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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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**Volume XC  
for 2001**

Editor Alison Taylor

**Published by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society 2001**

ISSN 0309-3606

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Dr J Shepherd MB, ChB

28 Barton Road

Cambridge CB3 9LF

### *Editor*

A Taylor BA, MIFA, FSA

40 Hertford Street

Cambridge CB4 3AG

Tel: 01223 500431

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178 Fishpool Street

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## Contents

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A Romano-Celtic Shrine and Settlements at Little Paxton Quarry, Diddington, Cambridgeshire Alex Jones	5
Felix's life of St Guthlac: Hagiography and/or Truth Audrey L Meaney	29
Anglo-Saxon minsters in south Cambridgeshire Susan Oosthuizen	49
The 1291 valuation of the churches of Ely diocese J H Denton	69
Cambridgeshire Bell Frames Robert Walker	81
King's College Chapel, Cambridge: A Study of Artefacts Recovered from beneath the Choir Stalls Alison Dickins	115
The Cambridge Mosque and Muslim Community Timothy Insoll	127
Reviews Alison Taylor	133
Field-Work in Cambridgeshire 2000 Helen Lewis, Tim Malim and Judith Roberts	137
<i>Index</i>	149
Abbreviations	158

## 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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# King's College Chapel, Cambridge: A Study of Artefacts Recovered from Beneath the Choir Stalls

Alison Dickens

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*During January 1993 a programme of treatment was carried out on the timber of the choir stalls in King's College Chapel. In the course of this some fifty sacks of dust were removed from the space beneath the stalls using a large vacuum cleaner. Subsequently a 50% sample was hand sieved and examined by the author during which process 544 items were recovered. This paper is an attempt to examine and explore the significance of the objects, their deposition and the evidence they can offer towards a consideration of life and the passage of time and people within this ancient building.*

## The Chapel

The Chapel of King's College was begun in 1446 on the direction of Henry VI. Unfinished when he died the stonework was finally completed in 1515, during the reign of Henry VIII, and fitted out over the next several years. The internal fittings of the Chapel all belong to the completion phase of construction. The rood screen, a gift from Henry VIII, was built between 1533 and 1536, the choir stalls also belong to this period. The heraldic woodwork for the back of the stalls was given by Thomas Weaver in 1633. The canopies (carved by Cornelius Austin) were not added until 1675–1678 (Warrior 1994).

Although Henry VI had brought John Utynam over from Flanders to make the glass for Eton and Kings in 1449, it seems that most of the original glazing in the Chapel was carried out between about 1515 and 1531 by a series of craftsmen and designers. In subsequent years the windows were often repaired and renovated, but seem to have stood the test of time remarkably intact.

The original floor of the choir was paved in black and white marble in 1702. The eastern part of the floor was removed and relayed to match the pattern in the choir when the altar area was levelled during the alterations of 1964–68 (Tibbs 1970). The stalls, however, remained *in situ* throughout these procedures, resting on top of the extensive brick vaulting below the Chapel floor.

It seems, then, that whilst the Chapel has witnessed numerous campaigns of renovation, repair, un-adornment and re-adornment, the stalls themselves remained undisturbed. The dust beneath them and the

objects recovered give testament to the entire 455 years that elapsed between their construction and cleaning.

## The Artefacts

It would be easy, and simpler perhaps, to view the recovered items as merely a disparate collection of objects, however they can also be read as a set of overlapping assemblages, each evidence for different activity within this area of the Chapel. With the exception of animal action, however, the activity is not taking place within the space in which the objects have finally come to rest but around it, creating, in effect, an accidental time capsule of the lost and the discarded. This is a dead space, hidden behind the facade of the Chapel. As will be explored below a space out of sight and out of mind yet bearing witness to the passage of time and people in the larger space above and around it.

There are three principal means by which material might have been introduced into the space below the stalls:

- A. Encasement by the initial construction of the stall structure.
- B. Deliberate introduction through one of several small access doors.
- C. Dropping through gaps between the boards from which the stalls are constructed, or behind the stalls prior to the construction of the canopy some 139 years later.

A and B place no restriction on the size of objects that might be discarded and imply an element of conscious decision whether an item either is left deliberately in that space as the stalls are constructed around it or is introduced deliberately into the space at some point subsequent to construction. C, however, is more likely to have been accidental and does impose a regulator on size as beyond a certain thickness an object cannot physically pass through the narrow gaps between the boards of the stalls – in effect lost material is subject to a sieving action.

The range of artefacts can be interpreted to represent three main kinds of activity within the Chapel, witnessing both the long and the short timescale.

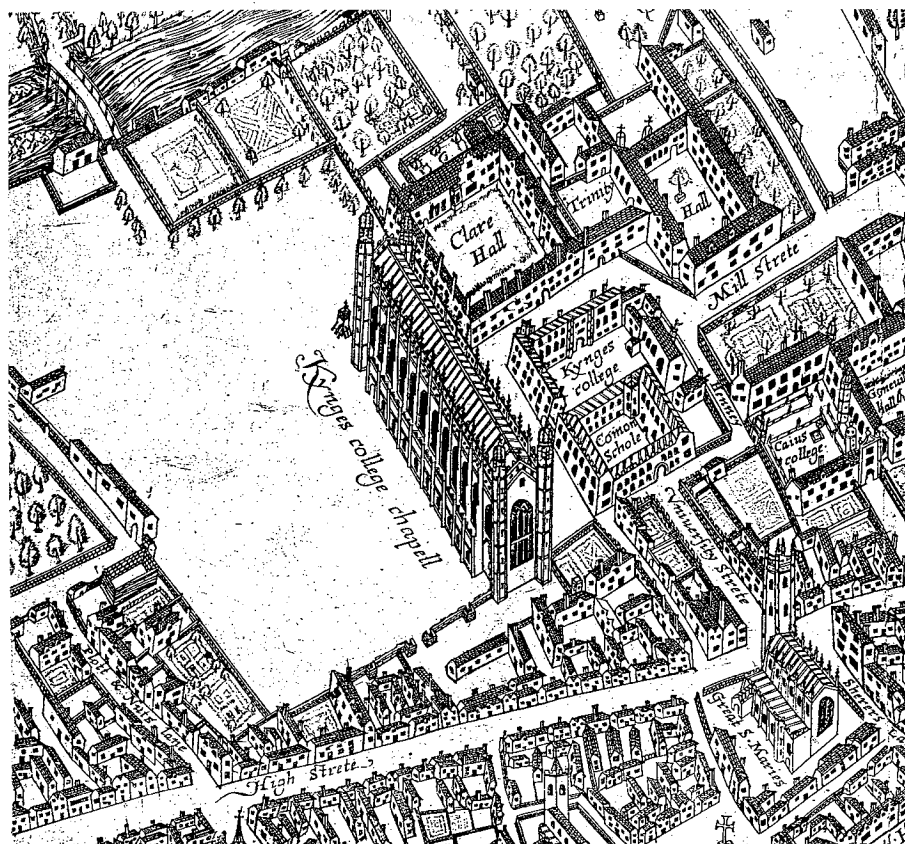


Figure 1. King's College Chapel, from John Hamond's Plan of Cambridge, 1592

These might be described in terms of the function the Chapel was created for:

1. Regular visits for legitimate purpose (eg the choir and clergy)
2. Irregular visits for legitimate purpose (eg repairs and renovation)
3. A one-off event of non-legitimate purpose (eg the parading and training of soldiers during the Civil War)

To these might be added evidence of animal activity within the space beneath the stalls.

#### *The Choir, Members of the College and Congregation*

Bone comb	Buttons
Music Programmes	Beads (inc. paternoster beads?)
Matches	
Lace ends	Coins
Pins	Knife
Book binding	Book fastenings and studs
16th century jetons	Playing cards
Paper fragments	Candles
Place card 'The Mayor'	Brass ferrule

With the exception of the period of the suppression of the Choral service during the Commonwealth, a choir has sung in King's College Chapel since at least the time of the installation of the stalls. The modern services may have changed in detail and in language from earlier times, but not substantially in essence. For several hours on most days of the year the choir

has gathered to rehearse or worship in the same place, the same space, in which their predecessors met and performed. Seats in the stalls may also be occupied at various times by members of the College, service readers, guests and members of the general public, which greatly expands the source range of objects to be lost or discarded in this area.

To a certain extent this group of objects might be considered an 'archaeology of fidgeting', and have been added to the assemblage through the sieve of the choir stall floor boards. Many of the items could be classed as 'things to fiddle with during a long address', particularly the copper alloy lace ends, of which fifteen were recovered, one still attached to a narrow strip of woven cloth. These tipped the lacing for shirts and are precisely the thing that idle fingers might play with. They will not, of course, have been dropped since the advent of the Eton collar. Pins may seem an unusual object to find in any quantity (26 were recovered) but they make sense in the same context as the lace ends when it is realised that items of 16th and 17th century clothing were often pinned rather than sewn together. In the days when it was reported to Archbishop Laud, probably by Dr. Cosins of Peterhouse, that in King's the "Quiremen cannot sing and are very negligent. Choristers are half mute and come without surplices. No reverence shown", (Varley 1935) it is perhaps to be expected that during services attention was paid less than diligently. Two more modern buttons (one wooden, one metal) were

also recovered. The ten wooden beads, however, may be from a paternoster. It was not uncommon for lay brothers to wear their paternosters suspended from their belts at Dominican priories (Poulton & Woods 1984: 79). Whether this would have been true in a college chapel is not certain.

An assemblage which bears a remarkable similarity to elements of that from King's was recovered during excavations at the Dominican Priory at Guildford in the 1970s (Poulton & Woods 1984). Amongst items from the dust layers beneath the choir stalls were jetons, belt chapes and a buckle, dress pins, lace tags, knives and decorative book studs. The excavators divided the finds into three groups: objects that were worn, objects that were carried and objects from the choir books and surmised that they must have fallen through the floorboards whilst the Priors pursued their daily round (1984: 79). The period of deposition at Guildford was generally earlier than that at King's (c. 1274–1538), barely overlapping with the active life of the choir stalls in the Cambridge building, but the similarity between the range and appearance of the recovered objects is striking. The occurrence of lace ends, jetons and pins correlate closely whilst, apart from some slight line decoration on the King's example, the early 15th century book studs illustrated in this paper and in the Guildford volume (1984: figure 44.27) are to all intents and purposes identical. Also recovered at King's were two flat pieces of wood. One may well be part of a broken book binding, the surface has been incised and pierced, probably for both fixing and decoration. The second 'plaque' of wood appears at first glance to be plain. On closer examination one side shows slight traces of leather, the other seem to have picked up the reverse image of printed text which it has come into contact. This may also be part of a reused bookbinding though an alternative possibility is that it was part of a book press contents board. Books were stored in some of the side Chapels for several centuries (P Jones pers comm). This may also be the origin of the eight copper-alloy book fittings found beneath the stalls.

The two assemblages tend to suggest that little changes in the behaviour of people who perforce sit on hard wooden seats during religious observance. The attention span of the King's choir appears no less than that of the vocational Friar Preachers of Guildford had been in the centuries preceding them. The King's assemblage also demonstrates this behaviour pattern continuing to the present time. All the coins recovered, for example, were 20th century, the most recent a 1971 penny.

Unlike the excavated assemblage, however, the particular conditions within King's Chapel allowed the preservation of some classes of material which are rarely, never in some cases, seen in the archaeological record. Chief amongst these are items of paper. Three scraps of hand-written paper date from the mid 16th and 17th centuries (Catherine Hall pers comm). The two 16th century pieces, in different hands, appear to be parts of letters or notes, the 17th century piece being part of a Latin text or exercise. All three have

suffered from mutilation by some animal agency (see below) but would seem precisely the type of item likely to fall from the pocket or purse of a student or cleric sitting in the stalls. Two 17th or 18th century playing cards, a six of spades and ten of hearts, plain backed, stencilled and clearly from the same pack, suggest that some of the fidgeting during one particular service was rather less than idle. Later items seem not to have suffered from rodent damage, suggesting that vermin control within the Chapel was more successful in the later 20th century than at earlier times in its history. Service lists from December 1957 and March 1972 are similar in appearance, but indicate minor changes in the pattern and timings of certain services. The modern, but otherwise undatable, pink place card declares the importance of a seat for 'The Mayor' in black marker pen. Which mayor, when and for which service is lost through the crack in the floor through which the sign dropped.

Two candle ends are probably hand rather than machine dipped or moulded. They certainly predate the advent of the smokeless variety used in the Chapel since 1968 (Tibbs 1970), but in any case are not modern in appearance. The matches and matchbox are probably rather later in date and, as both the matchsticks are dead, suggest a surreptitious discard rather than accidental loss.

#### *Construction, Repair and Maintenance*

A brick	Window glass (plain and stained)
Window leading	Leather pieces
Worked stone	Wood offcuts
Wooden pegs	Parts of several besom brooms
Screws	Iron tool
Nails	Pencil end
Twine	Broken carved figure
Plaster fragments	
Textile pieces	
Broken fleur-de-lis	

Records which survive in the College, indicate many phases of repair and maintenance carried out in the Chapel since its completion. The windows in several episodes from 1657 to the present, extensive wood-working around the stalls in the 17th and 19th centuries; the original organ was installed in 1605 removed in 1642–43, replaced in 1661 and worked on on several other occasions; electricity and at least two heating systems have been installed; the choir floor was laid in 1702 and partly relayed in 1964–68 at which time the Edwardian panelling of Detmar Blow, which had been blended in with the woodwork of the choir stalls, was removed. All in all there has been a constant stream of craftsmen into and through the Chapel before, during and after construction of the choir stalls. The finds assemblage provides evidence of the major craft activities carried out in the Chapel.

Eighty-eight pieces of wood were recovered. Of these most are carpenter's waste and rough pieces including offcuts, shavings, incomplete and broken worked pieces and crudely cut 'trial' pieces. Ten faceted wooden pegs, nine other rougher pieces with

bark still attached, and ten small button like worked pieces, probably the ends of pegs, were also recovered. The carving visible in the Chapel is of very high quality. The same is not true, however, of some of the pieces recovered from below the stalls. One piece in particular has three very crudely cut lozenge shapes on one side, so poorly executed and unsuitable for display that its purpose, other than perhaps for practice, is puzzling. The origin of the wood and the mechanisms by which it came to be beneath the choir stalls varies. Several of the wooden items will belong to the routine repair and maintenance of the Chapel fittings. A number, however, may well relate to the initial construction of the stalls themselves – offcuts and waste left on the ground as the structure of the stalls grew around them, abandoned rather than lost or discarded.

Two pieces of carved wood differ from the bulk in that they clearly were, at one time, part of the decoration of the Chapel. A gilded fleur de lis has been broken from part of a larger decoration which it has not been possible to identify. The grander piece is a carved semi-human figure of a muscular man with well developed pectoral muscles a large bushy moustache and curling forelock (Fig. 10). The left shoulder has the remnant of a wing and the lower part is curving down into a tail. This figure bears a close similarity to several of those placed in pairs along the top of the choir stall canopy. The figures are paired either side of blank escutcheons varying in shape. Although different mythical figures are represented – griffins, cherubs, winged mermen, female figures, all the pairs match except one set second from the right on the left-hand side of the organ. This has a cherub on the left side and a winged merman on the right, unfortunately for synchronicity, the same side on which the recovered figure would have stood. There are no gaps in the series so the figure recovered from beneath the stalls must have been replaced with a copy. The original, therefore, was not available for the repair which suggests that the accident of its breakage was concealed, the evidence secreted beneath the choir stalls. It is tempting to blame the initially obvious cul-

prits, the Cromwellian soldiers for the damage and deceit, but the stall canopy was not installed until 1675. The less romantic explanation is a moment of carelessness by a workman during one of the many phases of repair.

Fragments of window glass totalled 134. Of these 45 were potmetal (ie stained through with metallic oxides), of which 16 were painted, 67 were clear and painted and 22 were clear. Most of the painted pieces have no recognisable patterns, although several have parts of letters similar to those in the windows above the stalls on both side of the choir. The variety in the glass suggests that it spans the life of the Chapel and relates to repair episodes throughout its history, most probably ending up below the stalls accidentally. For some pieces, however, this cannot be the case. Parts of two diamond-shaped quarries, one almost complete, were recovered. The more complete example is a standard pattern quarry decorated with a yellow iris (Wayment 1988: 19). This pattern was used over and over again for replacements from the 16th to the 19th century, though the original use may date from the mid 15th century (*op cit*). This, in a thick greeny blue glass (cf Wayment 1988 fig. III.2) is early, possibly late 15th century. The second quarry is 16th century in date and is much thinner and flatter with a painted border. The design is the upper part of the letter 'R', and originated from the screen window of Provost Brassie's Chapel (labelled P on Fig. 2). Robert Brassie was provost between October 1556 and November 1558, which ties the date of the quarry down very closely (Wayment 1988: 192). These two pieces stand out in the stalls assemblage as quarries were not used in the main windows of the Chapel, either in the choir or elsewhere. Undoubtedly they derive from side chapels and therefore their deposition beneath the choir stalls is deliberate. Of the several pieces and scraps of leading recovered at King's most seem to have been discarded directly from (presumably replaced or repaired) windows. Only three pieces were milled indicating that they were later in date, the rest was plain and so earlier.

Over time the stalls appear to have been used by

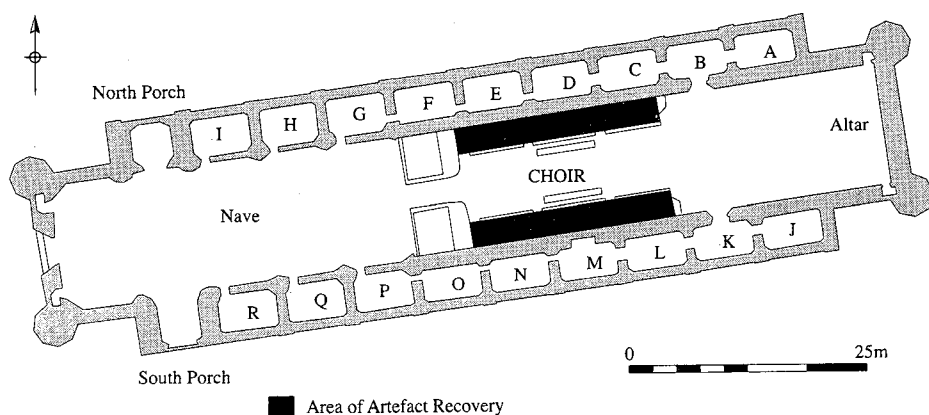


Figure 2. 2. Simplified ground plan of King's College Chapel

some as the equivalent of a convenient 'rug' under which it was easier to sweep or loose items than remove them from the Chapel. Much of the material discussed above probably falls into this category, but in addition are the pieces of at least three besom brooms, a brick, pieces of twine, scraps of textile and plaster fragments. The brooms and textile scraps most probably derive from day-to-day cleaning activity rather than the larger scale building maintenance. There are several access points to the space below the choir stalls through which objects too large to fit between the floorboard cracks could have been deposited. The number of broom pieces in particular indicate that this was not an isolated occurrence.

### *The Civil War Occupation*

Animal bones	Tobacco pipe fragments
Wine bottle	Oyster shells
Lead shot	Wine jug

The details of precisely why King's College Chapel, particularly its fine stained glass windows, survived the vagaries of the Civil War as well as they undoubtedly did has been an issue of debate and not a little antagonism since the publication of the *Querela Cantabrigiensis* in 1646. This document, possibly written by Royalist John Barwick, purports to be an eyewitness account of the privations suffered in Cambridge at the hands of Cromwell's occupying forces. This included numerous humiliations and the destruction of 'superstitious pictures' principally at the instigation of William Dowsing. Despite the legend which grew up, and its several variants, there is no evidence to support the claim that the window glass at King's was anything other than superficially damaged and it certainly was not removed in the course of a single night, either by the College or by Commonwealth soldiers, nor hidden below the lawn or in the organ loft as some versions of the story would have it. A E Reeve has suggested that the story may have grown from the removal of portions of the glass for repair in London, which resulted in some of the designs becoming mixed up (Reeve 1936). Varley, a Cromwellian apologist, states that glass was interfered with or defaced in only three of the Cambridge colleges, Peterhouse, Clare Hall and Magdalene (1935: 39). He considers that the money paid to Dowsing, taken by some commentators to indicate a bribe to leave the King's windows alone, was simply a standard survey fee that he was authorised to demand and 'which was so usually paid that he generally notes non-payment, and there is nothing to suggest that he had any pecuniary interest in it whatsoever' (1935: 38).

Whilst the fabric of the Chapel was left largely intact, however, the building was the focus of some military activity. Several Cambridge colleges became bases for troops of soldiers, at King's it was the men of Major General Crawford. The College accounts for the period list numerous entries for expenses related to 'setting up bedsteads', purchasing 'turves and coal', 'borrowing sheets', 'washing and mending sheets and

making beds' for the soldiers billeted there (Varley 1935: 69). It is also reported that Major General Crawford, a Presbyterian, used the Chapel for parades and training:

'Nor was it any whit strange to find whole Bands of Soldiers training and exercising in the Royal Chappel of King Henry the sixth: Nay even the Commanders themselves (being commanded to shew their new Major General (Crawford) how well they understood their trade) chose that place to train in (whether in policy to conceal their Mistery, or out of fear to betray their ignorance, or on purpose to shew their soldiers how little God's house was to be regarded, let the world conjecture).'

Willis and Clark 1886: 511 quoting from the *Querela Cantabrigiensis*

The evidence from beneath the stalls, however, suggests that the Chapel had a wider range of uses at that time than simple parades or training exercises. At first glance perhaps the oddest part of the assemblage recovered from beneath the stalls were the animal bones. These represented the remains of butchered parts of several sheep, with cow, pig, rabbit and pigeon also present. Examination showed this to represent food waste, the remains of several meals of roasted meat. Given the general context of the Chapel it seems unlikely that College members or the Choir would wish to or that craftsmen and builders would be allowed to cook and consume meat within its walls, therefore the most likely source for this part of the assemblage is Crawford's men. Having accepted the presumption of a particular group carrying out actions which would not normally be considered legitimate for a place of worship, other odd objects amongst the artefacts can more readily be explained. A large glass wine or port bottle and pieces of a bellarmine type wine jug, numerous oyster shells, fragments of early tobacco pipe and a lead shot all find a context in this different presence within the Chapel. Reeve claims that the soldiers caused no "serious inconvenience" within the College (1936) and Willis and Clark report that only two entries relate to damage: 10d for a broken window in 1643 and 1s 8d for deal board in 1644. In addition, however, was the 10s paid to the soldiers in 1644 'when they would have made a disturbance in the Chapel' does suggest that such a possibility was considered not out of the question. Chainey notes that some damage to the heraldic carving in the choir, including the snapping off of unicorn's heads, was recorded and subsequently repaired in 1660 (Chainey 1992: 72 note 10). Without other supporting evidence however this damage cannot be laid at the door of Major General Crawford's men. Nothing was recovered from beneath the stalls to give the lie to the supposition that the soldier's residence in the Chapel, past the basic irreverence of cooking and consuming several meals and concealing the evidence, was anything other than the pragmatic utilisation of the largest building in the vicinity as a wet weather venue.

### Animal Activity

Gnawed nut shells	Rat skull
Human skull fragment	Paper fragments
Textile pieces	Book fragment

There was surprisingly little evidence of purely animal activity beneath the choir stalls. Most of the collection of nut shells, chiefly hazelnut, and some of the animal bone showed signs of gnawing. Fragments of paper and textile and the chewed remnant of an 18th century book also attested to rodents. Whether the material (other than the animal bone) was introduced by the rodents or was lost/deposited and simply 'used' by them there is another unanswerable question. The culprits, however, are probably identified by the presence of a skull of *Rattus norvegicus*, the common rat.

Identified amongst the bone assemblage was a single piece of human skull. Burial within the Chapel was extensive at certain times in its history, but there were no obvious signs that the vaulting immediately beneath the stalls had been damaged or disturbed. Alteration work elsewhere in the Chapel, however, has from time to time unearthed human remains. Most recently, during the levelling of the altar area in 1968, it was reported that large quantities of human bone were discovered and removed as the brick vaulting below the sanctuary floor was destroyed (Chainey 1995: 162). The unscientific way in which this was approached means that it is quite possible that a stray scrap of skull could have been picked up by a scavenging rodent and end up beneath the stall structure.

### Miscellaneous Objects

After the foregoing discussions there remain a small number of objects whose presence below the stalls remains less obviously explained. The decorated handle of a small wooden spoon and finely turned 'chalice' shaped piece are not everyday items, not do they have an obvious Chapel related function. Nevertheless they have been introduced to the Chapel and lost or placed beneath the stalls. The fragment of turned wooden bowl is a far more work-a-day item and could conceivably be associated with the activity of either soldiers or workmen. Its condition, however, marks it out from the rest of the wooden items. In the main the wood from the stall is in very good condition, there is little evidence of woodworm or other sources of post-depositional damage. The bowl fragment, however, has been heavily affected with woodworm which perhaps suggests that it had a different depositional history. It is possible that its arrival below the stalls is a secondary deposition and that prior to that it was elsewhere and that was where the damage occurred. It is not inconceivable, though undemonstrable, that the bowl fragment spent time underground, perhaps in the vaults, and was only deposited below the stalls (by whatever means) following its disinterment.

Whilst the presence of textile scraps below the stalls might seem unusual, there is an definite source for these in the wall hangings of the Chapel and the rags and scraps used by workmen and cleaners. Less

easy to explain are the several pieces of shoe leather. Ten fragments were recovered, mostly offcuts, but also recognisable shoe pieces. Unless used by workmen for hand protection or handling glass or similar, a reason for the presence of these fragments is not obvious.

### Discussion

The three main themes suggested at the outset do seem to hold even if some associations are tentative and some interpretation a little broad. Early in the process of examining the King's College material it was thought that drawing an analogy with the archaeology of caves could inform the study of the artefacts. In fact a cave is not the appropriate image to use, although the tunnel-like space beneath the stalls in some ways physically resembles one. The processes which led to the build up of material are not the same as those which preserve evidence of human and animal activity within an enclosed space, but are a selective record of activity in the space around that space. The story told by the collection of artefacts from the Chapel stalls is not entirely straightforward nor easily dismissed in the sense of the insight it provides into patterns of activity across time in the same physical space. Assemblages from excavated sites, for example the priories at Oxford and Guildford (Lambrick 1985; Poulton & Woods 1984) suggest that some manifestations of certain behaviour (ie fidgeting in church) are fairly universal. The timespan covered by the King's material also indicates that this behaviour changes little over time. A similar comment might be made about the fragmentary remains of the passage of carpenters, glaziers, stonemasons and cleaners. The unique event at King's is the evidence of the series of meals eaten by Cromwell's soldiers between the summers of 1643 and 1644, a few days of the Chapel's long history preserved by chance and perhaps the laziness of whoever deposited the bones beneath the stalls rather than removing them from the Chapel.

As mentioned briefly above the area beneath the stall is a dead space, a void behind the grand façade of King's College Chapel. Objects deposited deliberately were not meant to be seen again. Accidental losses were just that. Some items would have been missed immediately by their owners but seemed unrecoverable, others would have arrived unobserved. Ultimately there is no one analogy which remains appropriate, no one story and no one interpretation either of deposition or of the artefacts themselves. The Chapel stall finds have, however, allowed the unusual opportunity for the archaeologist to glimpse the past in a space whose basic function remains the same today as when it was completed four and a half centuries ago.

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## Appendix 1

### Faunal Remains

Marta Moreno Garcia

Sixty-two bones were identified and the minimum number of individuals calculated for each of the species represented. Preservation of bone varied slightly from sheep and pig to cattle, the index of well preserved bone is over 50% for the former two species whereas a higher proportion of cattle bone displays eroded and very eroded surfaces. The presence of burnt bone is particularly significant among the sheep. Black or white burnt bones were not present but the brownish colour and cracking of the surfaces in some sheep bones attest these bones were in contact with fire. It is possible that they acquired this colour while they were cooked or maybe after having been

consumed they were discarded near a fire. Butchery marks are commented upon below.

### Cattle (*Bos taurus*)

Twelve fragments of cattle bones were examined. One right horn core and a first/second molar were the only remains present from the head. The horn core showed chop marks at the posterior side most likely related to the attempt of removing the horn.

The axial skeleton is represented by two fragments of rib, one cervical and one thoracic vertebra and three fragments of sacrum, heavily chopped. One of the ribs was chopped and showed some cracking of the surface as a result of contact with fire. Both vertebrae were split longitudinally attesting the general practice in late medieval times of dividing the carcass into two sides of beef. All these bones were heavily chopped during the disarticulating process. Knife cuts shown on the lateral and posterior side of the humeri were more likely caused when removing the meat from the bone. The scarcity of bones from the head and lower parts of the legs points to these remains as food refuse. It is likely that portions of beef were purchased and cooked to feed the soldiers in the Chapel. The chopping marks were the result of the initial butchery process carried out by a professional butcher while the knife cuts attest the filleting of the meat as this was being cooked or consumed.

### Sheep (*Ovis aries*)

Sheep is the dominant species in the assemblage with 41 fragments and at least four individuals. In spite of the small sample, remains were grouped into anatomical meat-joint groups to see how different parts of the skeleton were represented and whether any pattern was coming out as to which activity could have produced the assemblage. Ribs, flanks (thoracic and lumbar vertebrae), hind and fore-quarters are considered as the best cuts of meat. Poorer grade meat comes from the mandibles, neck (cervical vertebrae) and tail (caudal vertebrae). The third group includes those bones identified with butchery waste, bone working and other 'industrial' activities, that is horn cores, skulls, metapodials, carpals, tarsals and phalanges. The results are as follows:

Best cuts of meat N=25 %=61  
 Lesser quality meat bones N=9 %=22  
 Waste bones N=7 %=17

It is clear that the best meat-bearing bones are the most abundant. In particular, it is worth mentioning the occurrence from the fore- and hind-quarters:

The one complete radius allowed an estimate of withers height. Using the Teichert conversion factor (von den Dreisch 1976) it was estimated at 62.9cm. This measurement is higher than the general mean obtained from English medieval sites (O'Connor 1982). This supports a later date for this sample which would agree with the period of the Civil War.

All these bones display very precise butchery marks, most of them knife cuts which most probably

indicates filleting. The four scapula have show no damage on their distal part. A skilled butcher would not cause damage if using a sharp and pointed knife to cut the ligaments between the proximal humerus and the distal part of the scapula when removing the anterior limb from the body. The scapula is a good meat provider. Knife cuts displayed on the anterior as well as the posterior sides provide evidence for the stripping of all the flesh. The pattern of fracture observed on the proximal ends could have occurred if the scapula were hung, but this is a hypothetical conclusion. As far as the lesser quality meat and waste bone are concerned it is worth noting the occurrence of three skull fragments that have been chopped to extract the brains. All vertebrae were split longitudinally as for cattle.

Skeletal elements and butchery marks therefore suggest this is table refuse. It is impossible to say if they were the result of one or several meals but the repetition of the same bones suggest portions of the same individuals were purchased and consumed.

#### *Pig (Sus dom.)*

The sample of pig bone is three fragments: one left diaphysis of femur, one right diaphysis of tibia and one fragment of cervical vertebra. Knife cuts, and burning at half shaft of the tibia indicate this species was treated very much like the sheep carcasses.

#### **Conclusions**

Bones from this site can be considered food refuse and not derived from any other activity. The butchery patterns and burning seem to point more to roasting than boiling portions of meat. Cracking on one of the ribs points towards contact with fire while roasting the meat. The same can be said for the sheep bones. Whole portions of front and hind legs of mutton were consumed, most probably roasted. However this conclusion must be taken with caution due to the small size of the sample. Finally, the precision of the chop marks and the slight damage inflicted on bones such as pelvis and scapula indicates that the secondary butchery of the carcasses was carried out by a professional. Most probably whole portions were purchased from a butchers.

## **Appendix 2**

### **Selected Finds Catalogue**

<##> refers to CAU Catalogue reference number

#### *Clay Tobacco Pipe (Fig. 3)*

<064> 2 bowls, 5 pieces of stem.

Bowls:

- (i) 23mm high x 10mm dia at top. Bowl shape bulbous. Milled rim.
- (ii) 26mm high x 12mm dia at top. Bowl shape bulbous. Milled rim, stamped ST on heel.

#### *Glass: Vessel*

<007> 14 pieces from various bottles including:

- (i) 5 pieces from a large port or wine bottle in dark green

glass with a few bubbles. The large base (127mm dia) has a deep kick (46mm deep). The neck still has the cork in place.

- (ii) 1 double white glass bead.
- (iii) 2 as 1 white glass.
- (iv) 1 green ribbed neck.
- (v) 2 x greeny-blue body pieces (from different vessels).
- (vi) 2 x green neck pieces (from different vessels).
- (vii) 1 x blue glass, probably from a small fat bottle or flask. Fine glass.

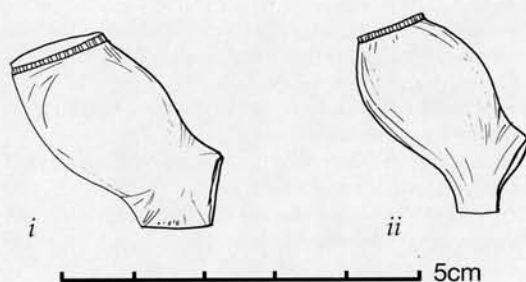
#### *Glass: Window*

<003> 29 pieces of coloured window glass (potmetal). The colour ranges from deep purple through deep, mid and pale blue to a pale greeny-blue. The two pieces which appear red are clear glass with a red skin applied. A small octagon is clearly two pieces stuck together, one red one slightly thicker white, total thickness 3mm.

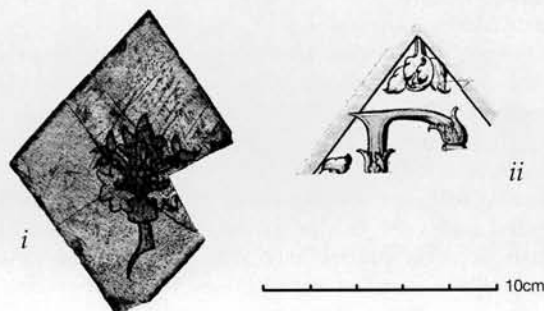
<004> 16 pieces of coloured and painted glass. All painted on one side, no discernible designs. 7 x green, 1 x red, 2 x purple, 3 x brown, 2 x greeny-blue, 1 x darker greeny-blue.

<005> 22 pieces of clear, but not white, window glass. Varies in thickness from >2-1mm. Some pieces have many bubbles while a few seem bubble free. 3 pieces have a grubby coating and one of these has thick white paint like substance along one edge. No prepared or grozed edges evident.

<006> 67 clear decorated pieces. Several different patterns are represented including abstract, floral and parts of letters which appear similar in style to those still in the windows. None appear to have figurative images. Several pieces have evidence of complex shaping. Includes 2 partially complete quarries:



**Figure 3.** Tobacco pipe bowls



**Figure 4.** Stained and painted window glass quarries

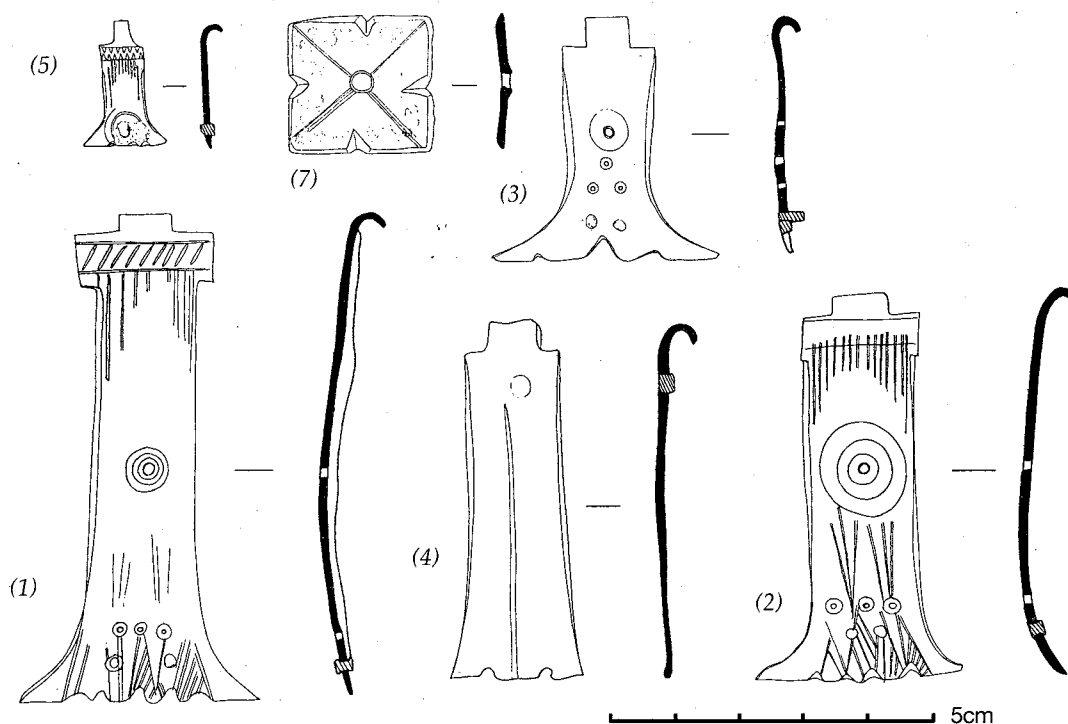


Figure 5. 15th and 16th century book fittings

(i) Early, 2.5mm thick greeny-blue, almost complete. Floral emblem (probably a yellow iris) in centre of a diamond quarry, edges roughly grozed. Not quite flat. Outline of design painted on one face of the glass, colouring on the other. A 'standard' quarry as described by Wayment (1988; 19). Fifteenth century (Fig. 4.1).

(ii) Much thinner, c. 1mm, upper half of diamond, grozed around edges. Painted border. Design incomplete but shows the upper part of the letter 'R'. Originates from the screen window of Provost Brassie's Chapel (Provost 1556-1558). 16th century (Fig. 4.2).

#### Leather

<028> Small cylindrical bead. 6mm high x 8mm dia.

<054> Ten fragments, mostly offcuts, but some recognisable shoe pieces.

<055> Small fragment stamped leather 33 x 17mm. Discernible letters: |?·Y·PEN|.

#### Metalwork

<029> Lead: Stained glass window fittings, offcuts and scraps. Some pieces look as if they were in windows at some stage. From the condition it seems more likely that most of the pieces relate to the Victorian and 1960's restoration work than being original.

<030> Copper alloy, 15 lace ends, one with material still attached. Probably derived from clothing, most likely that of choirboys.

<031> Copper alloy, short length of chain and a detached loop. Possibly book or lamp fitting.

<032> Eight Copper alloy, book fittings (Fig.5). (more listed than illustrated, AD to reconcile)

(1) 76mm long, decorated upper surface. Seems to be bound to a strip of iron. 15/16th century.

(2) 59mm long, broad similar decoration to (1), but engraved/stamped more firmly. 15/16th century.

(3) 37mm long, has the same form as (1) and (2) but is smaller. 15/16th century.

(4) 55mm long, but broken. Plainer with only a central mid line as decoration. 15th century.

(5) 19mm long, very small, some decoration on upper face. 15/16th century. Possibly from a book of hours.

(6) two strips, one pierced and decorated around three holes (61x9mm), the other plain (25x6mm)

(7) one square/lozenge shaped stud fastening, central hole, decorated (22x20mm). 15th century, earlier type than the others. From a very large book.

<034> Copper alloy, 26 pins. A mixture of round, wrapped and flat heads.

<036> Lead, small shot. 11mm diam. (Fig. 6)

<037> Cu alloy, eyelet.

#### Coins/jetons

<038> 1914 penny

<039> 1944 half-penny

<040> 1964 silver sixpence

<041> jeton:

obverse: orb and cross, legend: includes DOMINA ET

reverse: crown and lis

Late 16th, possibly early 17th century. Struck by a known but illegible guild master.



5cm

Figure 6. Lead shot

## &lt;042&gt; jeton:

obverse: orb and cross, legend: includes DOMINA ET  
reverse: crown and lis

Late 16th century, anonymous Nuremberg small flan.

## &lt;043&gt; jeton:

Pierced ship-penny, anonymous Nuremberg issue  
1490–1550.

## &lt;044&gt; jeton:

obverse: orb and cross  
reverse: crown and lis  
1500–1585, rose/orb jeton

## &lt;053&gt; 1971 penny

*Paper*

<065> Part of a book c. 65 x 50 x 25mm. If book was complete this is a section of the lower left hand corner by the spine, so that one side has only ends of lines, the other the beginnings of lines. Part of the cover is preserved with the spine and stitching. The cover is pasteboard bound with possibly tanned sheep or calf skin. The paper is antique laid, but not medieval. The stitching is a 2 strand S-twist, possibly in linen. Most of the visible pages are printed in English in an old fashioned Gothic style script, however at least one page is printed in a different typescript on one side. The text is probably a liturgical book or similar rather than the Bible, the different type face indicating perhaps a commentary on the main text in the older style type. The book dates to around the 18th century (Nicholas Hedgecraft pers comm)

3 scraps of hand-written paper.

<066> Mid 16th century, part of a letter or note in English (possible reference to Wednesday the 7th). Written on one side only.

<067> Late 17th century, part of a Latin text or exercise. Close written both sides.

<068> Mid 16th century, in English, similar script to <066>. Written on both sides.

One side: *be seme(l)y*  
*S rethe(?e) T*  
*wd. Your*  
M

Other side: *yne*  
*bard A co*  
*?c e howsses of*

All three pieces appear chewed and are probably the result of rodent activity.

<069> Paper. Two playing cards, six of spades and ten of hearts (86 x 55mm). If they had a pattern on the back it has gone, but they may have been plain. Made from layers of pressed laid paper. The symbols are rough, probably stencilled or hand stamped. The cards date to the 17th or 18th centuries (McKitterick pers comm).

<070> (i) Chapel Service List Nov–Dec 1957, (ii) Chapel Service List Feb–Mar 1972

Note: In 1957 Holy Communion took place before Matins, in 1972 the Service order is reversed. In 1957 a 7.30am start, in 1972, 7.50am.

<071> Piece of pink card with "THE MAYOR" written on it in black marker pen. Modern.

<072> Wood and paper box for "Damp Proof Matches" plus 2 used match sticks. Legend says "I'm your match", 'Beware of imitations'. Probably late 19th or early 20th century

*Textiles*

<022> Cloth covered button.

<056> Woven textile, probably wool. Fairly coarse threads. Roughly 90x32mm (is wider but too fragile to unfold)

<057> Several pieces of material, including:

(i) Fine, several sections with an almost leather like outer surface, sewn together, possibly 'doe skin' fabric

(ii) Three pieces much coarser material crudely sewn together with string like thread as outer/hessian middle/inner.

(iii) Small fragment machine knitted textile.

<058> Part of a hanging or possibly a shoe. Three pieces sewn together with fine copper wire.

<059> Leather and woven textile – part of a shoe. The cloth may have been blue.

<060> Knotted braiding, cotton or linen. (Too fragile to measure)

<061> Hessian rope and twine, three pieces.

*Wood*

<008> 3 besom type broom heads, one noticeably smaller than the others.

<009> 8 cut wooden pegs, straight edges, pointed ends (Fig. 7).

<010> 9 rougher cut wood, some pieces still with bark on.

<011> 14 pieces: mostly offcuts, shavings and a broken peg. Basically carpenter's waste. 1 piece moulded wood 750 x 49 x 22mm.

<013>

(i) Test piece, has pencil lines on back and three crudely cut lozenge shapes on the front. 104 x 87 x 7mm (Fig. 8).

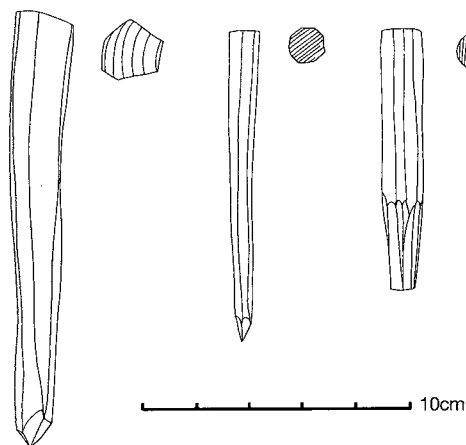


Figure 7. Carpenter's pegs

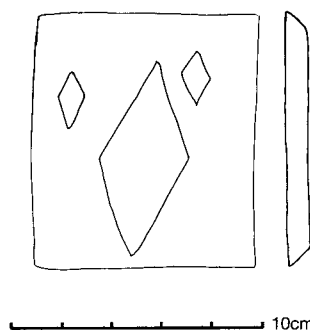


Figure 8. Wooden 'trial' piece

(ii) Larger piece, snapped longitudinally (241 x 89 x 9mm). One side has incised cuts, some of which have been inlaid with a lighter coloured material (wood?) which is now largely missing. The plaque is pierced in several places, most of the holes corresponding to the carving. The piece may have been part of a book binding.(Fig. 9),

<014> Carved male mythical 'human' figure 175mm high. Exaggerated pectoral muscles, large bushy moustache and little forelock. Remains of a wing on the right shoulder, detached fragment of wing with it. The figure's waist tapers and would have ended in a curved merman-like tail. The front surface of the wood is dark, unlike all the other wood found. The form of the figure identifies it as having been part of the decoration of the stalls canopy and subsequently broken or removed (Fig. 10).

<015> Thin slat, possibly part of a book press contents list. Wood, 170 x 56 x 3mm, zigzag pattern cut around edges. 2 copper alloy hinges on one edge. Traces of leather cover adhering to one side, on the other side are traces of 2 blocks of print. These are reversed and so presumably the pattern transferred from the document. It is possible that the wood was cut after ceasing to be used for its original purpose as the zigzag cutting is rather crude and it cuts across the blocks of text.

<016> 16 pieces: Some moulded offcuts, some broken carving. Includes 1 turned finial, 2 unfinished 'scrolls', 2 as 1 broken tracery carving plus a non-joining scrap.

<017> Small wooden object, resembles the stem of a small chalice. 34mm high, 19mm dia. base (Fig. 11).

<018> 1 broken gilded fleur de lis (44mm high x 34mm wide)

<020> Fragment of turned wooden bowl, badly damaged by woodworm (Fig. 12).

<021> 10 wooden beads, possibly paternoster beads.

<023> Wooden button.

<025> 10 miscellaneous small button shaped worked pieces, 9 turned, 1 carved.

<026> 1 turned piece, similar in shape to an acorn.

<027> 1 round sectioned peg with piece of string still attached.



Figure 10. Mythical figure broken from stall canopy

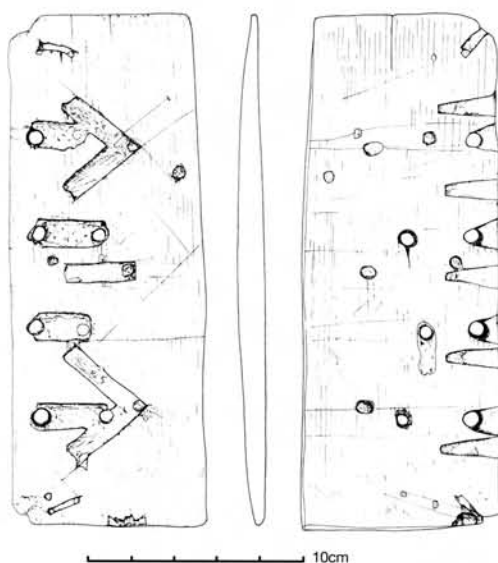


Figure 9. Possible book cover

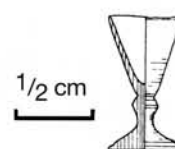


Figure 11. Stem of chalice?

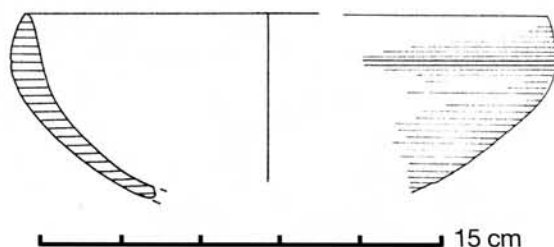


Figure 12. Wooden bowl

### Miscellaneous

- <016> Carved handle of wooden spoon? Trace of bowl survives. 80mm long (Fig. 13).
- <019> Double sided bone comb. Made from one piece, fine teeth one side, coarser on the other. Survives 25mm x 48mm. Finely made but not decorated (Fig. 14).
- <025> Half a polished stone 'marble'
- <047> 2 possible tile fragments. The smaller one does appear to be glazed, but the larger piece is very rough and may well not be tile.
- <049> Fragment of moulded stone with traces of plaster/lime wash adhering, suggesting that at some time it was *in situ* within the fabric of the Chapel (Fig. 14).
- <073> 2 wax candles and a mass of wax drippings. (i) 117mm long x 14mm dia. (ii) 54mm long x 15mm dia. Both have been used. Appear dipped rather than moulded.
- <076> Nut shells: Walnut half-shells, some broken, could be human derived; Hazelnuts, most show signs of animal gnawing.

### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Henry Freeland of Freeland Rees Roberts and King's College, particularly Ken Hook, the Domestic Bursar and J-M Massing, for making this investigation possible. Bedford Timber Preservation and their foreman Dennis Robertson gave every assistance during recovery of the artefacts in very uncomfortable conditions. The finds were processed and catalogued by Julie Boast. Catherine Hall (Corpus) commented upon the manuscript fragments; Peter Jones and Nicholas Hedgecroft (Kings) commented upon the book fragment and binding; Marta Moreno Garcia wrote the bone report; Dr David McKitterick (Trinity Library) commented upon the playing cards; the jetons were assessed by the coins department at Fitzwilliam Museum. Finds illustrations are by Crane Begg, plans by the author. Whilst the author remains responsible for all opinions expressed in the report it has benefited enormously from discussion with and comments by Christopher Evans and Dr David Edwards at CAU and Peter Jones at Kings.

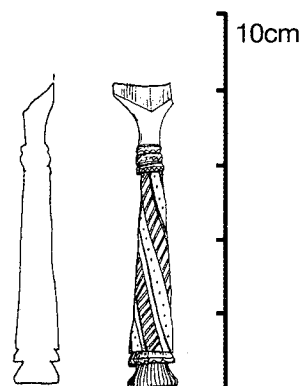


Figure 13. Spoon handle?

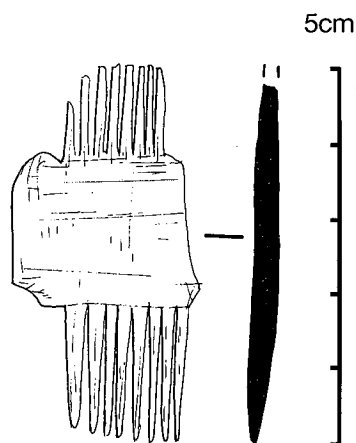


Figure 14. Bone comb

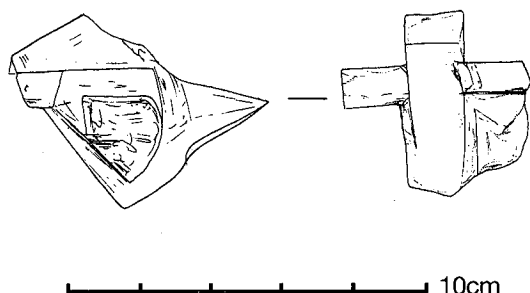


Figure 15. Moulded stone fragment

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### Contents

A Romano-Celtic Shrine and Settlements at Little Paxton Quarry, Diddington, Cambridgeshire Alex Jones	5
Felix's life of St Guthlac: Hagiography and/or Truth Audrey L Meaney	29
Anglo-Saxon minsters in south Cambridgeshire Susan Oosthuizen	49
The 1291 valuation of the churches of Ely diocese J H Denton	69
Cambridgeshire Bell Frames Robert Walker	81
King's College Chapel, Cambridge: A Study of Artefacts Recovered from Beneath the Choir Stalls Alison Dickins	115
The Cambridge Mosque and Muslim Community Timothy Insoll	127
Reviews Alison Taylor	133
Field-Work in Cambridgeshire 2000 Helen Lewis, Tim Malim and Judith Roberts	137
<i>Index</i>	149
Abbreviations	158