

Medieval greens and moats in the Central Province: Evidence from the Bourn Valley, Cambridgeshire

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ABSTRACT

This paper considers the evidence, and some explanations, for the survival into the nineteenth century of large, apparently Anglo-Saxon, greens, commons and of moated sites, traditionally associated with 'ancient' landscapes, in west Cambridgeshire, an area of classic two- and three-field common field arrangements.

KEYWORDS

Greens, commons, medieval, Cambridgeshire

INTRODUCTION

Recent work by Professor Brian Roberts and Dr Stuart Wrathmell appears to have confirmed Rackham's division of England into 'ancient' and 'planned' landscapes. Their careful analysis of the distribution of nucleated and dispersed settlement has led them to propose the division of lowland England into three provinces: the South-Eastern, and the Northern and Western Provinces, roughly conforming to Rackham's areas of 'ancient' landscape; and the Central

Province, whose predominantly arable countryside is characterised by nucleated settlement and is more or less coincident with Rackham's 'planned' landscapes (Roberts & Wrathmell 2000, p. 3). In their view, each of 'the provinces can be defined in terms of particular and distinctive associations of landscape elements' (*ibid.*, p. 39).

This work was based on an analysis of the distribution of dispersed and nucleated settlement in England, and may indicate a more complex result than simply a subdivision into three distinctive provinces. In their opinion, 'each province is made up of smaller regions or zones, termed sub-provinces, in turn characterised by associations of elements which, while in general broad accord with those expected for the province, nevertheless differ in some proportions' (*ibid.*). And each sub-province is further divided into local regions, each with distinguishing qualities. The defining characteristics of the 'champion' landscapes of the East Midlands sub-province and the 'ancient' landscapes of East Anglian sub-province — those with the most relevance to this discussion of part of west Cambridgeshire — are summarised in Table 1.

TABLE 1. LOCALISED CHARACTERISTICS OF 'ANCIENT' AND 'CHAMPION' LANDSCAPES (ROBERTS & WRATHMELL 2000, pp. 41-2, 50)

	Anglian sub-province (part of South-Eastern Province)	Central East Midland sub-province (part of Central Province)
<i>Definitive characteristics</i>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nucleations • Dispersed settlement • Deserted villages • Moated sites 	Lower densities Medium to high densities Not generally significant Plentiful on central and southern clays	High densities Low to very low densities Thick clusters, esp. in the north Few in the north, but high numbers in the south are more characteristic of the SE Province
• Greens and green settlements	Significant numbers	Apparently few
<i>Associated features</i>		
• Field systems	Fragmented and irregular	Regular two- and three-field systems

It seems that huge greens — occasionally up to 100 acres in extent — were also a prominent element in the south Cambridgeshire landscape before Parliamentary enclosure. In many places a small, residual, open space — the relic of a very large, often irregular, common or green — has survived near the centre of many settlements into the present century. There are examples of these residual greens at Comberton, Harlton and Haslingfield in the Bourn Valley, just west of Cambridge.

These large greens are usually interpreted as one of the defining medieval and post-medieval features of 'ancient' landscapes as opposed to those of the Central Province (Rackham 1986, p. 343). This attribution seems to be borne out by recent research, which shows that place-names with the element 'green' are not generally found in the Central Province, but are particularly characteristic of the 'ancient' countryside of the South-Eastern Province (Roberts & Wrathmell 2000, p. 38). It is not surprising that greens and commons should generally be regarded as a feature of 'ancient' landscapes. Their existence is at variance both with the geography of common field townships, in which up to 90 *per cent* of the land lay under the plough, leaving little available for common grazing, and with the system of common field agriculture, which supplanted large commons with grazing on the fallow field. Their survival in 'champion' south Cambridgeshire, where common field agriculture was well established, is therefore apparently anomalous.

Also present in the Bourn Valley are moated sites situated at least 1 kilometre away from the nucleated settlement of the township, and these too are believed to be an index of 'ancient' landscape (Table 1 and Fig. 3). This paper examines the evidence for greens and dispersed settlement within the 'champion' landscape of the Bourn Valley in particular and south Cambridgeshire in general, and possible reasons for their survival.

GREENS AND COMMONS: DEFINITIONS

Greens and commons in south Cambridgeshire exhibit a bewildering variety, ranging in form between the extremes of planned settlements similar to those in the north of England and irregular greens like those on the Suffolk clays. Some appear to be part of planned village landscapes, as at Kingston, Eltisley and Reach. Some are peripheral to settlement, and may be relics of much larger areas, like those at Whaddon, Bassingbourn and Comberton (Oosthuizen 1994 and 2002). In yet other examples, manorial expansion onto earlier 'waste' — the physical expression of the frequent subinfeudation of Cambridgeshire manors after 1100 — may have led to the green-side

settlement at, for example, Croydon, Litlington and Caxton, while settlement on or around others might be the result of post-Conquest settlement mobility as at Borough Green, Weston Colville and Haslingfield (*ibid.*).

The definition of, and distinction between, commons and greens can be problematic, to the extent that 'the whole question of defining a "green" remains a troubled one' (Roberts 1989, p. 186). The terms are often used interchangeably in the literature, but some attempts at definition have been attempted. Rackham implies that greens are both smaller than commons and generally more 'embedded' in settlement:

Typical of East Anglia is the green up to half a mile wide, grazed by horses and cattle, its long grass brilliant with cowslip, meadow saxifrage, hay-rattle, cuckoo-flower, and green-winged orchis; scattered around its edges are ancient houses half-hidden in trees (Rackham 1986, pp. 343-4).

This description is difficult to use in any way as a definition since greens and commons can range in size from just an acre or two to over 900 acres, and more quantification is necessary to make a clear distinction (Dymond & Martin 1988, p. 62). Other researchers have used the 1965 Commons Registration Act which defines commons and greens in terms of their use: commons are land subject to the wide variety of common rights, while greens are large open areas used for leisure or recreation (*ibid.*, p. 199, n. 1). It is not easy to substantiate the validity of this distinction in the Bourn Valley in the Anglo-Saxon and/or medieval periods since there is no evidence on which such differentiation might be based, nor is it known to this author whether a study of the distribution of 'common' and 'green' names might reveal regional variations which might in turn suggest whether the difference between the two might be linguistic rather than functional.

The present study distinguishes between commons and greens only in terms of their relationship with settlement, and then only in parochial terms: in the Bourn Valley, greens, whether formal or informal, seem usually to be associated with nucleated settlement, while commons are generally located at a distance from such settlement. It is important to note that this distinction is unlikely to be sustainable further afield.

Greens and commons in the valley have been identified by a number of characteristics, apart, of course, from identifying place-names like 'Green', 'Common' or 'End'. Many have a characteristic 'irregular concave outline funnelling out into the roads which cross the common' (Rackham 1986, p. 343). Settlement often lies at the intersection between the

commons and the arable fields, as, for example, at Haslingfield (*ibid.*, p. 344). They are often wholly or substantially bounded by roads, tracks or other rights of way, and property boundaries within them are often irregular, denoting piecemeal encroachment, as at Harlton. Roberts has identified as a particular form of green those that are linked 'by a web of grass road verges and footpaths' (1989, pp. 158, 194). Although his example demonstrates this principle within an agglomerated settlement, the principle is also viable on a larger scale, linking the greens and commons of one township with those of its neighbours. It is possible that many of the commons of the Bourn Valley were part of such a network. There is little evidence in the valley of the 'curving estate boundaries [of demesne farm estates which] may well have been formed in the middle to late Saxon period' that are occasionally found in relation to commons in Suffolk and other parts of Cambridgeshire (Warner 1987, pp. 30-3; Oosthuizen 1994).

The evidence for greens and commons in the Bourn Valley is typical of much of south Cambridgeshire, and simply forms an example from which wider arguments and conclusions can be drawn.

DESCRIPTION OF THE EVIDENCE

It seems that, in south Cambridgeshire at least, commons and greens share the association with poorly drained soil that is also a characteristic of Suffolk greens (Dymond & Martin 1988, p. 62). They are very often related to the distribution of 'hummocky ground', which is most pronounced at springheads and close to streams all over south Cambridgeshire, where freeze-thaw conditions of late glacial and peri-glacial times created small pingo-like features. These would have exacerbated the post-glacial drainage of the area, creating ground that was poorly drained and difficult to cultivate. This land was more useful as pasture than as arable, and was often the first to be enclosed in the medieval period (A. G. Taylor 1981; I am indebted to Mr C. Taylor for drawing this reference to my attention). Clopton, a deserted medieval village in west Cambridgeshire, is one of the few local sites where this phenomenon can still be observed. There, on the slopes below the moated medieval manor of Clopton Bury, the pasture is still waterlogged by water leaking out from the Middle Chalk as it meets the underlying Gault Clay, itself too saturated to be able to absorb any more water. This may be a frequent reason for the siting of many of the greens and commons in the Bourn Valley.

It seems likely that many of these large areas of common pasture were connected to each other by green lanes, some examples of which are cited below. It is noteworthy that, with the

exception of Comberton Offal, all the examples in the study area are located on the relatively flat valley bottom south of the Bourn Brook where the combination of Gault Clay, a spring line produced by the proximity of higher Middle Chalk deposits overlying the Gault, and very gradual relief meant that this area was difficult to drain and to plough. These areas of pasture seem to be divided into two categories, whose significance is not fully understood: those called greens, commons or other names indicating pasture, and those called 'Offal' or 'Offil' of which there are examples at Haslingfield, Harlton, Eversden and Comberton.

Almost all the greens and commons described below were lost in the process of Parliamentary enclosure. This account begins by describing evidence from Haslingfield and Harlton, before moving west to examine evidence from Little and Great Eversden, and north to Comberton (Fig. 1).

(A) HASLINGFIELD GREAT GREEN

A huge 100-acre green survived almost intact at Haslingfield until the mid twentieth century (Fig. 2; RCHME 1968, p. 136). It lay on a narrow outcrop of Middle Chalk immediately below the steep ridge forming the southern boundary of the Bourn Valley, while its northern boundary coincided more or less with the line along which the Gault Clay emerges from beneath the Middle Chalk (Br Geol Surv 1988). It therefore lay on the spring line and springs are found within it (Fig. 2; OS 1999 Explorer 209). Its outline is a rough oval, like that of the well-known green at Barrington (the parish immediately neighbouring Haslingfield on the south), but may once have extended further to the east. At the time of Parliamentary enclosure it was defined by roads and tracks; property boundaries within it do not display the regularity associated with planned settlement, and may imply encroachment on an open area (CCRO Q/RDc 36).

The green was first recorded in the fourteenth century, when it was called the 'Great Green' (*VCH Cambridgeshire V*, 1973, p. 228). There are reasons for thinking that the parish church may have been a relatively early encroachment on the green. First, it is situated at a curious angle just inside the southern edge of the green, compared with those properties with regular boundaries which are sited facing the southern edge of the green (Fig. 2; Oosthuizen 1996b). It might be expected that the site of the church would have been more central if much encroachment had already occurred on the green by the time the church was erected. There was clearly enough open land still in existence in the sixteenth century for a large moated site to be erected in the centre of the green, and a substantial open area still remains around the outside of that moat today. Second, the church is not included in the

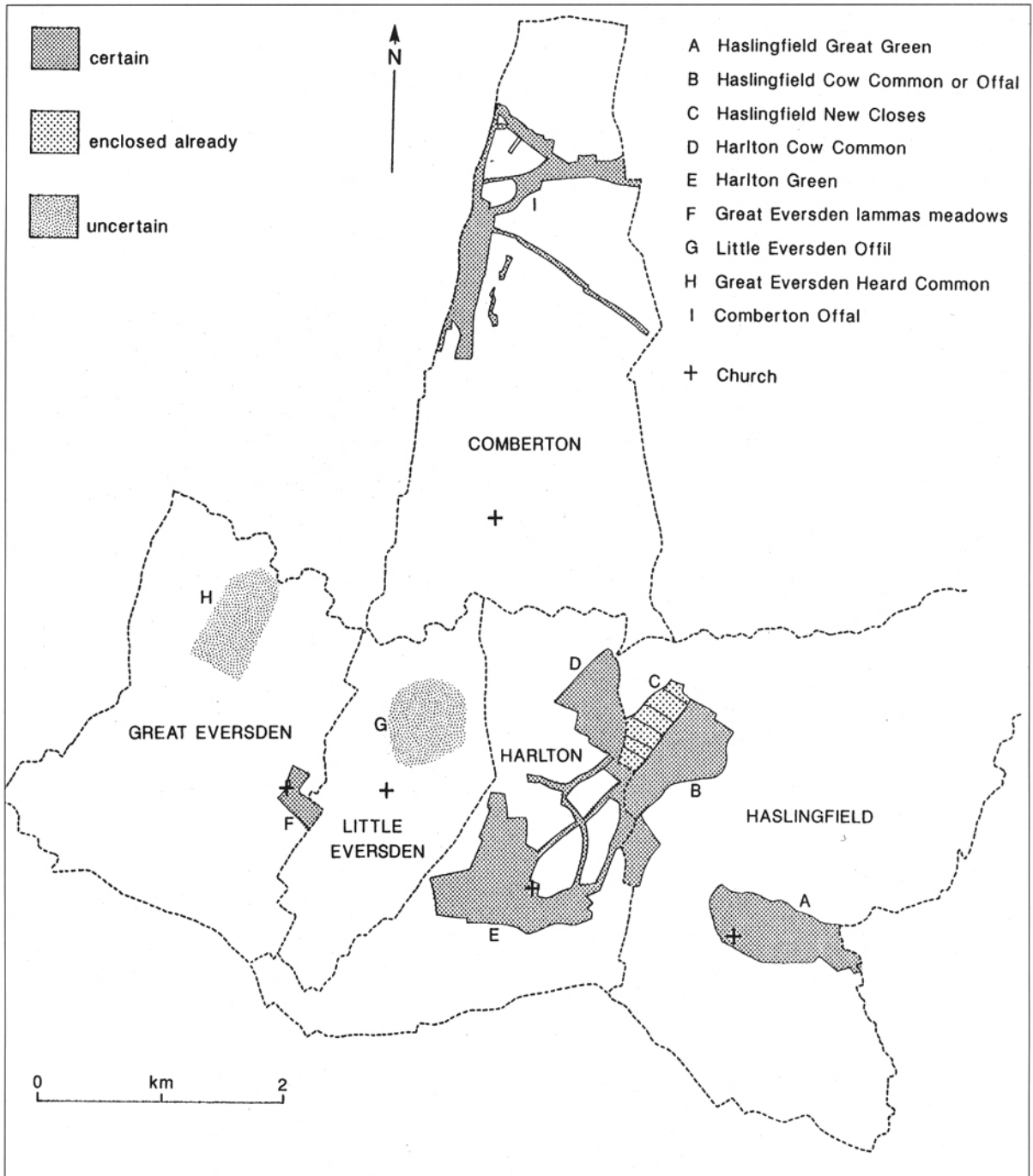


Fig. 1. The Bourn Valley: Greens and Offals (CCRO 124/p53 and 124/P2; CUL Ms Plans r.a.2, QC 13 and 15).

block of regular, planned tenements, which lie along the outside of the southern boundary of the green, and is therefore presumably of a different date.¹ Third, the southern side of the churchyard utilises the southern boundary of the green.

This topographical evidence means that the church may provide a *terminus ante quem* for the creation of the green, and the *terminus* should be placed in the late eleventh century since the church is probably of that date.² An earlier date for the existence of the green may, however, be suggested by the relationship

between the discovery of early and middle Anglo-Saxon pottery both on the green itself, and on its eastern edge, near the river (Fig. 2; Haigh 1975; M. Coles, pers. comm.). A substantial pagan Anglo-Saxon cemetery of the fifth and sixth centuries lay less than 500 metres to the north of its northern edge (a distance based on the most conservative estimate of the green's original size), in much the same relationship as a similar cemetery to Barrington green (*ibid.*; Oosthuizen 2002 and in prep.). This relationship between greens and early and middle Anglo-Saxon settlement may imply that

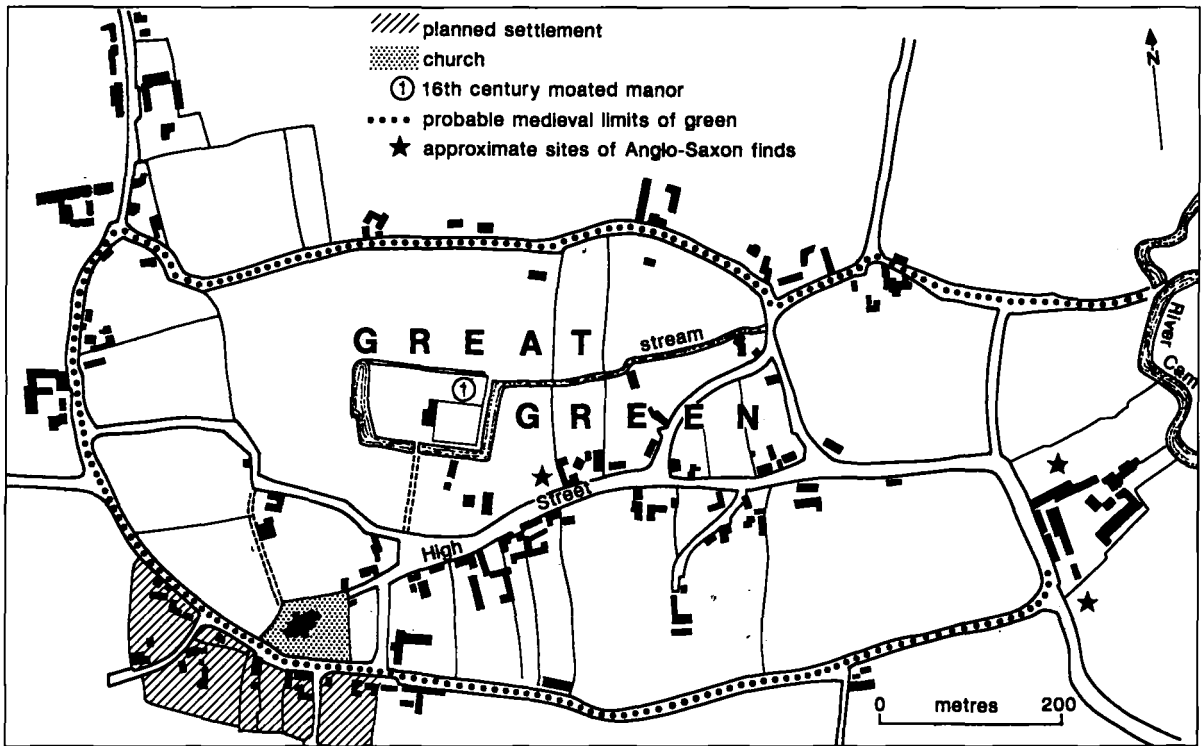


Fig. 2. Haslingfield Great Green (after RCHME 1968, p. 136).

the green was already in existence in the same period as this settlement as it is similar to the relationship between greens and similar Anglo-Saxon settlement discovered at Whaddon, Bassingbourn, Barrington and Litlington and discussed in section 4 below (*ibid.*).

(B) HASLINGFIELD OFFAL

Lying to the north-west of, and connected by access ways to, the Great Green was a large irregular common called the Offal during the middle ages, and Cow Common by the time of Parliamentary enclosure (*le Aldefeld(e)* 1286: OE *eald* 'old' + *feld*) (Reaney 1943, p. 78; CCRO Q/RDc 36 and 124/P53). It lies in a slight depression on the Gault Clay of the valley bottom, from which rise small islands of Middle Chalk outcrop (Br Geol Surv 1988). The effects of these islands in exacerbating waterlogging on the Gault Clays may be inferred from the name of Frog End which lies south-east of the Offal (*ibid.*). The way in which the name of this part of the parish echoes the *feld* element in the place-name of Haslingfield itself may just indicate that this area was pasture at the same time that the place-name itself was coined, a possibility that is explored below. While it was certainly old by the later thirteenth century, its use in that period is unknown; there is no evidence of ridge and furrow on it, which suggests that it has probably always been used for grazing.

(C) HARLTON GREEN

A large oval green survived at Harlton until Parliamentary enclosure. It is similar in size and shape to those at Haslingfield and Barrington, of which it is a close neighbour. It is situated on the same exposure of Middle Chalk at the foot of the southern ridge of the Bourn Valley; its northern boundary coincides with the emergence of the Gault from under the Middle Chalk, and it lies on the spring line (Br Geol Surv 1988; OS 1999 Explorer 209; *VCH Cambridgeshire V*, 1973, p. 214). It was connected by wide drifts to Haslingfield Offal (CCRO 124/P52).

As at Haslingfield, encroachment on the green by the parish church indicates that both were probably in existence by the late eleventh century, because the tithes of Harlton parish church were mentioned in 1092 when they were granted away by Picot, the Norman sheriff of Cambridgeshire (*VCH Cambridgeshire V*, 1973, p. 224). It is just possible that the church may have been founded before 1066 to ornament a late-Anglo-Saxon thegny estate, which comprised 80 *per cent* of Harlton in 1066 — but there is no other evidence to support this suggestion, except Picot's contemporary reputation for miserliness which implies that he may have been unlikely to have built the church himself (Rumble 1981, 17:4). There is no other evidence which might allow a date earlier than the late eleventh century to be assigned to it.

(D) HARLTON OFFIL

The site of Harlton Offil is not definitely known.

Before enclosure a large area of pasture called Cow Common lay in the north-east of the parish almost immediately beside Haslingfield Cow Common/Offal (CCRO 124/P52 and 124/P53). The two areas were separated only by New Closes (CCRO Q/RDc 36). The 'New' element in the name of these enclosures suggests that they may have been late medieval or post-medieval enclosures: first, because enclosures tended to gather pace after about 1350 and, second, because they were noticeably new compared with the rest of the landscape in the township (Reaney 1943, p. 340). If the area they enclosed had once been part of Haslingfield Offal, then Cow Common in Harlton will once have formed a continuous area of pasture with Haslingfield Cow Common/Offal. While Professor Legge, who has an unparalleled knowledge of Harlton, has suggested that Harlton Offil may have lain closer to the green on which the settlement is based, the coincidence of situation and of name between Haslingfield Cow Common/Offal and Harlton Cow Common, may nevertheless indicate that Harlton and Haslingfield Offal/Offil were subdivisions of a once much larger area of grazing common to both parishes (A. Legge, pers. comm.). The geology of the area is similar to that of Haslingfield Offal: Gault Clay, inset with occasional small islands of Middle Chalk which may have created small areas of particular localised waterlogging. At least parts of the Offil were certainly pasture as late as the fourteenth century, since some arable 'in the *brach*' (*bræch* 'land newly taken into cultivation') was mentioned there in 1332 and 1349 (*VCH Cambridgeshire V*, 1973, p. 221; Reaney 1943, p. 313).

This argument may be taken further: if the Offal/Offils were once one large common, they have since been divided by the parish boundary between Harlton and Haslingfield. If this were so, it would mean that the Offil was probably at least late Anglo-Saxon in origin because these parish boundaries cannot be later than 1092, when the tithes of Harlton church were documented.

(E) LITTLE EVERS DEN OFFIL

There was also an Offil in Little Eversden. Unfortunately its existence is only known from late descriptions of arable land in 1764, 1797 and 1801, which named selions lying near 'Offils (Orfields) Way', 'Offils Ditch' and 'Offils Way Balk' (CUL QC15/23, QC 15/52 and QC 15/36). Other locational descriptors indicate that the Offil probably lay near the northern end of Little Eversden High Street at the northern end of a promontory of Middle Chalk reaching out over the Gault Clay (Br Geol Surv 1988). No maps showing its specific location or extent are known to have survived, and it was lost at the time of Parliamentary enclosure. It would be unremarkable were it not for the survival of three

other Offils in neighbouring parishes, at least two of which overlie similar geology. The descriptors listed above seem to indicate that it was arable by the late eighteenth century.

(F) GREAT EVERS DEN LAMMAS MEADOWS

It seems that an area of common pasture like those at Harlton and Haslingfield, but whose original extent is unknown, lay around Great Eversden parish church until Parliamentary enclosure (colour Pl.I). The geology and physical conditions of this site are very similar to those discussed above: the area is generally flat and lies just below the spring line where the waterlogged Gault Clays have been exposed under the Middle Chalk. In 1811, it lay immediately north of Eastwell spring (CRO Q/RDc 19). A number of contiguous pasture closes around the church were used for 'lammas' or hay meadows in the early nineteenth century, and documentary evidence suggests that they were enclosed by the sixteenth century if not before (Buck Rushing (*buckrushin* C16, perhaps named from rushes), Church Dole (*le chberchedole* C16) and Lady Meadow (*Ladymeadow* 1738)) (CUL QC13/3 and QC15/22). Nor are the names of the closes (above), first recorded in the sixteenth century, very helpful since the elements they employ have been in use for many centuries and are therefore of indeterminate date. It is impossible to assess whether this area had been ploughed during the middle ages. Although it was enclosed pasture in 1811, it has been ploughed since at least April 1947 and contains no traces of ridge and furrow (RAF CPE/UK2024/3008 and 3009).

If these lammas meadows were the last relics of an area of ancient common or green, then the location of the church within this land is at least consistent with the observation that settlement avoided taking in arable land if that could be avoided (C. Taylor, pers. comm.). Since the church is unlikely to be later than the late eleventh century (its tithes were mentioned in 1092), this may just mean that the green (if it existed) pre-dated it (*VCH Cambridgeshire V*, 1973, p. 65).

(G) GREAT EVERS DEN HE(A)RD COMMON

A large area of pasture, whose limits are not known, appears to have lain further north-west at He(a)rd Common which divided furlongs along Claypit Hill against Armshold Lane from furlongs just west of the Full Brook. The nature of this common land is indicated by the names of some of the furlongs that adjoined it — Foulmire and Betwixt the Holmes (*bolmr* 'marshy meadow') — and is explained by its situation on a virtually flat piece of land immediately below the intersection between a narrow spur of Middle Chalk and the underlying

waterlogged Gault Clays (CUL QC 13 and 15; Reaney 1943, p. 332; Br Geol Surv 1988).

(H) COMBERTON OFFAL

Until Parliamentary enclosure in 1839 Offal Common in Comberton was a large, broad swathe of grazing land running along the parish boundary with Hardwick (*le aldefelde* c. 1250) (Reaney 1943, p. 74). An extension of this common ran southwards into the settlement, where it was called the green, and on towards the brook; *Nicolas ad le Grene* lived there in 1279 (*Rot. Hund.* ii. 554). A wide drove called Great Offal Way linked it with Barton, along a minor ridge, while another wide drove called Little Offal Way linked it with substantial pastures in the north-east.

Starvegoose Furlong, an irregular triangular furlong which lay between Little Offal Way and North Brook Common in 1839, was probably assarted from the Offal at some time, but there is no other evidence for arable cultivation on the Offal (CCRO R/53/16/20). This name is a sign of the poor crops that could be expected from it, bringing to mind the truism that much land was pasture because it was not useful as anything else and perhaps explaining the lack of further encroachment.

Unlike the Offals to the south of the Brook, Comberton Offal lies exclusively on boulder clay. It runs at right angles to the spring line and cannot be explained simply in terms of the difficulty with which parts of it may have been ploughed. It was already 'old' by the mid-thirteenth century. The persistence of its name indicates that it remained an identifiable area for a considerable period. A prominent linear land division, which later became the parish boundary between Comberton and Hardwick, overlies it and may indicate that it is very old. It is just possible that its situation, between the grazing available on Harborough [Field], Comberton and near Stockwell and Hardle Deans in Hardwick, means that it was the last survivor in the middle ages and beyond of a more extensive area of pasture which seems to have dominated the area by the middle Anglo-Saxon period.

There is therefore good evidence for large greens or commons at the eastern end of the Bourn Valley. This distribution towards the eastern end of the valley may be related to the way in which the valley floor flattens out over Gault Clays south of the Bourn Brook, in an area on which all but one of these commons was located.

THE OFFAL/OFFIL PLACE-NAME

The name 'Offal' or 'Offil' (*le Aldefeld(e)*: *OE eald* + *feld* 'the old *feld*') is unusual and its meaning

may throw some light on the origins of these large areas of common grazing whose size indicates their importance to the medieval farmers of the Bourn Valley (Reaney 1943, p. 78).

There are two definitions of *feld*. The more common, and later, meaning is believed simply to indicate an arable field, perhaps even the first encroachment of Anglo-Saxon fields on pasture land (Gelling 1984, pp. 236-7). It is difficult to accept this interpretation in this particular context, since one would need to explain why these very early fields were created on such difficult land, particularly since it is believed that demographic pressure was not sufficiently intense in the pre-Conquest period to necessitate the ploughing of waterlogged Gault Clays. This interpretation is supported by the reference to *brach* at Harlton in the mid-fourteenth century which implies that at least some of Harlton Offil was not yet arable even by this date — the very end of a period of extreme pressure of population on the land.

Other evidence also suggests that the Offal/Offils were primarily areas of grazing. Of the four Offal/Offils in the Bourn Valley, only that at Little Eversden was under arable cultivation by the late eighteenth century. They might have been land that had been ploughed in the high middle ages and then converted to pasture in the fourteenth century or later. However, two pieces of evidence, neither conclusive, suggest that this was not the case. The first is that the nineteenth-century name of the Offal/Offils at Haslingfield and Harlton was 'common' rather than 'leys' or 'lays', the more usual Cambridgeshire word for arable which was converted to land for grazing. This is not an invariable rule, however, and can be no more than suggestive. Second, there is no aerial photographic or other evidence for ridge and furrow on Comberton Offal or on Haslingfield or Harlton Cow Common.³ This seems to support the argument that none of these was extensively ploughed during the middle ages. Against this should of course be set the evidence from Little Eversden, whose Offil was completely incorporated into the common fields of that township by the late eighteenth century. Such evidence as exists, therefore, hints — but no more — that the Offal/Offils were areas of grazing and were unlikely to be early arable fields.

It is possible, therefore, that the other, earlier and more unusual meaning for *feld*, common in the sixth and seventh centuries, may be more suitable: 'open country in sight of woodland' — that is, land that was not arable, just as the modern Afrikaans word *veld* means uncultivated, but generally open, land (Rackham 1994, p. 7). This seems to be the more likely interpretation of the Offal/Offils in the Bourn Valley since it is related to a pastoral usage appropriate to the geology and drainage as well as to the later use

of this land. These areas may therefore represent particularly early areas set aside for grazing, since they were already regarded as old in the thirteenth century, presumably by comparison with the other lands in each township, when they were first documented in Haslingfield and Comberton.

Other evidence relating to the meaning of Offal/Offil may throw some light on the origin of these apparently old areas of pasture. It is a distinctive and unusual name, and may be related to the *ofaldfal* of Lincolnshire which has been interpreted as land that was 'not manorial but communal in origin' (Hallam 1965, pp. 159-60). There, it was land which was very carefully surveyed and measured, down to the last foot, and was — perhaps significantly in view of the unusual place-name in the Bourn Valley — distinct from the assessed lands of each vill (*ibid.*). In this it is reminiscent of the meadows referred to in the late seventh-century laws of Ine, which noted 'a common meadow or other land *divided in shares* to fence' (Whitelock 1955, I. 403; my emphasis). It is just possible therefore that the Offals/Offils of the Bourn Valley may have been distinctive areas of communally-held early or middle Anglo-Saxon pasture. That such areas might survive into the late Anglo-Saxon period is demonstrated by a reference to open pasture and meadow 'common share land' at Ardington, Northamptonshire, in A.D. 961 (Finberg 1972, pp. 488-9).

Taken together, these fragmentary pieces of evidence may just indicate that the Offal/Offils were the relics of a very large area of *feld*, now dismembered, which covered most of the Gault valley floor and the central and northern slopes of the valley in the sixth and/or seventh centuries, and which was the distinctive feature of the territory of the *Hæslingas*. This possibility is particularly interesting given that the Bourn Valley was also an area dominated by freemen in 1086, some of whom may have been the descendants of the kin-groups which had occupied the valley in the late seventh century. Hooke has concluded that 'one of the oldest features of any open field community appears to be the organisation of common pasture on the waste, perhaps a direct inheritance from a past in which this was the traditional way of intercommoning seasonal and wood-pasture regions' (Hooke 1998, p. 115).

THE ANTIQUITY OF GREENS AND COMMONS IN SOUTH CAMBRIDGESHIRE

The presence of these greens and commons in the landscape of the Bourn Valley in particular and south Cambridgeshire in general is only important if they can be shown to pre-date the introduction of common field agriculture from the tenth century onwards because otherwise

they cannot be regarded as relics of 'ancient' landscapes.

Generally, it seems that many greens and commons in the east Midlands and East Anglia can be dated to the middle Anglo-Saxon period or earlier. In south Bedfordshire, for example, some very large greens of variable shape still survive, and are occasionally associated with evidence of occupation from the sixth to the ninth centuries A.D. (Lewis *et al.* 1997, p. 132). In Norfolk, early and middle Anglo-Saxon settlement has been found around the edges of low and easily floodable commons away from the higher heavy boulder clay while, in Launditch Hundred, middle Anglo-Saxon settlement generally lay close to, although not at, the entrance to large commons in three of the seven parishes in which middle Anglo-Saxon pottery was found (Davison 1990, pp. 18-19; Wade-Martins 1980, pp. 55, 65, 73). In the 'ancient' landscapes of Suffolk, some greens were the focus for middle or late Anglo-Saxon demesne farms (Warner 1987, p. 32). Only in the Norfolk silt fens is there contradictory evidence that irregular greens and commons may be the result of medieval field creation rather than the remains of a relic landscape, but this may be because pre-Anglo-Saxon landscapes there were lost to flooding in the Roman and immediately post-Roman periods (Silvester 1988, pp. 162-3).

Where these greens have been investigated in south Cambridgeshire, they have also been shown to have pre-common field origins, that is, they appear to be relics of an ancient landscape, retained when the common fields were laid out in the early middle ages, rather than a planned element of the landscape of the Central Province (Oosthuizen 1994, pp. 93-100; Oosthuizen 2002). The arguments for this conclusion have generally been based on the relationships between settlement, manorial sites and greens or commons. The results indicate that these greens were probably in existence by the late Anglo-Saxon period at the very latest, and occasionally by the middle Anglo-Saxon period.

At Bassingbourn, Cambridgeshire, for example, late Anglo-Saxon settlement appears to have been dispersed around an enormous green. At Whaddon, Cambridgeshire, settlement focused on the funnel-shaped entrance to a huge common shared between three parishes; topographical analysis suggested the likelihood that the green was at least of middle Anglo-Saxon date, and was followed by excavation demonstrating dispersed Anglo-Saxon settlement on the northern side of that common (Oosthuizen 1994, n. 4; Hatton 1995). It has already been argued that the relationship between pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and the large oval greens at Barrington and Haslingfield may indicate that these greens were already present in the Bourn Valley by the sixth or seventh centuries.

There is, unfortunately, little additional evidence to suggest period(s) of origin for the greens and commons of the Bourn Valley. There are no ancient buildings on the sites of the Comberton, Little Eversden or Harlton Offal/Offils. The relationship between the churches of Haslingfield, Harlton and Great Eversden and their associated greens has already been commented on but cannot take the argument back before the late eleventh century — although in Suffolk a number of early and important churches on or near greens show that these areas were the ‘focal points for settlement’ before the Norman Conquest (Warner 1987, p. 2). The evidence that these commons may already have been in existence by the sixth or seventh centuries is simply that of the associated pagan cemeteries at Haslingfield and Barrington, and the possible early date of the *feld* element in ‘offal’. If this precarious argument is taken to its logical conclusion, it is possible that these greens and commons were either created in the reversion to pasture of the sixth and seventh centuries or were survivals of a Romano-British or even pre-Roman landscape. This is not quite as far-fetched as it might be if the survival of prehistoric land divisions across the valley had not already been commented upon.

POSSIBLE REASONS FOR THE SURVIVAL OF GREENS AND COMMONS IN SOUTH CAMBRIDGESHIRE

The survival of these greens and commons may reflect a combination of local geological factors (see above), local tenurial practices and the local agricultural economy. It has recently been argued that regular two- and three-field common field arrangements depended crucially on the ability of a township to produce sufficient hay to overwinter its plough oxen (T. Williamson, in a seminar at the Department of English Local History, Univ Leicester, 7.3.2002). The high degree of waterlogging of the Offal/Offils and, perhaps some of the other greens and commons, may have made it possible for hay to have been

grown on them each year — that is, they may have acted as a form of water meadow, their hummocky ground trapping the water which flowed onto them both from springs and from the wash of winter rains from the steep slopes to their south (T. Reed, pers. comm.). The pastures around Great Eversden church, for example, were referred to as ‘lammas meadows’ in 1801, which suggests that they were still being used for growing hay at that date (CUL QC13/3 and QC15/22).

An analysis of the entries for meadow in the valley in 1086 suggests that there was either massive under-recording of meadow or a pressing need for additional hay-lands at that time. Table 2 shows the number of ploughs listed for each vill in the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* (ICC) compared with the available meadow, which was also measured in terms of the numbers of plough teams it could support, thus making it easy to compare the number of plough animals and the quantity of meadow necessary to support them. Table 2 shows that, on the basis of the evidence recorded in ICC, about half the plough teams of the Bourn Valley could not be supported through the winter from fodder grown on the meadows.⁴ Since the amount of meadow was probably under-reported this figure is probably excessive, but it does suggest that, unless the under-reporting itself was by a factor of 50 *per cent*, a shortage of winter fodder probably did exist.

This argument receives added weight when the number of animals other than the plough cattle in the vill are taken into account. The need for winter fodder for the plough teams must have represented the minimum amount of hay needed in each township, particularly since cattle were vastly outnumbered by sheep. To the known number of demesne animals must be added the unknown numbers of cattle, sheep and pigs belonging to manorial tenants of differing social status, which are assumed to be significantly greater in total than the demesne beasts, especially because the numbers of cattle recorded on the demesnes were insufficient for

TABLE 2. THE ABILITY OF PASTURE AND MEADOW TO SUPPORT PLOUGH-TEAMS IN THE BOURN VALLEY IN 1086 (DOMESDAY BOOK; ICC)

Parish	Pasture in DB	Meadow in ploughs	No. of ploughs on arable	% of ploughs for which meadow was lacking
Comberton	—	4	12	66%
Eversden	—	c. 5 ³ / ₄	c. 13 ¹ / ₂	57%
Haslingfield	—	c.8	22 ¹ / ₂	64%
Harlton	—	c. 3 ¹ / ₂	7	50%
Barton	—	3 ¹ / ₂	12	70%
Bourn	yes	23 ¹ / ₂	25 ¹ / ₂	7%
Caldecote	—	4 ¹ / ₂	4 ¹ / ₂	0
Grantchester	—	2 ¹ / ₄	12 ¹ / ₂	85%
Kingston	—	3 ³ / ₄	c. 10	62.5%
Toft/Hardwick	—	8	c. 16	50%

the plough teams recorded. The numbers of these non-demesne animals may not necessarily related to the amount of arable land held by a tenant.

At Great Abington, for example, a sokeman called Sygar had just 15 arable acres before 1066 but he also owned a substantial flock of at least 380 sheep and at least eight cattle (he may in fact have had even more than this since the ICC records that Aubrey de Vere 'still retained' that number of Sygar's animals, implying that he might previously have returned some animals to

TABLE 3. DEMESNE ANIMALS IN THE BOURN VALLEY IN 1086 (DOMESDAY BOOK; ICC)

Parish	Sheep	Pigs	Cattle	Cattle necessary to pull ploughs
Comberton	109	43	2	96
Barton	190	36	2	96
Grantchester	153	32	3	100
Haslingfield	234	118	6	180
Hartton	20	22	6	56
Eversden	233	53	10	108
Kingston	40	44	2	80
Toft/Hardwick	90	41	—	128
Bourn	nk	at least 20	nk	204
Caldecote	nk	nk	nk	52

Sygar) (ICC, p. 408).

The persistence of greens and commons in the Bourn Valley — and, perhaps, the rest of south Cambridgeshire — may therefore be related as much to the combination of a potential inadequacy of hay meadows in the area, together with the problems associated with ploughing particularly waterlogged sections of the Gault Clays of the valley floor, as to particular pre-Conquest social and tenorial conditions.

MOATED SITES AND NUCLEATED SETTLEMENT IN THE BOURN VALLEY

As Roberts and Wrathmell have noted, the high numbers of moats in parts of south Cambridgeshire are more characteristic of 'ancient' than 'champion' landscapes, since they are often set away from nucleated settlement and can therefore be taken as a specialised index of dispersion (Table 1).

Moats cannot, however, be taken as a straightforward indicator of 'ancient' landscapes. The moats of the Central Province largely represent the dwellings of manorial lords, 'set in or near villages', but in those provinces where 'ancient' landscapes are more common, they were more commonly the homesteads of freeholders and were situated on assarted holdings at some distance from the settlement

(*ibid.*). This section examines these contentions in the context of evidence from the Bourn Valley.

It has been suggested in discussion that the distribution of the moated sites in the valley demonstrates that the valley was also characterised by dispersed settlement. This conclusion cannot, however, be sustained if the criteria suggested by Roberts and Wrathmell, above, are used as the basis for analysis. As Table 4 and Fig. 3 show, all the outlying moats in the Bourn Valley were manorial in origin, rather than those of freemen, that is, they are more characteristic of the nucleated settlements of the Central Province than the dispersed settlement of the South-Eastern Province. Similarly, those belonging to freemen were exclusively to be found within the nucleated settlements of the valley — emphasising both the strength of the pull of nucleation and a general lack of large areas of assartable land.

Most outlying moats in the Bourn Valley appear to have represented the demesne of post-Conquest, subinfeudated manors in each township created by granting away portions of older manors. The lords of Kingston Wood manor (itself created after 1066), for example, granted part of their estate to the nuns of St Mary, Clerkenwell, in the twelfth century; two large, adjoining blocks of land given to St Neots Priory (Swansley Manor) in Bourn and Caxton in the twelfth century were originally part of the Scalers demesne in those townships, also created after 1066.

The outlying moats are therefore unlikely to be the remnants of a pre-Conquest dispersed settlement pattern surviving into the medieval period since every one is the site of a manor first founded, or created by sub-infeudation, after 1066 (*VCH Cambridgeshire V*, 1973, parish essays). Their siting probably results from the combination of several factors: the pressure to find non-arable land for the construction of a moat, the situation of a manorial site in close proximity to a block of demesne land granted at the time of subinfeudation, and the more practical necessities of proximity to a water source and favourable siting on clay, respectively needed to fill the moat and to prevent the water from draining away (colour Pl.II).

Those moated sites which lie within the nucleated settlements are also overwhelmingly manorial; the remainder are those built by wealthy and aspiring twelfth- or thirteenth-century commoners (Table 4). Those outlying moats which represented twelfth-century secondary manorial sites set within blocks of independent demesne tend to be those of monastic houses (St Neots Priory's holding at Swansley, Caxton, and that of the Nuns of St Mary, Clerkenwell, on the edge of Eversden Wood). These sites seem to have been constructed purely to administer the respective estates of these houses, and there is no evidence

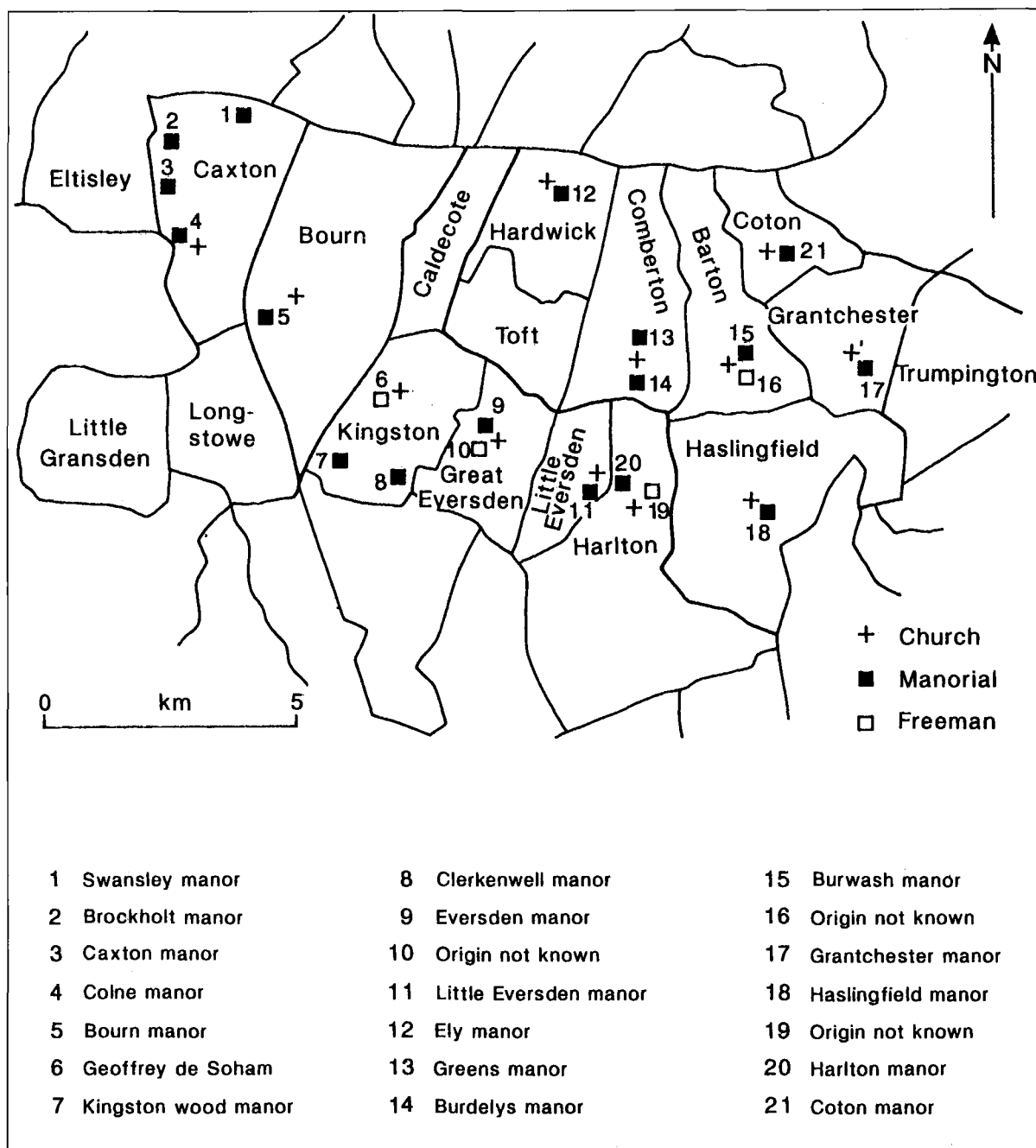


Fig. 3. The Bourn Valley: Distribution of moated sites (RCHME 1968, parish essays; CCC SMR).

that they formed the focus for settlement. On the contrary, they appear to have been quite isolated. Of these, only Swansley Manor, Caxton and Kingston Wood Farm, Kingston, are set within their own field systems, which might indicate an incomplete process leading towards the development of multiple townships in some parishes. However, both sites still represent nucleation as the dominant — if not only — form of settlement. There does not appear to have been any other settlement at Swansley apart from the moated manor. Pincote, the only settlement name associated with the moat at Kingston Wood Farm, lies so close to the site of the moat as to suggest nucleation rather than

dispersal (if, indeed, the two sites were occupied in the same periods). There is no evidence of any settlement associated with the other outlying moats in the valley.

There is therefore no convincing evidence of dispersed settlement in the Bourn Valley in the late Anglo-Saxon or medieval periods. All the outlying sites are manorial, none is associated with freemen, none is associated with freeman assart of uncultivated land, and none is associated with any other settlement. Furthermore, none of these sites pre-dates the Norman Conquest and all can be shown to be the sites of new manors created in the late eleventh century or by subsequent infeudation.

TABLE 4. CHARACTERISTICS OF MOATED HOMESTEAD SITES IN THE BOURN VALLEY

Township	No. of moats	moats within settlement		moats outside settlement	
		<i>Manorial</i>	<i>Non-manorial or not known</i>	<i>Manorial</i>	<i>Non-manorial</i>
Barton	2	1	1	0	0
Bourn	1	1	0	0	0
Caxton	4	1	0	3	0
Comberton	2	2	0	0	0
Grantchester & Coton	2	2	0	0	0
Gt Eversden	2	1	1	0	0
Hardwick	1	1	0	0	0
Harlton	2	1	1	0	0
Haslingfield	1	1	0	0	0
Kingston	3	0	1	2	0
Lt Eversden	1	1	0	0	0
TOTAL	21	12	4	5	0

Source: *RCHME* 1968, parish essays; *VCH Cambridgeshire V*, 1973, parish essays; CCC SMR; Palmer 1927, p. 53.

On the contrary, all the evidence indicates that settlement in the Bourn Valley has been highly nucleated since the late Anglo-Saxon period, and that — as far as the criteria relating to settlement are concerned — this area conforms clearly to those defining the Central Province.

The use of moats as an indicator of dispersed settlement is not therefore as straightforward as it might appear. The distinction between manorial and freeman moats is crucial, as is the landscape context within which each moat is set — its relationship with nucleated settlement and with assartable land.

'TRANSITION' AS AN EXPLANATION FOR THIS CONTINUITY

An anomalous feature of this continuity of use of greens and commons is that, while on the one hand these elements are regarded as type-features for the ancient landscapes of the South-Eastern and Northern and Western Provinces, in this context they lie, apparently atypically, in the Central Province, an area of classic common field systems (Roberts & Wrathmell 2000, p. 2).

The most obvious and widely-held explanation for this anomaly is that the Bourn Valley is representative of a 'transitional zone between two major regions' (Postgate 1973, p. 281).

The problems with the argument for transitional landscapes lie both in its premises and in the argument itself and these problems are discussed below.

The first premise is that the major differences in landscape between ancient and champion are only as ancient as the common fields themselves.

That is, before the introduction of common fields, the arrangement of fields and settlements was sufficiently uniform in each prehistoric period to imply a general landscape across lowland Britain as a whole. This is related to a second premise — in this case convincingly supported by sound research — that while common field arrangements erased all trace of preceding field layouts in the Central Province, these older fields generally survived in the ancient landscapes of the other two Provinces (Hall 1995; Williamson 1988a and 1988b; Rippon 1991 and 2000b).

What has not been shown is that the pre-common field landscapes were indeed uniform across lowland Britain; nor has the role of regional influence in differentiating prehistoric landscapes been much explored, except in the context of marginal areas such as wetlands and estuaries (e.g. Rippon 2000b). For example, the suggestion that 'a typical model of dryland settlement in the later prehistoric period would include a permanent domestic site surrounded by its fields, with more distant resources used for pasture, wood and other resources. The evidence for extensive field systems around settlement sites ... in turn surrounded by ... areas with limited use ... might be seen to fit this model' is not unusual (Locock 2001, p. 126). In another example, the results of excavation at five specific sites have been used to exemplify the landscape of lowland Britain as a whole across five different prehistoric periods (Bradley 2000, pp. 2, 9). Only recently have the regional differences between prehistoric landscapes been explored, and then implicitly and briefly rather than explicitly and at length (Thirsk 2000).

To some extent this criticism is unfair, partly

because the aims of much archaeology has been to summarise and generalise from what is known about the vast area of lowland England, rather than to distinguish between regional landscapes. Partly, too, because archaeology is still a relatively young discipline in which the similarities between the results of excavations of the same period have necessarily been more important than the differences in order to allow a synthesis of data to create an overarching framework for the discipline. Only recently have the differences between sites, and the differences between regions, become a viable question for research.

Nevertheless, a consequence of this synthesis has been to generalise a more or less common ancient landscape of fields and settlement across all three Provinces before the introduction of the common fields. The problem with this assumption is, however, that differences between the South-Eastern, and the Northern and Western Provinces are such that Roberts and Wrathmell have concluded that they are sufficiently different as to represent different kinds of landscape (Roberts & Wrathmell 2000, p. 2). This means that, if the centuries after the introduction of common fields treated these landscapes so lightly that ancient landscapes can still be discerned in them, these two outer Provinces were likely to have had different landscapes before the Central Province was created.

The second premise is that there was relatively little major change in the landscapes of the two outer Provinces in the centuries following the watershed introduction of common fields in the Central Province, since arrangements of ancient fields are still discernable in these areas. This seems intuitively unlikely given that these areas were as subject to those influences stimulating change in the landscape — for example, climate, lordship, economic imperatives, agricultural innovation, and population growth and change in the centuries after about A.D. 850 — as the Central Province, and it is a conclusion which needs to be demonstrated rather than inferred.

There are problems with the argument for transitional areas or zones as well as with the premises underlying the argument. The difficulty with the argument of transition lies in its differential treatment of differences and similarities between the Central and the outlying Provinces. Differences have quite properly been explained in terms of the effects on landscape use of different local geographies and environments — such as geology, relief, access to water — combined with the effects of variations in population and manorial holdings, and the management of the local agricultural resources, within the wider context of what is known about national and regional economic, social and political processes at any particular

period in time. The complex interplay of these factors and the differences that they have generated between different landscapes have been explored in much detailed research (e.g. Dyer 1991; Lewis *et al.* 1997).

The same academic rigour has not been brought to similarities between different landscapes. On the contrary, these have been explained simply in terms of 'transition' near the boundary between ancient and 'champion', a no-mans-land between provinces where the 'rules' appear to be 'relaxed'. This 'fuzziness' makes it a difficult concept to test or explain in detail, since it is not defined nor has it been the subject of the same detailed analysis or deconstruction as the factors involved in generating differences between types of landscape. It is analogous to the philosophical critique called the 'God of the Gaps' which is usually applied to scientific enquiry: when no scientific explanation for a phenomenon is apparent, that phenomenon is called upon to demonstrate the existence of God (M. Hesse, pers. comm.). Differences between the Provinces have been explored rationally and explained on the basis of evidence and argument. Transition is an explanation of similarities; it is unsupported by argument, and until the similarities between Provinces have been subjected to the same academic rigour as the differences, the argument for transition has the same status as that for the 'God of the Gaps'.

An alternative model for the persistence of features characteristic of both Provinces in the Bourn Valley may be found in the work of Roberts and Wrathmell, who have identified regional variations within their sub-provincial landscapes. In their view 'the provinces can be defined in terms of particular and distinctive associations of landscape elements; each province is made up of smaller regions or zones, termed sub-provinces, in turn characterised by associations of elements which, while in general broadly accord with those expected for the province, nevertheless differ in some proportions' (Roberts & Wrathmell 2000, p. 39). The South-Eastern Province, for example, has been divided into six sub-provinces which have been further divided into fifty-three local regions (*ibid.*, p. 67).⁵

Roberts and Wrathmell have suggested that the differences between Provinces are also visible, certainly on the broader scale, in the distribution of high-status Romano-British sites and early Anglo-Saxon place-names and archaeology (*ibid.*, pp. 29-34). For example, they conclude that 'some parts of England [like the Bourn Valley] which were largely clear of woodland in Roman times remained in cultivation through the fifth and sixth centuries, and became the areas most closely associated with Anglo-Saxon material culture; whereas other regions, some of which had supported large numbers of villas, ceased to be farmed, and

saw a regeneration of woodland, which in some cases ... set the trajectory for those regions for the next fifteen hundred years' (*ibid.*, p. 34, my addition). If they are right, then the fundamental distinction between the provinces, perhaps down to the level of their 'local regions', may be very ancient.

Their work confirms the conclusion, reached independently, that a complex regional landscape in south Cambridgeshire, of which the Bourn Valley is part, has very ancient roots since at least some of the greens in this area may be of Anglo-Saxon or earlier date (Oosthuizen 1994). It is unlikely that regional characteristics had not developed before about A.D. 850, given that arable and pastoral exploitation of the landscape was already at least 5,000 years old before the common fields were introduced. Furthermore, Rackham has pointed out that even the wildwood into which the earliest human agency intervened was not a uniform landscape, but a mosaic of groves of different tree species depending on variations in soil, underlying geology, topography, relief and local micro-climatic differences (Rackham 1986, p. 79). Once these differences interacted with the intensifying demographic, social, cultural, political and economic processes resulting from human interaction with the landscape over the millennia since Mesolithic societies began to make their mark on the land, it seems unlikely that a uniform landscape will have covered the whole of lowland England for the 5,000 years or so before the introduction of the first common

fields after about A.D. 850.

It may rather be that, in the Bourn Valley, as in other parts of lowland England, there were always distinctive regional landscapes whose character had been formed by a complex interplay of cultural and physical factors, some local, some regional and some national, over many millennia. These factors might include, for example, the history of prehistoric and Romano-British exploitation, the survival of archaic Anglo-Saxon patterns of land-holding and social structure into the eleventh century, and the more deterministic influence of the relationship between pasture, meadow and arable, as well as many others. This landscape may not be 'transitional' in character, but a landscape form in its own right, exemplifying 'intermingled regional and transregional cultures' (Wrathmell 1994, p. 192).

That the landscape of the Bourn Valley may not be unique is hinted at in the observation that 'a regular arrangement of fields is sometimes found associated with ample areas of permanent pasture' in north-west Bedfordshire (Lewis *et al.* 1997, p. 175). This may intimate that subsequent testing of the detail of Roberts' and Wrathmell's conclusions might yet reveal further complexities, since their work explicitly raises the possibility that, within broad parameters, there have always been regional *pays* which demonstrated as many differences in the prehistoric and Roman periods as they did in the middle ages and after.

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NOTES

1. There is also some evidence that these regular ovals may once have been larger and less regular than their mid-twentieth-century appearance would suggest (Oosthuizen, 2002; CCRO 124/P52). The suggestion that they originated as arable units is at variance with the influence of both geology and drainage, both of which suggest that these areas would be more useful as pasture.
2. The first known priest — Robert, a Norman name — was recorded in 1086 and his antecessor does not appear to have been a priest (Rumble 1981, 14:36). The earliest architectural evidence in the church dates from the twelfth century, but this is typical of most Cambridgeshire churches and little can be inferred from it (*VCH Cambridgeshire V*, 1973, p. 237). Most Cambridgeshire parish churches were probably in existence by the late eleventh century (Oosthuizen 2001, p. 57).
3. Harlton Cow Common was the site of extensive works during the Second World War. Although there is no evidence for ridge and furrow there in 1947 or later, it may be that there was much destruction of earthworks during the war years (RAF 106G/UK/1490 and CPE/UK/2024).
4. This calculation has been based on a comparison of the number of ploughs required for the arable of each township and the number of ploughs that the meadow of each township could support, both listed in Domesday Book.
5. Roberts' and Wrathmell's Atlas has only recently been published (2000), and publication of the accompanying volume has been delayed by the publishers, so scholars have not had very much opportunity to test the hypotheses, methods and conclusions presented in this innovative work. Nevertheless, it is work which, for the first time, has collated a wide range of detailed data from all over England using a clearly described and easily replicable methodology, and its results are therefore to be taken seriously. The general confirmation of these results in Norfolk and Suffolk by the English Heritage project on the Historic Field Systems of Eastern England is interesting and makes further testing of these conclusions the more urgent (M. Satchell, pers. comm.).

ABBREVIATIONS

CCC SMR	Cambridgeshire County Council Sites and Monuments Record	CUL	Cambridge University Library
CCRO	Cambridge County Record Office	ICC	<i>Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis</i> (see Bibliography)
CUCAP	University of Cambridge Committee for Aerial Photography	OE	Old English
		OS	Ordnance Survey

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Plate I Great Eversden, Cambs.: St Mary's Church on the ploughed-up site of Lammas Meadows, just below the spring line.



Plate II Great Eversden, Cambs.: Moated site of medieval freeman homestead, in the centre of the village and demonstrating the strong impetus to nucleation rather than dispersal of settlement in the Bourn Valley.