
Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society

(incorporating the Cambs and Hunts Archaeological Society)

Volume XCIX
for 2010

1996
-2010



Recent Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society

Proceedings XCVI, 2007: Price £12.50 for members, £14.50 for non-members

- Phil Weston, Andrew A.S. Newton and Kate Nicholson: *A Late Bronze Age enclosure at Lynton Way, Sawston, Cambridgeshire*
Christopher Taylor and Ashley Arbon: *The Chronicle Hills, Whittlesford, Cambridgeshire*
Christopher Evans, Mark Knight and Leo Webley: *Iron Age settlement and Romanisation on the Isle of Ely: the Hurst Lane Reservoir site*
Leo Webley: *Prehistoric, Roman and Saxon activity on the Fen hinterland at Parnwell, Peterborough*
Thomas Woolhouse: *Anglo-Saxon and medieval boundaries and burials at the former Oblic Engineering site, Church Street, Litlington*
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Paul Spoerry and Mark Hinman: *Early Saxon and medieval remains adjacent to the round moat, Fowlmere*
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Obituary: David Wilson; Malcolm Underwood, Paul Spoerry, Debby Banham: Reviews
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Nina Crummy and Tom Phillips: *A Zoomorphic Roman Handle from New Street, Godmanchester, TL 5246 2704*
Tom Lane, Elaine L Morris and Mark Peachey: *Excavations on a Roman Saltmaking Site at Cedar Close, March, Cambridgeshire*
Aileen Connor: *A Romano-Saxon Farmstead and possible 12th-century Dovecote or Windmill: Community excavations at Spring Close, Boxworth, TL 350 645*
Christopher Taylor: *New work on old sites: Somersham and Pampisford revisited*
Craig Cessford: *Excavation of the Civil War bastion ditch of Cambridge Castle*
Michael Chisholm: *The Old Plough: a neglected property of Ely Porta Manor*
Robert Liddiard: *Living on the Edge: Commons, Castles and Regional Settlement Patterns in Medieval East Anglia*
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Proceedings XCVIII, 2009: Price £12.50 for members, £14.50 for non-members

- John Pickles, Peter Gathercole, and Alison Taylor: *Mary Desborough Cra'ster, 1928–2008*
Leo Webley and Jonathan Hiller: *A fen island in the Neolithic and Bronze Age: excavations at North Fen, Sutton, Cambridgeshire*
Aileen Connor: *A fen island burial: excavation of an Early Bronze Age round barrow at North Fen, Sutton*
Hella Eckardt with Amanda Clarke, Sophie Hay, Stephen Macaulay, Pat Ryan, David Thornley and Jane Timby: *The Bartlow Hills in context*
Stephen Yeates: *Senuna, goddess of the river Rhee or Henney*
Scott Kenney: *A reappraisal of the evidence for the 'northern arm' of the Fleam Dyke at Fen Ditton*
Laura Piper and Andrew Norton: *An excavation at Station Quarry, Steeple Morden, Cambridgeshire*
Duncan Mackay: *Excavations at Scotland Road/Union Lane, Chesterton*
Aileen Connor: *A curious object from Firs Farm, Caxton*
Christopher Taylor: *A morphological analysis of Ickleton, Cambridgeshire: an admission of defeat*
Ken Sneath: *Funerals, the final consumer choice?*
N James: *The 'Age of the Windmill' in the Haddenham Level*
K S G Hinde: *Upware and Bottisham sluices*
Philomena Guillebaud: *Changes in the landscape of west Cambridge, Part V: 1945 to 2000*
John Pickles: *The CAS Collection of Cambridgeshire 'Sketches'*
Tom Lyons, Elizabeth Shepherd Popescu and Sarah Poppy: *Fieldwork in Cambridgeshire 2008*
Christopher Taylor, Christopher Brookes, Evelyn Lord and Sam Lucy: *Reviews*
Chris Jakes: *Recent Accessions to the Cambridgeshire Collection*

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Cambridge Antiquarian Society**

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**Volume XCIX
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Published by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society 2010

ISSN 0309-3606

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Cambridge Antiquarian Society

Report for the Year 2009

Membership: there are now 382 members, 49 Affiliated Societies and 67 subscribing institutions.

Meetings: There were 4 Council meetings and 9 Ordinary meetings, at which the following lectures were given:

Gabriel Moshenska	<i>The School Air Raid Shelter: History, Archaeology and Memory</i>
Prof. Stephen Oakley	<i>How Latin Texts Survived from Antiquity to the Age of Printing</i> (In association with the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies)
Richard Buckley	<i>A Tale of Two Towns: recent discoveries from Roman and Medieval Leicester</i>
Prof. Ronald Hutton	<i>The History of Prehistory: Megaliths and the Modern Imagination</i>
Dr Catherine Hills	<i>Skeletons in the Garden – Romans and Anglo Saxons at Newnham College</i>
Ben Robinson	<i>Revealing Peterborough – New Explorations in an Ancient Cathedral City</i>
Dr Stephen Alford	<i>Finding Nicholas Berden: the career of an Elizabethan spy</i>
Prof. Simon Keynes	<i>John Mitchell Kemble (1807–57): Apostle, Revolutionary, and Anglo-Saxonist</i>
Richard Mortimer & Alex Pickstone	<i>Further Excavations at the War Ditches, Cherry Hinton, Cambridge</i> (In association with the Prehistoric Society)

In addition the following two conferences were held:

21st November 2009 *Recent archaeological work in Cambridgeshire*

17th April 2010 *Past Relations: different approaches to the dead over time*

Excursions: The Programme for 2010 consisted of the following visits:

Chatham Historic Dockyard, Saturday 15 May:

One of the country's foremost naval dockyards for 300 years, Chatham has been in the care of the Historic Dockyard Trust since 1985. As well as three historic vessels – HMS Gannet (1878), HMS Cavalier (1944) and HM Submarine Ocelot (1962) – it has a spectacular Victorian Ropery and a galaxy of other permanent and temporary exhibitions and displays, including 'The Wooden Walls' (a recreation of the dockyard in 1758) and the RNLI Lifeboat Collection. It also has the largest single concentration of listed buildings (military, civil and religious) in the UK.

Cherry Hinton, Saturday 26 June.

A morning was spent exploring the historical and archaeological landscape of Cherry Hinton Hall and its surroundings, under the guidance of Ms Michelle Bullivant. Outwardly Victorian, the park nonetheless has many features that bear witness to former land uses and industrial activity. Also investigated was the Lime Kiln Hill area and the newly-open to the public East Pit.

Spalding, Lincolnshire, Wednesday 14 July.

The highlight of this excursion was a visit to the Spalding Gentlemen's Society, founded in 1710 and one of the oldest learned societies in the country. The Society has the UK's second oldest museum collection, containing many rare items of both local and national interest, and a fine library.

The medieval riverside at Ely, Wednesday 15 September.

The riverside was a centre of activity in the Middle Ages attracting trades dependent on the river, and those requiring water such as brewing. The area was developed after the diversion of the river to its present course, probably in the twelfth century, thereby incorporating Ely into the fenland river network.

This walk, led by Mrs Anne Holton-Krayenbuhl, explored the area between the river and Broad Street, bounded by Waterside to the north, looking at sites of former watercourses, hithes, and buildings. The tour also included two medieval houses in Broad Street.

Moggerhanger Park, Bedfordshire, Wednesday 6 October.

Relatively little-known, perhaps due to its long period of use as a local authority TB sanatorium and then orthopaedic hospital (from 1919 to 1987), Moggerhanger was designed by Sir John Soane for Sir Godfrey Thornton, a director of the Bank of England, and built between 1790 and 1816. Listed Grade 1, it is regarded as perhaps the best complete surviving example of Soane's work, and epitomises many of his architectural ideas. The grounds were laid out by Humphry Repton. Now in the care of a Trust, which stepped in to avert the threatened demolition of the house and construction of a housing estate on the site, this excursion enabled members to see the current state of an ongoing and ambitious programme of restoration.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society Accounts for the Year Ended 31/12/2009

Registered Charity 299211 • Founded 1840

PAYMENTS		2008	2009
	Lectures: Publishing Programme	332.53	310.00
	Expenses	255.44	401.07
	Vol XCVI Delivery	1418.33	
	Proceedings Vol XCVII Publication	6399.28	
	Proceedings Vol XCVII Delivery	911.14	(b)
	Proceedings Vol XCVIII Publication		7692.41
	Proceedings Vol XCVIII Delivery		1083.29
	Conduit	1050.36 (a)	1005.00 (a)
	Conference: March	944.69 (a)	898.35 (b, c)
	: November	437.67 (a)	300.00
	Excursions	2147.09 (a)	285.03 (b)
	Mailings: Delivery Charges	504.65	156.56 (b, c)
	Subscriptions (CBA, Rescue, CRSoc)	102.00	104.00
	Haddon Library: Conservation	100.00	100.00
	Office Expenses, Web Site, Misc	376.17	347.75
	Emolument: Registrar	250.00	250.00
	Publicity		532.65
	Insurance	221.60	241.05
	From capital: new web site	894.83 (b)	1121.25 (h)
	Small Grants Scheme	<u>500.00</u>	<u>100.00</u>
	Sub-Total	16895.78	14928.41
	Purchase of Investments	6000.00	
	Total Payments	<u>22895.78</u>	<u>14928.41</u>
RECEIPTS		2008	2009
	Subscriptions: Members & Societies	7110.00	6908.50
	Tax Reclaimed	720.71	779.65
	C.U. Archaeology Dept.	800.00	800.00
	Proceedings Vol XCVI: Grants	2369.00	
	VolXCVII: Grants	3370.00	
	VolXCVIII: Grants		2090.00
	Conduit	486.96	162.60
	Conference: March	1197.10	1813.00
	: November	386.00	505.00
	Excursions	1924.25	312.00
	Sales of Publications	173.48	135.90
	Royalties, Misc	416.00	208.05
	Investment Income (gross)	997.59	1174.05
	Interest: NSB (gross)	<u>812.02</u>	<u>67.41</u>
	Total Receipts	<u>20763.11</u>	<u>14956.16</u>
	less Payments (excluding Investment of capital adjusted below)	<u>22895.78</u>	<u>14928.41</u>
	Cash Surplus/Deficit (-)	-2132.67	27.75 (d)
	Fixed Interest Treasury Stock:		
	Capital investment	6000.00	
	less excess cost on purchase/re-investment over maturity values	-997.06	-571.32
	Surplus/Deficit (-) Income over Expenditure	<u>2870.27</u>	<u>-543.57</u>
STATEMENT OF ASSETS			
	Cash Funds: Current A/C	2611.26	2571.60
	: Deposit A/C	23265.03	23332.44 (e)
	Treasury Stock at maturity values	<u>18363.84</u>	<u>17792.52</u>
		<u>44240.13</u>	<u>43696.56 (g)</u>
	Accumulated Fund		
	At beginning of year	41369.86	44240.13
	Surplus/Deficit (-) Income over Expenditure for the Year	<u>2870.27</u>	<u>-543.57</u>
	At end of year	<u>44240.13</u>	<u>43696.56</u>
	Planned Future Expenditure		9840.00 (f)

Notes

The presentation of the accounts conforms to guidance provided by the Charity Commission. Comment on some of the entries is given in the following notes:

- a. The cost of mailing details to members has been attributed to the event.
- b. A credit of £894.83 with Mailing Distributor arose in 2008 and was used in 2009.
- c. Adding the attributable postage credit makes the 2009 figures comparable to earlier years.
- d. This figure is influenced by a credit with the mailing distributor (b) and the exceptional expenditure on redesigning the Web site (h); excluding these amounts the surplus from the normal activities of the Society in the year 2009 is £254.17.
- e. In 2005 the Council reviewed the policy for the reserves held by the Society and concluded that the cash funds less liabilities (f) should be maintained in the range £10,000 to £20,000; on 31 December 2009 the reserves were £16,064
- f. Planned expenditure; PCAS Vol XCIX £8000, Ladd's Bequest (g) £840, Small Grants £500 and a grant of £500 to Cambridgeshire Archives towards the cost of purchasing the Fen Drainage Papers; total £9,840.
- g. Includes Ladd's bequest earmarked for events associated with Huntingdon; with interest the sum is now £840.
- h. Exceptional expenditure on the design of a new Web site.

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Roman Cambridge's Early Settlement and *Via Devana*: Excavations at Castle Street

Christopher Evans and Letty Ten Harkel

With contributions by Martin Allen, Katie Anderson, Matt Brudenell,
Adrian Challands, Vida Rajkovača and Anne de Vareilles

Located within the core of Roman Cambridge, the results of the 2006 Castle Street excavations are presented. Based on the evidence of pottery imports, the site's Late Iron Age settlement phase would appear to have been of a high status. Its Roman strata allowed for the determination of the route of Cambridge's Via Devana and, as is also reported, the line of the conjoining Godmanchester Road has now been established. To augment Alexander and Pullinger's Roman Cambridge excavations (2000), full presentation is made of the site's economic data. Finally, there is a review of the results of the previous volume, as well as further consideration of the issue of Cambridge's status as a Roman town.

The principal aim of the 2006 Castle Street excavations was to obtain a 'modern standard' sample of the core of Roman Cambridge's upper town; among its primary objectives was the recovery of environmental and economic evidence to augment the results of earlier investigations (Alexander & Pullinger 2000; Fig. 1). As outlined in a previous paper concerned with the site's post-Roman phases (Cessford 2008), we were somewhat thwarted by the fact that the town's Civil War ditch effectively removed half of the area under investigation and, in effect, reduced the exposure of its Iron Age/Roman strata to only c. 60m² (with that also seeing extensive truncation by post-Medieval cellars and modern service trenches, *etc*; Figs 2 and 5). Sound results were, nonetheless, achieved, especially concerning the hill-top's early economy and roads, and the excavations provided major insights regarding the character of its Late Iron Age and Early Roman/Conquest Period settlements. The site's publication also enables us to draw together and appraise facets of Castle Hill's first century AD sequence, which now benefits from the sheer quantity of excavation that has recently occurred in the town's wider environs (e.g. Evans *et al.* 2008). This review is particularly apposite, as this year marks a decade since the Society published *Roman Cambridge* (Alexander & Pullinger 2000).

Occurring in advance of housing, the Castle Street excavations were undertaken by the University's Cambridge Archaeology Unit (CAU) and directed by Letty Ten Harkel (2006a); it followed evaluation trial trenching by the Hertfordshire Archaeological Unit

five years previously (Crank & Murray 2001). The site lay at c. 20m OD, with its geology consisting of Lower Chalk Marl locally overlain with sandy gravels (TL 440592).

Attention had first been drawn to the locale's potential when, in 2003, the County Council Field Unit conducted renovation-related investigations in the cellars of two adjacent properties on its west side (Nos. 68–70; Fig. 2; Hickling 2004). With its horizontal strata truncated, this only revealed two major features, one of which was a third-century AD pit that cut a north-west-southeast-oriented ditch (2.30m wide and 1.20m deep), running along the property's frontage. The latter produced early to mid second-century pottery, and was thought to represent a roadside boundary relating to the Roman Godmanchester Road. As its direct continuation/equivalents were identified within the 2006 CAU site, this interpretation has proven correct.

The site lay opposite Haigh's 1988 Castle Street Site, where what was thought to be a small, third-century AD quasi-pentagonal shrine was exposed (Fig. 2; Alexander & Pullinger 2000, 57, figs 5.16–17). Subsequently in 1994, straddling Haigh's site, the CAU undertook an evaluation trenching exercise at 75–85 Castle Street (Butler 1994). Though evidence of first- and second-century AD timber buildings was recovered, little excavation then occurred, as the decision was made to preserve the site's c. 0.80m-deep strata *in situ* beneath geo-textile matting. Beside that site, at 71 Castle Street, a fourth-century AD pit was exposed in 1997 when an evaluation test pit was dug (Heawood 1997).

Background Matters

Alexander and Pullinger's 2000 volume documented the upper town's Roman investigations up to the later 1980s, and it also included an overview of relevant fieldwork between that date and the mid 1990s (Evans 2000). Since then there have been a number of further investigations in the area; indeed, too many to summarise here and, instead, only the results of most relevant can be briefly reviewed (see Evans & Lucas

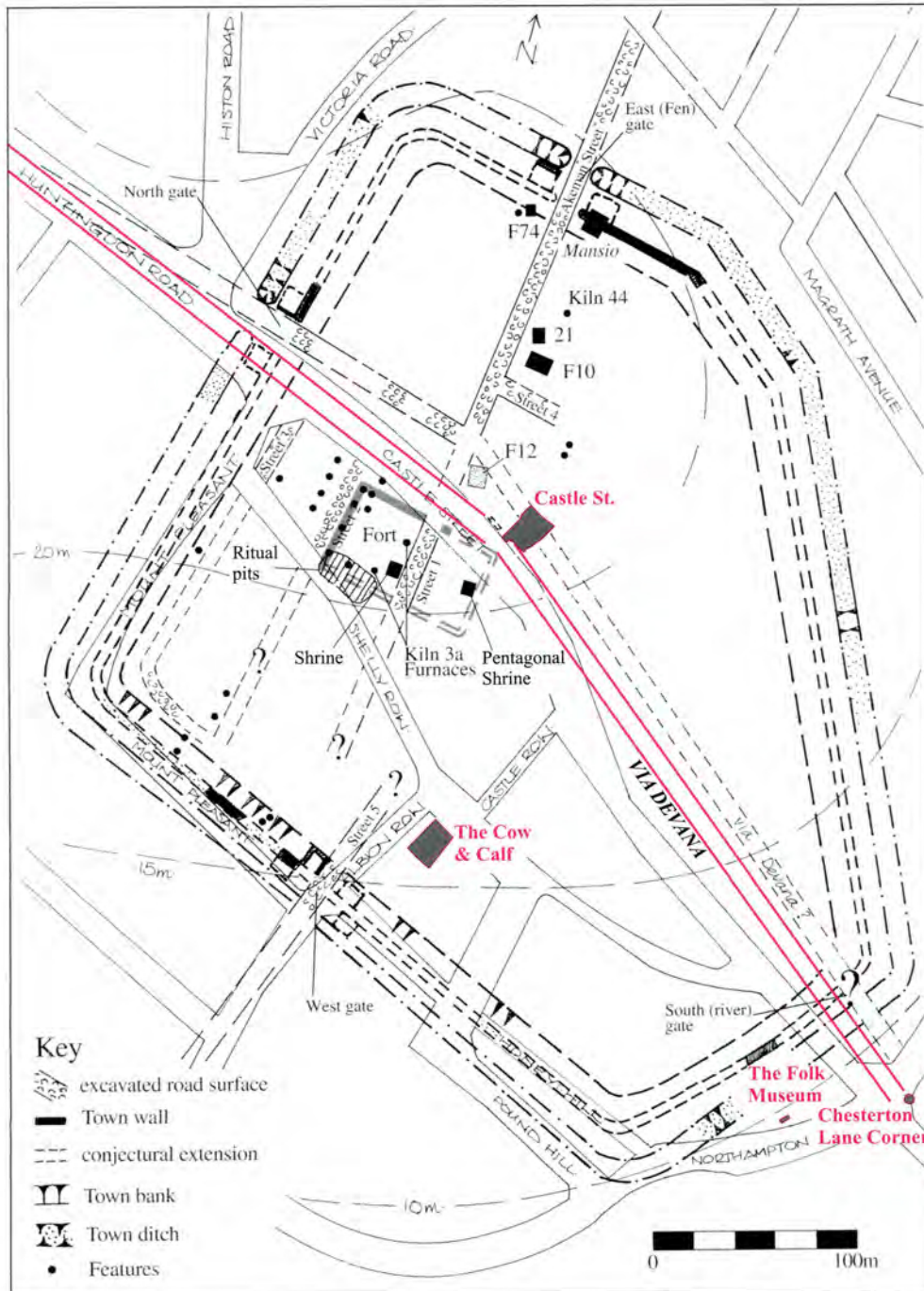


Figure 1. Site locations, plotted in relationship to Alexander & Pullinger's Roman Cambridge reconstruction plan (2000, fig. 7.2).

forthcoming). Of these, two are of pressing concern for this paper's roadway-theme. The first are the findings from an Anglian Water sewage shaft dug at the corner of Chesterton Lane and Magdalene Street in 2000 (Figs 1 & 3; Mortimer & Regan 2001; see Cessford & Dickens 2005 and Cessford *et al.* 2008 for its post-Roman results). Within its 3.00m diameter were the metallings and flanking ditches of a northwest-southeast-oriented Roman road. Presumably the *Via Devana*, due to its limited exposure it is impossible to

determine its alignment with any precision. The road was evidently established in the mid/third quarter of the first century AD. Having later flood deposits upon it and, in the second century, a timber building constructed on its north side, this route-alignment apparently continued in use throughout the fourth century (despite having a Late Roman inhumation inserted into it). Nearby, the excavations two years later at the Folk Museum revealed evidence of a later first-century AD timber building with accompanying

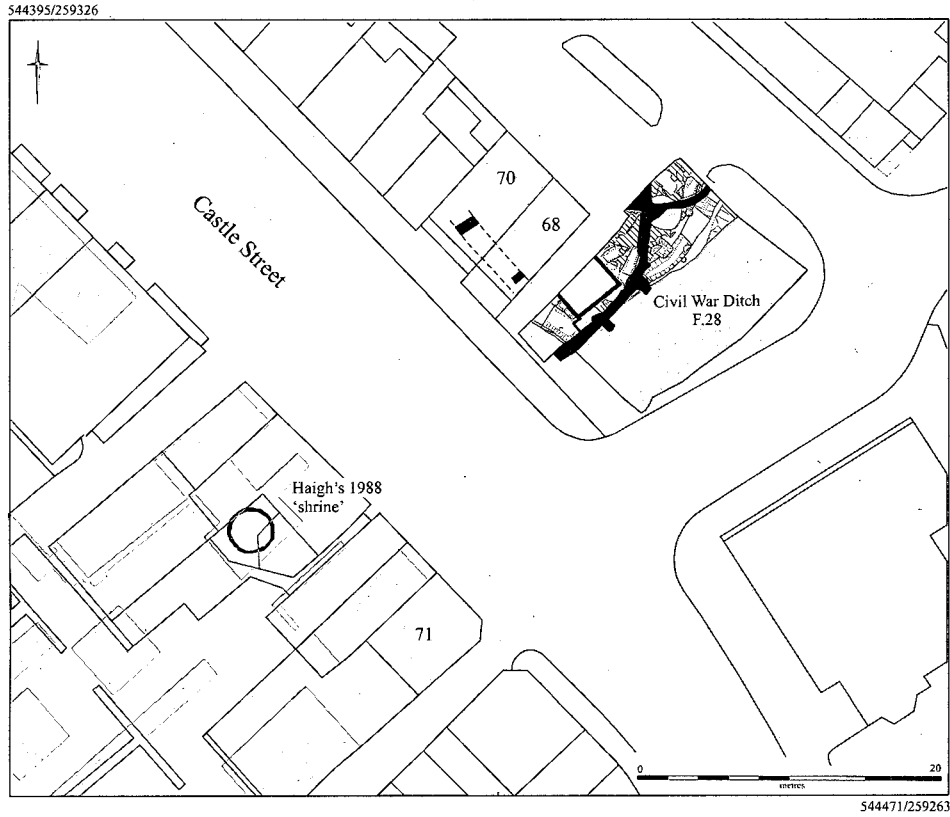


Figure 2. Castle Street excavations (grey-tone indicating previous areas of investigation).

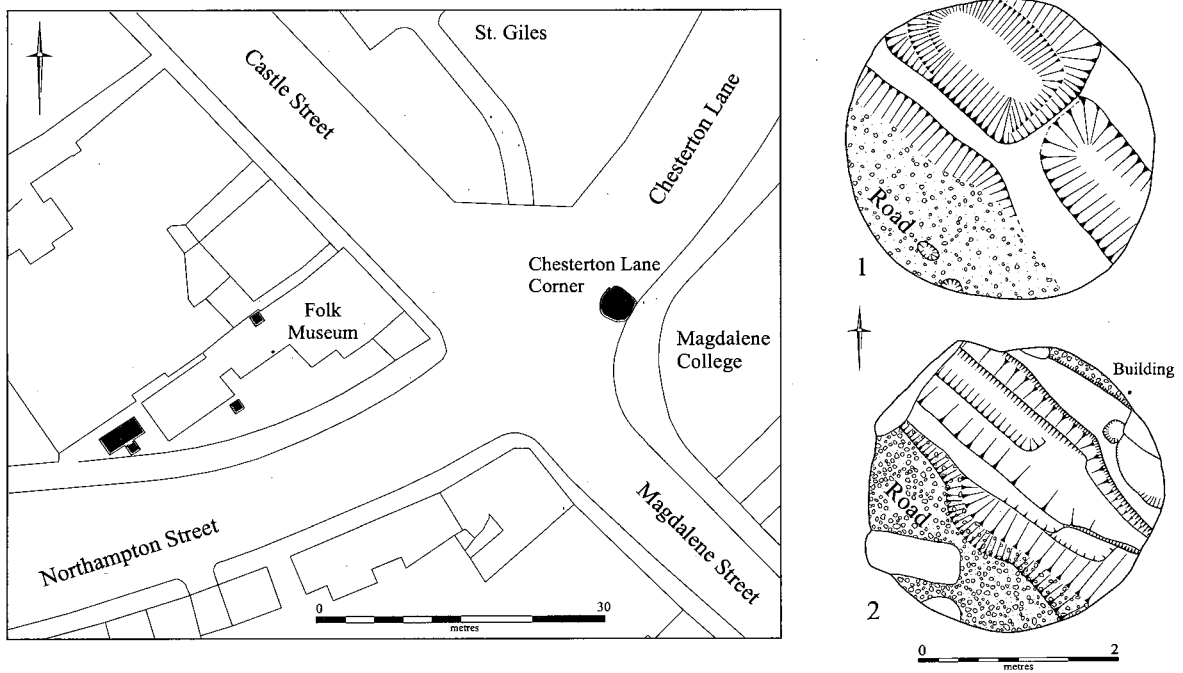


Figure 3. Chesterton Lane Corner excavations, showing first- and second-century AD road surfaces (1 & 2 respectively; Mortimer & Regan 2001).

pits and a gully with the burial of a neonate; these were superseded by yard-usage during the second and third centuries (Fig. 3; Cessford 2003.)

The second immediately relevant excavation occurred during the initial writing of this piece (June 2009), when further work at Murray Edwards College (formerly New Hall) exposed the robust metalling of the Godmanchester Roman road (Fig. 4), thereby confirming its route as postulated from the 1996 New Hall excavations (see Evans 2000, fig. XII.4; Hutton 2009). Indeed, this fieldwork is sufficiently important for understanding Roman Cambridge's approach roads that a summary of its results forms an extended 'caption-note' within this paper (see Fig. 4).

Aside from the Castle Street Site, the only substantive investigation to occur in recent years within the area of the walled town proper has been at the site of the former Cow and Calf pub (Fig. 1). There, apart from a few locally surviving first- and second-century pits and surfaces, the vast majority of its c. 3,145-sherd assemblage occurred residually in later cut features (c. 93%; Cooper 2003). Otherwise, east across the river, the scale of Roman Cambridge's suburban lower town has recently been attested to at the St John's Triangle Site (at the apex of Sidney Sussex and Trinity Streets; Newman 2008) and, in addition to the cemetery excavated at Jesus Lane (Alexander *et al.* 2004), evidence of Roman and Iron Age settlement has been found in the grounds of Jesus College (Williams & Evans 2004).

It is within the town's western hinterland that the largest Roman-site excavation within the Cambridge area has occurred. As part of the University's West Cambridge development, anticipating the construction of the Gates Computing Centre, the excavation

in 2000 of the Vicar's Farm Site (6ha) saw occupation throughout the first to fourth centuries (with both Mesolithic and limited Iron Age usage also present; Lucas 2002; Evans *et al.* 2008, 137, fig. 2.56). Located at the junction of track/roadway-routes, this major farm/supply centre included a number of distinct components — shrine settings, an aisled building and two cemeteries — and it probably had a local market function. It yielded substantial finds assemblages (e.g. 339 coins and 12,400 sherds of Roman pottery) and is of great importance for understanding the dynamics of the town's hinterland. Within the more immediate neighbourhood of Castle Hill, in 2004 the New Hall Roman road (Margery Route 231; see Evans 2000, figs XII.4–5) was further exposed in Trinity Hall's Playing Fields (Wills 2004) and, in 2006, excavations within the grounds of St Edmund's College revealed both Late Iron Age and Early Roman settlement (Ten Harkel 2006b; Evans & Lucas forthcoming).

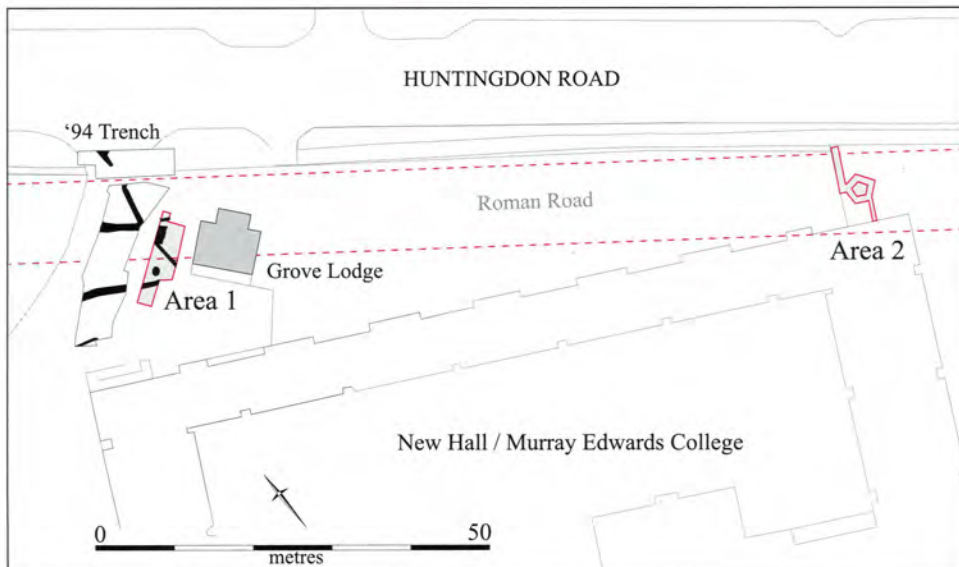
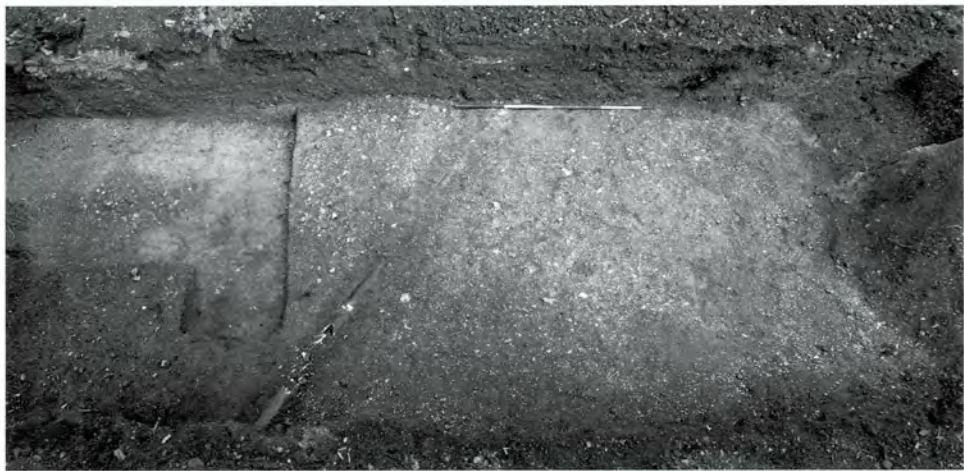
Based on these investigations, three general observations can be made about the early layout of Castle Hill. First is that the Early Roman settlement clearly extended well beyond the boundaries of its fourth-century defences, with its walled circuit therefore representing a contraction of its area; second, is that the Late Iron Age settlement does not appear to have continued down its lower riverside slope and it seems to have been restricted to the Castle Hill-top summit proper. Third, it is clear that while the Castle Hill summit-area probably only ever saw relatively shallow stratigraphic build-up (and which, through time, has locally been laterally truncated so that it survives only to a depth of c. 0.40–0.85m), downslope towards the river and in the area around Chesterton Lane, the

Facing page: Figure 4. Godmanchester Road Exposure, 2009, Murray Edwards College (formerly New Hall): top, showing Area 1 trench beside Grove Lodge, with road surface exposed (middle; below, base plan).

The limited fieldwork programme arose due to alterations to the College's car park and the installation of exterior stairtowers along its Huntingdon Road frontage. Obviously occurring in direct relationship to the earlier, 1994 New Hall/Kaetsu Building excavations, a summary of that site was provided in *Roman Cambridge* (Evans 2000; see also Evans & Lucas forthcoming) and need not be repeated in detail here. As well as a major early approach road in the south (Margery Route 231) and a Romano-British settlement (with accompanying cemetery) extending west under Fitzwilliam College, the pattern of ditches immediately south of Huntingdon Road indicated the line of the Godmanchester Road; this was further supported by the dense 'quarry pit-field' found to its south.

In the course of the 2009 programme two areas of investigation were targeted: a c. 12m-long trench immediately west of Grove Lodge (Area 1) and a smaller sondage at the eastern end of the College (Area 2). Although disturbed by nineteenth-century features, Roman road metalling was exposed in both and, in Area 1, layers of gravel and cobbling extended to at least a width of 6.60m. Given the limited scale of these exposures, a relatively substantial pottery assemblage was recovered: 322 sherds (3,487g). Dating from the late first to earlier third centuries AD, this included both a Colchester whiteware sherd and London wares, with the bulk of this material deriving from the larger Area 1. While surely deriving from the adjacent New Hall settlement, this generally consisted of small and abraded pieces incorporated within the road metallings. In contrast, the some 70 sherds recovered from the surface in Area 2 were larger and fresher, and suggested still another, more easterly, settlement source.

It is difficult to be certain of the date of route's foundation. Respecting the road's northwest-southeast alignment, a ditch sealed by its surfaces included a few mid to later first century sherds. While it is possible that this attests to an earlier phase of an unmetalled 'way', its surfaces — which were not evidently ditch-flanked — would appear to be of late first- to early second-century date; it could, therefore, still be the case that the more southerly 'New Hall'/Margery 231 route was earlier. What is crucially important concerning the investigations is that, for the first time, it indisputably 'fixes' the line of the Godmanchester Road west of Roman Cambridge proper: falling on more northwest/southeast axis than as projected on the Roman Cambridge mapping (see Fig. 1).



strata lie 2.30–3.30m thick. Not only does this imply that in the past this riverside swathe would be more level and was evidently prone to flooding, but that the incline of the eastern slope of Castle Hill would have been considerably more marked than today (see Cessford & Dickens 2005, 75, tab. 2 and fig. 3).

Finally, mention should be made that this study benefits from being able to draw upon the English Heritage-/Cambridge City Council-funded Urban Archaeological Database (UAD) mapping of Cambridge's archaeological 'interventions', which brings with it the advantage of allowing 'real-space' plotting of its earlier excavations.¹

Site Sequence

Aside from the *en masse* truncation of its eastern sector by the Civil War defences (F. 28), the remaining western half of the 2006 Castle Street Site was pock-marked by post-Medieval and modern features, and had also seen extensive lateral truncation (Fig. 5 & Fig. 6). Consequently, its horizontal strata only survived to a depth of c. 0.45m above the geological

'natural' (Fig. 7, Sec. 1).

Before proceeding it is important that the character of the site's sequence is appreciated. The area clearly saw a tremendous amount of development in a relatively short span: the 50–70 years bridging the Late Iron Age and Early/pre-Flavian Roman times (i.e. *The Conquest*). There was, moreover, considerable evidence of boundary continuity during that time, with many of its main ditches recut either on the same alignment or immediately parallel. When combined with the site's limited area and the short duration of the bulk of its activity, this means that, by necessity, its phasing has a 'fluid' quality.

Although a series of gravel surfaces were recovered in the site's northwest quarter, these are held to have been yard surfaces. As already outlined and will be further discussed in this paper's final section, due both to stratigraphic and broader factors, *the Roman road* — the *Via Devana* — must have run immediately south of the site's limits and must have been flanked by the intercutting sequence of northwest–southeast-aligned ditches within the site's southwestern corner.

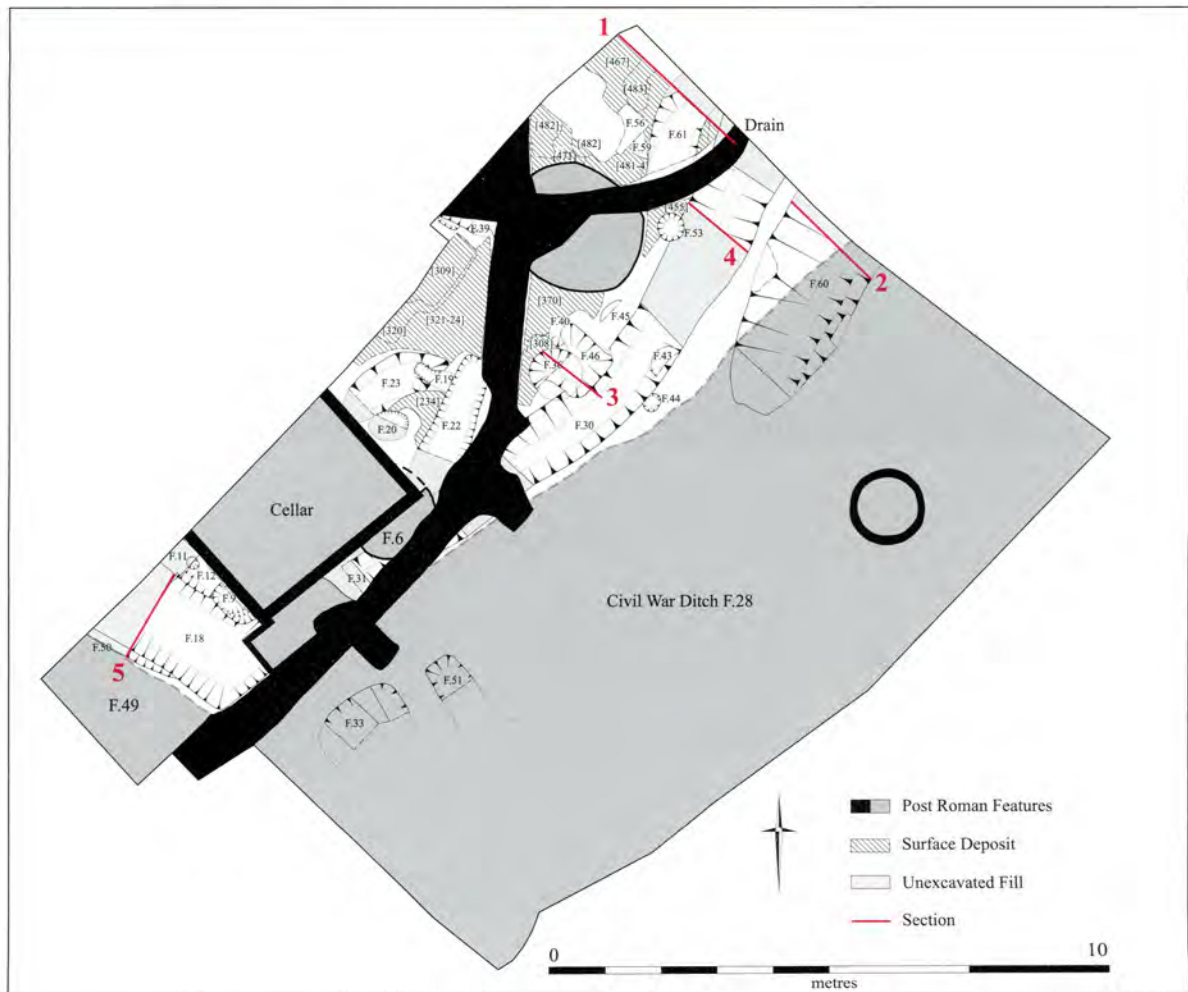


Figure 5. 2006 Site base-plan with section locations.



Figure 6. The 2006 Site: top, excavations in progress, with Civil War ditch left and, right, looking down line of ditches F. 27/30; left, looking north along line of ditch F. 27/30 with pit F. 46 left.

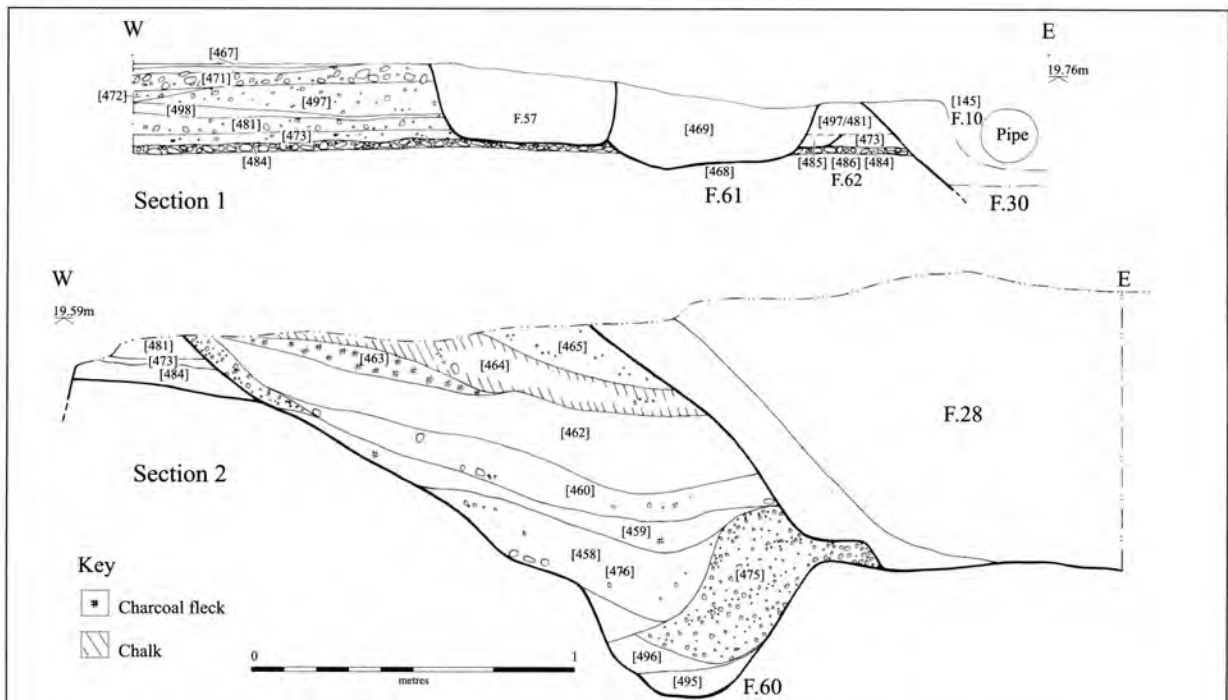


Figure 7. Sections, F. 60 & F. 61 and northwestern edge of excavation (see Fig. 5 for location).

Late Iron Age

Only one feature, posthole F. 44, could be confidently ascribed a pre-Late Iron Age date, on the basis of 14 sherds of Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age pottery (Fig. 8). Despite the presence of between three and five Late Iron Age-assigned postholes (F. 24, F. 44, F. 47, F. 48 & F. 58), no structures have been identified from that period. While it is possible that a heavily truncated ditch, F. 62, represents an eavesgully, so little of its length remained that it is impossible to reconstruct its original character with any certainty.

Three ditch termini survived despite severe later truncation. F. 26, a ditch running northwest-southeast in the westernmost corner of the site represents the establishment of a division that continued to be marked throughout the Roman Period (Fig. 9, Sec. 5). F. 51 was established on much

the same alignment, but further to the east (and was almost entirely removed by the Civil War defences). Finally, F. 60 was an altogether larger feature, situated on the north side of the site and running northeast-southwest (Fig. 7, Sec. 2). As it survived it was 1.98m across and 1.17m deep, but may have originally been up to 3m wide. A slumping fill within it may have resulted from the partial collapse of an associated exterior bank. Like F. 26, its alignment was maintained through the cutting of a new ditched enclosure (F. 27/F. 30/F. 31) during the subsequent Conquest Period.

'Occupation' levels dating to the Late Iron Age and Conquest Period were encountered at the northernmost corner of the site. Contexts [483] and [321] consisted of low-quality stony surfaces with a high sandy silt component. Repairs to [483] were attempted during the Conquest Period ([482]), but these seem to have been relatively short-lived.

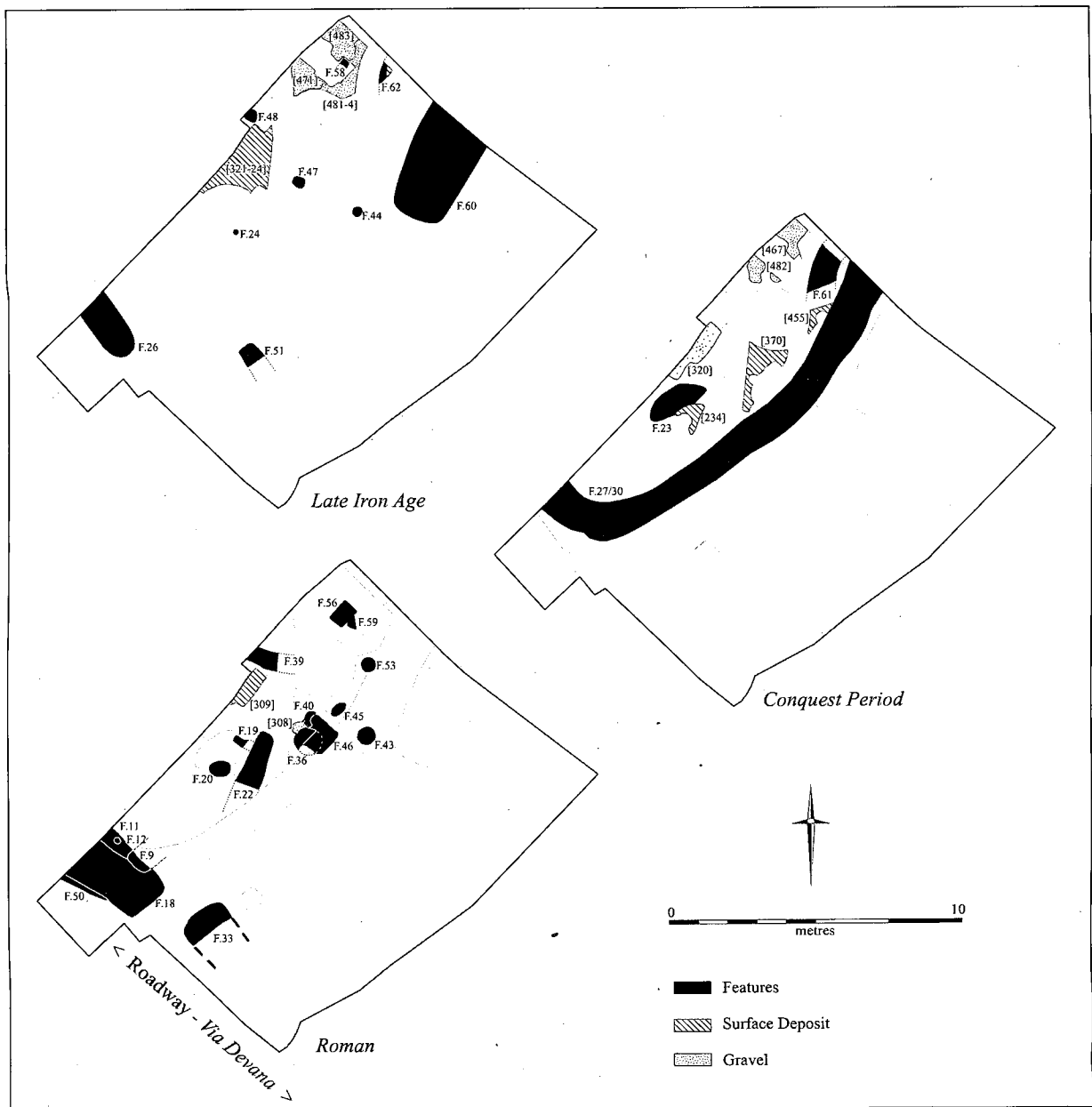


Figure 8. Site phasing.

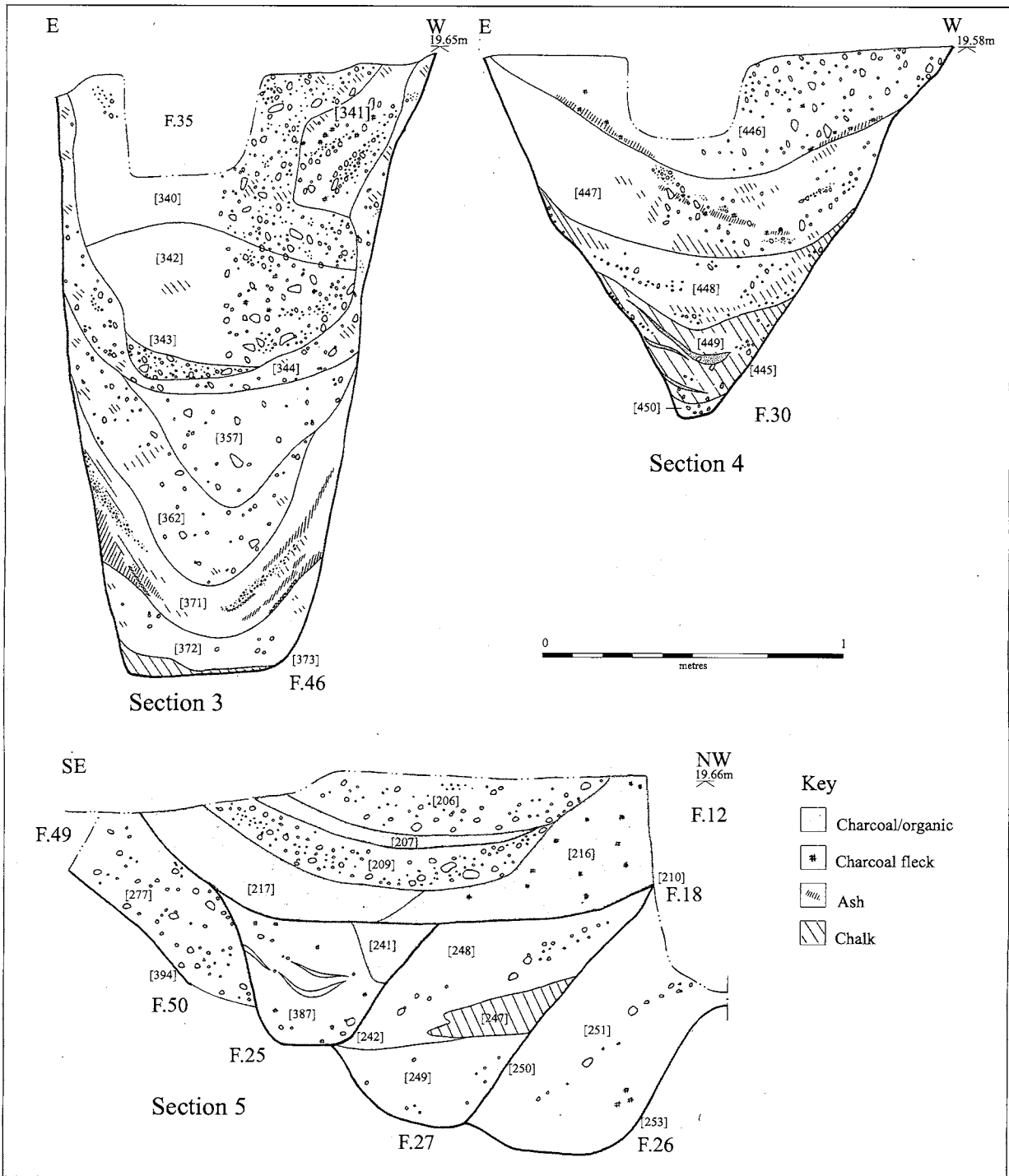


Figure 9. Sections, F. 18 (et al.), F. 30 & F. 46 (see Fig. 5 for location).

Overlying [321] and also [484] were deposits of sandy silt ([324]/[473]), presumably indicating that these surfaces had gone out of use.

Layer [484] consisted of a robust metallated surface, dated as probably Late Iron Age by the occurrence of pottery of that attribution in a layer ([481]) overlying it (Fig. 7, Sec. 1). The presence of metallating is intriguing. It formed a well-laid gravel horizon with stones *c.* 60mm across, mixed with small pea-grit shingle. It is held to have been a yard surface relating to the Iron Age settlement. The fact that such

a high quality horizon was present at the very base of the stratigraphic sequence suggests a settlement foundation involving considerable 'landscaping' prior to construction (during excavation it was noted that the underlying natural was remarkably level considering that the site was located on the crest of a hill). It should also be noted that by the first half of the first century AD, when the curvilinear boundary F. 62 was dug, [484] was no longer in use nor even visible, as it had been buried beneath layers of silting ([473] & [481]). Such short-lived use, combined with the rapid

encroachment of domestic structures upon it, suggests that this surface related to the origins of the earliest significant settlement on Castle Hill.

Conquest Period

A series of features yielded 'Romanising-type' pottery and can, therefore, be dated to c. AD 30–60. The Conquest Period, in the main, appears to have involved continuity rather than change on the Castle Street Site (Fig. 8). Late Iron Age surfaces were repaired ([482] & [467]) and the ditch lines established by F. 26 and F. 60 were re-emphasised and brought together with a new enclosure boundary (F. 27/30/31). The latter was steeply 'V'-shaped for much of its profile and up to 1.15m deep; the relationship between this feature and ditch F. 60 was not entirely clear (Figs 6 & 9, Secs 4 & 5).

It is during the Conquest Period that the first persuasive evidence of structures occurred: F. 61 was a curvilinear feature, probably a roundhouse eavesgully. It is, in fact, possible that this was the re-establishment of an earlier building represented by F. 62 (Fig. 7, Sec. 1), but unfortunately the latter had been so severely truncated that its original form could not be determined. F. 61 consisted of a truncated gully 1.36m long, which contained a quantity of finds: over 1800g of pottery, along with 267g of animal bone. All the identifiable sherds could be dated to the Late Iron Age/Early Roman Period transition. The presence of daub and mortar within the fill supports the interpretation that F. 61 related to a building, though the continuation of its line should have crossed the large ditch F. 60 and there is no indication that this was the case.

Further features assigned to the Conquest Period were two pits or possible ditch termini (F. 23 & F. 33), which had been severely truncated by post-Medieval ditches, and several occupation layers ([234], [320], [342], [370] & [455]).

Early Roman

During the Early Roman Period the Castle Street site saw significant changes; the F. 27 (*et al.*) enclosure had been filled in by this time and a new series of pits and ditches were dug (Fig. 8). Most Roman features excavated can be attributed to the first century AD, but some ascribed as 'Early Roman' were perhaps as late as mid-second century AD. Despite a lessening in horizontal stratigraphy at this period — or, at least, the survival thereof — there appears to have been a marked increase in activity within the area.

The most significant features from this time were three northwest-southeast-oriented ditch termini (F. 18, F. 25 & F. 50), located at the southwestern corner of the site and truncating the line of the former F. 27 enclosure (Fig. 5, Fig. 9 Sec. 5 & Fig. 10). As outlined above, these represent three successive cuts of what was arguably the northern flanking ditch of a road and it was notable that all terminated in much the same spot as the Late Iron Age boundary, F. 26. Although on a somewhat more southerly orientation, after approximately a metre's interruption its line may have continued in that of F. 33, a ditch whose upper profile (and southern extent) had largely been truncated away by the Civil War ditch.

Some nine metres to the northeast of the F. 18/F. 25/F. 50 ditch-sequence was a 2m-deep pit, F. 46 (Fig. 9, Sec. 3). Although its profile and size are similar to the 'ritual shafts' identified nearby in Alexander and Pullinger's excavations, there were no traces of ritual deposits within it and all the pottery from its fills dated to the first century AD. Given its date and position, it is possible that F. 46 represents a latrine pit. Its lower fills consisted of cassy material, whilst the upper fills comprised a charcoal-rich garden-type soil (a

comparable 'soil-like' deposit, [309], was also present c. 2m to the northwest of F. 46).

Feature 46 was one of a number of features truncating F. 30 and, dating to the Early Roman Period (others were F. 36 & F. 43); this truncation confirmed that the line of F. 30 had been backfilled by this point. A number of small pits in the northernmost portion of the site probably had domestic functions and may have been dug for rubbish disposal (F. 36, F. 40, F. 43, F. 45, F. 53, F. 56 & F. 59). An exception was F. 43, which contained a charcoal-rich fill with burnt bone and first- to third-century AD pottery. All of these features were severely truncated by later landscaping, which hampered their interpretation. The rectangular shape of F. 56, with vertical sides and flat base tends to suggest that it was a later feature, but Late Iron Age and mid to late first-century AD pottery was the only dating evidence recovered from it.

Several additional ditch and gully segments yielded first-century AD pottery, suggesting that they dated from the Early Roman Period (F. 19, F. 22 & F. 39). Of these, F. 22 represents a relatively substantial terminal of a NNE-SSW ditch (0.82m wide; 0.41m deep). It must have been dug in the Early Roman Period, but may have remained open until the second century AD.

Later Roman

Evidence of Late Roman activity was relatively limited. This may either relate to extensive later landscaping, which had severely truncated subsequent Roman features, or may represent a real hiatus in the area's sequence (Fig. 8). It is worth noting that later Roman pottery did not frequently occur residually within post-Roman features, as would be expected had there been substantive local occupation at that time.

Only four cut features could be assigned to this period. Two were dated by the presence of first- to third-century AD pottery (pits F. 12 & F. 20), whereas a posthole (F. 11) and another pit (F. 9) were assigned based on stratigraphic relationships (both cut F. 12) and may be significantly later. Pit F. 12 contained the highest density of *in situ* Romano-British material of any feature on the site and may have been a rubbish pit. This was situated on top of the (by then backfilled) ditch terminal F. 18 and may indicate the siting of rubbish pits along the line of property boundaries.

Late Roman pottery occurred residually in a number of post-Roman features, including 12 sherds from an Anglo-Saxon pit (F. 6) and 11 sherds from the Civil War ditch (F. 28; Fig. 5).

Material Culture

Apart from the finds categories outlined below, relatively little other material was forthcoming from the site's early phases. Aside from two, three, ten and 19 fragments of mortar, brick/tile, stone and burnt clay respectively, some 60 oyster shells were recovered. In total, 21 metalwork pieces were present; apart from the copper alloy items described below, these variously include iron nails and small 'lumps', and a piece of scrap lead (a slag fragment and piece of fuel ash were, respectively retrieved from F. 27 & F. 30).



Figure 10. The Roadside Ditch Sequence (F. 18 et al.): top, east-facing section; below, from above.

Pottery

Katie Anderson with Matt Brudenell

The excavations yielded 1,163 sherds of Late Iron Age and Roman pottery (20,236g), representing 16.73 'Estimated Vessel Equivalents' (EVEs). The material was generally small and abraded, and included a number of residual sherds. Table 1 shows its breakdown by date. The category 'Late Iron Age/Early Roman' was employed to incorporate any sherds which could not be easily assigned into either the Iron Age or Roman groups; specifically, this refers to sherds which have an Iron Age fabric but a 'Romanising' vessel-form, commonly referred to as 'Conquest Period' ceramics.

Table 2 shows the features that contained both Late Iron Age and Roman pottery, although in many cases it was not easy to separate the two. The quantities of these 'assigned' wares varied, but the Late Iron Age material does not appear to have been residual as, when found alongside Roman pottery, the Iron Age was consistently 'Late' (i.e. wheelmade) and the Roman material was always 'Early' (i.e. predominantly pre-Flavian, all pre-second century AD). Thus, these features suggest a continuum of activity.

The Late Iron Age pottery was dominated by sandy wares, representing over 90% of the assemblage, with only 13 grog- and six shell-tempered sherds recorded. Most of the material was wheel-thrown/turned, suggesting a date from the end of the first century BC to the mid-first century AD. This is further supported by the vessel-forms that were identified, including several corrugated jars (Fig. 11.5), and a number of highly burnished and polished sherds, along with a numerous combed jars.

A significant percentage of the assemblage consisted of Late Iron Age/Early Roman vessels. These can also be considered to be 'Romanising', and in this part of East Anglia have a date range of c. AD 30–60. Most of the pottery

consisted of coarsewares, which were probably made locally, although few sherds could be closely sourced. The Roman pottery ranged in date from the first to third centuries AD, although the vast majority of vessels dated to the mid-late first century AD.

Coarse, sandy greywares dominated the Romanised assemblage, although Horningsea was the only identifiable source, with 14 sherds (423g; Fig. 11.9). Other unsourced coarsewares were imitation black-burnished wares, including sherds from two bowls, six jars and a lid, most of which had lattice decoration on the exterior. These vessels date to the mid-late first century AD, although some may be slightly later (up to the mid-second century AD).

Three Early Roman fine, sandy buffware sherds were also recorded, their fabric being similar to Lucas' 'Foxton type R3' (Lucas 1997). Two of these have red-painted line decoration, which is comparable to material from Cherry Hinton (Lucas 1999), although the fabric and decoration suggest a slightly later date, probably Flavian (AD 69–96).

There were several imports, the most common being Southern Gaulish Samian sherds, of which there were 13. Of these, seven were identified as Dragendorff 18, although the number of vessels represented is unclear since the sherds do not refit. Five sherds from a Central Gaulish black-slipped beaker were recovered from F. 12. The vessel had a small cornice rim with roughcast decoration and is pre-Flavian in date (AD 43–68) with parallels seen at Verulamium (Wilson 1972).

A Northern Gaulish pipeclay sherd recovered from F. 18 is particularly interesting and is likely to be of pre-Conquest date. Several butt-beaker sherds were present within various features, some of which may be Gaulish imports and, therefore, are also likely to pre-date the Conquest.

Two unusual sherds recovered from F. 30 had very thin, fine sandy greyware fabrics and barbotine line decoration (Fig. 11.8). This is unlike any decoration seen at other large Late Iron Age/Early Roman sites in the region, such as Verulamium (Wilson 1972) and Colchester (Hawkes & Crummy 1995), and even London appears to have no direct parallels for the decoration (Davies *et al.* 1994). The fabric is

Table 1. Prehistoric and Roman pottery frequency (MSW = Mean Sherd Weight).

	No.	%	Wt. (g)	%	MSW (g)	EVE
Romano-British	675	58.1	13,164	65.1	19.5	12.8
Late Iron Age/Early Roman	204	17.5	2876	14.2	14.1	1.5
Late Iron Age	270	23.2	4118	20.3	15.2	2.4
Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age	14	1.2	78	0.4	5.6	-
TOTAL	1163	100	20,236	100	-	16.73

Table 2. Late Iron Age (LIA) and Early Roman (ER) pottery by feature.

Feature	Total No.	Total Wt (g)	LIA		LIA/ER		ER	
			No. %	Wt. (g) %	No. %	Wt (g) %	No. %	Wt. (g) %
18	164	1991	26.8	26.3	42.1	45.8	31.1	27.9
23	22	266	27.3	32	72.7	68	-	-
25	12	204	8.3	4.4	-	-	91.7	95.6
27	51	757	25.5	22.3	11.8	13.1	62.7	64.6
30	182	2820	58.8	53.2	11.5	10.7	29.7	36.1
31	11	220	72.7	48.2	9.1	46.8	18.2	5
36	6	105	16.7	9.5	-	-	83.3	90.5
46	72	1606	4.2	6.7	2.7	1.6	93.1	91.7
60	41	638	73.2	85.3	7.3	7	19.5	7.7
61	96	1800	33.3	48.3	52.1	41.1	14.6	10.6

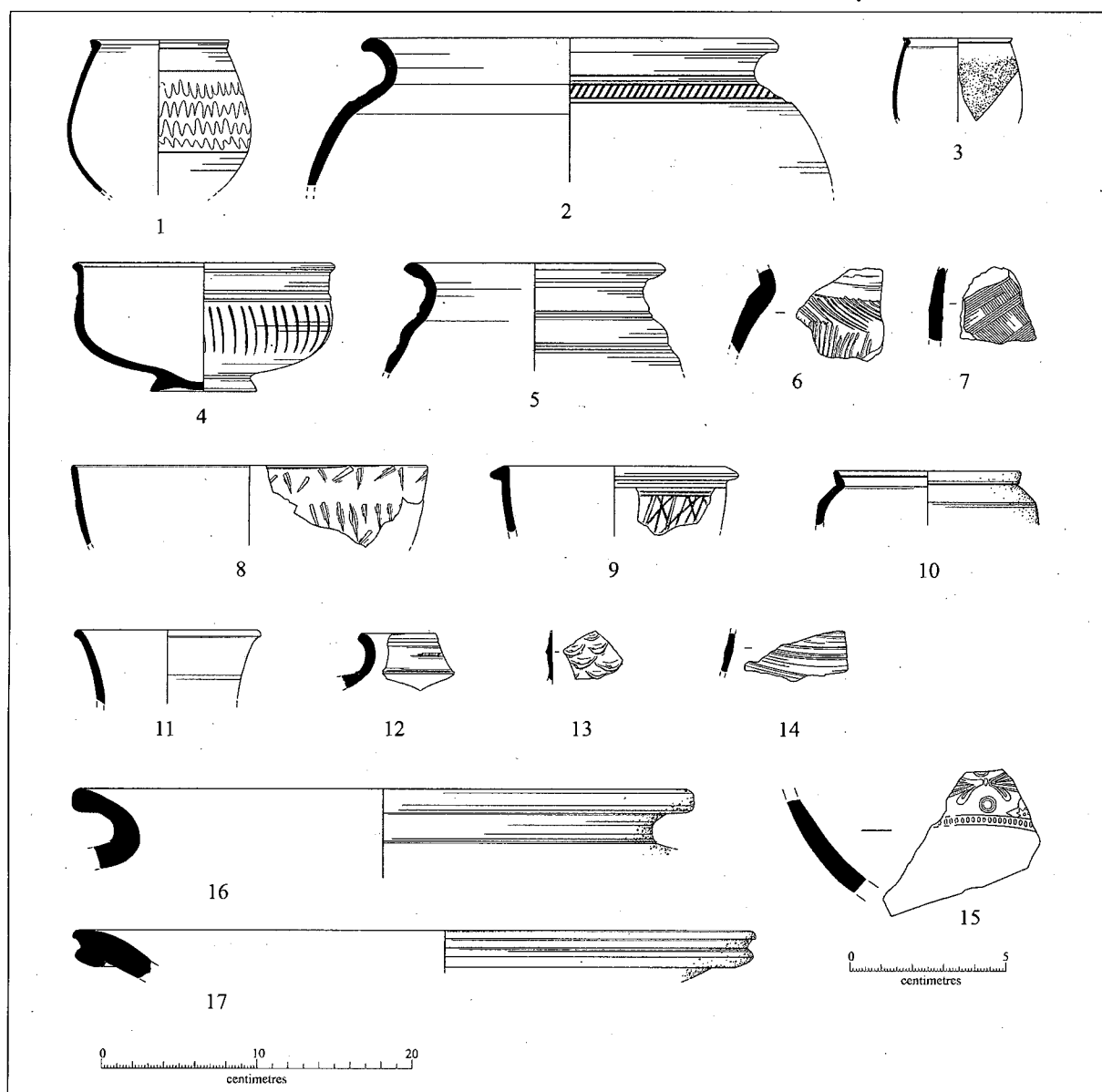


Figure 11. Pottery.

1. Fine sandy greyware cornice rim beaker with bands of scratched decoration, second–third century AD ([177]);
2. Sandy, black-slipped jar with burnished decoration on the neck, mid–late first century AD ([179]);
3. Colour-coated cornice rim beaker with roughcast decoration, second–third century AD ([164], F. 12);
4. Nene Valley London ware bowl, imitation Dragendorff 37, AD 100–160 ([223]/[228]);
5. Coarse sandy jar with a corrugated neck, burnished, late Iron Age ([252]);
6. Coarse sandy decorated body sherd with tooled decoration ([354]);
7. Coarse sandy greyware body sherd with cross-hatch combing, mid–late first century AD ([223]);
8. Fine black sandy bowl with very unusual barbotine decoration (possible import), Late Iron Age/Early Roman (<274>/<280>);
9. Horningsea greyware beaded bowl with burnished lattice decoration, second–third century AD ([147], F. 10);
10. Shell-tempered lid seated jar, Late Iron Age ([127], F. 18);
11. Black-slipped jar, highly burnished, Late Iron Age ([127], F. 18);
12. Oxidised sandy everted rim jar, Late Iron Age/Early Roman ([127], F. 18);
13. Nene Valley colour-coated beaker with barbotine scale decoration, mid–second–third century AD ([164], F. 12);
14. Coarse sandy greyware sherd, decorated with combed horizontal lines, mid–late first century AD ([223]);
15. Central Gaulish Samian decorated body sherd, from a Dragendorff 37 bowl, mid–first to second century AD ([103]);
16. Large greyware beaded rim jar, mid–late first century AD ([103]);
17. Large everted rim jar with grooved beaded rim, mid–late first century AD ([103]).

similar to products from Gaul, but the exact source is unclear. Based on the other sherds found within the same context, a Late Iron Age/Early Roman date seems appropriate.

Nene Valley kiln products are represented by 32 sherds (461g), including colour-coats and greywares, and these are the best source of evidence for later Roman (second to third century AD) activity at the site. Eleven sherds were from a single 'Nene Valley London-ware' vessel, an imitation of a Dragendorff 37, with burnished line decoration on the body; this dated to the early second century AD (Fig. 11.4). There were 13 Swanspool-produced sherds (1223g), all from a single vessel, a hooked-rim mortaria. Only two Verulamium sherds were identified, which is perhaps fewer than might be expected for an assemblage of this date, since products from this industry are commonly found on Early Roman sites in the region. The paucity of such wares may, therefore, be related to supply networks, with the site receiving products from elsewhere instead.

Several features had Roman pottery alongside later material (e.g. F. 6, F. 10 & F. 28; 120 sherds/1913g in total). In some cases this material was residual; however, there were a number of examples where only the upper fills contained later pottery, which was often due to truncation by a later feature. This implies that the feature in question was probably Roman in date with a spread of intrusive later material.

Seven other later features contained Roman pottery, although in all cases they included less than ten sherds, with those generally being small and abraded. The pottery followed the same trend as seen with the non-residual material, dating between the mid-first and third centuries AD. Interestingly, only one later feature, F. 37, had residual Iron Age pottery, with three 'Late'-type sherds (60g).

A variety of vessel-forms were identified, although the majority of sherds were non-diagnostic (c. 62% of all sherds). Jars were the most common form, representing 78% (see Fig 12). When the pottery is divided into Iron Age and Roman forms, a similar pattern can be distinguished: jars dominating with bowls and beakers representing a similar percentage of both assemblages, although obviously mortaria and flagons were not part of the Iron Age repertoire.

Perhaps a more useful division of the pottery is to examine the proportions of coarsewares and finewares. Coarseware vessels comprised c. 73% of all pottery, with the remainder being finewares. When the pottery is divided by date, coarsewares comprise c. 69% of the Late Iron Age wares, 56% of Late Iron Age/Early Roman and 80% of the Roman wares. Imports constituted only 2.6% of the total assemblage, comprising 4.9% of the Late Iron Age/Early Roman wares and 3.1% of the Roman assemblage.

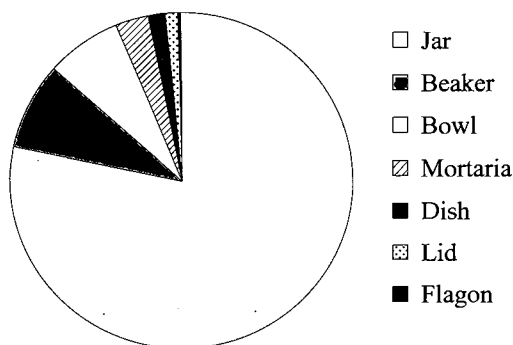


Figure 12. Iron Age and Roman vessel-forms by count (excluding non-diagnostic sherds).

The assemblage is potentially very significant when seen in its wider context. Leaving aside the small number of Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age sherds, which only offer a glimpse into occupation on the site during the first half of the first millennium BC, the bulk of the Castle Street material dates to the Late Iron Age and Early Roman Period, and is in many ways an atypical assemblage of this period from the area.

Alexander and Pullinger (2000) suggest that Late Iron Age activity in the area probably began in the late first century BC. The pottery recovered from Castle Hill supports this, with little evidence of activity prior to the Late Iron Age. The virtual absence of handmade sherds within that component of the assemblage is intriguing and distinguishes it from other contemporary sites in Cambridgeshire. Although having a high percentage of wheel-turned/-thrown vessels is characteristic of Late Iron Age assemblages from the south of the county, these generally still have a clear handmade component (see Webley & Anderson 2008). The paucity of handmade wares at Castle Hill, therefore, suggests a community that only produced and used wheel-turned vessels prior to the Roman Conquest.

There are a number of Late Iron Age/Early Roman finewares and imports, which make up a significant percentage of the overall assemblage (finewares totalling 36%). This composition differs from the pattern usually seen in assemblages of this date in Cambridgeshire, with the exception generally being cemetery contexts (e.g. Webley & Anderson 2008, 74–5). The imports in particular demonstrate that the site had access to an established trade network, receiving goods from a variety of sources in Britain and beyond from an early date. This is in marked contrast to the vast majority of contemporary rural sites in Cambridgeshire, which show little evidence for wider trade access, with even the arrival of fully 'Romanised' pottery seemingly not occurring on some sites until well after the Conquest.

There are problems in trying to date the Early Roman pottery more specifically than 'mid- to later first century AD'. Despite the presence of Samian, and a small number of other imported wares (as well as local fabrics such as Foxton), the quantity/condition of the material and the mixed nature of many of the contexts makes more accurate dating difficult. Indeed, attempting to 'fit' this site chronologically within the framework established in *Roman Cambridge* is problematic, since the pottery cannot be neatly divided into their Claudian and Neronian, etc. groups. The issue of separating pre-Flavian from Flavian assemblages is a common problem on many Early Roman assemblages within the county.

The site's Roman pottery dates from the earliest post-Conquest Period, up to the second/third century AD, although the majority is mid-late first century AD, and shows a clear continuation of occupation from the Late Iron Age into the Roman Period. With the exception of a small number of sherds, primarily the Nene Valley wares, evidence of activity in the

second century AD was limited, with there being even less Late Roman ceramic evidence (third to fourth centuries AD). The paucity of later Roman wares is potentially significant, with only a very small number of sherds (30 in total) that could be broadly dated to the second to fourth centuries AD. There was no definite Late Roman pottery (third to fourth centuries AD), which suggests that a second- to mid third-century AD attribution is more appropriate for this material.

The later material was found both in Roman features and residually within later features. Two Roman pits, F. 6 and F. 7, both had some later material, but in all cases it was found alongside earlier Roman pottery. The Civil War ditch generated 27 sherds of Roman pottery in total, 11 of which were dated to the second to fourth century AD.

In order to understand the context of the Castle Street assemblage, it is necessary to consider other sites in the vicinity. Alexander and Pullinger's excavations produced over 250,000 sherds (see below); however, little detailed information on the assemblages is available, this being confined to basic data on pottery sources. There is no accurate information about the quantity and nature of Late Roman material from the area, thereby restricting the extent of any comparison. A series of third- to fourth-century features were excavated at Ridgeons Garden North, although this included a number of quarry pits suggesting that earlier areas of settlement activity had by then ceased to be occupied. Several large rubbish pits with later pottery (several thousand late second- to third-century AD sherds from Pit 26) were, however, also present and these were interpreted as evidence that later settlement 'flourished' in the area (Alexander & Pullinger 2000, 49).

Two Conquest Period assemblages from Cambridgeshire provide a relevant comparison as they can be considered 'rural' and may highlight the differences between town and country. The first was recovered from a Guided Busway-route site to the north of Longstanton, which produced c. 890 sherds of pottery (9,409g; see Collins & Dickens 2009). The second came from the Hutchison Site, Addenbrooke's, which had a very large assemblage of 20,876 sherds of Late Iron Age and Early Roman pottery, although much of it was kiln-derived (Webley & Anderson 2008). The most apparent difference with Castle Street is in the number of imported and fineware sherds, with Longstanton having no imports and the Hutchison Site only having a limited number of Samian sherds and one body sherd from an amphora. It may be argued that the overall lack of Samian (usually the most commonly occurring imported ware) at the Hutchison Site and Longstanton is a reflection of date, since the latter did not appear to continue after c. AD 60 and the bulk of the Hutchison Site's deposits were of pre-Flavian date. Castle Street had, however, several pre-Conquest imported wares, including North Gaulish pipeclay wares, thus demonstrating that this site had access to imported wares at a relatively early date. The paucity of imports at the

other two sites may be a result of the fact that each settlement operated within its own trade networks. This view is further supported by the difference in fabric types between all three sites, implying different sources and suppliers of pottery. The differences highlighted between these three assemblages demonstrate that the site at Castle Street, at least from the first century AD, differed from contemporary rural settlements.

A substantial quantity of Roman pottery (6,000+ sherds) has recently been recovered from numerous other sites in the area of Chesterton Lane Corner, the Cow and Calf and The Folk Museum, *etc.* (see above); however, most of the sherds from these excavations were residual (over 90%) and virtually no later prehistoric material was recovered. Interestingly, from their assemblages, just 50 sherds were dated as being Late Roman (third to fourth centuries AD), with a further 283 broadly dating to the second to fourth centuries AD; at most, this would only represent just over 5% of the collective material.

Other excavations in the hinterland of the town include the New Hall excavations (Evans 1996; Evans & Lucas forthcoming), which yielded a substantial assemblage of Roman pottery (168kg). This included only a small quantity of later prehistoric wares, while the Roman pottery showed evidence of occupation throughout the period. It, however, appears to have peaked between the mid-first to second centuries AD, with greatly reduced activity after AD 200 and similar pottery profiles were also found on the recent Trinity Hall Playing Fields and St Edmund's College Sites (with the latter also having a substantial Late Iron Age component).

There are only a small number of sites in the area that contrast with this pattern, including Vicar's Farm, West Cambridge. It produced an assemblage of c. 13,000 sherds of Roman pottery, of which the majority dated to the third to fourth century AD, when activity at the site is described as being intensive (Lucas 2002; Evans & Lucas forthcoming). Similarly, second- to fourth-century AD assemblages seem more widespread in the lower Roman town, east across the river, and have been recovered in the St John's 'Triangle' and Jesus Lane area (see Hartley 1960; Newman 2008; Monteil 2004).

Overall, the pottery from the Castle Street excavation is particularly useful for understanding the Late Iron Age/Roman transition in Cambridge. This is perhaps best expressed through its changing pottery forms, which reflects changes in technology and food consumption (and ultimately in social practices). That the Late Iron Age and earliest Roman component of the assemblage is different in composition to contemporary sites in the area suggests that the Castle Street's usage was more than a typical 'rural-type' settlement at this time, with the range of finewares and imports indicative of an elevated level of status and wealth. Otherwise, the paucity of Late Roman pottery at the site is intriguing and has implications for understanding the nature and function of the later Roman town.

Copper Alloy Small Finds

Adrian Challands with Martin Allen

The only metalwork that could be dated to the Conquest Period was a Colchester-type brooch (Fig. 13.1), retrieved from the Civil War ditch (F. 28). Despite its residual status, it is likely that this fibula originated from the immediate Conquest Period settlement. Otherwise, a single metalwork artefact was retrieved from the F. 27/F. 30/F. 31 enclosure ditch ([251]). Although badly corroded, it is probably a Roman dress-pin head, dated to the second century AD or earlier. Taking its context into account, it is most likely of first-century attribution.

Two additional objects were found that could be assigned to the Roman Period. One, a fragment of tweezers dated to the mid-first to fourth centuries AD, was found within the fill of F. 18 ([216]), the uppermost of the successive roadside ditch termini. The second artefact was a needle in good condition (Fig. 13.2), identified as no earlier than the second half of the second century AD and was retrieved from a Late Roman pit, F. 12.

The fieldwork yielded only two Roman coins, dated to the second/third and the third centuries AD. Both were residual, originating from the site's only late Saxon feature, F. 6, which also contained a quantity of residual Roman pottery.

Economic and Environmental Data

While its faunal assemblage was not particularly substantive, the site was intensively sampled for plant remains. In compensation for the paucity of environmental/economic data in *Roman Cambridge* (Alexander & Pullinger 2000), it is appropriate that their analyses are here reported in detail.

Environmental Remains

Anne de Vareilles

Twenty bulk soil samples were examined from the site's Iron Age and Roman features (219 litres; see Ten Harkel 2006a for methodology and nomenclature and full tabular listing of the environmental remains recovered). All archaeobotanical remains were preserved through carbonisation. Grains, chaff and seeds were common and, on the whole, were relatively well preserved. Most retained their characteristic shapes, though the richer samples have a higher proportion of puffed, broken fragments. The plant remains in the less abundant samples were not in an obviously worse state than those in the richer samples, which suggests that the low quantity of floral elements does not reflect post-depositional processes.

Late Iron Age

Three samples were taken from fills of the ditch F. 60. They contained cereal waste — hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare* s.l.) and spelt or emmer wheat (*Triticum spelta/dicoccum*) — from the final stages of crop processing, hand-sorting and possibly cooking. A high number of fat-hen (*Chenopodium album*) seeds may represent either cultivation of this edible plant

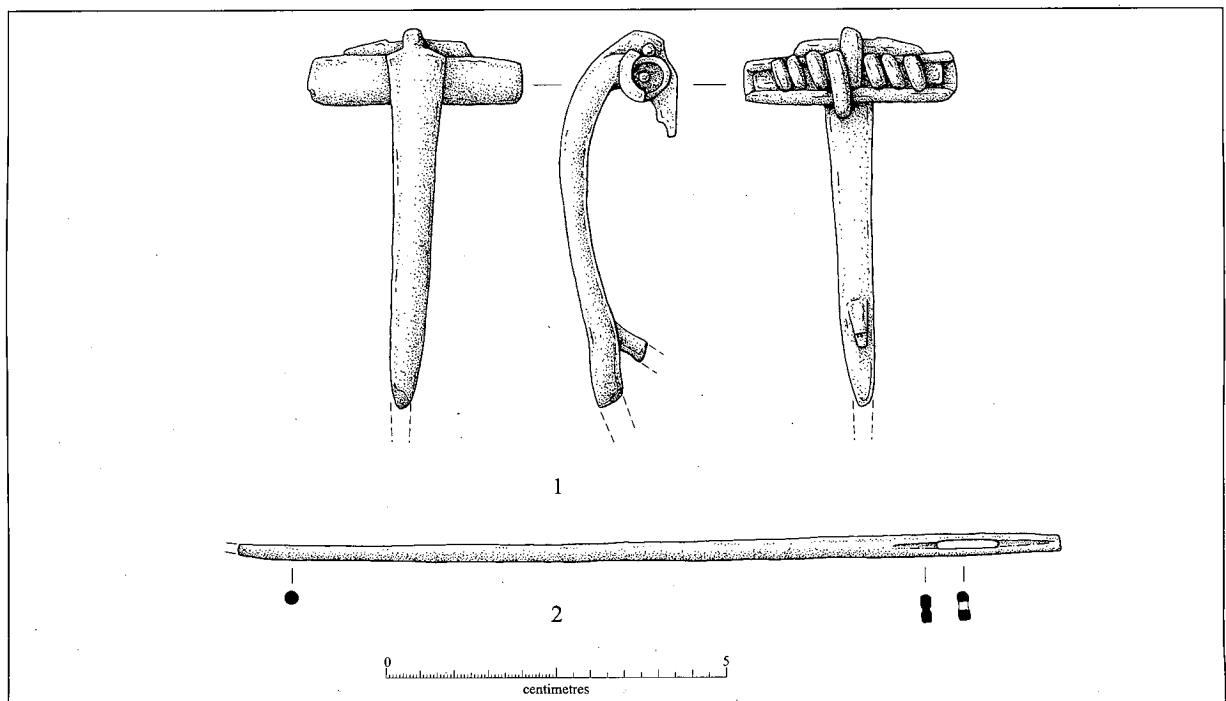


Figure 13. Copper Alloy Small Finds: 1) Colchester-type brooch ([298], F. 28); 2) Needle ([164], F. 12).

or its presence as an arable weed. The range of arable weeds in the sample indicates cultivation of two soil types: a light nitrogenous soil (indicated by white campion, *Silene latifolia*) and a heavy clay-rich nitrogenous soil (indicated by red bartsia, *Odontites vernus*). Damp soil conditions are indicated by the presence of blinks (*Montia fontana*), sedges (*Carex* sp. and *Claudium mariscus*) and spike-rushes (*Eleocharis* sp.). As sedges cannot tolerate arable conditions, these species may have been growing on damp field margins.

Conquest Period

Ten samples were taken from four features (F. 23, F. 27, F. 30 & F. 61). These contained a range of arable weeds and grains similar to the Late Iron Age ditch F. 60 and represent crop-processing waste. The presence of small wild plant seeds in F. 27 suggests that this material had not undergone final processing, as they would usually be removed at this stage.

The major crop present in samples of this period was spelt (*Triticum spelta*), with smaller quantities of hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare* s.l.). Rye (*Triticum/Secale*) may have been cultivated (single grains were recovered from F. 23 & F. 30). Oats were also present in minor quantities, but their rarity may indicate that they were not cultivated as an intentional crop. Free-threshing cereals (*T. aestivum* s.l.) are represented by six grains in F. 61.

As well as the wild plants of damp soils mentioned for the Late Iron Age features, stinking chamomile (*Anthemis cotula*) was found in four of the samples. This species is common in the Romano-British Period, where it indicates increased farming upon damp, clay-rich soils (cf. Jones 1978). The features continue to present a range of species from damp to better drained soils.

The most commonly occurring specimen in the Early Roman and Late Iron Age samples is clover (*Trifolium* sp.). This low-growing plant rarely reached heights over 50cm and its presence, along with other small plants such as red bartsia and lamb's lettuce (*Valerianella dentata*), suggests that the ears were harvested together with the straw.

Early Roman

Six samples were retrieved from three Early Roman features (F. 18, F. 22 & F. 46). Those from F. 18 and F. 22 both contained high quantities of grain, chaff and wild plant seeds, suggesting that the assemblages are fine-sieving waste. Within F. 22 glumed wheat was present in larger proportions than barley; one possible rye grain was found. Most of the weeds present could be arable weeds; great fen-sedge was represented by only a single seed.

Three samples retrieved from F. 46 saw lower numbers of grain seeds, although spelt and possibly emmer and barley were present. The samples were predominantly composed of micro-aggregated (heavily bioturbated) organic-rich topsoil or humus, abundantly mixed with charcoal powder. Charcoal improves the mineral composition of soils and would have made the sediment within F. 46 an excellent garden soil for growing vegetables and/or other crops. The same charcoal-rich sediment was found at the nearby Romano-British settlement at New Hall, where it seems to have been an extensive layer of industry-generated waste (Evans 1996; Evans & Lucas forthcoming).

Late Roman

The single sample from this period derived from pit F. 12. The eight whole cereal grains, four wheat glume bases and five whole seeds from this feature probably represent fine sieving waste. The five seeds are all of different taxa and would have grown on damp soils.

The fact that only the final stages of crop processing are represented at the site during the Late Iron Age and Roman Periods indicates that grain was being brought into the site partially processed, either for local consumption or surrounding markets. The mixture of seeds within the samples may indicate that crops from different areas were being processed in the same locale or that households acquired semi-clean grain from a number of sources. The location of any major grain storage remains unknown.

The appearance of small water-pepper (*Persicaria minor*) and the increase of legumes and black bindweed (*Fallopia convolvulus*) in features that extend into the Roman Period may point to worsening soil conditions or the expansion of cultivation onto poorer soils.

Faunal Remains

Vida Rajkovača

With the material displaying only moderate levels of preservation, the quantity of animal bones recovered totalled some 825 fragments; however, this report will be concerned with those pieces from firmly dated Iron Age and Roman contexts. In this contribution standard sources have been used for the identification (Boessneck 1969, Schmid 1972, Hillson 1999 and Halstead *et al.* 2002), ageing (Silver 1969, Payne 1973 and 1987, Grant 1982 and O'Connor 1989) and the measurement of species (Von den Driesch 1976; Von den Driesch & Boessneck 1974); details of methodology applied are kept with the project's archives. Taphonomic criteria including indications of butchery, pathology, gnawing activity and surface modifications as a result of weathering were also recorded when evident.

Iron Age

The majority of the bone from this phase was recovered from F. 60. This yielded 64 bone specimens, of which 62 (97%) could be assigned to element and a further 26 (41%) to species. The sub-set is comprised entirely of domestic species, where ovicaprids slightly dominate the assemblage (Table 3). This, coupled with the number of unidentified medium-sized mammal fragments, could indicate the importance of sheep/goat in the Iron Age. This is, though, a very small assemblage and any inferences can only be tentative.

Table 3. Number Identified to Species (NISP) and Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) counts for the Iron Age contexts (n.f.i. denotes that a specimen could not be further identified).

Taxon	NISP	NISP %	MNI
Ovicaprids	9	34.6	1
Cow	8	30.8	1
Horse	4	15.4	1
Pig	4	15.4	2
Dog	1	3.8	1
Cattle-sized	10	-	-
Sheep-sized	26	-	-
Mammal n.f.i.	2	-	-
Total	64	-	-

One sheep/goat humerus was aged to 0–10 months (Silver

1969). Three instances of butchery were recorded, demonstrating disarticulation or bone splitting for marrow removal. A complete cattle metacarpal was recovered from F. 60 (greatest length = 181mm) and the withers estimate came at 109–115cm, which are at the upper end of the size-range for Iron Age cattle (Harcourt 1979).

Conquest Period

The results in this case show some Iron Age traits, but also hint of Romanising aspects, such as the occurrence of pheasant that is thought to have been a Roman introduction. The assemblage is clearly dominated by livestock species and especially the three main 'food species', (Table 4) followed by horse and dog; Red deer and pheasant represent the only evidence for the use of wild resources at the time. Out of 240 bones analysed, 224 (93%) were identified to element and a further 71 (30%) to species.

The presence of sheep was confirmed based on a complete humerus and a mandible. The latter was aged to 6–8 years and a further three ovicaprid specimens were aged demonstrating that they were slaughtered in their first year. Two more ageable specimens were recorded: a pig scapula, aged to 0–1 years, and a cow femur that gave the age at death around its fourth year.

Table 4. NISP and MNI counts for the Conquest Period contexts.

Taxon	NISP	NISP %	MNI
Ovicaprids	37	52.1	3
Sheep	2	2.8	1
Cow	19	26.8	2
Pig	9	12.7	2
Horse	1	1.4	1
Dog	1	1.4	1
Red deer	1	1.4	1
Pheasant	1	1.4	1
Cattle-sized	28	-	-
Sheep-sized	132	-	-
Mammal n.f.i.	9	-	-
Total	240	-	-

Butchery was recorded on 11 bones (c. 5%), mainly ribs or vertebra, possibly implying 'pot-sizing' or separating left and right portions of meat. In addition, an example of bone-working was noted: an ovicaprid metacarpal shaft was slightly polished with wide shallow grooves (F. 27; [248]); this seems to have been used as a weaving or leather processing tool.

Early Roman

Animal bone from this phase was recovered from ditches and gullies, as well as from pits F. 43 and F. 46. The assemblage is, again, dominated by domesticates with a couple of wild species such as red deer and frog/toad, as well as a fish specimen (Table 5). The sheep/goat category accounted for six individual animals, followed by cattle and chicken with MNI count of two. The unidentified mammal fragment count also shows the prevalence of medium- or sheep-sized mammals on site.

It was possible to age nine specimens and the majority were identified as sheep/goat or sheep. Two groups could be recognised: one where the cull happened at the earlier stages (i.e. during their first year) and, the other, thereafter. Five aged ovicaprid mandibles fell into the first group, one aged to 2–6 months and four to 6–12 months; otherwise, an ovicaprid radius was aged to 1–3 years and a sheep mandible to 8–10 years. This early slaughter is somewhat

surprising since ovicaprids tend to be kept for various secondary products such as wool or milk. A number of elements allowed differentiation to be made between sheep and goat, and both species were identified within this subset (Halstead *et al.* 2002, 548). A case of partial anodontia was noted on a sheep maxilla where one of the premolars was missing.

Table 5. NISP and MNI counts for Early Roman contexts.

Taxon	NISP	NISP %	MNI
Ovicaprids	38	52	3
Sheep	4	5.5	2
Goat	2	2.7	1
Cow	11	15.1	2
Domestic fowl	6	8.2	2
Pig	3	4.1	1
Dog	3	4.1	1
Horse	1	1.4	1
Red deer	1	1.4	1
Frog/toad	4	5.5	1
Cattle-sized	33	-	-
Sheep-sized	94	-	-
Mammal n.f.i.	6	-	-
Fish n.f.i.	1	-	-
Bird n.f.i.	1	-	-
Total	208	-	-

Butchery practices identified mainly relate to meat removal and axial splitting for marrow extraction. The exception to this was a cattle scapula with the chop-marks characteristic of dry/brine curing (Dobney 2001). This is a typical feature of Roman butchery practices. In addition, a number of chop-marks were noted on ribs and vertebra, supporting the notion that carcasses were commonly hung in urban contexts in the Romano-British Period (Seetah 2006, 111). Another typically Romano-British characteristic that was noted in this sub-set is the use of a cleaver (*ibid.*, 109).

A chicken tarso-metatarsus with spur was identified as male (Cohen & Serjeantson 1996, 79). Based on a complete metatarsal, a shoulder height estimate could be made for the horse and it came in at 133cm or 13 hands; by modern standards this would be considered a pony.

Later Roman

Two features were dated to the Late Roman Period (F. 11 & F. 12) and only produced a small quantity of bone, with five specimens (14%) identified to species (Table 6). Cow is present with three, ovicaprids with one and there was a pike bone. Of 35 bones recovered, 13 (37%) had signs of butchery and the majority had been split for marrow extraction. A cattle scapula showed signs characteristic of dry curing: removal of the processus coracoideus and spina, with cut- or nick-marks on the dorsal aspect of the neck. The same scapula was damaged by a butcher's hook and indicates that it might have been suspended during a dry curing process.

Table 6. NISP and MNI counts for Late Roman contexts.

Taxon	NISP	NISP %	MNI
Cow	3	60	1
Ovicaprid	1	20	1
Pike	1	20	1
Cattle-sized	19	-	-
Sheep-sized	11	-	-
Total	35	-	-

The faunal material recovered from Late Iron Age

features did not demonstrate a great variety of species, but did yield some ageing and measurement data; however, the portion of the assemblage dated to the Conquest and Early Roman Periods showed a varied species-representation with there being evidence for the use of wild faunal resources (Table 4 & 5). Both sheep and goat were identified in these two sub-sets, with sheep being dominant. This could suggest that the sheep were being kept in larger numbers with the environmental conditions favouring sheep husbandry, though this is based on a small assemblage and must be taken with caution. High levels of sheep consumption in the Early Roman Period are considered to be an indication of a continuation of Iron Age foodways. King (1991) has described a 'gradient' of early Romano-British sites whereby the more 'Romanised' a site is, the less likely it is to have a diet high in sheep meat. He suggests that military and Romanised sites are likely to have higher proportions of cattle and, to a lesser extent, pig than rural sites still continuing with the Iron Age tradition (1999). These two sub-sets have, however, generated significant results gained from the analysis of the butchery practices. First, chop- and cut-marks were noted on ribs and vertebrae, supporting the idea that the carcasses were hung in Roman times; secondly, the use of the cleaver was demonstrated and, finally, characteristic butchery marks on cattle scapulae were indicative of curing. All these aspects are thought to be typically Roman (Seetah 2006), when butchers employed practices to speed the butchery processes as demand became greater. Also, a number of long bone shafts were split axially (longitudinally), possibly for processing of marrowfat. This type of butchery has been recognised at a number of Roman sites in the country (Maltby 1985), many of which were military in type. Some authors suggest that standard butchery practices were being established for the purpose of supplying the military and that professional butchers practicing in rural areas adopted this habit (Maltby 1989). As for the body part distribution in these sub-sets, there is an even representation of elements/parts of carcasses suggesting immediately local/domestic-level slaughter and consumption.

Discussion

It would generally have to be said that, as a whole, the archaeology of Roman Cambridge has something of an 'underwhelming' quality. Lacking deep stratigraphy and public/masonry buildings (the *mansio* and the Kettle's Yard rammed-footing aside; Alexander & Pullinger 2000, 39–40 and 255–6), and even having some industry apparently occur within its core, it could be questioned whether its designation as a 'town' is at all warranted. This is an issue that will be returned to below. Given this perspective, it is nevertheless appropriate that we begin the site's discussion with base-line matters: was there anything that distinguishes its early settlement-phases from other rural sites of the period and did they amount to any-

thing more than a developed farming complex?

Of the site's economic data, as discussed by Rajkovača above, skeletal-part representation within its faunal assemblage would not seem to indicate the importation of meat. Having said that, the Early Roman Period saw practices typical of more intense 'Roman'/'ised' butchery. Yet, while attesting to greater specialist processing, there is nothing particularly 'special' or characteristically urban in this, and it has now also been demonstrated on a number of rural settlements in the region (see Higbee forthcoming). Certainly, given the limited scale of the excavations (and the assemblage) we must be wary of over-interpreting its results. What is, though, of particular interest is the increase in sheep in the Early Roman features, when a rise in cattle-based production is generally held to be a hallmark of Romanisation *per se* (King 1999). There could be two interrelated readings of this: a lingering continuity of Late Iron Age economic 'lifeways' and/or a decline in the status of the area during the second half of the first century AD.

Concerning whether the early Castle Hill settlements were something other than just 'farms', more informative is the evidence of the site's plant remains, especially its arable weeds and wild plant assemblages. As discussed by de Vareilles, the Late Iron Age samples indicate cultivation on two types of soil. On the one hand, there were weeds of light nitrogenous soils, such as could have been potentially found within the immediate Castle Hill environs. On the other hand, especially in the Conquest Period samples, the weeds attest to cultivation on damp clay-rich soils. Indeed, the occurrence of sedges in both phase's samples, probably growing on the edges of fields, would certainly attest to wet soil conditions, which would not have been present on the hill-top. Instead, this points to the importation of partially processed grain, probably from West Cambridge's claylands and such 'producer' sites as Vicar's Farm. While this may not be unexpected in the case of Early Roman Cambridge proper, it is potentially of major significance for understanding the nature of its Late Iron Age precursor.

As emphasised by Andersen and Brudenell above, the frequency of imports within the site's Late Iron Age pottery assemblage further tells of the status of the wider settlement. To this could also be added the recovery of its Colchester-type brooch. Admittedly, as a single-find its presence could always be considered 'incidental'; however, as indicated in Table 7, it adds to the considerable corpus of first-century brooches recovered from Cambridge. As listed in that table (whose results are obviously contingent upon the quantity of fieldwork in each instance, but which cannot be readily qualified), lying on the northern fringes of the Aylesford-Swarling zone (see Hill *et al.* 1999), Cambridge would certainly rank as a significant local regional centre during the Late Iron Age/Conquest Period. Yet, it falls far short of the more major centres within its southern core area (e.g. Baldock).

In reference to Alexander's earlier excavations, Castle Hill's Iron Age settlement appears to have

Table 7. Relative frequency of coin and brooch recovery on selected sites.

Site	Iron Age coins coins	LIA/Conquest Period brooches
Cambridgeshire Fenland		
Stonea Grange (Jackson & Potter 1996)	61	48
Langwood Farm (Evans 2003a)	17	12
Camp Ground, Colne Fen (Evans <i>et al.</i> forthcoming)	2	16
Plant Site, Colne Fen (<i>ibid.</i>)	2	6
Isle of Ely		
Hurst Lane Reservoir (Evans, Knight & Webley 2007)	1	1
Trinity Lands (<i>ibid.</i>)	-	-
Prickwillow Road (Atkins & Mudd 2003)	-	2
Wardy Hill, Coveney (Evans 2003b)	-	-
South Cambridgeshire		
CASTLE HILL, CAMBRIDGE (A & P 2000)	8	33
Hutchison, Addenbrooke's (Evans <i>et al.</i> 2008)	5	17
Edix Hill, Barrington (Malim 1998)	4	2
Greenhouse Farm (Gibson & Lucas 2002)	-	4
North Essex/Hertfordshire		
Great Chesterford (Medlycott forthcoming)	50	50
Baldock (Stead & Rigby 1986)	50	44
Skeleton Green (Partridge 1981)	40	38
Puckeridge-Braughing (Potter & Trow 1988)	28	94

involved two types of enclosure. At Ridgeons Garden (Enclosure III) and Gloucester Terrace (Enclosures V & VI) were large circular settings, c. 20m in diameter, defined by ditches 1.50–2.60m across and 0.90–1.70m deep. Alternatively, at both the Castle Court (Area C) and Ridgeons Garden Sites there were substantial linear/rectilinear ditch systems, which at the latter occurred together with a series of roundhouses.

The (sub-)circular compounds would probably have been discrete enclosures in which roundhouses would have been set, and can, for example, be considered broadly equivalent to settings known at Longstanton or Shelford (see Evans *et al.* 2008, figs 3.16 & .23). Based on the fact that at both the Gloucester Terrace and Ridgeons Garden Sites the circular compounds truncated linear ditches, the argument could be advanced that the 'circles' were later. However, if anything, it is the linear systems that are more common to the Late Iron Age *per se*, with sub-circular compounds being more a Middle/late Iron Age phenomenon. The fact, moreover, that those rectilinear enclosures (I & IV) cut by the circular compounds apparently produced no dating evidence might rather suggest that they related to later Bronze Age field-system-paddocks, such as have been found in the grounds of New Hall/Murray Edwards College and Fitzwilliam College (Evans 1996 and Slater 2008). Only one pre-Late Iron Age feature was, however, apparently exposed in the course of the *Roman Cambridge* investigations — an 'Iron Age A' pit at Ridgeons Garden South (Alexander & Pullinger 2000, 117). Given recent precedent and the scale of the area involved, this negative recovery would seem most unlikely and the hill-top would surely have

seen pre-Iron Age usage. Having said that, and seemingly correlating with the *Roman Cambridge* results, no worked flint was recovered from the CAU's Castle Street Site (though 14 Late Bronze/Early Iron Age sherds were) and the lack of immediate water sources upon the hill proper may have dissuaded intensive usage.

The hill-top's *Late* Iron Age settlement would seem to have been a new foundation and was without an earlier, Middle Iron Age precursor. No material of that date was recovered from Castle Street or the CAU's St Edmund's College Site; nor for that matter is any mentioned accompanying the 231 Late Iron Age vessels illustrated from the pre-1990 investigations (Farrar *et al.* 2000, 117–30).² Based on this, Castle Hill would seem to have been the focal point of a major Late Iron Age settlement, extending over at least some 1.2ha.³ The study of its early fieldwork-phase pottery indicates that it was founded after c. 10BC and, resonating with Castle Street's imports, included a number of Gallo-Belgic stamped wares (*ibid.*, 117–8).

Having plotted the main features of *Roman Cambridge's* core-zone sites (Fig. 14) and reviewed the earlier results at length, what is strikingly apparent is that almost none of the boundaries appear to respect the axis of the *Via Devana* (Ditch 10 at Haigh's '88 Castle Street being one of the few possible exceptions; Alexander & Pullinger 2000, fig. 5.16); rather, it was the Akeman Street axis that was dominant. In a standard 'small town scenario', the *Via Devana* should, at least theoretically, have been the primary road (probably constructed by the military at the time of the Conquest) with other alignments being secondary and established in relationship to immediate



■ Iron Age ■ Roman

Figure 14. The Castle Hill-Summit Settlements, showing 2006 excavations in relationship to Alexander & Pullinger's main Iron Age and Roman features (grey-tone indicates UAD-plotted areas of excavation).

factors. How, therefore, do we account for this seeming variance in the case of Cambridge? As is obvious on Figure 14's 'real-space' rendering of the earlier findings, there is a remarkable degree of continuity of its Late Iron Age and Early Roman boundaries. This seems more than just a matter of vague respect, but involved the direct recutting of ditches. Indeed, it is clear that the Akeman Street axis — and probably the road/trackway itself — was established by the Late Iron Age; in other words, *it and not the Via Devana was the primary alignment* (see Alexander & Pullinger's indication of 'Lower road surface' on their 2000, fig. 2.13).

As shown on Figure 1, the *Roman Cambridge* volume's mapping would have the town's *Via Devana* pass through the northern half of the 2006 site. While, if pushed, the argument could be mounted that the gravels found in that area amounts to its route, this is unlikely due to the fact that no roadside ditches were present and nor did any metalling subside into or seal the earlier features that should have underlain it (F. 27/30 & F. 60). Even more telling is that the 2000 projection could not have connected with the road's recent Chesterton Lane exposure, at least not without markedly kinking. In fact, long scrutiny of the 2000 volume seems to provide no basis at all for ascribing the route of the *Via Devana* as it is there shown (see

Fig. 1). Indeed, it seems entirely contradictory to the evidence of the 1983 Shire Hall, Trench IV exposure, as the evidently contemporary ditches lying north of the F12 cellared building — located at what should be their *Via Devana*/Akeman Street junction — all respected and lay at right-angles to the latter route (Alexander & Pullinger 2000, fig. 4.9).

Within the 2006 site there can be little doubt that F. 33 represents the south-westward continuation of the F. 18 (*et al.*) roadside ditch (which itself is undoubtedly the extension of the County Unit's earlier exposed, frontage ditch at 68–70 Castle Street). What is particularly significant, apart from the apparent interruption of its length (implying cross-ditch access to roadside properties), is the southward kinking in its alignment that directly orientates it with the Chesterton Lane length. Having its route on this line the road should have passed directly through Alexander's 1956 Law Courts Site. The fact that was not detected there is explicable given that very little was found on that site as whole, largely due to its terrace-related truncation (Alexander & Pullinger 2000, 12).

Before progressing, three further points should be made concerning the Cambridge principal axes. The first concerns the *Via Devana*'s apparent southward kinking within the area of the 2006 site (as opposed to further westwards at, for example, its Akeman

Street crossing), as this suggests that the divergence occurred in relation to topography and the break of slope down from the summit of Castle Hill proper. The second point concerns the above-mentioned paucity of features that seem to have aligned with that route. In truth, that can only be said of the western Castle Hill-summit area as too little excavation has occurred across the lower eastern slope of Roman Cambridge to determine alignments there; it could well be that the *Via Devana's* axis was dominant within that half. The final point relates to the fact that in reviewing *Roman Cambridge's* data, it is difficult to accredit any real excavation evidence for any cross-roads/-streets coming off of the Akeman Street axis in the north, and this makes it hard to accommodate the New Hall Road/Margery 231 route. Running at right-angles to Akeman Street, it also should have been 'earlier' and, if projected, would have met Akeman Street at approximately where *Roman Cambridge* has the Godmanchester Road join it (cf. Fig. 1 with Evans 2000, fig. XII.5). If this were the case, it would have criss-crossed with the route of the *Via Devana* as established here. For the moment this is unresolved, but a number of explanations seem possible: either the New Hall road met the line of the *Via Devana* just before what became the location of the 'North Gate' or that much of the settlement's central core saw extensive gravelled yard-type spreads (as seems to be

hinted at from a number of Alexander's phase-plans) and, accordingly, the New Hall road may simply have been 'lost' amid this widespread metalling within the cross-roads area.⁴

One advantage of the modern 'control' of the Castle Street excavations is that it provides a yardstick by which to gauge Roman Cambridge's artefact densities and, therefore, potentially appraise its settlement status. Factoring the assemblages from its c. 60m² area up to the c. 8.6ha of the walled Roman town implies that it should have some 1.6 million pottery sherds of the period and more than 2850 coins. Of course, this is only a most crude measure: the settlement's margins may have seen less dense activity, while other areas (e.g. the lower riverside slope) may have had much higher levels.

Another means of gauging Roman Cambridge's intensity of settlement is by the excavation-area densities shown in Table 8. This was first compiled to determine the ranking of Colne Fen's great Camp Ground complex (see below) and its figures are obviously contingent upon diverse excavation techniques; particularly relevant for our immediate purposes is the near 100% excavation of features that town archaeology usually involves as opposed to less intensive rural site sampling. Nevertheless, when factored to hectare-densities, the quantity of material recovered from the *Roman Cambridge* sites — the pre-1990

Table 8. Comparative Roman site finds densities, with emboldened numbers indicating factored per-hectare densities.

Originally assembled to evaluate the status of The Camp Ground, detail concerning the compilation of the table's data appear in the forthcoming Colne Fen, Earith volume (Evans *et al.* forthcoming). The Rural Settlements data is drawn from the Little Thetford, Ely (Lucas & Hinman 1996; Evans 2003b, 248, fig. 127), Prickwillow Road, Ely (Atkins & Mudd 2003), West Fen Road, Ely (Mortimer *et al.* 2005) and Haddon, Peterborough (Hinman 2003) Sites, whereas the Major Farms category encompasses Orton Hall Farm, Peterborough (Mackreth 1996), Vicar's Farm, Cambridge (Lucas 2002; Evans & Lucas forthcoming) and Langdale Hale, Colne Fen, Earith (Evans *et al.* forthcoming); Stonea's data is derived from Jackson and Potter's 1996 volume, with the Snow's Farm Shrine, Haddenham having Evans and Hodder 2006 as its source and, Cambridge, Alexander and Pullinger 2000. Note that of all these sites, after Cambridge, Orton Hall Farm would have the highest density of pottery at 29,333 sherds per-hectare.

	Rural Settlements	Major Farms	'Centres'		Shrine <i>Snows Farm</i>	Town? <i>Cambridge</i>
			<i>Camp Ground</i>	<i>Stonea</i>		
Excavated Area (ha)	0.4–2.5	1.5–1.8	5.1	1.5	0.3	1.2
Pottery	1833–7000	10,805–44,000	66,801	30,874*	2639	252,200
	2500	15,013	12,996	20,583	8709	210,167
Bone	1328–2967	12,153–18,287	38,995	18,676	32,933	n/a
	2305	9206	7587	12,450	108,679	
Coins	7–81	63–303	1546	178	74	247
	18	101	301	119	244	206
Small Finds	5–24	20–47	87	73	17	95
	18.6	19.6	16.9	48.7	56.1	79.2
Glass	0–7	13–90	40	72	9	32
	1.45	28.6	7.8	48	29.7	26.6
Styli	0–1	0–1	6	2	-	1
	0.2	0.4	1.2	1.3		0.8
Lamps	-	1–7	-	-	-	1
	-	1.5	-	-	-	0.8
Querns	1–28	7–162	201	23	2	18
	6.1	41.8	39.1	15.3	6.6	15

excavations that collectively extended over only c. 1.2ha — can be considered high. Indeed, given the lack of metal-detecting its coinage levels are certainly 'respectable'.⁵ It has, in fact, the highest density of small finds and its pottery values seem staggering, all of which challenges what otherwise seems to be the 'modest' character of Roman Cambridge's archaeology. Yet, while its density figures seem appropriate to a 'small town-level', this need not necessarily imply that Roman Cambridge was in any way particularly 'urban'. Indeed, as matters currently stand, it is other criteria (i.e. 'non-urban') that variously bracket and characterise Roman Cambridge's sequence: its early 'fort', late defences and second-century shrine complex.

Only one artefact of military attribution has been recovered from any of the sites: the iron calthrop from Shire Hall, 1983 (Trench IV, F156; Alexander & Pullinger 2000, pl. XVII.151). Taylor, in *Roman Cambridge*, admits that the evidence for the early fort is far from conclusive (2000, 77). Dating to Flavian times, it seems unlikely that the army would then have been in residence (unless one resorts to Boudiccan Rebellion-aftermath arguments). Albeit impressive, its 'V'-shaped ditch (3.60m wide and 1.50m deep; *ibid.*, 36, fig. 3.6) cannot be held as a distinctly 'military-type'; a major enclosure with a boundary of comparable size and form was found extending under New Hall, but there seems to be no particular reason to ascribe it a military function (Evans 2000, Enclosure B, fig. XII.4). Also of relevance is that when the Ridgeons Garden North's main Iron Age and Early Roman features are plotted together (Fig. 14) comes the realisation that the arrangement of the earlier, Late Iron Age boundaries effectively closes the 'square' of the later putative fort and suggests that there are unappreciated complications within its sequence; this seriously undermines any role of an early fort.

Although the second-century shrine complex at Ridgeons Garden South/Comet Place, with its array of votive animal deposits and later ritual shafts (with their dog and infant burials), certainly attests to cult activity (see Taylor 2000, 78–80), this does not provide any kind of *raison d'être* for 'the town' as a whole. There is, for example, no real grounds to see it as any kind of major ceremonial centre, as has been proposed for Verlamion/Verulamium and other large Hertfordshire settlements (see Bryant & Niblett 1997 and Haselgrove & Millett 1997).

Finally, there is the matter of Cambridge's fourth-century defences: effectively, its 'last act', but the one that seems to attest most convincingly to its town status. Here it is important to realise that a number of very large Roman settlements, equal to and even exceeding Roman Cambridge, have recently been investigated within Cambridgeshire. Of these, perhaps the most relevant is the first- to early fifth-century barge-port, The Camp Ground, at Colne Fen, Earith (Evans & Regan 2005; Evans *et al.* forthcoming). Extending in total over some 7.4ha and having more than 60 buildings within the c. 5ha of it that was excavated in 2001–2, during the third century a

polygonal embanked enclosure was cast up around its core-area. While perhaps embanked for the purposes of taxation and/or flood defence, if its banks were hedge-capped it might well have also served as a defended perimeter generally (see also Site 19 at Longstanton, at least two of whose sides may have been similarly protected; Evans *et al.* 2008, fig. 3.22). In *Roman Cambridge* Taylor noted that Cambridge's Late Roman defences might be viewed in the manner of the Saxon Shore forts (2000, 82–3). The crucial point here is that this may have had little to do with the actual character or scale of Cambridge's Roman settlement *per se*, but was rather determined by its hill-top topography. If, once a decision had been made that one of the settlements within the area of the south-western Fens was to be defended (perhaps to ensure Car Dyke-transported grain supply), then of the region's major settlements only Cambridge would have been readily defensible; The Camp Ground, Stonea or Waterbeach/Horningsea's locales all, for example, being too low-lying and without sufficient relief for this purpose.

Weighing the evidence, whether Roman Cambridge amounted to a 'town' cannot be readily adjudicated. Certainly it is tempting to see it as no more than a significant Late Iron Age centre and Early Roman cross-roads settlement, that subsequently — due to immediate topographic factors and broader political and historical circumstances generally — happened to be later defended. Yet, aside possibly from its finds densities, there remains one other factor that leaves it as a serious 'town-candidate' and that is the evidence of its apparent *street grid* (see Streets 1–3 on Fig. 1), as this kind of layout would not be normally found on rural and/or roadside (-only) settlements.

While surely destined to attract further speculation, pending more detailed review of the earlier excavation results and further excavation, the jury must unfortunately remain out on the issue of Cambridge's status as a Roman town. This situation is unlikely to be rectified in the near future. As is strikingly apparent in *Roman Cambridge's* figure 1.1, upwards of a third of the walled hill-top settlement's archaeology was destroyed, to varying degrees, by development during the latter half of the last century with only minimum excavation. In truth, there were only three major excavations prior to the 1980s — Ridgeons Gardens/Comet Place, Castle Row and the Law Courts — and, otherwise, only very limited trench investigation (the 'fracturing' of its archaeology seeming all the greater due to Alexander's application of a 'Wheeler box' digging technique). This is perfectly understandable given the conditions of the day. What must, in hindsight, be considered a disaster is the scale of the destruction wrought by the expansion of the County Council's Shire Hall facilities during the 1980s, when very limited excavation took place. Approaching nearly a quarter of Roman Cambridge's hill-top, with it was lost the one recent opportunity for sufficiently large-scale excavation to come to terms with its sequence. Since then, the area has only seen small-scale interventions and, relative to which,

only the 2006 Castle Street Site can be counted as a significant excavation. Given the nature of the area, this situation — and, with it, our state of knowledge of its early settlements — seems unlikely to change in the foreseeable future.

Acknowledgements

The fieldwork phase of the Castle Street excavation was directed by Letty Ten Harkel and, at the Unit, was managed by Robin Standring and Christopher Evans. Many thanks must go to the developer, Ashwell's Homes and especially Nick Jones their project manager, and also Andy Thomas who monitored the work on behalf of the County Council. It is a pleasure to be able to acknowledge the efforts of the CAU's excavation and post-excavation teams. This paper's graphics are by Andrew Hall, with Vicki Herring and Bryan Crossan; Grahame Appleby greatly assisted with its editorial production.

Managed by Emma Beadsmoore (CAU) and David Emond (RH Partnership Architects), Jacqui Hutton directed the Murray Edwards College fieldwork, and we are grateful for the co-operation of the College's fellowship and its bursar, Nicholas Wright.

Alison Dickens provided access to the City's UAD intervention-mapping. Evans is grateful for now long-term mulling over of Cambridge issues with John Alexander, Stewart Bryant, Colin Haselgrove and Martin Millett, and thanks Maria Medlycott for providing a preview of her forthcoming Great Chesterford volume. Finally, although matters relating to Roman Cambridge have been greatly furthered by discussions with Steve Macaulay, this paper has not benefited from the results of his and Evans & Mills' forthcoming Horningsea study (J. Evans *et al.* forthcoming).

Sadly, just before this volume went to press, the news was received of John Alexander's death. A good friend and colleague, with characteristic insight, charm and good-humour, since the '50s he more than any one else fostered the 'archaeology of the Cambridge region'.

End-notes

1. This is as opposed to the rather cartoon-like quality of the town-wide phase plans in the 2000 volume, which comparison shows has up to 10–15m displacement in the plotting of major features; compare, for example, Figures 1 & 14's positioning of the Huntingdon/Godmanchester Roads' 'North Gate'. Equally, by this displacement the line of Akeman Street and Alexander and Pullinger's southerly Street 5 are probably directly connected.
2. Given the manner of percentage-presentation of vessel-forms (Farrar *et al.* 2000, 118), this would appear to equate to some 600 pottery EVEs; compare this to Castle Street's 2.4 EVEs only of Late Iron Age wares (see Table 1 above).
3. If the hill-top area's Late Iron Age occupation extended south-westwards to conjoin with the St Edmund's College settlement of that date, then it would have covered as

much as c. 3ha. Certainly, it does not extend continuously as far west as is depicted in *Roman Cambridge's* figure 7.1; the Iron Age occupation at both New Hall and Marion Close was evidently discrete (Evans 2000 and Evans & Lucas forthcoming).

4. Another alternative is that if east of its New Hall exposure the road's line kinked somewhat southward, then it might equate with the metalling shown flanking the northern side of the earlier, would-be fort (Alexander & Pullinger 2000, fig. 3.5).
5. Employing *Roman Cambridge's* coin-list (see Sekulla & Thoday 2000), locally its densities would seem far higher. Fifty-four coins are attributed to Shire Hall's Trench VI/Car Park's c. 195m²-area (see Alexander & Pullinger 2000, 15, figs 1.1 & 1.7 and 2.13). Dug in 1983 (presumably then aided by metal-detecting) and sited adjacent to the settlement's main cross-roads, this would equate to 2754 coins per hectare.

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Proceedings Volume XCIX, 2010

Price £12.50 for members, £14.50 for non-members

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