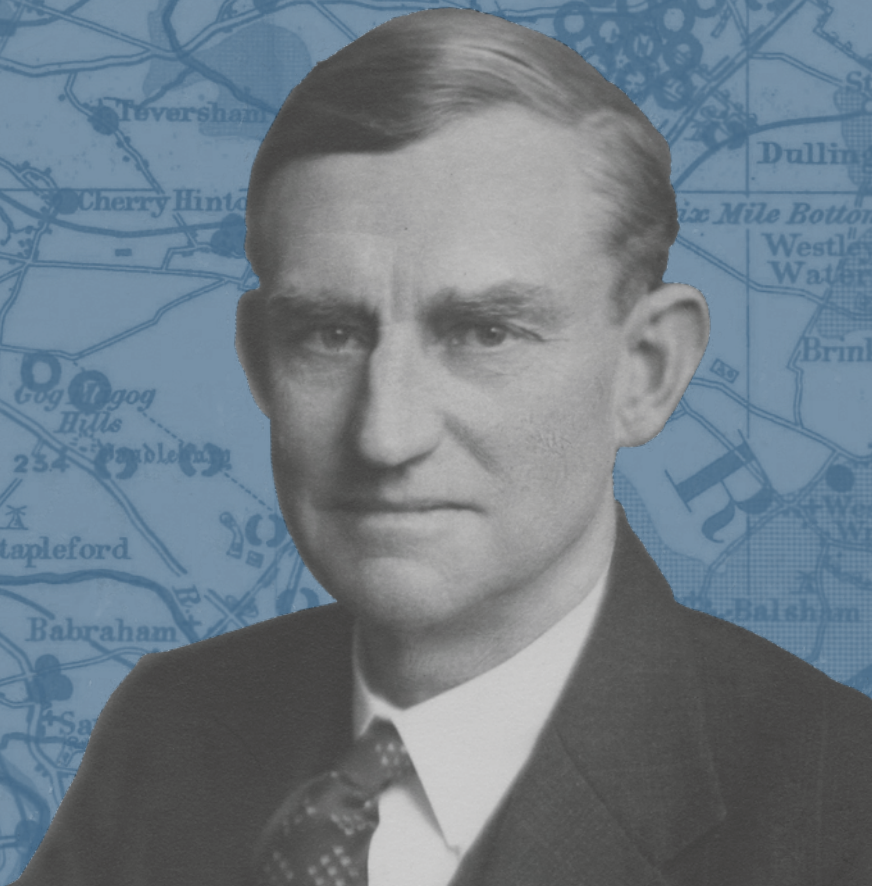




# THE PERSONALITY AND LEGACY OF FOX

Exhibition catalogue

Edited by Simon Stoddart,  
Oscar Aldred & Camilla Zeviani



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Robert Cripps Gallery  
Magdalene College

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*Cyril Fox*


*Anthony*

 MAGDALENE COLLEGE  
CAMBRIDGE

 CAMBRIDGE  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL UNIT

Cambridge-LMU Strategic Partnership

 McDonald Institute for  
Archaeological Research

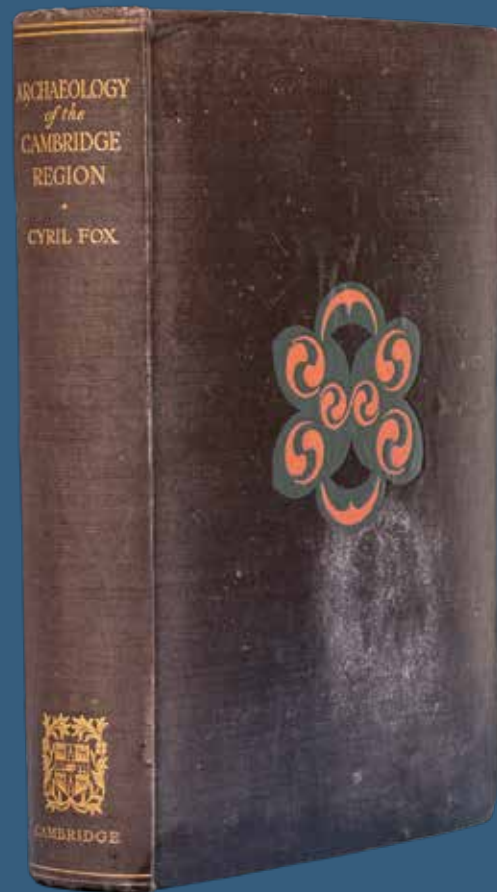
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THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES

 DAAD  
Cambridge

# Preface

30 November 2023 marks the centenary of the publication of Cyril Fox's *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (ACR). This event has already been celebrated in the Cambridge Antiquarian Society (CAS) conference of March 2023

and the year-long exhibition of *Beneath Our Feet: Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* at the Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology (MAA), University of Cambridge. For Fox, the museum was his data source of locations within the landscape, linking material culture to place. We add here a conference with a local and continental dimension, and a six-week exhibition in his college of Magdalene that mirrors the conference and recalls elements of his short, but formative, stay in Cambridge.



The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region



Draft map for *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, held in a folder at the National Archives of Wales. Base geology map, an essential part of the Fox settlement model

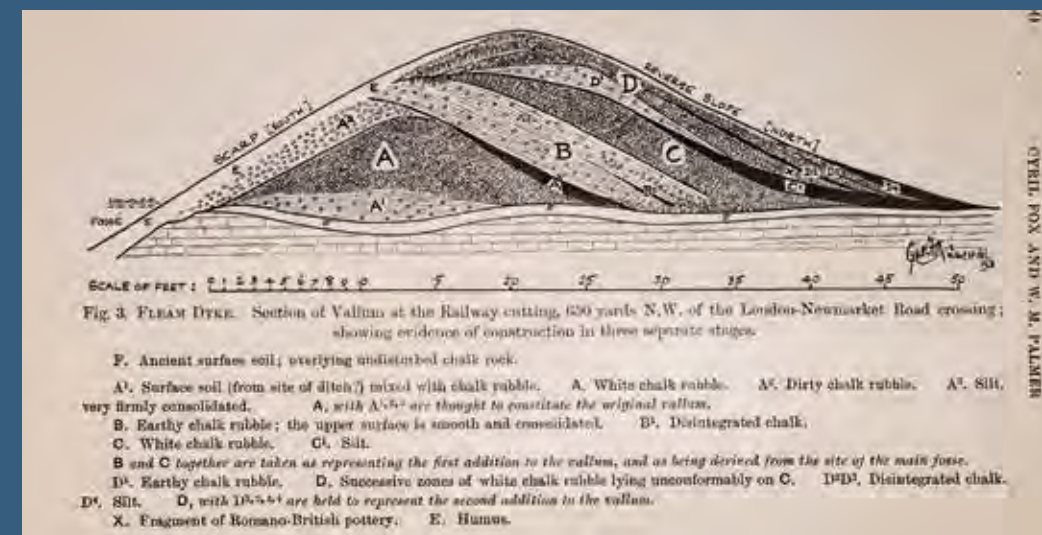
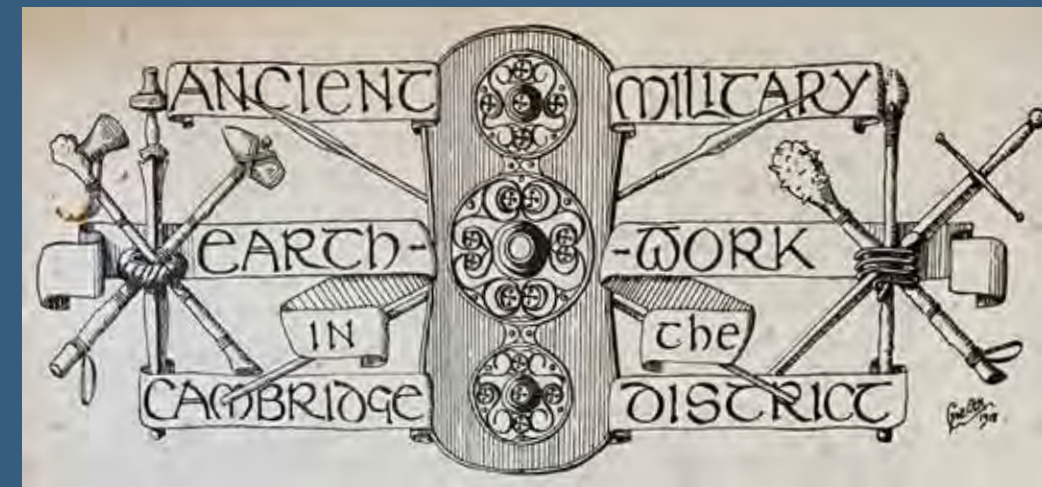
# 1 Introduction

Landscape archaeology in Britain has a long tradition (Stoddart 2000). This tradition dates back to antiquarian times. In modern times, two major traditions developed respectively in the 1920s and the 1950s. Cyril Fox, alongside other important figures such as OGS Crawford, was a key figure in the first tradition. This provided a truly diachronic perspective of landscape archaeology ranging from at least the Neolithic to the Medieval period. The second tradition was founded by the historian Hoskins, and largely examined the implications of current boundaries and field patterns, settlements and their associated histories, paying relatively little attention to the underlying prehistoric landscapes or to its researchers such as Fox and Crawford (Johnson 2006).

We aimed to explore a number of dimensions of the Fox tradition of landscape, which essentially proposed a strong relationship between environment and settlement, and the emergence of distinctive regions in the landscape. The conference – *Cyril Fox and regional approaches to archaeology within a comparative framework* – took place across three days. This examined Fox's contribution to the archaeological understanding of the Cambridge region, comparing his 1923 understanding with that of today. And in so doing, addressed the main conference

theme of what constitutes a 'region'. In light of this, the conference also examined other 'regions' within a comparative framework across Europe where intensive archaeological surveys have taken place, perhaps also partly inspired by Fox's 1923 publication. The first day of the conference examined Fox's legacy locally in the Cambridge region and discussed how much of his interpretation has endured, and in what forms regionality takes today (Evans et al. 2023). The second day examined a range of comparative continental regional case studies of diachronic change within landscapes, drawing on key figures such as Bersu and Van Giffen, when they played a role. The third day took us out into the landscape by motorised vehicle rather the famous bicycle that Fox himself favoured.

The exhibition – *The Personality and Legacy of Fox (1923–2023)* – offered an invitation to conference delegates to provide an enduring legacy of their oral presentation, also easing the task of the two discussants. The result is a set of formalised posters of France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain and Ukraine, as well as a record of Fox's maps and later changes. The material in the three showcases in the exhibition was drawn from the archives of Magdalene College, the National Library of Wales, and a private loan. These employ the material culture (such are texts!) of his



The illustrated title page (above) of one of Fox's first publications (1918) in the military journal *Buzz*, with a section of one such earthwork (below) on the 'travel from Chesterford to Newmarket', from another early Fox publication (Fox & Palmer 1923)

very short stay in Cambridge to illustrate some key factors that were formative in his approach. Two posters specifically support these ideas.

We cover relatively little of his distinguished later career in Wales, except to recall the importance of Aileen Fox, his second wife, and suggest that many of his later achievements in the National

Museum of Wales, the study of Iron Age material culture, the study of Offa's Dyke and vernacular architecture, had their origin in Cambridge.

Evans, C., Aldred, O. & Cooper, A. 2023. Dense pasts: settlement archaeology after Fox's *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (1923). *Antiquity* 395, 1–19.  
Johnson, M. 2006. *Ideas of landscape*. Oxford: Blackwell.  
Stoddart, S. (ed.). 2000. *Landscapes from Antiquity*. Cambridge: Antiquity Publications Limited.

# 2 The Conference programme

The conference specifically situated Fox's *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* in its European context. The work is, in part, a tribute to the Cambridge Archaeological Unit in its thirtieth year, but also to many other commercial units who have responded to the dynamic economy of the silicon Fen, by recording the deep history of the landscape. The importance of research-led commercial archaeology is also reflected in the integration between preservation of the cultural heritage in the face of economic development and research agendas seen in a number of the continental European presentations.

In this way, the conference placed diachronic regional studies in a broader European perspective through dimensions often held in common.

The conference was deliberately held in two locations, the college where Fox studied and wrote the PhD Dissertation that formed the foundation of the volume and the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, which plans a new research initiative in the local region. The Department of Archaeology of Cambridge has a proud tradition in the local region, executed by key figures once based there such as John Alexander, John Coles, Grahame Clark, David Clarke, Charles French, Eric Higgs, Ian Hodder and David Trump. This research tradition has been sustained in recent times by the Cambridge Archaeological Unit, headed by Christopher Evans and Matthew Brudenell, now once again to be supported by a unified research strategy alongside the Department of Archaeology.

## **Cyril Fox and regional approaches to archaeology within a comparative framework**

### **Day 1: Fox's Cambridge region and perspectives on regional archaeology**

*Introduction* – Simon Stoddart & Oscar Aldred

*A knight at the museum: Cyril Fox, MAA and the archaeology of the Cambridge region* – Imogen Gunn

*Ambassador objects? Charting the lives and trajectories of the objects used by Fox in The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* – Jody Joy

*The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region's landscape: an archaeological innovation* – Oscar Aldred

*Dots, pots, and distributions: patterns in Iron Age pottery from the Cambridge region* – Matthew Brudenell

*An embarrassment of riches – the paradox of abundance in Cambridgeshire Roman pottery record since Fox* – Katie Anderson

*Fox and the Cambridge region: the early middle ages* – Susan Oosthuizen

*Fluid boundaries: fen-edges, identities and the inland sea* – Christopher Evans

*The regional archaeology in France. Historiographical itinerary of the concept of 'region' and of the regional scale within the framework of the historical studies of landscapes* – Magali Watteaux

*Discussant* – Melanie Giles

## Day 2: Continental European perspectives on regional archaeology

*Introduction* – Simon Stoddart & Oscar Aldred

*Lessons from the Boeotia Project, Greece: 45 years and counting* – John Bintliff & Anthony Snodgrass

*Gubbio revisited: one hundred years of research in the Gubbio valley* – Marianna Negro, Simon Stoddart, Caroline Malone, Nicholas Whitehead & Letizia Ceccarelli

*The hillfort on Mount Ipf: a centre of power during the Bronze and Iron Ages in southern Germany* – Rüdiger Krause

*The Groningen region and Van Giffen* – Daan Raemaekers

*Heuneburg: settlement and cultural landscape development during the Hallstatt and early La Tène Periods* – Quentin Sueur

*Trypillia worlds decolonized: mega-site practices of early European chalcolithic urbanity (4100–3600 BCE)* – Johannes Müller

*The changing representations of South Etruria: maps, charts and photographs of an archaeological region* – Rob Witcher

*The Potenza Valley Survey: a long-term examination of proto- and early historic settlement dynamics in Central-Adriatic Italy* – Frank Vermeulen

*Long term landscape archaeological analysis in the far west of Europe. A view from the region of Extremadura (Spain)* – Victorino Mayoral

*Caen and her region* – Cyril Marcigny & Lesley McFadyen

*Discussant* – Sue Alcock

## The fieldtrip

The fieldtrip aims to cover several distinctive topographic zones that Fox would have found familiar (and in brackets the terms he used), as well as visiting several sites within the region.

*Magdalene College, Cambridge*

*Fens (Fen or Marsh)*

The Bulwark, Earith ((A Civil War fort between the Bedford Rivers) via Wicken, Swaffham Prior, Burwell, Wicken and Stretham

*Fen-edge (Areas probably densely forested)*

Belsar's Hill, Willingham (Iron Age Hillfort later re-occupied in the 11th century)

*Claylands (Areas probably densely forested)*

Childerley (deserted medieval village and 17th century emparkment)

*Chalklands (More or less open land)*

Wandlebury (Iron Age hillfort, set within an earlier prehistoric and later landscape)

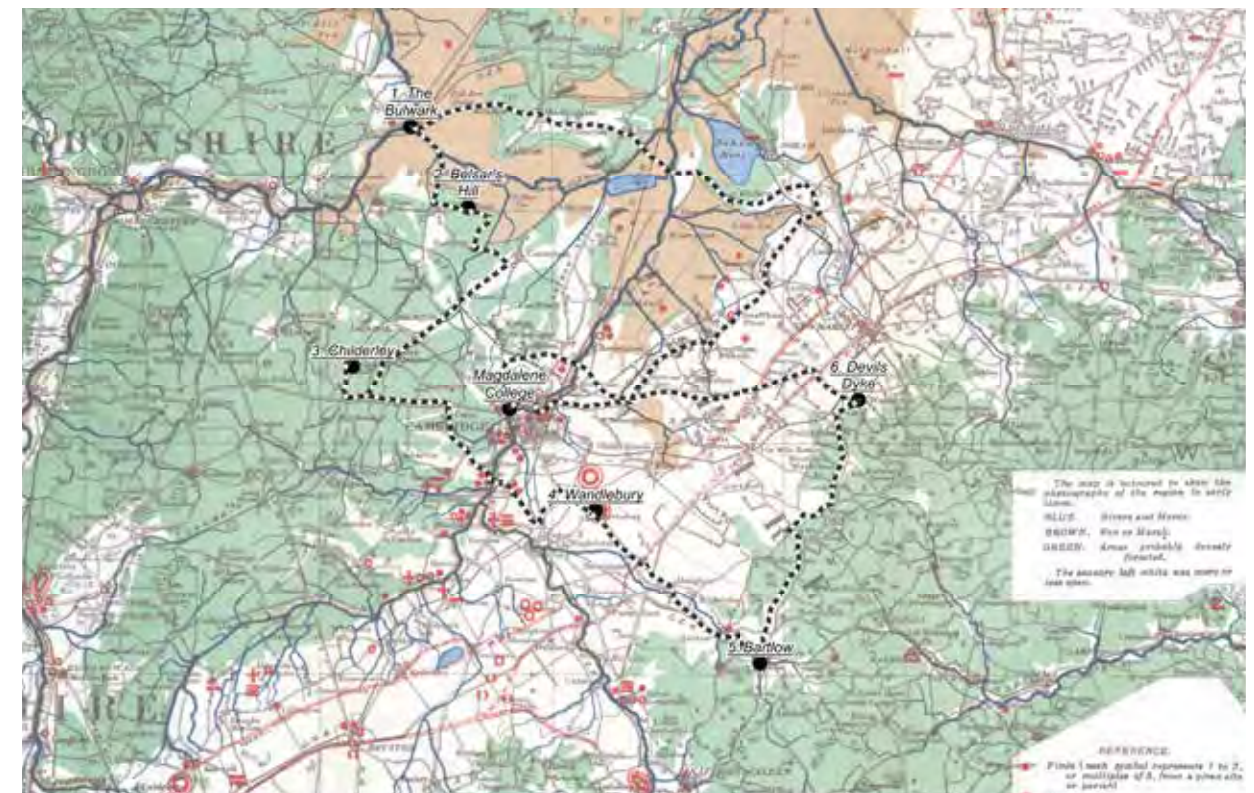
*Claylands (Areas probably densely forested)*

Bartlow Three Hills (Roman burial mounds)

*Chalklands (More or less open land)*

Devil's Dyke (post-Roman linear earthwork)

*Fieldtrip route with stopping places identified against a background of Fox's Map IV – 'Early' Iron Age*



# 3 The Cambridge period

The Cambridge years of Fox were short, but full of impact on his later career. It was here that he learned leadership, landscape perception, scientific observation and draughtsmanship amongst other skills. He developed many of his later interests here in material culture, earthworks and vernacular architecture, matured within a contextualised museum setting.

Magdalene played an important role in his entry into the life of the University of Cambridge. Here he had important sponsors and some financial support as he moved from a commercial to an academic world. He always considered recognition by Magdalene, first as bye fellow and then as Honorary Fellow, as one of his most valued honours.

**Fox in Cambridge**  
Simon Stoddart  
Magdalene College, University of Cambridge



## Temporality and interaction

There are a number of key facts about Fox's presence in Cambridge.

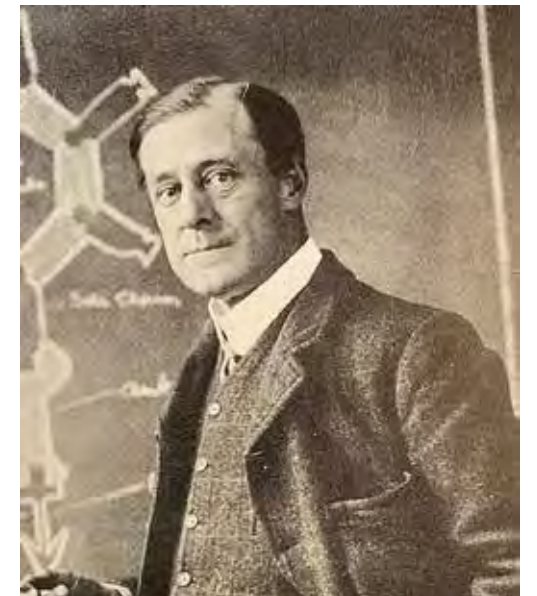
The *first* is that his attachment to the archaeological section of the University was very short. It amounted to some four years leading up to the publication of *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*. He approached the city of Cambridge by degrees, first as part of the Stansted Tuberculosis Commission and then as part of the Board of Agriculture.

*Secondly*, the key agents in drawing him into Cambridge were not archaeologists, but most clearly Louis Cobbett, a pathologist, who identified his passion, organisation and ability, including a shared interest in the landscape of the past.

His introduction to archaeology was scientific not culture historical.

*Thirdly*, an immediate Cambridge impact of his skills was drawn from his participation in the No 2 Officer Cadet Battalion. It was here that his organisational skills of marshalling data and topography were honed, and these skills, recognised by senior officers, prevented him from being called to the western front in the First World War. It was also in this context that he made his first publication in the

military journal *Buzz*, entitled 'Ancient Military Earthwork in the Cambridge District'. A strong case can be made that the originality of his work was fuelled by his non-standard entry into the archaeological world.



*Prof. Louis Cobbett (1862–1947). The distinguished pathologist was also passionately interested in archaeology and was a key figure who brought Fox to Cambridge through employment in the Tuberculosis Commission*





### The Magdalene connection

A similar perspective can be applied to his Magdalene connection.

When the time came for Cyril Fox to make the decision to transfer to archaeology rather than what at the time might have seemed a safer and more lucrative career outside the academic world, it was George Nuttall, a parasitologist and fellow of Magdalene, who found him a college.

Cyril Fox had the good fortune to enter the college at a time of its revival under the mastership of AC Benson. Again it was not an archaeologist who championed his achievements and, as recorded in the Benson diaries, recognised the exceptional talent of a mature undergraduate who almost immediately became the holder of one of the first doctorates of the university. This was *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, which was accepted for a doctorate in 1922 and published on 30 November 1923.

Arthur Benson tried his utmost to retain the promising mature scholar by promoting his cause within the limits of the finances of the college. He was admitted as a bye fellow with the remuneration of £50. Much to Benson's consternation this was not enough to retain Fox in Cambridge, even though *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* was quite clearly 'the best archaeological volume of the last six years'.

Cyril Fox consequently spent the culmination of his career at the National Museum of Wales, often building on the

Sketches from Fox's student notebook

landscape archaeology, the profitable interpretation of museum collections and the study of standing buildings that he had first undertaken in Cambridge.

Magdalene did not forget his achievements, but made him an honorary fellow in 1952 alongside Michael Ramsey,

then Bishop of Durham and Sir John Helier Le Rougetel, British Ambassador to Persia, Belgium and South Africa.

An undergraduate prize in the college for achieving first class honours in archaeology is also entitled with his name.



Photographic reproduction of the same pots in *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* from Haslingfield and Stourbridge Common



**Ethel Sophia Fegan**  
Simon Stoddart  
Magdalene College, University of Cambridge

Ethel Sophia Fegan (1877–1975), librarian, was born in Kent and educated at Blackheath High School, London. After coming to Girton to read Classics (1896–1900), she studied for the Library Association examinations while teaching classics, and became Librarian at Cheltenham Ladies' College (1908–17).

She received an MA in 1907 from Trinity College Dublin (*quasi ad eundem*) and was elected a Fellow of the Library Association circa 1910.

During her time at Cheltenham, she inaugurated courses for professional training in librarianship, conducted correspondence classes for the



Staff photo of Girton College Cambridge for 1919. Ethel Fegan is top left at the back

Library Association, and devised the 'Cheltenham Classification', a library classification for schools.

After a sabbatical year in Nigeria (1928–29) she was appointed Lady Superintendent of Education for the Nigerian Government (1930–35). She stayed in Nigeria, as a lay worker at Zaria Leper Colony (1938–39 and again 1945–46) for the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association, before resuming library work, investigating library conditions in British West Africa for the Carnegie Corporation of New York, working in various libraries in the UK and training Africans for library work at Achimota College on the Gold Coast, continuing to work well into her retirement. On her return to Britain, Ethel Fegan worked as a volunteer in Cambridgeshire County Archives until she was over 90.

A major book such as *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* has a supporting team that often goes un-registered in its production. Editorship is often undervalued.

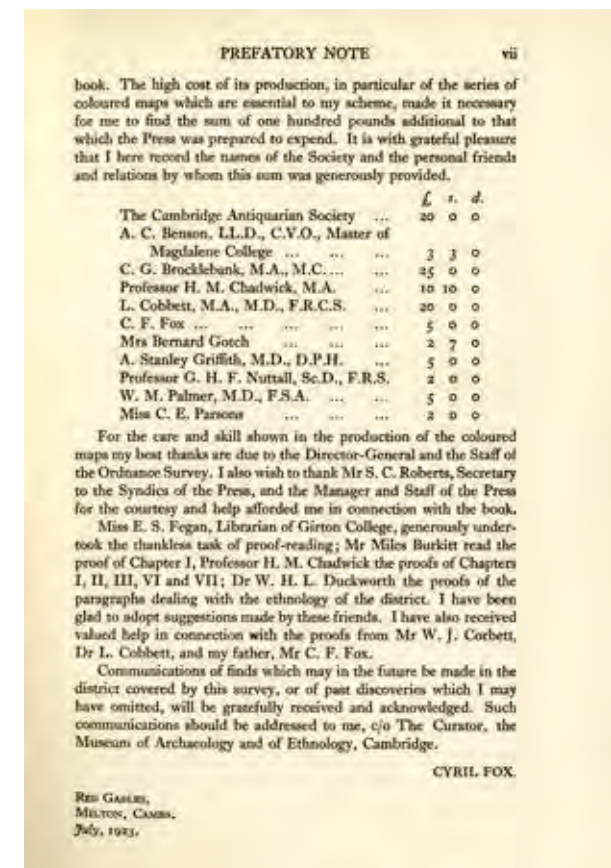
Ethel Fegan clearly played a major role in both securing the content and ensuring the quality of its production.

She was for 12 years librarian of Girton College (1918–30), becoming an Honorary Fellow of the College in 1948.

*The preface page of The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region, acknowledging support in finance and hard work. The contribution of key figures in terms of hard work (Ethel Fegan) and finance (Benson, Cobbett, Nuttall and others) can be seen clearly.*



Plate XXXV of *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, showing Grave Furniture from Girton





Plaque in Girton College chapel

It was during the period of Ethel's librarianship at Girton that she offered invaluable support for Cyril Fox in the preparation of *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*. Her name appears prominently in the acknowledgement for her work in proof reading the text.

We can also infer that she would have been instrumental in securing the photos within the book that show the Girton Anglo-Saxon cemetery whose artefacts were held in the Girton Library.

She later worked with Dr A C Haddon to build up the Haddon Library, and under his influence took the Cambridge Diploma in Anthropology (1929). This knowledge accompanied her to Nigeria where she was a very influential individual.

Acknowledgements  
<https://archivesearch.lib.cam.ac.uk/agents/people/6915>

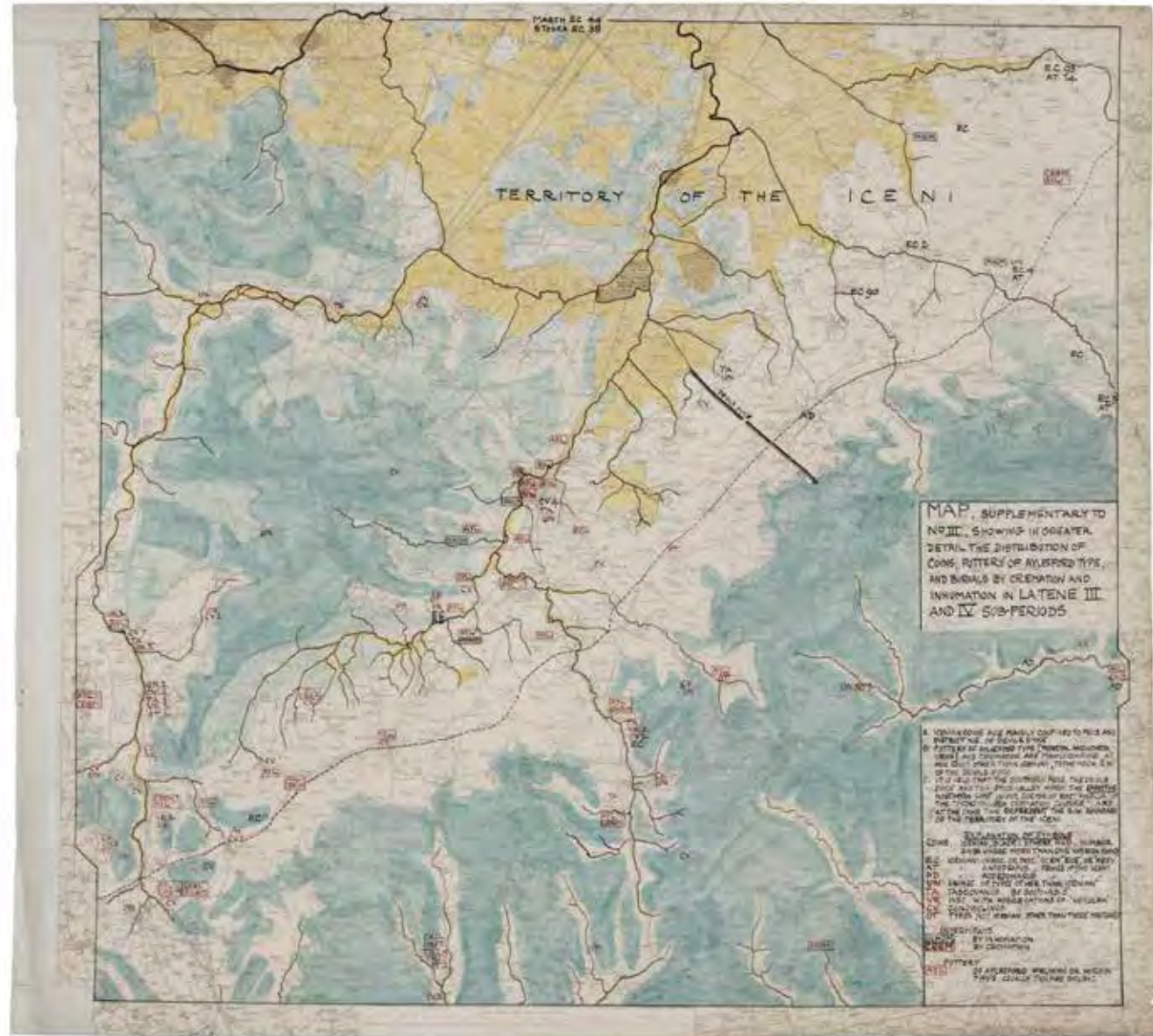
## Cambridge images



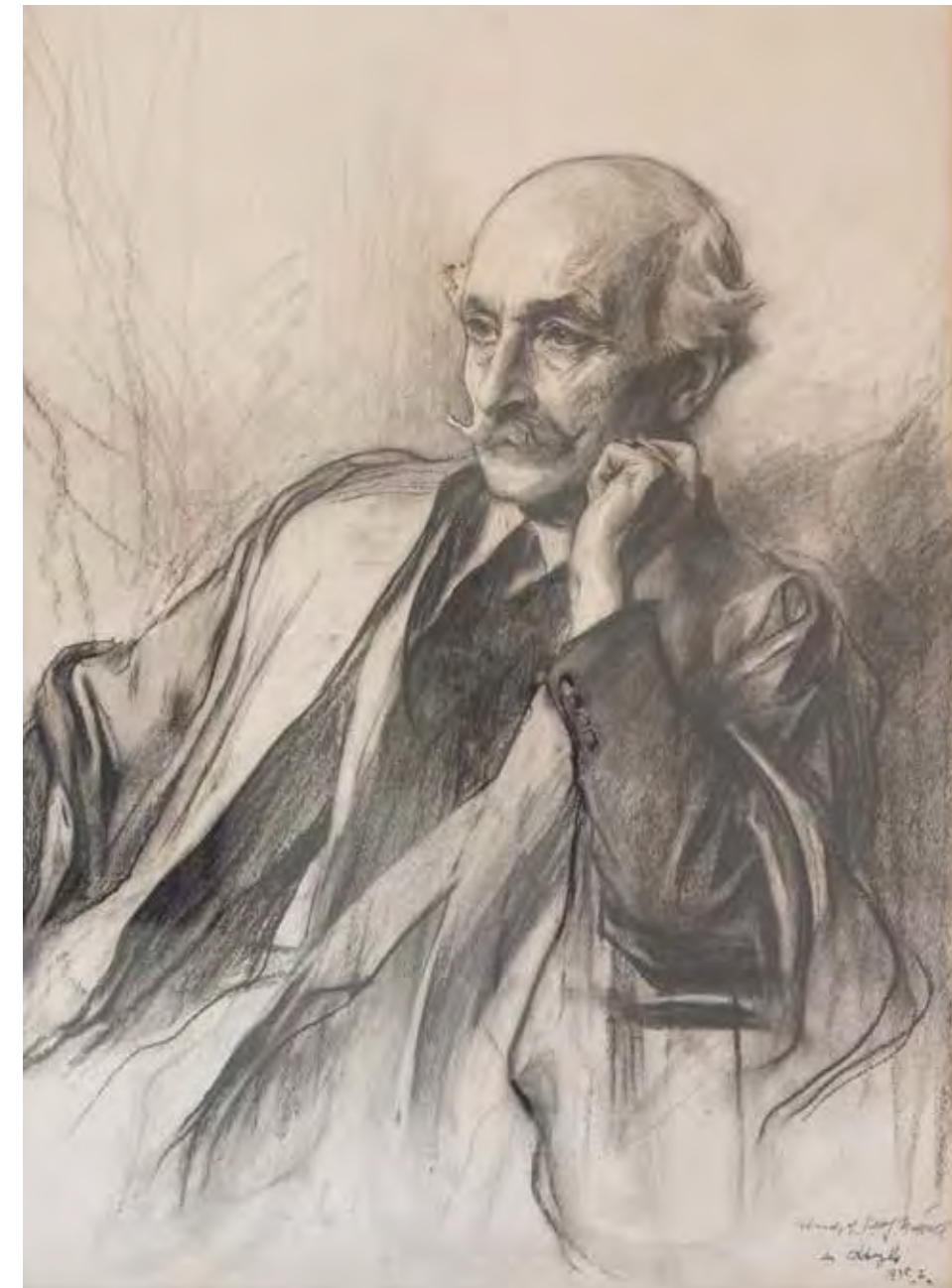
The following images reflect on features of Fox's Cambridge experience: two key illustrations of his cartography, two key supporting personalities and a first indication of his interest in vernacular architecture that he was to take further in Wales.



Accompanying map for Map III and the 'Early' Iron Age section of *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, showing the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age distribution of archaeology and La Tène burial sites. Collection of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge



Preparatory drawing for the Iron Age section of The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region showing the distribution of La Tène sites. Collection of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge.



George Henry Falkiner Nuttall FRS (1862–1937) was the distinguished American-British bacteriologist and Fellow of Magdalene who found a college for Fox. In his career, he contributed much to the knowledge of parasites and of insect carriers of diseases, and was fluent in many European languages, including German, French, Italian and Spanish. This crayon drawing is by his friend Philip László de Lombos (1869–1937), a distinguished society portraitist of the time. The commission was undertaken in 3 sittings (about 9 hours), in the artist's London studio, on 3–5 January 1935. Magdalene College Collection



AC Benson was Master of Magdalene between 1915 and 1925, when Fox entered the college. Benson recognised the calibre of Fox, as recorded in two of his 180-volume diaries. At the time Benson joined the College (1904) it was at a very low ebb, but his benefactions and energy transformed the College. He was helped by gifts totalling over £60,000 from an American admirer living in Switzerland, Mme de Nottbeck. He encouraged 'modern' subjects, not only English and history, but also science, archaeology and music. He also widened the range of school connections. He was friendly and helpful towards a large proportion of the undergraduates (including Fox) but he could also be combative, egotistical and despotic.

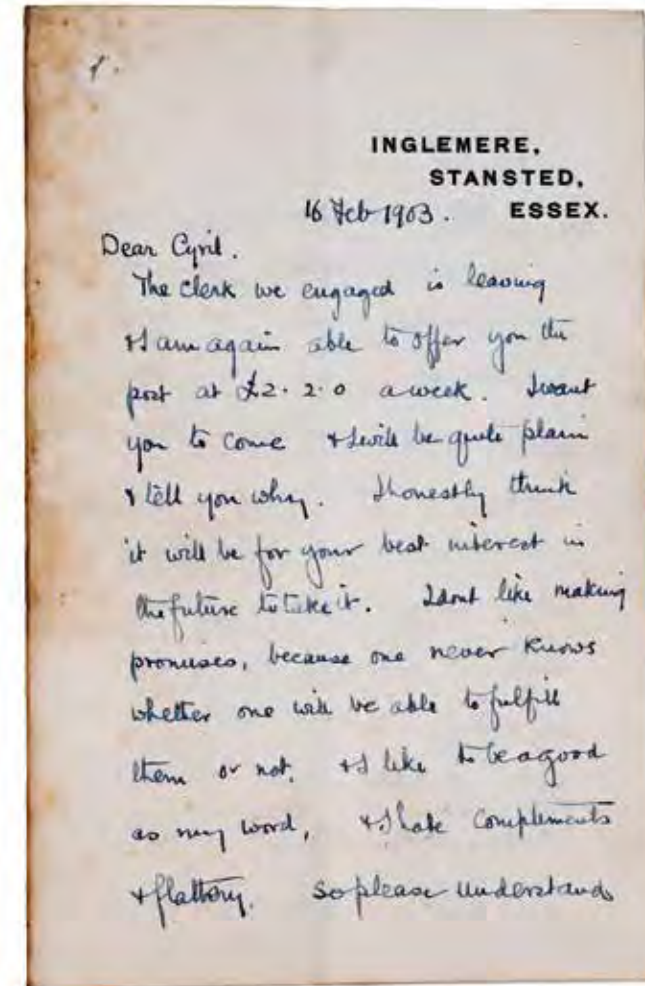
The sittings for this portrait were protracted, and although Benson found the artist, Sir William Nicholson (1872–1949), distinctly interesting, he did not like the final product and gave it to the Fitzwilliam. The late Duncan Robinson, Master of Magdalene and Director of the Fitzwilliam, arranged a long-term loan and the portrait is normally displayed in Benson Hall. The painter himself was a successful portraitist who taught a number of significant individuals ranging from his son Ben Nicholson to Winston Churchill. Magdalene College Collection, on loan from the Fitzwilliam Museum (source of information: college archives)



A 1917 pencil drawing of Cloister Court of Queen's College, Cambridge by Fox. Fox was a very capable artist himself, a skill that he already demonstrated in the Buzz article and in his sketches of Cambridge architecture. He continued this interest in his study of vernacular architecture in Wales. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge

# Case 1

The first display case covers Fox's entry and introduction to Cambridge, and the early appreciation of his work by Magdalene College. For this purpose, textual material culture is brought together for the first time from the National Archive of Wales and Magdalene College.



This letter by Cobbett invited Fox to join him as an employee of the Tuberculosis Commission. First page. National Archive of Wales

16 Feb 1903

Inglemere,  
Stansted,  
Essex.

Dear Cyril,  
The clerk we engaged is leaving & I am again able to offer you the post at £2.2.0 a week. I want you to come & I will be quite plain & tell you why. Honestly [I] think it will be for your best interest in the future to take it. I don't like making promises, because one never knows whether one will be able to fulfill them or not, and I like to be a[s] good as my word, and I hate compliments and flattery. So please understand that what I am going to say is

not intended to flatter you & induce you to do what I wish, but simply the plain truth which it is necessary for you to take into consideration in deciding what to do.

I have been much struck by the keen interest which you have ~~shown~~ taken in Literature History & Archeology, & with the critical power you have shown in writing & talking about things & I can't help thinking that you ought to do more with your capacities than apply them in a purely commercial career.

I know exactly what you will say to this, that you have entertained these thoughts yourself, but that it is necessary for you to earn your living. That leads me

let me know without delay. As I must  
 then make other arrangements for the Commission.  
 I don't know whether to advise you to read Herbert Spencer  
 I never could read him myself but then you seem  
 able to read all sorts of stuff I can't manage. You  
 might perhaps have a try at him. My advice  
 is don't try & read everything at once. Take plenty of  
 time to digest what you read. What you think out  
 for yourself is the important thing.  
 Please don't offer me any thanks for this offer.  
 but just think out the matter clearly for yourself.  
 & make your own decision.

Your affectionate friend  
 Louis Cobbett

Signature  
 page of the  
 same letter

to speak more in detail of your prospects if you give up your present position & come here. During the existence of the Commission you would be comfortably off. While working here you would gain an insight into a number of things scientific & you cannot help absorbing a good deal in the atmosphere of a laboratory. You moreover would have your evenings & be able to put in a good deal of work on your own account. French & German you ought to work at, & to read some of the Scientific papers which concern us. & help me to make an abstract of them. Thus the time spent here might be an excellent training for something after. How with regard to that something after I have been for some time been thinking that you ought to go to some university and I am anxious to help you do so. I don't want to suggest that I am able to offer you an allowance sufficient for one of the expensive colleges at Oxford or Cambridge, but provided of course that I think you have made sufficient use of your opportunities.

In the meantime, I will make it possible for you to go somewhere. Perhaps London or Birmingham, or if I am then resident at Cambridge you might be a non-collegiate student there. It will depend of course upon circumstances, but anyhow you may rely upon me to make some sort of University career possible for you. It will however be no use you going unless you make every possible preparation first in the meantime. That preparation I think you might make while working for the Commission here.

Should you wish to go back to your present business in order to work with your brother, it would be quite reasonable to do so after taking a degree in the School of Agriculture. But more probably by that time you would have cut out some lines for yourself.

You may show this letter to your father, or Mr. Gage if you like & I don't want to hurry you for an answer. Only if you mean to reject it as impossible at once. Let me know without delay, as I must then make other arrangements for the Commission.

I don't know whether to advise you to read Herbert Spencer, I could never read him myself, but then you seem able to read all sorts of stuff I can't manage. You might perhaps have a try at him. My advice is don't try & read everything at once. Take plenty of time to digest what you read. What you think out for yourself is the important thing.

Please don't offer me any thanks for this offer, but just think out the matter clearly for yourself, & make your own decision.

Your affectionate friend

Louis Cobbett



Photo of Fox as commander of his unit. National Archive of Wales

Feb 16, 1924

My dear Fox,  
It is a very great pleasure to me to write to you to say that at the College Meeting you were elected a Kingsley Bye Fellow for the ensuing year. It is only a one-year appointment. The minimum value is £25, but the College have voted that it should be £50 in

your case. It is not therefore, I fear, a very valuable emolument, but it practically gives you for a year the status of a Fellow & the prestige of this for the future. This is partly in order that the College may mark their appreciation of your valuable & distinguished contribution to archaeological studies, & partly as an

expression of the high personal regard in which you are held here. I hope anyhow that I shall have the pleasure of hearing that you will accept it.  
ever yours  
AC Benson

Admission

Auctoritate mihi Commisse, ego, Arthurus Christophorus Benson, praefectus hujus collegii, admitto te, Cyril Fred Fox, philosophiae doctorem, in sodalitium hujus Collegii, pro domino Kingsley, in nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritus Sancti

Feb 24, 1924

The letter from Benson inviting Fox to become a Bye Fellow. National Archive of Wales

Feb 16, 1924

My dear Fox,  
It is a very great pleasure to me to write to say that at the College Meeting you were elected a Kingsley Bye Fellow for the ensuing year. It is only a one-year appointment. The minimum value is £25, but the College have voted that it should be £50 in your case. It is not therefore, I fear, a very valuable emolument, but it practically gives you for a year the status of a Fellow & the prestige of this for the future. This is partly in order that the College may mark their appreciation of your valuable and distinguished contribution to archaeological studies, & partly as an expression of the high personal regard in which you are held here. I hope anyhow that I shall have the pleasure of hearing that you will accept it.  
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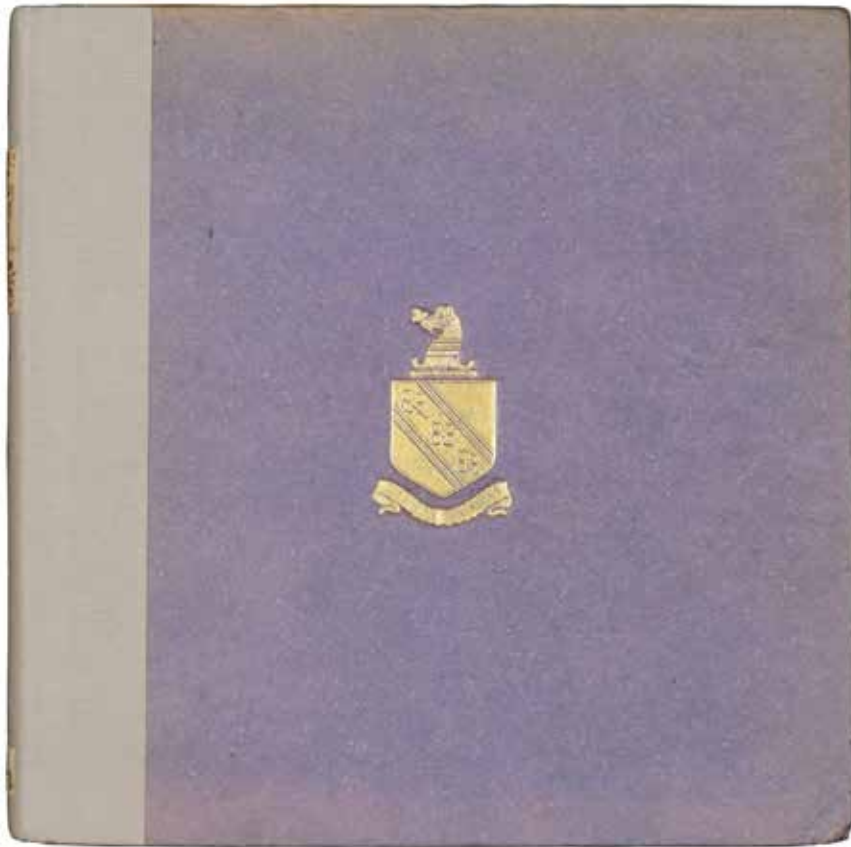
The Old Lodge, Magdalene College, Cambridge

The Latin words pronounced by the Master to this very day on the admission of a fellow in Magdalene college. Here written out by hand and sent to Fox. National Archive of Wales

Admission

Auctoritate mihi Commisse, ego, Arthurus Christopherus Benson, praefectus hujus collegii, admitto te, Cyril Fred Fox, philosophiae doctorem, in sodalitium hujus Collegii, pro domino Kingsley, in nomine Patris & Filii et Spiritus Sancti  
Feb 24, 1924



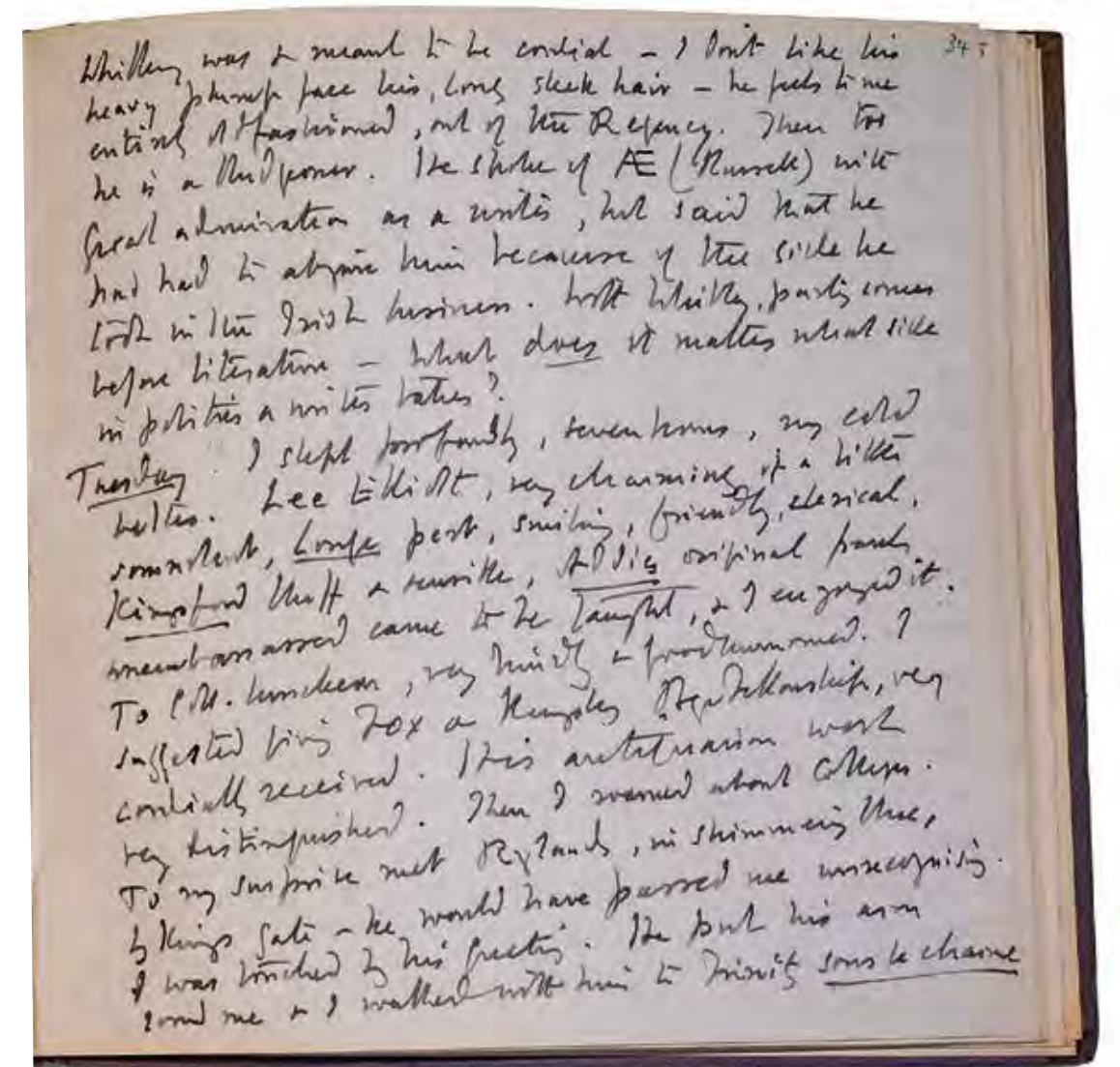


The cover of Volume 173 of the Benson diaries. Magdalene College Archives

Whibley was & meant to be cordial – I don't like his heavy plump face his, long slick hair – he feels to me entirely old fashioned, out of the Regency. Then too he is a [ ]. He spoke of AE (Russell) with great admiration as a writer, but said that he had to abjure him because of the side he took in the Irish business. With Whibley, party comes before literature – What does it matter what side in politics a writer takes?

Tuesday I slept profoundly seven hours, my cold better. Lee Elliott, very charming if a little somnolent, Longe

pert, smiling, friendly, clerical, Kingsford Bluff & sensible, Addis original frank unembarrassed came to be taught, & I enjoyed it. To Coll. luncheon, very kindly & good humoured. I suggested giving Fox a Kingsley Bye Fellowship, very cordially received. His antiquarian work very distinguished. Then I walked about College. To my surprise met Ryland, in shimmering blue, by King's Gate – he would have passed me unrecognized & was touched by his greeting. He put his arm around me & I walked with him to Trinity sous le charme



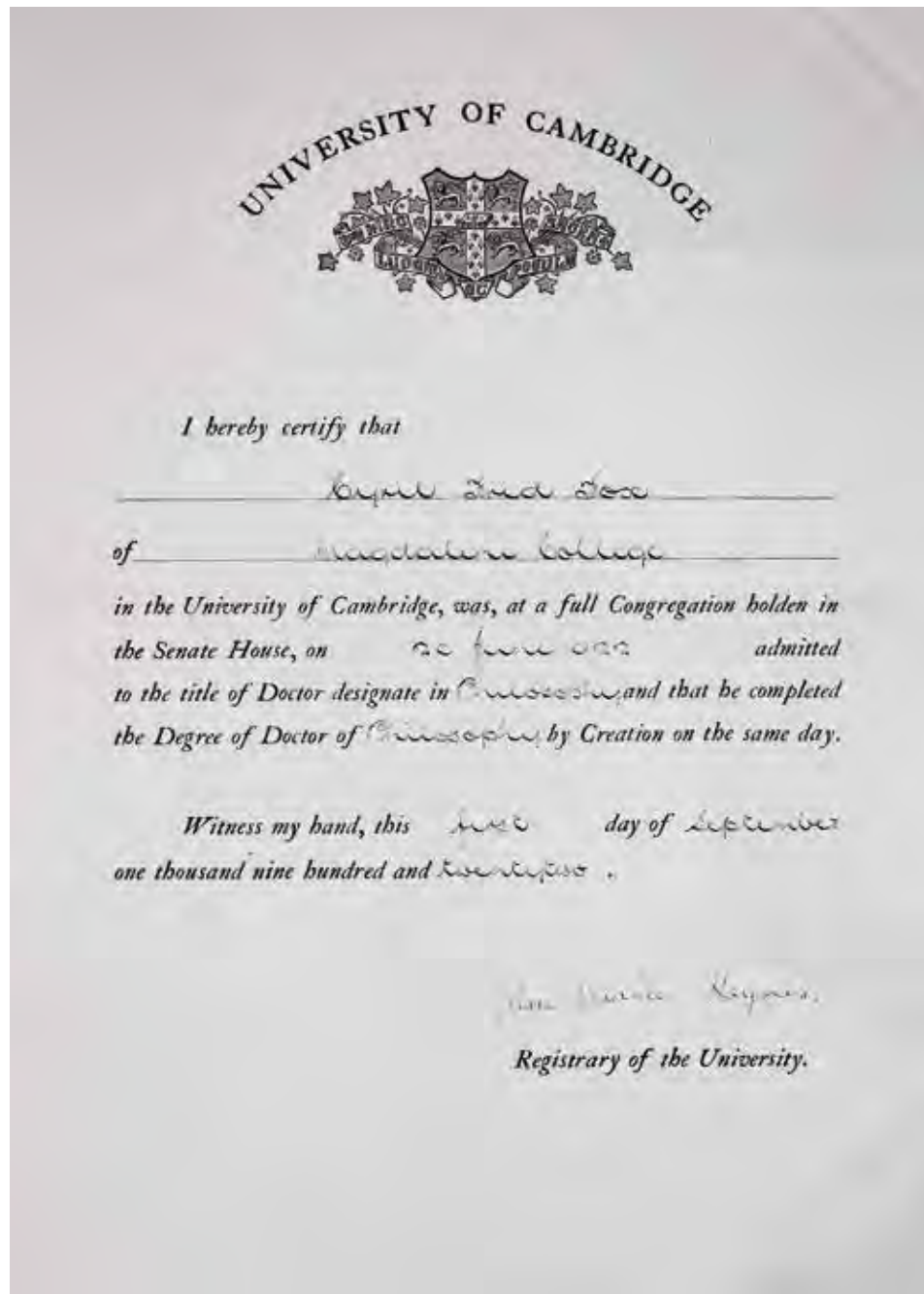
"I suggested giving Fox a Kingsley Bye Fellowship, very cordially received. His antiquarian work very distinguished."

## Case 2

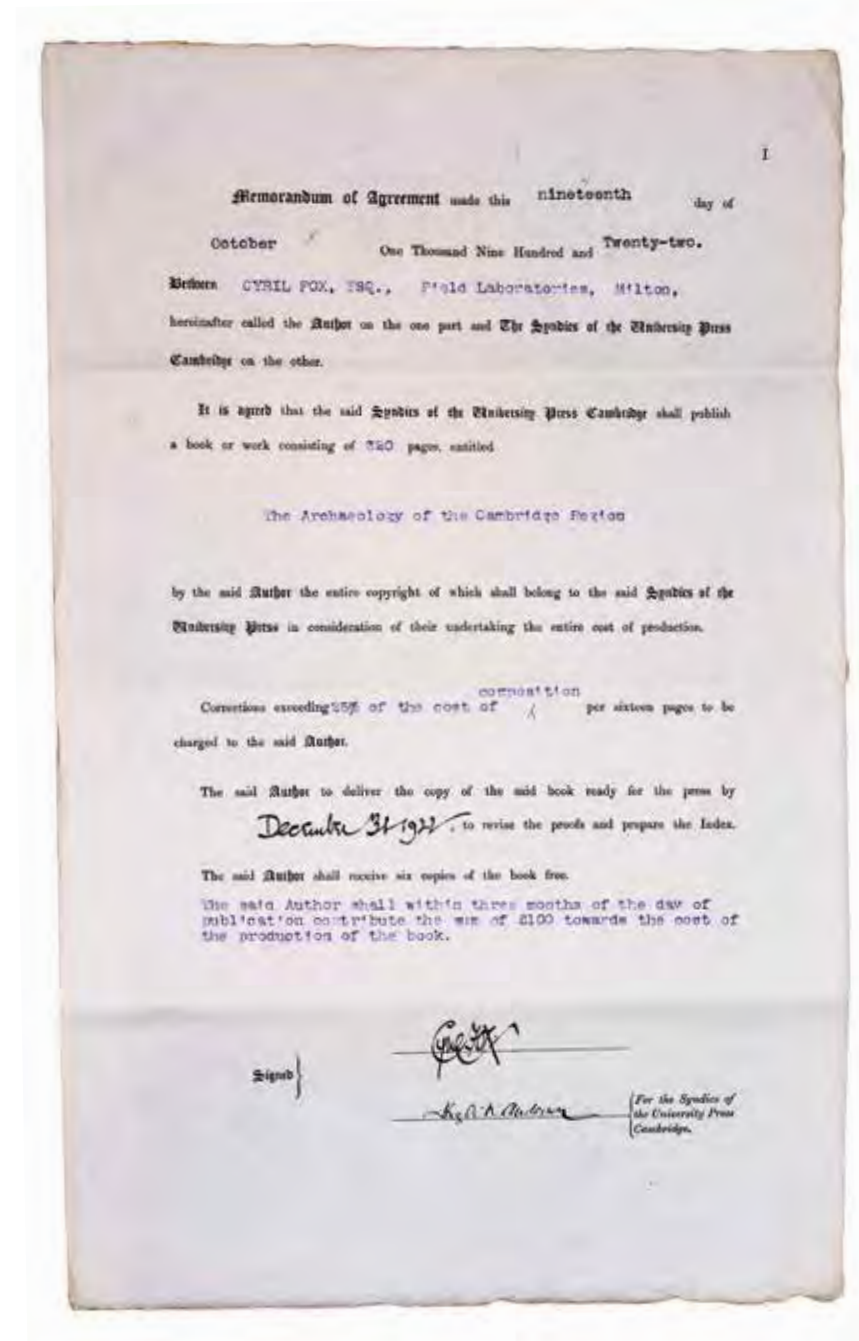
The second display case presents the material culture underlying the creation of *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*: his undergraduate notes, the PhD certificate (1922), the book contract, the presentation copy of the volume and the positive reaction of the Master, Benson, in his diary, albeit tempered by his vexation at his departure from Cambridge.



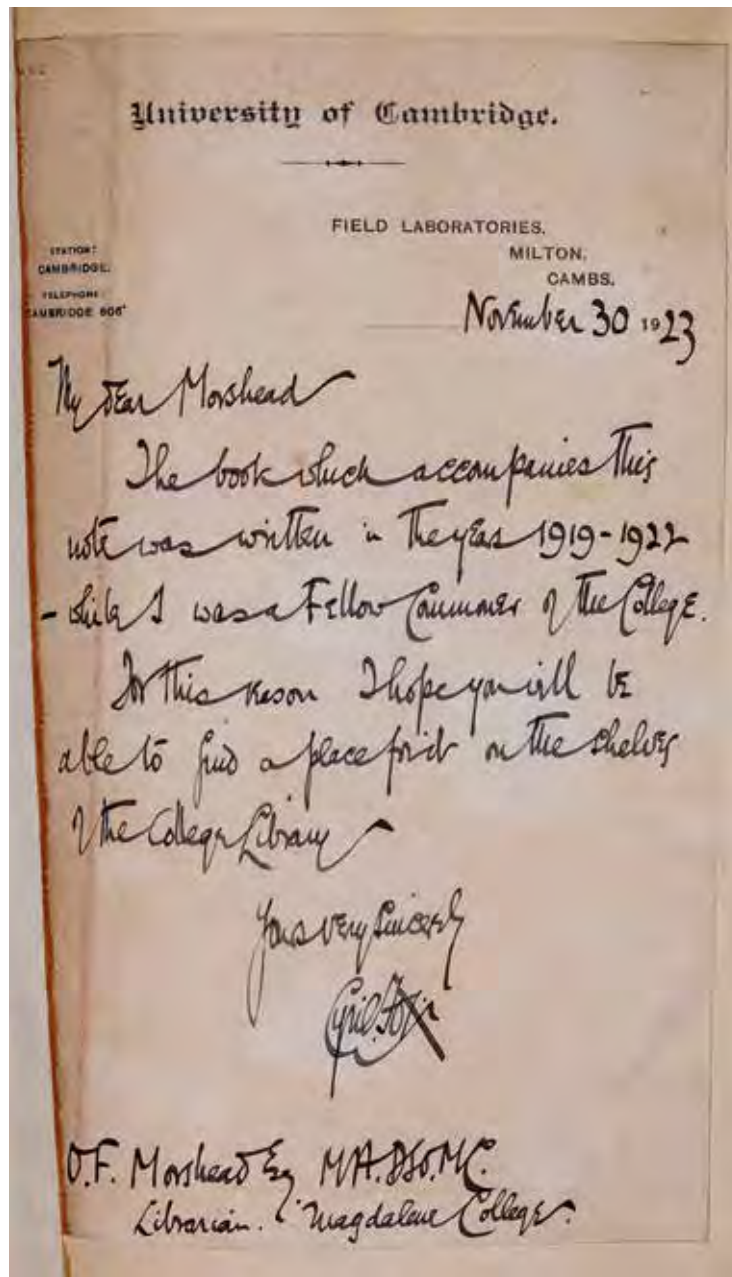
The student notebook of Fox, dating to 1920-1. National Archive of Wales



The PhD certificate of Fox for the work revised to form The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region. 20 June 1922. National Archive of Wales



The contract for The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region with Cambridge University Press. 31 December 1922. National Archive of Wales



The letter accompanying the presentation copy of *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region for Magdalene College Library*, addressed to Owen Morshead, the Pepys Librarian, Magdalene College Library

November 30 1923

My dear Morshead,

The book which accompanies this note was written in the years 1919–1922 – while I was a Fellow Commoner of the College.

For this reason I hope you will be able to find a place for it on the shelves of the College library.

Yours very sincerely

Cyril Fox

O.F. Morshead Esq MA.DSO.  
MC. Librarian. Magdalene  
College.

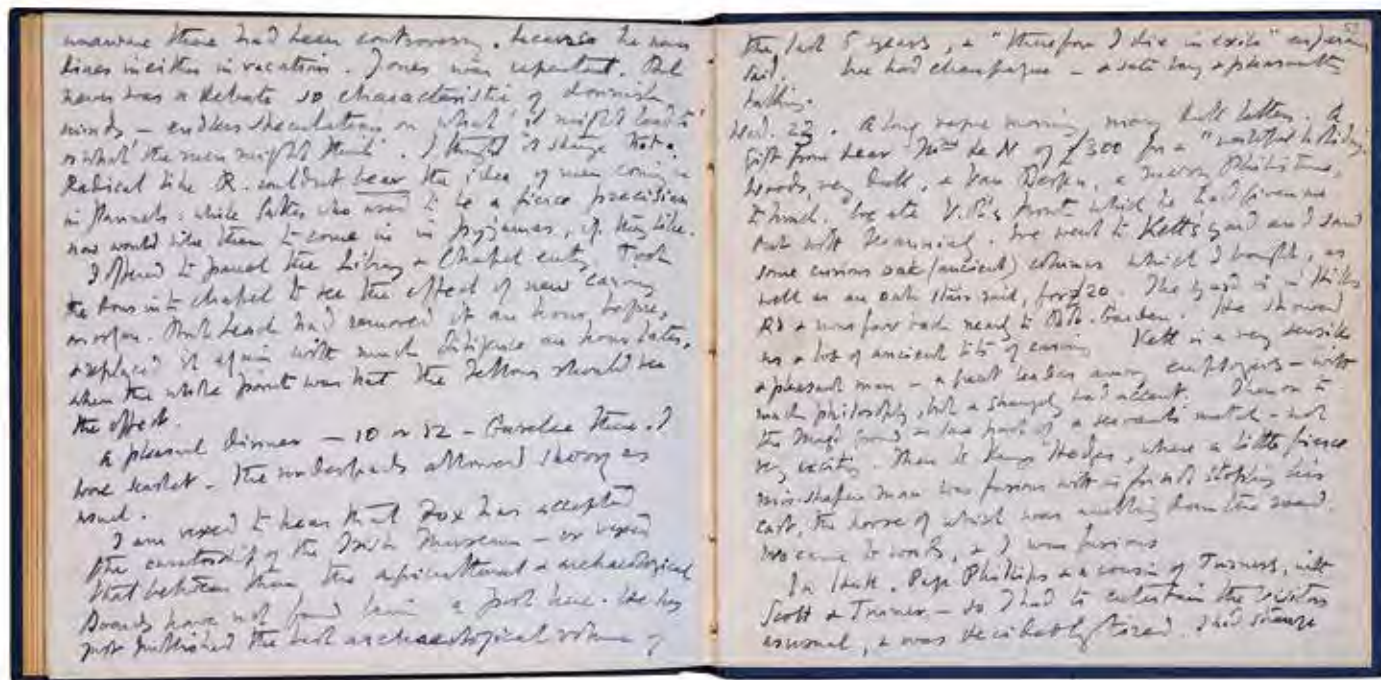


Sir Owen Frederick Morshead, GCV, KCB, DSO, MC (1893–1977), by society portraitist Gerald Kelly (1879–1972). After distinguished service in the First World War as an Engineer, he studied Modern Languages at Cambridge and specialized in Librarianship, both in Magdalene and in the service of the Royal Family. Magdalene College



The cover of Volume 175 of the Benson diaries.

(Below) The respect shown by Benson for Fox on pages 51-2 of the diary



"I am vexed to hear that Fox has accepted the curatorship of the Irish Museum – or vexed that between them the agricultural and archaeological Boards have not found him a post here. He has just published the best archaeological volume of the last 6 years, & "therefore I die in exile" as [ ] said. We had champagne – and sat long and pleasantly talking"

...unaware there had been controversy, because he never dines in 'either in vacation'. Jones was repentant. But never was a debate so characteristic of donnish minds – endless speculation on 'what it might lead to' or 'what the men might think'. I thought it strange that a Radical like R could not bear the idea of men coming in flannels: while Salter who used to be a fierce precisian now would like them to come in in pyjamas, if they like.

& "therefore I die in exile" as [ ] said. We had champagne – and sat long and pleasantly talking.

I offered to panel the Library and the Chapel entry. Took the dons into chapel to see the effect of new carving on organ. But Leach had removed it an hour before, & replaced it with much diligence an hour later, when the whole point was that the fellows should see the effect.

Wed. 23. A long vague morning many dull letters. A gift from dear Mme de N of £300 for a "wonderful holiday". Woods, very dull, & Van Derfen, a merry Philistine, to lunch. We ate V.B's trout which he had given me. Out with Manning. We went to Kett's Yard and I saw some curious oak (ancient) columns which I bought, as well as an oak stair rail, for £20. The yard is in Hills Road and runs far back nearly to Bot. Garden. He showed us a lot of ancient bits of carving. Kett is a very sensible, pleasant man – a great leader among employers, with much philosophy, but a strangely bad accent. Then on to the Magd ground & saw part of a servants match – not very exciting. Then to King's Hedges, where a little fierce mis-shapen man was furious for us for not stopping his cart, the horse of which was ambling down the road. We came to words, & I was furious.

A pleasant dinner – 10 or 12 – Gaselee there. I wore scarlet. The undergrads allowed sherry as usual.

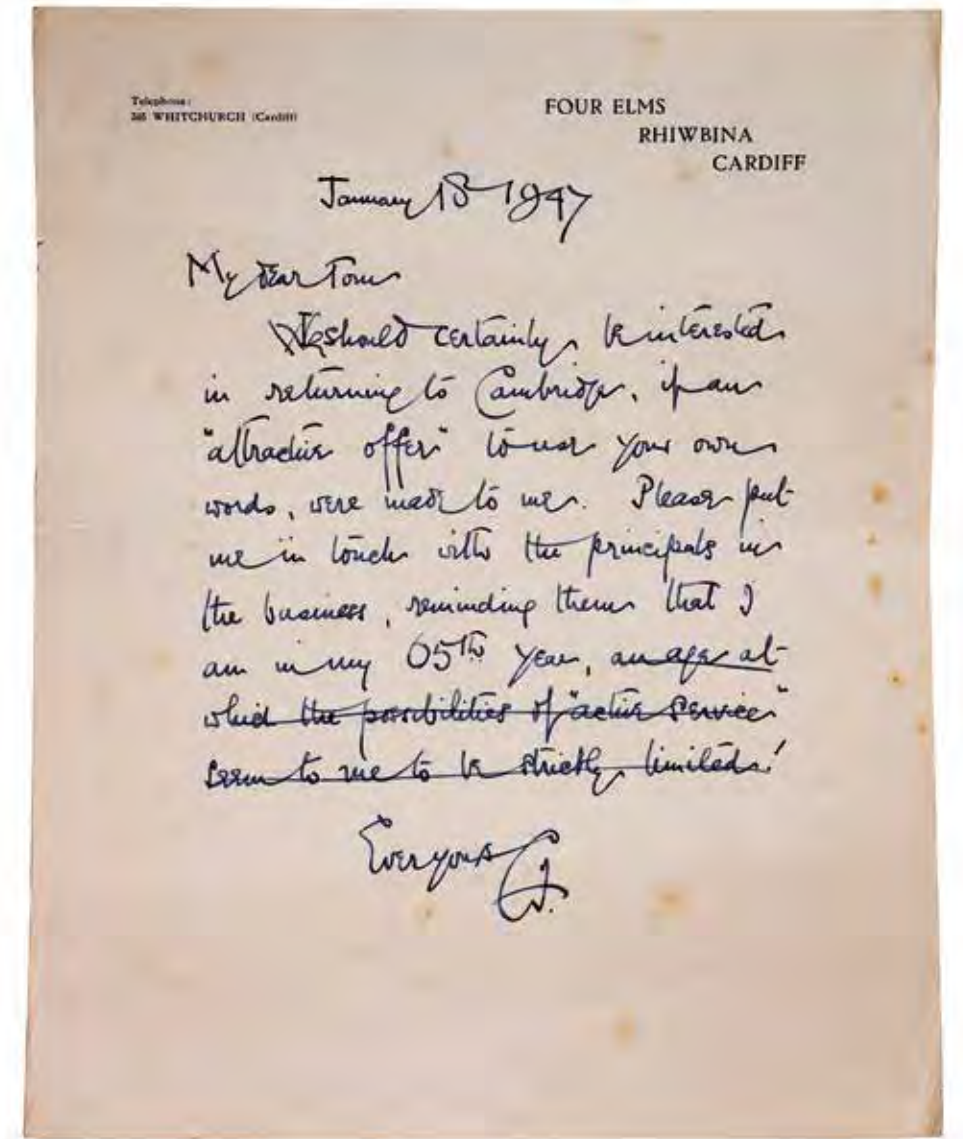
In Hall, Page Phillips & a cousin of Turners, with Scott & Turner – so I had to entertain the visitors as usual, and was decidedly tired. I had strange...

I am vexed to hear that Fox has accepted the curatorship of the Irish Museum – or vexed that between them the agricultural and archaeological Boards have not found him a post here. He has just published the best archaeological volume of the last 6 years,

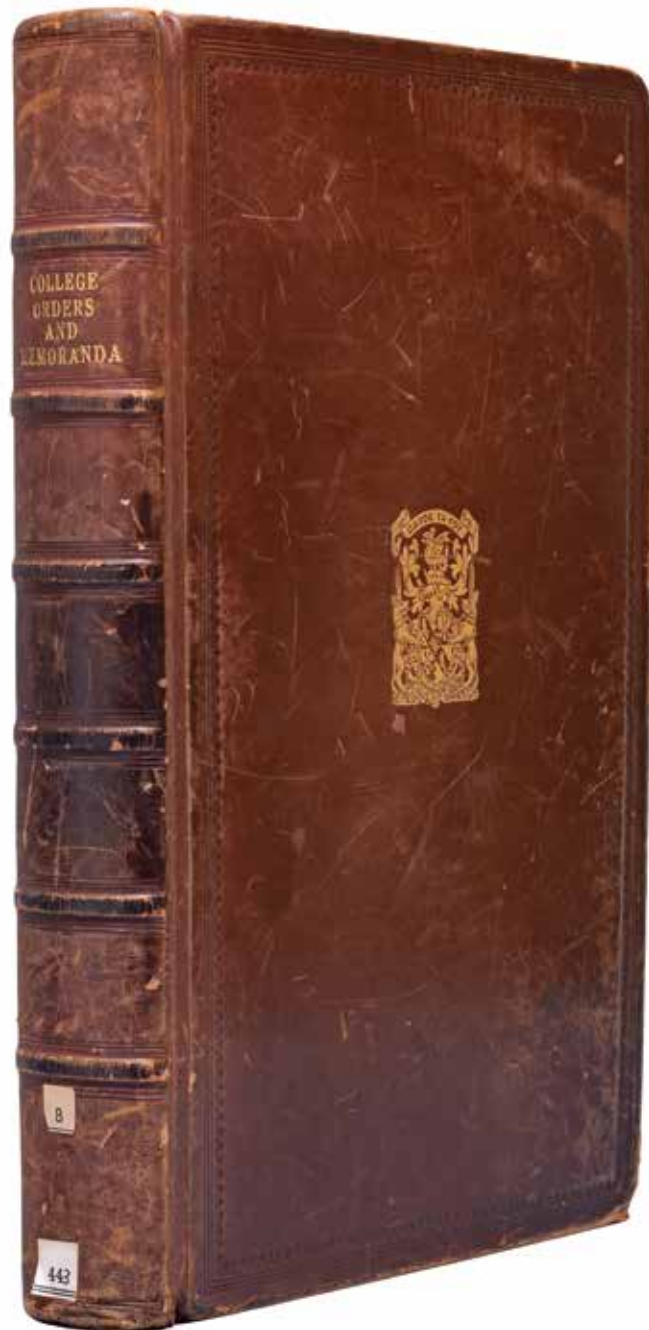
## Case 3

The third display case is one of respect and reflection. It contains evidence for an unrealized prospect of returning to Cambridge, the award of an Honorary Fellowship by the College, the unpublished reflections by Fox on *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* and Cambridge, and a tribute to his father.

Tom Lethbridge, Honorary Curator of Anglo-Saxon antiquities in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, had clearly made an invitation to Fox to return to Cambridge in his 65th year. This is a draft of Fox's reply. After Lethbridge's death, Glyn Daniel described him as 'a colourful, stimulating, provocative and often controversial figure in British archaeology', but also wrote in *Antiquity* (1972, 46(181): 6) that 'Lethbridge, like Cyril Fox, took us out from our studies and museum cases, to see how life was lived in Fenland farms, in Scottish crofts, and by fishermen and sailors everywhere'



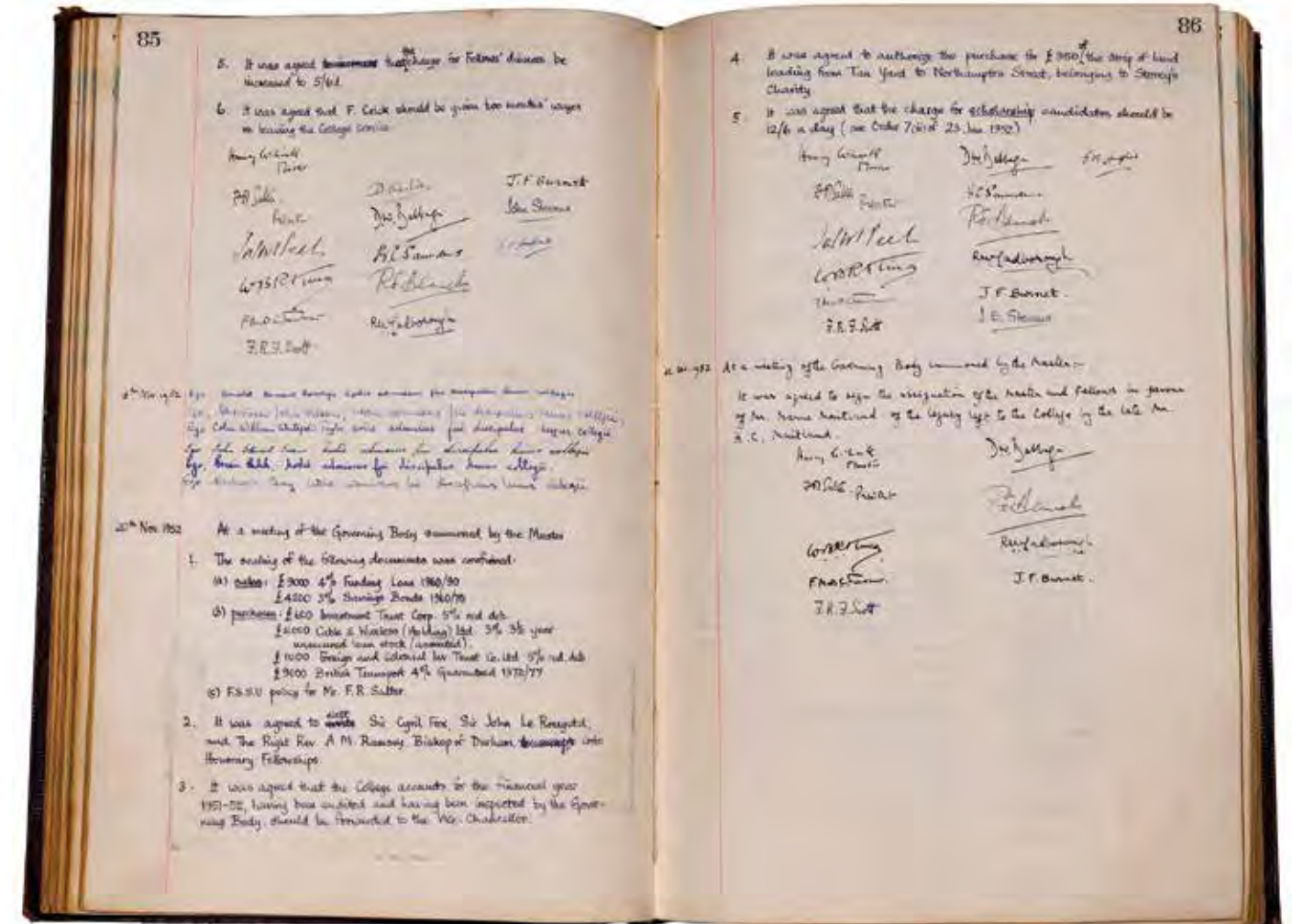
<p>January 18 1947</p>	<p>Four Elms, Rhiwbina, Cardiff</p>	<p>to me. Please put me in touch with the principals in the business, reminding them that I am in my 65th year, <del>an age at which the possibilities of "active service"</del> seem to me to be strictly limited!</p>
<p>My dear Tom</p>	<p>I should certainly be interested in returning to Cambridge, if an "attractive offer" to use your own words, were made</p>	<p>Ever yours Cyril</p>



20th Nov. 1952

At a meeting of the Governing Body summoned by the Master

1. [Financial matters].
2. It was agreed to elect Sir Cyril Fox, Sir John Le Rougetel and The Right Rev. A.M. Ramsey, Bishop of Durham into Honorary Fellowships.



2. It was agreed to ~~elect~~ <sup>elect</sup> Sir Cyril Fox, Sir John Le Rougetel, and The Right Rev. A.M. Ramsey, Bishop of Durham, ~~to~~ into Honorary Fellowships.

The decision to award Fox an honorary Fellowship. Minute book B443, pages 85-6. Magdalene College archives

I became an Honorary Fellow of my College, an honour indeed! <sup>and one</sup> I still enjoy. But my income was now

The book did much for me insufficient for my needs: my ~~membership~~ <sup>fellowship</sup> of the Society of Antiquaries (1924) had brought me into touch with a wider world, and I decided to ~~put in for any suitable~~ <sup>put in for any suitable</sup> archaeological appointment in the British Isles. The first was the

the archaeological collecting in the

Keepership <sup>of the national museum</sup> at Dublin ~~in 1925~~ (1925). I was one of two applicants, selected for interview, and was successful. This news reached London - I was now a

Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries - before I did: arriving

But the verbal information was reversed by letter

at Burlington House <sup>and later</sup> for a picture of interest to me I was greeted by a tall stranger in the library - You are Cyril Fox? Yes. Want a job, don't you? Well... Yes. Keeper of Archaeology in the National Museum of Wales - Can you start next week? You are Mortimer Wheeler?? ~~or~~ Yes - and have just been promoted to the Directorship.

I left Cambridge then, with thankful appreciation of the friendships I had made, and the generous encouragement by ~~scholar~~ established scholars of my efforts to become one. ~~Magdalene~~ ~~I venerate Magdalene~~, and those who controlled the College in 1920-23. My subsequent Honorary Fellowship is my most precious honour. The preface to

This is it

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A draft for Fox's autobiography that was never published. National Archive of Wales



Ph.D.  
1960.

I have occasionally been asked by archaeologically minded friends how I came to write The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region - as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Cambridge - in middle age: this was published in 1923, and I was born in 1882. Now, the same <sup>sort of</sup> question, concerning How came you to choose the Personality of Britain as a subject of a lecture to the International Congress of our science in 1932? reaches me.

The simple answer is that both deal of course with the same problem the relation of early man to his environment - in a part of, or the whole of Britain: and that I was not in a position to study these ~~for~~ the subject until my circumstances gave me the leisure, ~~time~~ and <sup>personal</sup> environment, which made such research work possible. The former study being limited in area could, under suitable conditions, be wholly compassed by my own efforts; the latter needed the help of my friend Miss L.F. Chitty who became interested in the largely unknown <sup>distribution</sup> pattern of early man's artifacts and offered to ~~help me~~ work on them. Eight of the Distribution Maps (Carry our joint names. - Map C, three plates, and four figures)

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A draft for Fox's autobiography that was never published. National Archive of Wales



**RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PAST**

Cyril Fox: *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*. Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d.

It was an excellent idea to produce a facsimile reprint of this archaeological classic, for as a record of facts its value has not decreased with the years. But it is much more than just that: it was a pioneer work, marking the beginning of the modern phase of British archaeology. The author is one of a group of students who found archaeology in the dead hands of antiquarian and collectors and, by taking it into the open air, gave it new life. He realized that collectors' specimens were not ends in themselves but means to the reconstruction of past life: that it was people, not things, that mattered; and that a first step in the process was to set the things in their prehistoric environment, whether the things were iron, bronze, terracotta, Dylean or medieval humanism. To do this it was necessary to draw distribution maps of each period, such as those in the end cover, which show not only the find-spots of the objects but also the contemporary vegetation which determined their distribution. It was the first regional study to be carried out on these lines, which had already, at the author's request, been laid down by other pioneers. But it represented a definite advance, for previous work was either national in scope or less comprehensive. To appreciate the advance we have only to compare Sir Cyril Fox's maps and text with those of the famous archaeological surveys published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, which, though useful, were more like an index map.

The article itself strikes a modern note—'A Topographical Study of the Bronze, Early Iron, Roman and Anglo-Saxon Ages, with an Introductory Note on the Neolithic Age.' There is here no jumble of periods, but a clear-cut classification. With excellent judgment, too, the author realized how little was then known about the Neolithic Age. At the end of the book is an Appendix (IV) containing what is in effect a re-issue of the book by the author himself, which he was asked to write by the editorial committee of the *Cambridge Historical Journal*. This innovation, which greatly adds to the book's value, can be cordially welcomed. From his present eminence Sir Cyril Fox surveys his earlier work with the detachment of an outside observer. Since he left Cambridge he has found other fields in which to apply the same technique with outstanding results. The existence of such an appraisal by the author and the lapse of time make detailed criticism unnecessary. One fact, however, does emerge, and that is the absence of any other regional studies comparable with this. Why has the impact of geography upon archaeology not produced them? Perhaps lack of recognition may be one reason. If so, it may be hoped that the gap will be filled by forthcoming volumes of the *Piccola County History*, which is being recast in a new mould.

The original format has been retained in the present reprint, and to the casual observer the book looks exactly like its predecessor, which was worthy of the high standard of the publisher.

"*TIMES LITERARY*" 29 July 1949

To my Father on his 90<sup>th</sup> birthday

28, ST. LEONARD'S ROAD, EXETER

Tel 56323 June 10, 1949

My dear Father

I wrote in 1923 "The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region". This year, 25 years after the original publication, the University Press publishes a re-issue with a new Appendix by myself, regarding the Work as in their own words, as "a classic".

This achievement is based on the inspiration I received from you in my boyhood. I therefore offer you this copy with my heartfelt thanks that your life has been so long preserved.

Your affectionate Son

Two letters attached to a presentation copy of the second edition of *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* addressed to his father. The TLS review of the second edition is also inserted. Loaned by Chris Going

63 Ophir Road

My dearest Dad

I caught a severe chill somehow yesterday, & had a sleepless night. I do not feel equal to the journeys and the long day. Deeply do I regret that I shall not be able to congratulate you, & that I am missing the gathering of the family in your honour. I really don't feel up to anything but sitting in front of a fire & going back to bed.

I should be a wet blanket at the gathering. Norman has a little present for you for me.

My love to you, and all the family

C.F.F.

To my Father, on his 90th birthday

28, St. Leonard's Road,  
Exeter

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My love to you and the all the family

CFF

# 4 Recent work in the Cambridge region

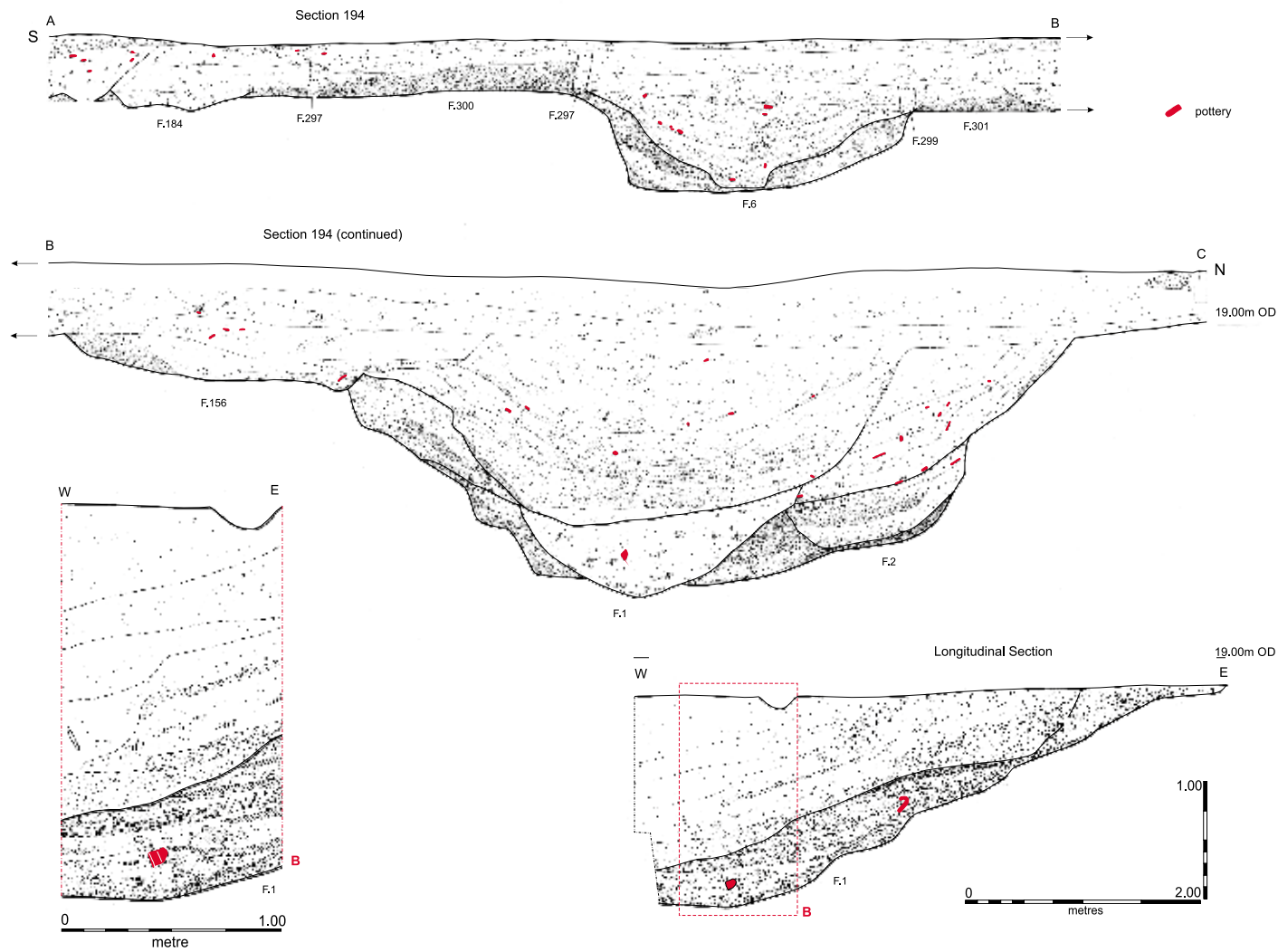
Fox's *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* was ground-breaking in several respects, but perhaps the biggest impact came from the articulation of human–environment relationships through an understanding of site distributions. Within the context of topography, soils and past land-use, Fox was striving to seek a unifying principle in archaeology, as history does with an understanding of human personality.

Distribution maps were considered by Fox to be the foundation on which this unifying principle could be built. In the subsequent publication by Fox in 1932, *The Personality of Britain*, he stepped up the use of distribution maps from the regional scale to the national scale, and not just in terms of finds, but also find-types. Since 1923, however,

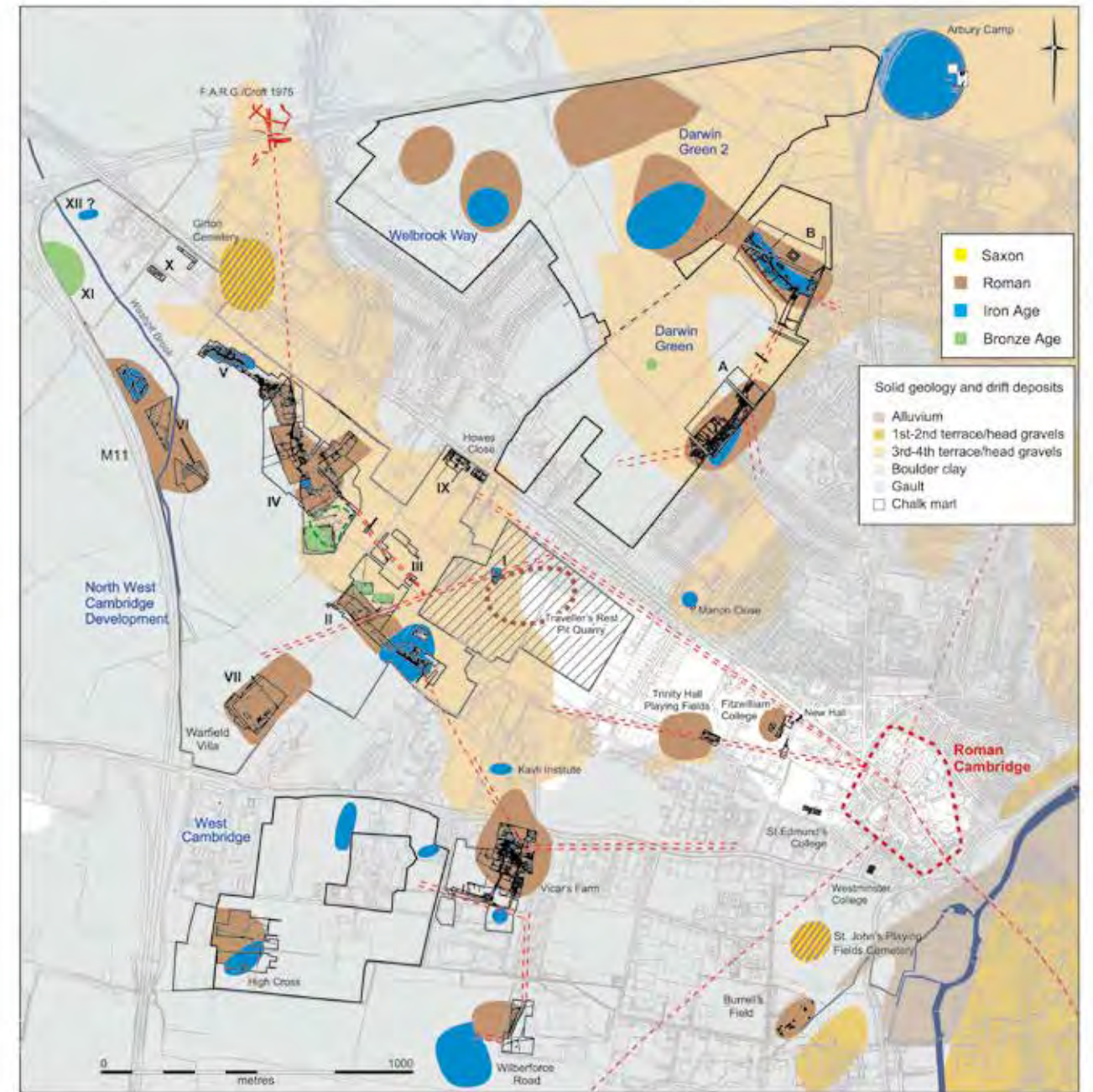
the number of archaeological sites and artefacts is vastly increased. For example, due largely to development-led archaeology in the last 30 years, the total number of Iron Age settlements in the Cambridge region as defined by Fox have increased from just 11 in 1923 to 236 in 2015; a twenty-one fold increase. Even within this context, the topographic and human–environment themes that were presented in *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* still have resonance today. However, whereas in 1923 Fox was bringing together the different data for the distributions to ‘make the pattern’, today it is an ‘enquiry towards the pattern’ and what they mean. In addition, this ‘new archaeology’ continues to add to our knowledge of different periods and processes.



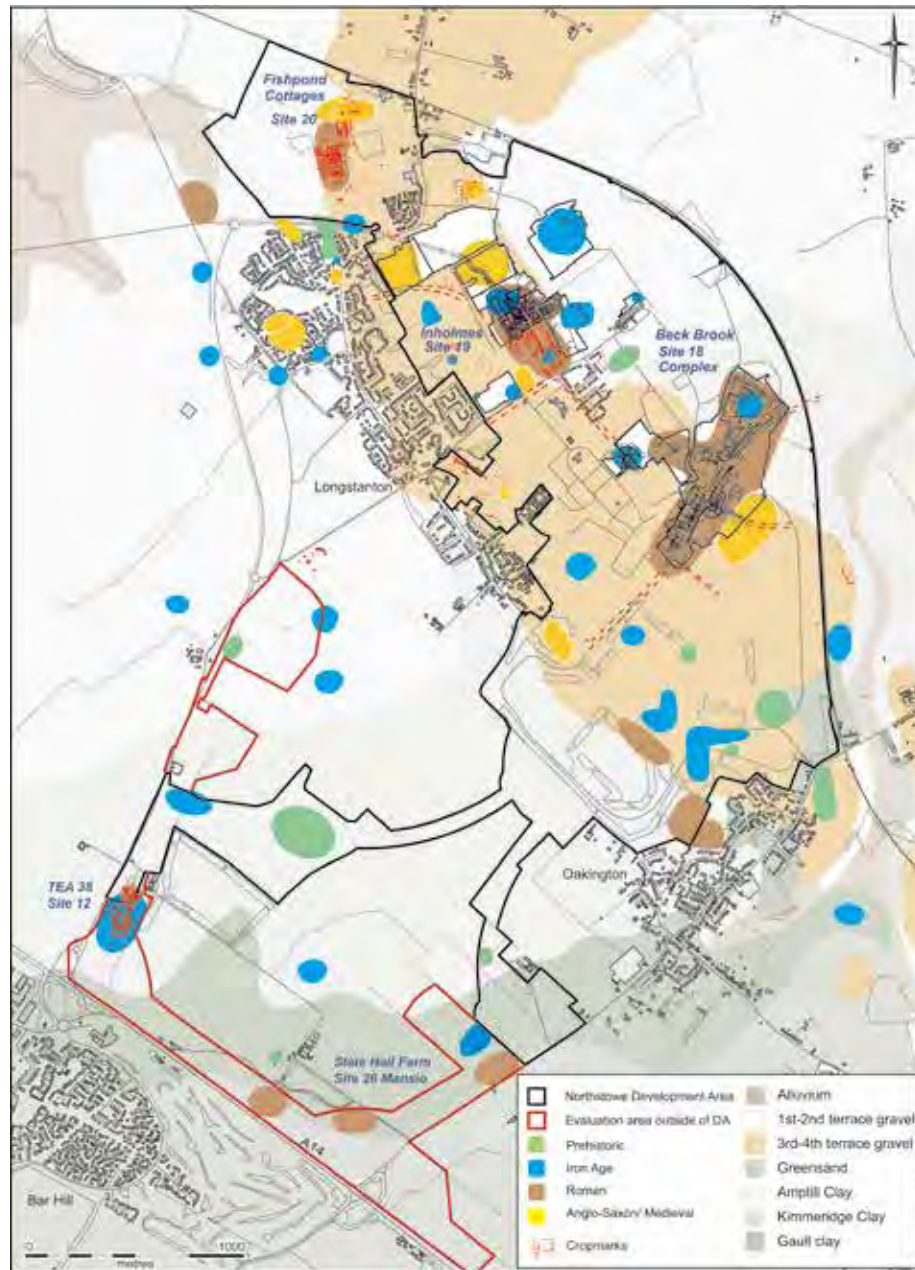
Prehistory in a manner that Fox would have recognised (see Fox 1923, Plates I–IV). (Above) A series of illustrated prehistoric objects (e.g. Beaker pots, collared urns, bone tools and flint) from a variety of sites that the Cambridge Archaeological Unit has excavated over the last 30 years. (Right) Two stacked Collared Urns (a secondary interment), with the lower one half-sectioned showing cremated human remains (F.297) from Over Barrow 21 (Evans, C. & Tabor, J. 2021. 2019 Excavations in Hanson's Over/Needingworth Quarry. Long Holme Drove Investigations (Phase V.1.i). Unpublished Cambridge Archaeological Unit Report No. 1463)



A variety of sections across ditches and buried soils from New Hall, Cambridge, showing the complexity of tip lines as well as primary and secondary deposits, as well as pottery highlighted in red. Fox's own drawings on Plate XIX show a more generalised level of detail, but nonetheless in a style that would fit today's representation. The sections are from Area I, of features associated with Enclosure C (Evans, C. & Lucas G. 2020. *Hinterlands and inlands: the archaeology of West Cambridge and Roman Cambridge Revisited* (CAU Landscape Archives/*New Archaeologies of the Cambridge Region* 3). Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research. Figure 3.21, p. 124)



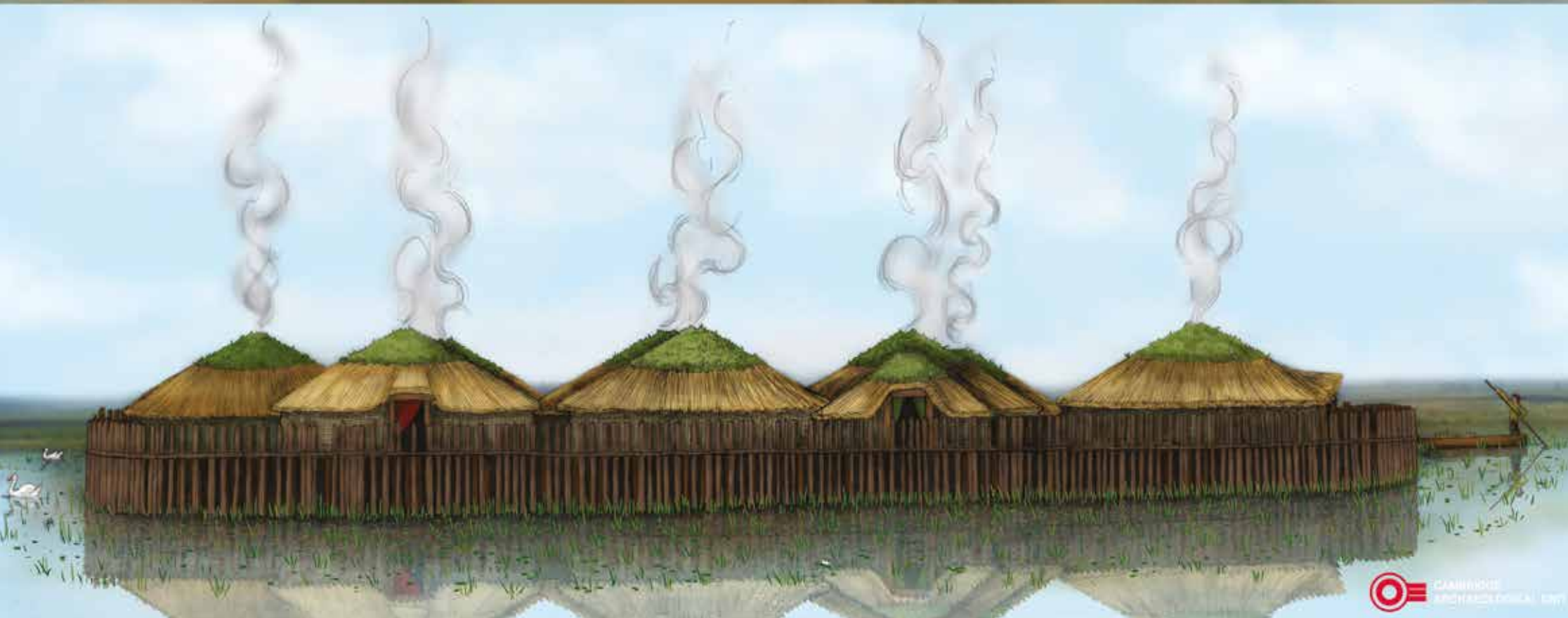
West and North West Cambridge sites, with the underlying surface geology, and showing a series of inter-connected trackways. The extent of excavations by the Cambridge Archaeological Unit could only seem like distant mirage to Fox; here excavations over a 20 year period have revealed an intricate pattern of sites from multiple periods (Evans, C. & Lucas G. 2020. *Hinterlands and inlands: the archaeology of West Cambridge and Roman Cambridge Revisited* (CAU Landscape Archives/*New Archaeologies of the Cambridge Region* 3). Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research)



Longstanton, Oakington and Northstowe excavations within their environs, with the underlying surface geology, and showing a series of inter-connected trackways joining up with the Via Devana (along the A14 near Slate Hall Farm and TEA 38). Excavated between 2014 and 2019, this represents landscape-scale excavations that have revealed a high density of sites from multiple periods, but mainly focused on a widely dispersed from the Middle Iron Age settlement colonisation process and tightly nucleated Roman-period settlements (Aldred, O. & Collins, M., forthcoming. *Of Other Spaces*. Excavations across Longstanton & Oakington (Northstowe Phases 1 & 2). CAU Landscape Archives/New Archaeologies of the Cambridge Region. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research



Fox conceived of the Fens in the same way as the claylands; a space without a great deal of archaeology. Yet, we now know that the Fens, and especially the immediate edges, also known as the fen-edge, was a well occupied space. These histories are vertical in that they occupy a depth under and within peat and marine clays that might bury older archaeology. This contrasts with horizontal histories which Fox conceived of in his landscape-scale analysis to great effect. In the Must Farm clay quarry, where the Must Farm pile-dwelling settlement and log boats were excavated, the ground surface hides a rich and varied buried topography. Cambridge Archaeological Unit



Reconstruction of the Must Farm pile-dwelling settlement, illustrating yet another leap of the imagination; the rich and well preserved settlement showed what it was like to live in the Late Bronze Age. After an evaluation in 2006, the site was excavated by the Cambridge Archaeological Unit over a 10-month period between 2015 and 2016. Unparalleled finds such as textiles, wooden artefacts, metalwork and pottery have given an amazing insight into the everyday lives of people in the Fens, 3,000 years ago (Knight, M., Ballantyne, R., Robinson Zeki, I. & Gibson, D. 2019. The Must Farm pile-dwelling settlement. *Antiquity* 93 (369), 645–63; Knight, M., Ballantyne, R., Brudenell, M., Cooper, A., Gibson, D. & Robinson Zeki, I. 2024. Must Farm Pile-dwelling Settlement. Vols 1 & 2. CAU Must Farm/FlagFen Basin Depth & Time Series Nos 2 & 3. McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research)



# In the footsteps of Fox (1)

## Cambridge Archaeology Field Group

### Introduction

The Cambridge Archaeology Field Group (CAFG) was formed in 1978 to carry out practical archaeology in the Cambridge region. Our main activity has been fieldwalking, focusing on a c. 20 km radius of Cambridge. This covers much of the region studied by Fox in his early investigations. Fox classified the land as being either 'afforested' (poorly drained) or 'open' (well drained), with the expectation that the afforested areas would show little evidence of human settlement or activity until at least the 7th century (Fox, 1923).

Here we plot finds from Childerley (afforested, clayland) and Fulbourn (open, chalkland) on geological maps, and we see how our results compare with Fox's expectations.

### Methods

We walked fields in transects 10 m apart, and recorded the position of each item collected using hand-held GPS. We selected fields based on factors such as accessibility and permission of farmers and landowners.

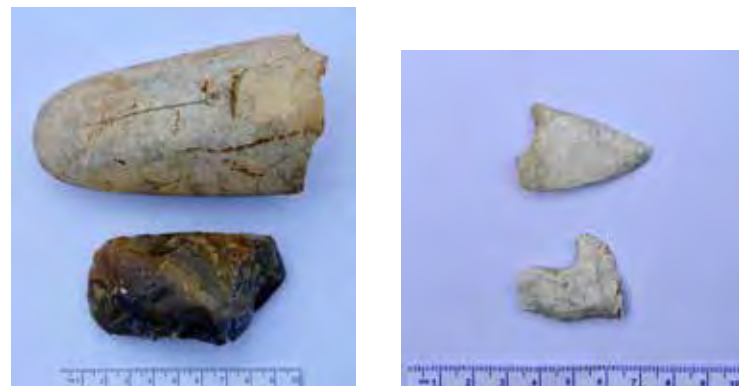
As our methods were not selected on the basis of a particular hypothesis, they provide a relatively blank canvas,

allowing the surface finds to speak for themselves.

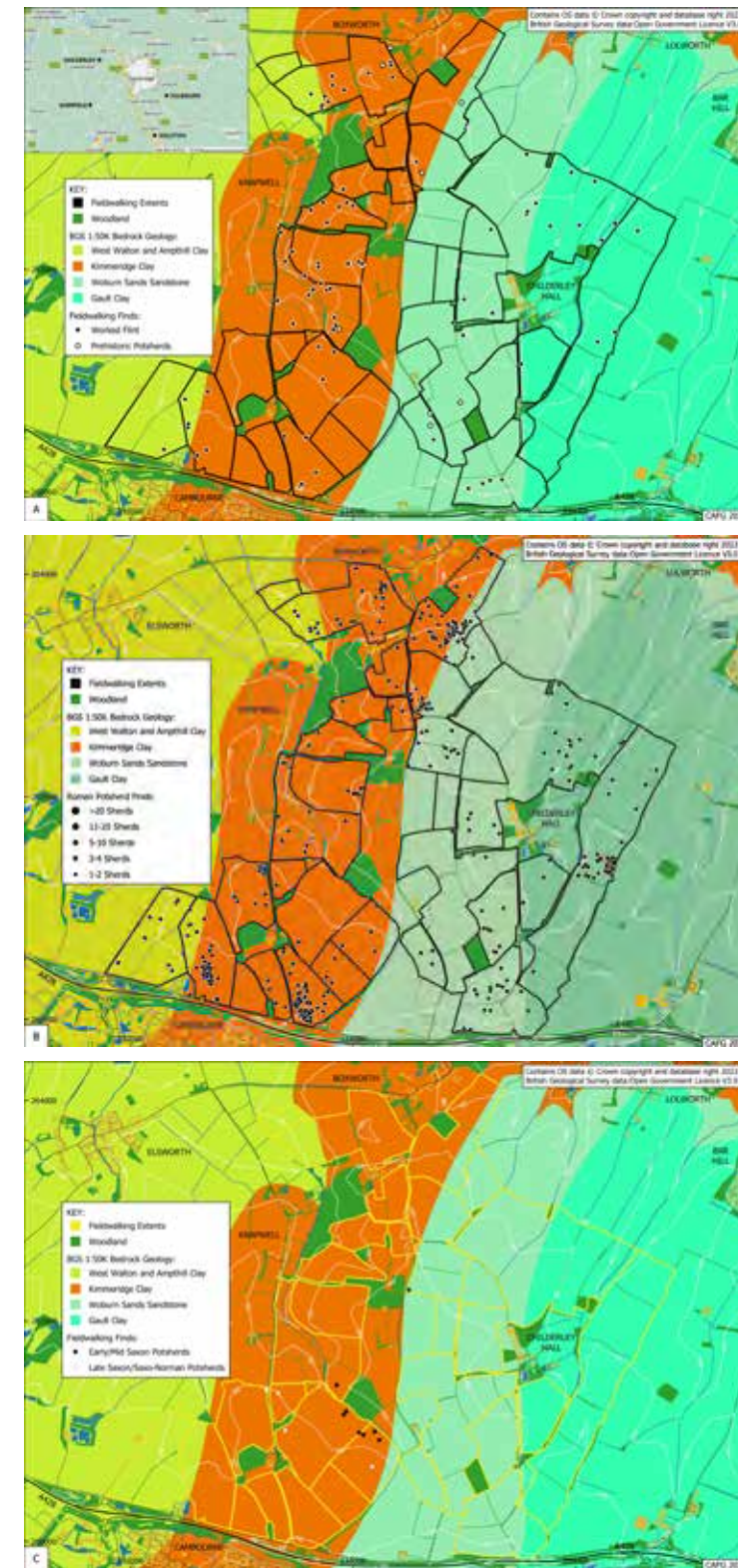
Worked flint (ranging from Mesolithic to Bronze Age – see Figure 1 for some examples) and occasional sherds of Bronze Age and Iron Age pottery were used as proxies for 'prehistoric' activity, while pottery alone was used as a proxy for activity from the Roman and later periods. Early/Mid Anglo-Saxon pottery is from c. 450–850 CE and Late Saxon/SaxoNorman from c. 850–1200 CE.

### Results and discussion

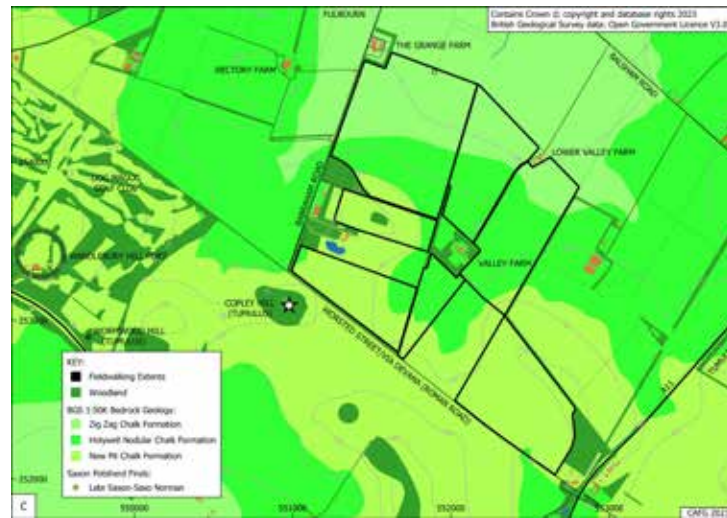
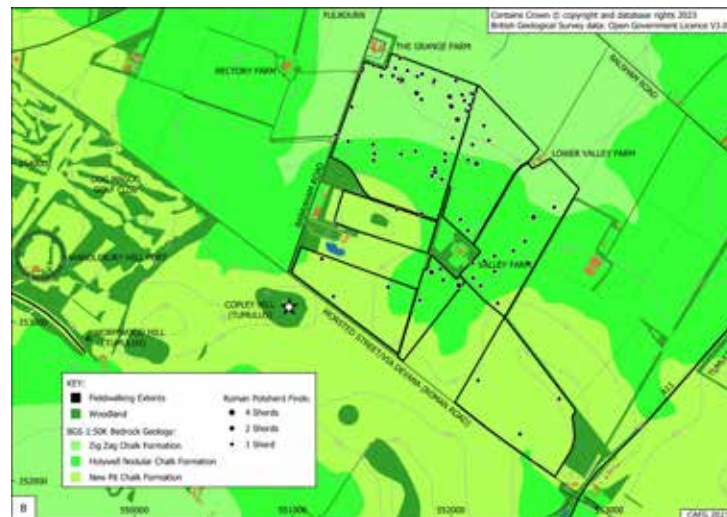
Figure 2a shows a significant scatter of worked flint (94 pieces over 935 ha) from the mainly clay site at Childerley. There is, however, a greater density of finds



1. Flint implements from Fulbourn



2. Fieldwalking finds from Childerley: (A) Prehistoric, (B) Roman, (C) Early-Mid Saxon and Late Saxon-SaxoNorman



3. Fieldwalking finds from Fulbourn: (A) Prehistoric, (B) Roman, (C) Early-Mid Saxon and Late Saxon-SaxoNorman

from the chalk site at Fulbourn (Figure 3a), with 575 finds from 213 ha. The greater activity on the chalkland is in line with Fox's expectations.

However, during the Roman period we find the opposite: more evidence of activity on the claylands of Childerley (596 pieces) than at Fulbourn (88 pieces) (Figures 2b and 3b), despite the proximity of the Fulbourn site to a Roman road (Via Devana). Moreover, concentrations in the pottery scatter at Childerley (Figure 2b) together with CBM (not shown) suggest areas of settlement. Both Childerley and Fulbourn show greatly reduced activity in early/mid Saxon times, with only one piece of

pottery at Fulbourn from the whole of the Saxon period (Figure 3c). At Childerley, activity increases significantly in later Saxon times (Figure 2c) as expected: but this is on clayland not chalk.

In summary, our results sometimes agree with Fox's expectations and sometimes not; but this is perhaps not surprising and is in line with increasing knowledge of the archaeology of the Cambridge region since Fox's day (Evans et al. 2023). Limitations of the study include the unequal areas of the sites, the degradation of pottery in the plough soil, and the vagaries of fieldwalking (Evans 2008).

## In the footsteps of Fox (2) Cambridge Archaeology Field Group



### Introduction

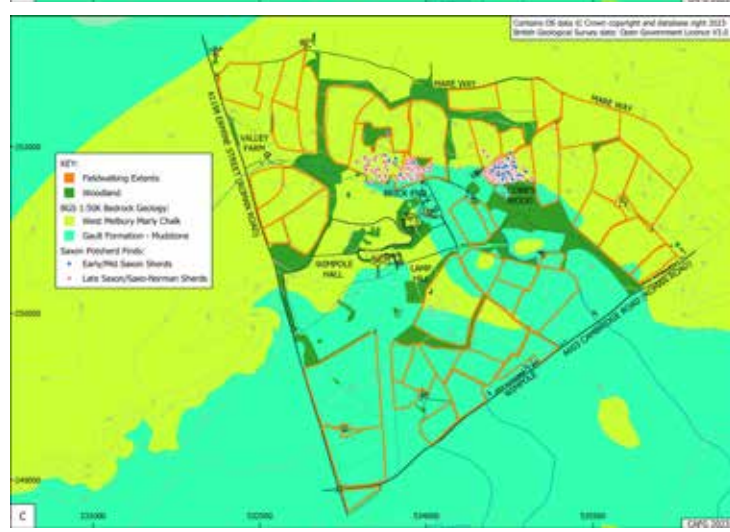
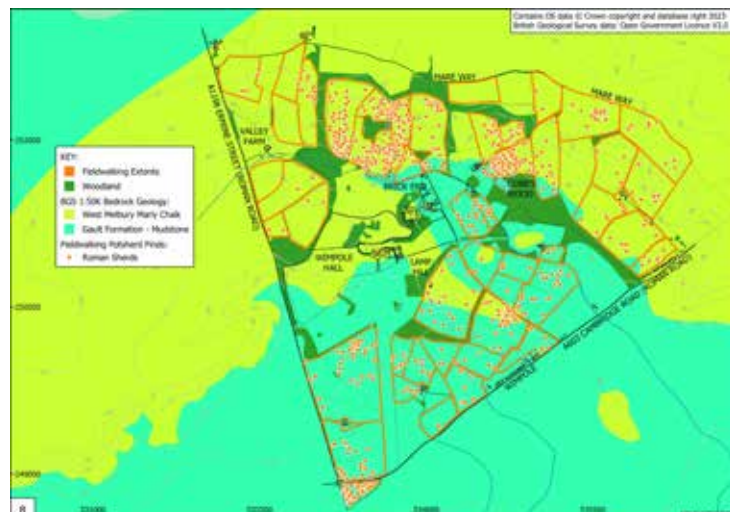
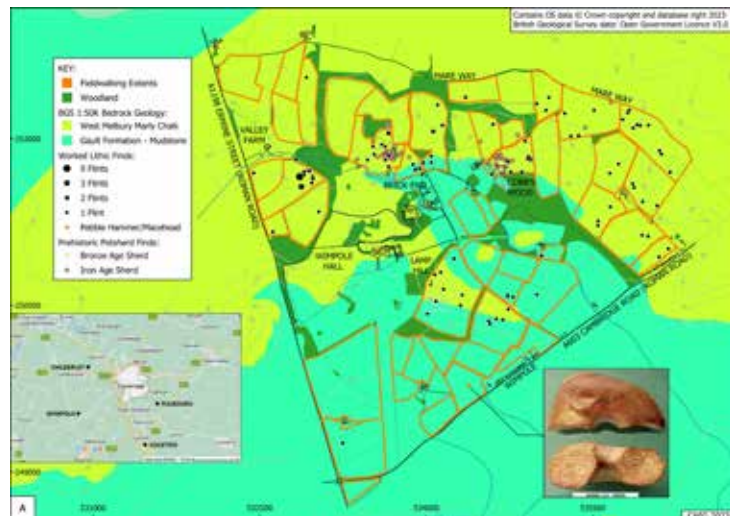
In the second of our posters on fieldwalking in the Cambridge region, we present results from two further sites with contrasting geology. The Wimpole Estate offers a contrasting geology of both clay and chalk (Figure 1), whereas Ickleton lies entirely on chalk (Figure 2). In the spirit of Fox, we investigate how geology relates to evidence for human activity, and indicate how this in turn relates to Fox's expectation of little activity on claylands before the mid 7th

century (Fox 1923). Our methods were as described in Part 1. Worked flint plus occasional sherds of Bronze Age and Iron Age pottery were used as proxies for 'prehistoric' activity and pottery alone for the Roman and Saxon periods.

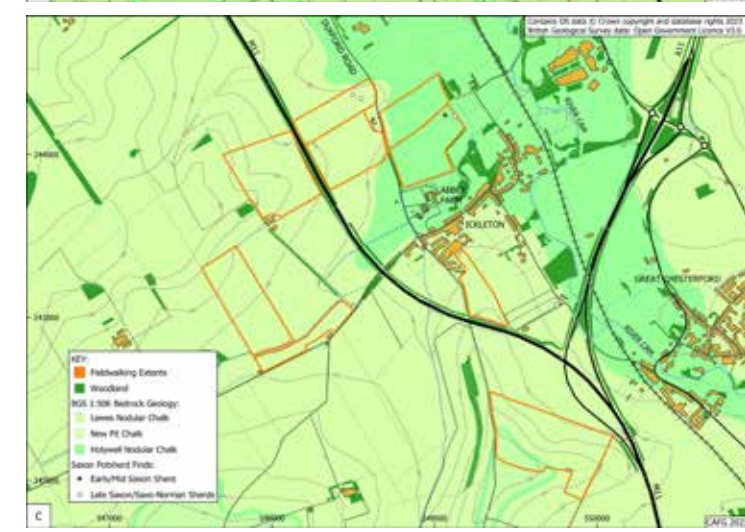
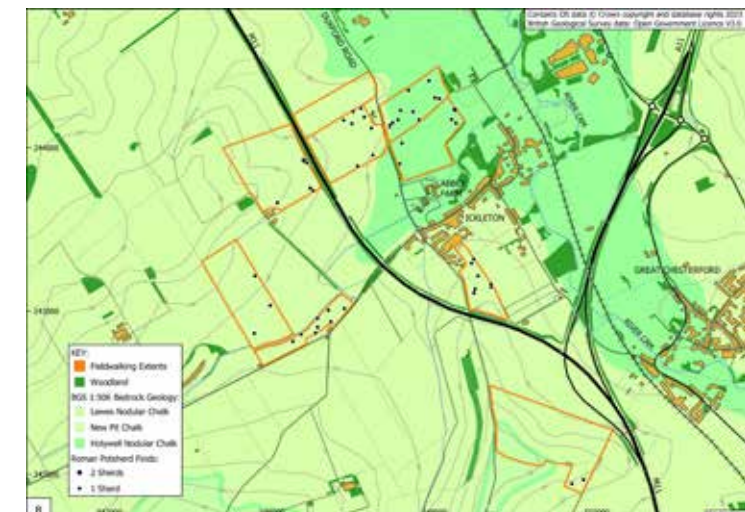
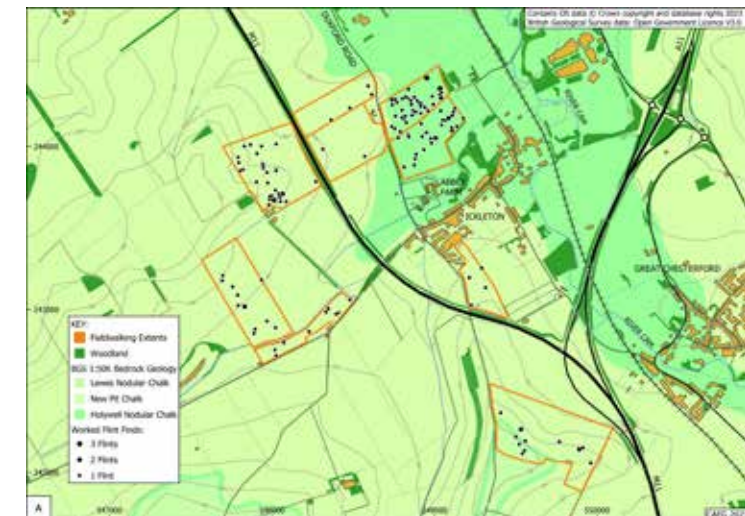
### Results and discussion

At Wimpole the distribution of prehistoric artefacts, mainly flint, is clearly related to the geology (Figure 1a). Of note are the two concentrations of prehistoric (mainly Iron Age) pottery on the edge of the chalk





1. Fieldwalking finds from Wimpole: (A) Prehistoric, (B) Roman, (C) Early-Mid Saxon and Late Saxon-SaxoNorman



2. Fieldwalking finds from Ickleton: (A) Prehistoric, (B) Roman, (C) Early-Mid Saxon and Late Saxon-SaxoNorman

outcrop. Very few prehistoric artefacts came from the clay areas, in line with Fox's expectations.

Roman pottery was found over most of the fields walked (Figure 1b). In contrast to prehistoric times, there was significant activity on the clay. The high density of Roman pottery is not surprising as the estate is bordered by two Roman roads, the A1198 (Ermine Street) and the A603. Previous work (Horton et al. 1994) revealed a settlement of Roman date near where the two roads intersect. Evidence for human activity greatly reduces in the Early and Middle Saxon periods, with activity increasing significantly from Late Saxon times (Figure 1c). This mirrors our finding at Childerley and Fulbourn (see Part 1), although at Wimpole the density of Late Saxon pottery is much higher. In the area walked at Wimpole, all the Saxon pottery is confined to the edge of the chalk outcrop; none was found on clay.

All fields walked at Ickleton are on chalk (Figure 2). As might be expected, we found a significant scatter of worked flint (Figure 2a), with a total of 125 pieces from 130 ha, a higher density of finds than at Wimpole (83 pieces from 566 ha).

A light scatter of Roman pottery was found over all fields walked, but the density was significantly less than at Wimpole and mirrors the situation at Childerley and Fulbourn (Part 1), where the former site (clay) had a higher density of Roman pottery than the latter (chalk), contrary to Fox. As is the case at Wimpole, evidence for human activity greatly decreases in Saxon times, with only four pieces from the whole of the Saxon period. However, one should bear in mind the reduced usage of pottery in the Early Saxon period and its lower survival rate in the plough soil (Glenn, 1978).

As at Childerley and Fulbourn (see Part 1), our results sometimes agree with Fox's expectations and sometimes not. This is perhaps not surprising, given the great increase in archaeological knowledge of the region since Fox's day. (Aldred et al. 2023). Fox, who encouraged further research and fully accepted that some of his conclusions may become obsolete (Scott-Fox 2002), would not have been surprised.

#### Acknowledgements

Pottery was analysed by Paul Blinkhorn and flint by Lawrence Billington (Oxford Archaeology East). We are grateful for financial assistance for pottery and flint identification from Cambridge Antiquarian Society, the Council for British Archaeology East and the McDonald Institute, and to the National Trust and local farmers for access to land.

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McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research



Council for British Archaeology East

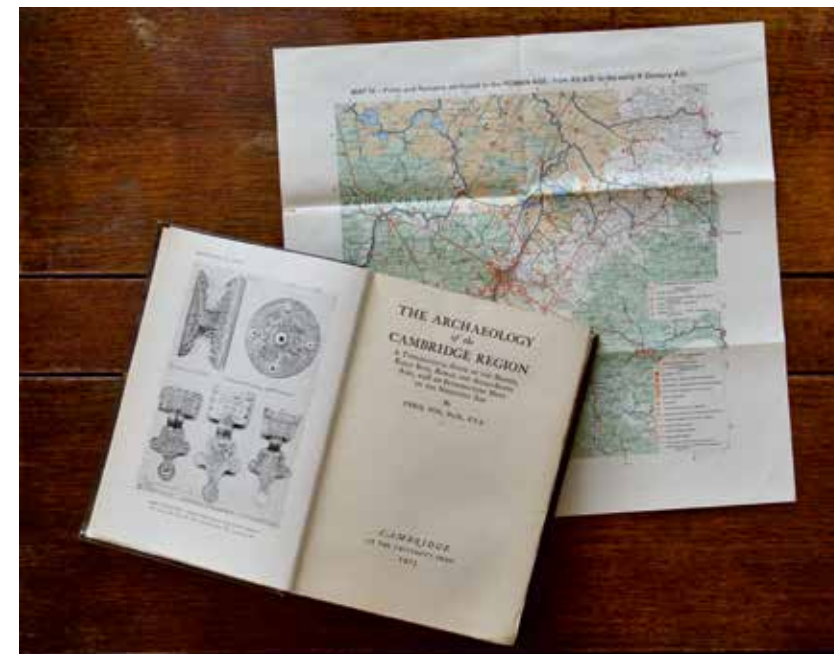
## Dense pasts: abundance of archaeological knowledge within Fox's Cambridge region



Oscar Aldred

Cambridge Archaeological Unit,  
Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge

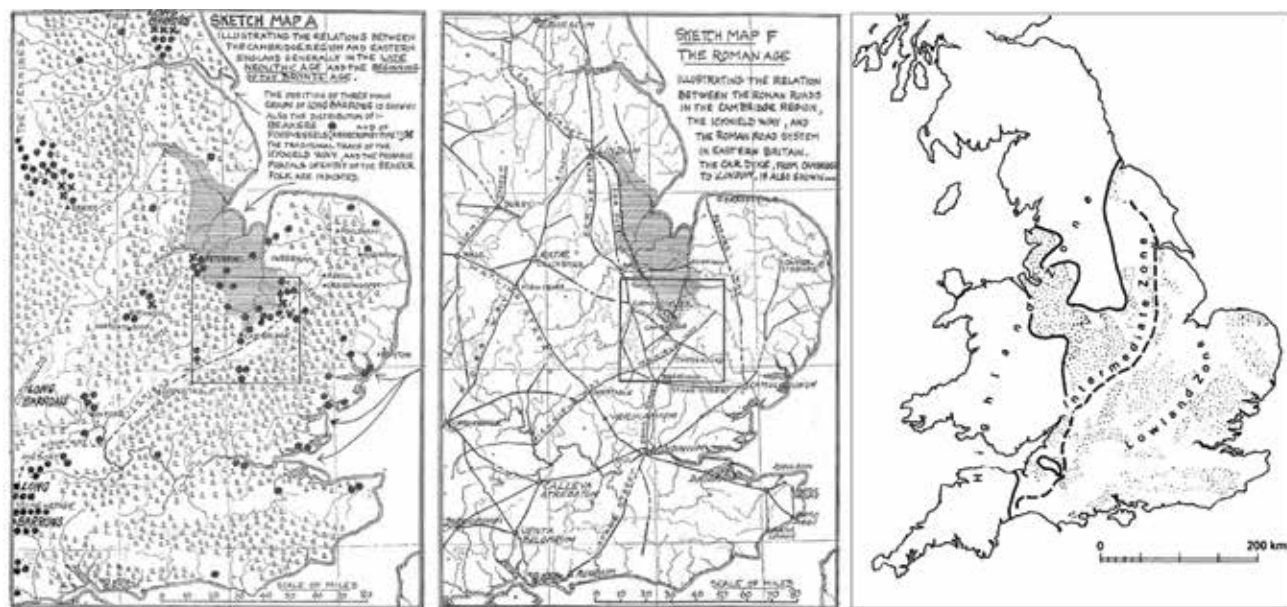
The full extent of Cyril Fox's knowledge of the Cambridge region's archaeology is presented in *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region (ACR)*, and across five period maps – from the Neolithic through to Anglo-Saxon – loosely inset into a sleeve in the back of the book.



ACR with 'Map IV – Finds and Remains attributed to the ROMAN AGE from 43 A.D. to the early V Century A.D.'

The maps, in particular, also serve to reinforce Fox's main thesis on primary and secondary settlement in relation to distinct topographic zones; what commentators have referred to as 'Fox's Theorem'. Simply put, Fox explored the idea of the geographic and environmental relationship between primary settlement locations which were on lighter, permeable soils, while secondary settlement was located on heavier, impermeable soils. And this relationship is one seen through time, within what was conceived to be an environmentally stable landscape from the Neolithic to Anglo-Saxon periods. We now know that this thesis can be challenged in a number of ways, and tested, especially in a much more expansive settlement since 1923 on the Cambridgeshire, as well as Essex and Suffolk, claylands.

Another aspect of Fox's theorem explored more fully in his 1932 *Personality of Britain*, but which had a germination within ACR, was the so called 'Fox's Law' (as discussed by RG Collingwood (1933)): on the character of the Lowland and Highland of Britain with respect to the prevailing invasionist thinking that emerged at the beginning of the 20th century. Lowland Britain was more easily

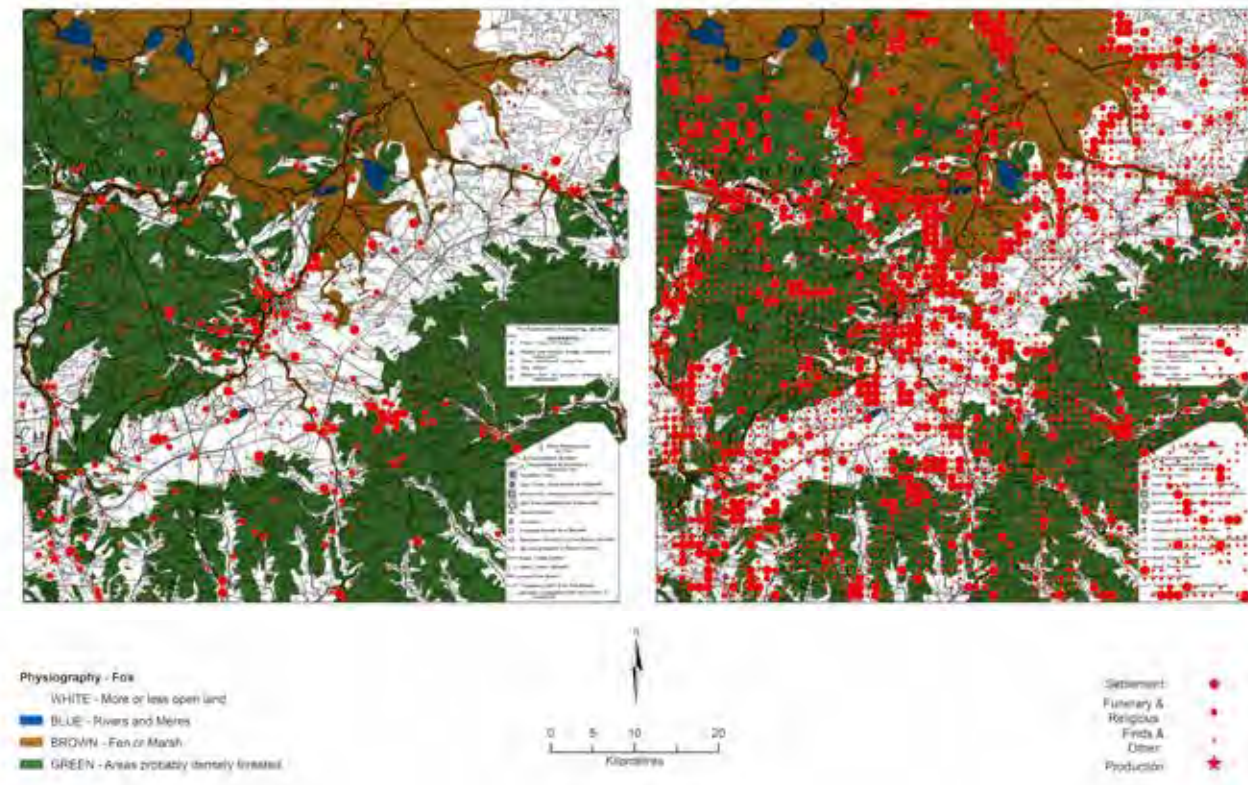


Landscape characterization: left & centre, Fox's maps respectively illustrating Late Neolithic and earlier Bronze Age findings – notice the Beaker 'dots' and extent of forest cover – and main Roman centres and roads; right, Pounds' amended version of Fox's 1932 Highland/Lowland Zone map showing intermediate Midland Zone, with stippling indicating heavily wooded lands (Pound 1994: fig. 1.1).

overrun by invaders, and this is where new cultures have tended to develop; whereas Highland Britain tended to absorb invasions: you get replacement in the lowlands, and in the highlands fusion. What Fox's Theorem and Fox's Law have in common is the geographic focus to explain archaeological distributions.

The mechanism of understanding the past aside, Fox had much less past to deal with in 1923 than we do today. Therefore, to what extent these key geographic explanations of settlement patterns still hold sway today is a question that the Cambridge Archaeological Unit (CAU) has been addressing for the last 30 years or so. Since 1990, the amount of development-led archaeology, principally excavations, but also trial trenching and field walking, has produced an enormous

body of data with which to interrogate this geographic relationship within the region. Several publications within the CAU's New Archaeologies of the Cambridge Region Series have precisely done this (Evans et al. 2008; Evans & Lucas 2020). In these publications Fox's work has been developed further by looking beyond the pattern to begin to understand what the distributions mean. More specifically, a recent series of papers celebrating Fox's ACR (Aldred 2023; Aldred et al. 2023; Evans et al. 2023), building on a Historic England funded project, have demonstrated that we have reached an archaeological knowledge threshold (a so-called abundance) in Roman settlement density which is beginning to reshape the research questions we ask. The implications of this are far reaching,



Fox's 1923 distribution of Roman settlement, and other sites against a background of Fox's topographic zones, compared with today's distribution of Roman settlement and other sites (largely derived from development-led archaeology – EngLald aggregated 1km data, OS Roman Britain Map (1991) & Roman Rural Settlement data) also with Fox's topographic zones.

and in the next 30 years we should see a significant increase in what archaeology can tell us about how communities interacted with their landscape, and the significance of this in understanding our own present-day landscape.

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# 5

## International comparisons

Scientific research often develops in parallel across different countries and continents, and the advances in the diachronic study of archaeological landscapes are no exception. We are conscious of important developments in the Middle East and the Americas, but we have chosen to focus our attention here on the continent of Europe. We invited a series of scholars from eleven regions to present the evidence for changing human landscapes, and for any driving agents behind these discoveries. Two, one on Greece, another on the hinterland of Rome, limited their contributions to oral presentations in the conference. Nine others, of which seven gave oral presentations, are recorded for posterity here, and were a formal part of the exhibition. These examples illustrate both the diversity and convergence of Europe, in terms of the regularities of landscape and the key personalities behind the research.

The overall coverage from these eleven regions are drawn from the

Mediterranean, the eastern limits of Europe and western Europe right up to the polders and beaches bordering the North Sea and the English Channel. Mediterranean coverage includes the innovative survey techniques of Greece, Spain and Italy and the profitable digitization of diverse traditions of Italian research from Etruria and Umbria. On the eastern flanks of Europe, we record the earliest evidence of urbanization whose antiquity challenges those of the Mediterranean, born out of the rich soils of Ukraine. In Western Europe, the focus is on the diverse nucleations of the Iron Age in Baden Württemberg and Champagne. On the borders of the North Sea and the English Channel, we move deeper in time, seeking parallels to the experience of Fox on the other side of the water. These examples are but a small sample of the rich research undertaken by European archaeologists in understanding the routes toward the present-day configurations of landscape.

## The Potenza Valley Survey Frank Vermeulen Department of Archaeology, Ghent University



The Potenza Valley Survey (PVS) project is a long-term multidisciplinary research effort (2000–2021) by a team of archaeologists and geographers from Ghent University, directed by Frank Vermeulen, in an Italian valley between the Apennines and the sea. This project contributes to the study of protohistoric and early historic settlement dynamics, and, in particular, to late Iron Age centralization and Roman urbanization and its impact in the central Adriatic part of the Italian peninsula. It focuses on the integrated use of archaeological survey methods and other non-



Location of the Potenza valley in Central Italy



General view of the lower Potenza plain: the settlement chamber of the protohistoric hillside of Montarice and the Roman colony Potentia on the central Adriatic coast. In the background, Monte Conero and the Picene emporium Numana

destructive techniques combined with more traditional topographic and geographic approaches, such as test excavation, historical topography and geomorphological mapping. The study of the urban layout and evolution of the colonial city of *Potentia* (founded in 184 BC), and the inland towns of *Ricina*, *Trea* and *Septempeda*, have used intense low altitude aerial detection combined with regular grid-walking, geomorphological and geophysical survey, material studies and excavation, to investigate abandoned classical town sites. The integration of the valuable stratigraphic data from different excavations in the town areas with newly obtained survey data from urban centres and their territories, demonstrates that this work can be of crucial importance for our understanding of Roman city dynamics in central Adriatic Italy and beyond. The focus on the transitions in the *longue durée* of this valley is *equally relevant*, in particular the shift between proto-historical hilltop



View of the Ghent University excavations of a wine amphora production site south of *Potentia*

villages and the Roman towns in the valley floor, and the dynamic relationship through time of central settlements with their surrounding agricultural landscape.

The PVS project's high resolution field surveys include: multiple remote sensing operations, large-scale geophysical surveys (including georadar, magnetic



Aerial view with cropmarks of the late Prehistoric, Roman and medieval *Potenza* river bed and probable location of Roman harbour facilities for maritime and inland trade connected with the Republican colony *Potentia* and its hinterland



Survey procedures on a series of abandoned towns and rural sites in northern Picenum during the *Potentia Valley Survey* project

survey, electric resistivity), active aerial photography (including NIR photography and drone-based operations), geomorphological surveys, artefact prospections, and micro-topographical field observations. A GIS-based integration of all new survey data and maps, with legacy data and new stratigraphic observations, has applied an open access database for the study and management of a valley landscape with major implications for historical interpretation, site conservation and communication of a delicate cultural heritage to a wider public. The study of an ancient landscape over a period of more than two decades has also allowed the research team to adapt to the many methodological and technical evolutions in landscape archaeology and to refine topographic studies over the past years. It has also allowed appreciation of the importance of geomorphological

filtering in landscape archaeological studies, the need for long-term monitoring, the usefulness of multi-method approaches in archaeological prospection, and the still undervalued role of remote sensing, image processing and 3D modelling in an age of revolutionary progress in the archaeology of the past landscape.

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# The hillfort on Mount Ipf: a centre of power during the Bronze Age and Iron Age in southern Germany

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## Mount Ipf in the Nördlinger Ries

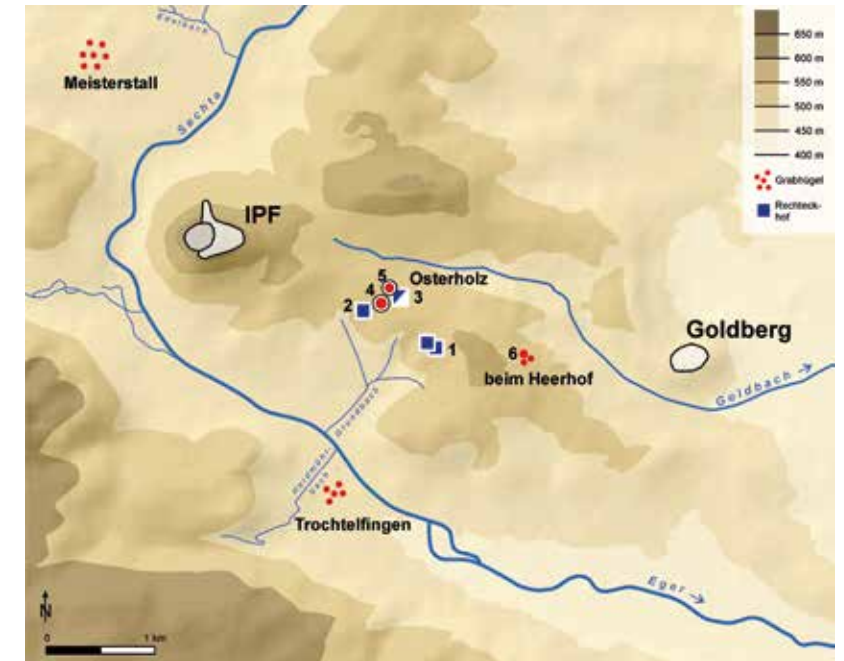
One of the most remarkable prehistoric fortifications north of the Alps is located on the periphery of the meteorite crater of the Nördlinger Ries in the state of Baden-Württemberg, in southern Germany. During the Bronze and Early Iron Ages, mighty fortifications were erected upon this summit's plateau. Not only is the name 'Ipf' itself unique, but

so is the mountain with its surroundings and still preserved massive ramparts, one of the early Celtic princely seats (Fürstensitze) of the Early Iron Age in southern Germany, Switzerland and Eastern France. Mount Ipf was formerly an important crossroads in long-distance trade routes between the Etruscan-Greek cultural area of Upper Italy across the Alps to southern Germany to the Danube and to the Nördlinger Ries. Fifty years



The Ipf. The frusto-conical 'Zeugenberg' (Zeugen Mountain) has a prominent plateau with mighty fortifications from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age. Photo O. Braasch

Topographic map of the western edge of the Nördlinger Ries, between the Ipf and the Goldberg with the 'Herrenhöfe' or enclosed manors and the large tumuli near the hamlet of Osterholz. 1) enclosed manors in the Zaunäckern; 2) enclosed manor in the Bugfeld; 3) Late Hallstatt settlement remains near the tumuli; 4) tumulus 1; 5) tumulus 2; 6) small tumuli. Map B. Voss, Goethe-University Frankfurt



ago, the Prehistoric Society visited the site during a longer excursion through southern Germany in 1969.

## History of research

The history of research into the prehistoric monuments in the Nördlinger Ries goes back to the 19th century. From the beginning of the 20th century, the key players were Friedrich Hertlein and Gerhard Bersu for Ipf and Goldberg, and the pharmacist Ernst Frickinger from Nördlingen in the 1930s and 40s. Today, the Nördlinger Ries is one of the best-researched ancient settlement landscapes in Central Europe. However, the narrative on the history of the Ipf itself in the older Iron Age can only be understood in the context of the development of the Late Bronze Age (Urnfield culture) around 1000 BC and the beginning of centralisation processes in the Nördlinger Ries. This also includes the early

southbound links across the Alps since the 7th century BC.

## Opie/Ipf: the origin of the name

The long-harboured assumption that the German name Ipf reworked the Roman form Opie has been in need of critical reconsideration. The linguist Jost Gippert has undertaken a comprehensive analysis. He examined the derivation and origin of both names and place designations, and questioned whether Opie was Celtic, Roman or even stemmed from another source. The result of his study is surprising, for the linguistic analyses revealed many indications of an Illyrian-Venetian origin, that is, from Upper Italy.

## Goldberg and Ipf - 'Royal castles' in the Ries?

Both the fortresses of Ipf and Goldberg have presented many puzzles for



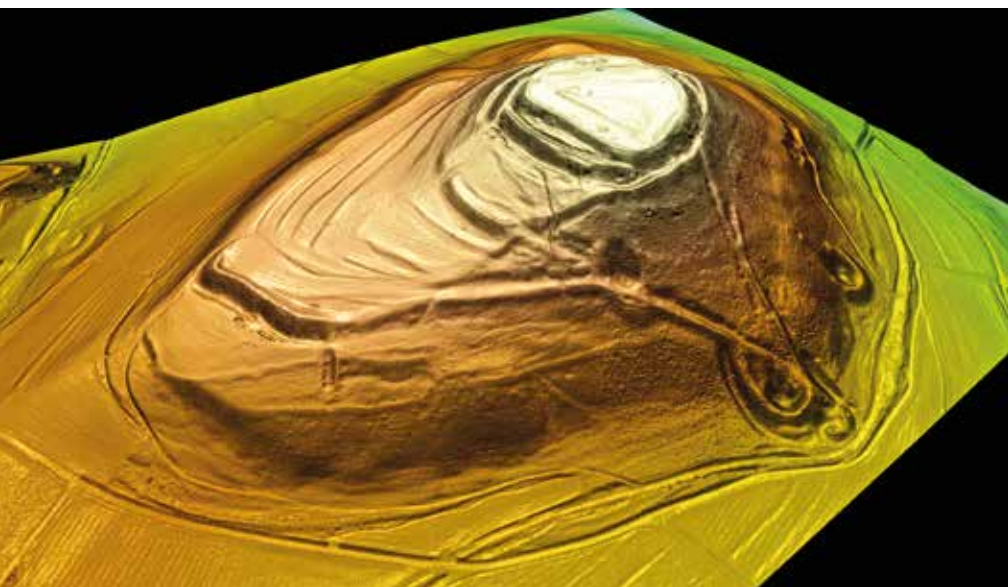
The fortifications around the flat summit plateau. Photo B. Voss, Goethe-University Frankfurt

researchers, foremost of which was the question of the relationship (social structures, hierarchies) between the two neighbouring hillforts. The two hillforts are separated by only 4.5 km. Gerhard Bersu, who excavated the Goldberg in the 1920s, then argued in 1930 for an interesting research model, namely that a 'king's castle' stood upon the topographically prominent Mount Ipf, and a number of smaller 'princely castles' like that on the Goldberg were subordinate to it. Today we know that the Goldberg, the Ipf, and the construction of rectangular compounds and the monumental burial tumuli near Osterholz

were of equal importance. There was a hiatus during the Late Hallstatt period (in Hallstatt D2/D3) when transfer of rulership from the Goldberg to Mount Ipf might have taken place, changing the power structure.

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3D landscape model showing the ramparts and fortification lines as well as historical field systems on the lower part in the northeast. This figure is based on lidar data from the 'Ipf-Project' of the Goethe-University Frankfurt

# Archaeology and history of the hillfort on the Goldberg in the Nördlinger Ries



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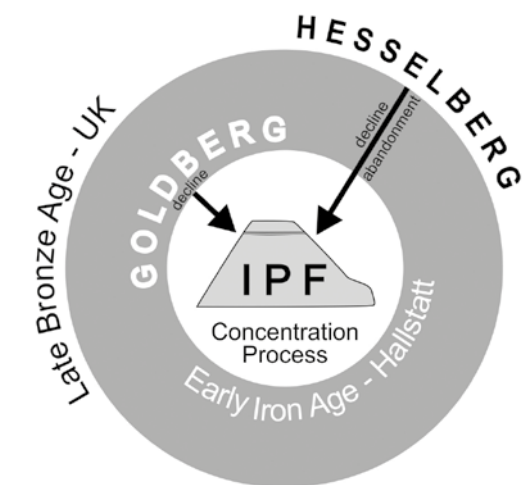
## Topography and research questions

The Goldberg, a flat limestone outcrop (*Süßwasserkalk*) (514 m asl), is on the western periphery of the Nördlinger Ries basin. The neighbouring Ipf is a prominent relief of the White Jura (668 m asl). Numerous settlements, cemeteries and groups of burial mounds, dated to the 1st millennium BC (particularly Hallstatt and La Tène) are located near the two summits.

The leading question has been the degree of contemporaneity in the Hallstatt period acting as a functional unit, as 'double castles' (Doppelburgen). Their relationship, social structure and political hierarchy were completely unclear, especially whether the Ipf could be characterized as an Early Celtic 'princely seat'. In the course of two centralization processes at the end of the Late Bronze Age and in the Early Iron Age, the importance of the fortifications on the Ipf increased. Today original research clarifies that the two fortifications on Goldberg and Ipf, each with its own characteristics and focus, were built in stages between the 7th and 5th centuries BC. Therefore, we can be

certain, that there were no double castles on the western edge of the Nördlinger Ries.

The Goldberg gained great importance in archaeological research through the path-breaking excavations of Gerhard Bersu. He excavated large parts of the plateau and uncovered the individual, overlying settlement layers.



Scheme of concentration processes in the Nördlinger Ries since the late Bronze Age and in the older Iron Age. Graph B. Voss, Frankfurt

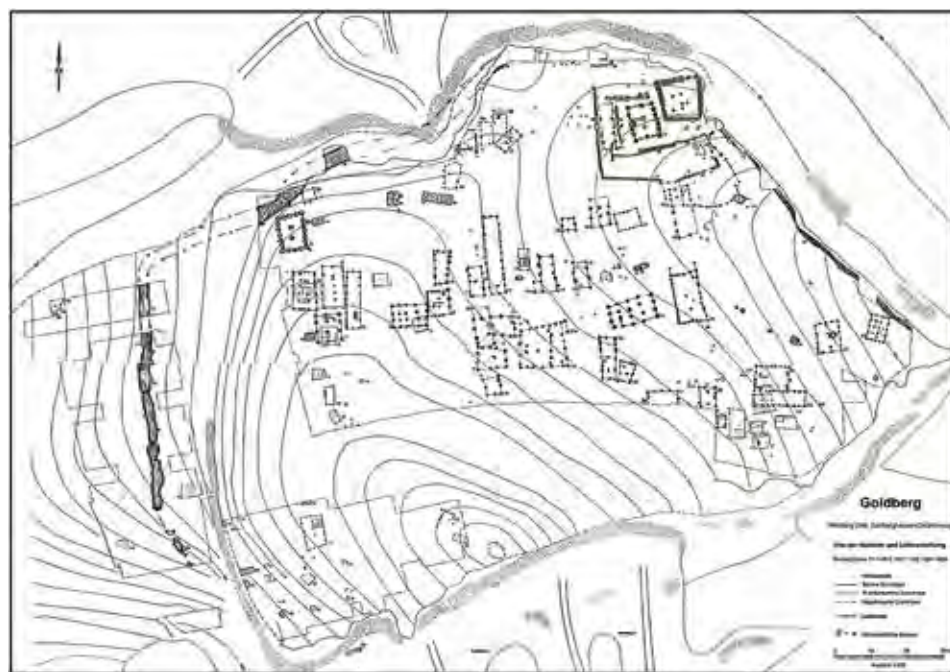


The excavations in 1928 by Gerhard Bersu (yellow arrow)

In the process, ground plans of several Neolithic and Early Iron Age settlement phases were detected. The Goldberg contrasted with the Ipf, because it lacked the Mediterranean imports and consequent supra-regional contacts present at the Ipf.

### Excavations by Gerhard Bersu (1911-1930)

Bersu's excavations exposed five settlement layers and ground plans that date from the middle Neolithic to early Celtic times (5th century BC). The most



Plan of the excavations carried out by Bersu with the settlement of the Early Iron Age (Hallstatt period). After Parzinger, 1998



The western edge of the Nördlinger Ries with the Goldberg in the foreground and the Ipf in the background. Photo Otto Braasch, 1992

important archaeological contexts show the remains of a plateau surrounded by an earthen-and-wooden wall enclosing an area of at least 4 hectares. Ever since Bersu's time, this area has been interpreted as the seat of the person in command of the hillfort. In its form and significance, this site has been compared to complexes that are enclosed with palisades and ditches, that is, the 'Herrenhöfe' or so-called enclosed 'manors' of the Late Hallstatt period in southern Bavaria.

### Settlement structures

Bersu uncovered a wooden earthen wall of the Hallstatt period that had surrounded the plateau. In the northeast corner of the plateau there was an area measuring at least 40 m by 50 m, enclosed by palisade ditches, with a large building complex, each with massive post pits.

In House 1, of trapezoidal ground plan (12 m by 14 m), the posts were set close together in a wide wall trench. These buildings differ from the development on the rest of the plateau, where two- and three-aisled post buildings formed individual farmsteads. Bersu interpreted the separated area as the seat of the lord of the castle and interpreted the differences in the ground plan architecture as an expression of social differentiation. He went even further by describing the Goldberg against the background of the mighty Ipf as a 'dynastic castle' or 'dynastic dwelling'. Bersu described the farmsteads as the courtyards of the 'independent followers of the dynasts'. For the topographically more prominent Ipf, Bersu assumed a 'royal castle' to which a number of smaller 'princely castles' belonged, such as the one on the Goldberg.





Bersu

### Gerhard Bersu (1889–1964)

Bersu was born in Silesia in 1889 to a Jewish father, later digging in several European countries such as France, Switzerland (e.g. Wittnauer Horn), Italy and Greece and notably under Hubert Schmidt at Cucuteni in Romania. During the First World War, he worked for the Office for the Protection of Monuments and Collections on the Western Front. In 1924, he began working with the German Archaeological Institute at Frankfurt-am-Main. In 1928, he rose to become the institution's Second Director and oversaw the acquisition of new buildings creating a centre where scholars from all Europe and beyond met to discuss the problems of archaeology under his guidance.

After the Nuremberg Laws were passed in 1935, Bersu was forced to resign his post as a director because of his Jewish heritage. He was reassigned to a lower position at the German Archaeological Institute as Officer of Excavations, Berlin in 1935 and then was forced to retire later that year. On the invitation of English colleagues (e.g. OGS Crawford), he spent 1938 and 1939 undertaking the ground-breaking excavations at Little Woodbury, and between 1940 and 1947 revolutionised knowledge of the Isle of Man. This work transformed many methods and interpretations of British prehistoric archaeology. After the war ended, Bersu was offered the Chair of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin and remained there until 1950 when he returned to Germany, taking up his former post at the Institute until retirement in 1956.

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## The Troyes Plain from the Neolithic to the start of the Middle Ages

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An ancient capital of Champagne and major economic centre in the medieval West through its fairs, Troyes is still the second largest city in the former Champagne-Ardenne region. Economic activity has generated numerous archaeological discoveries since the 2000s, thanks to the exploration of over 1,500 ha. Around 1,000 occupation phases have thus been recorded in the zone covered by the Plaine de Troyes research project.

Like the pioneering work of Cyril Fox, the project investigated changing patterns of settlement in this part of the upper Seine basin through a long period of time: from

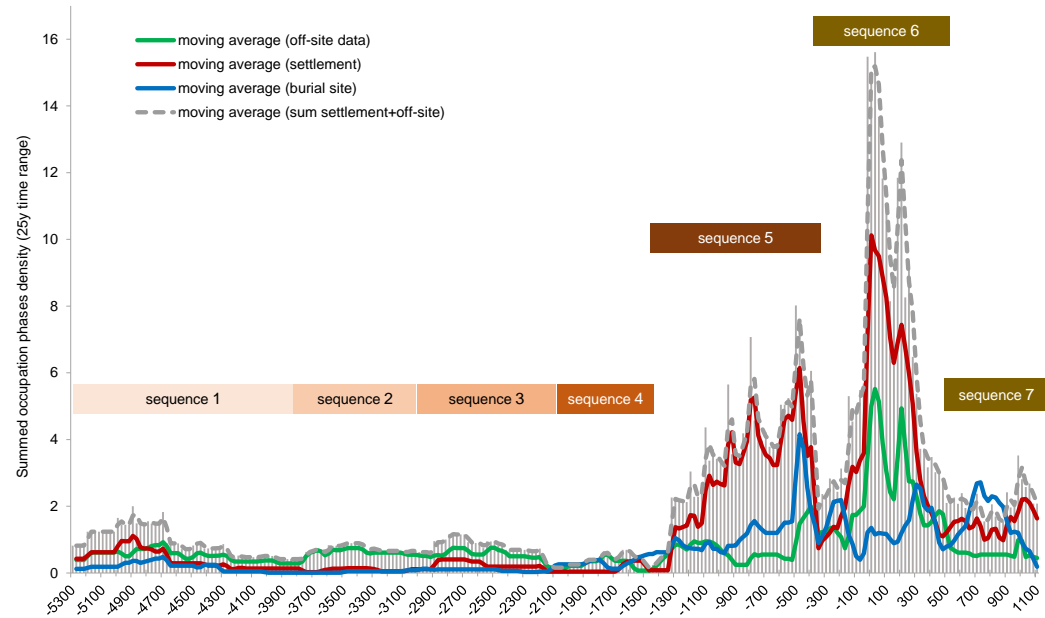
the first farmers of the early Neolithic at around 5300 BCE to the network of villages attracted by the city of Troyes at the time of the first earls of Champagne. The major trends, analysed through a variety of methodological approaches, ranging from traditional to statistical, suggest a development in three main periods, each divided into different sequences.

### A population basin since the Neolithic

The timeline of settlement in this part of the Seine valley reflects the major changes seen elsewhere in the



The Troyes plain at nightfall; in the foreground are the gently sloped hills of the Pays d'Othe. Photo V. Riquier



Major changes over the all period and sequences deducted from the summed occupation phases density, by main type of occupation. V. Riquier.

eastern Paris basin: a rapid Neolithic colonisation, benefiting from an environment well-suited to the LBK farming model, then a cultural and material crisis at the end of the 3rd millennium after a long initial stage of territorial expansion, then a demographic and economic boom starting in the late Bronze Age, around the 14th century BCE, fuelled by a resilient agricultural system.

### Signs of an urban centre in the Iron Age

Between the late Bronze Age and the start of the late Iron Age, clusters of settlement appear in some sectors of the Troyes plain, although these are not true embryonic towns. The princely grave at Lavau is one of the latest and most spectacular examples to date of these local potentates, influenced by the urbanised Mediterranean world.

### The emergence of the city of Troyes

Developing after the Conquest, around 50 BCE, the town then takes the name Augustobona and becomes the centre of the small civitas of the Tricasses, separated from the Senones. The regional importance of the town is underlined in the 4th century by its episcopal status and the presence in its surroundings of suburban abbeys and rural monasteries.

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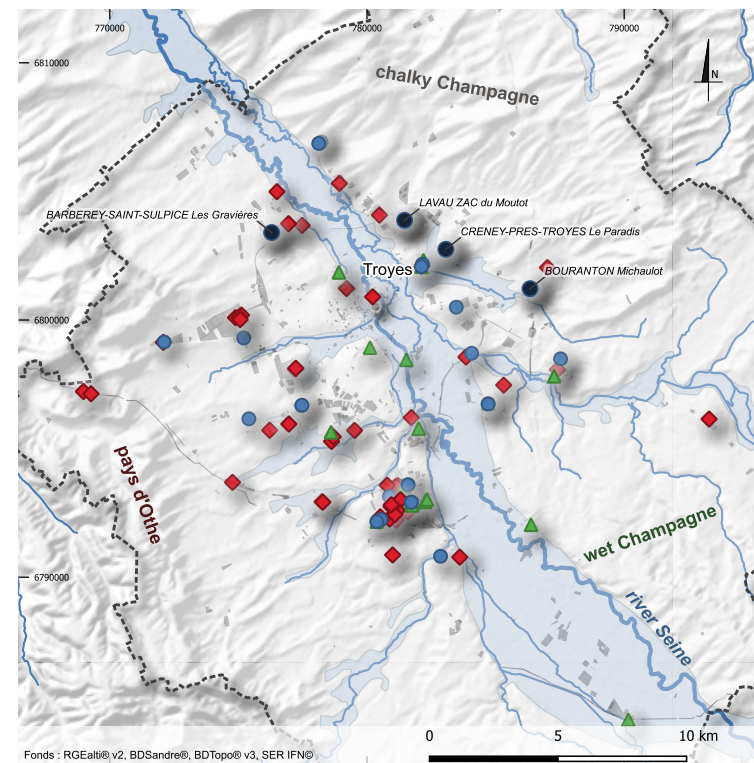
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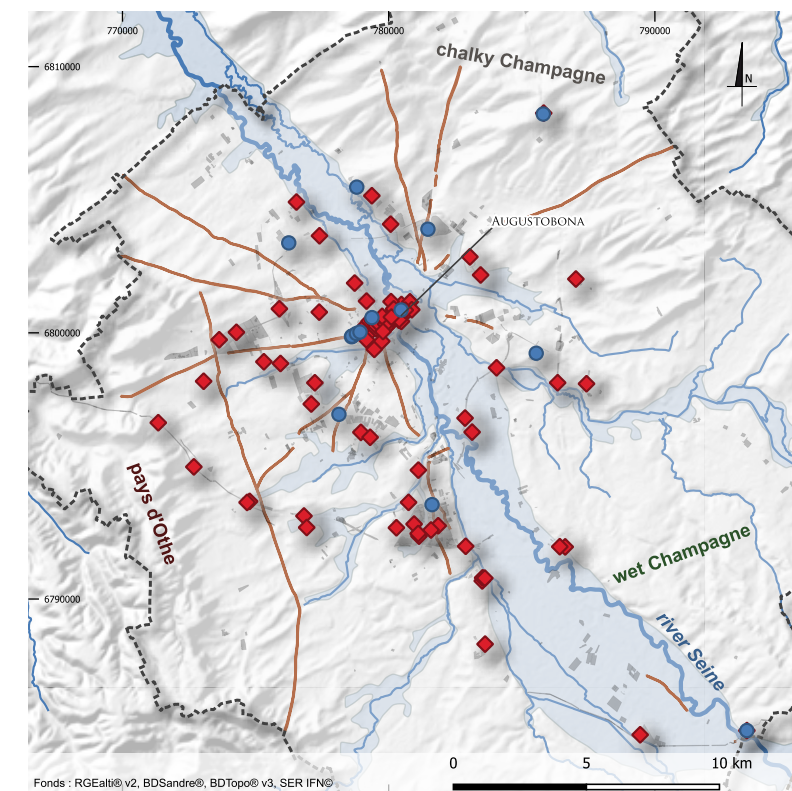
Text translated by Mike Ilett



Map of the settlements and the verified burial sites (aerial data not included) dated to the late 7th until the earlier 5th centuries BCE, corresponding to the stages of the 'celtic princely times'

#### Map key

- Occupation phases categories
- ◆ settlement
- ▲ off-site
- burial site
- aristocratic grave
- roman roads
- Excavation areas
- Project boundary
- Main watercourses
- Wet zones



Map of the settlements, burial sites and attested roads surrounding Augustobona (1st–2nd centuries AD)



# Funerary spaces, habitats and territories at the beginning of the 2nd millennium between Caen and the sea

Cyril Marcigny

Inrap: Institut national de recherches archéologiques préventives

The area around Caen (France, Normandy) is one of the 'open-air laboratories of preventive archaeology'. This area of some 7,000 hectares is regularly the subject of archaeological surveys and excavations, which mainly uncover protohistoric sites dating from the Early Neolithic (Rubané récent) to the early Roman period. It therefore offers a good window of opportunity for archaeological observations, enabling the modelling of occupations, whether funerary or domestic: habitats, agricultural production areas, traffic areas, etc.

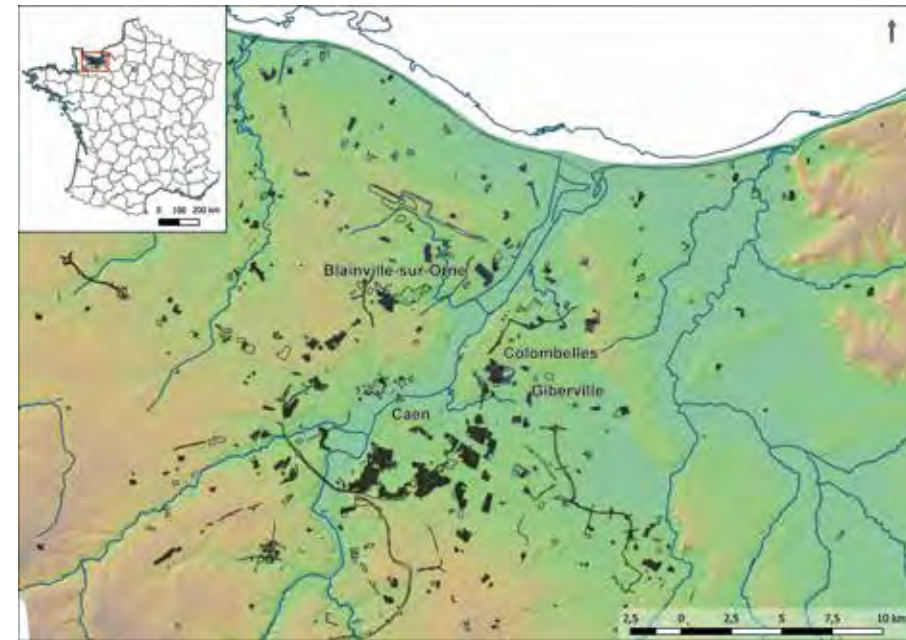
## A test area, a test period

Since 2010, greater involvement of preventive archaeology in the twelve-kilometre area between Caen and the sea has enabled us to make the link between the well-known occupations on the coastal fringe and those further inland, in particular the sites on the southern outskirts of the city. The diagnostics and excavations, carried out over a period of just under fifteen years, gradually revealed numerous occupations belonging to a chronological period that had hitherto been poorly

represented in the region, the second half of the Early Bronze Age between 2100 and 1600 BC. The increase in the number and diversity of discoveries has enabled us to update our knowledge and sketch out the first models of settlement and social organisation. This micro-region of less than 4,000 ha has gradually emerged as a sector that can 'measure up' to other European areas rich in data, such as parts of southern England (Wessex or Kent), Germany (Thuringia) or France in the Auvergne (the Grande Limagne basin in Clermont Ferrand), among others.

## An exhaustive study

The interest of the excavations carried out between Caen and the sea, in comparison with these regions, is the topographical continuity of the studies, since, as development took place, the land was gradually artificialized and made the subject of vast worksites before the remains were destroyed. As a result, several hundred hectares of almost continuous land were gradually investigated, using an almost identical protocol: exhaustive excavation, anthropological study, extensive use



Excavations around Caen (GIS, C. Marcigny, Inrap)



Colombelles, Le Lazzaro, Aerial view of one of the Early Bronze Age sites: on the left, the habitat, in the centre a path and on the right a necropolis with circular plan enclosures and numerous tombs (at the top of the field boundaries) (photos by O. Morin, HagueDrone, for Inrap)



*Giberville, Clopée, arrowheads found during the excavation of an aristocratic tomb. They were associated with a dagger and an amber bead (photos by C. Nicolas)*

of radiocarbon dating (followed by a Bayesian approach) from the diagnostic phase onwards, and archaeozoological, ceramic and lithic corpus examined using the same reading grid. The people working in the field or post-excavation also belong to the same teams, enabling us to develop research that is better problematised over the long term and not renewed with each intervention.

With this kind of protocol, it has been possible to follow the many lines of ditches that cut up the landscape during the Bronze Age: agrarian planimetries, pathways, ditched axes that are more difficult to interpret, and so on. At the end of this first major decade of work, it

is possible to propose a scenario for the functioning of the territory from Early Bronze Age II to the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age.

Over this period of time, we are witnessing the regional foundation of paradigmatic territories based on a shared vision of the world thanks to strong structural components ('banquet enclosures', enclosed farms vs. unenclosed farms, rich vs. poor tombs, tumulus vs. flat tombs, etc.) based on the very strong social stratification at the end of the 3rd/beginning of the 2nd millennium BC; this phenomenon echoes other contemporary groups such as for example in Wessex.

## **Gubbio revisited**

Simon Stoddart, Marianna Negro,  
Nick Whitehead, Caroline Malone  
& Letizia Ceccarelli

Magdalene College, University of Cambridge,  
Queen's University Belfast and Politecnico di Milano



### **Early research**

Two very near contemporaries dominate the early study of the landscape of Gubbio. The first, Giuseppe Bellucci (1844–1921), was Professor of Chemistry and Rector of the University of Perugia. Alongside his academic studies, he was a passionate collector of artefacts, with a particular focus on chert artefacts and figurines redeployed in Italian

ethnographic contexts. His immense collection is on permanent display in the National Museum of Archaeology in Perugia. The second, Vittorio Pagliari (1846–1923) was a priest of the frazione di Serrabrunamonti. During this time he was an avid collector of some 2,000 chert artefacts which he published as the *Età della pietra* in Gubbio in 1885. The weight of the work was on their typology rather than their place in the landscape.



*Giuseppe Bellucci (Richard Hodges)*

*Coat of Arms of the Pagliari family*





Monte Ingino (Luigi Magnini)

### The 20th century and the Gubbio Project

Another principal area of research was on the Roman town, whose theatre had never been lost. This was the purported location of the discovery of the Iguvine Tables as early as 1444. In the twentieth century many discoveries were made in the urban area, particularly as the city of Gubbio expanded after the 1980s.

The Gubbio project (1983–8), focused on the excavation of the two summits of Ingino and Ansciano, uncovered the first evidence for a nucleation in the late second millennium BC. It also undertook a timely study of the Gubbio valley before urban expansion and the full weight of agricultural damage.

### The 21st century

In the twenty-first century, the steady study of the urban centre has continued. The town has continued to be uncovered,

most notably in the form of cemeteries of various periods along the approach roads to the city. The location of San Biagio was the focus of the earliest funerary record. Clear evidence of clusters of villages dating to the late second millennium BC have been discovered on the lower slopes of Monte Ingino and Ansciano, alongside a small cemetery.

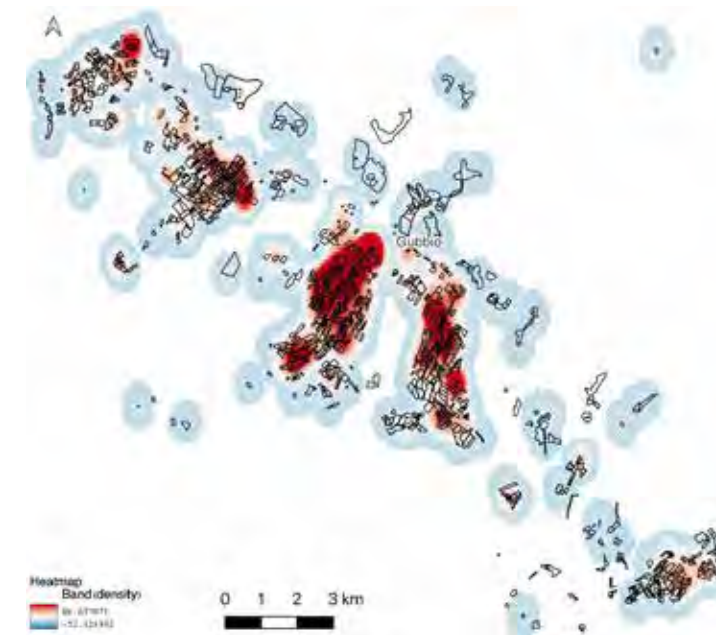
### Gubbio revisited

The Gubbio project has also been revisited. The main publication of 1994, *Territory, Time and State*, concentrated on the excavations undertaken on Monte Ingino, Monte Ansciano and in the valley at San Marco. The full detail of the regional survey has had to await further study in the last few years, both by re-examination of the ceramic materials and by full digitisation of the paper record. This chronological and digital approach is bringing to light new information about the density of rural

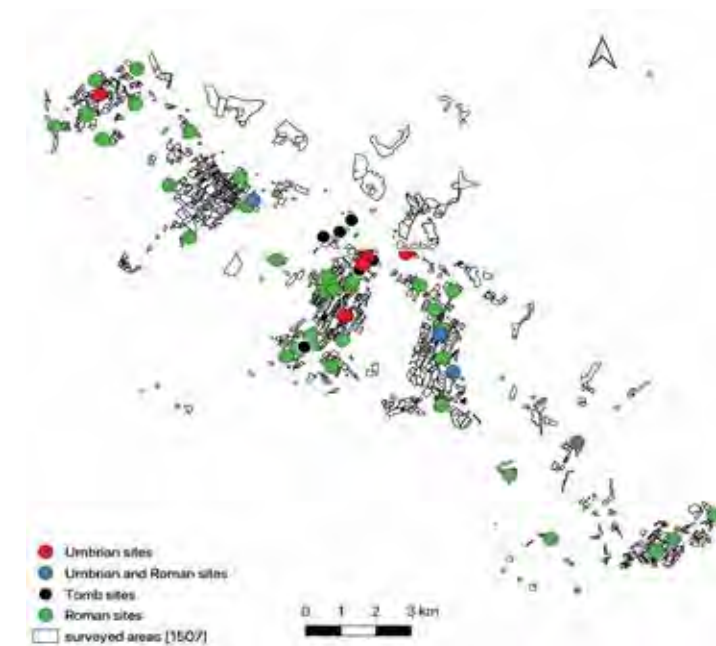
occupation through the various phases of the late first millennium BC and early first millennium AD. In conjunction with this work, new scientific techniques such as isotopes and DNA, as well as more precise radiocarbon dating, are being applied to large faunal deposits from Ingino and

Ansciano. In the course of this work, the archaeological archive, both material and documentary, is being brought into order for the next generation of scholars.

**Acknowledgements**  
British Academy, Soprintendenza, Magdalene College, Biblioteca Sperelliana



Heat map



'Sites' and fields surveyed



## Making a mark: the inheritance of A.E. van Giffen in Dutch archaeology

Daan Raemaekers

Groningen Institute of Archaeology

Until A.E. van Giffen's appointment at the University of Groningen in 1917, excavations in the Netherlands were the sole responsibility of the National Museum of Antiquities. Van Giffen's organisational qualities resulted in the establishment of the Biologisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in 1920 of which he became the first director. While he excavated in several European countries, and most Dutch provinces, his main effort related to the three northern provinces. Here, he excavated mostly prehistoric burial monuments, but he also organised a multi-year excavation of a large part of the Ezinge dwelling mound, located in the coastal marshlands.

The destruction of the dwelling mounds (terpen) in the coastal area of the northern Netherlands from the 19th century onwards provided fertile soil for the sandy areas further inland. From the start, these activities yielded archaeological finds that ended up in private and museum collections. At Ezinge, Van Giffen turned the world around. In 1931–34, he excavated a large

part of Ezinge and co-financed this by selling the excavated soil. His team documented a series of superimposed settlement phases dating from the pre-Roman Iron Age onwards. Ever since, Ezinge provides the interpretative framework of Dutch terp archaeology.

His work on the Dutch Neolithic megalithic tombs (Hunebedden) also has a monumental character, thanks to his intensive and life-long involvement with these monuments. In 1918, he documented all tombs with high-quality drawings and photos. And he started excavating smaller or larger parts of the tombs, focusing on the chambers, their entrances and the presence of now missing kerb stones. This resulted in a monograph in three volumes (1927), of which the A3 size volume with the 1918 drawings and photos remains a framework for all later developments at these sites. He took the initiative to turn their immediate surroundings into nature reserves, advised municipalities with panting schemes and made yearly reports on their state.



The excavation at Ezinge yielded a large number of houseplans of which the wooden poles and wickerwork had been preserved below younger terp layers



The excavation of tomb D40 in 1921. Over the years, Van Giffen developed his own standard excavation procedure in which the documentation of sections and surfaces was optimized



# Cerveteri and its territory

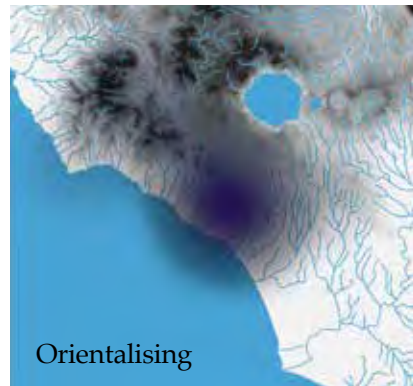
Camilla Zeviani

Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge

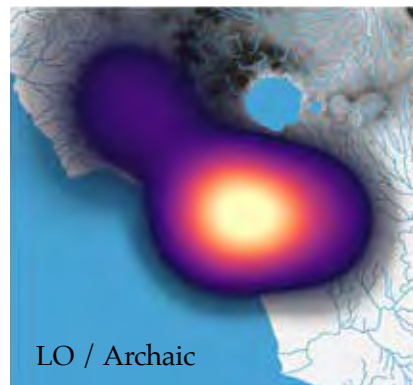
Great attention has been dedicated to the study of Cerveteri's numerous and rich necropoleis, as well as to its sacred areas situated on the plateau.

Information on Cerveteri's territory comes from several archaeological surveys. First explorations of the landscape around the Vignali plateau were conducted by Raniero Mengarelli at the start of the 20th century. His survey was then revisited by the CNR under the guidance of Giuliana Nardi (Cristofani et al., 1988), as a part of the development of landscape studies in Italy post-1950s. The two surveys explored the region of the Ceriti Hills north of the plateau. These were then followed by investigations carried out in the '90s by Tartara and Enei (Tartara 1999; Enei 2001b), in the southeast portions of the territory towards the river Arrone. The picture was completed by the investigation of the Tolfa Hills district, on the frontier between Cerveteri's and Tarquinia's hinterlands (Naso & Zifferero 1985; Zifferero 1990a; 2005). The surveys were included in the Palmisano et al. (2018) dataset, except the Tolfa Hills sites which were added in the present study.

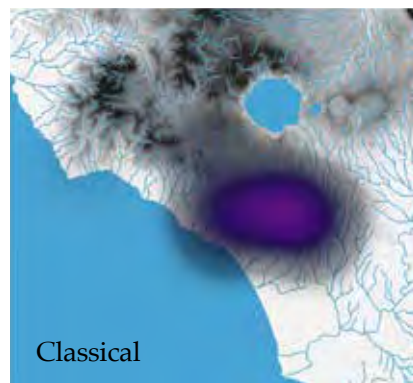
During the Early Iron Age, Etruria was defined by a general emptying of the countryside, a consequence of urban nucleation, most likely an effort made by Etruscan descent groups to seek



Orientalising

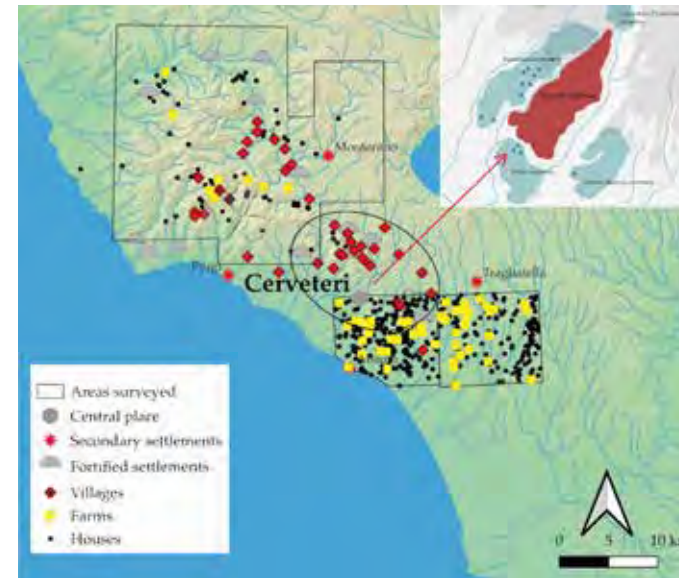
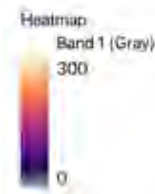


LO / Archaic

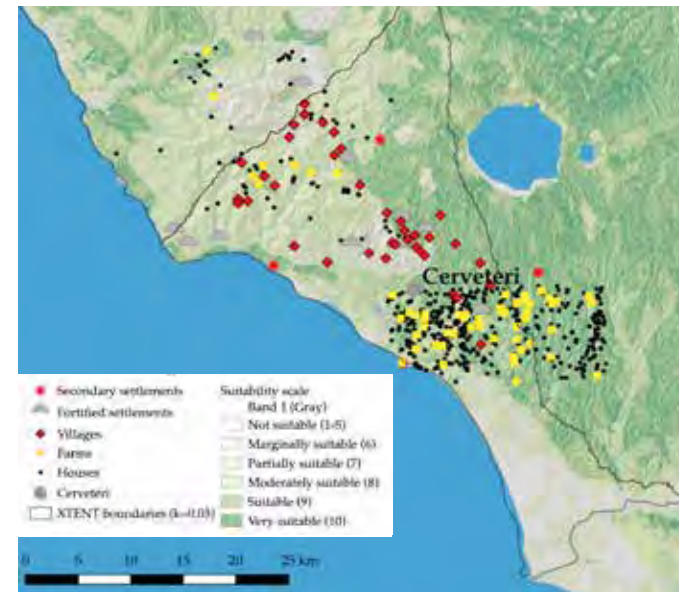


Classical

Heatmap showing density of sites during the Orientalising, Archaic and Classical periods (7th to 4th century BCE).



Site distribution around Cerveteri found in surveys led in its territory (Nardi 1988; Naso & Zifferero 1990; Tartara 1999; Enei 2001b). Top right: the Vignali plateau where ancient (and modern) Cerveteri is located (in red). Surrounding cemeteries are indicated in light blue



Suitable land for Mediterranean polyculture (wheat, legumes, olive groves and vineyards). Particularly fertile was the southern portion of the territory where a dense settlement pattern was established, while less suitable was the northern frontier, which was more sparsely settled via nucleated centres. This region was rich in metal resources and was therefore a highly contested area

collective and personal advantages. The density of sites around the centre changed dramatically in the course of the city's development, from an initial landscape reclaim in the 7th century BC, reaching a peak in the 6th century. Surveys revealed a stepped hierarchy of different types of settlements, from humble houses, to richer farms and clustered settlements, in particular on the northern frontier of the territory. Borders were also highlighted by fortified settlements. The number of sites contracted again in the Classical period, remaining concentrated around the city in particular.

The reoccupation of the countryside privileged agriculturally suitable areas, in particular in the southeast portion of the territory.

The Tolfa Hills district to the north was strategically advantageous, suitable for intensive crops (olive groves and vineyards), as well as being an important mining district at the margins of two major territories (Cerveteri and Tarquinia).

Cerveteri was strictly tied to its dominance of the sea. Goods traded were those tied to the land, especially wine and oil. The spread of those products and their conservation is manifested in the rural sites, in the large storage and transport wares that define the ceramic assemblage.



# Heuneburg: settlement and cultural landscape development during the Hallstatt and Early La Tène periods

Q. Sueur, L. Hansen, R. Tarpini & D. Krausse

Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart / State Office for Cultural Heritage Baden-Wuerttemberg

## Beyond the walls of the citadel

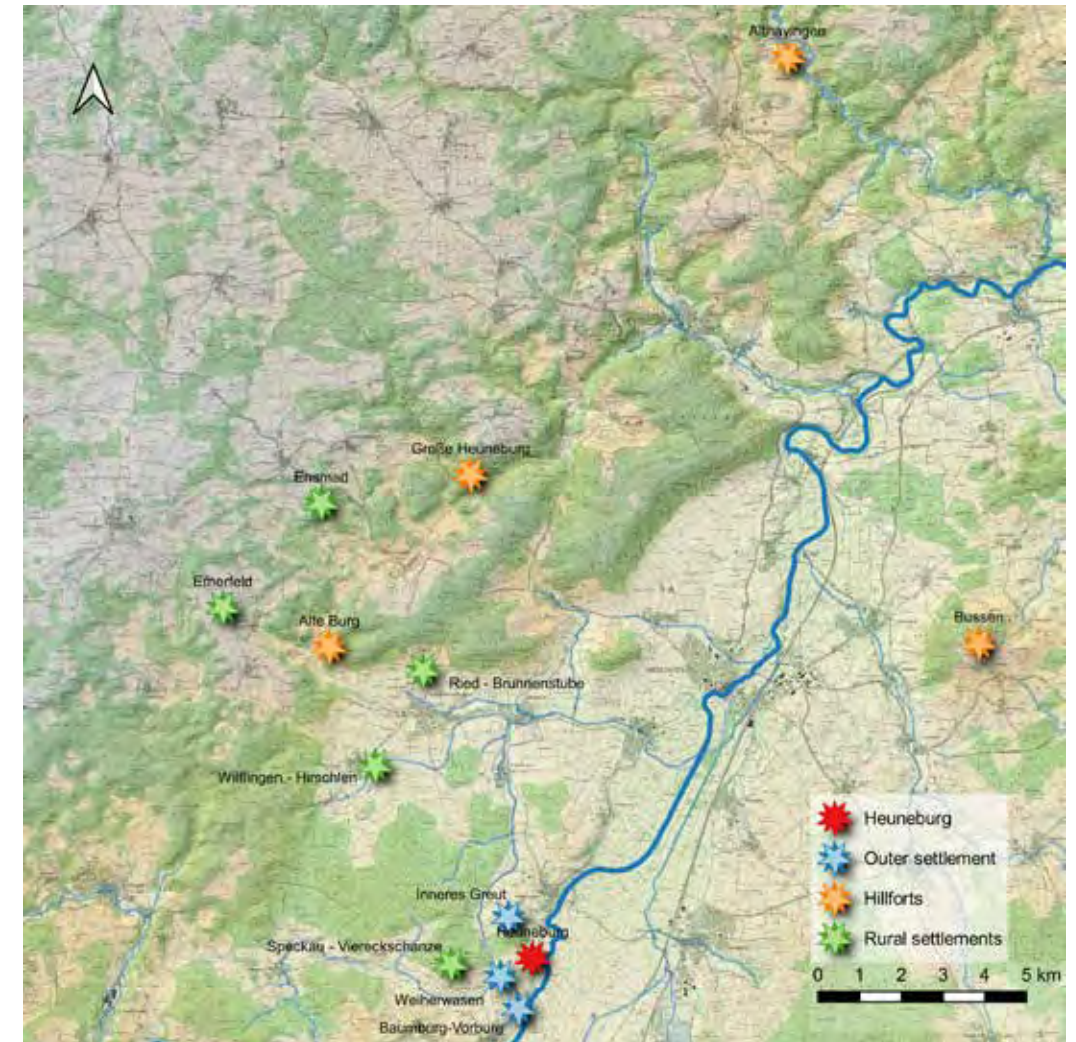
The Heuneburg in Herbertingen-Hundersingen (Baden-Württemberg) on the upper Danube is one of Europe's major Early Iron Age sites of international renown. Archaeological research on the site has a long tradition, with the first excavations within the citadel

taking place in 1921 and intensifying and professionalising from the 1950s onwards. However, the Heuneburg citadel and its rich surrounding burial mounds are only a small part of a much larger and more complex whole.

Since 2014, the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) has been funding a research project led by



Excavation in Herbertingen-Hundersingen 'Weiherwasen' in the outer settlement of the Heuneburg  
© Christoph Steffen / Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart



Excavated archaeological sites within the investigation project. © Quentin Sueur / Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart

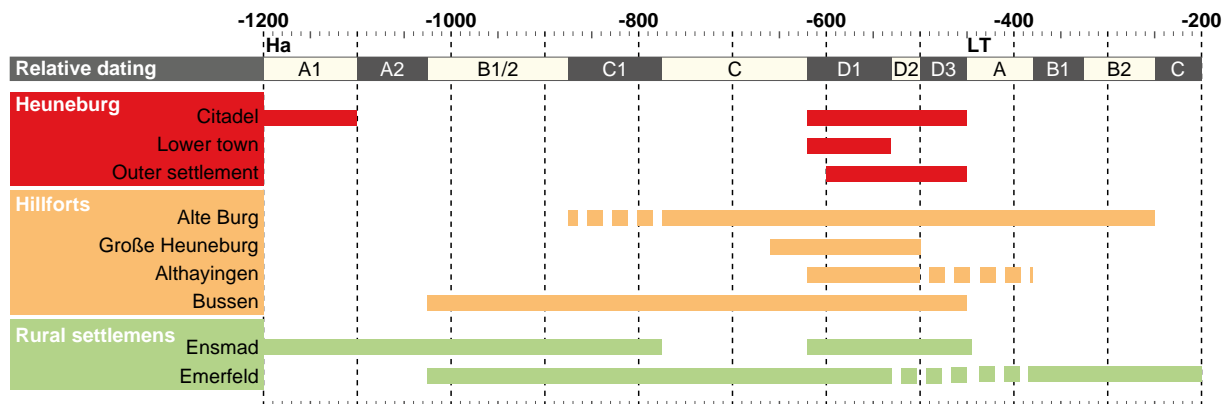
the Landesamt für Denkmalpflege in Baden-Württemberg on the development of settlement patterns and the cultural landscape in the environs of the Heuneburg during the Hallstatt and Early La Tène periods.

## An ambitious research programme

The programme is based on major field survey campaigns and benefits from

a wide range of remote sensing tools applied to archaeology, such as geophysics, aerial photography and LIDAR. Since 2014, almost 9 km<sup>2</sup> have been covered by fieldwalking and 240 ha have been geomagnetically surveyed within a 30 km radius of the Heuneburg. These preliminary inquiries made it possible to better target the sites selected for archaeological excavations. Fifteen separate sites were excavated as part of





Chronology of the archaeological sites excavated within the investigation project.  
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the research project, three in the outer settlement of the Heuneburg (Ertingen-Binzwangen 'Inneres Greut' 2015 and 2020, Herberdingen-Hundersingen 'Baumburg-Vorburg' 2021 und 'Weiherwasen' 2021–22), five hillforts (Langenenslingen 'Alte Burg' 2014–20, Zwiefalten-Upflamör 'Große Heuneburg' 2016–18, Uttenweiler-Offingen 'Bussen' 2019–21, Hayingen-Indelhausen 'Althayingen' 2021–23, Ravensburg-Schmalegg 'Rinkenburg' 2023), six rural settlements (Altheim-Heiligkreuztal 'Speckhau' 2014–15, Langenenslingen 'Ried' and 'Brunnenstube' 2015, Langenenslingen-Wilflingen 'Hirschlen' 2015, Langenenslingen-Ittenhausen 'Ensmad' 2016–18, Langenenslingen-Emerfeld 'Kirschbäume', 'Zwirnen' and 'Riedwiesen' 2018–23), and a sacred place with votive offerings from the late Bronze Age and the early Iron Age (Ostrach-Laubbach 'Laubbacher Holz' 2023).

On the whole, these sites are linked to the Heuneburg's sphere of influence. Certain characteristic products, such as white ground, red-grey painted ceramic wares with geometric patterns, probably

produced in the vicinity of the citadel, are widely distributed there. The Heuneburg is now seen as a regional centre of power, supported economically and politically by a network of hillforts and rural settlements within an extensive territory. The site's position on the upper reaches of the Danube also played a key role in controlling trade at the crossroads of several major river and land routes.

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## A network of hillforts around the Heuneburg during the Early Iron Age

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Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart  
/ State Office for Cultural Heritage Baden-Wuerttemberg



### Langenenslingen 'Alte Burg'

Between 2014 and 2020, around twenty excavation trenches were opened in order to unravel the mystery of this very special complex 9 km northwest of the Heuneburg. It is characterised by a considerable reshaping of the landscape, having required a very substantial material and human

investment. Despite the exceptionally imposing enclosure system, no settlement structures have been identified and access to water is problematic onsite. The archaeological finds, dating from the 9th to the 3rd centuries BC, are very few for a site of this scale. Everything seems to point to a gathering place for collective religious, political or economic activities.



Langenenslingen 'Alte Burg'. © Ingo Rack / Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart



Zwiefalten-Upflamör 'Große Heuneburg'. © Otto Braasch / Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart

### Zwiefalten-Upflamör 'Große Heuneburg'

On the Große Heuneburg, 12 km north of the Heuneburg, three archaeological campaigns took place between 2016 and 2018. Like the Alte Burg, it is characterised by a system of monumental dry-stone walls. The complex comprises two areas, measuring 5.1 ha and 1.5 ha respectively, separated by an imposing 17 m wide ditch. A ditch, 9 m wide and 2.6 m deep, supports fortification of the minor area. Settlement remains and a significant number of artefacts date the main enclosure to the 7th to 6th century BC. Given its proximity with the Heuneburg, it is likely that the Große Heuneburg played a part in the administrative and political organisation of the surrounding area.

### Uttenweiler-Offingen 'Bussen'

This emblematic hilltop site, 13 km northeast of the Heuneburg, rises 766.7 m above sea level, towering over the Danube plain. Its elongated summit is divided by ditches into three parts. In 2016, the discovery of a rich Early Iron Age burial site at Unlingen, 3.5 km to the northwest, suggests the site's importance as early as the protohistoric period. Excavations between 2019 and 2021 in the central part of the heights yielded almost 500 kg of finds ranging from the late Neolithic to the late Middle Age, with exceptional preserved faunal remains. The presence of a protohistoric settlement between the Late Bronze Age and the heyday of the Heuneburg raises the question of possible competition between the two sites.

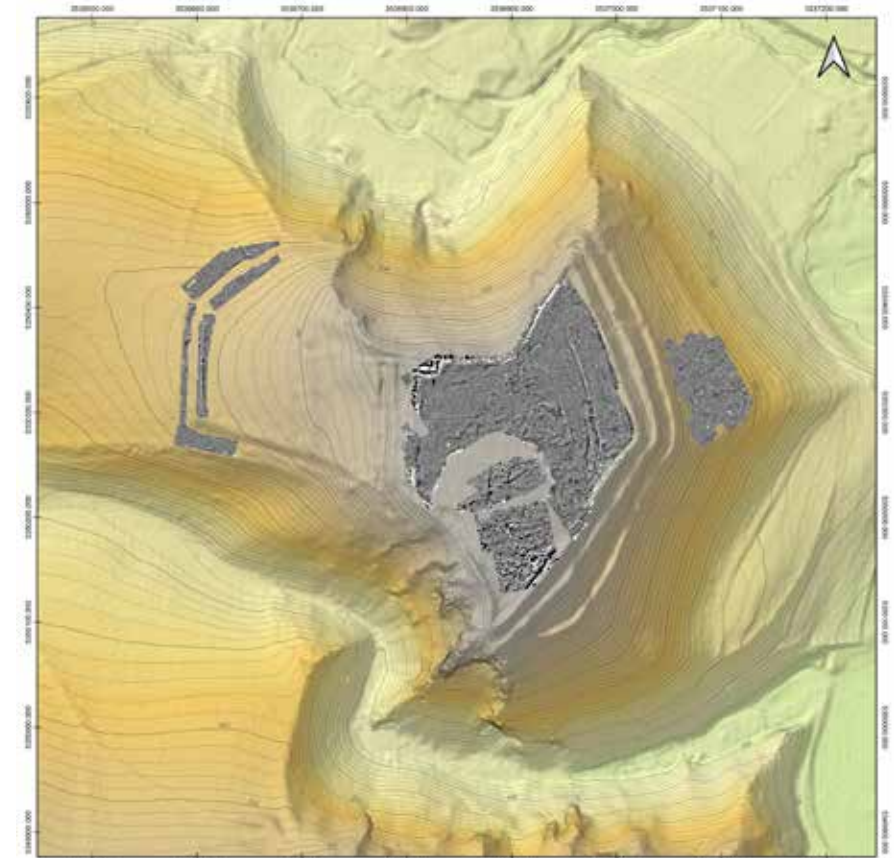
### Hayingen-Indelhausen 'Althayingen'

Situated 23 km north of the Heuneburg, the Althayingen hillfort on the Lauter River is of impressive dimensions. The site consists of a lower part of around 3 ha, crossed by several parallel defensive embankments, and a pentagonal upper fortified part of around 4 ha protected additionally on the east by two parallel ramparts, each of them supported by an imposing ditch. By the middle of the last century, stone mounds in the southern part of the height yielded several late Hallstatt and early La Tène ceramic and bronze finds. Excavations carried out between 2021 and 2023 revealed a dry-stone fortification wall running

around the upper part of the site, as well as a possible monumental gateway. The material unearthed places this defensive system in the 6th century BC, during the main occupation phase of the Heuneburg.

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Hayingen-Indelhausen 'Althayingen'. © Quentin Sueur / Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart



## Producer sites: rural settlements around the Heuneburg

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/ State Office for Cultural Heritage Baden-Wuerttemberg

Finding rural settlements linked to the Heuneburg is problematic, as the landscape surrounding the site is so vast, offering numerous possibilities for habitation, both on the Danube plain and in the heights of the Swabian Jura. The fieldwalking and geophysical survey organized since 2014 allowed us to identify a number of sites suitable for human settlement.

### Langenenslingen-Ittenhausen 'Ensmad'

From 2016 to 2018 ten trenches covering a total area of 700m<sup>2</sup> were opened at 'Ensmad', 12 km northwest of the Heuneburg. The site yielded some forty structures, including several postholes and large storage pits up to 3.8 m in diameter and over 2 m deep. Despite a



Langenenslingen-Ittenhausen, 'Ensmad'. © Wilhelm Weiher / Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart



Langenenslingen-Ittenhausen, 'Emerfeld'. © Jörn Heimann / Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart

large quantity of Bronze Age and Early Iron Age finds, most of the structures excavated, especially the storage pits, date from the 4th and 2nd centuries BC, as both 14C data and metal finds confirm. On the ground of one of the storage pits the skeleton of a young pig dated from the early to the middle La Tène period has been found.

### Langenenslingen-Emerfeld 'Kirschbäume', 'Zwirnen' and 'Riedwiesen'

In 2017, geophysical surveys conducted at Emerfeld, 11 km northwest of the

Heuneburg, over an area of almost 30 ha, have revealed the presence of several buildings on posts and systems of palisades. Excavations carried out between 2018 and 2023 have made it possible to date the occupation to the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age. The structures uncovered go far beyond a simple rural settlement, with a battery of five cooking pits and an enclosure that housed offerings, including a pair of deer antlers, all pointing to the organisation of collective events of a cultic or political nature. The presence of a spring nearby, particularly rare in

the Swabian Jura, perhaps justifies this type of practice.

The organisation of festive events attended by large numbers of people prefigures the emergence of central powers capable of mobilising a large population, of which the Heuneburg is one of the most impressive expressions.

### Ostrach-Laubbach 'Laubbacher Holz'

The site lies on the eastern edge of the Pfrunger Ried, a now dry lake south of the Heuneburg on the watershed between the Danube and the Rhine, which may have served as an important communication axe. The 'Laubbacher Holz' promontory is not strictly speaking a rural settlement. However, the numerous sherds of pottery discovered on the surface during surveys in the 1990s and 2000s indicate the presence of human activity between the

Middle Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. An excavation carried out in 2023 confirmed the special nature of the site. It appears to have been used for cultic practices, with numerous ceramic vessels being deposited, especially storage vessels from the Bronze Age and drinking vessels from the Early Iron Age.

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Ostrach-Laubbach 'Laubbacher Holz'.  
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## Long-term landscape archaeological analysis in the far west of Europe

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Extremadura is one of the largest autonomous regions that comprise the Spanish state. Broadly speaking, it covers the southwestern quadrant of the Iberian Peninsula. It is therefore an administrative delimitation inherited from the 19th century, which contains a great diversity of landscapes. However, globally it is a territory with a geographical coherence that has been

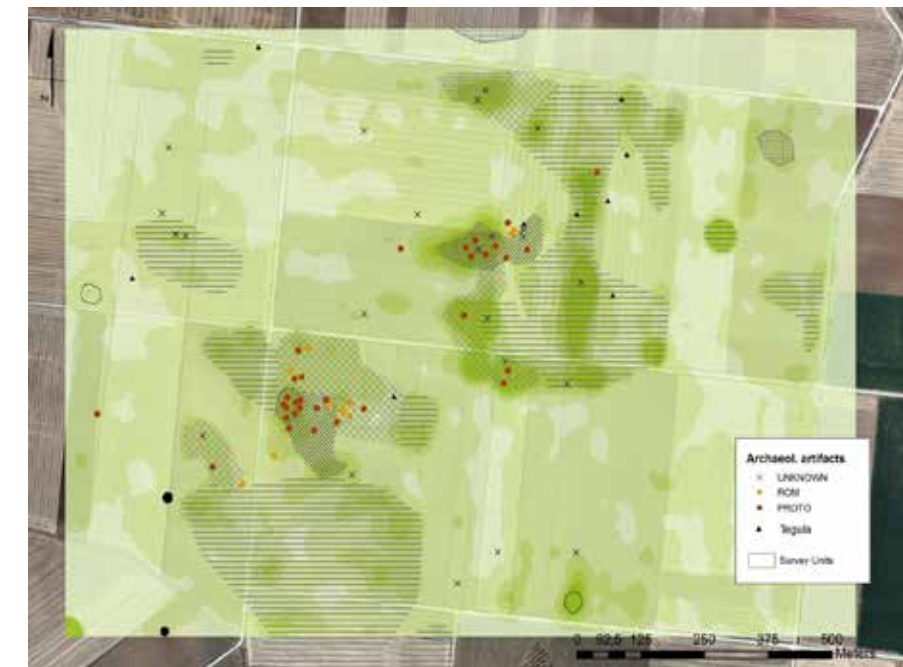
forged across centuries based on its location. The main features that define this geographical identity are:

- A natural pathway towards the Atlantic façade, where the Portuguese border is just an artificial line.
- A crossroads that connects the west with the Mediterranean and the interior of the Iberian Peninsula



Location of Extremadura within the Iberian Peninsula

Spatial analysis of Surface evidence of small Iron Age and Roman rural settlements in the area of Medellín





*Pedestrian survey in the fields of Extremadura*

- A natural south–north Axis along the western façade. It is the so-called ‘silver road’, a corridor for shepherds, merchants and armies from Prehistoric to Medieval times.

Archaeological research of this vast territory has traditionally suffered from the lack of global studies considering longue durée historical processes.

The research agenda only looked at the landscape dimension from the 1980s onwards. Even then, studies focused on specific periods, mainly recent prehistory, such as the beginning of the Iron Age and the Roman period. Chapters on rural settlement in the Islamic or medieval Christian period are yet to be written. An artificial division persists between the work of historians, focused on written

sources, and a landscape archaeology approach. Therefore, we have the global picture of the network of main settlements across time, but we still need a closer look at the less conspicuous but by far more common traces of rural life and land use.

In this context, the work we have been developing at the Merida Institute of Archaeology, has persevered in offering a richer and more detailed understanding of the occupation and transformation of the landscape. This has been achieved through an intensive analysis of geographically coherent spaces at a micro-regional scale. We think this is the only way to obtain a high-resolution image of patterns of land use and changing nature of activity areas.

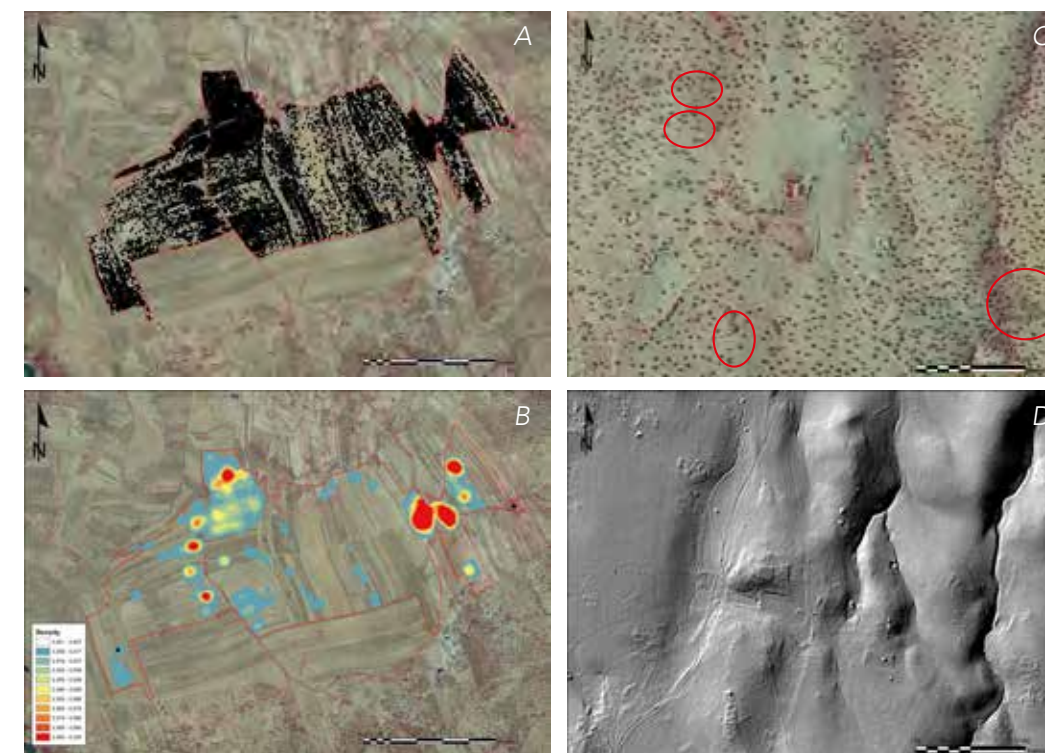
Methodologically, it implies leaving an approach based on the concepts of sites and ‘settlement patterns’ to tackle human activity as a continuum and explore the off-site dimension. To reach this objective, great emphasis was placed on improving survey methods. We adopted an experimental approach that sought a way to reliably record the varying density of surface finds. This was combined with the increasing integration of data provided by remote sensing (thermal, multispectral, LiDAR) and geophysics.

With these tools, we have analyzed large areas of the Extremaduran territory, from the oak forests of the highlands of the Tagus valley (the *dehesa*), to the

alluvial plains of rivers such as the Guadiana that concentrate agricultural activity.

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*Integration of non-invasive methods for the intensive exploration of micro-regions in Extremadura. A) Mapping of Surface finds; B) Kernel density estimation of artifact distribution; C) Identification of archaeological sites in the dehesa landscape using aerial images and LiDAR data*



## Trypillia worlds: mega-site practices of early European chalcolithic urbanity (4100-3600 BCE)

Johannes Müller  
Kiel University

Around 4100 BCE, we recognise a phenomenon that is unique for European prehistory: in the area of the central Ukrainian forest steppe, mega-sites develop. With the largest sites of up to 3.2 km<sup>2</sup> in size, and 2,800 simultaneously existing houses, these megasites represent the oldest urban structures in Europe.

Why did these large settlements develop in Chalcolithic agrarian societies without writing and without clearly recognisable social hierarchies? Under what environmental conditions did this take place? What economy guaranteed their existence? Which political institutions

can be reconstructed? Can technical and cultural changes be identified? Why did the giant settlements disappear again?

In order to answer these questions, a large-scale interdisciplinary team of researchers from Kiel University in cooperation with the Institute of Archaeology of the Kiev Academy of Sciences, the Borys Grinchenko Kiev University, the National Museum Chişinău, the Moldova State University of Chişinău, the Legedzine Museum and the Roman-Germanic Commission of the German Archaeological Institute launched an ongoing intensive research



Reconstruction of the Trypillia mega-site of Maidanetske, Central Ukraine

programme in 2012. This field and laboratory work, realized by the Collaborative Research Centre 'Scales of Transformations', is concerned with obtaining overall results for the early phenomenon of large settlements from research in several test regions and work on numerous settlements.

The overall result is phenomenal and surprising: In the past years, 39

sites were geomagnetically prospected and excavations took place at 18 sites. In particular, the large settlements of Maidanetske, Stolniceni, Bilyi Kamin and Trinca were excavated in campaigns lasting numerous years. Not only concentric rows of houses around a central square were discovered, but also alleys, ring corridors, special house complexes and fortifications. Settlement phases enabled the reconstruction of local settlement biographies that go far beyond previous studies.

Scientists from archaeology, archaeobotany, aDNA research, geophysics, archaeozoology, geoarchaeology and ethnoarchaeology were able to use the excavation results to identify the Trypillia megasites as a distinct concept of the early city of non-literate societies that became attractive to many through a sustainable subsistence economy, democratic decision-making processes and artistic realism. While the attractiveness of these settlements over several generations resulted in a melting pot of immigrants from neighbouring regions, the mega-sites disappeared around 3600 BCE, probably due to internal political management problems.

With the new empirical information, which is standing in the long traditions of the results of the first large-scale geophysical and archaeological surveys in the Sinyukha River Basin during the 1970s by Soviet teams, a decolonisation of Trypillia research is possible. Trypillia was and is the projection medium for thinkers of different backgrounds – their ideas can now be verified with the new data.

For further details: <http://trypillia-megasites.com>



Trypillia pottery from Stolniceni, Republic of Moldavia

# 6 After Cambridge

The main content of the exhibition has been on the Cambridge period of Fox, some more recent developments in the Cambridge region and a number of continental comparisons. However, we wanted to illustrate some of the links

into the longer period of his career in Wales. His partnership with Aileen Fox was a very major element of this period, and we also illustrate graphically how a number of the themes of his Welsh career had their first germination in Cambridge.

**Aileen Fox**  
**Patricia Marsh**  
Magdalene College, University of Cambridge



Aileen Fox studied English at Newnham College until 1929, including lectures by IA Richards from Magdalene. The conversion to Archaeology came later through a meeting with Bushe-Fox which took her to the excavations of Richborough and then to the British School at Rome where she would have met Alan Sorrell, who was there on a three-year scholarship. It was he who painted the remarkable picture of Cyril, Aileen and the three boys, Charles, Derek and George.

Already an established archaeologist, she married Cyril Fox in 1933, after the sudden death of his first wife. This brought him an intellectual partnership, a second family, emotional and financial security until his death in 1967. They first made their home in the Cardiff suburbs, close to the Museum where Cyril was based.

Aileen Fox was a remarkable archaeologist in her own right, focused



*The day of Aileen's marriage to Cyril in July 1933 in Chelsea Old Church*



*Their house, The Elms, in the Cardiff Suburb of Rhiwbina, 1933-48*



*Aileen with Cyril and her sons, Charles, Derek and George, painted by Alan Sorrell*



*Examining the Roman wall at South Gate, Exeter*

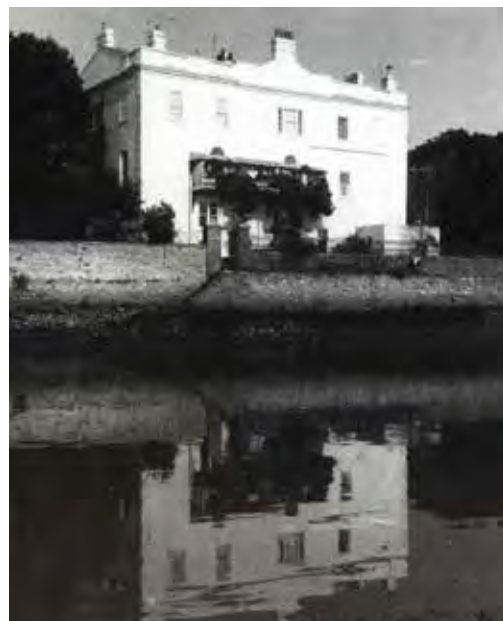
England, undertaking four years of fieldwork on the Maori heritage. On a later trip between 1977 and 1983, she applied her methods of European Iron Age art to the carved Maori burial chests of New Zealand.

Like her husband, Aileen left a powerful legacy in a number of places, most notably in the tradition of archaeology in the South West and in the far distant lands of New Zealand. Aileen was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1944. Exeter University awarded her an honorary doctorate of letters in 1985.

She remained an active presence in the South West well into her 80s.

**Acknowledgements**

We thank Charles and George Fox for supplying the information and photographs.



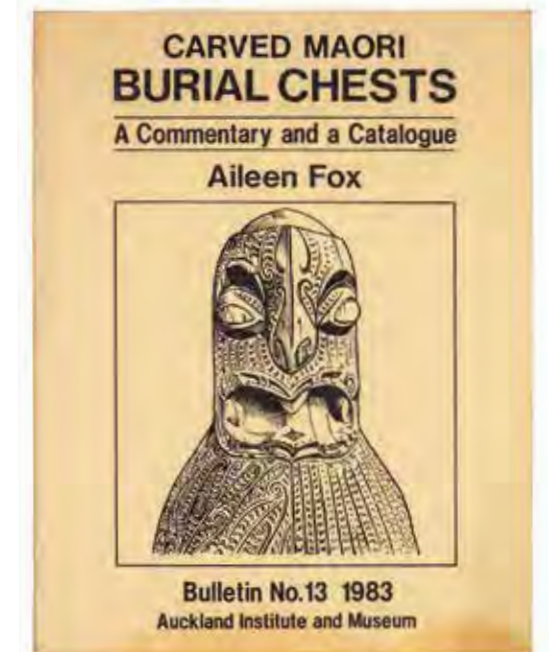
*The location of her flat in the Retreat on the River Exe, 1967-98*

on the South West of Britain, initially on sites within reach of Cardiff such as at Caerleon. By degrees the focus moved towards Exeter, particularly after Cyril's retirement from the museum in 1948. At this point they moved to Exeter, since Aileen was employed in teaching archaeology at the University College of the South West, an institution that received full university status in 1955. This new institutional status gave her the freedom to develop new courses without the constraints of tradition, using an approach that was strongly based in archaeological practice.

After Cyril's death in 1967, she moved to a flat in the Retreat, above the River Exe. She took solace in the company of Leslie Murray Thriepland, another influential female archaeologist whose early experience was forged in the British School at Rome.

In this period, she consolidated her many achievements in the South West, a legacy that had already been celebrated in the volume of 1964, *South West England*, recruited by Glyn Daniel. She engaged not only with university teaching especially the Celts, alongside the Medievalist Martin Biddle, ensuring the future of the subject at a university level, but also the Civic Society and archaeological consultancy, drawing on her extensive fieldwork experience.

On formal retirement from Exeter in 1972, she remembered an article in the pages of *Antiquity* by Raymond Firth on Maori hill forts and made the decision to take up a Visiting Lectureship in Auckland. Her impact here was as decisive as her work in the South West of



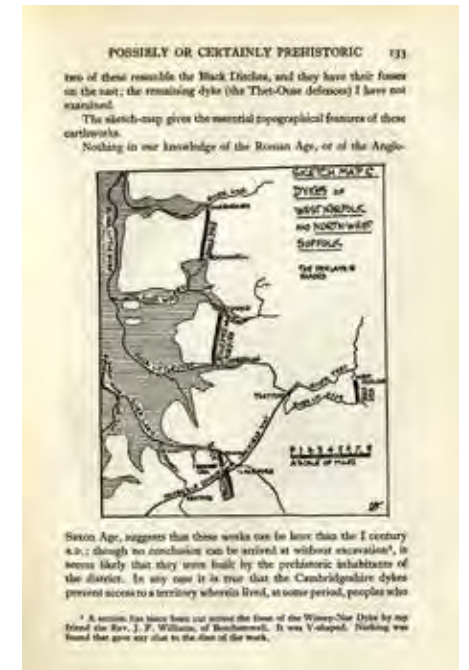
*The cover of her 1983 monograph on Carved Maori Burial Chests*



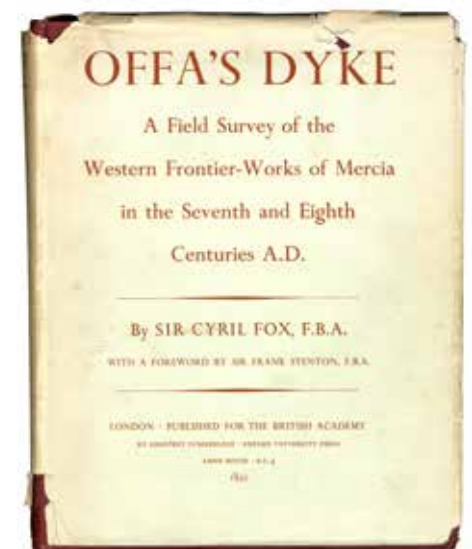
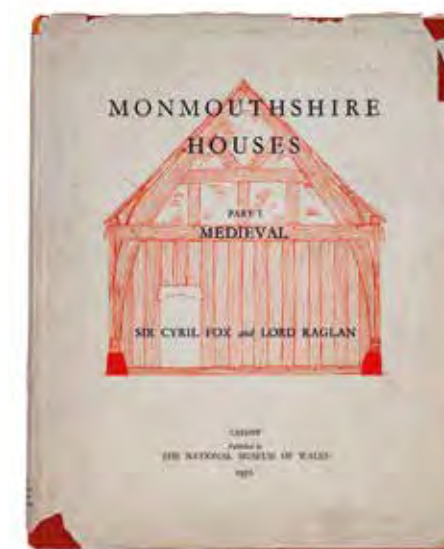
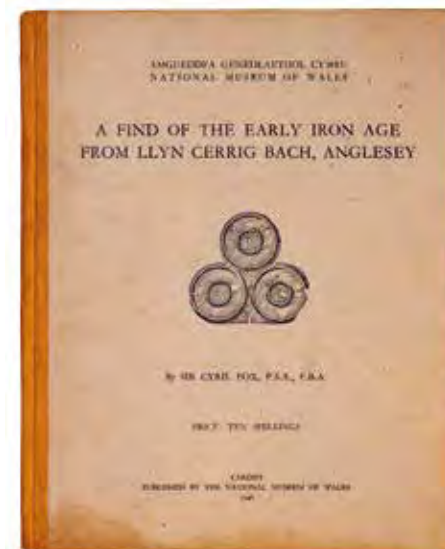
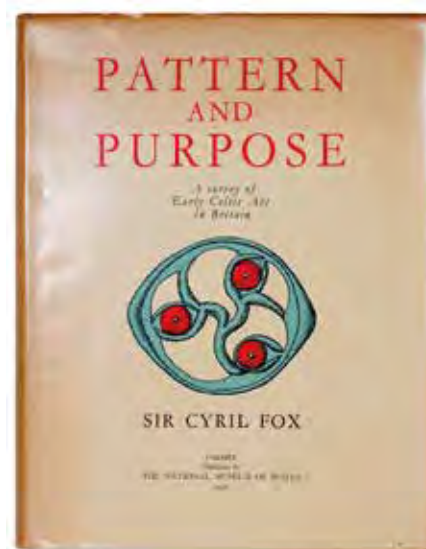
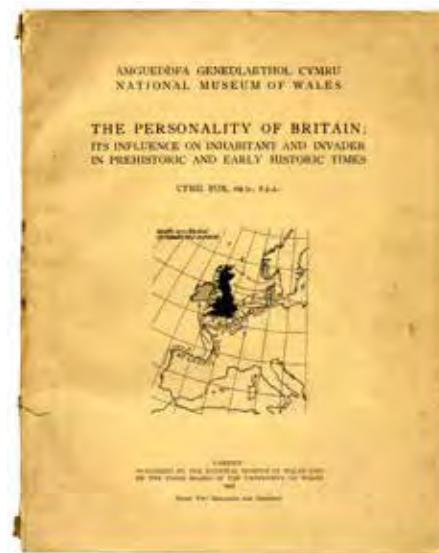


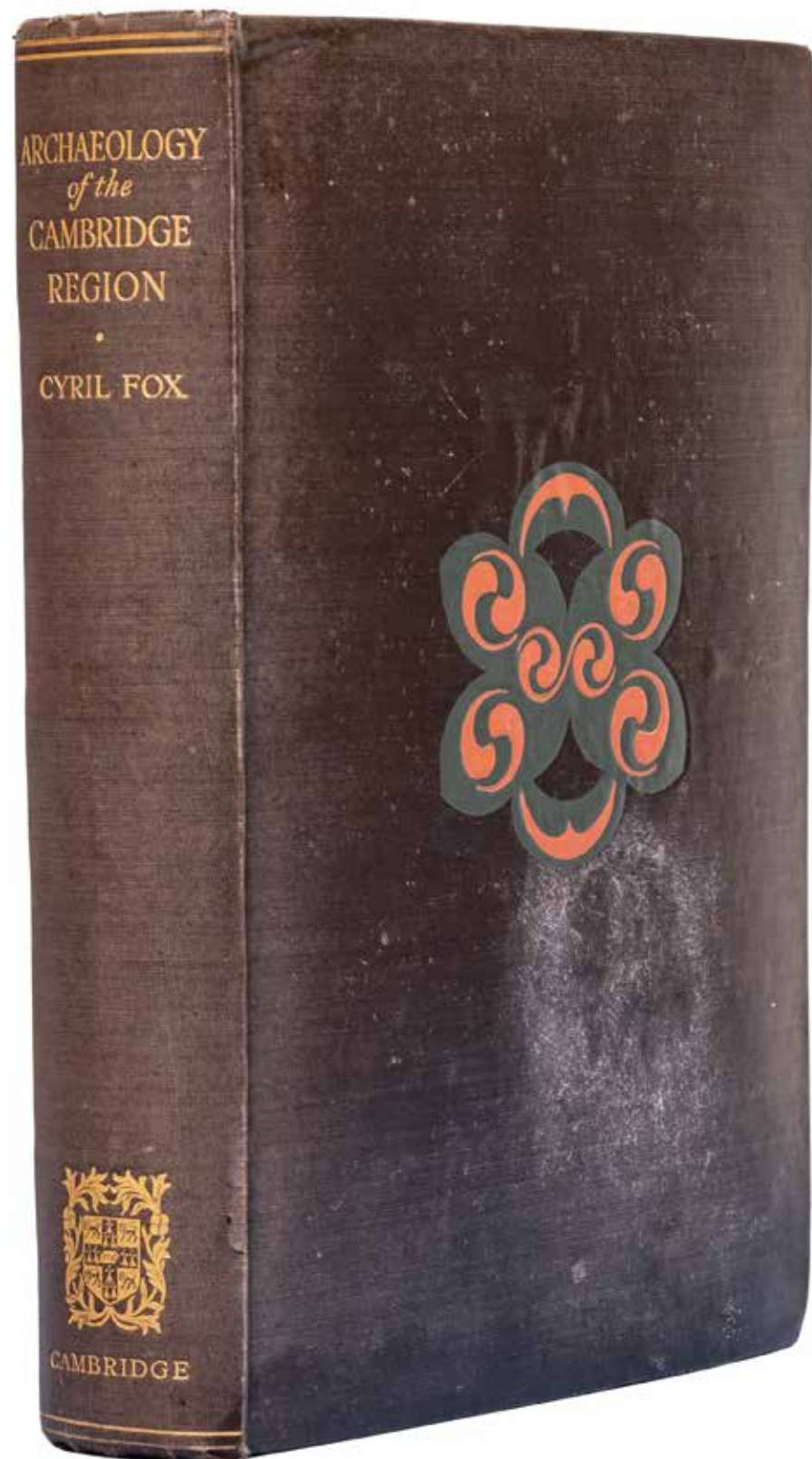
# The seeds of Cambridge in Wales

Cambridge



Wales





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