorrowing Mother (13F, Fig. 11), the hatred of Joseph's brothers as he is cast



Figure 14. *The Lame Man*, from Peter and John healing the Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple (21B).



Figure 16. Heads of brothers of Joseph, from Joseph cast into the Pit (15B).

into the pit (15B, Fig. 16), and the bitter resignation of the Lame Man (21B, Fig. 14).

In his painting of full-scale windows Vellert should be recognised as a more important artist than in his roundels, his engravings, or his drawings. His work in King's Chapel makes nonsense of the claim that he was responsible for panel paintings such as the *Adoration of the Magi* at Rotterdam and the *Nativity* at Lille, for instance.⁶³ I have used the word 'classic' in



Figure 17. *The Entombment (15A, detail).*

describing his style; and there is little in it of the capriciousness of the Antwerp mannerists with whom he has often been included. Whether or not he went to Italy before borrowing from Raphael's paintings in the *stanze* of the Vatican⁶⁴ and from Michelangelo's in the Sistine Chapel,⁶⁵ he was deeply influenced, from 1517 on, by the Italian Renaissance. His most impressive achievement is the sober dignity, warmth and variety of the figures in the King's Chapel windows which he painted himself.

The Anonymous Master

In 1972, however, I tentatively attributed to Vellert a number of scenes in the later south side windows in which I now believe he had little part.⁶⁶ The later windows, in fact, apart from the great east window, are increasingly dominated by another outstanding glass-painter, who was influenced both by Vellert himself and by James Nicholson. It seems likely that the south side windows from 14 to 23, unlike those on the north side, were painted roughly in order from east to west, and probably all in the third period, after 1535. If this view is correct, the first sign of the anonymous glazier's work may well be in the *Entombment of Christ* (15A, Fig. 17), where over the shoulder of Joseph of Arimathea, as he supports the body

of Christ, leans another disciple looking down. Joseph's head is modelled in rather darker paint, probably by James Nicholson himself; the other disciple's head is more delicately done, with thin washes that let the light shine through, and a great economy of shadow and line. There are many points of resemblance with the head of a woman in the Exodus scene, which I believe to be Vellert's (Fig. 18), though the contrast of light and shade is not so arresting, and the ear is over-prominent. This anonymous glazier worked closely with Vellert in the *Peter and John healing the Lame Man* (window 21B), painting the figure of Peter in the right-hand light (Fig. 13) while Vellert painted the Lame Man in the left (Fig. 14). He models the heads of women, young men, and angels with the most transparent of glazes, and picks out a stippled wash with stick, scrub and needle, alternating with delicate line-work, to illuminate the hair, which often twists and rolls with all the abandon of James Nicholson's latest work, or runs at the ends into extravagant whorls (Fig. 20). His mouths are modelled partly on Vellert's and partly on James's practice. The upper lip tends to curve like a bow; the lower is rather full, though it does not pout. There is great warmth in his faces, which often seem to be lit up by an amused benevolence, even when the action belies it (21C, Fig. 21). His control of



Figure 18. Two Israelites, from the Exodus of Israel from Egypt (15D).



Figure 19. Window 19, head of Messenger 3.

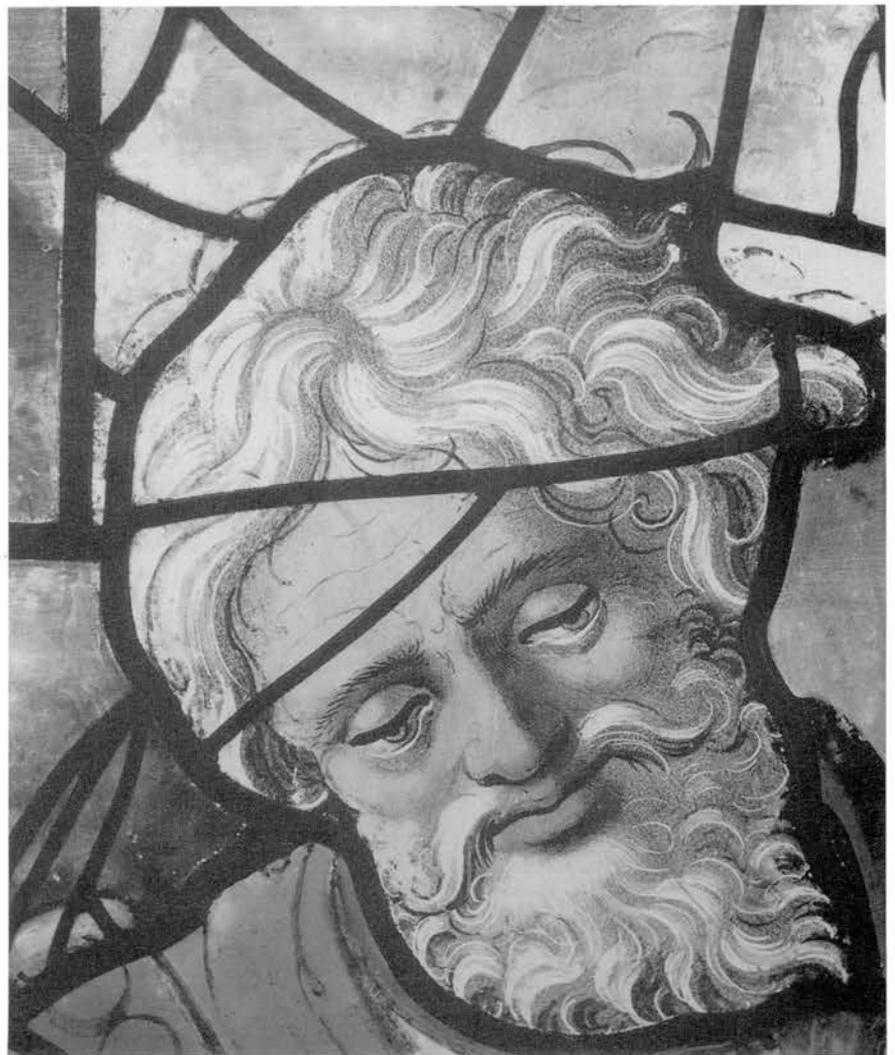


Figure 21. St Peter, from The Death of Ananias (21C).



Figure 20. *Habakkuk and the Angel, from Daniel fed miraculously in the Lions' Den (18D).*



Figure 22. *An Israelite Woman and her Child, from Moses receiving the Tables of the Law (20D).*

drapery is crisp and often dramatic (Figs. 20, 22 & 24). But it is his mastery of movement, above all, that marks him out from all the others who worked on the King's Chapel glass. This is evident in the soldier seen from the back in window 23D (Fig. 24), *Paul at Jerusalem before the Governor*, a figure no doubt designed by Vellert c. 1535 under the influence of Pieter Coecke.⁶⁷ Much more remarkable is the aerial group in window 18.1, *Daniel fed miraculously in the Lions' Den* (18D, Fig. 20): the buoyancy and living warmth of the figures at the landfall, the subtlety and richness of their colouring, and the convincing actuality of the miracle make this, to my mind, the most outstanding scene in any of the windows.

In the southwest windows the more feminine of the Angel-Messengers are no doubt by this anonymous master's assistants. One in the corner window (25 M3, Fig. 25), which may well



Figure 23. *Elijah in the Chariot of Fire, from the Translation of Elijah (20B).*

date from 1546-7, is from his own hand, and shows by comparison with Vellert's own version (20 M1, Fig. 26) how far his style was to develop before figurative glass went out of favour.

The Lazarus Glazier and the Anonymous Master

There were of course other distinguished glaziers whose work is prominent in the later glass. One whom I have called the Lazarus glazier, from the figure in window 8A, was evidently responsible for the St Paul in the *Conversion* (22B, Fig. 28). He paints the lower jaw of bearded men almost in a straight line from ear to chin. The *Triumph of Bacchus* roundel now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, which must have been designed by Vellert, is no doubt his work.⁶⁸ He also appears



Figure 25. Window 25, bust of Messenger 3.



Figure 26. Window 20, head of Messenger 1.

Figure 24. The Governor and a Guard,
from Paul at Jerusalem before the
Governor (23D).



Figure 27. *Vidimus* for Peter and John healing the Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple (21B).

to have copied from Vellert's original the *vidimuses* for three scenes in windows 19 and 21 which are preserved in the Bowdoin College Museum, Brunswick, Maine.⁶⁹ In one of these, however, *Peter and John healing the Lame Man* (21B, Fig. 27), the figure of Peter has been over-worked in ink by another hand. The drapery in the glass itself has a more dynamic quality than any of the examples so far mentioned. Peter's mantle is full of dramatic flourishes, with muffled zigzag effects, protruding folds that

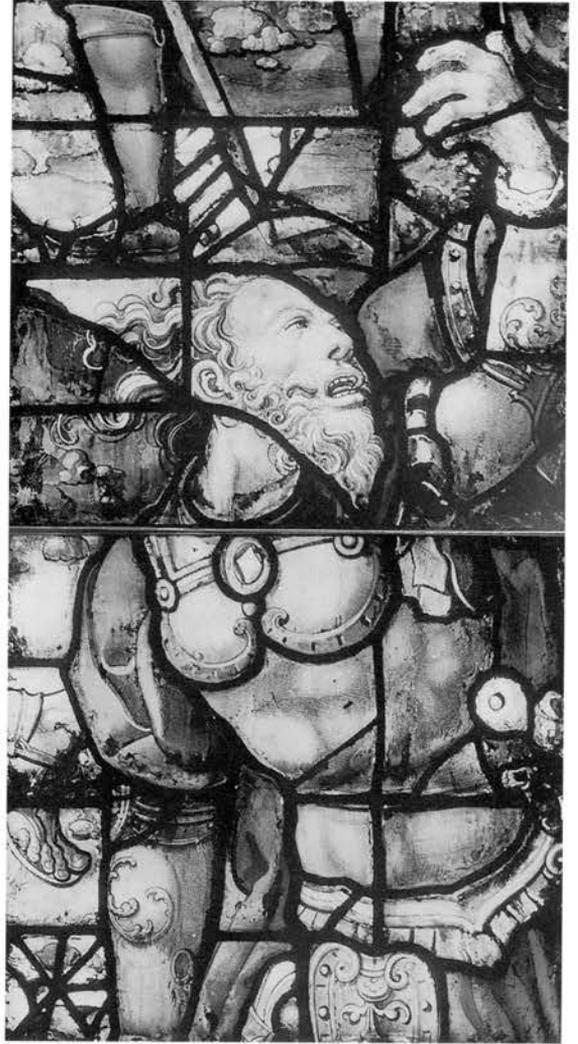


Figure 28. Window 22B, *The Conversion of St Paul* (detail).

expand or narrow as they fall, and crisp encircling outlines drawn with a single stroke of the brush. Something of the same agitation can be seen, for instance, in the figure of Christ harrowing Hell, which I attribute to James Nicholson (15C, Fig. 7); but Vellert's drapery, though often agitated enough, is less mannered and less dynamic. The figure of the Lame Man, which in the glass was clearly painted by Vellert, has in the drawing been only cursorily lined out in ink. This may therefore be the copy of the *vidimus* touched up before delivery to the cartoonist by the painter of the figure of St Peter, that is to say by our anonymous master.

The Identity of the Anonymous Master

Who was this man? We are looking for a glass-painter who first appears among the Anglo-Netherlandish masters in the later 1530s, and

probably went on well into the 1540s: a man who absorbed many of James Nicholson's idiosyncracies, and much of his virtuosity, as well as the delicacy and distinction, though not the variety, of Vellert. He appears to have taken no part in any of the glazing for which Hone was primarily responsible, in windows 4, 9, 13 and 14. What I take to be his first contribution was to a scene which must be attributed to James Nicholson's workshop (15A, the *Entombment of Christ*). James' hand is evident in the figures of Moses and Aaron in 15D, but cannot be traced any further west, while the anonymous master contributes to all the remaining windows on the south side except 24, which must have formed part of Williamson and Symondes' 1526 contract. Vellert works with him in windows 20 (Fig. 26) and 21 (Fig. 13), but after that the anonymous master seems to be in charge, and two of his Messengers appear in window 25 (M3, Fig. 25, and M4), with others equally extraneous, to complete the work of Williamson and Symondes, leaving undone only the Last Judgement, which must surely have been intended to round off the series. He might well be seen here, in glass which was probably the last to be painted before the Puritans became predominant in 1547, as the natural successor of Galyon Hone. For a variety of reasons, therefore, it is more than tempting to identify him as the third of the three Chief Glaziers who served the Tudor monarchs, namely Peter Nicholson.

A Master-Piece?

In conclusion I must mention one further case in which work I have previously attributed to Vellert should probably be credited to Peter Nicholson. One of the most striking figures in the Chapel is an Angel-Messenger in the window north of the organ-screen, where it is not easily seen (6, M2, Fig. 29). The youthful face is warm, sensitive, alert; though the eyes are less subtly drawn than in the later Messengers, the pair of locks curling towards each other on the forehead, and the circling ringlets are in the Nicholson style. The backs of the hands are painted with outstanding delicacy, and recall those of James Nicholson's *Christ harrowing Hell* (15C, Fig. 7). The combination of potmetals is exceptionally rich and bold. In the short sleeves of the cassock the plain glass borders have been perforated with a hot iron to receive jewels of blue and ruby, by 'insertion', *en chef d'oeuvre*. This technical feat belongs more to the fifteenth than to the sixteenth century; it is found, for instance, in John Prudde's figures of St Alban and St Thomas of Canterbury in



Figure 29. Window 6, Messenger 2.

the Beauchamp Chapel at St Mary's, Warwick (c. 1447).⁷⁰ The most striking example in King's Chapel is (very appropriately) in the *Fall of the Manna* (window 9B) where many of the descending flakes are rendered by the same technique; the scene is attributed to the elderly English glazier, Richard Bond, one of the signatories of the 1526 contracts who had also worked there in 1515–17. The Messenger in window 6 (M2, Fig. 29) may well be the earliest example of Peter Nicholson's work in the Chapel: a youthful effort meant to dazzle and impress. The main scenes of the window in which it stands date from 1517, but all four Messengers must have been assigned to it later on. This is evident from the illegibility of the scrolls they carry, giving the texts illustrated in the scenes on either side; these must originally have been left blank, and then painted cold at the time of installation. The Angel's style suggests the mid 1530s, when not merely the decorative trappings (as in Williamson and Symondes' work in the northwest window, which is dated 1527) but the genuine spirit of the Italian Renaissance begins to animate English glass.⁷¹ Peter Nicholson's work, if I read it correctly, represents even more clearly than Vellert's own the climax of this phase.

Acknowledgements

The Society's warm thanks are due to the Provost and Scholars of King's College for permission to reproduce Figs. 1, 4–8, 13–21, 23–5 and 28–9; also to Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, for the use of Fig. 27. The late Kenneth Harrison made most helpful comments on the first draft of this article, which resulted notably in the collection of evidence on the possible establishment of Dierick Vellert in England after the death of Henry VIII. The author is also most grateful to the Revd George Pattison, Dean of King's, for his suggestion that the hanging behind Solomon's throne, diapered as it is with fleurs-de-lis, implies his impersonation by a king of England (see n. 52 below).

Photographic credits:

Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, Maine: 27

P.A.L. Brunney: 1, 4–8, 10–11, 13–20, 23–5, 28–9

G. King & Son: 21

Author: 2–3, 9, 12, 22, 26

Endnotes

- ¹ See References: £3.95, or £5.25 post free, on application to King's College Chapel Shop: CB2 1ST.
- ² Wayment (1972: 1–4 & 123–5).
- ³ Windows 2, 6, 9C and D, 10A and B, 12. See Wayment, The quest for Barnard Flower, King's Glazier to Henry VII and VIII, *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters* XIX(1) (1989–90): 24–45.
- ⁴ 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10 and 25. In addition Williamson and Symondes sub-contracted window 24 to another glazier otherwise unknown.
- ⁵ A. Oswald, Barnard Flower, the King's glazier, *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters* XI(1) (1951–2): 8–21; A. Oswald, The glazing of the Savoy Hospital, *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters* XI(4) (1954–5): 224–32; A. Smith, Henry VII and the appointment of the King's glazier, *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters* XVIII(3) (1988): 259–61. See also n. 3.
- ⁶ Harrison (1952: 7–11); his account requires correction on two points: (1) Hone should not be confused with Gheleyn van Brugge; he came from the province of Holland, where the Hoon family had flourished in the fifteenth century, and must have been born c. 1486. (2) He dined in King's College on 8 April 1535, not 1536 (n. 7 below).
- ⁷ King's College Muniments, *Liber Communarum* 1534–5, under date; see also Blomefield's evidence, Wayment (1972: 4).
- ⁸ Ransome (1962), and HKW III and IV *passim*, indexed under Hone, Galyon.
- ⁹ L. & P., *Henry VIII* XVI: 358 no. 745 fol. 41, quoted by Harrison (1952: 10).
- ¹⁰ HKW IV: 71. Longe was appointed at Dartford in Aug. 1540, as he was to be later at Otford and Knole.
- ¹¹ Kirk (1900, vol. I: 37, 120, 146).
- ¹² P.R.O. CPR *Edward VI*, vol. III: 291.
- ¹³ Ransome (1960–68).
- ¹⁴ P.R.O. SP 1/162 f. 131; E139/315; Ransome (1960–68: 16).
- ¹⁵ Harrison (1952: 12–17).
- ¹⁶ S. Thurley in Gunn & Lindley (1991: 80).
- ¹⁷ Harrison (1952: 15).
- ¹⁸ P.R.O. Sta. Cha. 4 *Henry VIII*, vol. 16 no. 291: Wayment (1972: 127). St Thomas' was called, alternatively, the King's Hospital at this time.
- ¹⁹ The documents cited by Ransome (1960–68: 16–17) show that his widow remarried before January 1543 n.s.. This means that James must have died before about midsummer 1542, and very likely in the previous year. His work in the east window is likely to have been done before the middle of 1541. Indeed it may have been his death which caused Peter to move house in 1541.
- ²⁰ Knowles (1925: 50–51). A certain John Nycolson, an Englishman from outside the City, was among the twenty-two glaziers against whom the Glaziers' Company complained in 1545–6 (Wayment 1972: 126), but he is not mentioned elsewhere, and cannot have been related to James or Peter.
- ²¹ P.R.O. Sta. Cha. 2, *Henry VIII* vol. 16, ff. 79–80: Wayment (1972: 126).
- ²² P.R.O. S.P. 1/225 f. 206.
- ²³ Ransome (1960–68: 19–20).
- ²⁴ Kirk (1900, vol. I: 37, 141, 221–2, 234–5, 266).
- ²⁵ C.P.R. *Edward VI*, IV, 280: admission by royal letter patent to rights of citizenship, but not including those of inheritance or public office.
- ²⁶ HKW III: 23 n. 7, and p. 25.
- ²⁷ J.V. Kitto, *The Royal Parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields*:

the Accounts of the Churchwardens 1525-1603 (London 1901: 212).

- ²⁸ Oxford, Bod.Lib. MS Rawlinson D778.
- ²⁹ P.R.O. E101/60/23.
- ³⁰ P.R.O. E101/474/19.
- ³¹ C.P.R. *Edward VI*, III (1549-51): 291.
- ³² Kirk (1900: 266).
- ³³ *HKW IV* (1982: 67).
- ³⁴ *HKW IV* (1982: 221).
- ³⁵ P.R.O. E405/131.
- ³⁶ T. Mason, *Registers of St Martin-in-the-Fields 1550-1619* (London 1898: 114).
- ³⁷ Sir George Scharf, Artistic notes on the windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, *Archaeological Journal* XII (1855): 356-69 and XIII (1856): 44-61.
- ³⁸ Ausstellung von Kunstwerken veranstaltet von der Kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft (Berlin 1899: 188). See also the same author's *Early Netherlandish Painting* XII: 29.
- ³⁹ G. Glück, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Antwerpner Malerei, *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* XXII (1901): 1-34.
- ⁴⁰ Dirk Vellert and the windows in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, *Burlington Magazine* XII (1907): 33-7.
- ⁴¹ Harrison (1952: 64-6). In my view the story of window 6 is rather more complicated: the vidimus, or small-scale sketch, will have been provided by the Fairford designer, Adrian Vandenhoute of Mechlin, but at the stage of the full-size cartoon Vellert must have amplified the design of the Fall of the Idols (6A), notably with an architectural background closely related to his (destroyed) window at Lübeck, and with the 'cherubs' mentioned by Harrison. On Vellert's further part in the completion of the scene and the *Massacre of the Innocents* to its right (6C) see Wayment (1992): 11 & 24-5.
- ⁴² Wayment (1972: 21-2), with reservations given below.
- ⁴³ See n. 21.
- ⁴⁴ Kirk (1900, vol. I: 359).
- ⁴⁵ Wayment (1982; 1992: 34) and Christopher Morris (1906-93): The historian's eye in King's Chapel, *Cambridge Review* 116 (2325, May 1995): 65-6.
- ⁴⁶ Antwerp Archives, Schepenbrieven 211, Wesenb. & Grapheus 1543 f.135v, 4 April.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Rezetten der Comparanten lettere D f. 245: Dierick Fellert Jacopss. gelaasmaker ende Jacobwyne Willems syn wettich wyff verkopen 2 huysen in de Meere, gekogt die 23 July 1522 van Jan Spier van Fanteghem.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.* Schepenbrieven 227 (1547), quoted in full in Wayment (1972: 127). Vellert had probably been born in Amsterdam: *ibid.*: 18.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.* Cat.30, July 18 1569.
- ⁵⁰ Kirk (1900, vol. II: 208).
- ⁵¹ Wayment (1972: 4).
- ⁵² *Ibid.*: 56. In 12D, the *Crowning of Solomon* by Bathsheba, the figure of the King is clearly intended to recall Henry VII, who would never have come to the throne without the active help of his mother Lady Margaret Beaufort.
- ⁵³ In 14C (Fig. 1) Hone's hand can be discerned in the figures of the Virgin Mary and the woman at the foot of the Cross, James Nicholson's in those of the dead Christ and Nicodemus (left), and Vellert's in those of Joseph of Arimathea (right) and the Magdalene standing behind him.
- ⁵⁴ Wayment, in Gunn & Lindley (1991: 118-27). On the vidimus, an agreed design for stained glass, see Wayment (1979).
- ⁵⁵ See n. 19.
- ⁵⁶ Gunn & Lindley (1991: fig. 45).
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*: fig. 46.
- ⁵⁸ The design of the Carpenter in the *Nailing on the Cross* (13D, Fig. 4), harks back to Giulio Romano's figure of Atlas at Mantua, and is closely related, as Beets points out (see n. 40), to a figure in an early drawing signed by Vellert and now in the Print Room at Berlin, for a roundel showing the *Execution of St John the Evangelist*. A roundel from this design, no doubt painted by Vellert himself, is to be seen in the church in Ickworth Park, Suffolk.
- ⁵⁹ Wayment (1972: 21-2 & pl. 5.1). The photographs were taken in 1942, just before the destruction of the window by an allied air raid.
- ⁶⁰ Wayment (1988a).
- ⁶¹ See n. 39.
- ⁶² Georges Marlier, *La Renaissance flamande: Pierre Coecke d'Alost* (Brussels 1966: *passim*), e.g. signed drawing *The Prodigal Son* (fig. 27). *The Corruption of Justice*, rectangular panel in side chapel 27 (h2), King's College Chapel, was no doubt designed by Coecke: Wayment (1988b: 91 & pl. 8).
- ⁶³ M.J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting* XII (Leiden & Brussels 1975: nos. 159-60, pls. 139-40). The flying boy-angels seen from below and behind, in both pictures, were clearly painted by an artist with a pedophilic bent entirely alien to Vellert.
- ⁶⁴ In window 6C the figure of the Mother of Innocents seen in lost profile holding a child under her arm depends on *The Fire in the Borgo*.
- ⁶⁵ See above (p. 131) on the Penitent Thief.
- ⁶⁶ Wayment (1972: 27-9), where I also proposed a tentative identification of Peter Nicholson's work which has now proved untenable.
- ⁶⁷ Cf. the maidservant in strong contrapposto seen in Vellert's late roundel of *The Birth of the Virgin* at Weimar, Schlossmuseum KK 4596.
- ⁶⁸ Inv. no. M.8.1974, there attributed to Vellert.
- ⁶⁹ K.G. Boon, Two designs for windows by Dierick Vellert, *Master Drawings* II(2) (1964): 153-6; Wayment, Three *vidimuses* for the windows in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, *Master Drawings* XXII(1) (1984): 43-6; and D.P. Becker, *Old Master Drawings at Bowdoin College* (Brunswick, Maine, 1985: 43-6).
- ⁷⁰ Laurie Lee *et al.*, *Stained Glass* (London, 1976: 112); R.C. Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (London, 1993: 38-9, pls. II(C) and III(D)).
- ⁷¹ Cf. for instance the *Young Man* by Botticelli in the National Gallery, London, inv. no. 626.

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'Quite a Gem': an Account of the Former Mortuary Chapel at Mill Road Cemetery, Cambridge

Roger Wolfe

Introduction

The surviving minutes of the Cambridge Parish Burial Ground Committee (PBGC) and its sub-committee (SC) give a detailed account of the efforts of university and townspeople to provide a mortuary chapel for the extension to the parish burial grounds at Mill Road, Cambridge during the mid nineteenth century. Good plans and drawings of both the proposed original and 'reduced' designs for the chapel are deposited with the minutes,¹ but surprisingly little material is available in local or national archives to record the exact form, appearance and fittings of the chapel as built in 1858 and which was used for almost a century.

In the early years of the nineteenth century the rapid rise in the population of Cambridge put great pressure on the town's parish churchyards, most of which could not be extended because of contiguous development. In 1832 the *Cambridge Chronicle* (17 February) had warned of the dangers to public health resulting from the lack of adequate space for new burials, but nothing was done until 1843 when the Cambridge Cemetery Company, a private profit-making body, opened its 3½ acre site in Histon Road for 'persons of all Religious persuasions, without distinction as to sect or denomination'.² The established church took action in the following year when the Arch-deacon of Ely responded to a memorial presented to him 'by a large body of the Parochial Clergy' by convening a meeting to set the PBGC in train. In addition to re-stating the dangers to public health, a report prepared by the provisional committee for a public meeting on 6 November 1844 also drew attention to the undesirable effects of 're-opening the same ground, at comparatively short intervals of time

(which) produces frequently unseemly and distressing scenes'.

From its inception the sub-committee of the PBGC worked assiduously to raise funds by voluntary contributions for the purchase of suitable sites for new burial grounds, it being acknowledged from the outset that more than one location would be necessary in order to 'obviate the necessity of conducting funerals long distances, and through crowded thoroughfares; which must occur, if there be but one ground, where ever situated'.³ Several unsuccessful attempts were made to acquire suitable plots of ground in various parts of the town, including a portion of the site of the new botanic gardens in Hills Road.⁴ Eventually a site of over nine acres in open ground situated off Mill Road was purchased for £2146 from the estate of the Rev. Dr Geldart. The ground was conveyed to the Church Building Commissioners⁵ for the use of the parishes of All Saints, St Andrew the Great, St Andrew the Less, St Benedict, St Botolph, St Clement, St Edward, St Mary the Great, St Mary the Less, St Michael, St Paul (then still a district chapelry), Holy Sepulchre and Holy Trinity. Each parish was allocated sufficient ground to meet its anticipated needs, the boundaries being marked by small stones, many of which were still *in situ* in 1995. A circular area in the centre of the ground was set aside for the future chapel,⁶ to be built as soon as funds would allow.

Following the drainage of the land, laying out of gravel drives, construction of boundary walls, provision of railings, gates and a lodge for the newly appointed 'porter', the grounds were consecrated with due ceremony by the Bishop of Ely on Tuesday, 7 November 1848, an event reported in detail by the *Cambridge Chronicle*

the following day. Ever short of funds, the sub-committee was grateful to record on 24 November that the bishop had declined to charge for the issue of a licence 'under which the Burial Service is performed in an apartment in the lodge', an arrangement that was to last for much longer than anticipated.

Original and 'Reduced' Designs for the Chapel

The PBGC meeting of 4 December 1848 expressed the hope that the 'ulterior objects yet remaining . . . will at no distant time be carried into complete effect' and approved the appointment of Dr William French to the chairmanship of the sub-committee. It has been acknowledged that Dr French's 'great achievement' as Master of Jesus College was the restoration of the college chapel⁷ but any hopes that his authority and experience might be brought to bear on the project to build the cemetery chapel were dashed when he died the following year.

Two years after the opening of the cemetery a report of 27 November 1850 noted that over 700 interments had taken place and that 'a very general and increasing desire prevails that the erection of a chapel should no longer be deferred'. The cost was estimated to be 'about £1000', although no information is given to suggest how this figure was determined. However, the chapel fund was only £389 6s. Od., so it was agreed to launch an appeal in the hope of raising £600. It was also agreed to fill the vacancies that had arisen on the committee and sub-committee. Among the 'gentlemen requested to allow their names to be added to the committee' was that of the Rev. Professor Whewell, Master of Trinity College. After just over a year the response to the appeal had increased the chapel fund to £915; evidently close enough to the target to give confidence that resources were sufficient to employ 'some architect of high standing'. The sub-committee of 10 February 1851 decided to approach George Gilbert Scott, although which member made the suggestion is not recorded. Perhaps the most likely explanation for the approach was that Scott had been employed on the 1849–50 restoration of St Michael's church, where Prof. Scholefield, Chairman of the PBGC, was the incumbent. In addition, references to correspondence with Scott about specifications for this work appear in the Bursar's accounts of Trinity College⁸ and it is possible that when Dr Whewell joined the general committee of the PBGC in November 1850, he was pleased to recommend the architect with whom his college already had dealings.⁹

Whatever the reason, the decision was endorsed by the PBGC on 17 February 1851 and on 3 March the architect attended a sub-committee, having previously made a visit to the site of the chapel. Subsequently, in a letter accompanying the plans dated 22 April 1851 Scott apologised for the delay in submitting a design, his first attempts having 'proved fruitless'. He explained his use of very narrow lancet windows in the nave

as a degree of sombreness is consistent with the objects, but in the chancel I have made somewhat larger windows. Indeed, I do not consider the building to be in the Early English style, tho' lancet windows are used . . . for the greater part of it. The internal effect I wish to be . . . quiet and solemn. I fear the cost will be more than was thought; I doubt if with the spire it would be less than £1800.

Despite this obvious attempt to raise the expectations of his clients, he added in more realistic vein 'the same general idea could be carried out in a simple manner . . . by the omission of the arcading of the side, the reduction of heights, etc'.

Clearly in a state of some alarm about the estimated cost, the sub-committee of 1 May 1851 authorised the chairman (H.W. Cookson, Master of Peterhouse) and the secretary (George Maddison, Vicar of All Saints) to seek 'an early interview' with Scott, having previously taken advice from Robert Willis, professor of Natural Experimental Philosophy, and Whewell. Scott was reported to have 'readily fallen in' with the suggested economies and returned the plans suitably amended together with a note to the effect that by excluding the steeple from the roof upwards, together with other savings, the cost could be reduced to about £1000. The chapel fund having reached £965, Scott's amendments were approved¹⁰ subject to the sanction of the Bishop and Archdeacon of Ely. Several local builders were invited to tender by 5 July, two days after which the sub-committee met to consider the outcome.

Their disappointment must have been considerable; the lowest bid (Peck and Son) being for £1450 plus £250 for the spire. It was resolved that Scott be asked to examine ways in which further reductions in cost could be made and Peck and Son were informed that the committee was not in a position to enter into a contract, a situation made worse soon afterwards when the builder admitted to having made 'a mistake of a large amount' and asked to be released from his tender.¹¹ In a letter dated 11 July 1851 Scott was contemptuous.

I do not wonder at the tenders coming in high by such a mode of competition. I of course do not know anything of the competitors, having heard of none of them

before, but I cannot imagine them to be persons of experience in that particular class of work, and they have not had the usual ordeal of competition against strangers.

He offered to find 'a builder of the first experience' to which proposal the sub-committee of 13 October agreed, noting that the funds were limited to £985. However, in a subsequent letter (5 January 1852) Scott had to admit that the builder he had in mind (Myres) was no less expensive. Conceding that his design was 'on too architectural a scale to be ruled by ordinary precedents of its own dimensions' he proposed to 'commence again on a humbler scale', omitting the spire altogether and substituting 'a little lead turret as one so often sees on the little village chapels abroad'. On 3 February 1852 he wrote again to make it clear that his offer to make a fresh set of drawings would not incur any charge, but the committee felt unable to accept his 'liberal offer'.¹² Faced with a situation of great 'delicacy and difficulty' the sub-committee declined to make any recommendation when the PBGC met on 12 February 1852, outlining instead three possible courses of action: i) to raise additional funds to build the original design, now estimated at £2000 with fittings but excluding the spire, which would be an additional £491; ii) to postpone building until sufficient funds became available; iii) to take up the architect's offer of a design for a chapel of a less ambitious character. That the first option was agreed upon despite the obvious difficulties of raising yet more money shows how strong was the commitment of some members of the committee to build Scott's design. Perhaps it is significant that the resolution to 'issue immediately an earnest appeal . . . with lithographed sketch' (Fig. 1) was proposed by Whewell. Subsequently 850 copies of the appeal were printed and circulated, listing the subscriptions already promised and asking for further support.

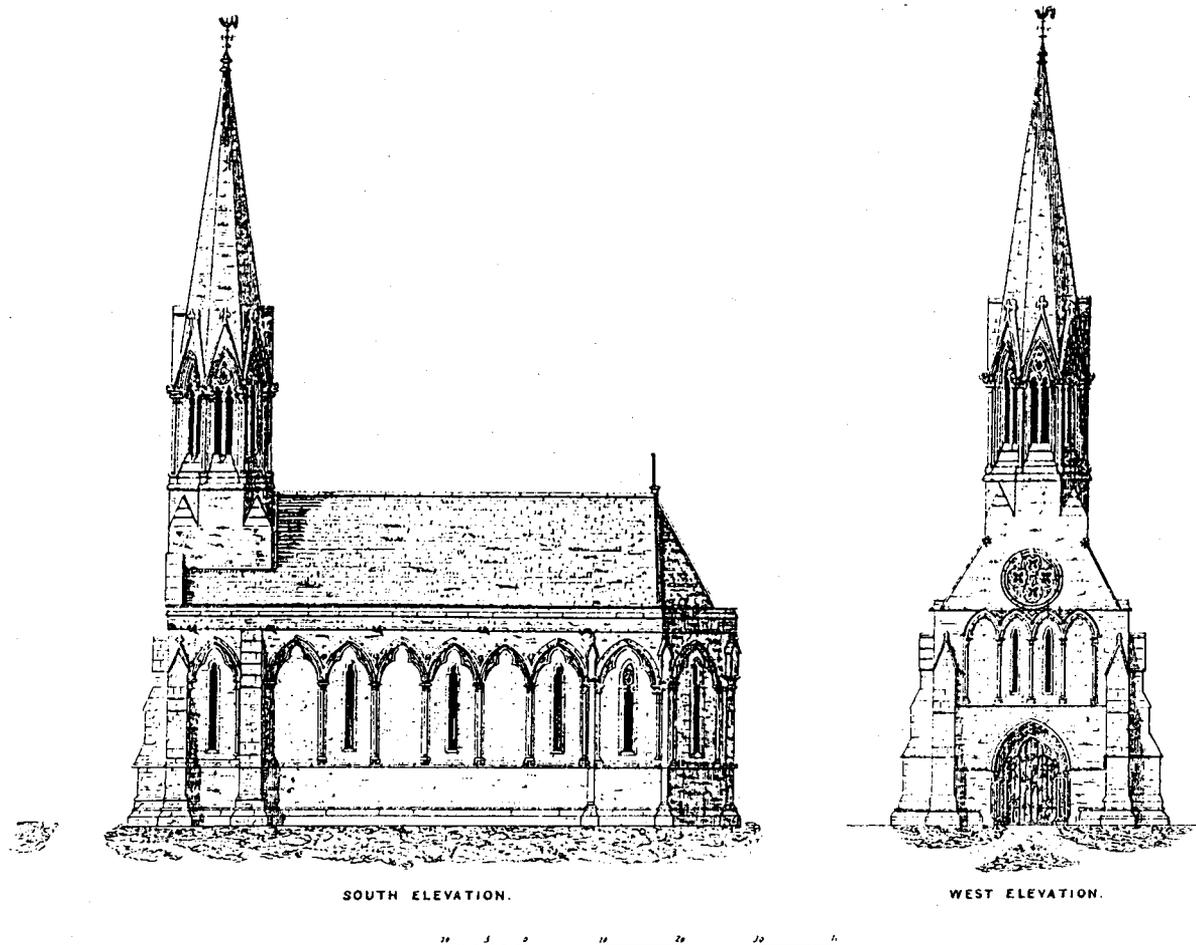
This enthusiasm was not matched by that of the town and university at large, defeat having to be admitted at the PBGC of 4 June 1852. The appeal had boosted the chapel fund to £1334 14s. 7d., still far short of the hoped-for £2000 or £2500 with the spire. At the same meeting it was decided to take up Scott's offer of a less ambitious design, although the sub-committee was anxious to emphasise that the overall size of the building should not be reduced; 'in that case, strangers would frequently be debarred from joining in the service, and space would not be allowed for the decent conduct of funerals with a numerous attendance'. Scott's 'reduced' design (Figs. 2 & 6) was seen by the sub-committee on 27

October 1852. It provided 90 sittings at a cost estimated to be 'about £1400'. By this time the fund had crept up to £1351 5s. 7d., but it was felt necessary to offer back those subscriptions made in the hope that the original design might be realised. On 28 December it was reported that the bishop had sanctioned the new design and that tenders were to be invited from several local builders together with 'such other builders as Mr Scott may select'. The tenders were opened on 18 February 1853, all giving separate prices for the turret. Bell was lowest at £1658, with an additional £153 for the turret. None could be accepted. Scott put the blame partly on the 'unprecedented rise in materials'¹³ and sent his chief clerk, Burlison, to discuss with Bell how the cost could be reduced. They agreed to omit the vestry chimney 'and all connected with it'; to omit also the brick arch under the vestry floor and the hoop iron for bonding the flintwork. These measures, together with a reduction in the thickness of both side walls and west wall; modifications to cornice and guttering and the substituting of Casterton stone for Ketton, could be expected to bring the total cost down to £1700; 'From this might be subtracted a portion of the turret, say £100' giving a final price of £1600.¹⁴

Despite these measures, only £1364 9s. 8d. was available, so yet another appeal was necessary, complete with litho'd view of the reduced chapel, expressing the hope that 'many who held back their support for the former building on the grounds of its too costly style will lend their aid to the erection of the present, in which economy has been studied as far as is consistent with stability, the accommodation required and an ecclesiastical character'.¹⁵ With the appeal was circulated an Address signed by twelve of the parochial clergy, eager to refute a prevalent opinion that the chapel was larger than necessary and pointing out that at least 70-80 sittings were required for the decent conduct of well attended funerals, 'especially those of Members of the university and Members of benefit societies' and drawing attention to the inconvenience of 'the room where the Service has been performed now for more than four years'. The result was reported to the sub-committee on 24 November 1853. No subscriptions had been reclaimed, but no additional donations had been received either. Clergy were asked to appeal to their parishioners, but four months later only £130 19s. 11d. had been raised by this means, bringing the fund to £1585 0s. 5d., tantalisingly close to the £1700 needed. However, inflation had intervened and at the sub-committee of 30 March 1854 it was revealed that Bell and Son

had asked for their tender to be raised by 8% because of 'the advance upon materials and labour'. Estimating that the architect's fee would be in the region of £100, the sub-committee was confronted by an unbridgeable shortfall of £251 and it was decided upon 'taking no further steps at present', a situation

that lasted for nearly two years. It was not until 21 December 1855 that a terse entry records that the deficiency of about £250 still stood but 'there is reason to expect that this sum would be forthcoming' and it was agreed 'to take the necessary steps for commencing the work as soon as possible'.



PROPOSED CHAPEL
FOR THE NEW PARISH BURIAL GROUNDS
IN CAMBRIDGE.

Architect, George Gilbert Scott.

*Walls and Turret, Grey Flint with Stone Dressings.
Spire, Stone.—Fittings, Oak. Number of Sittings, 100.
Total estimated Cost, £2500.*

Figure 1. *The original design for the chapel depicted on the cover of the appeal leaflet March 1852. (Cambridge Parish Burial Grounds Committee.)*

The Building of the Chapel

The resumption of the chapel project was due to the beneficence of Professor Whewell, then vice-chancellor for the second time in his distinguished career. On 18 December 1855 his wife Cordelia had died, her loss causing him great anguish which he expressed in various writings subsequently published in a biography.¹⁶ A letter written 23 December 1855 from Trinity Lodge to a close relative gives a touchingly personal account of the state of affairs at the

Mill Road cemetery and of his hopes for the completion of the chapel.

We lay her in the cemetery tomorrow . . . there is as yet no chapel . . . only a gatehouse where the service is commonly read; but we hope soon to remedy this want . . . I told her that I had in my will directed that I should be buried there and then we should have a church like St John's in Keswick . . . not exactly . . . for it will not be a parish church, but I hope it will rise higher and sooner on account of her lying near it.

From the outset Whewell had given strong support to the establishment of the cemetery

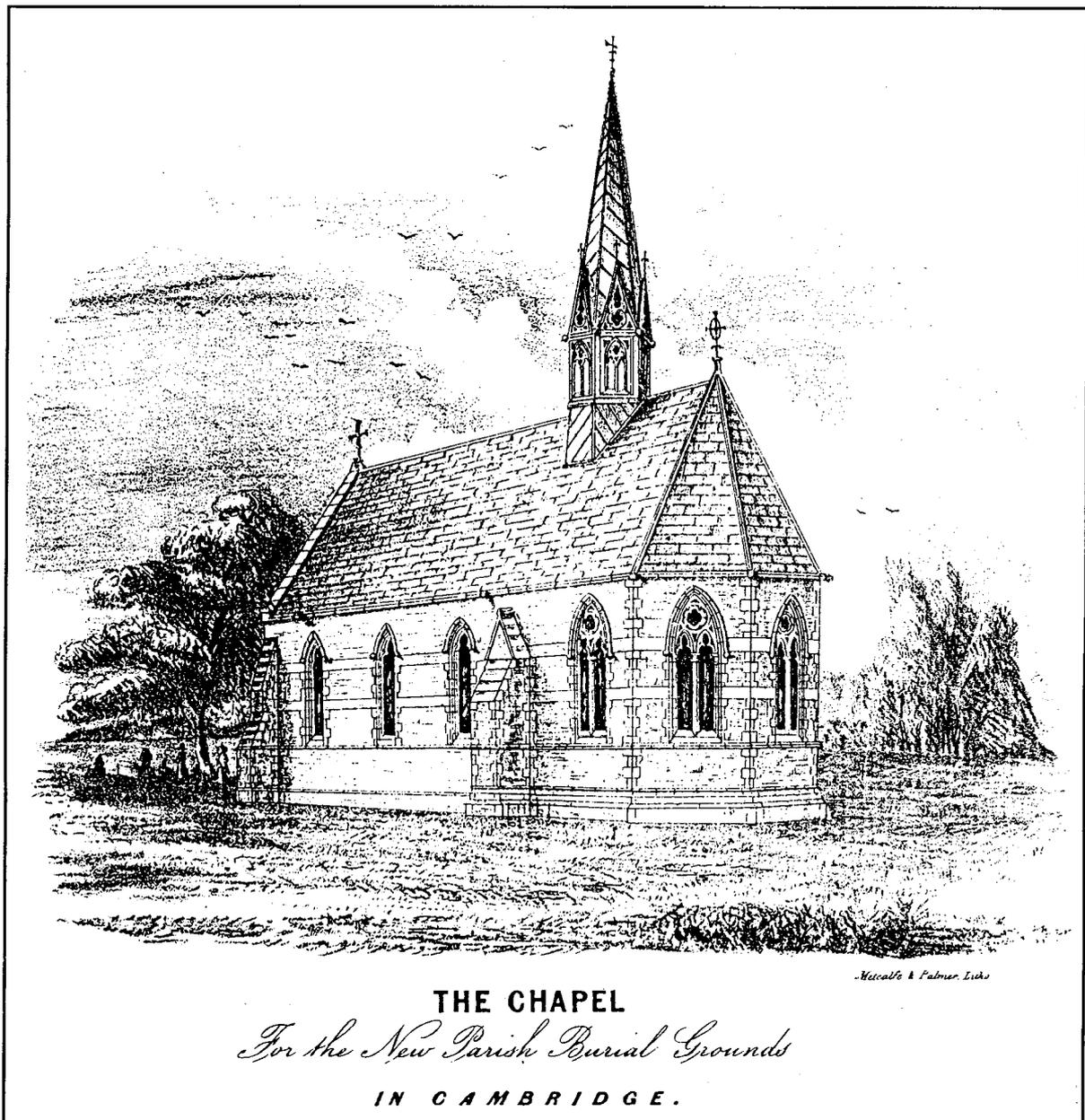


Figure 2. The 'reduced' design as depicted on the appeal leaflet May 1853. (Cambridge Parish Burial Grounds Committee.)

and had been a most generous contributor to the various appeals for both the purchase of the land and for the building of the chapel. On the day before the sub-committee meeting of 21 December 1855 he had repeated his verbal offer to the secretary that he was ready to make a further gift of the £250 needed for work to begin. Rev. Maddison wrote to Scott on 27 December to tell him that the committee was ready to proceed with the chapel and asked for advice about costs and organisation of the contract.¹⁷ Burlison sorted out the details and agreed that the builder's proposed increase of 8% was fair. Contracts were signed on 18 January 1856 and work on digging the foundations began soon afterwards, only to be suddenly suspended at Scott's request, because, as afterwards reported at the sub-committee of 1 April 1856, of Whewell 'having expressed his desire that the small bell turret should give place to a tower and a spire, which should be a prominent member of the building . . . and having offered to defray the expense of such a change in the design'. A letter from Whewell (30 March 1856) stated that Bell had estimated building the tower and spire 'designed for the cemetery chapel of Mr Scott' for £822 and that he was ready to sign a contract 'separate from the contract for the rest

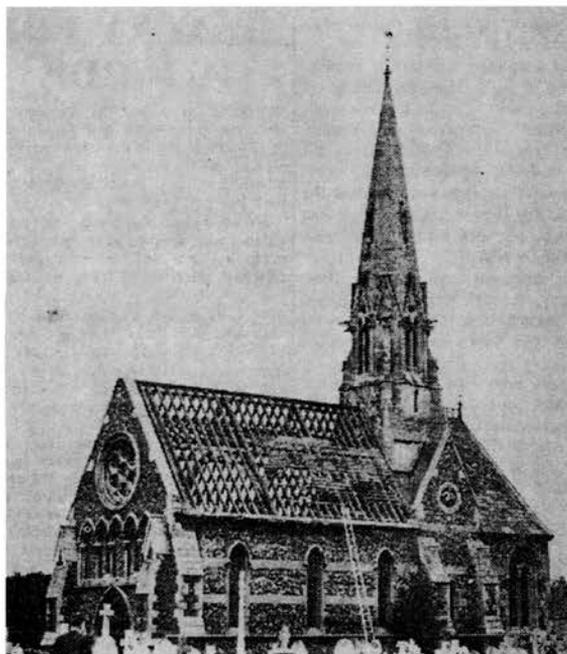


Figure 3. The addition of the tower and spire in place of the turret seen in Figure 2 required an extra buttress and gable on the south side. A north gable was specified, presumably above the vestry. (*Cambridge Daily News.*)

of the building'. The offer was enthusiastically accepted by the PBGC on 3 April, although there is no mention of whether the bishop's approval was either considered necessary or that it was sought.

No further meetings of either sub-committee of PBGC took place until almost a year later, so it is fortunate that the Rev. Joseph Romilly, the University Registry, took regular walks through the cemetery grounds during this period and that his diary records the chapel's progress.¹⁸ On 4 May 1856 he noted 'They are beginning the chapel' but a week later observed 'the chapel scarcely got on at all'. On 25 May 'The chapel is now rising above the foundations. I stepped it out and found the length about 24 yards.' By 15 June it had risen to the window sills and by 6 July 'the chapel is advancing rapidly;- the W door is very pretty'. On 17 August he observed 'the chapel is getting on now: 4 massey columns are in the inside; I think there are to be more;- the chapel will be quite a gem.' On 31 August he could see no progress and on 14 September 'they are getting on with the East window'. By 30 November the spire was beginning to show; by 11 January 1857 it was 'getting on' and by 15 February 'very nearly



Figure 4. The chapel at a later stage of demolition. The lean-to roof of the vestry can be seen on the north (left) side. (*Cambridgeshire Collection.*)

completed', when he also added 'I think it very handsome'.

Much remained to be done inside. The sub-committee noted on 31 March 1857 'As regards the fittings, no steps should be taken at present to raise a sum for this object' which seems to indicate either an uncharacteristic lack of caution or that they were hopeful of further assistance from the Master of Trinity. Scott drew up plans for the flooring which were shown to the sub-committee on 15 June 1857, when it was also noted that the contractor had already 'done some additional work in connection with the flooring' (not specified) at an additional cost of £52. The secretary wrote to Whewell 'to inform him of the alteration proposed by Mr Scott' and to ask him if the committee might be allowed to appropriate 'a portion of the sum . . . so liberally offered'. Although Whewell had no objection to defraying the cost of the encaustic tiles, a sense of anxiety may be detected in the sub-committee minutes 2 July 1857 as doubts were raised about the sufficiency of funds to meet the additional expense of the flooring. Statements of the contractor's 'entire account' were called for and Scott was asked to add his charges. Also at this meeting a letter was read from Rev. Maddison, who had become Vicar of Grantham, Lincolnshire in the previous year,¹⁹ requesting permission to install a stained glass memorial window (designed by Scott) in the tower, immediately behind the reading desk 'if I find the undertaking within my means'. The request was willingly agreed to. The PBGC of 7 May 1858 records that the window was subsequently installed, although no information is given about the design or the identity of the person commemorated.

Among the 'additional works' listed in the accounts presented to the sub-committee on 5 January 1858 was the substitution of Ancaster stone for Casterton at an extra cost of £23, to be charged to Whewell, together with the cost of a lightning conductor, iron ridge and north and south gables needed to accommodate the additional tower and spire into the body of the

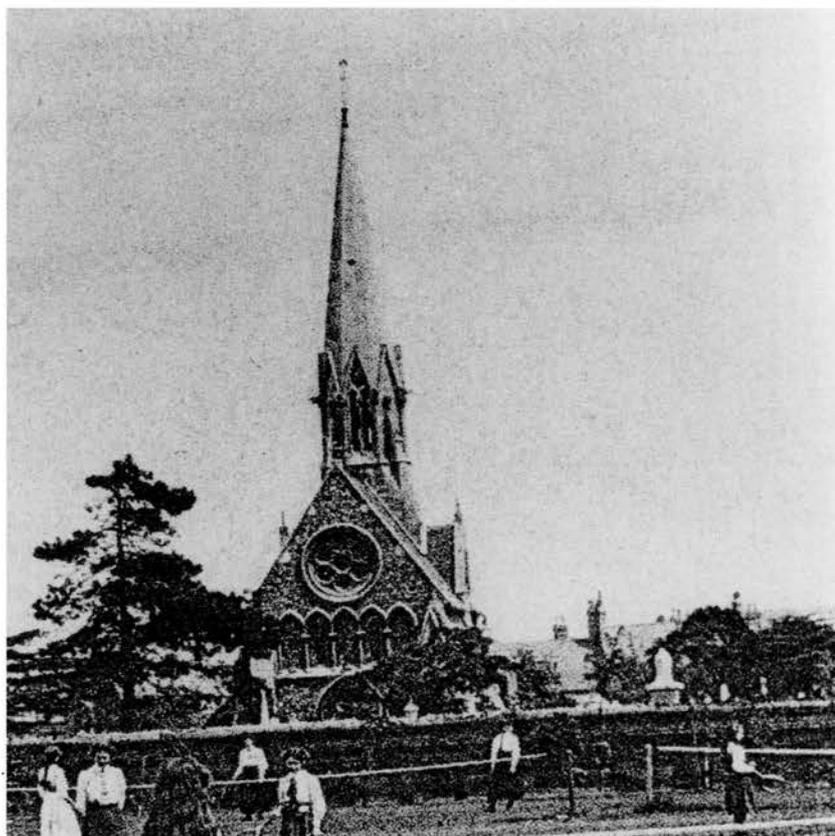
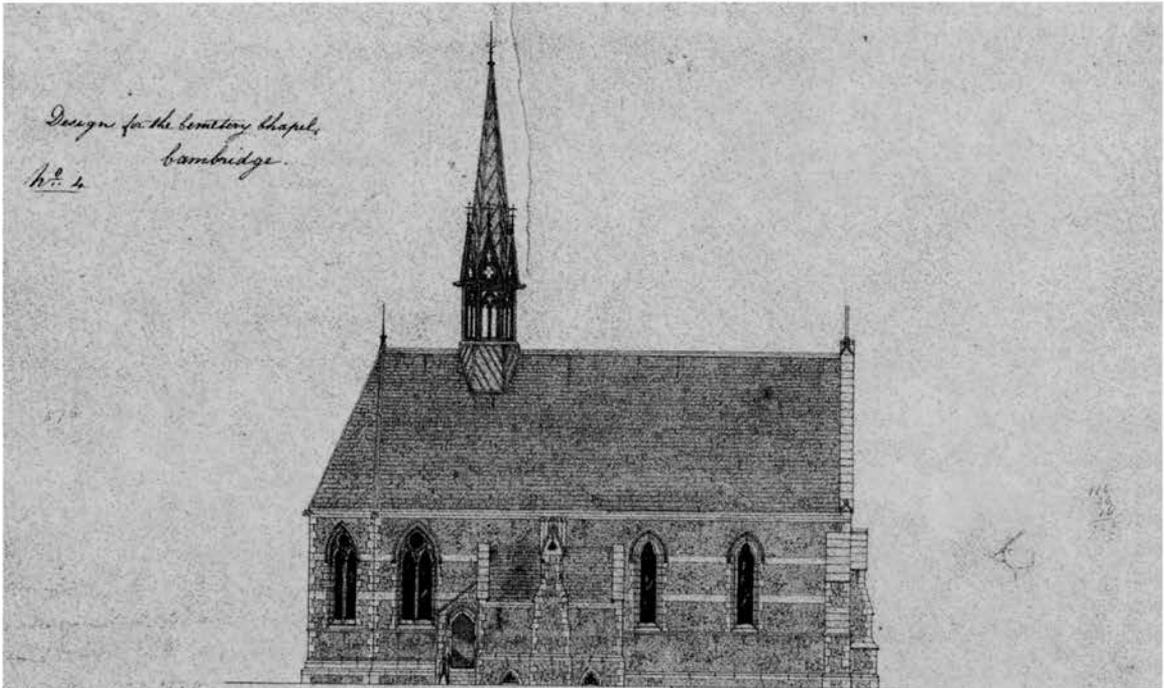


Figure 5. *The chapel in its setting c. 1910. (Cambridgeshire Collection.)*

chapel. Clearly Scott was taking advantage of Whewell's intervention to reinstate at least some of the cuts agreed between Burlison and Bell in February 1853.²⁰ The deficit stood at £181 9s. 0d. and it was agreed to report to the main committee — and to Whewell, who was advised that this would be increased to £230 if the charge for the encaustic tiles was to be included. Meanwhile, the works would be 'at a standstill'. Whewell's response (18 January 1858) shows that his patience was wearing thin; because of the delays he might consider himself 'liberated from my offer to contribute £250 . . . but as I believe there are things essential to the completing of the chapel for which no provision is yet made, for instance, seats, I wish to know before making any further payments, what assurance the Committee can give that the chapel will be completed'. Estimates for seats and communion table were hurriedly sent for 'as designed by Mr Scott' in either oak or pine and two days later on 23 January 1858 the sub-committee also asked Bell to quote for boarding the space under the seats 'according to the original plan'. The chairman placated Whewell by assuring him of the committee's intention to press ahead as quickly as possible,

A



B

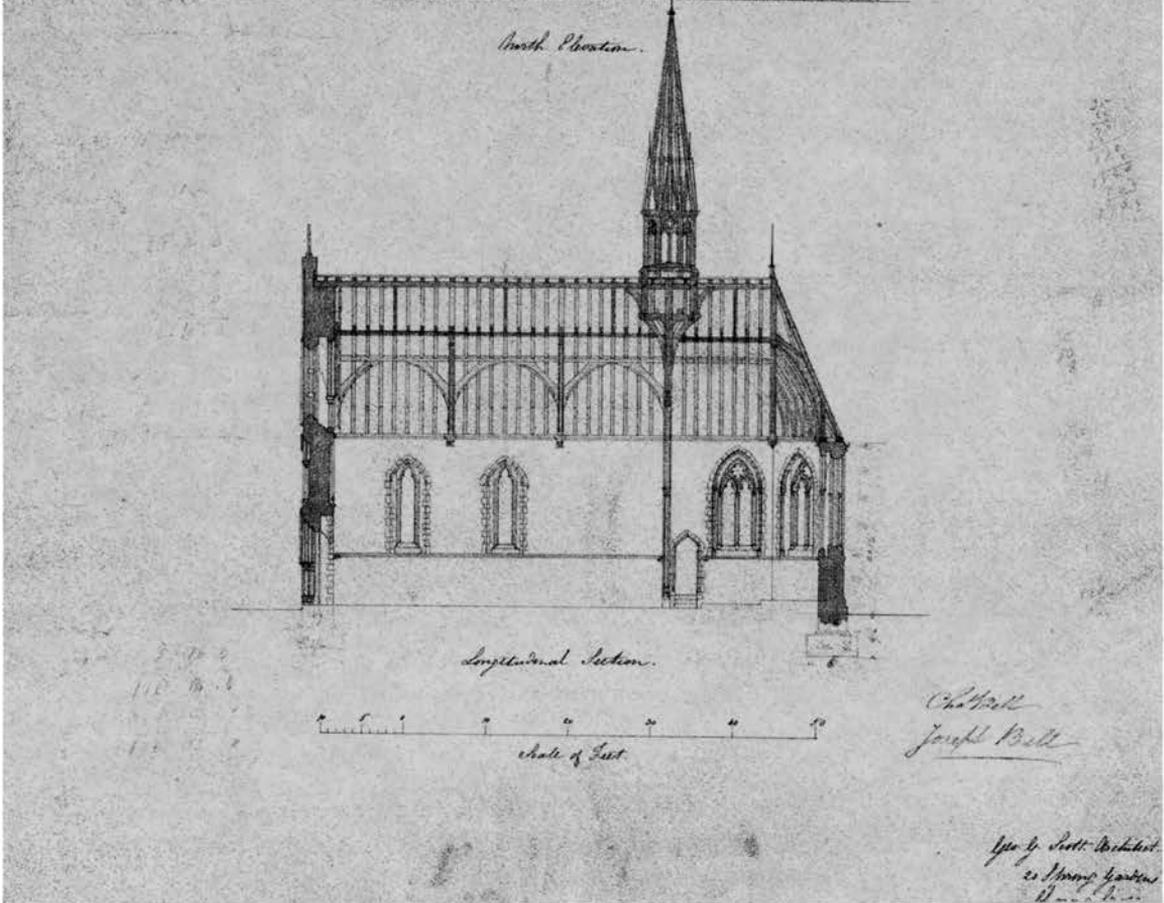


Figure 6. Four drawings of the 'reduced' design: A) north elevation; B) longitudinal section; C) south elevation; D) ground plan. (Cambridge Parish Burial Grounds Committee.)

C

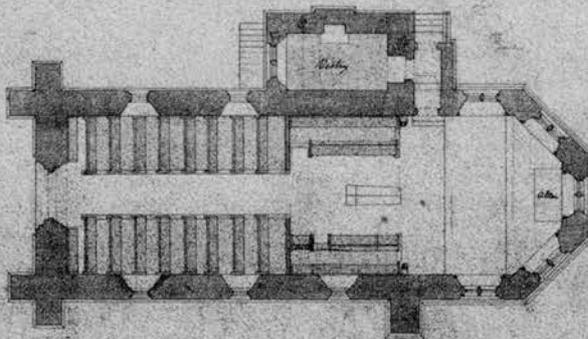
Design for the Mortuary Chapel,
Cambridge.

No. 1

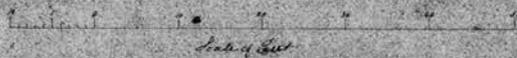


South Elevation.

D



Ground Plan.



Joseph Bell
Arch. Des.

See p. 100. Architect
20 Spring Garden
London W. 1

although how this could have happened without Whewell's continued support is not made clear. Despite these assurances, the fact remained that whatever combination of materials was to be used, the sums needed to complete the work exceeded the funds available by amounts varying from £236 to £268.²¹ Diplomatically asked for his 'suggestions', Whewell declined to give any, but with characteristic generosity promised an additional £250 provided that the building was completed by Easter of 1858.²² The fittings, a floor of plain tiles and a communion table of oak were gratefully sanctioned, a precarious balance of 'about £22' remaining when the work was reported to be complete on 22 April 1858. Approval was also given to Whewell's request to be allowed to place a hatchment in the chapel. His gift of the stained glass in the east window of the chapel was also acknowledged by the sub-committee of 7 May 1858, but no information is given about the subject or the designer.

Although the bishop had decided that there was no need to consecrate the new chapel ('I find that there is no form (of service) for the consecration of a Mortuary Chapel, apart from that of the ground on which it is built') a service to mark the opening was conducted by his Lordship on 28 May, 1858, nearly 10 years after the cemetery was consecrated. No mention of the event appears in the minutes, but on the following day the *Cambridge Chronicle* gave an account of the order of service, which Whewell attended, accompanied by the college choir.²³

Final Years

After 1858 the minutes make only occasional references to the chapel at Mill Road, apart from the need for occasional maintenance. In 1881 storm damage to the lodge and chapel was so extensive that it was necessary to launch an appeal and there are also references to further roof repairs in 1882, 1885, 1886 and 1889. In 1894 it was proposed that an appeal be made for funds 'to furnish the apse by laying down a carpet, putting up simple hangings on the walls and removing the present Table and putting up a prayer desk in its place'.²⁴ The scheme was approved, except for the provision of the prayer desk, but the result is not recorded.

Loose papers filed with the minutes give a glimpse of the chapel in the latter years of its existence. Between 1922–27 there are invoices from local builders for minor repairs, and in 1928 tenders were received from four firms for cleaning and re-decorating. An undated appeal notice states that 'the chapel stands in need of painting and some simple mural decoration . . .

so that its general appearance may be rendered more fitting for its purpose'. The appeal seems to have met with some success because in 1931 'great improvements' (un-specified) were recorded, but by 1938 the first suggestion was made that the chapel should be closed in preference to the expenditure needed for renovations. So far it has not been possible to determine the date on which the last service was held and since the chapel was never consecrated (see above), there is no record of de-consecration by which its decline might be charted. The chapel was considered to be unsafe and was demolished in 1954, having survived just long enough to receive a very brief description in Pevsner.²⁵ The RCHME for the City of Cambridge notes that the chapel had been demolished, but gives no description.²⁶ No records have so far been found in national archives.²⁷

The Cambridgeshire Collection has three photographs of the chapel, two of which record the early stages of demolition. Figure 3 appeared in the local newspaper²⁸ when work had just begun. Despite poor print quality, it gives the best impression so far discovered of the general layout of the chapel in its completed form, with the tower and spire inserted into the hurriedly lengthened body of the 'reduced' design. Unfortunately the camera angle does not show whether the apse was three-sided, as depicted in Scott's drawings and plans of the chapel (Figs. 2 & 6) or five-sided²⁹ as described in the review of the chapel in the *Ecclesiologist* of April 1858. Referring to the placing of the tower and spire the reviewer stated 'The credit of the invention, we believe, belongs to the Master, while Mr Scott carried out the details of the execution.' Eight years later, the writer of Whewell's obituary notice in the *Cambridge Chronicle* (10 March 1866) ascribed the design and tower entirely to Whewell. However, the photograph of the chapel reproduced as Figure 4³⁰ provides good evidence that the added tower and spire resemble Scott's original designs closely enough (cf. Fig. 1) to cast doubt on this assumption. The exact extent of Whewell's influence on the design of the tower, spire and apse has yet to be determined. An incidental view of the chapel in its setting is seen in a photograph of the tennis courts of the former County Girls School, c. 1910,³¹ into which the spire intrudes as a compelling focal point, rising serenely above the maturing trees of the cemetery (Fig. 5). The view emphasises the success with which Scott was able to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of those who had worked with such commitment to 'give this ground distinctly the character of a CHURCHYARD'.³²

Endnotes

- ¹ Cambridgeshire County Record Office, Shire Hall, Cambridge.
- ² *Cambridge Chronicle*, 15 October 1842.
- ³ PBGC Statement, 8 October 1844. Despite this intention the Huntingdon Road site for the use of the parishes of St Giles and St Peter was not opened until February 1869, causing increasingly strong protests by the parish clergy. A report by the Assistant Overseer in February 1862 complained that in hot weather a 'noxious effusion is generated and spread among a thickly inhabited neighbourhood'. An Order in Council prohibiting further interments in these graveyards should have come into force on 1 March 1856, but seems to have been ignored.
- ⁴ SC, 1 Dec 1845.
- ⁵ Appeal Statement appended to PBGC minutes, 23 November 1847.
- ⁶ PBGC Amended Plan, 7 October 1846.
- ⁷ A. Gray & F. Brittain, *A History of Jesus College Cambridge* (London 1960: 156).
- ⁸ M&SSⁿ, 4 June and 21 August 1850.
- ⁹ The extent to which the appointment of Scott may be due to the far-reaching influence of the Cambridge Camden Society is an issue beyond the scope of this paper. However, the decisions of the PBGC in 1851 need to be seen against the background of the controversies surrounding the building and restoration of churches in Cambridge during the previous decade. See J.F. White, *The Cambridge Movement* (Cambridge 1962).
- ¹⁰ PBGC, 15 May 1851.
- ¹¹ SC, 13 October 1851.
- ¹² SC, 6 February 1852.
- ¹³ Scott's letter, 19 February 1853.
- ¹⁴ SC, 15 March 1853.
- ¹⁵ PBGC, 15 April 1853.
- ¹⁶ Mrs Stair Douglas, *Life of Dr Whewell* (London 1881: 449).
- ¹⁷ SC, 15 Feb 1856.
- ¹⁸ The author is grateful to Dr J.D. Pickles and to Mrs M.E. Bury for providing the extracts quoted from the unpublished part of the Romilly diaries.
- ¹⁹ During the incumbency of Rev. Maddison at Grantham Scott undertook a drastic restoration of the parish church.
- ²⁰ As soon as it was decided to begin work on the chapel Scott had suggested in a letter dated 31 December 1855 'I suppose you could not afford to restore what Mr Burlison proposed to take off from the work?'
- ²¹ SC, 2 February 1858.
- ²² Letter, 29 January 1858.
- ²³ Four weeks later, on 1 July 1858, Dr Whewell married Everina Frances Ellis, Lady Affleck. When he died in 1866 he was buried in the college chapel.
- ²⁴ PBGC ('Burial Board'), 14 May 1894.
- ²⁵ N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England: Cambridgeshire* First edn (Harmondsworth 1954: 184).
- ²⁶ RCHME, *Survey and Inventory for the City of Cambridge* (London 1959, Part 2: 303).
- ²⁷ The National Monuments Record, RIBA and the Architectural Association have no records of the chapel.
- ²⁸ *Cambridge Daily News*, 2 June 1954 Cambridgeshire Collection M.Mil K54 12962 (The original negative is lost).
- ²⁹ The minutes give no explanation for this change in design, but D. Cole, *The Work of Sir Gilbert Scott* (London 1980: 60-61) points out Scott's frequent use of this feature at this time.
- ³⁰ Cambridgeshire Collection M. Mil K54 28161.
- ³¹ Cambridgeshire Collection M. Mil. K1 28963.
- ³² PBGC appeal circular March 1852.

Wind Pumps in the Haddenham Level: an Archaeological Survey

J.B. Finney, S.M. Finney & N. James

Introduction

In the Fens, the eighteenth century was the age of the windmill. By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, within a generation of the main works of draining the peat for agriculture, wind pumps were introduced for raising water from the shrinking surfaces of the Black Fens into the rivers. Eventually, there were hundreds of them. Although superseded by steam machines during the nineteenth century, wind pumps were retained in a secondary role up to the early twentieth. They helped to maintain farming in much of the Fens during a period when many feared — or hoped — that Nature would reclaim them (see Appendix 1.1).

Following the chance discovery of the remains of a wind pump near Sutton Gault in 1991, we sought to assess preservation of others. To this end, we surveyed the Haddenham Level, identifying each of the eight sites known from documentary sources of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Only at one or two has every trace gone, and at one there still stands a well preserved earthwork. Although surface remains of the rest are scant, there is evidence that some features do survive in the ground. The survey was completed in 1996.

Evidence

The distribution of wind pumps has been studied in parts of the southern Fens by R.L. Hills and K.S.G. Hinde, and by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME). The principal sources of evidence are the records of drainage authorities, maps, notices in local newspapers, and earthworks, buildings and other archaeological remains (Appendix 1.2).

Little is known about the first pumps of the later seventeenth century. During most of the eighteenth century, the pumps used for field drainage were large; but smaller subsidiary ones were introduced later. The larger pumps were located at the outer edges of a fen in order to draw water from the middle and into a river or other main drain. The windmill preserved at Herringfleet, Suffolk, is probably a specimen of this type. Each drained about 1000 acres (400 ha). The typical site is next to a river flood bank, on the fen side. A pump comprised up to four features or sets of features: sail tower, water wheel or scoop wheel, intake channel and drains, and outlet culvert and ditch.

The sails that drove the pump were mounted on a wooden smock tower. It is thought that most towers sat on a base of brick on top of a low earthen mound and were supported by timber pilings. The pumps in the Swaffham and Bottisham fens stood as high as 18 m. Many towers provided rough accommodation for the 'millers'.

There were two alternative mechanisms for turning the sails into the breeze. In the nineteenth century, some towers were provided with fan-tails which swung the sails into the breeze automatically. Before then and more commonly, they were pivoted by poles fastened to posts set around the tower. Connected by gears housed in the tower, the sails drove a wheel which raised water from the fen into the adjacent drain or river. The wheel was set at the side of the tower and scooped the water from an intake channel lined with brick.

Water from the fen was collected from smaller ditches and directed to the pump by a mill drain. Commonly, subsidiary drains or dykes converged with the mill drain from the edges of the fen behind the main drain or river. Usually,

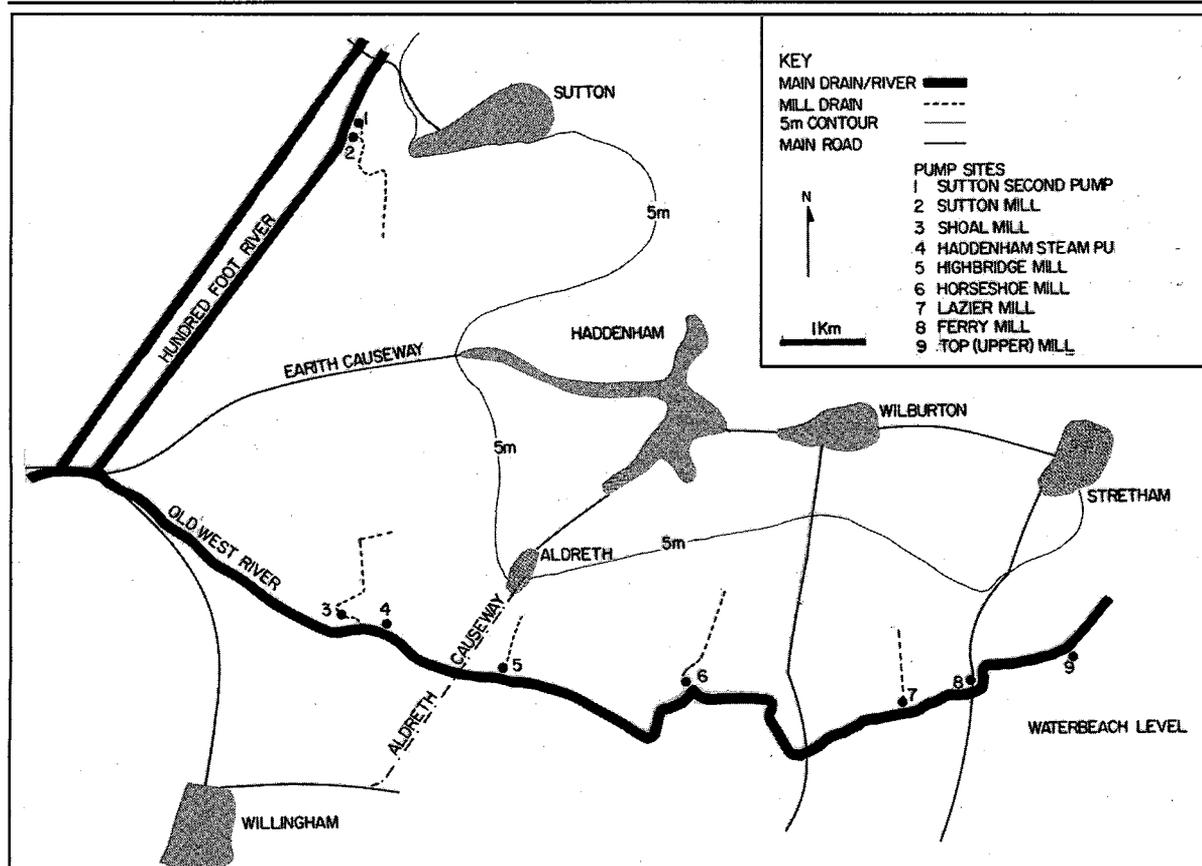


Figure 1. The Haddenham Level.

the water from these drains was gathered into a pond behind the scoop wheel. The wheel scooped the water into a culvert let through the flood bank of the main drain. The culvert was lined with timber or, like the intake channel, brick. The culvert emptied into an outlet channel which directed the water across the berm of the bank or the flood wash into the drain or river.

To boost drainage toward these pumps, smaller 'outliers' were set up within fens. Those in the southern Fens drained 30 to 50 acres (12–20 ha) and stood about 7 m high. Some were set upon low plinths of brick. They were supported by pilings or built directly upon the ground surface. The scoop wheel was mounted inside or partly inside the tower. The well-known pump preserved at Wicken Fen is a late example of the type. The prototypes of these pumps were probably developed by peat cutters.¹

Many or most of the eighteenth-century pumps had complicated histories of maintenance and adaptation. Once superseded entirely, some pumps were dismantled and the materials possibly re-used elsewhere. This usually left the feeder drains, intake pond,

culvert and outlet intact around the mound, and perhaps some brick from the tower and channels. A hundred years ago, remains of wind pumps, including the towers, were not rare in the Fens; but preservation has deteriorated gravely since then. Four towers remain in Norfolk and Suffolk and a single late example in Huntingdonshire. Of these, the Pepperbox Mill, in Mildenhall Fen (Suffolk), is the best analogue for our survey in respect of chronology, topography and, presumably, technology.² In 1963, Hills reported, for the Waterbeach fens, that channels and bricks remained at the Top or Upper Mill while the twin Dollard pumps survived as scatters of brick, timber and nails. Yet, even as his article went to press, remains of the intake channel and foundations of the lower Dollard pump were to be ploughed up. The site of the Top Mill and its drains is still preserved as Hills saw it; but the remains of the Mere Mill have been further obscured recently by site development. Of the sites recorded by the RCHME northeast of Cambridge, in the years 1967–9, the two best preserved are now all but destroyed: the Swaffham Upper Mill's by dumping soil, concrete and other

materials, re-alignment of a drain and development of the river wash; and the remains of the Bottisham Mill and its cottage by facilities for moorings (see Appendix 1.3).

Haddenham Level

The drainage engineers of the seventeenth century divided the southern peat fens into three subregions, the North, Middle and South Levels.³ The Haddenham Level lies at the western corner of the South Level. There is indirect evidence for a wind pump here as early as the sixteenth century but its site is not known. In 1727, following years of flooding, land owners in the Level were granted statutory authority to form an internal drainage board or commission. As defined by the legislation, the Level comprises some 6500 acres (2625 ha) between Sutton and the South Level Barrier Bank in the west and the Old West River and Stretham Ferry to south and east (Fig. 1; the Upper Delphs were excluded from provision). One of the Commission's principal purposes was to set up and run wind pumps. Subsequently, these provisions were emulated throughout the Black Fens.⁴

The first pumps in the Level may not have been built before 1732.⁵ Most of the Commission's records for the years up to about 1950 have been lost.⁶ However, a set of copies of the accounts for 1739–41 and 1743–5 have been preserved.⁷ These name the pumps and show much about how they and the drains that fed them were maintained. Among the expenses were bricks and lime, timber (including oak, fir and deal), nails, brasses and ironwork, lubricants, line and thread, and time spent on mending sails. The ditches around the mill mounds were scoured and fenced. The millers were provided with turves for heating. Five pumps are listed, and they can be located more or less confidently on later maps.

Five maps are especially helpful for tracing the pumps' histories. The 'Map of Haddenham Level in the Isle of Ely' is thought to be that ordered by the Drainage Commission from William Custance in 1798. It shows the main drains and four wind pumps. In 1811, the Ordnance Survey recorded five pumps in the draft for its first map of the area but, by the time of publication, in 1836, three of them had been deleted. Baker's well known survey of 1816–20 and Lenny's of 1828–31 help to complete the story (see Appendix 2).

Failing the archive, the Drainage Commission's advertisements in the press, requesting tenders for various jobs, provide a few other glimpses of its activity. Like others, the

Haddenham Commission tended to use the 'Cambridge Chronicle'. One notice in 1797 is especially interesting. It announced repairs to be carried out on four pumps in the Level.⁸ This confirms the evidence of the 'Map of the Haddenham Level'.

Most of the wind pumps seem to have been decommissioned at about the time that the Haddenham steam plant was set up, in 1831.⁹ The new machine drained the Level into the Old West River through Ewell Fen, west of the Aldreth Causeway. Again as elsewhere, the steam engine was replaced, in the present century, by oil-fired pumps. Two sets were installed: one by the steam station and the other at the end of the Rymermoor drain, draining into the Hundred Foot (New Bedford) River at Sutton Gault. The latter were dismantled in 1994, along with their elegant concrete house. For again as elsewhere in the Fens, the oil-fired pumps were replaced by electric machines, at both Sutton Gault and in the diesel house by the steam station.

Survey

The sites of the Haddenham Level wind pumps survive in various conditions (Fig. 1). Two have been quite obliterated. Three remain as dense scatters of brick; and sections cut into two of these show that more remains in the ground. One site is marked by bricks and the outlet channel. The other site is preserved as an earthwork, and this is in better condition than that of any other eighteenth-century wind pump recorded in the South Level during the last forty years. To help clarify the other sites, this well preserved earthwork is described first.

The chronology for our argument is summarised in Table 1, which also lists the locations of the sites. Small samples of the bricks were collected (Appendix 3).

Horseshoe

The Horseshoe pump and its mill drain lay along the parish boundary of Haddenham and Wilburton. An early map, the 'Generall Plotte' (see Appendix 2), shows that the mill drain was formerly a natural stream. The site was named, presumably, for the bend in the river, adjacent (Fig. 2.1).¹⁰ The pump is one of the five listed in the accounts of 1739–45; and it is marked on the 'Map of Haddenham Level' and the Ordnance Survey's draft. Since Baker's and the other maps do not mark it, presumably the pump had been dismantled by 1821.

As at other wind pump sites, a couple of

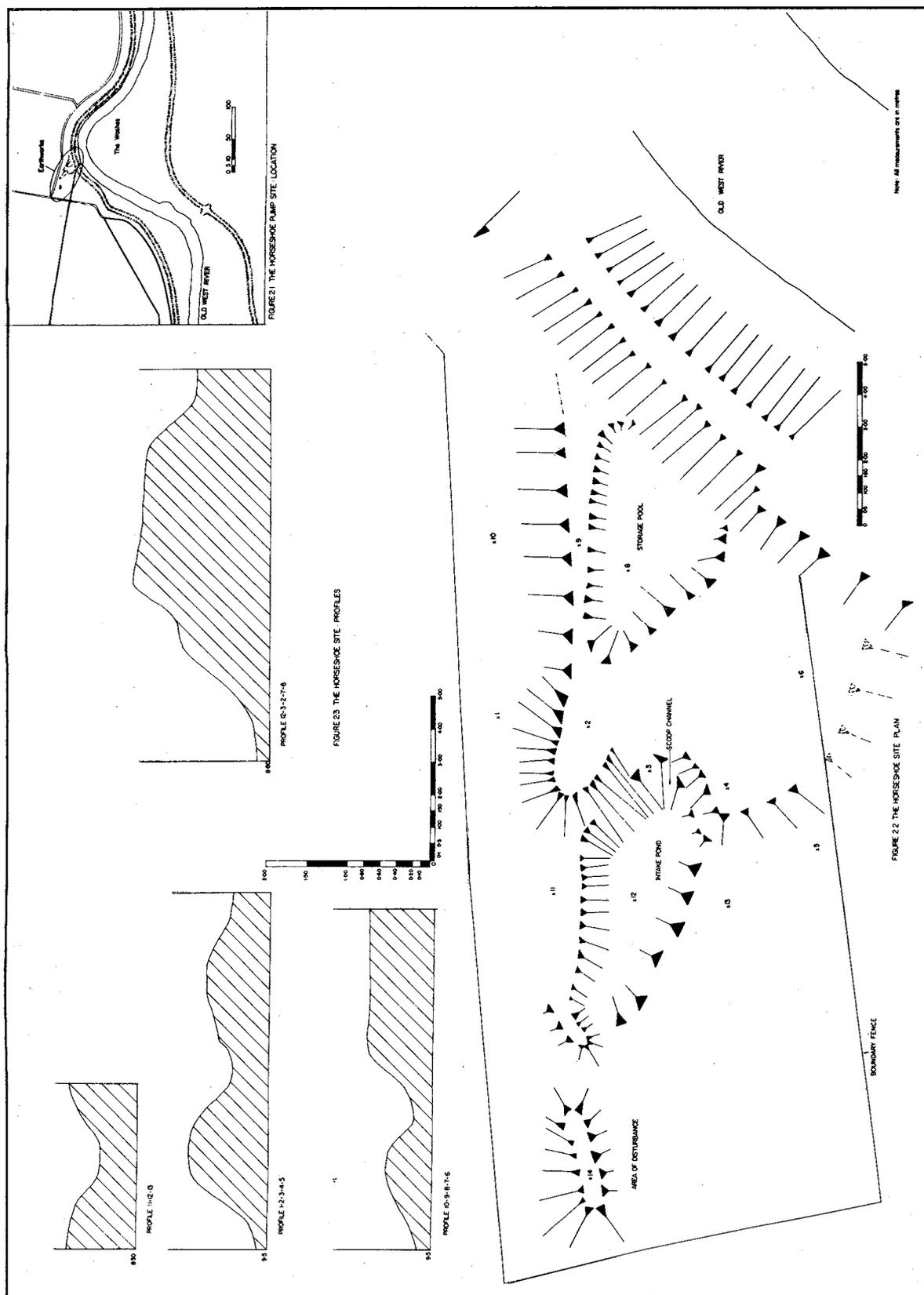


Figure 2. The Horseshoe earthworks: 2.1) location; 2.2) plan; 2.3) profiles with data from 2.2 and Appendix 4.

lateral ditches converge with the mill drain behind the flood bank of the river. The water was led up to the pump through an intake pond. No trace of a sluice between the feeder drains and the pond remains. The pond is now crossed by a path but most of it remains as a distinct depression — emphasised by the mound or mounds for the pump. We surveyed the site with alidade and plane table (Figs. 2.2–3, Appendix 4).

By the northeast corner of the pond is a mound measuring 4 m by 1.5 m. It is sharply defined but very small for supporting a sail tower. By the southeast corner is a lower, more diffuse mound, about 6 m in diameter. The latter is probably the site of the tower, on account of both the size of the mound and the orientation of a slight embayment adjacent, which must mark the mouth of the scoop wheel channel. Alternatively, the two mounds may represent successive phases of construction (see below).

There is no trace of either culvert or outlet drain. Since the river runs right up to the flood bank, there was no need for an outlet channel from the toe of the bank; and a new revetment may have disturbed former evidence of the culvert's mouth. However, a hand-moulded, unfrosted 'white' brick found lying on the bank may be from the culvert.

There is a second depression between the mounds and the toe of the flood defence bank. This may have been a pond for storing water thrown up by the wheel. No such feature has been recorded in previous research, but the requirement for it is easy to imagine. There were complaints about peat scooped by wind pumps into main drains in both the South and Middle Levels. The pond could have served to hold water behind a sluice until there was enough to flush through the culvert without leaving peaty sediment.¹¹

Perhaps the whole site was altered as the storage pond was made. The smaller, higher mound may be a remnant of an earlier platform for the sail tower, truncated in order to make room for the storage pond at the toe of the flood defence bank, and replaced by the platform on the opposite side of the scoop channel. This would account for the irregular form of the head of the intake pond. The scoop wheel and tower may have been set lower than before (and the intake pond recut) in response to falling water levels in the fen.

Shoal

The Haddenham Shoal pump (not to be confused with another of the same name on the opposite bank of this shallow stretch of the

river) lay against the flood bank of the Old West. It was marked by the Ordnance Survey both on the draft and the published map of 1836. Both Baker and Lenny confirm the location.

There is no record of the pump during the eighteenth century; but an advertisement in 1807 referred to 'the new Mill Drain' (i.e. the North Fen Drain) north of the site. Mill and drain may date to 1801.¹² It follows that the Dam Bank bridge into Ewell Fen would have been built over the drain, but no material remains of that date can be seen here now. The ditch connecting the mill drain to the steam engine drain may have been cut in about 1830 enabling the wind pump to act as a subsidiary to the new engine. (In the Waterbeach Level, the Mere Mill was retained near the Stretham Engine for up to nine years.¹³)

A secondary drain joins the mill drain from the side of the fen. An outlet leads across the river wash on the other side of the flood bank. The Ordnance Survey's draft shows that a channel of the river ran by the berm of the flood bank (a course preserved by the parish boundary); so the outlet channel may have been a modification following abandonment of this channel and using part of its former course.¹⁴

A sluiced brick-lined culvert runs through the bank. There is no earthwork to correspond to the pump; but coarsely moulded unfrosted 'white' bricks are scattered across the bank and to either side of it. Some of these are similar to those at the Horseshoe site. One of them has the brown-cream colour typical of bricks from the Haddenham area.¹⁵ In common with the locations of other culverts, a track crosses the bank here, no doubt exploiting the structure below for support.

Lazier

The Lazier mill (various spellings or pronunciations) was one of the five recorded in the accounts of 1739–45. It is shown on the 'Map of Haddenham Level' and on the draft Ordnance Survey. Baker recorded it and Lenny also marked it, set a few yards back from the river flood bank. It is not on the Survey's publication of 1836; but their 25 Inch map, surveyed in 1887, does show a sluice and a couple of buildings just behind the flood bank of the river. The site and mill drain are on the parish boundary of Wilburton and Stretham.

The sluice is still intact, its brickwork in good condition. Three drains converge on it: the main one from the middle of the fen (marked 'Mill Drain' on the 'Map of Haddenham Level') and one each beside the upstream and downstream flood banks of the river. The 25 Inch map also

shows this drain and the eastward upstream drain. It does not mark the westward downstream drain but the revision of 1901 does so.

The buildings recorded in 1887 remain as a diffuse mound about 200 mm high and a scatter of bricks. There are more bricks and some nails on the fen side of the new westward drain; and here too the ground rises about 200 mm. Exposed in the section of this drain, at the fen side of the junction with the mill drain, are foundations of lime mortar and fragments of brick and fuel ash, possibly constituting hard core, about 250 mm deep. The bricks spread up to 15 m along the north or fen side of the westward drain. The site corresponds to that marked on both the 'Map of Haddenham Level' and Lenny's map; but Baker marked the pump on the opposite side of the mill drain. Assuming that this detail of Baker's was mistaken, these must be the foundations of the Lazier pump. They were probably exposed between 1887 and 1901 by the downstream drain. It is puzzling that the bricks in the side of the drain spread so far back from the junction with the mill drain.

The bricks at this site are of four types: reds of dense fabric, wire-cut and frogged; whites, wire-cut, some frogged; coarse whites of the type found at the Horseshoe and Shoal sites (and see below); and a few of whiter hue, notably lighter in weight. The first two types probably date to the later nineteenth century, remains, no doubt of the buildings shown on the 25 Inch map. By cross-dating and on typological grounds, the others can be assigned to the early nineteenth century or before.

The published Ordnance Survey and a local map of 1865 show that there was no building here in the mid nineteenth century, but the existence of mill drain and sluice would have favoured retention of the site for draining the fen. There is no trace of an intake pond, but it may have been disturbed when the wind pump was dismantled and again when the westward drain was cut. The map of 1865 does not show any other features.¹⁶

Highbridge

The Highbridge pump is one of the five covered by the accounts of 1739–45 and is marked on the 'Map of Haddenham Level'. On the Ordnance Survey's draft and their published map, it is recorded as the Bridge Fen mill. It is shown on Baker's map; but, contradicting the published Ordnance Survey, it is not shown on Lenny's map. Comparison between the maps shows that the mill drain was progressively modified until more or less superseded by the

steam engine drain. The site and the fen are named after the bridge that carries the Causeway route between Aldreth and Willingham over the Old West River.

The site has been ploughed and all that remains is a scatter of hand-made white bricks at the typical junction of a drain from the middle of the fen with two others converging from behind the flood defence bank of the river. The bricks are the same as those found at the other sites. The local map of 1865 marks a small pond at the end of the adjacent drain, remains, perhaps, of the intake pond.

Ferry

The Ferry pump is also covered by the accounts of 1739–45. The 'Map of Haddenham Level' marks the other four covered by the accounts but not the Ferry site. By implication from the map and the advertisement of 1797,⁸ this pump was decommissioned no later than 1797. The account for 27 May 1744 shows that it was tended together with the Lazier pump. Other entries confirm that pumps in the same neighbourhood were often tended by the same men. In 1798, the commissioners announced the sale of the Ferry pump, 'standing on the West River Bank, near Stretham Bridge'.¹⁷

We have no further information. However, Lenny's map shows an outlet flowing from the Haddenham Leam to the river near Stretham Bridge. This is a likely location for the Ferry pump; but the river flood bank here has been covered by the new bridge for the main road. The first published Ordnance Survey (1836) shows the same configuration of ditches as Lenny's. The 1882 25-Inch map shows that the ditch from the Leam had been removed by the late 1880s; but it marks a small ditch across the wash between the river and its flood bank. This latter may have been an outlet from the pump to the river.

Sutton

The fifth pump covered by the accounts is the Sutton mill. In 1804, the Haddenham Level Commissioners advertised specifications for a large 'new WATER ENGINE near the Hundred Foot River'.¹⁸ The 'Map of Haddenham Level' marks a mill near Sutton Gault and it is also recorded on another map of the same time.¹⁹ Baker and Lenny also mark it (although the latter does not use the same clear convention for this site as he does for the others). It evidently drew water from the northern part of the Level into the Hundred Foot River. Both the location, at the foot of the South Level Barrier

Bank, and the mill drain correspond to those of the present electric pump and its oil-fired predecessor. Not that the wind pump survived so long: the site lay abandoned for many years. The published Ordnance Survey of 1836 marks no pump in this part of the Level but it does indicate that the last few yards of the mill drain were blocked up. Nor is there evidence of a wind pump now, presumably because construction of its twentieth-century successors destroyed any remains.

The pump is recorded on the Ordnance Survey's draft of 1811; but this shows another about 200 m down the line of the Hundred Foot River and South Level Barrier Bank; and Baker's map confirms that there were wind pumps at both sites. Since the second is marked neither by Lenny nor the published Ordnance Survey, it was evidently short-lived.

It was a common response to install a 'double lift' system of pumps as a solution to the increasing difficulty of drainage, brought about by peat shrinkage. An example of this was the installation of a second pump behind the Dowload Mill in the Waterbeach Level during the early 1800s. However, the second site at Sutton does not match the usual pattern for a 'double lift'. For, while the first seems to have drawn along the Rymermoor Drain, the second was located not upstream, lower into the fen, but, rather, downstream, and apparently not on the Rymermoor Drain at all.²⁰ Since it is clear that this second pump was not operating in tandem with the first, what purpose did it serve?

In 1797, the Haddenham Level (Amendment) Act confirmed the Commission's authority to set pumps up and also empowered it to drain 34 more acres a little to the north of this site (Section 31; the places are marked on the 'Map of Haddenham Level'). The additional discharge, close to the outlet, may have been considered excessive for the first pump alone so that the second was constructed as an auxiliary. The additional acreage was typical for the smaller type of pump.

At a location corresponding to the site marked by the draft Ordnance Survey and Baker, there is a scatter of bricks including some similar to those at the Horseshoe, Shoal, Lazier and Highbridge sites. It was disturbance of this site by drainage engineers in 1991 that alerted us to the survival of wind pump remains. Although neither Lenny's map nor the published Ordnance Survey mark the pump, both do record a ditch which continues the northward line of the Rymermoor Drain beyond its westward turn to the present pumping station. This ditch shows now as a soil mark and a very slight earthwork running through the peat straight toward the spread of bricks (Fig. 3). Although clearer in the southern part, the soil mark is continuous along the line shown on the two maps. The fill includes large fragments of lime mortar. No doubt, this was an outlet ditch from a former secondary pump to the mill drain of the pump at the Barrier Bank. Evidently, it was back filled with material brought from elsewhere, perhaps with the demolition

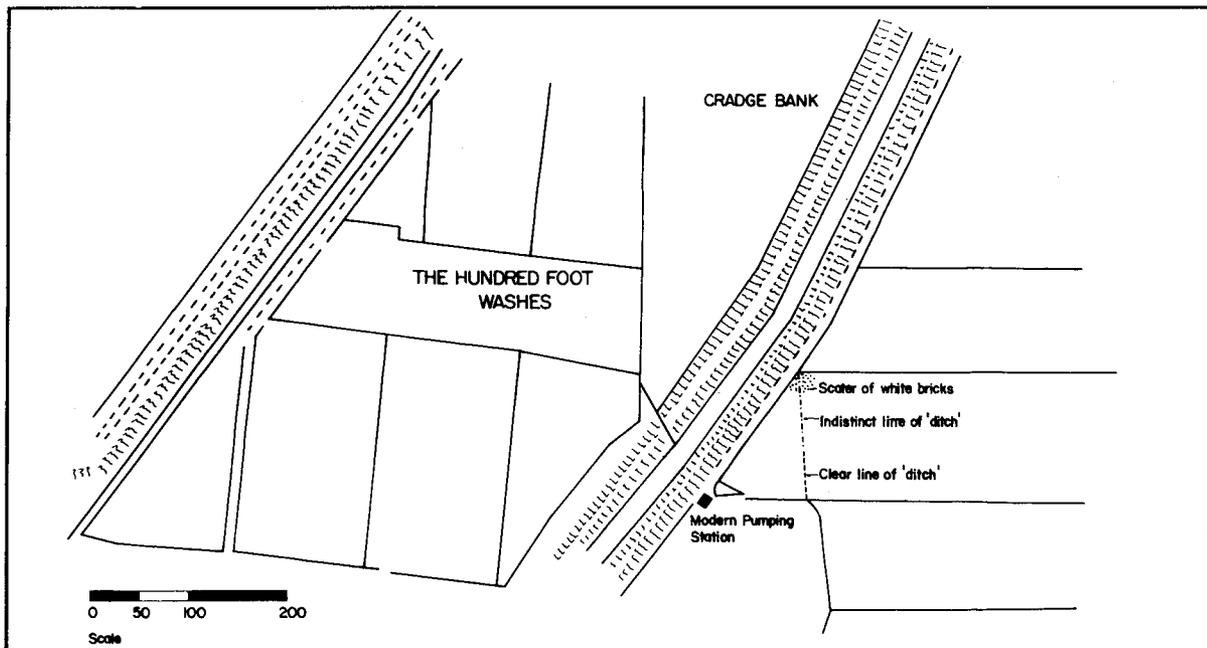


Figure 3. Location of second Sutton pump.

debris from the Sutton Mill. The 25-Inch Ordnance Survey shows that the ditch was filled by 1886 at latest.

Summary and Discussion

Beginning, probably, in the early 1730s, the Haddenham Commissioners concentrated four pumps along the Old West River, with a single one in the north of the Level. Presumably, the Ferry mill was removed following its sale in 1798. Then, like their colleagues elsewhere in the South Level, facing that testing time of rising water, rising prices and expanding markets, the Commissioners mustered fresh resolve, setting a new pump up at the Shoal and a second one at Sutton.²¹ Barely a generation later, the strategy was completely revised with the introduction of steam power. The Shoal pump and perhaps the Highbridge pump may have been retained for a while alongside the new engine but they had certainly been removed by 1865. Today, the only substantial remains are those of the Horseshoe mill.

Our interpretations rest upon certain assumptions and raise certain implications in turn. It remains to assess three methodological difficulties with them.

There are problems in using the maps. Working with maps of small scale and not tied to a national grid, it is difficult to interpret details on the ground — hence doubts about locating the Lazier pump and the second Sutton pump. Further, we have assumed that if a map marks one pump then it must mark each of them. This poses a quandary about the later years of the Highbridge pump, where the Ordnance Survey contradicts Lenny. If a map is lacking, the problems are yet worse — hence doubt about the Ferry site.

The second problem concerns the bricks (see Appendix 4). There are hand-made bricks of much the same fabric at the site of every pump except the Ferry Mill and that presumed to lie beneath the modern site at Sutton. Since comparison of the maps allows us to distinguish the five sites corresponding to the accounts of 1739–45 from the two later ones, the uniformity of the finds implies that the remains at the older sites are from later phases of repair or rebuilding such as the works advertised in 1797.⁸ The light bricks at the Lazier site may therefore be an earlier type. The account for 4 October 1740 specifies white bricks. How distinct, though, were the bricks made in different kilns and at different times?

Does uniformity among the bricks from different sites reflect the integrated organisation recorded in the accounts? The entry for 4

October 1740 is for a batch of 3500 bricks. As the Commissioners were responsible for many other structures, the bricks were not necessarily for the construction or maintenance of wind pumps. Any archaeological interpretation of the pattern would have to be tested both by increasing the sample of bricks and by comparing them with those from other drainage districts. Brief inspection at the Top Mill and the upper Dollard site, in the Waterbeach Level, revealed much the same material. Nor was it possible to distinguish between most of the bricks from the pumps and the earlier bricks scattered over the nineteenth-century site of Lockspit Hall (near the Horseshoe site).

Thirdly, it is difficult to tally the scant archaeological evidence for the pumps with the documented specifications. The accounts show that each wind pump was run by two men (except, perhaps, the main Sutton mill). It does not follow that every mill in the Level was of the same size, but neither the accounts nor the 'Map of Haddenham Level' indicate variation. The dimensions advertised for the 'engine near the Hundred Foot River' were larger than the Horningsea Mill's, and the specifications for another (perhaps the Shoal pump) imply an even larger structure.²² Yet two of the mounds and intake ponds measured by the RCHME in the Swaffham and Bottisham fens were larger than those of the Horseshoe pump; and the base of the Pepperbox Mill, in Mildenhall Fen, has almost twice the diameter of the larger Horseshoe mound.

It is not to be expected that the archaeology of wind pumps would be simple, modest though they were. Since the Commission redistributed them so often, would it not have altered them yet more *in situ*? The accounts for 1739–45 and advertisements in the press record continual tasks of maintenance and alteration. We are, at the time of writing, carrying out more detailed investigations at two of the sites, on which we expect to report elsewhere, along with further observations on the second site near Sutton Gault.

Conclusions

Our field-work has confirmed and illustrated the documentary evidence. The succession and distribution of wind pumps shows that the drainage Commission was engaged in constant calculation and adjustment (see Table 1). Owing to the greater number of mills in the Haddenham Level, we can learn more clearly than from previous studies that deployment of wind pumps was a strategic engagement of limited resources against the elements. The technology of pumping by windmills was more diverse than

recognised before. If our interpretation is correct, discovery of the outlet pond at the Horseshoe site amplifies what is known of how the engineers adapted to the problems of draining peat.

Dr Hills showed how to identify the sites of wind pumps by archaeological survey (see note 13). Our discoveries of brick scatters confirm the presence of a distinct local type of site. No doubt there are many other examples elsewhere in the Fens.

However, in the Haddenham Level as elsewhere, substantial remains of wind pumps are now very rare. Conversion to houses has saved a precious few, including the Pepperbox but no others in the South Level. Some were replaced by later machines adapted to the existing drains. Such seems to have been the fate of the older pump at Sutton.²³ Reinforcements of flood defence banks and modifications of adjacent ditches may have disturbed some remains. The Shoal site may have been affected by enhancements of the north flood bank of the Old West River between 1960 and 1964.²⁴ The footings of the Lazier pump and the second pump at Sutton were disturbed by ditching. Other remains have been ploughed: the Highbridge site and the second site at Sutton have been damaged just as were the Dowload mills in the Waterbeach Level. Various forms of redevelopment and change of site use account for the loss of yet other remains, as at the Ferry site and the sites of the Bottisham and Mere mills.

Survival of the Horseshoe earthworks is therefore all the more remarkable. May the present report help to ensure preservation of this little monument representing a critical phase in the grand, tragic project of draining the Black Fens.

Endnotes

¹ Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME), *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the County of Cambridge 2* (London, HMSO 1972: lxiv); Lawrence Gibbs, Pumping machinery in the fenland and by Trentside, *Minutes of the Proceedings*

of the Institution of Civil Engineers 94 (1888): 267.

² K.S.G. Hinde, Windpump remains in the Fens, in N.A. Smith (ed.), *Cambridge Industrial Archaeology* 1973 (Cambridge, Cambridge Society for Industrial Archaeology 1974: 19–20).

³ H.C. Darby, *The Draining of the Fens* (2nd ed.) (Cambridge, CUP 1956: 70–72).

⁴ *Ibid.*: 119–21. For the early pump, cf. H.B. Wells, Haddenham, in R.B. Pugh (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely* 4 (London, OUP 1953: 143).

⁵ According to local expert, C.N. Cole, up to about 1732 there was only one wind pump in the southern fens ('Bedford Level petition, presented to the House of Commons, The 10 February 1777' (1777): 95, misquoted in *Journal of the House of Commons* (1777) 36: 300 (24 March)) — at Upware, presumably (RCHME 172: 132). There were others, but unlicensed, perhaps (P. Filby pers. comm. 1995).

⁶ G. Chandler pers. comm. 1993. On 15 February 1962, the Clerk to the Great Ouse River Board asked the Haddenham Level Drainage Board about documents — by implication, back to 1931 or before (National Rivers Authority Anglian Region archive, ref. 6/E/P.425). Came reply: no information. We thank R. Tinkler for bringing this correspondence to our attention.

⁷ 'Account of the Haddenham Level Receiver & Expenditor', Ely - Diocesan Records, Cambridge University Library (A8.46–7); S.H. Miller, *Fenland Notes and Queries* 2(330) (1894): 137; R.L. Hills, *Mills, Machines and Uncountable Costly Necessities* 29 (Norwich, Goose 1967: 125). Biennial accounts were required by the founding statute, with copies for Haddenham church and the Isle of Ely Sessions court.

⁸ *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal* 1797, 5 August.

⁹ Drainage engines, *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal* 1831, 4th February (P. Filby pointed this notice out to us); and cf. Lenny's map.

¹⁰ Hereabouts lies a natural watershed: Gordon Fowler, Fenland waterways past and present: South Level district (part 1), *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* (1933) 33: 117–19, 123–4; S.C.A. Holmes, Outline geology of the Roman fenland and stratigraphy of the Holocene deposits near the Old West River, Cambridgeshire, in C.W. Phillips (ed.), *The Fenland in Roman Times* (RGS Research Series 5.) (London, Royal Geographical Society 1970: 131); cp. Charles Nalson Cole, *Extracts from the Report of a View of the South Level*. (London, Bedford Level Corporation 1784: 61, 65, 117). The 'Map of Haddenham Level' calls the Old West River 'Old Cutt'.

¹¹ Complaints: *Journal of the House of Commons loc. cit.*; Samuel Wells, *The History of the Drainage of the Great Level of the Fens, called Bedford Level*. (London, Samuel Wells 1830: 433).

¹² *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal* 1807, 25 April; *ibid.* 1801, 25 April. Landscape history of this part of

Table 1. Locations and dates.

Site	Map Ref. (TL47/57)	1739	1798	1811	1816–20	1828–31	1836
Sutton	42617904			+	+		
Sutton	42507891	+	+	+	+	+	
Shoal	42447286			+	+	+	
Highbridge	44257219	+	+	+	+		?
Horseshoe	46547190	+	+	+			
Lazier	49117169	+	+	+	+	+	
Ferry	50057225	+					

the Level is the subject of continuing research by one of us.

- ¹³ R.L. Hills, Drainage by windmills in the Waterbeach Level, *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* (1964) 56/7: 122; J.R. Stubbings & K.S.G. Hinde, *Waterbeach Level* (1991): 14 (unpublished pamphlet).
- ¹⁴ Wells 1953: 142; for the Willingham Shoal pump, cf. K.S.G. Hinde, Meres and mills in Willingham and Stretham, *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* (1971) 66: 166ff.
- ¹⁵ M. Dowdy pers. comm. 1995. These bricks were from a foot bridge that stood here (J. Darby pers. comm. 1993) — and, no doubt, the pump before that.
- ¹⁶ The local map: 'Haddenham 1865' National Rivers Authority Anglian Region archive.
- ¹⁷ *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal* 1798, 14th April (P. Filby pointed this notice out to us).
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.* 1804, 30th June.
- ¹⁹ 'A plan of the Sutton and Mepal fields' (1795) Cambridge University Library Ms. Plans 156.
- ²⁰ Hills 1964: 120. For the general pattern of double lifts, cf. Darby 1956: 121, 220. The accounts show that the Rymermoor Drain was maintained by the drainage Commission.
- ²¹ Darby 1956: 160ff.; Dorothy Summers, *The Great Level* (Newton Abbot, David & Charles 1976: 193); Vancouver, 'General View of the Agriculture in the County of Cambridge' (1794): 148; W. Gooch, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cambridge*. (London, Richard Phillips 1811: 32-5); B.A. Holderness, *Agriculture 1770-1860*, in Charles H. Feinstein & Sidney Pollard (ed.), *Studies in Capital Formation in the United Kingdom 1750-1920* (Oxford, OUP 1988:

21-2); Richard Perren, Markets and marketing, in Joan Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* 6 (Cambridge, CUP 1989): 200-202.

²² Cf. Notes 12, 17 above, RCHME 1972: lxiv, 84.

²³ Cf. *Ibid.*: 132-3 and K.S.G. Hinde, *Willingham (West Fen) Pumping Station* (n.p., Feoffees of Willingham Pumping Station 1977: 5).

²⁴ Letter of Chief Engineer to Estates Surveyor, Great Ouse River Board 31 January 1962 (ref. M/A/76), National Rivers Authority Anglian Region archive.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to the respective owners of and agents for the sites for their cooperation, especially the trustees of B.S. Pell's 1985 Settlement. The County Archaeology Field Office kindly lent surveying equipment. The County Record Office, Cambridge University Library, National Rivers Authority and especially the Cambridgeshire Collection helped with documentary sources. M. Dowdy assessed our samples of brick. We are grateful too to P. Filby, Rev. Dr R. Hills and K. Hinde for sharing their knowledge of wind pump technology and its local history and for commenting on earlier draft of this report; and to the Editor for her guidance.

Appendix 1. Historical and archaeological background.

1.1 History

The 'age of the windmill' is H.C. Darby's phrase: H.C. Darby, *The Draining of the Fens* C.4 (Cambridge, CUP 1940); *ibid.* (2nd ed.) (Cambridge, CUP 1956); and cf. *idem*, *The Changing Fenland* C.5 (Cambridge, CUP 1983). For the general technological succession of which wind pumps were part, cf. *idem* (1956): 113ff., (1983): 107ff.; for the total number, cf. *idem* (1956): 225; and, for the economics in general, cp. Dorothy Summers, *The Great Level* (Newton Abbot, David & Charles 1976). Succinctly covering administration and technology is Peter Filby, Fenland drainage windmills of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, in Duncan Breckels (ed.), *Proceedings of the Twelfth Mill Research Conference* (Mistley, Mills Research Group 1995: 31-43, 43-4).

1.2 Archaeology and Topography

For areas near by, see the following: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME), *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the County of Cambridge* 2 (London, HMSO 1972: lix ff.); R.L. Hills, Drainage by windmills in the Waterbeach Level, *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* (1964) 56/7: 115-22; R.L. Hills, *Mills, Machines and Uncountable Costly*

Necessities 29 (Norwich, Goose 1967: 125); K.S.G. Hinde, Meres and mills in Willingham and Stretham, *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* (1971) 66: 165-73. Summing some of these findings up are Christopher Taylor, *The Cambridgeshire Landscape* (London, Hodder & Stoughton 1973: 201-2) and *idem* *Fenland Pumping Engines* (Cambridge, Cambridge Society for Industrial Archaeology n.d.: 2-4). Reviewing the surviving buildings in Norfolk, Suffolk and Huntingdonshire is K.S.G. Hinde, Windpump remains in the Fens, in N.A. Smith (ed.), *Cambridge Industrial Archaeology 1973* (Cambridge, Cambridge Society for Industrial Archaeology 1974: 18-21). On acreage drained, cf. RCHME 1972: lxiv; Hills 1967: 32.

1.3 Preservation

For the decline of the wind pumps in general, cf. Darby 1983 and several of the photographs; and, for the local examples, RCHM 1972: 131-2, 84, Hills 1964: 122, and H.C. Hughes, Windmills in Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely, *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* 31 (1931): *passim*. At the Dollard site remain a slight mound and a few bricks behind the river bank but crop growth prevented assessment of the second pump when we visited the site. See also Hinde 1974.

Appendix 2. Maps.

The 'Map of the Haddenham Level' is in the County Record Office (515/P). It is probably the work advertised in *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal* 2 June 1798. The survey log is thought to be in the collection of Peterborough Museum Library but cannot be traced at present (Ms E. Davis pers. comm. 1995).

For the Ordnance Survey's chronology, cf. J.B. Harley, Introductory essay, *The Old Series Ordnance Survey Maps of England and Wales* 5 (Lympe Castle, Harry Margary 1987: xxi, xxvii-xxviii). For Baker's, cf. R.G. Baker, *Map of the County of Cambridge and Isle of Ely* (Bluntisham, R.G. Baker 1821); For Lenny's, cf. J.G. Lenny, *Particulars Referring to a Plan of Part of the Bedford Level, and Lands Adjacent, Subject to Eau Brink Tax* (Halesworth, Roper 1844). Since Lenny's sheet for the area of our study marks the Swaffham steam pump but

not the Stretham or Haddenham engines, this part of the survey must have been done before 1832 (cf. K.G.S. Hinde, Swaffham fen engine, *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* (1971) 63: 87-9; Taylor 1973: 206 (Appendix 1.2 above) gives the correct date for the start of the Stretham engine; and cf. our 9.). Considering contradictions between the Greenwood map of Cambridgeshire (1834) and Lenny's of the fen drainage, we have not relied on the former, *pace* Herbert George Fordham, Cambridgeshire maps. II. Maps of the Nineteenth Century, *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* (1908) 12: 183.

Helpful for understanding the natural drainage is the 'Generall Plotte and description of the Fenns' (British Library, Cotton. Augustus. 1.i.78). It is thought to be an early copy of Hayward's survey of c. 1604 (R.J. Silvester, William Haiwarde and the Fens, *Fenland Research* (1989) 6: 40-41).

Appendix 3. Bricks.

Samples of brick were collected from five sites. They will be deposited with the Cambridge Museum of Technology. The following chart summarises their attributes.

Site	Dimensions (mm)			Colour	Note
	Length	Width	Depth		
Sutton	212	100	59	white	TL42627913
Shoal	Fragment	107	47	light cream	
Highbridge	Fragment	109	49	light cream	
Horseshoe	Fragment	105	50	yellow white	
Lazier	Fragment	107	44	buff cream	

Appendix 4. Horseshoe site heights.

The temporary bench mark on the site was tied to the bench mark on the river bank sluice at the south end of the dyke running along the east side of Hoghill Drove. The following locations are those marked on Figure 2.3.

Location	m above sea level
1	2.09
2	2.94
3	2.45
4	2.70
5	2.02
6	2.73
7	2.76
8	2.19
9	2.53
10	2.13
11	1.77
12	1.42
13	1.79
14	2.31

Field-Work in Cambridgeshire: September 1994–May 1996

Edited by
Tim Denham, Christopher Evans, Tim Malim &
Tim Reynolds

The following field-work has been carried out by the **Archaeological Field Unit of Cambridgeshire County Council**.

Tim Denham & Tim Malim

Excavation summaries

Alconbury, Weybridge Farm TL 179 721
(Report no. 115)

Malin Holst & Ken Welsh

In November 1994, an evaluation was conducted over 33 hectares as part of a proposal for gravel extraction. The evaluation area contained the parish boundary between Alconbury and Ellington which is now represented by a relict stream channel. Trenching revealed a concentration of Roman activity on a headland in the northern, central portion of the evaluation area (TL 179 721). This included several small ditches containing Romano-British material and a cremation burial of the same period (possibly third-century). These finds were located outside the area to be directly impacted by gravel extraction.

Balsham, Fleam Dyke TL 548 541

Tim Malim

Further to the note in Taylor *et al.* (1994: 167), six additional radiocarbon age determinations have been obtained in order to construct a chronology of monument construction and use.

i) OxA-5349	cattle mandible	1530±50 BP
OxA-5350	sheep/goat radius and ulna	1615±50 BP

OxA-5351	sheep/goat metatarsal	1430±55 BP
OxA-5352	small ruminant femur	1535±50 BP
OxA-5353	small ruminant radius	1390±45 BP
OxA-5354	small ruminant humerus	1510±45 BP

These radiocarbon age determinations have been used to date the sequence of construction at Fleam Dyke using a Gibbs sampling calibration programme (OxCal v.2.17, Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit).

- ii) The first phase of bank construction dated to cal AD 330–530 (92%).
- iii) The second phase bank dated to cal AD 380–560 (95%).
- iv) The third phase bank dated to cal AD 440–630 (95%).
- v) The start of the silting up of the ditch dated to cal AD 410–590 (95%).
- vi) From the series of dates, the start of construction of the monument (first dated event) was cal AD 330–510 (92%). The end of use of the monument (last dated event) was cal AD 590–720 (94%).

Burwell, Low Road (Report nos. 116 and A88)

Scott Kenney

In May and August 1995, an evaluation and excavation were undertaken at 95/97 Low Road (TL 5860 6682). These investigations revealed a high density of archaeological features including possible palisade trenches, gullies or beam slots for sill-beams, and several pits. The linear features indicated several phases of a boundary with an entranceway for a drove or track, possibly a precursor for 'The Leys'. Only

residual, abraded Roman pottery, burnt flint and animal bone were collected and the features are Roman or later.

In January 1996 during a recording brief for a foundation of a new house at 106 Low Road (TL 5852 6678), a large ditch of seventeenth-century date was uncovered running along the southern edge of the plot. This ditch was probably related to the house and moat of Tunbridge Farm which stood on the adjoining property. A contemporaneous pit was found in the northern part of the site.

Several other features were excavated, including: pits, two postholes and a slot for a possible sill-beam. The only finds from these undated features were pieces of burnt flint and non-local stone. The pits were probably dug to extract clunch (similar quarries have been located on the eastern side of Burwell), although two of the pits appeared to be earlier and may originate to the Iron Age.

Caldecote, Highfields TL 349 583 & 354 587
(Report no. 125)

Niall Oakey

Aerial photographs and documentary evidence indicated that both evaluation areas had been open fields under ridge-and-furrow cultivation, some of which has survived as upstanding earthworks. Two field systems were identified during trial trenching beneath the ridge-and-furrow, both on heavy boulder clays. One appeared to date to the later Iron Age/Romano-British continuum and probably focused on a settlement or farmstead. The other (in a different location), judging by the pottery recovered from ditch fills, was in use between the second and fourth centuries AD. The presence of an almost complete jar within one of the ditches suggested an associated settlement had been present nearby, probably beneath the modern settlement of Highfields.

Cambridge, Castle Street
(Report no. A78)

Judith Roberts & Tim Malim

In August and October 1994 a test pit beneath the floor of Castle Inn (TL 4458 5919) revealed a possible medieval floor layer or wall, pottery dating from the thirteenth century to the present, post-medieval features together with building debris, and domestic refuse. Archaeological deposits continued beneath the base of excavation. A borehole survey located the Castle

Ditch to the east.

Excavations of a basement to the rear of 73 Castle Street (TL 4442 5928) in April 1995 revealed a large feature at least 3 m by 5 m and 4.5 m deep. The feature was filled with dark earth dumped deposits with increasingly wet, dark grey clayey silts with depth. Human bones and Roman, medieval and post-medieval pottery were observed. It is suggested that this feature might have been a defensive ditch for the castle which dates to the Civil War.

Cambridge, Hobson Street TL 4507 5862 & 4508 5855

Tim Malim

Observation of major sewerage works showed disturbance from previous pipe installation to a depth of 2.8 m below ground surface into the underlying natural sands and gravels. Such stratigraphy shows no evidence for the cut or fills of the massive King's Ditch which is represented on Richard Lyne's map of 1574 as running along the line of Hobson Street.

Cambridge, Perse School for Boys TL 4629 5570
(Report no. A89)

Stephanie Leith

Evaluation trenching was conducted in advance of construction works in the vicinity of a postulated Roman road (RCHM 1959). Results showed that the road did not exist on this alignment and was probably located further to the west in line with Walker's (1910) proposed route.

Croydon, Church of All Saints TL 315 496

Bob Hatton

Recording work of pipe trenching in 1995 revealed two buttresses to the chancel of probable medieval date.

Duxford, Duxford Mill TL 482 461
(Report no. 113)

Duncan Schlee & Ben Robinson

In 1995 an evaluation along a proposed bypass relief channel adjacent to Duxford Mill exposed deposits associated with the floodplain of the River Cam. These consisted of two alluvial deposits overlying a layer of peat and palaeochannels. Although no features were present, an *in situ*

scatter of worked flint waste flakes dating to the Mesolithic or Early Neolithic period was recovered on top of the peat layer at the edge of a palaeochannel. A pollen assessment of the major stratigraphic units indicated that the pollen signal was dominated by local aquatic and floodplain vegetation, with a woodland component derived from drier ground within the catchment.

Duxford, Moorfield Road TL 479 463 (Report no. 110)

Tim Sutherland & Paul Sperry

In 1994 evaluation trenching revealed several features, many of which contained a small number of pottery sherds, including some dating to the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. The most significant features were possible boundary ditches on the periphery of the site which have been dated to the late medieval period. It is possible that the ditches represent the formalisation of plots along the edge of a pre-existing routeway.

Ely, Broad Street TL 5433 8001

Simon Bray

In March 1996 a watching brief conducted during the extension of an existing shop revealed 1.04 m of post-medieval make-up overlying three waterlogged layers. These latter deposits overlay the natural Kimmeridge Clay and contained fragments of wood, reeds, unabraded medieval pottery, animal bone and a leather shoe, and possibly represented the top of a large feature, e.g. a pit or pond.

Ely, Chantry Lane TL 5394 8035

Ben Robinson

A section of foundation trench observed during a recording brief in June 1994 revealed a sequence of post-medieval deposits which were interpreted as garden soils. No medieval features or deposits were identified although these may survive at greater depth.

Ely, Chapel Street TL 5390 8046
(Report no. A86)

Mark Hinman

During an evaluation in 1996, two late Saxon or Saxo-Norman rubbish pits containing pottery dating from AD 900–1150 (St Neots and Thetford Ware), sealed by early fourteenth-century

deposits, were excavated. In addition, a later quarry pit was found which contained a high level of residual late Saxon material.

Ely High Barns TL 5497 2810 (Report no. A87)

Steve Kemp

In January 1996 an evaluation was conducted ahead of residential development. The trenching exposed four ditch alignments of possible Roman or Saxon date. The absence of other features and artefacts indicated that the site was some distance from a settlement at the time the ditches were in use.

Ely, Jubilee Terrace TL 5435 7981 (forthcoming)

Niall Oakey & Ben Robinson

A programme of excavation and observation was undertaken ahead of residential development. A little residual pottery of Romano-British and late Saxon date suggested activity in the vicinity of the site during those periods. The first major phase of activity dated to the thirteenth century when domestic refuse was dumped to raise the ground surface in advance of the construction of a building measuring at least 25 × 10 m. Probably of timber-framed construction on rubble sill walls, the building had an uneven floor and the absence of domestic activity or daily wear suggested that it had been a warehouse located at the rear of a property fronting onto Broad Street. A thick layer of lime or chalk which sealed parts of the floor were relict materials, probably imported along the recently diverted River Great Ouse, used for the manufacture of mortar for the construction of stone buildings probably associated with the Cathedral. Secondary use of the warehouse was indicated by a number of small hearths, ovens or kilns of unknown function and date. Running alongside it was a ditch which probably marked a property boundary.

The lifetime of the building was short and after demolition the sill walls were robbed and the site remained as waste ground or gardens until the later twentieth century. Post-excavation work continues.

Ely, Lisle Lane TL 5463 8025
(Report no. A72 and forthcoming)

Niall Oakey

Evaluation and subsequent recording excavation took place in late 1995/early 1996 on the

periphery of medieval Ely. Activity on the site was concentrated between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. Two possible boundary ditches (backfilled in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries) were contemporary with a series of rubbish pits. These were separated from the modern Lisle Lane frontage by an enigmatic feature, which was either a boundary ditch with a succession of dumps backfilling it or a small-scale linear quarrying episode to extract the natural sands, clays or gravels. To the south-east a large water-filled feature was backfilled with domestic rubbish in the earlier fourteenth century. No remains of buildings were found on the site, which was probably located in the backyards of properties lining Lisle Lane. All the pottery from these deposits derives from wares that are thought to have passed out of use locally before the middle of the fourteenth century. The cessation of activity on the site may be a result of decreasing pressure on land as a function of the general population decline in the fourteenth century.

Later activity on the site was represented by the plough furrows associated with ridge-and-furrow of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century date. Thereafter the site remained open ground until the later twentieth century.

Ely, Old Birch's Garage Site, St Mary's Street,
TL 5397 8039

Ben Robinson

A recording brief was carried out during the refurbishment of the old garage site during February 1995. A nineteenth-century cellar was revealed on the street front and shallow, narrow drainage gullies at the rear of the property encountered a post-medieval brick tile floor. Medieval deposits may survive at greater depth.

Ely, Potters Lane TL 5410 7969

Ben Robinson

An evaluation in 1995 encountered a rich pottery assemblage dating to the medieval period and the medieval/post-medieval transition, as well as a possible medieval building with associated ditched enclosure and rubbish pit. The pottery represented a waste assemblage from a production site, although no kilns or features associated with the production process were definitely identified. The street's name, first recorded in the late thirteenth century, and fifteenth-century references to the

tenement of a pottery, suggests that such remains can be anticipated nearby.

Ely, Road Improvements TL 540 803

Niall Oakey

During a field visit to observe resurfacing work at Minster Place a stone forming a double arch, possibly a window head or part of an arcade, and a piece of column (unfluted) were collected.

Ely, Station Road, Old Trigon Garage Site
TL 5420 7972

Ben Robinson

The presence of contaminants and lack of an access condition prevented all but the briefest examination of the exposed archaeology. Foundation trenches revealed medieval or early post-medieval gravel surfaces near the Station Road street front. Sealed beneath these deposits was a very large pit (c. 2.5 m deep, 13 m long) whose basal organic mud produced straw, wood chips, a fragment of medieval shoe leather and medieval pottery. A second pit off the Potters Lane frontage, though of similar size, was less productive in terms of finds. The dumps of pottery revealed nearby at no. 14 Potters Lane were not apparent here. A near complete Baluster-shaped small drinking jug of late medieval Ely ware was, however, recovered by a contractor during site works.

The limited observation undertaken on this site confirms the anticipated character of the archaeology in the area. It is to be hoped that further development will permit better examination than has been achieved so far.

Eynesbury, Barford Road TL 184 583
(Report forthcoming)

Steve Kemp

During September 1994, an area excavation encountered a series of ditches on three alignments. Two of these ditches were a continuation of the late Roman trackway exposed in 1993 and visible on aerial photographs. The other alignments probably represented field boundaries which pre-dated the trackway. Medieval strip cultivation furrows were also visible in plan and section cutting into the terrace gravels. The absence of remains associated with prehistoric activity was surprising given the previous artefactual and cropmark evidence for the area, although a palaeochannel was identified.

Fordham, Block Farm TL 605 707

Tim Malim & David Trump (for Board of Continuing Education, Madingley Hall)

Fieldwalking by a Cambridge University Extra Mural class in March 1996 collected Roman pottery and tile from a 'villa'. Analysis of the finds suggested a typical rural Romano-British assemblage dating from the second to fourth centuries AD, with much reuse of materials, evidence of a local tile kiln and tesserae. At least two phases of construction are hypothesised from the burnt and distorted material, as tesserae and structural tile were suggestive of two different manufacturing processes. The building itself has been pinpointed and is also visible as a low earthwork, with an associated midden area to the east.

Fordham, Landwade Road TL 631 683
(Report no. A85)

Aileen Connor

Late Bronze Age enclosures and Early Iron Age settlement were discovered during extensive investigations in a field to the south of Landwade Road. The site lies on approximately four hectares of a well drained south facing chalk slope with the River Snail 500 m to the east. Following evaluation, full excavation exposed more than 2.5 hectares with archaeological features cut into the chalk. Four phases of flat-bottomed, V-shaped enclosure ditches in the northwest portion of the field may date to the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age. The earliest was probably a sub-rectangular enclosure represented by two ditches, these are undated, but may be associated with a subrectangular post built structure on the same alignment. A series of similarly aligned shallow field boundary ditches to the south may also be associated with this earliest phase of activity. The earliest enclosure ditch was replaced by an interrupted subcircular enclosure ditch, approximately 40 m north-south, with evidence for an internal chalk bank. Several small pits were located within the enclosure and may be associated with it; one of the pits contained an almost complete, but broken, Late Bronze Age vessel with cordoned decoration around the rim. The enclosure ditch was later recut, possibly in the Early Iron Age. A final phase of enclosure was constructed 50 m to the west, with a north-south dimension of 50 m. Late Bronze/Early Iron Age pottery was recovered from this latest ditch. This was the deepest of the ditches at

1.4 m, and there was evidence of burnt wood along its edges and a possible internal bank. Within, and possibly associated with, the latest enclosure ditch were a subrectangular six post structure dated to the Early Iron Age and an undated post built circular structure.

To the east of the enclosures, pits and post-holes dated to the Early Iron Age occurred in dense clusters along the top of the slope. Several structures have been identified including one round house and a number of four and six post structures. Quarry pits, storage pits and pits containing placed deposits were excavated, as well as numerous other pits whose function is as yet unclear. Large quantities of pottery, animal bone and charred plant remains were recovered from the pits, and disarticulated human bone was collected from more than one of them.

Towards the foot of the slope, pits containing large quantities of burnt flint were located with a further area of pitting containing waterlain deposits which might have been associated. All these features were sealed beneath two layers of colluvium and two buried soil horizons. It is hoped that thermoluminescence will provide dating for these deposits, particularly as they also sealed boundary ditches at the southern edge of the site.

Aerial photographs showed that these boundary ditches continued for at least 600 m as multiple ditches on an approximately east-west orientation following the foot of the slope. Excavation has shown that they are interrupted and vary from two to as many as six parallel ditches in places. They were up to 3 m wide and 1.5 m deep with steep sides and flat bases. These ditches define the southern boundary of the site, and no archaeological features were located in trenches further south. The ditches are on a similar alignment to prehistoric field boundaries and the earliest of the enclosure ditches. Preliminary dating suggests an Early Iron Age date for the infilling of the ditches.

Preliminary examination of the pottery by Dr J.D. Hill suggests that the pottery from the enclosure ditches is Middle to Late Bronze Age, c. 1200-800 BC. Pottery from the remainder of the site indicates that occupation was limited to the Early Iron Age, probably the fifth to fourth centuries BC. The assemblage has affinities with material from the Thames Valley and southeast England. Of particular interest are several perforated bases, a large proportion of 'rusticated' sherds, including two largely complete vessels, and a lid.

The combination of a large, well preserved pottery assemblage, excellent bone and

carbonised plant remains suggests that this is one of the most important Early Iron Age sites excavated in the region in recent times. A scattering of fifth-century AD pottery was also found in the top of several Iron Age features, suggesting a Saxon presence near the site.

Glington, A15 Glington to Werrington Bypass
TF 159 038 (Report no. 111)

Ken Welsh

A field evaluation was conducted prior to the upgrading of the A15 between Glington and Werrington. The evaluation occurred in two stages in September and November 1994. The findings along the majority of the road corridor were limited except at its northern end. Features indicative of Romano-British settlement, including a gravel surface or path and a midden deposit relatively rich in charred cereal and weed seeds, were identified. The midden deposit survived as a relatively diffuse positive feature within the ridges of the strip cultivation and was interpreted as having derived from secondary crop-processing. A number of cross-cutting ditches were surveyed immediately to the north of the Romano-British remains, although their age and function have not yet been determined. Further excavations at this site will occur in June and July 1996.

Godmanchester, Earning Street TL 249 704

Steve Kemp

During a watching brief in March 1996, two ditches (one Roman and one post-medieval) and two post-medieval quarry pits were documented.

Godmanchester, London Road TL 249 699
(Report no. 123)

Mark Hinman

In March 1996 an archaeological evaluation was conducted at the site of a proposed new school. Trenching revealed the presence of Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age pits (one of which contained grooved ware) and ditches sealed beneath ridge-and-furrow. Such finds are suggestive of settlement which is particularly interesting given the site's proximity to the massive contemporary ceremonial complex to the north at Rectory Farm (excavated by the Central Excavation Unit 1989-90). The majority of features on the site, however, derived from a well-preserved Roman roadside settlement

dating from the late first to the fourth centuries. A well-stratified sequence of features contained evidence for specialised industrial functions; domestic and agrarian activity was also found.

Hinxton, Hinxton Hall TL 496 448
(forthcoming)

Stephanie Leith

Post-excavation work following the major excavations of 1993-4 (Taylor *et al.* 1994: 168) is ongoing. Pottery analysis has revised the dating of the site. Four *grubenhäuser* and a timber hall have been dated to the early Saxon period. Middle Saxon occupation was only definitely identified in a few pits. The late Saxon/early medieval settlement consisted of a series of timber halls, which were surrounded by a ditched enclosure by the late eleventh century.

Analysis of plant macrofossils revealed an abundance of charred flax seeds from a late Saxon hearth, and throughout all periods cereals, especially wheat, formed a major part of the economy. Faunal remains were surprisingly sparse indicating that bone was taken off-site for disposal or processing. Most bone was derived from domestic animals, cattle being used principally for milk production and slaughtered late in life, while sheep and pigs appear to have been raised for meat.

Hinxton, Hinxton Hall, New Lake Site
TL 496 445 (Report nos. A45 and A69)

Stephanie Leith

In December 1994 and June 1995, two phases of recording were conducted during the excavation and landscaping of an artificial lake adjacent to the previous excavations at Hinxton Hall. This recording work revealed: two rectilinear enclosures containing an assemblage of abraded Roman pottery (dating from the third to fourth centuries), a timber building of probable early Saxon date, and a series of ditches, a fence line and a chalk wall which all followed similar alignments to one another and were suggestive of a continuity in land division from the post-Roman period through to the nineteenth century.

Hinxton, Hinxton Hall, North Parkland
TL 498 449 (Report no. A94)

Scott Kenney

During an evaluation in May 1996, eighteenth-century or later garden features were uncovered

in two trenches and undated, isolated features were recorded in a further two.

Hinxton Hall to Great Chesterford TL 498 442
(Report no. A81)

Judith Roberts

During October and November 1995, evaluation excavation and subsequent recording were conducted along the proposed route of a water main to the south of Hinxton Hall in an area of cropmarks adjacent to the River Cam. Cobbled surfaces, possible pitting, linear features and a redeposited chalk platform were found. There was no firm dating evidence from the features but Roman ceramics were present beneath the alluvium, indicating that alluviation along this section of the Cam post-dated the cobbled surfaces and the Roman period. Prehistoric worked flints, Roman ceramics and post-medieval building materials were present in the topsoil either as a result of having been washed down and redeposited there, or through post-medieval levelling.

Huntingdon, Hartford Road TL 2410 7178
(Report no. 122)

Aileen Connor

Evaluation identified three distinct phases of medieval activity including structures and a sequence of pitting possibly dating from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries. Late Saxon/Saxo-Norman St Neots ware and later variants dominated the pottery assemblage although a key group of post-1200 AD sherds were also present. The results indicated the area was part of the medieval town prior to the settlement's contraction during the fourteenth century.

Huntingdon, Orchard Lane TL 2420 7160
(*Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, forthcoming)

Niall Oakey & Scott Kenney

English Heritage funded excavations at this site, close to the bridging point across the River Great Ouse and 70 m from the High Street, revealed rubbish and cesspits dating from AD 900–1150. Information was obtained on the diet of the Saxo-Norman population and advances were made in the production of a pottery typology for early medieval Huntingdon. Probably in the eleventh century the site became a cemetery and remains of over twenty

individuals were excavated. The cemetery may have formed part of the churchyard of the lost church of St Clement's and burial had ceased by the fifteenth century. Apart from a quarrying episode in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, thereafter the property remained open or was used as a builders yard.

Impington, Cambridge Road TL 445 612
(Report no. A35)

Tim Reynolds

An evaluation in 1994 revealed a series of post-Roman drainage ditches.

Little Downham, Feoffees Primary School
TL 524 841 (Report no. 126)

Jonathan Last

Evaluation trenches within a school playing field revealed a scatter of Late Mesolithic flints from a buried and heavily disturbed land surface beneath the modern plough soil. The lithic scatter may be associated with a number of small cut features of uncertain origin. A few sherds of later prehistoric, Roman and medieval pottery also derived from this level.

Longstanton, Cambridge Golf Club TL 398 674
(Report no. A95)

Bob Hatton

During a recording brief in April 1996 carried out after the excavation of a parking area, a substantial ditch was found which had been frequently recut. It probably formed part of a Romano-British enclosure system which had been investigated by the Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Any other features relating to Romano-British activity would have been destroyed by the excavation of the car park.

Milton, East Waste Landfill TL 4635 6240
(forthcoming)

T. Reynolds

Rescue excavations following those of last year continued into two new areas, MILEW III and MILEW IV. MILEW III contained a Roman burial mound with a series of both inhumations and cremations in it. A total of nineteen inhumations and three cremations were buried in the mound which also had a series of pits within it and was surrounded by an enclosure ditch. The

enclosure ditch linked the mound into a wider landscape of structures including a possible smithy, an oven and at least two other buildings. In addition, there were numerous enclosures, a ring-ditch and a cattle trough. The evidence dates from the early second century until the close of the Roman period. A single Saxon wrist clasp was found by metal detecting but no other Saxon remains were present.

MILEW IV had a continuation of the Romano-British enclosure systems in its northern part but then an exclusively Iron Age series of features occurred. The ring-ditches found in MILEW II last year continued into this area and could be seen to comprise three pairings of a larger with a smaller ring-ditch. Boundary ditches lay to the south of this with an entrance which led into a beam slot/ditch into which two cremations had been placed. A third cremation lay just to the south of the slot/ditch.

Milton, Milton Landfill Site TL 4640 6330
(forthcoming)

Simon Bray & Tim Reynolds

Between August and October 1995 an evaluation excavation over 38 hectares, adjacent to previously investigated parcels at the landfill site, revealed four discrete areas of archaeology. Evidence of occupation and structural activity was found including postholes, beamslots, daub fragments and associated complex pitting activity. The remains dated to the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age. A Late Bronze Age deposit, either a midden or the collapsed remains of a wattle and daub building, was found and is of particular significance given that positive archaeological features rarely survive above the level of the subsoil. Fragments of waterlogged wood were found in some of the deeper features which have a high potential for future environmental interpretation and dating.

Milton and Waterbeach, Cambridge Rowing Lake TL 482 620 to 493 649 (Report no. 120)

Ben Robinson & Erika Guttmann

Following comprehensive aerial photographic interpretation, a preliminary evaluation was undertaken over 100 hectares of low-lying land on the west bank of the River Cam. Trial trenches and test pits were placed in order to intercept cropmark complexes, test areas devoid of cropmarks and to fully characterise artefact scatters. Preservation characteristics across the area varied between waterlogged

alluvial and fen stratigraphy to plough truncated dry gravel terrace. Pieces of wood within the basal organic mud of a small mere or meander produced a radiocarbon age of 2380 ± 60 BP (Beta-88004).

Prehistoric periods were represented by flint scatters associated with alluvial soils and clusters of settlement related features located off the flood plain. Little prehistoric ceramic or lithic material was recovered during field-walking.

Two Romano-British inhumation cemeteries and a Horningsea Ware pottery production site were located. Abundant evidence for Romano-British cereal processing and animal husbandry existed in association with a cropmark complex representing a linear settlement on the fen edge/river terrace. Romano-British activity had intensified during the second to third centuries AD, and in some areas continued into the fourth century.

Test pits excavated over early Anglo-Saxon artefact scatters, identified from fieldwalking, revealed two earth-fast post-built structures in association with other features. There was also evidence for a sunken featured building and the post-Roman recutting of substantial Romano-British ditches. Despite the inability to clearly differentiate features attributable to either the Romano-British or Anglo-Saxon periods, the cumulative evidence of pierced Romano-British coins, abundant Anglo-Saxon pottery and associated animal remains, suggested that both sites are representative of early Anglo-Saxon settlement.

Newborough, Borough Fen Ringwork TF 192 073
(Fenland Research No. 8)

Tim Malim & Ron McKenna, for Peterborough Museum

Dyke clearance along Redcow Drain in 1992 facilitated the recording of defensive ditch and bank sections of the Iron Age Fort. One hundred and eighty three sherds of well-preserved pot confirmed a Middle Iron Age date for the site. The northern ditch was 2–3 m deep, 10.5 m wide at the top and 4.4 m wide at the base, and contained waterlogged deposits. The molluscs, macrofossils and pollen reflected a deep and well-oxygenated freshwater ditch and indicated the fort built into an environment of damp weedy grassland. Cereal pollen was present in every environmental sample although no middens were found. However, a complete horse's skull with a large pottery sherd on its nose, but no other bones, was found in the basal fills of the ditch. Cut marks on the skull

suggested it had been removed prior to burial and defleshed, and it seemed probable that this was a deliberate 'placed' deposit.

The northern bank survived to a height of 0.8 m and a width of 13 m. It showed signs of revetting or rampart construction and sealed an intact relict ploughsoil. This ploughsoil, which continued across the site and was sealed by alluvium, contained domestic and occupation debris. The southern bank and ditch were of a similar scale, whilst an outer ditch was 3.5 m wide and 1.3 m deep.

Offord D'Arcy, St Peter's Church TL 217 664
(Report no. A77)

Bob Hatton

In 1996, undated human skeletal remains and a sherd of St Neots ware were recorded during a watching brief.

Peterborough, The Still Public House
TL 1910 9880 (forthcoming)

Ken Welsh & Mark Hinman

Following on from an evaluation in April 1994, a team led by Ken Welsh conducted a full excavation from January to May 1995. The site lies between Cumbergate and Westgate, two medieval streets which were apparently established when the town was refounded in the mid twelfth century.

The excavation revealed some evidence of settlement prior to the twelfth century with Stamford and St Neots ware (AD 950–1150) being present. The earliest surviving features across the site were a series of quarry pits for the extraction of the local cornbrash. Evidence for domestic activity was most pronounced in the back yards of the properties fronting onto Westgate. From the twelfth to sixteenth centuries a number of activities were revealed including ovens and wells set within well established property boundaries. Elsewhere the site was characterised by a high degree of pitting either for quarrying or domestic rubbish disposal continuing from the twelfth to the late seventeenth century after which the area was given over to orchards and gardens.

The considerable quantities of pottery recovered are currently being studied in order to provide a comprehensive type series for Peterborough and the surrounding area. This analysis forms part of the ongoing post-excavation programme being undertaken by Mark Hinman and Paul Sperry.

Ramsey, Ramsey Abbey TL 2928 8506
(Report no. A74)

Richard Heawood

During a recording brief in 1995, a stone wall possibly associated with a pre-nineteenth century undercroft was recorded.

Sawtry, Tort Hill TL 174 845
(Report no. A60)

Judith Roberts

Excavations were conducted in 1995 ahead of the installation of a water pipeline. A range of Roman features including hearths/ovens, ditches, postholes and cobbled areas were revealed. These contained or were associated with predominantly domestic refuse. The finds were interpreted to represent activities occurring in the plots to the rear of Roman roadside settlement along Ermine Street.

Soham, Pratt Street TL 5927 7346
(Report no. 128)

Ben Robinson & Bob Hatton

During September 1995 field evaluation followed by limited excavation was undertaken at 9–13 Pratt Street, Soham. Late Saxon/early medieval boundary ditches were revealed, their presence here conforming to the occurrence of similar remains behind properties on the opposite street front. The combined evidence clearly indicates settlement outside the assumed nucleus of early medieval Soham, and suggests that Pratt Street was a significant thoroughfare.

Somersham, High Street TL 358 779
(Report no. 92)

Judith Roberts

In March 1996, evaluation trenches and a test pit revealed late Saxon/early medieval property boundaries, medieval rubbish pits, post-medieval demolition and modern orchard clearance.

Spaldwick, Thrapston Road TL 128 729
(Report nos. 127 and A79)

Duncan Schlee & Paul Sperry

In 1995 an evaluation and excavation were undertaken ahead of a residential development. Late Saxon structures were identified adjacent

to Thrapston Road. Medieval remains consisting of boundary ditches and refuse deposits were also identified and these were believed to be indicative of an adjacent settlement. Interpretation of these remains suggested that the site was on the edge of the settlement in the medieval period, and that prior to the twelfth-century realignment of the village it had been more centrally located. These results support a hypothesis that the village morphology changed during the twelfth century when the Bishop's Palace and demesne estate centre were founded. Post-excavation work continues.

Stow Longa, Spaldwick Road TL 110 710
(Report no. A96)

Paul Spoerry & Jonathan Last

During an evaluation in January 1995, the partial remains of a house platform was recorded as an upstanding earthwork on the street frontage. Trenches placed through this platform indicated it had been built in the late medieval period. Other earthworks behind the street frontage were the result of nineteenth- to twentieth-century dumping and make-up which continued until the plot was reclaimed as pasture.

The Stukeleys, Huntingdon Racecourse
TL 200 723 & 206 720

Stephen Macaulay

Three seasons of large-scale excavation have revealed the remains of extensive Neolithic and Bronze Age activity sealed by alluvium to the north of Alconbury Brook, within the flood plain of the Great Ouse.

Late Neolithic/Bronze Age tree clearance was found in the form of burnt out tree boles and a fragment of a polished axe was discovered within the base of one. The tree clearance post-dates an infilled palaeochannel (OxA-6062 and OxA-6063 yielded a combined AMS radiocarbon age of 4000 ± 31 BP and a calibrated date of 2610–2460 BC), and palaeoenvironmental reconstruction from pollen analysis supports the dating. A Late Neolithic rectangular enclosure (20 × 14 m) was discovered on a gravel spur and a placed deposit containing a broken quernstone, Neolithic Plain Bowl and Grooved Ware pottery was found in the base of the ditch fill on the eastern side. A multi-phase boundary feature consisting of a series of recut sinuous ditches was discovered some 70 m to the east of the enclosure. Unabraded Neolithic pottery was recovered from the fills. Large quantities of

Bronze Age pottery were found in the vicinity which are likely to be associated with Late Neolithic/Bronze Age occupation revealed by a series of pits and postholes.

Laid out over the entire area and overlying the Neolithic enclosure were ditches of a co-axial field system of Early Bronze Age date aligned northeast/southwest. The field boundaries were predominately ditches, although a paired post/pit alignment was identified along the line of a palaeochannel. The rows of 'fields' cut two infilled palaeochannels to the south, although Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age stream side activity respected the vicinities of the channels which had remained seasonally waterlogged. The final fill of the channel produced a calibrated date of 1910–1740 BC (OxA-6060 and OxA-6061 yielded a combined AMS radiocarbon age of 3488 ± 34 BP). The field system respected the earlier multi-phase boundary with a driveway terminating at an entrance through the boundary.

A round barrow was discovered in the southwestern corner of the site, stratified above elements of the field system. A gravel mound of timber construction and postholes/ditches were buried under the alluvium and surrounded by a ring-ditch c. 31 m diameter. Postholes were also discovered outside the ring-ditch at opposing sides, to the north and south. Unfortunately the centre of the barrow had been entirely removed by a twentieth-century rubbish pit and no burials were discovered. Quantities of Beaker and abraded Neolithic sherds were recovered from the ditch and barrow mound.

Sutton, The Brook TL 4415 7908

Erika Guttmann & Ben Robinson

In June 1995 as part of an evaluation, upstanding ridge-and-furrow were recorded approximately 0.5 m high along a north-south alignment. Nothing of archaeological significance was documented during trenching.

Swavesey, School Lane TL 359 685
(Report no. 124)

Tim Sutherland & Bob Hatton

In July and September 1995, evaluation trenches in the southwest corner of the property revealed medieval pottery in a ditch sealed by a post-medieval surface. The finds indicate the presence of settlement close by, perhaps on the frontage of School Lane. Later features on the

site include the filled-in remains of a large L-shaped pond of unknown function which was known to exist in 1887.

Teversham, Pembroke Farm TL 498 582
(Report no. A83)

Steve Kemp

In 1995, an evaluation was conducted on remnants of upstanding medieval ridge-and-furrow. St Neots Ware and small shelly ware pottery sherds collected in the vicinity suggest the area may have been settled as early as the tenth century. Later quarrying activities had disturbed these earlier remains.

Upton, South Farm TL 184 789
(Report no. A62)

Tim Sutherland

Ditches were identified which had been cut as part of a Roman rectilinear field system and contained only one abraded sherd of Romano-British pottery each. This field system was probably associated with the Romano-British settlement at Monks Wood Farm, Sawtry.

West Wrating, High Street TL 6065 5200
(Report no. A47)

Tim Sutherland

In 1994 an evaluation conducted on two parcels of land fronting the High Street revealed a post-medieval brick floor and a late medieval ditch. Pottery within the ditch indicated that it had been open between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

West Wrating, Oxcroft Farm TL 5916 5132
(forthcoming)

Ben Robinson & Tim Sutherland

A recording brief and building survey were carried out at the site of Oxcroft Manor, West Wrating during May 1995 in advance of landscaping and refurbishment of a Grade II Listed dovecote.

A medieval ditch was identified parallel to the Balsham/Westing parish boundary which runs adjacent to the site. The dovecote had been reported as possessing a timber frame core beneath later brickwork. Examination during refurbishment established that this was not the case. The near square structure had

been brick built during the eighteenth century. The dovecote, surmounted by its original double gabled (or 'saddle back') roof and plain tiles, had been converted into a dwelling during the nineteenth century. Its history followed the general decline in free-standing purpose built farm dovecotes and the increasing need for labourers' dwellings during the nineteenth century.

Whaddon, Town Farm TL 348 463
(Report no. 121)

Judith Roberts

Excavations indicated two periods of activity, although surprisingly no evidence for either Anglo-Saxon or medieval periods was encountered.

A Late Mesolithic or Early Neolithic presence was represented by residual flint tools and a number of irregular features. These features, which were interpreted as tree falls, also contained Iron Age worked flint.

The majority of features on site gave evidence for an Iron Age/early Roman occupation (with a possible Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age component) was defined. A series of steep sided rectangular pits were encountered which contained charred cereal grains and some burnt flints. A domestic clay lined oven, with a pierced shelf or floor and many burnt stones, was also found. The area investigated was bisected by a gully for a fence or a palisade, which was cut by Late Iron Age pits. The Iron Age/Early Roman site of undetermined function appeared to have been on the periphery of a high status settlement, suggested by the presence of a few, fine ware sherds.

Wicken, Dimmock's Cote TL 554 723
(Report forthcoming)

Steve Kemp

During December 1994, excavations were undertaken at Dimmock's Cote as part of a continuing series of investigations (Taylor & Evans 1993: 167). The presence of a Neolithic and Bronze Age landscape with settlement remains identified during previous excavations was confirmed. Remnant archaeological features were revealed in a palaeosol which had been truncated by medieval and modern ploughing. Three main phases of archaeological deposits were identified:

a) Postholes and two sets of intercutting pits dating to the Neolithic and Bronze Age. Pottery and burnt flint samples were taken for

thermoluminescence dating, and the former provided a date range of 2285±390 BC to 1165±260 BC.

b) A single west-northwest to east-southeast orientated ditch, which was probably Roman or later, and two pits containing charred remains including hazelnut shell and abraded Roman greyware pottery.

c) Four furrows and a headland indicative of medieval and post-medieval agricultural practices. Other medieval/post-medieval features include three pairs of sub-rectangular pits and seven post-holes, some of which cut through the fills of the former suggesting a later phase of medieval/post-medieval activity.

Willingham, Earith Road TL 404 712

Tim Malim & Alison Taylor

Three stacked pewter plates with *chi-rho* symbols were found by metal detectorists. A 3 m by 2 m area was excavated and revealed that the plates had been placed on top of cattle skulls in a 0.8 m deep feature. The test pit also revealed the corner of a possible clay floored structure immediately to the northwest of the pit or ditch which contained the plates. Abundant animal bone, Roman tile and pottery sherds dating to the late third to fourth centuries were also found. The hoard of pewter plates may suggest that Christianity had spread into fairly modest levels of society in this area.

Wisbech, Cromwell Road TL 450 077
(Report no. A66)

Steve Kemp

'Darlands', associated with medieval strip cultivation of the silt fen, were discovered. A range of sixteenth- to nineteenth-century pottery was collected from the ditches. It was apparent that by the late nineteenth century the darland system had been abandoned.

Assessments which revealed archaeological remains of little or no significance were conducted at:

Alwalton, Oundle Road, TL 134 958
Buckden, St Mary's Churchyard, TL 192 676
(Report no. A46)
Chatteris, Kings Farm, TL 456 857
(Report no. A93)
Ely, Kings School, TL 5376 7984
(Report no. A80)
Ely, St Mary's Street, TL 538 803
Great Gransden, Church Street, TL 234 557

(Report no. A44)
Haddon, Toon's Lodge, TL 147 932
(Report no. A59)
Holywell, Hill Farm, TL 339 700
(Report no. A73)
Linton, Meadow Lane, TL 560 468
(Report no. A68)
Little Shelford, Hauxton Road, TL 448 516
(Report no. A75)
Needingworth, Ashton Close, TL 346 717
(Report no. A57)
Offord Cluny, Landfill Site, TL 218 677
Orwell, Malton Farm, TL 367 482
(Report no. A95)
Ramsey, Marriott's Yard, TL 287 853
(Report no. A90)
Sawston, High Street, TL 489 487
(Report no. A54)
Southorpe, Southorpe Quarry, TF 087 015
Stamford, Burghley House, TF 048 061
St Ives, East Street, TL 312 715
(Report no. A70)
St Neots, Eaton Ford, TL 178 601
(Report no. A82)
Waterbeach, Denny Abbey, TL 492 684

Archaeological studies, including background research into archaeological and historical records, field visits and geophysical surveys were published for the following areas, as part of the planning process for development proposals:

Ely, City Centre Redevelopment Project
(Report no. 108)
Ely, Lancaster Way Business Park
(Report no. 117)
Eynesbury, Barford Road
(Report no. A67)
Little Downham, Feoffees School
(Report no. A84)

Construction along the following pipeline sections was observed:

Babraham to Sawston (Report no. A76)
Bourn to Hardwick (Report no. A50)
Grafham (Report no. A52)
Grantchester to Bourn (Report no. A65)
Sawtry (Report no. A60)

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**Cambridge Archaeological Unit,
University of Cambridge, Excavation
Round-up: April 1995–March 96**

Christopher Evans

Babraham, Babraham Hall TL 597550
(CAU Report no. 155)

R. Regan

During October field evaluation took place in advance of the construction within the grounds of Babraham Hall Institute of Animal Physiology; the investigation area located within a walled kitchen garden lying northwest of the Hall, and immediately east of the River Granta. A number of 'early' gravel extraction pits were excavated. Backfilled with domestic refuse of first/second-century AD date, their recovery could suggest Roman settlement within the vicinity. The discovery of silted-up river channels of post-medieval date confirm historical mentions of river shift; an associated 'hard' surface indicating that the Granta was 'worked'. Following silting, the channels were subject to episodes of dumping and levelling. These most likely date to the 1860s when the estate underwent major landscaping and the site became a kitchen garden.

Bartlow, Church Lane TL 584452
(CAU Report no. 151)

R. Regan

No archaeology was found to be present during a watch brief cover of contractor's ground-works.

Buckden, Buckden Tower TL19246772
(CAU Report no. 167)

A. Dickens

A watching brief was carried out on ground-works around the Great Tower of Buckden

Palace. External excavations for drains revealed a high degree of post-medieval disturbance to the east of the Tower. A possible construction trench was observed in section by the southwest corner turret. Inside the basement three drain trenches allowed examination of the internal face of the eastern wall. This revealed at least two phases of construction and alteration work probably dating to the late fifteenth and early nineteenth centuries. No certain pre-Tower features were revealed.

Cambridge, Addenbrookes Hospital
TL 46555534 (CAU Report no. 148)

M. Robinson

A 0.45 ha site, lying only 70 m northeast of the important Iron Age settlement excavated during Hospital's construction in the 1960s, was evaluated. Remarkably enough, no archaeology remains were found to be present.

Cambridge, Arbury Camp TL 444616
(CAU Report no. 154)

M. Knight

Trenches were cut across the enclosure's southern and eastern circuit (50 m interval) and an augering survey undertaken to confirm its exact plan evaluate the survival of its bank. The ditch was only fully excavated in two instances; the remainder, cored only. Samples were taken for the evaluation of plant macrofossils and soil micromorphology.

Cambridge, Clare Hall - Grange Road Residences
TL 43915827 (CAU Report no. 158)

R. Regan

Other than nineteenth-century features, no archaeology was found to be present.

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius TL 447584
(CAU Report no. 153)

M. Alexander

An evaluation took place during the renovation of the Bateman Building. Features containing Roman pottery suggest a small Roman settlement may have occupied land nearby. While there was no evidence of early Saxon occupation, Saxo-Norman pottery was found in a variety of features, including a ditch and a cess

pit (two surfaces of clunch/clay probably date to this period). Documentary evidence indicates the area was a garden before its acquisition by the College in 1353. Although there were no indications of activity between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, later gardening may have destroyed earlier occupation strata. The foundations of the 1795 stable block survived.

Cambridge, Jesus College TL 452589
(CAU Report no. 150)

A. Dickens & C. Evans

Architectural recording occurred during the refurbishment of the College's Halls and Kitchen. Within the main Hall, the original 'great' fireplace was exposed and observation made of the range's fabric during the removal of panelling (no evidence of pre-College construction). Stripped of late covering, elevations were also recorded within the Upper Hall and Kitchen. Within a contractor's pit (in the angle between the Kitchen Range and Great Hall) a large masonry footing was investigated. Evidently relating to an early tower staircase, it is of probable 'Nunnery-phase' attribution (thirteenth-fourteenth century). Masonry horizons and midden dumps were excavated within a small sondage in Outer Court.

Cambridge, Old Schools TL 44745846
(CAU Report no. 152)

C. Evans & J. Pollard

Extensive areas of the original fourteenth-century fabric were exposed and recorded during refurbishment of the North Range, as well as a fine perpendicular style fifteenth-century arch. From the blocking of the latter, stones with extraordinary figurative graffiti (including medieval Latin inscriptions) were recovered. The evidence of the investigations calls for re-appraisal of the School's building sequence and indicates that the Range originally stood as a single functional entity (The Divinity School), only later incorporated into a courtyard plan.

Cambridge, Pembroke College TL 45045804
(CAU Report no. 147)

M. Robinson

In advance of the construction, an evaluation was carried out in August within the College grounds. Whilst there was no direct evidence of pre-nineteenth-century activity, four sherds

of residual 'early' pottery were recovered: two medieval; another shell-tempered piece that may be of either later Saxo-Norman (St Neots) or possibly even later prehistoric (Iron Age) date; and a Roman sherd. Although these could attest to early occupation within the area, they are highly abraded and probably derive from field manuring.

Cambridge, St Edmund's College TL 44195929
(CAU Report no. 161)

A. Dickens

A evaluation across the College grounds revealed little evidence of Roman activity other than a poorly preserved child's inhumation tentatively dated to that period. A small number of Roman pottery sherds were also recovered from later contexts. To the north of the site there was evidence of extensive chalk and marl extraction which may have removed earlier archaeology if it had been present. To the south, was long-lived plough agriculture which resulted in ridge-and-furrow across the lower part of the site. The small quantity of Roman material within the ploughsoil suggests that Roman features had never been present, rather than having been later destroyed. Subsequently, the ridge-and-furrow was infilled with clean marly clay (possibly derived from the extraction area), and given over to nineteenth-century orchard/nursery activity.

Cambridge, St John's College School
TL 43925888 (CAU Report no. 145)

R. Mortimer

No archaeological features nor any early material was recovered during an evaluation on the proposed site of the New Music Rooms.

Cottenham, Franklin Gardens TL 45016756
(CAU Report no. 135)

K. Gdaniec

Apart from recent cultivation remains, no archaeological features were found to be present.

Ely, Forehill TL 545802
(CAU Report forthcoming)

M. Alexander

Following two phases of evaluation investigations within an area marked for development on the corner of Lisle lane and Forehill, full

excavation occurred along the Forehill frontage. The earliest features were a sequence of ditches beginning in the tenth century, running parallel to the existing road. The excavation found a full sequence of occupation dating back to the thirteenth century with the site divided into tenements running north from the street frontage. Some of the property boundaries were maintained from the earliest occupation phase until when the properties were demolished in the nineteenth century. Early timber-built structures were replaced by brick and stone buildings. The early tenements extended well back from the frontage and only limited 'backyard activity' was found within the excavated area. Leather off-cuts and shoe fragments from a variety of contexts indicated that cobbling and shoe making took place between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. A complex of sixteenth/seventeenth-century brick-built structures suggests that small-scale industrial activity (possibly baking) was associated with one of the properties.

Ely, West Fen TL 53108087
(CAU Report no. 160)

D. Gibson

Excavations in advance of an Anglia Water pipeline and pumping station produced evidence of Late Iron Age settlement. The surviving evidence consisted mainly of ditches with occasional pits and gullies. The pottery recovered dated the settlement to c. AD 1/10 to AD 50/60. The quantity of finds was high and with the recovery of two decorated artefacts was perhaps suggestive of more than a 'normal' agricultural settlement.

Fen Drayton Quarry TL 33756903
(CAU Report no. 156)

R. Mortimer

Relating to the expansion of the ARC Ltd Quarry, excavations occurred within a c. 3 ha area. Short-term episodes of Neolithic occupation and part of a Bronze Age fieldsystem gave way to phases of Middle/Late Iron Age farmstead enclosures. The earliest enclosure contained two annular house ditches. The focus of settlement subsequently shifted south with the original enclosure being turned over to agricultural use. Overlying the whole, an intricate Romano-British system of ditches or trenches was laid out in parallel and interlocking groups. The system relates to a 'villa'

site to the west and may be horticultural in origin, possibly for the cultivation of vines or fruit trees.

Hemingford Gray, High St TL 294704
(CAU Report no. 143)

K. Gdaniec

Apart from post-medieval features, an evaluation across a 1660 sq.m site revealed two ditches of first-second century AD; the latter probably marking the northern boundary of a minor Romano-British settlement.

Litlington, Manor Farm Barns TL 31284243
(CAU Report no. 146)

M. Robinson & K. Gdaniec

An evaluation was carried out in advance of the proposed re-development of barns into residential units. Substantial quantities of Roman building material confirmed the close proximity of a well-known Roman villa to the northwest, and the presence of a Roman gully suggested that the development area overlies an enclosure or fieldsystem associated with the villa estate. Imported Late Iron Age pottery was also recovered, raising the question of an earlier settlement presence within the immediate vicinity.

Little Thetford, Watson's Lane TL 52777625
(CAU Report forthcoming)

M. Hinman & K. Gdaniec

A 4000 sq.m open-area excavation, commissioned by Persimmon Homes in advance of an extensive residential development, occurred within a 3.7 ha field on the west side of Watson's Lane. Stripping of the medieval ridge-and-furrow system revealed a considerable density of archaeological features including ring gullies, enclosure ditches, pits and postholes. It would appear that the first evidence for the habitation of the site dates from the Late Iron Age (100 BC-AD 50), confirming the results of the first phase evaluation. Features surviving from this date included the remains of at least ten circular drainage gullies, associated rubbish pits and enclosure ditch systems.

During Roman times a more substantial series of enclosure ditches was imposed on the landscape, building on and expanding the Iron Age system. Initial evidence, however, suggests a shift in the focus of habitation away from the

former core probably to the north and certainly to the west. Large quantities of pottery and animal bone were retrieved. Unexpected discoveries included the skeletal remains of three humans, buried in graves (one in hob-nailed boots). Provisional dating evidence suggests all were buried at some time during the third century AD.

A tile-making kiln in an excellent state of preservation was also discovered near to the western limit of excavation. It apparently had not only been used in the production of standard roofing materials, but also rectangular lydion, square *pedalis* and larger square *sesquipedales* tiles.

Needingworth, Barleycroft Farm TL 355725
(CAU Report forthcoming)

M. Knight, C. Evans & D. Gibson

Throughout the autumn excavation occurred over a 5 ha site to investigate the second-millennium BC fieldsystem found through evaluation trenching last year. Following removal of alluvium, the buried soils were ploughed and fieldwalked before stripping down to natural gravels. Early Neolithic settlement activity was attested to by a dense cluster of 'Mildenhall-type' pits containing large quantities of plain and decorated pottery, and worked flint. Importantly evidence for re-visit episodes to the site were discernible from the spatial patterning of the features. Nearby tree-throws were found to contain similar assemblages as well as later Neolithic material. Although some evidence for Early Bronze Age activity was located, it was the Middle Bronze Age that saw the greatest impact on the site. A parallel ditch system oriented north-south/east-west was dotted with post structures, wells and pits. At least two roundhouses were identified. Within the fieldsystem a long rectangular building (16.50 × 5.55 m) was found set within an 'L'-shaped compound. Whilst some Roman pottery was recovered from the northeast corner of the excavation, the only contemporary features found were field ditches.

Over the winter, a small sheepfold (of quasi-concentric plan and Iron Age attribution) was excavated in the lower western half of the northern field.

Earlier in September, evaluation occurred across a 60 ha block of land across the south side of the quarry site. Roman fieldsystems and droveways were found across the area, and sampling revealed dense prehistoric land-use with considerable evidence of Early Neolithic

activity. The recovery of Mildenhall, Grimston, Peterborough/Ebbsfleet, Grooved Ware and earlier Bronze Age wares attests to a long (if dispersed) settlement history. A double ring-ditch, probably first constructed during the later Neolithic, was tested and found to have quantities of later flintwork dumped into its outer circuit. Excavation will continue across these southern fields throughout 1996.

Waterbeach, Denny End TL 49356572
(CAU Report no. 166)

R. Mortimer

Excavations across a c. 1 ha site revealed evidence of occupation from the Early Anglo-Saxon period partially sealed beneath remnant ridge-and-furrow. The principal feature was a shallow Sunken Feature Building, or *Grubenhäuser*, with platform walls and entranceway (in association with pits, a large posthole and worn or cut hollows). The features represent an isolated domestic/work unit, which in part may comprise an element of processing. Lying to the west was a three-sided post-built structure. Finds included substantial pottery and bone assemblages, loomweights, a spindle whorl, a granite grinding stone and bone tools.

Whittlesey, Kings Dyke Quarry TL 245980
(CAU Report no. 166)

D. Edwards

Additional excavations within a 2 ha area, carried out on behalf of Hanson Brick Ltd, provided further useful information on the scale and character of ditch and/or enclosure systems within the area, most of which appear to be of Romano-British date. No evidence was found for significant pre-Roman activity in this area and it is unlikely that any of the ditches or other features are prehistoric. A small open-area excavation revealed part of the denuded remains of a timber structure. Probably of Romano-British date, it is situated close to the west side of the site and extends westwards beyond the edge of the area.

Willingham, High St TL 403702
(CAU Report no. 139)

A. Dickens

A two-phased evaluation was carried out in advance of a proposed housing development in

the core of the village. Commissioned by Eagle Homes, the investigation area lay between High Street, Church Street and Long Lane. Whilst scant prehistoric and Roman material was recovered, in the central area intensive evidence was revealed of Early to Middle Saxon settlement (included the remains of at least four timber buildings), which did not relate to the later street layout. Little medieval material was found in the central area, but there was extensive evidence of small-scale medieval and post-medieval gravel extraction in what has remained a marginal area of the village for many centuries.

**Field Work Summaries, External Units.
October 1994–June 1996**

The following works have been carried out by **Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit (BUFAU)**.

Alconbury, Alconbury Hill TL 1885 7800
(BUFAU Project no. 141)

Trial trenching in advance of the A1 widening scheme did not identify any significant archaeological deposits.

Alconbury, Vinegar Hill TL 1875 7780
(BUFAU Project no. 141)

Evaluation in advance of A1 widening revealed a number of Romano-British ditches and a possible circular enclosure. A small abraded pottery assemblage was also recovered.

Chatteris, 36 Bridge Street TL 3895 8690
(BUFAU Project no. 390)

R. Cuttler

Evaluation using trial trenching identified Iron Age activity in the form of a shallow depression and two post holes with associated pottery. A few residual flint flakes were found and some post-medieval property boundaries identified.

Folksworth, Norman Cross TL 1598 9080
(BUFAU Project no. 141)

Evaluation at Norman Cross identified a small Romano-British settlement with stone building remains and a wealth of pottery virtually all from the third century AD. Medieval ridge-and-furrow was found to be overlain by post-medieval quarrying debris.

Littleport, Parson's Lane TL 559 868
(BUFAU Project no. 418)

R. Cuttler

A series of ditches, possibly boundaries, dating from between the Roman and medieval periods were found by evaluation trenching. Traces of ridge-and-furrow were also found.

Peterborough, Boongate, Marshall's Garage
TL 210 988 (BUFAU Project no. 341)

R. Cuttler

Evaluation produced a series of postholes, two gullies and a stakehole thought to represent settlement evidence. Finds of a single flint blade and an abraded pottery sherd have been used to tentatively date the site to the Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age.

St Neots, St Mary's Street TL 184 600
(BUFAU Project no. 299A)

A. Jones

Evaluation during 1994 and 1995 included trial trenching, area excavation and a watching brief. Four phases of activity were identified. The earliest, Phase 1, was a series of sands and gravels representing the position of an earlier channel for the Hen Brook. The second phase had dumping deposits and cut features representing responses to flooding, a pit with charred plant remains and a yard surface. This phase dates to the medieval period. Additional features from this phase include a number of rubbish pits and a marsh deposit adjacent to the Hen Brook. Phase 3 dates mostly to the seventeenth century and includes further alleviation, tanning pits and brick footings. A lime kiln also belongs to this phase. Phase 4 includes all the more recent activity on the site when it was used as a builders' merchants yard.

St Neots, 43–45 Church Street TL 185 600
(BUFAU Project no. 391)

A. Jones

Cartographic study and evaluation attempted to understand the Saxon occupation of the site. A sequence of deposition for the Hen Brook sediments was established but no Saxon remains or finds were found. The site did have evidence of tanning activities, some of which dated back to the late seventeenth century.

The following work was undertaken by the **Fenland Archaeological Trust (FAT)**.

Castor, 16 Church Hill TL 123 985
(FAT Project no. 124/1)

M. Olney

A watching brief was carried out on a development site close to a Roman settlement (scheduled ancient monument 93). No significant archaeological remains were observed.

Peterborough, Newark Road, Fengate
TL 216 996 (FAT Project no. 125/1)

M. Olney

Test pitting on the site to establish the degree of truncation of deposits with potential for archaeology identified significant survival of the B horizon. Any further works would therefore need archaeological monitoring.

Peterborough, Padholme Road, Fengate
TL 215 991 (FAT Project no. 126/1)

M. Olney

No archaeological features or artefacts were uncovered.

Peterborough, Third Drove Cambridgeshire
TL 21-98- (FAT Project no. 130)

Seven areas around the above grid reference were examined. The boreholes produced no archaeological material. Only in test pit 12 was there any archaeological evidence. A piece of stone which probably dates to the Neolithic.

The following sites were investigated by **Hertfordshire Archaeological Trust**.

Shepreth, Moor End Lane TL 3925 4745
(Report no. 135)

C. Walker

Three Roman ditches were found. These probably represent enclosure ditches. A pair of postholes found were undated and a slot contained Roman pottery.

St Neots, Great North Road, Eaton Socon
TL 1700 6002 (Report no. 115)

J. Murray

No archaeological features were found in the area

of proposed development. No evidence of the presence of a former medieval headland was found.

Girton, Cambridge Road TL 4237 6249
(Report no. 161)

J. Murray

Archaeological evaluation revealed features dating to the Mid Saxon period and the tenth-twelfth centuries. These features were a series of recut ditches, probably being the remains of field or enclosure boundaries.

Hilton, Graveley Road, College Farm
TL 2860 6652 (Report no. 140)

J. Murray

A three-phased investigation took place using a desk top study, recording of the standing buildings and then archaeological evaluation. The site is moated and has four buildings parts of which date from the late sixteenth century. Evaluation identified a number of features, principally the northern extension of the moat itself. The moat was not excavated but is overlain by buildings of the mid-seventeenth century and so must have been infilled by then. A few other ditches were found, mostly of post-medieval date.

Burwell to Eriswell Proposed Overhead Line
TL 6150 7160 to TL 6530 7280

J. Murray

Plans for an overhead power line running through Burwell, Fordham and Isleham parishes gave rise to a desk top study and evaluation. Pole locations were checked and areas of significant archaeology identified. The latter are the villa at Block Farm and the flood plain of the River Snail. Further work will be needed at some of the pole locations.

The following work was undertaken by **John Samuels Archaeological Consultants**.

Ely, Central Area Development TL 543 804

J. Samuels

Plans for development of the commercial centre of Ely gave rise to an archaeological evaluation using trial trenching. The main archaeological

deposits identified comprised medieval backyards with rubbish pits and some postholes but no floors. A few boundary ditches were found as were ovens. The latter may be domestic or small light industrial in purpose.

The following site has been excavated by the **Peterborough Archaeology Group**.

Wittering, Church Farm TF 0629 0151

I. Meadows

A Roman tile kiln cut into the underlying limestone was found to be placed within a massive six post structure, possibly an aisled barn.

The following work was undertaken by **Northamptonshire Archaeology**.

Eastrea, Coates Road TL 295 973

I. Meadows

A watching brief examined foundation trenches and recorded modern deposits.

Air Photo Services undertook the following work.

Peterborough, Orton Malborne, Clayton School TL 1660 9580 (Report no. R95)

R. Palmer

Assessment of the aerial photographic evidence for the site identified medieval field systems (ridge-and-furrow). No earlier remains were noted except possibly discrete enclosures and a drove way at TL 1585 9528.

Tempus Reparatum undertook the following work.

Cambridge, Kings Hedges School TL 614 455 (Report no. NA)

I. Lisboa

Re-investigation of the Roman villa revealed possible Iron Age postholes, pits and ditches preceding the building, two phases of construction of the stone building, demolition layers

and later medieval disturbance. There were also a number of features that could be either late Roman or Saxon occupation and pits. The villa activity was dated to between the late second and third centuries. Very little material came from sealed contexts.

The following site was investigated by **Anthony Baggs**:

Chippenham, St Margaret's Church, Romanesque Sculptured Head

Anthony Baggs

St Margaret's, Chippenham was badly damaged by fire in 1447 and its effects are clearly visible on the chunch voussoirs of the nave arcades which are cracked and spalled. During the winter of 1993–4 the external rendering of the mid fifteenth-century tower was removed and it was evident that the lower stages had been built out of reused material much of which shows signs of burning. Amongst the architectural fragments there are bits of fourteenth-century window tracery, twelfth-century shafts, a twelfth-century window head similar to those



Figure 1. Romanesque sculptured man's head at St Margaret's Church, Chippenham.

which survive in the north wall of the chancel, and part of a sculptured head of a man (Fig. 1).

The man's head lies on its side about 14 feet above the ground on the south face of the tower. Initially only part of the nose was visible but removal of the surrounding mortar revealed the forehead, eyes, cheeks and mouth. The right-hand side has been broken away and the back of the block is not visible so that it is not possible to determine its overall shape. It is carved on two principal planes and is probably a voussoir or a corbel. The length is about 7½ inches and the maximum width just over 6 inches.

The forehead is high and has a lens-shaped vertical feature which is defined by deep furrows. At its centre it is on a plane with the nose which is narrow at the top and widens out into a twin-lobed 'dog bone' termination. The only complete eye, on the left, bulges and has a rough central depression. The cheek below it also bulges but less markedly. The upper lip rises at the centre like a moustache and there is a narrow groove for the mouth. A narrow strip represents the lower lip and chin below which the stone is cut back sharply. The

bulging eyes, furrowed forehead and twin-lobed nose are strongly stylised and they do not appear to have any close affinities with other Romanesque sculpture in Cambridgeshire, but are very similar to the voussoirs on the west doorway of Lincoln cathedral which has been dated to c. 1145.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Faith Johnson, who has compiled the Courtauld Institute inventory of Romanesque sculpture in Cambridgeshire, for her comments on the first draft of this report.

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Books: Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Vol.3*, ed. by William Smith (London 1862) pp.23-4.

Theses: Mark Campbell, 'The changing residential patterns in Toronto, 1880-1910' (unpubl. M.A. thesis, University of Toronto 1971).

Articles: K.R. Dark, 'Archaeological survey at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, 1984', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 74 (1985) pp.81-4.

Chapters in books: John Patten, 'Changing occupational structures in the East Anglian countryside, 1500-1700', in H.S.A. Fox and R.A. Butlin (eds), *Change in the Countryside: Essays on Rural England, 1500-1900* (London 1979) pp.103-21.

Subsequent references to previously cited works should use *ibid.*, *op. cit.* or *loc. cit.*, but if more than one work by an author is cited the reference should be given thus: Patten, 'Changing occupational structures', pp.115-17.

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