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# Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society

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(incorporating the Cambs and Hunts Archaeological Society)

Volume XC  
for 2001



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# **Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society**

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**Volume XC  
for 2001**

Editor Alison Taylor

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## Editorial

Last year's Proceedings followed the theme of landscape history and this one is even more tightly focused, concentrating on religion in Cambridgeshire in the last 2000 years. This is in celebration of the Millennium (which we all know is really this year). It also gives us a chance to show the breadth of the Society's approaches to the past, for papers include orthodox archaeological excavation (of a Romano-Celtic temple), a more unusual exploration of objects from the dust beneath King's College Chapel, and a survey of the architecture and history of all the bell-frames in the (old) County. We are also able to set out the 1291 Valuation of the Diocese of Ely, which will be of great benefit to medieval historians, to take a look at evidence for the fascinating topic of Anglo-Saxon minsters and to examine the truth behind the legends of St Guthlac of Crowland. For something quite different we have a final paper on a 20th century mosque in Cambridge, as multi-faith culture returns to Britain.

*Alison Taylor*

## President's Address

The sudden death of Tim Potter early last year, and the sad loss of his scholarly interest in the Roman Fens, was acknowledged by CAS in two ways: through the lecture by his colleague and fellow excavator of Stonea, Ralph Jackson, and through selection of Roman Cambridgeshire as the topic for the March conference. The publication of the British Museum's epic volume on their investigations at Stonea and of this Society's volume on Roman Cambridge provided a new level of knowledge against which many recent excavations can be compared. The conference on Roman Cambridgeshire revealed how some had made sense of this new data, fitting it into the context known from previous research and testing established models with fresh evidence. A number of common themes seemed to run through the papers that were delivered at this conference, most notably the importance of East Anglia as the bread basket for the Roman Empire, exporting grain to its garrisons on the Rhine and Hadrian's Wall, the need to store and defend this grain contributing to the development of town defences in the 4th century as the burden of taxation for the local population became increasingly oppressive.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society needs to stimulate such synthesis and debate because the present system of excavation and reporting controlled by the needs of modern economic development has become formulaic, a mechanistic response driven by a planning process with little regard to furthering archaeological research or rewarding academic endeavour. It is essential that CAS encourages active involvement in archaeology by its membership (both amateur and professional), and combines this with knowledge and experience of members who come from other disciplines. The Society needs to act as an intermediary to encourage exchange of information so that clarity can be established, particularly with regard to major research questions. Cambridge Antiquarian Society has been a lead organisation in the study and preservation of Cambridgeshire's heritage for the past 160 years; the Society began the collections that led to creation of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, and it was CAS who provided money for the first lectureship in Archaeology to be established at the University. Through its two annual conferences, its Proceedings and Conduit it is still the body that presents the results of excavations and other research to both the academic and public world, with dissemination of this information stretching to universities throughout the globe through its system of exchanging periodicals. Compared to such a record the recent vacillations in local government provision and legislative framework for protection of our heritage reveals how important it is to have continuity and democratic scrutiny. The Society is proud of its tradition of knowledgeable independence and must not be beguiled into believing it has no right to represent views at the highest levels when the need arises.

*Tim Malim*

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## A Romano-Celtic Shrine and Settlements at Little Paxton Quarry, Diddington, Cambridgeshire

Alex Jones

with contributions by Lynne Bevan and Roger White

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*The results of two stages of archaeological fieldwork at Little Paxton quarry, Diddington, Cambridgeshire, separated by ten years, are presented here. The first report describes the results of salvage recording by a Cambridgeshire County Council MSC team during 1986–7 at the site of a Romano-Celtic shrine. The shrine complex comprised a rectangular ditched enclosure containing a circular foundation-trench, interpreted as being for a cella, and a pit. The most notable finds included three bronze letters, a 'yoke-shaped' object and coins of later 3rd–4th century date.*

*The second report presents an interim summary of the fourth stage of investigations by Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit (BUFAU) on behalf of Bardon Aggregates Limited (now Aggregate Industries). An area of approximately 5 ha was excavated in 1997–8. The earliest, Neolithic-Bronze Age activity comprised scattered pits and ploughsoil scatters of flint artefacts. The Middle-Late Iron Age features were ditched enclosures, including possible stock-pens. In the mid 1st-early 2nd century (Phase 4) further ditched enclosures and rectilinear stock-pens were laid out.*

### The Romano-Celtic Shrine

#### Introduction

Salvage recording was undertaken by the Cambridgeshire County Council Manpower Services Commission (MSC) archaeology team, in advance of gravel extraction at Little Paxton Quarry (centred NGR TL 203657, Fig. 1A–B) in 1986–7. This report was prepared by BUFAU to integrate the results with the Unit's more recent excavations at the quarry, which includes two settlements of Romano-British date (Jones and Ferris 1994, Jones below).

The complex of crop-marked features including the shrine (Alexander *nd*; centred NGR 208659, Figs. 1B–2, Plate 1) is located 1.5km to the east of Diddington village, 0.5km to the west of the River Great Ouse. The shrine was first recorded as a crop-marked enclosure, measuring approximately 70m by 40m and with its long axis parallel to the river (Cambridgeshire SMR No. 1160a). To the west of the shrine is a north-south aligned stream-channel (not illustrated) mapped by aerial photography.

The most recent programme of archaeological investigation at the quarry, which commenced in 1992,

has investigated settlement and activity dating from the Neolithic to the Romano-British periods in the area to the west and southwest of the shrine (Fig. 1B; results summarised in Jones 2000). The Neolithic-Bronze Age was represented most widely by ploughsoil scatters of flint artefacts and by pits, some forming pit-circles (Jones 1995). The more extensive Mid-Late Iron Age settlement remains comprised nucleated farmstead enclosures (Jones 1995, and Jones below), and a single, square barrow (Jones 1998). The earlier of the two excavated Romano-British settlement complexes was located to the east of the shrine. The settlement comprised a cluster of ditched farmstead enclosures associated with stock-pens, some probably continuously in use from the Late Iron Age (Jones below). The abandonment of this complex around AD 120 may have been associated with the establishment of a settlement 0.5km to the south. This later settlement was focused around a 'ladder' enclosure, which, together with later enclosures to its east, was occupied until the end of the Roman period. A function associated with stock control has been suggested for the 'ladder' enclosure (Jones and Ferris 1994), and the associated insect remains suggest this enclosure complex was set within open pasture.

#### Aims and Methodology

The purpose of the 1986–7 fieldwork was to record features in plan, and limited hand-excavation to provide details of profiles, fill sequences, and to recover artefacts. The site was fieldwalked in January 1996 by the Sawtry Archaeological Group, with limited results. The second stage of archaeological fieldwork involved observation and recording, following removal of the topsoil in May 1986. The shrine enclosure ditch soon became readily identifiable on the ground because of the growth of camomile along the ditch fills. The features identified were base-planned at a scale of 1:500. A 2m-wide section initially cut across the southern enclosure ditch was continued across the adjoining side of an internal circular foundation-trench. Full stratigraphic details survive for this cutting, although details of the other hand-dug sections, unfortunately, do not. Later, in 1987, the removal of the gravel 'hogging' into which the shrine features were cut, was

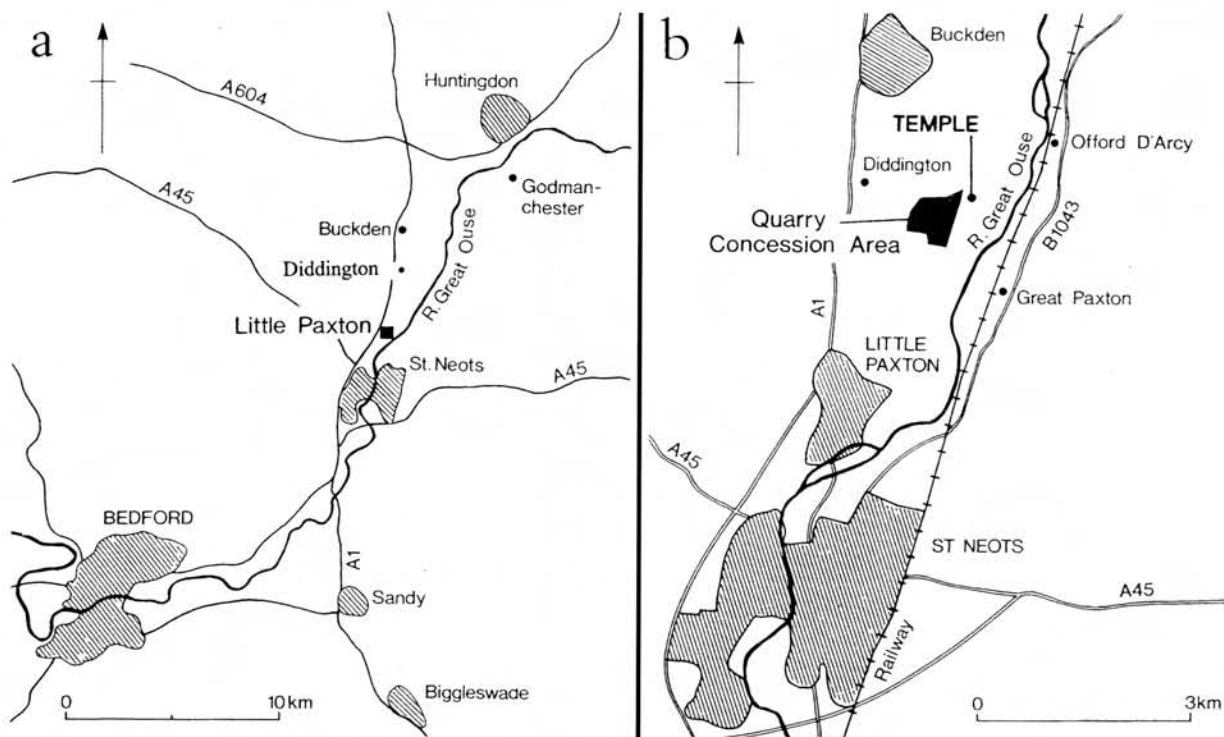


Figure 1. Location of areas evaluated and excavated.

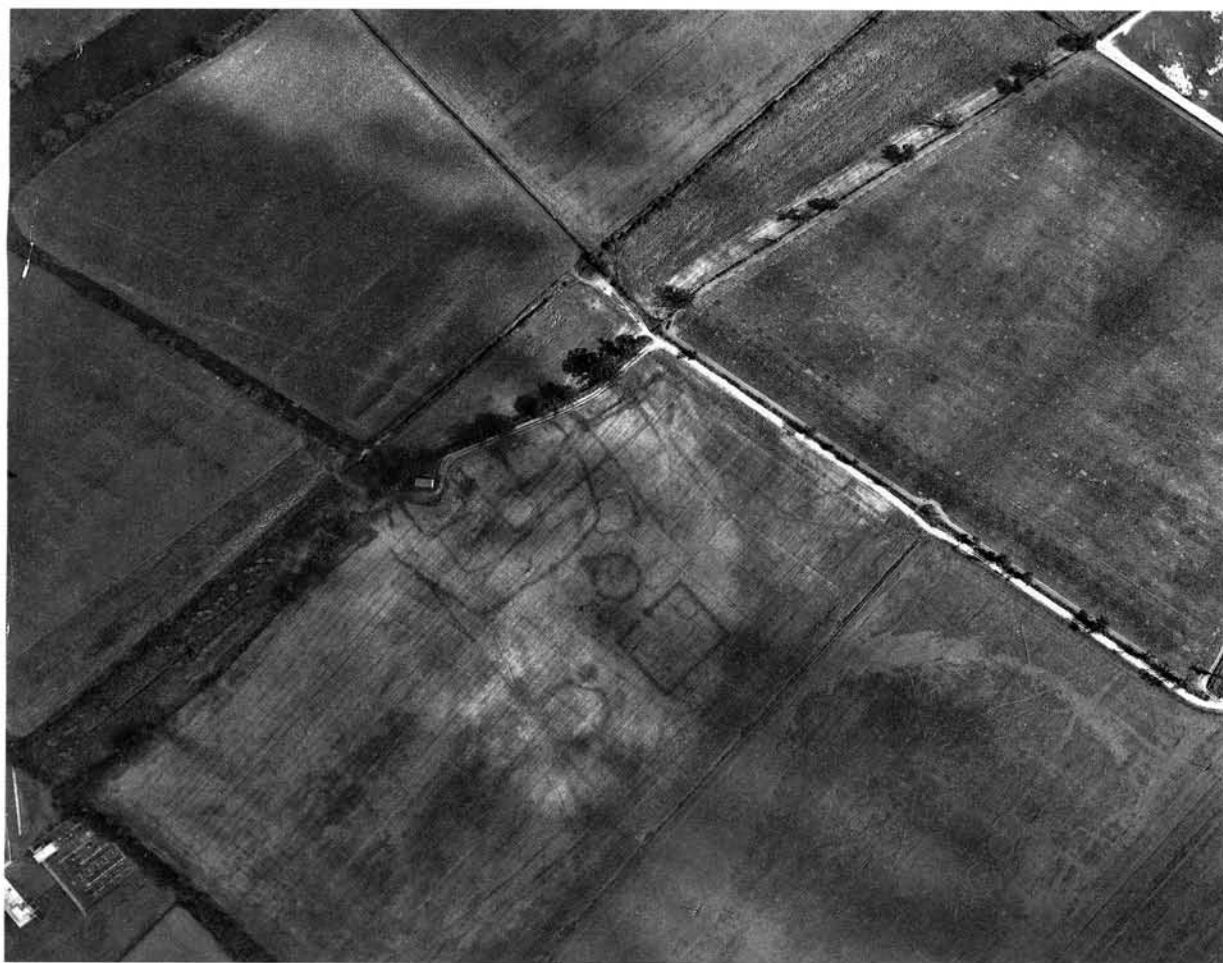
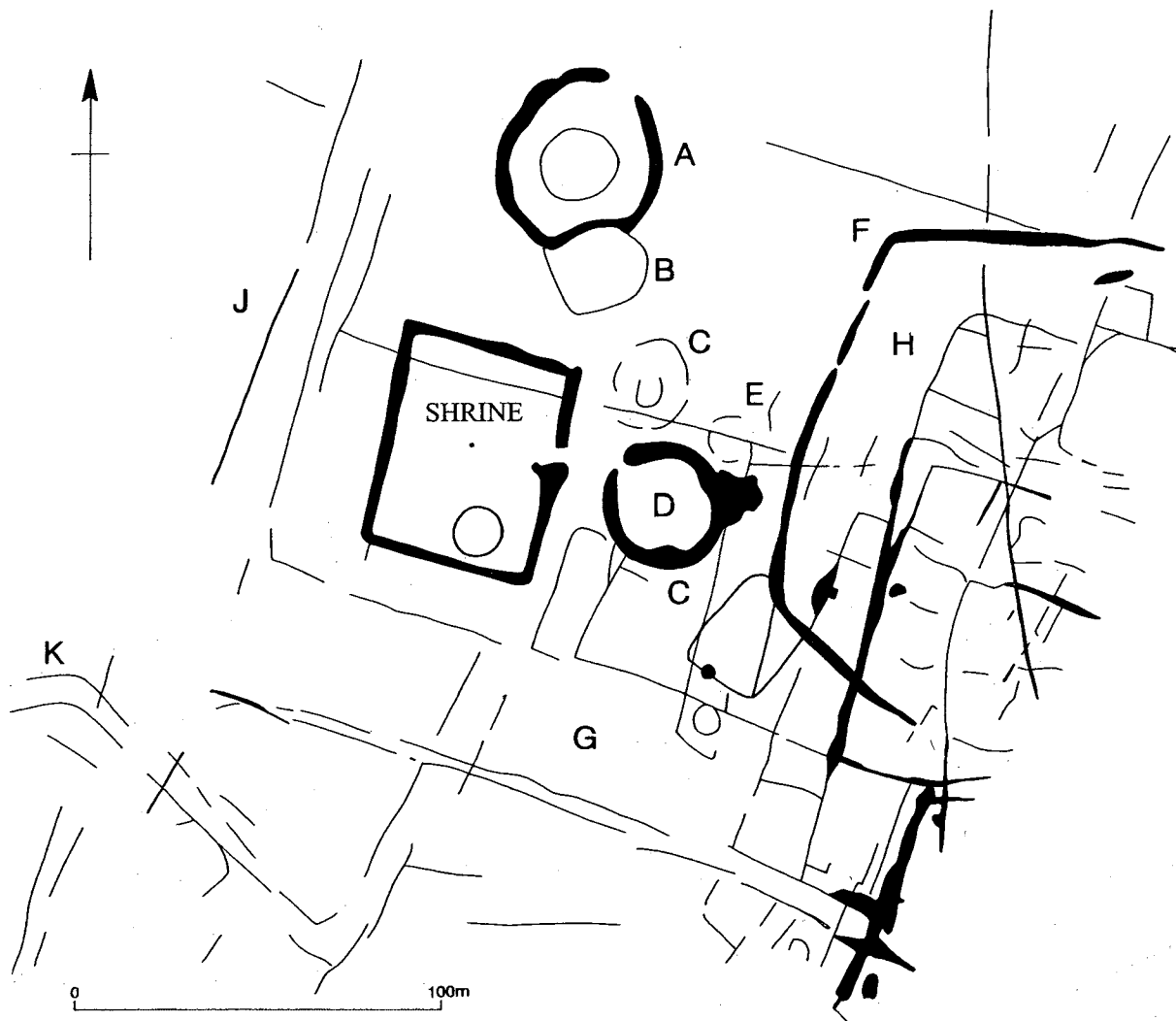


Plate 1. Aerial view of the shrine and surrounding crop-marked features from the northwest. Photo K17-AA90, Cambridge University Collection of Air Photographs: copyright reserved.



**Figure 2.** The shrine site and the surrounding features; the crop-marked evidence. (After Cambridgeshire SMR and Rog Palmer)

monitored, and further finds were recovered from the bases of features.

A brief report was prepared (Alexander nd) but no further analysis was undertaken. In view of the limited on-site investigations, this report should not be interpreted as an exhaustive account of the archaeology. Analysis of the associated pottery and animal bone is outside the scope of this report, and would probably provide further contextual evidence on activities at the shrine. The finds and archive for the shrine site are available in the Cambridgeshire County Council archaeological store.

## Results

### Description

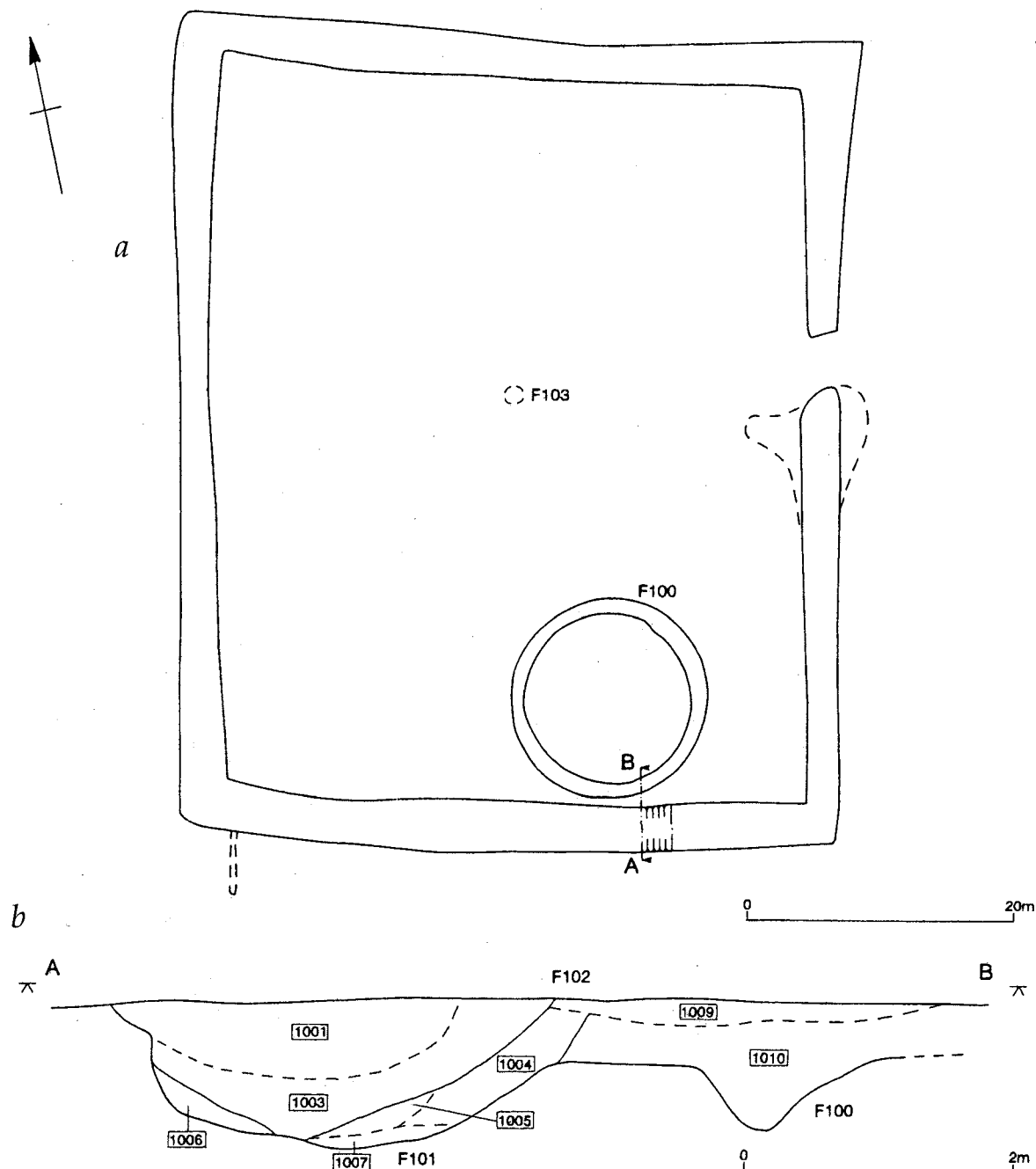
The cropmarked features (Fig. 2)

The shrine is located on the first and second gravel terraces of the River Great Ouse (SMR No. 11660a). It forms part of an extensive multi-phase palimpsest of cropmarked features located on the west bank of the river (Plate 1 and Evans 1997a, plate 1). The northern-

most feature, a 'deflected' ring-ditch (A), located atop a slight natural knoll, dated in the range 1840–1780 cal. BC (Evans 1997a, 19) is interpreted as a mortuary enclosure respecting an earlier cremation pyre (B) to its south. Further ring-ditches were located to the south (C–D and possibly E). The large, sub-square enclosure (F) to the east may be of Late Iron Age date (SMR No. 11660b). An L-shaped arrangement of possibly associated rectangular enclosures (G–H), the latter sub-divided into small possible animal pens or plots of probable Romano-British date, lay to the east and south of the shrine, following its alignment. A roughly east-west aligned ditch, following the orientation of enclosure group G, cut across the northern part of the shrine interior. Towards the southeastern corner of the shrine was a circular feature, measuring approximately 15m in diameter. Drove-way J, and part of drove-way K, roughly cut at right angles to the alignment of enclosures G and H, were probably contemporary.

The salvage recording (Fig. 3)

The features recorded were cut into the orange-brown



**Figure 3.** a) Plan of the shrine (the crop-marked enlargement of the southern enclosure ditch terminal is shown as a dashed line; the position of pit F103 is approximate).

b) Section through enclosure ditch F101-2 and circular foundation-trench F100.

sand-gravel (the 'hogging').

As recorded in plan after topsoil stripping, the enclosure measured a maximum of 63m by 51m (measured from the outside of the ditches). The enclosure ditch did not define a regular, rectangular shape. Its northern and eastern sides appeared to be slightly in-turned, and, as may be anticipated, the ditch was broader at the right-angled corners of the enclosure. The ditch measured an average of 3m in width and was cut to an irregular, flat-based profile. The excavated ditch section on the southern side of the enclosure measured a maximum of 3.3m in width and 1.2m

in depth. As first recorded by aerial photography, an entrance 4m-wide was located to the north of the mid-point of the eastern side. The cropmark evidence indicated that the ditch terminals were enlarged, particularly on the southern side, where a pit measuring 4m in diameter and 1.5m in depth (not illustrated) was hand-excavated in 1987.

Two features, a circular foundation-trench (F100) and a pit (F103) were recorded within the enclosure interior. The pit was located in the approximate centre of the enclosure, in line with the eastern entrance, and measured 1.2m in diameter. The circular foundation-

trench was 15m in diameter (measured from its outer edges). It was cut to a U-shaped profile, measuring a maximum of 1m in width and 0.5m in depth. Feature F100 was backfilled with a dark brown sand-clay-loam (1010), which also extended over the contemporary ground surface on both sides of the feature. No floor levels or other associated features or deposits were found within the circular foundation-trench.

The earliest cut of the enclosure ditch (F101) on its southern side was dug through the backfill (1010) of the circular foundation-trench (F100), and into the underlying subsoil. The primary fills of ditch F101 comprised a mottled dark yellow-brown sand-silt-loam (1007), and a dark yellow-brown clay-sand (1006) recorded on its northern side. Layer 1006 was overlain by a deposit of dark yellow-brown clay-sand (1004), recorded on the northern side of the ditch. Above was a layer of yellow-brown sand-silt-loam (1005). The mostly-backfilled circular foundation-trench (F100, 1010) was sealed by a shallow layer of dark brown sand-clay-loam (1009), which also extended to the south, overlying backfill layer 1004 in ditch F101. Backfilled ditch F101 was later recut (F102). This recut also truncated the extreme southern edge of the uppermost backfill (1009) of feature F100. Recut F102 was dug to an irregular profile, with a flat-based slot in its centre. The recut measured a maximum of 3.3m in width and 1m in depth and was backfilled with very dark grey-brown sand-clay-loam (1003), overlain by a deposit of dark brown sand-clay-loam (1001) which infilled the remaining hollow of the recut ditch.

#### Artefact summary

A total of 14 coins was recovered during salvage recording at the shrine, providing the main source of dating. With the exception of No. 3 none had contextual information, but they may have derived from features F100–F102, although this cannot be proven. The coins recovered may be dated in the range AD 261–c. 353. Nine coins may be dated in the range AD c. 261–275, including rare coins of Aurelian, and Severina, his wife. This chronological group notably did not include any barbarous radiates. The remaining five coins are dated in the broader range AD 286 – c. 353. This group includes coins of Carausius, Maximian, Constantine II, Constans and one of the House of Constantine. Two votive bronze letters ('S' and 'V') and part of a 'V' or 'M' were recovered from shrine ditch F103 (1003), together with a copper alloy 'yoke-shaped' object.

#### Interpretation

The rectangular ditched enclosure may be interpreted as a *temenos*, or sacred precinct (Rodwell 1980b, 212), as is also suggested by the recovery of three votive bronze letters. The proximity of the circular foundation-trench (F100), to the southern side of the ditched enclosure (F101–2) suggests that an internal earthen bank to the enclosure is unlikely if, as is suspected, the two features were originally contemporary. Alternatively, the Diddington *temenos* could have been enclosed by a fence, set within features F101–2,

such as at Hayling Island (Downey *et al* 1980). The excavated southern segment of the enclosure ditch (F101) indicates that it was recut (F102) after infilling.

The large pit cut into the southern entrance terminal at Diddington was recorded by aerial photography and excavation. It could have been a post-pit for a timber upright, as at Hayling Island (Downey *et al* 1980, fig. 14.1), and Woodeaton (Goodchild and Kirk 1955, 19), possibly forming a gatepost. Alternatively the pit could be interpreted as containing a votive deposit, as at Uley (Woodward and Leach 1993, 307), where a pit for the deposition of votive offerings (a *favissa*) was cut into a deeper ditch segment. An eastward-facing entrance is common nationally (Drury 1980, 59) among *temenoi*. At Diddington this entrance arrangement lay on the river side of the *temenos*, which might have provided practical advantages.

The circular foundation-trench (F100) defined an enclosed space interpreted as a *cella* (Wilson 1980, 7), which would have contained the inner sanctum of the shrine, where the cult object was situated (Rodwell 1980b, 212). The circular foundation-trench at Diddington measured 1m in width, a sufficient size to contain the footings of a load-bearing timber wall. An unusual feature of this *cella* was the apparent absence of evidence for an entry-gap. The *cella* trench appeared to be a continuous feature, possibly because the entry-gap may have been re-sited.

No tile was found at Diddington, suggesting that the *cella* roof was of thatch or wooden shingles. Another possibility is that the *cella* was open. The layer of dark brown sand-clay-loam (1010), measuring 0.3m in depth, recorded both on the outside and inside of the circular foundation-trench F100 could in part at least represent a floor or *in situ* occupation deposit. Another possibility is that this material was an alluvial deposit. The stratigraphy in the single recorded section at Diddington suggests the circular foundation-trench (F100) had gone out of use before the cutting of the primary enclosure ditch (F101). Alternatively, it is possible that feature F100 was contemporary with an earlier cut of the enclosure ditch, which had been completely scoured-out by ditch F101.

A number of circular *cellae* have also been recorded in Late Iron Age and Romano-British contexts, perhaps most notably at Hayling Island (Downey *et al* 1980), although the square or rectangular *cella* form is more numerous. Often a further, concentric wall outside the *cella* defined a surrounding ambulatory, used for ritual processions and the display of votives, and provided the characteristic Romano-Celtic plan. No evidence was found for such a structure at Diddington, although it could be represented by a feature such as a gravel path (eg at Collyweston, Building F, Knocker 1965, 57–8), which might not have been identified during salvage recording. Ambulatories performed more than a merely structural function — being sometimes used to restrict access.

The eccentric placement of the *cella* within the *temenos* is a notable feature of the Diddington site. A

similar, off-centre arrangement is recorded at Hayling Island (Downey *et al* 1980), and at Gosbecks (Drury 1980, fig. 3.3.12). This off-centre placement is usually explained by the siting of the *temenos* enclosure relative to a sacred tree, post, or stone, which may have been represented at Diddington by pit F103. Although no details of the pit fills are available, it is possible that this feature may have contained a standing stone, timber-post, or massive rotting tree stump. At Uley (Woodward and Leach 1993, 308, F19) Shrine XVI was built around a tree, possibly originally associated with a sacred grove. Central pits within *cellae* are found at Hayling Island (ritual post or stone), at Temple 8, Gosbecks Farm, near Colchester (Crummy 1980, fig. 11.13), and also more extensively, including shrines in Gaul, Germany and Czechoslovakia (Horne and King 1980).

### Artefacts

#### *Votive copper alloy objects*

*Lynne Bevan*

Three votive letters (Nos. 1–3, Fig. 4) and a yoke-shaped object (No. 4; Fig. 5) were recovered from the primary fill (1003) of the recut (F102) of the southern shrine ditch. The letters, comprising a 'V', an 'S' and the arm from a second 'V' or an 'M', were first described in Britannia by Hassall and Tomlin in their annual review of Roman inscriptions (1987, 367). The letters were all made from sheet copper alloy which has been bent into a 'V'-shaped profile to make them appear three-dimensional, presumably by being hammered over a wooden former. This type of letter appears to have been the most common among examples found, although cruder, flat letters are also attested. Occasionally the letters would have been gilded to make the effect even more impressive (Hassall 1980, 85).

There have been several discoveries of votive letters at shrine sites (Table 1), at some of which they are believed to have been sold, probably for visitors to formulate their own inscriptions and nail them onto

wooden plaques (Henig 1984, 147–148), or perhaps very basic inscriptions on plaques were sold ready-made. While the majority of letters have nail holes from being hammered into wood, there are instances of soldering the letters, for example at Great Chesterford (*ibid.* 1995, fig. 22:201, 47). The Great Walsingham letters may have been attached to leather (Bagnall Smith 1999, 32).

Most of the letters were found singly or in small groups, although seven to ten letters were found at Woodeaton and 45 letters and fragments of letters at Lydney (Bagnall-Smith 1995, 185). While none of the letters 'has ever been recovered in sequence and no inscription has been reconstructed' (Henig 1984, 147–148), 'presumably the dedications were usually very short and formal, merely recording the names of god and donor who had paid his vow — VS (L) LM' (*ibid.* 147–148). The example cited by Henig is a common abbreviation of 'VOTUM SOLVIT (LAETUS) LIBENS MERITO' ('paid his/her vow joyfully, freely and deservedly'), which was often further shortened to 'VSLM' (minus 'joyfully'), for example as seen on a miniature altar from Vindolanda (de la Bédoyère 1989, 155, fig. 94:f). Bagnall-Smith has suggested that some of the votive letters from Woodeaton had formed the inscription 'VSLM' (1995, 185). It is possible that the Diddington letters had been used to form this popular inscription, which was conveniently brief and versatile, since it could be used in connection with any vow or deity. Although this identification remains only a possibility, if the fragmentary letter is actually an 'M' (rather than a second 'V'), only the 'L' (possibly two 'L's'), is missing.

In contrast to the letters from Lydney, most of which are believed to have comprised a dedication to the aquatic god Nodens (Bathurst 1879, 13), it is not possible to ascertain the identity of the deity approached at the Diddington shrine. One possibility is that the letters were connected in some way with the 'yoke-shaped' object (No. 4, Fig. 5) found in the same shrine ditch fill. This object had been formed from a possible bracelet with knobbed terminals and was

**Table 1.** Find-spots of votive bronze letters

Site name	County	Reference
Aldeby	Norfolk	Edwards 1978
Brigstock	Northamptonshire	Wright and Hall 1972, 353
Great Chesterford	Essex	Miller 1995, fig. 22:201, 47
Colchester, Union House	Essex	RIB 198
Great Walsingham	Norfolk	Bagnall Smith 1999, 32 and pl. VIA
Hockwold	Norfolk	Green 1986, 70, no. 54 and fig. 43
Holbrooks, Harlow	Essex	Conlon 1973, 37 and fig. 4
Kelvedon	Essex	Wilson 1972, 331
Kidlington	Oxfordshire	Wright 1951, 140, <i>idem</i> 1952/3, 54
Ivy Chimneys	Essex	Hassall and Tomlin 1981, 379
Lydney	Gloucestershire	Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, 102, no. 8, pl. XXXIV
Pakenham	Suffolk	Hassall and Tomlin 1990, 371
Springhead	Kent	Wright and Hassall 1971 289
Woodeaton	Oxfordshire	Kirk 1949, 45, nos. 30–32; Goodchild and Kirk 1955, 28, nos. 1–5, fig. 10 and Illc

decorated with three pieces of metal (one each of silver, copper alloy and iron) arranged at intervals along its length. It appears to have been deliberately re-shaped rather than being bent and distorted in the manner of ritually-'killed' material, such as a bracelet from Lowbury, Berkshire (Atkinson 1916, 44, pl. XII, 35, Bagnall-Smith 1995, fig. 20, 195-196) and the miniature spears from Woodeaton, Oxfordshire (Henig 1984, fig. 70, 149-150, Bagnall-Smith 1995, fig. 8, 184-185) and Uley, Gloucestershire (Henig 1993, fig. 110 and fig. 115, 131-133). The regularity of the shape also argues against post-depositional damage.

The shape is problematic, since it may have represented a yoke, or perhaps was intended to suggest the face and horns of an ox or bull, or even a serpent. Seen in this context, it might have been regarded as a trans-

formed object, possibly to suggest an identification with, or an attribute of, a deity or a deity's attendant beasts - as opposed to being sacrificed to a deity as a ritually-'killed' object. Bracelets and rings were considered suitable gifts for deities (Henig 1984, 151). Bracelets were a common class of offering at many shrine sites, including Lydney and Uley where, together with toilet articles, they have been linked with 'fecundity and healing', largely perceived as female concerns (see Woodward and Leach 1993, 327-335 for full discussion). Subsequent research at Great Witcombe, Gloucestershire, has revealed a high number of bracelets which have been dated to 'the 3rd and 4th centuries' by their style of decoration (Bevan 1998, 86). It should be noted that the style of knobbed terminal is not typical of most Roman copper alloy brooches and neither is the unusual decoration in the form of three different metals which must surely have been significant.

Although it is not possible to definitively reconstruct either the inscription or the purpose of the 'yoke-shaped' object from Diddington with great confidence, nor to begin to comprehend the rituals carried out at the shrine and the ideology behind them, the copper letters appear to represent a medium for interacting with the gods which has a generally eastern geographical bias. Of course, the large collection from Lydney and the letters from the Oxfordshire sites are outside this general area, but the letters and the associated rituals do appear to have had a particular resonance and emotional currency in the east and southeast of Roman Britain.



Figure 4. The bronze letters



Figure 5. 'Yoke-shaped' object

## Catalogue (Nos. 1–4 are from feature F103, 1003)

- 1 'S'-shaped votive letter made from sheet copper alloy. The letter is made from one piece of sheet which has been bent into a 'V'-shaped section to make it appear three-dimensional. One nail hole is visible at one end and another in the centre of the letter. The third hole has been lost through slight damage to the other end. Length: 82mm, width: 10–16mm, thickness of plate: 0.5mm. Fig. 4.
- 2 'V'-shaped votive letter made from sheet copper alloy. The letter is in one piece, and has been bent into a 'V'-shaped section to make it appear three-dimensional. Two nail holes are visible, one at the intersection of the two arms and another at the end of one arm. The third has been lost as a result of slight damage to the second arm. Length: 78mm, width of arms: 12mm, thickness of plate: 0.5mm. Fig. 4.
- 3 Arm from a votive letter with a tapered end and terminal nail hole. The general shape and size of this fragment suggests that it might have originated from a second 'V', similar to No. 2 above, or from an 'M'. Length: 64mm, width: 14mm, thickness of plate: 0.5mm. Fig. 4.
- 4 Copper alloy ?bracelet with two oval terminals bent into a yoke shape, onto which three circular pieces of metal have been attached. Interestingly, the metals are all different, comprising silver, copper alloy and iron. Length: 144mm, diameter: 2mm. Width of metal attachments: silver: 2mm, copper alloy and iron: 1.5mm. Fig. 5.

*The Coins**Roger White*

Fourteen coins were recovered. The sample is too small to do any statistical analysis, especially since the context is so insecure, but there are a number of interesting features present in the group that are worthy of comment. The coins were generally in good to excellent condition, although some had surface corrosion locally, and all were legible. It is possible that coins of smaller denominations may not have been recovered due to the circumstances of salvage recording, especially since a metal detector was not used as an aid to recovery.

The most important point is that the group presents aspects untypical of even a small group of coins from a Romano-British site. There are no coins dating before AD 261, while the latest is of c. AD 353, they are of generally good quality, and there is only one irregular coin (Reece 1995). The limited date range is not completely unusual, but is *prima facie* evidence for a brief occupation of the site after a foundation in the mid-3rd century since ordinarily one might expect at least one or two coins of an earlier date than this, and the common issues of the 4th century are largely missing. Having said this, though, it is not impossible that a small group such as this would lack early coins and, in itself, this absence cannot be used to exclude the possibility of earlier occupation. Numismatically, however, the group is of interest for the lack of copies of mid-late 3rd century date (the so-called 'barbarous radiates'), while only a single example of an irregular coin of 4th-century date was found. Two thirds of the coins (nine in total) present in the group are of this date (c. AD 260–275), and of these two are rare coins of

## Catalogue (Nos. 9 and 11 are illustrated in Fig. 6)

All the material is unprovenanced, with the exception of No. 3 from the northern terminal of the *temenos* ditch.

1. GALLIENUS date: 261 diam: 21mm	denom: ANT mint: ML wt. 3.4g	cat: 5.1 462 die axis: 12	Obv: [GALLI]ENV S AVG Rev: PMTRPVIII[COSIIIIPP] wear: W/SW
2. CLAUDIUS II date: 268–70 diam: 20mm	denom: ANT. mint: _ wt. 1.7g	cat: as 5.1 77 die axis: 6	Obv: [IMP CL]AVDIVS AVG Rev: [ORI]EN[SAVG] wear: SW/W
3. CLAUDIUS II date: 268–70 diam: 20mm	denom: ANT mint: RM? wt. 2.9g	cat: 5.1 15 die axis: 6	Obv: [IMP]CLAVDIVS AVG Rev: AEQVITAS AVG wear: SW/W
4. TETRICUS I date: 270–3 diam: 18mm	denom: ANT mint:— wt. 2.6g	cat: 5.2 130 die axis: 7	Obv: [IM]PC TETRIC[VS PFAVG Rev: SP[ES AVG] wear: W/W
5. TETRICUS I date: 270–3 diam: 18mm	denom: ANT mint:— wt. 2.8g	cat: as 5.2 130 die axis: 12	Obv: [—] Rev: [SPES AVG] wear: C/C
6. TETRICUS I date: 270–3 diam: 17mm	denom: ANT mint:— wt. 2.7g	cat: 5.2 131 die axis: 6	Obv: [—TE]TRICVS[—] Rev: ?[SPES AVG] wear: W/VW

7. TETRICUS II date: 270–3 diam: 18mm	denom: ANT mint:— wt. 1.6g	cat: RIC V,2 255 die axis: 1	Obv: [CPE TETR]ICVS CAES Rev: [PIETA]S AVG wear: W/W
8. AURELIAN date: 270–5 diam: 23mm mm P	denom: ANT mint: SIS wt. 2.9g	cat: 5.1 247 die axis: 6	Obv: IMP [AV]RELIANVS AVG Rev: ORIENS AVG wear: SW/SW
9. SEVERINA date: 270–5 diam: 22mm mm _XXT; see Fig. 6.	denom: AUREL mint: TIC wt. 3.5g	cat: 5.1 9 die axis: 7	Obv: SEVERINA AVG Rev: PROVIDENDEOR wear: SW/SW
10. CARAUSIUS date: 286–9 diam: 22mm	denom: AUREL mint: RN? wt. 4.2g	cat: 5.2 639 die axis: 1	Obv: [IMP]C CARAVSIVS PFAVG Rev: FOR[TVNA] AVG wear: SW/SW (surface corrosion)
11. MAXIMIAN date: 305–7 diam: 29mm note: S F ITR for S F PTR – see Fig. 6.	denom: FOLL mint: TR I wt. 11.9g	cat: 6, 644b var die axis: 6	Obv: IMPMAXIMIANVSPAVG Rev: GENIOPOPV-LIROMANI wear: SW/SW
12. CONSTANTINE II date: 336 diam: 17mm	denom: — mint: CONS P wt. 1.5g	cat: 7, AR395; HK 399 die axis: 12	Obv: CONS[TANTINV]SIVNNC Rev: GLOR-[IAEXERC]-ITVS 1std wear: SW/SW
13. CONSTANS date: 347–8 diam: 16mm	denom: — mint: TR P wt. 1.7g	cat: 8, TR 196; HK 150 die axis: 6	Obv: CONSTAN-SPFAVG Rev: VICTORIAEDDAVGGQNN wear: SW/SW
14. H. of CONSTANTINE date: 353+ diam: 11mm	denom: — mint:— wt. 1.3g	Obv: [—] cat: c. of ? die axis:—	Rev: [-] FH3? wear: W/W

### Conventions

#### Mints

AR: Arles; ML: Milan; RM: Rome; RN: Rouen; SIS: Sisica; TI: Ticinium; TR: Trier

#### Denomination

ANT: Antoninianus; AUREL: Aurelianus; FOLL: Follis

A copy or counterfeit of a particular issue is denoted by single quotation marks.

Condition of the obverse and reverse is indicated by the following conventions:

UW: Unworn	VW: Very worn	SW: Scarcely worn
EW: Extremely worn	W: Worn	C: Corroded

Weights are recorded in grams, flan diameters in millimetres. Die axis is indicated by clock reference.

Catalogue references are to relevant volumes of RIC (Roman Imperial Coinage) or Hill and Kent (HK) (Late Roman Bronze Coinage, Vol.1).

Aurelian (including one of his wife, Fig. 6). These are by no means common site finds in Britain, since for much of the reign of Aurelian (AD 270–75) Britain was under the control of the ‘Gallic Empire’, represented in this group by Tetricus and his son. Tetricus was deposed in AD 273 and presumably the coins of Aurelian were introduced into Britain in the period after AD 273. However, any coins that were introduced are rarely found on site since they have a higher silver content than the usual coins of the period

and, under Gresham’s Law, vanished rapidly from circulation (Reece 1987, 19–20). The coins of Tetricus and Gallienus in this group are also all regular, a rarity at this period, and this again argues for a selection process that targeted coins of good quality for deposition. Alternatively, it may be that these coins were lost or deposited at a date closely contemporary with their issue periods, but without knowing their context it would be misleading to speculate further.

The remaining five coins are less closely grouped,



Figure 6. Coin of Severina (No. 9)



Figure 7. Coin of Maximian (No. 11)

covering the period between AD 286 and c. 353. With the exception of the latest coin, a *Fel. Temp. Rep.* copy, all are of good quality and are generally well preserved. The coin of Carausius does have some surface corrosion that does make its precise identification uncertain. This is unfortunate, as coins of the Rouen mint are rare in Britain and this example lies beyond its normal range of distribution (Casey 1994, fig. 4). However, the portrait type and regular quality of the coin suggest that it is in fact from another, more common, mint. The remaining coins are unremarkable as site finds, as they are types that are among the most commonly found in Roman Britain. The large coin of Maximian (No. 11, Fig. 7), however, is an unusual site find in this condition: it still bears traces of silver wash and lies at the heavier end of its weight range. Such coins are not normally found on site since they have a relatively high silver content, as with the coin of Aurelian discussed above, and this too argues for a deposition date close to the time of issue.

## Discussion

### Location

The placement of the Diddington shrine relative to the immediately adjoining ring-monument and barrows, which may have survived as upstanding earthworks at the time, was probably deliberate. An association between Romano-Celtic shrines and temples and early prehistoric ritual or funerary monuments has been suggested at a number of sites. Local examples include Haddenham, Cambridgeshire (shrine built over the ditch of a Bronze Age barrow, Evans 1997a, 20) and Mutlow Hill, Fulbourn, Cambridgeshire (shrine adjoining a series of urned cremations, Woodward 1992, 20). A similar association is recorded between shrines and Severn Cotswold barrows (Woodward and Leach 1993, 305). Other examples are recorded at Brean Down, Avon (shrine north of round-

barrow); Slonk Hill, Sussex (Drury 1980); Harlow (France and Gobel 1985; temple overlay Bronze Age pit), and at Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943). An association between Romano-Celtic temples and Neolithic henge-monuments (eg feature A at Diddington, Fig. 2) was tentatively suggested by Woodward (1992, 29) at Condicote and Arminghall.

The later Iron Age landscape in the immediate vicinity of the shrine would have been dominated by the large enclosure (F, Fig. 2), which lay just to the east of the shrine. The size of this enclosure, measuring approximately 150m north-south, could suggest a non-utilitarian function (see Woodward and Leach 1993, fig. 210). In contrast, the largest of the recently-excavated Iron Age enclosures at Little Paxton, probably associated with pastoral farming, measured approximately 50m across (Jones below, Fig. 9). In the most recent survey of shrines the author noted that Iron Age shrines were generally located within open areas adjoining settlements which were set aside for ceremonial use, or in topographically prominent positions, in each case spatially distinct from domestic complexes (Woodward 1992, 18). Excavation has also identified religious practice at focal points in Iron Age settlements (eg South Cadbury, and the Colchester *oppidum* (Drury 1980, 55–6).

The Diddington shrine was notable for its location away from major centres of population and the main communication routes in the Roman period. The local market centres would have been at Godmanchester, 10km to the north, at Sandy (Dawson 1995), 12km to the south, and possibly at Cambridge (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 248), 20km to the east. A temple dedicated to the local god Abandinus was recorded at Godmanchester (*ibid.*, 128). Ermine Street, leading to Godmanchester, lay on the eastern bank of the Ouse. A further road route has been postulated (Edwardson *et al* 1966, 136) skirting Grafham Water, to the west of Little Paxton. The nearest ford across the Ouse may have been near Little Paxton church (Tebbutt 1969, 57), southeast of the shrine.

The earliest Romano-British activity in the vicinity of the shrine comprised ditched stock compounds to the west (Jones below), a focus probably occupied continuously from the Late Iron Age until around AD 120. Later Romano-British activity was focused around a 'ladder' enclosure, approximately 500m to the south of the former site, occupied from around the mid 2nd century until the end of the Roman period. This enclosure complex was almost certainly associated with pastoral farming (Jones and Ferris 1994), as indicated by evidence of its layout and associated environmental data.

Roman shrines were located in urban, military and rural locations. Of the rural temples, 43% were sited in isolated locations (such as Diddington), or along the southern fen edge (Taylor 2000), including examples at Cottenham, Haddenham and Willingham. However, temples were not usually associated with simple farmsteads (Woodward 1992, 18). A total of 57% of all Roman temples was sited near prehistoric occupation. Of the shrines located in isolated sites,

22% were built near springs and streams. The Diddington shrine may have been sited relative to the early prehistoric ritual earthwork monuments, a possible Iron Age shrine, and the Ouse and its tributaries.

### Morphology and interpretation

#### Prehistoric

The eccentric placement of the *temenos* relative to the pit (F103), which may have originated as a tree, provides the strongest evidence for a long-standing tradition of the religious significance of the Diddington shrine. The earliest focus of ritual activity may have been provided by the henge (A, Fig. 2) north of the shrine. It is possible that a grove associated with the henge could have occupied the area where the shrine was later laid out. This reuse could represent continuing (although not necessarily continuous) veneration for the locale.

Although no evidence for an Iron Age shrine at Diddington was found during salvage recording, the possibility should not be discounted. The Roman *temenos* enclosure and *cella* could have scoured-out all evidence of an Iron Age predecessor. The Celtic religion 'worshipped invisible forces of nature in the open air, venerating such objects as trees and standing stones ... not as divine in themselves but as the abode of deities' (Lewis 1966, 4), the shrines being located in forests, or secret, watery places.

Details of some of the excavated circular Iron Age and Roman shrines are tabulated (Table 2). An Iron Age origin for the Diddington shrine may be suggested by the adoption of a circular shrine form, although this form was unusual in the Iron Age (Drury 1980, 60). More commonly, the shrine is square or rectangular in plan (Wilson 1980, 36–7). The circular *cellae* at Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943, 127), Frilford (Bradford and Goodchild 1939) and Hayling Island (1st century BC, Downey *et al* 1980), and possibly Thistleton

(Drury 1980, 207) all derive from circular pre-Roman shrines (Downey *et al* 1980, 294). Hayling Island may be the best example of a mid-1st century BC circular shrine replaced by large circular shrine, forming a parallel with the large circular shrines of central and western Gaul, being outside the mainstream of Romano-Celtic temples (Downey *et al* 1980, 289). The deity worshipped at Hayling Island may have been a Celtic version of the Roman god Mars, to whom some of the circular temples of western and central Gaul were dedicated. This circular shrine form is derived from contemporary circular huts — the intention being to provide the deity with a house. Simple circular shrines also occur in the Roman period in Gaul, Raetia and Pannonia (Drury 1980, 69, fig. 3.5). The location of the Nettleton Shrub shrine (Wedlake 1982), opposite a spring and close to a river, suggests a pre-Roman ritual significance for the site, in a similar location to the Diddington shrine.

The Muntham Court, Uley and Kelvedon shrines both overlay Iron Age occupation, although a *nexus* between this earlier occupation and the Roman shrine cannot be demonstrated. In some cases the Roman reuse of an Iron Age site is represented by a square or rectangular *cella* form, for example at Harlow, Essex (France and Gobel 1985), Woodeaton, Oxfordshire (Goodchild and Kirk 1955), and Lydney (Wheeler and Wheeler 1943).

#### Roman

Other circular shrines at Collyweston, Mutlow Hill (Fulbourn, Cambridgeshire) and Brigstock are located away from known Iron Age activity (Table 2). Nationally, it is relatively unusual, but not unknown, for a Roman shrine to be on the site of an Iron Age predecessor (Woodward 1992, 17). Woodward (1992, 19) records a total of 86 shrines of Romano-British date. The Romano-Celtic shrine type (circular, square or rectangular *cella* surrounded by an ambulatory,

**Table 2.** Details of circular Roman cellae. Note this excludes unpublished sites.

Name	Date	Diam	Reference	Other details
Hayling Island	AD 60 on	13m	Downey <i>et al</i> 1980	Drystone walled, with ante-chamber
Frilford	To 4th cent	11m	Bradford and Goodchild 1939	Drystone walled
Brigstock	2nd cent	11.5m (max) 13m	Greenfield and Taylor 1963 Drury 1980, fig. 3.7	Oval pennanular trench, similar to Iron Age round-house. Timber-framed. Circular shrine
Collyweston	3rd–4th cent.	12.6m	Knocker 1965, 54–7	Timber-framed
Thistleton	1st cent & 2nd cent	12.5m (2nd cent)	Wilson 1965, 207	Two <i>cellae</i> . Earliest, timber-framed structure of possible pre-conquest date
Nettleton	Late 2nd–mid 3rd cent	10.1m	Wedlake 1982	Drystone walled, no ambulatory
Muntham Court		10.7m	Drury 1980	Overlies Iron Age site
Kelvedon	To end 2nd cent		Wilson 1972, 333–4 & fig. 11	Timber-framed Overlies Iron Age site
Aldeby, Norfolk	—	18m	Edwards 1978, 94, fig. 49.	Pennanular
Bowes	3rd cent	6.5m	Drury 1980, fig. 3.8	Drystone walled
Housesteads	3rd century	4m	Drury 1980, fig. 3.8	Drystone walled
Maiden Castle		9m	Wheeler 1943	Site L. Oval in plan. Drystone walled

forming two concentric functional spaces), and the simpler, circular *cella* form, exemplified by the Diddington example, co-existed through the later Iron Age and the Roman period (Rodwell 1980, 218). As Blagg (1986, 15) notes 'religion was an important means towards assimilation between the Roman and British cultures'. Simple circular and polygonal shrine buildings are notably well represented in the territory of the Coritani (Todd 1991, 112). Other circular temples are recorded at Swaffham Prior, and Mutlow Hill, Fulbourn (Taylor 2000).

As Table 2 indicates, the circular *cellae* measured in the broad range between 4m (Housesteads) and 18m (Aldeby) in diameter. Measuring 15m in diameter, the Diddington example is noteworthy for its large size. Although circular *cellae* are not often associated with ambulatories, one possibility is that the excavated feature at Diddington comprised the ambulatory, not the *cella* wall. The close proximity between the southern side of the *cella* and the inner edge of the southern *temenos* ditch, possibly leaving no space for an ambulatory outside feature F100, perhaps supports this interpretation. However, it is equally possible that there was no associated ambulatory.

An alternative interpretation of the circular foundation-trench F100 at Diddington is that it formed the outside wall of a temple of hybrid square and circular plan (Drury 1980, 70). In these examples the circular, outer wall encloses four post-pits, which would have defined the four corners of a timber-framed tower or *cella*, representing elements of the square and circular *cella* plans, as suggested by the name of the type. This hybrid design is represented by excavated examples from Bozeat, Northants (Wilson, 1966a, 207), and Hockwold, Norfolk (Wilson 1966b, 209), measuring respectively 15.25m and 9m in diameter. It has already been noted that the Diddington *cella* is larger in diameter (15m) than other excavated circular examples. A possible explanation for this larger-than-usual size

could be that the Diddington example formed part of this hybrid group, in which case an external ambulatory would not be found. It is possible that such post-pits were not identified at Diddington because of the circumstances of the salvage recording.

The associated coins are in the range AD 261–353, although stratigraphic details are only available for one coin (No. 3). White (above) noted that the coins fell into two groups, the first dated AD 260–275 being relatively closely dated; the second group, dating AD 286–353, less so. The absence of earlier coins is notable, especially given the evidence for the continued, if not continuous, veneration of the locale. Alternatively, the dating may merely reflect the broader switch of patronage to rural locations (Millet 1990, 195) in the later Roman period. The floruit of rural temples, of Romano-Celtic, rather than purely Roman, association are a particular feature of late Roman Britain.

The bronze letters and the 'yoke-shaped' object confirm the ritual association of the site. Unfortunately, these finds do not shed light on the nature of the deity venerated here. The *cella* form provides one possible clue. Downey (1980) notes that circular shrines in Britain and Gaul often venerate Mars, but any inferred association of the Diddington site with this deity is pure speculation.

#### *Level of importance*

Some temples in rural locations located at/near tribal boundaries (eg Coleshill, Warwickshire, Blagg, 1986, 16) may have performed an important function within contemporary patterns of trade and exchange. Other sites had a more local importance, including 'family shrines'. Despite the limited evidence from Diddington, some attempt should be made to relate the site to the hierarchy of rural temples proposed by Rodwell (1980b, 233–4; Table 3).

At the simplest level, the shrine could comprise no

**Table 3.** Classification of temples/shrines (After Rodwell 1980b, 233). Note table excludes smaller examples (Types 1–2), and larger, urban or military (Types 8–12).

Type	Type sites or reference	Details
Proprietary shrine/temple (Type 3)	Chedworth ( <i>nymphaeum</i> ), Stroud, Petersfield and Lullingstone	Physically separate structure in villa or farmyard complex. Used communally by resident family and estate workers
Estate temple (Type 4)	Chedworth, Titsey, Lamyatt Beacon, Great Chesterford	Located at a distance from a villa. For proprietors', or communal use
Local cult centre (Type 5)	Lydney, Uley. Smaller-scale sites include Pagans Hill, Coleshill, Harlow, Colchester 2-5, Farley and Woodeaton	Rural/semi-rural site with evidence for dominance of a single deity, including ancillary buildings, eg bathhouse.
Major rural sanctuary (Type 6)	Gosbecks, Colchester	Very extensive rural site, used for tribal gatherings.
Natural shrine (Type 7)	Rahtz and Watts 1979, Appendix 2	Natural shrine, eg grove, spring or river, initially at least lacking religious structures. May have been 'improved' in Roman period by con- struction of buildings to house/service the deity

more than a single room or alcove (Type 1), or a purpose-built structure for the use of a single family (Type 2). The association of the Diddington temple with a family or single estate is not proven on the present evidence. Type 5 may have been intended to provide communal places for religious activity and fairs for a sub-tribal group, a *pagus*. It is possible that the Diddington shrine could have functioned at this level. Shrines and temples at Godmanchester (Abandinus) and Ancaster (Viridios) could have served a rural *pagus* population, despite their urban base. Additionally, the circular form of the Diddington shrine, and its suggested association with a 'sacred tree' (pit F103) could suggest the Roman *temenos* was built to perpetuate the memory of an Iron Age predecessor in the form of a natural shrine (Type 7). Within Cambridgeshire votive deposits have been discovered near water at Bottisham, Great Wilbraham, Foxton, and in the Fens at Elm, Chatteris, and Outwell (Taylor 2000). Local cult centres would not have required ancillary buildings such as guesthouses or baths (Leech 1986, 272), as found, for example, at Lamyatt Beacon.

Although not yet studied in detail, the suggested crop-marked complex of small fields or paddocks (Fig. 2, H) to the east of the shrine could have been associated, possibly forming the pens of sacrificial animals, although there is no present structural or faunal evidence to support this hypothesis. The bracelet deliberately formed into a 'yoke-shaped' object from the shrine could provide a tantalising link between the ritual focus and the possibly associated animal pens. Millett (1990, 210) has suggested that some rural estates may have been owned by temples, although such an association is difficult to prove.

A similar interpretation might perhaps be suggested (but not proven on the present, limited evidence) for the Late Iron Age/early Romano-British stock-pen complex to the west (Jones below), or the later 'ladder' enclosure (Jones and Ferris 1994). Examination of the composition of the animal bones from Uley identified a quantity of sheep and pig, which were thought to represent a specially-bred sacrificial herd (Woodward and Leach 1993, 333), while the votive animals at Hayling Island were sheep and pig (Downey *et al* 1980, 294), and at Gosbecks the faunal remains included numbers of pig's heads (Crummy 1980). The analysis of faunal remains can also elucidate the nature of the deity being worshipped — the red deer antlers found at Henley Wood (Watts and Leach 1996, 271) suggesting an association with the god Cernunnos and fertility.

### Conclusion

Despite the limitations of fieldwork undertaken in a salvage recording context, the results are nevertheless of importance, particularly given that such rural shrines are relatively neglected at a national level. The circular shrine is an important example of a morphologically-unusual type, possibly originating in the Iron Age, and representing a desire to perpetuate the sanctity of a native ritual site. The site is also signifi-

cant as possibly representing a religious focus at no more than *pagus* level. Of interest is the probable association between the site and the nearby early prehistoric ritual monuments, and in particular the suggested 'sacred tree' or other marker (F103) around which the Diddington *temenos* was laid out. An intriguing possibility is a functional, or even a proprietorial, nexus between the shrine and the nearby stock-pens and enclosures of Late Iron Age and Romano-British date. Further research will address this important aspect of the shrine's setting.

## Iron Age and Romano-British Settlements: Fourth Interim Report, Excavations 1997–8

### Introduction

The area excavated comprised an 'island' of gravel surrounded by stream-courses of early prehistoric date on four sides, mapped either by aerial photography (Air Photo Services 1992), trial-trenching (Jones 1992) or excavation (centred NGR TL 2035665, Jones above, Fig. 1A–B, Fig. 8 areas E–F). Previous excavation within the quarry (Jones and Ferris 1994, Jones 1995 and 1998) has investigated settlement and activity dating from the Neolithic to the late Roman periods. The work described here is part of a programme of excavation and research within the quarry concession, which is intended to determine the changing function and economy of the area. It focuses in particular upon the potential for detailed comparison of the structural and economic data from discrete Iron Age and Romano-British settlement foci.

The 1997–8 excavations aimed to define the nature of early prehistoric activity, elucidate the nature of the Iron Age-Romano-British exploitation of the site, and its economy, in particular focusing on the Iron Age-Romano-British transition, and the evidence for site abandonment.

### Methodology

Excavations were undertaken in two stages, in 1997 and 1998, following fieldwalking and trial-trenching. Ploughsoil was removed by machine under archaeological supervision. The features were sampled as widely as possible to identify their form and fill sequence, and pits and post-holes were half-sectioned. A band of alluvium in the west of the excavated area was sampled by six additional trial-trenches (T1–T6), dug during the excavation. All datable features were sampled objectively to recover small bones and charred plant remains, and samples were flotted on-site to allow re-sampling on an informed basis.

### Results

#### Phasing

The provisional sequence of five main phases of activity is based on the preliminary spot-dating of the finds:

- Phase 1: Neolithic and Bronze Age.
- Phase 2: Middle Iron Age.
- Phase 3: Late Iron Age.
- Phase 4: Early Romano-British.
- Phase 5: Medieval.

For clarity, only enclosures (E1–E41) and other main features are described and numbered on the plan. The Phase 1–5 features were cut into the subsoil and into the backfilled features belonging to the preceding

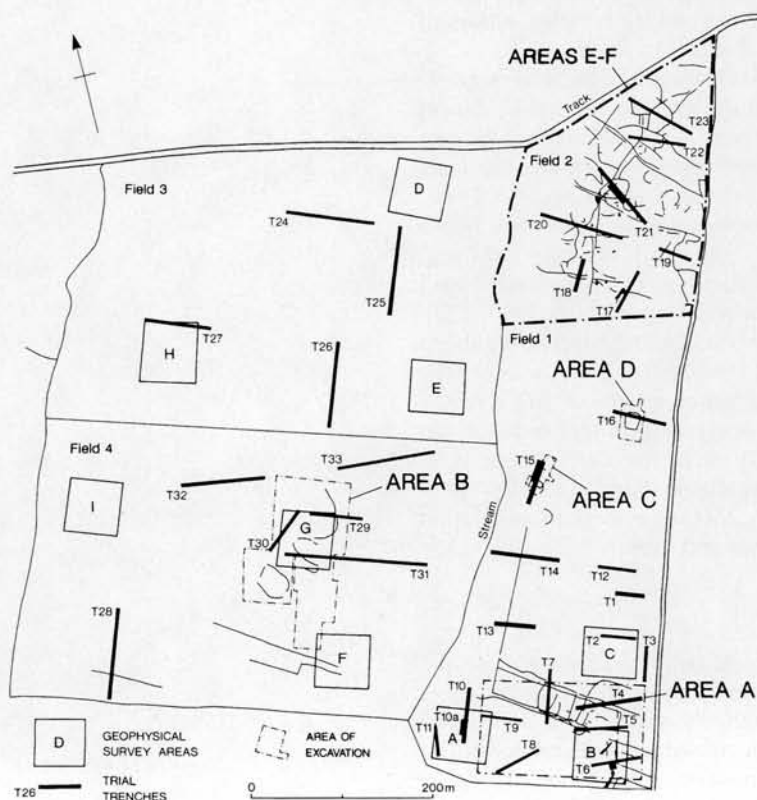


Figure 8. Crop-marked features (Air Photo Services Ltd) and areas excavated in 1997–8 (E–F) and previously.

phases. It was often difficult to recover full, coherent, plans of some of the ditched enclosures because of later recutting.

#### Phase 1. Neolithic and Bronze Age (Fig. 9)

The only datable features of this period were three pits (F958, F991 and F806), measuring up to 0.3m in depth, each containing flint artefacts. Phase 1 activity

was represented more widely by scatters of redeposited flint artefacts found in Phase 2–5 features, and in the ploughsoil by fieldwalking and test-pitting (Bevan 1997, Bevan and Dingwall 1997).

#### Phase 2. Middle Iron Age (Fig. 9)

The earliest Phase 2 activity was represented by two slightly irregular field boundary ditches (F748, F1055),

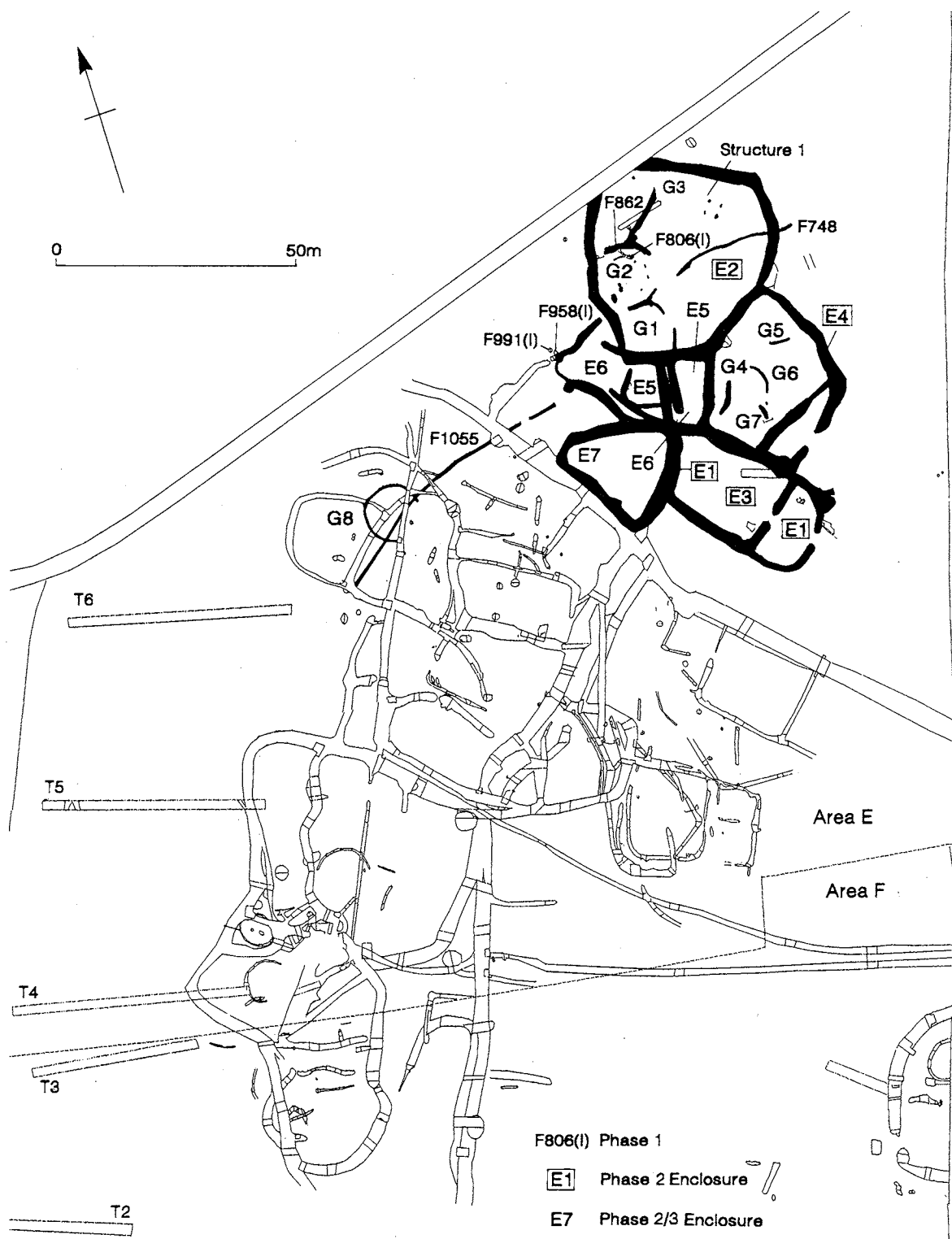


Figure 9. Simplified plan of the main features: Phase 1–2 features highlighted.

both dug on an approximate southwest-northeast alignment.

Later Middle Iron Age activity (enclosures E1–E7) was focused towards the northeastern corner of the area excavated. Stratigraphically, the earliest enclosures of this group were enclosures E1 and E2, which may have been contemporary. Enclosure E2 was the largest enclosure of this phase, measuring a maximum of 38m internally north-south and 35m internally east-west. It contained three eaves-drip gullies (G1–3), a square four-post building (Structure 1), and a pit (F862). Part of the northern and eastern sides of eaves-drip gully G1 was recorded. Eaves-drip gully G1 was cut by G2, which measured 12m in diameter internally. It contained an arc of post-holes on its eastern side, a pit group, and a shallow curvilinear gully on its northern side. Gully G3 lay in the north of the enclosure.

Subsequently the northwestern and parts of the northeastern and southwestern sides of enclosure E1 were recut (enclosure E3). Later, the southeastern side of enclosure E2 and the northeastern side of enclosure E3 were also recut (enclosure E4). The interior of this enclosure was subdivided by a ditch. This enclosure also contained four fragmentary eaves-drip gullies (G4–G7).

Later enclosures (E5–E8) cut slightly to the southwest of the former group belong to the Middle-Late Iron Age. The northern side of enclosure E5, possibly the earliest of this enclosure group, was formed by recutting along part of the southern side of enclosure E2. Subsequently, enclosure E5 may have been enlarged to the northwest and to the south (enclosure E6), perhaps also forming a driveway between the southern ditches of enclosures E5 and E6. The northern side of enclosure E6 was formed by a recut of the northern side of the earlier enclosure. The southwestern entry-gap to this enclosure was first defined by a palisade, and later by post-pits dug at the palisade ends. Subsequently, a D-shaped enclosure (E7) was cut to the south of enclosures E5–6. Enclosure E7 cut the western side of enclosure E3, and also possibly part of the southeastern angles of enclosures E5–6. Traces of a timber ?bridge support crossing the northeastern angle of ditched enclosure E7 were found, possibly associated with the driveway between enclosures E5–E6 to the northwest.

Dating: Features G1, G4 and F748 contained Middle Iron Age pottery. The backfills of enclosures E1–E7 and the feature group to the east of eaves-drip gully G10 contained pottery of Middle Iron Age date.

### Phase 3. Late Iron Age (Fig. 10)

Late Iron Age activity was mostly concentrated in the west of the site. Subsequent activity, of Late Iron Age-early Romano-British date, was focused towards the east of the excavated area. This latter activity is difficult to assign confidently either to the Iron Age or the early Romano-British periods because of the lack of dating evidence and disturbance caused by later activity. It is also possible that this activity was

continuous.

Two Late Iron Age boundaries were represented by northwest-southeast aligned ditched boundaries (F1250–1). Ditch F1250 may have been diverted southward to avoid a ring-ditch probably visible as an earthwork at the time. North-south aligned ditch F1252 defined the approximate eastern extent of the alluvium in the west of the excavated area. A further ditch (F1253) was cut between ditches F1250 and F1251.

One focus of Late Iron Age activity, containing five irregularly-shaped enclosures (E8–E12), lay towards the northwest of the excavated area. This comprised a rectangular enclosure (E8) and two D-shaped ditched enclosures (E9–10), the westernmost (E9) dug into alluvium. The curvilinear eastern side of enclosure E10 was markedly irregular, possibly as a result of later recutting. This ditch was continued to the northwestern corner of the enclosure, possibly defining the northern side of a separate enclosure (E11), and a further enclosure (E12) may have been located between enclosures E8 and E10. Activity in this area could have been continuous into the Romano-British period.

A second focus of Late Iron Age activity was formed by ditched enclosures E13–E17, cut towards the southwest of the excavated area. The largest of these enclosures (E13) measured approximately 33m square internally. Its eastern side was irregular in plan, possibly as a result of being cut along the line of a meandering stream-channel. Enclosure E16, cut wholly into alluvium, may have formed a western annexe to the adjoining enclosure E13. The western and southern ditches of enclosure E17 together formed an L-shape in plan. This enclosure group may have been contemporary with a cluster of eaves-drip gullies (G9–G15), measuring between 4–9m in diameter internally. Of this group features G9 and G10 lay just outside the enclosures. Feature G12 cut feature G11.

The third, smallest focus of Late Iron Age activity comprised the western side of a curvilinear enclosure (E18) containing an eaves-drip gully (G16), a gully, and a pit.

Later Late Iron Age activity, possibly continuing into the Romano-British period, was characterised by mainly rectilinear enclosures. Rectangular enclosures E19–E21 were laid out along the southern side of ditch F1250, which was recut (F1255). Enclosure E21 had an entrance at its southeastern angle, further defined by a gully cut diagonally across the entry-gap, with a post-pit to the northwest. Two pairs of ditches, both forming an L-shape may have formed parts of further enclosures (E22, E23).

Two conjoined rectilinear enclosures (E24–E25) were cut across abandoned enclosures E22–23. Subsequently rectangular enclosure E25 was re-defined to the west by a further enclosure with its long axis aligned north-south (enclosure E26). Subsequently, the northern, southeastern, southern, and western ditches of this enclosure were recut forming a further enclosure (E27), later extended to the northwest, forming a D-shaped enclosure (E28),

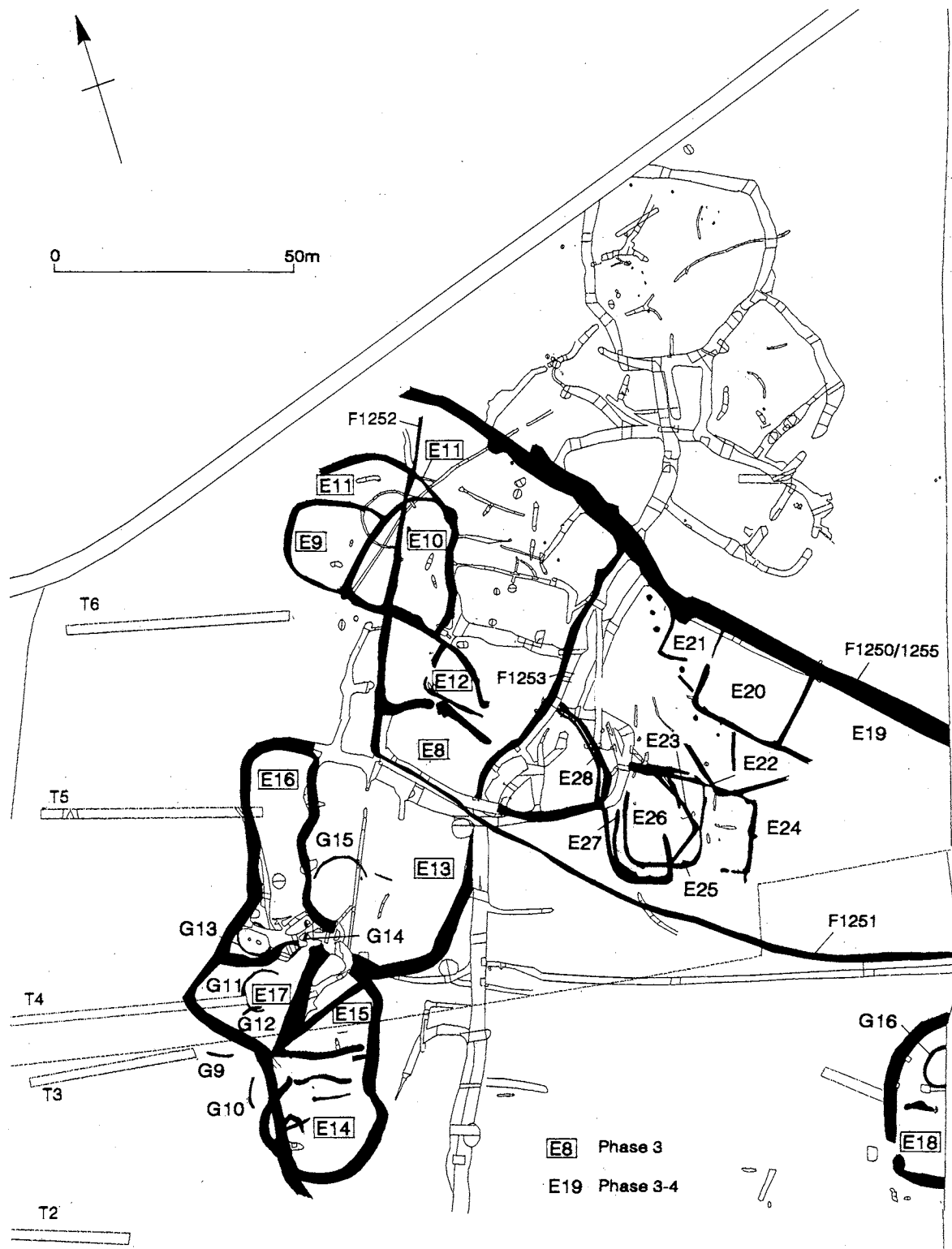


Figure 10. Simplified plan of the main features: Phase 3 features highlighted.

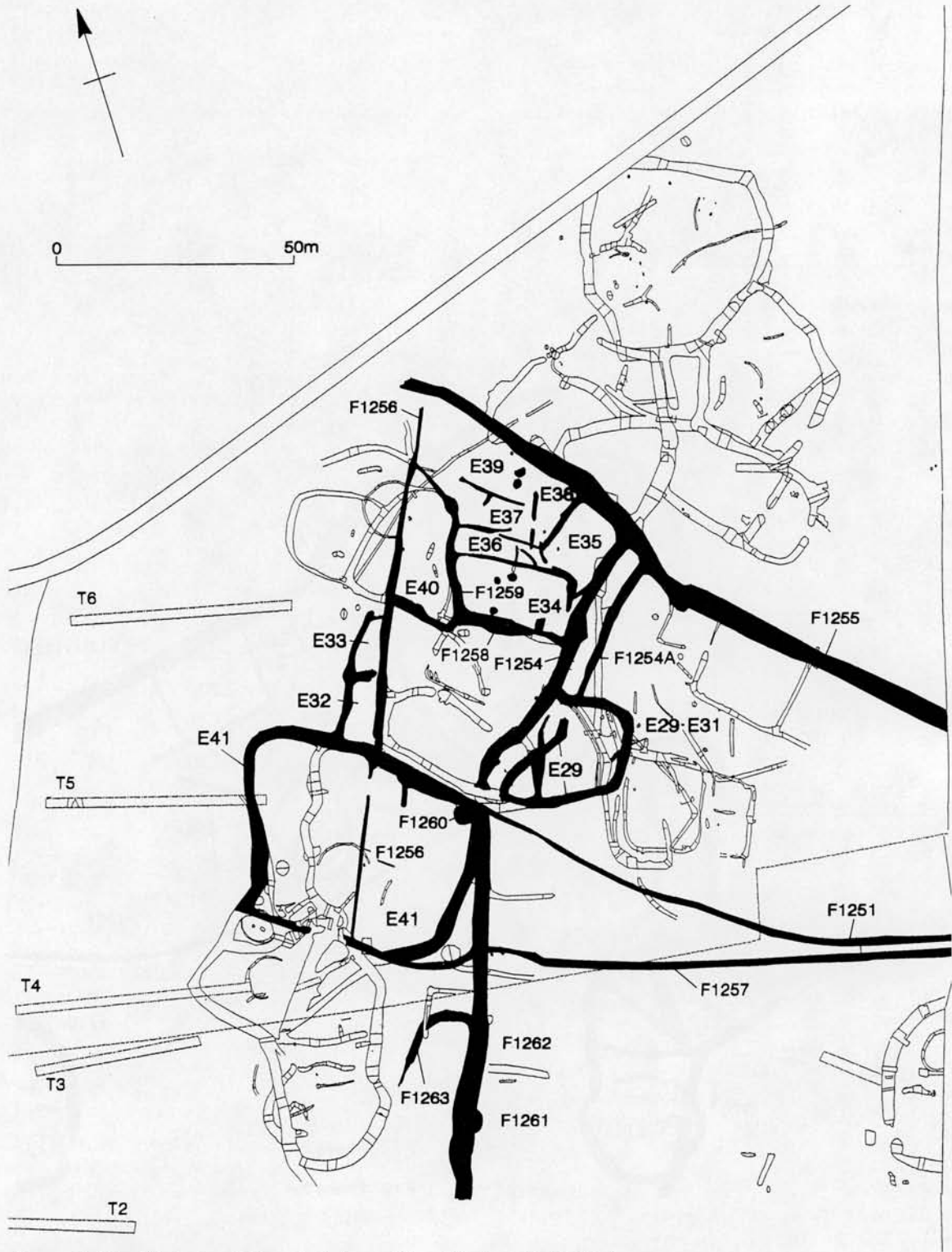


Figure 11. Simplified plan of the main features: Phase 4 features highlighted.

which extended eastwards up to ditch F1253. Part of the presumed southwestern side of enclosure E28 had been dug-away by later ditches (enclosures E29–E31), although the southwestern terminal of an entry-gap on the northwestern side of this enclosure remained visible.

**Dating:** Enclosures E8–E15, E20–1, E23–E28, ditches F1250, F1252 and F1253 contained Late Iron Age pottery. Enclosures E7, E10–E12, E18 and associated features, and ditch F1251 also contained transitional pottery. Enclosures E21–E28 contained Late Iron Age–Romano-British pottery. Enclosures E20 and E28 additionally contained transitional pottery, and enclosures E20–1 and E24 were associated with Roman pottery which could be intrusive.

#### Phase 4: Early Romano-British (Fig. 11)

In the Romano-British period, the southern side of enclosure E28 ditch was recut (E29), and a ditch (F1254A) was dug to the north of the enclosure, forming the southeastern side of a droveway, its opposite side formed by ditch F1254 (a recut of Phase 3 ditch F1253). The eastern and northern sides of the later enclosure were cut outside the line of its predecessor. The western side of enclosure E29 was cut to the east of ditch F1254A, forming a southward continuation of the droveway recorded to the north of the enclosure. The enclosure E29 ditches were subsequently recut (E30–E31). The eastern side of the latest enclosure (E31) was cut inside the southwestern corner of the preceding enclosure, and its remaining sides were formed by recuts of the enclosure E29–30 ditches. Phase 4 enclosures E28–E31 were distinguished from Phase 3–4 enclosures E19–E27 not only by their irregular morphology, but also because of the larger size of their defining ditches.

A further focus of Romano-British activity was located in the west of the area excavated. Phase 3 north-south ditch F1252 was recut, and also extended to the south (F1256), and a further ditch was cut eastwards (F1257), extending from the southern terminal of the former ditch. This western focus of Phase 4 activity contained two small, conjoined, roughly-rectangular enclosures (E32–33), both cut into alluvium. The area to the east of ditch F1256 was divided by an east-west ditch (F1258), dug in two, offset sections. The area to the south of this ditch was also defined by ditches F1256, F1251 and F1254.

Seven irregularly shaped ditched enclosures (E34–E40) were laid out in the area bounded by the northern ends of ditches F1254 and F1256, the western end of ditch F1256, and by ditch F1258. The largest of these enclosures (E34) was partly defined by ditches F1258 and F1259. The northeastern corner of enclosure E34 also defined part of the southern side of an adjoining rectangular enclosure (E35), positioned in the angle between ditches F1254 and F1255. A rectangular enclosure (E36) lay to the north of enclosure E35, and three further, irregularly-shaped enclosures (E37–E39) were located to the north of enclosure E36 and to the south of ditch F1256. Recut ditch F1259 may have de-

fined the eastern side of a further, D-shaped enclosure (E40), its eastern and southern sides defined by ditches F1259 and F1259, occupying much of the area of Phase 3 enclosure E10 (Fig. 3).

A further focus of Romano-British activity was located towards the southwest of the area excavated. The main feature in this area was an irregularly-shaped enclosure (E41) formed by the recutting of the Phase 3 enclosure E13 and E16 ditches. Later Romano-British activity was represented by pits (F1260, F1261) and a north-south aligned ditch (F1262) was cut to the south of the northeastern corner of enclosure E41.

**Dating:** Roman pottery of 1st-early 2nd-century AD date was recovered from enclosures E29–E32, and E34. No pottery was found associated with enclosures E33 and E35–E39. Large quantities of Roman pottery were recovered from the terminals of ditch F1256, dug along the edge of the alluvium. Romano-British pottery was found in enclosures E40–E41, and in the ditches and pits in the southwest of the area excavated (pits F1260–1; ditches F1262–3).

#### Phase 5: Medieval

The only medieval features identified at excavation were a series of parallel east-west aligned ditches (not illustrated), dug at an average separation of 10m and extending over the majority of the area investigated. A few of the ditch fills contained abraded sherds of medieval pottery.

#### Artefact summary

##### Flint

##### Lynne Bevan

A total of 28 items of humanly-struck flint was recovered, comprising two scrapers, two blades, a retouched flake, and 23 flakes. The scrapers and blades were unstratified surface finds. While the presence of flint tools and flakes denotes some low-level of activity during prehistory, there is a complete absence of any chronologically-diagnostic material. However, the general shape of the flakes is suggestive of a Neolithic to Bronze Age date.

##### Pottery

A total of 5156 sherds of Iron Age pottery was recovered. It was divided roughly into three chronological groups on the basis of form: Middle Iron Age, dating from the 4th to 1st centuries BC, Late Iron Age types probably of early-1st century AD date, and transitional wares with a probable currency starting in the mid-to-late 1st century AD. The main fabric types were tempered with shell and sand, with shelly wares most common in the Middle Iron Age assemblages and an increased occurrence of sandy, and also grogged, fabrics in the Late Iron Age groups. The range of Late Iron Age 'Belgic' fineware types is slightly wider than that recorded at Tort Hill West (Hancocks, Evans and Woodward 1998) or at Catswater, Fengate, (Pryor 1984), but this may be due to the fact that Little Paxton is situated a little further south, and thus closer to the

areas where an extensive repertoire of 'Belgic' pottery had been adopted.

A total of 2568 sherds of Roman pottery was recovered, mainly derived from well-stratified contexts, although in some cases small quantities of residual transitional pottery were associated with this material. The Romano-British pottery dated to the late 1st to early 2nd century AD and comprised channel rim jar forms in grog and shell fabrics, Verulamium region white wares such as ring-necked flagons, bifurcated rim jars and amphorae and locally produced greywares. Notable absences from the Romano-British assemblage include Black Burnished ware (BB1), Nene Valley colour-coats and greywares. These are good benchmarks for confirming the actual date range of the assemblage since no Antonine or late material was present. The range and variety of material recovered comprised predominately locally produced coarsewares with little evidence of 'exotic' pottery such as samian, mortaria, amphorae or finewares.

#### *Other artefacts*

##### *Lynne Bevan*

Copper alloy finds included a mount with a crescent-shaped terminal, a pair of copper alloy tweezers, fragments of a possible horse equipment fitting, three brooches, pieces of strip, fragments of chainlink and a possible stud. Iron objects consisted of nail fragments, a fragment of plate and several unidentifiable, corroded lumps. A wooden trough fragment measuring 0.3m by 0.4m was found in the western ditch of enclosure E15.

#### *Discussion*

##### *Phase 1. Neolithic-Bronze Age*

The number of scrapers and retouched implements found within the fieldwalking flint assemblage (Bevan and Dingwall 1998) suggests settlement in the immediate area, although the excavated Phase 1 features were few, possibly because of plough truncation as suggested elsewhere at the quarry (eg Jones 1998, 9).

Another possible element of the Neolithic-Bronze Age landscape could be the suggested ring-ditch, located by aerial photography to the southeast of Phase 2 enclosure E7 (Fig. 9), but ploughed-out by the time of excavation. This feature may have survived as an upstanding earthwork into the Iron Age, as is suggested by the apparent diversion of ditch F1250 around it. Excavation elsewhere in the quarry has uncovered probable pit circles and hut circles (Jones 1995, 11, Area B; Fig. 8) of Neolithic-Bronze Age date. A nearby ring-monument of early prehistoric date (Evans 1997a, 19) was associated with a cremation pyre. More extensive early prehistoric activity in the river valley is represented by cropmarked ring-ditches (Field 1974).

##### *Phase 2. Middle Iron Age*

The earliest Phase 2 enclosures were E1 and E2. Enclosure E2 was associated with a square four-post

structure, interpreted as a granary. Eaves-drip gullies G1 and G2 joined the southwestern and eastern ditches of enclosure E2 respectively. This arrangement would have assisted water run-off from features G1 and G2, and is paralleled by a similar association between eaves-drip gullies and enclosure ditches highlighted by Evans (1997b, 222) at Wardy Hill. If these gullies emptied directly into the enclosure ditches, the enclosure banks must have lain outside the ditches. One gully (G2) was especially well preserved, and traces of the internal hut walls, defined both by a curvilinear gully and by a post-hole alignment, were recorded. Many of the eaves-drip gullies were fragmentary, only surviving in the more deeply cut parts of their circumference. If deliberate, the excavation of differing segments to different depths could have been intended to create soakaways.

A notable attribute of the Middle Iron Age enclosures was their apparent clustering. Enclosure E3 was formed by recutting of the enclosure E1 ditches, and enclosure E4 by recutting lengths of the backfilled ditches of enclosures E3 and E2. Similarly, the later enclosure group E5–E7 was also formed by the partial re-excavation of earlier enclosures within this cluster. This apparent association between the enclosures within the cluster could suggest that the intention was to create a system of interlinked channels for drainage (eg as at Wardy Hill, Cambridgeshire, Evans 1997b, and fig. 21.3), in addition to defining the bounds of individual ditched enclosures. Alternatively, the enclosure layout could have been intended to bring water closer to the settlement, possibly for livestock.

The layout of elements of this enclosure cluster may also have been functionally determined. Annexes may be suggested within enclosures E1/E3 and E4. The layouts of the adjoining southern sides of enclosures E5 and E6 may have defined a driveway, as is also suggested by the recovery of fragments of a timber ?bridge support in the northeastern angle of later enclosure E7. The complex treatment of the southwestern entrance to enclosure E6 also suggests association with stock, possibly contemporary with continued occupation of the adjoining enclosures (E2, E4).

Suggestive evidence for the layout of this enclosure cluster, forming an apparently integrated system of water-management, either for drainage or to water livestock, may imply an element of social organisation by this small community. Clearly, a considerable effort would be required to excavate, and then periodically clean out, the ditches. This ditch system suggests an adaptation by a small but permanent settlement to the problems of water-management in this low-lying area, rather than merely a seasonal centre for a community based upon transhumance.

Placement of the entry-gaps within the Phase 2 enclosures suggests that the northwestern-southeastern axis, represented extensively within the Phase 3 landscape (eg Fig. 10; French and Wait 1988, fig. 26), may have been established in Phase 2.

Further ditched enclosures and associated features of Middle Iron Age date have been excavated at Little Paxton (Fig. 8, Area B, Jones 1995).

### Phase 3. Late Iron Age

Although some continuity of Mid-Late Iron Age settlement is suggested by the possible occupation of enclosures E5–E7 into the Late Iron Age, the Phase 3 settlements were mainly concentrated to the south and southeast of the Middle Iron Age enclosure cluster, and the remains of this later phase were also the more extensive. The focus of earlier Late Iron Age activity adjoined the eastern edge of the alluvial zone. The area bounded by ditches F1250, F1251, F1252, F1253, on its northern, southern, western and eastern sides respectively, may have formed a 'compound', an arrangement which may be distinguished from the later use of the land to the east of ditch F1253. Parts of this 'compound' may have formed enclosures (E8, E10), although further enclosures (E9, E11) appeared to straddle the western boundary of this area (F1252). The relationship between this ditch and the enclosure group could not be established because of a Phase 4 recut of the ditch.

A further group of ditched Late Iron Age enclosures (E13–17) was located to the south of the former group. The ditches of enclosures E13–E17 were more deeply cut than those of enclosures E8–E12, and the areas defined by the former group were also more extensive. The irregularly cut western sides of enclosures E13 and E16 are unusual, suggesting a recutting of a slightly meandering stream-channel. Another possibility is that the slightly sinuous form of these ditches was intended to slow water flow. Enclosure E18, in the southeast of the excavated area, represents a further contemporary focus of activity, mostly located to the east of the area excavated.

The remains of the later Late Iron Age-Romano-British periods (Phases 3–4) were morphologically, and probably also functionally, distinct from those of earlier Phase 3 activity. This Phase 3–4 activity was mainly concentrated in the angle between Phase 3 ditches F1250 and F1253, which defined the northern and western limits respectively of this activity which may span the Iron Age-Romano-British transition.

This Phase 3/4 activity was represented by a group of rectilinear ditched enclosures, including three (E19–E21) laid out adjoining the southern side of the eastern excavated end of ditch F1250. A further group of rectilinear enclosures (E22–E27) lay to the south. Enclosures E19–E27 may be interpreted as animal pens (eg Orton Hall Farm, Mackreth 1996). This feature group provides an element of functional continuity with the Middle Iron Age landscape, although the enclosures of this later phase are morphologically very distinct. Even after allowing for the undoubted truncation of the enclosure E19–E27 ditches by modern agriculture, the ditches and presumably the associated banks may not have been adequate to contain livestock. It is possible there were fences on the tops of the banks to further contain the animals. Such earthen banks would have most probably have been built outside the ditches, a more suitable arrangement to contain, rather than to exclude, animals, although this cannot be proven from the heavily-truncated ditch profiles at Little Paxton. The scattered post-pits locat-

ed to the southwest of enclosures E20 and E21 suggest traces of fencing.

Enclosure E28, stratigraphically the latest feature of the enclosure E22–E28 group, was formed by a D-shaped enclosure joining the northwestern corner of rectangular enclosure E27. The northwestern side of enclosure E28 was formed by the southern part of ditch F1253, and an entry-gap was retained between this ditch and the northwestern terminal of the north-eastern side of this enclosure. A feature of the enclosure E19–E28 group was the evidence for the complex treatment of their entrances. Such entrance arrangements support the interpretation of this enclosure group as being associated with animal husbandry. Few fragments of animal bone were recovered from the enclosure ditch fills, but more would not be expected unless the enclosures were used as slaughterpens.

Other excavated elements of the Late Iron Age landscape at Little Paxton comprise a ditched enclosure (Fig. 8, Area B, Jones 1995) and a possible square barrow (Fig. 8, Area D, Jones 1998). The suggested evidence for an Iron Age precursor to the Roman temple complex (Cambridgeshire SMR No. 2482: Jones above), located to the west of the area excavated (not illustrated), could suggest an alternative interpretation of the evidence for Phase 3 activity — namely that it was conducted in a ritual, rather than a purely pastoral, context — although this hypothesis cannot be proved or disproved on the present information.

### Phase 4. Romano-British

As discussed above, elements of the later Late Iron Age enclosures E19–E28 may have continued in use into the Romano-British period, and it is also possible that parts of the Phase 3 enclosure group E8–E17 may have also been occupied into Phase 4.

To the east of Phase 3/4 ditch F1254, Phase 4 is represented by the cutting of a ditch (F1254A) forming a drove-way with ditch F1254. To the south of the drove-way lay enclosures E29–E31. The southwestern sides of these enclosures may have defined a further drove-way adjoining ditch F1254 to the west. The 'antennae' of enclosures E29–E31 are perhaps similar to the entrance arrangements of 'banjo' enclosures (eg Micheldever Wood, Hampshire, Fasham 1987), interpreted as being associated with animal husbandry. The Little Paxton enclosure group may be distinguished from the Micheldever Wood example (*op cit*, fig. 3) because the entranceway to the enclosure (defined by ditches F1254 and F1254A) lay at a right angle to the entrance.

The arrangement of enclosure group E34–E40, to the west of ditch F1254, although more irregular in plan than the former group, could also suggest an association with animal husbandry. A notable feature of this enclosure group to the west of the ditch was the evidence for continuity in layout between the later Late Iron Age and Romano-British periods. It is possible that the area to the south of enclosures E34 and E40, also defined by the southern ends of ditches F1256 and F1254, and the northern side of Phase 4

enclosure E41, could have formed a 'compound'. A further, large enclosure (E41) located to the south could also have been associated with animal husbandry.

This settlement area was abandoned no later than the mid-2nd-century, and was not re-occupied during the Romano-British period. Given this suggested date for the abandonment of this settlement, and the later-2nd century date for the earliest occupation of the other Romano-British settlement focus in the south of the quarry (Area A, Jones and Ferris 1994) it is tempting to suggest a settlement shift between the two foci, although this cannot be proven. The economy of this later Romano-British settlement was also at least partly based upon animal husbandry.

Other evidence of nearby Romano-British settlement and activity is provided by the excavated temple complex to the east of the site (Jones above), and by ditched settlement complexes located to the south of the quarry (eg Greenfield 1969).

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