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# Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society

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(incorporating the Cambs and Hunts Archaeological Society)

Volume XCIII  
for 2004



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THE CONDUIT: *local history and archaeology organisations and events*

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(incorporating the Cambs and Hunts Archaeological Society)

**Volume XCIII  
for 2004**

Editor Alison Taylor

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## Contents

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|  |     |
|--|-----|
| The Structure and Formation of the Wandlebury area<br>Steve Boreham  | 5   |
| Prehistoric Lithics from Station Road, Gamlingay, Cambridgeshire<br>Jon Murray   | 9   |
| Evaluation survey and excavation at Wandlebury Ringwork, Cambridgeshire, 1994–7<br>Charles French  | 15  |
| A Roman Cemetery in Jesus Lane, Cambridge<br>Mary Alexander, Natasha Dodwell and Christopher Evans   | 67  |
| Anglo-Saxons on the Cambridge Backs: the Criminology site settlement and<br>King's Garden Hostel cemetery<br>Natasha Dodwell, Sam Lucy and Jess Tipper | 95  |
| The Origins and Early Development of Chesterton, Cambridge<br>Craig Cessford with Alison Dickens   | 125 |
| A late seventeenth-century garden at Babraham, Cambridgeshire<br>Christopher Taylor  | 143 |
| The Hearth Tax and the Country House in 'Old' Cambridgeshire<br>Tony Baggs   | 151 |
| The Cambridgeshire Local History Society Photographic Project 1992–2000<br>Gill Rushworth and John Pickles   | 159 |
| Surface scatters, rates of destruction and problems of ploughing and weathering<br>in Cambridgeshire<br>Stephen Upex                                   | 161 |
| Fieldwork in Cambridgeshire 2003   | 179 |
| Book Reviews<br>Alison Taylor  | 189 |
| <i>Index</i>   | 195 |
| Abbreviations  | 201 |
| Recent Accessions to the Cambridgeshire Collection<br>Chris Jakes  | 203 |
| Summaries of papers presented at the Spring Conference<br>13 March 2004, Law Faculty, Cambridge: <i>Recovering Cambridgeshire's Past</i>               | 215 |
| THE CONDUIT: local history and archaeology organisations, societies and events   | 221 |

## Editorial

The first thing you will notice about these Proceedings is our leap (as a belated welcome to the 21st century) into colour, for our cover and a number of plates. This is not really an innovation: CAS had beautiful colour plates in 1883 and a few other 19th century volumes. At last this is affordable again, and the water colour drawings and photographs we wanted to show seemed to fully merit some extra expense. In future, we will look carefully at illustrations that would benefit from such reproduction and would be particularly keen to include fine examples of artefacts.

This volume contains some very substantial reports on archaeological work, for we are one of the few outlets available for full publication of excavations. It is refreshing to see that these all relate to recent work, not the backlogs that once were a feature of British archaeology. A quick look at the 'Fieldwork in Cambridgeshire 2003' section however reminds us what a small proportion of current work can be made available in this way. Of course, reports on all sites are produced and can be purchased from the relevant units or consulted in the county archaeological office. In future, these will also be added to a national data base known as OASIS, run by the Archaeology Data Service, so accessing this huge amount of data will eventually be much simpler. We aim to keep you abreast with such advances through our own website, [www.camantsoc.org](http://www.camantsoc.org).

It was a great pleasure to be asked by the Cambridgeshire Local History Society to publish a short note on their superb photographic project, a worthy successor to CAS' similar project in the early part of the 20th century, now a much valued part of the Cambridgeshire Collection. This voluntary effort will likewise be used by those involved with the historic environment in years to come. The same Society asked us to include the list of recent additions to the Cambridgeshire Collection, compiled by Chris Jakes. This list used to be included in *Conduit* and has been much missed. It reminds us that our local historians are not far behind local archaeologists in their labours, a tribute to the floods of new data from an ever-active antiquarian community.

'Fieldwork', 'Reviews', 'Spring Conference report' and 'Conduit' are regular items we have managed to maintain – and which add to another substantial volume. This year, 'Conduit' was compiled at short notice by our redoubtable President, Tony Kirby, to whom we owe many thanks. In the nature of things this has to be done at the last moment, and even so many societies do not have a complete programme for the following year at the time we need it. We would therefore like to have a Supplement later in the year, as with original *Conduit*, but currently this is beyond our means. Perhaps we will have better news next year.

It remains to offer further thanks to our retiring President. Tony has taken the Society safely through two quite difficult years, and this October hands over to Nicholas James. Our Secretaries carry an even larger burden of work for the Society, of which organising nine lectures, often by speakers of national repute, is only one part. We are therefore extremely grateful to our retiring Secretary, Liz Allan, and to Janet Morris, who has now taken on the challenge. We must say a sorry farewell too to Don Fage, who has had the tough job of Registrar. It may also be noticed that we still have vacancies for Excursions Officer and for Editor of *Conduit*, so do contact us if you are interested in volunteering.

Alison Taylor  
Editor

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## The Origins and Early Development of Chesterton

Craig Cessford with Alison Dickens  
with a contribution by David Hall

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*Excavations by the Cambridge Archaeological Unit (CAU) at sites in the village of Chesterton (Figure 1) between 1998 and 2002 have shed new light on the origins and early development of Chesterton. Late Saxon Chesterton appears to have been a polyfocal settlement, whilst in the Post-Conquest period there is evidence for a planned settlement with intensive layout of property plots and a main axis perpendicular to the River Cam, probably relating to a ferry across the river. By the 13th century ditched divisions disappear, although continued occupation is apparent, mainly through the digging of pits. The settlement expanded in the 13th century, with the main axis shifting to become parallel to the river. Chesterton appears to decline in the 14th century, followed by partial recovery in the 15th and 16th centuries. The ceramic assemblage indicates that medieval and post-medieval pottery was probably obtained via Cambridge, whilst the cereals consumed were not being grown locally but were coming from an area with slightly damp, heavy soils. Occupation continues until the 17th century when there is a dramatic increase in activity. Although later truncation and the fact that no excavation areas included roadside zones mean that evidence is limited, these excavations represent the first substantial archaeological evidence for the history of Chesterton.*

### Historical background

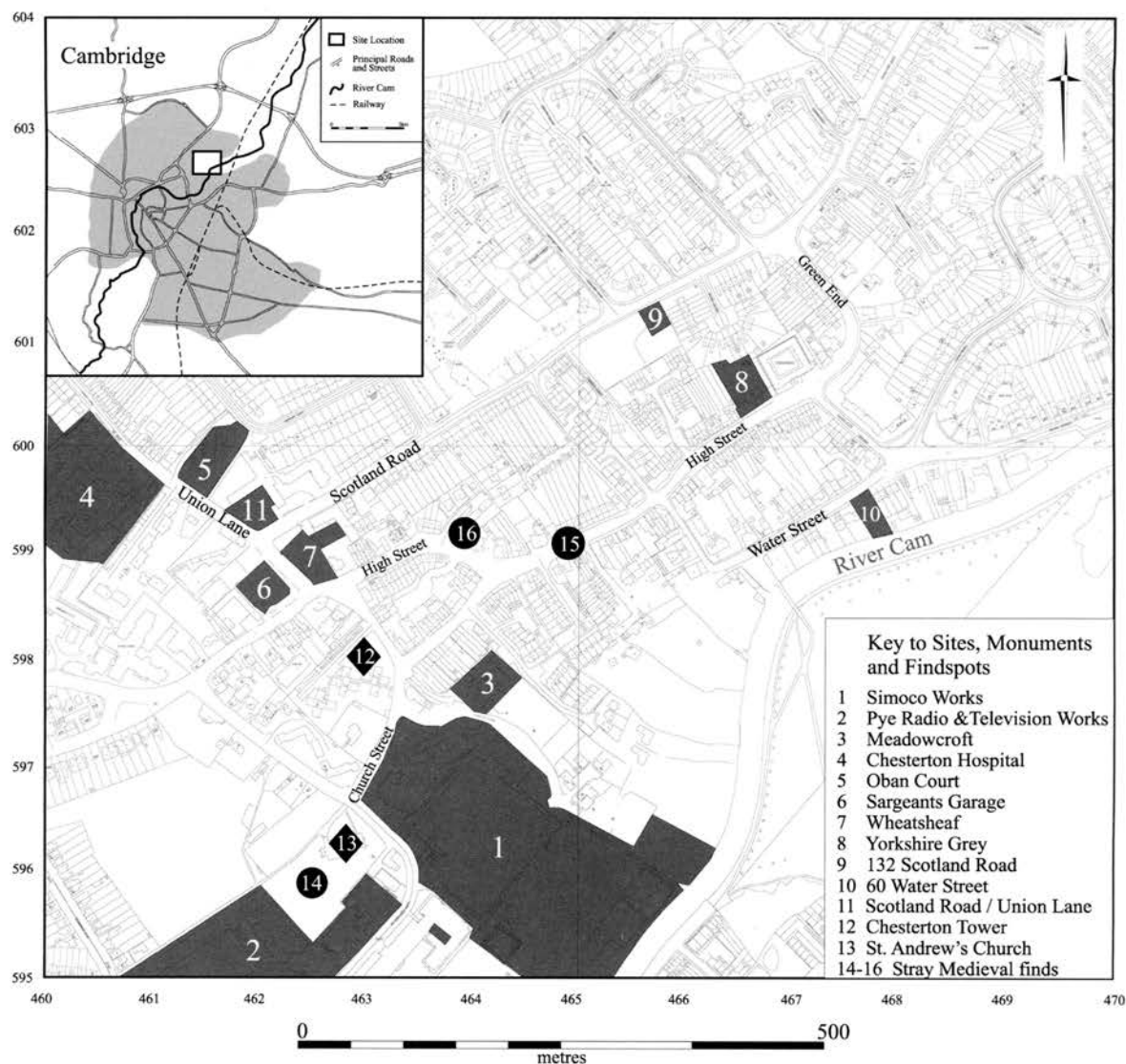
Two useful recent discussions of Chesterton are the Victoria County History (Wright 1989) and Taylor (1999, 121–26). The earliest documentary reference to Chesterton is as *Cestreton* in Domesday Book, when it was a royal *vill* with 24 peasant families. Topographically it appears that the two ‘halves’ of the town fields of Cambridge, the eastern or Cambridge fields and the western or Barnwell fields, and the parish of Chesterton form a roughly circular area centred on the Roman town (Haslam 1983, figure 3). It seems likely that this was the extent of the original royal estate and that they were separated in the 8th century when the *burh* of Cambridge was formed (*ibid*). The name *Cestreton* (farm by the fortified place) suggests that the original centre of the *vill* lay elsewhere and it was probably only with its 8th century separation that the settlement on the site of the medieval vil-

lage was founded. Based on the street plan and the location of the church it is believed that the earliest settlement lay around St Andrew’s church and the manor house, north of a ferry crossing over the Cam leading from Suffolk and east Cambridgeshire to the King’s Highway, which linked Cambridge to the Isle of Ely. This early settlement probably occupied an oval area covering roughly the area currently enclosed by Church Lane (mentioned in 1327, now Church Street) and the western part of High Street (mentioned in 1293), perhaps extending further westwards. At a relatively early date the orientation of the village changed and was extended eastwards along High Street. Curving crofts on the enclosure map suggest properties in this area were laid out over open fields and extended northwards to a parallel road known as Back Lane (mentioned in c. 1600, now Scotland Road). This was linked to the west end of High Street by Mill Lane (mentioned in 1325, now Union Lane) and at the eastern end by Green End. There were probably also lanes running down to the river, although Water Street (mentioned in 1580), parallel to the High Street, may be a later development.

The *vill* remained in royal hands until 1194, when part of it was assigned to Saher de Quincy. The whole manor had passed to Barnwell Priory by 1200 and they retained it until the dissolution of the monasteries in the 1540s, when it passed into the hands of the Brakyn family. The rectory estate was given by the king to the papal legate Cardinal Gualo in 1218 and was appropriated by the abbey of St Andrew in Vercelli, Italy, in 1227. Although occasionally leased to or otherwise controlled by Barnwell Priory the estate remained in the control of St Andrew’s until the Dissolution and passed to King’s Hall, later Trinity College. A Carmelite monastery briefly occupied a site in Chesterton in the mid 13th century and some parcels of land that were let from the main landholdings became manors in their own right.

The Domesday population probably represents about 100 individuals and by 1225 around 190 persons paid tax. In 1279 there were around 80 resident landholders and at least 80 messuages and 5 cottages, whilst in 1327 almost 80 people paid the subsidy. The population fell during the 14th century,





**Figure 1.** Plan of Chesterton.

Based on the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map. With the permission of the controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office  
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with 70 villagers dying during 1349, and in 1524 73 people were assessed for tax. In 1563 69 households were reported.

St Andrew's church (13) although mainly 14th century in date incorporates 13th-century elements whilst Chesterton Tower (12), probably the residence of the procurator of the abbot of Vercelli, is of 14th-century date (RCHM 1959, nos 60 and 305).

### The excavations

Prior to the work reported here little archaeological investigation had been undertaken in Chesterton and medieval discoveries consisted of stray artefacts (14–16) (Browne 1974, map 16). Excavations have taken place at three main sites: Sargeants Garage (6) on the western side of the junction of High Street and Union Lane (Alexander 1998; Hall 1999), the

Wheatsheaf public house (7) on the eastern side of the same junction (Armour 2001b; Masser 2000) and the Yorkshire Grey public house (8) some 450m to the northeast on the northern side of the High Street (Mackay 2001a; 2001b). Additionally there is more limited evidence from the Chesterton Hospital site (4) on the western side of Union Lane, some 100m north of the Sargeants Garage and Wheatsheaf sites (Armour 2001a; Hatherley 2001; Mackay 2000a). Work at the former Pye Radio and Television Works (2) (Armour 2000; Berger and Dickens 2000), 'Meadowcroft' (3) (Mackay 2000b) and the Simoco Works site (1) (Armour 2002) to the south failed to reveal any medieval remains, although later truncation means that the absence of remains is inconclusive. Work to the north at 132 Scotland Road (9) (Patten 2003) revealed 18th and 19th century gravel extraction and earlier undated ditches. Excavations by the Hertfordshire Archaeological Trust at Oban Court (5)



(Fell 1999) and by Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit at Water Street (10) (Cooper 1999) failed to reveal medieval remains. As Oban Court lies between Sargeants Garage/the Wheatsheaf and Chesterton Hospital the lack of remains would be significant, were it not that their absence was probably due to modern disturbance (Fell 1999, 7). More recently work at the junction of Scotland Road and Union Lane (11) by Hertfordshire Archaeological Trust revealed some small undated features and two large irregular features containing 10th to 12th century pottery (Grant and Wilkins 2002). Further to the east work by Museum of London Archaeology Service at Nuffield Road Allotment Gardens revealed an Iron Age or Roman pit and post-medieval ditches but no medieval activity (Mackinder 1999). The Sargeants Garage, Wheatsheaf and Yorkshire Grey sites all lay within the putative medieval core of the village, whilst Chesterton Hospital lies outside it to the north.

#### *Phase 1: Prehistoric and Romano-British*

Residual prehistoric and Roman pottery was found at all three main sites and it is possible that some undated features may belong to these periods. The only convincing prehistoric feature was a pit at the Yorkshire Grey containing early to mid Bronze Age pottery (Figure 3). Although Romano-British pottery was found in residual contexts at some sites there are no convincing features, although it is possible that a buried ploughsoil of this date was present at the Chesterton Hospital site.

#### *Phase 2: Late Saxon (Figures 2–3)*

Small quantities of Middle Saxon pottery, including some Ipswich ware, were found at all three main sites, generally in residual contexts and no features of this date were identified. Although the pottery supports the idea of a Middle Saxon origin for Chesterton they indicate that this was located nearby, rather than at any of the excavated sites.

At the Wheatsheaf there were two phases of Late Saxon activity, the earlier represented by ditches running southeast to northwest parallel to Union Lane. The ditch appears to have been re-established at least five times, with indications of additional recuts, and was over 0.8m wide and 0.5m deep. They appear to have been cut from northeast to southwest, no trace of a bank survived but the putative sequence suggests that this would have been located to the northeast, outside the area of excavation. The later phase is indicated by another ditch, which follows roughly the same alignment as the earlier one, but then turns through 90 degrees and runs northeast to southwest across the site. This was between 1.5 and 1.2m wide and up to 0.5m deep. No finds of any type were recovered from these features, but cereals in the earlier ditches suggest a date no earlier than the early medieval period and it is likely that these ditches represent a relatively long-lived Late Saxon boundary running parallel to Union Street, which was modified in its final phase. As there is no evidence of Late Saxon activity at Sargeants Garage, apart from residual pot-

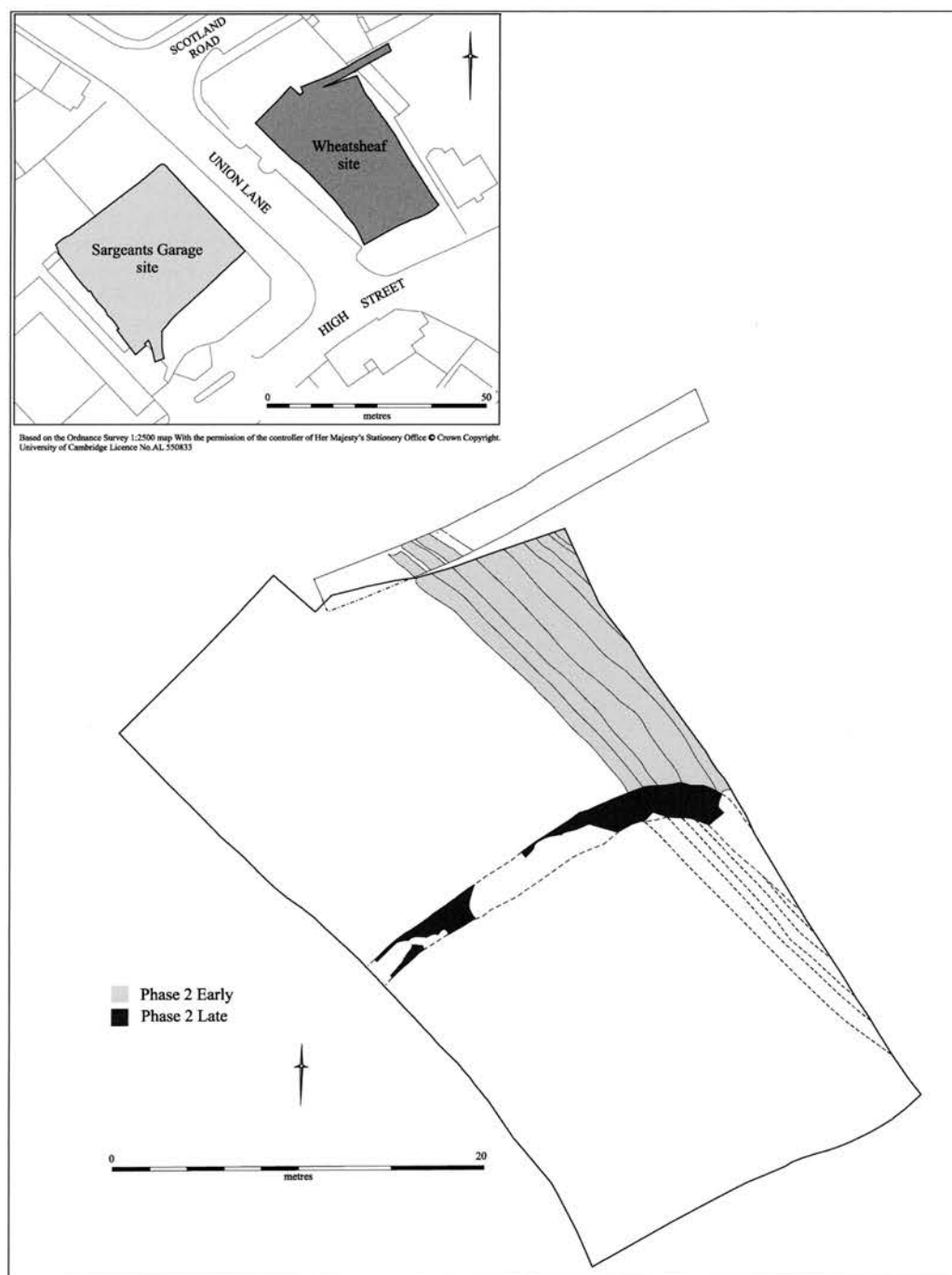
tery, this suggests that the other side of the enclosure was on the line of High Street. This would make the enclosure around 25m wide and if in its later phase it fronted onto Union Lane then it would be approximately 30m long. Alternatively the ditches could be one side of an earlier road running parallel to Union Lane, but located around 30m from it.

Late Saxon activity at the Yorkshire Grey is indicated by a pair of ditches 0.9 to 1.9m wide and 0.4 to 0.5m deep, in the northeast part of the site forming part of a square or rectangular enclosure. Although it lay largely outside the area of excavation the minimum area it can have enclosed must have been around 10 by 12m and it was probably substantially larger. The only other features were a spread of silty material containing much animal bone lying on the northwest side of the enclosure (probably a domestic midden) and two pits containing small amounts of pottery and animal bone within the enclosure, suggestive of domestic activity. Although found in a later context a relief-decorated strap-end (Figure 11) may well have come from the spread of material.

The evidence suggests that in the Late Saxon period the landscape of Chesterton contained large enclosed areas demarcated by ditches. These ditches are broadly comparable to other Late Saxon examples such as those at West Fen Road, Ely (Mortimer *et al* forthcoming). The size of the Chesterton ditches suggests that they are major enclosure boundaries and the relatively large areas enclosed are in contrast to the smaller plots of the later medieval period (*ibid*). The lack of other features and the low quantity of finds, even in residual contexts, suggests that the foci of domestic occupation was elsewhere, probably relatively close. The evidence suggests at least three separate areas of activity, two revealed by excavation at the Wheatsheaf and the Yorkshire Grey and the putative third around St Andrews church. More foci may well have existed, so it appears that in the Late Saxon period Chesterton consisted of small dispersed sites rather than a single core around St Andrews church. Such polyfocal Late Saxon origins are common both locally in South Cambridgeshire and elsewhere (cf Taylor, A 1997; 1998; Taylor, CC 1977; 1989). Alternatively they could all be parts of a single large settlement that was at least 500m long, but this seems less probable.

#### *Phase 3: Late 11th and 12th centuries (Figures 3–4)*

In the late 11th or early 12th centuries activity expands markedly at all sites. At both Sargeants Garage and the Wheatsheaf relatively intensive and extensive ditch systems were aligned on Union Lane and the High Street. The ditches were generally quite small, 0.5 to 0.9m wide and 0.25 to 0.4m deep. Such small ditches are common in this period and it has been argued that they were kept small so that they would not prevent the movement of people and livestock, but would provide demarcation of boundaries and some drainage (Hall and Hunter-Mann 2001, 807–09). This ditch system extended northwards along Union Lane as far as the Chesterton Hospital site, where



*Figure 2. Phase 2 (Late Saxon) features at the Wheatsheaf.*

there are ditches perpendicular to the road, although on a less intensive scale than those further south and probably not extending any great distance from Union Lane. The ditch systems at Sargeants Garage and the Wheatsheaf both went through several phases of modification and recutting, indicating a relatively prolonged period of use. It appears that initially a relatively large number of long and narrow regular property plots approximately 6m wide and 25m long were created, fronting onto both the High Street and Union Lane. These are towards the middle or lower

end of the size of medieval property plots which are generally 5 to 12m wide and 15 to 60m long. At Sargeants Garage the majority of the surviving ditches appear to represent properties fronting onto the High Street, with the two main ditches perpendicular to Union Lane probably being the rear of these properties. These showed evidence that the properties fronting onto the High Street were extended northwards by around 5m during this phase, making them about 30m long. It is only the two less substantial ditches perpendicular to Union Lane in the northern part of



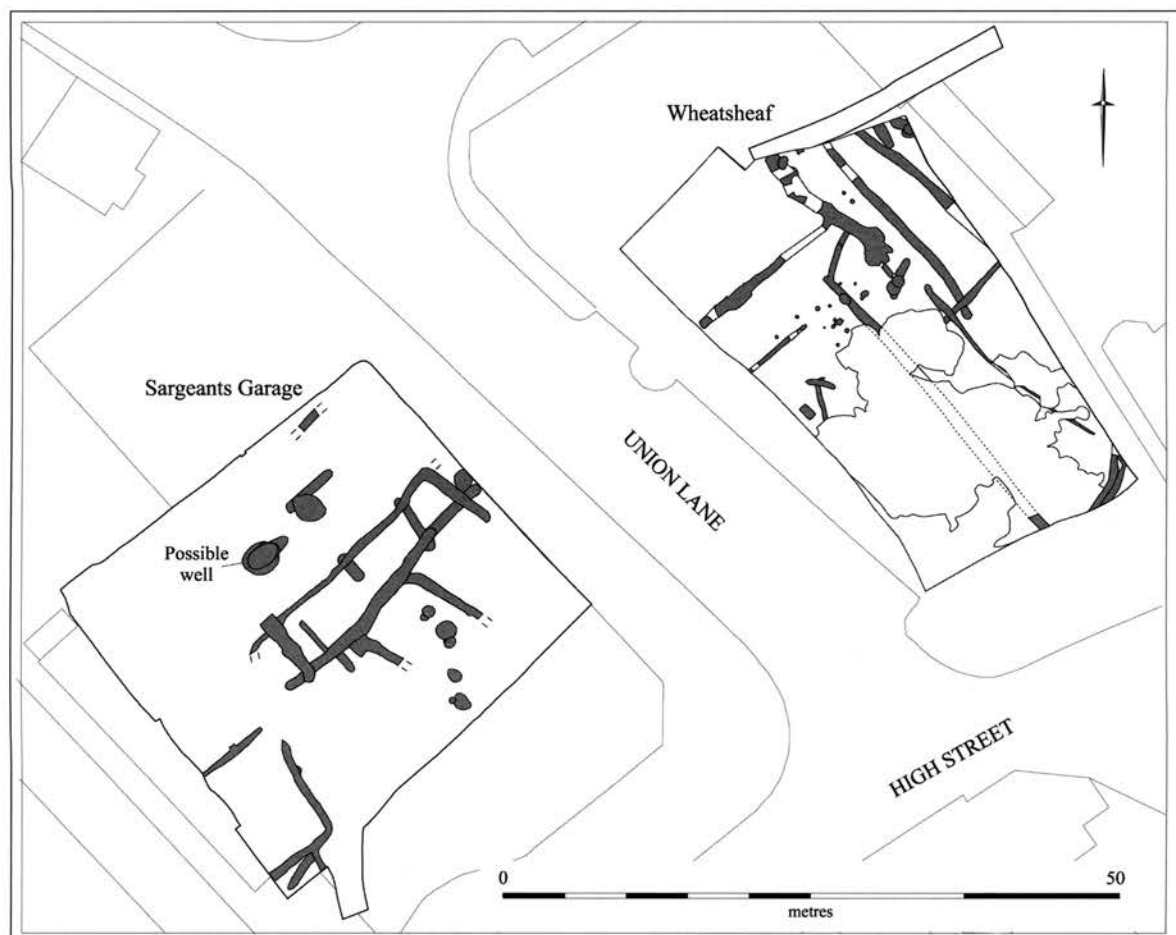
Figure 3. Phases 2 (Late Saxon) and 3 (late 11th–12th centuries) features at the Yorkshire Grey.

the area that appear to relate to properties fronting onto Union Lane. Although these plots are less well defined they appear to be of roughly similar dimensions to those fronting onto the High Street. There are also a number of pits and a possible well. At least at Sargeants Garage the pits appear to be concentrated in one particular property plot perhaps suggesting that it was either more intensively occupied or alternatively that it was not occupied and was used by adjacent plot holders for digging pits in.

The generally low levels of finds suggest that the occupation was not intensive and it seems likely that not all the property plots were immediately occupied. The settlement seems only to have been gradually and incompletely occupied, leading to modifications of the original system. The situation at the Wheatsheaf although less clear appears to be similar with a ditch

on the same alignment to that which originally defined the rear of properties fronting onto the High Street at Sargeants Garage. The discovery of two large irregular features containing 10th to 12th century pottery at the junction of Scotland Road and Union Lane may relate to gravel quarrying (Grant and Wilkins 2002) to the north.

At the Yorkshire Grey activity continues in the northeastern part of the site, with a ditched enclosure located slightly to the southeast of the previous one. This enclosure then shifts around 10m to the southwest and the area between the old and the new ditches is the scene of intensive activity in the form of pits and postholes. The extent of these enclosures is unknown as they lie partly outside the area of excavation, but they are at least 20m long and are relatively large being around 1.7m wide by 0.7m deep. In size



**Figure 4.** Phase 3 (late 11th–12th centuries) features at Sargeants Garage and the Wheatsheaf.

Based on the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map. With the permission of the controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office  
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and nature they resemble more the Late Saxon ditches at the Yorkshire Grey and the Wheatsheaf rather than the contemporary ditches at Sargeants Garage and the Wheatsheaf. There was no evidence of activity near to the High Street. If the enclosed areas fronted onto either Green End or Scotland Road they would have been around 100m long, this seems unlikely and suggests that both the Late Saxon and late 11th to 12th century enclosures were not related to these.

Evidence from Phase 3 at Sargeants Garage and the Wheatsheaf is suggestive of a planned development rather than organic incremental growth. It seems that a number of property plots were laid out at the same time with an overall design in mind. This represents a northwestwards expansion along Union Lane from the area believed to constitute the Saxon core of Chesterton. The evidence from the Yorkshire Grey suggests that activity there continued to be based on the previous focus and that this was independent of the planned settlement. The planned settlement may well have been aligned on a southeast to northwest axis centred upon Union Lane, rather than the later dominant southwest to northeast axis along the High Street.

#### **Phase 4: 13th and 14th centuries (Figures 5–6)**

The ditch systems at Sargeants Garage and the Wheatsheaf lost their importance during the 13th century and became silted up. Activity mainly relates to a number of pits that appear to occur towards the rear of properties and close to boundaries, probably demarcated by some means that has not survived, such as gravel paths or fences. Some of these pits cut the earlier ditches but it appears that the overall layout of properties was maintained. At the Wheatsheaf, although individual features can not be confidently identified, the main area of activity appears to be a general zone of intercutting pits in the southern part of the site, relating to properties fronting onto the High Street. Further north there are a few features that appear to respect the earlier ditch system. The earlier ditch system was also abandoned at Chesterton Hospital, but some activity continued.

At the Yorkshire Grey there is the first evidence of activity on the area next to the High Street, with a large ditch composed of multiple recuts running parallel to the road. Behind this were a large number of postholes suggestive of structures of some kind, with at least two phases. Away from the High Street

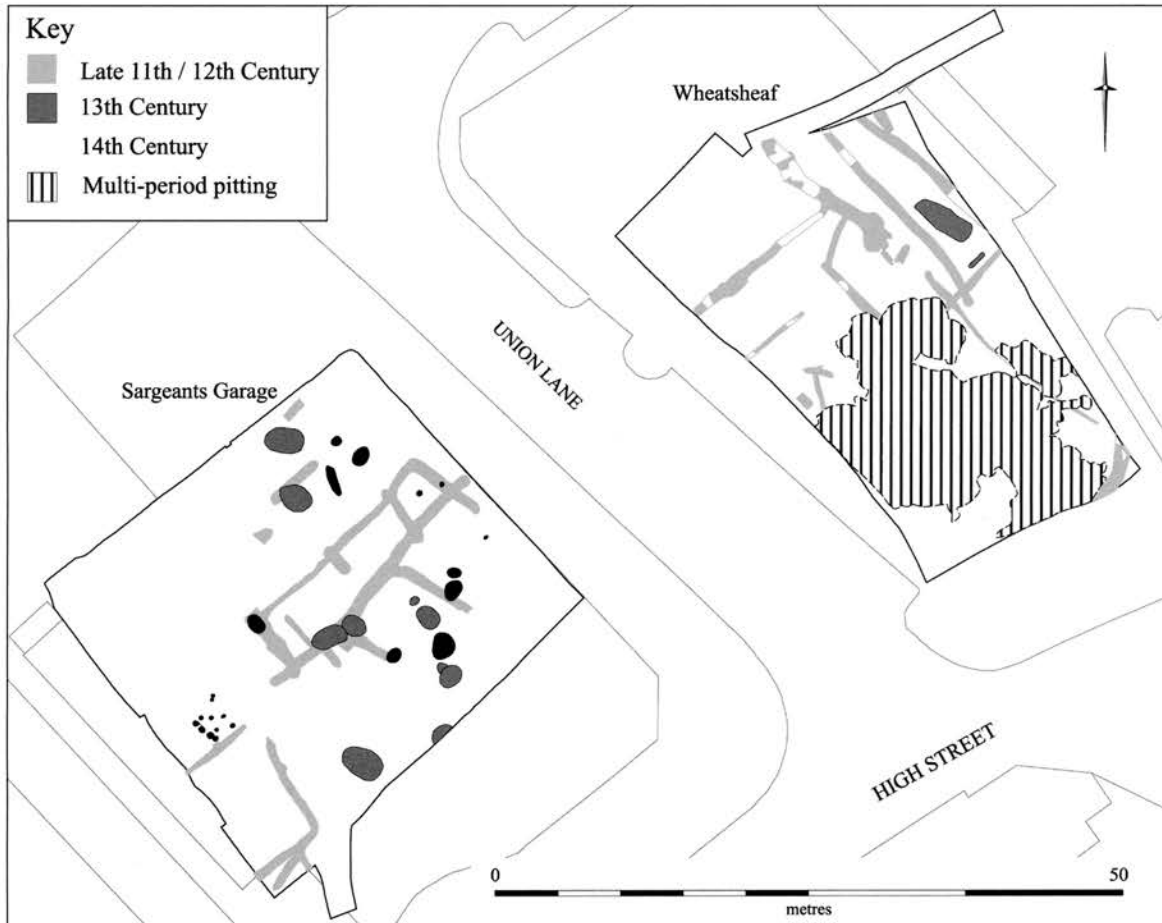


Figure 5. Phase 4 (13th–14th centuries) features at Sargeants Garage and the Wheatsheaf.

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the earlier focus in the northeast part of the site has disappeared, to be replaced by a dispersed scatter of pits and other features, which probably relate to properties fronting onto the High Street.

In the 14th century pit digging continues in broadly the same areas at Sargeants Garage and the Wheatsheaf, suggesting a general continuity, although apparently on a reduced scale. A group of postholes in the western part of Sargeants Garage suggest a flimsy structure of some kind behind the rear boundary of a property fronting onto the High Street. At the Yorkshire Grey activity appears to cease almost entirely, with the exception of a single large pit. It may also be at this time that activity ceases at Chesterton Hospital.

At Sargeants Garage and the Wheatsheaf the 13th century appears to represent a general continuity of occupation from the earlier period, albeit with a change in the method of demarcating property boundaries and some minor shifts in alignment. There is a strong impression that most activity relates to properties fronting onto the High Street rather than Union Lane and it also appears that overall there is more activity than in the preceding phase. At the

Yorkshire Grey the 13th century sees a major change with the High Street becoming the focus of activity and it appears likely that this was the period when the general medieval plan of the village as it survives in the present street layout was achieved. Taken together it appears that the 13th century witnessed a shift from the earlier planned settlement on a southeast to northwest axis centred upon Union Lane to a southwest to northeast axis along the High Street parallel to the River Cam, a shift observed at other villages in South Cambridgeshire (Taylor 1997; 1998). A shift from ditches to other forms of property demarcation has been identified at other settlements such as Ely during the 13th and 14th centuries (Alexander *et al* forthcoming) so the change at Chesterton may be part of a more general phenomenon, rather than reflecting a specific abandonment of the planned settlement layout at Chesterton. A change from ditches to gravel paths would have provided unobstructed access and suggests that boundaries become notional rather than physical (cf Hall and Hunter-Mann 2001, 807–09). The overall levels of 13th century activity are not particularly high, with less than one pit per decade per property plot. As these pits frequently either



Figure 6. Phases 4 (13th–14th centuries) and 5 (15th–16th centuries) features at the Yorkshire Grey.

intercut or cut earlier features they can not have been quarry pits. They did not produce particularly large finds assemblages so they are not for the disposal of material culture, however given the large amounts of organic waste produced by medieval households (cf Brothwell 1982) it is likely that they were for the disposal of this.

The 14th century sees continuity at Sargeants Garage and the Wheatsheaf, although on a reduced scale, and the areas of the Yorkshire Grey and Chesterton Hospital appear to have been almost abandoned. This decline presumably relates to the Black Death, although the increasing importance of Cambridge may also have played a role.

#### Phase 5: 15th and 16th centuries (Figures 6–7)

In the 15th century activity at Sargeants Garage and the Wheatsheaf continues broadly as before, although at an increased intensity compared to the 14th century, with the digging of pits in the same areas. A new focus of activity appears at Sargeants Garage in the south-west part of the site on what appears to be a property boundary with a large pit whose depth suggests it was a well. This was backfilled fairly rapidly to be replaced by a more substantial well (Fig. 8). A large 5m diameter circular hole was dug down nearly 2m to the underlying clay to provide space for the construction of the well structure. The sides of this hole were revetted with reused house timbers, suggesting that its construction might be linked to changes in the building at the front of the property. The timbers were generally



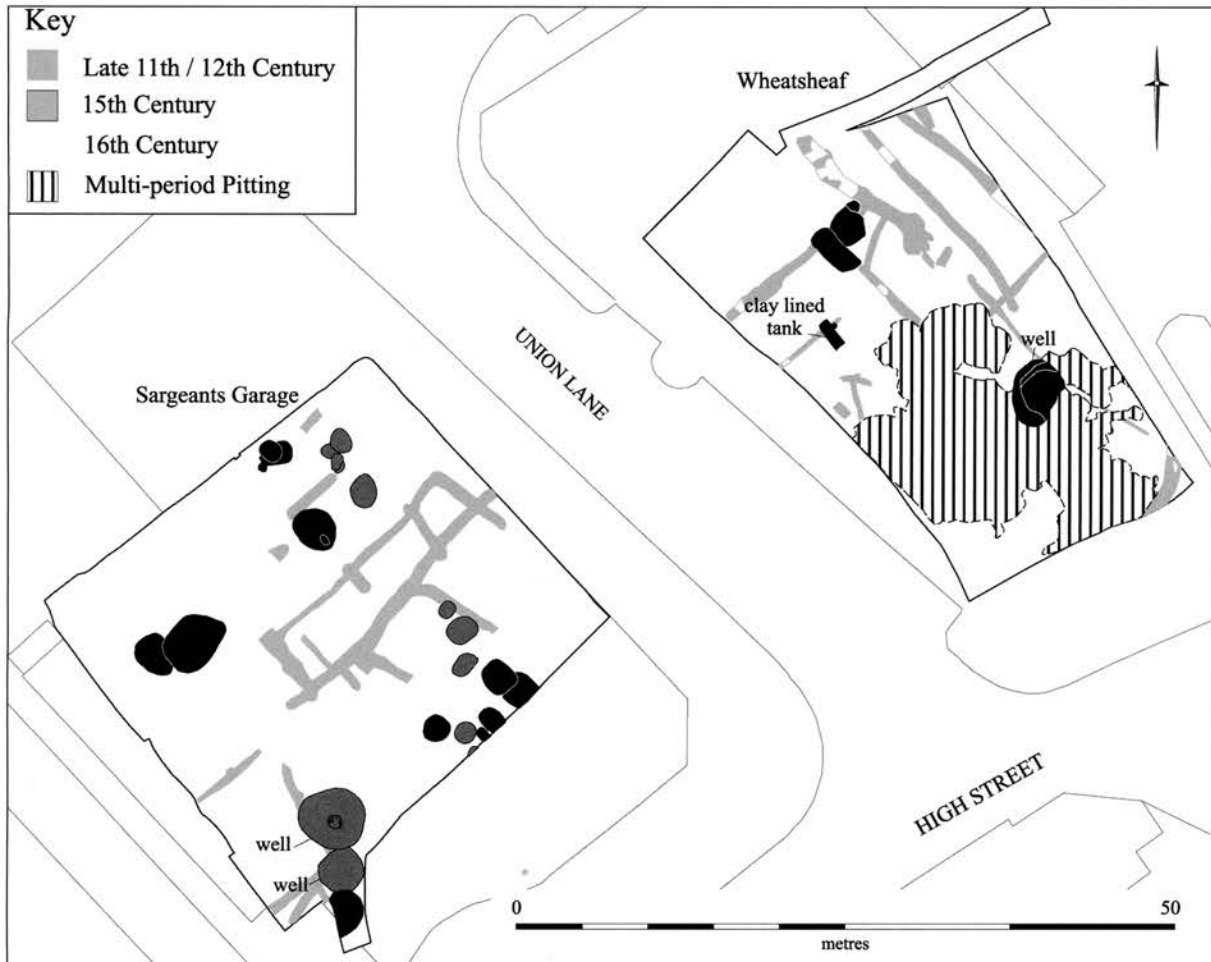


Figure 7. Phase 5 (15th–16th centuries) features at Sargeants Garage and the Wheatsheaf.

Based on the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map. With the permission of the controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office  
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lacking in diagnostic features apart from one joint which might be 13th or early 14th century. A course of sturdy undressed clunch blocks and a square timber frame served as a level and stable platform upon which the well structure of curving blocks of dressed and moulded white clunch was built, creating an even circular shaft around 1m in diameter. The base of the area between the structure and the sides of the hole was packed with clunch rubble and then backfilled. There was a 15th century 'Ave Maria Gra(c)ia' jeton in this backfill and the primary clay silts at the base of the well contained a silver groat of Henry V or VI, c. 1422–30 (Annulet issue from the London mint) (Fig. 9). At the Yorkshire Grey there continues to be little evidence of activity.

At Sargeants Garage the 16th century sees continued digging of pits in the same areas as the 15th century at about the same level of intensity, with the addition of some large gravel pits in the northwest of the area, just to the north of the properties fronting onto the High Street. The 15th century well was deliberately filled with clayey silt, above this were lumps of clunch from the well structure and brick

and tile, possibly from the well superstructure or a demolished building. To the southwest of this a gravel extraction pit was dug on the alignment of the wells. The 16th century pits contained more artefacts than the earlier pits, suggesting either increased levels of activity or material wealth. The pits closest to the High Street contained the highest quantities of material, supporting the idea that this boundary related to a property fronting onto that street. Three jetons were found, one of Hans Krauwinkel II, 1580–1635, a 16th century Nuremberg rose/orb and a Nuremberg orb of 1500–1580s. At the Wheatsheaf a number of inter-cutting pits were dug in the northern part of the site, suggesting increased activity on at least one property fronting onto Union Lane. These appear to be located in the rear corner of a property as they lie within an area delimited by the earlier ditches. Probably in the same plot is a pit containing a pair of clay lined tanks, these were presumably for some small-scale industrial process that required water, as the evidence of the clay lining is supported by the presence of bones of amphibians, rodents and birds that became trapped and died in the water. To the south of this it is likely

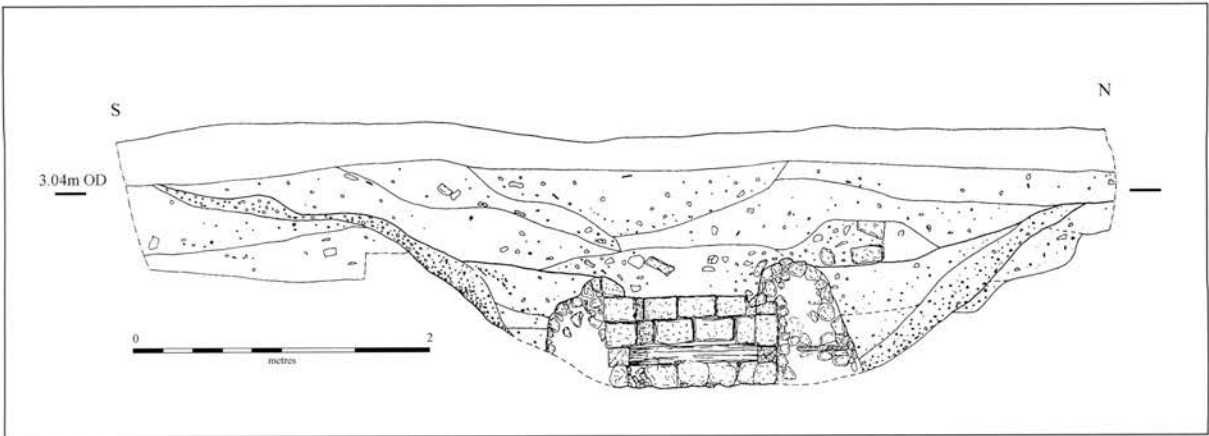


Figure 8. Section of 15th century well at Sargeants Garage.

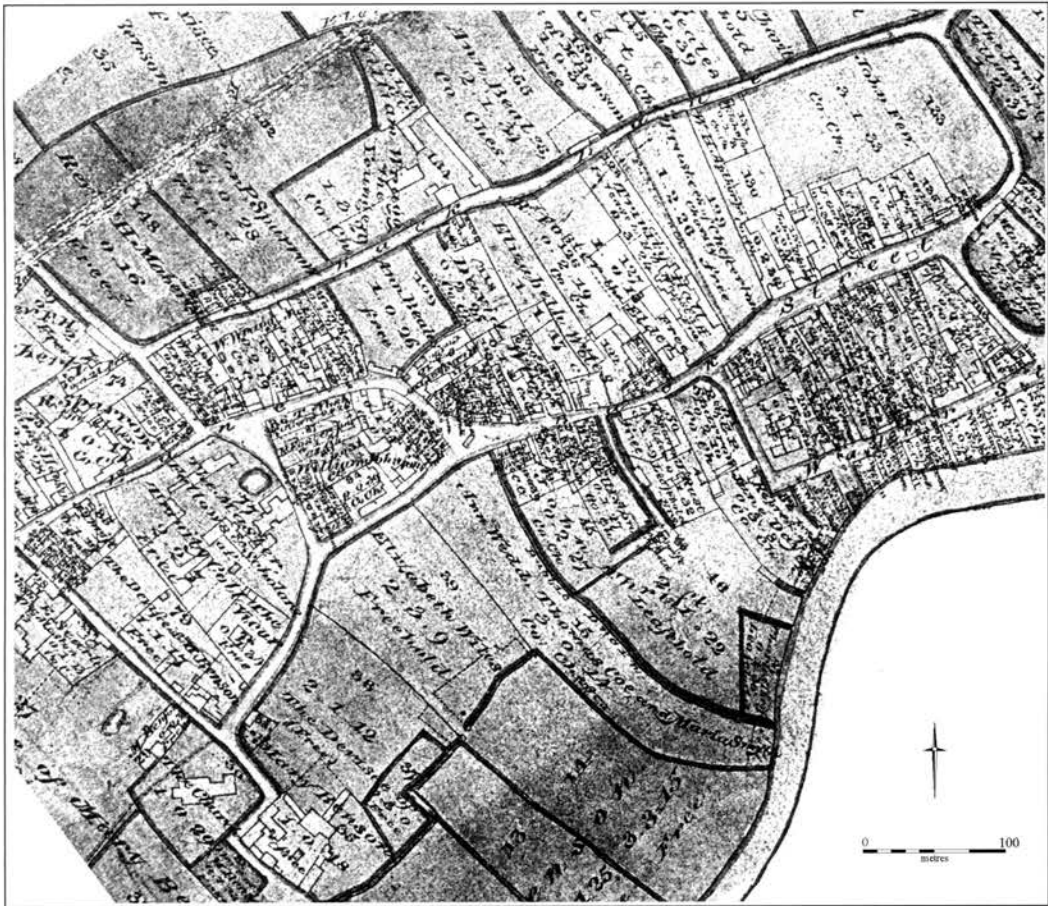


Figure 9. Part of draft inclosure plan of 1838 reoriented to north showing village before modern development, compare to figure 1 (CRO: Q/Rdc 59).

that the digging of pits continued, the only specific feature that can be identified is a well with a square shaft lined with reused blocks of faced Barnack stone set in thick blue clay. This is located about 20m from the High Street, approximately the same distance as the wells at Sargeants Garage. At the Yorkshire Grey a gravel extraction pit or well and a smaller pit indicate limited activity.

The 15th and 16th centuries generally represent continuity at all the sites, with an increase from the 14th century level of activity. Levels of pit digging appears to be broadly similar to the 13th century and are still less than one pit per decade per property plot. The 15th century well on the Sargeants Garage site suggests an increase in the wealth and prosperity of at least one property and the clay-lined tanks at the Wheatsheaf suggest the beginnings of small-scale industrial activity.

#### *Phase 6: 17th century and later*

From the 17th century onwards all three sites were the scene of relatively intense activity as Chesterton expanded and eventually became a suburb of Cambridge. Activity consisted mainly of the construction of substantial buildings of various types, including almshouses and public houses. These were usually adjacent to the street frontages and have generally removed all but the deepest earlier features from these areas. Away from the street frontages most of the areas were open spaces with garden soils, which were the scene of frequent digging of substantial features such as pits and wells. Details of the properties, buildings and their owners are provided by the draft inclosure plan of 1838 (CRO: Q/Rdc 59) (Figure 9) and tithe map of 1839–40 (CRO: R60/24/4/2). Although most of the actual structures depicted on the inclosure plan and tithe map lay outside the areas of excavation the broad patterns of post-medieval activity broadly correspond to the pattern revealed by the plan and map.

Two large blocks of oolitic limestone found at the Yorkshire Grey are lengths of the stringcourse of a large building of the 15th century or later. Although these come from late contexts they suggest the presence of an impressive structure in the vicinity.

#### **Discussion**

Excavations in Chesterton have revealed a complex pattern of development throughout the Late Saxon and medieval periods. There is evidence for multiple Late Saxon foci of activity. The main focus may have been a settlement around St Andrew's founded in the 8th century when a royal vill originally incorporating Cambridge was divided by the formation of the burh although this remains speculative. The evidence from the Wheatsheaf and the Yorkshire Grey, however, suggest that there were other enclosed settlements in the area. In the Post-Conquest period the settlement expanded markedly northwards along Union Lane with a substantial area of land being laid out into property

plots demarcated by ditches. This development displays none of the signs that might be expected of an organic development, but instead appears to be a relatively large-scale planned and deliberate expansion. Probably occurring in the late 11th or early 12th century this could conceivably be a royal development or related to Saher de Quincy but it appears more likely that it was an initiative of either Barnwell Priory or the abbey of St Andrew. This system of intensive land division remained in place for some time and went through several modifications. This planned development is typical of the Post-Conquest period fitting in with general Norman patterns of expansion and control (Aston 1992, 71–81). It appears that the dominant axis was a southeast to northwest line along Union Lane that was probably based upon a routeway relating to a ferry crossing over the Cam. This could be part of the same routeway recently identified at Church End, Cherry Hinton, which was in existence by the Middle Saxon period and may have a Roman origin (Mortimer forthcoming). Further east the area of the High Street was not part of this development and activity continued instead around a pre-existing focus at the Yorkshire Grey.

By the 13th century the ditch system had been largely abandoned although occupation continued and the overall system of earlier property boundaries appears to have had a continuing influence throughout the medieval period. The impression is of a more sparsely occupied and less ordered settlement than was originally envisaged, although the amount of activity overall increased and the settlement had expanded northeastwards along the length of the High Street. Much of the change appears to be due to a more general shift in the way that properties were demarcated from ditches to less archaeologically visible systems that can only be inferred from the distribution of related pits. The 13th century may have seen a shift in the main settlement axis, with the area of the Yorkshire Grey becoming part of Chesterton proper for the first time. This marks the establishment of the plan of Chesterton that can be recognised in later cartographic sources and suggests a shift in emphasis from its location from a road-side to a riverside settlement. The reasons for this shift are unclear, but may lie in the growing importance of Cambridge, as the Cam provided the easiest connection between Chesterton and Cambridge and was a major trade and communications route to King's Lynn. Cambridge charters of 1201 and 1207 and the migration of scholars from Oxford in 1209 all suggest that the late 12th and early 13th centuries were a crucial period of growth for Cambridge, which may have had an impact on Chesterton. The 13th century appears to represent an overall expansion in the area of the settlement.

The 14th century sees a decline in activity and the settlement shrunk, as there is little evidence for activity at the Yorkshire Grey or Chesterton Hospital. The 15th century sees a partial recovery and increase in levels of activity and there is the first evidence for properties of some grandeur. The well at Sargeants Garage with its dressed and moulded clunch structure indicates

a considerable degree of wealth, whilst the building timbers reused as revetting suggest that its construction may be linked to a major change in the building at the front of the property. This was also the only property to produce 15th and 16th century coins and jetons (Fig. 10) and it is surely not coincidental that the groat and one of the jetons were directly associated with the well. The date of this development appear to be rather late to be linked to the abbey of St Andrew, whose interest in Chesterton was fading by the 15th century, it may instead relate to either one of the individuals to whom St Andrew's underlet its holdings in the early 15th century, or to King's Hall, which took over in the 1440s. Activity continues to increase in the 16th century and there is some evidence for the beginnings of small-scale industrial activities. The degree of later truncation and location of the excavation areas makes precise reconstruction of individual properties almost impossible. The best represented example at Sargeants Garage suggests that medieval properties fronting onto the High Street were around 12m wide and 40m long.

One crucial question is the nature of the relationship between Chesterton and Cambridge. Chesterton's 13th century shift in axis and the overall lack of growth between the 13th and 16th centuries might relate to the growing power of Cambridge. The fact that Chesterton was largely under the control of Barnwell Priory and the abbey of St Andrew suggests that its links to Cambridge may have been less than otherwise anticipated. Its closest links were probably south across the river to Barnwell Priory and Stourbridge

Fair rather than with Cambridge itself. There are suggestions that ceramics reached the site via Cambridge rather than directly, with finewares from the north bypassing it but material from the south being available. The faunal and environmental evidence suggest normal domestic material, indicating that Chesterton did not have a particular relationship with Cambridge with regard to supplying agricultural products.

### Conclusion

These excavations have established the broad picture of the origins and early development of Chesterton. From as yet poorly understood Middle and Late Saxon polyfocal origins around multiple foci it grew in the late 11th and 12th centuries as a planned settlement. In the 13th century the method of property demarcation changes and the dominant axis changes, but the settlement expands with increased levels of activity and expansion eastwards along the High Street. The 14th century sees a decline and contraction with a partial recovery in the 15th and 16th centuries in the core of the settlement, although it is not until the 17th century that the area at the eastern end of the High Street witnesses much activity and the northern area remains as open fields until the 19th century.

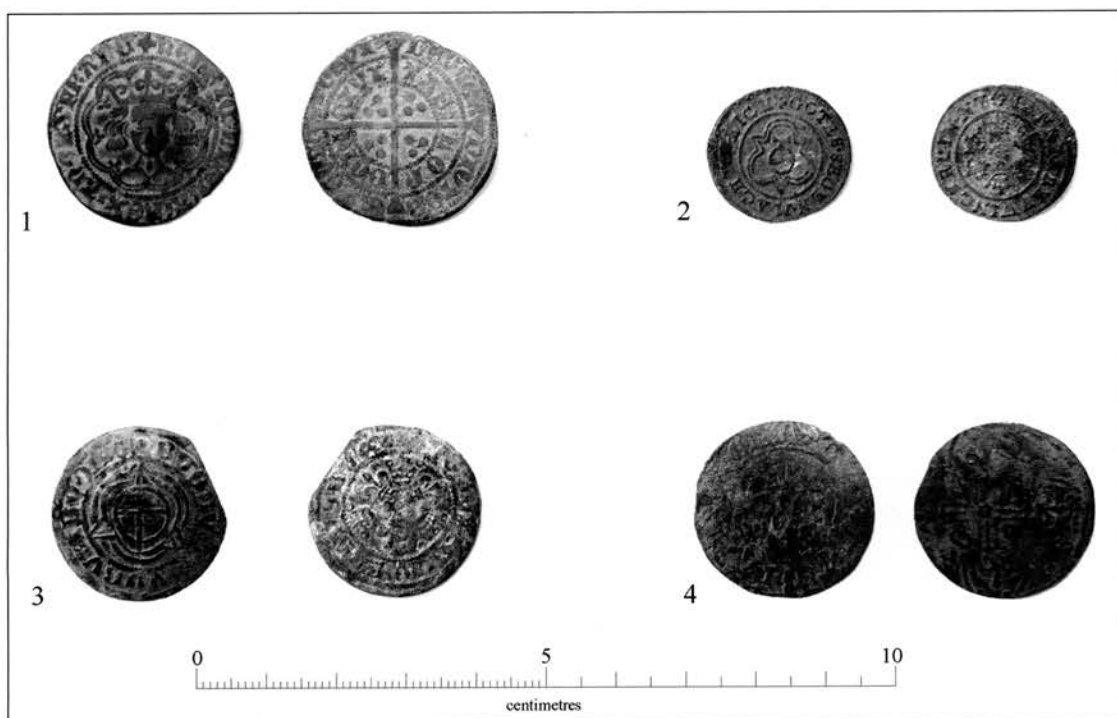


Figure 10: Coin and jetons from Sargeants Garage.

10.1. Silver groat of Henry V or VI, c1422–30

10.2. Jeton of Hans Krauwinkel II, 1580–1635

10.3. Nuremberg orb jeton, 1500–1580s

10.4. 15th century 'Ave Maria Gra(c)ia' jeton

## Specialist reports

The main types of medieval material recovered were pottery, metalwork and animal bone, plus environmental evidence from samples. Only limited assemblages of other materials were recovered. There were noticeably low quantities of glass, the only interesting piece being some painted window glass from a Phase 4 context at the Wheatsheaf, worked stone (quern fragments) and some worked bone, including a virtually complete cigar-shaped pin beater used in textile manufacture from a Phase 5 context at Sargeants Garage.

### Medieval pottery (Figure 11 and Table 1)

David Hall

Five sites at Chesterton produced 4445 sherds of pottery weighing 61.769kg. The majority came from Sargeants Garage, the Wheatsheaf and the Yorkshire Grey with smaller amounts from Chesterton Hospital and the Simoco Works.

#### Sargeants Garage

The excavation assemblage consists of 1847 sherds weighing 26kg, ranging in date from Late Saxon period to the 19th century. Of the 1047 sherds of pre-18th century date, Saxon and Saxo-Norman material accounted for 14% (148 sherds) of the total, other medieval wares 56% (584) and 16th–17th century wares 30% (315 sherds). The evaluation produced an additional 384 sherds weighing 7.8kg. One Saxon sherd occurred with a Thetford sherd and may indicate a 9th century date while others were also associated with Thetford sherds and one attributed to the 12th century. The Saxo-Norman wares were in the ratio of St Neots 27%, Thetford 72% and Stamford <1%.

Later medieval fine wares came from Grimston (Norfolk) (Jennings 1981; Leah 1994), Hedingham and Colchester (Essex) and Hertfordshire plus some material from Lyveden (Northants) found during the evaluation. A sgraffito sherd was found (Bushnell and Hurst 1953) and a sherd of white fabric with a blotchy green glaze is probably developed Stamford (Lincs) of the 14th century (Kilmurray 1980). The most abundant materials were Ely wares and grey and red fabrics of the 15th century. Early post-medieval fabrics were mainly Glazed Red Earthenwares of likely Ely provenance. Small amounts of 16th century Ely Babylon ware and Ely fine ware occurred. A few 17th century German stonewares from Frechen as well as probable Dutch Glazed Red Earthenwares and unsourced tin-glazed wares were recovered. The later sherds include English stonewares and fabrics from Staffordshire potteries. The site produced some independent dating evidence. A groat dated c. 1422–30 was found with 14 sherds of Essex red fabrics, a few with a grey reduced outside surface and one sherd with a thin patchy clear glaze. All sherds probably came from the same jug, that would be considered to be a 15th century fabric. A 15th century jeton was found with Ely fabric sherds, probably from the same jug, that contained at least three horizontal bands of incised decoration.

#### Wheatsheaf

The main excavation yielded 820 sherds, weighing 14.9kg with an additional 44 sherds from the evaluation. One pos-

sible Middle Saxon sherd occurred, but as it was mixed with St Neots and Ely fabrics, the context date would not be earlier than 12th century. The bulk of the pottery recovered, 60% (339 sherds), was standard Saxo-Norman wares, which occurred in the ratio St Neots 43%, Thetford 55% and Stamford 2%. Some sherds are probably Pre-Conquest, as adjudged by the small, early, vessel forms. All three fabrics were found together in several contexts. St Neots wares were found in many contexts, including a small bowl rim and a large hammerhead bowl rim. Thetford ware sherds from large storage jars were found some with decoration of thumbled applied strips. Jar rims occurred in several contexts and rouletted decoration was found on some sherds.

Other medieval pottery only accounted for 13% (71 sherds) of the total, the site having a paucity of material for the 13 to 15th centuries. Chief among them were coarse gritty wares that were produced at Ely (Hall forthcoming) from the 12th to the 15th centuries (30 sherds, 5%), some of which are likely to date from the 12th to 13th centuries. Among the remaining medieval sherds were two from Grimston (Norfolk), a single 13th century sherd of Lyveden (Northants) fabric and four 13th century fine wares from Hertfordshire. Fine red wares from Essex, mainly from Hedingham and Colchester (Huggins 1972; Cotter 2000), amounted to 3% (15 sherds). Three 15th century sherds from Bourne (Lincs), were found.

The other main component of the assemblage dated from the 16th century, being 27% of the total (153 sherds). Most common were plain red and Glazed Red Earthenware sherds (18%), most probably made at the Ely Broad Street kilns. Babylon iron glazed tygs accounted for 3% and two sherds of green-glazed, off-white fine ware from Ely were recovered. There were a few Staffordshire wares of the 17th century and seven sherds of German stonewares from Raeren and Frechen (Hurst *et al* 1986), dating the early 16th century were identified.

#### Yorkshire Grey

The pottery from the Yorkshire Grey yielded 1,280 post-Roman sherds from 142 contexts. Late Post-Medieval sherds of the 18th and 19th centuries amounted to 49% (498 sherds). In spite of this high percentage the late sherds were not an important component of the collection, a single context, contained 232 sherds or 11% of the total. A more useful analysis is achieved by disregarding the post 17th century fabrics, there being 787 Medieval and early post-medieval sherds.

Saxon and medieval sherds accounted for 62% (495 sherds) of the total, other medieval wares 19% (151) and 16th–17th century wares 18% (141 sherds). There were seven Saxon sherds (1%) of which three were Ipswich type ware (Hurst 1959) and the remainder were handmade dark, gritty sherds, many with igneous inclusions.

Most of the contexts produced Saxo-Norman sherds, St Neots (256 sherds, 33%), Thetford type wares (224, 29%), with eight Stamford sherds (1%). The percentages of each type out of the total of 488 Saxo-Norman sherds is 52%, 46% and 2%. One Stamford sherd was the lip of a jug. Some Thetford vessels were decorated, eg a body sherd had four horizontal rows of single triangular rouletting spaced 1cm apart; an inturned jar rim had rouletted decoration. Wavy decoration occurred on a body sherd and larger vessels had typical thumbing decoration. A Thetford jug handle was recovered. Some of the vessels (jars and bowls) were very small, consistent with a 10th or 11th century date. The Thetford and St Neots sherds associated with an Ipswich

*Opposite: Figure 11. Pottery.*

- 11.1. Thetford type ware, bowl with rouletted decoration. Hard grey fabric, darkened on the outer surface
- 11.2. Ely ware jar, buff with a few white quartzose grits. Coarse fabric containing sand
- 11.3. Ely ware, thumbled jug rim, same fabric as 11.2, darkened on the outside
- 11.4. Jug rim and strap handle with slight rib under the rim. Probably Ely fabric; pink-buff, slightly darkened surface
- 11.5. Jug with strap handle in buff grey fabric containing calcareous grits, source unknown
- 11.6. Dark greyware jar in sandy fabric. Similar to west Norfolk fabrics, 14th century?
- 11.7. Dark grey bowl in coarse sandy fabric with flanged rim, 15th century
- 11.8. Glazed red earthenware bowl, darkened on the outside, thin patchy clear glaze internally. Late 15th century, possibly from Ely Broad Street kilns
- 11.9. Glazed red earthenware basting dish; red orange fabric, thin patchy internal glaze. A few white grits, probably Ely Broad Street early kiln, late 15th century
- 11.10. Glazed red earthenware small pancheon with slightly green clear glaze; 16th century
- 11.11. Glazed red earthenware small pancheon rim with white slip decoration, dense internal glaze. Slip decoration has not been discovered at the Ely kilns
- 11.12. Glazed red earthenware pitcher with strap handle, red orange fabric with glaze on the body; 16th century
- 11.13. Complete tin glaze plain arborello, 16th–17th century
- 11.14–17. Tin glazes from flatwares with various types of decoration

Ware sherd may all be as early as the 9th century.

Two Phase 3 assemblages were of particular interest. The earlier ditch produced one handmade Saxon sherd, one Ipswich Ware, 29 Thetford, 40 St Neots, two 12th century sandy fabrics and one 16th century Glazed Red Earthenware of Ely type (probably intrusive). In view of the range of fabric, a date is difficult to assign. The small size of the St Neots ware jars is an indicator of an early Pre-Conquest date. As a whole, therefore, the collection would seem to be 10th to 11th century, making the assumption that the earlier are residual. The later ditch contained 11 Thetford and 29 St Neots sherds and nothing else. There were standard forms of bowls and jars and none of them particularly small. A 12th century date is therefore likely.

Sandy 12th and 13th century fabrics amounted to 4% (29 sherds), and there were 151 (12%) other medieval sherds. Among them were 19 medieval Ely ware pieces and six Grimston (Norfolk) sherds in fabrics likely to be 14th century, 10 fine red Essex types, and 29 greywares of 15th century fabric, one with a flanged rim. Among the Essex wares were Hedingham type fabrics, other fabrics present in small quantity were a single sherd each of Hertfordshire and Surrey fine ware, of likely 13th century date. Ely type wares (19 sherds) included a bowl rim with typical stabbed rim decoration.

Of the early post-medieval sherds, Glazed Red Earthenware occurred in quantity (135 sherds, 17%), mostly of the 16th or 17th centuries. Of particular interest were early red fabrics similar to material from Ely assigned to the late 15th century (a 'pre-Babylon phase', Hall in Alexander *et al* forthcoming). Other 16th or 17th century Glazed Red Earthenware sherds probably also have an Ely provenance, from the Broad Street area. Sherds of Babylon fabric were found along with a yellow slip decorated similar fabric that has not so far been proved to have an Ely origin. Only six sherds of German stoneware were found; from Langewehe (15th century), Frechen and Raeren (both 16th century). There was some red ware that may be Dutch rather than from Essex. A single sherd of Bourne (Lincs) type, 15th century, also occurred (Healey 1969). Sherds of 18th to 19th century date produced the usual wide range of fabrics. Of main interest was the large early 18th century collection (with a few earlier residual sherds) from a single context. Dating is given by the overlap of German and English salt glazes, and very fine quality delft, some with polychrome decoration.

#### Other sites

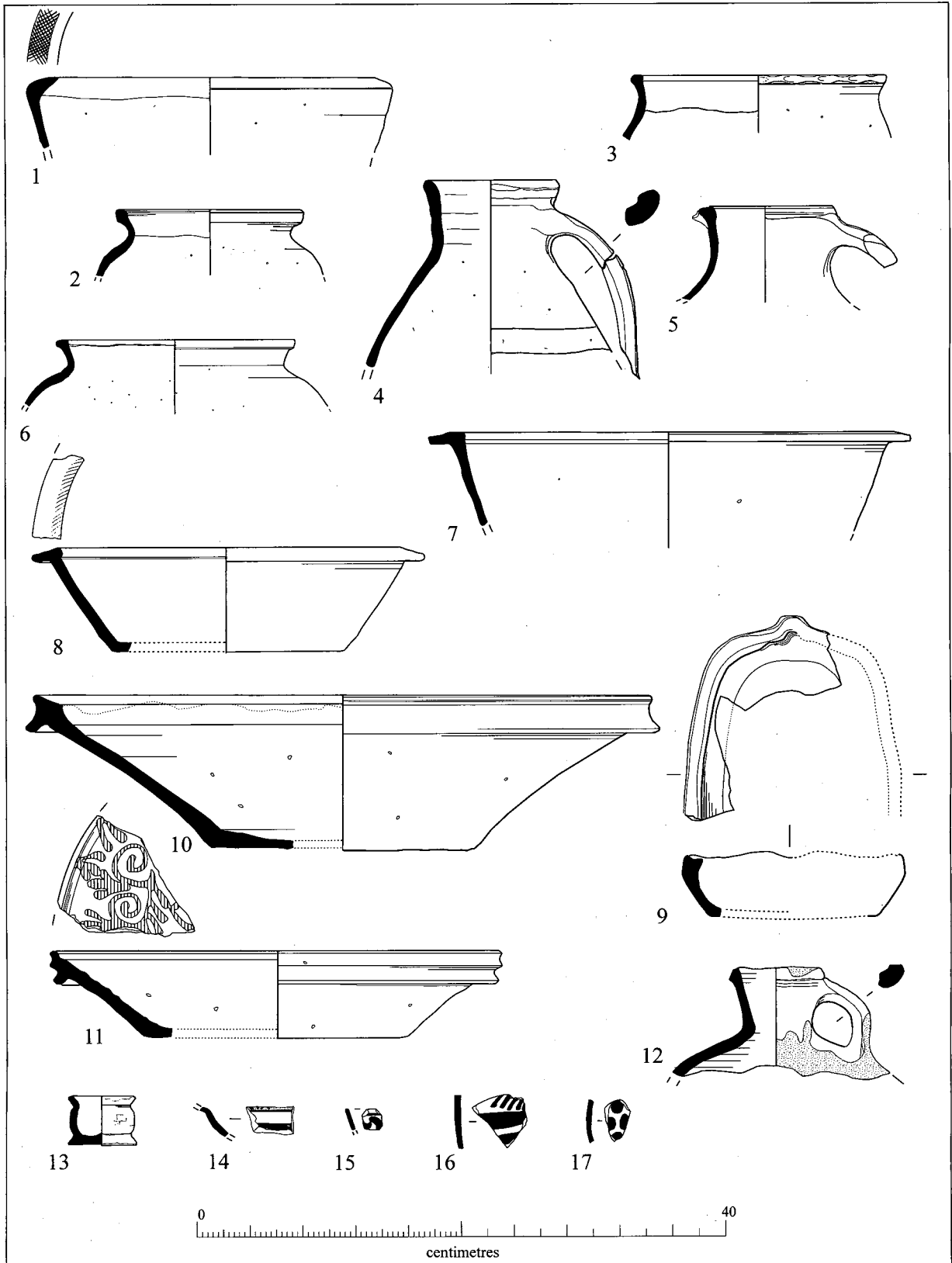
The medieval material from Chesterton Hospital dated from the 12th to 14th centuries. The earliest sherd was an upright rim from a St Neots Ware bowl. Thetford sherds were present, several from Ely and one from Grimston (Norfolk). The Simoco Works site contained only five medieval sherds. The earliest was a thin sandy dark sherd of 13th century date, three Ely fabrics of 14th century date were present and the fifth sherd was burnt, probably 15th century. The remaining 10 sherds included 16–17th century Glazed Red Earthenwares, one a skillet handle, and later material.

#### Summary

As a whole the Chesterton pottery shows the range used by a rural community lying close to Cambridge and sited near the River Cam, with traffic connecting to the port of King's Lynn. As might be expected it reflects what has been found at the county town. A few sherds of Ipswich and hand-made gritty wares point to Middle Saxon origins for the settlement, and large groups of Saxo-Norman material, some probably Pre-Conquest, attest to continuous occupation as the vill developed. The Saxo-Norman wares were St Neots, Thetford and Stamford, although the proportions vary St Neots and Thetford type wares are the commonest and Stamford the least frequently found. This is the same pattern as found at Cambridge (Edwards and Hall 1997, 156), Ely (Mortimer *et al* forthcoming) and Cottenham (Hall in Mortimer 2000), where Thetford sherds are more frequently encountered than farther west and Stamford sherds form a low proportion. The markedly lower proportion of Thetford and corresponding higher proportion of St Neots at Sargeants Garage may reflect a temporal pattern, as access to Thetford ware may be earlier in this area (cf Hall in Mortimer 2000, 24 and 27) and there is no Phase 2 activity at Sargeants Garage.

The Saxo-Norman wares were superseded by sandy wares and gritty wares from Ely. Apart from Ely coarse fabrics, very few wares seem to have come via the fenland waterways. Grimston was only found in small quantities and there was no material from





**Table 1.** Fabric profiles of main excavations (does not include evaluations and excludes 18th century and later material).

|                  | Saxon     | Thetford     | St Neots     | Stamford  | 12C sandy  | 13C        | Ely          | Grimston  | Grey 15C     | Essex red  | Other red  | Medieval plain | Stoneware | Glazed Red Earthenware | Babylon    |
|------------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|-----------|------------|------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|------------|------------|----------------|-----------|------------------------|------------|
| Sargeants Garage | 4<br>0.4% | 39<br>3.7%   | 104<br>9.9%  | 1<br>0.1% | 19<br>1.8% | 0          | 254<br>24.3% | 1<br>0.1% | 235<br>22.4% | 49<br>4.7% | 26<br>2.5% | 0              | 4<br>0.4% | 311<br>29.7%           | 0          |
| Wheatsheaf       | 1<br>0.2% | 185<br>33.0% | 147<br>26.1% | 7<br>1.2% | 0          | 14<br>2.5% | 30<br>5.3%   | 2<br>0.4% | 0            | 15<br>2.7% | 10<br>1.8% | 24<br>4.3%     | 8<br>1.4% | 102<br>18.1%           | 19<br>3.4% |
| Yorkshire Grey   | 7<br>0.9% | 224<br>29.0% | 256<br>32.5% | 8<br>1.0% | 29<br>3.7% | 0          | 19<br>2.0%   | 6<br>0.8% | 29<br>3.7%   | 10<br>1.3% | 58<br>7.4% | 0              | 6<br>0.8% | 135<br>17.2%           | 0          |

Yorkshire, which is a feature at Ely (Hall forthcoming) and King’s Lynn (Clarke and Carter 1977). In contrast fine wares from Essex that are abundant in Cambridge and not common at Ely were found. Fine wares, apart from those from Essex, are limited to a few sherds from Lyveden (Northants), Surrey and Bourne (Lincs). It seems that fine wares from the north bypassed Chesterton and went straight to Cambridge, but pottery readily available in Cambridge from the south did reach Chesterton. The early post-medieval assemblage was dominated by products from the Ely Broad Street kilns, which may have arrived via Cambridge as they are common there (eg Hall in Hall 2002) and small quantities of German stonewares were present.

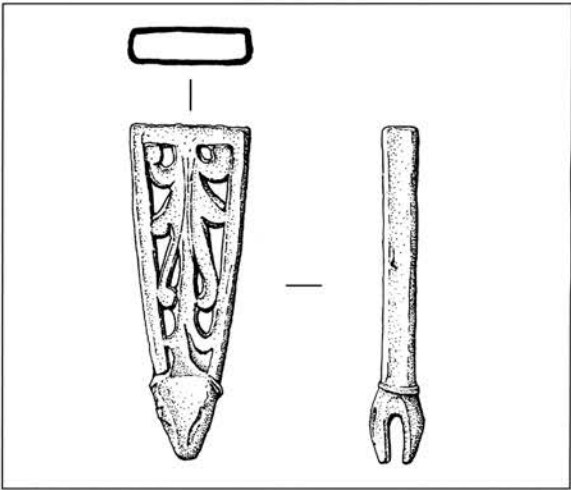
The three main sites all produced assemblages that had a predominance of Saxo-Norman, 16th century and 19th century material, with less from the high Middle Ages. Sargeants Garage produced the most medieval sherds and these were dominated by Ely fabrics in the earlier part of the period being replaced by Essex fabrics in the 15th century. The low amounts of 13th and 14th century material from the sites is likely to be an accident of preservation rather than indicating that there was any reduction in activity at Chesterton; the 15th century, a period when many villages suffered decline, is well represented.

**Metalwork**

The assemblage of medieval metalwork is relatively small, consisting mainly of iron plus some copper-alloy and a few unidentifiable pieces of lead. The majority of iron objects consisted of nails or unidentifiable fragments. Around twenty other items were found, mainly fragments of sheet/plate, small flat bars and knife blades from Phases 3 to 5, with the preponderance from Phase 5. The only other items were a hook, a fragment of a pair of shears, a notched ward plate from a lock and a key from Phase 5 deposits at Sargeants Garage. A hollow iron tube from a post-medieval context at the Wheatsheaf may be a cylindrical barrel padlock.

The earliest copper-alloy find is a relief-decorated

strap-end or chape (Figure 12) from a 13th century context at the Yorkshire Grey. It is 44mm long, 16mm wide and 5mm deep, with a flat top and pointed base. It is made of cast openwork with two flanged plates soldered to leave an open centre, presumably for the insertion of a strap. The centre has a symmetrical plant pattern with lobe-ended terminals growing from a central stem. The apex has two projections, perhaps intended to indicate an animal head, but surface corrosion has made this difficult to positively identify. It was found in the upper fill of a large 13th century pit at the northwestern end of the site. Although this feature contained some sherds of 13th century pottery (16%, Hertfordshire and Surrey finewares plus shelly ware) the majority of the pottery was Saxo-Norman Thetford ware and St Neots ware (82%), plus some Ipswich ware (2%). This feature had truncated the Late Saxon spread of material in this area and it appears that most of the material in the pit derived from this, rather than being of contemporary origin. The date range of the Saxo-Norman pottery is c. 850–1150 (Hurst 1956; 1957) and some of the



**Figure 12.** Relief-decorated strap-end or chape.

vessels were very small, consistent with a 10th or 11th century date. Although strap-ends are the commonest surviving forms of Late Saxon ornamental metalwork, including a number of casual finds from the southern fen edge (cf Graham-Campbell 1987; see also West 1998, 320–22 for Suffolk), this is an unusual piece. The only close parallel is a remarkably similar piece from Cathedral Green, Winchester (Hinton 1990, 500, fig. 125 and plate XLIV.a). This piece was found in a 14th century context, but assigned a 10th or 11th century date based mainly upon the plant decorations similarities to manuscript illustrations (cf Kendrick 1938). The find from the Yorkshire Grey although also apparently in a residual context provides support for a 10th or 11th century date.

The only other copper-alloy finds were from Phase 5 deposits at Sargeants Garage and consist of some offcuts, three pins, a large ring, a sheet object in a decorative, pierced cup-like shape and a possible buckle fragment. Possibly residual items in post-medieval contexts include what may be a decorated spoon handle from the Yorkshire Grey and a decorative fitting reminiscent of a Tudor Rose from a box or piece of furniture from context the Wheatsheaf.

#### *Environmental*

Spatially and temporally the sampled features at all the main sites contain a homogenous range of cultivated and wild taxa. The sites all have charred cereal remains, which show that cleaned grain products were commonly present here during the medieval period. Presumably charring occurred associated with the final preparation of the grain. The dominant cereal was free-threshing wheat, probably breadwheat, with some six-row hulled barley, rye and oats. Such an assemblage is characteristic of the medieval period and some of this compositional homogeneity may be due to reworking of charred remains into later contexts. Non-cereal foods, particularly Celtic bean were also present, but may have been less frequently exposed to charring than the cereal grains. Of interest is the apparent continuity in cereal types and associated wild flora during the medieval period. The cereal remains suggest that at all sites similar plants were of economic value, and were utilised in similar ways. In addition, the continuity in wild flora ('weeds' of the cereal crop) suggests that all the sites used grain that had grown on slightly damp, heavy soils that are not present locally, that might have originated from the same area. The lack of chaff, and limited range of mainly grain-sized weed seeds also suggests that cleaned grain is represented charred within the samples. Evidence of cess, dung, or rotting plant remains is provided by the range of mineralised seeds and millipede remains and occasional fish scales in some pits and ditches. The presence of shells of aquatic molluscs in some contexts shows that some pits and ditches were very wet, possibly flooded, at points during their infilling.

#### *Faunal*

The animal bone from the three main sites totalled around 3500 pieces, of which the majority came from Phase 6 and much was unidentifiable. As a result of the low number of identifiable bones from earlier contexts few conclusions can be drawn. Saxon contexts produced a small assemblage consisting of cattle, sheep/goat, horse and bird, suggesting waste from either primary or secondary butchery. The medieval assemblages are dominated by sheep/goat and cattle, with horse, pig and bird also present. Phase 4 sees the earliest occurrence of chicken, domestic goose, dog and fish. In Phase 5 cat, woodcock, duck, rabbit and roe deer appear. The assemblages appear to represent primary or secondary butchery and although the evidence is slight it suggests that a mixed economy was being practised, with the possibility of the animals being bred within the catchment area of the site.

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### Contents

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| The Structure and Formation of the Wandlebury area<br>Steve Boreham  | 5   |
| Prehistoric Lithics from Station Road, Gamlingay, Cambridgeshire<br>Jon Murray   | 9   |
| Evaluation survey and excavation at Wandlebury ringwork, Cambridgeshire, 1994–7<br>Charles French  | 15  |
| A Roman Cemetery in Jesus Lane, Cambridge<br>Mary Alexander, Natasha Dodwell and Christopher Evans   | 67  |
| Anglo-Saxons on the Cambridge Backs: the Criminology site settlement and<br>King's Garden Hostel cemetery<br>Natasha Dodwell, Sam Lucy and Jess Tipper | 95  |
| The Origins and Early Development of Chesterton, Cambridge<br>Craig Cessford with Alison Dickens   | 125 |
| A late seventeenth-century garden at Babraham, Cambridgeshire<br>Christopher Taylor  | 143 |
| The Hearth Tax and the Country House in 'Old' Cambridgeshire<br>Tony Baggs   | 151 |
| The Cambridgeshire Local History Society Photographic Project 1992–2000<br>Gill Rushworth and John Pickles   | 159 |
| Surface scatters, rates of destruction and problems of ploughing and weathering<br>in Cambridgeshire<br>Stephen Upex                                   | 161 |
| Fieldwork in Cambridgeshire 2003   | 179 |
| Book Reviews<br>Alison Taylor  | 189 |
| <i>Index</i>   | 195 |
| <i>Abbreviations</i>   | 201 |
| Recent Accessions to the Cambridgeshire Collection<br>Chris Jakes  | 203 |
| Summaries of papers presented at the Spring Conference<br>13 March 2004, Law Faculty, Cambridge: <i>Recovering Cambridgeshire's Past</i>               | 215 |
| THE CONDUIT: local history and archaeology organisations, societies and events   | 221 |