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# Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society

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(incorporating the Cambs and Hunts Archaeological Society)

Volume XCIV  
for 2005



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# **Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society**

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(incorporating the Cambs and Hunts Archaeological Society)

**Volume XCIV  
for 2005**

Editor Alison Taylor

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### *Editor*

Alison Taylor BA, MIFA, FSA

40 Hertford Street

Cambridge CB4 3AG

Tel: 01223 500431

email: alison.taylor@archaeologists.net

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43 South End, Bassingbourn

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## Editorial

These Proceedings take us on the usual chronological tour of Cambridgeshire's past, from scant traces of Neolithic occupation at Fenstanton to the impact of 19th century entrepreneurship and 20th century planning on Cambridge's Victorian New Town. As ever, we aim to bring you the most significant results of the latest archaeological excavations, together with the Society's parallel interest in historical and landscape studies. Residents of Cambridge should feel especially well served by the painstaking work represented both in Philomena Guillebaud's reconstruction of the events and effects of enclosure of the West Fields, and Bryan and Wise's analysis of one area of post-enclosure development — as they say, a microcosm of development quite typical of Cambridge in an exceptionally dynamic age. Anthea Jones literally lets the past speak for itself, through the letters of the wife of an Ely bishop, whose domestic concerns were little affected by her husband's daunting ecclesiastical responsibilities.

Outside the normal running of an active local society, CAS has been involved in a peripheral but deeply concerned way with the heritage service (including archaeology, archives and museums) of the County Council. Regular readers will be aware of the concerns we have expressed over the years at what we have seen as a general failure to support excellent staff by providing the right resources. This spring, financial matters became significantly worse, and CAS joined a substantial body of protest which at least postponed for one year one tranche of cuts (worth £100,000). This cut will however go ahead in 2006, leaving Heritage Services to face a 30% budget reduction from £927,000 to £650,000, even though Cambridgeshire is already well below neighbouring counties in funding these services. A consultants' (Kentwood Associates) discussion paper notes among other things that one decision that has caused most damage to the Council's reputation is the abolition of the post of the County Museums Officer, and CAS knows how much John Goldsmith, a vastly effective supporter of local museums since 1975, would be missed (August 2005). They note too that proposed cuts will require far-reaching policy decisions to withdraw from non-statutory services which would have 'a major impact, both for the public directly and on the ability of those services to lever additional — and often substantial — funding from external sources'.

The consultants are particularly flattering about archaeology. 'We believe this to be an outstanding example of a County Council Archaeology Service. Its archaeology and countryside advice services are held in high regard by planners, developers, other local authorities, and regional and national organisations. The service has an enviable track record in obtaining external funding... The outreach programme — particularly work with schools — is exemplary.' The report is concerned that such work is not put at risk, and it is critical of the current short opening hours of the County Record Office, of the County's failure to provide public access to historic buildings information since 2002, and the loss (August 2005) of a valued mentor for small museums. It is also worried that, if a proposed new Historical Resource & Cultural Centre is built with PFI money, there would not be funding to staff it adequately for the hours the public would reasonably expect.

There are clearly frightening times ahead, not least for our small, mostly voluntary, museums. This is very sad at a time when there is so much public enthusiasm for the past and so many new sources that can be tapped if the right support and advice are available. CAS has already filled some gaps, for example by taking responsibility for *Conduit* and publishing 'Recent Fieldwork' without grant support, and we are hoping to reinstate some financial support for local archaeological groups. We will continue of course to co-operate with the County Council through advice, by offering joint working and by fruitful liaison with their over-worked staff. We hope this coming year will see some solutions rather than additional problems, and a better atmosphere of hope and confidence. CAS is certainly willing to give all the support it can.

Just as these *Proceedings* were going to press, we heard the sad news that Rev Prof William Frend had died, at the age of 89. His had been a long and distinguished career (or perhaps series of careers, as theologian, soldier, priest and archaeologist), and he did outstanding work on early Christianity. In his later years in Cambridgeshire he impressed and worried us in turn with his continuing excavations, which were fruitful to the last. He has already submitted the results of this work to CAS for publication, and I am guilty in not having yet edited them for publication. The next *Proceedings* (2006) will include a full obituary for William, with his excavations at Great Wilbraham and accounts of Christian artefacts from Roman Cambridgeshire.

Alison Taylor  
Editor

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# The Manor of *Hintona*: the Origins and Development of Church End, Cherry Hinton

Craig Cessford with Alison Dickens

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*Excavations at Church End road, Cherry Hinton, have revealed that the settlement originates in the Middle Saxon period and that during the Saxo-Norman period it was the site of a large manorial centre, which acted primarily as an agricultural centre supplying the nearby town of Cambridge for the profit of an absentee landlord, as well as fulfilling a religious role. The settlement took the form of a large 'D' shaped enclosure covering just over six hectares; much of this area was sparsely occupied with evidence of droveways, timber buildings, quarry pits and wells. Other investigations have revealed a chapel with a substantial associated cemetery and fragments of stone sculpture. This manorial centre was abandoned in the medieval period, although some occupation continued on the periphery of the village for a time.*

## Background and introduction

The village of Cherry Hinton (Figure 1) has recently seen a number of archaeological investigations, focused around Church End road at the northern end of the current village (Figure 2). This is located on a slightly raised area at around 15m OD, which was separated from Mill End to the south by marshland until the early 19th century (Wareham 2002, 100). Initial investigations by Hertfordshire Archaeological Trust (HAT) at 69–115 Church End road revealed Saxo-Norman ditches and pits, an extensive cemetery with over 670 burials associated with a small church (McDonald and Doel 2000) and fragments of at least eight stone monuments dating to between c.950 and 1100, including a standing cross with a ringed head and elaborate collar. Following this an area adjacent to 63 Church End road was evaluated by Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeological Field Unit (CCCAFU) (Kenney 1999) and excavated by the Cambridge Archaeological Unit (CAU) (Cessford and Mortimer 2004). Further evaluations have taken place at Rosemary Lane by CAU (Mortimer 2003) and 507–509 Coldham's Lane by CCCAFU (Kenney 2000). Close to St Andrews church evaluation by the CCCAFU has taken place at the New Vicarage

(Mortimer and Phillips 2004).

Cumulatively, fieldwork at Church End indicates that the settlement originated in the Middle Saxon period and shifted location in the late 9th or early 10th century. The settlement appears to have been an enclosed manorial centre that continued until the late 11th or early 12th century, when the focus again shifted and the medieval village as it was recognisable until recent times came into existence. This publication is concerned primarily with the CAU excavations, but work by other organisations will be discussed where appropriate. As large areas of the settlement still remain to be investigated this publication should be regarded as an interim statement, as a result detailed specialist analysis of material is not included. Information from work by other organisations is derived primarily from grey reports and should also be regarded as provisional.

## Middle Saxon origins

Middle Saxon pottery was found across the excavations, usually in small quantities in residual contexts and probably represents a general agricultural manuring scatter within the fields surrounding a settlement (Figure 3). 31 sherds of Ipswich ware, which probably began to be used in Cambridgeshire between 725 and 740 and continued until the middle or late 9th century (Blinkhorn forthcoming), plus two pieces of Maxey type ware dated c.650 to 850 (Hurst 1976, 307–8) and five handmade sherds have been recovered. At the extreme southwest there was some fresher and less abraded Ipswich ware and a group of three southeast to northwest aligned ditches appear to be Middle Saxon features (Figure 3). One of these, which was 1.15m wide and 0.85m deep with steep sides and a flattish base, contained six sherds of Ipswich ware (Figure 3). This ditch also contained a substantial animal bone, mainly cattle and sheep/pig, plus a rich botanical assemblage whose cereals were dominated by free-threshing wheat with some barley and oats. There was also a large quantity of sedge stems, sug-



Figure 1. Cherry Hinton.



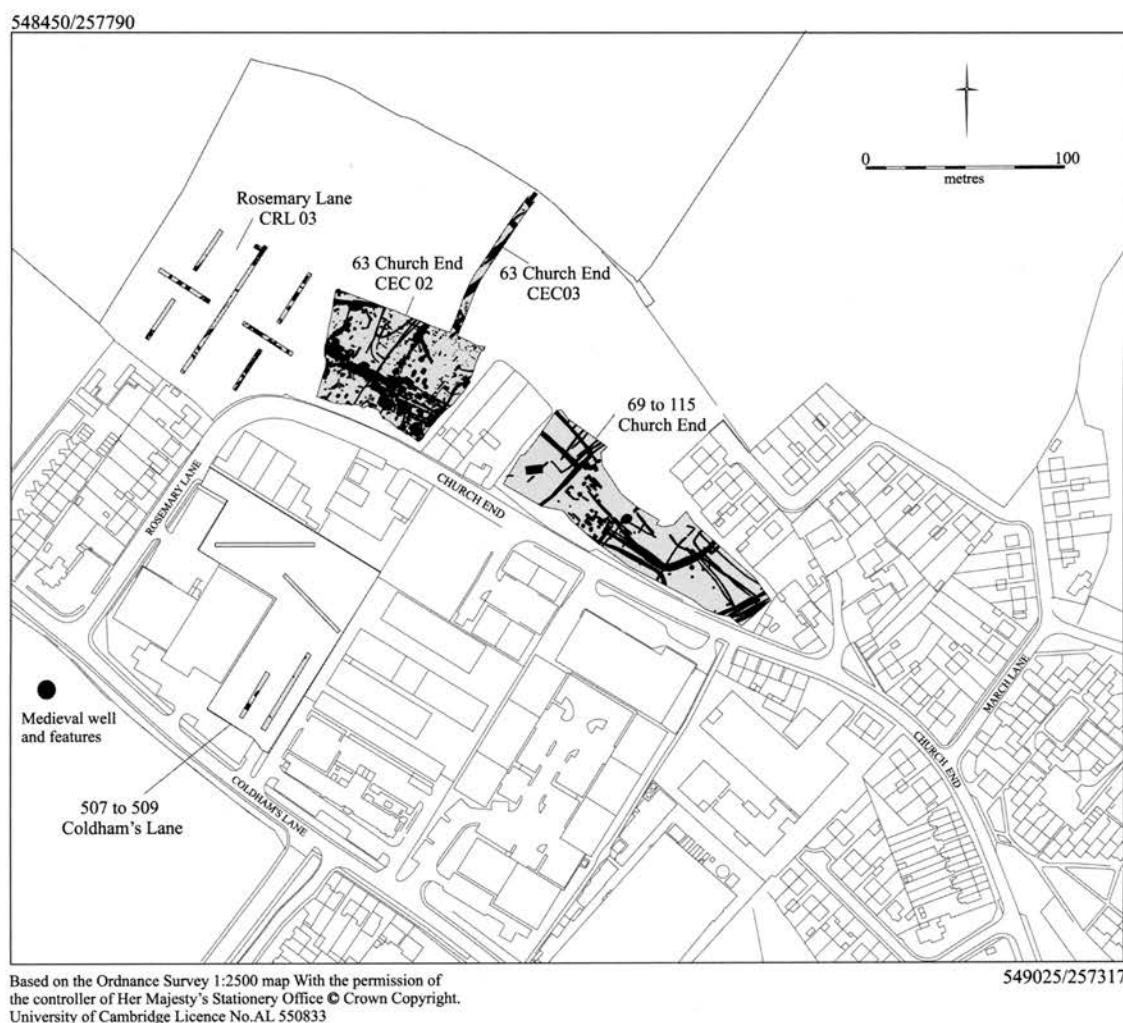


Figure 2. Archaeological investigations at Church End.

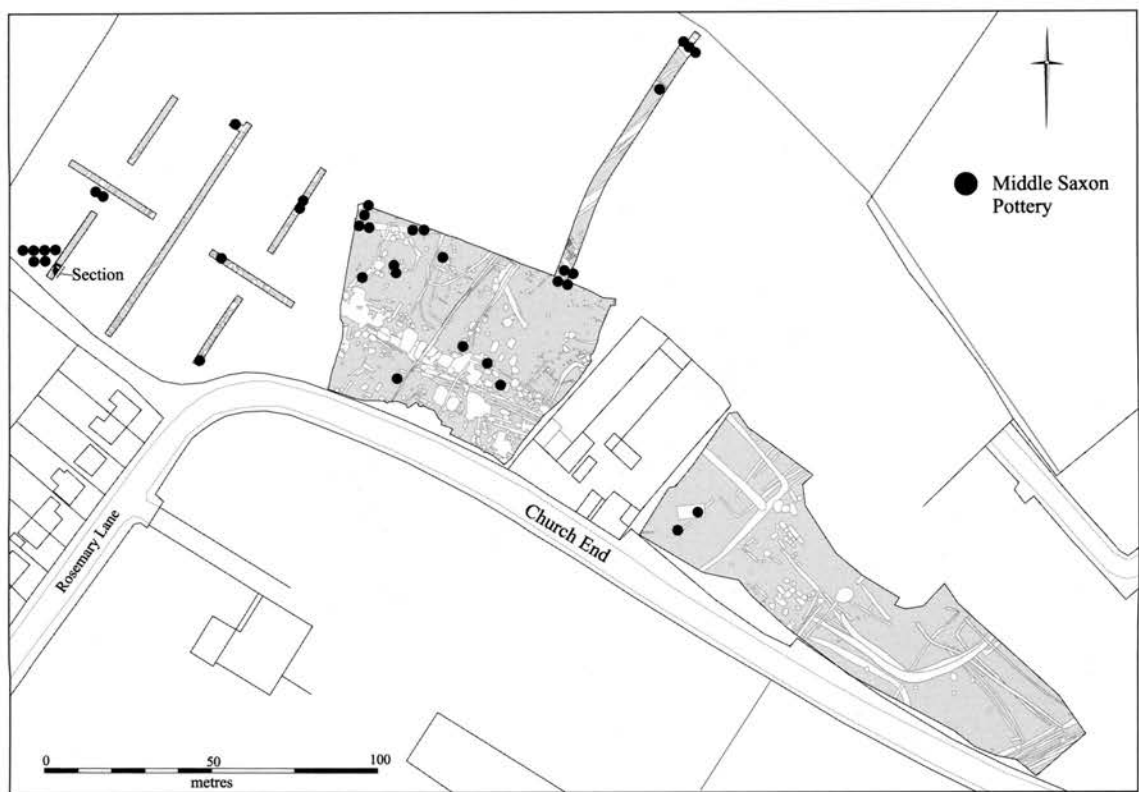
gesting use of fen resources.

It seems likely that the main focus of the Middle Saxon settlement lies immediately to the southwest. Based on local parallels the ditches probably represent a relatively important boundary, perhaps an enclosure around a building (cf. Mortimer *et al* forthcoming) and the density of material in the ditch hints at nearby domestic occupation. This southwest part of the site also produced a concentration of 1st to 3rd century Romano-British pottery whose size and condition suggests relatively close proximity to a settlement. Sporadic finds of Roman material were made during earlier quarrying to the southwest (Browne 1974, map 25; Liversidge 1959; McKenny-Hughes 1906) and some Early Saxon inhumations with iron object(s) were found (Browne 1974, map 25 no. 1). This suggests that the focus of Roman to Middle Saxon occupation at Church End lies southwest of the excavated areas.

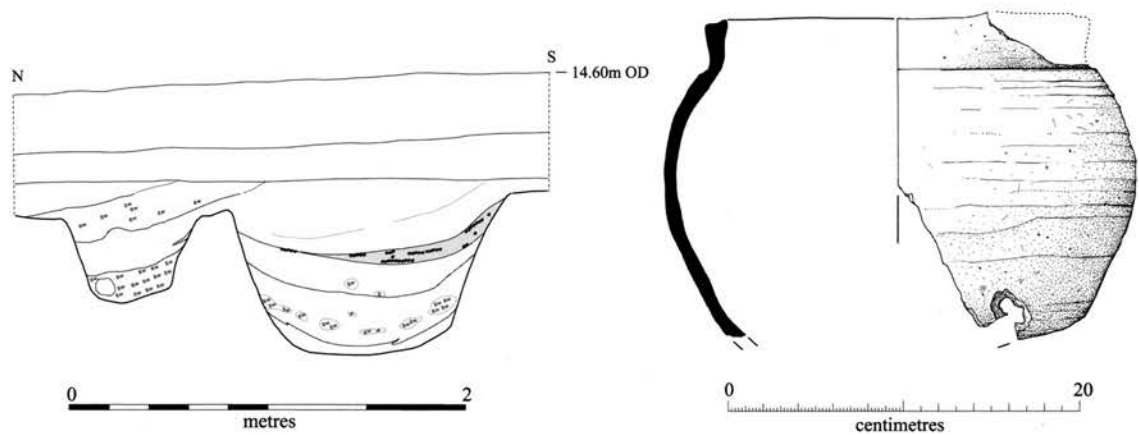
### The Saxo-Norman settlement

Some time between the late 9th to mid 10th centuries the focus of activity shifted and a new settlement was laid out (Figure 4). Although only a small part of the settlement has been investigated so far it appears to have been defined by a west to east orientated 'D' shaped ditched enclosure, which was still identifiable as a block of land at the time of Parliamentary Inclosure in the early 19th century (Figure 16). This block was c.450m long by up to c.170m wide, covering just over six hectares. The main enclosure ditch was identified archaeologically on its northern and western sides (Figure 5), it was recut numerous times and the northern side appears to have shifted further northwards over time, increasing the enclosed area. The size of the ditch varied quite considerably and was 1.0 to 2.2m wide and 0.5 to 1.4m deep, with a typical depth of 0.7m.

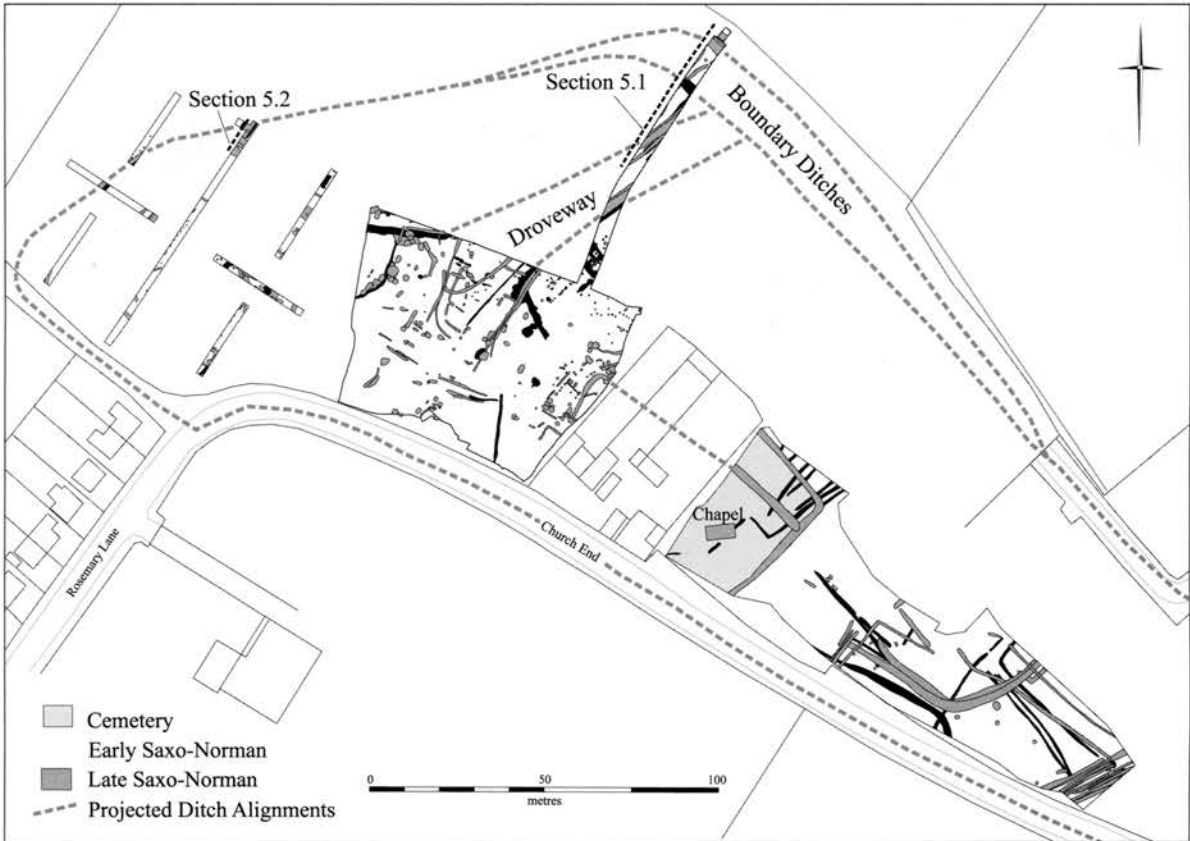
The area within the enclosure was subdivided by ditches; the main feature identified so far is a 10 to 12m wide trackway running north-northeast to south-southwest from the northern boundary that



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*Figure 3. Middle Saxon distribution of pottery, section of ditches and Ipswich ware wide globular jar in a dark pimply fabric.*



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Figure 4. Saxo-Norman Church End road.

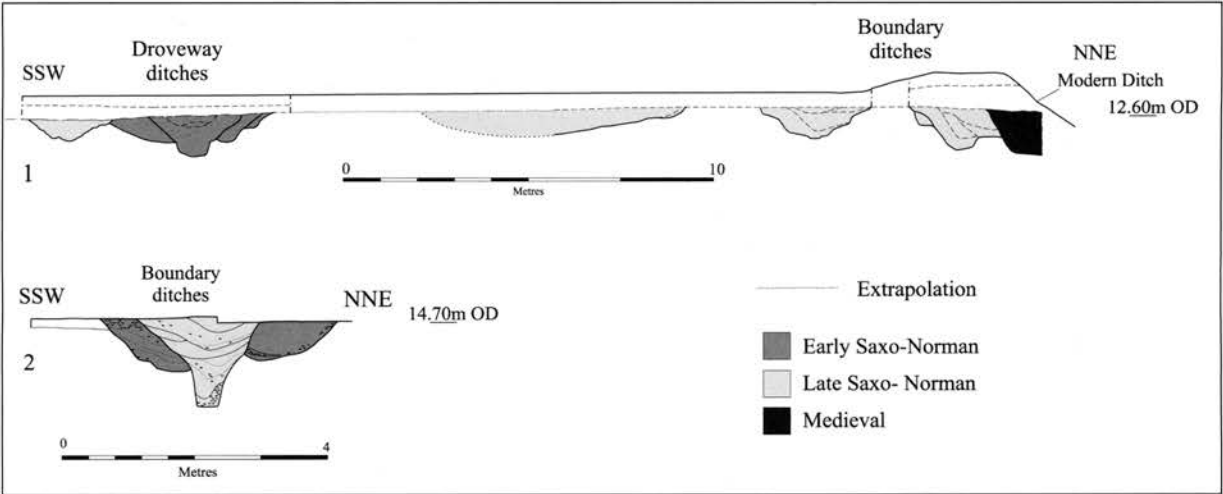


Figure 5. Saxo-Norman boundary and droeway ditches. For locations see figure 4.

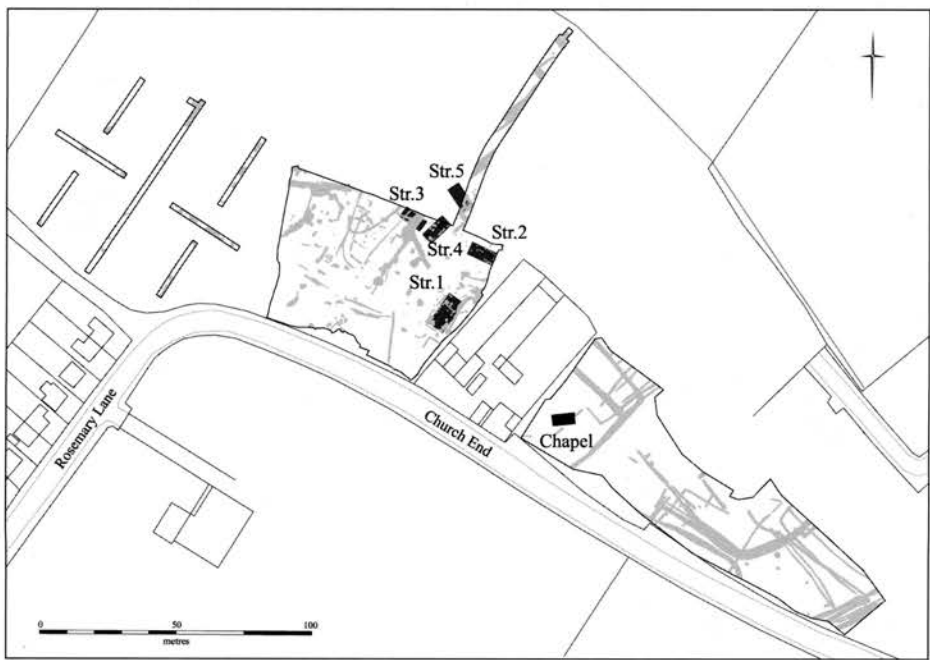
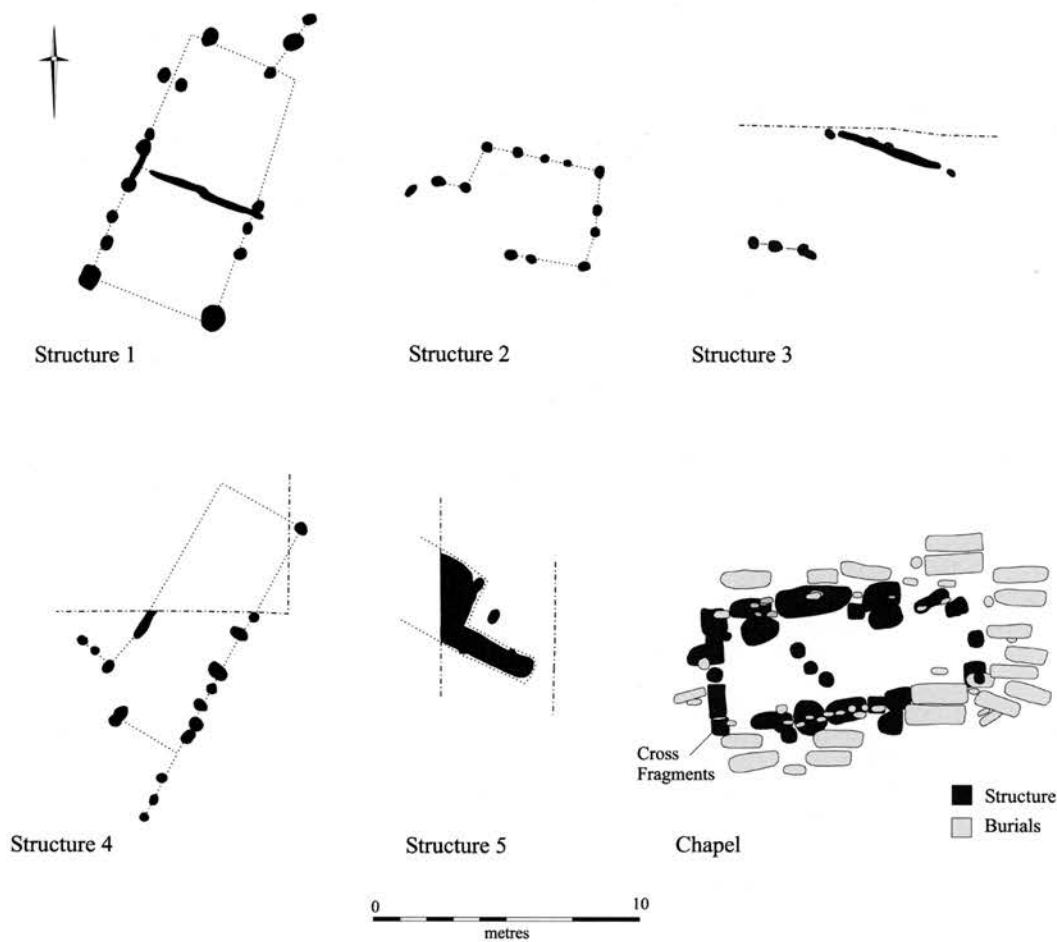


Figure 6. Saxo-Norman buildings.

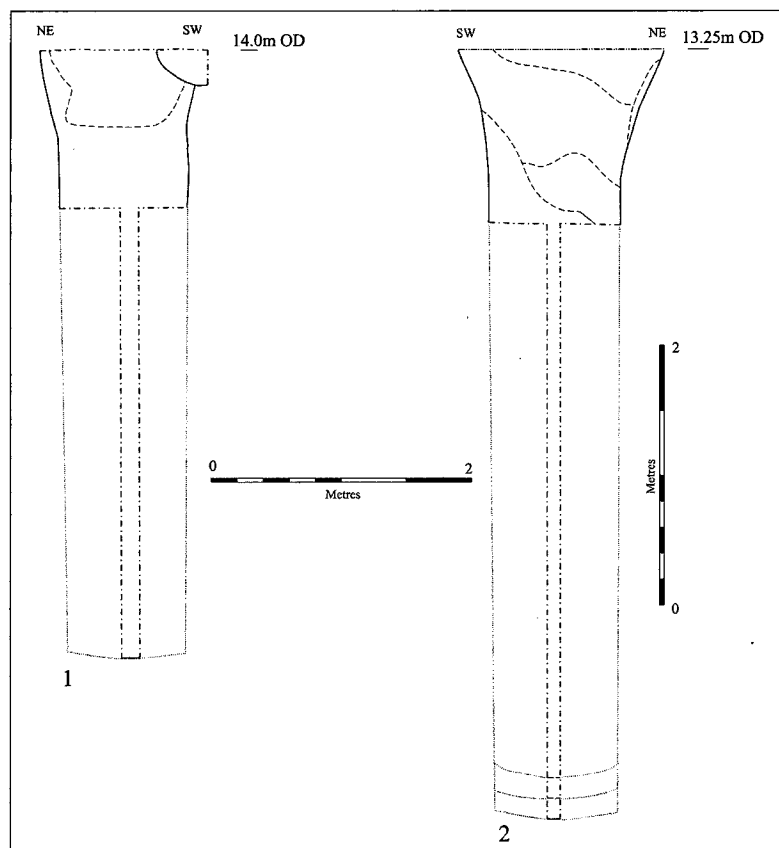


Figure 7. Saxo-Norman wells.

splays outwards at its south-southwestern end. The ditches of this trackway are as large as those of the main enclosure, they also show signs of numerous recuts and the position of the trackway shifted position quite significantly at least once. On the basis of alterations to the enclosure ditch and the trackway it seems that the settlement went through one major reorganisation. Smaller ditches, 0.2 to 0.8m wide and 0.2 to 0.5m deep, appear to define discrete areas within the enclosure.

The majority of the area investigated so far was not densely occupied or utilised, a few timber-framed structures have been found, plus some wells, quarry pits and pits. The timber-framed structures (Figure 6) are rectangular in shape and some have porch like extensions. Their dimensions vary (4.5 by 3.8m, 8.9 by 3.2m, 5.0 by 2.7m, 10.8 by 5.7m and 6.0 by 4.7m), but are comparable with contemporary structures locally (Mortimer *et al.* forthcoming). In one instance there was an internal surface of rounded pebbles/cobbles, although the majority probably had clay floors. No hearths were found, although burnt stones may be their remnants. Sixteen wells were discovered (Figure 7), a substantial number in comparison to the buildings found. They are generally circular with vertical sides, apart from the upper c.0.2 to 0.4m which flares outwards, and are 3.2 to 4.8m deep with main shafts that are 0.7 to 1.4m in diameter. There is no evidence that the wells had any form of superstructure and

their upper portions were probably not lined, although lower down there may have been timber or wattle hurdling linings. A Roman well in the area was at least 9m deep (Liversidge 1959), a medieval example was 14m deep (Hurst and Fell 1952) and recent wells were 12 to 15m deep. The Saxo-Norman wells are substantially shallower than those of other periods.

At least 60 features were identified as quarry pits (Figure 8), dug to obtain the underlying dense white marly clay; this material would have been used for a variety of functions including the walls of buildings and features such as ovens. These show signs of only being open for a short period, were cut entirely or largely into undisturbed natural and are generally quite large, but their extent and depth varies considerably. The majority are subrectangular with steep sides, that are often vertical or even undercutting, and some of them appear to form clusters. A range of other pits, postholes, slots and beamslots were found. The only group of these that appear to form a recognisable group are located at the point where the trackway splays outwards and are probably some form of gateway or entrance feature.

At 69–115 Church End road there was a cemetery containing over 670 inhumations, mainly aligned east to west. The density of burials indicates an extended period of usage and it appears to date to the Saxo-Norman period. Within the cemetery was a small

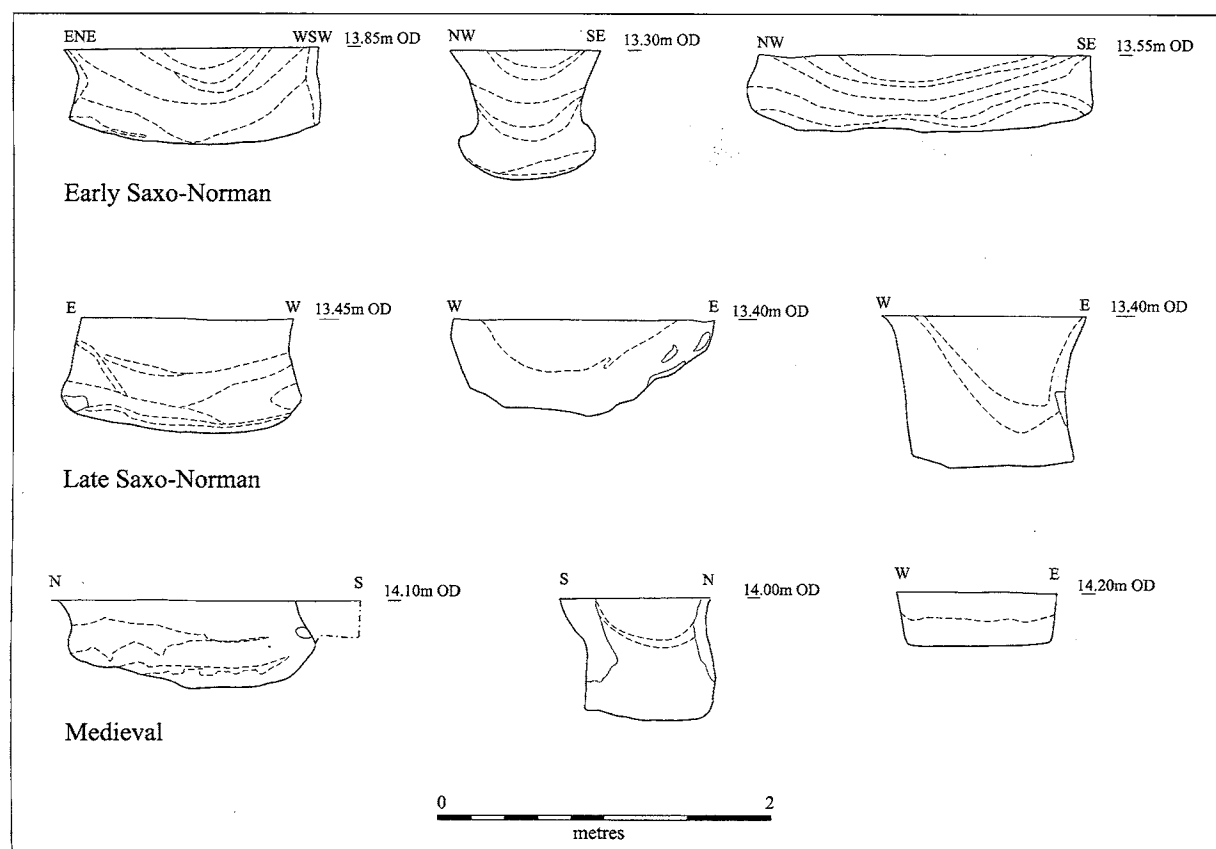


Figure 8. Saxo-Norman and medieval quarry pits.

rectangular timber building orientated west to east and measuring 9.5 by 3.5m internally, interpreted as a church. Originally a single celled structure a second apsidal cell was later added, forming a two celled structure. During the period when the cemetery was in use it was enclosed by a large ditch, which appears to have been only fully infilled in the 13th or 14th centuries. No fragments of stone sculpture were found at the CAU excavations and the only human bone was a single ulna from a ditch, suggesting a disturbed burial.

#### Material culture

The site's inhabitants were using a variety of imported pottery, including Thetford type ware jugs, jars,

large storage vessels and costrels (Figure 9.5–6), St Neots type ware jars and bowls and Stamford type ware jugs and pitchers (Figure 10). These are the typical Saxo-Norman wares for the area and the proportions of different wares are similar to those found in Cambridge and Chesterton (Table 1). A relatively small amount of iron slag was found, indicating small-scale repair or manufacture of iron items, plus some nails, strips, rings knife blades, a horseshoe and a spur. Lead was also in use and a variety of strips, strip fragments and unidentifiable fragments were found; the only clearly identifiable object is a cylindrical rolled fishing line weight. There is a copper alloy 'safety pin' type brooch with ring and dot decoration (Figure 11); although this type of brooch

Table 1. Saxo-Norman pottery at Church End road (all sites) and elsewhere.

Site	Thetford type	St Neots type	Stamford type	Total
Church End	1508 46.6%	1656 51.2%	73 2.3%	3237
Castle Hill,	441	469	26	936
Cambridge	47.1%	50.1%	2.8%	
Chesterton	507 52.2%	448 46.1%	16 1.6%	971
Cottenham	233 41.4%	317 56.3%	13 2.3%	563
Ely	4707 63.3%	2531 34.0%	196 2.6%	7434

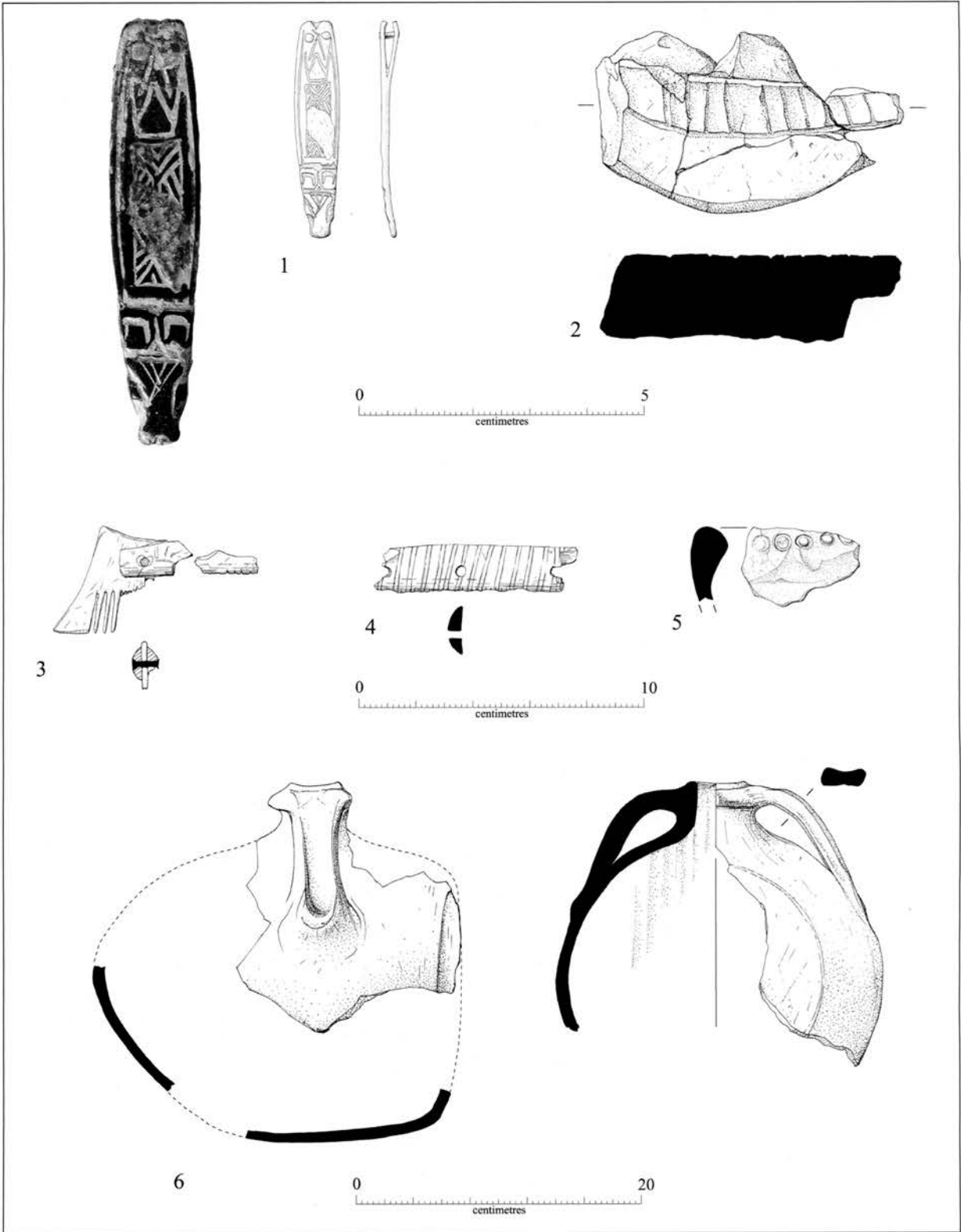


Figure 9. Saxo-Norman objects.

- 9.1 Silver strap end.

9.2 Stone gaming board fragment with incised lines on one side.

9.3 Fragments of composite single sided bone comb.
- 9.4 Fragment of bone comb connecting plate decorated with incised lines.

9.5 Thetford type ware rim with stamped decoration.

9.6 Thetford type ware two handled barrel type costrel.

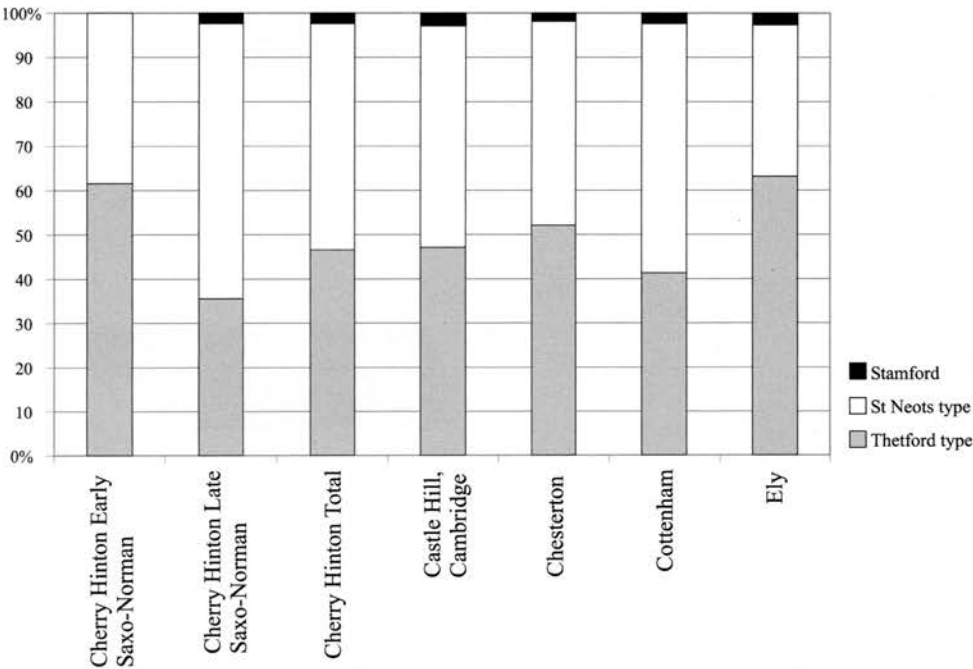


Figure 10. Saxo-Norman pottery types at Church End road and elsewhere.

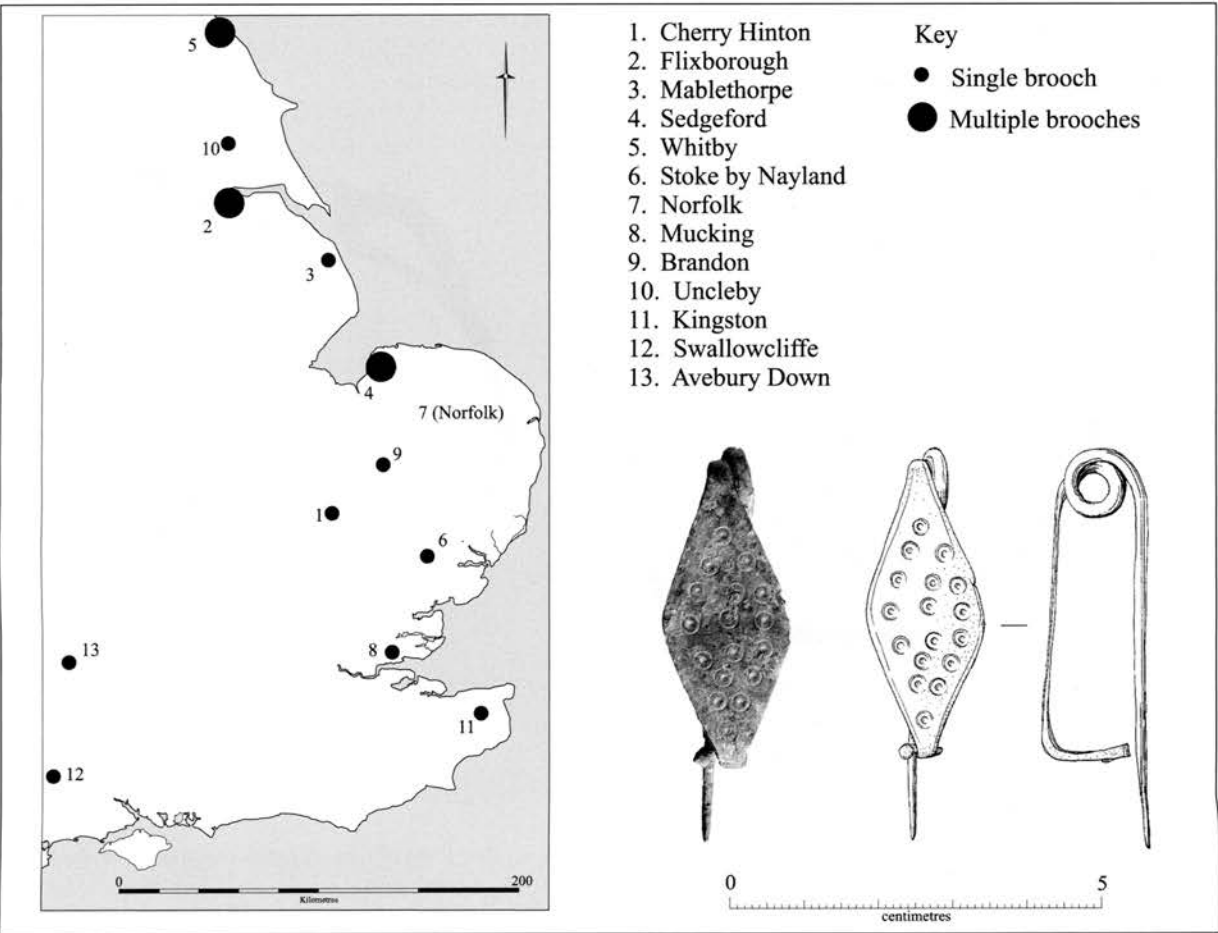


Figure 11. Copper alloy 'safety pin' type brooch and distribution of this type of brooch.



has been believed to be prehistoric they are now recognised as Anglo-Saxon. The form originates in the 7th century and examples are known from a number of female burials (White 1988, 40–1), including a local example from Shudy Camps (Lethbridge 1936, 6–8 and figure 2) and settlements (Hamerow 1993, 61). They are lightweight and examples found have been in the area of the hip in burials, suggesting they may have acted as fastenings for undergarments or girdles (White 1988, 41). The form continues to develop in the Middle Saxon period, a similarly decorated example was found in 8th or 9th century deposits at Sedgeford, Norfolk, (SHARP Team 2000, 125) and eight or nine copper alloy and one silver example, two with ring and dot ornamentation, were found at Flixborough, Lincolnshire, in late 8th to 10th century contexts. A 9th century silver type A decorated strap end with niello inlay (Figure 9.1) (Thomas 2003) would have been used for protecting the ends of a variety of types of textile or leather straps. The strap end is divided into three panels; the upper panel has some line ornament that incorporates the rivets to suggest a face, the central panel is filled with two rows of interlocking V's with a triangle at each end, while the bottom panel has the eyebrows and muzzle of a schematic animal head at the end. There was a small amount of worked bone, in the form of combs (Figure 9.3–4), a pin and a toggle, plus some waste from bone and horn working. No hones or whetstones were recovered, the only worked stone were one piece with parallel lines used for sharpening blades, another used for smoothing and polishing, a chalk bead or bead shaped object and a circular piece with inscribed lines that is probably part of a gaming board (Figure 9.2) (Dallas 1993, 121–22). There is no evidence for textile production, such as spindle whorls or loom weights, no coins or items associated with trade, such as weights or scale pans, and there is no evidence for literacy, such as styli.

#### Agriculture and diet

Cattle and sheep/goat dominate the animal remains (Table 2). The majority of the cattle were kept into old age, indicating that they were exploited for secondary purposes and there is some pathological evidence for them being used for traction. Many of the sheep/goats were being raised and killed for their meat after being fattened at the end of their second summer/au-

turn; older animals were also being kept for wool and breeding purposes. Pig and horse bones were also found, plus small amounts of dog, roe deer and bird (chicken, goose and crow). A complete dog that was dumped in a ditch appears to have been skinned and a nearly complete horse that was missing one leg lay in a quarry pit. The horse was female, around 20 years old and 13.2 hands high with pathologies suggesting excessive riding, possibly at a young age. A small amount of fish bones and scales were found; there is also evidence for limited consumption of shellfish in the form of mussels and some oyster.

The dominant cereal was free-threshing wheat, with lesser amounts of barley and oats, and the presence of lava querns attests to the grinding of cereals. The cereals were consistently found associated with arable weeds, large amounts of chaff and sedge material and large numbers of black-bog-rush seeds. One explanation is that straw and cereal chaff from crop processing plus sedge was collected and used as fuel. This fuel would have produced high temperatures suitable for bread-making, suggested by their association with cereals and arable weeds. These remains are found in a range of features including quarry pits and occur over much of the site with no apparent concentrations. There appear to be the remains of the cleanings from numerous episodes suggesting that bread was being made in large quantities. Hazelnuts were also eaten.

#### Imported material

The inhabitants of the settlement had access to a limited range of imported materials, including pottery from Huntingdonshire/Bedfordshire (St Neots type ware), Norfolk/Suffolk (Thetford type ware) and Lincolnshire (Stamford type ware), Niedermendig Mülstein lava from the Eifel region in Germany, oysters and items of personal adornment made of copper alloy and silver. This material is paralleled by contemporary discoveries at Cambridge and it is likely that the majority of the items were obtained from there.

#### Environment

Snails indicating open ground were present in moderate numbers, while others indicating damp ground were present in smaller quantities. Waterlogged deposits contained seeds of plants that thrive in areas that have been well manured (common nettle and

**Table 2.** Comparison of animal species in Domesday Book and from Saxo-Norman Church End road (CAU sites only).

Species	Domesday Book	Saxo-Norman NISP	Saxo-Norman NISP lifespan corrected
Cattle	117 45.9%	511 43.9%	22.5%
Sheep/goat	80 31.4%	509 43.7%	52.7%
Pig	56 22.0%	86 7.4%	17.9%
Horse	2 0.8%	58 5.0%	6.4%

henbane), others that like disturbed or waste ground (greater plantain, poppy, fat hen, pinks, fool's parsley and stinking chamomile) and small amounts of plants from a damp environment such as hedges or marsh (sedge and creeping buttercup). There were no indications of successional vegetation such as brambles or hawthorn, so the area was probably kept clear of scrub. There is archaeological and documentary evidence for areas of fen nearby and the presence of pig and hazelnuts suggest there was some woodland in the vicinity, although this was probably limited and is not mentioned in documentary sources.

Status

None of the evidence from the Church End road settlement suggests that the occupation is of particularly high status. The buildings are not particularly large, imported material is restricted to types that are ubiquitous on local sites of the period, the few items of personal adornment are not particularly impressive examples of common types and there is only limited evidence for horse riding. There is generally a lack of wild animals and only low quantities of birds and fish, sometimes interpreted as indicators of high status. The evidence for craft activities such as iron, bone, horn and leather working all appears to be on a small scale and the only activity that appears to have taken place on a large scale was bread-making (see above).

Dating

The enclosed settlement was probably founded after Ipswich ware had gone out of use locally, around the middle or late 9th century. During the settlements earliest stages the pottery was mainly Thetford type ware (Table 3), which begins in the 9th century, is most common in the 10th and 11th centuries and may continue into the 12th century (Hurst 1957; Hurst 1976, 314–20; Rogerson and Dallas 1984). There is also some St Neots type ware, whose dating is the same as Thetford type ware (Denham 1985; Hurst 1956; Hurst 1976, 320–23). Both the Thetford and St Neots wares include small vessels that are probably pre-Conquest in date. Later on in the history of the settlement St Neots ware becomes more common and Stamford ware dated c.900 to 1200 (Hurst 1958; Hurst 1976, 323–36; Kilmurry 1980) appears. Evidence from Cambridge, where a stratified sequence has been radiocarbon dated, suggest that the earliest phase of the settlement dates to the period 875 to 950 and that it

continues to be occupied until around 1200 (Cessford with Dickens in prep A). The absence of medieval ceramic forms and fabrics indicates that the settlement did not continue very long into the 12th century.

Other material provides limited support for the ceramic dating. The 'safety pin' brooch is probably late 8th to 10th century and the strap end is 9th century, much of the worked bone and stone is compatible with a Late Saxon date, but the types are often long lived. The stone sculpture is dated c.950 to 1100 and it is likely that the church was abandoned by the start of the 13th century (see below).

It appears that the enclosed settlement begins between the late 9th to mid 10th centuries and continues until the late 11th or early 12th century, with occupation spanning around two centuries. This is credible in terms of the recutting of the major ditches, intercutting of other features and likely lifespan of between 80 and 100 years for the timber-framed structures (cf. Horsman *et al.* 1988, 110). In 875 a Viking army went from Repton to Cambridge and sat there one year, while later in 878 the Treaty of Wedmore made Cambridge part of the Danelaw. This situation continued until 917, when the region submitted to Edward the Elder of Wessex and a settlement followed in 920. This means that the Church End settlement could represent either a Danelaw or Wessex foundation. It is plausible, but unprovable, that the beginning of the settlement relates to a reorganisation caused by one of the conquests. The settlement then spans the rest of the Late Saxon period, continuing for a short time after the Norman Conquest.

Domesday Book

The site was probably still occupied at the time of Domesday Book when:

Count Alan holds the manor of *Hintona*. There were 7 hides in 1066 and is now. There is land here for 13 ploughs; there are 4 ploughs and 3½ hides in *demesne*, and 9 *villein* ploughs. (There are) 19 *villeins*, 21 or 22 *bordars* with 20 acres or 9 ploughs, 2 cottars, 4 serfs, 4 mills worth 25 shillings, meadow for 3 ploughs, pasture for the cattle of the vill. 4 ploughshares from the fen, and 25 pence, 6 pence from the carts, 13 head of cattle, 80 sheep, 56 pigs (and) 2 horses. In all it is worth 19 shillings and when received (it was worth) 18 shillings. In 1066 (it was worth) 12 shillings and Edeva the Fair held this manor. In this manor were 8 *sokemen* who rendered 4 watch-

Table 3. Saxo-Norman pottery by phase (CAU site adjacent to 63 Church End road only).

Phase	Thetford type	St Neots type	Stamford type	Total
Early Saxo-Norman	56 61.5%	35 38.5%	0	91
Late Saxo-Norman	446 35.5%	783 62.3%	28 2.2%	1257
Residual	1006 53.3%	838 44.3%	45 2.4%	1889
Total	1508 46.6%	1656 51.2%	73 2.3%	3237

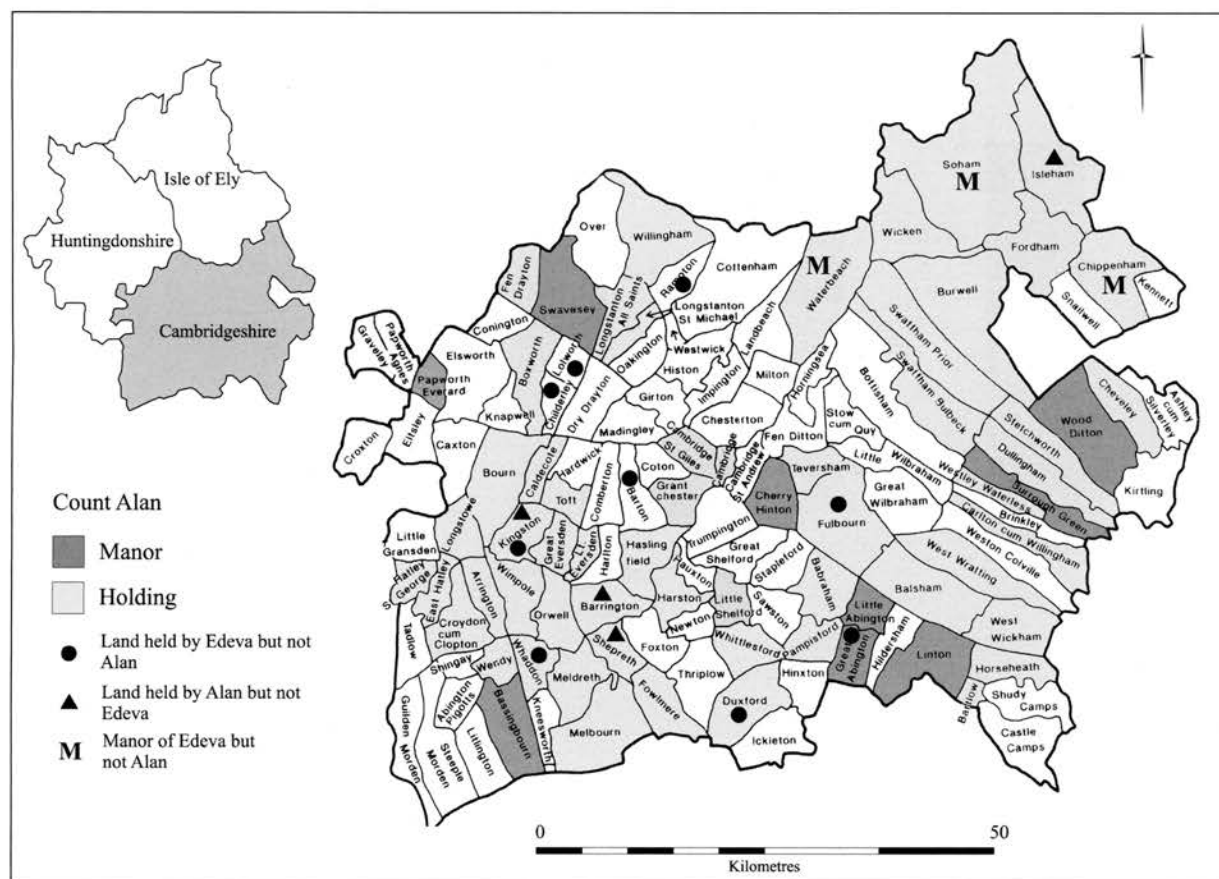


Figure 12. Landholdings of Edeva the Fair and Count Alan in Cambridgeshire.

men and 2 carrying services to the sheriff in 1066 (Otway-Ruthven 1938a, 373; 1938b, 407).

Given the large size of the enclosure and in particular the presence of the church and cemetery it is likely that it can be equated with the manor of *Hintona*. It must be borne in mind, however, that during the Late Saxon period there was an active market in land and it is impossible to know if the parish was a single manorial unit throughout the Late Saxon period or whether it may have been made up of a number of farms before Edeva held it. It is just conceivable that the major enclosed settlement at Church End could have been abandoned prior to 1066 as part of a process of nucleation, although this is unlikely as it probably continued until the late 11th or early 12th century.

Domesday Book is the earliest documentary reference to Hinton, the Cherry element being a 16th century addition. The name means the settlement, farmstead or enclosure (*tun*), either on high land (*hea*) or of the monks or nuns (*higna*) (Ekwall 1936, 241; Reaney 1943, 141–42). As the Saxo-Norman settlement lies on a locally slightly raised area that probably had marshes around it the high land seems more likely, as there is no other evidence for the presence of a religious community.

In 1066 the manor was held by Edeva the Fair (*Edeuua Pulchra*), who may have been King Harold's

mistress or even his first wife, Edith Swanneck. Edeva held 160 hides in Cambridgeshire (Figure 12) as well as extensive holdings in Hertfordshire, Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk. Edeva also held 1½ hides at Teversham that seem to have been administered from *Hintona*. By 1086 the manor had passed to Count Alan of Brittany, a son in law of William the Conqueror who gained most of Edeva's land in Cambridgeshire and held the earldom of Richmond. Both Edeva the Fair and Count Alan were major landowners (cf. Hollister 1987; Morgan 1963), holding land in numerous Cambridgeshire parishes with a number of other manors in the county and major holdings elsewhere. Edeva and Alan would have been absentee landlords who rarely, if ever, visited their manor of *Hintona*. Living at the site were some of the 8 *sokemen*, 19 *villeins*, 21 or 22 *bordars* and 2 cottars, who were all free peasants of different standings, plus 4 serfs who were unfree labourers.

Domesday Book records that *Hintona* had a mixed arable and pastoral farming regime. The numbers of animals recorded can be compared to the animal bones recovered archaeologically, although for a more accurate comparison it is appropriate to correct the archaeological values for the mean lifespan of the different species at the site (Table 2; Figure 13). Domesday Book only lists the *demesne* animals, which need not occur in the same proportions as those

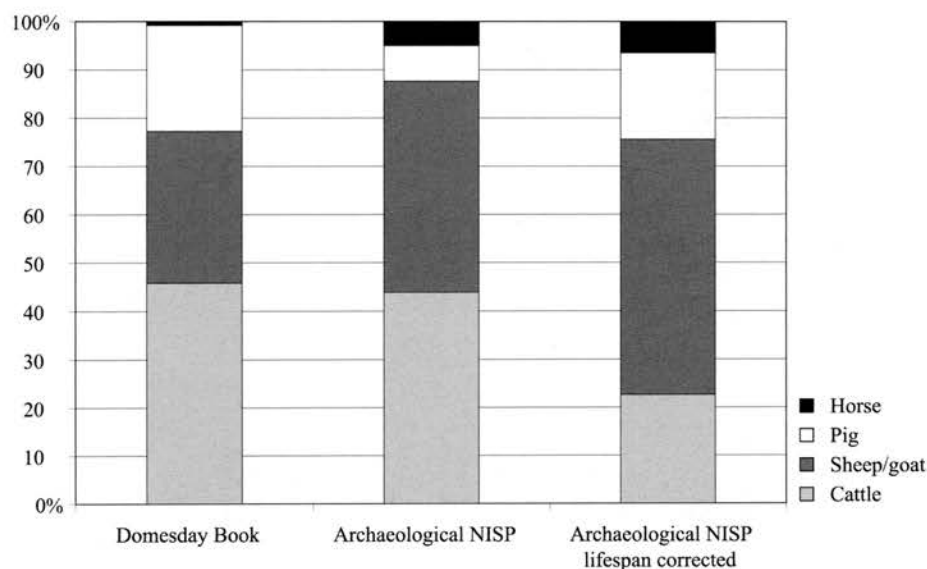


Figure 13. Main domesticates in the Saxo-Norman period.

owned by *sokemen* and other tenants. Nonetheless it appears that sheep/goat and horse are more common archaeologically than might be anticipated, while cattle and pigs are less common. As Domesday Book records the live animals at the site and the archaeological remains relate to those killed and ultimately deposited there this discrepancy probably relates to some live animals being exported. The main exports would have been cattle and pigs, but it is also possible that sheep/goats were exported to a lesser degree. Although there is evidence that the sheep/goats were kept for wool there are no items associated with textile production, indicating that wool may also have been exported. There is evidence from the Middle Saxon period onwards for some degree of specialisation in certain aspects of animal production in East Anglia, such as pork at Wicken Bonhunt and wool at Brandon, related to the development of urban centres (Crabtree 1996). The situation at Church End is less extreme, but it appears likely that it did partly specialise in the raising of live animals for export, probably to Cambridge. Domesday Book does not give any details on the arable crops grown, these can however be identified archaeologically and the weed species found in association with cereals in Cambridge indicates that many of these were probably being grown to the south of Cambridge at sites such as Church End. The land for ploughs given in Domesday Book are probably measures of acreage, there are likely to be around 60 arable acres per plough giving a total of 780 acres. Cherry Hinton covered an area of 2043 acres until 1911 indicating that in 1086 38.2% of the parish was occupied by arable land, this is closely comparable with the figure of around 35% that has been found for arable land in west Cambridgeshire and Suffolk (Oosthuizen pers comm). There is some internal evidence from Domesday Book that for meadow the total is eight acres per plough giving 24

acres of meadow (Oosthuizen pers comm).

No woodland is mentioned in Domesday Book, but fen resources were significant. When specified fen resources are usually eels, but the general term could also include rushes, wildfowl and turf. Fish and birds appear to have been relatively unimportant, but sedge stems seem to have been frequently used as fuel. At Cambridge the evidence for wetland plants from the fens such as sedge is limited in the Saxo-Norman period and increases in the medieval period. Whilst there is evidence that Cambridge had strong links to the fenland to the north in later times it is possible that in the Saxo-Norman period the limited amount of fen resources Cambridge received came from the south and sites such as Church End.

#### *Saxo-Norman Cambridge and its hinterland*

The settlement lies in the immediate hinterland of Cambridge and it is likely that it had a close economic relationship with it, although the nature of Saxo-Norman Cambridge and how urban a centre it was is unclear. Middle Saxon activity was apparently focused upon the Castle Hill area of Cambridge (Cessford this volume).

Few other Saxo-Norman rural sites in the immediate hinterland of Cambridge have been investigated archaeologically. At the nearby site of Teversham some Saxo-Norman pottery was found and there was a possible droveway sealed by medieval ridge and furrow (Kemp 1996), perhaps hinting at similarities to Church End although the small scale of the work hinders interpretation. Chesterton has evidence for Late Saxon activity and a planned Post-Conquest settlement (Cessford 2004), which appears to follow a different trajectory from Church End. More limited work at Madingley Hall (Gdaniec 1991; Gdaniec 1992; Hunter 1991; Regan 1998) suggests an extensive Saxo-Norman settlement that shifted

towards the current village around the 13th century. Although poorly understood this sequence appears to parallel the evidence from Church End. There is also Middle Saxon settlement with timber structures and wells at Addenbrooke's (Evans *et al.* 2004), a possible ditched enclosure system related to livestock at Trumpington (Hatton and Hinman 2000) and a site with hollow-way, banks and ditches at Fiddlers Close, Grantchester (Webster and Cherry 1972, 148). Unfortunately archaeological work in Great Shelford in the vicinity of Granhams manor, which it has been suggested is the *Aldewerke* or 'ancient, old or former fortification' that may be the fortified nucleus of the chief private estate of the Danish earl and could be the site of the *Sceldfor* mint and a *minster* church (Hart 1995; McOmish 2000), has largely avoided the manor site itself (Hinman 1999; Roberts 2000; Whittaker *et al.* 2002). These investigations indicate the existence of a range of types of rural settlements in the hinterland of Cambridge but the evidence is currently insufficient to compare them in detail to Church End road.

## Discussion

For around two centuries between the late 9th or mid 10th until the late 11th or early 12th Church End was the site of a major settlement within a 'D' shaped enclosure covering just over six hectares. Much of the area within this enclosure appears to have been relatively sparsely occupied. There is little evidence for high status occupation and the few crafts that have left archaeological traces are small scale. A comparison with Domesday Book suggests that live animals were probably exported, perhaps to Cambridge. The trackway at the site can perhaps be interpreted as a droveway for animals and the other internal divisions may also relate to the control and penning of livestock. There are a relatively large number of wells; this water supply could also relate to livestock requirements. Bread was apparently baked on quite a large scale that was probably in excess of that needed for the inhabitants of the buildings identified so far. Wool, cereal crops and fen resources may also have been exported to Cambridge. A small chapel or church plus a substantial cemetery and some associated stone sculpture occupied another area of the enclosure. Additionally over half of the probable enclosed area remains uninvestigated.

A recent important study of 6th to 11th century settlements and boundaries has revealed a complex pattern (Reynolds 2003), with the Cambridge region having both enclosed and rectilinear settlements, but with a marked predilection for bounded plots and trackways (*ibid.*, 130). The pattern of settlement at Church End does not fit that found locally from individual plots within Saxo-Norman villages or farmsteads, particularly at Lordship Lane, Cottenham (Mortimer 2000) (Figure 14.1) West Fen road, Ely (Mortimer *et al.* forthcoming) (Figure 14.2) and Chesterton (Cessford 2004) (Figure 14). At these and other sites individual tofts or village plots between

45m and 60m wide, with timber-framed buildings within the plots, have been clearly recognisable and regularly reinstated with frequent superimposition of structures. At Church End in contrast there is a large enclosure with one area apparently used for activities related to agriculture, another given over to religion and relatively little evidence for domestic occupation. The most likely interpretation is that Church End was the manorial or *thegny* centre (cf. Reynolds 1999, 119–46) of *Hintona*. The substantial size of the enclosed area and the amount of effort required in creating the outer ditches indicates a high degree of wealth and power, while the presence of a church and cemetery with stone sculpture in a rural context during the Saxo-Norman period is a strong indication of manorial status. Although some churches were established by sokemen or groups of sokemen (Warner 1986) most churches and cemeteries were generally established by and associated with the lord of the manor, as proprietary institutions that were both a status symbol and a source of income through baptism and burial dues (Harfield 1988). The 10th century saw the transition from the earlier minster pattern to large numbers of new manorial churches, which led to the 12th century crystallisation of the parochial system (Blair 1988; Morris 1985; 1989, 140–67; Reynolds 1999, 130–32; Zadora-Rio 2003). The 9th to 12th centuries saw the emergence of rectilinear manorial enclosures and associated settlements (Reynolds 2003, 125–28 and 130), as well as the continued existence of major settlement enclosures indicating large settlements of varying status (*ibid.*, 115–19) and a growing importance of ditches and trackways (*ibid.*, 119–25). Church End clearly fits into this pattern as a significant large settlement, although the limited nature of the investigations makes it impossible to determine exactly how. Church End would primarily be an agricultural estate centre in the immediate hinterland of Cambridge run for the profit of an absentee landlord and occupied by various classes of peasant.

The imprecise dating of the origins of this settlement mean that it is impossible to be certain if its foundation relates to the period when the area was part of the Danelaw or later when it lay within the *ealdordom* of East Anglia. The presence of *sokemen* suggests that the site was occupied during the Danelaw period, as the term seems to be associated with Scandinavian landholders (Faith 1997, 122), and the 12th century *Liber Eliensis* records that the Danish jarls who held Cambridge submitted to Edward the Elder in 917 and were allowed to keep their land. The reliability of this tradition is unclear and there was probably a mixed pattern with some land kept by its Danish holders and some not (Abramm 2000, 138–39). In any case the process of nucleation occurs throughout central southern England between the mid 9th and mid 12th centuries, so although the origins of the settlement may well relate to changes in land ownership linked to specific political events they are part of a more general and long term phenomenon.

Archaeological investigations at Cherry Hinton have focused upon one part of the modern village.

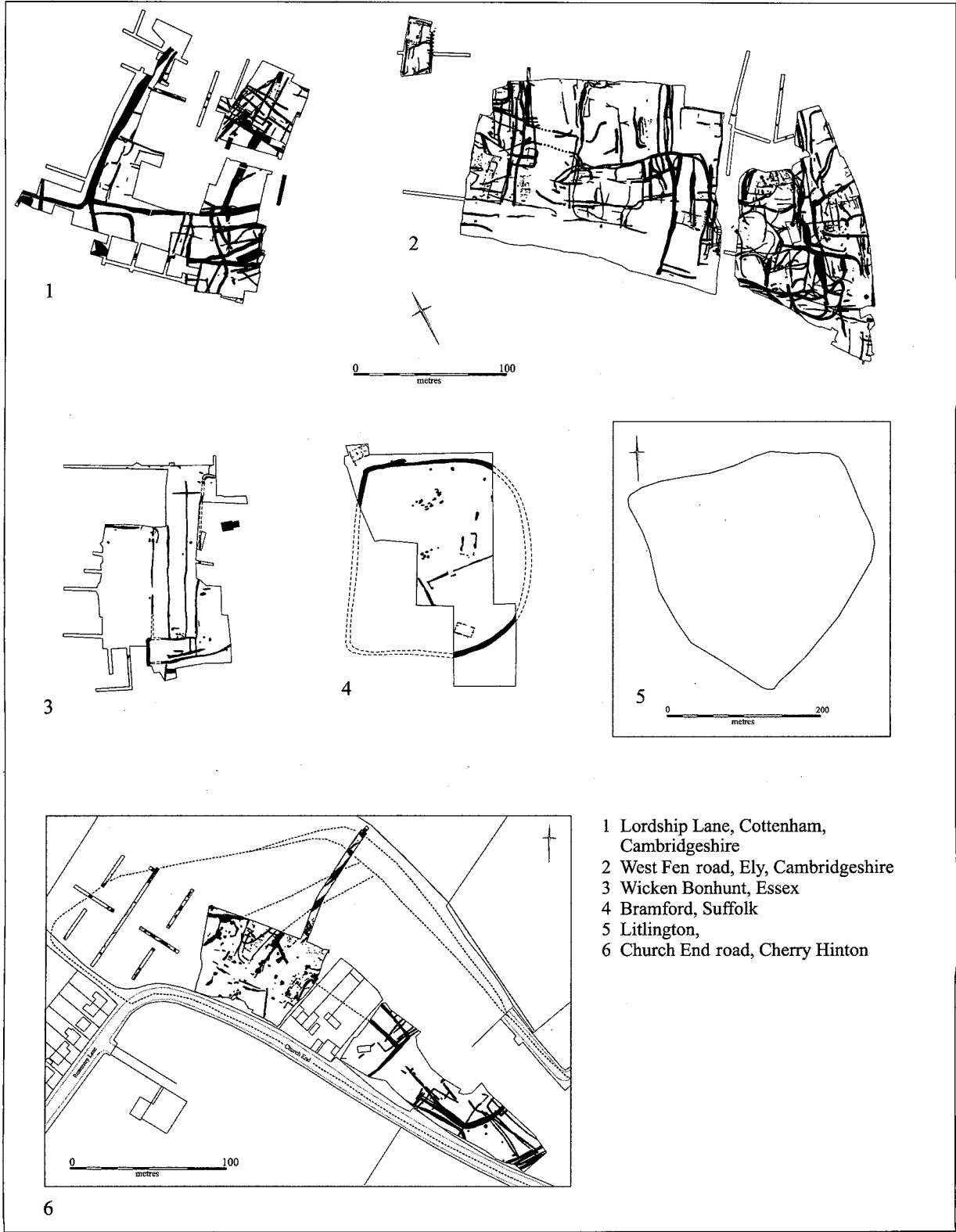


Figure 14. Church End road and other sites.

While the manorial enclosure was clearly an important part of the Saxo-Norman settlement the *sokemen*, *villein* and *bordar* holdings recorded in Domesday Book must also have formed a significant component. There were also four mills. The Saxo-Norman settlement may therefore have had a dispersed and possibly polyfocal layout (Taylor 1977), of which the manorial enclosure was only one element. This is supported by recent work some distance away near St Andrews church by the CCCAFU, which revealed several phases of ditches and other features that are probably 11th to 13th century (Mortimer and Phillips 2004).

A site at Little Paxton that was probably part of an estate complex (Addyman 1969, 76) has enclosure ditches c.1.5m wide with a possible gate and an associated access route c.12m wide plus pits and wells inside the enclosure and a lack of buildings that appears similar to Church End road. The Middle and Late Saxon site of Bramford (Figure 14.4), although it has a rather smaller enclosed area, appears similar to Church End in terms of the enclosure ditch, lack of intense occupation within the enclosure, internal divisions, few structures and the presence of a cemetery (Reynolds 1999, 141–44). Further afield other excavated Saxo-Norman manorial centres provide close parallels for all the elements observed at Church End (Reynolds 1999, 119–46).

*The medieval village*

The enclosed settlement at Church End road went out of use in the late 11th or early 12th century, although the area was not entirely abandoned (Figure 15). The northern enclosure ditch continued to be maintained, but a substantial area to the south contains no features and was presumably utilised as fields. To the south of this there are ditches, pits and a well that probably represent the rear yards of properties on Church End road and extending back some 20m from it. Separating these properties from the fields behind them was a 7 to 12m strip that was almost entirely occupied by quarry pits (Figure 8). At least 60 individual quarry pits were identified, but it is likely that the total number present exceeds 100. The quarry pits are generally subrectangular with steep or undercutting sides. They vary quite markedly in size and the impression is that individual pits were dug as required for a specific purpose, and the amount of clay required would determine their size. From their shape, profile and other factors it appears that there were perhaps four or five different accepted ways of digging quarry pits, perhaps reflecting individual or family traditions. On the eastern part of the site the ditches around the cemetery were still open and the area of the cemetery itself appears to have been respected and left empty, with activity focused on the area between it and another earlier boundary ditch to the east. In 1279 12 freeholders, 97 *villeins* of various grades and 14 cottagers occupied Cherry Hinton. This represents a considerable expansion from the Domesday population and it is likely that *villeins* occupied the properties at Church End. In 1327 only 26

people were taxed, but this rose to 185 in 1377.

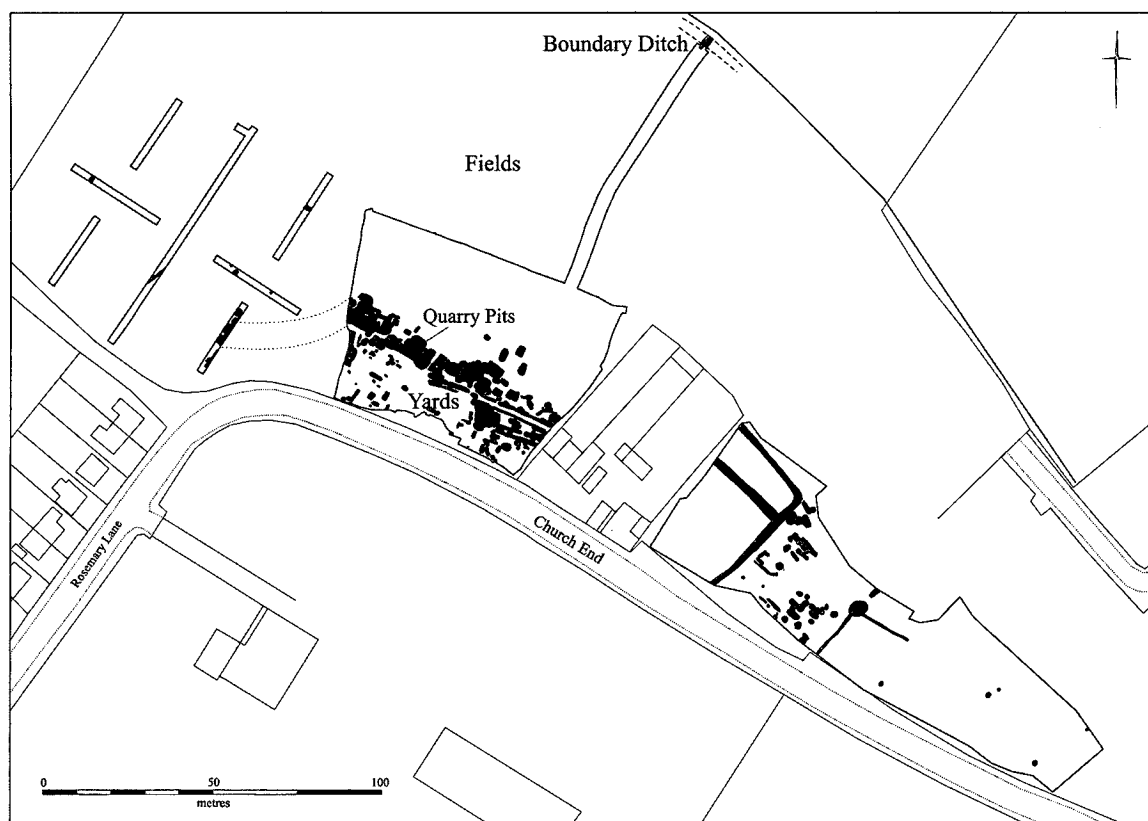
The material from medieval features, particularly quarry pits, contains a high proportion of residual material rendering any interpretation of contemporary activities difficult. The lack of slag indicates that metalworking had ceased and the small amount of lava quern is probably residual, suggesting that household milling had also ceased. Most of the pottery in use (Table 4) was a variety of coarsewares, the only closely identifiable material came from Ely (Hall in Alexander 2003; Hall 2001; Spoerry forthcoming), but it is likely that the rest of the material, consisting of grey, pinkish and brown sandy wares often with large grits, was obtained locally from a variety of sources in South Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Essex and Suffolk. Finewares are represented by small amounts of Essex redwares from Sible Hedingham and Colchester, developed St Neots ware, Hertfordshire green glaze, Lyveden and possibly Grimston ware. The pottery is mainly 12th and 13th century, with a little 14th century material. The relatively small amounts of medieval pottery are indicated by the fact that one third of the Ely ware (25 sherds) came from a single context and represents a single 13th century jug with stabbed handle and two thirds of the Essex redwares (73 sherds) came from a single context and represent a single 14th century glazed and ribbed Hedingham jug with a pinched base. The medieval pottery suggests that the quarry pitting and occupation along Church End road probably largely ceased in the early 14th century and the area was given over to agriculture. The end of quarry pitting and occupation at Church End road probably coincides with the low number of taxpayers in 1327 and suggests that the village shrank in the early 14th century. This shrinkage probably occurred too early to have been caused by the Black Death, but may relate to the agrarian crisis of 1315 to 1322 (Campbell 1991; Kershaw 1973)

The late 11th or early 12th to early 14th century activity at Church End probably represents the northernmost area of the medieval village of Cherry Hinton. The single Domesday manor of *Hintona* appears to have been divided prior to 1170 (Wareham 2002, 107), into Upperhall or Uphall in the north of the parish (first mentioned by name in 1382 and constituting around one third of the earlier manor) and Netherhall in the south (first mentioned in 1372 and constituting around two thirds of the earlier

Table 4. Medieval pottery (CAU sites only).

Pottery type	Total	%
Unidentified coarsewares	421	56.7
medieval Ely ware	167	22.5
Essex Reds	114	15.4
Developed St. Neots type	24	3.2
Hertfordshire green glaze	8	1.1
Lyveden	5	0.7
Possible Suffolk green glaze	2	0.3
Possible Grimston	1	0.1
Total	742	





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Figure 15. Medieval Church End road.

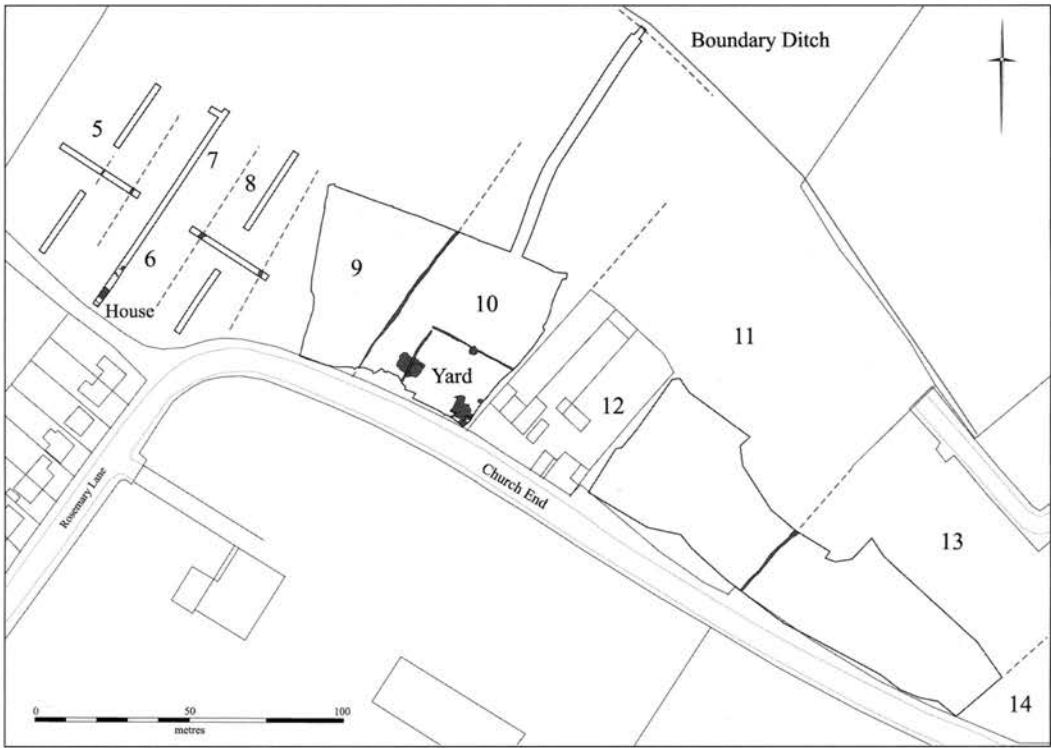
manor). The current church of St Andrews is first documented in 1201, when it was attached to Uphall manor (Wareham 2002, 113) and the responds of the tower arch are dated c.1200 whilst the nave, aisles and chancel were built c.1215 to 1225 (RCHM(E) 1959, vol II no.59; Wareham 2002, 114–15). The division of the manor and the creation of the new church suggest that the general medieval village layout of Cherry Hinton was established by the 12th or early 13th century and that the Church End area had become peripheral, as even the northern focus of the village was located around St Andrews church and the 16th century timber framed building Uphall Farm, which probably occupies the site of the medieval manor house of Uphall (RCHM(E) 1959, vol II no.302; Wareham 2002, 108). Coldham's Lane is first mentioned as *Coldhamlane* in 1386 (Reaney 1943, 44) and excavations and stray finds suggests that in the 13th and 14th centuries this had become an important routeway, bypassing Church End road (Hurst and Fell 1952; Kenney 2000). Prior to this the most significant routeway probably ran along the northern side of the 'D' shaped enclosure, this would have formed part of Fulbourn Old Drift and probably ran to a ferry across the river Cam at Chesterton linking to a routeway northwards from there that was significant from at least the Late Saxon period until the 13th century (Cessford 2004).

To the north of Church End there are extensive medieval ridge and furrow and headland cropmarks (Figure 16) that can be linked to the boundaries of three parishes Cherry Hinton, Teversham and Fen Ditton, as part of the parish boundary has a shallow zig-zag, reflecting fossilised open-field strips. Although the northern boundary of the Saxo-Norman enclosure continued to be maintained the site was effectively part of this larger agricultural landscape to the north of Uphall.

#### Post-medieval developments

During the post-medieval period (Figure 16) agricultural fields covered most of the area, and a scatter of pottery, clay pipe and other material from manuring was found. The northern boundary ditch continued to be maintained, and indeed is still extant as a bank and ditch. Some south-southwest to north-northeast aligned ditches probably represent field boundaries within Church Field; this was the northernmost of the six open fields of Cherry Hinton that are first recorded in 1592 and it covered around 30 hectares in 1712 (Wareham 2002, 110). Some ditches, quarry pits and spreads of material represent a yard area at the property that eventually became the Rosemary Branch public house between 1853 and 1869 (Wareham 2002, 105).





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*Property ownership at the time of Inclosure.*  
Areas 5, 6, 7, 9, 10 and 11 Thomas Sumpter Headley  
Areas 8, 13 and 14 Edward Grange  
Area 12 Benet Leech

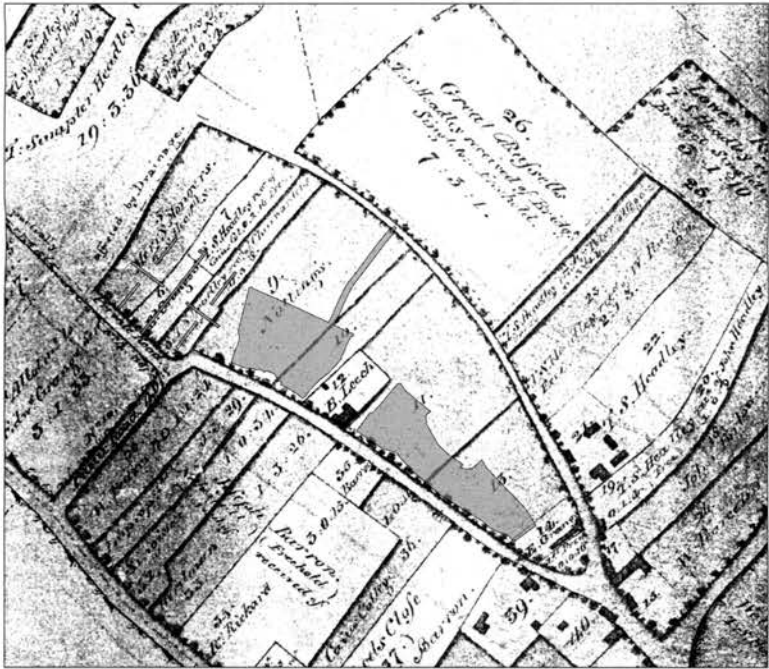
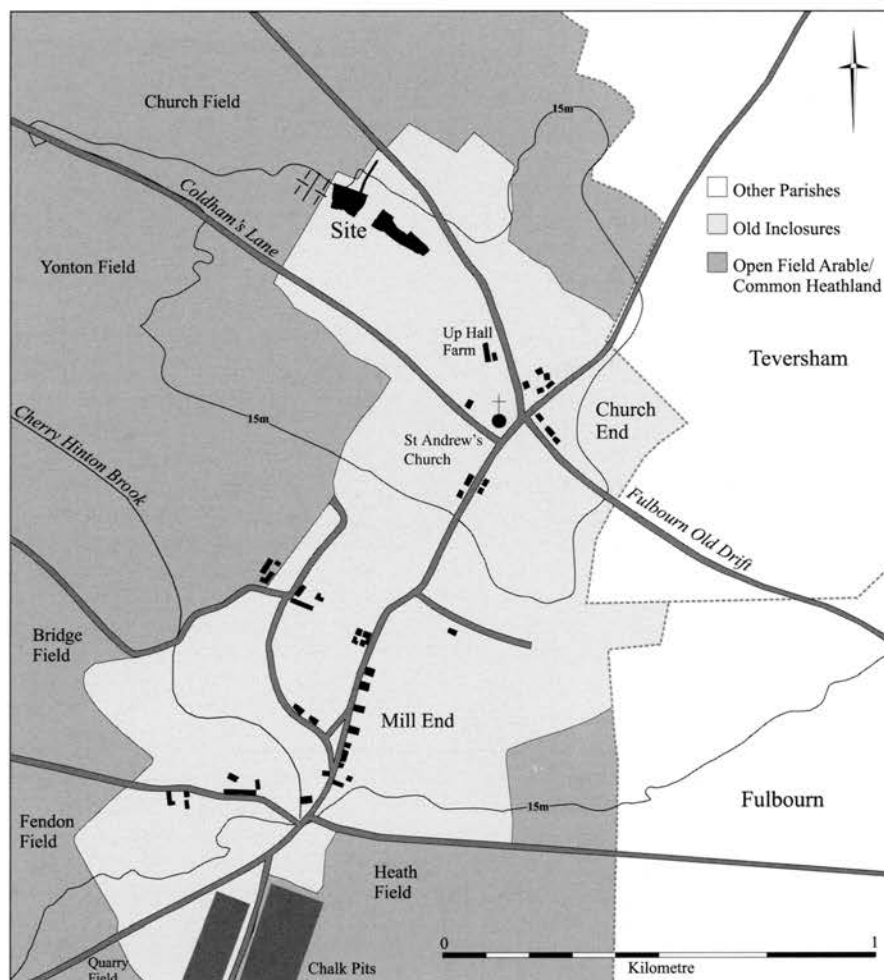


Figure 16. Post-medieval and modern Church End road and Inclosure map.



**Figure 17.** Early 19th century Cherry Hinton prior to modern development, based on the Inclosure map. Some of the land lying below the 15m contour, including the area between Church End and Mill End, would have been marshy at certain times in the past.

The earliest detailed cartographic sources for Cherry Hinton are from Inclosure in 1806 to 1810 (Figures 16 and 17) (CRO 152/P7, Q/RDc13 and Q/RDz6). These indicate that the 'D' shaped enclosure area was subdivided into eleven areas, owned by Edward Grange, Thomas Sumpter Headley and Benet Leech. Benet Leech lived in the property that would later become the Rosemary Branch, while Edward Grange lived in a house at the eastern end of the 'D' shaped enclosure and Sumpter Headley occupied a property just to the north of the area. Later censuses describe these individuals or their descendents as farmers and list no other occupations. By the time of the 1st edition Ordnance survey map in 1889 much of the area had been consolidated into a single large field with only plots 6, 12, 13 and 14 surviving. This consolidation presumably led to most of the ditched field boundaries being filled in, a process observed elsewhere in the parish at this time (White 1998). The survival of smaller plots relates to the presence of buildings with plot 6 relating to the Rosemary Branch and plots 13 and 14 relating to the property occupied

by Benet Leech. Although plot 6 was not occupied by a property when the area was enclosed there was one there by 1889. Remains relating to this structure including wall footings, postholes and a well were discovered during excavation.

### Conclusion

The origins of the Church End settlement appear to relate to an as yet poorly understood Middle Saxon settlement, which probably lay to the southwest, and there may also be Romano-British settlement and Early Saxon cemetery in this area, indicated by earlier discoveries. In the late 9th to mid 10th centuries a manorial centre was created, which continued until the late 11th or early 12th century when it was largely abandoned, probably as part of a more general reorganisation relating to the division of the manor and the foundation of St Andrews church. This led to the creation of the medieval village as still preserved in the morphology of its current plan. The Church End

area became peripheral to the village and was used mainly for agriculture, although some limited occupation continued until the early 14th century.

### Acknowledgements

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