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The Society's books, MSS., photographs, etc., are kept in a room on the first floor of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. This is locked, but the key can be obtained from the Secretary's room which is also on the first floor, or from any of the Museum staff. Members are reminded that the Society's room is available to them whenever the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology is open, and that books, including a run of the Society's *Proceedings*, may be borrowed. Members also retain their right to read in the Haddon Library, which will be found on the first floor of the adjacent building. The Hon. Librarian reminds members of the usefulness of these resources. The books include all the principal publications dealing with shire history and topography for Cambridgeshire, some material for Huntingdonshire and for neighbouring counties. Prime sources like the collections of early topographical drawings and manuscript histories are included.

THE PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORD

The photographic record has an excellent series of prints of parish churches, and of villages. The Hon. Librarian would like to appeal to members to photograph changes which they may observe in villages in the area, and to be kind enough to give prints and negatives to the collection. Modest additions are made by the Hon. Librarian as the product of his own travels in the shire, but much wider coverage is desirable. Colour transparencies would also be welcome.

BACK NUMBERS OF THE 'PROCEEDINGS'

Members might like to know that a considerable stock of back numbers of the *Proceedings* and other C.A.S. publications can be obtained from the publishers, Imray Laurie Norie and Wilson.

CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN RECORD SOCIETY

Volume I of the C.A.R.S. publications, *Letters to William Friend from the Reynolds family of Little Paxton and John Hammond of Fenstanton, 1793–1814*, edited by Frida Knight, has now been published.

Volume II, *John Norden's Survey of Barley, Herts., 1593–1603*, will be published by the end of 1974.

Each volume costs £4.50 to non-members. Members of C.A.R.S. will get the two volumes automatically for their subscriptions (£3 a year) for 1972 and 1973 respectively. Members of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society can join the Cambridge Antiquarian Record Society for a privileged subscription of £2.25.

Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc. Vol. LXV (1974), pp. 1–12.

TWO BRONZE AGE BURIALS NEAR PILSGATE, LINCOLNSHIRE

FRANCIS PRYOR

With a report on the skeletal material
by
Calvin Wells

The circumstances of the find

ON 15 August 1971 gravel digging at the Nene Barge and Lighter Company's Barnack Road gravel pit revealed a crouched inhumation and a quantity of burnt earth and charcoal which was rightly assumed to be part of a cremation. Work was ordered to stop at once, and Messrs L. Tebbutt and R. F. Grimwood examined the remains. They also recovered several fragments of calcined and unburnt bone that had fallen down the quarry face at the time of discovery. This examination confirmed that the burials were indeed ancient and Mr J. C. Langton, the agent of Burghley Estates, kindly gave us permission, on Lord Exeter's behalf, to excavate. It was Lord Exeter's wish that the material be deposited in Stamford Museum for study and display.

Location

The gravel pits referred to above are located north of Barnack Road, midway between Stamford and Pilsgate, about half a mile due north of Burghley House, and less than a quarter of a mile south of the River Welland. The site is located at TF 049069, and lies in the Welland valley about 70 feet above Ordnance Datum (Fig. 1).

THE EXCAVATIONS

Salvage excavations took place on 17 August 1971. Before work on the two burials began, the quarry manager kindly allowed us to use the dragline that had originally unearthed the burials. Although the machine was not ideal for the purpose, we were able to strip an area near the burials of about 15 metres square, in order to anticipate any further discoveries that might again delay gravel working. However, despite a most careful search, no traces of occupation, ring-ditches, or further burials were discovered.

Unfortunately, it was impossible to determine the stratigraphical relationship of the

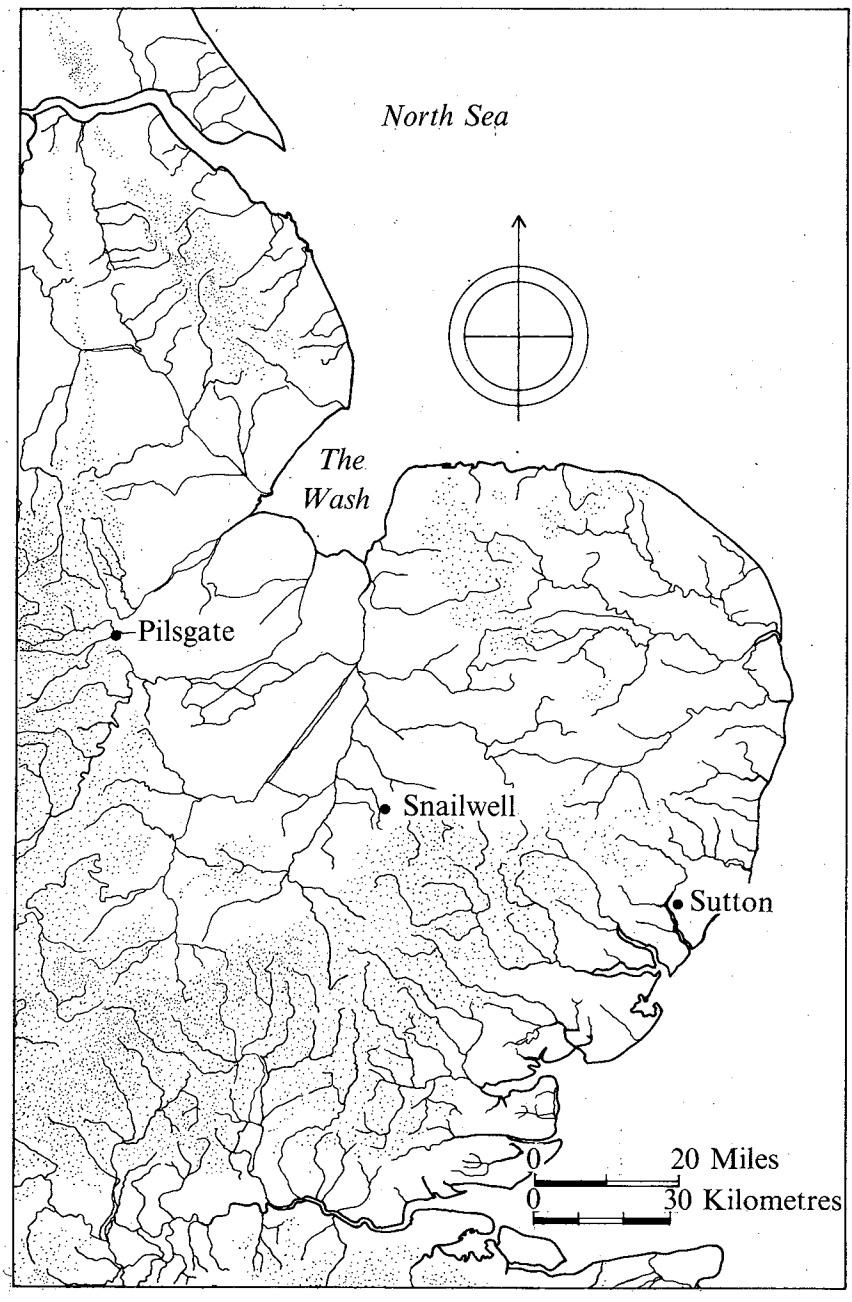

Fig. 1. Pilsgate and comparable Bronze Age burials.

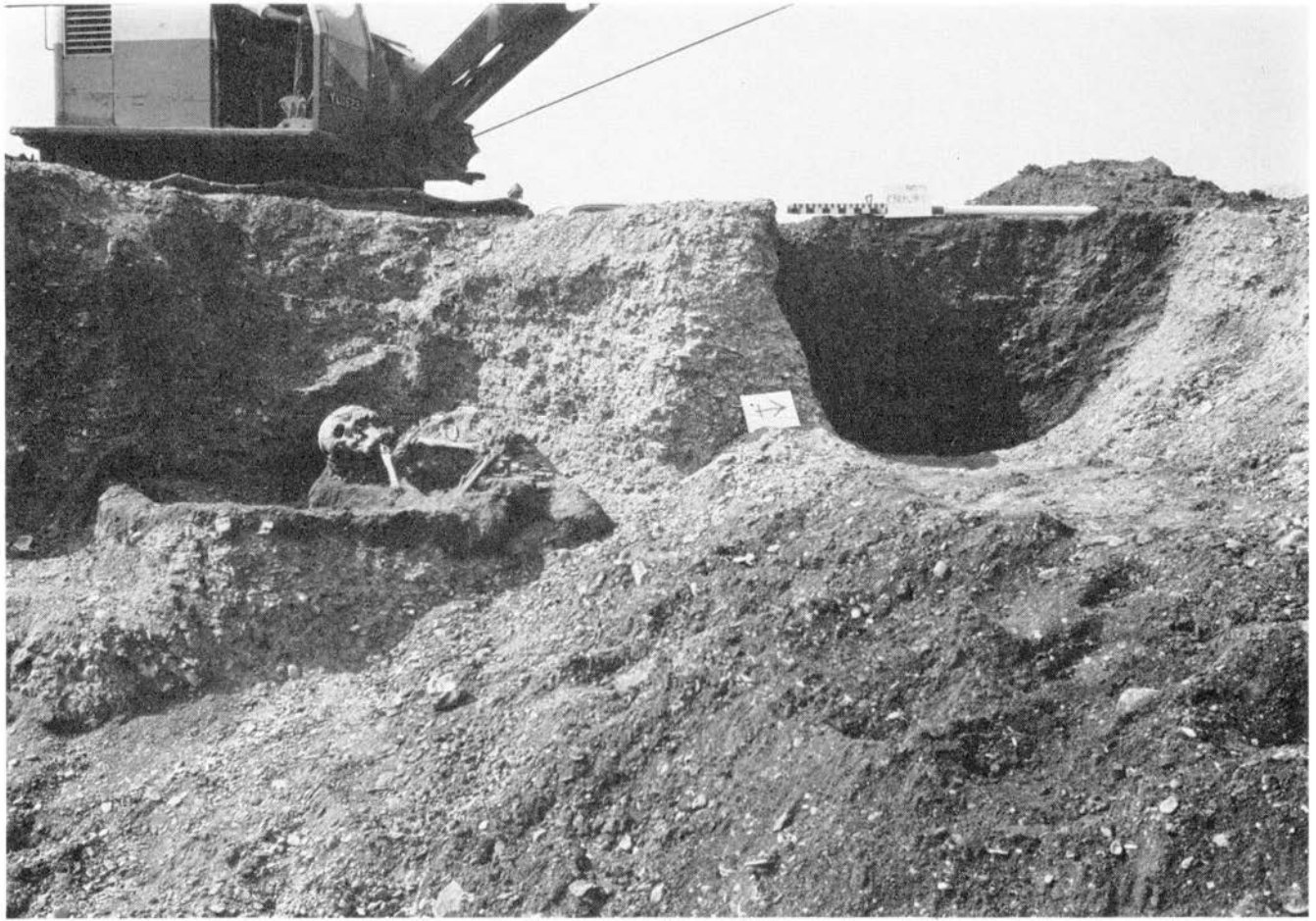

Plate I. Pilsgate. The inhumation and cremation pit in the quarry-face before excavation.

Plate II. Pilsgate. The inhumation before excavation.
Scale in inches and centimetres.

two features as quarrying operations had removed large quantities of gravel from around the burials (Plate I).

The inhumation

The body lay on its right side in a crouched position (Plate II), aligned approximately SW–NE, the head to the SW. The bones had been so disturbed that it was not possible to determine whether the legs or arms had been crossed. What remained of the filling of the grave indicated that the pit dug to receive the body had been a large one, there being room for at least one more crouched body. The filling of the grave consisted of a dark brown coarse sandy loam of a uniform texture. There was a sharp, unweathered transition between the dark filling of the grave and the paler river gravels of the quarry.

The cremation

The cremation pit was situated approximately 70 cm north of the inhumation. To judge by the quantity of pit filling that had been dumped near the cremation, about half of this feature had been removed in the process of discovery. This loose filling was thoroughly sifted and the search revealed a few fragments of calcined bone. The layers revealed in the north–south section A–B (Fig. 2) were as follows.

Layer 1: dark orange-brown coarse sandy loam with gravel inclusions.
Layer 2: red-brown very coarse loamy sand.
Layer 3: red-orange burnt coarse sandy loam.
Layer 4: charcoal and very dark coarse sandy loam.

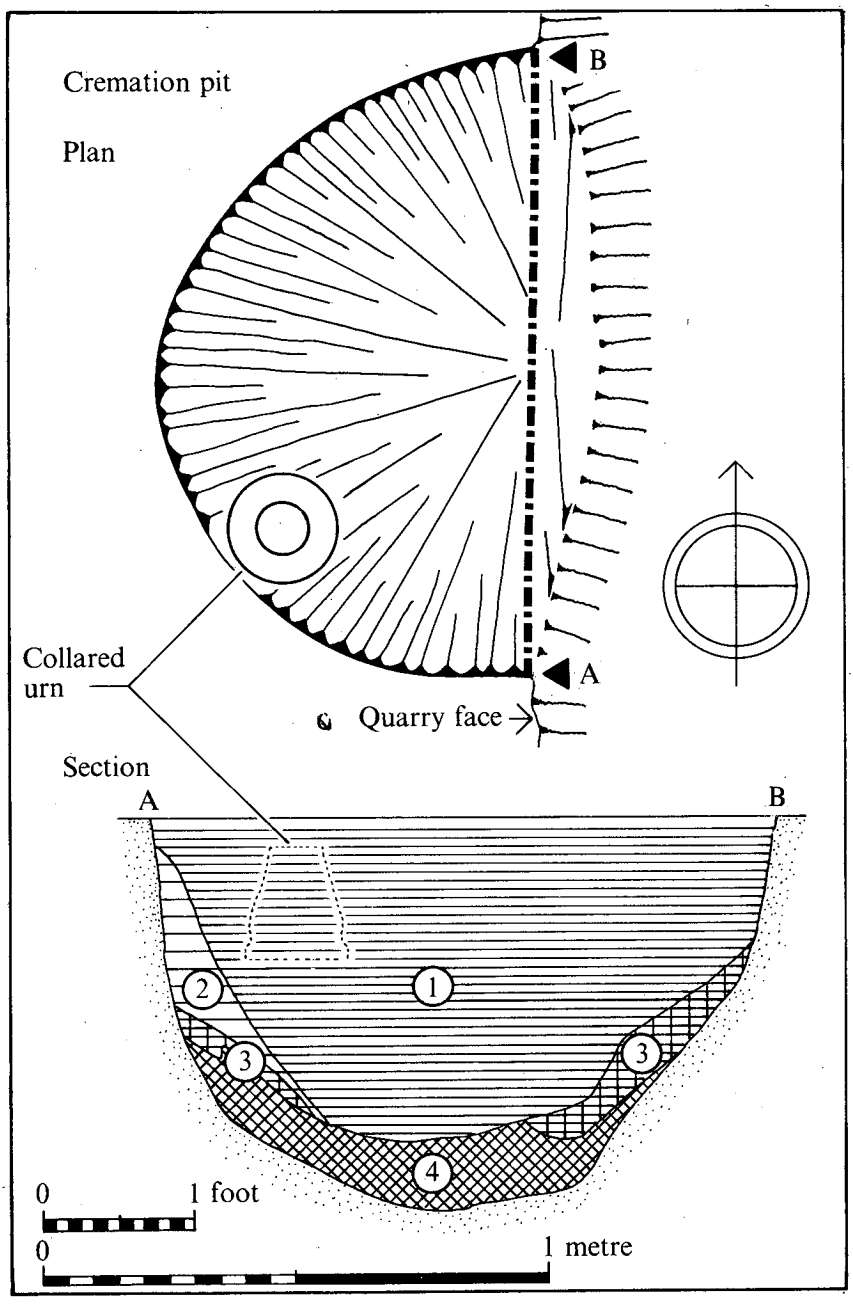

Fig. 2. Pilsgate: the cremation pit in plan and semi-diagrammatic section.

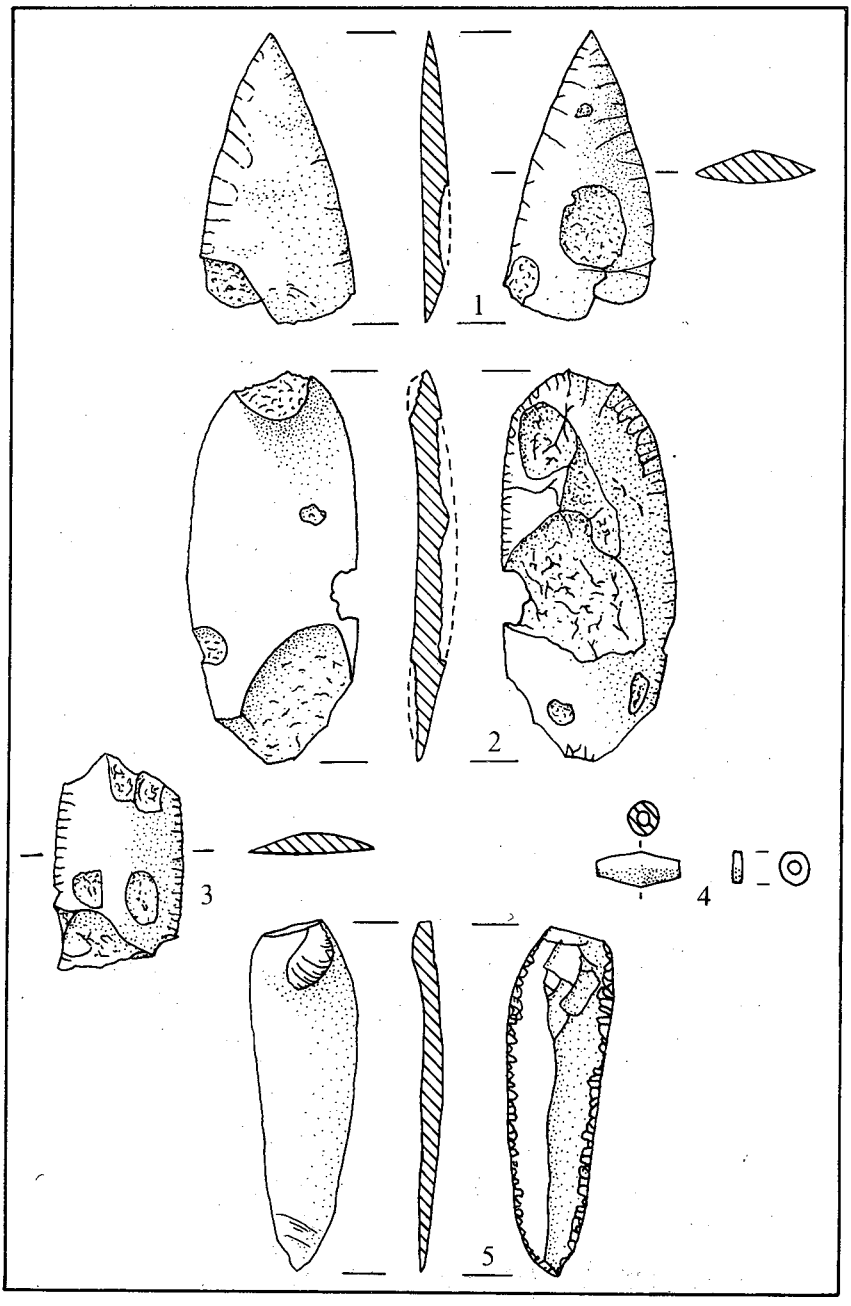

Fig. 3. Pilsgate. 1–3, calcined flints from cremation pit filling; 4, amber beads and 5, flint knife from inhumation. Scale $\frac{2}{3}$.

Pl. III. Pilsgate. The cremation pit filling before excavation.

The surviving portion of the cremation pit was semi-circular and steep sided. The bottom had been much affected by heat. The gravel was reddened and larger stones had been fire-cracked.

THE FINDS

The inhumation

Flint. One struck blade knife with a marked keel on its upper surface, and retouch confined to the edges, was found by Mr Grimwood in the grave filling 'near the skeleton' (Fig. 3, no. 5). The flint used is of good quality and cream in colour.

Amber. 12 amber beads (Fig. 3, no. 4), were found in the sandy loam grave filling that adhered to the inside of the lower jaw. Four were of the truncated biconical type, and the remaining eight were thin, drum-shaped disc beads. The amber was in very poor condition. In form these beads closely resemble the jet beads found at Snailwell, Barrow C.[1] Both shapes, however, are common in southern Britain.

The cremation (Pl. III and Fig. 2)

Flint. Three, possibly four, partly calcined plano-convex knives (Fig. 3, nos. 1–3), were found within the charcoal and burning of Layer 4. Flake scars were slightly obscured by the partial calcination of the flint, but it could be seen that on each knife flakes had been removed over the whole of the dorsal surface. Knives of a similar form have been found locally at Sutton[2] and Snailwell, Barrow A, Cremation II.[3]

Pottery

Food vessel (Fig. 4, no. 1). Sherds of a cord-decorated food vessel of Yorkshire vase type were found in Layer 1. The twisted cord impressions are deepest on the flared internal bevel. Cord impressions are also deep below and just above the shoulder. The rim impressions are slightly less deep and those on the neck are shallow and irregular. Examination of the fabric revealed the following. (*a*) Shell is the principal tempering material; (*b*) there is also a significant addition of grog; (*c*) the fabric is dark towards the inside of the vessel; (*d*) sintering indicates that the pot had been well fired.

Secondary series collared urn (Fig. 4, no. 2). The urn was found in an inverted position, about six inches below the surface, near the edge of the cremation pit (Fig. 2), in Layer 1. Nothing was found beneath the vessel. It is undecorated apart from a shallow cord-impressed chevron design around the collar. The execution of this decoration is somewhat haphazard, and it would appear to have been applied with short, straight lengths of twisted cord. Examination of the fabric revealed the following. (*a*) Shell is the principal tempering material; (*b*) there is only very slight evidence that grog had been used; (*c*) the fabric is black towards the inside of the vessel; (*d*) the clay had been very poorly fired.

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[1] T. C. Lethbridge, 'Excavation of the Snailwell Group of Bronze Age Barrows', *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* XLII, 35 and pl. VIII*a*.

[2] N. Smedley and E. Owles, 'Pottery of the Early and Early Middle Bronze Age in Suffolk', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Arch.* XXIX, fig. 26.

[3] Lethbridge, *loc. cit.* fig. 11.

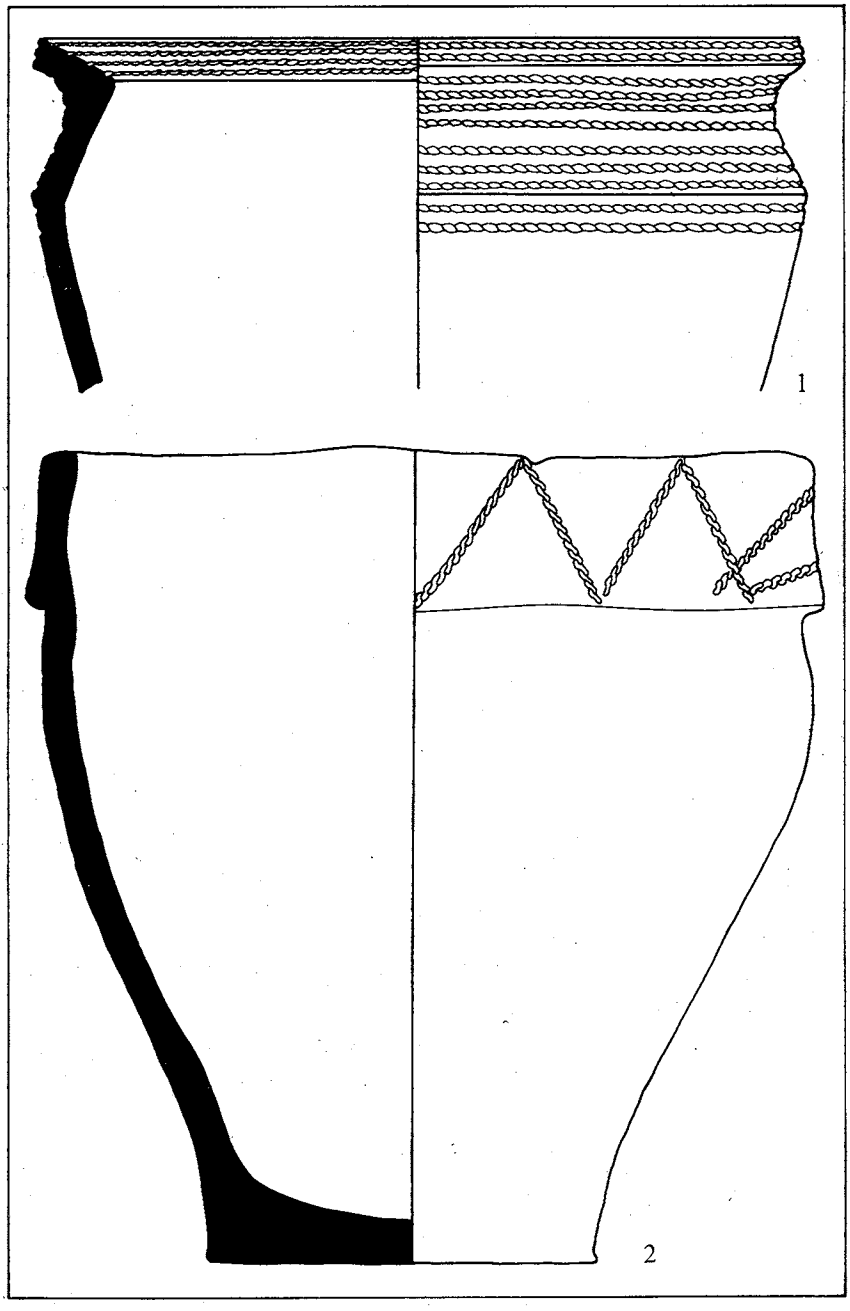

Fig. 4. Pilsgate. Pottery from cremation pit filling. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

General fabric comparison. The clays used for both vessels were similar, but that of the food vessel was finer, without the large quartz grains of the collared urn. The food vessel is much harder and better fired than the urn. The external colour of both vessels is a pale reddish-brown, but the urn is perhaps slightly darker.

THE BONES

The inhumation

The remains consist of human bones: a badly fragmented skull, with some much-broken and defective post-cranial remains.

The sex of this person is difficult to assess because of the poor condition of the fragments, the absence of such key elements as the pelvis, and the conflicting nature of what remains. The overall gracility of the skeleton would undoubtedly suggest a female if it were of Anglo-Saxon or Bronze Age date. It may, however, be a racial characteristic, falling within the normal range of variation of Neolothic males, in whom the bones are very distinctly more slender and delicate. Both mastoid processes survive. They are quite large and sturdily built and suggest a male. The small fragments of orbital margin are ambiguous, as is the frontal sinus, whilst the light mandible again suggests a female. On balance it may be that, if this is Neolothic, it is a man; if Bronze Age, Iron Age or Anglo-Saxon it is more likely to be a woman.

The age of this person can be estimated on cranial and dental evidence to be in the 35–50 range.

The fragmented skull can be reconstructed only with a considerable degree of uncertainty and even then is too defective to measure with confidence. It is a blunt ovoid in norma verticalis. Its length appears to be close to 175 mm, its breadth about 137 mm, which would make it mesocranial with a cranial index of 78·3. It does not resemble the long, narrow skull typical of Neolithics, nor the large, globular and rugged Bronze Age type. The frontal bone seems to rise rather steeply from negligible brow ridges, which is an Anglo-Saxon rather than an Iron Age feature. However, it is far too defective to estimate its racial affinity with any reliability.

Loose or *in situ* 27 teeth survive, and the dental state seems to be:

8 0 6 5 . 3 2 1	0 2
0 7 6 5 4 3 2 0	0 0 3 0 5 6 7 0

plus ten loose teeth.

Attrition is heavy. Deposits of tartar occur on most teeth. Caries is present on 1 loose premolar and 3 loose molars – cervical in each instance. Some alveolar erosion from paradontal disease is present.

Post-cranial remains include: fragments of atlas, axis and about ten other vertebrae; some pieces of scapula; the bodies of two lightly built clavicles; and some scraps

of rib. A few fragments of long bones survive and include part of a lightly built humerus which, nevertheless, has moderately well-developed muscle markings. Fragments of femoral and tibial shafts suggest that the lower limbs were disproportionately sturdier than the arms and shoulder girdle. This might, perhaps, suggest that this person followed the occupation of pastoralist, rather than agriculturist.

Both femora are strongly platymeric, their diameters being:

	L	R
Fe D1	20·8	20·2
Fe D2	33·2	32·3
Meric index	62·6	62·5

Fragments of the left radius can be reconstructed to give a length of about 230 mm. This would correspond to a stature of about 1666 mm (5 ft 5½ in.) if male, 1639·5 mm (5 ft 4½ in.) if female.

Pathology

The glenoid fossa of the left temporal bone has been much remodelled by severe osteoarthritis. Both mandibular condyles are damaged but it is clear that the left one was markedly arthritic. These changes in the temporo-mandibular joint reinforce the dental evidence of a tough, coarse diet but they may also imply some further damage to the joint: perhaps recurrent dislocation or traumatic injury from a blow.

A trace of osteoarthritis is present on one cervical and two lumbar vertebral fragments and would indicate reaction to some sort of spinal strain or injury.

Summary

The poor state of these remains, and the ambiguity of what there is, leaves much doubt as to the sex, age and racial affinity of this person.

The cremation

The remains consist of about 180 fragments of human bone; almost all are very small but a few larger pieces are present. The biggest is a fragment of femoral shaft 93 mm in length.

Most fragments are approximately identifiable, many precisely so.

The remains include: fragments of cranial vault, some of which show unfused or partly fused sutures; a petrous temporal (as is very common in cremated material); a few other scraps of cranial base; the lateral wall of the right orbit (this suggests that

the orbit was low and rather small). Parts of at least eleven vertebrae are identifiable and a few scraps of pelvis, scapulae and ribs. Numerous pieces of long bones are present and are of light, slender build, but there is evidence that markings for muscle attachments were fairly well developed. This would indicate that this person was lithe and sinewy, rather than sturdy in build with really powerful muscles. A few very small articular fragments suggest that the limb joints were small and compact. A fragment of metacarpal and two phalanges of fingers indicate rather delicately built hands.

A few further observations and inferences may be extracted from these remains.

(1) In spite of the general gracility of the bones this was almost certainly a man.

(2) His age is difficult to assess. No unfused epiphyses are recognizable and the estimate hangs on little more than the unreliable character of cranial suture fusion. The few surviving scraps suggest 30–40 years as a likely range.

(3) At least one fragment of the body of a lumbar vertebra has the remains of a well-marked osteophytotic lipping. This would indicate that this man underwent fairly heavy strains and trauma to his lower spine. It could have resulted from tree felling, building earthworks, etc.

(4) A tiny fragment of the neck of a talus is present and shows part of a small squatting facet. This would point to squatting, hams to heel, as a normal position of rest (e.g. in a benchless hut), or suggest some occupation involving a crouched position – which is perhaps less likely.

(5) The bones are, in general, very much underfired. The relative appearance of different bones makes it almost certain that the body was laid on the ground and the funeral pyre erected over it. There is little distortion or warping of the fragments and this suggests (*a*) that the cremation was carried out rather slowly at a low, inadequate temperature (probably less than 850 °C) and (*b*) that this man had very little fat on his body – which, in turn, would suggest that death was due to a wasting, rather than an acute illness. Or he may have been chronically undernourished.

(6) The appearance of the few surviving hand bones makes it likely that the arms and hands were placed on top of the body – not under the buttocks, as sometimes occurred.

(7) Fragments from most parts of the body are present and, by average standards, the collection and preservation of the remains seem to have been quite efficiently carried out. This leads one to wonder whether the absence of jaw fragments has any ritual significance. Pieces of mandible commonly survive cremation in good condition. Their absence here may indicate their retention for ritual reasons – or perhaps as souvenirs of the departed by his relatives.

(8) There is no evidence of more than one person in these remains.

(9) The only non-human remains recognizable in this cremation are two fragments of a 'splint' bone: perhaps a metacarpal or the fibula of a very small horse.

Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc. Vol. LXV (1974), pp. 13-27.

THE PRE-DANISH ESTATE OF PETERBOROUGH ABBEY

W. T. W. POTTS

INTRODUCTION

THE Danish invasion of A.D. 865 and the subsequent settlement of the Danish armies recast the political geography of eastern England and, at the same time, destroyed almost all record of the earlier territorial divisions. Only that obscure document the Tribal Hidage[1] and occasional references in Bede and the hagiographers indicate the complexity of the divisions of the Middle Angles but even the approximate positions of many of the *regiones* and folk mentioned are unknown. Of the great monasteries of eastern England only Medeshamstede, Peterborough, preserved some record of its earlier possessions although these are confused by later conflations and fabrications. The survival of these pre-Danish records at Peterborough was first recognized by Stenton.[2] The records include a list of the ancient possessions of the monastery preserved both by Hugh Candidus[3] and by the Peterborough version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (s.a. 657). The antiquity of this list is shown by the fact that several of the places mentioned cannot now be identified and others were never in the possession of the monastery refounded by St Aethelwold after the Danish settlement. In addition Hugh Candidus claimed that Medeshamstede had planted daughter colonies at a number of centres including Brixworth, Breedon, Bermondsey and Woking.[4] This is the only surviving reference to the monastery of Brixworth although the great church – 'perhaps the most imposing architectural memorial of the seventh century north of the Alps' as Clapham[5] described it – stands today to confirm its existence. The extensive remains of a sculptured frieze at Breedon-on-the-Hill (Leics.) confirm that it also possessed a fine church before the Danish invasion. The presence of monasteries at Woking and Bermondsey is confirmed by another Medeshamstede record, a privilege attributed to Pope Constantine addressed to Haedda, abbot of the two houses. This document shows many similarities to an authentic privilege of similar date preserved in Italy. Copies of two leases of monastic land to lay magnates also survive. As Stenton pointed out, no forger reconstructing title deeds would invent documents showing his house alienating its possessions. Taken

[1] W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum* (1893), no. 297.

[2] F. Stenton, 'Medeshamstede and its colonies', *Essays Presented to James Tait*, edited by J. G. Edwards, V. H. Galbraith and E. F. Jacob, pp. 313–26. Reprinted in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, edited by D. M. Stenton (Oxford, 1970).

[3] W. T. Mellows, *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, p. 20. (Peterborough, 1949.)

[4] *Ibid.* p. 15.

[5] A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture*, I, *Before the Conquest*, p. 33. (Oxford, 1930.)

together, these records demonstrate that some documents of the cartulary of the pre-Danish abbey survived the invasions and were available to the chroniclers of the refounded house.

It is the purpose of this paper to suggest that another survival from pre-Danish times is to be found in the boundaries of the abbey estate recorded in what purports to be King Wulfhere's foundation charter.[1,2] No genuine foundation charter survives, possibly, Stenton suggests, because the foundation of the abbey preceded the introduction of land books, which are first found in the time of Archbishop Theodore. Post-Conquest writers at Peterborough believed that their house had been founded by Peada and by Oswy of Northumbria (Peterborough Chronicle, s.a. 656) but Bede (IV. 6) mentions only Seaxwulf as founder. Abbot Seaxwulf became bishop some time between 672, when his predecessor Winfrid attended the synod of Hertford (Bede, IV. 5) and 674 when Lindsey, over which Seaxwulf for a short time exercised episcopal authority, was lost to Northumbria.[3] The foundation must therefore have preceded the period 672–4 but probably took place some time during the reign of Wulfhere who died later in 674. It is possible that Wulfhere did make some sort of grant. The charter as it stands is a forgery but the estate with which Wulfhere is said to have endowed the infant monastery, as far as its bounds can now be identified, cannot have existed at any time after the Danish settlement. Its bounds do not coincide with the area claimed by the refounded monastery under the dubious charter of King Edgar except for a short distance which is an obvious addition, and they cut across the county boundaries which probably approximate to the bounds of the areas of settlement of the various Danish armies of the eastern midlands. On the other hand, the estate is congruent with the political divisions of Middle Anglia before the invasion as far as they can be discerned.

The boundaries of the estate described in the Wulfhere charter suggest a clumsy conflation of two separate areas. The first and larger area excludes the western half of the Soke of Peterborough, but extends into Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, and includes large areas over which the later house neither exercised nor claimed authority. The second area corresponds to the western half of the Soke which is awkwardly attached to the bounds of the larger estate. The bounds of the larger estate run a complete clockwise circuit from Medeshamstede to Northborough and back to Medeshamstede by way of the fens and meres. The second section starts again from Medeshamstede and runs to Northborough where it finishes on the bounds of the larger estate. It is clearly an addition. This section

[1] W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*. Peterborough version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, s.a. 656.

[2] Mellows, *Hugh Candidus*, p. 11.

[3] P. Hunter Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo Saxon England*, p. 256. (London, Cambridge University Press, 1949.)

defines the western boundaries of the Soke, which is believed to post-date the Danish settlement. The original boundaries of the Soke[1] are also found in the charter of King Edgar as recorded in the chronicle of Hugh Candidus.[2] This addition of the western half of the Soke to the earlier estate is no doubt an attempt to claim both the pre-Danish and post-Danish estates.

The counties of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire may well correspond in the main to the territories of the Danish armies associated with their respective county towns. Alone amongst the Danish armies which settled in the East Midlands the army of Stamford is unrepresented today by a shire. The Soke of Peterborough may have lain within the territory of this army, which may also have included parts of Rutland and Kesteven as well. The reasons for the failure of a 'Stamfordshire' to emerge are obscure,[3] but whatever the cause of this anomaly the county boundaries in this area are still untidy in spite of their recent revision.

The shires of Eastern England and the Soke were probably regularized at the English reconquest.[4] The boundaries of the Soke and the Isle of Ely would be further stabilized by the refoundation of the two abbeys of Peterborough and Ely by St Aethelwold. The boundary of the estate defined in the Wulfhere charter is either a genuine recollection of the first Medeshamstede estate or a post-Danish forgery of unknown purpose.

The bounds (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle),[5] as far as they can be identified run as follows. The map shows the location of the places numbered (Fig. 1).

'*From Medeshamstede (1) to Northborough (2) and so to the place called Folies*'

The Folly river (6 inch to the mile Ordnance Survey map) enters the River Welland in Peakirk parish. G.R. 181074 (3).

'*And so all the fen straight to Asendike*' (4)

The boundary must be approximately on the course of the Welland but probably excludes Crowland, see below. The Asendike enters the Welland at G.R. 260150.

The next section of the bounds is the most obscure. No point can be identified for certain until Throckenholt is reached.

'*and from Asendike to the place called Fethermude and so along the straight road ten*

[1] The Peterborough version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, s.a. 963, has inadvertently omitted the section of the bounds of the western Soke 'ad Welmisforde, et de Welmisforde usque ad Clive et inde usque ad Estonam et de Estun ad Stanford, et de Stanforde sicut acqua decurrit ad supradictam Northburch' (Mellows, p. 11).

[2] Mellows, *Hugh Candidus*, p. 33.

[3] H. Loyn, 'Late Anglo-Saxon Stanford', pp. 27–31. In *The Making of Stamford*, edited by A. Rogers. (Leics. University Press, 1965.)

[4] C. Hart, 'The Hidation of Huntingdonshire', *Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.* LXI (1968), 55–66.

[5] G. N. Garmonsway, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 656. (London, Dent, 1953.)

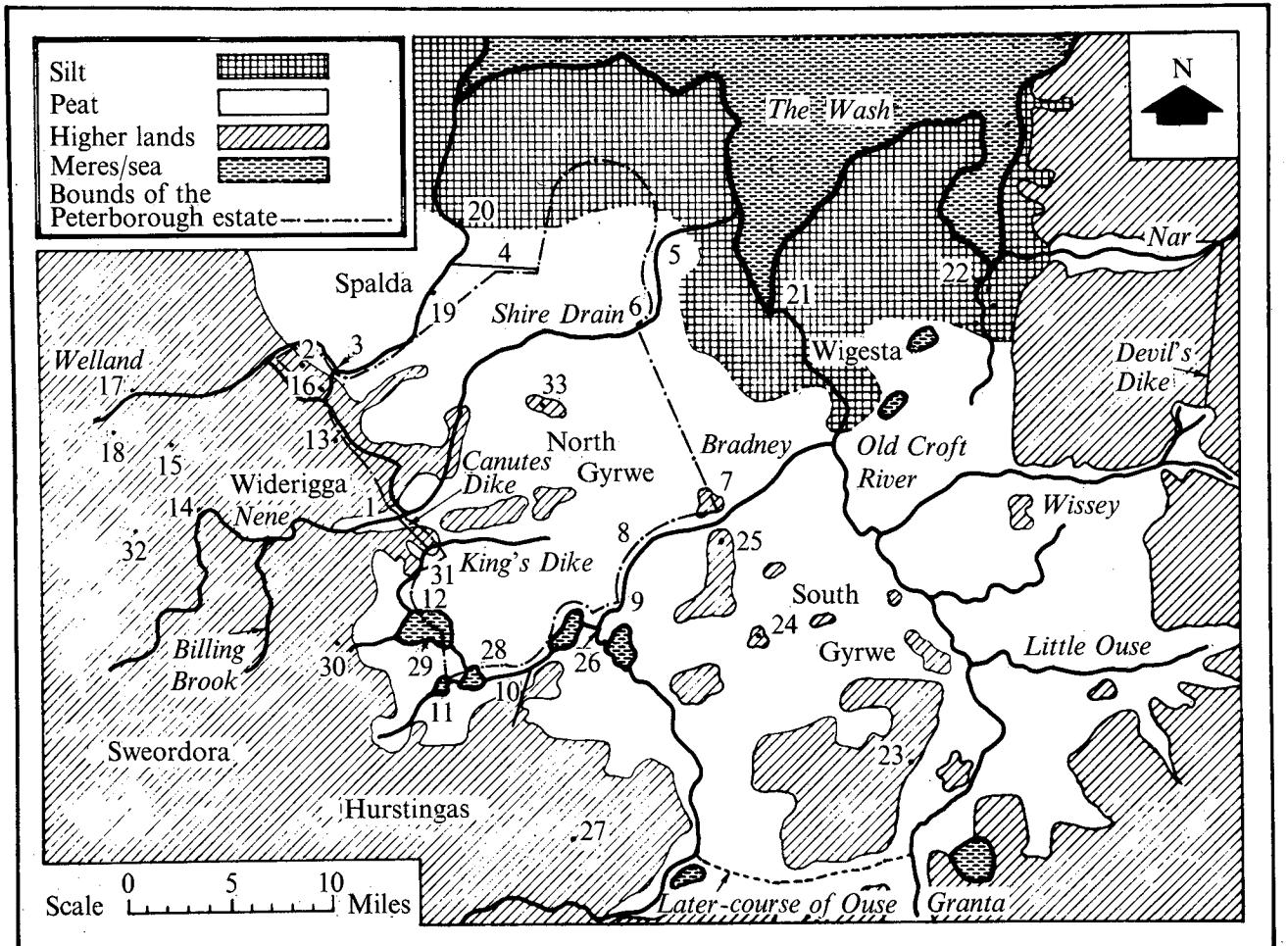

Fig. 1. Map of the Medeshamstede estate. (Key on p. 17.)

miles to Cuggedic and so to Raggewilh and from Raggewilh five miles to the straight stream (5) *that goes to Elm and to Wisbech and so three miles to Throkenholt'* (6)

There are a number of straight roads and dikes in this area, some Roman, some late medieval and some of unknown origin but of evident antiquity. The Asendike cuts across some early Roman features but is parallel to others and in its modern form probably represents a recutting of a late Roman dike,[1] but the SW–NE alignment of roads around Whaplode and Gedney probably dates from the drainage and settlement of 1241.[2] Some of the straight roads further north were accepted as Roman by the Ordnance Survey map of 1927 but they are not included in the 1956 Ordnance Survey map of Roman Britain and do not generally coincide with the Roman–British fields carefully mapped by Phillips and his co-workers. On the other hand some interesting coincidences do occur and the road running north from the end of the Asendike forms a parish boundary. The road in the charter may possibly be that from G.R. 302174 to G.R. 391160, 6½ miles long. Mellows[3] identified *Cuggedic* with King's Dike, Cambridgeshire, but on what grounds is uncertain. No early forms of the name of King's Dike recorded by Reaney[4] resemble *Cuggedic*. The '*straight stream that goes to Elm and Wisbech*' is identified by Reaney[5] with the Shire Drain (also Cat's Water or Old South Eau or Lady Nunn's Old Eau) which at one time carried a part of the waters of the Nene to a point north of Wisbech. The north-west boundary of Cambridgeshire preserves its course. This river runs through Throckenholt (G.R. 358095) but is not straight and can hardly be said to run to Elm and

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Bounds of the estate: 1, Medeshamstede; 2, Northborough; 3, Folies; 4, Asendike; 5, The Straight Stream; 6, Throckenholt; 7, Dereuord; 8, Greatcross; 9, Bradanae; 10, Paccelad; 11, Scaelfremere; 12, Whittlesey Mere.

Other sites: 13, Werrington; 14, Wansford; 15, Wittering; 16, Peakirk; 17, Stamford; 18, Easton; 19, Crowland; 20, Spalding; 21, Wisbech; 22, The Wiggenhalls; 23, Ely; 24, Honey Hill; 25, St Wendred's Church; 26, Wysemouth; 27, Hursting Stone; 28, Ubbmere; 29, Sweord Point; 30, Conington; 31, Kingsdelf; 32, Kingscliff; 33, Thorney.

NOTE: Before the drainage of the fens the courses of the rivers were variable. Exact reconstruction is not possible but the courses shown are taken mainly from Fowler, 1934. A more recent reconstruction of the Roman drainage pattern (Phillips, 1970, Sheet K), is similar but shows the lower Wissey on a more northerly course meeting the Ouse about 5 miles nearer the sea. The coastline shown here is based on the medieval sea bank. In early Saxon times the coastline lay one or two miles further inland, in some places.[6]

[1] C. W. Phillips, Hallam in *The Fenland in Roman Times*, p. 35. (Royal Geographical Society, 1970.)

[2] *Ibid.* p. 307.

[3] Mellows, *Hugh Candidus*, p. 236.

[4] P. H. Reaney, *The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, p. 208. English Place-Name Soc. XIX. (London, Cambridge University Press, 1943.)

[5] *Ibid.* p. xxviii.

[6] Phillips, *The Fenland in Roman Times.*

Wisbech, but a branch from G.R. 387103 ran into the Ouse at Elm via Begdale (G.R. 455065).[1] Even if the 'straight stream' is correctly identified it is not clear from the Peterborough version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle whether the preceding mark lay 3 miles upstream or down from Throckenholt but the Latin version of Hugh Candidus reads '*contra cursum magistre aque ad Trechenholt*'.[2] As the river flows west to east, the boundary mark (5) must have lain about 3 miles east of Throckenholt. Downstream is also more likely in view of the number of places named between Asendike and Throckenholt. Although this portion of the boundary is obscure it indicates that the estate extended some distance to the north into the fertile silt lands between the Welland and the Nene.

'*and from Throkenholt straight through all the fen to Dereuord* (7) *a distance of twenty miles*'

The name *Dereuord* survives today in the corrupt form of Dartford Road, March,[3] G.R. 416967, immediately north of the river. The ford was that across the old course of the Nene. Reaney does not quote the Peterborough charter amongst his references under Dartford Road but the identification is confirmed by the next point on the bounds. The distance as the crow flies is only nine miles.

'*and so to Greatcross*' (8)

The Great Cross stood in Dugdale's times at G.R. 377963 (8).[4] No trace of it now remains.

'*and from Greatcross through a clear stream called the Bradanae and from thence six miles to Paccelad*'

The Bradanae is an alternative name for the old course of the Nene (9).[5] Bradney Farm (G.R. 373942) and Bradney House, Benwick (G.R. 355925), preserve the name. If the bounds follow the river, Paccelad may be an old name for High Lode (10) which enters the Nene from the south near Ramsey (G.R. 287875).

'*and so on through all the meres and fens that lie toward the town of Huntingdon and these meres and lakes Scaelfremere* (11) *and Whittlesey Mere* (12) *and the others that lie thereabout, with the land and houses that are on the east side of Scaelfremere and from thence all the way to Medeshamstede*' (1)

The boundary here is roughly defined by the 'Old Course of the Nene' as shown on the current 1 inch to the mile Ordnance Survey maps. Scaelfremere was a small mere centred on G.R. 232870 (11). A derivative of the name survives in Charderbeach Farm (6 inch), G.R. 242879, significantly to the north-east of the mere where the houses mentioned probably stood.

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[1] Phillips, *The Fenland in Roman Times*. Map K.
[2] Mellows, *Hugh Candidus*, p. 11.
[3] Reaney, *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire . . .*, p. 253.
[4] W. Dugdale, Map in *History of Imbanking and Draining* (1662).
[5] Reaney, *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire . . .*, p. 254.

The relationship of the Wulfhere Charter Estates to the territories of the refounded abbey

The refounded abbey of Peterborough claimed that King Edgar granted right of toll to the abbey over an area corresponding to the modern Soke of Peterborough, together with an area to the south bounded on the west by Huntingdonshire and on the east by a line from Kingsdelf (31) to Whittlesey mere. Various versions of these grants are given in the Peterborough version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and by Hugh Candidus (Mellows, 1949, p. 33).[1] The boundary of this area is as follows:[2] 'Hos est primo de tota Whitlemere, usque ad theloneum regis quod iacet ad hundred de Normanscross, et de Witlesmere sicut Merelade venit ad aquam Nen, et inde sicut aqua currit ad Welmesforde (14) et de Welmesforde ad Stanforde (17) et de Stanford iuxta cursum aque usque ad Crulande (19), et de Crulande usque ad Must et de Must usque ad Kingesdelfe (31) et inde usque ad predictam Witlesmere.' Fishing rights were claimed over Whittlesey mere and the surrounding area 'usque ad hos termino circumiacentes, quorum septemtrionalis est ubi primum intratur Merelade de ampne Nen, orientalis ad Kingsdelfe, austalis ad Alduines baruue qui locus est in palude contra medietatem uie Vbbemerelade, occidentalis ubi aqua de Opbece finitur ad terram'.[3] Evidently the Nene referred to is the present Nene and not the 'old course' thereof. Norman Cross hundred lies in Huntingdonshire. From Whittlesey mere to the King toll of Normanscross hundred must cover the area west of the mere to the county boundary with Huntingdonshire. The Merelade drained from Whittlesey mere and entered the river Nene at about G.R. 210975. The next section of the bounds of the toll district as far as *Kingsdelf* corresponds with the boundaries of the Soke of Peterborough, of which the Must or Muscat formed the eastern boundary. Kingsdelf (31) is now a fen (G.R. 240955).[4] The area over which fishing rights were claimed corresponds roughly to the part of the toll area which lay south of the Nene and outside the Soke. The place where the Merelade enters the Nene and the Kingsdelf correspond in the two areas. Aldwins grove (baruue) is now lost, but the Ubbmere (28) lay just south of Whittlesey mere (G.R. 227873). Opbec is also lost but may correspond to the little stream leaving Stilton (G.R. 170900). The county boundary corresponds roughly to the edge of the fen.

It is notable that in both the Wulfhere and the Edgar charters the abbey was claiming authority outside the limits of the Soke, but the area claimed under the Edgar charter only overlaps to a limited extent with the area named in the Wulfhere charter. The latter's claims extend as far as March, the Edgar charter's claims only as far as Kingsdelf. The Wulfhere charter mentions land on the east side of the Mere, and by implication excludes the west side: the Edgar charter, however vague the

[1] Mellows, *Hugh Candidus*, p. 33.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 36. [3] *Ibid.* p. 35.
[4] Reaney, *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire . . .*, p. 260.

wording, includes the land as far as the county boundary. The Wulfhere charter also claimed territories some distance to the north-east of the Soke while the western half of the Soke was only added as an afterthought. These significant differences between the charters suggests that the Wulfhere charter contains some memories of boundaries as they existed before the Danish invasion.

The boundary between Mercia and East Anglia

At the time of the foundation of Medeshamstede the area of the Isle of Ely lay within the area of influence of East Anglia. The abbey of Ely was founded by Aethelthryth, the daughter of Anna king of the East Angles, although it probably lay in the territory of the South Gyrwe. The Gyrwe were a Middle Anglian folk, but at this time the Isle of Ely – at least in the geographical sense of the 7-mile-long ridge from Littleport to Stretham – was incorporated in East Anglia (Bede, IV. 19). How far to the north-west East Anglian influence stretched is uncertain, but St Wendred's Church, March (25), 1 mile south of the Dereuord, is dedicated to a saint otherwise only remembered at Ely, although both these dedications to St Wendred may be later in origin. For what it is worth, the *Liber Eliensis* XXII[1] associates Honey Hill, Chatteris (24) (G.R. 435885), with St Aethelthryth's priest Huna, but this association is rejected as improbable by Reaney,[2] who prefers to derive it from an otherwise unknown Anglo-Saxon of the same name. On the other hand there is no evidence that East Anglian influence extended into the north-west portion of the medieval Isle of Ely, and Thorney (33), which lies within the bounds described in the Wulfhere charter, was associated with Medeshamstede. It is therefore likely that, in the latter part of the seventh century, the boundary between Mercia and East Anglia lay along the old course of the Nene, and the ancient place-name March may well refer to this frontier. According to the anonymous *Life of Coelfrid*,[3] Botolph's monastery of Icanhoe lay in East Anglia. Darby,[4] discussing the movements of the Mercia–East Anglia frontier, accepted the identification of St Botolph's, Icanhoe, with Boston and as a result believed that East Anglia at one time extended into what is now Lincolnshire; but it is more likely to be identified with Iken in Suffolk where the church is also dedicated to St Botolph. There is no other evidence that East Anglia extended so far to the north and west. It is noteworthy that the Medeshamstede estate does not include any portion of the medieval half-hundred of Wisbech, although the boundary 'from the straight stream that goes from Elm to Wisbech' to *Dereuorde* must have coincided roughly with the present western boundary of this half-hundred.

[1] E. O. Blake, *Liber Eliensis*, p. 41. Camden Society, XCII. (London, Roy. Hist. Soc. 1962.)
[2] Reaney, *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire . . .*, p. 249.
[3] C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historica*. (London, Oxford University Press, 1896.)
[4] H. C. Darby, 'The Fenland Frontier in Anglo-Saxon England', *Antiquity* VIII (1934), 185–201.

Miller[1] and Pugh[2] point out that the Wisbech half-hundred had a number of characteristics which connect it with western Norfolk, and it was frequently referred to in terms which suggest that it had originally been an East Anglia ferthyng. Miller suggests that it was a 'late addition to the Isle awkwardly tacked on the rest' by the Danish army which belonged to Cambridge. Pugh attributes the addition to King Edgar. If the Wisbech area was also a part of East Anglia in the seventh century then it follows that the eastern boundary of the estate, from some miles north of Throckenholt down to the Ouse, coincided with the boundary between Mercia and East Anglia.

The Regiones *of the Middle Angles*

The estate is also congruent with the internal divisions of Middle Anglia as far as they can be identified. The North and South Gyrwe, each rated at 600 hides, are two of the numerous folk mentioned in the Tribal Hidage. From their position in the Tribal Hidage they are evidently both Middle Anglian folk. How this fact is to be reconciled with Bede's account of the foundation of Ely is not entirely clear. Bede refers to the *regio* of Ely, rated at 600 hides, which may well be identical with the 600 hides of the South Gyrwe of the Tribal Hidage. On the other hand Bede (IV. 19) refers to Ely as in the province of the East Angles. Bede states that Aethelthryth married Tonbert a prince of the South Gyrwe; Thomas of Ely, a much later and therefore less reliable source, states that she received the Isle as a dowry from her husband.[3] It is likely that the South Gyrwe included the gravel ridge from Littleport to Stretham and some of the outlying islands as far as the old course of the Nene. The South Gyrwe may have been included in the Middle Anglian portion of the Tribal Hidage either from association with the North Gyrwe or, because this area was under Mercian influence at the time of the Hidage, probably in the eighth century. Peterborough itself was also in the land of the Gyrwe (Bede, IV. 6). Crowland is described as 'on middan Gyrwan fenne' according to *Die Heiligen Englands*,[4] while a charter of 957[5] mentions 'on Gruwan fen' in the bounds of Conington, Hunts (30). If the South Gyrwe are coterminous with the Isle of Ely and the area south-east of the Nene then the North Gyrwan area must have corresponded fairly closely and possibly exactly with the Medeshamstede estate. According to the *Liber Eliensis* the Gyrwe 'are all the southern Angles living in the great fen in which lies

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[1] E. Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely*, pp. 14, 31–2. (London, Cambridge University Press, 1951.)

[2] P. B. Pugh in *Victoria History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, IV, p. 4. (London, Oxford University Press, 1953.)

[3] E. O. Blake, *Liber Eliensis*, p. 4.

[4] F. Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands*. (Hannover, 1889.)

[5] W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*. No. 1003.

the Isle of Ely'. The Medeshamstede estate together with the Isle of Ely and its satellites covers most of the area of the peat fen. The silt lands to the north were drained and cultivated in pre-Norman times, as the line of Domesday villages from Spalding (20) to the Wiggenhalls (22) demonstrates. Goodall[1] suggested that, because the south bank of the Nene was occupied by the Sweodora, the South Gyrwe must have lain between the Nene and Welland, and the North Gyrwe must have lain north of the Welland. Schram[2] accepts this suggestion though simultaneously placing the Spalda in the same area north of the Welland. This argument takes no account of the association of the Gyrwe with Ely.

In the Tribal Hidage the Gyrwe are followed by the East and West Wixna, the Spalda, the Wigesta (also Witgesta), Herefinna (also Herstinna), Sweodora, Gifla and Hicca. The Spalda are generally associated with Spalding (20), less than 5 miles north of the Asendike. Asendike may well have formed the boundary between the Gyrwe and Spalda. Mawer and Stenton,[3] following Goodall, associate the Herstinna with the double hundred of Hurstingstone in Huntingdonshire. The meeting place of the hundred in medieval times was the Hursting stone (27), or Abbot's Chair (G.R. 298750),[4] 6 miles south of Ramsey. This *regio* was larger than most (1200 hides), and probably covered all the elevated and still well-wooded area, between the Ouse and the fens, centred on Old Hurst. It may well have extended on the north to the old course of the Nene, which would form a natural boundary with the Medeshamstede estate. The hundred boundary now runs slightly north of the old course of the Nene along the present county boundary. The Hurstingas *regio* probably extended also some distance south and east of the Ouse into what is now Cambridgeshire.

The Sweodora take their name from the lost *Sweordora* (later Sword Point) (29), a peninsula on the south side of Whittlesey mere (G.R. 230293).[5] The ora, or shore, may have been the first landing place of the folk after entering Britain by way of the Nene. The Anglo-Saxons seem to have attached considerable importance to their first landing place, cf. Cerdices ora in Wessex or Cymenes ora of Sussex or even the Plymouth rock of their seventeenth-century descendants. It is clear from the reference in the charter to the east side of Scaelfremere that the site of Sweordora was excluded from the estate of Medeshamstede. This folk name is also associated with Sword dike or Swerdesdelf, an alternative name for Canute's Dike (G.R. 200976 to G.R. 223963) on the county boundary between Huntingdon and the Isle, although the name was

[1] A. Goodall, 'The Tribal Hidage', *Zeitschrift für Ortnamenforschung* I, Heft 3 (1925), 161–76.

[2] O. K. Schram, 'Fenland Place Names'. In *Early Cultures of North West Europe*, edited by Sir Cyril Fox and B. Dickins, pp. 429–41. (London, Cambridge University Press, 1950.)

[3] A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire*, p. xix. English Place-Name Society, III. (London, Cambridge University Press, 1926.)

[4] The stone, or part of it, is now preserved in the St Neots museum.

[5] Mawer and Stenton, *Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire.*

sometimes extended eastwards along the King's Dike towards Whittlesey or even to Ramsey.[1] Canute's Dike lies both on the edge of the Medeshamstede estate and the boundary of the double hundred of Normanscross, Huntingdonshire, which may roughly correspond to the land of the Sweordora, although in detail the present hundreds of Huntingdonshire post-date the Danish invasion.[2] Conington (30) (G.R. 175860) was probably the *villa regalis* of the folk.

Goodall also associated the Wigesta of the Tribal Hidage with the name of Wisbech, and from their position, between the Spaldas and the Hurstingas and close to the Gyrwe and Sweordora, it is likely that they lived in this area. The name Wisbech was associated by Ekwall[3] with the name of the River Wissey, Norfolk. Before an artificial cut was made to carry the waters of the Ouse northwards from near Littleport (G.R. 578876) towards King's Lynn, the waters of the Ouse turned north-west and ran by the Old Croft River towards Wisbech (see map, Fig. 1). The Wissey joined the Old Croft River at Welney (G.R. 525940).[4,5] Ekwall believed that the lost place-name Wysemouth on the bounds of Wisbech referred to this confluence. He also identified the Wusan of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle s.a. 905 with the Wissey. However, Reaney[6] showed that Wysemouth lay near Benwick (26) (G.R. 342907) at the point where the alternative westerly course of the Ouse, running north from Earith, Huntingdonshire, ran into the old course of the Nene. The Wusan was therefore more likely to be the River Ouse. The relationship between the names Wissey and Ouse is obscure. They evidently belong to the class of twin rivers with similar but distinguished names which are found in many parts of Britain, such as Thames and Thame, Dee and Don, Tamar and Tavy. The name Little Ouse has not been found to occur before 1576 and is likely to have originated after the diversion of the Great Ouse into what had previously been the Granta. Before the diversion the Little Ouse was evidently known as Brandon Creek. Brandon lies close to the river and the village of Brandon Creek lies at its mouth. The name Wisbech implies that the name Ouse was once extended past Wysemouth to the sea. Before the diversion, the land east of Wisbech would be linked to Norfolk by a dry corridor of silt lands in the area of the Wiggenhalls (22). The ancient continuity of the area is shown by the occurrence of two Wiggenhalls west of the modern Ouse and two to the east. Before the diversion they were separated only by a small stream draining to Lynn. This land corridor ran between the Nar to the north, which enters the sea at Lynn,

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[1] Reaney, *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire . . .*, p. 208.

[2] C. Hart, 'The Hidation of Huntingdonshire', *Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.* LXI (1968), 55–66.

[3] E. Ekwall, *Dictionary of English Place Names*, p. 526. (Oxford, 1960.)

[4] G. Fowler, 'The Extinct Water Ways of the Fens', *Geog. J.* LXXXIII (1934), 30–9.

[5] Wills, 'Geology and Physiography of the Cambridge District'. In *A Scientific Survey of the Cambridge District*. (British Association, 1938.)

[6] Reaney, *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire . . .*, p. 12.

and the Wissey to the south, and was closed to the east by the eastward-facing Norfolk Devil's Dike (not to be confused with the better-known Devil's Dyke on Newmarket heath). The story in Felix's *Life of St Guthlac*[1] of the blind elderly man whose sight was restored on a visit to the saint's tomb indicates that the *provincia Wissa* was not far from Crowland and accessible by boat. Both the Wisbech and the Wissey areas could be reached by boat, especially if the waterway from near Throckenholt to Elm, mentioned above, was still open, but the journey would be easier for a blind man from the Wisbech area. Stenton[2] identified the Wissa with the Wissey area and was followed by Colgrave,[3] but Blair[4] evidently accepts the identification of the Wissa of St Guthlac with the Wigesta of the Tribal Hidage although any relationship between the two names is doubtful. The St Bertin (Normandy) manuscript of the life of St Guthlac also identifies the *provincia Wissa* with the Wisbech area 'ubi castrum Wisbech postea ab episcopis Eliensibus constructum fuit'. As the addition must post-date the foundation of the diocese of Ely in 1109 it does not carry much weight. Schram[5] on the other hand does not identify the Wissa with the Wigesta but extends the Wissa westwards to the borders of the Spalda while placing the Wigesta between the Nene and Welland where he also places the South Gyrwe. It is possible that the Wigesta, who were one of the larger people in Middle Anglia (900 hides), stretched from the Gyrwe to the coast and from the region of the Spaldas in the west to the area between the Nar and Wissey in the east. On the evidence of the royal cemetery at Sutton Hoo the heart of East Anglia lay in south-east Suffolk. The Middle Anglian Wissa were probably a late and uncertain addition to the kingdom. The inclusion of the Wigesta in the Tribal Hidage, taken in conjunction with the evidence that the Wisbech area was once part of East Anglia before the Danish invasion, suggests that, as in the area of the South Gyrwe, the boundary between East Anglia and Mercia moved backwards and forwards as the balance of power changed. However, if the Wigesta are correctly located they provide a further example of a Middle Anglian people bordering on but not included in the Medeshamstede estate.

Yet another Middle Anglian folk can be located on the bounds of the Medeshamstede estate. The Widerigga of the Tribal Hidage are evidently to be associated with Wittering (15) (G.R. 055020), and Werrington (13) (G.R. 170030) (Witherington A.D. 972)[6,7] in the Soke of Peterborough. Although the Widerigga are listed some

[1] B. Colgrave, *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, p. 168. (London, Cambridge University Press, 1956.)
[2] F. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd ed., p. 295. (London, Oxford University Press, 1947.)
[3] Colgrave, *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, p. 195.
[4] P. Hunter Blair, 'The Moore Memoranda'. In *Early Cultures of North West Europe*, edited by Fox and Dickins, pp. 245–57.
[5] O. K. Schram, 'Fenland Place Names', pp. 429–41.
[6] W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, no. 1280.
[7] J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Northamptonshire*, p. xlv. English Place-Name Society X. (London, Cambridge University Press, 1937.)

distance after the Gyrwe in the Tribal Hidage, in what Goodall[1] refers to as the third portion of the list, Wittering and Werrington are the only places in England that can be associated with their name.[2] Wittering, by analogy with Spalding of the Spalda and Hitchin of the Hicca, was probably their major settlement and would be centrally situated in the region while Werrington, on the very edge of the Medeshamstede estate, may have been so named in contrast to the neighbouring Gyrwan villages. The third portion of the Tribal Hidage is particularly obscure, but includes, along with the Hicca and the Chilternsaetna, the Middle Anglian Faerpingas. The Faerpingas are usually identified[3] with the Feppingas, amongst whom the Scottish priest Diuma died while on a mission to the Middle Angles (Bede, III. 21). One copy of the Tribal Hidage has a marginal note to this effect,[4] but it should be noted that according to the Hyde Register Diuma was buried at Charlbury, Oxon.,[5] so the Feppingas probably lived in the Oxford area. Ekwall[6] identified the Bilmiga, immediately preceding the Widerigga, with the people of Great and Little Billing immediately east of Northampton, although Gover, Mawer and Stenton[7] rejected this identification on the basis of two aberrant late forms. Billing Brook, flowing into the Nene on the borders of Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire, may also preserve their name. On the other hand, the occurrence of Billingborough (G.R. 118340) and Billinghay (G.R. 160541) in Kesteven may indicate that they lay to the north. In either case it is evident that the scribe was making a further circuit through Middle Anglian territory at this point.

CONCLUSION

In spite of the fragmentary nature of the evidence it is clear that the Medeshamstede estate was bounded on all sides by folk of the Tribal Hidage including the Widerigga, Spaldas, South Gyrwe, Herstinna and Sweordora and probably the Wigesta. It follows that the estate must correspond largely or entirely to the land of the North Gyrwe. The size of the estate is of the right order of magnitude. Six hundred hides is a measure of taxable value not of area. Although most of the area was mere and marsh, cultivation would be possible on the dry lands around Peterborough and the silt land in the north. These areas are of exceptional fertility, while the marshes would yield quantities of fish and fowl far in excess of local demands. An assessment of 600 hides for about 200 square miles of land is not out of line with the 6,000 hides

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[1] Goodall, 'The Tribal Hidage', pp. 161–76.
[2] Ekwall, *Dictionary of English Place Names.*
[3] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 294.
[4] J. Brownbill, 'The Tribal Hidage'. *Eng. Hist. Rev.* XL (1925), 497–503.
[5] F. Stenton, in *The Victoria History of the County of Oxfordshire.* (Oxford, 1939.)
[6] E. Ekwall, *English Place Names. in '...ing'*. pp. 68–9. (Lund, 1962.)
[7] Gover *et al. Place-Names of Northamptonshire*, p. 132.

attributed to the 2,000 square miles or so of Lindsey, or the 66,000 hides attributed to the 20,000 square miles of Mercia and Middle Anglia together.

The later abbey of Thorney lay within the area of the estate and the abbey of Crowland lay on its borders. According to Hugh Candidus[1] and to the annal of 656 in the Peterborough version of the Chronicle, Thorney originated as a cell for monks of Medeshamstede who wished to become anchorites. The place-name Ancarig (Peterborough version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle s.a. 656) supports this although Stenton[2] doubts the association between Thorney and Medeshamstede on the grounds that a daughter foundation would not be made so close to the parent monastery. However, the account does not imply that the first foundation of Thorney was a full monastery although when Thorney was refounded in 972 it was as a separate foundation.

The form of the relationship between Crowland and Medeshamstede is uncertain. When Crowland was refounded it acquired an estate bounded on all sides by water-courses, the Nene on the west, the Asendike on the north, the Shipee (Shepeau Stow, G.R. 305 122, preserves the name) and the Southeau to the south, together with some land to the west of the Nene south of Spalding. This boundary was marked by a series of crosses of stone and wood, and is preserved today by the bounds of Crowland parish. The refounded monastery claimed that the territory originated in a gift of King Aethelbald in 716, and a forged charter[3] was prepared to substantiate the claim. The bounds of the Medeshamstede estate from '*Folies* to *Asendike*' ran near to or along the Welland, and bordered on or included part of the later Crowland estate. Beyond the Asendike the landmarks named are dissimilar and there is nothing to suggest that the northern salient of the Medeshamstede estate corresponds in any way to the eastern area of the Crowland estate. Crowland is not included in the list of daughter houses, preserved at Medeshamstede and discussed by Stenton, but in later times Crowland was in some way subject to Peterborough. The Peterborough version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, s.a. 1066 records that Leofric, the abbot of Peterborough, also held the abbacies of Crowland, Coventry and Burton-on-Trent, and Ordericus Vitalis records a similar tradition at Crowland itself.[4] Peachurch (16), only a few miles from Peterborough, is dedicated to St Pega, St Guthlac's sister. If the first house of Crowland was independent of Medeshamstede – and there is no indication of any connection in Felix's *Life of St Guthlac*,[5] then the bounds of the Medeshamstede estate must have lain some distance to the east of the Welland between *Folies* and the Asendike.

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[1] Mellows, *Hugh Candidus*, p. 12.

[2] F. Stenton, 'Medeshamstede and its colonies', pp. 313–26.

[3] W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, no. 66.

[4] M. Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Ordericus Vitalis*, II, 345. (London, Oxford University Press, 1969.)

[5] Colgrave, *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac.*

The hypothesis that the Medeshamstede estate is a forgery compounded of the estates of the refounded houses of Peterborough, Crowland and Thorney, on the supposition that Peterborough was in some sense the superior of Thorney and Crowland before the Danish settlement, must be considered. The boundary from Throckenholt to *Dereuord* corresponds roughly with the eastern boundary of Thorney and Whittlesey parishes. On the other hand, Thorney Abbey held sake and soke of Norman Cross Hundred from an early date, probably from the refoundation of the abbey under Edgar. It is unlikely that any forger would have failed to include this fertile area if he were merely compounding existing estates. Again, the addition of the western half of the Soke of Peterborough, while explicable on this assumption, looks from the way the circuits overlap more like a clumsy later addition. The areas of Crowland west of the Welland are also omitted from the Peterborough claim. It is unfortunate that the exact boundary of the Medeshamstede estate between Asendike and Throckenholt is unknown, but it is likely that the estate covered a considerable area to the north-east which was never included in the territories of any of the refounded houses of Peterborough, Crowland or Thorney.

Dedication of land on this scale to the church in early Saxon times was unusual. The extent of the authority that Medeshamstede possessed over the estate at the time is uncertain, but exemption from the king's feorm was probably the most important. The account of the foundation of Medeshamstede s.a. 656 attributes to King Wulfhere the words, 'This is but a small benefaction, but I desire that they hold it so royally and freely that neither tax nor rent be taken from it except for the monks alone.' Even though the words are a later invention the sentiment may be correct.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to Professor D. Whitelock and the late Professor G. N. Garmonsway for a number of helpful comments and suggestions and to Mr H. Willis who prepared the map. My conclusions are however entirely my own.

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HEREWARD 'THE WAKE'

CYRIL HART

I. HEREWARD'S HISTORIOGRAPHY

IT was Hereward's fate to join that select company of national heroes whose memory is preserved more vividly in legendary sources than in the pages of the history books.[1] Tales of his stubborn but forlorn resistance to the Conqueror captured the imagination of the Anglo-Norman chroniclers, and an extensive folklore literature was circulating within a few decades of his death. Much of this was made easily available in print in the middle years of the last century;[2] it was just the sort of material that contemporary writers were looking for, and Charles Kingsley's stirring tale was a landmark in the development of the historical novel in England.[3]

But for Kingsley's story, it is doubtful if Freeman would have devoted quite so much space to Hereward in the fourth volume of his *Norman Conquest*, published just five years later.[4] 'All that is known, or could possibly be surmised, about Hereward is exhaustively discussed by Freeman' is the surprising claim made recently by Professor D. C. Douglas, who thus summarily dismissed the topic in a footnote.[5] Alas, it is not so. Freeman's account suffers from his uncritical acceptance of Florence of Worcester, and his failure to make use of Hugh Candidus as a source; he wrongly

[1] Plummer summarized it neatly: 'Hereward ... has a brief life in history and a long one in romance' (*Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, II, 265).

[2] Florence of Worcester by Thorpe in 1848–9, with English translations by Stevenson in 1853 and Forester in 1854; Orderic Vitalis by le Prevost and Delisle in 1838–55, with English translation by Forester in 1854; William of Poitiers by Giles in 1845; Gaimar by Michel in 1836; the pseudo-Ingulf translated by Stevenson in 1854; the *Gesta Herewardi* by Michel in 1836 and Wright in 1850; the *Liber Eliensis* by Stewart in 1848; the *Chronicle of Abbot John* by Giles in 1845.

[3] *Hereward the Wake*, 1866. Kingsley, who was Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge (though seldom appearing there) acknowledges in his preface his indebtedness to Thomas Wright (an editor of the *Gesta Herewardi*) for an introduction to the sources. There have been very many subsequent editions and reprints, right up to the present day; one in 1954 contains a useful account of the literary background by L. A. G. Strong. Needless to say, Kingsley's work did not mark the final culmination of Hereward's mythology; fresh contributions continue to appear. In 1909, for example, Douglas C. Stedman, B.A., Dublin University Prizeman in Anglo-Saxon and Middle English, produced his *The Story of Hereward, the Champion of England*. On p. vi of the introduction he wrote: 'The incident (chapter X) of Hereward's single combat with Harold Hardrada is, perhaps, a somewhat daring innovation. But I trust its description is true to the spirit of the period, and what more natural than that the two most famous champions of the day should seek to show their valour on each other's crest?'

[4] *Norman Conquest*, IV, 454–65, 804–12.

[5] *William the Conqueror* (1964), p. 221 n. 5.

thought the *Gesta Herewardi* to contain 'essentially the same' account of Hereward's doings as the *Liber Eliensis*; and as long ago as 1895 Round drew attention to important information about Hereward in Domesday, which Freeman had overlooked.[1] More recently, E. O. Blake has subjected some of the sources to a fresh analysis;[2] new editions of the chroniclers have appeared,[3] and sufficient materials have been brought together on the career of one of his companions to shed more light on the story of Hereward's insurrection.[4] A century has passed since Freeman wrote on Hereward, and the time is ripe for a reappraisal.

Not without trepidation, therefore, we venture to review once again Hereward's place in history. Starting from the solid ground of the Lincolnshire Domesday, we shall explore the rather more sticky territory of the fenland monastic chroniclers, journeying first to Peterborough, thence to Ely, and so back to Peterborough and Crowland; after a brief glance at the legendary quagmire that engulfed later chroniclers further afield, we return to *terra firma* with an account of one of Hereward's companions, drawn mainly from Domesday and the records of Thorney and Ramsey. Having reviewed the evidence, we shall then see if it leads us to any fresh conclusions.

II. HEREWARD IN DOMESDAY

Hereward was 'a Lincolnshire thegn of moderate estate'.[5] His known holdings amounted to just over eight carucates, scattered along the fenland margin to either side of the Roman road running northwards from Market Deeping through Bourne towards Sleaford.[6] They were grouped in three parcels, comprising an estate at Rippingale, Aslackby, Avethorpe and Laughton, all about five miles north of Bourne, a second estate at Witham on the Hill, Lound, Toft and Manthorpe, all lying just south-west of Bourne,[7] and a dependency of Witham at Stowe and Barholm, west of Market Deeping.[8]

In none of these was he a direct landowner in his own right. The Rippingale property belonged to Crowland Abbey, who held it *pro victu monachorum*; it was rented from the abbot by an agreement which Hereward had to re-negotiate each

[1] *Feudal England*, pp. 159–66. Honourable mention should also be made of Professor T. F. Tout's account of Hereward, published in 1891 in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[2] *Liber Eliensis* (Royal Historical Society, 1962), pp. xxxiv, lv, lvii.

[3] Notably A. Bell's edition of *L'Estoire des Engleis*, by Geffrei Gaimar, for the Anglo-Norman Text Society (Oxford, 1960).

[4] C. Hart, *The Early Charters of Eastern England* (Leicester, 1966), pp. 236–8.

[5] F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (2nd edn. 1947), p. 597.

[6] *The Lincolnshire Domesday*, ed. C. W. Foster and T. Longley (Lincoln Record Society, 1924), entries 42/9, 10, 13; 72/48.

[7] *Ibid.* 8/34.

[8] *Ibid.* 8/35–8; 72/4.

year. He held the Witham estate from the Abbey of Peterborough, but here the tenancy appears to have been on a more long-term basis.[1]

III. THE SACKING OF PETERBOROUGH IN 1070

Hereward, then, was a 'man of the monks', to quote one of the chroniclers,[2] and this relationship is the clue to much of his recorded activities. We turn with quickened interest to the early accounts of Hereward written by monks of Peterborough, whose abbot had been his chief landlord. Here our primary authorities are two parallel accounts of the abbey's affairs; one written in Old English by an unknown Peterborough monk in the year 1121, and forming a series of additions to the 'E' version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,[3] and the other in Latin by Hugh Candidus, sub-prior of Peterborough, written some time between 1155 and 1175.[4] Both draw on a still earlier version of Hereward's activities, now lost; each reproduces the substance of this prototype, and the bulk of the story is identical in the two derived versions, but each preserves some details missing in the other. This early Peterborough material traces the main outline of events during the first part of Hereward's revolt; factually the story is trustworthy, but the account is of course coloured by the bias of the monks.

The scene is set in the late spring of the year 1070, when the arrival of the Danish king Swein at the mouth of the Humber found the monastery of Peterborough *sine baculo*, for Brand, the last abbot of native extraction, had died towards the end of the previous year. On Swein's arrival, the local population made peace with him, for he was expected to gain the English crown. A group of Danish housecarls under Earl Osbeorn were dispatched to Ely, accompanied by Bishop Christian (of Aarhus). Here they were joined 'by the English (*sic*) people of all the Fenlands', including Hereward.

At Peterborough, the monks received a warning that Hereward and his companions were going to plunder the monastery, giving as their excuse the fact that a

[1] This may be deduced from careful examination of the Domesday entries for the 'Land of St Peter of Burg' (*ibid.* 8/1–39); and see Round, *Feudal England*, p. 307. Here the first twelve items list the demesne estates (with their dependencies) which must have been farmed out to tenants in the time of Edward the Confessor; of these, Hereward's holding at Witham is a typical example. It seems likely that these tenancies were in fact life leases, similar to that by which Ælfgar, a chaplain of Queen Edith, held Burghley in Northamptonshire from the abbey. Cf. *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. W. Mellows (Oxford, 1949), p. 67; and for the topic in general R. Lennard, *Rural England 1086–1135* (Oxford, 1959), chap. VI.

[2] Cf. *Hugh Candidus*, p. 79: '*ipse Herewardus homo monachorum* erat'.

[3] D. Whitelock, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London, 1961), p. xvi.

[4] *Hugh Candidus*, pp. xvi–xvii.

Norman named Turold had been appointed to the abbacy by the Conqueror. Turold had previously been abbot of Malmesbury, and had acquired there a reputation for tyranny which had already reached the Peterborough area before he himself had arrived at the monastery. On the eve of the sacking of Peterborough, Turold had got as far as Stamford in his journey to take up his office. He had with him 160 French knights, and it was evident that the success of Hereward's raid would be dependent on his reaching the monastery before the arrival of Turold's company. The monks sent Ivar the sacristan to warn Turold of the situation; he carried with him as much as he could of the abbey's portable treasures.

He was, however, too late. The next morning (2 June) Hereward and his companions arrived at the abbey in a number of small boats, which had negotiated by night the fenland waterways between Ely and Peterborough. The monks would not admit them, so they burned down their houses, and indeed all but one of the houses in the town.[1] Then, having set fire to the Bolhithe gate, they forced entry through it into the grounds of the monastery. Ignoring the monks' request for a truce, they entered the abbey church and commenced to rob it of its treasures. Their plunder included the golden crown and footrest of the rood, a renowned altar frontal worked in gold, silver and precious stones (which they found hidden in the steeple), eleven gold and silver shrines,[2] fifteen gold and silver crucifixes, and treasure in money, books and vestments beyond price. They told the monks that they did this out of loyalty to the monastery, to save it all falling into the hands of the Normans. The monks were scattered, but apparently unharmed physically. Long before Abbot Turold could arrive on the scene, Hereward and his men had re-embarked upon their boats for Ely, carrying the treasure with them, together with Æthelwold the Prior and many of the older monks.

IV. THE ELY CAMPAIGN OF 1071

Soon afterwards, by agreement with the Conqueror, the Danes who had come from Northumbria left Ely in their boats, taking with them the loot from Peterborough. In spite of a storm in the North Sea, most of them reached Denmark. Hereward and his local compatriots remained behind in the Cambridgeshire fenlands, unmolested by

[1] To understand this passage fully, one must remember that the abbey itself was surrounded by a wall; the 'houses of the monks' consisted of a cluster of tenements which had grown up outside the wall, to house the servants of the abbey, and which were therefore abbey property. The Bolhithe gate gave access to the abbey precincts from the waterfront of the River Nene; it lay therefore to the east of the abbey.

[2] In one of these were the relics of the holy Oswald, considered by the monks to be the most sacred and precious of all treasures. *Hugh Candidus*, p. 81.

the Normans for the best part of a year, during which we have no news of their activities; and with this gap, our authorities change. The Peterborough chroniclers no longer show any interest in Hereward, and we pick up his story from almost identical passages entered in the 'D' and 'E' versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The passage in 'D' was thought by N. R. Ker to be entered in a strictly contemporary hand, or very nearly so.[1] Professor Whitelock has queried this,[2] but her argument for a later date for this entry is not a strong one; in any case, the hand cannot well be later than the closing years of the eleventh century. Next to Domesday, therefore, this entry represents our earliest surviving information on Hereward, and deserves respect accordingly.[3]

The annal is dated 1072 in D, but relates to events in 1071. We are told that Earl Morcar (of Northumbria), Bishop Æthelwine (of Durham), and Siward Bearn (a Northumbrian leader),[4] who were in revolt, came by boat to Ely with many hundred men. The Conqueror blockaded Ely, placing a naval force on the seaward side and then building a causeway[5] to allow his land forces to enter the occupied territory. Hereward slipped away with some followers and is heard of no more; all the remainder, with their ships, weapons and treasure, fell into the Conqueror's hands.

There is no difficulty in understanding the gist of this entry, if one pays sufficient regard to the topography. The Cambridgeshire fenlands at this period consisted of a wide expanse of undrained swamp, through which meandered the many tributaries of the River Ouse. Here and there, islands of firm ground stood out above the surrounding fen. Some of these were quite small, sufficient to support the population of a single village, such as Stuntney; others, rather larger, provided sufficient tillage and pasture for communities the size of Whittlesey, Chatteris or Littleport; one narrow island some six miles long was the site of three separate village settlements at March, Wimblington and Doddington.

All of these were eclipsed in size by the island upon which Ely itself lay, together with the villages of Downham, Witchford, Wentworth, Witcham, Sutton, Haddenham, Linden End, Wilburton and Stretham.[6] This fertile tract of land, measuring

[1] N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), p. 254.

[2] D. Whitelock, *op. cit.* p. xvi.

[3] This part of D appears to have been written while the Chronicle was at York; the archetype of E was written at Canterbury, some time before 1121; it is not known whether this archetype copied D directly for the annal concerning Hereward, or made use of some later revision of D, now lost.

[4] For Siward B(e)arn, see *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls Series, II (1885), 190, 214. He was clearly a man of the North, and Round's suggested identification with a Warwickshire landowner has little to commend it (*VCH Warwicks*, I, 277, 283).

[5] OE *brycge*, probably wrongly translated as 'bridge' in this context (e.g. by Whitelock, *op. cit.* p. 154); see E. V. Gordon, *The Battle of Maldon* (1954 edn), pp. 3–4.

[6] The fenland islands are best shown on the map facing p. 220 of E. Miller's *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely* (Cambridge, 1951), and the map in the end cover of A. K. Astbury's *The Black Fens* (1958).

some twelve miles from southwest to northeast, and ten miles from southeast to northwest,[1] was admirably suited for defence, for the normal means of approach was by water only. Sea-going vessels could reach it from the North Sea via the Wash, the River Ouse, and its tributary the Wellstream, navigable as far inland as Littleport.

The strategy of the Conqueror consisted of placing a naval blockage across the Ouse or the Wellstream, so bottling up the Northumbrians and preventing their escape, then attacking overland from the southeast, constructing in the course of the campaign a long causeway across the tributaries of the Ouse and their adjacent fenland to gain access to the island. The establishment of this landward approach suggests to me that the Conqueror was relying mainly on horse-borne troops for the reduction of the defenders.[2] Foot soldiers could have reached the island on small boats.

V. HEREWARD'S LATER CHRONICLERS

To some extent, the account of the Conqueror's campaign against Ely given in the D version of the Chronicle can be supplemented by material surviving in Book II of the *Liber Eliensis*; but here we must tread warily, for the ground is treacherous. The compiler of this section of the *Liber* drew from a range of sources of widely differing historical credibility. These he brought together in a most unskilful manner, and the sources themselves have since mostly disappeared. The complicated history of the management of this material has been admirably described by the recent editor of the *Liber*,[3] and only the briefest summary will be attempted here.

The most valuable of these lost sources comprised a series of recollections of Hereward's associates at the siege of Ely, compiled by Richard, one of the monks, early in the following century. These heavily embroidered tales of dimly remembered events by old campaigners were probably written down in the vernacular. Later, some time between 1109 and 1131, Richard revised and translated his story into Latin; two slightly differing versions survive, forming chapters 21–5 of the *Gesta Herewardi* (which we shall consider later), and chapters 104–7 of Book II of the *Liber Eliensis*. Yet a third version of these tales was composed in Latin by an anonymous author, who modelled his narrative on the language of a biblical source, I and

[1] These are the measurements based on modern maps. The Ely monks were underestimating the distances when they reckoned the island to be 'seven miles long from *Cotinglade* to Littleport or to the Abbot's Delph . . . and four miles broad from *Churchwere* to Stretham Mere' (*Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake, pp. 2–3). *Cotinglade* was evidently between Stretham and Cottenham, not far from the present Cottenham Lode. Abbot's Delph is the extension of Crooked Drain to Shippea Hill. *Churchwere* is probably to be sought to the northwest of Sutton. See further Miller's *Ely*, pp. 12–13, and *Liber Eliensis*, p. 3 n. 1.

[2] The cavalry is, indeed, mentioned specifically in *Liber Eliensis*, II, c. 102.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. lv–lvii.

II Maccabees; this *opusculum* was then enriched with a few other details drawn from the stock of tradition at Ely, and the resulting account is preserved for us in chapter 102 of the *Liber*. Finally, in chapters 109–11 we have a separate description of the Conqueror's assault on the island, told from the Norman angle.

As might be expected from such local sources, these accounts, though muddled in their chronology, are reasonably accurate in matters of topography. Their location at *Alreheðe* of the causeway constructed by the Conqueror is a case in point.[1] Writing *c.*1150, Hugh Candidus mentions three landward approaches to the island as being in existence in his day.[2] He does not name them, but it is apparent from later references that these were the three causeways at Earith, Aldreth and Stuntney.[3]

In recent years an attempt has been made to controvert the assumption that *Alreheðe* in the *Gesta* refers to the Aldreth causeway, but the argument put up against this ancient identification appears to me to be weak and unconvincing.[4] What settles the issue, to my mind, is the account in *Liber Eliensis*, book II, c. 107, which states that the Conqueror's operation at *Alreheðe* followed immediately after his successful crossing of *Cotinglade*, which from other Ely references we know to have divided Cottenham and Stretham fens. This points clearly to Aldreth as the objective of the attack; and indeed the place-name evidence for this is so strong that it allows little room for any other conclusion.

The Ely traditions we have been discussing contain much mythology and folklore,

[1] *Gesta Herewardi*, cc. 21, 25; *Liber Eliensis*, book II, cc. 104, 107, 111. The spelling *Aldreheðe* occurs in one version of c. 111.

[2] *Hugh Candidus*, p. 5.

[3] See the map on p. 107 of H. C. Darby's *The Medieval Fenland* (Cambridge, 1940). Professor Darby devotes pp. 106–13 of his book to an account of the fenland causeways.

[4] T. C. Lethbridge, 'An attempt to discover the site of the battle of Aldreth', *Proc. C.A.S.* XXXI (1931), 155; see also XXXIV (1934), 90–2; XLIV (1944), 23–5; and *VCH Cambs* I, 332–2. See also A. K. Astbury, *The Black Fens* (1958), pp. 49–51.

Lethbridge's main argument rests on his failure to discover archaeological evidence of a battle at Aldreth High Bridge, and on some finds suggestive of a battle at Stuntney causeway. To my mind, archaeological techniques are not yet so far advanced as to allow one to reach such decisive conclusions from failure to demonstrate the survival of artifacts from a battle site. Moreover, Lethbridge himself admits that the Norman archaeological level of the fens has disappeared, through wastage. As for the finds from Stuntney, no doubt there were many campaigns for the possession of the island, other than the one in 1071 which we are considering. There is in fact no literary evidence for the existence of causeways at Stuntney and Earith prior to 1150.

The next point he makes is in connection with the length of the causeway, given as only four furlongs in the *Gesta*; the shortest route for the passage of the fens at Aldreth would have been two miles. But we have seen already how wildly inaccurate were the Ely chroniclers in their estimates of linear dimensions; the same degree of inaccuracy is to be found in many passages in Domesday, and in early estimates of road distances (cf. *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*; the papers of F. M. Stenton, edited by D. M. Stenton, Oxford, 1970, p. 243: 'the distances set down upon the map are nearly always less than the measured mileage between the same points').

but here and there one encounters statements on matters other than topography that carry conviction as to their historical content. We shall have occasion to return to some of these later in our review.

Meanwhile, we must return to Peterborough to take stock of a work known as the *Gesta Herewardi*, the surviving form of which is entered into the thirteenth-century Register of Robert of Swaffham, a manuscript preserved until recently in the Peterborough chapter library, but now, I believe, transferred to the University Library at Cambridge.[1] We have noted already that this was written *c.* 1109–31 by Richard, a monk of Ely. Of its thirty-six chapters five (cc. 21–5) deal with 'things we happened to hear from our own people (i.e. the inhabitants of the island of Ely), with whom he (i.e. Hereward) was intimate', and these are paralleled closely by chapters 104–7 of book II of the *Liber Eliensis*, discussed above. The remainder comprises a translation of extracts from 'a few scattered leaves, partly rotten by damp, and decayed, and partly damaged by tearing', which formed part of a larger book concerning 'the acts of giants and noble warriors', written in the vernacular, allegedly by Leofric the Deacon, who is said to have been Hereward's priest at Bourne (Lincs).

If we can accept this derivation, the cultivation of saga by the native peasantry and freemen of Lincolnshire continued into the early years of the twelfth century, and Hereward's exploits, real and imaginary, figured largely among the tales that were told in the mead hall. The *Gesta* would indeed repay a literary investigation by those interested in the influence of the Anglo-Saxon epic on the development of the Anglo-Norman romance.

The historical content of this material is much lower than that derived from the recollections of the Ely inhabitants, but we are probably safe in accepting the tradition that one of Hereward's motives in going to Ely resulted from a rumour that the Conqueror intended to replace Thurstan, the English abbot, by a Norman (c. 21), and that when the Conqueror was discussing peace terms with Thurstan, he threatened to establish his knights on the Ely possessions outside the island (c. 26). We shall find confirmation elsewhere that Hereward's later activities were centred partly on *Bruneswald* (c. 22), and attention might also be drawn here to the prominence given in this chapter of the *Gesta* to one Thurkil whom it names as a companion of Hereward, and whose career remains to be considered.

A later Peterborough manuscript, the Chronicle of Abbot John,[2] reproduces much

[1] The edition from which I have worked is that of S. H. Miller, *De Gestis Herewardi Saxonis*, with a translation by the Rev. W. D. Sweeting, published at Peterborough in 1895. It is usually to be found bound up with *Fenland Notes and Queries*, vol. III (1895–7). For other editions, see *Liber Eliensis*, p. xxxiv n. 11.

[2] Edited by Joseph Sparke in *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Varii* (1727), and by J. A. Giles for the Caxton Society (1845). The MS is described by W. T. Mellows in *Henry of Pytchley's Book of Fees* (Northants. Record Soc. II, 1927, xxv–xxvii).

of the material in the *Gesta Herewardi*, and twice refers to Hereward *le Wake*, the name by which Hereward is known to a larger public, through its adoption by Kingsley for the title of his novel. It is of course quite unhistorical, being derived from the same local tradition as that underlying the spurious pedigree in the pseudo-Ingulf, in which Hereward appears in the family tree of the Wake lords of Bourne.[1] The fact is that Hereward's family connections are entirely unknown.[2]

The pseudo-Ingulf comes from Crowland, another fenland monastery, whose history is closely linked with that of Peterborough. The further development of this legendary pedigree can be studied in B.M. Cotton Charter xiii, 9. Entitled 'Role de la Genealogie des seigneurs de Brunne et de Deping', this gives the alleged descent of the family and peerage of Wake from Leofric, Earl of Chester and Hereward the Wake, to Edmund Holland, Earl of Kent in 1407; much of the legendary history of Hereward is recited, and the claim is made that he and his wife were buried at Crowland.[3]

Orderic Vitalis the Anglo-Norman chronicler stayed at Crowland in 1115, and his account of Hereward is therefore probably based on local tradition, but it is valueless, as are those of William of Poitiers and Florence of Worcester. The version by Gaimar (ll. 5457–5704) was written *c.* 1140, while the author was in all probability resident in Lincolnshire,[4] and betrays considerable knowledge of Hereward's mythology; it includes a few historical details, such as that of his activities in the forest of *Bruneswald* (l. 5548). We have now reviewed all the major sources for the history of Hereward's landed interests and his activities at Peterborough and Ely. Before attempting a reassessment of his historical significance, a pause must be made to take a look at the biography of one of his companions.

VI. TURKIL OF HARRINGWORTH[5]

A well-known passage in the *Gesta* describes the outlaws feasting with the monks at Ely, some time after the departure from the island of the Danes from Northumbria. At the high table the abbot was flanked by Hereward on his right and by one Turkil on his left.[6] Turkil *Cild*, evidently the same person, appears again earlier in the same

[1] *Ingulf and the Historia Croylandensis*, by W. G. Searle (Camb. Antiq. Soc. 1894), pp. 93–104.

[2] J. H. Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 159–66.

[3] It will be noted what a very respectable image Hereward had developed at the hands of the medieval chroniclers. From a landless outlaw of small beginnings and unknown parentage, he had risen to a place of honour in the pedigree of the highest in the land.

[4] A. Bell, *op. cit.* p. lii.

[5] For the whole of this section see C. Hart, *The Early Charters of Eastern England* (Leicester, 1966), pp. 236–8.

[6] *Gesta Herewardi*, c. 22; *Liber Eliensis* II, c. 105.

chapter in a short list of the leaders of the revolt; here his name is coupled with that of Ordgar, who is presumably to be identified with the Cambridgeshire sheriff of this name.[1] These *illustres viri* are given the title of *proceres* in the Ely account, which separates them from the three *nobiliores patrie* of the northern Danelaw who make up the rest of the list. A *procer* was a thegn of substance, owner of at least 40 hides of land, and his rank is not encountered north of the River Welland.

There can be little doubt that this man is to be identified with Turkil of Harringworth, a large landowner in the eastern Danelaw, who according to an entry in the Red Book of Thorney left his lands after the Norman Conquest, and went over to 'the Danes who were his kinsmen'[2] – surely a reference to the local events of 1070–1.

Substantial biographical material survives for Turkil, who was entrusted by King Cnut, late in his reign, with the important task of apportioning the fenland west and south of Whittlesey Mere between Sawtry and the neighbouring villages.[3] A third of the vill of Sawtry, comprising an estate of 10 hides, belonged to his wife Thorgunnr, who left it by will to Ramsey Abbey just before the Norman Conquest, being then 'very old and sick of body'.[4] Turkil leased from Thorney Abbey a 6-hide estate in the neighbouring vill of Conington;[5] the remaining 3 hides, which he held as freehold, were also destined for Thorney, and he and his wife figure prominently in the early list of those admitted to the abbey's confraternity[6] – a privilege preserved for those who had made substantial gifts for the maintenance of the monks.

Turkil's remaining Huntingdonshire property was a 15-hide estate at Leighton Bromswold.[7] From here the great forest of Bruneswald stretched westwards into Northamptonshire,[8] being hunted by the king from his royal manor of Brampton.

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[1] DB I, ff. 197, 199.

[2] Dugdale, *Monasticon* II, 604. Turkil's name is of Scandinavian origin, as is that of his wife Thorgunnr. In the Leighton Bromswold entry in DB he is referred to as Turkil the Dane, a title repeated in the foundation charter of Sawtry Abbey (see below).

[3] *Cartularium Rameseiensis*, R.S., I, 163–4.

[4] *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, R.S., pp. 75–6, 199. After his wife's death, Turkil went to Ramsey and confirmed her bequest, offering the gift upon the high altar there in the presence of many witnesses. Subsequently the estate was leased back to Turkil by the abbey (DB, fo. 206*b*; *VCH Hunts* I, 351*a*). Early in the following century the land was used for the foundation endowment of Sawtry Abbey, a dependency of Ramsey.

[5] Dugdale, II, 604; Hart, *Early Charters of Eastern England*, pp. 38–9.

[6] D. Whitelock, 'Scandinavian Personal Names in the Liber Vitae of Thorney Abbey', in *Saga-Book of the Viking Society*, XII (1937–45), 127–53.

[7] DB I, fo. 203*b*: *VCH Hunts*, p. 341*b*.

[8] F. M. Stenton in *Anglo-Saxon England* (2nd edn, 1947), pp. 281–2. In c. 19 of the *Gesta Herewardi*, Bruneswald is wrongly located 'juxta Brunne', i.e. Bourne, Lincs, due no doubt to the etymological similarity between the two names. However, in c. 27 of the same source it is referred to as being part of the great woods of Northamptonshire.

It is no mere coincidence that both Brampton and Bruneswald figure in the *Gesta*,[1] for the outlaws taking refuge in Bruneswald were no doubt sustained from Turkil's estate.

Besides these large Huntingdonshire properties, Turkil owned several Northamptonshire holdings, including 5 hides at Harringworth, the place from which he took his name,[2] 6 hides at Fotheringay,[3] 5 hides at Lilford, 1 virgate at East Farndon, and 2 hides (unidentified) lying in Stoke hundred.[4] It seems probable that he is also the Turkil who held numerous estates, amounting in all to over 14 carucates, in Hereward's own territory – the wapentakes of Aveland, Ness, Beltisloe, Haverstoe and Kirton in the Kesteven division of Lincolnshire, including 6 bovates in Bourne itself.[5] If this identification is correct, Hereward and Turkil were neighbouring landowners – Turkil being incomparably the richer of the two.

Turning our attention to Cambridgeshire, we find references in Domesday to a thegn named Tochi who had held of the Confessor 2 hides in Carlton, 3 virgates in West Wratting, a hide at West Wickham, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides at Kennet; in addition he held by lease two Ely properties, 7 hides at Weston Colville and $4\frac{1}{2}$ hides at Trumpington.[6] In the Domesday account of the Kennet property he appears as Tochil, and in the description of the Trumpington estate in the *Inquisitio Comitatu Cantabrigiensis* he is named Tochill,[7] the version in the *Inquisitio Eliensis* gives the variants Thorkill, Torchil and Thurchil,[8] so we may reasonably suppose DB Tochi to be an abbreviated spelling of the Scandinavian personal name Turkil.

This same thegn held Castle Acre, West Walton and numerous other estates in north and west Norfolk.[9] All of these Cambridgeshire and Norfolk properties descended after the Norman Conquest to Frederick, the brother-in-law of William de Warenne,[10] whom Hereward killed, according to a passage in the *Gesta*.[11] We cannot

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[1] For Bruneswald, see *Gesta Herewardi*, cc. 19, 27, 32. 'Brandune' in *Gesta*, c. 24, and in *Liber Eliensis*, II, c. 104, is probably to be identified with Brampton, Hunts, rather than Brandon, Suffolk. By using Brampton as a base for his attack upon Ely, the Conqueror placed himself between the outlaws and their forest retreat.

[2] He is given this name in late copies of two contemporary records, *Chron. Rams.* pp. 75–6 and Dugdale, II, 604 (where the place is misspelt). For the Harringworth entry, see DB I, fo. 228*a*; *VCH Northants* I, 350*b*.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 107.

[4] DB I, fos. 229*a*, 228*b*, 225*b*; *VCH Northants* I, 354*a*, 352*ab*, 336*a*.

[5] *The Lincolnshire Domesday*, trans. C. W. Foster and Thos. Longley, Lincoln Record Soc. XIX (1924): entries 2/32, 33; 12/90; 26/40, 41, 42; 27/40, 51, 52, 53; 72/34.

[6] DB I, fos. 196*ab*; *VCH Cambs* I, 380–1.

[7] *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (London, 1876), p. 50.

[8] *Ibid.* p. 107.

[9] *VCH Norfolk* II, 83.

[10] *VCH Cambs* I, p. 355.

[11] *Gesta Herewardi*, c. 17.

refrain from suggesting that the pre-Conquest holder of these far-flung estates was none other than Turkil of Harringworth, and that Hereward's slaying of Frederick was in retribution for the sequestration of Turkil's estates.

The Thorney entry from which we have already quoted states that Turkil's lands were forfeited to the king and given to Earl Waltheof, a statement borne out, for his Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire properties, by Domesday Book. It is significant that in 1070 Earl Waltheof, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 'made peace with the king'. His earldom included Huntingdonshire, and it may be surmised that some of his large holdings in that county and in Northamptonshire, recorded in Domesday in the name of his widow, the Countess Judith, were the sequestered estates of such local supporters of Hereward as Turkil, granted to Earl Waltheof by the Conqueror in return for his services in helping to suppress the revolt.

VII. HEREWARD'S PLACE IN HISTORY

When the Conqueror was making his appointment to the vacant abbey of Peterborough, he is said to have remarked that since Turold behaved more like a soldier than a monk, he would provide him with somebody to fight.[1] He provided him also with any army; an abbot did not normally present himself at his new monastery with a retinue of 160 knights. Their purpose, however, was not solely to effect the installation of an unpopular abbot, for a passage in Hugh Candidus (which deserves better attention than it has hitherto received) reveals that no sooner had Turold taken up the reins of office, than he settled sixty of his knights on the abbey lands, displacing their English predecessors.[2] The *Descriptio militum de Abbatia de Burgo*[3] in the Black Book of Peterborough preserves for us the very names of many of Turold's retainers.

It is still not generally appreciated that this imposition of knight service upon the lands of Peterborough Abbey was the very first step in the process which was to transform the face of England, impressing upon it the stamp of Norman feudalism. Nor was the Conqueror's choice of Peterborough as the site for the introduction of this famous constitutional development due to mere chance; it was provoked by the support given throughout the Danelaw to the northern uprising which followed Swein's arrival at the mouth of the Humber, and the revolutionary nature of William's reprisal is a measure of the peril with which he was faced. As soon as the opportunity permitted, he extended the process to the lands of Ely and of Bury St Edmunds. Not for nothing did these three abbeys carry an imposition of knight service almost

[1] William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum*, R.S., p. 420.
[2] Hugh Candidus, pp. 84–5.
[3] Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 157–68.

equalling the demands made on all the rest of the English abbeys put together. By settling their lands with Norman knights, he separated by a loyal and locally established military force the eastern from the northern Danelaw.

Seen in this context, the revolt of Hereward and his companions takes on a new light. They stood to lose everything by William's move. Hereward's total holding was made up of leasehold properties of the abbeys of Peterborough and Crowland, and many of his local followers must have been similarly placed. Even the larger landowners stood to lose much of their possessions, for most of them farmed portions of the huge landed endowments of the fenland abbeys; Turkil, for example, held much of his property by lease from Ramsey, Ely and Thorney.

The sacking of Peterborough which heralded this revolt was no wanton act of vandalism. The church itself was specifically spared from destruction;[1] its stolen treasures, far from being distributed among the outlaws, were laid up first at Ely and then in a church in Denmark; none of the monks was harmed, and eventually Hereward himself ordered the return of those who had been transported as hostages to Ely. Hereward's quarrel was not with the monks of the pre-Conquest foundation, who had been his landlords, but with the Norman usurpers of the abbey estates.

[1] There is no evidence to support Dom David Knowles's assertion (*The Monastic Order in England*, p. 105) that Peterborough Abbey was burnt by Hereward; services were resumed there within a few days of Turold's arrival.

Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc. Vol. LXV (1974), pp. 41–45.

FURTHER FINDS FROM THE MOATED SITE NEAR ARCHERS WOOD, SAWTRY, HUNTINGDONSHIRE

STEPHEN MOORHOUSE

IN an earlier volume of these *Proceedings*[1] the excavation and finds from a moated site to the north of Archers Wood, Sawtry, were reported and discussed. Since the publication of the report, a misplaced group of material and a survey of 1612 for the parish of Sawtry Judith have been located. The survey was found among the archives belonging to the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, and shows that all the structures in the area of the earthworks had disappeared by the beginning of the seventeenth century.[2] As the present finds extend the types from the group, and the map helps corroborate the suggested identification and date of abandonment for the site, the writer has thought it desirable to publish this additional material as a supplement to the initial article.

The survey was carried out by William Senior for William Cavendish, the then owner of Sawtry Judith.[3] The map appears in sections, the relevant part being the 'West Part' (see Pl. I). On this map the field in which the earthworks lay is called 'Clapper Yarde'. This name has survived to the present day, for the field is variously named 'Clapper Yard', 'Tower Field' or 'Castle Field'.[4] Archers Wood is recorded as such on the survey. The 1612 field boundary of 'Clapper Yarde' probably perpetuates the western parts of the earthworks, though the buildings themselves are not shown. Buildings are indicated elsewhere on the map and hence it can be assumed that whatever had existed in terms of structures within the enclosures had either fallen into decay, or had completely disappeared; the former seems likely for the earthworks are still fairly distinct on the ground. The limited excavation in 1967 showed that the building uncovered had low sill walls, which would have taken a timber superstructure. The main building on the site may have been of stone. Whether this was the case or not, the ancillary buildings with timber superstructures would have been either dismantled soon after abandonment or quickly decayed and collapsed, while the stone buildings would almost certainly have been heavily robbed, for good-quality building stone is not found locally and would have to be imported.

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[1] Stephen Moorhouse, 'Excavation of a moated site near Sawtry, Huntingdonshire', *Proc. C.A.S.* LXIII (1971), 75–86.

[2] I am grateful to Mr E. W. Joyce for bringing this additional material and the discovery of the map to my notice.

[3] The original is in the library of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth House, Derbyshire. Northampton Archives Office hold a master copy, from which there is a copy in the Huntingdon Record Office, acc. no. P M 4/6*a*.

[4] Information from Mr E. W. Joyce.

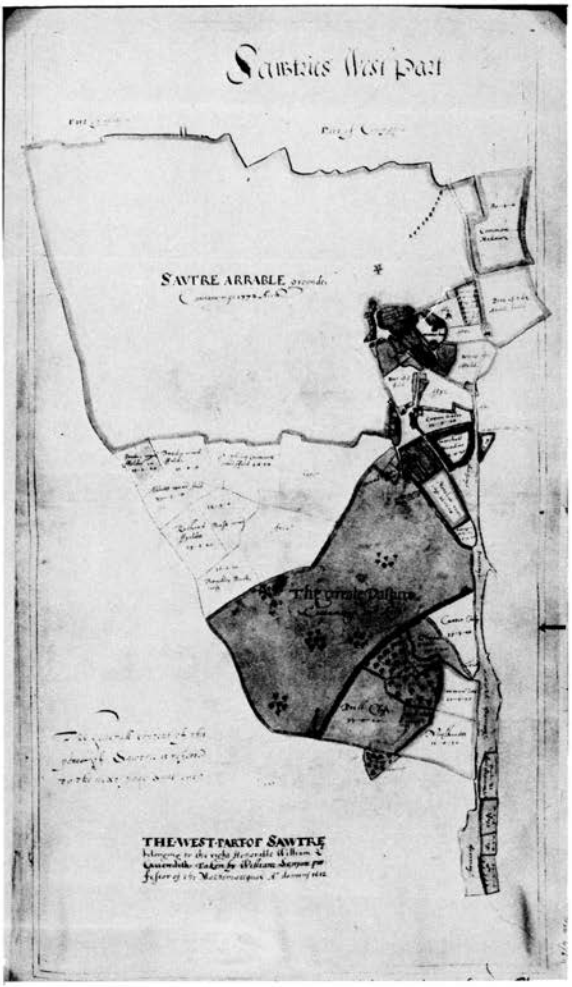

Plate I. Section of 'west part' of Sawtry, done for William Cavendish in 1612, showing the field boundaries. Compare this with the plan of the earthworks in the first part of this report, *Proc. C.A.S.* LXIII (1971), 77, fig. 1.

For the buildings to have completely disappeared by 1612, they must have been abandoned by the middle of the sixteenth century, allowing for a generous time gap of decay and depredation. This evidence, together with that already discussed in the initial report,[1] strengthens the suggested date of abandonment and enhances the

[1] Moorhouse, *loc. cit.* pp. 77–9.

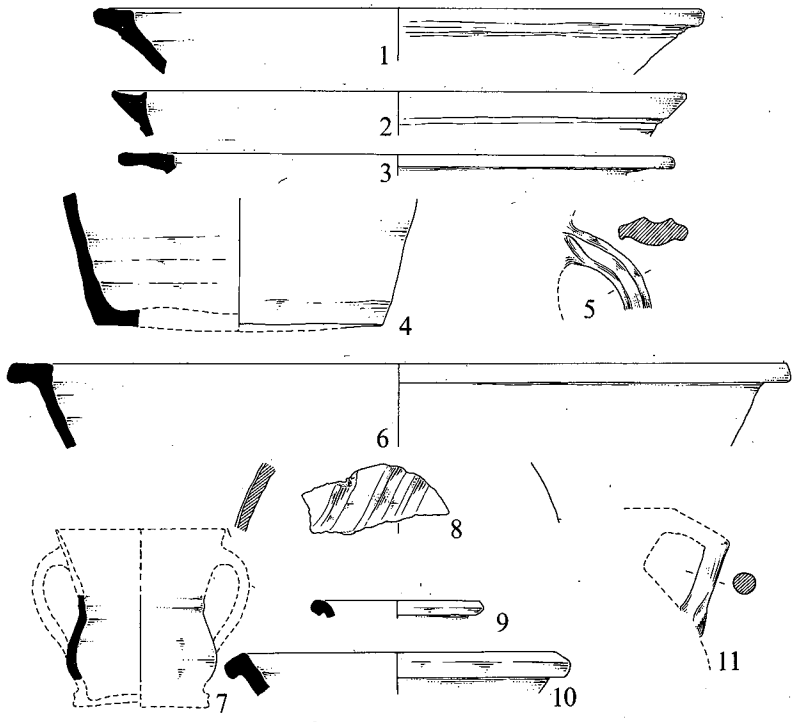

Fig. 1. Pottery: oxidized wares, 1–4; East Midlands grey reduced ware, 5–6; Cistercian type ware, 7; Lyveden-type jug, 8; Roman pottery, 9–10. Bronze: cauldron handle, 11. Scale ¼.

suggestion that the site represents a monastic home grange of Sawtry Abbey, on whose land the earthworks lay, abandoned either just before or immediately after the Dissolution of 1536.

THE FINDS

The additional material does not form a large collection, but as the whole assemblage need not be later than the middle of the sixteenth century and is homogeneous in character, these finds are a useful addition to the series already published. The late medieval date for the deposit is suggested by the complete absence of medieval Lyveden types common in the region, which would almost certainly have been present had the building been in use during the earlier period. The evidence from the kiln site[1] suggests that these wares had died out by the middle of the fifteenth century,

[1] Pottery report in preparation.

being superseded in the area by the domestic coarseware types of which the Sawtry deposit is almost wholly composed; thus a useful *terminus post quem* for the whole group is provided. Residual disturbed pieces are to be expected and these are readily identifiable here as a further very much abraded small piece of St Neots ware, not illustrated, five abraded Roman sherds, of which the two rims are illustrated (Fig. 1, nos. 9 and 10), and possibly the Lyveden jug sherd (Fig. 1, no. 8); the problems attached to this latter piece are discussed separately below.

Pottery

Oxidized wares (Fig. 1, nos. 1 to 4)

1. Single sherd from bowl rim in a hard-fired, slightly pimply surfaced fabric with dull brown surfaces, and uniform smooth light blue-grey core.

2. Bowl rim in a fine slightly soapy, corky, completely oxidized fabric with very light pink surfaces, darker internally, with a light fawn core, following the profile of the rim section.

3. Large sherd from a bowl rim in a hard-fired, slightly soapy fabric, with dull brown smooth surfaces, and a blue-grey core.

4. Large sherd from the base of a (?) cistern, in a hard-fired, though soft fabric with light fawn exterior and light creamy-pink inner surfaces, with a light blue-grey core. There are a small number of minute white particles included in the fabric, showing on the surfaces, where it has eroded.

Reduced wares (Fig. 1, nos. 5 and 6)

This type of late medieval pottery, and the type of general ware described above, have recently been identified in the region as a distinct type with relatively closely defined date ranges. A definition and evidence of dating is discussed on pp. 46 to 59 of these *Proceedings*.

5. Upper part of a strap handle from a jug in a hard-fired, reduced fabric with black surfaces and core separated all round by a dull brick-red margin.

6. Large part of rim from a bowl in a hard, pimply surfaced fabric in a completely reduced grey fabric, with near black core.

Cistercian-type ware (Fig. 1, no. 7)

7. Two non-joining sherds from a cup in a hard, fine, bright pink sandy fabric with smooth dull pink inner surface. Both pieces are covered all over externally with a glossy speckled brown glaze of which there are traces around the inside of the neck. A group of Cistercian wares have already been published from the site[1] to which the present piece can be related. The group as a whole belongs to a regional type identified in the home counties to the northwest of London and made at kiln centres yet to be located; they have recently been discussed by the writer.[2]

Lyveden-type ware (Fig. 1, no. 8)

8. Single sherd from the body of a jug in a soft porridgey, hand-made fabric with light fawn inner surface, blue-grey core, and covered externally with a light, speckled olive-green glaze. Decoration is in the form of flowing, parallel, near-vertical strips of white clay showing a light creamy-yellow below the glaze. The sherd comes from the shoulder of a jug type now associated with the east Midlands. The type is probably produced at several centres including Lyveden, 12 miles to the

[1] Moorhouse, *loc. cit.* p. 80, fig. 3, nos. 26–30 and pp. 82–3.

[2] Moorhouse, 'The Pottery' in Edward Johnston 'Excavations at Sopwell Hall, Hertfordshire', *Hertfordshire Archaeology* III (1973).

west of Sawtry.[1] Systematic excavations there in recent years have shown the type to have a lifespan from the early thirteenth through to the middle of the fourteenth century.[2] Although these jugs have a far wider distribution than their equivalent coarsewares, their true date range is unknown, especially as it is almost certain that other centres, yet to be located, were producing them. The potters' wheel was introduced into the Lyveden centre some time during the second half of the fourteenth century, previous types being coiled on a preformed base. Although the present piece does not display this latter technique, the lack of wheel-marks suggests either lump moulding or coiling. Three sherds of this jug type come from the deposit, though it is not certain that they come from the same vessel. Considering the complete lack of pre-fifteenth-century wares, with the exception of the sherds already mentioned above, it is tempting to suggest that these could be contemporary with the deposit. However, in view of the nature of the group, any firm comments must await the outcome of the urgently needed study of these distinct jugs, and the present piece must be regarded as residual.

Roman pottery (Fig. 1, nos. 9 and 10)

Five sherds of Roman date were found amongst the mislaid material, of which the two rims are illustrated.[3]

9. Rolled over grey ware rim with highly burnished surfaces. Virtually undatable, but more probably first–second rather than third–fourth century.

10. Nene valley colour-coated bowl rim in a fine-grained yellow-buff fabric, covered all over with a matt dull purple wash. Possibly fourth, but could equally be third century.

Iron

Bronze work (Fig. 1, no. 11)

11. Lower part from an angled handle from a cauldron, of circular section. The lower junction has the thickness of the cauldron body attached: the size and form of the vessel are uncertain. The study of bronze cauldrons has been sadly neglected, but recent work on the continent has shown some development in their long history.[4]

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[1] Pottery report in preparation.

[2] These jugs were not represented amongst a large jug assemblage on site E, a late tile kiln, dated by two coins, a Henry IV penny, 1399–1411 and a half-penny of Robert III of Scotland, 1390–1406. The evidence suggested the kiln was in use for only a short period.

[3] I am grateful to Dr Kevin Green of the Department of Archaeology, University College, Cardiff for his comments on these pieces.

[4] Hans Drescher, 'Mittelalterliche Dreibeintopfe aus Bronze' in *Rotterdam papers: a contribution to medieval archaeology* (Rotterdam, 1968), pp. 23–33.

Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc. Vol. LXV (1974), pp. 46–59.

A DISTINCTIVE TYPE OF LATE MEDIEVAL POTTERY IN THE EASTERN MIDLANDS: A DEFINITION AND PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

STEPHEN MOORHOUSE

SUMMARY

RECENT work in the eastern Midlands has identified two distinctive types of Late Medieval pottery, one a hard sandy grey to black reduced ware, the other a relatively soft orange fabric. They both have a similar but limited range of forms, mostly bowls, though each group has a few forms and points of detail peculiar to itself. A large number of Late Medieval groups from the general area defines the distribution and date range. Both types are reliably dated from the first half of the fifteenth century through to at least the middle of the sixteenth, with some evidence that the oxidized orange wares continue into the seventeenth century. It is the purpose of this paper to define and outline the main forms and discuss the dating evidence for the more distinct reduced type, defined as East Midland Late Medieval Reduced Ware.[1]

INTRODUCTION

The general area to the north of London has produced a relatively large number of Late Medieval pottery groups during recent years (p. 52 below). A number of these deposits in the low-lying areas to the north of the Chilterns (Fig. 1, nos. 1–6) have produced two distinctive types of pottery that can be closely dated to the Late Medieval period. Pottery from this period more generally is far from common, partly due to long-lived medieval types in certain areas, making it difficult to identify type fossils for the period. It is therefore gratifying that in the eastern Midlands there are pottery types that can be fairly closely dated, which are so distinctive in both form and fabric that they are not confused with earlier types.

Fabric and techniques of manufacture

The fabric is basically coarse-textured with pimply surfaces. Its colour ranges from a medium to light grey, which is the norm, to a very hard close-knit fabric with nearly

[1] The full titles of all articles referred to in these footnotes will be found in the list of References at the end of this paper (p. 58).

jet-black surfaces. The consistency and surface texture of the pottery can also vary from being very hard and almost metallic to being fairly friable with surfaces that can be rubbed away in the fingers. A feature of some jugs, and in particular their handles, is to have a dull brick-red margin beneath the surfaces, as in the example illustrated from Sawtry (p. 43, Fig. 1, no. 5, in this volume). There is a difference in fabric between the existing groups, but whether this is due to development during their long life or the result of regional variation will only be demonstrated by a closer study of the material; the consistency in fabric between slightly different styles of bowl would suggest that a series of kilns or centres were producing the type. A constant feature throughout all forms in this fabric is that all vessels, including jugs, are, with very few exceptions, unglazed.

The vessels are well made by competent potters. They are thrown on a wheel, as opposed to their earlier coil-made predecessors in the area. The walls of all the vessels, particularly bowls and jars, are thin, with heavy corrugation in some instances, and the symmetry of the rims suggests a template has been used to form them; this is evidenced on many of the bowls by a sharp line beneath the external moulding of the rim.

Forms

A variety of distinctive forms are produced in the fabric. By far the more common are the various bowl forms, all with inward-sloping or very gently curving corrugated sides, leading to a sharp-angled flat or gently sagging base. Rim forms vary; the characteristic form from the mid-fifteenth-century Lyveden group[1] is a rounded externally beaded rim, while those from the St Neots fishpond[2] and Priory[3] were relatively flat, of rectangular section. A triangular version also occurs in some groups.[4]

The typical medieval cooking-pot form is rare. The early group from Lyveden produced only a few examples out of nearly 1,700 sherds, and a single example in this fabric is recorded from the St Neots fishpond.[5] It is likely that these vessels were not used for cooking as such, but as jars or storage containers, of which there are numerous examples from the St Neots fishpond deposit.

The frequency of jar types varies from group to group. Because it is impossible to know how representative the assemblages are for their respective periods and as

[1] From site J; excavated by G. F. Bryant, report forthcoming in *Journal of the Northampton Museums and Art Gallery*.

[2] Addyman and Marjoram 1972, p. 82, fig. 36, nos. 2 and 3.

[3] Hurst 1966, p. 65, fig. 13, nos. 120 and 122.

[4] Examples from Lyveden site J and Bedford, 43 Mill Street; not yet published.

[5] Addyman and Marjoram 1972, p. 84, fig. 37, no. 19.

the groups are not contemporary, it is difficult at this early stage to speculate on the significance of this. Jars are virtually absent from the Lyveden deposit. Those from the St Neots fishpond group have rounded bodies with simple sharply everted rims;[1] one has a handle.[2]

Jugs are also scarce, though they are known from all deposits where the fabric type occurs. They are fairly stereotyped, having a tall straight neck with plain externally beaded rim and either one or more raised cordons at the junction of neck and shoulder. The bodies are either globular or rounded, surmounting either a clubbed or frilled foot. The handles are plain, of oval section, and a thumb line right down the back, with neither incised decoration nor glaze. The body invariably has two or three scored horizontal lines on the shoulder, sometimes with diagonal incisions.[3] In all, the basic profile is very reminiscent of contemporary metal types.[4] The general pottery form can be seen from St Neots Priory in a late-fifteenth- to early-sixteenth-century context.[5] It is also known from the Lyveden, and the Mill Street, Bedford, groups,[6] both dated around or shortly after the middle of the fifteenth century. There is another, less common form, illustrated by a complete vessel from High Street, Bedford.[7] A larger form of jug in a more sandy version of the fabric is suggested by thumbed and frilled bases from a number of sites.[8] A single base-sherd from the St Neots fishpond, from the early-sixteenth-century Group A deposit, was covered inside and out with a green glaze, but this is far from common; generally, as with the rest of the forms produced, the jugs are not glazed, though those from the earlier groups display an external sheen as if burnished.

Cisterns are well represented, but not in any great quantity. Only a few cistern rims could be positively identified amongst the large Lyveden group; it is difficult to distinguish them from large jug rims. The site at Lyveden only produced one spigot, which had a carefully frilled boss. One or possibly two cisterns were recovered from Sawtry.[9] Unless there are abundant distinctive fragments, such as the complete rim with evidence for the two diametrically opposed handles or fragments from spigot holes, it is virtually impossible to distinguish large jugs from cisterns on rim

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[1] *Ibid.* nos. 16, 17, 22 and 23; the general round-bodied form can be seen in the oxidized wares, *ibid.* nos. 12 and 13.

[2] *Ibid.* no. 14.

[3] Hurst 1966, p. 66, fig. 14, no. 132.

[4] For example see one from the Gower, Pembrokeshire, with a relief monogram decoration and tripod feet, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.* 2nd ser. III (1864–7), 199 and plate opposite.

[5] Hurst 1966, p. 66, fig. 14, no. 129.

[6] Excavations by David Baker to be published in *Beds. Archaeol. Journ.*: see p. 57 n. 2 below.

[7] A complete jug found on the site of the Market House in High Street, *Beds. Archaeol. Journ.* III (1966), 57, no. 2.

[8] For example, see the St Neots fishpond, Addyman and Marjoram 1972, p. 84, fig. 37, no. 24.

[9] Moorhouse 1971, p. 80, fig. 3, nos. 17 and 18.

and base evidence alone. It is possible that the large frilled bases, mentioned above as coming from large jugs, actually come from cisterns, as frilled bases appear to be common on this type of vessel. However, the relative absence of spigot holes with their distinctive raised bosses implies that cisterns were not a major product.

A form of shallow bowl with an inverted flat lid-seating is known from a number of sites; St Neots Priory[1] and fishpond,[2] Hartford[3] and Lyveden, showing that the type has a long lifespan. Vessels of this general type have recently been discussed by the writer as cucurbits, or the bases for distilling apparatus.[4] The recognition of this type more generally in the area seems to throw some doubt on this identification, at least that suggested for the Hartford vessels. This basic form of lid-seating occurs from the late fourteenth century in some parts of the country[5] on cooking pots and jars. It therefore appears that the form in this region can now be recognized as a Late Medieval feature on domestic vessels, especially as two vessels from Bedford have recently been published displaying this very pronounced form of rim.[6]

The potter not only produced standard types during the medieval and later period, but also manufactured a limited number of less common forms. Some of these are evident amongst the East Midlands Late Medieval Reduced Wares. The rim and base from a chafing dish are known from Lyveden and a pottery copy of a typical glass form of cucurbit comes from general Late Medieval levels overlying Bedford Castle.[7] An occasional product seems to be a flat-rimmed bowl or jar with deep thumb impressions round the raised edge of the rim; these are known from Lyveden and Sawtry.[8] Inevitably, Raeren stoneware copies were made.[9]

Dating

The type is well dated to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The starting date is provided from Lyveden, Northants, and its continuance into the sixteenth century by the stratified deposits from the St Neots fishpond.

Excavations at Lyveden on site J in 1972 produced an extensive group of nearly

[1] Hurst 1966, p. 56, fig. 13, no. 112.
[2] Addyman and Marjoram 1972, p. 84, fig. 37, no. 30.
[3] Dickinson 1965, p. 140, fig. 1.
[4] Stephen Moorhouse, 'Medieval Distilling Apparatus of Glass and Pottery', *Med. Archaeol.* XVI (1972), 111–13.
[5] Discussed in Hurst 1961, p. 274, *Med. Archaeol.* VI–VII (1962–3), 147, n. 78 and E. M. Jope, 'Medieval pottery lids and pots with lid seating', *Oxoniensia* XIV (1949), 78–9 and fig. 1.
[6] David H. Kennett, 'A Medieval cooking pot type at Bedford', *Beds. Archaeol. Journ.* VII (1972), 86–7 and p. 86, fig. 5.
[7] From excavations by David Baker in Mill Street in 1971, no. BC 71:25 (51), forthcoming in *Beds. Archaeol. Journ.*
[8] Moorhouse 1971, p. 80, fig. 3, no. 16.
[9] Addyman and Marjoram 1972, p. 87, fig. 40, no. 72.

1,700 sherds, associated with the orange oxidized wares, developed Lyveden types and others.[1] These were associated with a group of isolated structures though they were clearly not related to, but post-date, the main potting activity on the site. The destruction material of the buildings contained a silver penny of Edward IV, Durham mint dated 1461–80. The assemblage did not contain Raeren stonewares or Cistercian wares. The former are known to have been imported into this country in quantity from the 1480s and are type fossils for sites of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[2] Cistercian wares, in one form or another, are common in the area; their date of introduction is not known precisely, but is attributed to the 1470–90s.[3] Had either of these two types been in circulation they would certainly have appeared with this group, for it contained a wide range of other fine wares. The unworn coin in the demolition material is therefore of some significance and the dates for its circulation in all probability reflect the general period of decay or depredation for the site. The abandonment of the site can therefore be placed shortly after the middle of the fifteenth century, and thus provides a *terminus ante quem* for the material associated with its occupation.

Site E at Lyveden provides indirect evidence for the introduction of these wares.[4] This site produced a short-lived tile kiln away from the main potting centre. Associated with it were two silver coins, a Henry IV penny, 1399–1411 and a halfpenny of Robert III of Scotland, 1390–1406. The domestic pottery associated with the wasters was predominantly of wheel-thrown jugs in a refined Lyveden-type fabric with splashes of a white slip and green glaze. Significantly there were no East Midland Late Medieval Reduced wares. It is therefore likely that in the Lyveden area these wares were introduced some time during the first half of the fifteenth century. For them to be well established and to have completely superseded the earlier Lyveden types by the middle of the century, a date nearer the start of the century is likely for their appearance in the Lyveden area.

An extensive group from Mill Street, Bedford,[6] excavated by David Baker in 1971, suggests that the type was well established shortly after the middle of the fifteenth century. The group contained predominantly Reduced wares and orange

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[1] See p. 58.

[2] Initially defined in J. G. Hurst, 'Flemish Stoneware Jug' in Barry Cunliffe, *Winchester Excavations: 1949–1960* (Winchester, 1964), pp. 142–3; for a recent discussion see Moorhouse 1974*a*.

[3] The dating of these wares is discussed in H. E. J. Le Patourel, 'The Pottery' in P. Mayes and E. J. E. Pirie, 'A Cistercian Ware kiln of the early 16th century at Potterton, Yorkshire', *Antiq. Journ.* XLVI (1966), 262–9 with full references to earlier work. Recent evidence is brought together and reviewed in Brears, 1974.

[4] Excavations in 1968 and 1969; for the site see G. F. Bryant and J. M. Steane, 'Excavations at the Deserted Medieval Settlement at Lyveden: a third interim Report', *Journ. of the Northampton Museums and Art Gallery* IX (June 1971), 42–7.

[5] See p. 57.

oxidized types along with more local wares, but significantly no Raeren stonewares. This provides a terminal date in the 1480s, as a group of that size would undoubtedly have contained at least one vessel had they been current at the time it was deposited, considering Bedford's importance as a regional market town. The combined evidence from Bedford and Lyveden strongly suggests that as the type was available over a wide area around the middle of the fifteenth century, its date of introduction should lie in the earlier fifteenth century.

The persistence of the type well into the sixteenth century is demonstrated by the stratified fishpond deposit at Hall Place, St Neots.[1] The earliest phase, group A dated to the early sixteenth century,[2] contained reduced and oxidized types associated with Raeren and Cologne stonewares. Group B, dated to the middle or third quarter of the sixteenth century,[3] contained an abundance of reduced wares associated with Frechen and Cologne stonewares, along with a relatively large collection of Cistercian wares; these latter do not persist in their original form much after the middle of the sixteenth century, but merge with the tyg types, which take over towards the end of the century, becoming predominant during the seventeenth century.[4] Bowls with flat rectangular-sectioned rims and globular-bodied jars with sharply everted beaded rims are typical of this later deposit.

The later stages for the history of the type are far from clear. It can be assumed that it either died out or was merged into the post-medieval types during the late sixteenth century. If the latter is the case, it is not yet clear what emerged.

Distribution

The plotting of positive and negative occurrences of the type in groups of Late Medieval date from the area to the north of London is shown in Fig. 1. From it can be seen a concentrated distribution in the low-lying areas to the northeast of the Chilterns. The open spots show where the type is not known, from either associated groups or large collections of unstratified material, making it possible to define a fairly limited area of distribution. A firm line can be drawn in the south by the geographical boundary of the Chiltern Hills. Late Medieval groups from Princes Risborough,[5] Kings Langley,[6] Sopwell Nunnery[7] and the Manor of the

[1] Addyman and Marjoram 1972.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 84, fig. 37, nos. 17, 30 and 31; and p. 87, fig. 40, no. 72.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 82, fig. 36, nos. 1–4; and p. 84, fig. 37, nos. 14, 16, 19, 22–4, 28 and 29.

[4] The terminal date for these wares varies from region to region; see Moorhouse 1974*a* for Lincolnshire and the western Midlands and Brears 1974 for south Yorkshire.

[5] F. H. Pavry and G. M. Knocker, 'The Mount, Princes Risborough, Buckinghamshire', *Records of Bucks* XVI (1957–8), pottery catalogue on pp. 148–53.

[6] Moorhouse 1973*b*.

[7] Moorhouse 1973*c*.

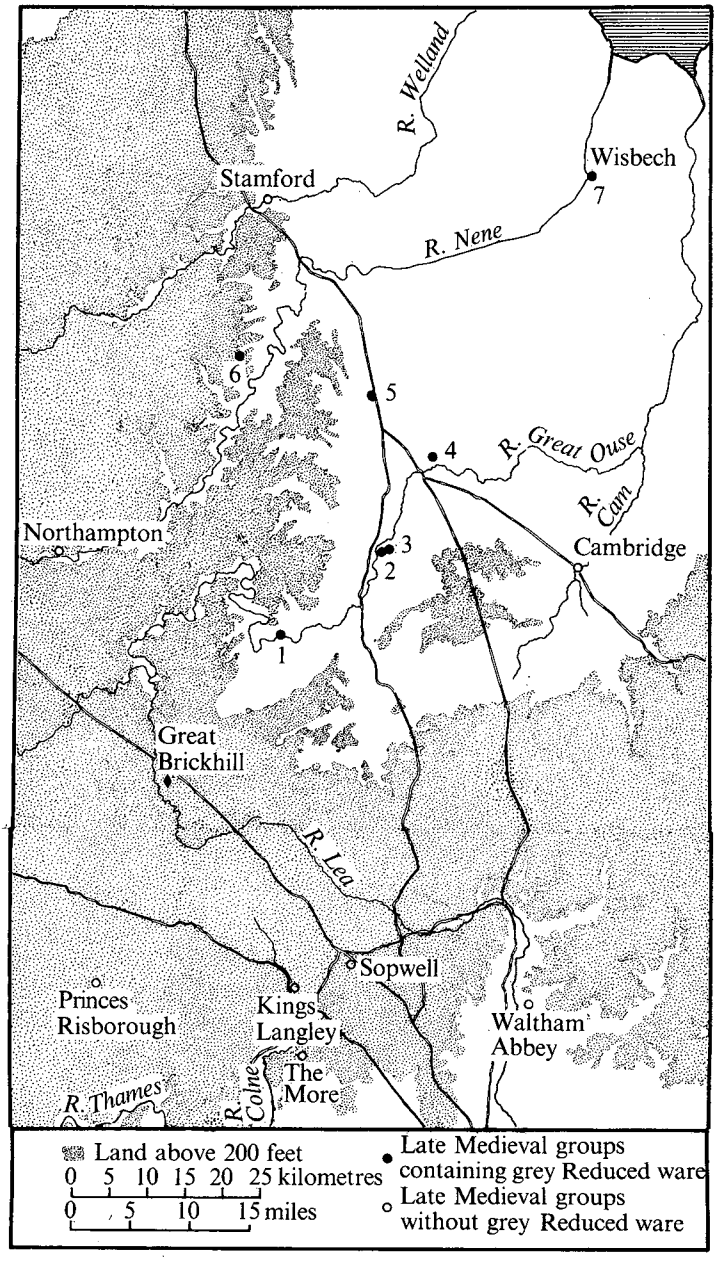

Fig. 1. Distribution map of East Midlands Late Medieval ware, showing present limits of distribution. The land over 200 ft, major rivers and assumed main late medieval roads are also shown. For a note on the map see pp. 56–7

More,[1] Rickmansworth, on the southern side of the Hills, show that the pottery from this region is coming from, or being influenced by, the extensive industries of northern Surrey and Oxfordshire, while extensive deposits from Waltham Abbey[2] show influence or trade from Essex and Cambridgeshire kilns. Although Cambridge has produced relatively little Late Medieval material, there is sufficient to show that the ware under discussion is not reaching that far east. The type has a distribution down into northern Buckinghamshire,[3] along the upper Ouse valley, but it is not known in Northampton, where more local traditions are evident;[4] the Potterspury–Yardley Gobion[5] tradition supplied a large percentage of the wares. The western limits of distribution provide a problem, for during the medieval period the centre at Great Brickhill,[6] to the south of Bletchley and just off the present A5 (Watling Street) (see Fig. 1), were producing wares in an almost identical fabric to the East Midland types; the significance of this is discussed on p. 55 below. The northern region is roughly delimited by Stamford where excavations have been carried out by Miss Christine Mahany, from which quantities of material have been recovered.[7] The material has established a general ceramic chronology for the town, from which it is apparent that throughout the medieval period the town was supplied mainly by

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[1] Martin Biddle *et al.* 'The Excavation of the Manor of the More, Rickmansworth', *Archaeol. Journ.* CXVI (1959), 161–73.

[2] Groups from various sites in the town excavated by P. J. Huggins; Rhona M. Huggins, 'The Pottery' in P. J. Huggins, 'Excavations at Sewardstone Street, Waltham Abbey, Essex 1966', *Post Med. Archaeol.* III (1969), 68–85, the type is not even an occasional find in the area, *ibid.* p. 71; see also Rhona M. Huggins, 'The Pottery' in P. J. Huggins, 'A Medieval Bridge at Waltham Abbey, Essex', *Med. Archaeol.* XIV (1970), 141–3 and Rhona M. Huggins, 'The Pottery' in P. J. Huggins, 'Waltham Abbey: Monastic Site and Prehistoric Evidence: 1953–67', *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.* 3rd ser. II, 3 (1970), 244–56, esp. group of *c.* 1475–1540, p. 248, fig. II, nos. 6–14 and p. 249.

[3] I am grateful to Dennis Mynard for this information.

[4] This is evident after examination of a quantity of material from the town in the Museum and from recent controlled excavations within the town; I am grateful to M. R. McCarthy for information about material from recent excavations in Northampton.

[5] All previous references for the medieval industry at Potterspury are brought together in D. C. Mynard, 'Medieval Pottery of Potterspury Type', *Bull. Northants. Fed. Archaeol. Soc.* no. 4 (April 1970), pp. 49–55; the post-medieval industry is discussed in Philip Mayes, 'A 17th Century Kiln Site at Potterspury, Northamptonshire', *Post Med. Archaeol.* II (1968), 55–82. An extensive medieval industry has recently been discovered at Yardley Gobion by Mr Robert Moor of Northampton Museum, producing very similar Potterspury-type wares; for the post-medieval industry see *Post Med. Archaeol.* III (1969), 200 and 202.

[6] Material from these kilns is in The County Museum, Aylesbury, Bucks. acc. nos. 67 and 69 (19)62; 46, 70 and 71, (19)64. For recent discussions of the type see Mynard 1969, pp. 183, 195 and 193, fig. 57, nos. 95–98; and p. 198, fig. 58, nos. 99–104; and Mynard 1971, p. 35 with a range of types, p. 27, fig. 6, nos. 34–47; and p. 28, fig. 7, nos. 48–51.

[7] Little Late Medieval material has been recovered from the town but a series from St Leonard's Priory indicates that the type is not a common one in the area. I am grateful to Miss Mahany for allowing me to examine the material prior to her own publication.

centres in south Lincolnshire or from the west, with a steady source from Lyveden or other kilns producing the same ware. As the Reduced wares are virtually unknown, with a very few exceptions explained as traded pieces, a source or sources are suggested outside the normal trading areas of Stamford and possibly nearer to Bedford, where the trading potential, via road and river, would be far greater. The single outlier sherd from Wisbech (Fig. 1, no. 7) can be discounted for normal distribution purposes as it represents a single vessel. The sherd was the only one of its type from a vast late-fifteenth- to early-sixteenth-century deposit comprising mainly Grimston and Bourne types.[1]

The areas within the present known limits of distribution are inevitably going to be filled out as further material becomes available. Its distribution into the Fens to the north of Cambridge has yet to be determined, but it does not appear to reach Wisbech and is unknown from Denny Abbey,[2] 7 miles northeast of Cambridge. The division of types in the area to the south of Cambridge is less easy to forecast, for no groups of that date have been recovered, and it is evident that in the earlier period the area is being supplied by the Cambridge, East Anglian and Essex centres. Sites in the upper Ouse and upper Nene valleys are likely to produce this reduced ware, though the defining of its extension westwards could be complicated by the similar Brickhill types. The concentration of sites within this area could possibly suggest centres of manufacture. On the other hand, if the potters were supplying markets, and the pottery being distributed that way, its concentration would not be so apparent and would tend to reflect markets and not kiln sites.[3]

Affinities and problems

As the pottery type is easy to recognize and its date range is known with tolerable certainty, it is an important addition to the study of Late Medieval ceramics in general. Its introduction in the first half of the fifteenth century and the proportion of types produced are the two most significant features. It is generally assumed that the traditional form of medieval cooking pot dies out towards the end of the medieval period, and is superseded by bowl and jar types, but there has been a lack of evidence to show precisely when this change occurred. Obviously there are many factors

[1] Moorhouse 1975.

[2] Material from excavations carried out by Mrs P. Christie, to whom I am grateful for allowing me to examine it prior to her own publication.

[3] For the evidence of markets see Mrs H. E. J. Le Patourel, 'Documentary evidence and the medieval pottery industry', *Med. Archaeol.* XII (1968), 101–26 esp. pp. 119–20; the Toynton All Saints evidence shows that potters were using and 'stockpiling' wares at markets many miles from their source of manufacture, *ibid.* p. 119, showing the dangers of assuming that potters always used local markets.

involved preventing generalizations. The most important of these is the regionalization of pottery traditions. Eating habits also changed, the communal cooking pot giving way to the individual place setting; more pewter, metal and glass vessels were thus in use, due to the more evenly distributed wealth among the rising gentry and lower working classes. However, we must remember that these developments occurred neither overnight nor simultaneously. It is therefore gratifying to see these changes taking place in the eastern Midlands by the early fifteenth century.

The question as to the origin of the tradition of these new wares inevitably arises. Earlier medieval grey ware traditions are strong in the surrounding regions. The most widespread of these are the Hertfordshire wares which appear some time in the early twelfth century and continue until around the middle of the fourteenth century.[1] This group have a distribution to the north and west of London as far as the Chiltern foothills and are a well-recognized type in Bedford.[2] They are superseded in these areas, with the exception of Bedford, by the large Surrey industry and to the north-east by the products of the Essex potters. Cambridge also had a grey ware tradition in the earlier medieval period, though very little is known about it.[3] Northern Buckinghamshire was partly supplied by the Great Brickhill kilns and probably other centres producing similar types which are virtually indistinguishable in fabric from the reduced pottery under discussion. These wares are known from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century contexts but it is not certain how long they persisted. Similar characteristics occur in the straight-sided bowl with externally beaded rim[4] and in the dull brick-red margin below the surface, occasionally seen in East Midland Late Medieval Reduced jug handles, as in the one from Sawtry.[5] Unless distinctive rim sherds were present it is difficult to separate these two basic types visually on fabric alone. Heavy-mineral analysis of material from the Great Brickhill kiln site and one of the groups further east may distinguish between them. The various forms of these separate grey ware traditions in the medieval period are all distinct from those of the later type being discussed, suggesting that they did not influence its introduction and development.

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[1] For the type and its dating see Hurst 1961, pp. 267–73. For the known kiln sites producing it see Stephen Moorhouse, 'The Pottery' in P. E. Curnow, 'Berkhampstead Castle: Excavations at the South-East Tower, 1962 and 1967', *Herts. Archaeol.* II (1971), 70 and Derek F. Renn, *Potters and Kilns in Medieval Hertfordshire* (Herts. Local History Council, 1964).

[2] See Susan Linger and David H. Kennett, 'Medieval Jugs from Bedford', *Beds. Archaeol. Journ.* VII (1972), 69, fig. 2, nos. 10 and 24; and p. 70, fig. 3, nos. 11, 12 and 13. It is uncertain how long these wares persist and problems could arise, particularly in Bedford, when distinguishing body sherds of this ware and those under discussion.

[3] Addyman and Biddle 1965, generally between pp. 104 and 114.

[4] Compare the Great Brickhill types from Stantonbury, Bucks, Mynard 1971, p. 28, fig. 7, no. 48 and that from Sawtry, Hunts, Moorhouse 1971, p. 80, fig. 3, no. 13.

[5] Moorhouse 1974*b*, p. 43, fig. 1, no. 5 (in this volume).

Possibly the necessity for a new ceramic tradition in the later medieval period was stimulated by the rising gentry class who emerge during the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, creating new material needs.[1] The waning Lyveden industry had ceased as a commercial enterprise by the end of the fourteenth century, though other centres producing the earlier type may well have continued. Evidence from sites E and J at Lyveden, dated respectively *c.* 1400 and *c.* 1450, demonstrate the round-bodied jars with bone-template-formed rims and large jugs were still being produced somewhere in the area, but thrown and not coil-made like the earlier types. The distribution of Lyveden-type wares covers a large area of the central and eastern Midlands, with the distinctive decorated jugs travelling much further afield. In the Late Medieval period a number of contrasting traditions are seen throughout this area, making it certain that the potters who made the Lyveden-type wares had no influence on any of their successors' products. Similarly, there is no link between these potters and those who made the East Midland Late Medieval Reduced wares; the use of bone templates to mould and form rims is a common feature and has no significance here.

All that can be said at the moment about the source of the tradition behind East Midland Late Medieval Reduced wares is purely negative, in that it did not flower out of any of the neighbouring earlier medieval traditions, at least not directly.

A note on the distribution map (p. 52, Fig. 1)

Only a selection of the available material has been represented on the distribution map and listed below. The primary intention is to show the limits of distribution for the type by contrasting its positive and negative occurrences in large groups of material, and to show the location of important dated deposits which show the life-span of the type. Only relatively large groups or assemblages have been included, as small groups were not judged to be sufficiently representative of the wares available in their respective regions. For purposes of distribution boundaries, small assemblages do not give a true picture of current wares available. Not all of this material has been included to show the concentration within these limits, as this was not the purpose of the map.[2] Work is in progress to define the density of these wares throughout the region, but at the moment there is not enough material to form any conclusions; distribution maps are notorious for giving the wrong answers to the right questions.

[1] A paper on the significance of this and the economic and political trends of the Later Medieval period and their influence on some aspects of the pottery industry is in preparation.

[2] For example, the group from Beaulieu Priory, Clophill, Beds; Kevan Fadden, 'Excavations at Beaulieu Priory Clophill', *Beds. Archaeol. Journ.* III (1966), 34, fig. 4, no. 3. The vast quantity of material in Bedford Museum has yet to be examined.

Although this may only reflect the markets from which the wares were distributed, it would give a clue as to the whereabouts of the kilns producing the type, for it is unlikely that the sources of manufacture would be far from the centres of distribution.[1] When further information is available it is hoped to publish a more detailed map contrasting known Late Medieval markets, trade routes by road and river and detailed regional geography, as these were important factors in the distribution of any ordinary household commodity until more recent times.

Sites shown on the distribution map (p. 52, Fig. 1)

(1) *Bedford, 43 Mill Street*

A large deposit from the back of a tenement site excavated by David Baker in 1971.[2] It contained a selection of types, but predominantly Reduced wares, and, as discussed on pp. 50–1 above, should be dated around the middle of the fifteenth century. The group has yet to be closely examined, but along with that from Lyveden should provide a range of fabrics and forms for the early stages of the type's history.

(2) *St Neots Priory, Hunts*

This site produced a large and varied selection of Reduced wares, though mostly unstratified.[3] Two jug rims came from general late-fifteenth- to early-sixteenth-century levels.[4] The unstratified material included the near-complete profile of the typical jug as well as a good selection of jug types.[5]

(3) *St Neots, Hall Place fishpond, Hunts*

Two groups of immediate importance were recovered from this fishpond, excavated by Peter Addyman in 1961:[6] group A dating to the early sixteenth century, and group B to the mid or third quarter of the century. The latter is of the more significance for it shows a range of types during the later stages of the type's life; it contained round-bodied jars with simple everted rims and bowls with either flat or rectangular rim profiles. The site was only partially excavated, so it is hoped the opportunity may arise to examine the remainder and obtain what would almost certainly be an important and extensive range of material.

(4) *Hartford, Hunts*

This single vessel, with cover, was a chance find.[7] It contained a large coin hoard, the latest from which suggested it was buried in or shortly after 1503. It is discussed on p. 49 above.

(5) *Sawtry, Archers Wood moated site, Hunts*

A small excavation on this large and complex site produced a group of later fifteenth- to early sixteenth-century date; the site was possibly abandoned after the Dissolution. Some of the finds

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[1] See p. 54, no. 3.

[2] A large deposit recovered during excavations in 1971 by David Baker, no. BM.S 71:9:32. I am grateful to Mr Baker for allowing me to examine this material before his own publication.

[3] Hurst 1966. The relevant sherds are from a late fifteenth- to early sixteenth-century group, p. 60, fig. 9, nos. 55–6 and unstratified pieces, p. 65, fig. 13, nos. 110–13, 115 and 118–22; and p. 66, fig. 14, nos. 129–38.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 60, fig. 9, nos. 55 and 56.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 66, fig. 14, no. 129 and nos. 30–137.

[6] Addyman and Marjoram 1972.

[7] Dickinson 1965, p. 140, fig. 1.

have been reported in an earlier volume of these *Proceedings*,[1] while the rest appear on pp. 41–5 in the present volume.

(6) *Lyveden, site J, Northants*

This site, excavated by G. Bryant in 1972–3, produced an extensive collection of material including nearly 1,700 sherds of Reduced ware.[2] Evidence suggests the site was relatively short lived, dating to the middle years of the fifteenth century; this evidence is discussed on pp. 49–50 above. Some of the types are mentioned on pp. 47–9 above, but it must await a full study of the material before the full range is known.

(7) *Wisbech Castle, Cambs*

A single sherd came from a large deposit from the upper filling of the Castle moat, recovered during contractor's work in 1955.[3] The deposit dates generally to the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. The group is composed of predominantly Grimston and Bourne types, and the sherd can be seen as an obvious outlier, probably reaching the important port of Wisbech through a traded consignment.

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[1] Moorhouse 1971, p. 80, fig. 3, nos. 12–23 and pp. 81–2.

[2] Report forthcoming in *Journal of the Northampton Museums and Art Gallery*.

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Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc. Vol. LXV (1974), pp. 60–78.

IN SEARCH OF SABINA

A Study in Cambridge topography[1]

CATHERINE P. HALL

'ONCE upon a time there was a certain widow dwelling in the parish of St Peter named Sabina Hasselyf, who . . . gave a portion of her garden to Sabina, daughter of Robert of Fulsham', and this garden had 'free entry and egress through a gate into a croft called Swynescroft'.

This is not, as might appear, the beginning of a medieval romance, but the substance of a memorandum written by John Botwright, master of Corpus Christi College from 1443 to 1474, with the much more prosaic purpose of asserting the College right to what he believed to be College property. The memorandum comes from a bundle of miscellaneous papers in the College archives, which were gathered together and indexed by the eighteenth-century College master and historian Robert Masters. This paper, no. 11, he described as 'A Draught of an Old Chantry', taking his title from the sketch accompanying the memorandum. He does not seem to have recognized the similarity between this paper and the other sketches and memoranda in the bound notebooks known as Botwright's book, also in the College archives.

[*L.H. column*]
Memorandum quod quondam erat quedam vidua in parochia/sancti petri nomine sabina hasselyf que per quandam cartam inde/confectam dedit Sabine filie Roberti de fulsham unam porcionem/ gardini sui continentem in longitudine xxvj pedes/et in latitudine xv pedes cum libero introitu et exitu/per unam portam de dicta porcione illius placee versus oriens/ad unam croftam vocatam communiter Swynescroft habendam et tenendam/pro servicia inde debita et de jure consueta que ad tantam/porcionem terre pertinent. et ista sabina prius recitata/dedit placeam suam et tenementum predictum in Canteriam/in parochia sancti petri ut communiter dicitur. [altera autem sabina sursum redit]. preter illam porcionem gardini prius per cartam recitatam/quod quidem tenementum in dictam canteriam collatam continet/in latitudinem ad caput occidentale xliiij pedes de/standardo regio.

(Below is a sketch of a building marked 'Domus Cantarie s(ancti) p(etri)' with the frontage at the foot of the sheet. 'Istud tenementum continet ad caput occidentale in latitudine de standardo regio quadraginta quattuor pedes super regiam viam.')

See Figs. 1 and 2.

[*R.H. column*]
(At top of sheet:)

Campus Swynescroft

Gardinum fratrum de cymperhingham sive alborum canonicum.

Advertendum quoque est quod Sabina unica/filia Roberti de fulsham sua tenementum/et gardinum contulit gilde corporis/cristi et beate marie cantebregie cum/dicta porcione gardini a dicta/sabina

[1] Suggested by C.C.C. Miscellaneous Documents No. 11.

haselyf vidua perquisita/et solvendo pro rata porcione/dicti gardini pertinente et non amplius/ut patet per quandam cartam expresse dicte nostre/sabine sub sigillo alterius sabine munitam et specificantem in hec verba viz. Faciendo/inde annuatim predictis capitalibus dominis feodi/servicia inde debita et de jure consueta que ad tantam terram pertinent cuius longitudo/ut patet in eadem carta se extendit ad xxvj pedes/tantum latitudo vero ad quindecim pedes/de quibus collegium modo defraudatur de octo/pedibus in longitudine in tantum quod porta/gardini cantarie stat modo per duos pedes/nimis prope super terram collegii defraudatur etiam/in latitudine eiusdem porcionis ad tres pedes de standardo regio.

(In a different ink)

Et si queratur quare non est solutus dictus redditus iiis/sicut nuper alias per collegium corporis christi factus collegio de/Merton Respondetur quia non erat umquam solutus ante tempus/cuiusdam Agnetis Willingham lotricis flavicolorum[1]/qui sepe a quodam Ricardo Goodrich[2] quondam/maiore Cant' firmario collegii de Merton predicti/quem dictum redditum post de illa agnete exegit./licet nec ab illa nec ab aliis prius umquam habuit.

(Below this, as on the other side, is a sketch of a building, labelled 'Domus corporis christi', and its frontage is again recorded at the foot of the sheet 'Istud tenementum continet in latitudine xxvj pedes et quartum verge'.)

The document is, in fact, conceived in the form of a sketch-map, for the double line separating the two columns of writing represents a little lane leading from the high road (the lower margin of the paper) to the 'Campus Swynescroft', mentioned in the text, at the top of the sheet. Here also is depicted the door in the wall by which Sabina had free entry and egress, and to the right of it 'the garden of the Brothers of Sempringham or White Canons'. The compass directions and other details of the sketch-map make it fairly simple to discover exactly where the properties lay. The parish of St Peter is that 'extra portam de Trumpyton' (subsequently St Mary-the-Less) and the 'regia via', represented by the lower margin of the paper, is Trumpington Street. The houses lay on the east side of the street with their gardens running back to Swynescroft – named from the former owner, Swyn or Sweyn, mentioned in early town documents, and not from usage, later also called St Thomas' Leys. The White Canons, whose main property lay roughly where Addenbrooke's Hospital now stands, seem to have possessed fairly extensive gardens in the crofts behind the houses fronting Trumpington Street.

The area shown in the sketch now lies under part of Pembroke College. The College, in fact, owned the whole site by *c.* 1592, when Hamond's town map was published, but as the Chantry property had only come into the market thirty years previously, the College buildings had not yet extended sufficiently far to the south to obliterate the ancient outlines. More fortunately still, the archives preserved in Pembroke College Box contain charters which give the earlier history of the houses. By the courtesy of the College it has been possible for me to search for the names of former owners and test the claim of Corpus Christi College to the house marked in the sketch.

[1,2] See p. 73. I must thank Professor C. R. Cheney for help with this section.

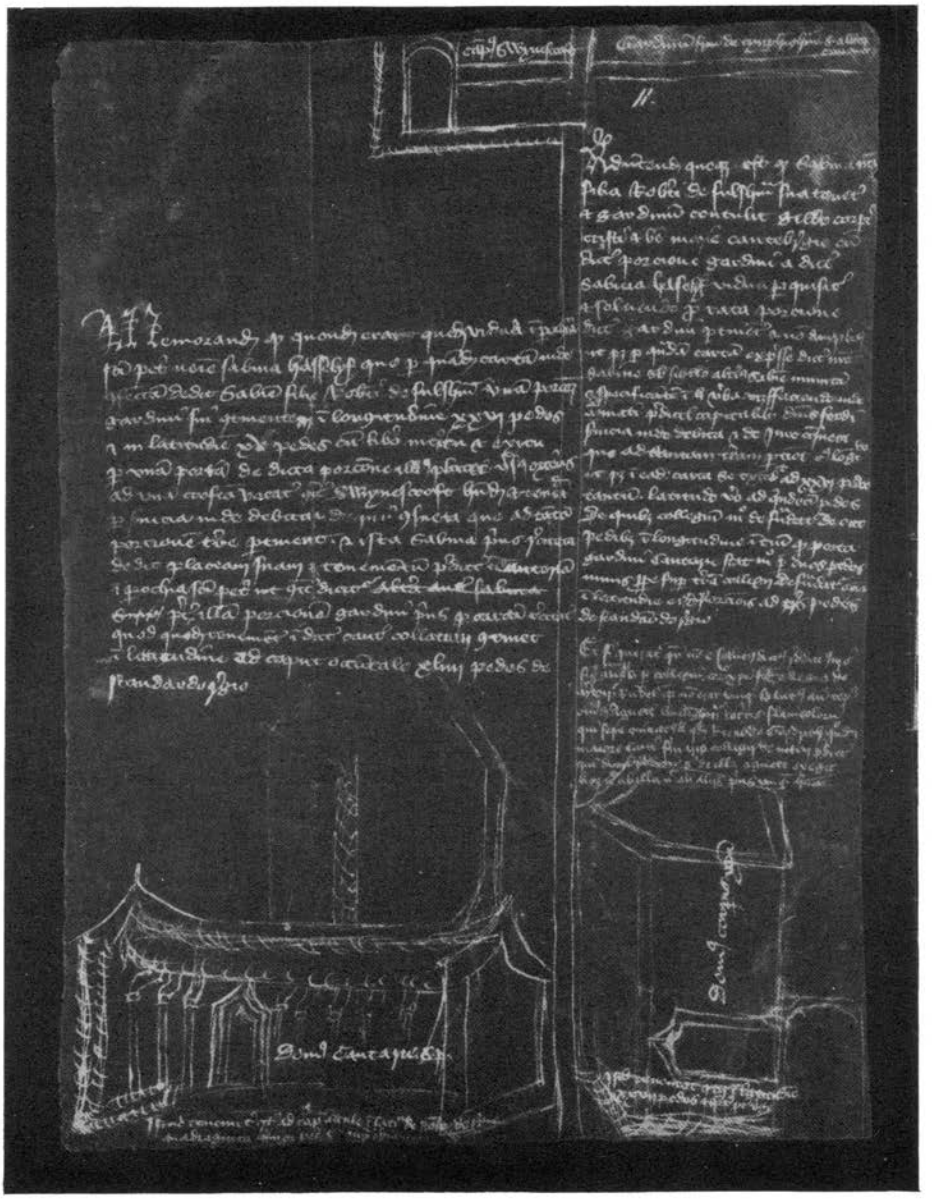

Fig. 1

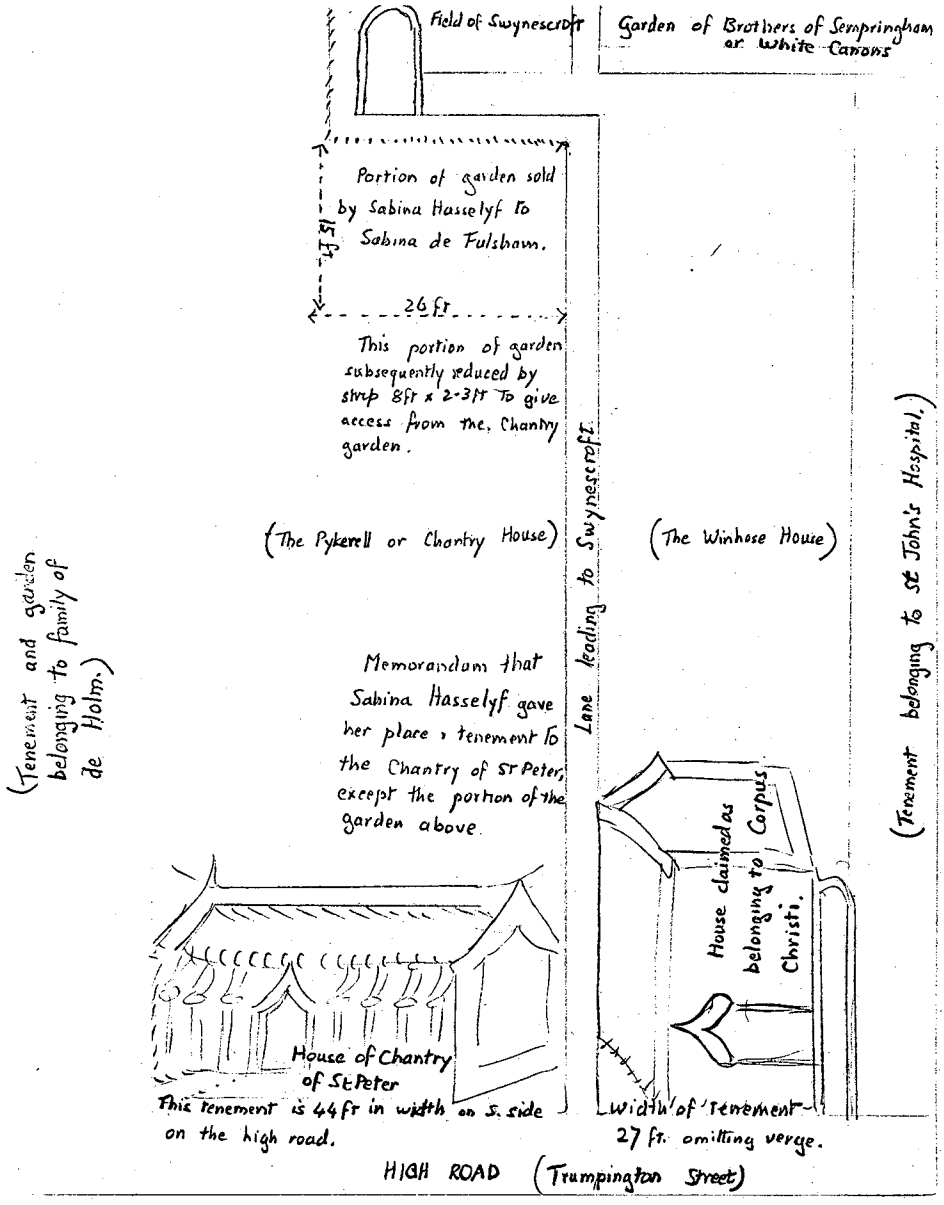
Field of Swynescroft
Garden of Brothers of Sempringham or White Canons
Portion of garden sold by Sabina Hasselyf to Sabina de Fulsham.
15 ft
26 ft
This portion of garden subsequently reduced by strip 8ft x 2-3ft to give access from the Chantry garden.
(The Pykerell or Chantry House)
(The Winhose House)
(Tenement and garden belonging to family of de Holm.)
Lane leading to Swynescroft.
(Tenement belonging to St John's Hospital.)
Memorandum that Sabina Hasselyf gave her place & tenement to the Chantry of St Peter, except the portion of the garden above.
House claimed as belonging to Corpus Christi.
House of Chantry of St Peter
This tenement is 44 ft in width on S. side on the high road.
Width of tenement 27 ft. omitting verge.
HIGH ROAD (Trumpington Street)

Fig. 2

The documents in the Pembroke College Box are arranged according to the ancient properties underlying the present College site, beginning with the Foundress' bequests in the south-west corner and continuing south and east roughly in chronological order of acquisition. Unfortunately no documents appear to have been preserved for the Chantry House with which this paper is concerned. Bundle I, marked 'Chantry House', as is clear from neighbours and abuttals given in the document, refers to the second house belonging to the Chantry, further down the road, to the south of the tenement of St John's (bundle H). The College histories assume that both Chantry houses came into the possession of the College at the same time, namely, at the first sale of dissolved Chantry property in 1549.

The house marked 'Domus Corporis Christi' in the sketch-plan can be readily identified as messuage G of the Pembroke College Box by its position between the little lane leading from the high road to Swynescroft on the north and the above-mentioned St John's tenement on the south. These boundaries are given in almost all the earlier documents in the bundle and all nineteen of them are skewered and bound with a sheepskin thong in the ancient manner. They may well have been so bound when the property was acquired by Pembroke College in the mid-fifteenth century, and though they are not bound up in chronological order, they give a sequence of ownership and occupancy for the preceding two centuries.

The earliest document (Ga), undated but from the first half of the thirteenth century, relates how Absolom, son of Robert Winhose, for the benefit of his soul and that of his wife Lucy and of his parents, granted to the church of St Thomas the martyr of Lesnes and the canons thereof all his house 'in villa de Grantebrig extra portam de Trumpeton iuxta venellam que ducit ad Swenescroft et extendit se Est West'. In the second (Gb) the Abbot and convent of Lesnes re-grant to Albric fitz Winhose 'all that messuage formerly of Robert his parent' subject to an annual rent-charge of 4/6d. per annum. The recurrence of this rent-charge in later documents is further evidence that the contents of bundle G refer to the same property. The neighbours are given as William fitz Godlamb and Peter, priest of Nuneham. The Godlamb family are associated well into the fourteenth century with the first strip in the open fields lying immediately behind the crofts and houses.

An approximate dating can be made for this document from its witnessing by Robert Seman. He was a contemporary of Hervey fitz Eustace, first recorded mayor of Cambridge, who died *c.* 1240.[1] The next document (G1) is again only datable from its mayor, Roger Wikes, who held office in 1256, in 1260 and again in 1270. In it the messuage, 'formerly of Robert Winnehose' is granted by John, son of Thomas Arnald junior de Kantebrig, to John de Redgrave for homage, service, 8 marks and a pair of shoes; the rent is one rose at St John Baptist and the rent-charge of 4*s.* 6*d.*

[1] *V.C.H.* III, 38.

to the aforesaid Abbot. Possibly in the following year, when John Martyn was mayor (1270–1), Richard de Seyton and Matilda his wife made a grant of the same house to John de Redgrave and his wife Agnes. The wording suggests that the first of these transactions was the purchase of the house and the second gave him and his wife vacant possession from outgoing tenants. One of the leading witnesses to this document is John de Aylesham, a wealthy townsman, whose importance will appear later (G2).

From this point onwards the sequence of both ownership and occupation of the house in question is unbroken. The Pembroke deeds are clear and complete.[1] It passes from the Redgraves to Robert, son of John Roger de Cumberton, at Epiphany 1293 and stays with that family until 1385/6. It then passes via John Mildenhale to William Ockham, clerk, with an adjacent croft acquired by the Cumbertons. William Ockham does some complicated leasing to three other clerks, all also named William, in 1394/5. In 1400 he conveys his messuage, acre and croft to Thomas Lavenham, clerk, and two others, Herbert and Skelton. These last in the same year purchase another adjacent acre of arable and convey all the land to Pembroke College, where it becomes 'The Orchard'. The messuage itself is conveyed by Thomas Lavenham in 1419 to five named persons, two of whom convey it to Ellen Bolton in 1422. From Ellen Bolton, later Ellen Knapton, it takes the name it is known by in the Pembroke College histories; it is conveyed to the College in 1430. But nowhere in the whole sequence of deeds is there anyone named Sabina or any hint of ownership by the Guild or College of Corpus Christi.

The widow of the parish of St Peter, Sabina Hasselyf, and her neighbour, Sabina de Fulsham, must therefore be sought elsewhere. Very fortunately the first Sabina was a woman of sufficient importance to leave a good deal of record evidence behind her. In particular she appears in the Hundred Rolls of 1279, and H. P. Stokes, in his study of property-holding based primarily on that great survey, 'Outside the Trumpington Gates',[2] attempted a short biography.

> This widow, who was a great heiress, was the daughter of a Cambridge citizen named Martin Brithnoth, upon whose death, and that of her uncle Hervey, she succeeded to the family possessions and proceeded to purchase other houses and lands. Her first husband was Peter de Wilburham, one of the borough bailiffs, who apparently died after a short married life. Mistress Sabina after a while found another partner in John de Aylesham, a Cambridge townsman. After the death of this citizen the lady soon appears as Sabina 'Asselof' and therefore it may be presumed that she or her possessions had again proved attractive, although it should be noted that she still sometimes styled herself 'formerly the wife of John de Aylesham'. In the parish of St Peter-without-the-gates . . . she possessed nine houses.

[1] Pembroke College Box, bundle G.

[2] H. P. Stokes, 'Outside the Trumpington Gates before Peterhouse was Founded', *Camb. Ant. Soc. Octavo Publ.* No. XLIV (1908), pp. 18–19.

Following up Stokes' sources we find that in the Hundred Rolls Sabina and her husband appear as 'Joh' de Eilesham et Sabina uxor sua'. With the date of this survey (1279) as the starting-point it is possible to get some approximate dating into Sabina's biography, though neither the date of her marriage to Aylesham nor that of his death can be exactly discovered. She was married to her previous husband, Peter de Wilburham, at the time of their purchase of a house from Thomas de Ho, the grant of which is quoted by Stokes and dated All Saints, 49 Henry III (1265).[1] The same Peter de Wilburham appears as a witness in two Corpus deeds of the time of Richard fitz Laurence, mayor, who held this office in 1263 and again in 1269/70.[2]

The date of her second widowhood cannot certainly be fixed before 1299, the date of the earliest document quoted by Stokes in which Sabina is explicitly described as 'quondam uxor Johanni de Aylesham'. He may well have been dead in 1298, in which year the first surviving memoranda of the Gild of St Mary begin.[3] The names of those who hold chattels of the Gild in the opening list include so many of the leading townsmen who were Aylesham's neighbours and fellow-officers that it seems unlikely that he would have been passed over had he been alive. He died too soon, it would seem, to appear either as an officer or as a benefactor of the Gild or on the Bede Roll, which begins a little later.

The date of Sabina's last marriage can only be surmised from the wording of two charters in the Corpus Muniments.[4] The first, which dates from the summer of 1299, runs, 'Sabina uxor quondam Johanis de Aylesham – in mea libera viduitate'. The second, two years later, begins 'Sabina Hasselof quondam relicta Johanis Haylesham de Cantebrig'– in mea pura viduitate et libera potestate'. Both are sealed with the same seal, a device of a bird surrounded by the legend S·SABINE·UXO(RIS)·JOHANIS.

Simon Asselof or Hasselyf, to whom Stokes assigns the role of Sabina's third husband, is mentioned in the documents with which we have been dealing only as a former neighbour in the charter conveying the de Ho house to Sabina and her first husband. From his other researches Stokes believes him to have been a clerk. Perhaps, like the Wyf of Bath, Sabina found that she could afford to marry her last husband for love. Be that as it may, the union appears to have been of brief duration and to have affected neither Sabina's fortune nor her ability to dispose of it. It is as the widow of de Aylesham that she is important as a property-owner and a benefactress.

Aylesham was one of a fairly small group of leading town families from whom the civic officers were chosen at this period. Unlike his contemporaries, the Martyns,

[1] Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[2] See below, p. 68.

[3] C.C.C. Box XXXI, no. 2. Membrane. Transcribed and printed by Mary Bateson, *Cambridge Gild Records* (1903), pp. 1–3.

[4] C.C.C. Box XV, nos. 12 and 15.

the Tuylets and the Goggings, for instance, he left no heir of the same name. A study of his possessions leaves the impression that his rise in position and wealth was fairly rapid and was due at least in part to his marriage to Sabina (née Brithnoth), but that his possessions were equally quickly disposed of by the time of his wife's death. Of the nine houses mentioned in the Hundred Rolls belonging to them in St Peter's parish, four are owned by the husband and wife jointly, five by Aylesham alone. All nine, which lay in a fairly compact group on either side of the Trumpington Road, are relatively recent purchases. None are ancestral possessions, though of course such possessions may have been sold in order to provide capital.

It would seem that the couple were following the fashion of the new rich of every age, moving out of town to an estate they were building in the expanding suburbs. In this the Le Rus and St Edmund families had preceded them, a little further down the Trumpington Road. The same process can be observed about this time among other 'top families' of the town, the Blancgernons on Castle Hill and the Martyns at Newnham, for example, to name but two whose activities can be traced from the Corpus archives.

Having acquired a good deal in the way of earthly possessions, and having no heir to inherit the Aylesham estate, Sabina in her widowhood began, according to the outlook of her age, to lay up for herself treasure in heaven. She granted most of her property on the west side of Trumpington Street to the new foundation of Peterhouse, of which the most important, sold in 1299, was the house she and her earlier husband had bought from Sir Thomas de Ho in 1266. (I have not gone into the conditions of these grants to discover whether the transaction should be regarded as an ordinary sale or a sale on such liberal terms as to amount to a benefaction, though I suspect that the latter is likely.)

Outstanding among her pious endowments is that of a recently created charity in her own parish church of St Peter. To the chantry of the Blessed Virgin in that church she gave two of her houses on the east side of Trumpington Street. The first is the Chantry House shown in the Corpus sketch-map, which Aylesham had bought from John Pickerel,[1] the second is the house already mentioned in connection with the Pembroke College deeds (bundle I). No record of her having been the donor is preserved, beyond the statement in the Corpus memorandum, but the fact that both the houses belonging to the chantry were formerly Aylesham's does suggest that in this statement the memorandum is correct. Sabina's double endowment must greatly have increased the wealth and enhanced the importance of the chantry until, perhaps, it eclipsed those of the original church of St Peter, thus preparing for the change of dedication when that church was rebuilt in 1350–2.[2]

[1] *Rot. Hund.* II, 371–2.

[2] The newly built church was rededicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and *not*, as Stokes says, to 'St. Mary-the-Less', whoever she may be.

In this very liberal endowment of a chantry we may perhaps see another manifestation of the 'new rich'. The Le Rus family and the St Edmunds family each boasted a private chapel on their estate. The Ayleshams could not quite achieve this status symbol – and indeed the possession of a private chapel or at least a licence to have masses said in one's own house evidently was something of a status symbol, to judge from the number of applications put in by wealthy persons, often ladies, recorded in the earlier registers of the Bishops of Ely – so the next best thing would be a chantry supporting a permanent priest bound to pray for Sabina and her deceased partners.[1]

On the other hand, it is also possible that Sabina may have had a personal reason for wishing to make a pious benefaction linked to St Peter's church. Some time before the end of the reign of Henry III a lady named Matilda, daughter of Hervey son of Martin, lived in St Peter's as a recluse and was supported by the income from an acre in Middelfeld (West Field). The actual wording of the documents which refer to this acre is: 'quam scilicet Hervieus filius Martini dedit Matilde filie sue quondam recluse ecclesie sancti Petri extra portam de Trumpton' and 'quam Matilda reclusa ecclesie sancti petri quondam tenuit usque ad terminum vite sue'.[2] Both these documents are witnessed by Peter de Wilburham, Sabina's first husband, and one is also witnessed by a Humphrey Brithnoth. When it is recalled that Sabina was the heiress of both Martin and Hervey Brithnoth, it is possible that Matilda was of the same family, perhaps her first cousin.

To turn from biography and conjecture to the original problem of the house claimed as the 'Domus Corporis Christi' of the fifteenth-century memorandum, the identification of John de Aylesham with Sabina's husband settles finally any remaining doubts there might be about whether it could have been the subject of transactions between the widowed Sabina and her namesake. The only gap in our knowledge of the ownership and occupation of this, the Winhose house, is in the period immediately prior to its purchase by John de Redgrave, and to the deed of that purchase John de Aylesham himself, alive and indeed a next-door neighbour, is a witness.

Did the Corpus claimant then fabricate the whole of the contents of his memorandum? Such things are by no means unknown, but in this case the existence of documentary evidence, unseen by Stokes but quoted by him from the Cole transcripts, would seem to indicate that the transactions did in fact take place, but perhaps in connection with another of John and Sabina's numerous houses, lying in a similar position between Trumpington Street and Swynescroft. The search must therefore be shifted to those houses and to their subsequent ownership, to see if any link can be found with the Gild or College of Corpus Christi half a century later.

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[1] The tenacity of the idea of this type of spiritual insurance may be seen in Franz Werfel's novel *Embezzled Heaven.*

[2] C.C.C. Box VII, nos. 11 *a* and *b*.

There were, in fact, several properties on the east side of Trumpington Street which later came into the possession of Corpus Christi College. Their deeds are in the large mixed box of early documents relating to St Peter's parish (C.C.C. Box xv). Search in this box is made none too easy by the fact that all the earlier Corpus documents have been separated from their original bundles and filed in chronological order in their parish box, regardless of provenance. Any documents discovered after the process of cataloguing had begun are liable to have been dropped in anywhere, especially if they are indistinct or lack a date. But in one respect the present searcher is in a better position than Stokes, who only had the Cole transcripts, and so could not make use of the clues provided by similarities in the hand and numbering of endorsements, or physical marks, such as matching discolorations or defects, which show that documents now separated have anciently lain together. In this latest search a very fine clue was provided by the activities of some long-deceased rat, which had gnawed enough to make the detection of related documents easy but not enough to destroy all vital words. Thanks to this rat and to topographical data supplied by documents of adjoining properties, one house can be found which has all the necessary qualifications.

This is the house which was next to the Chantry House, but on the other side from the Winhose house (i.e. the north side). This position makes sense of the transaction whereby Sabina II gained access to Swynescroft through the gate in the wall by purchasing a portion of the end of Sabina I's garden. Both the Chantry House and the Winhose house, as shown on the sketch-map, already had this access through the little lane between the two houses. The house on the other side of the Chantry could obtain it most directly by a way made through the back garden of the Chantry House. (The frontage of 44 feet to the Chantry House compared with the 26 feet, the width of the portion sold, is something of a difficulty but not an insuperable one. The door in the wall is shown to be some way, perhaps as much as 12 or 14 feet, round a corner to the left at the top of the lane. Slight tapering of the garden plots could reduce the necessary minimum width to 26 feet.) Sabina de Fulsham's house cannot have had a very wide frontage and was probably built end-on to the street like the Winhose house. The next property to the north, a house belonging to the de Holm family,[1] takes up most of the remaining ground between the Chantry House and the south boundary of the University Hostel, which became part of the foundation buildings of Pembroke College. In fact the historians of the Pembroke site have overlooked its existence altogether. But the house undoubtedly did exist, and a series of charters in the St Peter's Box in Corpus gives the sequence of its ownership from the widow Sabina Hasselyf to its purchase by trustees of Corpus Christi College in 1361.

Here are the two charters by which Sabina Fulsham obtained her house and then

[1] Pembroke College Box D.

the addition to her garden from Sabina Hasselof, widow of John de Aylesham. The conveyance of the house is dated 27 Ed. (1299), that of the garden Epiphany 29 Ed. (1301).[1] The messuage is described as lying between that formerly of Hugh de Holm and that formerly of Henry Pykerel and abutting on the high road and on the land of Master Thomas de Northfleet. The mention of Henry Pykerel identifies the 'Chantry' house as one of the two mentioned in the Hundred Rolls as having been purchased from that family by the de Ayleshams, on which there is said to be a small rent-charge of 2*s*., of unknown origin, to the Prioress of St Radegund. The charter transferring the portion of garden has all the details of position, measurements and access as contained in the Corpus memorandum, for which it no doubt served as a basis.

The wording 'cum libero introitu et exitu per unam portam de dicta placea *in croftum meum* quod vocatur Swenyscroft' does suggest, however, that there must have been a third transaction between the Sabinas conveying this croft, which is shortly afterwards found in Sabina de Fulsham's possession.

In the following reign Sabina, daughter of Robert de Fulsham, conveys her messuage, together with the adjacent croft of half an acre, to William de Burgo and Avicia his wife by two charters of 13 Edward II.[2] The neighbours on the north, as before, are the de Holms and the frontage is on the high road. The neighbours on the south are given as the de Cumbertons. This wealthy family were the owners of the Winhose house and for some time seem to have taken up a lease on the adjacent Chantry House. Robert de Cumberton, a baker by trade, was elected Alderman of the Gild of St Mary about this time (1319) and appears frequently in the Gild records.[3] William de Burgh, or de Burgo, who became his neighbour, was also a member of the Gild of St Mary. His name appears on their Bede Roll followed by that of his wife Avicia. His trade is given in the printed edition of this roll as 'anconer', of which the suggested interpretation is 'a maker of banners of saints to be carried in procession' (cf. ikon), though the alternative reading 'aucioner' (cf. auctionarius) seems more likely.[4]

Before the deaths of William and Avicia, however, the house was sold to a family named Vavassour. The half-acre croft had been disposed of separately (see below p. 78). Two documents of 13 and 19 Edward III (1339 and 1345)[5] show the house in the possession of the Vavassour family. By the first it is conveyed from William de Burgh to John Vavassour, burgess and cutler, and his wife Matilda, and by the second from John to his son of the same name. A John Vavassour is recorded in the last extant Bede Roll of the Gild of St Mary among those who have died in the

[1] C.C.C. Box xv, nos. 12 and 15. Both are sealed with the same seal: the device of a bird surrounded by the legend S·SABINE·UXO(RIS)·JOHANIS.

[2] C.C.C. Box xv, nos. 34 and 35.

[3] M. Bateson, *Cambridge Gild Records*, p. 12.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 19(2) and n. I owe the suggested alternative reading to Professor C. R. Cheney.

[5] C.C.C. Box xv, nos. 50 and 56.

previous year of the Black Death.[1] The house is described as being 'inter messuagium Thome de Holm ex parte una et tenementum quondam Roberti de Cumberton nunc spectans ad Cantariam beate Marie ecclesie sancti Petri extra Trumpyton (—) Cantebr'' in the earlier document, and as between the tenement occupied by William de Pyckeworth, chaplain, and the tenement formerly of Thomas de Holm and extending from the high road to Swynescroft in the second. All the documents relating to the house while it was owned by the Vavassour family are chewed in a similar way by the helpful rat.

In the third Vavassour document, which has suffered most from the attentions of the rat,[2] the widowed Matilda Vavassour conveys to Stephen, son of John Morice, William de Horwod, John (—), Richard (—), Robert (—), William Chapman and John le Barkere, burgesses, her messuage in St Peter's parish, between the messuage formerly of Dns William de Pykworth, chaplain, and (—), extending from the high road to Swynescroft. It is dated in the feast of St Th(omas), 35 Ed. (III) (i.e. 1361). The two first-named feoffees to this charter are notable citizens of Cambridge[3] and leading members of the Gild of Corpus Christi. The date is one at which it was not unusual for groups of such members to hold property, as in trust, which was subsequently conveyed to the recently founded College. The final transfer often takes the form of a sort of 'umbrella' document, in which all properties held for the purpose by the named parties are conveyed together after the statutory royal licence for transfer has been obtained. In the case of the Vavassour house the transfer is recorded in a document of 3 March 1364,[4] in which William de Horwode is the grantor: 'Willelmus de Horwode burgensis Cantebrig' de licencia domini regis speciali . . . magistro et scolaribus domus corporis ihu xpi et beate marie cant''. The last item in the list of transferred properties is described thus: 'aliud cotagium cum pertinenciis quod quondam fuit Johanis Vavassour iacet in parochia sancti petri extra Trumpitungates'. Here, then, is the required link with the College of Corpus Christi.

A document in Pembroke College Box shows that the house immediately to the north of the Vavassour house, the de Holm house, had also come into the hands of the Gild of Corpus Christi about ten years previously. By a charter of 30 Sept. 25 Ed. III (1351)[5] William de Horwode and Simon Sleford convey or lease to John Wistaw and wife a certain tenement 'inter tenementum pertinentem ad universitatem [shortly afterwards incorporated into the foundation buildings of Pembroke College] ex una parte et tenementum Cantarie beate Marie ecclesie sancti Petri ex altera parte, et abuttat super viam regiam et super venellam que ducit ad Swynescroft . . . quod quidam messuagium habuimus de dono et feoffamento de Holm de Cantebrig'.

[1] M. Bateson, *op. cit.* p. 25.

[2] C.C.C. Box xv, no. 68.

[3] Stephen, son of John Morice, was Mayor of Cambridge in this year (1361–2) and William de Horwode had been Mayor from 1350 to 1352.

[4] C.C.C. Box xxxi, no. 74.

[5] Pembroke College Box E, no. 2.

Table 1

	Merton House	Pykerell House	Winhose House	
1260			Robert Winhose and his sons Absalom and Albric	1260
1270		Henry Pykerell to John de Aylsham	John de Redgrave and his wife Alice	1270
1274	Owners Merton College, Oxford — Tenant Alan fitz Richer of Cryshale to Richard of St John			
1280				1280
c. 1288	John de Aylesham---- and ---Sabina ---------- his wife			
1290				1290
1293			John Redgrave to John Roger de Comberton	1293
1299	Garden to (1) Sabina de Fulsham		to Robert his son	
1300	(2) Sabina Hasselyfe, ---	widow of John de Aylsham		1300
1301	Sabina de Fulsham			
1310				1310
1319	William de Burgo and Avicia his wife (with half-acre adjacent)	(Owner Chantry of the B.V.M. in St Peter's) Tenant Dr William Pykworth, chaplain		
1320				1320
1329	Avicia			
1330	to			1330
1339	John Vavassour and Matilda his wife			
1340				1340
1350				1350
1360				1360
1361	Matilda Vavassour to the trustees of the Gild of Corpus Christi			
1364	To Corpus Christi College			
1370				1370
1380				1380
1385			Thomas, son of Robert de Comberton, junior, to John Mildenhale	1385
1389	Pembroke College			

William de Horwode and Simon de Sleford are, like the grantee of the last Vavassour charter, prominent members of the Gild of Corpus Christi acting as trustees. Horwode was Mayor in this year. The only difficulty about this charter is that the neighbouring property on the south side of the de Holm house is given as a tenement of the Chantry, though the de Fulsham house in fact lay between and did not pass out of the hands of its owners, the Vavassours, until 1361.

The sequence of ownership of the de Fulsham house from its sale by Sabina, widow of John de Aylesham, to its purchase by the members of the Gild of Corpus Christi has now been established (see Table 1). For the history of the house before and after this period we must look outside the records of the Corpus St Peter's box. A clue to where relevant information may be found is given by John Botwright in the footnote to his memorandum, which reads:[1]

> And if it is asked why the said rent of 3/– is not paid by the College of Corpus Christi to the College of Merton, it shall be answered that it was never paid before the time of a certain Agnes Willingham, washer of yellow cloth,[2] which was often demanded by a certain Richard Goodrich, formerly Mayor of Cambridge and farmer of Merton College aforesaid,[3] which said rent he afterwards exacted from the same Agnes, although he did not previously have it from her or from anybody else.

Following Botwright's clue to the estates of Merton College, Oxford, a brief survey of the calendar of the Cambridge estates of that College[4] shows that there are indeed two fairly early charters relating to a messuage in the fee of the House of Merton, which from its position is clearly none other than the one which we know as the de Fulsham house. It lies outside the Trumpington Gate between the messuage late of Henry Pykerell and now of John de Eylesham (the Chantry House) and that of Hugh de Helmo, and abuts at one end upon the land of William of Elvesworde (Elsworth). By the first charter Richard de St John receives the property from Alan, son of Richard Juridicus of Cryshale, and by the second he releases the same to Richard de Worplesdone, the Warden, and the scholars of the House of Merton. The witnesses to the two charters are the same and begin with John Martyn, Mayor, and include John de Eylesham.[5] Richard de Werplesdon was Warden of Merton from 1286 to 1295, and during this time Martyn was certainly Mayor from 1287 to 1288,[6] which makes these two years the most likely date for the charters. This pair of charters clearly establishes the connection between the de Fulsham house and the

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[1] See transcript (p. 61 above), section headed 'in a different ink'.

[2] I have not met this term before but presume that Agnes dyed yellow cloth or specialized in washing and redipping yellow hangings, etc.

[3] A *Robert* Goodrich was Mayor of Cambridge 1402–3 and in 1398 obtained from Merton College the lease of Merton Hall (J. Milner Gray, *Biological Notes on the Mayors of Cambridge*, 1921).

[4] J. Milner Gray, *The School of Pythagoras* (Camb. Ant. Soc. 1932), section VI, nos. 72, 73 (Merton Rec. 1602, 1601).

[5] Merton Rec. 1601. From a photograph supplied by the kindness of Dr J. R. L. Highfield.

[6] Milner Gray, *Mayors of Cambridge* (1921), p. 10.

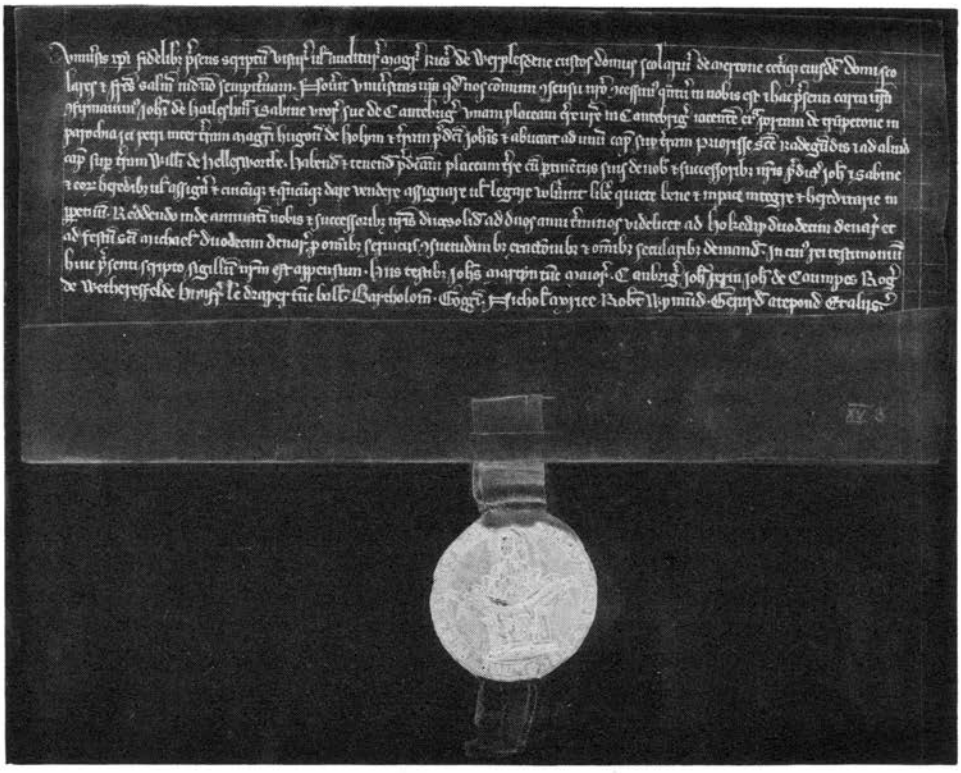

Fig. 3

College of Merton and that at the time they were written the house was in the fee of the House of Merton. Whether it had formed part of the original Dunning estate bought by Walter de Merton or whether it was added to the Cambridge properties of the House of Merton during the complicated negotiations that accompanied the purchase, I have not been able to determine.

Finally I discovered one further record in Corpus Christi College (Fig. 3). This had never been kept with its fellows in the St Peter's parish box and indeed may have been virtually lost in the miscellanea for a very long time. In the 1930s it was sent to the P.R.O. for repair on account of its fine appearance and seal, and even on its return was not catalogued or filed in its proper place. It is, in fact, the key document in the whole affair, being a grant from Merton College to John de Aylesham and Sabina his wife.[1] Strangely enough, Merton College does not appear to possess a duplicate of this charter or any record of this grant. The carelessness of both the

[1] Now C.C.C. Box XV, no. 5.

colleges concerned over this particular piece of record-keeping was to have serious consequences later on. The text of the charter runs:

Mag^{r} Ricardus de Werplesdene custos domus scolarii de Mertone ceterique eiusdem domi scolares et fratres [salutem etc].

Noverint universitas vestra quod nos communi consensu nostro concessimus quantum in nobis est et hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus Johanni de Hailesham et Sabine uxori sue de Cantebrig' unam placeam terre nostre in Cantebrig' iacentem extra portam de trumpetone in parochia sancti petri inter terram magistri Hugonis de Holym at terram predicti Johannis et abuttat ad unam caput super terram priorisse sancte Radegundis et ad aliud caput super terram Willelmi de Hellesworthe. Habendam et tenendam predictam placeam terre cum pertinenciis suis de nobis et successoribus nostris predictis Johanni et Sabine et eorum heredibus vel assignis et cuicunque et quodcunque dare vendere assignare vel legare voluerint. libere quiete bene et in pace integre et hereditarie in perpetuum. Reddendo inde annuatim nobis et successoribus nostris duos solidos ad duos anni terminos – videlicet ad Hokeday duodecim denarios et ad festum Michaeli duodecim denarios – pro omnibus serviciis consuetudinibus exactionibus et omnibus secularibus demandis. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti scripto sigillum nostrum est appensum. Hiis testibus Joh's Martyn tunc maior Cantebrig Joh' Peryn Joh' de Caumpes Roger de Wetheresfelde Humfr' le draper tunc ballivi Bartholom' Gogging Nichol. Morice Robt Wymund Gerard atepond Et aliis.

[Seal of Merton Hall]

Several points arise from a study of the text of this document. Firstly the dating; the list of witnesses is headed by John Martyn, mayor, as in the Merton documents already referred to, followed by the names of the four bailiffs, which are not given in the Merton documents, then the same four neighbours, Bartholomew Gogging, Nicholas Morice, Robert Wymund and Gerard atepond (de vinariis), but naturally not John de Aylesham, who is a party to the charter. The three documents must therefore be considered as contemporary and forming part of a single transaction. Presumably the Warden of Merton resumed full possession of his Trumpington Street property in order to be able to grant it freely to the de Ayleshams.

The property granted to the de Ayleshams is described as a piece of land, though the two documents in Merton refer to a messuage. Three of the neighbouring owners are the same, Hugh de Holm (formerly), Henry Pykerell (formerly) now de Aylesham, and William of Elsworth. At the west end, however, the piece of land does not extend to the high road, as the messuage did, but to the land of the prioress and convent of St Radegund. In the Hundred Rolls, a dozen years earlier than the charter, we find that the prioress and convent no longer hold directly any land or houses in St Peter's parish but collect rent-charges of one to three shillings on five or six of the properties fronting Trumpington Street, four of which had been bought by the de Ayleshams.[1] The Hundred Rolls give these rent-charges as of unknown origin, but the most

[1] *Rot. Hund.* II, pp. 359 and 371.

e.g. Item Joh' et Sabina tenent unum mesuagium in eadem parochia quod quidem dicta Sabina quondam emit de Priorissa et Conventu sancte Radegunde et inde reddunt per annum dictis P. et C. iij^{s} Qualiter autem dicti P. et C. ad predictum mesuagium pervenerint nesciunt.

probable explanation is that the convent anciently owned a strip of land running alongside the road before the town houses spread beyond the King's Ditch. 'Terram priorisse sancte Radegunde' in the Merton charter would seem to mean that portion of the property which fronted the street, on which there was a rent-charge to the prioress and convent. The de Ayleshams must at some point have acquired the messuage right up to the street front, for by the time of John de Aylesham's death his widow undoubtedly had two adjoining houses, both fronting the street, and two adjoining gardens both reaching back to Swynescroft. Finally the rent-charge named is two shillings, not three as subsequently claimed by Merton.

Merton, as we have seen, have no record of the grant to the de Ayleshams, and the payment of the rent-charge on their property seems to have lapsed until the end of the fourteenth century. Then we hear of the attempt by Robert (or Richard) Goodrich, as farmer of the Merton properties in Cambridge, to exact three shillings from Agnes Willingham. Corpus, it would seem, were insufficiently sure of their rights in the case to try to protect their tenant, and for the time being Goodrich succeeded in exacting the rent-charge.

Between 1446 and 1462 the Merton estates in Cambridge were in the hands of King's College, under an exchange agreement which in the event was never finally carried out.[1] This arrangement cannot have been popular with Corpus Christi College, whose rights, chiefly in Grantchester, were already being encroached upon by the new and powerful royal foundation. Dr John Botwright made a summary of disputed rents at this time and endorsed it:[2] 'Ye damage done to us by ye New College, Col' Reg.' The return of the estates to Merton brought him further trouble, for the Merton owners suspected that they had not received all their due, and from diligent research in their records began to lay claim to any rents or properties for which they could produce evidence of former ownership. Among them was the three shillings on the house outside the Trumpington Gate.

One of the fellows of Merton was dispatched to Cambridge to issue writs against the Hospital of St John and two colleges (Clare and Corpus) on the grounds that they had usurped possession of Merton property.[3] The rents and properties in dispute were referred to arbitration by four outside judges, to whom all relevant evidence of title and claims had to be submitted, as the text of the arbitration award shows.[4]

– To alle true cristen people to whom this present writyng endented shal come seen or heryn [A, B, C, & D the arbitrators] senden gretyng in our lorde god.
– Whereas John Botwright, clerk, Maistr of the College of [C.C. & B.V.M.] in Cambrigge and John Gygur clerk Wardeyn of the College of Merton in Oxenford have founden theymself that is to wete eythr partie severally to othr in xxli forto stande and obeye thawarde of us the said arbitrowrs

[1,3] Gray, *School of Pythagoras*, pp. 17 and 18.
[2] C.C.C. Box xxxvi, Misc.
[4] C.C.C. Box xxxvi, nos. 78 and 78·1.

indifferently by theym chosen of and upon the right title and possession of a yerely rent of vij^{s} viij^{d} w^{t} sute of courte to the maner of Berton, iij^{s} and ij capons and of a parcell of a mese in the parish of seynt Gyles in Cambrigge and also of a yeerly rent of iij^{s} wth sute of court of Merton Halle –

– so that our jugement be yeven before the feest of Cristmesse next comyng

– We the said arbitrowrs takyng upon us the charge of the seyd arbitrement the evidences and title of the seyd parties to us by them severally shewed redde and by us rypely understonden – awarde ordeyn and deme –

The memorandum which forms the subject of this paper was most probably drawn up by Botwright in connection with this arbitration. The Corpus case must obviously have been weak on two points. Firstly, Goodrich had successfully exacted the 3*s.* rent. Secondly, Botwright was basing his claim on the wrong house, for which he cannot have produced very good evidence of title. He must have been either unable or unwilling to produce the Merton charter and must have relied on what else remained in the muniments relating to the de Fulsham house. None of these later charters names the chief lord of the fee or states any specific rent-charge in lieu of services. Perhaps the rat was the real villain, since it had chewed away so much of the Vavassour charter, including the name of the neighbouring tenant other than the Chantry House.

At all events the final award was generally unfavourable to Corpus, for out of a total of more than 13*s.* 8*d.* in annual rents claimed, together with ownership of part of a messuage, the College received only an annual rent of 4*s.* from Merton, in return for abandoning all further claims.[1] The final concord with Merton, a copy of which remains in the College archives, was sealed by the four arbitrators on 4 December 1471 and was followed by a mutual exchange of quit claims on 7 December.

Thereafter all references to the house among the Corpus records cease, as far as I have been able to discover. The Pembroke College Box cannot give us the complete story either, though it is clear that this College had acquired all the area to the south of their original site by the middle of the following century. Is it possible to find any further traces of Sabina's house even after it has vanished from record evidence?

Hamond's map of 1592, as has already been mentioned, shows the site very little changed from its medieval layout. Walls and buildings for the most part follow the pattern of the Botwright sketch-map, except that the north end of the Chantry House seems to have been demolished. The further end of the Chantry House garden, as would be expected, has been divided off and forms the garden to the side of a long house running back from west to east from the Trumpington Road. This is most probably the de Fulsham house, or rather, a lengthened one on the same site.

The Winhose house, not lengthened, can be identified, and from it a long wall goes out towards Swynescroft, hiding what is presumably the line of the small lane. Although the earliest deeds of the Trumpington Road houses suggest that their

[1] This 4*s.* rent-charge was the subject of some correspondence between the two colleges in 1911.

gardens formerly opened directly on to Swynescroft, from the later thirteenth century a series of closes was formed, which by Hamond's time stretched in an unbroken line behind the houses. The only one named on Botwright's plan is the Garden of the White Canons, but the wording of the charter which disposes of Sabina de Fulsham's half-acre suggests that hers was immediately to the north.[1] By Hamond's time most of the closes nearest to Pembroke College had been gradually purchased by that College for gardens or orchards.

The close which had originally belonged to Sabina de Fulsham may well be the one purchased in 1389, known to Matthew Wrenn (*c.* 1620) as Cosyn's Place,[2] and according to him consisting of about half an acre used by the College for a garden. The name Cosyn's Place is, however, applied by Gilbert Ainslie to what is more probably the de Holm house.

No further maps or pictures of the site are available until the seventeenth century. In Loggan's print of Pembroke College (*c.* 1688) some of the garden is seen behind the new chapel. The outlines of the older sketch-map are still preserved in the arrangement of the paths in the southeast corner leading to a gate in the wall. Sabina's garden is occupied by a large flower-bed laid out like a sundial. But by this time Pembroke College Chapel, built over the whole portion fronting the street, has effaced all other traces of what went before. Last to vanish from the Cambridge scene was the little door in the wall, by which over four centuries Sabina and Avicia and Matilda and the Fellows of Pembroke College had had free entry and egress into the field called Swynescroft.

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[1] C.C.C. Box xv, no. 41.

[2] Pembroke College Box, bundle E.

Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc. Vol. LXV (1974), pp. 79–92.

AN EARLY SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PIT GROUP FROM BENE'T STREET, CAMBRIDGE[1]

MICHAEL R. MCCARTHY

IN 1968 workmen employed in rebuilding underneath Barclays Bank, Bene't Street, Cambridge, discovered a large quantity of pottery. Miss M. D. Cra'ster, of the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology,[2] visited the site, where the workmen told her that all the pottery had come from one place in the ground and had been in a sticky, black soil. It seemed likely that the pottery had come from a pit although there was little to confirm this view.

The possibility that the material had come from a pit as well as a considerable measure of internal consistency in the pottery itself and an apparent lack of contamination by material derived from elsewhere, has led to the treatment of the pottery as a group.[3] Furthermore, the size of the group (there are sherds representing over 140 vessels) and the distribution of vessel types have led to the view that deposition took place over a relatively short period of time.

The vessels represented can be divided into the following classes and the numbers are the minimum for each. (In addition there are a number of sherds of indeterminate form.)

1 saucer	8 serving dishes
17 platters	12 drinking mugs
22 porringers	1 sweetmeat bowl
4 pipkins	1 small vase
7 jars	2 lids
2 chamber pots	5 stoneware jugs
8 storage jars	2 chafing dishes
8 pans	1 costrel
1 colander	1 albarello

The interest of the assemblage lies partly in its size, far exceeding that published from Cambridge hitherto,[4] and partly in the variety of classes of vessel represented.

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[1] This paper formed part of an undergraduate thesis prepared for the Department of Archaeology, University College, Cardiff.

[2] I am grateful to Miss M. D. Cra'ster for drawing my attention to this pottery and for permission to publish it.

[3] A number of fragments of fine glass vessels were also found with this group. These are contemporary with the pottery, and will be published in the next volume of *Proc. C.A.S.*

[4] See P. V. Addyman and M. Biddle, 'Medieval Cambridge, Recent Finds and Excavations', *Proc. C.A.S.* LVIII (1965), 74–137.

With such a range, the neglected but closely related questions of ceramic nomenclature and the functions for which pottery vessels were intended is raised.

Throughout the Middle Ages potters seem to have produced a fairly restricted range of vessels – cooking pots, bowls and jugs principally – and only made the more exotic types such as lobed cups or aquamaniles occasionally. It seems likely that many of the pots were of a multi-purpose nature, although wooden and leather vessels may well have been just as important.

In the post-medieval period, however, economic, social and dietary changes enabled the potter to extend his repertoire, with the result that it is now possible to be a little more definite about the role of pottery in the household. That many pots were made for specific purposes is supported by the increased range of types, as in the present pit group, as well as the evidence contained in a number of documentary sources. The latter include menus and recipes,[1] in which we have detailed information about the layout of tables prepared for meals, the processes involved in cooking and references to various items of culinary equipment. Household inventories[2] tell us where, in the house, different types of vessels were to be found, as well as indicating the numbers of pottery, brass, pewter, leather and wooden vessels. Dictionaries and word lists[3] give direct evidence of the names accorded to vessels, as well as saying something about their uses. Paintings, particularly of seventeenth-century date, give us visual proof of the functions of some of the pots found by archaeologists as well as constituting an important additional means of dating.[4]

The pottery

Only two fabrics were distinguished.

Fabric A. Hard, sandy, off-white to light grey. The filler is not very apparent as most of the vessels in this fabric have a thick glaze on both sides.

Fabric B. Hard, with some sand, brown. The amount of sand varies from pot to pot but there is never sufficient to be sure whether it is a filler or a natural constituent of the clay. The colours vary between brown and brick red but there is a darker core occasionally.

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[1] There are a large number of menus and recipes surviving in a variety of places. See for example *Two Fifteenth Century Cookery Books*, ed. T. Austin, Early English Text Soc. XCI (1888); *Manners and Meals in Olden Time*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, Early English Text Soc. (1868).

[2] Many hundreds of household inventories dating from the mid-sixteenth century survive and many are published in the volumes of county record societies. See, for example, F. G. Emmison, 'Jacobean Household Inventories', *Beds. Hist. Rec. Soc.* XX (1938), 50–143.

[3] There are a few word lists surviving from the Middle Ages and many more dictionaries from the sixteenth century onwards. See, for example, *Catholicon Anglicum; an English–Latin Wordbook dated 1483*, ed. S. J. H. Herrtage, Early English Text Soc. XXX (1881); *A New Universal Etymological Dictionary*, ed. J. N. Scott (London, 1775), and many others of the seventeenth to twentieth centuries.

[4] Manuscript illustrations such as the Luttrell Psalter are well known sources of information, as are the paintings of Brueghel and the later Dutch genre painters such as Jan Steen of the seventeenth century.

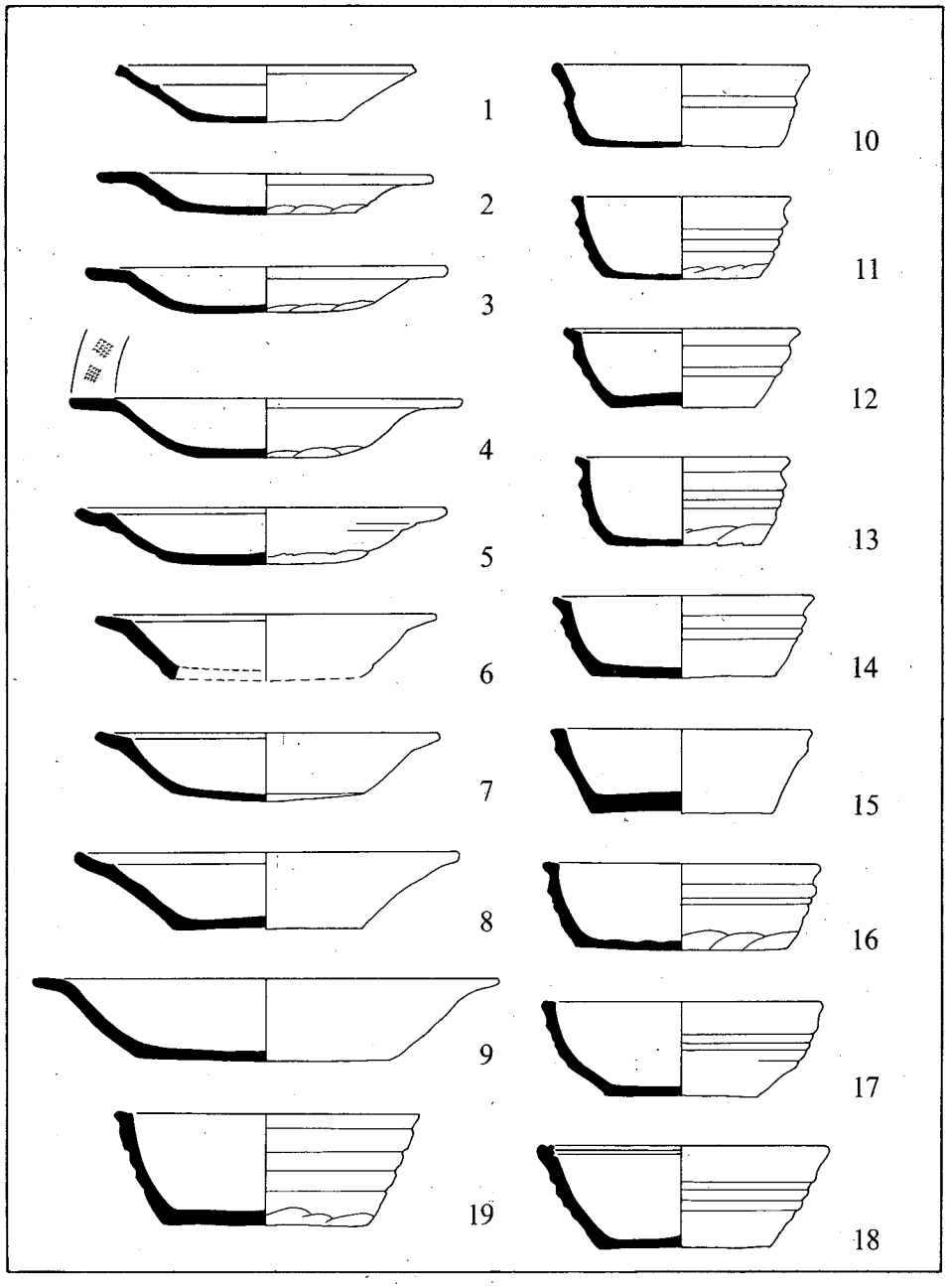

Fig. 1. Bene't Street pit group. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

A number of vessels have a thin white slip washed on to the external surface and most of the vessels are glazed. The glazes are all lead based and are either green, yellow or colourless. Generally speaking they show as bright green and yellow against fabric A and as a duller green or brown against fabric B.

Saucer (Fig. 1, 1)

Fabric A. This is the only example of this type of vessel. It has a rich yellow glaze internally and a mottled green outside.

The identification of this vessel as a saucer is open to some doubt but the shape and richness of the glaze suggest that it may be regarded as a table ware. Medieval references[1] imply a function connected with condiments and these are supported by post-medieval dictionary definitions.[2]

Platters (Fig. 1, 2–9)

All are in Fabric B.

These vessels are glazed internally only, and a number have traces of knife trimming on the basal angle. The only form of decoration is the grid-stamped device which is set at an angle to the rim.

References to platters are frequent in documentary sources of the post-medieval period where they are described as being made out of wood, metal and pottery. Platters made out of the latter material are uncommon as archaeological finds on medieval sites, but they appear fairly commonly in Tudor and later deposits. The alternative to the platter was the wooden trencher, which appears to have been common in households until the nineteenth century.

Porringers (Fig. 1, 10–19)

10, fabric A; 11–19, fabric B.

There is a slight scar halfway down the side of 10 which may indicate the position of a handle. It is thickly glazed in a yellow-green. All the other porringers are coarse by comparison with 10. All have a brown glaze internally with only the occasional splash on the external surface.

The present writer has found no references to porringers in pre-Tudor contexts though they may exist. In documents of the sixteenth and later centuries references are fairly frequent. As the name suggests they were used for eating broth or soup.[3]

Pipkins (Fig. 2, 2–6, 11, 12)

4, 6, 11 in fabric A; 2, 3, 5, 12 in fabric B.

Numbers 2, 3 and 12 have a considerable amount of soot on the outside, indicating use in a fireplace. All the pipkins in fabric B are glazed a dull brown colour internally.

From an examination of menus, recipes, dictionaries and household inventories it would seem that references to pipkins are scarce. Those that do occur seem to be all of post-medieval date and indicate a hollow vessel with three feet and a handle. The hollow handle may have been intended for the insertion of a piece of bone or wood. The solid, everted handle may be a skeuomorph of the 'pippen', which was a wooden tub that had one of its staves prolonged upwards to act as a handle or 'ear'.[4]

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[1] See p. 80, n. 1 above for references. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Robert Ainsworth's Dictionary; English and Latin* (London, 1773) and *A New English Dictionary of Historical Principles*, ed. J. A. H. Murray (Oxford, 1888).

[4] See *N.E.D.* in n. 3 above.

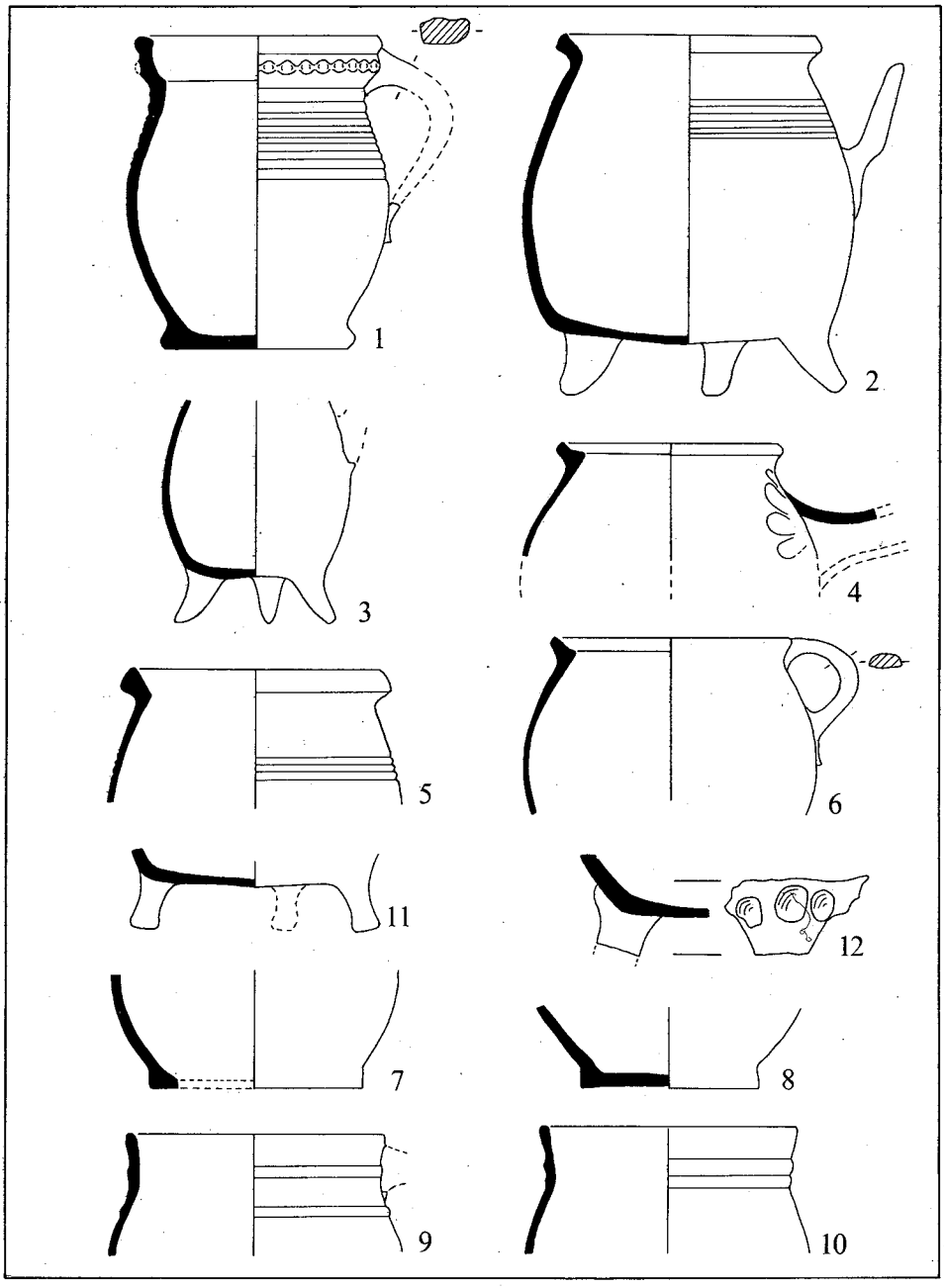

Fig. 2. Bene't Street pit group. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

Jars (Fig. 2, 1, 7–10; Fig. 3, 2–4, 6)

Fig. 2, 1, 7–8 in fabric A. Fig. 2, 9, 10; Fig. 3, 2–4, 6 in fabric B.

The vessels in fabric A have a rich green-yellow glaze in contrast to the others, which have a dull green-brown glaze internally and occasional spots externally.

Chamber pots (Fig. 3, 7–8)

Fabric B.

Both vessels, which are almost complete, are devoid of glaze. The outer surface of both has a reddish brown slip. Both vessels have been poorly fired and 8 has been affected by the action of salts.

These vessels could be jugs, but as there is no lip for pouring such an attribution seems a little unlikely.

Storage jars (Fig. 3, 1, 5)

Fabric B.

These are large, coarse vessels, thickly glazed a brown colour internally; some have a thin off-white slip externally with brush-marks clearly visible.

Pans (Fig. 4, 1–6, 8, 9)

Fabric B

One of the characteristic features is the thick internal green-brown glaze. Noteworthy are the two types of rim, one being fairly simple in the tradition of Late Medieval pans (Fig. 4, 5–6), and the other appearing as a heavily moulded form (Fig. 4, 1–4) with a thicker base.

Colander (Fig. 4, 7)

Fabric B.

There are scars, one above the other, on the side that may mark the position of a handle. The sagging base, perforated at close intervals, may originally have had three feet in the manner of the Hungate examples.[1]

Pottery colanders are rare finds on excavations of the medieval or post-medieval period but, if they can be equated with the 'strenour' of late medieval recipes and word lists,[2] they must have been made out of perishable materials, for they appear to have been an essential item of culinary equipment.

Serving dishes (Fig. 5, 1–4)

Fabric B.

These vessels are all glazed internally with only occasional spots on the outer surface. The broken end of 1 has not been restored as it could have had a lip for pouring for which no evidence

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[1] See H. E. J. Le Patourel, 'The Medieval Pottery', in K. M. Richardson, 'Excavations at Hungate, York', *Arch. J.* CXVI, 1959, 90–9.

[2] See p. 80, n. 3 above.

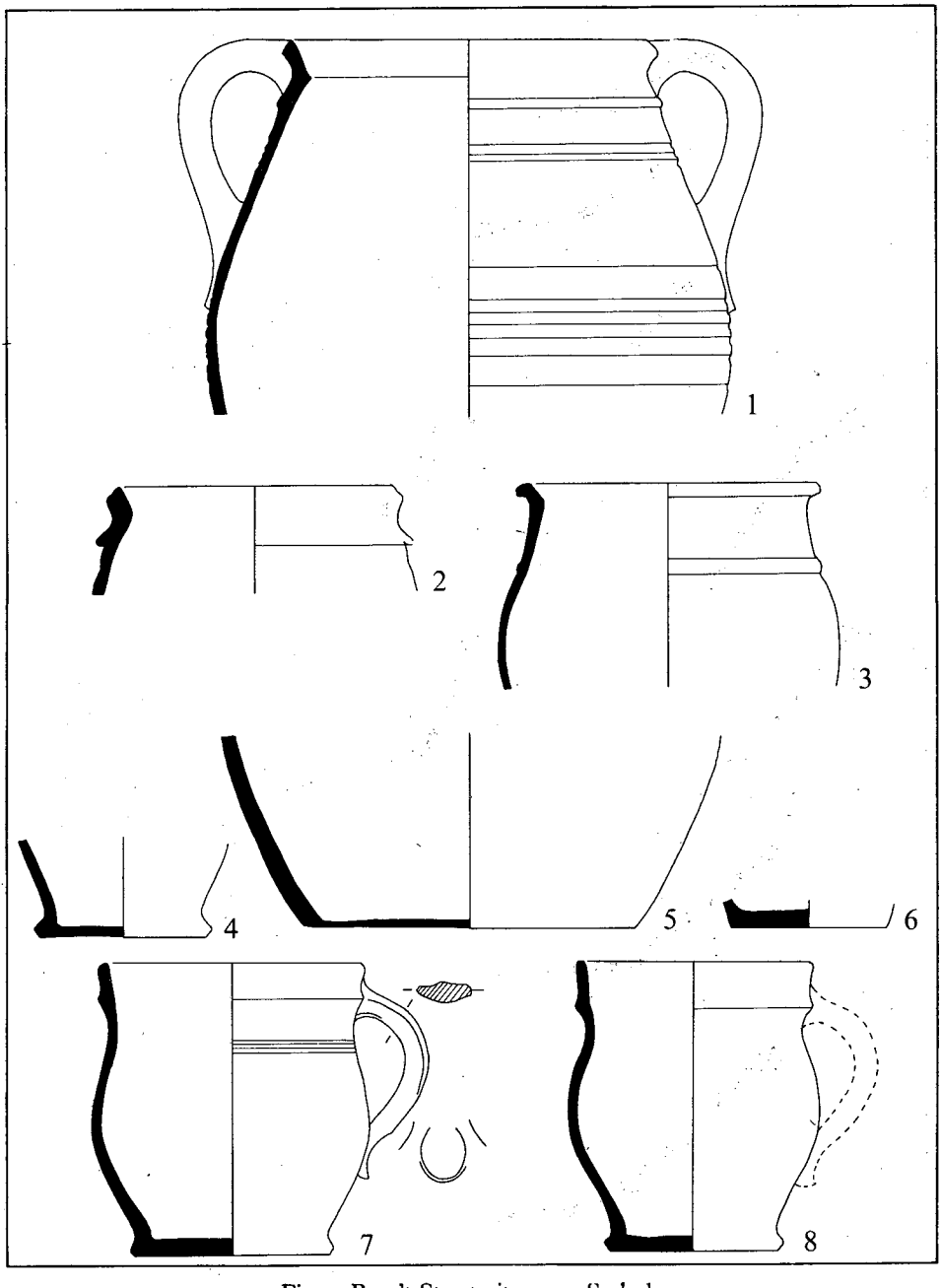

Fig. 3. Bene't Street pit group. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

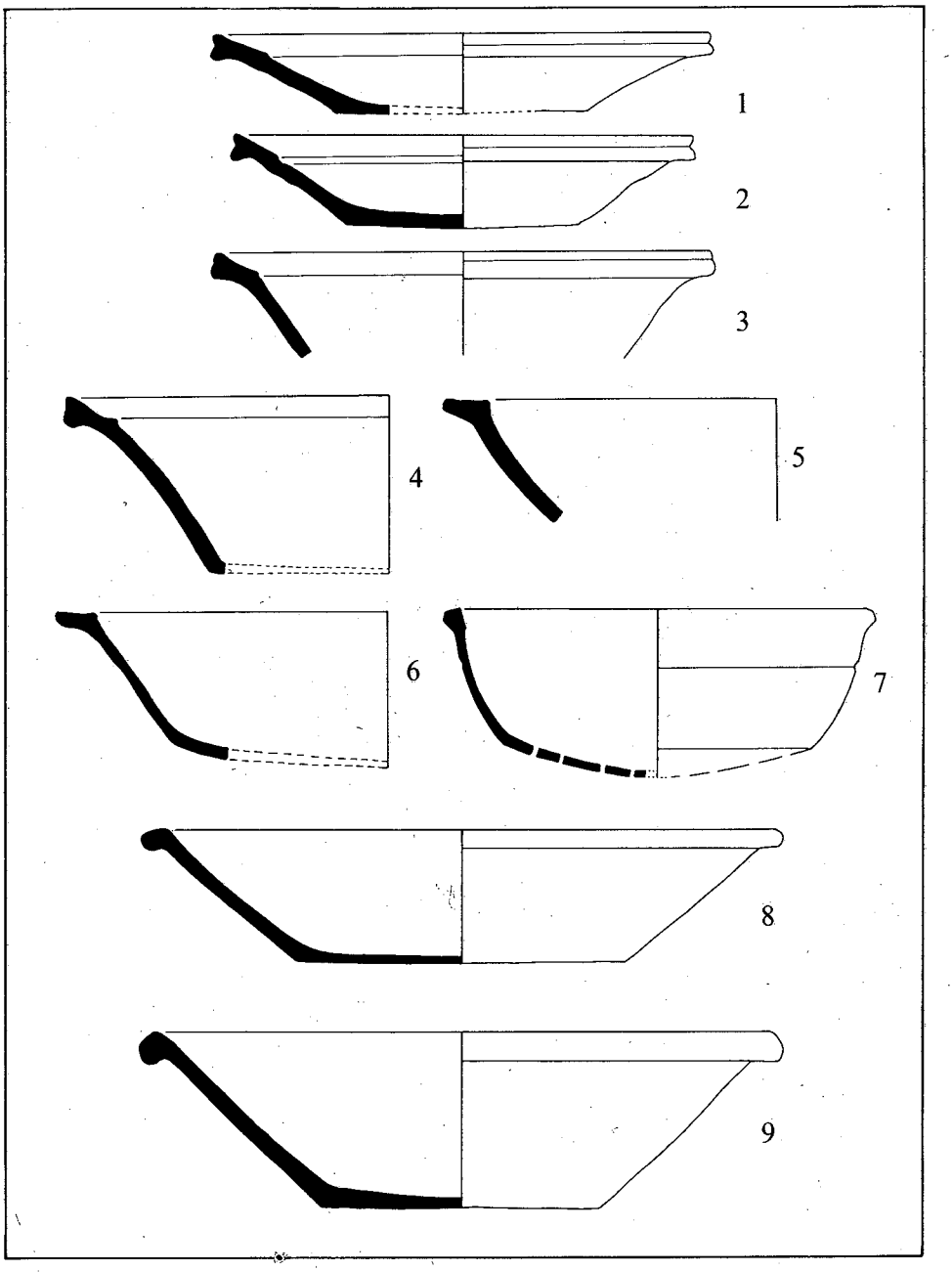

Fig. 4. Bene't Street pit group. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

survives. There are no traces of burning on the underside of the base of no. 1 but this does occur on the other examples.

Although archaeological literature describes vessels of this general shape as fish dishes or dishes for joints, they could equally well be used for serving other foodstuffs.

Mugs (Fig. 6, 1–6)

Fabric B.

With the exception of no. 3 which has a greeny glaze, all are thickly covered on both sides with a chocolate-coloured glaze. Noteworthy are the handles which are of single, double and twisted forms.

Sweetmeat bowl (Fig. 6, 7)

Fabric A.

This small vessel, which is over half complete, is completely covered in a matt green glaze. Its attribution as a sweetmeat bowl is slightly suspect, the alternative suggestion being a finger bowl or a side-handled cup, but the problem with the latter possibility is that a second handle would be necessary.

Vase (Fig. 6, 8)

Fabric B (?).

This is the only complete and unbroken vessel in the group and its fabric is consequently difficult to determine. There is a thick, brown glaze internally and half way down the outer surface. Whilst one cannot be sure that this is a vase, its shape and size make it difficult to see what else it may have been.

Lid (Fig. 6, 9)

Fabric B.

There is no glaze on the illustrated sherd and the small fragment which survives from another lid has been badly affected by the action of salts, making it difficult to see whether there may originally have been a glaze.

Stoneware (Fig. 6, 10–14)

10. Bellarmine. Dark grey fabric with a light grey internal glaze on grey. The beard and part of the mouth suggest that this is a part of a mask of Holmes Type III.[1] The arms below are badly smudged in places. There are cheesewire rings on the base.

11. Frechen jug. Light grey fabric with a similarly coloured internal glaze. Externally there is an evenly applied light brown glaze. Cf. 14.

12. Frechen jug. Narrow-necked jug in a light grey fabric and internal glaze. There is a mottled yellow-brown glaze over grey externally. There are cheesewire rings on the base.

13. Bellarmine. Grey fabric with a brown glaze internally and a mottled dark brown over grey glaze externally. There are cheesewire rings on the base.

14. Frechen jug. Grey fabric with a light brown glaze which gets darker on the neck internally. The neck has parts of three medallions of which enough survives to show that they represented a man's bearded profile.

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[1] See M. R. Holmes, 'The So-Called Bellarmine Mask on Imported Rhenish Stoneware', *Ant. J.* XXXI (1951), 173–9.

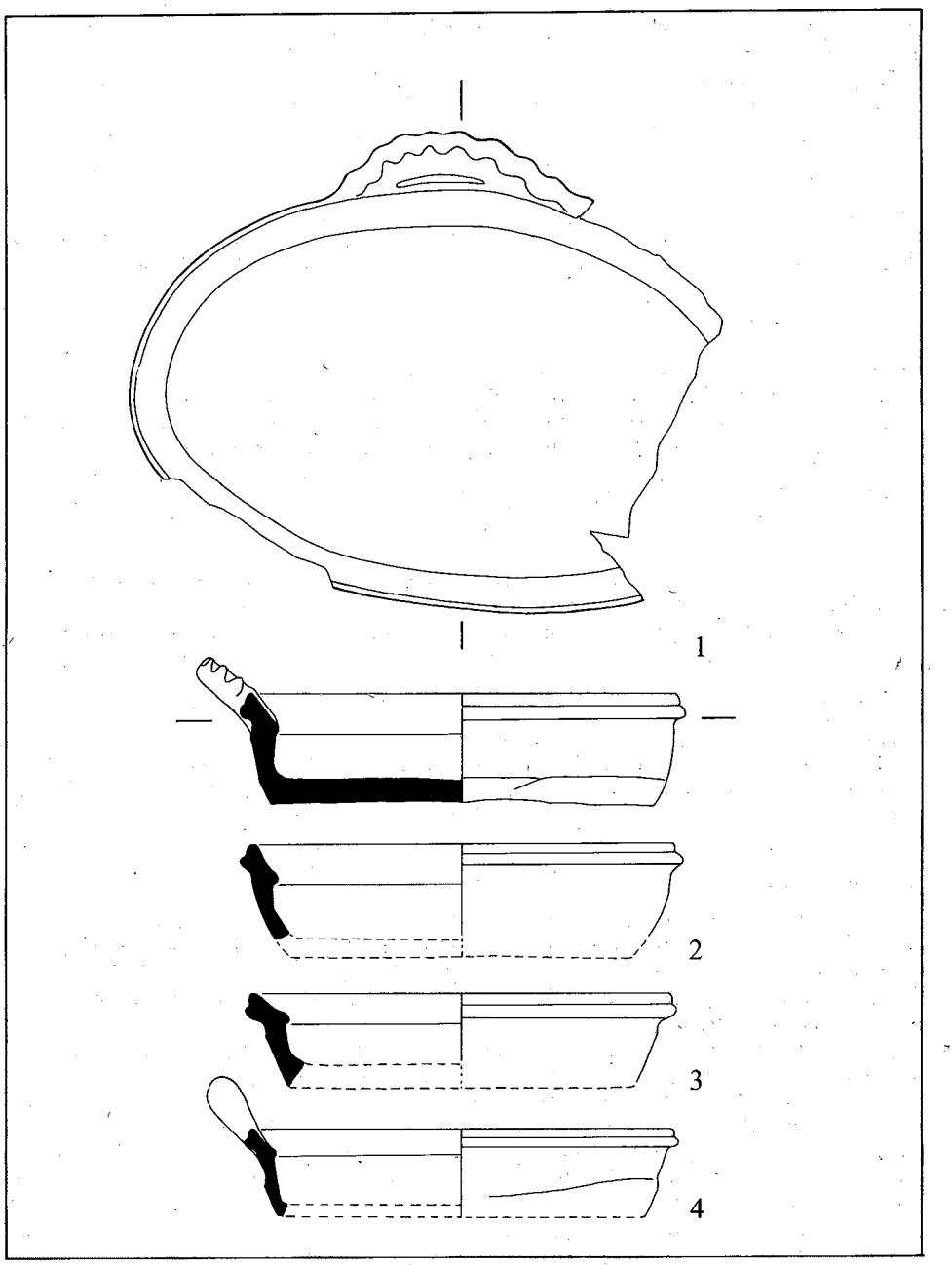

Fig. 5. Bene't Street pit group. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

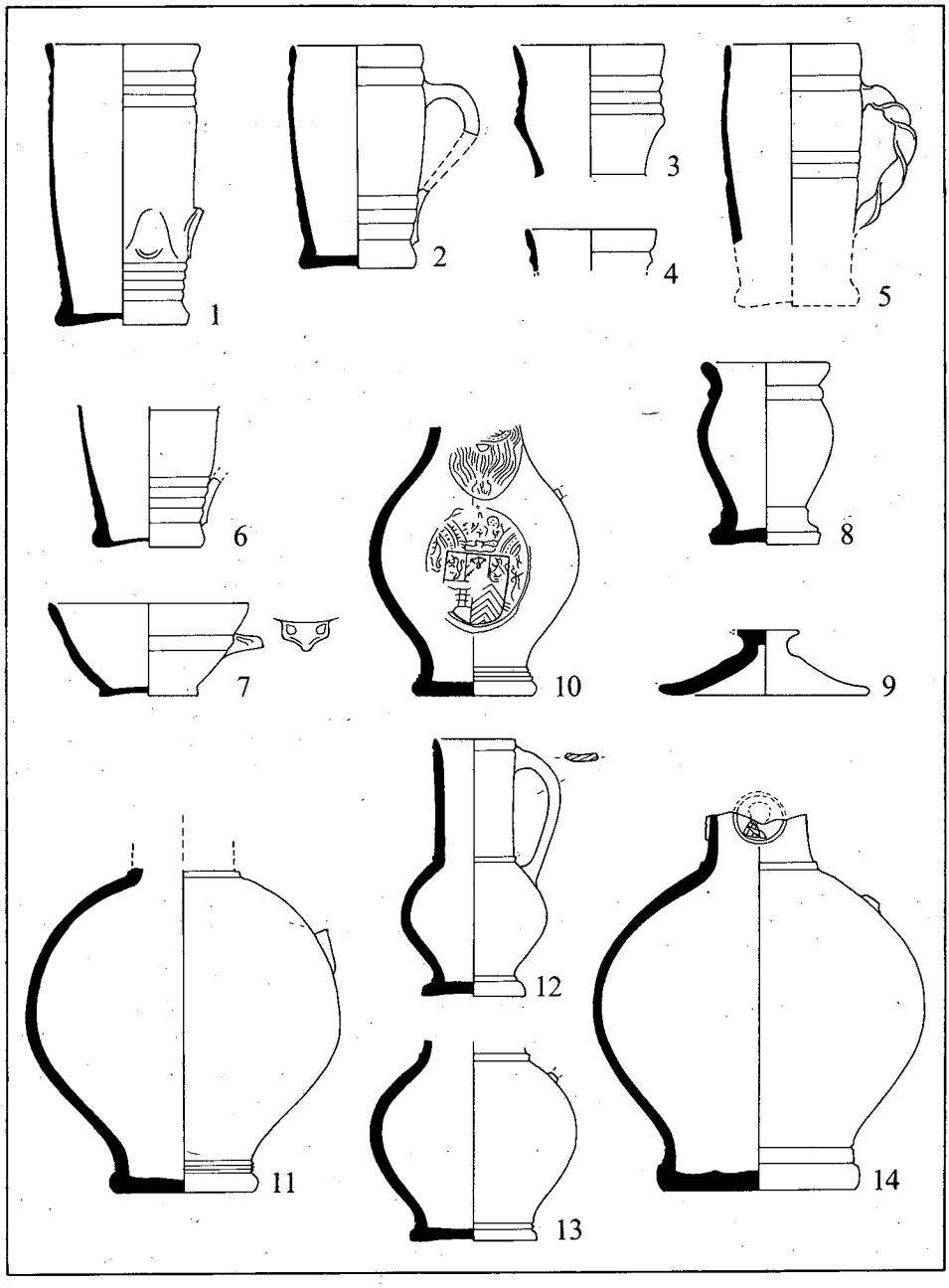

Fig. 6. Bene't Street pit group. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

Chafing dish (Fig. 7, 1)

Fabric A.

The bowl is covered with a thick, yellow-green glaze on the inside and parts of the exterior. There is a sherd of another chafing dish, unglazed and of inferior quality though of similar form to that illustrated.

References to chafing dishes occur fairly frequently in documentary sources from the late fifteenth century onwards.[1]

Costrel (Fig. 7, 3)

Fabric B (?).

The fabric, which may have originated as fabric B, has been fired very hard almost to a stoneware. The two sherds which survive have been tentatively reconstructed but this cannot be regarded as anything but approximate. The inside has a thin slip and the exterior a thicker brown glaze.

Albarello (Fig. 7, 2)

This fine, over half-complete vessel has a soft, white fabric with a thin internal lead glaze and a tin glaze on the outside. The outer surface has blue and purple floral motifs painted on. The only unglazed parts of the vessel are the very top of the rim, the squared foot and the underside of the base. The rim and the base are both warped. The glaze and decoration suggest a Dutch origin.

Miscellaneous

There are a number of other sherds in both fabrics forming parts of jugs, pans and cooking pots, most of which are too small to be illustrated. There are, in addition, six sherds in medieval fabrics two of which are similar to Northolt Group K,[2] and others are comparable to fabrics current in East Anglia in the Middle Ages. The latter are clearly derived and are of no value for dating purposes.

The date

The general range for the group is fixed by the Frechen jugs which are a late Tudor–early Stuart form, but an emphasis in the seventeenth century is more likely because of the presence of the bellarmines, the albarello and the tall drinking mugs. It is probably significant in a group of this size that there are none of the sixteenth-century locally produced hard, sandy, pimply surfaced reduced or oxidized wares amongst the coarse pottery.[3] This would tend to confirm a seventeenth-

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[1] See p. 80, n. 3. See also J. G. Hurst, 'Post-Medieval French Imports and Copies At Lincoln', *Lincs. Hist. and Arch* I (1966), 54–6; and S. Moorhouse, 'Finds from Basing House, Hampshire', *Post-Med. Arch.* 4 (1971), 65–6.

[2] See J. G. Hurst, 'The Kitchen Area of Northolt Manor', *Med. Arch.* V (1961), 267–70.

[3] In addition to the material published by Addyman and Biddle (see p. 79, n. 3 above) there are an increasing number of late medieval and post-medieval assemblages being published from the area. See in particular P. V. Addyman and J. Marjoram, 'An Eighteenth-Century Mansion, a Fishpond, and Post-Medieval Finds from St Neots, Hunts', *Post-Med. Arch.* VI (1972), 81–9; J. G. Hurst, 'The Pottery', in C. F. Tebbutt, 'St Neots Priory', *Proc. C.A.S.* LIX (1966), 64–7, and S. Moorhouse, 'Excavation of a Moated Site Near Sawtry, Huntingdonshire', *Proc. C.A.S.*

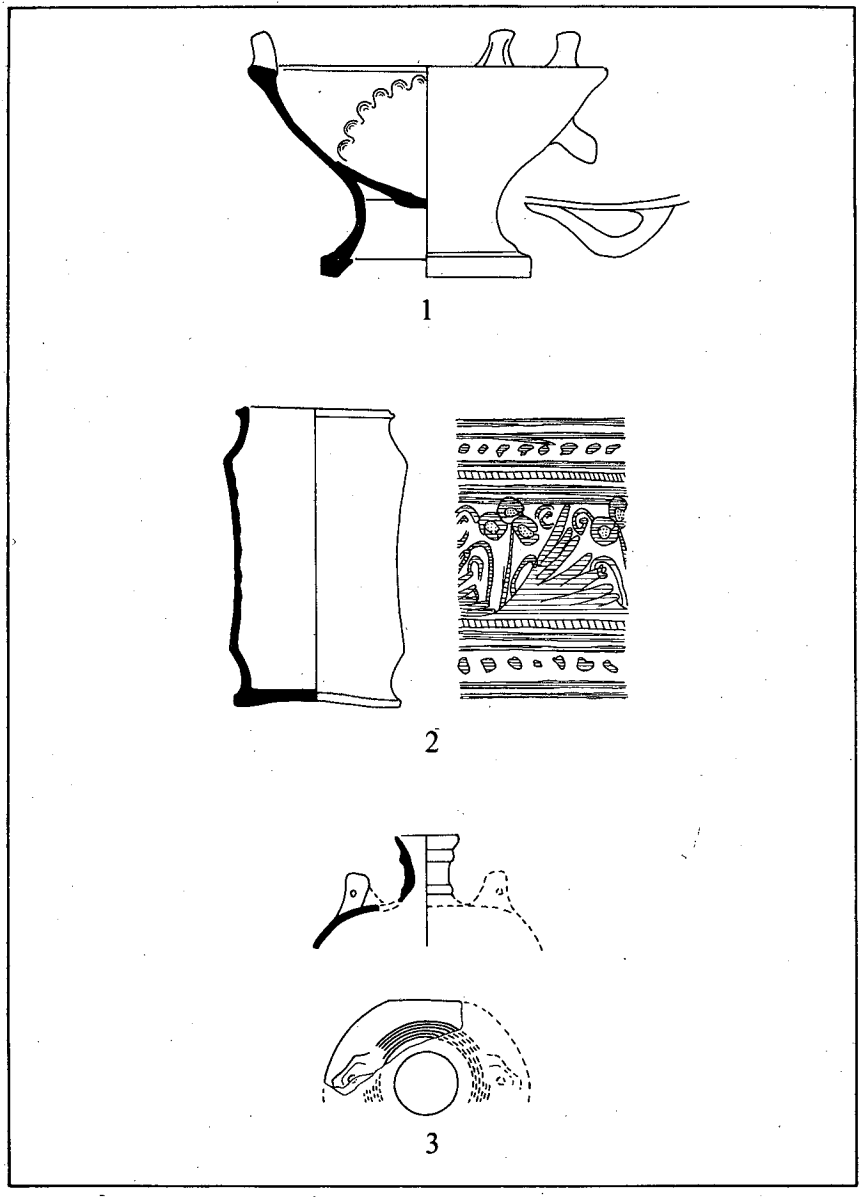

Fig. 7. Bene't Street pit group. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$. Key: ▤, blue; ▨, purple; ▩, yellow.

rather than a sixteenth-century date for the group, but more important is the absence of slip-trailed wares which begin in Essex in the 1630s. A date early in the seventeenth century, perhaps in the 1620s, is suggested for the group, which could be seen as a reasonable cross-section of the ceramic contents of an early Stuart household.

LXIII (1971), 75–86. Further material will be published from Haddenham, Cambs. The dating of the Sawtry material is entirely dependent upon finds from elsewhere and is mainly early sixteenth century. Haddenham, Cambs. produced a number of small groups of pottery of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century date and these included slipwares and imports, showing that the former, in particular, were reaching the Cambridge area before the Civil War. H. E. J. Le Patourel and M. R. McCarthy, 'Excavations at Hinton Hall, Haddenham, Cambs', *C.A.S.* forthcoming. See also S. Moorhouse, 'Late Medieval Pottery in the Eastern Midlands', *Proc. C.A.S.*, present volume, pp. 46–59. I am grateful to J. G. Hurst for his comments on the albarello.

Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc. Vol. LXV (1974), pp. 93–101.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRICK-TILE CLADDING IN THE CITY OF CAMBRIDGE

TERENCE PAUL SMITH

IN their volume for the *City of Cambridge* the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments record a small number of buildings of timber-framed construction which have been faced – at a later date – with brick-tiles; that is, tiles hung on a vertical wall-face to form a cladding which, when complete, gives the appearance of a brick wall, the tiles being specially designed to achieve this end. The object of the present paper is to record the use of this material in the city in rather more detail than the Commission were able to do in their volume. There are recorded therein six buildings which show this feature; but 14 Market Hill (151)[1] and 7 Petty Cury (154)[2] have recently been demolished as part of rebuilding schemes, bringing the total number of survivals down to only four. These are: 1 All Saints' Passage (Lichfield House) (179); 48 Sidney Street (163); 32 Hobson Street (164); 4 Market Hill (149). The locations of these are shown on the map (Fig. 1), together with the numbers given them by the Royal Commission.

Frequently referred to as 'mathematical tiles', these materials are perhaps best called by the name 'brick-tiles', which has the advantage of reflecting the intention of those who made or used them. The term will be adopted throughout this paper. (Sometimes, they are called 'weather tiles', a term which suggests a certain similarity to weather *boarding*.)

During the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century the use of bricks for buildings became ever more frequent practice, not only for great houses and other important buildings, but also for smaller domestic buildings. Cambridge, in fact, had fairly early seen the use of bricks in quantity: for example, as a veneer to a clunch walling at Queens' College in the mid-fifteenth century; at Jesus College at the end of that century; and at St John's College (First Court) in the early years of the succeeding century. The use of the material for private houses came somewhat later, but 'A number of large houses were built in the earlier part of the 18th century incorporating gauged, rubbed or moulded brick features and often an architectural treatment of two-colour brickwork. Most notable are "Little Trinity", *c.* 1725, Fitzwilliam House, 1727, the Central Hotel, 1727, and 32 Jesus Lane.'[3]

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[1] The numbers in brackets, and the numbers on the map (Fig. 1), are those given the monuments by the Royal Commission. In the present paper only the brick-tile claddings of these buildings will be considered. For details of the rest of their construction the relevant pages of the Commission's volume (see note 3 below) should be consulted.

[2] Examples of the brick-tiles of 7 Petty Cury are in the Cambridge Folk Museum.

[3] RCHM, *City of Cambridge* (1959), p. ci.

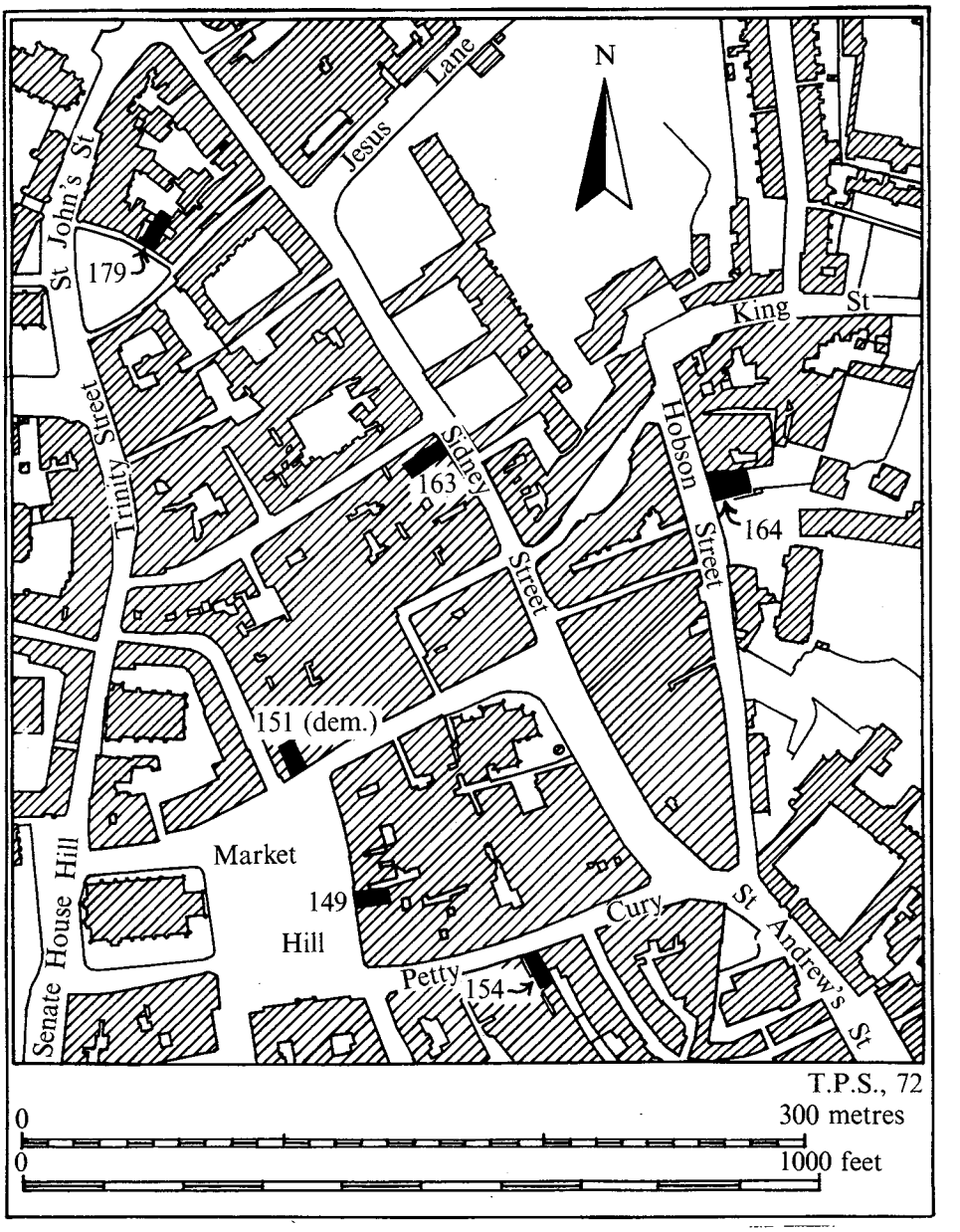

Fig. 1. Cambridge city centre, showing location of buildings mentioned in text. Key: 149, 4 Market Hill; 151, 14 Market Hill (demolished); 154, 7 Petty Cury (demolished); 163, 48 Sidney Street; 164, 32 Hobson Street; 179, 1 All Saints' Passage.

As the new brick style became fashionable those who owned buildings of the traditional timber-framed construction sought to reface their homes – so far as they could afford to do so – in the new style; and thus a number of buildings which are superficially of the eighteenth century are in fact older timber-framed structures with a 'skin' of eighteenth-century brickwork, often enough only on the principal elevation of the building. An alternative to this was brick-tile cladding, which simulated a brick wall. Just why this material was used is not clear; the Royal Commission speak of brick-tiles as 'a cheap substitute for rebuilding in brick',[1] which is correct so far as it goes, but fails to explain the use of brick-tiles as opposed to adding a veneer of real bricks. Both these methods were, of course, cheaper than an entire rebuilding in brick, but it is unlikely that brick-tiles were any cheaper than bricks prior to the imposition of the brick tax of 1784. Brick-tiles were never cheap, and were always a sophisticated, if not a luxury, cladding.[2] Part of the reason for their adoption must be structural: in some cases they occur on the first-floor wall of a jettied timber-framed building, in which position it would not have been feasible to use ordinary bricks. Elsewhere, where they are used on a ground-floor wall, or on a building which is unjettied, the reason may have been that it was found easier to fix brick-tiles to a pre-existing wall than to erect a brick veneer in front of that pre-existing wall.

The Cambridge examples are a peculiarly local phenomenon. The main distribution of brick-tile cladding is in Kent and Sussex, though stretching as far west as Salisbury. North of the Thames, however, they are rare, and I do not at present know any examples from the region between Cambridge and London. The two buildings which have their brick-tiles unpainted show the use of red (not white) brick-tiles, so that they must have been made by the brick and tile makers who used the Jurassic and Kimmeridge clays to the north of Cambridge.[3]

One problem which faced the builder in brick-tiles was that of constructing the corners, for it was here above all that the deception was likely to be found out. Very occasionally wooden quoins, painted white or cream to resemble stone, were used,[4] but these do not occur in any of the Cambridge examples; nor do those examples show the use of the purpose-made corner- or end-tiles which are sometimes seen.[5] The usual method adopted in Cambridge, as elsewhere, was to finish the tiles against a wooden strip running vertically up the angle; but there are interesting variations of treatment of this feature (Fig. 2; all but *bottom right*). The feature was best seen in the Petty Cury house: this had brick-tiles on the street face, at first-floor level only,

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[1] *Loc. cit.*

[2] Cf. A. Arschavir, 'False fronts in minor domestic architecture', *Trans. A. M. Soc.*, n.s. IV (1956), 112; also A. Clifton-Taylor, *The Pattern of English Building* (revised edition, 1972), p. 282.

[3] Cf. *VCH Cambridgeshire*, II (1948; ed. L. F. Salzman), 367.

[4] Arschavir, p. 112.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 115.

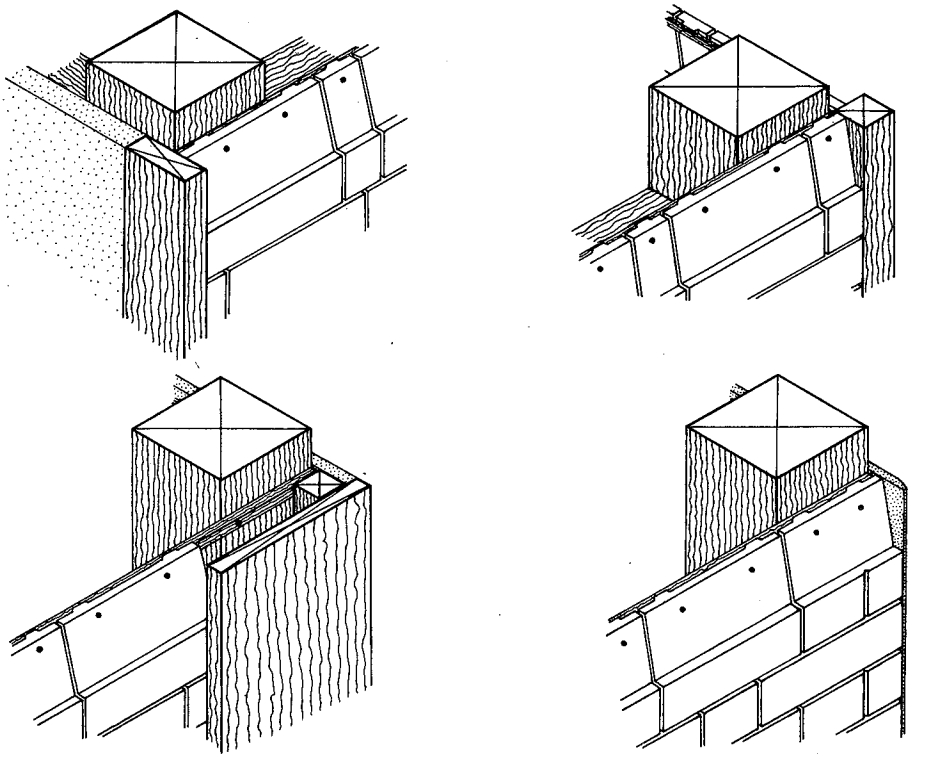

Fig. 2. Methods of corner construction with brick-tiles. *Top left:* 1 All Saints' Passage (179); *top right:* 7 Petty Cury (154); *bottom left:* 4 Market Hill (149); *bottom right:* 32 Hobson Street (164).

and on the northernmost part of the western side wall, where they reached to the top of the second storey. At the junction of face and side the angle was formed either of a square vertical timber measuring about 2 in. by 2 in. (Fig. 2, *top right*), or by an equal-armed L-shaped timber, the arms being about 2 in. across; either of these interpretations will fit the visual evidence. The Sidney Street house has a similar timber (about 3 in. square) to finish its southern corner, but the northern corner shows a variation in having a wide plank, some 10 in. across, running up the wall against the ends of the tiles: perhaps this is best described as a vertical fascia board. A similar arrangement is found at the southern corner of the (surviving) Market Hill house; here the bottom of the board was broken away at the time of my observations, so that it was possible to see the arrangement; the fascia board differs slightly from that in Sidney Street in being placed in front of the tiles' ends, overlapping them by about an inch (Fig. 2, *bottom left*). The northern corner of this house again has a

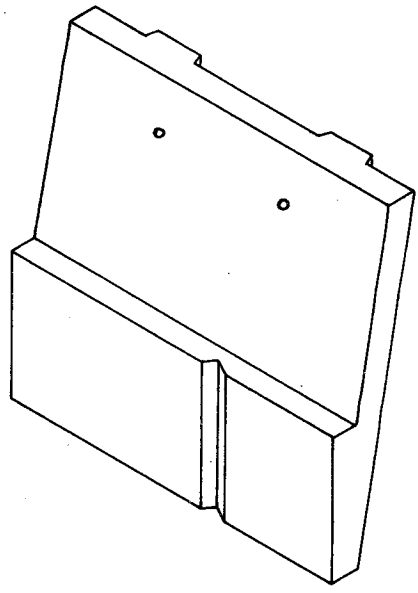

Fig. 3. End-tile with false closer.

squared or possibly an L-shaped timber. At the All Saints' Passage house (Fig. 2, *top left*) the western corner is finished by a smaller plank, about 2 in. by 5 in., but with its longer face at right-angles to the tiled wall-face, so that only the thin side of the timber is visible in the brick-tiled elevation.

In one case – the eastern angle of the All Saints' Passage house – there is no special treatment at the corner: the tiles simply stop at a vertical line.

The Hobson Street house, which is the most refined of the Cambridge brick-tiled buildings, has corners which are not finished with vertical timbers, which would have spoiled the illusion of brickwork, as is the case at the other Cambridge examples. At the southern corner the tiles' ends are covered by rendering, which continues over the side wall; some of the rendering has fallen away, revealing the bottoms of the ends of the tiles. The northern corner was probably treated similarly, but it is now built against, so that inspection is not possible. Special care was taken to complete the illusion of brickwork at these corners; the arrangement of the tiles is such that on alternate courses a special-sized brick was needed, measuring $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. long. These spoil the bond (Flemish) of the 'brick'-face, and to compensate, a shallow vertical V-shaped groove was cut $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. from the corner of the tile and filled with mortar, so that it resembled a pointing. This so divided the tile's face that it gave the appearance of two separate bricks – a header and a closer, the latter adjacent to the corner of the

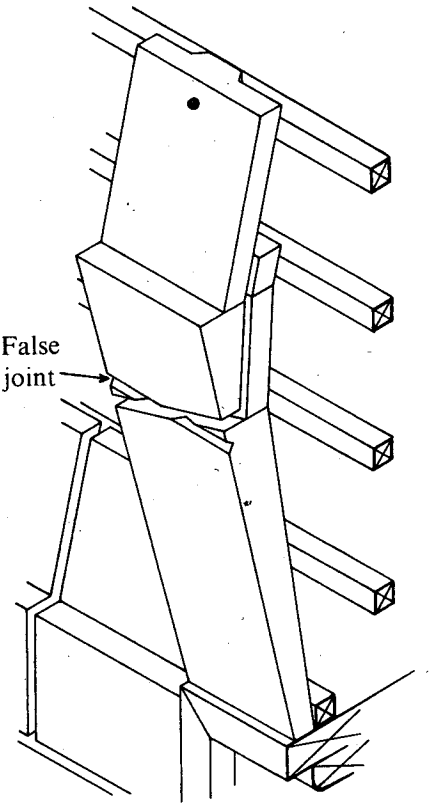

Fig. 4. Tiles used for construction of window-heads.

building. An isometric drawing of one of these tiles is shown in Fig. 3, and they may also be seen in Fig. 2, *bottom right.*

Window reveals presented the same problem as corners. Very rarely purpose-made reveal-tiles were used,[1] and these enabled the window-frame to be set back from the wall-face. But the Cambridge examples do not exhibit this refinement, and the wooden frames are set characteristically close to the outer wall, or even projecting slightly from it, so that they serve to mask the tiles' ends. The window sills all appear to be of timber. At the Hobson Street house the sills of all but the southernmost ground-floor window have a half-course of brick-tiles beneath them.

In a number of cases in the Cambridge buildings the window-heads are very simply executed, the exceptions being the window of the All Saints' Passage house, the ground-floor windows of the Hobson Street house, and the windows of the Market

[1] *Loc. cit.*

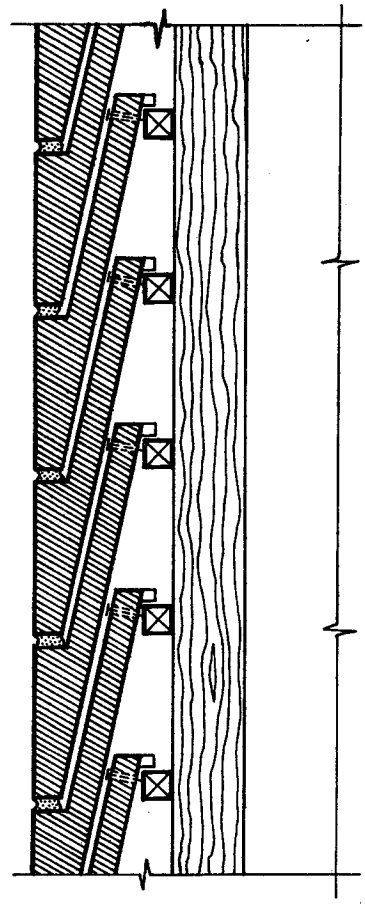

Fig. 5. Section through wall hung with brick-tiles.

Hill house. In the simpler type the ordinary brick-tile courses are just taken across the top of the wooden frame, as in contemporary brick houses of the poorer sort. The windows already mentioned as exceptions, by way of contrast, have flat-arched heads constructed from specially made tiles which give the appearance of the gauged brickwork of the better brick houses (Fig. 4). The individual brick-tiles in such heads are shaped according to position, and must have added quite considerably to the cost. To add to the illusion of real brickwork shallow horizontal V-shaped grooves were cut on some of the tiles to represent the joints which occur in (some) such arches when they are constructed of real gauged bricks. These grooves are (or were) pointed; and presumably the real joints in the tiles – across which the grooves sometimes pass

– were filled with mortar and coloured so as to disguise them, though they have now lost both colouring and pointing. One set of these tiles, in position but with the pointing omitted, is shown in Fig. 4.

On some of the buildings the lead flashings may be seen. Thus, the Petty Cury house had its flashings visible immediately above the wooden frame and beneath the lowest course of the superimposed brick-tile work. The same feature is seen even better on the windows of the Market Hill house.

It was normal in building with brick-tiles to use both stretchers and headers to make an arrangement resembling properly bonded brick courses. English bond seems never to have been used, at least in a 'pure' form;[1] in Sussex a peculiarity often found is the use of headers only, to form a header bond – as in the Jireh Chapel at Lewes. But by far the commonest arrangement – not surprisingly in the mid-eighteenth century – is Flemish bond, and all the Cambridge examples are set in this way. To achieve the proper effect it was necessary to have stretchers, headers and closers. The brick-tile dimensions of the Cambridge examples seem to be similar from building to building and resemble contemporary brick sizes, but it has only been possible to measure carefully those in the Hobson Street house. The stretchers measure 9 in. by $2\frac{3}{5}$ in.; the headers $4\frac{1}{2}$ or $4\frac{1}{5}$ in. by $2\frac{3}{5}$ in. The closers vary slightly according to position, but are about $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $2\frac{3}{5}$ in. The false closers formed by cutting a groove in a longer ($6\frac{1}{2}$ in.) tile have been mentioned already.

The shapes of the brick-tiles and the method of hanging them are shown in Fig. 5. They are provided with nibs and with one, two, or three nail holes.[2] The usual method of fixing was to nail laths across the timber-frame, and to hang the tiles from the former by the nibs, at the same time nailing them to the laths. Sometimes the laths were dispensed with and the tiles stuck into a plaster slurry.[3] It is not known for certain which method was used in Cambridge, but the lath method is far commoner generally and is easier when a pre-existing timber-framed building is being clad, and so was probably used. After the fixing of the tiles, all the joints were carefully pointed – including the false joints where present. The whole might then be painted; of the Cambridge examples, only the houses in Petty Cury and Hobson Street are *now* unpainted.

When completed the walls very closely resemble brick walling, and it requires more than a cursory glance to detect the deception.

All the Cambridge examples of brick-tile cladding are eighteenth-century additions or alterations to earlier buildings in the local timber-frame building tradition. The timber framing of 4 Market Hill and of 7 Petty Cury dates from the sixteenth century; that of the other houses from the seventeenth century.[4] The Royal

[1] *Loc. cit.*
[2] *Ibid.* p. 114.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 111.
[4] RCHM, *City of Cambridge*, *s.v.* individual monuments.

Commission dated the brick-tile refacing of 14 Market Hill (now demolished) to the early eighteenth century;[1] the surviving examples are most likely, from their details, to be of mid-eighteenth-century date. They thus belong to the period before the brick tax of 1784.[1]

[1] *Ibid.* p. 328.

Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc. Vol. LXV (1974), pp. 102–111.

THE HUNTINGDONSHIRE CONSTABULARY BEFORE 1857

JOANNA BROWN

COMPULSION has always been necessary to secure law and order, and in England this function was performed by the Constables under the supervision and control of the Justices of the Peace. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, economic and social changes, aggravated by the long period of war, had made clear that the old system of local government, largely in the hands of the J.P.s, was inadequate as it existed to cope with the new demands made upon it and the tasks set before it. As early as the sixteenth century the Justices' functions could only be listed alphabetically, the burdens laid upon them in succeeding centuries growing still heavier in proportion to the increasing recognition of their usefulness by the central government. As the Justices' burdens grew, so did those of their executive officers, the constables, and it was therefore natural that when reform of local government as a whole took place in the early nineteenth century, and with it the gradual imposition of uniformity and centralization, the constabulary, an important part of government whether central or local, shared in this process. In Huntingdonshire this reorganization and development can be clearly seen, even though, being a small county, the reorganization took place rather more slowly than elsewhere.

The constable had originally been a manorial official, although with the decay of the feudal system and his increasing use by the J.P.s as their executive officer, he had very largely become, like the Justices themselves, a conservator of the peace, with the same wide jurisdiction over financial, administrative, and legal affairs. In spite of this heavy burden on the Constable in the performance of his duties, he received very little remuneration for his disagreeable and often dangerous work, at least at the beginning of the century. It was one of the benefits of the reorganization of local government, and with it the constabulary, that the men employed became increasingly professional and better paid. The amateur devoting only part of his attention to the very demanding job of constable – which in 1834 was said to involve some 500 miles of travel at least per annum (no mean feat at that time) by the high constables of Huntingdonshire – was replaced by the professional, devoting all his time and energy to the job. The changing attitude towards the constables can be seen most clearly in the successive reorganization of the constabulary.

The police force at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in Huntingdonshire as elsewhere, consisted of the traditional and well-established parish or petty constables, often taking the unpopular office on the basis of the 'roundsman' system, and the high or chief constables from whom they took their orders and who were appointed by the Justices in Quarter Sessions. The petty constables were normally appointed

by the Court Leet, but with its decline its function in this respect was assumed by the Justices at Quarter Sessions. In Huntingdonshire the four hundreds of Norman Cross, Hurstingstone, Leightonstone and Toseland each had two high constables, each being appointed virtually for life; William Stokes of Elton became high constable of Norman Cross on John Bradley's death in 1807 and only relinquished the post in 1846 on his own death, when his duties were taken over by the other high constable of Norman Cross, William Nicholl, who had himself been appointed in October 1821 on William Child's death. Very rarely an officer resigned, such as John Islip, chief constable of Leightonstone, in June 1835, or John Danns of Hurstingstone in August 1853.

The practice of maintaining two high constables for each hundred was continued, an enquiry into county expenditure showing this system was still in force in 1833. Change was contemplated in 1839, when a letter from the Secretary of State and a resolution of the Shropshire magistrates on the subject of the county constabulary was discussed, but it was decided that a county as small as Huntingdonshire was too small and sparsely populated to make such an undertaking worthwhile, and the proposed scheme was finally rejected in 1840. In 1842, however, it was decided to build a lock-up house at St Ives under the Parish Constables Act of 5 & 6 Vict., and in 1845 it was decided to reorganize the constabulary at the same time, placing the lock-up house in charge of a superintending constable who was also to be in charge of a district, consisting of parishes and their constables, chosen by the magistrates of Norman Cross bench. In April 1845 Charles Wootten of the Metropolitan Police was chosen superintending constable over the lock-up and the district. In 1849, however, he resigned, and was replaced by Sergeant William Benson, police officer of Sittingbourne in Kent.

A further change came in October 1850 when the high constables were ordered to be appointed in future by Justices in Special Sessions, and again in November 1850, after a change in the collection of the county rate and following the precedent set in 1846 with the appointment of one high constable at an increased salary for Norman Cross, two high constables were to be paid the same as one. In April 1852, however, the constabulary received a complete overhaul; a committee appointed by the Justices to consider 13 & 14 Vict. for appointing superintending constables, produced a scheme in June 1852 whereby a superintending constable was placed over each petty sessional division. Each superintending constable was also to be high constable, and Inspector of Weights and Measures. In August the superintending constables for the divisions were appointed; William Preston for Norman Cross, William Benson for Hurstingstone, Robert Hornsby for Toseland (replaced 1854 by Thomas Stokes, formerly lock-up keeper), and in June 1853 Thomas Simpkin was made keeper of St Ives lock-up at £70 per annum but not Inspector of Weights and Measures.

In June 1854 a committee was appointed to investigate still further all matters connected with the county police, but was suspended pending the outcome of the forthcoming parliamentary bill. The Whitehall returns of 1855 show however quite clearly what the organization was at that time: five high constables with only four hundreds; but for one hundred there were two high constables, and three for the other three hundreds. In 1856 too the same returns show that the rural police were divided into four divisions for the county, and that each had a superintending constable though there were no petty constables under 2 & 3 Vict. because the county had not adopted the Act.

But it was perhaps in 1856 that the greatest changes took place in the reorganization of the police force. The bare bones of these changes can be seen in the Quarter Sessions minute books, which reveal that in the 1857 Epiphany Sessions, in accordance with the Act of 1856, Huntingdonshire set up a new police force for the county, as follows.

Four Superintendent constables, one at £150 p.a. for Hurstingstone and 3 at £140 for the other divisions.

One inspector, to reside at the county lock-up at Ramsey in the Hurstingstone division, at £70 p.a.

Three sergeants, one for each of the divisions of Leightonstone, Toseland, and Norman Cross at £1. 3*s*. per week each.

Ten first-class constables at £1 per week each.

Twelve second-class constables at 18*s*. per week each.

Ten third-class constables at 16*s*. per week each.

The superintendent should bear the cost of providing and keeping a horse and maintaining in good repair a cart and harness provided by the county.

The county should furnish clothing and accoutrements with uniform, stationery and office for each superintendent. The superintendent constable of each division should act as Inspector of Weights and Measures within his division; but all fees and portions of fines received by him should be paid over to the police rates.

All officers who should have public money under their charge should give security to the county.

One question, whether Huntingdonshire should have its own independent chief constable (salary £250 p.a. plus £50 travelling expenses) or should appoint in conjunction with Cambridgeshire and contribute £180 p.a. with £70 travelling expenses, was debated in Quarter Sessions and it was finally resolved (after Whitehall had been consulted) that the joint appointment be made.

At the Easter Quarter Sessions the number of high constables was reduced to one for each division at a yearly salary of £10. A committee was set up to negotiate with Huntingdon borough about the consolidation of the borough police force with that of the county. It was agreed that:

The borough should maintain and pay the salary and clothing of three of the first-class constables, the money being paid by the borough treasurer to the county treasurer to be placed to the police rate account. The salaries of the three first-class constables were to be in all £156 with £12 for clothing.

The staff and contingent expenses to be paid by the county, the maintenance of prisoners in the lock-up by the borough. Fees and fines arising in the borough to be given over to the borough fund.

The existing lock-up belonging to the borough to be leased to the county at a peppercorn rent with power for the county to alter and extend. The borough to have the joint use of the lock-up for borough prisoners.

The borough constables to be appointed by the chief constable in common with the constables of the county.

The Godmanchester borough force also underwent the same consolidation some time later, and during the Midsummer Sessions the levying of a police rate of $\frac{1}{2}d.$ in the £1 was authorized; and the county treasurer was instructed to replace, from the police rate collected during these sessions, the £700 which had been previously advanced from the general county balance to cover expenditure on the setting up of the force. The closing session of the year ordered the following innovations to the police superannuation fund: it was to be financed by deduction from the constables' pay, stoppage during sickness, sale of worn and cast-off clothing, fines imposed on police constables for misconduct, a portion of fines imposed on drunken persons, fines for assaults on police constables and moieties of fines and penalties awarded to informers on summary convictions.

The clearest picture, however, of the whole reorganized police force, its structure, personnel and duties, can be seen in the first annual report of the newly appointed chief constable, Captain Davies, R.N., to the adjourned Huntingdonshire Quarter Sessions on Saturday 2 May 1857.

I received the Secretary of State's confirmation of my appointment on Saturday, 13th April, just expired. I on my part, the same day appointed the 4 Superintendents, and on the Monday following, all 4 were in place and charge of their respective divisions of the county – being 4 officers of approved merit from the Cambs. Force. Such Superintendents requiring no initiation into the system to be carried out, and not required by me in organization of the Force and Head Quarters, will, therefore, on the distribution of the force, receive their men with a thoroughly acquired knowledge on their own part, in the interval, of every inch of ground; and the duties, intersecting conferences and communications so perfectly arranged with me as to ensure almost immediate efficiency. The raising of the rest of the Force has gone on much more slowly than I anticipated; arising, I believe, from our being the last of the counties to enrol its force, and the great mass of rolling stones from other forces, of which new Constabularies usually avail themselves, having elsewhere provided themselves, whilst I have also been compelled to reject a host of ineligible candidates; yet from having already provided the most important parts of the corps, the Superintendents, Sergeants, etc., now numbering rather more than half of the allowed total establishment, I have no doubt that the whole will be raised, and (dependent on the clothing) distributed by the end of the present month, and infinitely less time than ever done in any other county . . . my intended distribution of the force . . . still exclusive of Superintendents, there are but 36 men to 106 parishes, on the average of 3 parishes to a man; universal satisfaction is not to be expected, neither does it follow that the 36 largest or most populous parishes will all have the constables whereas the whole county is to be traversed and visited; but with only 2 or 3 exceptions the county does not present difficulties. Full two thirds of the men will be located in the larger and more populous villages whilst the rest having more numerous and smaller parishes, and by far the most onerous duties, will maintain the necessary intersecting communications as a whole.

It is somewhat singular but fortunate that it does so happen that with one exception there will be a resident policeman in the immediate vicinity of every magistrate in the county, which will be found a great advantage to the public, and convenience to the force.

It is scarcely necessary for me to say, that the police having duties constantly taking them beyond the parishes they reside in; it should not be forgotten that every parish has still its ordinary parish constable at call; but in all cases of robberies etc. the police constable should immediately be informed, and the Superintendent of the division with the least possible delay; but in all matters as to efficiency, character, conduct, or discipline of the force, the Chief Constable himself should be written to direct; and I may here state, perhaps, whilst desirous of knowing and fulfilling the views of the Court, what I deem and have hitherto acted on, from the highest example to be my own duties as the administrative head of your force; and that is to organize, instruct, and discipline the same; to keep it recruited and in efficiency; to enforce full and complete reports of every occurrence, and never to be satisfied till I deem all is done that may be done; to manage and direct the central and generally very extensive and somewhat complex duties of Office returns; and correspondence, and to maintain a system of prevention, rather than by any personal attendance in cases of crime, which does not appertain to me; and having appointed thoroughly experienced and competent Superintendents and superior officers, trust to distribute a force every man of whom will become from his habits of life, very shortly a better detective than myself . . . the system of organization pursued has been to drill the men daily, to have the portions of the instructions applying to constables read to them, the duties and powers of constables, as furnished and warranted by the Secretary of State, clearly explained to them day by day, with a nightly duty in pairs of a circuit of from 4 to 6 miles in the county, beyond and around the two boroughs; to inure them to night duty, whilst they have otherwise been allowed that free disposal of their time, by which the conduct and characters of men are best ascertained, and I am happy to say without a complaint having reached me. . . . In conclusion, I beg to state that it will always be my desire to receive communications and representations connected with the conduct of the force, or in any way to the interest of the public, and that they will not fail to receive earnest and immediate attention on my part, whether from magistrate, rate-payer, or other whatsoever.

This greater streamlining and increased professionalism in the police force, making, as it were, its public image more attractive, can perhaps be more clearly seen in its financial organization. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Huntingdonshire constabulary received no salary; each constable received his remuneration either from fees and fines collected in the course of his duty, or of money he took from the county rate. By 1816 the Justices had realized the inefficiency of this method, and investigated the whole question; as a result all high constables were paid a salary of £40 p.a. with permission to bring in a bill during Quarter Sessions for any extra expense incurred and which would be paid for with the other county bills, and in January 1818 the chief constables were paid half a year's salary in lieu of former remuneration (which thereby showed itself to be profitable, if illegal). In spite of this it appears that there were anomalies, for some high constables were paid less than others, and in October 1833 and February 1834 a committee appointed to investigate county expenditure reported that of the eight high constables six received £40 p.a. and two only £20 p.a. (total £280) and they recommended that all salaries should be reduced to £20, a recommendation which was very shortsightedly adopted in spite of the protest signed by all the chief constables of the county in 1834.

This attitude to the police lasted a good many years. In November 1842 the Justices at General Quarter Sessions authorized what was in some quarters considered a great extravagance, namely the building of a new county lock-up house at St Ives which was to be financed by the county, and in January 1843 they appointed a committee to arrange a scale of fees for constables under the Act of 5 & 6 Vict. By 1845 the new lock-up house was ready, and with it a new plan to put it in charge of a superintending constable who was to be paid 25*s.* per week, payable also from the county rate. Economies, however, were made to compensate for the Justices' extravagance; when William Stokes, high constable of Norman Cross hundred, died, his duties were taken over by his fellow high constable at a salary of £30 p.a. and a second high constable for the hundred was not appointed, thereby saving, in the county's financial estimates at least, £10. When the new superintending constable of the St Ives lock-up and division resigned in 1849, his successor William Benson was appointed at a reduced salary of 21*s.* per week. In the same year a committee appointed to investigate the payment of the county rate recommended it to be paid direct from the Poor Law Unions to the county treasurer, thereby cutting out the high constables altogether. Not unnaturally they also recommended that the high constable's salary be reduced by half. Both recommendations were accepted, together with a new table of allowances for constables in 1851. As a result the position of constable, whether petty or high, became even less financially rewarding than ever, with high constables, if appointed to a hundred, receiving £10 each or, if only one was appointed, receiving £20.

Such a cheeseparing attitude was not allowed to last for long. In 1852 a committee was appointed from the Justices to consider the Act of 13 & 14 Vict. for appointing superintending constables which improved the high constables' financial standing. A superintending constable who was also a high constable for each district was to receive a salary of £80 (this was a great increase on the £20 maximum of two years before) with another £5 if he was also an Inspector of Weights and Measures, and a £25 allowance for a horse, cart and harness, bought by the county. Further improvements came in August 1853 when it was decided to allow superintending constables to keep the fees and fines received for their own use and not pay for them quarterly to the county treasurer, and in October 1853 when superintending constables could also retain half of any fines imposed on a public house or beer house which was successfully prosecuted for being disorderly. Such an arrangement did not, of course, last long, for in 1857 the amalgamation and reorganization with the Cambridgeshire police force took place and with it further streamlining and improved pay for the constables, as described above.

The constables' functions were, then as now, many and varied. Those of the chief constables are best described in their own words, in a petition of 1834.

Four times in the course of every year we are required to go through our respective hundreds to give notice of the Quarter Sessions to the constables of the several parishes; that we are required to be present at the several Quarter Sessions.

That it is our duty to collect the county rate every quarter from the constables of the several parishes and to pay the same to the County Treasurer and have our accounts duly supported by proper vouchers.
That we are likewise required to go through our respective hundreds to give notice of Special Sessions
First for appointment of overseers
Secondly of surveyors of the highways
Thirdly for tax assessors
Fourthly for the revision of jury lists
Fifthly for the licensing of alehouses and are likewise required personally to attend at each of these several sessions
That we are required at our own expense to provide the necessary precepts to the constables of the several parishes and although for the last two or three years the ballotting for the militia has been suspended yet we are always liable to the duties imposed upon us by the militia Acts and expect no extra remuneration for such services.
We would also humbly observe that in cases of felonies and riots we have public duties imposed upon us sometimes of a very responsible nature and although we are aware that the Justices in Quarter Sessions may allow reasonable charges for any extra-ordinary expenses incurred in such cases yet we humbly assure your worships that in the riots which so much disturbed the Peace of the county at the latter end of the year 1830 when we were called upon to a very arduous and responsible duty and were subject to many expenses we had no extra remuneration allowed to us.
We humbly beg to observe that each of us in the discharge of our several ordinary duties is obliged to travel a distance of 500 miles at least and we are therefore each of us under the necessity of keeping a horse and of incurring many travelling charges.

The functions of the petty constables were not of such great importance as those of the chief constables, yet in their own way were just as important to ensure that the course of parish life ran relatively smoothly. As executive officers of the Justices of the Peace they had many duties which had very little to do with the keeping of the peace, and which inevitably covered the legal, administrative and financial spheres.

Financially the constables' most important duties were the disbursing of money to the poor and the collection of the county rate. Sometimes, as at Brampton during the early nineteenth century, the constable was also the overseer, but usually these two offices were held by separate people. All matters to do with the administration of the Poor Law were the province of the Justices and of the overseers, but occasionally the constable also gave out money to the deserving poor, such as poor pensioners and maimed soldiers. One account of the constable of St Neots in 1782 reads as follows.

	£	s	d
Paid a soldiers wife			2
Gave a soldiers wife			4
Gave 2 soldiers wives 3d each			6
Gave 1 ditto 6d and 1 ditto 3d			9
Gave a soldiers wife			3
Gave a soldiers wife and child			6
Paid Mayes a lock for the stocks		1	2
Gave a Hessian soldier			3
Gave an old soldier			3

Gave 2 poor old men	6
Gave a sailor and family	6
TOTAL	5 2

The collection of the county rate was also an important task performed by the petty constables on the warrant of the high constables of the hundreds. Without the county rate nothing ordered by the Justices at Quarter Sessions could be paid for or would in fact be done, including the paying of the constables' wages. In spite of this the constables were not always honest in discharging this unpleasant duty, for in 1816 the Justices at Midsummer Quarter Sessions gave notice to the constables to attend a later Quarter Sessions in order to show cause why they had not paid in to the county treasurer all such sums as they had collected from their parishes, and in 1851 one of the magistrates, a Mr Wilkinson, in discussing a housebreaking, asked, 'Is it worth their while to do anything?'

Even at this date constables were involved with paperwork, and even at this date it was disliked. It was their duty to give notification of inquests to all concerned as well as to draw up presentments which were delivered up by the high constables. Often the duty was evaded by merely stating 'All well' and 'Paid for' (the county rate) while in 1799 petty constables were ordered to turn up at Quarter Sessions, failure to be punished by a fine of £5, no small sum in those days. In 1827 printed questionnaires were issued on oath by the constables and delivered to the high constables giving information about false weights, new bridges, stocks, drunkenness, immorality (in alehouses) and apprehension of gipsies. In Great Gidding alehouses, for instance, 'tippling at all hours' was allowed, and at Kimbolton publicans 'draw short measure, the gardners sell by skips instead of a bushel'.

Yet this was not the sum total of their work; a large part of local government was concerned with the administration of the Poor Law, and with this the problem of the vagrants was very much bound up. Not only was it the constables' duty to hand out relief to those with passes, but also to execute removal orders against people having no legal right to settlement in, and likely to become chargeable to, the parish. Removal of vagrants seemed to be an obsession with the parishes at this time, but sometimes humanity was shown, as with a Susannah Rawlings who, being ill, was to be conveyed in a cart from Huntingdon to Dartford, Kent. Many passes exist from 1780 charging constables to receive such unwanted persons and to convey them on stages of their journey which could be as far as Somerset or Ireland. More paperwork was here involved, for it was only on the presentation of detailed accounts that officers were reimbursed for their expenditure on this duty and also for money paid out for the conveyance of prisoners to gaol (though occasionally the suggestion was made that the culprits should pay for their own transport!). In 1819, however, this duty, with all the time and trouble it involved, was taken from the constables by the

Justices at Quarter Sessions and a contract made instead with a carrier for the conveyance of vagrants 'who will combine the smallest sum with security for his (the pauper's) good and Humane treatment'.

The constables' other duties are those more generally associated nowadays with the police; giving evidence in court (in 1816 this involved at least some ten days a year), the apprehension of offenders caught in the act, prosecution for gaming and disorderly houses (as two ladies in St Ives discovered to their cost, being indicted for keeping one such disorderly house for fifteen years!), the execution of justices' warrants, and the quelling of riots, which seem to abound at all times in the county. Suppressing riots in alehouses could be dangerous; and it was not always the lower orders who caused trouble. In 1816 Taylor White, Gent., was indicted for assaulting John Conquest, special constable of St Ives. In 1824 the same John Conquest, a parish watchman, two of the St Ives constables and two members of the public were engaged in stopping a fight at the 'Ram' for which politics may have been responsible, since it was about this time that another St Ives citizen 'who Disliked King George IV' was rude to the police. Also in 1830 John Islip, high constable of Leightonstone hundred, received a notice from William Wright that he intended to claim £20 damages from the inhabitants of the hundred for a threshing machine destroyed by rioters.

The constables themselves were not always peaceable men; in 1842 in Somersham, Thomas Charity, as parish constable, was accused by James Donnelly, assistant constable, of having insulted him and his brother-in-law, Amon Holding, chief police officer, by calling them 'Bloody Jew-looking humbugs'. Donnelly's attempt to arrest Charity led to a disturbance which ended only when 'several gentlemen of the town came out'. Riots increased towards the middle of the century, for which in 1848 Mr James Rust, Chairman of Quarter Sessions, blamed the railway construction and imported labour. There were many ugly incidents, such as at Ramsey, 'that very criminal quarter', where the constable in 1849 was attacked by five men and the gentlemen of the parish had again to give assistance.

Detection too had its part to play in the constables' duty. In 1837 a case of housebreaking at Sawtry was solved by Algernon Smith, a Westminster constable, who traced the stolen goods from Sawtry St Andrews to Stamford. The criminals, a tailor and his sons, were transported, the former for life. This was an early example of police co-operation, and by no means the only one. In 1842 two St Ives horse stealers were tracked to Horsham, Sussex, while pickpockets who infested the fairs of Bridge Fair and Fletton were watched and caught, and cattle thieves apprehended.

On the whole the constables' duty was neither an easy nor a safe one. In 1786 the Alconbury constable, John Atwood, butcher, was so assaulted by menfolk of women arrested for illegal gleaning that 'his life was despaired of'; James Dean, constable for Brampton in 1843, was disabled when his finger was bitten by a man he was

arresting under the Game Laws; the Hail Weston officer in 1827 was 'afraid as the prisoner was a resolute young man, so he asked him to go to the public house and drink a pint of ale. They went to the alehouse together and he then told him he was his prisoner.' The Hilton constable of 1842, Henry Cook, also had his difficulties: 'he was called to the house of William Crane, butcher, who was knocking his wife about. Crane attacked Cock and threatened him, and Cock went home, half a furlong round to avoid a meeting with him, having been told he was waiting for him' (Crane was fined £5). In many cases, such as the riots above, the constables often only succeeded in keeping the peace with the help of voluntary assistance from the public, and when they were themselves assaulted (as often happened), such offence was merely punished by fine or recognizance rather than by imprisonment.

The constable's duties, and the difficulties with which they were fraught, do not seem to have changed very much in the past century. The organization which encompasses him, however, has changed radically, becoming more professional and streamlined as the years pass. Such streamlining dates in this county, for practical purposes, from the amalgamation and reorganization which took place in 1857, transforming the more amateur and often ineffective body into a professional, full-time and efficient one.

Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc. Vol. LXV (1974), pp. 112–115.

TWO LETTERS

I. Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, 1423

R. SWANSON

II. Richard Bentley, 1722

FRANCIS JACQUES SYPHER

I. LUARD 95 RECONSIDERED

R. SWANSON

OVER a century ago, H. R. Luard published a letter written to the University of Cambridge by the Duke of Exeter.[1] The letter itself is not remarkable, merely a request that Guy Wiseham, one of the Duke's clerks, whom he intended to send as his representative to the General Council of the Church summoned by the Pope for the following May, should be allowed to proceed to his degree immediately, rather than wait until the completion of his course at Michaelmas. The letter bears no year, although it is dated the tenth of January. Nevertheless, Luard considered that 'the letter must refer to the twenty-first session of the Council of Constance, which was held in May 1416'.[2] From this he identified the sender of the letter as Thomas Beaufort, 'the Duke of Exeter then'.[3]

Exactly why Luard should have opted for 1416 is puzzling, but merely academic. The letter simply cannot refer to the Council of Constance, or to any preceding Council held during the lifetime of Beaufort. Not only had the Council of Constance been in session since 16 November 1414,[4] and the papacy itself been *sede vacante* since the deposition of John XXIII in May 1415;[5] but the whole idea of an embassy being sent to an individual session of a Council is quite unacceptable. Moreover, Beaufort was not created Duke of Exeter until November 1416,[6] so that even by Luard's argument the earliest date must be January 1417.

If the ascription of the letter to Thomas Beaufort is correct – and I see no reason to deny it – there is only one Council to which it can possibly refer. In 1422 Pope

[1] H. R. Luard, 'A letter to the University from Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter', *Proc. C.A.S.* III (1864–76), 273–4. The letter is now Luard 95 in the University Archives.

[2] Luard, *art. cit.* p. 273.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] E. Delaruelle, E.-R. Labande, and P. Ourliac, *L'Église au temps du Grand Schisme et de la Crise Conciliare (1378–1449)* (Paris, 1962–4), I, p. 172.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 180–1.

[6] *Complete Peerage*, V, 202.

Martin V summoned a Council to meet at Pavia in 1423. The Council met, but in June transferred to Siena.[1] It is to the period immediately before the meeting at Pavia that the letter can be assigned; precisely to the tenth of January 1423.

II. AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER BY RICHARD BENTLEY

FRANCIS JACQUES SYPHER

CHARLES SHORT, who is most widely remembered for his work on *Harpers' Latin Dictionary* (1879), was an eager collector of books and manuscripts. Most of his acquisitions were dispersed in an auction sale after his death in 1886, but among the pieces preserved and now in the possession of his grandson is an unpublished letter by which Richard Bentley gave his vote for the Craven scholar in 1722.[2]

Bentley was at that time engaged in one of the many controversies that marked his career at Cambridge. He had been deprived of his degrees and excluded from University business; and his detractors were pressing to remove him from the Regius Professorship of Divinity. This hostile climate bred a pamphlet war which, bringing forth after its kind, bred a libel suit. Bentley's faithful enemy, Dr Colbatch, found that his case against the Master of Trinity was untenable, and when the matter was dropped, Bentley turned the tables on him by showing the Court of King's Bench on 20 April 1722 that a pamphlet of Colbatch's was 'a contempt' on its jurisdiction. This stratagem worked well to his purpose. In May Colbatch's publisher was locked up in the Marshalsea, and Colbatch himself required to make a defence to the Court. 'Bentley, being thus able to wreak his resentment upon his adversary through the agency of that high tribunal, which the latter had unwittingly offended, had no further trouble with a business which went on so agreeably to his wishes; but occupied himself with a scheme of greater importance, his own restoration to his degrees.'[3] He was successful in his 'scheme' and found himself, in March 1723, restored to his full dignity as Dr Bentley.

In spite of these distractions, Bentley pursued his scholarly work and, in so far as he was permitted, the exercise of his duties at the University. Among these was his

[1] The Council opened at Pavia on 23 April 1423. After the transfer it recommenced proceedings at Siena on 2 July. Delaruelle, *op. cit.* pp. 223–4.

[2] The letter by Bentley is here published with the kind permission of the owner, Dr Charles L. Short. I must thank Miss E. S. Leedham-Green, Assistant to the Keeper of the Archives, University of Cambridge, and Philip Gaskell, Librarian of Trinity College Library, for their advice. For information about Charles Short see 'A History of *Harpers' Latin Dictionary*', *Harvard Library Bulletin* XX, 4 (October 1972), 349–66.

[3] Quoted from 'that charming book', James Henry Monk's *Life of Richard Bentley, D.D.* (London and Cambridge, 1830), p. 483.

responsibility as Regius Professor to help carry out the provisions of the will of John Craven, who died in 1649 and endowed four scholarships, two at Oxford and two at Cambridge. The scholars were to be chosen by 'the Vice-Chancellor, the Kinges Professors, and the Orator there for the tyme beinge, or the greater parte of them'.[1]

As a token of the ill-grace in which Bentley stood to the Vice-Chancellor, Thomas Crosse, he was evidently not given due notice of the election of 1722. But, undeterred from making his will known, he sent in the following letter:[2]

July y^e^ 21^st^ 1722. Trinity College.

Understanding by Report, y^t^ the Election
to Cravens Exhibition is to be this Afternoon;
& not having had any due Notice of it
From M^r^ Vicechancellor, or any Summons
according to usual Form; I hereby declare,
that I give my Vote for Walter Titley
as y^e^ most deserving of y^e^ said Exhibition:
Witness my Hand & Seal the day
above.

Rich: [L.S.] Bentley

Witness
John Baker

Walter Titley (1700–68) had come to Trinity College from Westminster School in 1719. His success in obtaining the Craven scholarship must have depended mainly upon his performance in the examination; but he won Bentley's regard by other work as well. At about the same time as the election, his verses in imitation of Horace III. ii 'so much pleased the Master, that he chose to devote a leisure hour to writing a parody of Titley's stanzas'. R. C. Jebb neatly compared the two poems: 'The gist of the young man's piece is that an exemplary student is secure of applause and happiness; Bentley sings that he is pretty sure to be attacked, and very likely to be shelved.' The author of *The Vanity of Human Wishes* one day recited Bentley's lines 'with his usual energy':

Dr. Adam Smith, who was present, observed in his decisive professorial manner, 'Very well – Very well.' Johnson however added, 'Yes, they *are* very well, Sir; but you may observe in what manner they are well. They are the forcible verses of a man of a strong mind, but not accustomed to write verse; for there is some uncouthness in the expression.'[3]

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[1] *The Historical Register of the University of Cambridge ... to the Year 1910*, edited by J. R. Tanner (Cambridge, 1917), p. 259. On Craven, see *DNB* v, 44–5.

[2] Except for the word 'Witness' and the accompanying signature of John Baker (on whom see *DNB* I, 933), the letter is in Bentley's hand. At the top of the page (about 7½ by 9 inches) are written some numbers: 133 265. 22 ('133' perhaps in a modern hand, '265' a hand contemporary with the MS, '22' a different, but perhaps also contemporary hand). Pencilled in the bottom margin of the letter is the word 'classicist', which suggests that the MS passed through the hands of a commercial dealer.

[3] Quotations from: Monk, p. 470; Jebb, *Bentley* (New York, 1882), p. 175; Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, edited by G. B. Hill and L. F. Powell (Oxford, 1934), IV, 24. Titley's and Bentley's verses are printed in Monk, pp. 470–1; Bentley's in Jebb and in Boswell.

Titley graduated B.A. in 1723, and was made a Fellow of Trinity College in 1725. His talents and the orderliness of his ambitions are apparent in his plan to devote the first thirty years of his life to study, the next thirty years to public affairs, and the remainder again to study. He accomplished his design with some distinction, and on his death bequeathed £1,000 to Westminster School, an equal sum to Trinity College, and £500 to the University of Cambridge.[1]

Bentley's last public act, when he was past eighty, and within weeks of his death, was to examine for the Craven scholarships in June 1742; on that occasion one of the successful candidates was Christopher Smart.

[1] On Walter Titley see *Admissions to Trinity College, Cambridge*, edited by W. Rouse Ball and J. A. Venn (London, 1911), III (1701 to 1800), xii, 64; *DNB* XIX, 899–900; Alexander Chalmers, *The General Biographical Dictionary*, new edition (London, 1816, reprinted New York, 1969), XXIX, 413–14. Both Chalmers and *DNB* give Titley's bequest to the University of Cambridge as £1,000. But the above figures are given in Titley's will (dated 22 February 1768; proved at London in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 21 March 1768; Public Record Office reference no. Prob./11/937). And Miss E. S. Leedham-Green assures me that it is clear throughout the records in the University Archives that the amount of the bequest was £500, with which the Vice-Chancellor initiated a subscription towards a building to be used as a music school; this plan failed, and subsequent records do not specify the final disposition of the funds.

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