Encountering the Environment: Rural Communities in England, 1086-1348

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Abstract

Susan Kilby, Encountering the Environment: Rural Communities in England, 1086-1348

Our current understanding of the medieval local environment is largely based on scholarly writings focusing on the policies towards the landscape pursued by the social elite. This presents us with some obvious problems if we want to understand local places through the eyes of the lower orders. But that is exactly what this study aims to do. By re-examining a variety of sources this research seeks to reconstruct the physical—and in some respects, metaphorical—environment of three contrasting English villages, using this as the basis for determining how peasants perceived their natural surroundings, and how this led to the development of the local economic strategies and social structures that can be pieced together from the records of the medieval manor. Since the emphasis here is largely on *attitudes* toward local environment, the intellectual approach moves beyond more traditional English historical spheres regarding the peasantry to consider mentalities. This has rarely been a consideration for historians concerned with English medieval peasants. Indeed, one might ask just how we can hope to uncover the thoughts of those who left little documentary evidence behind? Reconsidering the records that survive, it is clear that peasants left a great quantity of material waiting to be uncovered. Hidden within seigneurial documents can be found direct peasant testimony, notably their personal names, and those they bestowed upon the landscape. Through these documents—alongside the physical environment—we find further signposts indicating how they felt, thought about, and commemorated their local landscape. This study reveals that some peasants used the landscape to set themselves apart from their neighbours. It shows that, although uneducated in the formal sense, some nevertheless had a strong grasp of contemporary scientific thought. It outlines the means through which locally important folk stories were embedded within the landscape itself. And it sees beyond the officially endorsed local village landscape, with its authorized roads and footpaths, to reclaim the real environment inhabited and traversed by English people over 700 years ago.

Acknowledgements

Many people have helped to bring this thesis to fruition. I am immensely grateful to those with a local interest in each of three settlements that form the subject of this work: to Stephen Upex for his generosity in sharing his work on Elton and Castor; to Avril Lumley-Prior, William Burke and Brian Goode for passing on their knowledge of the Castor landscape; and to Robert Rolph in Lakenheath. I would also like to thank local farmer Robert Fray, who kindly let me walk across what was once *molwellehil* in Elton following a chance meeting as we were out walking in September 2010.

I would also like to record the great debt I owe to Peter McClure (University of Hull), Philip Shaw (University of Leicester), David Parsons (University of Wales) and Paul Cullen (University of the West of England), each of whom from time-to-time has led me through the minefield of medieval language, and without whom my own efforts to interpret the minor names and bynames of Elton, Castor and Lakenheath would undoubtedly have been flawed. I also owe thanks to Elizabeth New (Aberystwyth University) for her help in considering the Castor seal impressions; to Stephen Mileson (University of Oxford) for commenting on elements of the thesis; and to both the Cadbury Research Library at the University of Birmingham and Jean Birrell for kindly allowing me to borrow a copy of their translations of the Lakenheath court rolls.

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A.H.E.W. II	H.E. Hallam (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. II, 1042-1350* (Cambridge, 1988)
A H.R.	*Agricultural History Review*
B.L.	British Library
B.L.A.R.	Bedfordshire and Luton Archives and Records Services
B.R.O.	Suffolk Record Office (Bury St Edmunds)
C.M.R. I	W.H. Hart and P.A. Lyons (eds), *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, Vol. I (London, 1884)
C.M.R. III	W.H. Hart and P.A. Lyons (eds), *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, Vol.III (London, 1893)
C.N.	C.N.L. Brooke and M.M. Postan (eds), *Carte Nativorum: a Peterborough Abbey Cartulary of the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1960)
C.P.R. 6	*Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Edward III, Vol 6: A.D. 1343-1345* (London, 1902)
C.R.L.	Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham
C.R.S.B.I.	Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland
C.U.L.	Cambridge University Library
E.F.B.	T. and J. Wing, *Elton Field Book or An Accurate Survey of the Particulars of all the Arable, Ley and Meadow-Ground in the Manor of Elton* (1747 and 1748)
E.I.S.	S.A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach and O. Berghof (trans), *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, 2006)
E.H.D. I	D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents c.500 – 1042* (1979, London, 2002)
E.H.D. II	D.C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway, *English Historical Documents 1042–1189* (London, 1953)

E.H.L.	Elton Hall Library, Elton, Huntingdonshire
E.H.R.	*English Historical Review*
E.M.R.	S.C. Ratcliff (ed.) and D.M. Gregory (trans.), *Elton Manorial Records, 1279-1351* (Cambridge, 1946)
E.P.N.E. I	A.H. Smith (ed.), *English Place-Name Elements, Part I* (Cambridge, 1987)
E.P.N.E. II	A.H. Smith (ed.), *English Place-Name Elements, Part II* (Cambridge, 1987)
H.A.S.V. I	J. Sparke (ed.), *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Varii, e Codicibus Manuscriptis Nunc Primum Editi*, Vol. 1. (London, 1723)
H.A.S.V. II	J. Sparke (ed.), *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Varii, e Codicibus Manuscriptis Nunc Primum Editi*, Vol. 2. (London, 1723)
I.P.M.	Inquisitions *Post Mortem*
L.B.E.A.	S. Carlsson, *Studies on Middle English Local Bynames in East Anglia* (Lund, 1989)
M.E.D.	Middle English Dictionary Online http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/lookup.html
M.E.S.O.	G. Fransson, *Middle English Surnames of Occupation 1100-1350* (Lund, 1935)
M.M.	P.D.A. Harvey (ed.), *Manors and Maps in Rural England, from the Tenth Century to the Seventeenth* (Farnham, 2010)
M.V.R.G.	*Medieval Village Research Group*
N.R.O.	Northamptonshire Record Office
O.A.	Marcus Porcius Cato, *On Agriculture*, and Marcus Terentius Varro, *On Agriculture*, W.D. Hooper (trans.) and H.B. Ash (ed.) (1934, London, 1999)
O.D.E.P.N.	E. Ekwall (ed.), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1960)
O.E.B.N. I	P.R. Kitson, 'Old English bird-names (I)', *English Studies*, 78:6 (1997), 481-505
O.E.B.N. II	P.R. Kitson, 'Old English bird-names (II)', *English Studies*, 79:1 (1998), 2-22
O.E.D.	*Oxford English Dictionary*
O.E. S.	P.H. Reaney and R.M. Wilson, *A Dictionary of English Surnames* (1995, Oxford, 2005)

P.L.C.	C. Clark, 'People and languages in post-Conquest Canterbury', in P. Jackson (ed.), *Words, Names and History: Selected Writings of Cecily Clark* (Cambridge, 1995), 179-206
P.N.B.H.	A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire* (Cambridge, 1926)
P.N.N.	J.E.B. Gover, A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton (eds), The *Place-Names of Northamptonshire* (London, 1933)
Q.W.	*Placita de Quo Warranto Temporibus Edward I, II and III* (London, 1818)
R.H.II	*Rotuli Hundredorum temp. Hen. III and Edw. I*, Vol. II (London, 1818)
R.O.L.	S. Upex, 'The reconstruction of openfield layout from landscape evidence in Northamptonshire and Cambridgeshire (unpub. PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 1984)
Soc. Antiq.	The Society of Antiquaries
T.N.A.	The National Archives
T.R.H.S.	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
V.C.H. Cam	R.B. Pugh (ed.), *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Vol. 4* (London, 1953)
V.C.H. Ntp	R.M. Serjeantson, W. Ryland and D. Adkins (eds), *A History of the County of Northampton: Vol. 2* (London, 1970)
V.C.H. Sur	H.E. Malden (ed.), *A History of the County of Surrey: Vol. 3* (London, 1967)
V.C.H. Oxf	M.D. Lobel (ed.), *A History of the County of Oxford: Vol. 6* (London, 1959)
V.C.H. War	L.F. Salzman (ed.), *A History of the County of Warwick: Vol. 5* (London, 1949)
V.C.H. Wor	W. Page and J.W. Willis-Bund (eds), *A History of the County of Worcester: Vol. 4* (London, 1924)
V.E.P.N. I	D. Parsons and T. Styles (eds), *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names*, *Vol. 1, Á-Box* (Nottingham, 1997)
V.E.P.N. II	D. Parsons and T. Styles (eds), *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names*, *Vol. 2, Brace-Cæster* (Nottingham, 2000)
V.E.P.N. III	D. Parsons (ed.), *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names*, *Vol. 3, Ceafor-Cock-pit* (Nottingham, 2004)
W.B.P.	S. Raban (ed.), *The White Book of Peterborough* (Northampton, 2001)

W.H. *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting,* D. Oschinsky (ed., trans.) (Oxford, 1971)

W.M.E.N. I. Hjertstedt, *Middle English Nicknames in the Lay Subsidy Rolls for Warwickshire* (Uppsala, 1987)

List of linguistic abbreviations

ME	Middle English	OFr	Old French
ODa	Old Danish	ON	Old Norse
OE	Old English		

List of county abbreviations

Bdf	Bedfordshire	Lei	Leicestershire
Brk	Berkshire	Lin	Lincolnshire
Buc	Buckinghamshire	Mdx	Middlesex
Cam	Cambridgeshire	Nfk	Norfolk
Dev	Devon	Ntb	Northumberland
Dor	Dorset	Oxf	Oxfordshire
Esx	Essex	Shr	Shropshire
Glo	Gloucestershire	Sfk	Suffolk
Hmp	Hampshire	Stf	Staffordshire
Hnt	Huntingdonshire	Sur	Surrey
Hre	Herefordshire	War	Warwickshire
Iow	Isle of Wight	Wlt	Wiltshire
Knt	Kent	Wor	Worcestershire
Ntp	Northamptonshire	Yoe	Yorkshire (East Riding)
Ntt	Nottinghamshire	Yon	Yorkshire (North Riding)

Additional notes

Terms of reference

Bynames	Bynames denote medieval *cognomina* which were fluid pre-*c*.1350. An individual might bear a number of bynames.
Field-names	Used when referring to medieval furlongs, the cropping units used by medieval farmers. These are written in lower-case italics in the main body of the thesis (e.g. *catfretene*). Field-names include arable, meadow and pasture.
Minor names	In onomastic studies, minor names include field-names and other topographical features, such as paths and streams. Medieval minor names are written in lower-case italics (e.g. *langdykheg*).
Open fields	Open fields refer to the larger arable units within which there were a number of furlongs of different sizes. Medieval and modern open-field names are always capitalized (e.g. Normangate Field).

Any terms within the main body of the thesis not in modern English are italicised (e.g. *worðig*, *cultura*)

Chapter One: Introduction

In 1311, the clerk of the Lakenheath manorial court enrolled a charter detailing a lease between the Prior of Ely and Richard in the Lane for all the demesne fisheries of Lakenheath for a ten-year period in return for annual rent of £13 10s. In the agreement, the prior retained his right to half the bitterns and all the pike of a certain size, as was his prerogative as lord of the manor. For his part, Lane also acquired access to the appurtenant weirs and fens, alongside the rights to eighteen watercourses for fishing boats and the custody of the lord's swans. During this period, Lakenheath fisheries were interchangeably described as fens, and almost fifty are detailed in the manorial records. The demesne fisheries would have comprised a small proportion of this number, but nevertheless, the grant clearly gave Lane rights over a significant acreage of demesne resources.[1] Three years later, an Inquisition *post mortem* valued Lakenheath's Clare fee fisheries at £1.[2] Consequently, in 1311, Richard in the Lane had access to a greater expanse of one of Lakenheath's key seigneurial assets, which was valued at a higher level than those enjoyed by Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and one of England's leading magnates. However, in stark contrast to de Clare, Richard in the Lane was a servile peasant, legally bound to the prior's manor of Lakenheath.

Leasing demesne resources to peasants was of course not unprecedented, and in some respects this agreement is unremarkable. Considering, however, that certain seigneurial assets, including fisheries, parks, gardens, dovecotes and warrens, were strongly associated with lordship—in actuality and within contemporary literature and illuminations—it reveals a dichotomy between the way lords perceived their rural resources and the practical realities of managing the rural environment.[3] Despite images showing peasants occupying their rightful place in lords' fields, as they

[1] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/4/3
[2] T.N.A. C134/42; the value had been decreasing since 1261: T.N.A. C132/27/5; T.N.A. C133/129/1
[3] Literary and artistic representations of the deliberate separation of lordly resources from the lower orders were not mere constructs of the seigneurial mind. In 1381, resources of this nature were specifically targeted by peasants because of their overt association with lords; R. Liddiard, *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066-1500* (Macclesfield, 2005), p. 118

do in the *Luttrell Psalter*, whilst absenting themselves from strictly seigneurial spaces, Richard in the Lane's lease of the Lakenheath fisheries dispenses with the myth perpetuated by elites that the local environment was characterised by clear divisions between lordly and peasant space.[4] At the same time, Lane cannot be considered an archetypal peasant in this respect: not all Lakenheath peasants had authorised access to demesne resources. Nevertheless, as we will see, authorisation was not always sought by peasants traversing local landscape. Despite the efforts of late medieval elites, peasant experience cannot be diluted to produce a grand narrative that reveals one collective attitude toward the local environment, even though modern historians frequently treat the peasantry as an aggregated whole. The records of the English manor reveal—however imperfectly—the multi-faceted relationships between late medieval peasants and the intimately known local environments they inhabited.

This study seeks to examine how the lower orders perceived their local environment in the post-Conquest period between *c.*1086-*c.*1348, and aims to establish how this led to the development of varying social structures and local economic strategies that can be pieced together from the judicial and financial records of the medieval manor. In so doing, it aims to reconstruct in as much detail as possible the physical environment of three well-documented contrasting English manors: Elton in Huntingdonshire, Castor in Northamptonshire and Lakenheath in Suffolk. As has been widely acknowledged by historians for many years, manorial records offer only a partial view of the medieval rural environment, omitting a great deal of information regarding landscape and population alike.[5] Consequently, this thesis necessarily considers both the visible environment clearly perceptible within the documentary sources, alongside a more indistinct hidden landscape encountered by the peasantry that is harder to discern. A number of key questions have been considered, each broadly examined in order. Were there differences and similarities between aristocratic attitudes to local environment pre- and post-Conquest? Do medieval peasant communities' attitudes to the environment differ from those of their

[4] For a more detailed discussion, see Chapter 2, p. 55

[5] See for example: P.D.A. Harvey, 'The documents of landscape history: snares and delusions', *Landscape History*, 13 (1991), pp. 47-52, reproduced in *M.M.*, 13, pp. 1-13; C. Dyer, 'Documentary evidence: problems and enquiries', in G. Astill and A. Grant (eds), *The Countryside of Medieval England* (1988, Oxford, 1994), pp. 12-35

contemporary elites? Is there any evidence to suggest that within the stratified layers of peasant society, attitudes to local environment differed, and if so, to what extent? Did peasants' attitudes toward local landscape change between *c*.1086-*c*.1348, and if so, how did that manifest itself? Is it possible to move beyond the physical environment to consider symbolic aspects of the late medieval landscape, such as history, cosmology and folklore? And finally, how did the environment influence decisions taken by medieval farmers at a local level?

These questions provide the structural basis for the thesis, which begins with a consideration of aristocratic perceptions of the local environment, assessing change either side of 1066, the traditional point of separation between the early medieval period and the High Middle Ages. This sets the context against which peasant attitudes after *c*.1086 are assessed. The typical assumption made by non-manorial historians—that the peasantry can be treated as one homogenous mass—begins to be challenged in Chapter Three, where evidence suggests different attitudes toward personal naming were adopted by free and servile peasants, with especial emphasis among the former on their distinct lack of association with topographical bynames. Chapter Four examines how peasants viewed the local landscape using one of the traditional points of entry for scholars—field-names. This assessment takes established practice into account in its consideration of the meaning of field-names, but goes on to examine naming practices using anthropological principles, alongside the changing dynamics of medieval landscape names. In Chapter Five these ideas are taken further by reflecting on both environmental and cultural contexts to assess meanings that remain hidden to the traditional onomastic scholar. Economic factors are analysed in Chapter Six: peasant livelihood is scrutinized, and the abundant Lakenheath records reveal aspects of peasant economies more usually hidden from view. Chapter Seven assesses peasants' practical relationship with the local environment, examining perceptions and practices associated with the management of land and livestock. Finally, in Chapter Eight the seigneurial view of the morphology of the vill is assessed insofar as the juxtaposition between manorial complex and peasant tofts is concerned; in considering the usefulness of the manorial survey to establish the size and extent of peasant homesteads; and in appraising peasant attitudes toward lords' attempts to regulate the manorial environment.

As this brief outline suggests, this study encompasses a range of approaches. Historical scholarship on the English medieval peasantry has been largely coupled with the study of the English manor. This has principally been focused on socio-economic aspects of peasant lives, covering a wide range of foci, including but not limited to family and kinship, land ownership, personal status, and marketing and commerce.[6] This thesis is grounded in this historical tradition. It is concerned with the physical environment (encompassing manor, vill and surrounding landscape); lordship (in its various guises); manorial and Crown institutions (such as the judicial systems of the manorial and leet courts); manorial administration (offices and administrative documentation); and local agronomy (field systems and farming). Naturally, it is influenced by the 'Leicester Approach'—pioneered within the Centre for English Local History—with its focus on comparative history, the *longue durée,* interdisciplinarity and the prominence afforded to the lower orders and the landscape as textual evidence.

The interdisciplinary connections are myriad. There is a strong focus on names—both bynames and minor names—and therefore onomastic scholarship has been carefully considered, even if the conclusions drawn here frequently exceed the traditional boundaries beyond which most linguists rarely stray.[7] Since the emphasis here is largely on attitudes toward local environment, it is at this point that the intellectual approach moves away from more traditional English historical spheres regarding the peasantry, venturing into the realms of mentalities. This has rarely been a consideration for historians concerned with English medieval peasants, and consequently there is a limited historiography;[8] much useful insight, however, has

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[6] For example: P. Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England* (1892, Oxford, 1968); H.S. Bennett, *Life on the English Manor: a Study of Peasant Conditions 1150-1400* (Cambridge, 1956); R.M. Smith (ed.), *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle* (Cambridge, 1984); P.D.A. Harvey, *The Peasant Land Market in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1984); C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: social change in England c.1200-1520*, (revised ed.) (Cambridge, 1998); K. Biddick, 'Medieval English peasants and market involvement', *Economic History*, 45:4 (1985), pp. 823-31

[7] Although for exceptions see: P. McClure, 'The interpretation of Middle English nicknames', *Nomina*, 5 (1981), p. 96; C. Clark, 'Socio-economic status and individual identity' in D. Postles (ed.) *Naming, Society and Regional Identity: Papers Presented at a Symposium jointly arranged by the Marc Fitch Fund and the Department of English Local History, University of Leicester* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 116-7 and p. 120; A.B.C., pp. 3-22

[8] Although see J.M. Bak, A.J. Gurevich and P.A. Hollingsworth, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception* (Cambridge, 1988); M. Müller, 'Peasant mentalities and cultures in two contrasting communities in the fourteenth century; Brandon in Suffolk and Badbury in Wiltshire' (unpub. Ph.D thesis, University of Birmingham, 2001); D. Stone, *Decision-Making in Medieval*

been gained from the work of social anthropologists, sociologists and historical geographers, many of whom place a greater emphasis on theoretical ideas than many historians. To some extent, the methodology is influenced by the work of the French *Annales* School and their focus on *mentalités*—especially their consideration of the possibilities afforded by 'official' or elite sources in uncovering peasant views—and the prominence placed on critically assessed folklore.[9] From within the broad historical tradition, an understanding of the methods applied to the scholarship of personal naming and the naming of the environment has been critical. Similarly, an elementary understanding of the history of philosophical ideas and medieval science has helped to further ground some aspects of the discussions which follow. Since material culture forms a small, albeit integral part of the evidence base in the form of peasant seals and ecclesiastical architectural ornamentation, consideration has also been given to both art historical and archaeological historiography.

Historiography

This thesis encompasses a number of different historical foci: the study of the medieval English manor, and associated research concerning the peasantry and the landscape; medieval mentalities, especially peasant mentalities; the interpretation of medieval names; and the analysis of ideas concerning medieval attitudes toward the environment. As such, historiographical concerns must adequately represent all of these different strands of historical scholarship. Since each chapter assesses markedly different aspects of peasant landscape—both physical and conceptual—frequently encompassing different scholarly disciplines, relevant historiography will be for the most part considered in detail within each discrete chapter. As a point of departure,

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Agriculture (Oxford, 2005); Olson also considers peasant mentalities, although this is in some respects a flawed volume: S. Olson, *A Mute Gospel: the People and Culture of the Medieval English Common Fields* (Toronto, 2009); S. Mileson, 'The South Oxfordshire project: perceptions of landscape, settlement and society, *c*.500-1650', *Landscape History*, 33:2 (2012), pp. 83-98

[9] A.J. Gurevich, 'Medieval culture and mentality according to the New French Historiography' in S. Clark (ed.), *The Annales School: Critical Assessments*, Vol. 2 (London, 1999), pp. 212-5; J-C. Schmitt, *The Holy Greyhound: Guinefort, Healer of Children since the Thirteenth Century*, (trans.), M. Thom (Cambridge, 1983); E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: Cathars and Catholics in a French Village, 1294-1324* (trans.), B. Bray (1978, London, 1990)

however, it is wise to begin with an evaluation of scholarly writing on medieval attitudes toward landscape, environment, and the natural world. It is worth pausing briefly to reflect on these largely modern terms. 'Landscape', as has often been noted, is a problematic word.[10] Its etymology is early modern and it is associated more with pictorial depictions than three-dimensional, physical space. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'environment' as 'the physical surroundings or conditions in which a person or other organism lives; a particular set of surroundings or conditions which something or someone exists in or interacts with; the natural world or physical surroundings in general…'. Although it has its origins in the medieval period (its roots are French) the term is not encountered in any of the source material studied here. Nevertheless, the definition encompasses what is described as 'the natural world' which, in modern parlance embraces everything that makes up the environment we live in—living organisms, inanimate phenomena, airs, water and so on. Whilst providing a useful baseline, this falls some way short of what might have been understood in the medieval period. First, the natural world was not thought of as distinct and separate from mankind; additionally, before the twelfth century any proposed definition would have incorporated imperceptible elements of nature—what we might style the supernatural.[11]

Even though these modern terms are not found within the documents that form part of this study, it is clear that they are a fitting substitute for what is indirectly expressed therein. The myriad words used to identify different aspects of the physical landscape—*inter alia* land, meadow, fen, garden, heath, pasture, lode, woodland—alongside the many references to the natural world, whether through field-names like *thirspitt*, *catfretene* and *erneshowepath*,[12] or via direct references to encounters with nature, all support the idea that even without one comprehensive contemporary term, the clear nuances of medieval local 'environment' are in many ways comparable to the way we define environment in this context today. Even the more problematic 'landscape' is appropriate if we consider that its association with art means that it is

[10] J. Wylie, *Landscape* (Abingdon, 2007), pp. 7-8
[11] J. Neville, *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry* (1999, Cambridge, 2006), pp.2-3; R. Bartlett, *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 2; R. Jones, *The Medieval Natural World* (Harlow, 2013), p. 3
[12] Giant's or demon's pit (Castor), 'chewed by cats'(Elton) and eagle's barrow path (Lakenheath) respectively.

essentially a polysemic term—in landscape painting we may see what the artist wants us to see, but we might alternatively interpret the image differently, wittingly or unwittingly. Just as the modern word is interpreted, the sources reveal multiple peasant perspectives, some conceptual and others more practical, that fit the present-day definition.

In an English context, there are a number of works emphasising attitudes toward the landscape and the natural world, the latter more often encompassing work from a variety of different disciplines, including archaeology, historical and cultural geography, anthropology and sociology. In recent years, there has been a burgeoning interest in scholarship aiming to determine how the landscape was perceived by local inhabitants. Several consider the early medieval period. Hooke examines Anglo-Saxon boundary clauses to gauge mentalities concerning the landscape, whilst Semple considers attitudes to the supernatural landscape, assessing the historic landscape alongside field-names that survive into the late medieval period.[13] In her early modern study Walsham contemplates religion and how it influenced attitudes toward the landscape, arguing that people considered the landscape as 'a supplementary source of revelation'.[14] More recently, Mileson's interim report from the South Oxfordshire Project, due to conclude in 2015, has to a certain extent validated elements of the approach first tested here within the Elton case-study;[15] Mileson and his team have elected to pursue a number of strands of evidence considered therein, most notably peasant naming strategies (bynames and minor names), seal impressions, and the idea of regulated manorial space.[16] The Oxfordshire study is wider in scope, from chronological and disciplinary perspectives, but narrower in geographic terms.

Of the literature focusing on attitudes to the natural world Glacken's magisterial diachronic work still provides the best introduction to key philosophical

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[13] D. Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon Landscapes of the West Midlands: the Charter Evidence* (Oxford, 1981); p. 5 and p. 13; S. Semple, 'A fear of the past: the place of the prehistoric burial mound in the ideology of middle and later Anglo-Saxon England', *World Archaeology*, 30:1 (1998), pp. 109-126

[14] A. Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 2-6

[15] S. Kilby, 'A different world? Reconstructing the peasant environment in medieval Elton' (unpub. MA dissertation, University of Leicester, 2010a); S. Kilby, 'A different world? Reconstructing the peasant environment in medieval Elton', *Medieval Settlement Research*, 25 (2010b), pp. 72-77;

[16] S. Mileson, 'The South Oxfordshire project: perceptions of landscape, settlement and society, *c*.500-1650', *Landscape History*, 33:2 (2012), pp. 92-4

thinking and prominent themes.[17] Coates' attempt at an updated version offers a useful overview of current debate (albeit without any attempt at a historiography proper), but considers the idea of nature from the perspective of the lower orders only cursorily. Dismissing the idea that peasants might appreciate nature aesthetically, he uses medieval calendar illuminations—which were both elite sponsored and produced—to pronounce on the peasant relationship with the environment.[18] In his essay on nature and man in the Middle Ages, Murray attempts to elucidate the world-views of all medieval people, both elite and uneducated.[19] He rightly suggests that nature and its individual components cannot be reduced to one single definition (as others have also identified),[20] arguing that just as there are multiple views concerning natural events, so there are differing views across the different layers of society. He proposes that, in particular, there was a wide gulf between peasant and elite mentality, and yet he offers little in the way of compelling evidence to support this. Using one line of poetry from *Beowulf*, suggesting that a minstrel believed the world to be flat, he projects this generalisation onto the peasantry as a whole. He supports this argument with the idea that all peasants interpreted certain natural phenomena (such as thunder) as portentious, ignoring evidence identifying that even for the educated, such occurences were similarly construed.[21] Both this and Torrance's views—that the peasant world-view was 'primitive'—are disappointing in their simplification, lack of suitable evidence and non-critical assessment of approaching

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[17] C.J. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1967); also useful are E.M.W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (London, 1948), W.J. Brandt, *The Shape of Medieval History: Studies in Modes of Perception* (London, 1966) although Brandt suggests that manorial documents cannot elucidate attitudes toward nature: p. 132

[18] P. Coates, *Nature: Western Attitudes Since Ancient Times* (Oxford, 1998), p. 57

[19] A. Murray, 'Nature and man in the Middle Ages' in J. Torrance (ed.), *The Concept of Nature: the Herbert Spencer Lectures* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 25-62

[20] M. Camille, *Image on the Edge: the Margins of Medieval Art* (1992, London, 2008), p. 29

[21] Murray, 'Nature and man', pp. 30-1; For elite writings on portents see *E.I.S.*, p. 105 (comets); M.J. Swanton (trans., ed.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, (E manuscript), (London, 1997), p. 55 (the northern lights); M. Chibnall (ed., trans.), *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Vol. VI, Books XI, XII and XIII (Oxford, 1978), p. 439 (lightning); J.A. Giles, (ed., trans.), *Matthew Paris's English History From the Year 1235 to 1273*, Vol.I (London, 1854), p. 71 (planetary alignment); R.M. Liuzza, 'What the thunder said: Anglo-Saxon brontologies and the problem of sources', *The Review of English Studies*, 55:218 (2004), pp. 1-23

peasant mentalities through elite sources.[22] As my study of Elton has already shown, this kind of oversimplification can be challenged, and in some instances, overturned.[23]

There also exists a wide range of essays on the subject of the natural world. While it is not intended to assess these individually, there are some issues that are prevalent within this literature that require consideration here. The most obvious gap is in considerations of the medieval peasantry. Despite titles that self-evidently suggest scholarship that takes a cross-societal approach, this is rarely the case in reality. Neither Ridyard and Benson's *Man and Nature in the Middle Ages* or Salisbury's *Medieval World of Nature* consider the attitudes of the lower orders.[24] Salisbury cites the rationale for her collection as uncovering 'how...medieval people view[ed] the natural world around them'; yet it only focuses on elite ideas which are certainly not representative of medieval society as a whole.[25] And yet within this volume, there are opportunities for the exploration of peasant views; most notably Oggins acknowledges nature as multi-faceted, and having different meanings for discrete groups of people, but fails to expand on this.[26] In a study which encompasses the late medieval and early modern periods in Austria, Jaritz and Winiwarter construct their argument around the idea that there were two levels of 'nature' between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries—elite and peasant nature.[27] But despite their recognition that peasant views are rarely considered, there are two issues that render this study incomplete. First, the conclusion that elite nature was considered to have greater significance; this crucially fails to assess the collective or individual views of the lower orders. Secondly, their suggestion that representations of the Labours of the Months in the early fifteenth century shows evidence of a change in artistic conventions from 'stylised' to 'authentic', despite the fact that they could still be

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[22] Torrance, 'The Concept of Nature', p. v
[23] Kilby, 'A different world' (2010a), p. 55-7
[24] J.E. Salisbury (ed.), *The Medieval World of Nature: a Book of Essays* (New York, 1993); S.J. Ridyard and R.G. Benson (eds), *Man and Nature in the Middle Ages* (Sewanee, 1995)
[25] Salisbury, '*The Medieval World*', p. xi
[26] R.S. Oggins, 'Falconry and medieval views of nature' in J.E. Salisbury (ed.), *The Medieval World of Nature: a Book of Essays* (New York, 1993),pp. 47-60
[27] G. Jaritz and V. Winiwarter, 'On the perception of nature in a Renaissance society', in M. Teich, R. Porter and B. Gustafsson (eds), *Nature and Society in Historical Context* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 91-111

interpreted as a group of peasants working on the lord's behalf, and were still elite-sponsored images.[28]

Perhaps surprisingly, studies that consider the peasantry are more frequently undertaken by scholars from other disciplines. Through the study of artistic representations of birds, the biologist G. Evelyn Hutchinson argues that a combined approach encompassing natural history, art history and documentary history takes us closer to understanding attitudes toward nature. Her suggestion that the late thirteenth-century Dominican scholar Albertus Magnus' use of the vernacular could be interpreted as popular culture being more advanced than has been hitherto considered is very interesting and worthy of further deliberation.[29] The geographer Bunkse considered folklore as evidence to suggest a fundamental divergence in the ways in which peasants and elites considered landscape.[30] In a cautionary note, he is rightly wary of the employment of elite sources in uncovering popular thought, but has not considered the possibility of assessing names (personal and minor names), which were frequently devised by peasants. Within archaeology, important contributions to the understanding of peasant landscapes (and their differences compared with elite landscapes) have been made by Altenberg, who has consciously moved away from a more quantitative approach to consider actual experience through mental constructions of space based on sociological ideas rather than physical spatial order; and by Jones who reconsiders peasant manuring strategies from the perspectives of social identity and the creation of more closely identified personal peasant space.[31] It is clear from this brief review of current literature that,

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[28] Jaritz and Winiwarter, 'Perception of nature', pp. 96-7 and pp. 102-3

[29] G.E. Hutchinson, 'Attitudes toward nature in medieval England: the Alphonso and Bird Psalters', *Isis*, 65:1 (1974), p. 24

[30] E.V. Bunkse, 'Commoner attitudes toward landscape and nature', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 68:4 (1978), pp. 551-66; see also W.J. Mills, 'Metaphorical vision: changes in western attitudes to the environment', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 72:2 (1982), pp. 237-53 and P.D. Jungerius, *Perception and Use of the Physical Environment in Peasant Societies* (Reading, 1986) for less stimulating but nevertheless interesting geographical essays on attitudes toward nature. For an alternative approach, see Y-F. Tuan, *Space and Place: the Perspective of Environment* (2003, Minneapolis, 1977)

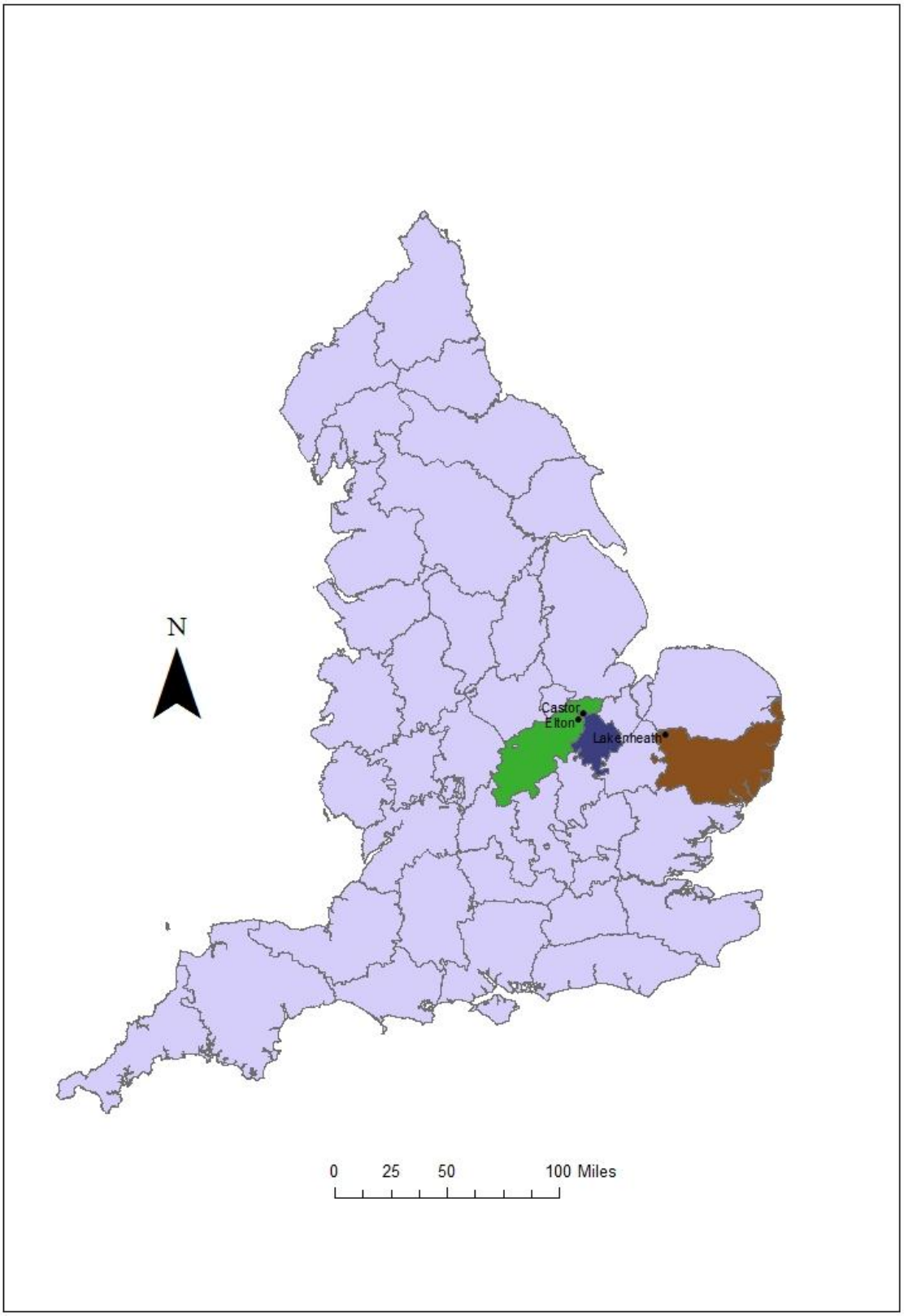
[31] K. Altenberg, *Experiencing Landscapes: a Study of Space and Identity in Three Marginal Areas of Medieval Britain and Scandinavia* (Stockholm, 2003); R. Jones, 'Manure and the medieval social order' in M.J. Allen, N. Sharples and T. O'Connor (eds), *Land and People: Papers in Memory of John G. Evans* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 217-25; these approaches differ markedly from archaeological considerations of objective space considered by, for example T. Saunders, 'The feudal construction of space: power and domination in the nucleated village', in R. Samson (ed.), *The Social Archaeology of Houses*, (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 181-96

notwithstanding recent developing interest, peasant mentalities concerning the medieval environment have been considered either cursorily or omitted entirely from studies focusing on medieval nature. This study attempts to fulfil several objectives: first, to fill the obvious gap in the historical literature; secondly, to stimulate further debate within this emerging field of study; thirdly, to contribute to the idea that medieval peasant mentalities can be uncovered and are worthy of scholarly focus; and finally, to show that the application of local history methodology can offer important insights to more mainstream historical debates.

Geographic scope

The original scope of the four-year MA and PhD ESRC project envisaged the study of four English manors in Huntingdonshire, the first being Elton. Following completion of the MA dissertation it was felt there was greater benefit in widening the geographical choice for two key reasons. First, most Huntingdonshire manors with suitable source material were entirely under ecclesiastical lordship (a great deal of which were, like Elton, Ramsey Abbey properties), and secondly it was felt that the county did not offer enough landscape diversity to assess fully the differences and similarities in farming practices and attitudes to local landscapes, and to test more rigorously the emerging ideas presented within the MA dissertation. These factors combined with the necessity to find well documented manors, led to the identification of three non-Huntingdonshire manors: Castor (Ntp), Lakenheath (Sfk) and Holme-next-the-Sea (Nfk) (figure 1.1). Following initial assessment of the documents, and subsequent consultation with Professor Christopher Dyer, it was agreed that there would not be enough time to assess four such richly documented manors, and Holme was withdrawn. Whilst detailed portraits of each vill are provided within the main body of the thesis, a brief overview of their lordship and geology is provided here.

Figure 1.1: Elton (Hnt)), Castor (Ntp) and Lakenheath (Sfk)



Elton, Huntingdonshire

From its beginnings as a number of scattered Anglo-Saxon settlements lying in the north-west corner of Huntingdonshire, *Domesday Book* records three holdings in Elton: two Ramsey Abbey lands, and a further one and a half hides belonging to Peterborough Abbey.[32] By the thirteenth century Elton was a polyfocal village and parish of 1,896 acres contained in two separate manors—Nether End and Over End—even if the proto-manor of Over End, held by the de Aylingtons, was still fundamentally part of Ramsey Abbey's holdings (figure 1.2).[33] Situated in the Midlands champion region, the main focus for Ramsey Abbey and its officials at Elton was on arable production, most probably organised in an open-field system consisting of three fields.[34] In 1279 the Ramsey Abbey demesne comprised three hides, a total of 432 acres.[35] An earlier undated survey outlined an agreement between Ramsey Abbey and Thorney Abbey whereby the latter held twenty acres of Elton meadow in exchange for Elton peasants' right to access pasture for their livestock in Farcet Fen (Hnt), ten miles distant (figure 1.3).[36] The Abbot of Ramsey held the franchise for the View of Frankpledge in Elton. Geologically, Elton is diverse: alluvial and terrace soils border the river, whilst heavier clays dominate the eastern side of the parish.[37] Located in the Nene valley, with the river running alongside the manor's western boundary, water-meadows were more abundant than on some of Ramsey's other holdings. The extant surveys make no mention of woodland, and the accounts reveal timber purchased from neighbouring vills.[38]

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[32] *D.B.H.*, 6,13; *D.B.N.*, 6,9 and 9,3
[33] *R.H. II*, p. 656; *V.C.H. Hnt*, p. 158; the de Aylington holding was probably the former Peterborough Abbey hideage.
[34] Kilby, 'A different world?' (2010a), p. 35
[35] *R.H. II*, p. 656; each hide consisted of 6 virgates, and each virgate 24 acres.
[36] *C.M.R. I*, p.267
[37] R.O.L., p. 70
[38] See Chapter 6, p. 169

Figure 1.2: Elton (Hnt)

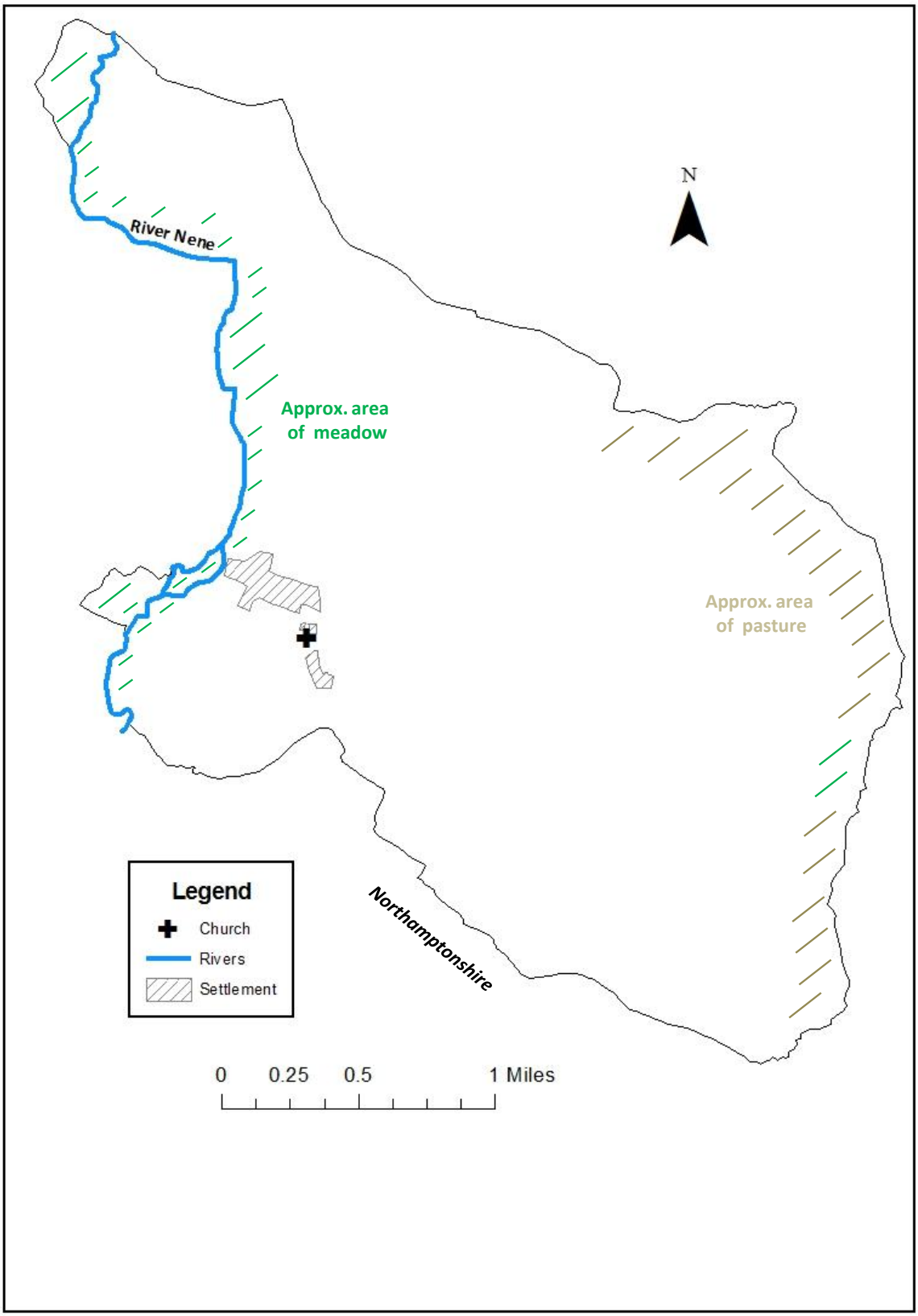
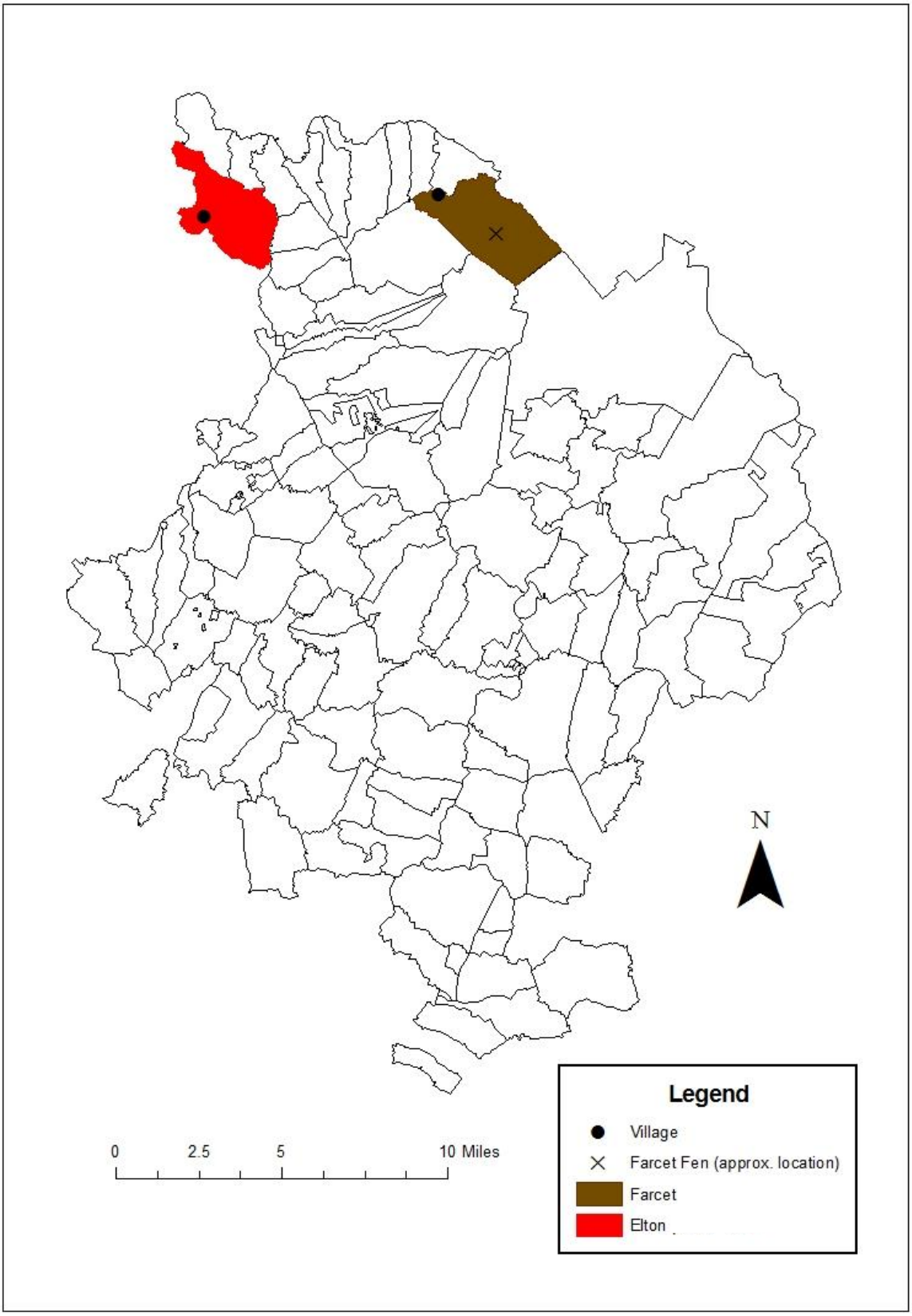


Figure 1.3: Farcet Fen (Hnt)



Castor, Northamptonshire

In the medieval period, the parish of Castor included four hamlets: Ailsworth, Milton, Upton and Sutton (figure 1.4).[39] At that time, Castor and Ailsworth formed one vill, albeit consisting of a number of discrete manors. Each settlement was nucleated (figure 1.5). *Domesday Book* records Peterborough Abbey as tenant-in-chief, directly holding three hides in Castor and six in Ailsworth. In 1086, five knights held three further hides in Castor, and three knights held three hides in Ailsworth.[40] While little information survives concerning the original knights' fees, the 1105 *Descriptio Militum de Abbatia de Burgo* lists one Thorold of Castor holding two hides, which King defines as two fees.[41] This was reduced to one and a half hides *c*.1133, when the church reverted to the abbey. By the early fourteenth century, the Peterborough Abbey manor demesne consisted of 195 acres of arable land and thirteen and a half acres of meadow.[42] Due to the weaker nature of lordship in Castor and Ailsworth, the population consisted of a greater than usual quantity of free peasants. Although lying in the Midlands champion region and operating an open-field system, neither Castor nor Ailsworth presents as classically champion. There were five open fields in Castor and four in Ailsworth in the late medieval period.[43] The landscape was also fairly extensively wooded, with over 400 acres recorded in 1215 prior to the onset of extensive assarting, after which reasonably substantial woodland still remained; there was also a large area of heathland.[44] Like Elton, the vill is situated in the Nene valley and features light gravelly soil on limestone.[45]

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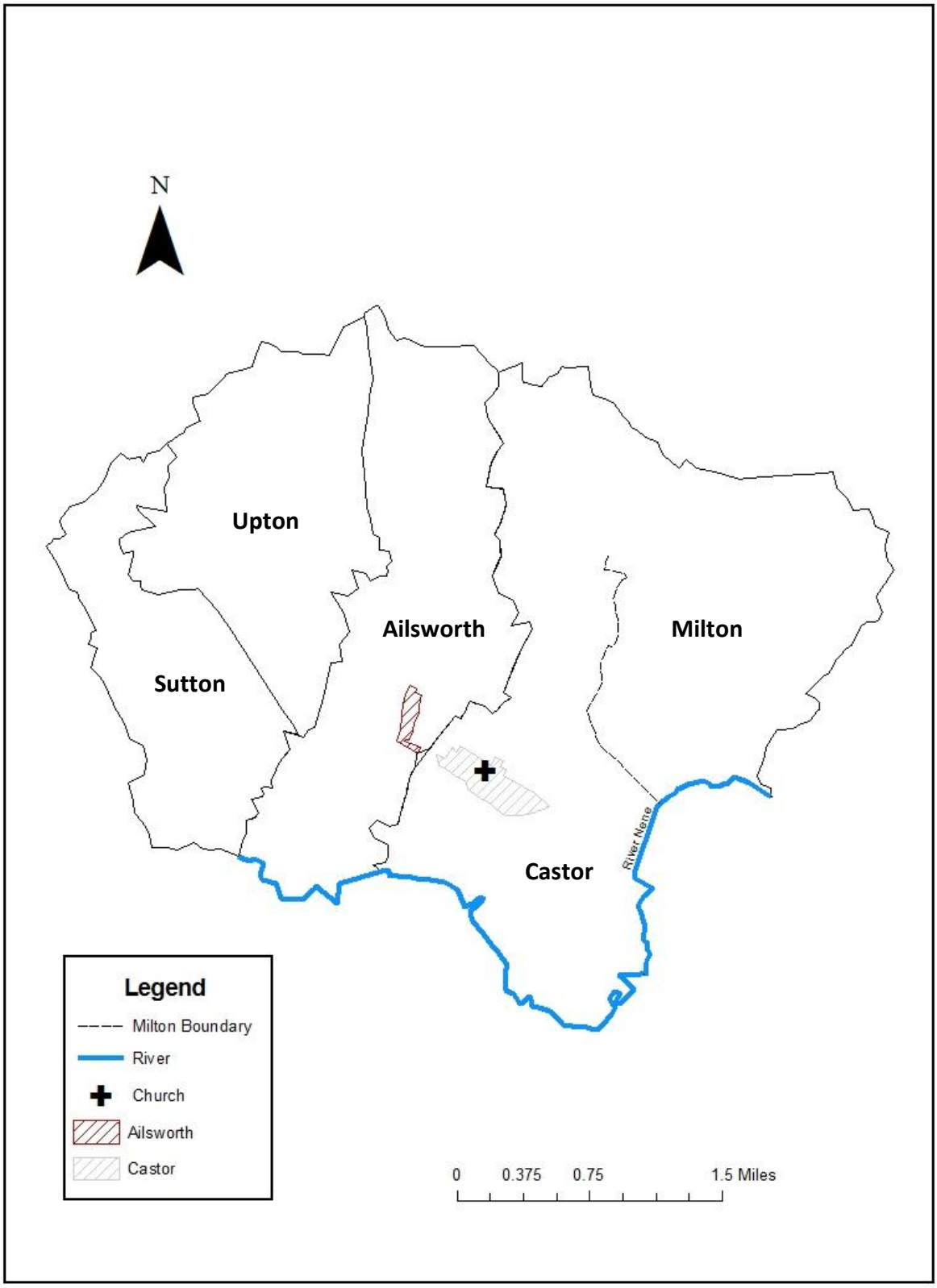
[39] *V.C.H. Ntp*, p. 472; today, Castor is in Cambridgeshire.
[40] *D.B.N.*, 6,4; 6a,1
[41] E. King, 'The Peterborough 'Descriptio Militum' (Henry I)', *E.H.R.*, 84, 330 (1969), p. 99; E. King, *Peterborough Abbey 1086-1310, a Study in the Land Market* (Cambridge, 1973), p. 25
[42] *H.A.S.V. II*, pp. 175-7; no I.P.M. survives for the Thorold fee
[43] The organisational picture is unclear: Peterborough Abbey documents occasionally refer to Ailsworth fields as part of Castor (e.g. *C.N.*, p. 210 [1340] lists holdings recorded as Castor, whilst detailing Ailsworth fields); a 1393 survey of Castor also lists Ailsworth fields, and places Wood Field 'between Ailsworth and Castor': Cotton MS Nero C. vii/14; Hall suggests five medieval fields in Castor, but details Ailsworth's fields incorrectly: D. Hall, *The Open Fields of Northamptonshire* (Northampton, 1995), p. 229
[44] See Chapter 6, p. 169
[45] *V.C.H. Ntp*, p. 472

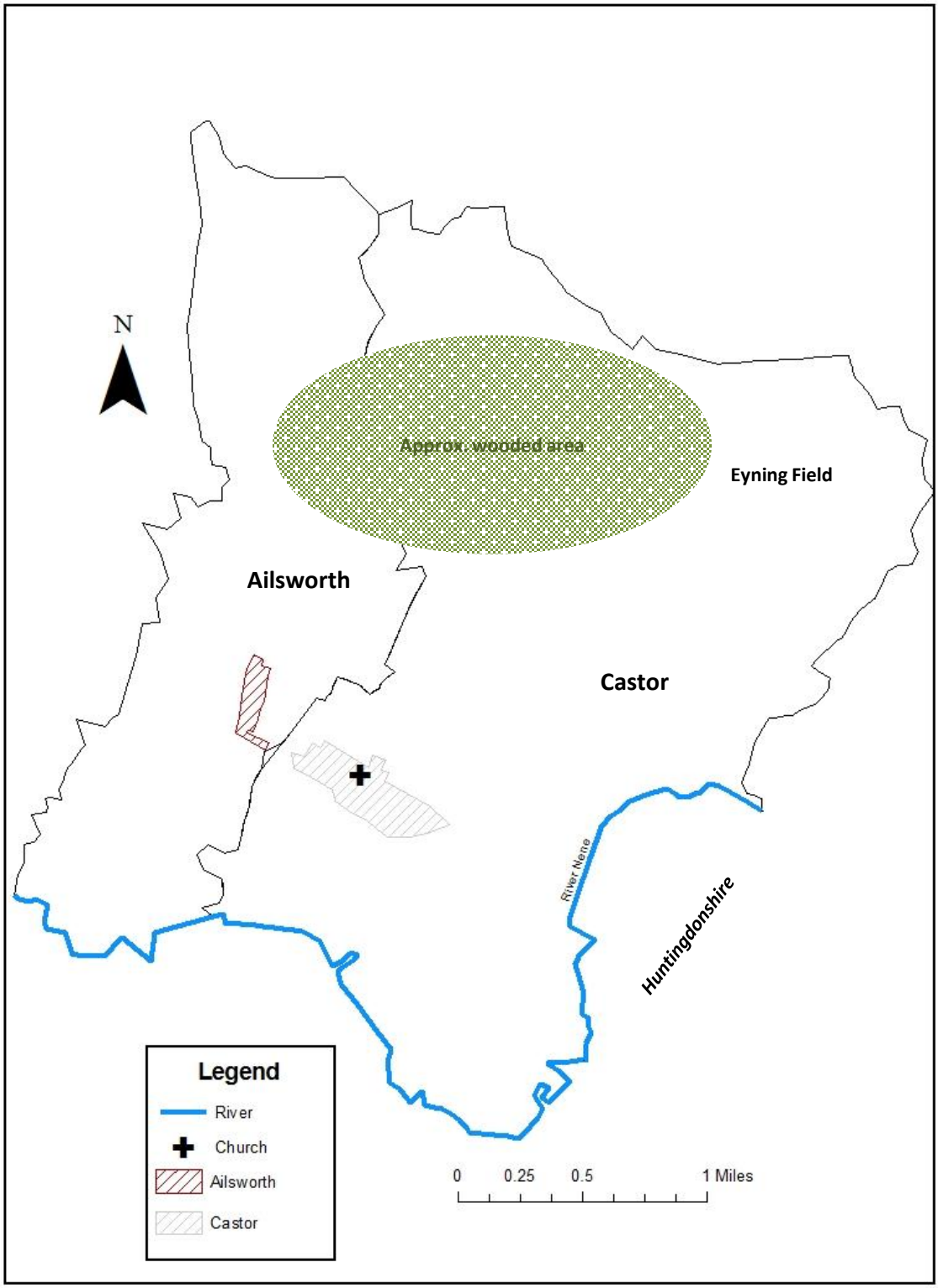
Figure 1.4: Ailsworth, Castor, Milton, Sutton and Upton (Ntp)



Note: The precise boundary between medieval Castor and Milton is uncertain

Source: N.R.O. Map T236

Figure 1.5: Castor and Ailsworth (Ntp), pre *c*.1215



Note: pre-1215 woodland extended across what became Eyning Field, named after part of the assarted woodland, and therefore my map differs slightly but importantly to the *c*.1300 map produced by T. Partida, D. Hall and G. Foard, *An Atlas of Northamptonshire: the Medieval and Early Modern Landscape* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 7M-8M

Lakenheath, Suffolk

Lakenheath is a large parish of some 11,000 acres situated in Suffolk's Breckland close to the border with Cambridgeshire and Norfolk. It lies on the edge of the vast fens and in an area of exceptionally poor sandy soils (figure 1.6). The village is nucleated, consisting of a long linear settlement close to the fen edge. *Domesday Book* records two manors in Lakenheath: three carucates belonging to Ely Abbey, and one carucate of Richard fitzGilbert, later known as Clare fee.[46] In the late twelfth century, following the abbey's reorganisation into a bishopric, Lakenheath became part of the prior and convent's portion; and in 1331, Clare fee was granted to the priory by Elizabeth de Burgh.[47] Unusually, both lords were designated joint chief lords of the vill, with Ely Priory holding the advowson of the church and the earls of Gloucester the franchise of the leet court and the right to hold a market.[48] Lakenheath's topography is diverse: to the west, a fen of approximately 7,000 acres; 2,000 acres of heathland to the east; and just 1,500 acres of arable, of which Ely Priory's demesne was *c*.600 acres and the Clare demesne 40 acres.[49] In addition, there was a large quantity of fisheries, many leased to peasants, as we will see. Due to its poor soils, Lakenheath's medieval economy was dominated by sheep husbandry, and arable production focused on rye and barley. There were four great fields, but it is unclear whether they followed an open-field or shift system.[50]

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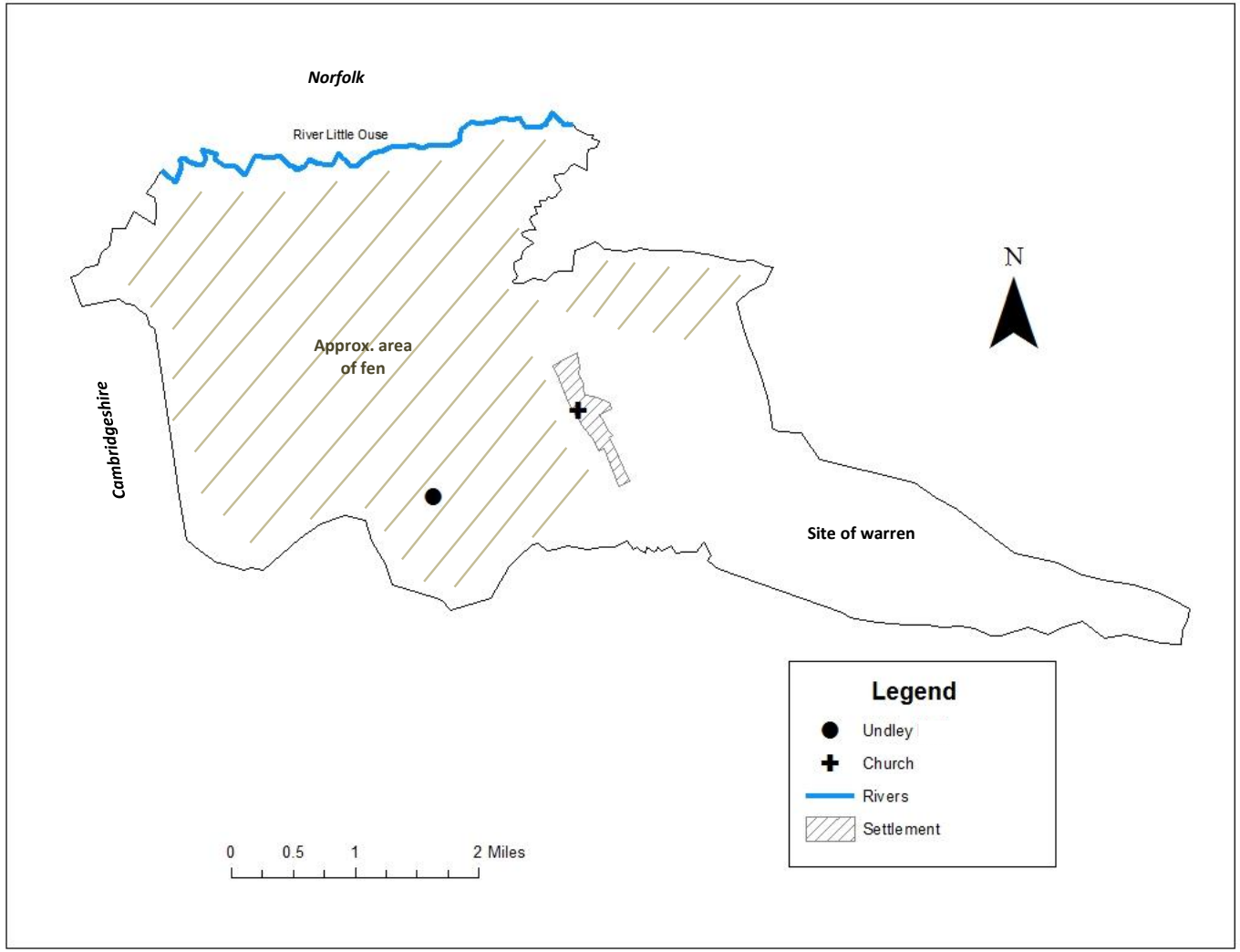
[46] *D.B.S.*, 21, 6-7; 25,36; 28, 2
[47] M. Bailey, 'The Prior and Convent of Ely and their management of the manor of Lakenheath in the fourteenth century' in M.J. Franklin and C. Harper-Bill (eds), *Medieval Ecclesiastical Studies in Honour of Dorothy M. Owen* (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 2-3; CUL/EDC/1/A/1/4
[48] M. Bailey, *A Marginal Economy? East Anglian Breckland in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 74; *R.H. II*, p. 196; C133/129/1; C132/27/5; although the court roll transcripts show that the prior's manor also held leet courts before the amalgamation of the two manors: C.R.L. MS 167
[49] Bailey, 'The Prior and Convent of Ely', pp. 2-3
[50] See Chapter 6, p. 181

Figure 1.6: Lakenheath (Sfk)



Select sources

The three manors thus selected cover a variety of landscapes that promoted different forms of social organisation and economy. Crucially they are manors with excellent documentary survival. The principal sources examined in this thesis are the extant manorial records for each respective manor. Naturally, there is a wide disparity in survival across the three vills. Whereas there are relatively abundant court and account rolls for both Lakenheath manors and Elton, just three account rolls survive for the ecclesiastical manor at Castor.[51] Conversely, there are several manorial surveys for Castor and Elton, but none for Lakenheath. Of the peasant records, a vast quantity of late medieval charters survives for Castor. Although this might be expected in a vill largely populated by freemen, over 600 charters is nevertheless a staggering survival. In contrast to the manorial documents, these charters are largely from peasants associated with the small secular manor. In comparison there are just 60 for Elton—ordinarily, a large collection—and just a handful within monastic cartularies for Lakenheath. The key sources are listed in table 1.1. Added to this are a number of Crown records of varying quality. The great Edwardian survey of 1279 is exceptionally detailed for Elton, yet provides little additional detail for either Castor or Lakenheath. Inquisitions *post mortem* offer a snapshot into Clare fee, Lakenheath, but none survive for Castor's secular lordship.[52] A number of later documents pertaining to the landscape were also used, chiefly maps, field books and later surveys. Specific peculiarities and cautionary notes pertaining to each source type will be considered within the main body of the thesis. Given the importance of the manorial records, these will be considered briefly in more detail here.

[51] There are a handful of Castor court rolls that post-date this enquiry.
[52] T.N.A. C135/4/4 relates to Irchester near Irthlingborough (Ntp), also on the Nene, and known as *Cestre* in the fourteenth century. See *W.B.P.*, 113N

Table 1.1: Principal Primary Sources

Source	Start Date	End Date	No. of Documents	Repository	Notes
Elton					
Account rolls	1286	1346	8	T.N.A.	Non-consecutive dates; translated within *E.M.R.*
Leet court rolls	1279	1342	17	T.N.A.	As above
Charters	13th c.	14th c.	60	T.N.A.	
Castor					
Account rolls	1300	1310	3	N.R.O.	Non-consecutive dates; see below
Charters	13th c.	1348	397	N.R.O.	637 charters in total; final charter dated 1596
Charters	*c.*1272	*c.*1308	27	C.U.L.	Translated within *C.N.*
Survey	1215	1215	1	C.U.L.	Disafforestation of the Soke of Peterborough, transcribed in King, *Peterborough Abbey*
Survey	1393	1393	1	B.L.	Field survey of Castor and Ailsworth
Lakenheath					
Account rolls	1283	1348	25	C.U.L.	Non-consecutive dates; see table 1.2
Court rolls	1307	1342	433	T.N.A. and C.U.L.	Court rolls include manorial and leet courts; both Lakenheath manors featured. Translated within MS 167, C.R.L.

Manorial account rolls

Eight non-consecutive account rolls survive for Elton dating from September 1286 to September 1346, all of which have been transcribed and translated.[53] They are of the charge/discharge variety typical of the late thirteenth century onward.[54] Additionally, there are six separate mill accounts. Three original parchment rolls survive for Castor, all of which are enrolled accounts encompassing other Peterborough Abbey manors. This means that the iterative accounting process is hidden from view: we see the final approved account following the audit process. Their dates are incomplete since they exclude the precise accounting period, but it seems likely that they each covered the period Michaelmas to Michaelmas; Castor accounts are dated 1300-1, 1307-8 and

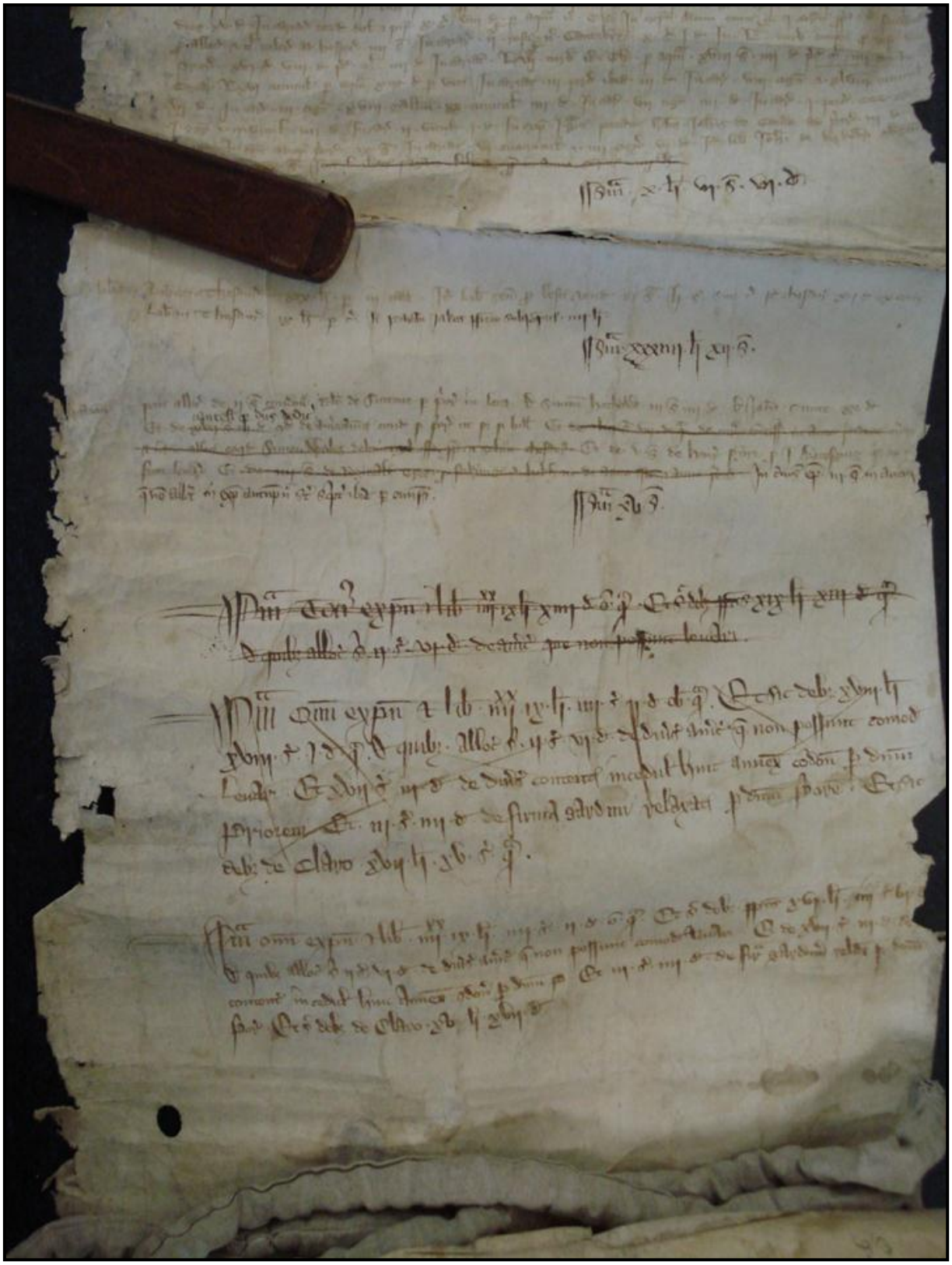
[53] *E.M.R.,* p. xviii; later account rolls survive intermittently from 1349-1460
[54] P.D.A. Harvey, *Manorial Records* (Gloucester, 1984), pp. 27-9

1309-10.[55] During the research period Raban published translated Peterborough Abbey accounts; however, the original documents were used here.[56] Twenty-five original rolls survive for the relevant time period for Lakenheath, all of which have been transcribed.[57] These are unenrolled accounts and as such offer insights into the accounting and auditing process at Lakenheath (figure 1.7). It is clear that in at least some years, both reeve's and sergeant's accounts were produced.[58] Before 1335, only one Clare fee account survives, after which they feature intermittently as part of the priory accounting process, albeit always treated separately.[59] Additionally, there are two distinct tithe accounts which are of enormous importance in considering the peasant economy (see Chapter Six).[60] Unlike the Peterborough Abbey accounts which are generally in excellent condition, the Lakenheath rolls are largely in extremely poor condition, in some parts illegible and in others disintegrated entirely.

Attempts have been made by the C.U.L. archivist to date the Lakenheath rolls, not entirely successfully. As is frequently the case with late medieval documents, the rolls are dated using regnal years, and specific reigns are not always clear. A number of the rolls make no distinction between the three Angevin Edwards, and some incorrect assumptions have been made in cataloguing them. Table 1.2 identifies those rolls having suspect dates, assessing them in the order in which they have been catalogued. There is no distinguishing dating evidence within roll one, and based on dates that are used it could be either 11-12 Edward I (1283-4) or 11-12 Edward II (1317-18); clearly, the archivist discounted the earlier possibility.[61] Within the document, however, two individuals indicate the earlier date is correct. A peasant, William Bastard, is mentioned within supervisors' expenses. The only William Bastard featured throughout the extensive collection of manorial documents is dead by 1305, when his

[55] N.R.O. F(M) 2388, 2389 and roll 233
[56] *A.G.C.*
[57] The C.U.L. catalogue categorises these as fourteen bundles within which documents of the same date have been collated.
[58] E.g. C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/11
[59] No account survives for 1331, the year Clare manor transferred to Ely Priory.
[60] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/11 and 14
[61] The roll numbers here are my references 1-5. It is unclear why this roll is labelled 10-12 EII, when the document clearly reads Edward 11-12.

Figure 1.7: Extract from the Reeve's Account, Lakenheath, 1334-5



Source: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/9

Table 1.2: Lakenheath Account Rolls with Incorrect or Incomplete Dates

No.	C.U.L. Reference	C.U.L. Date	Revised Date
1	EDC/7/16/1/3	10-12 Edward II	29 Sep 1283 – 29 Sep 1284
2	EDC/7/16/1/3	10-12 Edward II	30 Sep 1282 – 29 Sep 1283
3	EDC/7/16/1/5	17 Edward II	29 Sep 1289 – 25 Dec 1289
4	EDC/7/16/1/6	20 Edward II – 1 Edward III	29 Sep 1326 – 29 Sep 1327
5	EDC/7/16/1/6	No label, as above	29 Sep 1307 – 29 Sep 1308

Source: as column two

widow Sarah leased forty acres of land.[62] The sergeant noted on the account was Ralph de Dereham, who also features in *Liber M* as a witness to an inquisition firmly dated as 30 June 1289.[63] Roll two, associated with roll one by the archivist is actually of a different date, clearly apparent from the heading. Whilst roll one indicates '…*Anno regni regis Edwardi vndecimo…usque ad idem festum…Anno regni Edwardi duodecimo*…' roll two runs from the tenth to the eleventh year, therefore predating roll one. This roll provides two instances of clear dating evidence: 'Monday, in the vigil of the apostles Peter and Paul' can only be Monday 28 June 1283 (not Tuesday 28 June 1317); and 'Thursday in the feast of St John the Baptist' is indisputably Thursday 24 June 1283, not Friday 24 June 1317. Roll three is labelled by the archivist as 17 Edward II (1323); but, again, it features William Bastard and Ralph de Dereham. Although there is no additional dating evidence, indirectly 1289 seems more likely. The header for this roll advises that the reeve was Simon Outlawe; in a roll dated by the archivist as 19-20 Edward I (1291-2), the same man is reeve.[64] In the latter roll, one 'R de Waltham' is listed within the monks' expenses section: in the *Liber M* inquisition of 1289 Ralph de Waltham, a witness, is identified as a monk of Ely.[65]

Roll four is very damaged, and the heading is difficult to read. It is labelled 20 Edward II and 1 Edward III (1326-7). The foreign expenses section records outlay for John Bloumule, the king's escheator, in conducting an inquisition into the potential harm to the Crown in transferring Clare fee to Ely priory. This inquisition is noted in

[62] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/2; an estreat of 1318 confirms William and Sarah were married: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/2/1/7/3
[63] C.U.L./EDR/G3/28/Liber M, f.603r.; he is described as 'sergeant of Lakenheath'.
[64] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/1; Simon Outlawe only appears three times in the documentary sources, each in the late thirteenth century.
[65] C.U.L./EDR/G3/28/Liber M, f.603r

another Ely cartulary, which records that John de Bloumill assessed the matter on 21 February 1327, indicating that this roll has been dated correctly.[66] Roll five, however, has been associated by the archivist with roll four, inferring a document of sequential date. Again, the header is torn, but where legible it reads '*…primo vsque ad idem festum…Anno euisdem Edwardi secundo tempore R de Derham*…'. Ralph de Dereham, sergeant since at least 1289 and known to have retained the office until *c*.1308, cannot realistically have been sergeant for forty years.[67] In any case, John Godhewe was sergeant by 1322.[68] Three dates indicate that this roll is dated 1307-1308. 'Wednesday on the feast of St Luke' can only be 18 October 1273 or 1307, but not Tuesday 18 October 1328; 'Friday on the morrow of St Andrew' can only be Friday 1 December 1273 or 1307, not Thursday 1 December 1328. 'Wednesday in the vigil of St Peter in cathedra' is either Wednesday 21 February 1274 or 1308, not Tuesday 21 February 1329. Fortuitously, one date is diagnostic: 'Wednesday in the vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary' can only be Wednesday, 14 August 1308, not Tuesday 14 August 1274 or Monday 14 August 1329.

These archival dating errors appear to have been copied by others using the Lakenheath material, and this has some relevance here. Although he uses decades rather than individual years, it seems that Mark Bailey may have used the dates listed on the archive labels in his monograph on Breckland. Assessing decennial means for the average demesne acreage sown between 1250-1500, he begins the Lakenheath data in 1300-09, ignoring the late thirteenth-century rolls altogether.[69] His list details one extant roll between 1300-09, whereas there are in fact two.[70] The 'missing' roll provides some sown acreages, and therefore we might have expected Bailey to

[66] C.U.L./EDC/1/A/1/4
[67] In a 1332 court roll, Ralph de Dereham was recorded as sergeant in 1308: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/2/1/1/11
[68] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/4
[69] Bailey, *A Marginal Economy?,* p. 210; this is almost certainly due to the misdating of the rolls, although it is unclear why he apparently excluded rolls C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/3, erroneously dated 1316-8.
[70] He uses C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/2, dated by the archivist correctly as 1304-5. His mean figures correspond with my own for this roll, therefore I am able to identify it. However, one of the bundled rolls within C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/6, dated by the archivist as 1326-7 is actually 1307-8.

include these, unless he was misled by the archivist's dating.[71] Between 1320-9 he lists five rolls, however, this probably includes the misdated 1326-7 roll, which is in fact 1307-8.[72] The number of rolls listed by Bailey for the 1330s and 1340s matches my calculations, these being correctly dated by the archivist.

Manorial court rolls and leet court rolls

Seventeen court rolls survive for this period at Elton, all of which are transcribed and translated.[73] Ratcliff suggests that three court rolls (1279, 1292 and 1301) are manorial courts, but a quick glance at the content indicates the business of the leet.[74] At Castor, the earliest surviving court roll is dated 1363. Three more halimote rolls from the late fourteenth century provide little further information.[75] For Lakenheath, there are 288 court rolls across both manors, of which 26 relate to the leet court. Of the manorial court rolls, 69 are for Clare fee and 193 the prior's manor. In addition there are 146 estreat rolls. The original rolls are held at The National Archives and C.U.L. They were microfilmed, translated and entered into a database by researchers at the University of Birmingham as part of a project under the direction of Rodney Hilton in the late 1970s. A paper printout of the database is held at the Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, and these translations were used throughout.[76] Where necessary, the originals were carefully checked. Given the quantity of documentary source material under review for the project as a whole, it was felt that this provided the best approach given the three-year timescale.

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[71] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/6 [my reference 5 in table 1.2] shows the sown acreage for peas was 24 acres, suggesting the decennial mean was actually 18 acres, not 12 acres as reported by Bailey: Bailey, *A Marginal Economy?,* p. 210

[72] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/6; also, C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/5 [my reference 3 in table 1.2] dated 1323 by the archivist provides sown acreages although only a half-year account. It is not clear whether Bailey included this account. I calculate there are four rolls for 1320-9.

[73] *E.M.R.*; a further court roll dated 1350 is also included.

[74] *E.M.R.*, p. 2, p. 30 and p. 102

[75] B.L.A.R. Russell Box 300

[76] C.R.L., University of Birmingham, MS 167

Data analysis

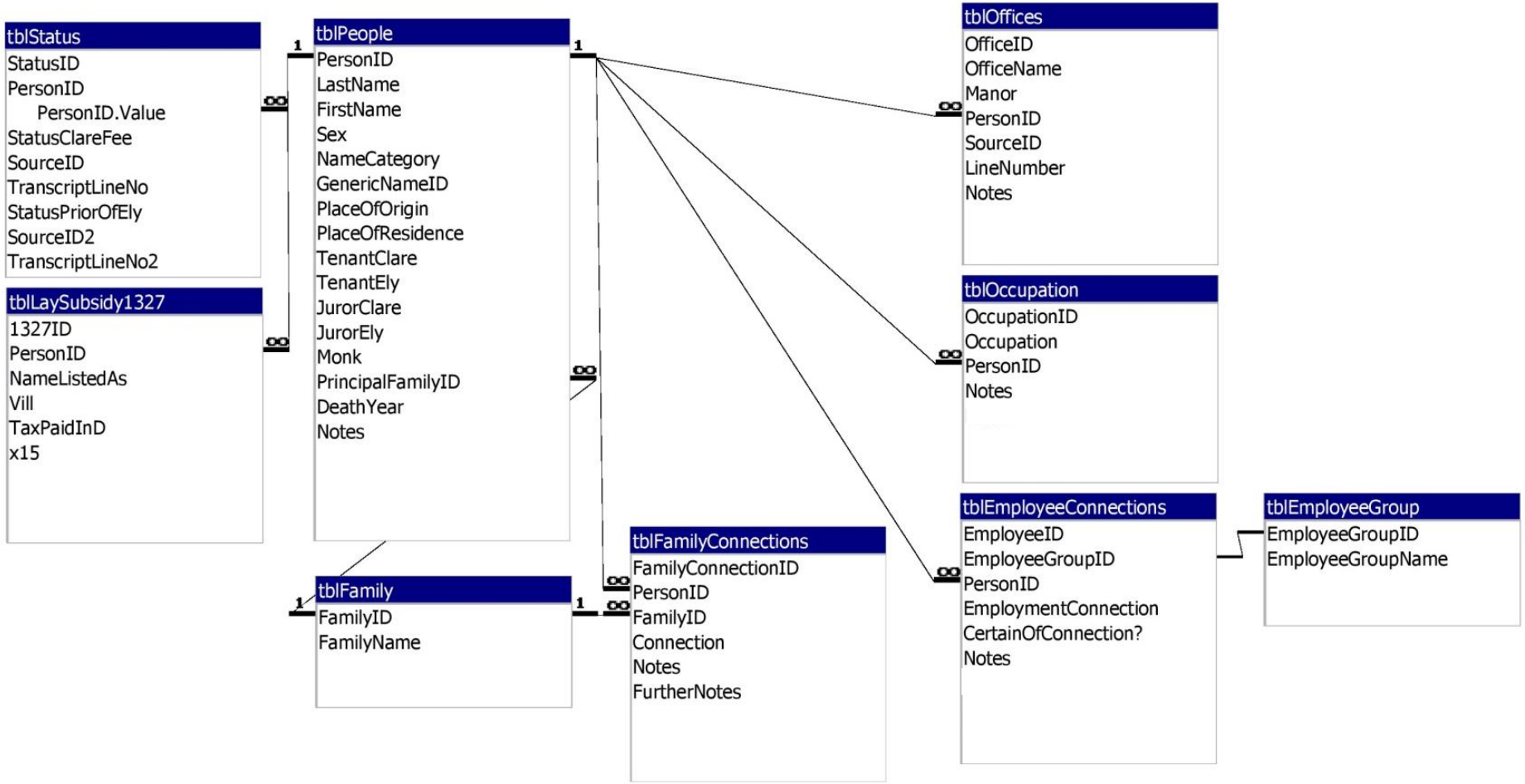
Three separate relational databases were constructed using Microsoft Access for each respective manor. These were not designed to record every transaction within each respective source, but to isolate those deemed relevant for this research. In brief, recorded data included:

- Peasant land transactions
- References to the environment
- References to the natural world (flora and fauna)
- References to husbandry
- Peasant bynames
- Minor place-names
- Manorial offices

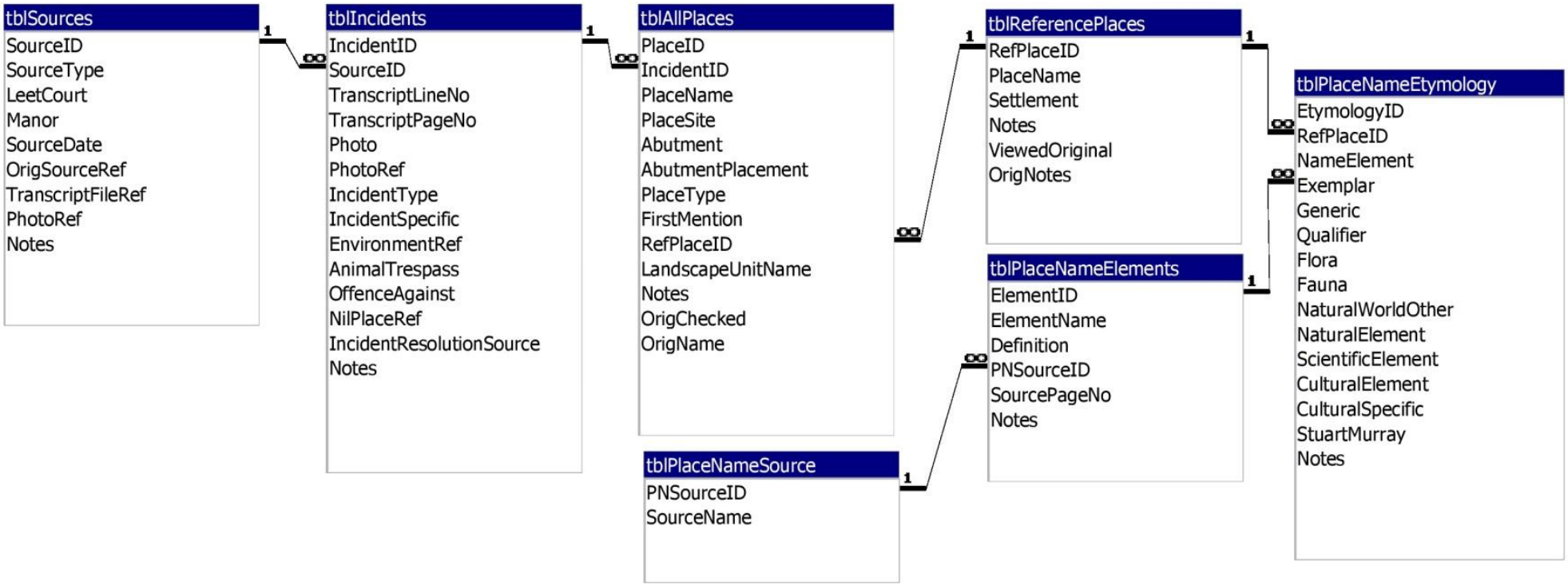
Variant spellings for all names were noted and linked together. For each documented place, relevant spatial data were noted to aid the process of landscape reconstruction. In addition, prosopographical data were recorded allowing family relationships, office holdings, occupation and personal status to be identified where possible. Data from all documentary source material, including modern maps, surveys and terriers, were included in order to cross-query the information. This recorded, for example, changes in minor names over hundreds of years. Figure 1.8 shows select tables and corresponding relationships within the Lakenheath database. Data were entered using bespoke forms created by the author (figure 1.9). Alternative relationships could be (and were) set up in order to interrogate the database using specific queries, as outlined in figure 1.10 which shows all individuals featured within the sources that were linked with the Lakenheath warren in any capacity. It is difficult to define the size of the databases, particularly as the architecture of each one differs; however, table 1.3 provides a high level indication. In addition, separate Microsoft Excel spreadsheets were used for all quantitative data. ArcGIS was used to produce all original maps.

Figure 1.8: Microsoft Access Database, Lakenheath: Select Tables and Relationships

(a) People



(b) Places, Incidents and Sources



(c) Incidents and People

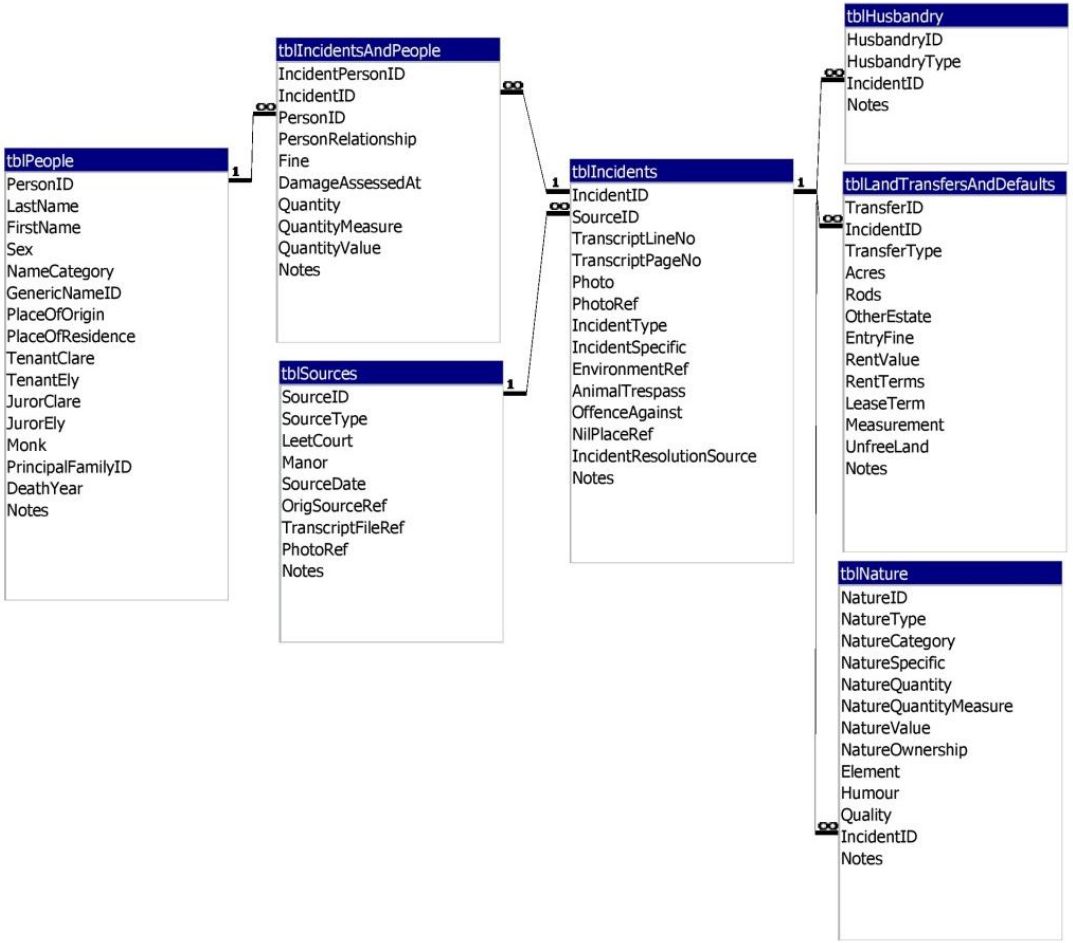
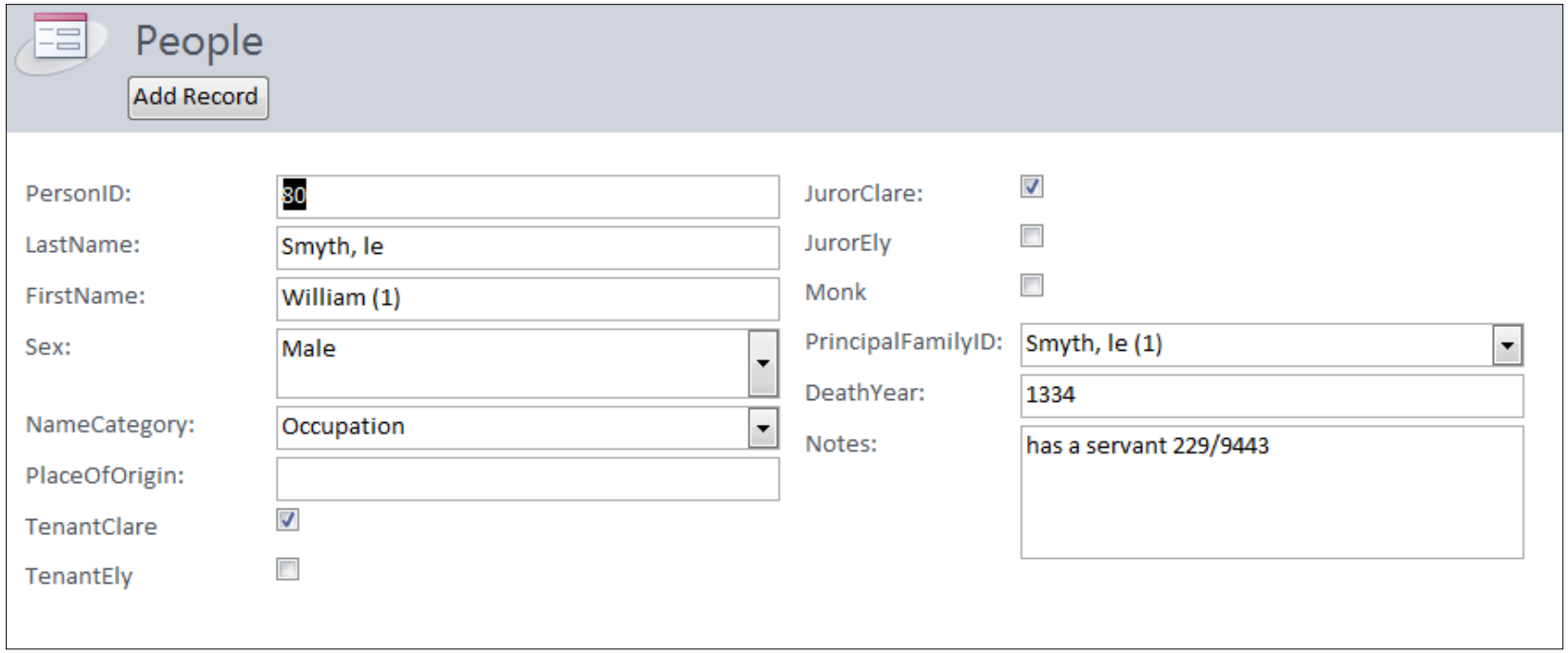


Figure 1.9: Sample Data Entry Forms, Lakenheath



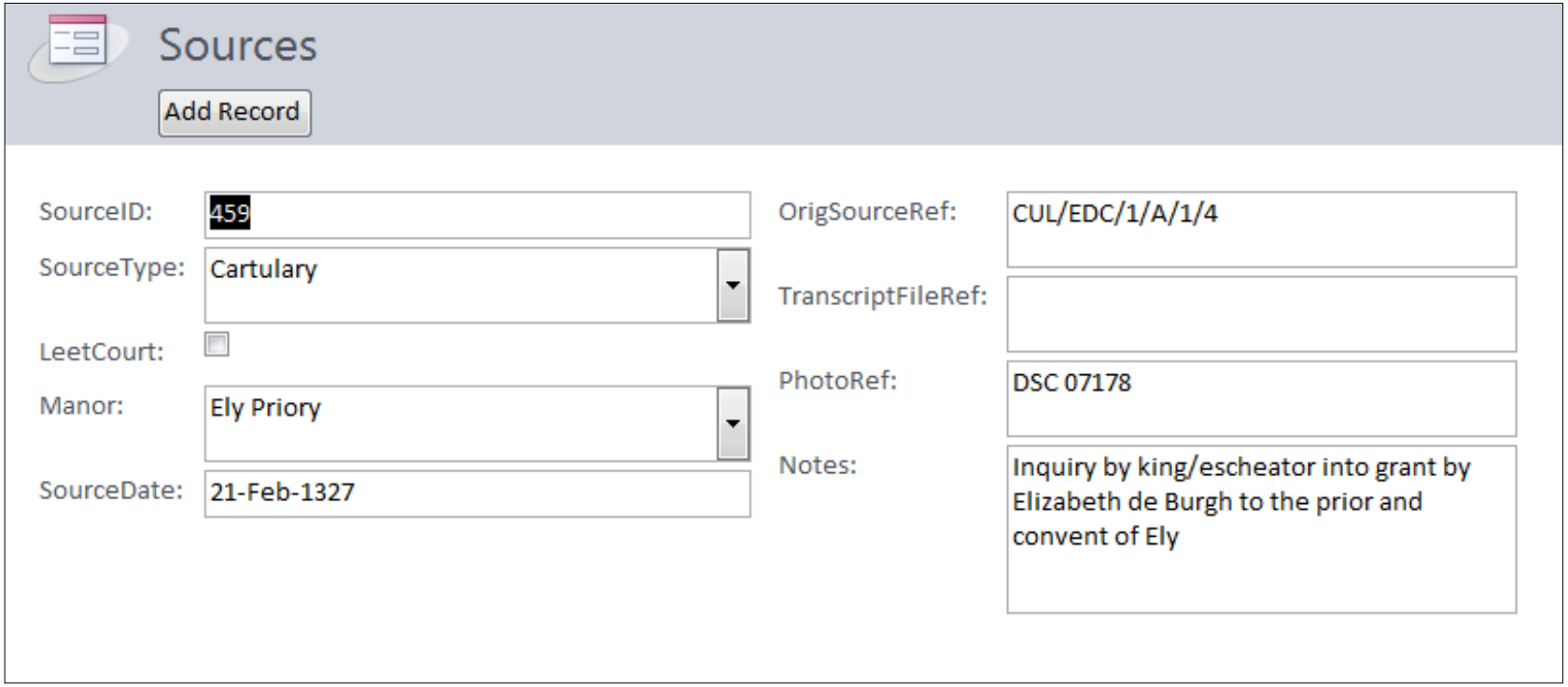
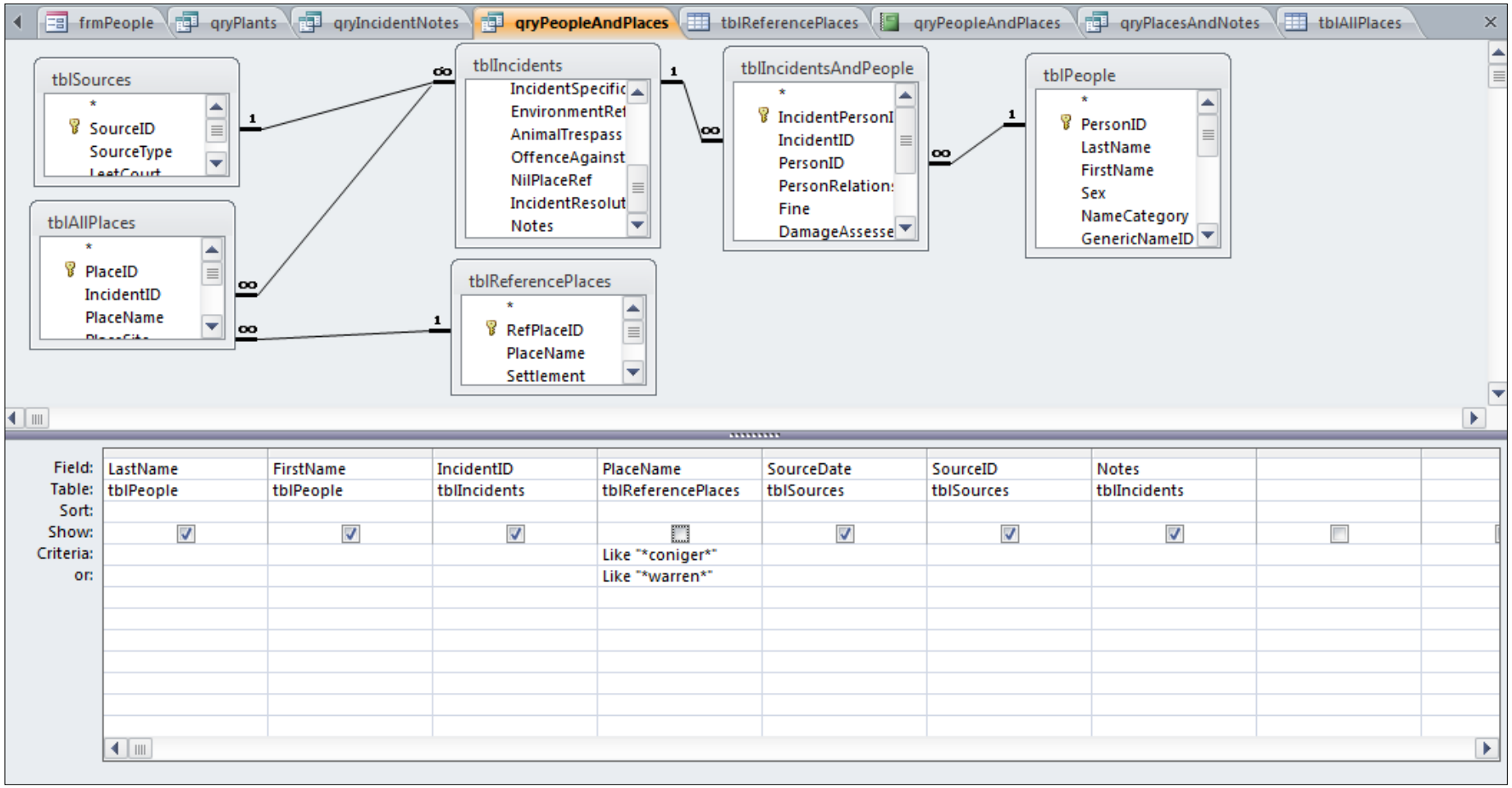

Sources
Add Record
SourceID:
459
SourceType:
Cartulary
LeetCourt:
Manor:
Ely Priory
SourceDate:
21-Feb-1327
OrigSourceRef:
CUL/EDC/1/A/1/4
TranscriptFileRef:
PhotoRef:
DSC 07178
Notes:
Inquiry by king/escheator into grant by Elizabeth de Burgh to the prior and convent of Ely

Figure 1.10: Sample Query, Lakenheath: Individuals Associated with the Warren

(a) Query Construction



(b) Query Results

qryIncidentNotes | qryPeopleAndPlaces | tblReferencePlaces | qryPeopleAndPlaces | qryPlacesAndNotes | tblAllPlaces | qryPeopleAndPlaces1

LastName	FirstName	IncidentID	SourceDate	SourceID	Notes
Outlawe	Adam (1)	1308	15-Oct-1330	197	Damage with horses at Coniger/damage assessed at part of 2 bs oats
Querur, le	Richard	1308	15-Oct-1330	197	Damage with horses at Coniger/damage assessed at part of 2 bs oats
Outlawe	John (2)	1649	21-Apr-1333	228	Damage with pigs in his keeping in ditch of le Coneger
Bole, le	Robert	1650	21-Apr-1333	228	Damage with sheep in le Conegerdich
Waunford, de	John	1650	21-Apr-1333	228	Damage with sheep in le Conegerdich
Pyper	John (1)	1524	01-Apr-1332	214	
Sabyn	Nicholas	1524	01-Apr-1332	214	
Outlawe	Adam (1)	1677	30-Jun-1333	231	Damage with geese in rabbit warren
Sporoun	William	1864	08-Jun-1335	248	Breach of warren/taking and selling wandering bitterns against ordinance and bylaw ancier
Bully	Richard	1864	08-Jun-1335	248	Breach of warren/taking and selling wandering bitterns against ordinance and bylaw ancier
Pralle	William	1864	08-Jun-1335	248	Breach of warren/taking and selling wandering bitterns against ordinance and bylaw ancier
Gerard	Roger	1953	03-Sep-1336	258	Damage in warren/damage assessed 1.5d/verdict of inq on which acc placed himself
Molle	Eustace	1970	05-Nov-1336	260	Damage in rabbit warren
Querur, le	Richard	2045	11-Nov-1337	268	Damage in rabbit warren
Outlawe	William (1)	2066	28-Apr-1338	270	damage with calf in rabbit warren
Bretham	John (1)	2142	31-May-1341	276	Damage with sheep in rabbit warren
Wrighte, le	Peter	3460	29-Sep-1348	476	Given to the same Peter for cutting alders in the warren for repairing the new kitchen 2s

Record: 1 of 17 | No Filter | Search

(c) Query Report

People associated with the warren, Lakenheath

03 September 2013
11:33:28

Source	Incident	LastName	FirstName	Date	Notes
197				15-Oct-1330	
	1308				
		Querur, le	Richard		Damage with horses at Coniger/damage assessed at part of 2 bs oats
		Outlawe	Adam (1)		Damage with horses at Coniger/damage assessed at part of 2 bs oats
214				01-Apr-1332	
	1524				
		Pyper	John (1)		
		Sabyn	Nicholas		
228				21-Apr-1333	
	1649				
		Outlawe	John (2)		Damage with pigs in his keeping in ditch of le Coneger
	1650				
		Bole, le	Robert		Damage with sheep in le Conegerdich
		Waunford, de	John		Damage with sheep in le Conegerdich
231				30-Jun-1333	
	1677				
		Outlawe	Adam (1)		Damage with geese in rabbit warren
248				08-Jun-1335	
	1864				
		Bully	Richard		Breach of warren/taking and selling wandering bitterns against ordinance and bylaw anciently ordained and current
		Pralle	William		Breach of warren/taking and selling wandering bitterns against ordinance and bylaw anciently ordained and current
		Sporoun	William		Breach of warren/taking and selling wandering bitterns against ordinance and bylaw anciently ordained and current
258				03-Sep-1336	
	1953				

Page 1 of 2

Source	Incident	LastName	FirstName	Date	Notes
		Gerard	Roger		Damage in warren/damage assessed 1.5d/verdict of inq on which acc placed himself
260				05-Nov-1336	
	1970				
		Molle	Eustace		Damage in rabbit warren
268				11-Nov-1337	
	2045				
		Querur, le	Richard		Damage in rabbit warren
270				28-Apr-1338	
	2066				
		Outlawe	William (1)		damage with calf in rabbit warren
276				31-May-1341	
	2142				
		Bretham	John (1)		Damage with sheep in rabbit warren
476				29-Sep-1348	
	3460				
		Wrighte, le	Peter		Given to the same Peter for cutting alders in the warren for repairing the new kitchen 2s
		17			

Table 1.3: Sample Sizing for Elton, Castor and Lakenheath Databases

	Number of Entries		
Category	**Elton**	**Castor**	**Lakenheath**
Individuals	938	910	1,702
Incidents	2,095≠	554	3,700
Land Transfers	60	397	897
Places	224	2,005	1,309
Sources	87	657	493

Notes: ≠ taken from MS Excel spreadsheet
'Places' refers to the total number of entries, not the number of unique places; for issues relating to duplicate entries, see Chapter 3, p. 76

It is from queries such as these that a detailed record of the personal activities of the communities studied here can be reconstructed, and it is from this that we can begin—in some respects perhaps for the very first time—to see peasants operating within, and responding to their environment, as the following chapters will show.

Chapter Two: Understanding the rural environment: the seigneurial perspective

From inclusive to exclusive: seigneurial perceptions of local environment, *c.*seventh century to the Norman Conquest

However indirect the reference, the corpus of elite writing on landscape throughout the medieval period is extensive. For a long time now, scholars have turned to a variety of documentary sources to try and understand how the upper orders of medieval society perceived the environment in which they lived, worked and played. These include a great quantity of written material that can be traced right across the period, including a vast array of literature, chronicles, hagiographical texts, encyclopaediae, wills and epistolary sources, alongside other sources, such as law codes, charters and boundary clauses, and estate surveys that were created as judicial and administrative systems developed and became increasingly sophisticated. Understanding the elite world-view through literary and artistic materials is fundamentally important in helping to identify and isolate key tropes that may prove misleading when considering the aristocratic relationship with more intimately known places—the local, experienced environment and its flora and fauna. Here, literary sources are less helpful to us in bringing to life the lived environment of the medieval elite, and we must turn to the limited, yet abundant resources of early place-names, alongside written evidence in the form of charters and boundary clauses, personal wills, royal law-codes and estate surveys. In particular, Anglo-Saxon charters and post-Conquest manorial surveys, despite being produced for different reasons, nevertheless offer essential detail on local landscapes. Importantly, these sources can be supplemented by archaeological evidence that helps to uncover settlement morphology and the development of ever more sophisticated living arrangements for medieval lords.

It is generally accepted by historians and archaeologists that the breakdown of Anglo-Saxon multiple estates, sometime between the ninth and eleventh centuries, into smaller units often held by lesser landowners marked the onset of

manorialisation, and provided the blueprint for the medieval socio-economic structure beyond the Norman Conquest and into the High Middle Ages.[77] As these smaller territorial units became established, many of them experienced an ensuing change in settlement name, replacing earlier names with toponyms that helped to associate newer landowners more readily with their estates.[78] Place-names associated with topography are frequently identified as being amongst the earliest settlement names in the English landscape, and, as such, albeit at a high level, provide some of the most abundant evidence for early medieval attitudes toward local landscape.[79] The re-naming of some settlements coincident with the distribution of land to the lower echelons of Anglo-Saxon elite society is intriguing. It is difficult to discern with any certainty whether the changing identities of these local landscapes more closely represented the direct association of the named individual with his or her territory, or the beginnings of a slow metaphorical retreat by elites away from a more intimate association with the local environment. In order to attempt a resolution, a more detailed assessment of early Anglo-Saxon settlement morphology, alongside a review of contemporary textual evidence is necessary.

Early Anglo-Saxon settlement seems to have been a much more inclusive, communal concern. It has been suggested that early settlement patterns were not necessarily determined by elites, and were possibly mobile: as resources were exhausted or required vital rejuvenation, and as dwellings deteriorated, the settlement moved within a discrete area of the territory.[80] This all begins to point to communities that made important decisions collectively, and that must have been intensely familiar with their local topography. Evidence suggests that, although the Romano-British and early Anglo-Saxon periods were characterised by dispersed farmsteads, such as that at seventh-century Mucking (Esx), by the middle Saxon

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[77] J. Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire* (Stroud, 1994), pp. 133-4; C. Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: the People of Britain 850-1520* (London, 2003), pp. 29-30; R. Jones and M. Page, *Medieval Villages in an English Landscape: Beginnings and Ends* (Macclesfield, 2006), pp. 70-72

[78] M. Gelling, *Signposts to the Past: Place-Names and the History of England* (London, 1978), pp. 183-4; D. Hall, 'The late Anglo-Saxon countryside: villages and their fields' in D. Hooke (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (Oxford, 1988), p. 121 dates this phenomenon from the 7th-10th centuries; Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*, p. 133

[79] B. Cox, 'The place-names of the earliest English records', *J.E.P.N.S.*, 8 (1976), p. 66; M. Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape: the Geographical Roots of Britain's Place-Names* (1984, London, 1993), p. 6; a view tempered only moderately in M. Gelling and A. Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names* (Stamford, 2000), p. xix

[80] Jones and Page, *Medieval Villages*, p. 58; Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*, pp. 18-9

period, many Anglo-Saxon communities lived as a collective unit within inclusive settlements.[81] Archaeological survey of middle Saxon settlement sites encompassing a number of geographically diverse English regions strongly suggests that in many places, there was a tradition of community living. The same pattern is apparent in mid-seventh-century Wicken Bonhunt (Esx), at Poundbury (Dor) and at Stonea (Cam).[82] Moreover, Sykes argues that the archaeological record emphasises that communal living extended to the sharing of hunting spoils across all social orders.[83]

The boundary clauses appended to many Anglo-Saxon charters, broadly appearing from the mid-eighth century onward, abundantly so from the tenth century, offer one of the earliest representations of local landscape; they suggest an intimate association with and understanding of local environment.[84] Blair argues that tenth-century charters and corresponding boundary clauses contain a greater quantity of topographical detail than their earlier counterparts, and that this amplified focus on territorial detail is directly linked to the breakdown of the larger estates into smaller units held by lesser lords, and to the ensuing change in local place-names, as noted above (p. 40).[85] These men and women, Blair suggests, had a greater potential need to defend their rights to the new land, and therefore required a more comprehensive knowledge of the boundaries. It is not the intention here to undertake a thorough analysis of the detail contained in numerous extant Anglo-Saxon charters and

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[81] M. Farley, 'Middle Saxon occupation at Chicheley, Buckinghamshire', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, 22 (1980), p. 95; H. Hamerow, *Excavations at Mucking, Volume 2: the Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (London, 1996), pp. 86-9; H. Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements: the Archaeology of Rural Communities in Northwest Europe, 400-900* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 91-2

[82] K. Rodwell and W. Rodwell, 'St. Peter's church, Barton-upon-Humber: excavation and structural study, 1978-81', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 62 (1982), pp. 308-9; although Draper suggests this is generally now interpreted as an aristocratic residence: S. Draper, '*Burh* names in Anglo-Saxon England', *J.E.P.N.S.*, 41 (2009), p. 107; K. Wade, 'A settlement site at Bonhunt Farm, Wicken Bonhunt, Essex' in *Archaeology in Essex to AD 1500* (London, 1980), p. 96; R.P.J. Jackson, 'Excavations at Stonea Grange: part I, the excavations' in *Excavations at Stonea, Cambridgeshire 1980-5* (London, 1996), pp. 223-7; A. Reynolds, 'Boundaries and settlements in later sixth- to eleventh-century England' in D. Griffiths, A. Reynolds and S. Semple (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History, 12: Boundaries in Early Medieval Britain* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 110-11; Reynolds suggests that most enclosed sites of this period are high-status settlements.

[83] N. Sykes, 'Deer, land, knives and halls: social change in early medieval England', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 90 (2010), p.180

[84] D. Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon Landscapes of the West Midlands: the Charter Evidence* (Oxford, 1981), p. 5 and p. 143; F.M. Stenton, *The Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period* (Oxford, 1955), p. 56 and p. 66

[85] Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*, p. 132

boundary clauses. Nevertheless, a close look at several across the whole period helps to illuminate some interesting developments.

One of the earliest and best known charters was produced for Æthelbald, King of Mercia in 736, in which he granted land in Ismere (Wor) to Cyneberht. The main body of the charter contains topographical detail, which is unusual when compared with charters of the ninth century onward:

> I, Æthelbald, by the gift of God King...of the Mercians...to my venerable companion Cyneberht for the construction of a monastery a small piece of land, namely 10 hides, in the province to which was applied by the men of old the name Ismere, by the river called *stour*...with fields and woods…fisheries and meadows...bounded on two sides by the above-named river, and…on its northern side the wood which they call *kinver*, [and]…the west another [called] *morfe*...[86]

There are others that mirror this, such as this charter of Ine, King of the West Saxons, dated 701, relating to land in Wiltshire:

> ...I, Ine...give a parcel of land to the venerable Abbot Adhel...45 hides in the places named below by their inhabitants…five hides in the place that is called Garsden…where the stream that is called *gauze brook* rises twenty [hides], and in another place near the same stream ten, and near the spring…called *reodburna* ten...[87]

and another of Æthelbald's charters concerning land in Middlesex, 716x757:

> ...I, Æthelbald, King of the Mercians...to Wihtred…seven hides in the province of the Middle Saxons in the district…called Gedding, [near] the stream [called] *fishbourne*…in the east [extending] to the water which in English is called 'the lake',

[86] D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents c.500 – 1042* (1979, London, 2002), pp. 492-4
[87] Charter of Ine, King of the West Saxons, 701, http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/243.html [seen 13 Oct 2011]

> which is the more distant of the two that are there, as long as they receive and plough it...[88]

Topographical detail can be found within the main body of a number of other early Wessex and Mercian charters, including those of Cædwalla (Wessex) and Cœnwulf (Mercia).[89] Why does this topographical detail appear within the main body of the text? Stenton suggests that the earliest charters are somewhat clumsy and inconsistently worded, and attributes this to their recent introduction to Anglo-Saxon England.[90] But, regardless of that undoubted truth, the scribes clearly also incorporated what they felt was important detail, including, it would seem, brief topographical elements. Close scrutiny of the wording of some of the charters offers additional evidence to support the idea that a close royal association with local environment was considered an acceptable norm. One of the earliest extant charters, that of Hlothhere, King of Kent, dated 679, provides no topographical detail, and has a similar overall style to post-Conquest charters, but one element of the charter wording is intriguing:

> ...I Hlothhere, King of…Kent...give the land in Thanet that is called Westana to…Beorhtwald...with all that belongs to it, fields, pastures, marshes, small woods, streams, fisheries...in conformity with its very well-known boundaries *pointed out by me and my reeves*...[and] another estate in Sturry nearby, the very well-known bounds *being indicated by me and my reeves* with fields and woods and meadows, just as we recounted the above-mentioned land earlier...[91]

Can Hlothhere himself really have known the bounds of these two estates? Whether this actually happened is in some respects immaterial: the idea that it was natural for him or the scribe to consider it Hlothhere's responsibility is enough, surely, to suggest

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[88] Charter of Æthelbald, King of Mercia, 716x757, http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/100.html [seen 13 Oct 2011]
[89] Charter of Cædwalla, 682x688, http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/231.html [seen 13 Oct 2011]; Charter of Cœnwulf, King of Mercia, 798, http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/153.html [seen 13 Oct 2011]
[90] Stenton, *Latin Charters*, p. 33
[91] Charter of Hlothhere, King of Kent, 679, http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/8.html [seen 13 Oct 2011], my emphasis

that it was admissible for the King of Kent to be associated with the intimate knowledge of his estates. Whether Hlothere was responsible for the production of this charter is unclear. Preparation of eighth- and ninth-century charters are believed to have been the responsibility of the grantee, and earlier charters were produced in monastic scriptoria.[92] Regardless of which party created these documents, they are nevertheless indicative of contemporary elite mentalities concerning local landscape, and it seems clear that it was accepted practice for elites to imply that they had a close association with local environment.

It is possible that this keen understanding of local landscape, in relation to what must originally have been royal vills, relates to the custom of *feorm* which in this period was collected in person by itinerant kings. However, it was beginning to be privatised by the late eighth century, and certainly by the time of the Conquest in many places it had been commuted for cash.[93] In another of Æthelbald's eighth-century charters, this time relating to Cookham (Brk), as part of the process of transfer, a piece of Cookham's turf was placed on a book to seal the grant.[94] So, regardless of whether the topographical information contained within these earlier charters was connected with itinerant kings' more detailed knowledge of these local environments, here again, those producing these charters evidently considered a physical attachment to Cookham's soil as a natural association for the upper echelons of Anglo-Saxon society. Set against the context of early- and middle-Saxon settlement, where enclosed settlements were frequently the norm, these early charters surely support the notion that Anglo-Saxon communities at this time were more inclusive, and that all levels of society were comfortable in associating themselves with the commonplace landscape of the local estate, irrespective of clearly apparent social hierarchies. Indeed, in seventh-century Mucking (Esx) it has been noted that, despite the dispersed nature of its first settlement, the burial assemblages show that higher status individuals lived alongside the less wealthy.[95]

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[92] S.D. Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas: a Palaeography* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 17
[93] R. Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (London, 1997), p. 104
[94] Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon Landscapes*, p. 38
[95] Hamerow, *Mucking*, pp. 86-9

The apparent change in focus within Anglo-Saxon charters from the tenth century, from which time the addition of the boundary clause becomes apparent, means it is possible to detect other subtle changes in the phrasing within the main body of some of the later documents. Again, an extensive survey of later Anglo-Saxon charters is not the aim here, but a brief look at a handful of charters either side of this change is instructive. One such is the mid-ninth-century charter produced for Æthelwulf, King of Wessex, who grants land at South Hams (Dev) to himself. Whilst there is an extensive boundary clause appended to the charter in the vernacular, there is no hint within the main body of the charter that Æthelwulf himself was familiar with the landscape of South Hams.[96] Similarly, Bishop Werfryth, granting himself a lease of land at Elmstone Hardwicke (Glo) in 889, only saw fit to mention the name of the vill, and to specify the appertaining resources, but does not name them, either within the main charter or by the use of a boundary clause.[97] These charters are important, since the land in question was not being granted away, and so perhaps presents a strong case for representing the outlook of the grantees. Conversely, a mid-ninth-century charter of King Berhtwulf of Mercia to his thegn Forthred, almost certainly produced at the behest of the latter, is written in Old English and the document is dominated by the inclusion of local places.[98] It is possible that these examples represent a change in diplomatic style, perhaps suggesting that the charters were becoming more sophisticated as the Anglo-Saxon legal written tradition developed. But a mid-tenth-century charter relating to Tidenham (Glo) highlights an altogether different rationale:

> ...I, Eadwig...King of the English...[to] the monastery of St Peter…at Bath, where pleasant springs run from hot fountains...grant thirty hides as a perpetual inheritance...*in that place which is called by rustics Tiddenham*... with all... belonging to that same place...fields, pastures, meadows, woods [and] fisheries...[99]

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[96] Whitelock, *E.H.D. I*, pp. 522-4
[97] Charter of Werfryth, 889, http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/1415.html [seen 13 Oct 2011]
[98] Charter of Berhtwulf, King of Mercia, 844x845, http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/204.html [seen 13 Oct 2011]
[99] Charter of Eadwig, King of England, 956, http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/610.html [seen 13 Oct 2011], my emphasis

The scribe emphatically disassociates Eadwig from the local landscape of Tidenham in describing it as a place named by rustics. There is no suggestion that Eadwig was familiar with Tidenham; indeed, the language used suggests a marked distinction has been drawn between the town of Bath, where the monastery was situated, and rural Tidenham, and his indifference toward the latter practically leaps off the parchment. Whether or not the charter was produced by king or monastery, it emphasises the dissimilarity between the more elite site of the monastery versus the more rural landscape populated by the lower orders.

These subtle alterations in charter construction and phraseology coincide with other important changes in the Anglo-Saxon landscape, such as some significant settlement reorganisation that was undertaken from the tenth century onward. In some excavated settlements, what might be described as a nascent manorial complex has been identified. At Goltho (Lin), a manor house or hall within its own enclosure was constructed *c*.850-940, and similar conclusions have been drawn from archaeological survey at Raunds (Ntp) on the Furnells site, at Sulgrave (Ntp), and at Faccombe Netherton (Hmp).[100] Williams links these embryonic manorial *curia* with the *burgh-geat* described in the eleventh-century document *Gepyncðo*, arguing that a number of these residences were probably early manor houses, held by king's thegns, or by ceorls having attained that status.[101] In the tenth century, the East Anglian ealdorman Æthelwine's manor house at Shillington (Bdf) was 'on the highest site...in a clearing in the wood...[and] the village... and fields could be seen from the gate'; Wareham argues that Æthelwine had no grand lordly residences, but from this description of the site of this manorial residence, it is clear that it had been constructed in a setting that separated the seigneurial area from the rest of the settlement.[102] Enlightening as the evidence from these physical and documentary sources is, it forms a very modest group. The implicit suggestion is that late Anglo-

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[100] G. Beresford, 'Goltho manor, Lincolnshire: the buildings and their surrounding defences, *c*.850-1150' in R. Allen Brown (ed.), *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies, IV, 1981* (Woodbridge, 1982), pp. 16-18; B. Dix, 'The Raunds area project: second interim report', *Northamptonshire Archaeology*, 21 (1986), p. 20; M. Auduoy and A. Chapman (eds), *Raunds: the Origin and Growth of a Midland Village AD 450-1500*, (Oxford, 2009), p. 29; A. Williams, 'A bell-house and a *burh-geat*: lordly residences in England before the Norman Conquest' in R. Liddiard (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Castles*, (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 31; J.R. Fairbrother, *Faccombe Netherton: Excavations of a Saxon and Medieval Manorial Complex* (London, 1990), p. 57

[101] Williams, 'A bell-house', p. 28

[102] A.F. Wareham, *Lords and Communities in Early Medieval East Anglia* (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 26

Saxon elites were becoming more aware of a link between status and landscape, and in particular, the need to differentiate themselves from the lower orders of society.[103] Unhappily, there are few sources that can help to get much closer to understanding seigneurial attitudes to lordly residences; nevertheless, those that survive are interesting. Table 2.1 outlines references to aristocratic residences and local estates within Anglo-Saxon administrative documents, although it should be added once again that this is intended to provide a general impression, rather than a definitive gazetteer of such terms.

Several words were used for a dwelling. The most common was *burh*, or its derivatives. This is a problematic term, having a variety of meanings including 'stronghold', 'fortified place', 'ancient earthwork', 'Roman camp', 'fortified house or manor', 'fortified town' amongst other interpretations, although the English Place-Name Society concedes that its most likely meaning is 'fortified place'.[104] The term *burgbryce* within Ine's laws has been interpreted as 'forcible entry into a residence', and is specifically linked to the residences of kings, bishops, ealdormen, king's thegns and those *gesiths* who held land.[105] Since a *gesith* has been established as lower nobility, this suggests that that the term can be attributed to an aristocratic residence.[106] And yet turning to the extant wills of the Anglo-Saxon elite, where one might expect the term *burh* to appear, it is absent. In fact, of the *c*.50 wills, few reference a dwelling of any kind (table 2.2). In *c*.950, Wynflæd bequeathed her *worpiges* to her daughter, Æthelflæd. This is a word frequently defined as 'enclosure', but it could also mean a homestead, which is how Whitelock chose to interpret it.[107] In Ine's laws, it is a term also associated with peasants: '...the ceorl's homestead must

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[103] Senecal supports this notion, and also suggests that residential resplendence was important in establishing ones' status for the benefit of impressing other aristocrats: C. Senecal, 'Keeping up with the Godwinesons: in pursuit of aristocratic status in late Anglo-Saxon England' in J. Gillingham (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Studies 23, Proceedings of the Battle Conference, 2000*, (Woodbridge, 2001), p. 261

[104] *E.P.N.E. I*, pp. 58-62; *V.E.P.N. II*, p. 74; Draper suggests that historical and archaeological evidence points to 'an enclosure', surrounded by a ditch, fence or wall: Draper, '*Burh* place-names', p. 103

[105] *E.H.D. I*, p. 369; Draper argues that burh were not associated with peasants: Draper, '*Burh* names', p. 112

[106] H.R. Loyn, 'Gesiths and thegns in Anglo-Saxon England from the seventh to the tenth century', *E.H.R.*, 70: 277 (1955), p. 533; this view is generally accepted by historians and archaeologists, see M. Shapland, 'St Mary's church Broughton, Lincolnshire: a thegnly tower-nave in the late Anglo-Saxon landscape', *Medieval Archaeology*, (2008), p. 502

[107] D. Whitelock (ed., trans.), *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Holmes Beach, 1986), pp. 14-15; *E.P.N.E. II*, p. 275

Table 2.1: Aristocratic Residences and Local Estates within Anglo-Saxon Administrative Documents, *c.*7th–*c.*11th centuries

Reference Number	OE Term	Modern English Term
Lawcode - Ine, seventh century		
6	Hus	House
45	Burgbryce	Forcible entry into a residence
Lawcode - Alfred, ninth century		
1.2	Cyninges tune	King's estate
7	Cyninges healle	King's hall
Lawcode, Edmund, tenth century		
2	Mine burh	Walled residence, translated as 'my residence'
Lawcode, Ethelred, 10th – 11th centuries		
4.2	Landrican	Lord of the estate
Pax, tenth century		
	Burhgeate	Gate of fortified dwelling
Rectitudines Singularum Personarum, *c.* early eleventh century[108]		
1	Cyniges hame	King's residence
2	Bytlian & burh hegegian	'build and fence the lord's house'
3.4	Hlafordes inland	The lord's inland
4.1a	Hlafordes falde	The lord's fold
4.1b	Hlafordes berne	The lord's barn
Geþyncðo, eleventh century		
	Burgh-geat	Gate of fortified dwelling

Source: F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze Der Angelsachsen* (1960), pp. 48-447; *E.H.D. I*, pp. 431-2; *E.H.D. II*, pp. 813-7

Table 2.2: Terms for Residences within Anglo-Saxon Wills, *c.* 950 – early eleventh century

Will	Date	OE Term	ModE Term
Wynflæd	*c.*950	Worþiges	Enclosed homestead, curtilage
Wulfwaru	*c.*984x1016	Heafodbotl	Principal residence / ancestral seat
Thurstan	1043x1045	Þe Northhalle	The estate at the north hall
		Þe Middelhalle	The estate at the middle hall
		An tuft	A homestead
Siflæd	*c.*late 10th c	Hus and hom	House and homestead

Source: D. Whitelock (ed., trans.), *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Holmes Beach, 1986), pp. 10-95

[108] P.D.A. Harvey, '*Rectitudines Singularum Personarum* and *Gerefa*', *E.H.R.*, 108:426 (1993), p. 4

be fenced winter and summer...', and although these documents date from different periods, the implication must be that it was a term that was used for an enclosed homestead across the peasant / aristocratic divide.[109] If this referred to Wynflæd's home, her use of this phrase is even more surprising, since she was King Edmund's mother-in-law.[110] Only Wulfwaru and Thurstan used terms that are perhaps more blatantly aristocratic: the *heafodbotl*, which Wulfwaru instructs should be shared between his elder son and youngest daughter; and Thurstan's *northhalle* and *middelhalle*, which were both bequeathed to the church.[111] In contrast, Siflæd used *hus and hom* to describe her own residence, determining that, should she return safely from her travels overseas, 'then I wish to occupy that estate for my life' confirming its status as her principal residence.[112]

Perhaps some of these terms are gender-specific, although on such insubstantial evidence this cannot be conclusive. Whatever the rationale, it is clear that aristocratic dwellings rarely feature overtly within late Anglo-Saxon wills, a point also noted by Fernie in considering elite buildings of this period.[113] They are much more focused on material possessions—Wynflæd's silver cups and engraved bracelet, or the Ætheling Æthelstan's horses and swords—and also on the generic term *lond*, generally translated as 'estate', which features repeatedly throughout these wills.[114] The term *burh-geat* is not used once, and again, although the small size of the surviving sample cannot be ignored, nevertheless when compared with the administrative documents, this seems a striking omission. Overridingly, the word used to describe those elements of the estate beyond the principal seat of the aristocracy was *lond*, and where a main residence was identified, despite this being relatively rare, it was not always couched in overtly aristocratic terms. This is important when considering the validity of the frequently cited evidence provided by the archaeological surveys of Anglo-Saxon elite residences like Goltho, Raunds and Sulgrave. Williams certainly focuses heavily on these places to support her argument

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[109] *E.H.D. I*, p. 368; although Draper suggests that *worðig* was not used of aristocratic residences, he has not considered the evidence from wills: Draper, '*Burh* names', p, 112
[110] Fairbrother, *Faccombe Netherton*, p. 62
[111] Whitelock, *Wills*, pp. 62-3 and pp. 80-1; Thurstan's '*an tuft*' seems to be describing a homestead of lower status: *toft* is frequently used to describe peasant dwellings in this period.
[112] Whitelock, *Wills*, pp. 94-5
[113] E. Fernie, *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1983), p. 21
[114] Whitelock, *Wills*, pp. 10-11 and 56-63

that a fenced and gated aristocratic residence was the norm for late Anglo-Saxon elites. It suggests that, whilst the elite private residence was perhaps in the early stages of becoming more segregated from the lower orders of society, this process still had much further to go. It is possible that settlements like these, with separate seigneurial spaces were unusual (which seems unlikely) or as Coss attests, that they were only associated with the higher nobility, particularly prior to the eleventh century.[115]

Another possibility is that these inchoate lordly residences had not yet found their way fully into the vocabulary beyond the purely administrative realm, where the term *burh-geat* begins to be used around the tenth century. All this suggests early indications of a more overt seigneurial withdrawal from landscape associated with the lower orders—the emerging manor. From about the mid- to late ninth century, almost directly coincident with the breakdown of the multiple estates into smaller territorial units connected with a widening group of lesser lords, the structure of the typical Anglo-Saxon charter changed to exclude detailed references to local landscape, and to relegate them to the vernacular boundary clause. Alongside these changes we see the beginnings of the reorganisation of local landscape into more distinct seigneurial and peasant spaces, albeit where the dwellings of the inland peasants predominantly remained adjacent to the lordly residence.[116] Considered together, this evidence suggests that a change was taking place in the collective mentality and identity of late Anglo-Saxon elites. Within Anglo-Saxon wills, which reveal what elites most coveted, the estate is valued in purely economic terms whilst the lordly dwelling is treated inconsistently if at all. The diplomatic shift in the construction of the charter, pushed the intimate detail of the local landscape firmly into the vernacular, associating it more definitively with local peasants and appending it to the bottom of the document. These changes hint at an aristocracy that still saw the importance in maintaining an awareness of local environment, but were perhaps beginning to consider that any such understanding perhaps ought henceforth to be set firmly at arm's length.

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[115] P. Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 28
[116] Faith, *English Peasantry*, p. 201; Jones and Page, *Medieval Villages*, p. 70

The unseen manor: from the Norman Conquest to the Black Death

Although there is clear evidence of the stirrings of aristocratic distancing from a close association with the manorial landscape pre-Conquest, this trend appears to have been intensified by the arrival of the administratively fixated Normans, and their inclination toward surveying and economic assessment. In this period, the vernacular boundary clause appended to charters was discontinued, and in the search for evidence of the understanding of local landscape, we must turn to the nascent practice of surveying, which dates from the eleventh century.[117] Most surveys postdate the Norman Conquest, and they begin to appear with greater frequency in the twelfth century, becoming more sophisticated by the thirteenth century, at which time the onset of direct demesne management stimulated a greater interest in manorial administration.[118] What is clear about these surveys is that, across the main period of their production—eleventh century to mid-fourteenth century—they are extremely brief, relatively undetailed, and offer a biased and incomplete view of the manor as a whole. This is illustrated in an Elton extent of 1218, produced by the escheator to the Crown:

> ...And the court-yard of the said manor with garden contains…1½ acres. And in the whole…vill belong thirteen hides…each hide contains…six virgates. And each virgate contains 24 acres. [The] abbot holds in demesne 3 hides...[and] he has there sixteen acres of meadow in demesne. He also holds a several pasture containing 3 acres...[and] he has…two water-mills and one fulling mill...[119]

The manorial survey is a vitally important source for any historian attempting to understand local landscape in the post-Conquest period. But it conceals far more than is revealed. The glaring omission is of course the peasant landscape, and its many dwellings, gardens and crofts. Evidently, these are documents concerned only with

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[117] M. Bailey, *The English Manor c.1200–c.1500* (Manchester, 2002), p. 21
[118] Although, see *E.H.D. II*, pp. 817-8 for a survey of Tidenham (Glo), suggested date *c*.1060
[119] *C.M.R.* I, pp. 490-1; S. Kilby, 'A different world? Reconstructing the peasant environment in medieval Elton', *Medieval Settlement Research*, 25 (2010b), p. 73

demesnal resources, but even these are treated in the most cursory terms. Compared with a typical Anglo-Saxon boundary clause, full of vivid detail outlining the pre-Conquest local landscape through the eyes of local residents, the thirteenth-century survey appears somehow detached.

Charters and surveys were created for different reasons, but they offer a useful comparison for the ways in which local environment is described over a long chronological period. They describe different aspects of the landscape; whilst the earlier boundary clause was concerned with the periphery, the survey's central focus might be described as the core. But, nevertheless, in a typical boundary clause we are left in no doubt about the diversity and the qualities of at least part of the local territory; in comparison, the Elton extent seems sterile and largely uninformative. From early beginnings, in which the importance placed upon boundaries was due directly to the immense territorial reorganisation of the ninth-eleventh centuries and the ensuing need to determine the limits of each new lord's manor, manorial surveys are perhaps characteristic of a period in which boundaries had stabilised and the focus had shifted to resources. In the thirteenth century, the didactic treatises on estate management offer an insight into understanding the structure of the manorial survey. The return to direct demesne management meant closer attention needed to be paid by estate holders on those managing their affairs, and this is reflected in treatises recommending that lords undertake manorial surveys, and which suggest a procedure for ensuring the value of the chief resources is ascertained. This formula originated in 1276 from a statute of Edward I, known as *Extenta Manerii*, the essential elements of which are repeated by *Walter of Henley*.[120] And yet, looking at other post-Conquest surveys, like the following extract from an early fourteenth-century perambulation of the bounds of Rockingham Forest (Ntp), it appears that the earlier style of describing local landscape was reintroduced:

> '...the bounds…begin at Brymingforthe on the banks of the Welland, and so ascending the road leading from Rockingham

[120] *W.H.*, p. 67; although note that I.P.M. surveys are generally briefer than manorial surveys, and also that some, albeit few, surveys offer greater topographical detail: S. Kilby, 'A different world? Reconstructing the peasant environment in medieval Elton' (unpub. MA dissertation, University of Leicester, 2010a), pp. 19-20

> towards Carlton and so between two hedges as far as *feldenewaye* that leads to white cross. And so from white cross to *harpersbrook*, including those ditches that are called *smalgres*, and so following the *harpersbrook* through the Abbey of Pipewell including the wood of the king, called *kyngesgore*, together with the assart called *harberwe*...'[121]

It is immediately apparent that this survey is much closer in spirit to the Anglo-Saxon boundary clause than the early thirteenth-century manorial survey. Undeniably, the format is consistent with these earlier documents that were discontinued post-Conquest. This might simply have been due to the stabilisation of manorial territory: the elucidation of bounds was simply no longer necessary. And yet, as countless boundary disputes attest, this was not the case. It is therefore striking that clearly documented and detailed bounds were recorded for elite hunting landscapes, but its manorial counterpart was disregarded: if required, this was in the keeping of local peasants, and not something the lord need concern himself with.

By the mid-eleventh century it was typical for much of the seigneurial estate to be at farm, yet leaving some demesne manors to provision the lordly household.[122] Post-Conquest, further organisational changes occurred at the manorial level. In the twelfth century in some places, the peasants formerly clustered around the demesne were moved away, increasing the emphasis on the separation of lordly space.[123] At around the same time, coincident with the emergence of the manorial survey, it has been suggested that yet another great re-organisation of the peasantry took place, following which peasant holdings became (initially, at least) uniform blocks of land held for rents and customary services.[124] In the mid-thirteenth century, at Wick Hamon (Ntp), peasant tofts were moved and replaced by a new capital messuage, and

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[121] *The Great Book of John of Achurch*, Soc. Antiq., MS. 38, ff. 6-6v; for a comprehensive list of forest surveys see M.L.Bazeley, 'The extent of the English forest in the thirteenth century', *T.R.H.S.*, fourth series, 4, (1921), pp. 166-72

[122] J.A. Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (1997, Cambridge, 2002), pp. 147-8; C. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society: the Estates of the Bishopric of Worcester 680-1540* (1980, Cambridge, 2008), p. 51; Dyer, *Making a Living*, p. 120

[123] Faith, *The English Peasantry*, p. 201; the peripheral siting of manorial complexes was common in the Yorkshire Wolds: B. McDonagh, '"Powerhouses" of the Wolds landscape: manor houses and churches in late medieval and early modern England', in M. Gardiner and S. Rippon (eds), *Medieval Landscapes* (Macclesfield, 2007), p. 190

[124] Faith, *The English Peasantry*, pp. 218-9

*c.*1300 in Northolt (Mdx) peasant houses were moved a quarter of a mile in order to clear space for a moated manor house.[125] Segregation of medieval society's orders is also reflected in contemporary illuminations where peasants are depicted within the manorial environment, of which the *Luttrell Psalter* is typical (figure 2.1). Whilst the peasants labour in the appropriate setting of the manorial fields, it is difficult to imagine a scene in which Geoffrey Luttrell's private water-mill was entirely devoid of peasants. Nevertheless, there is a subtle message being relayed here: that there were certain manorial spaces considered by the nobility to be suitable only for peasants, whilst their domains were private. Within the *Luttrell Psalter*, these aristocratic spaces also included the garden and the warren. In reality, peasants would have been found working within all these manorial sites, as countless manorial documents testify.[126] A fourteenth-century poem eulogising the landscape of Owain Glyn Dŵr's castle of Sycharth focuses entirely on the seigneurial resources that were emphasised in the Luttrell Psalter:

> '…orchard, vineyard and whitefort.
> The famed hero's rabbit park…
> And in another, even more
> Vivid park, the deer pasture…
> A stone dovecote on a tower.
> A fishpond, walled and private…'[127]

The most well-known example of artistic seigneurial segregation is the fifteenth-century French *Très Riches Heures*; Alexander argues that these images show contempt for the peasants, and emphasise the segregated and enclosed landscape dominated by seigneurial power.[128] In this period, the peasant was considered to be

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[125] Jones and Page, *Medieval Villages*, p. 183; J.G. Hurst, 'Rural building in England and Wales' in *A.H.E.W. II*, p. 904

[126] For example, in fourteenth-century Lakenheath the court rolls identify the peasant offices of warrener, miller and gardener.

[127] Quoted in R. Liddiard, *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066 to 1500* (Macclesfield, 2005), pp. 116-7

[128] J. Alexander, '*Labeur* and *paresse*: ideological representations of medieval peasant labor', *The Art Bulletin*, 72:3 (1990), p. 442 and 450

Figure 2.1: Lords and Peasants in the Manorial Landscape

Source: *The Luttrell Psalter*: breaking up clods , f. 171v and the lord's several fishery, f.181

synonymous with the soil itself.[129] And so it should perhaps come as no surprise to witness this steady seigneurial retreat from a close association with the manorial environment. As these texts and their associated imagery attest, lords were happy to promote indisputably aristocratic spaces, but in so doing, they ensured that the peasant remained firmly in his rightful place.

But the brevity with which the manorial landscape was described does not point to its insignificance; on one level, it was simply a means of isolating that which was important to the lord. The measurement of the land indicated instantly whether

[129] P. Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant* (Stanford, 1999), pp. 143-4; O.G. Hill, *The Manor, the Plowman, and the Shepherd: Agrarian Themes and Imagery in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance English Literature* (London, 1993), p. 27; *Bracton on the Laws and Customs of England*, S. E. Thorne (trans.), Vol. III (London, 1977), p. 132; P.R. Hyams, *King, Lords and Peasants in Medieval England: the Common Law of Villeinage in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1980), p. 26

there was abundance or deficiency. On another level, it seemed deliberately designed to detach the lord from any close association with the manorial landscape: the barest facts were all he needed to concern himself with. In analysing the fieldscape of the *Luttrell Psalter*, Camille suggests that the images of the fields themselves are understated because they had become less important than the peasants' cash rents and labour services, thus greater prominence was given to these elements.[130] But another reading could be that it was considered inappropriate for any lord to associate himself too closely with his fields, the natural domain of the peasant. In another undated Elton survey (pre-dating 1218), the land is described, again, in terms of its size, and this time, all of the tenant holdings are listed.[131] The inclusion of tenants in documents designed to outline resources is important. It suggests that they are simply considered as another category in a document intended to outline important lordly possessions. Returning to the question of whether, for medieval seigneurial society, their manorial landholdings can be defined as landscape, it seems clear that they cannot. To medieval lords, overridingly these estates were simply resources to which a monetary value could be attached, and to which, insofar as their day-to-day running was concerned, a certain personal distance ought to be maintained. This reduced the status of the manorial environment to *land*, which stands in stark contrast to the more sensitive descriptions of environments that were actively inhabited by elites, particularly their gardens, forests and chases, depictions that might be identified more closely with modern ideas of *landscape*.[132]

Nevertheless, there is no suggestion that this view applied unequivocally to all local environment, which had been the subject of written texts for centuries by the late Middle Ages. There are many references to the landscape in the burgeoning elite literature of the twelfth century onward. The prevailing settings in these texts are gardens and forests, in this context claimed by elites as seigneurial spaces, and these dominate the narrative. In the twelfth century, William of Malmesbury wrote extensively on the local environment of many monasteries that he visited, and seems to offer an objective view of what he witnessed. He was clearly unimpressed with

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[130] M. Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (London, 1998), p. 181
[131] *C.M.R. III*, p. 257
[132] Kilby, 'A different world?' (2010a), pp. 20-1

Sherborne (Dor), declaring that it was 'attractive neither for a large population, nor for its setting, and it is surprising, almost shaming, that an Episcopal see lasted there for so long.'[133] In contrast William clearly considered Thorney (Cam) amongst the finest places he had ever seen:

> ...It is the image of paradise, and its loveliness gives an advance idea of heaven itself. For all the swamps surrounding it, it supports an abundance of trees, whose tall smooth trunks strain towards the stars. The flat countryside catches the eye with its green carpet of grass; those who hurry across the plain meet nothing that offends. No part of the land, however tiny, is uncultivated. In one place you come across tall fruit trees, in another, fields bordered with vines, which creep along the earth or climb high…Nature and art are in competition: what the one forgets the other brings forth…A vast solitude allows the monks a quiet life: the more limited their glimpses of mortal men, the more tenaciously they cleave to things heavenly. Any woman seen there is regarded as a freak...It would be fair to say that the island is an abode of chastity, a society of uprightness, a training ground for godly philosophers.[134]

William's description of Thorney includes references to agricultural husbandry and cultivation, but the vital difference is that he clearly saw Thorney as a monastic landscape first and foremost and was clearly writing in the *locus amœnus* tradition.[135] It is one of the many fenland islanded communities, and as such, to a degree it is isolated and segregated from secular society; Thorney Abbey dominated the local landscape, and the village settlement from this period barely registers in the historical record.[136] Could this help explain William's enthusiasm in singling out Thorney for such lavish praise? Here, at last, we have a local agricultural landscape that could be eulogised because it had no overt association with the peasantry. Regardless of the

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[133] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, Vol. I, M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson (eds, trans.), (Oxford, 2007), p. 277
[134] William of Malmesbury, pp. 493-5
[135] C.A.M. Clarke, *Literary Landscapes and the Idea of England, 700-1400* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 83
[136] *V.C.H. Cam*, p. 221

fact that the monastic community probably outnumbered the local peasants, there would of course still have been a sizeable peasant population labouring in and around the abbey on the monks' behalf.

Despite the seeming distaste reserved for the manorial environment by the upper orders of late medieval society, it was nevertheless a landscape that had to be encountered by the aristocracy at some level, and for at least some of the time. Certainly until well into the fourteenth century, noble households were peripatetic institutions.[137] Even ecclesiastical lords visited their manors, frequently making lengthy visits. Campbell describes the aristocracy treating their manors as 'refuges to retire to', which gives the impression of their use of the manor as a rural retreat or escape from the pressures of political or ecclesiastical life.[138] He outlines a nine-week visit by the Earl and Countess of Norfolk to their manor of Forncett (Nfk) in 1273; the Bishops of Winchester favouring residences in Downton (Wlt) and Witney (Oxf); and the Abbots of Westminster's preference for La Neyte (Mdx), Pyrford (Sur), Denham (Buc), Islip (Oxf) and Sutton-under-Brailes (War).[139] What links all these manors, with the exception of one—La Neyte, which will be discussed shortly—is an association with hunting. Forncett, perhaps not as grand as the Earl of Norfolk's main seat of Framlingham (Nfk), nevertheless had a *curia* described as 'palatial', and had access to hunting small game through its warren, as did the Abbot of Westminster's manor Sutton-under-Brailes.[140] Downton, Witney, Pyrford and Denham all had parks, and Islip was situated on the Oxfordshire forest bounds.[141] Could this be a coincidence? Providentially, there is a reasonable quantity of surviving data outlining the movements of Walter de Wenlok, Abbot of Westminster (1283-1307) during much of his abbacy. Assessing visits of four nights or more (excluding his stays at Westminster itself), an interesting pattern emerges, outlined in table 2.3. Despite Westminster Abbey holding more than 150 manors in 22 counties, Wenlock only stayed at thirteen places for more than four nights between 1284–1307. Of those places, his favourite

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[137] C.M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (London, 1999), pp. 46-7
[138] B.M.S. Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture 1250-1450* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 200
[139] Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, p. 200
[140] F.G. Davenport, *The Economic Development of a Norfolk Manor, 1086-1565* (Cambridge, 1906), pp. 20-1 and 75; *V.C.H. War*, p. 157
[141] S.A. Mileson, *Parks in Medieval England* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 62-4; *V.C.H. Sur*, pp. 433-4; *V.C.H. Oxf*, p. 212; R.H. Lathbury, *The History of Denham* (Uxbridge, 1904), p. 63

Table 2.3: The Itinerary of Walter de Wenlok, Abbot of Westminster, visiting his estates between 1284–1307 (stays of four nights or more)

Manor	Total no. of visits of => four nights	Mean average no. of nights	Standard deviation from mean	Shortest stay (nights)	Longest stay (nights)
Pyrford (Sur)	36	20	18.7	4	77
Ebury / Eye / La Neyte (Mdx)	15	11	6.9	5	22
Sutton-under-Brailes (War)	12	14	9.8	5	33
Islip (Oxf)	11	6	2.1	4	9
Laleham (Mdx)	6	6	1.5	4	8
Denham (Buc)	5	11	11.1	4	28
Morton Foliot[142] (Wor)	4	16	9.6	7	26
Battersea (Sur)	2	6	2.8	4	8
Hampstead (Mdx)	1	6	-	-	-
Paddington (Mdx)	1	6	-	-	-
Todenham (Glo)	1	6	-	-	-
Wenlock[143] (Shr)	1	5	-	-	-
Pershore (Wor)	1	4	-	-	-

Source: B.F. Harvey (ed.), *Documents Illustrating the Rule of Walter de Wenlok, Abbot of Westminster, 1283-1307* (London, 1965), pp. 34-45

residence was at Pyrford, which he visited 36 times, frequently staying for long periods, the longest being a 77 day stretch between 1 December 1286 and 15 February 1287. Denham, another favourite residence, was only granted back to Westminster Abbey in 1292, but he wasted no time in visiting, and followed up his initial stay with a 28 night visit between October and November of that year.[144] Wenlock's other favourite residence, Morton Foliot (Wor), not mentioned by Campbell, but frequently visited was situated within Malvern Forest.[145] It seems clear that each of his favourite residences, except La Neyte and Laleham, had an association with hunting.

Laleham is easily explained. Assessing Wenlock's visits between Westminster and Pyrford throughout the period within which detailed itineraries survive (1284-1292), Laleham appears in connection with both places in almost every instance. For example in December 1288, Wenlock spent fourteen nights in Pyrford, then two nights

[142] Now Castlemorton
[143] Wenlock was not part of Westminster Abbey's estates, but the birthplace of Walter de Wenlok
[144] Lathbury, *History of Denham*, p. 67 and p. 71; B.F. Harvey (ed.), *Documents Illustrating the Rule of Walter de Wenlok, Abbot of Westminster, 1283-1307* (London, 1965), pp. 34-45
[145] *V.C.H. Wor*, p. 49

at Laleham before returning to Westminster. Similarly, he stayed at Pyrford in February and March 1290, and returned to Westminster via Laleham. It seems clear that Laleham was a convenient stopping point en route between these two locations. Depending on the quality of the route taken, a household could usually travel between 10 and 23 miles each day; using modern roads, it is 28 miles between Westminster and Pyrford.[146] The explanation for the popularity of La Neyte is quite different. It was an 'islanded estate' that lay approximately one mile from Westminster Abbey, along a stretch of land close to the Thames described by Edward the Confessor's biographer as '...a delightful place, surrounded with fertile lands and green fields, near the main channel of the river...'.[147] It was part of the manor collectively known as Eye; from the thirteenth century, one component of the manor became known as Ebury, and La Neyte continued to be used as the abbot's own moated residence.[148] A map of 1614 shows La Neyte as an artificial island surrounded by a moat, close to the Thames and one of its tributaries.[149] Running directly to the manor house was a causeway across marshy ground called the Willow Walk, shown on the 1614 map, and again on a map dated 1723 (figure 2.2). Rutton assumes that this footpath was in situ by the fourteenth century, although there is only speculative evidence for this. He suggests that the abbots of Westminster would most probably have followed a route across *abbotesbrege*, a reference to which is found in one of the early fourteenth-century account rolls.[150] At this time, Norwich cathedral priory had a walled pleasure garden with tree-lined walkways, and so this kind of landscaping within a monastic context certainly had a precedent.[151] What was the purpose of this moated residence? According to Rutton, the moated site contained just two acres; this, and a further three and a half acres nearby encompassed the abbatial dwelling, 'buildings, yards, gardens, orchards, fishings and other commodities'.[152]

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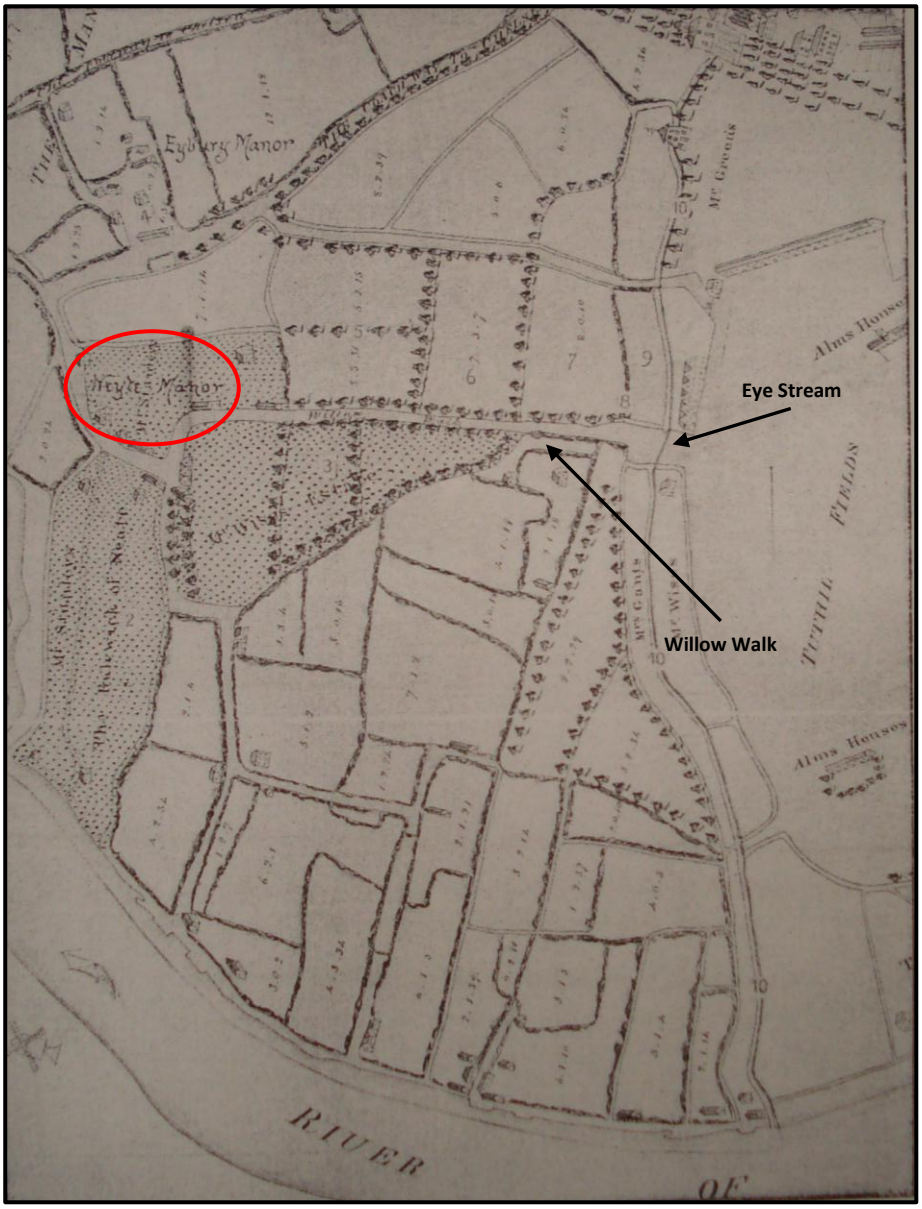
[146] Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 187
[147] B.F. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1977), p. 414; D. Sullivan, *The Westminster Corridor: an Explanation of the Anglo-Saxon History of Westminster Abbey and its Nearby Lands and People* (London, 1994), pp. 136-7
[148] Harvey, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 350
[149] W.L. Rutton, 'The manor of Eia, or Eye next Westminster', *Archaeologia,* 62 (1910), p. 36; its name suggests it was islanded, or gave the impression of raised ground surrounded by wetter land.
[150] Rutton, 'The manor of Eia', p. 40 and p. 48
[151] C. Noble, C. Moreton and P. Rutledge (eds., trans.), *Farming and Gardening in Late Medieval Norfolk* (Norwich, 1996), p. 10; Noble also notes the prevalence of monastic moated gardens (p. 4)
[152] Rutton, 'The manor of Eia', p. 56

Figure 2.2: La Neyte in 1723, showing the Willow Walk and Eye Stream



Source: W.L. Rutton, 'The manor of Eia, or Eye next Westminster', *Archaeologia*, 62 (1910), p. 48

Perhaps the site's proximity to the Thames meant that the moat offered additional drainage facilities. Yet the manorial centre of Eybury lay nearby, further away from the river. It seems not to have been moated, and could have provided a suitable location for a residence if flooding was an issue. The planting of trees along ditches and drains helps to strengthen banks lying adjacent to water, and this may explain the willows along the raised causeway.[153] However this was a walkway, not a

[153] H.E. Hallam, 'Drainage techniques', in *A.H.E.W. II*, pp. 498-9

drainage ditch, and it did not run alongside running water, except at the narrow end of its easternmost point, where it began. A willow-lined footpath would have provided a secluded causeway, with the trees effectively veiling the surrounding agricultural landscape. The overall impression is of a landscaped environment, deliberately manipulated to provide more aesthetically pleasing surroundings. La Neyte had other aristocratic connections: it was chosen as a temporary dwelling by John of Gaunt, and it was the birth-place of one of the Duke of York's sons.[154] Returning to Campbell's suggestion that rural manors could be considered as retreats, it seems clear that La Neyte was favoured partly because of its proximity to Westminster Abbey, but given the propinquity of Eybury, more likely because of its attractive setting which was certainly segregated from the rest of the manor.[155] And if the *abbotesbrege* of the early fourteenth century crossed Eye stream at the site of a contemporary walkway beyond the stream, it may also have shielded its residents from having to look upon the fields and tenements occupied by local peasants. It is also worth noting that in Suffolk, one of the Prior of Ely's preferred rural manors was Undley, described by Munday as a 'small isle…too small to support [a] communit[y]', and which was accessed by a causeway across the fen, effectively separating it from the peasant population of Lakenheath (figure 2.3).[156]

The paucity of surviving documentation for lesser secular lords means that it is difficult to say very much about them with any great certainty. At the baronial level, there is much evidence to suggest that lordly residences were set apart from the manorial environment. In the fourteenth century the Talbot family did not always live at one of their several castles; but even their smaller houses were overtly seigneurial, like Blakemere (Shr) with its manor house set within parkland and surrounded by a mere.[157] Small manors, comprising less than 500 acres were more prevalent than

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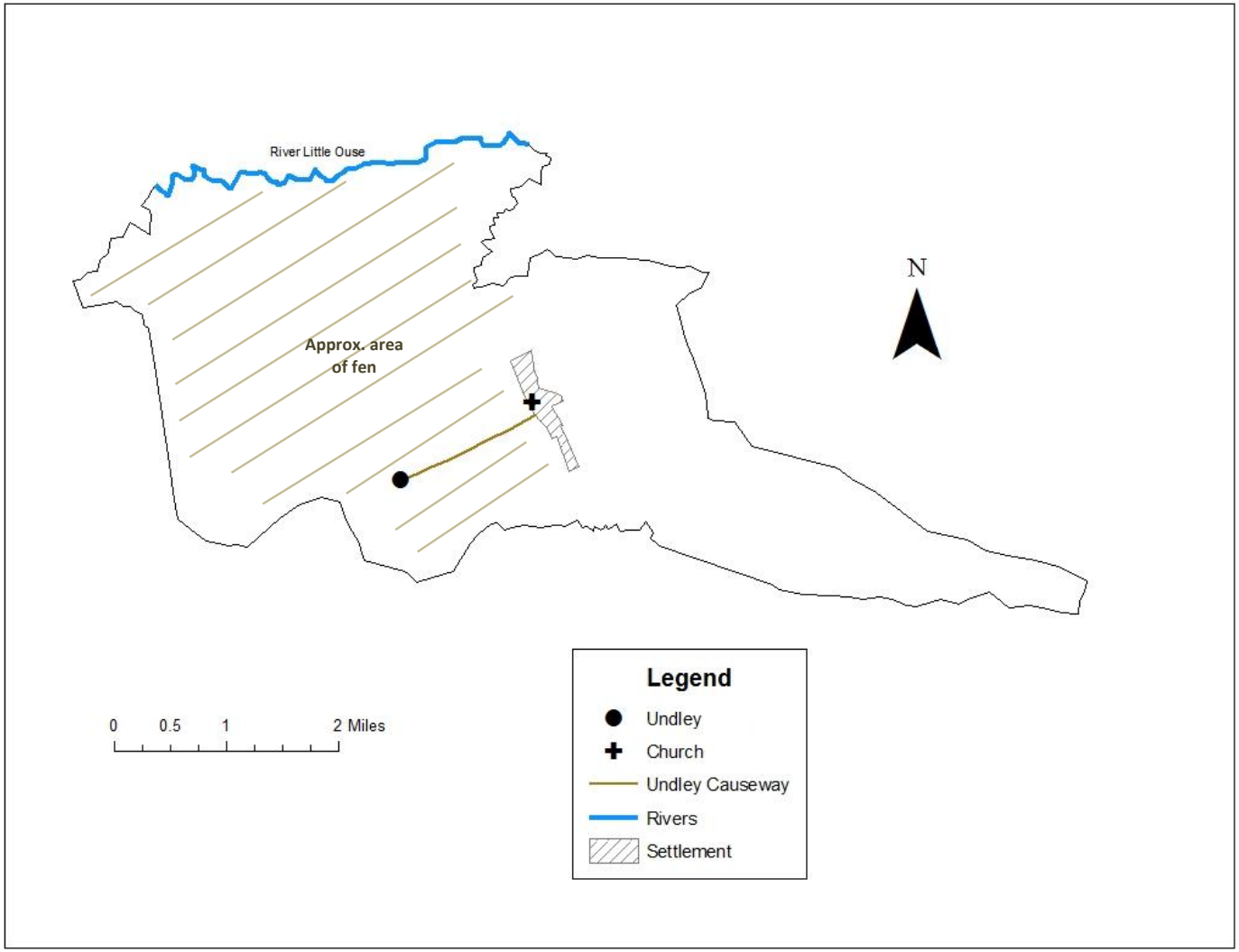
[154] Rutton, 'The manor of Eia', p. 43

[155] Although islands were highly-prized from an ecclesiastical perspective, since they represented exile, asceticism and hardship; Liddiard, *Castles in Context*, pp. 118-9 briefly discusses landscaping used as a means of social exclusion within castle sites

[156] J.T. Munday, *Eriswell-cum-Coclesworth: Chronicle of Eriswell, Part One–Until 1340* (Brandon, 1969), p. 3; although the court rolls show that a number of cottagers resided there, perhaps serving the abbot

[157] B. Ross (trans., ed.), *Accounts of the Stewards of the Talbot Household at Blakemere 1392-1425* (Keele, 2003), p. vii

Figure 2.3: Undley Causeway, Lakenheath (Sfk)



their larger counterparts, and so any review of seigneurial attitudes to local landscape must attempt to encompass the lesser nobility.[158] It has been acknowledged that the greater lords with their vast estates were much more likely to impart a sense of detachment from their manors, but historians commonly agree that this was not the case when considering lesser lords holding fewer manors, where the general consensus is that they adopted a more hands-on approach.[159] This conclusion has been drawn largely because much greater emphasis was placed on the demesne within the sphere of lower lordship. Campbell has assiduously shown that the income for small lay estates was principally accrued through the profits of the demesne, as opposed to the rents and perquisites available in greater quantity within middling and large manors.[160] Another enduring characteristic of the smaller manor was its weaker lordship, and the general predominance of free peasants, making for a more independent demesne. If we are to unpick the seigneurial outlook concerning local environment, one vital question for consideration is to understand what a 'hands-on approach' actually meant in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Naturally, because of the few sources available, a small number have been used time and again to illustrate the attention that lesser lords paid to their estates. It is nevertheless worth reconsidering some of these documents to attempt to understand what exercised these men concerning their lands.

In the late thirteenth century, Adam de Stratton held a chamberlainship of Isabella de Fortibus, Countess of Aumale.[161] His estate included manors in Wiltshire, Berkshire and Oxfordshire, all of which were forfeit to the Crown in 1289 following his alleged guilt in forging several charters. Assessing the manorial surveys that he commissioned, what is striking is the meticulousness of these records. The *c.*1275 extent of Sevenhampton (Wlt) outlines the demesne holdings in great detail. Each demesnal *cultura* is identified by name, size, and value, under general headings for

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[158] E.A. Kosminsky, *Studies in the Agrarian History of England in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1956), p. 98; Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, p. 62 shows that of 1,511 lay lords studied in his sample, only 20% held more than 500 acres

[159] Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, p. 61; J. Hatcher and E. Miller, *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348* (1978, London, 1980), pp. 180-1 and p. 189; N. Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex 1280-1400* (Oxford, 1986), p. 98

[160] B.M.S. Campbell and K. Bartley, *England on the Eve of the Black Death: an Atlas of Lay Lordship, Land and Wealth, 1300-49* (Manchester, 2006), p. 76

[161] M.W. Farr, *Accounts and Surveys of the Wiltshire Lands of Adam de Stratton* (Devizes, 1959), p. xv

each discrete field.[162] The extent goes on to record scrupulously the peasant holdings and customary services owed. But not all of de Stratton's surveys mirror this detail. At Upton and Blewbury (Brk) in 1271, each demesne is described in terms closer to the Elton survey of 1218. These documents simply outline the total demesne acreage in each field, and ascribe what must have been an average value per acre for each field.[163] At Stratton (Wlt) in 1277, the total demesne acreage is offered, and there is no sense of the number of fields in operation there.[164] Of these surveys, all but that of Sevenhampton were overseen by John de Berking, who was probably de Stratton's steward.[165] At Sevenhampton, there is no mention of the steward's involvement, although that need not mean that he was not present. John de Berking presided over surveys either side of the Sevenhampton extent, and so it seems that he was still steward in 1275.

The additional detail on the Sevenhampton survey is intriguing. It cannot be simple evolution since the brief Stratton extent post-dates it. What we appear to be witnessing is the customary apparatus of the lay estate survey. Here, there was no great central management as there was on the larger lay and ecclesiastical estates, where format and content were to a greater extent determined by administrators. At Sevenhampton, the jury was made up of both free and servile peasants, although the customary tenants dominated. This was in effect their own version of the local environment, named and familiar, and they noted what they believed was important. Despite the brevity of the corresponding surveys, there are clues that they too relied heavily upon local input: each dated survey, although produced in different years, share a common bond—they were all conducted directly following rogationtide, when the steward knew that a full inspection of the local landscape had taken place. So, what initially appears to elucidate the thoroughness of a lesser lord, one taking a more direct approach to estate management, could instead be interpreted as a lord who may occasionally have left local officials to conduct enquiries of this nature, simply instructing that economic value ought to be noted. It is noteworthy that John at the

[162] Farr, *Adam de Stratton*, pp. 2-3
[163] Farr, *Adam de Stratton*, pp. 17-21
[164] Farr, *Adam de Stratton*, p. 25
[165] Although in these documents, the bailiff of Sevenhampton, Henry de Aunewyk, is described once as the steward; Farr, *Adam de Stratton*, p. 223

Gate, reeve of Sevenhampton in 1275 does not feature on the list of fourteen jurors selected to authenticate the 1275 extent. Could the reeve himself have overseen the production of the survey? There are additional points of interest in considering Adam de Stratton's approach to estate management. In a series of Sevenhampton account rolls between 1275-1288, he is never recorded as visiting the manor. No doubt his chamberlainship would have kept him primarily in London. Whilst this does not mean that he never visited his other manors, his failure to visit Sevenhampton is striking. It was his largest manor, with a demesne of over 900 acres and all his estate income was centrally received there by the bailiff, so it was also his most important one. Clearly, despite an estate consisting of a small number of manors, Adam de Stratton does not quite fit the profile of a lesser lord with few estate resources and a small demesne. Nevertheless, the survival of a series of manorial records helps to begin to separate the idea that meticulous seigneurial estate management was synonymous with an intimate knowledge and appreciation of the manorial environment.

Fortunately, the estate books of two lesser lords with small manors survive, both relating to estates in Northamptonshire. The Hotot family held land in Clopton (Ntp) and Turvey (Bdf). What remains of a collection of estate records is in two parts: MS A was collated after 1273, and MS B now only survives as a transcript from the antiquary John Bridges' notes.[166] The records consist of documents ranging from copies of charters through to surveys and rentals. The focus here was nevertheless on the family holdings and their descent, the revenue due from these lands—in cash or labour—and the services owed by the Hotots to others. The manuscript begins with a detailed outline of the history of lordship in Clopton, no doubt included to provide evidence of the legitimacy of Hotot lordship.[167] The manorial documents offer the overwhelming impression of a family keeping a watchful eye on their tenants, in terms of both their holdings and the associated rents and services that were due. In a rental of Turvey simply outlining individual tenants and rents, annotations were made in the 1250s by Thomas Hotot adding detail on the quantity of land being rented, and occasionally adding the furlong names.[168] All this points overwhelmingly to a family

[166] E. King (ed.), *A Northamptonshire Miscellany* (Northampton, 1983), p. 10
[167] King, *Miscellany*, p. 16
[168] King, *Miscellany*, pp. 24-8

that was personally interested in its estates. But their interest was that of the exchequer: ensuring that they had a clear idea of what they could expect to receive each year from their tenants, and noting additional detail to determine whether they were receiving an adequate sum for each holding. Unfortunately, no account rolls survive for the Hotot estate, although it is likely that they would have been recorded.

Henry de Bray, a former steward of the Priory of Northampton, held a manor in Harlestone (Ntp). His estate book, begun in 1322, has a similar focus to the Hotot documents, and Henry himself explained that he had 'arranged this present brief as evidence to his heirs; that is, transcriptions of charters and memoranda arising from [my] time'.[169] This statement is interesting and helps to illuminate the mentalities of lesser lords like de Bray and the Hotots. It suggests that these men were aware that evidence of title might be important in proving tenure, and offers a rationale for the production of cartularies and family histories at the lowest level of nobility. Willis' translation of these documents suggests that Henry de Bray copied out his accounts between 1289 and 1309.[170] This is not strictly correct. What de Bray outlines is his expenses for various works, but nevertheless these are informative. The majority of expenses listed relate to various building works undertaken, and whilst some of these are of an agricultural nature, such as the new grange *c.*1292, and granary in 1304, most works represent the aggrandisement of the *curia* and capital messuage.[171] These included making several buildings for which de Bray could have earned revenue from his tenants: a water-mill, lime kiln and oven; and other structures directly associated with lordship such as his new hall in 1289 and the later addition of a new chamber, two dove-cotes, a walled *herbarium*, fishponds, mending the gate between his hall and the vill, and his walled garden—*le neweyerd*—which was almost 400 feet in circumference. To create his garden, de Bray exchanged ten acres of land for just seven selions with a local gentry family.[172]

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[169] D. Willis (ed., trans.), *The Estate Book of Henry de Bray c.1289-1340* (London, 1916), pp. ix-x
[170] Willis, *Henry de Bray*, p. 48
[171] Willis, *Henry de Bray*, pp. 48-51
[172] Willis, *Henry de Bray*, p. 57; it is possible that *le neweyerd* was already a garden when de Bray acquired it, although it seems more likely that he created it. Certainly, in 1307 he enclosed it within a wall, costing 48s.

Henry de Bray incurred expenses constructing houses for local peasants. But the 18s. he spent building a cottage on *le coterowe* in 1296 compares unfavourably with 23s. spent mending his gate in 1294 and 46s. spent constructing a dovecote in 1305.[173] And there is evidence that he knew and favoured certain peasants: he described one unfree tenant as 'industrious and trustworthy', and gave him a messuage and land, albeit in exchange for 20s. per annum and for providing Henry with free stone for his various building projects.[174] This estate book has been used as evidence that lesser lords adopted a more personal approach to estate management.[175] But is this really what we should deduce from these records? Certainly, Henry spent considerably on ensuring that he had suitable agricultural buildings, such as a pig-sty and hen-house in 1298, and a new granary and sheep-cote in 1304.[176] These changes suggest that the manorial buildings of Harlestone were in need of modernising. Countless manorial account rolls attest to renewals of this nature, although perhaps not always on such a comprehensive scale seen at Harlestone, and yet historians do not use these examples as indicators of a closer focus on estate management, but simply that vital manorial infrastructure needed refreshing. There is also evidence that Henry was familiar with the local landscape, since several of his records outline Harlestone field-names; but we should expect this, since after all, he was a Harlestone resident. It cannot be ignored that his estate books emphasise two priorities: first, establishing lineage and tenurial title; and, secondly, accentuating his status by building a new hall before turning his attention to landscaping: creating, or possibly updating his fishponds and altering the corresponding water-course, and laying out a private garden. There is nothing on the actual management of the de Bray estate within these records, although, again, there probably were account rolls that are no longer extant. It seems likely that estate management was important to Henry de Bray, but we should be clear that this most likely meant a keen focus on the seigneurial purse-strings. If men like de Bray and Hotot concentrated on estate management, they did so without being too overt about

[173] Willis, *Henry de Bray*, pp. 48-9
[174] Willis, *Henry de Bray*, p. 56
[175] Hatcher and Miller, *Medieval England*, p. 181 and pp. 188-91
[176] Willis, *Henry de Bray*, pp. 48-50

it, and compensated by ensuring that certain areas of the manor were distinctly seigneurial, and segregated from that of the peasantry.

It seems clear that, for medieval lords, maintaining a close focus on estate management meant keeping a watchful eye on the seigneurial coffers. This was especially pertinent at the lowest levels of lordship, and manifested itself in upholding an awareness of the possibilities of fraud committed by manorial officers. It did not mean that any lord should undertake agricultural work himself. *Walter of Henley* had a wide audience including ecclesiastical and secular lords, but it was predominantly aimed at lesser lords and their officials.[177] The manuscript was written in the style of a sermon or lecture between a father and son. This enabled the author to emphasise subjects that he clearly felt were contentious. He was aware that many lords were unskilled in husbandry and selected inexperienced officers, and it was clear to him that many manors made losses.[178] Several times the author exhorts the reader to consider his more contentious arguments, using phrases like 'wille you see it?', 'wille you see how the horse costeth more then the oxe?', and 'do you want to see this?'. Compared with the phrase 'yowe knowe well that in the yeare theare be 52 weeks' this suggests that Walter was presenting something unfamiliar to his readership.[179] The treatise provided the lord with information that would enable him to gain greater control over his resources and officials, and therefore increase profits, whilst the detail on agronomic practice was aimed at the bailiff or steward, who may have carried the document with him to refer to as required.[180] Saul suggests that unravelling seigneurial mentalities regarding their estates is tricky, especially at the lower levels of aristocracy.[181] But it seems likely that their concerns were largely financial: attention needed to be paid to officials to ensure they were honest, and to the reckoning of manorial income and expenditure. This is underlined by tracing the history of manorial agriculture which shows lords alternating between leasing their demesnes and managing them directly, depending upon the prevailing economic returns that could be expected.

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[177] *W.H.*, p. 124 and p. 155
[178] *W.H.*, c. 6
[179] *W.H.*, c. 25, c. 30, c. 38, c. 46, c. 62, c. 90
[180] *W.H.*, p. 127
[181] Saul, *Provincial Life*, p. 106

It could be difficult to determine the difference between a wealthy free peasant and a lower level lord in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and so status was vitally important to the latter.[182] Henry de Bray's evident focus on outward display and expenditure on the trappings of lordship strongly suggest attempts to highlight his status within a landscape that included other gentry families as well as peasants. Revisiting the *Luttrell Psalter* in light of *Walter of Henley*, the agricultural illuminations seem to represent both control and social segregation. Geoffrey Luttrell, himself lower nobility and the holder of what Kosminsky would describe as 'small' manors, shows that he is omnipresent and cannot therefore be cheated by the peasants performing their labour services. The clearly delineated peasant and noble spaces within the *Luttrell Psalter* illustrate that Henry de Bray's private spaces, walled, gated and locked, were less about security and more concerned with emphasising seigneurial power over manorial space.[183] It is especially noteworthy that Suffolk, a county generally dominated by weak lordship, boasted more than 700 moated sites associated with small manors and free tenants, and that more than one study has shown that the size of the 'island' was linked to status, with those of free tenants generally smaller than their seigneurial counterparts.[184] The household accounts of the knightly de Norwich family in East Anglia show that of five manors held, during one seven month period Katherine de Norwich only stayed in two: Mettingham (Sfk) and Blackworth (Nfk).[185] The family had been granted a licence in 1342 to crenellate these two manors by Edward III, and both had hunting facilities in the form of warrens.[186] In *c.*1210, Raoul de Hodenc suggested that 'a knight...will not rise to great heights if he enquires of the value of corn'; Coss argues that this was not always practical for the lord of a small manor, and that a focus on estate management was necessary for the maintenance of a reasonable income.[187] This was undoubtedly true, but, based on the evidence found within both the Hotot and de Bray estate books, precedence was given

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[182] Kosminsky, *Agrarian History*, p. 261; M. Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk, an Economic and Social History, 1200-1500* (2007, Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 15-18
[183] Although see C. Platt, 'The homestead moat: security or status?', *Archaeological Journal*, 167 (2010), p. 118 who argues in favour of security as motivation for moated sites
[184] E. Martin, 'Medieval moats in Suffolk', *Medieval Settlement Research*, 4 (1989), p. 14; M. Fradley, 'Warrenhall and other moated sites in north-east Shropshire', *Medieval Settlement Research*, 20, (2005), pp. 17-8
[185] C.M. Woolgar, *Household Accounts from Medieval England, Part I* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 177-8
[186] *CPR* 6, p. 106; C.R. Manning, *Mettingham Castle and College* (1861), p. 2; Mettingham was moated
[187] Coss, *Origins*, pp. 179-80

to outlining tenurial rights, family lineage and revenue. Estate management was treated ambivalently within the records of these minor lords. We can detect glimpses in Henry de Bray's estate book that he was familiar with the workings of his estate, but the overriding impression created within these documents was that it was considered inappropriate for any lesser lord to be seen to be too close to the day-to-day practicalities. Seigneurial engagement with the manorial environment, then, was driven overridingly by financial concern; their relationship with the landscape was not one of intimate association, but rather practical and economic.

Chapter Three: The unseen environment

Mapping the local environment using peasant bynames

It cannot be ignored that the predominant, indeed, almost exclusive, means by which we connect with medieval peasants is through either seigneurial or crown records. Within lordly documents we encounter peasants in manorial custumals, rentals, surveys and extents, alongside the more abundant records of the manorial court and account rolls. The documents of the Royal Exchequer include yet more surveys, where ecclesiastical estates briefly revert to the Crown during abbatial vacancy, together with the more plentiful tax records, which frequently list the names of peasant contributors. Some documentation is produced at the local level, and indeed some of it at the behest of peasants themselves, most notably peasant charters recording the conveyance of small tracts of land. Even where these peasant documents survive it is clear that not all of them were the result of peasant initiative: they were produced by scribes who were employed by local lords, rather than the peasants themselves. Nevertheless, an important set of peasant data exists, varying in quantity and quality, within the written records of the late medieval social elite. This includes the names they bestowed upon each other, and on the landscape that they occupied.

Generally, in reconstructing local landscape, historians and archaeologists have tended to focus on the physical aspects of local environment, frequently using a variety of modern source material, including seventeenth- and eighteenth-century field-books and maps, to work back towards the late medieval period in order to recreate the field systems in existence at that time. This, undoubtedly a valid and useful exercise, nevertheless restricts our understanding of medieval local landscape to one dimension. But, as sociologists argue, landscape cannot simply be reduced to the idea of one simple physical space outlined by a set of modern co-ordinates. It also operates at a series of different mental levels thus resembling a palimpsest—a sequence of layers, invisible to layman or archaeologist, unless teased from the

sources that remain to us.[188] Sociologists use a range of theoretical frameworks to think more meaningfully about the idea of 'social space'. They consider the physical environment as the objective element within which communities live, 'conditioned by ecological and cultural factors'; but recognise the importance of a more nebulous subjective component, acknowledging that the mental perceptions of that space may diverge between members of different groups, and indeed individuals.[189] Buttimer suggests a model consisting of five levels that encompass both objective and subjective planes:

1. Sociological space, which considers an individual's position within society
2. Interaction space, which takes into account circulation through territory
3. Symbolic space, concerning images and 'mental maps'
4. Affective space, assessing how individuals might identify with territory
5. Morphological space, which establishes demographic details in order to assess similarities and differences in social space[190]

This model takes into account mental spaces that are impossible to detect through the analysis of the physical landscape alone, and that can be difficult to discern generally without the right source material.

Nevertheless, this framework was created in order to generate a detailed understanding of modern spaces. Can it be used to consider subjective landscapes from the medieval period? Altenberg employed Buttimer's framework to useful effect

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[188] K. Altenberg, *Experiencing Landscapes: a Study of Space and Identity in Three Marginal Areas of Medieval Britain and Scandinavia* (Stockholm, 2003), pp. 24-5; S. Kilby, 'A different world? Reconstructing the peasant environment in medieval Elton', *Medieval Settlement Research*, 25 (2010b), p. 74

[189] A. Buttimer, 'Social space and the planning of residential areas' in A. Buttimer and D. Seamon (eds), *The Human Experience of Space and Place* (London, 1980), p. 24

[190] Buttimer, 'Social space', pp. 25-6

in her study of marginal landscapes in medieval Scandinavia and south-west England, considering documentary sources and local folklore in addition to detailed archaeological survey of the physical landscape.[191] However, she did not consider the limitations of the manorial documentary evidence (in particular that of the Launceston cartulary), and its seigneurial biases, despite this study attempting to elucidate the mentalities of the lower orders. Further, she failed to examine fully the rationale behind settlement morphology, including the use of paths and tracks, and the possibility of their arrangement or later adaptation by elites. Altenberg's study was in many ways pioneering, and as archaeological survey lay at the heart of its focus, these minor criticisms are not intended to detract from its originality as an archaeo-historical methodological approach, but merely to highlight the potential pitfalls in uncovering and examining subjective mental constructs of space occupied by people who left little evidence within a predominantly aristocratic documentary record.[192] In order to use written texts to study mentalities, it is necessary to extract the data that are most likely to reflect the mind-set of the group of people under consideration, in this case the medieval peasantry. We will examine their personal names in the first instance. Notwithstanding the difficulties and caveats that must be imposed before considering the peasant names recorded within these documents, we must contemplate why they are useful at all when thinking through the manorial landscape.

A great corpus of medieval personal name data exists within a wide range of extant documents, as outlined below (table 3.3), however, their limitations must be examined, alongside a review of the historiography of the use of personal names in an historical context. The first problem lies not with the issue of finding data, but that they survive within sources that may not be readily comparable, from either administrative, temporal or purely quantitative perspectives.[193] To illustrate this, the

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[191] Altenberg, *Experiencing Landscapes*; see, for example, Chapter Four 'Within the boundaries'

[192] In making this statement, I am all too aware that a similar criticism could be levelled at my own work: that there is a tight focus on the limitations of the written source material, and the type of evidence that it might be safe to extract from it, but that this study might benefit from a simultaneous examination of both historical sources and archaeological survey. Perhaps this might be suggested as a potential framework for a post-doctoral project.

[193] R. McKinley, *The Surnames of Oxfordshire* (Oxford, 1977), p. 41; C. Clark, 'Socio-economic status and individual identity' in D. Postles (ed.), *Naming, Society and Regional Identity: Papers Presented at a Symposium jointly arranged by the Marc Fitch Fund and the Department of English Local History, University of Leicester* (Oxford, 2002), p. 110

comprehensive list of tenants outlined for Elton (Hnt) found within the 1279 *Rotuli Hundredorum* will not be directly analogous to the names extracted from the extensive collection of peasant charters for Castor (Ntp), or those found within the manorial court rolls of Lakenheath (Sfk), despite some alignment on their dates of production.[194] The Elton *Rotuli Hundredorum* entry probably excludes sub-tenants; and due to tenurial custom, women feature infrequently. The Castor charters largely exclude the unfree, with perhaps fleeting references to this group of peasants found within those documents in which more detailed topographical information is provided; further, they include many free tenants who did not reside in Castor, and whose knowledge of the local environment might be expected to have been sketchy at best, or entirely non-existent. The Lakenheath court rolls infrequently include free tenants, in addition to those at the very bottom of the tenurial pyramid, alongside the landless and poverty-stricken. This clearly suggests that in any study using personal names as evidence there will be both missing data, and some that are hard to interpret, including the determination of peasant status. Nevertheless, Clark suggests that, despite the comparability issues, provided the source material is treated sensitively, and with its limitations in mind, experience shows that local nuances emerge regardless of the specific type of source used, even if a range of material is used across different geographic places.[195]

There are further issues to be addressed. The scribal language used ranges from the vernacular through to Latin and French. For the twelfth century, Clark cautions that scribes used English only for those names they could not Latinize, meaning that the commonly used form might remain unknown.[196] Certainly, it is usually the case that local personal name forms will have been Latinized even after the twelfth century, and so longer runs of documents are frequently more helpful in ascertaining English names. In light of this, Olson's claim that manorial court rolls 'preserve the very language people used to refer to each other in everyday

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[194] *R.H. II*, pp. 656-658; N.R.O. F(M) Charter, 1-637; C.R.L. MS 167

[195] C. Clark, 'Battle *c.*1110: an anthroponymist looks at an Anglo-Norman new town' in P. Jackson (ed.), *Words, Names and History: Selected Writings of Cecily Clark* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 223; C. Clark, 'Onomastics' in N.F. Blake (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume 2, 1066-1476* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 547

[196] A.B.C., p. 8; M. Tompkins, 'Emerging Pays and Peasant Migration in Buckinghamshire *c.*1332-1522: the Evidence from Surnames' (unpub. MA dissertation, University of Leicester, 2001), p. 13

interactions' is unquestionably invalid.[197] This means that translated source material can be problematic when considering names, and it is important to ensure that wherever possible, original material is used, or at least checked.[198] This is emphasised by the modern translation of 'in the Nook' for the Latinized *in Angulo* at Elton; the one mention of *in le Wro* probably represents the same name in the vernacular.[199]

One final issue for consideration is the use of long runs of names, especially where the source material is chronologically lengthy. Unless patient attention to detail is applied, it is easy to duplicate single individuals within late medieval documents. Before *c.*1350, bynames were fluid and many peasants were known by more than one name. If this is not taken into account, it is very easy to speculate inaccurately on likely population size, or to simply count one individual several times. As this example from Lakenheath shows, unless prosopographical information is noted as names are collected, mistakes can easily be made. We first encounter Katherine Gere as she is thus described, in an Ely Priory estreat dated 18 July 1313.[200] Intermittently over the following five years she has six different bynames, derived from four distinct names as outlined in table 3.1. Assessing these names, it appears as though Katherine Gere/Spore is the same individual later known as Katherine le Bole/Bole and Katherine Hilde, this latter name being a metronym. From this data alone, it would be dangerous to assume that this was one and the same person. However, additional biographical information identifies Katherine's father as Thomas Gere, hitherto speculative, since he is acknowledged as Mabel's father in a court roll of 1328. Since we already know that Mabel is Katherine's younger sister, it is extremely likely that all these names refer to one person. A speculative family tree is shown in figure 3.1. Razi criticises Raftis over this issue (amongst other concerns): his failure to identify peasants bearing multiple bynames in his study of Warboys (Hnt) meant that Raftis' population

[197] S. Olson, *A Mute Gospel: the People and Culture of the Medieval English Common Fields* (Toronto, 2009), p. 43
[198] The University of Birmingham researchers transcribed the names as they appeared on the original rolls, as I have witnessed upon checking these against the originals in C.U.L. and T.N.A.
[199] *E.M.R.*, p. 39 and p. 92; the vernacular *in the Hirne* is probably also synonymous, although this name might also refer to 'a spit of land in a river-bend', *E.P.N.E. I*, p. 276
[200] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/ 6/ 5

Table 3.1: The Bynames of Katherine Gere of Lakenheath, 1313-1318

Nomen and Cognomen	Additional Prosopographical Information	Source	Date
Katherine, eldest sister of Walter **Gere**	'...married to Geoffrey **Spore**...sister of Walter...Mabel...[and] Alice'	Estreat	10 Jan 1313
Katherine, wife of Geoffrey **Spor**		Court Roll	18 Jul 1313
Katherine, wife of Geoffrey **Spore**		Court Roll	24 Aug 1313
Katherine, wife of Reginald **le Bole**	'...Hilda, mother of Katherine...'	Estreat	1 Sep 1316
Katherine, wife of Reginald **Bole**	'...surrender[of land]...held in dower by Hilda, widow of Thomas **Gere**...'	Estreat	12 May 1316
Katherine **Hilde**		Estreat	26 Apr 1318

Source: C.R.L. MS 167

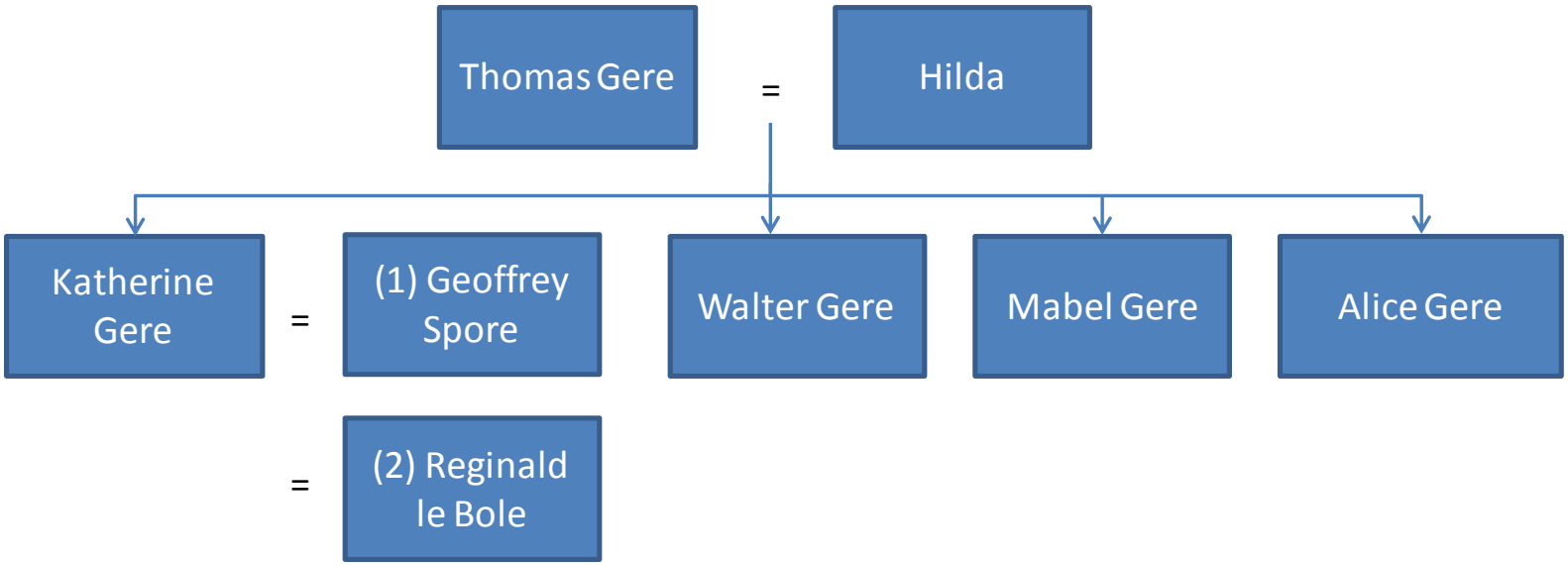
estimates were probably incorrect.[201] Indeed, in any study where long runs of personal names are used, it is not just likely but highly probable that individuals will be duplicated because of this issue.

There is an extensive modern historiography relating to onomastic studies. These can be broadly divided between three main areas of focus: first, linguistic and semantic considerations, concentrating on the precise meaning of names; secondly, a focus on taxonomy, and in constructing a methodological framework for the study of bynames; and finally a more balanced socio-historical approach which moves beyond pure definition and examines names within their social and geographic contexts.[202] The earliest onomastic studies very much favoured the former approach, and relatively recently, scholars have called for a more nuanced evaluation, advocating an approach that is more historically aware and, importantly, criticising studies that have

[201] Z. Razi, 'The Toronto School's reconstitution of medieval peasant society: a critical view', *Past and Present*, 85 (1979), p. 145, referring to J.A. Raftis, *Warboys: Two Hundred Years in the Life of an English Mediaeval Village* (Toronto, 1974); see also D. Postles, *Naming the People of England, c.1100-1350* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 91

[202] For example in group one: *M.E.S.O.*; A.D. Mills, 'Some Middle English occupational terms', *Notes and Queries*, 208 (1963), pp. 249-57; A.D. Mills, 'Notes on some Middle English occupational terms', *Studia Neophilologica*, 40 (1968), pp. 35-48; G. Kristensson, *Studies on Middle English Topographical Terms* (Lund, 1970); *L.B.E.A.;* In group two: C.M. Matthews, *English Surnames* (London, 1966); P.H. Reaney, *The Origin of English Surnames* (London, 1967). And in group three: R. McKinley, *The Surnames of Oxfordshire* (Oxford, 1977); D. Postles, *The Surnames of Leicestershire and Rutland* (Oxford, 1998); Postles, *Naming the People of England*; D. Postles, *The North Through its Names: a Phenomenology of Medieval and Early-Modern Northern England* (Oxford, 2007)

Figure 3.1: The Gere Family Tree, Lakenheath 1313-1328



Source: C.R.L. MS 167

failed to assess names within their local context.[203] Additionally, beyond the purely onomastic, there is a wide range of studies that use bynames as historical evidence.[204]

Bynames (a 'literally descriptive' term used to denote the general non-heritability of this type of name before names became more fixed) first appear within the documentary record in the early eleventh century, although pre-Conquest there are so few records featuring peasant names that using them for quantitative analytical purposes is especially problematic.[205] In an evolutionary sense, the earliest peasant bynames tend to be either patronyms or relate to peasant occupation. In the mid-twelfth century, nicknames begin to emerge, and by the end of the century, bynames were a commonplace across all social strata, although they were not necessarily always used. Nevertheless, by the late thirteenth century, the application of bynames within written documents had become routine.[206] In terms of heritability, a trickle-down effect was apparent with aristocratic cognomen becoming fixed by the early twelfth century, whilst the peasant equivalent began stabilising in the mid thirteenth century, only becoming immutable throughout England one hundred years later.[207] The marked increase in the quantity and survival of written documents from the Conquest onward, and the rise in recording peasant bynames meant that historians and linguists were able to analyse great quantities of data, the consequence of which was the classification of bynames into four categories, outlined in table 3.2, although Clark warns that it is impossible to select just one category for most names and she

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[203] P. McClure, 'The interpretation of Middle English nicknames', *Nomina*, 5 (1981), p. 96; Clark, 'Socio-economic status', pp. 116-7 and p. 120; A.B.C., p. 5

[204] See, for example on peasant migration: E.M. Carus-Wilson, 'The first half-century of the borough of Stratford-Upon-Avon' in R. Holt and G. Rosser (eds), *The English Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1200-1540* (London, 1990); D. Postles, 'Migration and mobility in a less mature economy: English internal migration, *c.*1200-1350', *Social History*, 25, 3 (2000), pp. 285-99. And on peasant occupation: D. Keene, 'Continuity and development in urban trades: problems of concepts and the evidence', in P. J. Corfield and D. Keene (eds), *Work in Towns, 850-1850* (Leicester, 1990); C. Dyer, 'The hidden trade of the Middle Ages: evidence from the West Midlands of England', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 18, 2, (1992), pp. 141-57; J. Laughton, E. Jones and C. Dyer, 'The urban hierarchy in the later Middle Ages: a study of the East Midlands', *Urban History*, 28, 3 (2001), pp. 331-57; and on peasant status: M.A. Barg, 'The social structure of manorial freeholders: an analysis of the Hundred Rolls of 1279', *A.H.R.*, 39:2 (1991), pp. 108-115

[205] Clark, 'Onomastics', p. 545, p. 552 and p. 567; Clark, 'Socio-economic status', p. 109

[206] Postles, *Naming the People*, p. 93; P.L.C., p. 179; Clark, 'Onomastics', p. 556

[207] Postles, *Naming the People*, p. 92 and p. 107; although Carlsson dates aristocratic hereditary naming to the late twelfth century, *L.B.E.A.*, p. 11

Table 3.2 Byname Classification

Category	Definition	Example
Relational	(a) Patronym, (b) metronym, (c) marital or other family connection (d) pet-names and diminutives	(a) John, son of Martin or John Martyn (b) John Elyanour or John, son of Eleanor (c) John, brother of Alan (d) John Belle (from Isabel) or John Wilkin (from William)
Occupational	Describing (a) office or (b) occupation	(a) John Reeve (b) John le Ledbetere
Locative	Denoting (a) the geographic place of origin or residence (toponym), or (b) the topographical location of residence (topograph)	(a) John de Castor (b) John atte Ash[208]
Nicknames	Describes an individual's characteristics	John Ledenefot or John le Large

Source: C.M. Matthews, *English Surnames* (London, 1966), pp. 69-70; C. Clark, 'Onomastics' in N.F. Blake (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Vol. 2, 1066-1476* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 567; *O.E.S.*, pp. xiv–xlv

criticises scholars who do not always offer a full range of semantic possibilities in defining names.[209]

Whilst these groups have remained more-or-less static, since the late 1960s it has been recognised that within the locative group of names, toponyms and topographs are markedly different, and that they were generally associated with people of different status.[210] Since this forms an important part of this study, a brief review of the historiography of this particular aspect of the study of bynames is necessary. In East Anglia, McKinley found that better-off peasants bore topographical bynames, but his source material—the subsidy rolls for 1327 and 1329-30—is especially problematic, given that many people were omitted, including paupers and those with few surplus goods to tax; that tax evasion was a major issue; and that

[208] McClure suggests caution in categorising both toponymic and topographical names, since prepositional phrasing (*atte*, *de* etc.) were not always recorded by the scribe, especially in southern England: McClure, 'Interpretation of Middle English nicknames', p. 102
[209] Clark, 'Battle', pp. 223-5; she is especially critical of P.H. Reaney and R.M. Wilson, *A Dictionary of English Surnames* (1995, Oxford, 2005)
[210] E. Stone (ed.), *Oxfordshire Hundred Rolls of 1279: The Hundred of Bampton* (Oxford 1968), p. 14

individual status was not recorded within these documents.[211] In a number of later studies, it has been identified that servile peasants were much more likely to bear topographical bynames than their free neighbours. Assessing the *Rotuli Hundredorum* for Oxfordshire, McKinley noted that the unfree here were twice as likely to be associated with topographs than freemen.[212] He offered little in the way of thorough examination of this trend, despite suggesting that the pairing of serfdom and topographs was an obvious link. Nevertheless, he called for a county-by-county analysis of this phenomenon. The production of a series of county surname histories has stalled, but, nonetheless, those that were produced consider topographs. Reviewing the personal names of Sussex, McKinley noted what he believed to be the highest incidence of medieval topographical names that he had then come across, and recognised first, that they were principally connected with the unfree peasantry, and secondly that these names were heritable much later than other categories.[213] A similar phenomenon was observed by Postles in Leicestershire and Rutland, where, again using Lay Subsidy rolls (and noting their limitations), he concluded that there was a correlation between topographs and the unfree.[214] In this study, Postles also noted a link between dispersed settlement and a greater incidence of topographical names (see below, p. 104).[215] Some exceptions should, however, be noted. In northern England, topographical names were sometimes associated with peasants from what Postles describes as the 'middling social level' since they were royal jurors of higher peasant status; and in the urban environment, there was a wider application of topographical names, beyond the confines of the extreme lower orders.[216] Finally, Olson has emphasised the importance of personal names as a hitherto unconsidered resource for revealing peasant mentalities, although she draws different conclusions from my own (see below, p. 105).[217]

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[211] R. McKinley, *Norfolk and Suffolk Surnames in the Middle Ages* (London, 1975), pp. 142-3
[212] McKinley, *Surnames of Oxfordshire*, p. 43
[213] R. McKinley, *The Surnames of Sussex* (Oxford, 1988), p. 12
[214] Postles, *Surnames of Leicestershire*, pp. 217-9
[215] Postles, *Surnames of Leicestershire*, p. 213; also noted in Buckinghamshire: Tompkins, 'Emerging pays', p. 25; and in the north of England: Postles, *North Through its Names*, p. 183
[216] Postles, *North Through its Names*, pp. 182-3; Clark, 'Socio-economic status', p. 101
[217] Olson, *Mute Gospel*, p. 21

Knowing your place: contrasting peasant landscapes within medieval manors

The extant manorial documents of Elton, Castor and Lakenheath reveal a great quantity of peasant bynames. In Elton, 938 names are recorded in the manorial court and account rolls between 1279-1351, representing 324 distinct names; for Castor, a total of 705 names in manorial documents and charters between 1215-1348, of which 357 are different; and in Lakenheath 1,702 total names for the period 1273-1348, with 695 representing distinct names.[218] The names are broken down further in table 3.3 into the four standard categories used within onomastic studies. Of these, given the potential importance of topographical names to this study, the 'locative' category has been further dissected to separate toponyms from topographs (table 3.4). A graphical depiction of all unique names in percentage terms is provided in figure 3.2. As already noted (p. 79), it is not always possible to assign each name to one category, nonetheless the quantity of ambiguous names is similar in each manor: Elton (5%), Castor (7%) and Lakenheath (4%). A list of names with two or more possible meanings is in Appendix 1. The names have also been broken down further to reveal environmental associations across all name categories (table 3.5). It is also useful to assess these figures against the total number of distinct names (figure 3.3). A detailed list of unique environmental names is in Appendix 2. Finally, occupational names have been categorised, where they too reference the environment (Appendix 3).

Given the non-standardised means of recording peasant personal names in the medieval period, a brief note on how the data have been treated is necessary. Where possible, all names are rendered here in modern English. Where non-relational names are given in relational form, such as Gundred, daughter of William atte Ash, the name has been assigned to the relevant category, in this instance, topographic.[219] This approach presents some problems, especially at Castor where several names are patronymic, but have no byname, such as Walter, son of William; these names have

[218] See table 3.3
[219] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/26

Table 3.3 Surname Categories at Elton, Castor and Lakenheath 1215-1348

Category	Elton		Castor		Lakenheath	
	Total Names	Distinct Names	Total Names	Distinct Names	Total Names	Distinct Names
Nicknames	210	66	159	69	414	168
Occupational	253	52	106	46	368	111
Relational	135	57	143	100	292	111
Locative	262	112	213	106	408	208
Mixed	45	19	46	18	62	27
Unclear	33	18	38	18	158	70
Total	**938**	**324**	**705**	**357**	**1,702**	**695**

Source: Elton: *E.M.R.*, pp. 2-395; C.M.R. I, pp. 487-491; various charters, for which see bibliography under T.N.A. ; Castor: Soc. Antiq. MS 60 / ff. 186-187v.; Soc. Antiq. MS38; N.R.O. F (M) Charter 1-397; N.R.O. F (M) 2388 and 2389; C.U.L. PDC/MS 1; C.U.L. PDC/MS 6, f. ix; T.N.A. E179/155/31/m. 42; T.N.A. C135/4/4; B.L. Cotton Vespasian E xxii, f. cxliiii; C.N.; E. King, *Peterborough Abbey 1086-1310: a Study in the Land Market* (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 172-4; Lakenheath: C.R.L. MS 67; C.U.L. EDC/7/16/I; C.U.L. EDC/7/16/II; C.U.L. EDR/G3/28/Liber M; T.N.A. E179/180/12

Table 3.4: Locative Names: Toponyms and Topographs at Elton, Castor and Lakenheath

Category	Elton		Castor		Lakenheath	
	Total Names	Unique Names	Total Names	Unique Names	Total Names	Unique Names
Toponyms	164	84	161	80	273	166
Topographs	98	28	52	26	135	42
Total	**262**	**112**	**213**	**106**	**408**	**208**

Source: see table 3.3

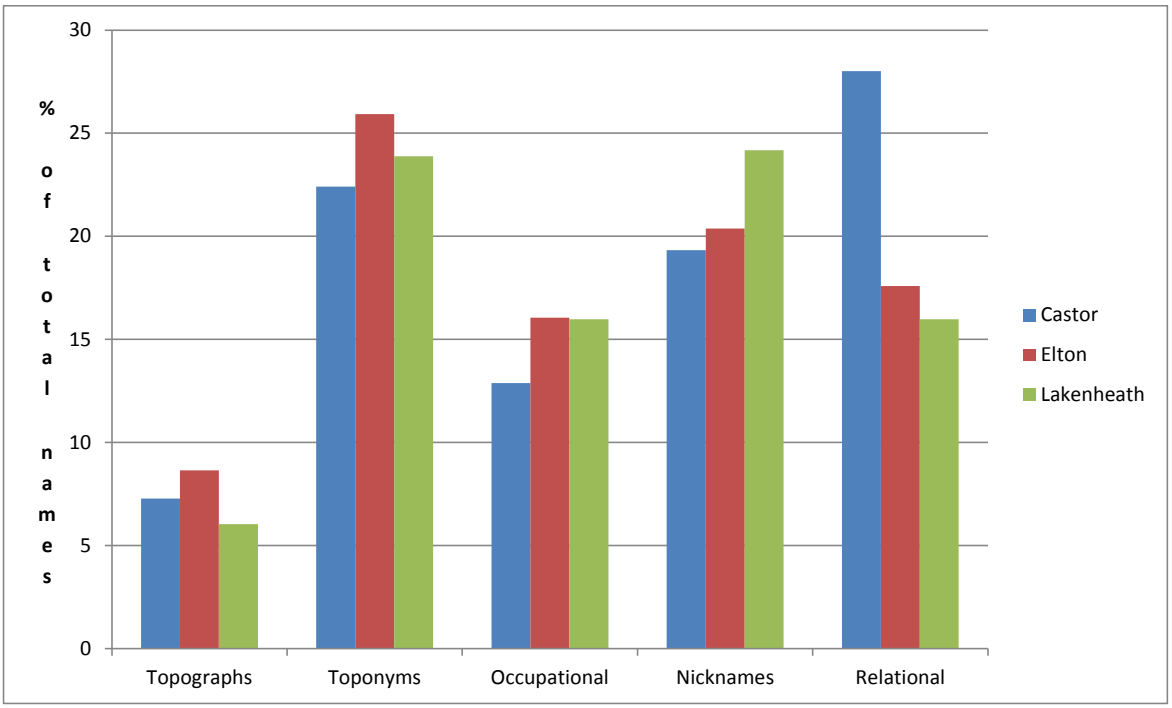
Table 3.5: Distinct Environmental Bynames at Elton, Castor and Lakenheath

Category	Elton		Castor		Lakenheath	
	Total	% of Total Names	Total	% of Total Names	Total	% of Total Names
Built environment	12	4	8	2	20	3
Natural environment	21	7	12	3	26	4
Flora	15	5	1	0.28	11	2
Fauna	21	7	9	3	37	5
TOTAL	**69**		**30**		**94**	
TOTAL % of all names	**(324)**	**21**	**(357)**	**8**	**(695)**	**14**

Source: see table 3.3

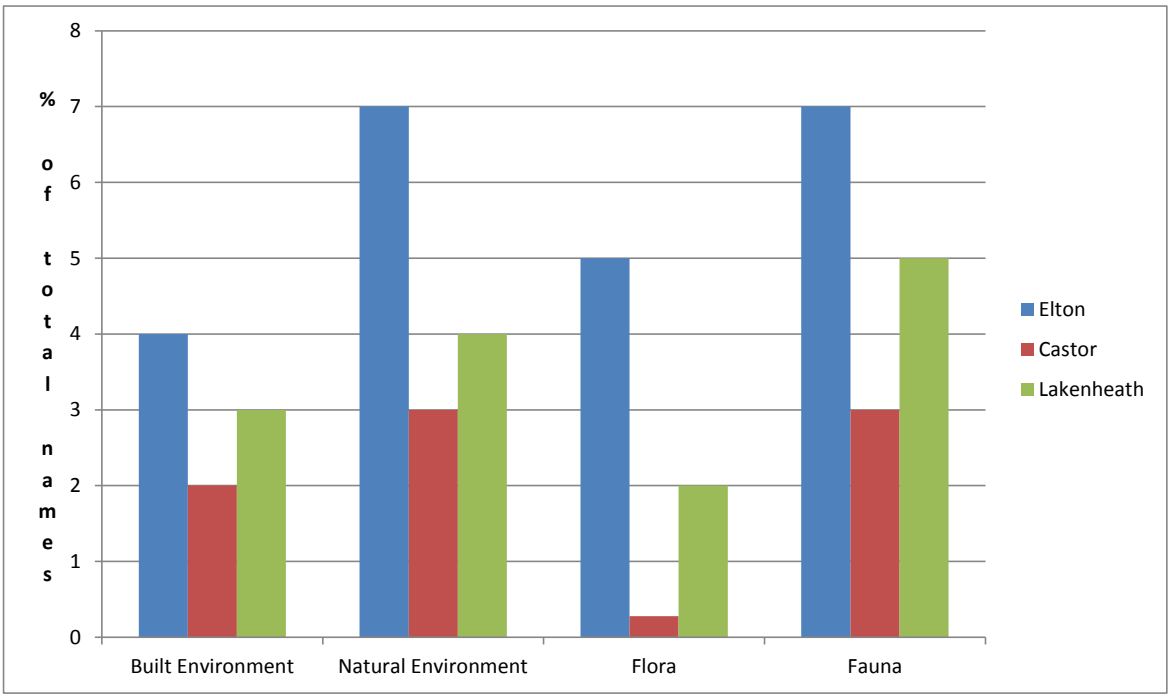
Note: Bracketed figures represent the total number of bynames for each vill

Figure 3.2: Percentage of Distinct Personal Names by Category: Elton, Castor and Lakenheath



Source: see table 3.3

Figure 3.3: Unique Environmental Names as a Percentage of Total Unique Names: Elton, Castor and Lakenheath



Source: see table 3.3

been assigned to the relational category.[220] Finally, at Castor, there are several names combining patronyms with toponyms, where the toponym is either Castor or Ailsworth. These, such as William, son of Walter de Castor have also been designated relational.[221] These last two categories are especially problematic, since it is very likely that some individuals will have been duplicated as it is impossible to connect them with possible alternative bynames. This is illustrated where there is a byname, and both nomen and cognomen are rare within each dataset, such as Ralph, son of Bartholomew de Castor, who is probably—albeit inconclusively—the same man known in additional documents as Ralph, son of Bartholomew Hare, Ralph Bertelmew and Ralph Hare.[222]

Topographs tend to be associated with servile peasants, and this is worth considering in greater detail. Grouping topographs alongside toponyms under the classification 'local' is misleading, serving simply to support a modern requirement for rigorous taxonomy, and this union of toponyms and topographs would not be recognised by contemporary holders and bestowers of bynames.[223] Of those individuals whose status is known, none of Elton's free tenants bore topographical names. This wider geographical study offers an opportunity to test this hypothesis further, although the problems with the source material must be acknowledged. Unlike manorial surveys, where status is indicated, the Castor charters are unforthcoming, although they were mainly focused on free men and women. The manorial court rolls of Lakenheath tend to contain more references to servile rather than free peasants. Indeed, status can often be difficult to discern in this corpus of documents. Table 3.6 presents topographs and peasant status in each manor, where status is certain. It shows a strong correlation between servile status and topographical names. Only the three members of the Aboueton family and Ralph at the Style in Castor, alongside Isabel at the Hythe of Lakenheath can be unequivocally

[220] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 59
[221] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 123
[222] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 46, 67, 136 and 159; the nomen Bartholomew does not appear except as part of a cognomen in Castor pre-1349.
[223] Kilby, 'A different world?' (2010b), p. 74

Table 3.6: Topographic Bynames and Peasant Status – Elton, Castor and Lakenheath

Elton		Lakenheath	
Name	**Status**	**Name**	**Status**
Robert at the Cross	Villein	Clement at the Townsend	Villein
Alexander at the Cross	Villein	William Cote	Neif
John at the Gate	Villein	John at the Cross	Neif
Richard at the Oven	Villein	Robert at the Cross	Neif
John at the Water	Villein	Katherine at the Cross	Neif
Andrew ate Brok	Villein	Thomas at the Hythe	Neif
Philip ate Lane	Villein	Richard (1) in the Lane	Neif
Alexander in the Lane	Villein	Richard (2) in the Lane	Neif
Henry Bovebroc	Villein	John Mor	Neif
John Bovebroc	Villein	Gilbert Mor	Neif
Geoffrey in the Nook	Villein	Agnes at the Cross	Servile (marr. lic.)
Sarah in le Wro	Cottar	Isabel at the Cross	Servile (marr. lic.)
Agnes at the Church	Cottar	Ellen at the Cross	Servile (marr. lic.)
Geoffrey at the Spring	Cottar	John in the Lane	Servile
Alice at the Cross	Cottar	Roger in the Lane	Servile (marr. lic.)
John ate Green	Cottar	William atte Ash	Servile (reeve)
Richard at the Water	Cottar	William at the Cross	Servile (reeve)
Robert at the Water	Cottar	John at the Churchgate	Intermediate
Richard at the Well	Cottar	John at the Hythe	Intermediate
Alexander Deche	Cottar	Isabel at the Hythe	Free
Castor			
Ralph (1)Aboueton	Free		
Ralph (2) Aboueton	Free		
William Aboueton	Free		
Ralph at the Style	Free		

Source: *E.M.R.*; *R.H. II*; E. King, *Peterborough Abbey 1086-1310, a Study in the Land Market* (Cambridge, 1973), p. 107; N.R.O. F(M) Charter 293; C.U.L. EDC/7/16/II/1

determined to be free.[224] It should be noted that several Castor men who held land by charter were known by topographical names. These included John at the Cross, concluded by King to have been free because he held by charter. But given the complexities of Castor landholding, and the fact that *Carte Nativorum* shows that several Peterborough Abbey villein tenants held land by charter, this is an unsafe conclusion to draw from such insubstantial evidence. At Elton, Henry Godsweyn,

[224] King, *Peterborough Abbey*, p. 107; T.N.A. E40/5887; T.N.A. E40/68565; T.N.A. E40/6901

identified as a villein in the *Rotuli Hundredorum*, transferred land by charter. The name Aboueton will be treated in more detail below (p. 94).

The case concerning the Hythe family is noteworthy. Throughout the extant court and account rolls, the family byname is interchangeable with *ad Ripam*, commonly translated as 'at the Riverbank'. The spelling of Hythe is either *Hith*, *Hythe*, *Hethe* or *Hyde* (from OE *hyð*) and refers to a landing-place, from which the name Lakenheath itself is derived.[225] The family members included in table 3.6 are Isabel, and her putative sons Thomas and John. John first appears in 1308, when he is granted three acres of land by Isabel, his mother.[226] In 1310 Thomas materialises, aged nine, as the heir to a messuage 'at the great hithe', in the custody of his mother Isabel, following the death of Roger, his father.[227] As it was manorial custom for the youngest child to inherit, it seems plausible that John and Thomas were brothers.[228] In 1321, upon his mother's death, Thomas son of Isabel at the Hythe gave no heriot, but paid what appears to have been a relief, for a messuage at 'the hithe', and 'mollond held by the rod'; here, Isabel is described as a free woman.[229] A man known as Thomas at the Hythe is recorded in a court roll of 1336, where he is described as a neif, a term used to describe those born into servility.[230] In 1328 he surrendered a plot of land at the hithe, which was leased for 40 years to John Hottowe; and the following year, he leased a messuage at the same place to Hottowe's widow and son for the remainder of the term.[231] The fact that both plot and messuage were surrendered in the manorial court before suggests that it was customary land.

John at the Hythe featured frequently in the court rolls between 1308 and 1340. In July 1317 he was in contempt of court, alongside John at the Churchgate, also shown in table 3.6, and John Godhewen, who was sergeant of the manor. These men, described as 'tenants by the rod' had refused to come to a court inquisition, declaring:

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[225] Key to English Place-Names, http://kepn.nottingham.ac.uk (30 July 2012)
[226] C.U.L. EDC/7/16/II/1/7/1
[227] C.U.L. EDC/7/16/II/1/7/1
[228] This custom was recorded several times: C.U.L. EDC/7/16/II/1/6/10; C.U.L. EDC/7/16/II/1/6/15; C.U.L. EDC/7/16/II/1/7/8
[229] C.U.L. EDC/7/16/II/1/7/5
[230] C.U.L. EDC/7/16/II/1/9/40; P. Schofield, *Peasant and Community in Medieval England, 1200-1500* (Basingstoke, 2003), p. 13
[231] C.U.L. EDC/7/16/II/1/8/17; C.U.L. EDC/7/16/II/1/8/13

> '...that the said John and other tenants of mollond claimed that they ought not to swear in inquisitions without the king's writ, nor pay *gersuma* after the death of their predecessors, but only relief *in the manner of free tenants*, nor pay for marrying daughters...'[232]

This suggests that they believed that their status was determined by the tenure of mollond, and seemed to be intermediate in nature, not unfree, yet also not fully free. A late thirteenth-century cartulary for Bury St Edmunds identifies molmen as former *custumarii*, suggesting permanent commutation of labour services for cash rent and therefore indicating erstwhile servility.[233] In December 1317, again in contempt of court alongside John at the Churchgate, he refused to act as a juror, claiming this time to be free, albeit holding one cottage by the rod, however:

> '...all other tenements...were received out of court to hold for life...and not by rod at will, whereby they say they hold those tenements freely and ought not to be invested with them here in court other than as free men. Asked whether they hold these tenements by writings, they answer no...'[234]

In April 1320, John was presented to show title to his messuage at the hithe, and to advise whether he held by charter or rod. He claimed to hold freely by charter, which he could not present since it was conveniently 'burned in the keeping of William Bastard [which]...can be verified by the whole homage', despite no mention of this destroyed document in 1317.[235] This was indeed confirmed as a true account by the jurors. This messuage was not described as mollond, but again, there is the reference to the payment of relief 'as for a free tenement'. The puzzling aspect of this entry is that John claims his father was called Reginald, not Roger, and that he was his heir.

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[232] C.U.L. EDC/7/16/II/1/7/2; my italics; translation from C.R.L. MS 167
[233] H.E. Hallam, 'England before the Norman Conquest', in H.E. Hallam (ed.), *A.H.E.W., II*, p. 17; Vinogradoff suggests molmen were of intermediate status: P. Vinogradoff, *Villeinage in England: Essays in English Mediaeval History* (1892, Oxford, 1968), p. 183; whilst Bailey indicates that their status was 'irregular and fluctuating: M. Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk: an Economic and Social History, 1200-1500* (2007, Woodbridge, 2010), p. 46
[234] C.U.L. EDC/7/16/II/1/7/3; translation from C.R.L. MS 167
[235] C.U.L. EDC/7/16/II/1/7/4

This suggests that either the record relating to Reginald is a scribal error, or that there were two Hythe families, both having mothers called Isabel, and both holding mollond. Since unfreedom was passed down through the male line, Thomas' neifty was the result of Roger's servility.[236] The status of both John at the Hythe and John at the Churchgate can be described as intermediate at best: their several defences of status in the Lakenheath court attested to the ambiguity of molman status, and the importance of free status generally. Isabel at the Hythe seems to have been given her husband's topographical byname upon marriage, and, like many women, was probably known by a different byname before that time.

Having established across the three manors under review that there seems to have been only two undisputed instances in which topographical bynames were associated with individuals of free status, and given the problematic nature of the source material, it seems appropriate to test this further against a more reliable source. The 1279 *Rotuli Hundredorum* for Huntingdonshire numbers amongst a small set of counties that survive in great detail, and albeit inconsistent, attempts at uniformity can be detected, and more importantly, the personal status of each individual recorded was noted.[237] Elton itself was part of Norman Cross hundred, and so it has been selected to provide a comparison for the bynames of the three manors under review. Norman Cross consisted of 27 vills comprising a total of 1,493 people listed as landholders in the *Rotuli Hundredorum*.[238] The same caveats apply here with regard to the possibility of duplicated individuals and those that were omitted because they were landless or held leasehold land. Within this dataset, there are 30 unique topographs, listed in table 3.7. Not all the Elton topographs listed in table 3.6 feature here, since these data were drawn from a wider range of source material. These 30 names range across 72 individuals. Eight free tenants feature within this dataset (table

[236] P. Hyams, *Kings, Lords and Peasants in Medieval England: the Common Law of Villeinage in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1980), p. 181
[237] E.A. Kosminsky, *Studies in the Agrarian History of England in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1956), p. 12
[238] Luddington and Wansford (Ntp) are included in Norman Cross, suggesting that a small portion of each was in this Hundred. Morborne, which was in Norman Cross appears to have not been surveyed.

Table 3.7: Unique Topographical Bynames–Norman Cross Hundred

Topographs	
Abovebrok	Hill, under the
Briars, in the	House, of the
Bridge, at the	Infirmary, of the
Brook, at the	Lane, in the
Church, at the	Moor/marsh/fen, at the
Clay, in the	Nook, in the
Cross, at the	Oven, at the
Furlong, at the	Peartree, at the
Garden, from the	Spring, at the
Gate, at the	Stable, of the
Gavam, at the[239]	Vill, above the
Grange, at the	Vill, outside the
Green, at the	Vill, top of the
Hall, of the	Wall
Hedge (or wall, or fence)[240]	Water, at the
Hill, at	

Source: *R.H. II*

Table 3.8: Free Tenants with Topographical Bynames–Norman Cross Hundred

Free Tenant	Vill
Walter at the Fen	Conington
William at the Grange	Conington
Adelina Abouetoun	Glatton
Mariota of the Hall	Glatton
Robert Wythoutetoun	Glatton
Mariota of the Hall	Holme
Hugh at the Top of the Vill	Sibberston
Roger *ad Gavam*	Stanground and Farcet

Source: *R.H. II*

3.8); these names are particularly interesting, since all but one reference the built environment, specifically in the form of the vill itself, or buildings closely associated with elites. The one exception is Walter at the Fen, who held land in Conington.[241]A man of the same name is also listed as a cottar in the same vill. If this is the same individual, this may help to explain his topographical byname. Since Glatton shares a

[239] I have been unable to translate this topograph.
[240] *ate Gappe*
[241] The byname *ad Moram* could mean moor, marsh or fen. Here, fen is more likely, since the local place-name is Conington Fen; *P.N.B.H.*, p. 183

parish boundary with Holme, it is probable that Mariota of the Hall, a tenant in each manor, is one and the same person.[242]

The names referencing the vill itself are interesting, since they all place these individuals outside the heart of the settlement. They are above the vill, outside it, or at its extreme end, engendering a distinct sense of separation from those more closely associated with it, and its infrastructure of lanes, bridges, nooks, gardens and so on. Does this help to explain the presence of the prominent Castor free tenant, Ralph Aboueton and his family within the corpus of individuals bearing topographical names? Castor lies on sloping ground, and this might help explain the topographical byname. In some deserted medieval villages, this name is associated with elevated settlements (C. Dyer, pers. comm.). Nevertheless, Ralph Aboueton lived alongside other prominent tenants at the highest point of the settlement, and his name may have had other symbolic connotations. The perceived separation from central village life is worth considering further, since it suggests that notions of belonging were expressed by medieval peasants within their local environment. What we appear to be witnessing is the articulation of what Buttimer outlines as 'sociological space' (above, p. 73), in which 'places...assume spatial dimensions that reflect...social significance'.[243] Furthermore, according to the sociologist Henri Lefebvre, socially produced space is necessarily an instrument of domination and control; this seems especially significant given the apparent predisposition for associating most topographical bynames with servile peasants in the late medieval period.[244] Place-names have been variously considered by scholars as a means of reconstructing earlier landscapes, of reflecting upon local economic specialisms, and as a medium through which local geography was made meaningful in a wider social context.[245] Locative personal names are essentially a hybrid of personal identity and place-name—toponyms at the macro level, and topographs at the micro level, the latter offering a potential means of unlocking the intricacies of peasant space at the local level. Sociologists suggest that humans use a

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[242] The byname 'of the Hall' may have denoted occupation, rather than residence.
[243] Buttimer, 'Social space', p. 27
[244] H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, D. Nicholson-Smith (trans.) (1974, Oxford, 1991), p. 26
[245] N. Orme, 'The commemoration of places in medieval England', in C.M. Barron and C. Burgess (eds), *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2008 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2010), p. 289; R. Jones, 'Directional names in the early medieval landscape' in R. Jones and S. Semple (eds), *Sense of Place in Anglo-Saxon England* (Donington, 2012), p. 200

process of cognitive mapping to make sense of their environment, bestowing prominence upon places deemed important to them. Ryden outlines this using hand-drawn maps from seventeenth-century North America that provide a detailed world-view from the perspective of one individual or local groups. In one example cited, the map features houses, trees, human figures, and a creek complete with the ducks that lived nearby. In other words, the images represent the local places that held special significance for this particular cartographer. Ryden suggests that cognitive representations offer a much more powerful sense of the individual, since personal identity and local environment are inseparable.[246] The earliest surviving English village map, of Boarstall (Buc) from 1446, shows that the comparison is valid for the late medieval period, albeit this map reflects an elite view (figure 3.4). This way of looking at landscape is reminiscent of late medieval maps that are not purely cartographic, but also encompass history, mythology, theology and notions of time. It also suggests that the articulation of topographical bynames within the documentary record is the product of a cognitive process made possible by a deep understanding of local environment, from both a basic visual perspective, and at a more complex sociological level demarcating it into socially ordered space.[247]

Again, however, problems must be addressed before we can consider whether medieval topographs are cognate with cognitive mapping. We must examine these names in the context of personal identity, and how naming practices were formulated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Were these names bestowed by others, and if so, how far did individuals identify with them? We are reminded here of the conundrum posed by the Lakenheath peasant Katherine Gere/Hilde/Spore/Bole (above, p. 76). With which of these names, if indeed any of them, might she have elected to identify herself? Several peasant seals also testify to the difficulties of successfully determining personal identity. Two late medieval Lakenheath seal matrices bear the identity of churchmen who do not feature in the dataset under the names on their matrices: Nicholas Chaplain and John Vicar (figure 3.5). At Castor,

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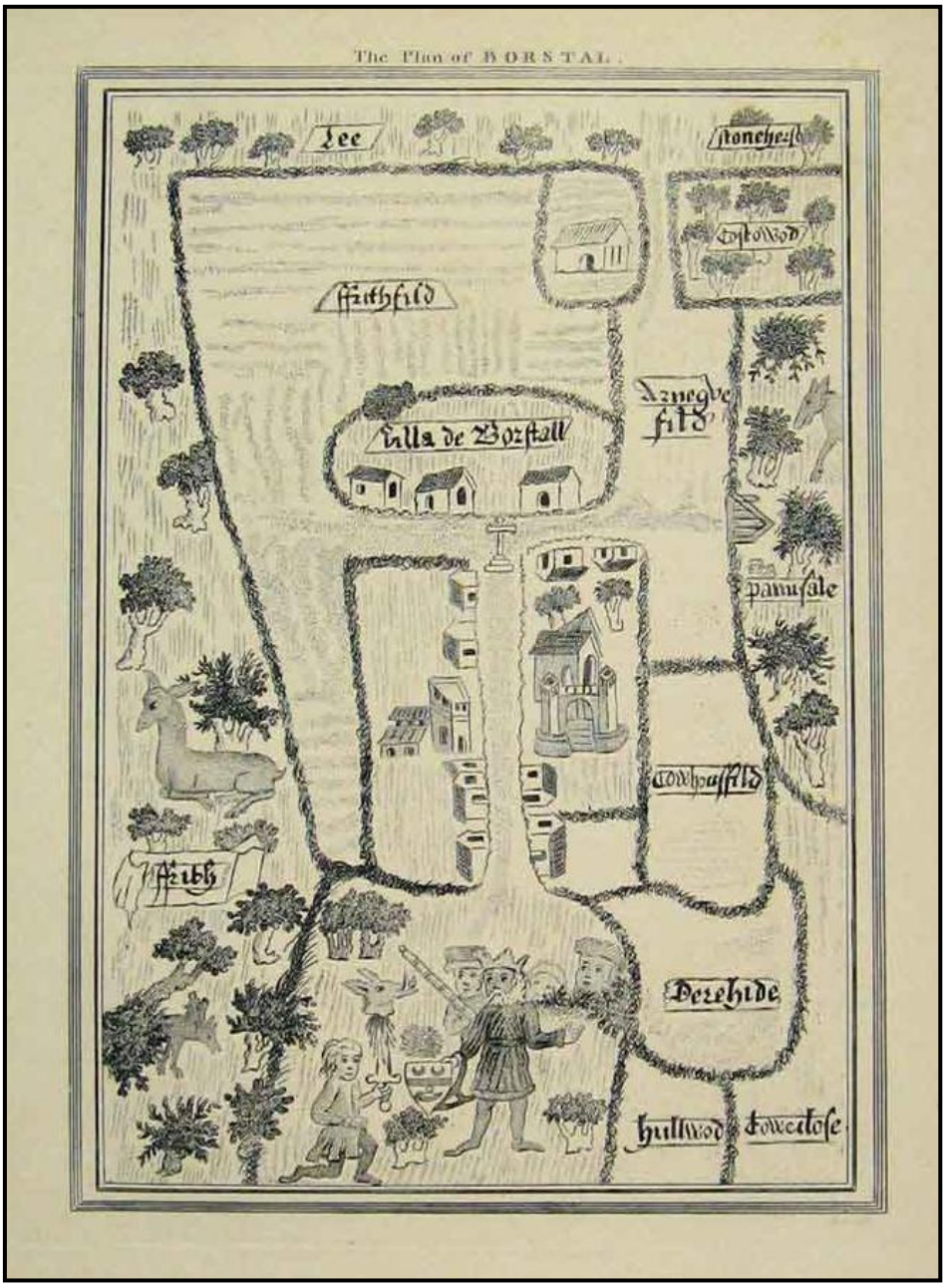
[246] K.C. Ryden, *Mapping the Invisible Landscape: Folklore, Writing, and the Sense of Place* (Iowa, 1993), pp. 34-5, and pp. 54-6; see also A. Buttimer, 'Home, reach, and the sense of place' in A. Buttimer and D. Seamon (eds), *The Human Experience of Space and Place* (London, 1980), p. 167

[247] Sociological theories about space suggest that the visual sense is important in constructing ideas about landscape: J. Urry and P. Macnaghten, *Contested Natures* (1998, London, 1999), p. 105

Figure 3.4: Map of Boarstall (Buc), 1444



Source: P.D.A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps* (London, 1991)

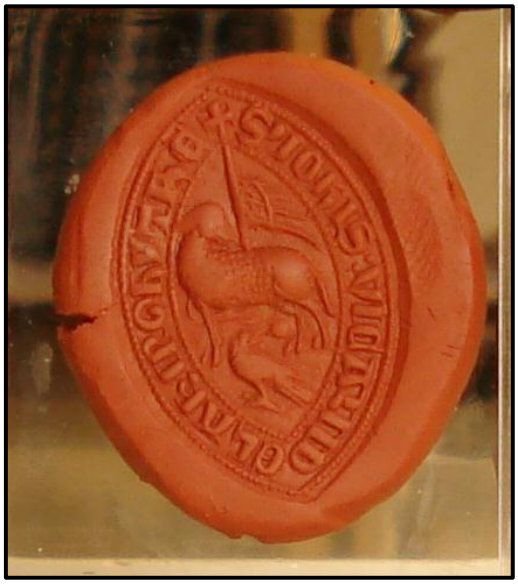
the wax seal impression of Cecilia Paris—identified within the charter it was attached to as both 'wife of Gilbert, son of Roger Dionys' and 'daughter of Ralph Paris'—confirms that she identified more strongly with her maiden name, and even features what appears to be her own image, which is extremely rare (figure 3.6).[248]

Fortunately, the large body of Castor charters is helpful in this instance. There are several featuring the family that interests us here, the Abouetons. Ralph Aboueton is either a grantor or grantee of land in some fourteen charters.[249] In a further 36 he acts as a witness.[250] He also features in a further two in *Carte Nativorum*. Of the fourteen original charters, ten were produced by Eustace *scriptor*, and in each of these documents Ralph is described as *Radulphus filius Roberti a Boueton de Castre*.[251] So, perhaps this better reflects Eustace's perception of Ralph's personal identity, rather than Ralph's own. In the four charters not produced by Eustace, Ralph is described as *Radulfus de Bowetone de Castre* or *Radulphus aboueton de Castre*; in other words, he is not described in relation to his father.[252] Revealingly, one of the charters attributed to Eustace *scriptor* carries a wax seal impression bearing the legend 'the seal of Ralph Buvt[on] of Cast[or]' (figure 3.7). Another also describes the land that is being transferred (to lord Geoffrey Russel, knight): 'all of my meadow that is called *Bowetoneholm* that lies between the water that is called Nene, and the land of Henry, son of William Torald'.[253] In the act of binding his meadow to himself through its name, Ralph Aboueton emphasises the strength of his own association with and acceptance of the name Aboueton. It also pinpoints that the name Aboueton did not emanate from those landholdings unattached to the main dwelling, since this meadow is clearly sited below the vill close to the river Nene. This is underlined in yet another

[248] Pers. comm. Dr Elizabeth New, Aberystwyth University. Dr New suggested the legend could read either 'the seal of Ladie Paris' or, what appears as 'Ladie' may in fact be an unusual spelling of Cecilia in abbreviated form. If it does read 'Ladie', then it is extremely unusual.
[249] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 105, 133, 135-46; only 105 is dated (1297)
[250] In these he is variously described as Ralph *de Boueton*, *Bouetun*, *Abovetoun* and *a Bouetoun*; his father Robert witnessed *c.* 40 charters
[251] With some slight variation on the spelling of *a Boueton*
[252] N.R.O. F (M) Charter 105, 139-40 and 146
[253] N.R.O. F (M) Charter 139

Figure 3.5: Lakenheath Seal Matrices, Late Medieval

"SIGILL' NICHOLAI CAPEL"



"S' IOHIS VICARII DE LAKINGHVTHE"

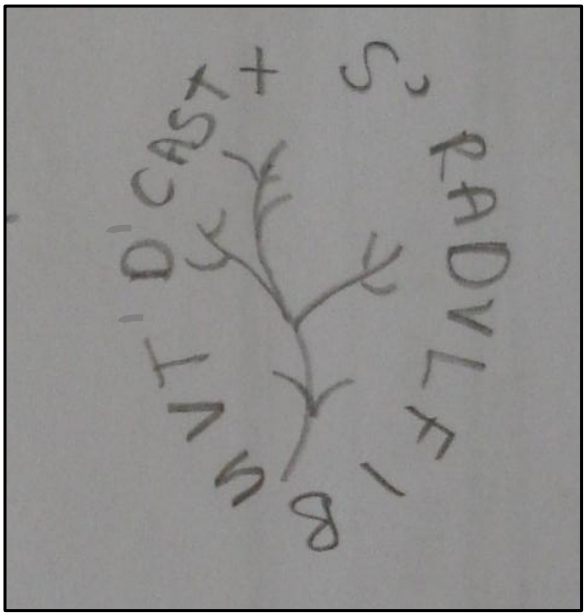
Source: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service, Bury St Edmunds, MSF16279

Figure 3.6: The Wax Seal Impression of Cecilia Paris, Castor, *c.* late 13th century

"S' ?LADIE or LE?IE PARIS"

Source: N.R.O. F(M) Charter 47

Figure 3.7: The Wax Seal Impression of Ralph Aboveton, Castor, *c*. early 14th century



Source: N.R.O. F(M) Charter 145

charter in which Andrew Russell of Milton transferred to John le Boteler of Castor the rights of:

> '...part of my *bouetonhay* with appurtenances, namely that part which lies near the vill of Castor, sometime the gift of Ralph aboueton, and which lies near the enclosure of the said John and near my land...'[254]

By the late thirteenth century, the land called *bouetonhay* was pasture, but may have related to the disafforestation of the Soke of Peterborough after 1215.[255] A survey of that date states that the 'wood of William Abuuetun contains 28 acres' and this was probably assarted to create pasture.[256] This earlier document highlights the strong and enduring link between the Aboueton family and their perceptions of their place within the Castor landscape, expressed over a long period of time through their continued

[254] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 74
[255] King, *Peterborough Abbey*, p. 63 suggests that *bouetonhay* was a park, but this is a misreading of N.R.O. F(M) Charter 74, which says '*p[ar]tem meam de bouetonhay*'; *parcus* would not decline in this way.
[256] King, *Peterborough Abbey*, p. 173

preference to identify themselves with a name that distanced them from the centre of the vill. In this sense, it seems that this topographical name is redolent of the cognitive mapping process outlined earlier. It also challenges the assumption that some names were bestowed on individuals by others. In this respect, the name Aboveton deserves particular attention.[257]

The quantity and detail found within this small corpus of documents support the idea that, for one Castor family, the use of a topographical byname helped to set them apart from their neighbours. In this instance, we can establish an affinity with this byname, but this is not always possible. In Lakenheath, four individuals bore the byname *de Boueton*—William, John, Matilda and Amice. Frustratingly, there is no mention throughout court rolls of their status. Nevertheless some surviving prosopographical information helps piece together more detail. An undated copy of a charter in *Liber M*, the Ely Priory cartulary, identifies one 'William Buutun' as a witness.[258] This document lists a transfer of rents from Matthew, son of Hugh de Lakenheath to Alan of Swaffham, the rector of Lakenheath. Most of the rents outlined are owed by individuals not featured in the court roll series, and so it is likely to predate 1307, the earliest of these. This William acted as witness alongside 'lord William de Rochester, Peter his brother, Baldwyn de Boloyne, Baldewyne de Esseria and Ralph Spurun', and so it seems unlikely that he was of servile status.[259] William de Boueton, possibly the same man, or perhaps a successor of the *Liber M* William, featured in the court rolls where in 1326 he was appointed the attorney of William, son of Geoffrey de Undeley, a holder of free land, suggesting that he was educated.[260] In 1329 he employed several men, including a shepherd, and he held a fen from the

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[257] In Adam de Stratton's manor of Upton (Brk), one of three freemen listed in a 1271 extent was John *Boveton*, M.W.Farr (ed.), *Accounts and Surveys of the Wiltshire Lands of Adam de Stratton* (Devizes, 1959), p. 18; In Thaxted (Esx) in 1393, Henry *Boyton* is a freeman: K.C. Newton (ed., trans.), *Thaxted in the Fourteenth Century: an Account of the Manor and Borough* (Chelmsford, 1960), p. 47; nevertheless, in Cuxham (Oxf) Geoffrey *Boveton* was a cottar, suggesting that Cuxham differed from other places: Harvey, *Manorial Records of Cuxham*, p. 659 (see also p. 99 for examples of other Cuxham differences)

[258] C.U.L./EDR/G3/28, *Liber M,* f. 292

[259] Munday notes mention of William *Bovetoun* of Eriswell in a copy of a 1217 charter in the *Cartulary of Colchester Abbey*, and suggests that this William was a freeman: J.T. Munday, *Eriswell-cum-Coclesworth: Chronicle of Eriswell, Part One – Until 1340* (Brandon, 1969), p. 14

[260] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/42

Prior of Barnwell.[261] He is not listed as holding any offices in Lakenheath, undertook no land transactions in the manorial court there, and he is unconnected with typical servile fines. In the 1327 Lay Subsidy, he is listed in Eriswell, paying the enormous sum of 10s. 2d. in tax.[262] This does not prove conclusively that he was free, and, since it is likely that he resided in Eriswell, perhaps we should not expect to see land transactions in Lakenheath. Nevertheless, only Robert de Tuddenham, and John de Boueton paid more tax in 1327.[263] There is less information relating to John de Boueton. He too employed a shepherd, held no offices in Lakenheath, nor transferred land through the manorial court there, nor paid fines denoting servility.[264] A man of this name is listed as paying tax in 1327 in both Lakenheath (2s. 3d.) and Eriswell (10s. 8d.).[265] None of these incidents are diagnostic of status, but it seems clear that both William and John were men of substance, and if they were descendants of the earlier William, they were probably free men. At Lakenheath in a small number of land transactions, the terrain in question is described as 'above town', but it cannot be linked with any people named Aboueton. One such transaction in 1315, in which William and Katherine Godde transferred half an acre of land to John de Bircham junior, describes the land as lying 'abouetoun, next to the messuage of Adam Outlawe', whose byname may possibly represent his own 'outsider' status.[266]

Despite the gaps in information relating to status, it seems that there were two broad trends: first, the general connection of most topographical bynames with servile peasants; secondly, the association with free peasants of a very small sub-set of topographs that placed the individual away from the centre of the settlement. But it should be emphasised that this cannot be seen as conclusive. Some of these names, especially those more likely to be associated with the latter group might denote occupation as opposed to a connection with fixed topography, as noted above (table 3.2). In Lakenheath, John and William Chambers were stewards of the Prior of Ely, and

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[261] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/10/2
[262] S.H.A. Hervey, *Suffolk in 1327, Being a Subsidy Return*, (Woodbridge, 1906), p. 198
[263] Robert de Tuddenham held two knight's fees in Eriswell: J.T. Munday (ed.), *A Feudal Aid Roll for Suffolk 1302-3* (Lakenheath, 1973), p. 27
[264] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/28
[265] Hervey, *Suffolk in 1327*, p. 198
[266] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/2

their topographical names represented their work-place.[267] The few Lakenheath peasants named 'of the Court', 'at the Newhall' and 'at the Hall' bore names with similarly ambiguous etymology, and they feature very infrequently in the documentary record.[268] The Lakenheath villein Clement at the Townsend was also known as Clement Kempster, denoting his occupation as a comber of wool or flax.[269] The possibility that both these names were conferred upon him cannot be ignored. In Elton, the status of the only person with a similar name, Geoffrey without the Vill, is unknown. Undoubtedly, there are instances where the exception proves unambiguously to be the case. The Cuxham (Oxf) peasant Robert at the Green was one of only two free tenants on the manor in 1279; and in Pakenham (Sfk), Robert beyond the Water was a wealthy freeman.[270] In some instances, topographs were not the determining factor in naming: in Stillington (Yon), Adam Sleth, a bondman, held a house on the green.[271] Nevertheless, the frequency with which topographs are coupled with free individuals is low, suggesting that this is not coincidental. The unfortunately named Ralph Dunghul, a Yaxley (Hnt) cottar, could hardly have passed as free, but perhaps Robert at the Green had found a way to elevate himself from earlier bondage.[272]

Given that the predisposition towards an association of topographical names with servile peasants has been noted by onomasts, it is perplexing that the phenomenon has not been adequately explained. In order to begin to resolve this, we must turn to ideas relating to peasant freedom in the post-Conquest period. This is a subject that has been widely treated, although there is disagreement on the effects of servile status on peasants themselves, and, in particular, their attitude towards it. Before the thirteenth century, historians are broadly in agreement that the lines

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[267] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/I/6

[268] Hugh of the Court features once, in 1318: T.N.A./SC2/203-94/3; John at the Newhall three times, in 1320, 1321 and 1328: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/19 and 31, C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/17; Nicholas at the Newhall once in 1320: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/28; and Isabel at the Hall three times in 1322 and 1327: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/5, C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/26 and 27

[269] He was known by each name almost equally in the sources; see, for example C.U.L/EDC/7/16/II/1/1; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/15

[270] P.D.A. Harvey, *A Medieval Oxfordshire Village: Cuxham, 1240 to 1400* (Oxford, 1965), p. 113; Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, p. 59; in Oxfordshire, free men were frequently associated with religious topographs: S. Mileson, 'The South Oxfordshire project: perceptions of landscape, settlement and society, *c*.500-1650', *Landscape History*, 33:2 (2012), p. 93

[271] T.A.M. Bishop, 'Extents of the prebends of York', *Miscellanea*, 4 (Leeds, 1937), p. 29

[272] S. Kilby, 'A different world? Reconstructing the peasant environment in medieval Elton' (unpub. MA dissertation, University of Leicester, 2010a), pp. 31-2

between freedom and servility were difficult to define precisely.[273] In brief, in the early twelfth century, from a legal perspective, villeins were considered to be free. Several surveys and enquiries from this period outline a process of the commutation of some labour services by some peasants, and, crucially, neglect any reference to the typical tests of unfreedom that form an inherent part of many late thirteenth-century surveys. Hilton suggests that, at that time, this provided the measure of freedom against which tenure was assessed, hence some holdings were more free than others.[274] This is reminiscent of the account given by John at the Hythe of Lakenheath, and perhaps explains his intermediate status. Whilst Vinogradoff suggested a gradual change from freedom to servility, Hilton argued for a sudden change in the late twelfth century, suggesting that *c.*1200, following a tightening of the Common Law, a great quantity of legal cases were brought by villeins disputing their sudden servility, continuing until the end of the fourteenth century.[275] He suggested that the fundamental issue of freedom was of paramount importance to peasants, and was a key element in peasant revolt throughout the period.[276]

In contrast, Hatcher, following Postan, argued for a revision, claiming that for peasants, the issue of their freedom or otherwise was not as great a priority as Hilton believed, and certainly not as important as the problems caused by increasing scarcity of land in addition to the seigneurial exactions outlined by Hilton, ultimately affecting their economic livelihood.[277] He considered that, far from oppressing peasants, the manorial regime actively protected them in difficult economic times, since whilst land values rose, servile rents remained broadly stable. This revisionism was criticised by Dyer and Razi. Dyer, aiming to identify peasant attitudes toward serfdom, considered

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[273] R.H. Hilton, 'Freedom and villeinage in England' in R.H. Hilton (ed.), *Peasants, Knights and Heretics: Studies in Medieval English Social History* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 174, first published in *Past and Present*, 31 (1965), 3-19; C. Dyer, 'Memories of freedom: attitudes towards serfdom in England, 1200-1350' in M.L. Bush (ed.), *Serfdom and Slavery: Studies in Legal Bondage* (London, 1996), p. 278

[274] Hilton, 'Freedom and villeinage', p. 182; Runciman suggests greater social mobility in Anglo-Saxon society, albeit slowing down toward the eleventh century: W.G. Runciman, 'Accelerating Social Mobility: the Case of Anglo-Saxon England', *Past and Present*, 104 (1984), p. 21 and p. 26

[275] See also C. Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: the People of Britain 850-1520* (London, 2003), p. 140 and Schofield, *Peasant and Community*, p. 13

[276] R.H. Hilton, *Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism: Essays in Medieval Social History* (1985, London, 1990), p. 47

[277] J. Hatcher, 'English serfdom and villeinage: towards a reassessment', *Past and Present*, 90 (1981), pp. 3-39; reproduced in T.H. Aston (ed.), *Landlords, Peasants and Politics in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 247-83

peasant attempts over a period of 150 years to use the writ *monstraverunt,* typically available to villeins of the ancient demesne in the royal courts to overturn seigneurial demands for increased services.[278] He noted that peasants persistently continued their campaign to reinstate their freedom over a number of generations, suggesting that status was inherently important to them. Razi further supported the Hilton/Dyer line, arguing that since Hatcher's view was largely economic, it was invalid from the perspective of a servile peasant, by whom private (and essentially commercial) land conveyance was not undertaken.[279] He challenged the Postan theory that servile peasants had opportunities for manumission but elected not to take them up, suggesting that in fact landlords rarely allowed such a change in peasant status. This was largely due to a combination of pressing labour needs on directly managed demesnes, and the lure of the financial rewards available through servile peasants' obligation to use the manorial court.[280]

Historians of the 'Toronto School' argued that there was little conflict between lords and peasants, suggesting that of the myriad examples of refusal to perform labour services found within manorial court rolls, lords simply fined peasants, rather than forcing them to do the work.[281] The pressing conflict, they argued, was between rich and poor peasants. Hilton acknowledged there was intra-peasant conflict, but cautioned that these disputes were never outweighed by their collective struggle with lords, and that refusal to perform customary services was symptomatic of peasants' wider discontent.[282] At Elton and Lakenheath in this period, and where court rolls survive, there is widespread evidence for this kind of subversive behaviour (table 3.9). The main source of conflict for servile peasants, especially those who were poor, centred upon increased labour services in the period of direct demesne management. Many cases brought before the royal courts concerning proof of status were initiated because of such increases, which were naturally deemed a gross

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[278] Dyer, 'Memories of freedom', p. 280
[279] Z. Razi, 'Serfdom and freedom in medieval England: a reply to the revisionists', *Past and Present* (2007), Supplement 2, p. 184
[280] Razi, 'Serfdom and freedom', p. 186
[281] E.B. DeWindt, *Land and People in Holywell-cum-Needingworth* (Toronto, 1972); E. Britton, *The Community of the Vill: a Study in the History of the Family and Village Life in Fourteenth-Century England* (Toronto, 1977); Razi, 'The Toronto school', pp. 153-5
[282] Hilton, *Class Conflict*, p. 44

Table 3.9: Non-performance of Labour Services at Elton and Lakenheath, 1310-1350

Service	Elton		Lakenheath	
	No. of People	Year	No. of People	Year
Boonwork – failure to work				
	15	1320	9	1310
	16	1322	3	1311
	8	1331	4	1326
	8	1342	2	1327
	16	1350	4	1328
			8	1331
			1	1339
Ploughing failure to				
	8	1342	1	1310
Ploughing – badly				
	2	1300		
	8	1312		
	2	1320		
	4	1322		
Reaping – failure to				
	10	1312	1	1335
Reaping - badly				
	21	1322	2	1331
	15	1331		
	3	1350		
Other[283]				
	13	1312	7	1313
	13	1322	1	1322
	5	1320	2	1334
	30	1331		
Total	**197**		**45**	

Source: *E.M.R.*; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1

perversion of long-held manorial custom.[284] One early thirteenth-century case in particular—quoted by Hilton—is worth recounting. It refers to a tenant of the Abbot of Battle from Crowmarsh (Oxf), William, son of Andrew, who claimed to be free, albeit admitting that he owed some services. The abbot—attempting to double the labour services owed—won the case by establishing that William was related to a villein, and, crucially, because William admitted that almost all his fellow tenants were villeins.

[283] Includes harrowing, mowing, planting and threshing badly.
[284] Hilton, *Class Conflict*, p. 55

Seemingly, notwithstanding his servile cousin, he was guilty by association, being, as he alleged, an almost lone freeman amongst serfs.[285]

The many examples of disputes over status emphasise the importance of the issue to peasants in this period. The perception that peasants were considered to be attached to the soil (Chapter 2, p. 55) possibly began to be taken more seriously by some free peasants around this time. Does this perhaps offer a potential rationale for the conferment of topographical names upon servile peasants? Were they fearful of being erroneously associated with servility, or was this simple social condescension? It is difficult to trace the history of topographical bynames before the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but nevertheless where bynames are recorded in documents pre-dating the late twelfth-century tightening of peasants' legal status, the evidence is illuminating. The late eleventh-century *Feudal Book* of Abbot Baldwin of Bury St Edmunds is a survey stylistically associated with *Domesday Book*, albeit produced independently.[286] It provides a detailed outline of the free tenants and sokemen of the abbey estate. More than 600 names are listed, of which 44 per cent have *cognomina*. A small proportion of those bynames appear to be topographical (table 3.10). A survey of Peterborough Abbey lands (1125x1128) also features two peasants who were almost certainly freemen, both bearing topographical names, crucially referencing the natural landscape. These names, whilst quantitatively insignificant and notwithstanding the many problems associated with early sources, nevertheless show that there was a period during which it seems that it was acceptable for free peasants to bear topographs connected with the natural environment. Unfortunately there are too few detailed enough documents from this period to show conclusively whether there was a marked change in the way that free peasants came to be identified following the late twelfth century, but the evidence does seem to point tantalisingly to a change taking place after the eleventh century. A mid-thirteenth century survey of Hartest (Sfk) names the free tenants, none of whom had topographical names, before moving on to the customary tenants, the first of whom

[285] Hilton, *Class Conflict*, pp. 56-7
[286] Although this copy was produced in the late twelfth century: D.C. Douglas, *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds* (1932, Munich, 1981), pp. xlvi-ix

Table 3.10: Topographs Associated with Free Tenants in select early post-Conquest Surveys

Name	Vill	Name	Vill
Bury St Edmunds Abbey (late 11th c.)[287]			
Uluric ad Galhho	Great Barton	Ordmer de Silva	Hesset
Leuric de Mere	Great Barton	Ulmer de Smalende	Hesset
Goduy ad Westmere	Great Barton	Ulfuine de Laueshel	Stanningfield
Æiluui de Lithlebyri	Hesset	Ulric de Silva	Stanningfield
Æiluuin de Mor	Hesset	Æilmer de Westbrom	Woolpit
Peterborough Abbey (1125x1128)			
Ralph de la Mara	Glinton	Robert de la Haie	Fiskerton

Source: D.C. Douglas (ed.), *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds* (1932, Munich, 1981), pp. 27-34; T. Stapleton (ed.) *Chronicon Petroburgense* (1849), pp. 163-4

was John, son of Gilbert at the Hill.[288] Similarly, surveys of Barmby Moor (Yoe) and Riccall (Yon) in 1295, and an estate-wide survey of Thurgarton Priory (Ntt) in 1328 outlining 43 vills, show again that only servile peasants bore topographical names.[289]

It has been suggested that there was a link between settlement type and the wider use of topographical names (see above p. 81). Whilst this may have some merit (Elton marginally had the most topographical bynames in Norman Cross hundred, and was a polyfocal settlement), it cannot wholly justify the distribution of topographical names. In Walsham-le-Willows (Sfk), a dispersed settlement of five hamlets, between 1303-50 the corpus of topographical names numbered just eight, none of which was unusual as might be expected in a dispersed landscape.[290] And in Cuxham (Oxf), a nucleated settlement, some twenty unique topographs are recorded pre-1359.[291] If this provided the full explanation, then we should expect to see a greater number of free peasants with this byname type. If, as seems likely, names were bestowed on individuals by others, then it seems that we can trace what Lefebvre identified as a

[287] Some of these bynames may have been toponyms rather than topographs, although they are now untraceable.
[288] M. Bailey (ed., trans.), *The English Manor c.1200-c.1500* (Manchester, 2002), p. 48
[289] Kilby, 'A different world?' (2010b), p. 74; T. Foulds (ed.), *The Thurgarton Cartulary* (Stamford, 1994), pp. 654-79
[290] S.E. West and A. McLaughlin, *Towards a Landscape History of Walsham-le-Willows, Suffolk* (Ipswich, 1998), p. 1; R. Lock (ed., trans.), *The Court Rolls of Walsham-le-Willows 1303-1350* (Woodbridge, 1998)
[291] Harvey, *Manorial Records*

form of domination and control. In October 1330 in Lakenheath, Richard in the Lane described to the court how he was defamed by John Waryn, who assaulted him and called him 'false, and a neif', claiming 40s. in damages.[292] Richard's father, known by the same name, was recorded as holding free land in Lakenheath but was described as a neif in another entry; furthermore he paid for a marriage licence for his daughter, and for the ordination of a son, firmly establishing his servile status.[293] The results of the inquest have not survived, but this episode emphasises the gravity of the insult. The Lane family are not expressly identified as villeins in the corpus of Lakenheath documents, but the inference is that this was a family who were not serfs by blood, but lost whatever freedom they perceived they had several generations before.

Reviewing the peasants of Upwood and Ellington (Hnt) and paying particular attention to those with topographical bynames, Olson noted that post-1349, these names gradually disappeared.[294] She suggests that instead of bearing topographical bynames people bestowed personal names upon the landscape in order to preserve the memory of those lost to the pestilence. This documents an interesting phenomenon, but it does not explain why the application of topographical personal names began to weaken. This period is well known for its initial lordly attempts to constrain a recalcitrant peasantry, followed by the ushering in of a loosening of the seigneurial shackles, after which peasants began to experience greater freedom, in particular over where they chose to reside, resulting in the abandonment of many settlements.[295] It has been estimated that between 50-75% of peasant families moved every fifty years between 1350 and 1500.[296] Surely it was this period that witnessed the discarding of topographical names, for too long revealing of social status, as peasants migrated into newfound anonymity.

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[292] C.U.L/EDC/7/16/II/1/8/5
[293] C.U.L/EDC/7/16/II/1/7/3; C.U.L/EDC/7/16/II/1/6/27; in 1316, a separate court case outlined that freemen could not hold villein land: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/17
[294] Olson, *A Mute Gospel*, p. 189; suggests that 15 per cent of these names were topographical pre-1330, but she does not identify how she calculated this figure, so it is best treated with caution.
[295] Dyer, *Making a Living*, p. 353
[296] C. Dyer, *An Age of Transition? Economy and Society in England in the Later Middle Ages* (2005, Oxford, 2007), p. 36

Chapter Four: Naming the landscape

Re-thinking medieval field-names

The field-names found within late medieval documents offer a wealth of detailed evidence concerning the environment.[297] The original authors of minor names are unknown, and although the earliest recorded names are Anglo-Saxon, it has generally been assumed that they were coined by local people, a hypothesis reinforced by the early charters (see Chapter 2, p. 42). From the tenth century onward, when Old English boundary clauses become appended to charters, there is reason to suppose that locals of lower status were the custodians of knowledge of this nature. Post-Conquest, there is much greater evidence to support the idea that peasants were responsible for devising and conveying names, as outlined below (p. 129). Nevertheless, scholars working with field-name evidence have generally avoided considering the authorship of this important strand of evidence. Since it seems likely that they were determined by locals, they are an important source in shaping ideas concerning peasants' sense of place. Nevertheless, finding a complete corpus of field-names for an individual manor is extremely unlikely, and so it can be difficult to recreate an entire fieldscape which would have been known intimately by medieval peasants. Again, the documents that outline field- and furlong names were rarely commissioned by the peasants themselves, and even their charters were written by scribes. We occasionally glimpse field-names within manorial court and account rolls; cartularies intermittently record field-names within the main body of transcribed charters; they appear sporadically in custumals and surveys in which a more detailed outline of fields and furlongs is offered, albeit these frequently only provide detailed information concerning demesne holdings. Those produced by the Crown, or on the lord's behalf rarely provide a full environmental survey. Indeed, many demesnal surveys omit fields and field-names altogether, as outlined by the following extracts: the first, a survey of Castor produced by Peterborough Abbey in the early twelfth century, and the second, a mid-thirteenth survey of Richard de Clare's small manor in Lakenheath by the escheator to the Crown:

[297] See Additional Notes, p. xviii

> '…In Castor 4½ hides in demesne…There are there 25 full villeins and 4 half, and 6 bordars…There are there 4 plough-teams of 32 oxen and 8 ox-herds…2 affers, and 7 cows, and 1 bull, and 3 calves, and 11 non-draught oxen…and 40 pigs…'[1125x1128][298]

> '…And they say that there is there a certain small manor which is called Lakenheath…And there are there 20 acres of arable land…worth [per] acre 8½d. And…20 acres of land worth [per] acre 6d…And the fishery of *la fenne* is placed at farm £4 7s. 6d. The pasture on the demesne extends to 1 mark. And there are there in villeinage 225 acres of land. And there is therefrom rent in money and eels, £4 7s. 5½d. And their works and customary services extend to 20d…'[299]

The more detailed document type within the group known as surveys, the terrier—a wider survey encompassing tenant landholdings—was usually produced toward the end of the medieval period; there are no surviving Lakenheath and Castor terriers before the sixteenth century.[300] The overriding impression offered by the medieval documents is that lords were uninterested in the minutiae of their estates, including the field-names that made up the intricate network of environmental resources whose day-to-day upkeep was the responsibility of the peasantry.

Medieval field-names have been predominantly used by scholars focusing either on the reconstruction of physical landscape, or on linguistic concerns, with the aim of categorising them according to modern ideals. Work focused on reconstruction, whilst frequently an extremely important first step in understanding the historic landscape, can only elucidate the physical elements of the local environment, as outlined above (Chapter 3, p. 72). Such reconstructions can reproduce the material

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[298] T. Stapleton (ed.), *Chronicon Petroburgense* (London, 1869), pp. 163-4
[299] T.N.A. C132/27/5
[300] BRO/HD 1720/1, *Terrier of Sir Simeon Styward's Property in Lakenheath* (1533); N.R.O. F(M) Roll 343, *Terrier of Castor and Ailsworth* (1567); Elton's earliest surviving terrier is dated 1747: *E.F.B.*

shape and nature of the rural environment as it evolved over the *longue durée*, but ultimately they remain simplistic because they rarely stray beyond the confines of the purely physical world.[301] Naturally, field-names have also been the source of focus by onomasts, where the emphasis has been principally taxonomic. Unlike recent work by scholars assessing bynames, field-name studies have yet to emerge as entirely worthy of consideration within a more culturally relevant context (see Chapter 3, p. 77). Beyond the fact that this separates the field-names from their socio-cultural frame of reference, it is extremely unclear, indeed unlikely, that the categories selected for their classification bear any relevance from the perspective of the worldview of the medieval peasant.[302] Assessing the Gartree Hundred (Lei), Field suggested 21 categories of field-name, including the catch-all 'miscellaneous', and this still seems to be considered a valid framework by many onomasts reviewing field-names.[303] Whilst some frame of reference is clearly required, this should be simply the first step toward a more culturally focused analysis.

Despite the wide variety of documentary sources, a large volume of late-medieval field-name data has been recovered for Elton, Castor and Lakenheath (table 4.1; Appendix 4).[304] These quantities suggest that an almost complete corpus of names has been uncovered for each location. The detail is summarised in Appendix 5; following the practice of onomasts, 'generic' elements (furlong, acre), and 'qualifiers' (cold, stony) have been identified and defined.

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[301] For example R.O.L.; D. Hall, *The Open Fields of Northamptonshire* (Northampton, 1995); S.E. West and A. McLaughlin, *Towards a Landscape History of Walsham le Willows, Suffolk* (Ipswich, 1998)
[302] S. Kilby, 'A different world? Reconstructing the peasant environment in medieval Elton', *Medieval Settlement Research*, 25 (2010b), p. 74
[303] J. Field, 'Field-names of the Gartree Hundred' (unpub. Ph.D thesis, University of Leicester, 1961), pp. xiii-xx; J. Field, *A History of English Field-Names* (London, 1993); M. Hesse, 'Early field names in a Norfolk parish', *J.E.P.N.S.*, 27 (1995), pp. 31-42; W.E. Cunnington, 'The field-names of Kingsbury (Middlesex)', *J.E.P.N.S.*, 32 (2000), pp. 41-6; H. Daniels and C. Lagrange, 'An analysis of Romsey field-names', *J.E.P.N.S.*, 34 (2002), pp. 29-58. Although Gelling and Blackburn are notable exceptions: M. Gelling, *Signposts to the Past: Place-Names and the History of England* (London, 1978); D. Blackburn, 'Foxholes, Pendle and Ryelands', *J.E.P.N.S.*, 41 (2009), pp. 127-9
[304] Within the corpus of Castor names are a number relating to the adjacent settlements of Ailsworth, Upton and Sutton.

Table 4.1: Summary of Late Medieval Field-Name data for Elton, Castor and Lakenheath

Vill	No of Field-Names Recovered	Date Range	Main Sources
Elton	145	13th-14th c.	Charters
Castor	227	*c.*1222-1479	Charters, cartularies, account rolls, surveys
Lakenheath	229[305]	1305-1348	Court rolls, account rolls

The natural world revealed

As might be expected, a significant quantity of the field-names of Elton, Castor and Lakenheath reference the natural world. Before turning to these, usually noted through the qualifying elements, it is useful to assess the generic components which should offer a pen portrait of each individual landscape type. Some assumptions can be made prior to the assessment of the field-names. We know that both Castor and Elton lie on the Nene and near the fen edge, and that Castor was wooded in places. Lakenheath lies in the Breckland region of Suffolk with its attendant poor soils, and on the edge of a vast fen, but was also navigable by boat through a channel connecting it to the Little Ouse.[306] So it would be reasonable to assume that there would be a higher number of arable name elements at both Castor and Elton than at Lakenheath, which may perhaps have had a greater focus on the pastoral. Water should be prevalent in all of the villages: Castor and Elton lie directly on a major river, but Lakenheath's fen edge should also produce a number of 'watery' names. Names associated with woods and trees might be expected to be more abundant in Castor. Table 4.2 outlines the most popular generic elements in all three places.

Some of the initial suppositions are correct. There is a dearth of meadow names in Lakenheath, if *wang* can be taken as 'field' rather than 'meadow'. There are also fewer of the elements that are more typically associated with arable land, such as

[305] This includes fisheries, fens, and tenements but not roads.
[306] M. Bailey, 'The Prior and Convent of Ely and their management of the manor of Lakenheath in the fourteenth century' in M.J. Franklin and C. Harper-Bill (eds) *Medieval Ecclesiastical Studies in Honour of Dorothy M. Owen* (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 2-3

Table 4.2: Most Frequently Used Generic Elements in Field-Names at Castor, Elton and Lakenheath

Generic Element	Castor	Elton	Lakenheath	Generic Element	Castor	Elton	Lakenheath
Æcer	6	6	6	Holm	6	7	1
Bæc	0	0	7	Hyll	14	9	7
Broc	4	4	0	Hyð	0	0	8
Croft	8	4	4	Lane	0	0	7
Crouche	1	0	5	Lad	0	0	17
Dic	5	3	6	Lond	6	10	4
Dole	4	1	0	Mere, mære	2	3	11
End	2	6	6	Mersc	0	2	2
Fenn	0	0	10	Mor	6	6	7
Furlang	29	13	3	Rode	0	3	1
Gara	0	3	0	Slæd	2	4	1
Gata	16	0	2	Treow	2	0	0
Haga	5	0	1	Wæsse	1	1	2
Hæge	5	0	0	Wang	11	6	10
Hall	0	0	4	Weg	4	3	10
Haugr	9	1	1	Wella, welle	8	5	4
Heafodland	1	6	4	Wer	0	0	6
Hege	2	0	0	Wudu	4	0	0

Note: See Appendix 5 for element definitions

lond (land), *furlang* (furlong), although this is not quite as readily apparent, since *æcer* is prominent, as is *wang*, reflecting the fact that some arable farming was undertaken here, but not on the same scale as it was in Castor and Elton. Names associated with water are apparent in all three vills, but the focus is clearly different at Lakenheath. Streams and brooks do not feature there, whereas the elements *hyð* (landing place), *lad* (dyked water-course), *mere* (pool) and *wer* (weir, river-dam or fishing-enclosure in a river) abound, emphasising both Lakenheath's role as an inland port and the profusion of fisheries in the fenland areas of the parish.[307] There would of course have been fisheries at both Castor and Elton, but these do not feature in the field-name record. A 1272 inquisition concerning the abbot's 'waters' details the extent of his Nene fisheries, and describes the stretches adjacent to Castor as '…from *neutonemilne* up to *billingbrok*…from *billingbrok* up to *le eweyedyk*…from *ingewell* up to *alwaltonedam*…'; only *ingewelle*, leased to the Abbot of Thorney, features in the field-

[307] M. Gelling and A. Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names* (Stamford, 2000), p. 20; A. Cole, 'The place-name evidence for water transport in early medieval England', in J. Blair (ed.), *Waterways and Canal-Building in Medieval England* (Oxford, 2007), p. 61

name record.[308] It is possible, indeed likely, that some or all of the other Castor fisheries were at farm, but no records survive to demonstrate this.[309] The names associated with fenland are also illuminating. Only at Lakenheath was the element *fenn* (fen, marsh) used, alongside *mersc* (watery land, marsh) and *mor* (marsh, moor), suggesting that inhabitants saw these as having distinct features.[310] Only *mersc* and *mor* are found in Castor and Elton, which, neither being truly fenland manors might support this idea, implying that here they mean 'marsh' and 'moor' respectively. There are ditches/dykes in all three places; whereas the Lakenheath ditches probably reference drainage, at Castor they refer to the extensive Roman earthworks.

There is a reasonable spread of names with *hyll* across all three places. Both Castor and Elton slope upward away from the Nene, and the settlement at Lakenheath rises from the edge of the fenland. At Castor, there are two names containing either ON *nabbi*, *nabbr* (projecting peak, knoll, hill) or ME *snabbe* (steep place, projecting part of hill). *Buddesnabbe* is a fifteenth-century name and so is probably Middle English, whilst *le nab* is late fourteenth century.[311] At Lakenheath, there is one instance of *munt* (mount, hill), in *milnemunt*, the meaning of which is clear, and several names with *bæc, bece* (low ridge in the fens).[312] Of the woodland names, there are several at Castor: *wudu* (wood), *hangende* (hanging [wood]), and *fyrhth* (woodland, land overgrown with brushwood).[313] Two names—*iungeuuode* and *aleuuode*—are only found in a list of assarts dated 1215 relating to the disafforestation of the Soke of Peterborough, and there is no evidence for the survival of either name beyond this time, but given the nature of the document this is perhaps unsurprising.[314]

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[308] Soc. Antiq., MS. 60, f. 172v; a 1321 Peterborough Abbey extent mentions Castor fisheries; *H.A.S.V, II*, p. 176; T.N.A. C135/4/4; the lease is outlined in N.R.O. F(M) 2388.
[309] Although in 1309-10, the Castor account roll suggests that 18d. was received 'from the sale of a fishery'. Such a small value suggests that this represents a transfer between grantees: N.R.O. F(M) 2389
[310] *millemarch* in Lakenheath is probably ME *marche*, 'boundary'; the additional name *millemarchmor* supports this.: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/14
[311] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 572 and 582; B.L. Cotton MS Nero C. vii/14
[312] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/I/3 and 13; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/23 and 27; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/10/3; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/12/1
[313] B.L. Cotton MS Nero C. vii/14; 'the wood called *castrehanggand*'
[314] E. King, *Peterborough Abbey 1086-1310, a Study in the Land Market* (Cambridge, 1973), p. 173

Nevertheless, Castor maintained enough ground associated with hunting to retain the services of a forester in the early fourteenth century.[315]

One of the most prominent of the woodland name elements at Castor is *haga* (hedge, enclosure), indicating enclosed wood. Indeed, one distinctive feature of Castor would not have been apparent without the field-names, and that is the proliferation of names referring to enclosure. Three elements feature strongly: *haga*, *hæge* (fence, enclosure) and *hege* (hedge, fence). It is difficult to tell them apart, but the *haga* names take modern –*hauue*, the *hæge* names take modern –*hay*, and the *hege* names take modern –*heg* or –*hegge*.[316] They clearly reference different features. One of the *hege* names refers to *langgedikheg*, Roman King Street, which suggests that it was sometimes viewed by locals as a barrier, not unreasonably since it formed part of Ailsworth's boundary. The *haga* names all refer to woodland enclosures, as detailed on the 1215 survey, suggesting that the *hæge* names refer to a different type of enclosure. *Birihay*, *les hayes* and *westhay* are all recorded as being located in either *Normangate Field* in Castor or *Nether Field* in Ailsworth, both close to the Nene.[317] These furlongs (alongside the other –*hay* names) are variously described as arable or pasture, which is strongly suggestive of several plots which the incumbent holder could use as he saw fit. Several names emphasise particular tree species: *le thorn* at Elton, *welues* at Lakenheath, and *plumbtres, berch* and *wyluwes* at Castor. These names suggest single or small groups of trees, particularly at Castor which was fairly well wooded.[318]

For the purposes of understanding more about how locals viewed their environment, it is necessary to assess the names they chose to distinguish the generic elements. A great quantity of these qualifying elements have an environmental basis, and are outlined in table 4.3, alongside the simplex forms (e.g. *brache*, *fleggis*). It

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[315] N.R.O. F(M) 2388 and 2389

[316] Wiltshire and Woore suggest that *haga* can become ME *haw* or *hay*, however here these field-names were unlikely to have been associated with game enclosures: M. Wiltshire and S. Woore, '"Hays", possible early enclosures, in Derbyshire', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 131 (2011), p. 197

[317] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 100 and 275; B.L. Cotton MS Nero C. vii/14; *C.N.*, p. 211

[318] The Castor account rolls only refer to oaks and the gathering of acorns, suggesting the tree names mentioned here were less usual. N.R.O. F(M) 2388

Table 4.3: Environmental Qualifiers in Castor, Elton and Lakenheath Field-Names

OE Element	Modern Definition	Field-Names	Quantity
FLORA			
Castor			
Æsc	Ash-tree	Asshecroftwong, Hassehil, Ashauue	3
Bean	Bean	Benelond Furlong	1
Birce, byrce	Birch-tree	Berch	1
Bremel	Blackberries, brambles	Brimbelhilheuydlond	
Flegge, flagge	Iris, or place where reeds grow	Fleggis	1
Græf, græfe	Grave, pit or grove, copse	Le Graves	1
Lyng	Ling, heather	Lyngg	1
Mai-busc	May-bush (hawthorn)	Maggebuskhert,	1
Pease	Peas	Pesewong, Peysefurlong	2
Plume	Plumb	Plumtres	1
Tæsel	Teasel	Tasilhil	1
Wealh-wyrt	Plant, usually Danewort or Dwarf Elder, but can be others	Walwortwong	1
Wilig	Willow	Wyluwes	1
Wudu	Wood	Le Wodegate, Wodecroft, Wodehil, Wodecroftfurlong, Wodecroftheued, Middelwodegate, Mikilwodegate, Wodefeld, Menewodesti	9
Elton			
Ac	Oak	Okeyerd	1
Bean	Bean	Lytelbenelond, Beneyeston, Benelond Heveden, Benelond	4
Cal	Cabbage	Calmerz	1
Heope	Fruit of the wild rose	Hypperode	
Pease	Peas	Peselond	1
Ryge	Rye	Riewong	1
Thæc	Thatch	Thatchdole	1
Thorn	Thorn-tree	Pyttlesthornfurlong, le Thorn	2
Wilig	Willow	Wylegeylake	1
Lakenheath			
Æsc	Ash-tree	?Stancast	1
Æspe	Aspen	Aspeye	1
Beos	Bent, rough grass	Besemer	1
Ber	Barley	Berdekeweye, Berdele	2
Bremel	Blackberries, brambles	Brambelheude	
Busc	Bush	le Buskes, Common Boskys, Middelbusc	2
Carvi	Caraway (OFr)	Carvismor	1
Cheri	Cherry-tree	Chericrouch	1
Fiches	Vetches	Le Fiches	1
Foðr	Fodder	Fodirfen	1
?Fucus	Red lichen	Fukaker, Fokacre	
Gres	Grass	Gresacre	1
Hreod	Reed, rush or reed-bed	Redemere, the Reedmarsh	2

OE Element	Modern Definition	Field-Names	Quantity
FLORA			
Lakenheath			
Lin	Flax	Lyndich	1
Melde	Plane Orach, or plant 'fat hen'	Meldeburn	1
Musepese	'Mouse-peas' – colloquial name for vetches	Musepeselane	1
Plante	Something planted, shrub, herb, plant	Plantelode	1
Seg	Sedge	Segfen	1
Stæf	Staff, stave or rod; usually associated with places where staves were obtained	Staflode, Stafholdend, Stafishithe	3
Þorn	Thorn-tree	Wyttisthornshote	1
Turf	Turve	Turvewere	1
Wilig	Willow	Wilwlade, Welues	2
Wudu	Wood	Wodefen	1
Windel	Long withered grass, willow, or winding gear	Wyndelsee	1
FAUNA			
Castor			
Bos	Cowstall	Bosfourwlang	1
Budda	Dung-beetle or pers. name 'Budda'	Buddesnabbe	1
Cealf	Calf	Calfcroftwong	1
Colt	Colt	Coltstibbingges	1
Corn	Corn or crane, but in f-n, most likely crane	Cornhay	1
Craca,krakr	Crow, raven	Crakereye	1
Cran	Crane	?C'anefurlong	1
Crawe, croh	Crow or nook	Crowefurlong	1
Fox	Fox	Foxdolis	1
Gat	Goat	Gatacrehegg	1
Gos	Goose	Gosholm, Gosfurlong, Coswyk	3
Hara, har	Hare or 'har' – grey through being overgrown with lichen	Haresaker	1
Kide	Young goat or roe deer	Kydwelwang	1
Musewelle	Mouse, or pers. name 'Musa'	Musewelle	1
Ra	Roe, roe-buck	Rohauue	1
Scip	Sheep	Scipdich	1
Wulf	Wolf	Wulfhauue	1
Elton			
Bos	Cowstall	Bosweyn	1
Boterflye	Butterfly	Boterflyemede	1
Bouht	Bend, sheep-fold, cattle pen	Bouhtwell	1
Catt	Cat	Catfretene	1
Eofor	Boar	Everesholmfeld	1
Fox	Fox	Foxholes	1
Gos	Goose	Goseholm	1
Heorde-wic	Herd-farm	Herdwyckbenelond	1
Pyttel	Buzzard or pers. name	Pyttlesthornfurlong	1
Ramm	Ram	Rameshil	1
Wulf	Wolf, or pers. name 'Wulf'	Wolvedale	1

OE Element	Modern Definition	Field-Names	Quantity
FAUNA			
Lakenheath			
Cran	Crane	Cranesfen, Cranehilhord, Cranescroft	3
Crawe, croh	Crow or nook	Crowepetwong	1
Heord	Herd	Hirdeweye, Herdeweyslade	2
Lothe, loche	Loach or 'hateful'	Lothewere	1
Lus	Probably pike	Lusewer	1
Oxa	Ox	Oucsshel	1
Scip	Sheep	Schepelode, Schepewassh	2
Shotling	Young weaned pig	Schotlinglowe	1
Swalwe	Swallow, or whirlpool	Swalwerenges, Swalewesbeche	2
NATURAL WORLD – OTHER			
Castor			
Æcer	Acre	Gateacrehegg	1
Clint, klint	Ledge of rock, cliff, steep bank	Le Clynt	1
Croft	Croft	Asshcroftwong, Calfcroftwong	1
Dic	Ditch, dyke	Langedykbrok, Langgedikheg, Langedichgate	3
Eorðe	Earth, soil, ground or potter's clay	Irthonehegg	1
Ford	Ford	Fordeslade	1
Iren	Iron	Yrenbrok, Irenfurlonge	2
Lim	Lime	Lymkilnewong, Lymekillnhill	2
Lond	Land	Benelond furlong	1
Mor	Moor	Walcotemorfurlong, Aldewellemorsike	2
Mylde	Soil, earth	Blackmildegate	1
Stubbing, stybbing	Clearing	Stibbing	1
Saltere	Salter, salt-worker	Saltersgate	1
Stan	Stone, rock	Stonhowe, Stoniwong, Stanewelle, Stanuwellehil	4
Wella, welle	Spring, well, stream	Kydwelwang, Aldewellemor, Stanuwellehil, Aldewellemorsike	4
Elton			
Brec, breche	Land broken up for cultivation	Brache	1
Calc	Chalk	Chalkyhil	1
Cisel, ceosol	Gravel, shingle	Chiselstonhowe	1
Clæcc	Hill-top, hillock	Clackenesmor, Clakkisheueden, Clack	3
Clæg	Clay, clayey soil	Cleyfurlong	1
Cnoll	Hill-top, knoll, hillock	Knolfurlong	1
Cocc	A heap, as in a hillock[319]	Cockeshyl	1
Lim	Lime	Lympyttes	1

[319] OE *cocc* has two meanings, the first, outlined here, which is favoured since it references a hill; but it can also mean the bird 'cock', *E.P.N.E. I*, p. 103

OE Element	Modern Definition	Field-Names	Quantity
NATURAL WORLD – OTHER			
Elton			
Med	Meadow	Langemedehaueden, le Longmadesend	2
Mol	Gravel, gravelly soil	Molwellehyl	1
Mona	Moon	Mone Rode	1
Sand	Sand	Le Sondes	1
Sic, sik	(1) OE sic: small stream, especially in flat marshland; often stream forming boundary (2) ON sik: ditch, trench	Le Syke	1
Stan	Stone, rock	Littelstanehylles, Chiselstonhowe, Stonehylles	3
Tunge	A tongue of land	Le Tunge	1
Wæter-gefall	Waterfall, cascade, rapid, also 'place where a stream disappears into the ground'	Waterfalles	1
Wella, welle	Spring, well, stream	Molwellehyl, Follewellemor, Welleslade	3
Lakenheath			
Beorg	Barrow or grove	Barewmor	1
Bregg	Brow of a hill	Breggele	1
Broc	Brook, stream	Le Brok	1
Calc	Chalk	Calkeshe	1
Clud	Rock, mass of rock	Le Cloude	1
Eddish, edych	Enclosure, enclosed park	Edihs	1
Herse	Hill-top	Hereshel	
Læge	Fallow, unploughed land	Westleyrmor	1
Mere	Pool	Fledmerecote	1
Rouen	To flow, flood (OFr)	Rouene	1
Sæge	Swamp, marsh, lake	Seelode	1
Sand	Sand	Sandmerewong, le Sandpete	2
Scora	Shore of the sea, or a lake; a river-bank, a precipitous slope	Le Scorebrynke	1
Stampe	A stank, a pool of water	Stampes	1
Stan	Stone, rock	Stanelod, Stanesbeche, Stonihel, Stonecruch,	4
Stanche	Stone	Stancast	1
Wella, welle	Spring, well, stream	Caldewellwong, Welle	2

Source*: E.P.N.E. I; E.P.N.E. II*; M.E.D., http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/lookup.html ; M. Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape: the Geographical Roots of Britain's Place-Names* (1984, London, 1993); *V.E.P.N. I*; *V.E.P.N. III*

might be expected that many of these elements would have an agricultural association, and that is the case for a few names. Evaluating the arable first, beans and peas are featured at both Castor and Elton. Legumes were frequently grown for animal feed, and were also known to improve soil quality. The lack of mention of these elements at Lakenheath perhaps refers to the fact that the agricultural economy was

not dominated by cereal production there.[320] The manorial accounts for the Prior of Ely's Lakenheath manor reveal that beans were rarely grown, and only a few peas, the majority of which were grown for pig-feed. Instead, we see references to vetches, which would also have been used as a feed.[321] Occasionally, beans were purchased to supplement the feed for the demesne pigs.[322] In some instances, peasant production can be estimated since tithes are recorded. In 1320-21, the pea tithe consisted of eight quarters and two bushels, and in 1327-28 one quarter and seven bushels.[323] Compared with Elton, legume production was less important in Lakenheath, although it must be emphasised that arable land at Lakenheath comprised just fourteen per cent of the area as a whole. Campbell suggests that legumes perform poorly on light soils, as at Lakenheath, and when sowing proportions here are compared with other Breckland manors having a superior grade of soil, typically Lakenheath sowed 50 per cent or fewer legumes.[324] Nevertheless, peas were grown frequently enough for there to be a storage area known as *pesȝierd*.[325] The reference to the Lakenheath name *fodirfen*, containing the element *fodr* (fodder), implies that this was a place where animals were pastured. In 1331 seven peasants were fined for mowing there, 'to the damage of all commoners', suggesting this was common pasture.[326] Elton's peasants also had access to fenland pasture for their animals ten miles away, at Farcet, but if this distant fen was named it is not recorded in the Elton records.[327]

There are many more names referencing non-agricultural flora at Lakenheath than at Castor or Elton. They reflect the nature of the local environment with freshwater plants like sedge (*sedgefen*) and reeds (*redemere*), and where a useful supply of staves could be found (*stavelode*). There was also an area associated with the cutting of peat (*turvewere*). Lakenheath produced one hundred thousand turves annually in the early fourteenth century, and this must have been the focal point of

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[320] Of a total area of 11,000 acres, just 1,500 acres comprised arable: Bailey, 'The Prior', pp. 2-3
[321] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/I/14
[322] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/I/2
[323] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/I/4 and 7
[324] N.R.O. F(M) 2388 and 2389; N.R.O. F(M) roll 233; *E.M.R*, p. 18-377; B.M.S. Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture 1250-1450* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 230; M. Bailey, *A Marginal Economy? East Anglian Breckland in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 238-40
[325] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/I/11
[326] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/I/8/3
[327] *C.M.R. I*, p. 267

much of that activity.[328] Those Lakenheath villagers having rights of common accessed a number of places, and these included *sedgefen*, *fodirfen* and *wodefen*, the names indicating the resource available in each.[329] Two of the names refer to grasses which would also have been abundant in a wetland environment. *Beos* (bent or rough grass), *gres* (grass), and a possible third grass name in *windel* (long, withered grass), that may alternatively mean willow. Flax is noted, alongside the colloquial name for vetches *musepese*, meaning mouse-peas, and the Old French name for caraway in *carvismor*. Another plant is named in *meldeburn*, the element *melde* meaning orache (*Atriplex L. ssp.*).

In contrast, the list of flora noted at Castor and Elton is short. Wild rose-hips are found at Elton, and reeds and heather at Castor, alongside *wealh-wyrt*, usually translated as dwarf elder or Danewort (see Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion). It is possible that different types of reed or rush were noted in Lakenheath, even though these were not necessarily indicated by local place-names. In an account roll referencing the farm of Lakenheath fisheries, John le Hyrde paid 12d. 'for the rushes [*cirpus*] and reeds [*flagges*] in *wyndilse*' for a twelve-year period.[330] *Flegge* or *flagge* could refer to any reeds or plants of the Iris genus, most probably *Iris pseudacorus L*, the yellow iris, which is native to and common in Breckland, along rivers in low marshes, on ditches and by ponds.[331] It is also possible that the field-name *fleggis* at Castor refers to the same plant, since its location is close to the Nene. In a survey *c*.1231, Peterborough Abbey's Castor virgaters were obliged to give 185 sheaves of rushes [*garbas de ros*] to the lord annually per virgate, although this custom seems to have been discontinued in the fourteenth century.[332]

Fauna associated with the agricultural environment is noted in all three vills, although to a lesser extent in Elton. Cattle and sheep are found in each location, goats in Castor, geese in Castor and Elton and cranes in Lakenheath and possibly in Castor. Surprisingly, the only horses that are referred to are found in Castor at *coltstibbingges*,

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[328] M. Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk: an Economic and Social History, 1200-1500* (2007, Woodbridge, 2010), p. 94
[329] T.N.A. SC2/203-94/M3; note that additional common resources were available.
[330] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/I/6
[331] P.J.O. Trist, *An Ecological Flora of Breckland* (Wakefield, 1979), p. 93
[332] Soc. Antiq. MS 60, f.187

despite the fact that they appear in the manorial records in all three places. Several Lakenheath peasants found themselves in court for damaging demesne crops with horses, and although there are fewer instances, the same is true at Elton.[333] At Castor the field-names suggest that not only were certain places associated with different livestock, but that young animals may have been separated, as at *calfcroftwong*, *coltstibbingges* and *kydwelwang*. Cranes are found in abundance within field-names at Lakenheath. This is not surprising since they formed part of the rent within the Clare manor prior to the fourteenth century.[334] Nevertheless, the possibility that at least two of these names, *cranescroft* and *cranesfen*, derive from bynames must be considered, as there was however a tenement and half an acre of land at *cranescroft* suggesting that the name originally referred to its tenant.[335]

What is especially noticeable about the agricultural fauna incorporated into the field-names in all three vills is that it seems to reflect peasant rather than demesne stock. There are no doves, yet there were dovecotes in each location; peacocks are included in the stock accounts at Elton and Castor; swans in the accounts of Elton and Lakenheath; and ducks in all three places and yet none of these birds appear in the field-name record.[336] Similarly, rabbits were an important part of the Prior of Ely's Lakenheath demesne economy, but aside from the generic term used for the warren, *coninger*, there are no references to rabbits. Another striking omission given each vill's proximity to water and fisheries is the lack of names referencing fish, with just two possibilities in Lakenheath: *lochewere* and *lusewer*. Could it be that seigneurial rights over certain fish prompted the peasants to think in topographical and economic terms when naming these places? At Lakenheath, pike were reserved for the lord and if any were caught, they had to be offered to him for sale according to the local bylaw.[337] Given that local topography was named by the peasants themselves, this suggests the

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[333] For example: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/8/5; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/8/9; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/8/27; *E.M.R.*, p. 90

[334] An early fourteenth-century I.P.M. outlines a rent of twelve cranes worth 12s., and a 1334-35 collector's account (at which time Clare fee was in the hands of the Prior of Ely) reveals these were due from twelve customers, the value having increased to 36s.: T.N.A./ C134/42; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/I/10

[335] The tenement was decayed in 1318; T.N.A./SC2/203-94/3; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/9/2; J.T. Munday, *Crane's Croft* (Lakenheath, 1970), p. 3

[336] N.R.O./F(M) 2388 and 2389; N.R.O. F(M) roll 233; C.U.L/EDC/7/16/I; *E.M.R.,* p. 77

[337] Although this did not stop peasants poaching and selling pike illegally on occasion. C.U.L./EDC/7/16/I/2, 3, 4, 11 and 13; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/I/6/5; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/I/1/11

possibility that only those aspects of the natural world that the peasants had direct and frequent interaction with and, fundamentally, control over were deemed by them to be significant enough to name. If this was the case, then this has important implications for using minor names to gain a better understanding of the peasant worldview, rather than that of the lord.

There are a number of other animals, birds and insects featured in the field-names that are not associated with agriculture. Crows are found in Castor and Lakenheath, foxes in Castor and Elton, and cats in Elton and Lakenheath.[338] Conversely, Lakenheath's *swalwerenges* seems more probably to relate to whirlpools than birds.[339] The inclusion of roe-deer at Castor must be a reflection of its hunting landscape—the name *rohauue* outlining an enclosure for deer, and *kydwelwang* possibly referring to roe deer young.[340] Some disagreement exists over a putative Castor deer-enclosure noted by Hall in the late 1970s: Foster argued that since there was no documentary evidence for such a structure, and Hall's 'deer-park' had an external ditch, she discounted his findings.[341] Whatever the position of the ditch, the field-name reveals unequivocally that there was at least one deer-enclosure in Castor in 1215, and a potentially large one at that since: 'the abbot's *rohauue* and *thinferdesland* and *w[u]lfhauue* contain 78 acres and 3 roods of which half is wood covert [*boscus coopertus*] and the other [half] thicket'.[342] In the fourteenth century, there are several mentions of fencing woodland: 228 perches in 1307-08 and 292 perches in 1309-10.[343]

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[338] The name *foxholes* can sometimes refer to the holes created when mining for slate limestone, but that is unlikely here. Blackburn, 'Foxholes', pp. 127-9; buzzards may feature at Elton: *pyttlesthornfurlong* could denote birds or an individual

[339] Cox suggests *swalwe* means 'whirlpool, rushing water': B. Cox, 'The place-names of the earliest English records', *J.E.P.N.S.*, 8 (1976), p. 51

[340] OE *haga* means 'hedge, enclosure', appearing as *haw*, *haugh* in ME. Hooke suggests it was associated with game enclosures: D. Hooke, *The Anglo-Saxon Landscape: the Kingdom of the Hwicce* (Manchester, 1985), pp. 159-60; R. Liddiard, 'The deer parks of Domesday Book', *Landscapes,* 4:1 (2003), p. 5

[341] D. Hall, *Nene Valley Research Committee Annual Report 1978-1979* (1979), p. 8; D. Hall, *Ancient Woodland Project Archaeological Survey: Northamptonshire, Peterborough and Milton Keynes Forests, Archaeological Interpretation Survey, Part 4* (2001), p. 29; A. Foster, 'Castor Hanglands: a Medieval Deer Park?' (unpubl. BA dissertation, Anglia Ruskin University and Peterborough Regional College), p. 44

[342] *Rohauue* is included within a group of names unquestionably associated with Castor woodland in the survey reproduced in King, *Peterborough Abbey*, p. 173

[343] N.R.O. F(M) roll 233; N.R.O. F(M) 2389

Of the remaining names, one mentions an insect: the butterfly, at Elton's *boterflyemede*. This is rather odd when we consider that butterflies must have frequented most of Elton's meadows: what was special about this particular meadow? Fortunately, it can be located.[344] Unlike the majority of Elton meadows, *boterflymede* lies at a distance from the river, in what had become a sheep-walk by the eighteenth century, adjacent to some of the parish's poorer soils (figure 4.1).[345] In 1747, *Hardy Bellands* lay near *Butterfly Meadow*.[346] Could the former have evolved from the medieval furlong *herdwykbenelond*? None of the several charters mentioning *herdwykbenelond* place the furlong in the landscape, with the exception of one, that suggests it lay near *akermanland*, unhelpful since it contained five virgates.[347] Its name means 'herd farm' connecting it with what was clearly the most appropriate land in the parish for livestock. Conversely, the meadows that can be identified alongside the river almost all have adjectival names—long meadow, short hyrst, great meadow and so on—which seems like a practical solution for furlongs with similar terrain lying close together. And yet they would all certainly have attracted insects like butterflies. Did *boterflymede's* more isolated location mean that those naming it were not confined to the practical aspects, but could look clearly at its most obvious characteristic—its abundance of butterflies? Medieval peasants are not commonly associated with aesthetic appreciation, but perhaps too much emphasis has been placed on the consideration of elite sensibilities, and peasant views have been once again overlooked. It has been suggested that 'the feeling for the beauty of nature [is] an anthropological constant', and whilst the name could represent simple observation, it is difficult to discount aesthetic pleasure altogether.[348] When assessing all of the natural flora and fauna catalogued by the peasants of Castor, Elton and Lakenheath it is clear that their world was closely observed, and the attributes they noted largely reflected the individual topography of each place. It is striking that generally, those

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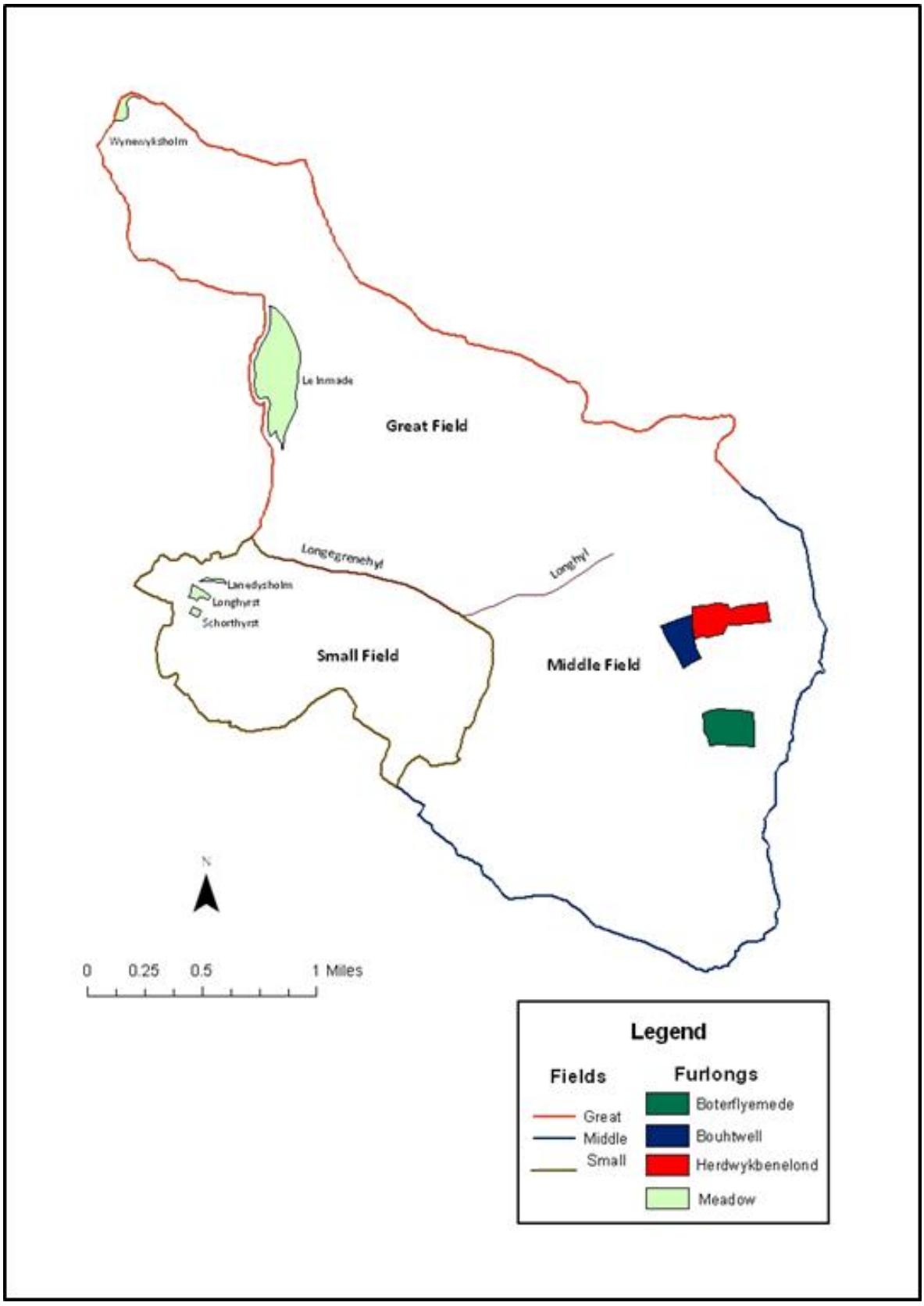
[344] R.O.L., Appendix 6
[345] R.O.L., p. 87
[346] A 1692 Glebe Terrier includes 'Boltswell', in the same location, A.G. Clark, *A Village on the Nene* (Stamford, 2007), p. 320
[347] T.N.A E40/3286; T.N.A. E40/6911; T.N.A. E40/6937; T.N.A. E40/6933; T.N.A. E40/7107; *E.M.R.,* p. 10
[348] J. Radkau, *Nature and Power: a Global History of the Environment* (trans. T. Dunlap), (Cambridge, 2008), quoting medieval historian Ernst Schubert, p. 17; Kilby, 'A different world?' (2010b), p. 75

Figure 4.1: *Boterflyemede*, Elton, alongside the speculative locations of the medieval furlongs *Bouhtwell* and *Herdwykbenelond*



elements excluded references to fauna exclusively associated with the demesne, and by association with lordship. The use of the qualifier *byrig* emphasises this. Neither Castor's *biryhay* nor Elton's *byrilond* reveal anything about the usage, flora or fauna of these lands, just that it belonged to the demesne. Names like *les hayes* associated with the Castor demesne emphasise this. Contrasted with names like *cornhay*, *gosholm* and *schepewassh* these names appear uninspired. Could it be that in addition to their reflection of ownership they signify peasants' lesser interest in these places?

One final observation following assessment of the non-floral or faunal names associated more generically with the landscape and natural topography of each place is perhaps worth noting. The names at Elton, and to a lesser degree Lakenheath, appear to accentuate the more practical aspects of the landscape. They seem to be more forward-looking, offering considerations of the type of terrain experienced, and by implication, perhaps offering indications of how it ought to be treated. To make a comparison, the simplex name *stibbing* at Castor tells us that the land has been cleared. But at Lakenheath we learn about places that are liable to flood, like *rouene*, or excessively wet such as *seelode* and *stampes*. At Elton a number of qualifying elements reference specific attributes and qualities of the soil, as evidenced in *chalkyhil*, *chiselstonhowe*, *cleyfurlong*, *molwellehyl*, and *le sondes*. Some of these name types are apparent in Castor, but in far fewer instances. Greater scrutiny of these more practical names and what they might reveal about aspects of the landscape and the mentalities of those who worked it will be considered in Chapter 7.

Looking backward: naming the landscape

An assessment of each manor's topography through each respective corpus of field-names is illuminating, confirming certain expectations and also raising some noteworthy points for further analysis. The names considered hitherto all emphasise the inspiration provided by a detailed knowledge and understanding of local topography and its flora and fauna. While the evidence has been taken further here than many onomasts have previously permitted, the interpretation nevertheless

chimes with modern rationalist thinking. Few would deny that peasants enjoyed a close relationship with their local environment, and that readings such as this, while pushing the boundaries of the evidence, do not stray too far from the possibilities. However useful this largely ecological survey may be, it offers little in the way of cultural examination, and in the same manner in which I have criticized purely reconstructionist studies, assessing field-names based solely on environmental factors would be to disregard facets of peasant landscape that until recently have been largely overlooked. Thus far, although a necessary initial exercise has been undertaken, the analysis could be judged one-dimensional. It offers a purely descriptive outline of the terrain, but falls short of a more nuanced understanding of the rationale behind the naming processes. Taking this a stage further, if the naming processes can begin to be understood, then it may be possible to identify changes in the patterns of nomenclature, and therefore to emphasise that naming is a dynamic process. This is particularly important in considering why some pre-Conquest names endured into the late medieval period. In order to understand what impels man to name places, it is necessary to consider the work of sociologists, anthropologists and those focused on landscape studies, alongside that of onomasts.

The motivation behind early naming practices is difficult to discern, but it has been suggested that a primary stimulus may have been a pressing need to understand the landscape more fully.[349] Kleinschmidt argues that the early medieval landscape lying outside the confines of the settlement was viewed as hostile, and so perhaps naming was also a means of neutralizing its latent malevolence.[350] These ideas suggest labelling was a mechanism designed to demystify the landscape in order to possess and control it more thoroughly. Gelling suggested that British settlement names of Celtic origin were predominantly topographic. Further, contrary to earlier belief, she showed that a great many medieval English topographical place-names predated folk and habitative names.[351] It is possible then, that this may also be the case when applied to minor names. The anthropologist Schieffelin describes the naming practices

[349] J. Stuart-Murray, 'Unnameable landscapes', *Landscape Review*, 2 (1995), p. 34
[350] H. Kleinschmidt, *Understanding the Middle Ages: the Transformation of Ideas and Attitudes in the Medieval World* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 42-3
[351] Gelling, *Signposts*, p. 123-6

of the Kaluli people of Papua New Guinea, observing that natural environmental features dominated their local place-name vocabulary.[352] In particular, he noted that a key referent was frequently used to name the surrounding landscape, and for the Kaluli this was usually water. He remarked that named streams were often used as the qualifying element for adjacent topography—*stream*-spring, *stream*-slope, etc. A comparable approach to nomenclature has been noted by other anthropologists and ethno-geographers studying the naming practices of native American Indians. The local minor names of the Gitksan Indians of British Columbia, Canada, were principally topographic, as were those of the Apache and Navajo.[353] It is noteworthy that in alignment with Gelling's findings, in detailed studies of Anglo-Saxon boundary clauses, Hooke has noted the marked prominence of physical topography.[354]

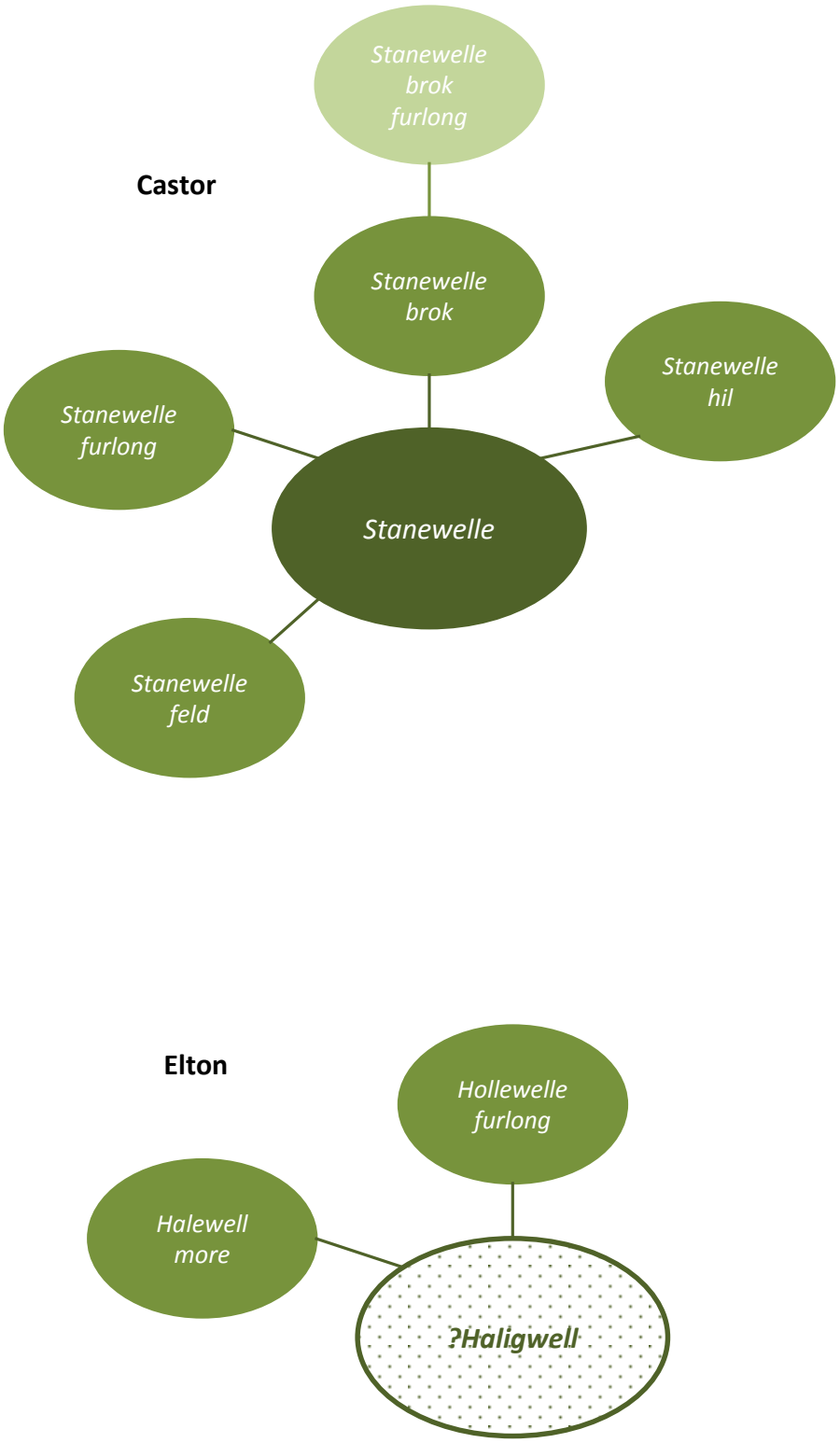
It is possible to detect similar patterns in naming in medieval Castor, Elton and Lakenheath. At Castor, the name *cartonebrok* is used in a similar way in *cartunehowe* and *kartunewelles*; in Elton's *billingbrok*, *billingbrokfurlong;* and at Lakenheath in *brademere*, *brademerepettis*, *brademereweye*. [355] A number of potentially chronologically earlier names can be detected in this way, outlined in table 4.4, and expressed diagrammatically in figure 4.2. In all three places, water appears to be a key referent. This manner of assessing the likely chronology of names produces interesting results, but is unlikely to be complete. It is extremely probable that there are a number of missing names, and names like Elton's *smalewellefurlong* and *hollewellefurlong* indicate possible 'missing' referents that do not appear in the corpus

[352] E.L. Schieffelin, *The Sorrow of the Lonely and the Burning of the Dancers* (St. Lucia, Queensland, 1976), p. 30
[353] K.H. Basso, '"Stalking with stories": names, places and moral narratives among the Western Apache', in E.M. Bruner (ed.), *Text, Play, and Story: The Construction and Reconstruction of Self and Society* (Prospect Heights, 1984), pp. 27-32; S.C. Jett, 'Place-naming, environment, and perception among the Canyon De Chelly Navajo of Arizona', *The Professional Geographer*, 49:4 (1997), p. 486
[354] L.M. Johnson, '"A place that's good", Gitksan landscape perception and ethnoecology', *Human Ecology*, 28:2 (2000), p. 305; D. Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon Landscapes of the West Midlands: the Charter Evidence* (Oxford, 1981), p. 129
[355] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 9, 34, and 357; *E.M.R.* p. 90 and p. 368; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/4/3; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/18; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/22

Table 4.4: Key Minor-Name Referents, Castor and Elton

Referent	Progeny
Castor	
Cuffic	Cufficwelle, Cuffichil
Carton	Cartonbrok, Cartonwelles, Cartonhowe, the furlong butting on Cartonbrok
Stanewelle	Stanewellebrok, Stanewellebrok furlong, Stanewellehil, Stanewell furlong. Stanewellefeld
Norwell	Norwellhill, Norwellwong
Irenbroc	Irenfurlong
Aldwellemor	Aldwellemoresike, Audlemorefurlong
Wridmere	Wridmereslade
Langmor	Langmore furlong
Langdyk	Langdykbrok, Langdyke furlong, Langdichgate, Langedikhegg, Overlangdyk, Netherlangdyk
Tasilhil	Tasshelhil furlong
Elton	
Arnewash	Arnewashbrok
Billingbrok	Billingbrokfurlong
Littlebrok	Littlebrok furlong
Hollewellmore	Hollewellmorefurlong
Dam	Damhalfaker
Clack	Clackuesmor, Clakkisheuden
Longhyl	Longhylslade
Mersh	Mershfurlong
Hosebernsslade	Hosebernssladewell, Hosebernssladeoverende, Hosebernssladenetherende
Lakenheath	
Caldewell	Caldwellwong
Brademere	Brademerepettes, Brademerewong, Brademereweye
Blakemere	Blakemerelond
Fledmere	Fledmerecote, Fledmerefen. Fledmerebeche
Oldlode	Oldlodesende
Mere, le	Merewong
Lothewere	Lotheweremor
Millemarch	Millemarchmor
Passeford	Passfordwong
Hellondhel	Hellondhelfurlong, Hellondhelhend
Hereshel	Hereshelwere
Bramhowe	Bramhowemedwe

Figure 4.2: A Hypothetical Model of the Chronology of Naming at Castor and Elton



of medieval names.[356] Similarly, at Lakenheath, names like *welle* and *le brok* were apparently not used as referents for later field-names, but again this may simply be that they are unrecorded, or the documentary evidence does not survive. The simplex form for these names is intriguing; *le brok* is the only instance of a *–broc* name at Lakenheath, and *–welle* features infrequently (*woluarderwelle*, *kaldewell*, *ernishowelle*) suggesting the possible later renaming of one of the springs. At Lakenheath, it can be seen that there are fewer referents. This is likely since the landscape differed vastly from Elton and Castor, with a clear division between the fenland and arable. Thus, most of the arable names are not derived from pre-named referents. When Gelling analysed the early Anglo-Saxon topographical settlement names mentioned above, she concluded that there was 'a marked unity of theme…water-supply, water-control, crossing-places and dry sites for villages', and noted that several settlements took their names from small streams. The examples she cited were Balking ('pool stream'), Lockinge ('playful stream'), Wantage ('decreasing stream') and Hendred ('wild birds' stream').[357] Although this is too small a sample to be diagnostic, it is clear that these names resemble those of the Kaluli and Gitksan names more closely. At Castor and Elton at least, some cultural elements—in *billingbroc* (Billa's stream) and *cartunebrok* (unknown first element)—seem to have been present, rendering a definitive chronology based purely on key referents impossible.[358] Perhaps Lakenheath's naturally wet environment helps to explain these differences. So, although this manner of assessing the development of naming is insightful, it cannot provide an absolute means of determining the earliest names, and may be more useful in examining Midlands manors than those with more diverse topography.

[356] T.N.A. E40/6856; *E.M.R.* p. 90
[357] Gelling, *Signposts*, p. 118-9; in addition to the stream names, names with a generic element in *ford* were numerous.
[358] *P.N.B.H.* p. 193

Looking forward: re-naming the landscape

Although the model's imperfections have been highlighted, it is nevertheless useful for drawing broad chronological distinctions between the place-names of each manor. Names with purely topographical elements may represent the earliest minor names. Those exclusively featuring cultural elements, denoting some form of human interaction with the landscape, such as *baillies halfaker*, may signify later names. Field-names with personal names as qualifying elements are especially worthy of further scrutiny since some of the names can be attributed to peasants found within documentary sources, and can therefore be dated more dependably. These names feature in each of the three manors, but they do not all follow a similar pattern (table 4.5 and figure 4.3). The names have been divided into three groups: generic, featuring names that are probably not peasant bynames (e.g. *freemansacre*, Castor; *akermanlond*, Elton; *kyngeshithe*, Lakenheath); those having specific bynames, or referencing known individuals (e.g. *alotta*, Elton; *dykmannesdich*, Lakenheath); and late Anglo-Saxon names.[359] There is a significantly higher ratio of Anglo-Saxon names connected with field-names at Elton.[360] It is possible that these names post-date the Conquest, but they are unlikely to be much later. This, coupled with the fact that there are proportionally fewer known later medieval peasant bynames within the field-names begins to suggest that those at Elton were much more static. All three putative later medieval bynames referenced at Elton, Atharde, Alotta and Saldine, appear in the source material. It is doubtful whether 'Alotta' was considered to be a field-name in the true sense, since it was always referred to as 'the land of Alotta', featuring in the account rolls because it was in the lord's hands.[361] A peasant family named Saladyn appear in records from the late thirteenth century. Philip Saladin was a cottar, holding a messuage and half an acre of land, and so hardly a substantial landholder.[362]

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[359] The generic names are all listed in table 4.5. It seems unlikely that many of them are peasant bynames (e.g. *erlespinfold*, Lakenheath; *abbotishauue*, Castor etc.) There are peasants named Knight and Kyng at Lakenheath, although they rarely feature in the record, and never in connection with *knytesmere* or *kyngeshethe*, although it is possible that they are associated.
[360] Each name has been counted once (e.g. the group of names derived from the name Osbern and Atharde (Elton) count as one individual respectively)
[361] *E.M.R.*, pp. 56-8, pp. 126-8, pp. 158-60, and pp. 204-6
[362] *R.H. II*, p. 657

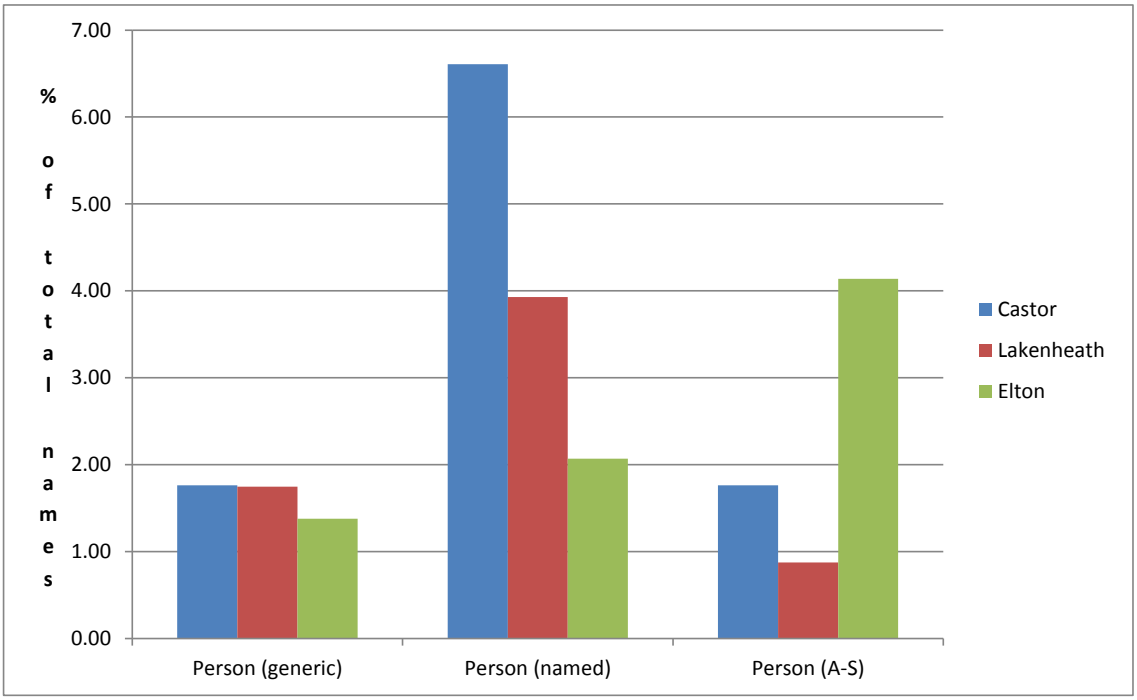
Table 4.5: Field-Names with Personal Names as Qualifiers: Elton, Castor and Lakenheath

Elton	Castor	Lakenheath
Wul[f]standikes	**Gunewade**	***Stubbardsfen***
Wymundeswong	**Dodesfurlong**	**Woluarderwelle**
Hosebernssladewell	**Thurwardeslond**	**[Erneshowepath]**
Hosebernssladeoverende	**Wul[f]stansdic**	[Ladispol]
Hosebernssladenetherende	[Abbotishauue]	[Kyngeshethe]
Goderichsladesoverende	[Sherrueswong[	[Erlespinfold]
Pyttlesthornfurlong	[Ballies Halfaker]	[Knytesmere]
?Suonesland	Sistremor	[Bolemanswong]
Athardescroft	Wakerescroft	*?Bolesheuedlond*
Attirdholm	Fremannesacre	*?Bolewer*
Saldinescrosfurlong	Glademanishirne	*?Douesdich*
?Allota, the land of	Bilmanstibbing	*Dykmannesdich*
[Abbotisholm]	Reginald's spring	*Dykmanneswong*
	Bernardiswro	*Flawners*
	Bouetonhay	*Mayhewcruch*
	Bowetonholm	*Mackesrode*
	Illing (the wood)	*Gopayneshithe*
	Paris (the wood)	*Douuezhithe*
	Lillefordbalk	*?Smetheslond*≠
	Lordyslake	
	Lordeston	

Notes: [] denotes possible byname; emboldened names are attested Anglo-Saxon personal names; italicised names denote active bynames found within 13th and 14th century documents; names prefixed with ? symbolise those that may not relate to field-names or personal names

≠ A reference to land associated with customary ironwork was known as *smithsland*, suggesting this name relates to tenure: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/27

Figure 4.3: The Percentage of Personal Names in Field-Names: Elton, Castor, and Lakenheath



It is possible that this is not a true reflection of the family's wealth, but nothing in the court rolls suggests that they were a family of substantial means, corroborated by the fact that they were not taxpayers in 1327 or 1332. Did they take their byname from the field-name, or was there perhaps a long forgotten story associated with both family and landscape? Similarly, the Atharde family appears infrequently in the documentary record. They were villeins, and in 1279 Henry Athard held a virgate of land. Like the Saladyns, they are not recorded taxpayers. Nevertheless, these families are the only contemporary groups that can be associated strongly with the field-names of late medieval Elton.

A greater proportion can be firmly connected with the local landscape at Lakenheath. Whilst there are no Bolemans in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century documents at Lakenheath, there are many Douues, Dykemans and Flawners, representatives of whom appear in the 1327 Lay Subsidy, suggesting they were from wealthier Lakenheath families. Two tenants called Macke—Gilbert and Richard—deceased by the fourteenth century, both had substantial landholdings including half a sheep-fold, and whilst *mackesrode* cannot certainly be said to derive from this family, it remains a possibility.[363] The only reference to *gopaynshithe* is particularly illuminating. It is mentioned in a dispute between Robert Gopayn and Richard in the Lane in which Lane was alleged to have taken a boat from *gopaynshithe* which subsequently deteriorated. In his defence, Lane suggested that it was 'lawful for him to moor his boat…[and that] the place called *gopayneshithe* by Robert Gopayn once belonged to Matthew, son of Seward of Lakenheath who gave it to God and St Edmund…and that never then nor since has Robert Gopayn or his ancestors had any right therein…'.[364] The ensuing inquisition found Lane guilty, but the implication was that Gopayn had recently deliberately renamed the landing place to bind his and his family's claim to the land more tightly.[365]

Nevertheless, despite the greater quantity of late medieval Lakenheath bynames within field-names compared with Elton, as a proportion of the whole corpus, Castor bynames featured significantly more frequently. Again not all of them

[363] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/4/3; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/3; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/5
[364] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/7
[365] T.N.A. SC2/203-95/M2

can be identified within the sources. *Sistremor* is especially problematic, but might refer to the royal sisters Kyneburgha and Kyneswitha, credible since it only features in thirteenth-century sources.[366] Of those that can be identified, the Lords were a knightly family, and the Boueton, Illing, Paris and Lilford families were prominent free tenants with considerable landholdings. The single reference to *reginald's spring* comes in a copy of a charter detailing an undated transfer of land between William Clerk, son of William, son of Reginald and the abbey.[367] The spring, described in the document as 'called *reginald's spring*' [*in iiij acras et dimidiam in motllede iuxta fontem qui vocatur fons reginaldi*], possibly refers to William Clerk's grandfather. *Bernardswro* [Bernard's nook] is more difficult to assign, but may be associated with Bernard de Pickworth, alias Bernard de Paston, another notable free tenant.[368] The two single references to these names reveal the likelihood that other elements of the Castor landscape may have been re-named after local residents, but are not apparent due to the vagaries of the survival of written sources. There are no recorded names featuring the Cordel or Butler families before 1348, however in fifteenth-century documents, their names are encapsulated within *cordelsplace* and *butlers*.[369] Contemporaneously, the Breton family name is preserved in *brettenneswode*; and it is possible that *buddesnabbe* refers to the Budde family, and may even have replaced the simplex *le nab*.[370] The possibility cannot be ruled out that these names are older than they appear. What seems clear is that at Castor, unlike at Elton and Lakenheath, none of the personal name qualifiers within the field-names can be confidently associated with any servile peasant.

The suggestion that names at Elton were more static is given additional weight once the remaining cultural names are considered. Although the trend is much less marked, the overall proportion of newer names having a cultural influence is fewer at Elton, and greatest at Castor, as shown in figure 4.4. Here, the categories are largely designed to isolate those where local settlements are used as qualifying

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[366] C.U.L./PDC/Manuscripts/MS1; King, *Peterborough Abbey*, p. 173
[367] C.U.L./PDC/Manuscripts/MS1
[368] B.L. Cotton MS Nero C. vii/14 f. 159d; The potential use of his Christian name is supported by the evidence within the 1301 Lay Subsidy, where the only tenant of this name is labelled simply *Bernard*, with no cognomen: T.N.A. E179/155/31/42; there is a reference to an heir of Robert Pickworth transferring a tenement called *bernardisplace*, in 1408: N.R.O. F(M) Charter 492
[369] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 496, 515 and 563
[370] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 514, 532 and 533; Bretton Woods is still used as a local place-name

Figure 4.4: 'Cultural' Qualifiers in Field-Names: Elton, Castor and Lakenheath

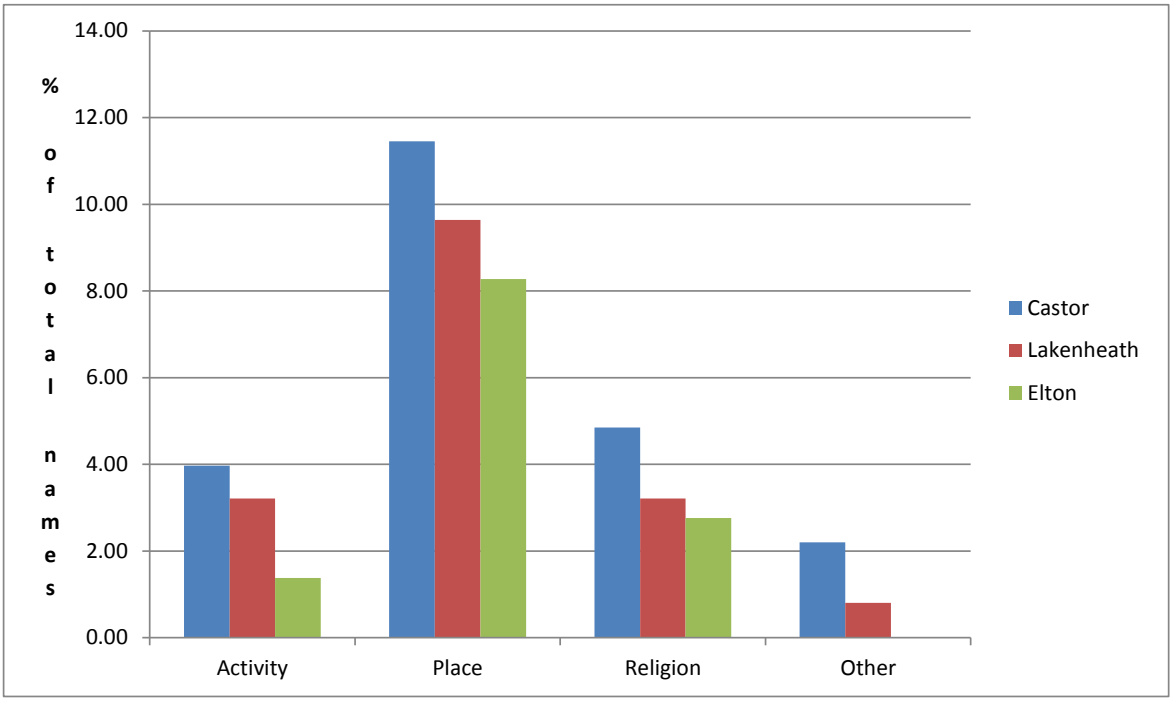

Table 4.6: The Open Fields, Castor, Elton and Lakenheath

Field-Name	Alternative Name
Elton	
Great Field	North Field
Middle Field	
Small Field	
Castor#	
Eyning≠	Eiing, Einig, Eying, Eynigge, Heing, Heuyg, Heying
Ham	Hamfeld
Thornes	Le Thornes
Normangate	
Wood Field	
Lakenheath	
North Field	
South Field	
Middle Field	
Windmill Field	

Note: ≠ - It is unclear whether the name was *Eyning* or *Eyuing*

- Ailsworth's fields may have been part of one system: Over Field, Nether Field, Wood Field and Doles

elements (place). 'Activity' relates to any reference to an undertaking, or to a change of landscape use. These activities are varied and include assarting (e.g. *sartis,* Castor), meeting places (e.g. *mutforde*, Lakenheath) and quarrying (e.g. *lymkilnwong*, Castor). 'Religion' includes all names in *church-*, alongside references to cemeteries and saints.[371] The emerging picture of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Castor as a vill in which naming was a much more dynamic process is further supported by the names of the open fields. Here, these larger cropping units were given markedly different names to the largely directional appellations apparent in Elton and Lakenheath (table 4.6). Only once, in a charter dated 1305, is there a reference to a north field, however, the grantor is described as 'Gilbert de Somersham in Upton' suggesting that he was less familiar with the names of the fields than a Castor resident would have been.[372] In 1354, one charter describes the fields as '…in the east field, 1½ rods together lying in le Thornes…[and] in the field towards the south 1½ rods together lying in Hamfeld…', offering their directional positions as well as the field names, but this does not infer that the cardinal points were used as alternative names.[373] It is entirely possible that the scribe, more used to detailing directional field names, requested the additional information. The overriding impression remains that the field-names at Castor are unusual. By the eighteenth century at Elton (and probably a great deal earlier), six fields were in use, most bearing more culturally relevant names: Stockhill Field, Middle Field and Brook Field belonging to the Upper End; and Arnest Field (probably derived from *arnewassh*), Middle Field, and Royston-Hill Field within Nether End.[374]

It is difficult to draw many conclusions from this evidence, but the overwhelming impression is that the Castor peasants were more actively engaged in re-naming their landscape in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This was not done on a wholesale basis, however. The reference to *Oldfeld* most clearly indicates change, and would naturally have had an earlier, different name.[375] Some of the names of former wooded areas were incorporated into the newly assarted arable

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[371] The Castor field-name *edmundisleye*, alias *St Edmund's Land* and *St Edmunde's stones furlong* is counted within 'activity' since it refers to cleared land leased to the abbey of Bury St Edmunds to allow stone quarried in nearby Barnack to reach the Nene across Castor territory.
[372] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 115
[373] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 413
[374] *E.F.B.*
[375] H.S.A. Fox, 'Approaches to the adoption of the Midland system' in T. Rowley (ed.), *The Origins of Open-Field Agriculture* (London, 1981), p. 89

lands, most notably Eyning, which became an open field, presumably because this was where the majority of assarting was concentrated. Additionally, *estrys*, which, together with *iungeuuode* and *abbotishauue* contained 120 acres was remembered within the furlong of the same name recorded in the 1393 survey.[376] This latter furlong is mentioned alongside *bilmanstibbyng*, which is undoubtedly a 'new' name, although why some names endured and others were changed is unclear. Considering Castor's more dynamic nature in terms of the named landscape, a tentative conclusion may lie within the nature of lordship in each of the three vills. Of the three, Castor contained the most manors, and Elton the least. This suggests that lordship was weaker in Castor, stronger in Lakenheath and at its strongest in Elton. The Abbot of Peterborough may have been the chief lord of the vill, but his influence was muted by the presence of other resident lords and an exceptionally high number of free peasants. Given the manifest additional legal freedom afforded to free peasants, it seems that some of the more prominent amongst them may have been inclined to strengthen their association with their holdings by affixing their names to their land. This is readily apparent through the places associated with the Thorald family at Castor: *lordyslake* is certainly a re-named watercourse, and *lordeston* which was either thus named since the initial erection of the cross it referenced, or a re-naming of an existing cross. The Thoralds were minor lords, however they were experiencing declining fortunes by the late thirteenth century.[377] It could be difficult to distinguish minor lords from prominent free peasants, and it seems possible that at Castor, some of these men aimed to emulate their social superiors. Perhaps the Bouetons, Illings, Lilfords, Pickeworths and Paris' incorporation of their own names into the landscape allowed them to keep up with the Thoralds. Even if the Thoralds were not responsible for affixing their identity to parts of the Castor landscape, the outward impression must have been that this powerfully entrenched affiliation in turn engendered the perception of increased social status, which would have been incredibly appealing to this group of wealthy freemen. The contrast in Elton is striking: the several pasture of

[376] B.L. Cotton MS Nero C. vii/14 f. 159d
[377] King, *Peterborough Abbey*, pp. 35-6

the prominent free tenant John de Elton, alias le Lord, was called *hulkecroft*, having no strong association with its owner.[378]

Others have noted changing landscape naming patterns, but these have largely been associated with the period post-1348, in particular the fifteenth century. Kleinschmidt suggests this was due to a shift in mentality towards more territorialised space at the end of the medieval period, whereas Gardiner suggests re-naming occurred for a variety of reasons: at Romney Marsh (Knt), he argues that the change from arable to pastoral husbandry stimulated a series of changes that renewed the stock of field-names there.[379] Olsen claims that after the Black Death, personal names were used in order to memorialise those lost to the pestilence, however, the evidence from Castor and Lakenheath suggests the process of embedding personal names within the local landscape in the post-Conquest period was underway well before this time: decades earlier at Lakenheath, and over a century before at Castor.[380] Whilst, undoubtedly, these watershed moments are noteworthy, the evidence from Elton, Castor and Lakenheath shows that change also occurred during the normal course of events, albeit at different rates in each settlement. The changes outlined here are, to a certain extent at least, fairly transparent and easily identified. However, as anthropologists and ethnologists have long recognised there is often more to minor names than a cursory glance through a field-book or set of charters might reveal. They acknowledge that many names are not merely descriptive markers for local places or people, but are meaningful because they act as the means through which local history and experience is memorialised.[381] These ideas, although a far cry from the taxonomy of John Field's medieval and early modern field-names, have nevertheless been more widely explored by archaeologists and historians in recent years. Any study of local place-names that fails to engage with this more hidden aspect of the local

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[378] T.N.A. E40/10857

[379] Kleinschmidt, *Understanding the Middle Ages*, p. 54 and p. 61; M. Gardiner, 'Oral tradition, landscape and the social life of place-names' in R. Jones and S. Semple (eds), *Sense of Place in Anglo-Saxon England* (Donington, 2011), p. 23

[380] S. Olsen, *A Mute Gospel: the People and Culture of the Medieval English Common Fields* (Toronto, 2009), pp. 191-4, argues that these name types are absent before 1373 at Ellington (Hnt), but fails to consider that this may be due to the vagaries of the survival of documentation.

[381] S. Feld, 'Waterfalls of song: an acoustemology of place resounding in Bosavi, Papua New Guinea' in K.H. Basso and S. Feld (eds), *Senses of Place* (Santa Fe, 1996), p. 102; P.J. Stewart and A. Strathern, 'Introduction' in P.J. Stewart and A. Strathern, *Landscape, Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives* (London, 2003), p. 1

environment is in danger of missing the very essence of place experienced by its past inhabitants. These aspects will be considered more fully in the next chapter.

Chapter Five: Re-imagining the medieval environment

Beyond taxonomy: re-thinking the medieval landscape

So far, the minor names of Castor, Elton and Lakenheath have been assessed based on what can be gleaned by taking the names at face value. Many of these names seem to reveal themselves unambiguously: *rohauue* was a deer-enclosure, *carvismor* was characterised by the caraway that grew there, and *riewong* was a good place to grow rye. In this way, onomasts have sought to explain the naming of the landscape, the classic outline being produced by John Field, whose model purports to ensure that almost every English field-name can be codified.[382] In this study, this has been taken a step further by examining names containing byname qualifiers in order to consider a possible chronology of place-naming. For many onomasts, defining names renders them comprehensible. And yet, as Henri Lefebvre suggests, quoting Marx, the acquisition of knowledge without consideration of the particular social context renders any understanding partial at best.[383]

Those taking a phenomenological approach have criticised landscape studies for ignoring myth, cosmology and symbolism.[384] Recently, effort has been made by non-linguistic scholars, most particularly in archaeology and history, to reunite medieval furlongs with the people who coined their names and orally conveyed them from generation to generation. A number of these studies concentrate on uncovering local mentalities and tracing changes in outlook across time.[385] Minor names have also begun to be considered by scholars working on memory and the transmission of texts

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[382] J. Field, *A History of English Field-Names* (London, 1993)
[383] H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (1991, Oxford, 2009), p. 81
[384] C. Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape* (Oxford, 1994), p. 22
[385] For example S. Semple, 'A fear of the past: the place of the prehistoric burial mound in the ideology of middle and later Anglo-Saxon England', *World Archaeology*, 30:1 (1998), pp. 109-126; K. Altenberg, *Experiencing Landscapes: a Study of Space and Identity in Three Marginal Areas of Medieval Britain and Scandinavia* (Stockholm, 2003); S. Kilby, 'A different world? Reconstructing the peasant environment in medieval Elton', *Medieval Settlement Research*, 25 (2010b), pp. 72-7; S. Semple 'In the open air', in M. Carver, A. Sanmark and S. Semple (eds), *Signals of Belief in Early England: Anglo-Saxon Paganism Revisited* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 21-48; M. Gardiner, 'Oral tradition, landscape and the social life of place-names' in R. Jones and S. Semple (eds), *Sense of Place in Anglo-Saxon England* (Donington, 2011), pp. 16-30; S. Mileson, 'The South Oxfordshire project: perceptions of landscape, settlement and society, c.500-1650', *Landscape History*, 33:2 (2012), pp. 83-98

—including landscape—over long time periods. Nevertheless, some historians working on elite notions of memory and memorialisation discount peasant society and its attendant geography. Cubitt suggests that in illiterate societies memory was limited to the span of one lifetime, offering Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou* as evidence in support of this. He accepts Clanchy's view that oral transmission is fundamentally flawed and unlikely to pass between generations intact.[386] However, this simply suggests that Cubitt and Clanchy are considering all orally transmitted information as having equal importance, which it cannot have done. Information that was pertinent to local communities as a whole, like custom, field-names and other minor names were fundamentally important in diverse but myriad ways. The landscape, as it was perceived, remembered and memorialised by the lower orders is being increasingly considered by scholars taking a more phenomenological approach.[387]

The work of social scientists has long exposed that deeper cultural understanding of the rural environment can disclose meanings that are inseparably connected with the local environment and its inhabitants. These meanings are not generally transparent beyond the boundaries of the settlement, and are usually significant only to locals. Naturally, this expresses in a cultural sense the deep and binding ties between local people and the surrounding landscape, but it also articulates ideas of belonging, from both historical and social perspectives. This understanding of the meaning of some minor place-names presents immediate and grave issues with Field's approach. It is a problem already acknowledged by some onomasts focusing on bynames, notably McClure: namely that it is unwise to consider the meanings of all names as axiomatic. Names are not mere labels. Whilst some are undoubtedly more topographically descriptive than others, anthropological and ethonographical studies have revealed much deeper levels of significance embedded within the local names coined by people living in close proximity to the natural

[386] G. Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester, 2007), pp. 185-9; Gardiner outlines how some local place-names endured solely through oral transmission over 400 years: Gardiner, 'Oral tradition', p. 17

[387] See, for example Tilley, *A Phenomenology*, p. 27; J. Fentress and C. Wickham, *Social Memory* (1992, Oxford, 1994); S. Küchler, 'Landscape as memory: the mapping of process and its representation in a Melanesian society', in B. Bender (ed.), *Landscape Politics and Perspectives* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 85-106; P.J. Stewart and A. Strathern (eds), *Landscape, Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives* (London, 2003); A. Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2011); Mileson, 'The South Oxfordshire project', p. 89

environment. For Küchler, the landscape itself is the 'most generally accessible and widely shared aide-memoire of a culture's knowledge and understanding of its past and future'.[388] Similarly, Stewart and Strathern visualise the landscape as the means through which the history of local places is codified.[389] These views hint that John Field's uncoupling of field-names from the anchorage of their landscape setting renders them unintelligible, reduced to a mere list from which little real meaning can be garnered. In this way, the landscape itself is just as important as its name. As Morphy attests, it is not merely a 'sign system' for past events, or the vehicle through which pertinent information is relayed, but a central component of such information.[390]

Anthropologists and ethnologists in particular have noted the tendency for local stories, myths and legends to become embedded within local landscape. Studying the Western Apache Indians of Cibecue, Arizona, Basso noted that far from being unassuming reference points, their place-names contained a wealth of information that a simple translation or definition of the name concealed. One of the key drivers in place-name creation for the Apache was the need to preserve past events associated with the places in which they occurred, the stories arising from which were then used to provide moral instruction to the wider community.[391] Basso noted that the place-names themselves were integral to the tale that was being conveyed. For the Apache, simply uttering the place-name invoked the associated underlying meaning without the need for the recitation of the story itself. Thus, the history of the Apache was strongly rooted in the local landscape: a 'repository of distilled wisdom, a stern but benevolent keeper of tradition'.[392] The Apache place-names appear unremarkable when taken out of context: names like 'big cottonwood trees stand spreading here and there', or 'course-textured rocks lie above in a compact cluster' initially seem to describe the topography, enabling the identification of

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[388] S. Küchler, 'Landscape as memory', p. 85
[389] P.J. Stewart and A. Strathern, 'Introduction' in P.J. Stewart and A. Strathern, *Landscape, Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives* (London, 2003), p. 1
[390] H. Morphy, 'Landscape and the reproduction of the ancestral past' in E. Hirsch and M. O'Hanlon (eds), *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space* (1995, Oxford, 1997), p. 186
[391] K. Basso '"Stalking with stories…': names, places and moral narratives among the western Apache' in E.M. Bruner (ed.), *Text, Play, and Story: the Construction and Reconstruction of Self and Society* (Prospect Heights, 1984), p. 26, and pp. 30-34
[392] Basso, 'Stalking with stories', p. 45

place.[393] Fundamentally, without Basso's interpretations, uncovered through hours of discussion with the Apache people, the deeper, more culturally sensitive meanings are concealed from outsiders, being especially unintelligible from a westernised, rational viewpoint. Similar associations between landscape and story—a form of local folklore—have been noted by others studying local place-names across widespread cultures and time periods, including the Tlingit people of British Columbia, Canada; in Melanesian society in Oceania; in Australian Aborigine culture; and in the Scottish Hebrides.[394] Basso is rightly critical of landscape studies that fail to move beyond more typical socio-economic interests, such as social organisation and economic and subsistence schema, suggesting that to ignore more culturally focused aspects of the landscape is to render any study of attitudes toward local environment incomplete.[395] Whilst this is a criticism that is upheld by several other scholars, most notably Tilley and Gardiner, for students of the medieval landscape, it can be extremely difficult to venture beyond the mere acknowledgement that cultural aspects, like local folklore, might be integral to contemporary perceptions of the landscape.[396]

The majority of the studies cited here have relied upon direct oral testimony from members of each respective community to reveal stories associated with the landscape, and their great importance to each community's cultural identity. The problems faced by medievalists attempting to reconstruct contemporary perceptions of landscape in a more culturally sensitive manner are manifold. In many cases, the only strands of evidence that survive are the late-medieval notations of field-names—these frequently originating in the Anglo-Saxon period—alongside the landscape itself, where it remains reasonably unchanged. Local folklore can be difficult to trace back to the Middle Ages, since much that now remains to us has been orally conveyed, and its origins—both temporal and topographical—are often obscure. It is also far from certain how transparent some field-names really are. There are some within the corpus of names at Elton, Castor and Lakenheath that seem to hint at a more culturally

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[393] Basso, 'Stalking with stories', pp. 36-7
[394] T.F. Thornton, 'Know your place: the organization of Tlingit geographic knowledge', *Ethnology*, 36:4 (1997), p. 298; Küchler, 'Landscape as memory', p. 85; Morphy, 'Landscape and the reproduction of the ancestral past', p. 186; D. MacAulay, 'De tha ann an ainm…?' in F. MacLeod (ed.), *Togail Tir, Marking Time: the Map of the Western Isles* (Stornoway, 1989), p. 94
[395] Basso 'Stalking with stories', p. 48
[396] Tilley, *A Phenomenology*, p. 33; Gardiner, 'Oral tradition', p. 22

driven provenance, whilst simultaneously defying any fully meaningful classification. Do Castor's *maggebuskhert*, Elton's *catfretene* and Lakenheath's *dedcherl* conceal significance long forgotten by each village's respective local inhabitants? Any attempt to offer a more nuanced interpretation of these names is fraught with difficulty, but requires at the very least a detailed knowledge of local topography, alongside contemporary evidence of local history, mythology and folklore. This is a challenging task for the late medieval period generally, but especially so when considering peasant perceptions. Nevertheless, it may be possible to piece together elements of the importance of the historic and mythological landscape to the peasants of one of the vills under review here: Castor.

Beyond taxonomy: the secret life of the fields

History is not confined to a discrete number of places. There are stories, myths and folklore associated with places wherever there is, and has been, human habitation. And yet there are undoubtedly some places which have attracted more comment than others. Castor is one such place. Its Roman heritage has fascinated antiquarians since at least the seventeenth century, and the Roman fort of *Durobrivae* on the opposite bank of the Nene in the parish of Chesterton, often associated with the Roman industrial site in Castor, merited a mention by Henry of Huntingdon in the twelfth century.[397] This means that a reasonable quantity of information concerning Castor and Ailsworth's historic and folkloric landscape has survived, predominantly through the work of eighteenth-century antiquarians. Although unconfirmed by archaeological evidence, it is generally considered that Kyneburgha, daughter of Penda of Mercia, founded a convent there following her widowhood from the Northumbrian, Alhfrith, in the seventh century.[398] The early twelfth-century church is dedicated to her, suggesting that her memory endured for almost 500 years until its construction. Kyneburgha is strongly associated with the Castor landscape in the modern period

[397] T. Forester (trans.), *The Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon* (London, 1853), p. 4; historically, *Durobrivae* has been associated with Water Newton (Hnt), although it lies in Chesterton (Hnt).
[398] A. Morris, 'The Anglian period: the royal ladies of Castor' in *Five Parishes: Their People and Places* (Castor, 2004), p. 48

through local folklore. A long surviving story suggests that the saint was attacked whilst walking through Castor. There are four documented versions of the tale, the earliest version recorded by John Morton in 1712, who recounts that:

> '*Kinneburga's* Honour being attempted she fled from the Ruffian thro' those Fields: and…the Path she took was miraculously mark'd out, as a Trophy of her Purity and Innocence, to be seen in future Ages, and be distinguished by the Name of *Kinneburga's* Way.'[399]

In the late nineteenth century, Murray suggested the 'road unrolled itself before her'.[400] In an unreferenced third version, St Kyneburgha was chased whilst walking along *Lady Conneyburrow's Way*, this time by three ruffians; she dropped her basket which 'sprang up as flowers before her, while a great gulf opened behind and swallowed up her pursuers'.[401] The church guide, again unreferenced, also outlines the miracle of the flowers, but rather than a fissure appearing, it is suggested that thorns sprang up entrapping her assailants.[402]

In the version recorded by Morton, he also recounted that the path called *Kinneburga's Way* rose up toward Castor from the Nene through Normangate Field. He conjectured that it was once tiled with tesserae, but by the early eighteenth century it was:

> 'only a narrow tract…distinguishable from the rest of the Field…by its being barrener than the Ground on both sides of it…and when they plow a-cross this Way…the Plough…catches…upon a Stone floor, sometimes [it] throws up wrought stone, as also the above-described little square bricks.'[403]

So, the path seems to have been a Roman construction, characterised in the modern period, and possibly earlier by the lack of vegetation along its length. Morton's

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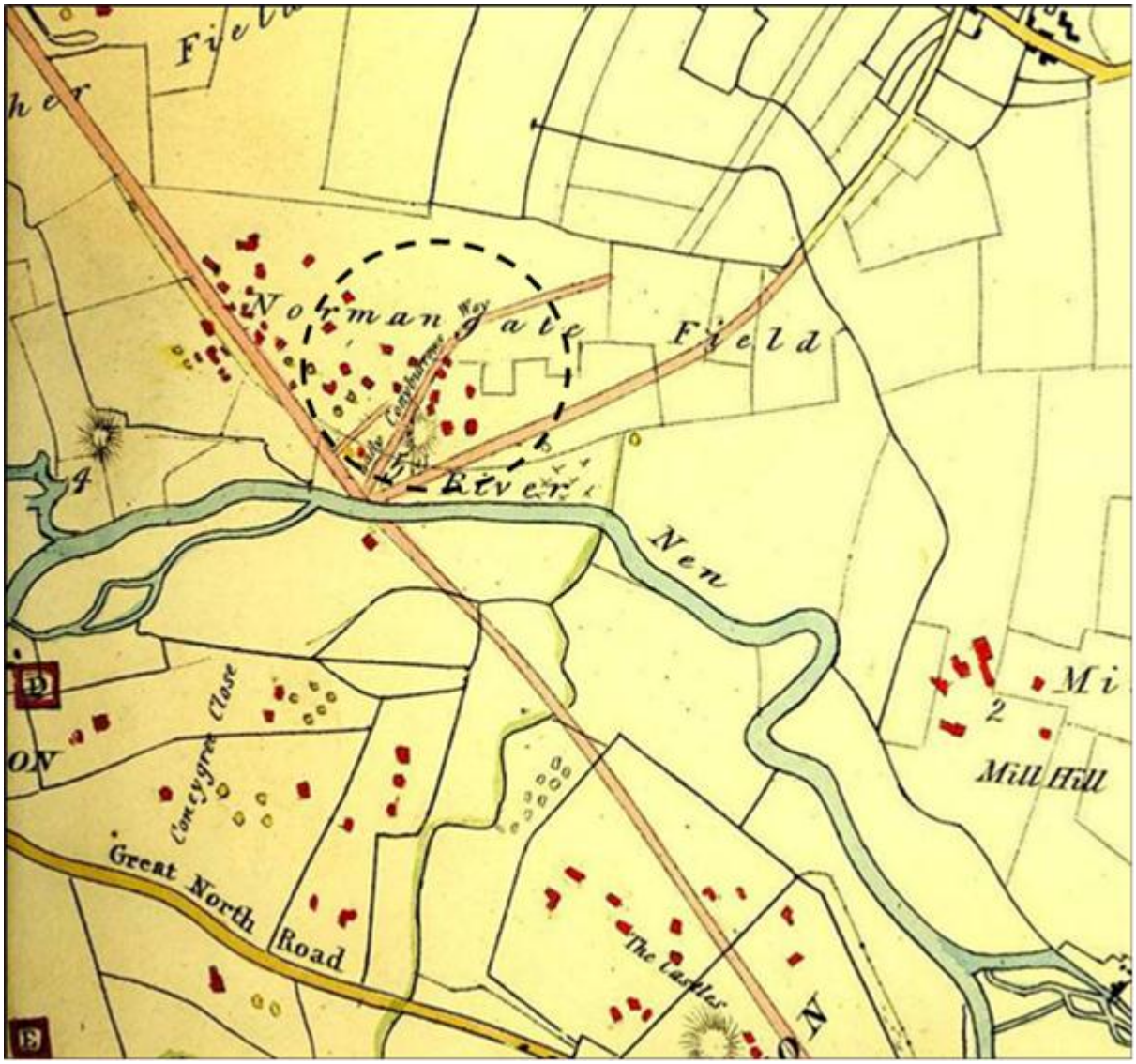
[399] J. Morton, *The Natural History of Northamptonshire* (London, 1712), p. 511
[400] J. Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Northamptonshire and Rutland* (London, 1878), pp. 61-2
[401] *V.C.H. Ntp*, p. 473
[402] H. Tovey (ed.), *St Kyneburga's Church*, *Castor* (Castor, 2006), p. 9
[403] Morton, *Natural History*, p. 511

reference to it being 'miraculously mark'd out' further supports the idea that in extremely dry periods the path would have been more obvious than at other times, as aerial photographs of landscape used in archaeological survey attest. This may well have seemed incredible to locals in the eighteenth century and earlier, and Morton's specific description of the 'miraculous' nature of the landscape also fits the idea of sanctity associated with saints. Despite the slight variation in the four versions, one element seems to have been consistent: the location of the event in Normangate Field on the path known in the modern period as *Lady Conneyburrow's Way*. The path is marked on a map of Normangate Field produced by the nineteenth-century archaeologist Edmund Artis (figure 5.1), and its location is consistent with Morton's description of its siting more than 100 years before.[404]

Given the consistency of the application of this legend to the Normangate area of Castor, the link between legend and landscape seems worth examining further. Normangate Field is of especial interest for a number of reasons. It is an exceptionally small field, by far the smallest of the Castor open fields, nevertheless undoubtedly considered as such in the late medieval period, contained within which were a number of furlongs. These were predominantly arable, but there are references to meadow and pasture. The name *normangate* has an interesting etymology. It is derived from OE *norð-mann*, meaning a norseman; and ON *gata*, indicating a road, way or street.[405] The name is recorded in almost forty separate documents, and unlike nearby Norman Cross (Hnt)—frequently written as *norðmannescros*, *normannes cros*—*normangate* was never written in the genitive form indicating the extreme unlikeliness of its derivation from a personal name.[406] The name almost certainly refers to the Roman road passing through the field, known today as Ermine Street, and indeed Morton confirms that this name continued to reference the Roman road in the early eighteenth century.[407] This seems a suitable choice of reference point for the name of this field, since it must have been a significant feature in the landscape. As figure 5.2

[404] Morton, *Natural History*, pp. 510-1
[405] J. Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online*, T.N. Toller (ed.), S. Christ and O. Tichý (comps), http://www.bosworthtoller.com/023899 [seen 14 May 2013]; *E.P.N.E. I*, p. 196
[406] *P.N.B.H.*, p. 180
[407] Morton, *Natural History*, p. 512

Figure 5.1: 'Lady Conneyburrow's Way', Normangate Field, Castor



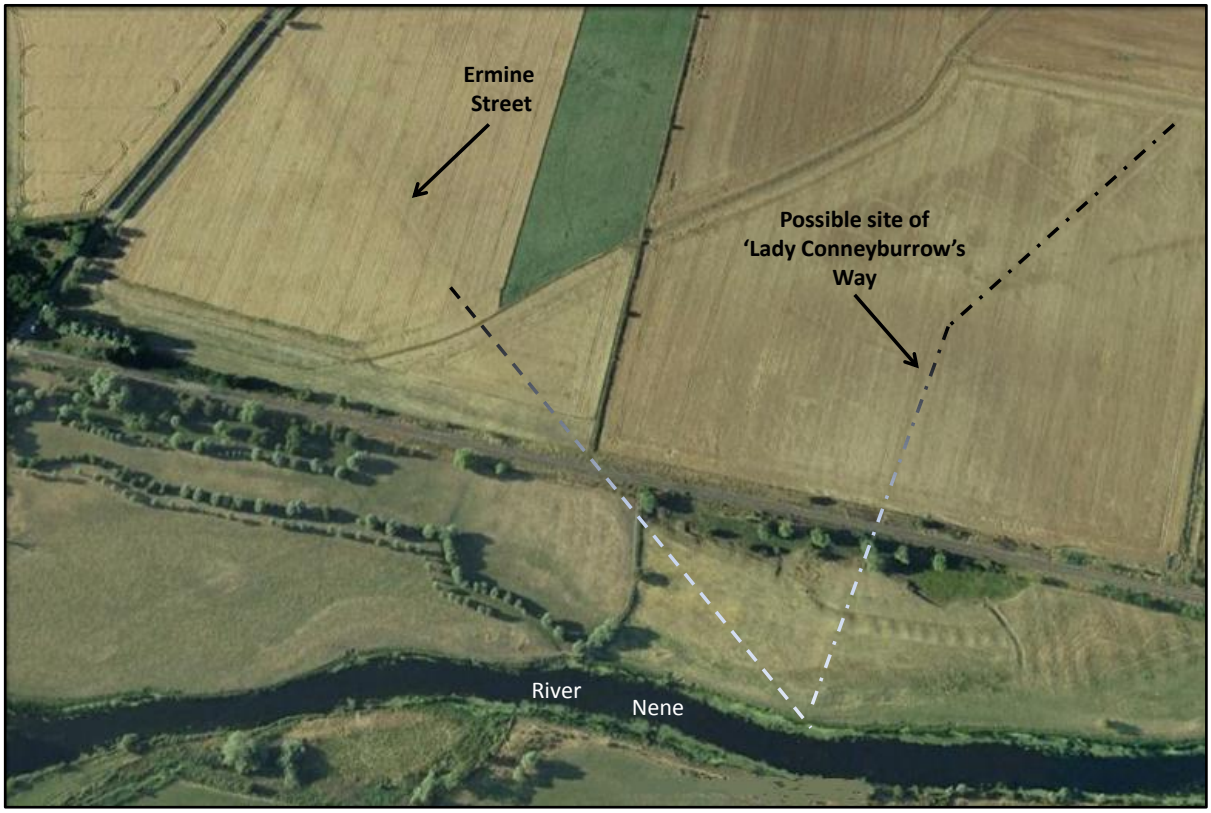
Source: E. T. Artis, *The Durobrivae of Antoninus* (London, 1828), plate 1 [image kindly supplied by Stephen Upex]

attests, modern aerial photographs still show Ermine Street very plainly, where the Roman road is clearly visible carving a route north-west from the Nene, and is intersected by the putative modern route of *Lady Conneyburrow's Way*. This modern public footpath does not match the position of Artis' *Lady Conneyburrow's Way*, however. Although his map has no scale, it is clear that he believed the path crossed Ermine Street at the riverbank, a location supported by Morton's written description of the path continuing on to Water Newton (Hnt) on the opposite bank. Crop-marks shown on a close-up of figure 5.2 featuring Castor's Roman industrial site indicate a path which matches both Artis' map and Morton's description, marked on figure 5.3.

Figure 5.2: Ermine Street from the Air, Normangate Field, Castor

Source: Google Earth, December 2010

Figure 5.3: The Putative Location of 'Lady Conneyburrow's Way', Normangate Field, Castor



Source: Top: Google Earth, December 2010; bottom: Photograph of *Normangate Field* by kind permission of Stephen Upex. Note that this photograph shows the view to the south (i.e. rotated 180° from the top photograph)

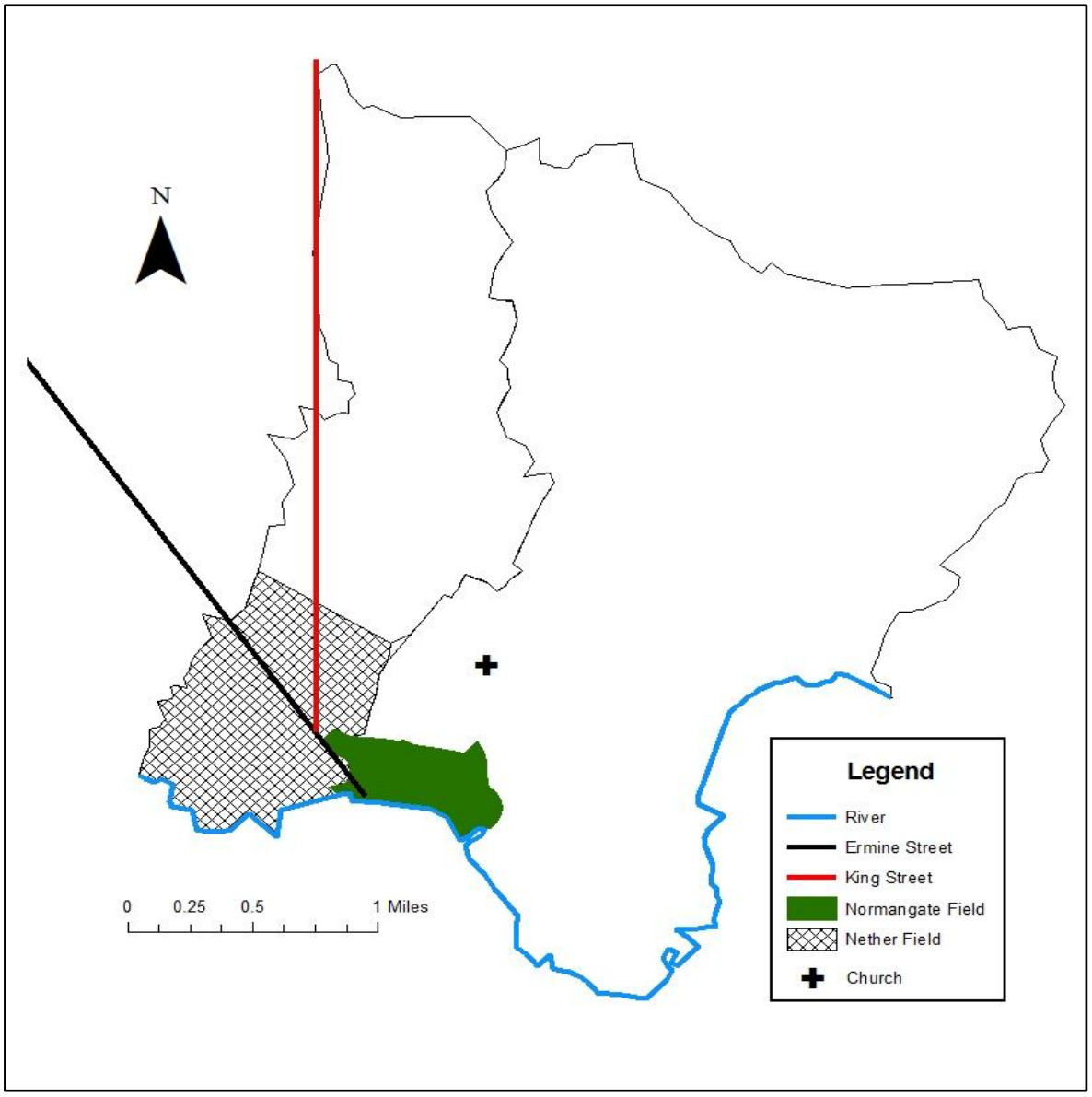
The lower portion of the putative path is more clearly shown on a second aerial photograph in the same figure.

Ermine Street was not the only Roman road in Castor and Ailsworth. It was joined by King Street, located in Ailsworth's Nether Field, adjacent to Normangate Field (see figure 5.4) running northward towards Lincolnshire. The corpus of Castor and Ailsworth field-names reveals several names for the Roman roads in use into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In addition to *normangate* in Castor, the Ailsworth portion of Ermine Street seems to have been known as *irthonehegg*, comprising OE *eorpen* and *hecge* or *hege*—earthen-hedge.[408] The same generic element was also used in the medieval name for King Street—*langgedikheg*—and although it could denote a hedge made of wood, the word was also used to describe earthen hedges, suggesting that *irthonehegg* was a suitable description for the Roman agger as it appeared pre-Conquest.[409] Although King Street was known interchangeably as *langgedikheg*, *langediche* or *langedichgate*, it was clearly identified by the same qualifying element throughout the medieval period.[410] Like Ermine Street, King Street continued beyond the confines of Castor and Ailsworth, and yet locally at least, it retained the same name regardless. The 1393 demesne survey also records the name in Upton (Ntp), which shared a boundary with Ailsworth.[411]

If it seems obvious that this very imposing landmark should bear a common name beyond parish boundaries, then the use of multiple names for medieval Ermine Street in Castor and Ailsworth requires further consideration. As figure 5.4 shows, Ermine Street only passed through Castor in a very small section of Normangate Field. Its physical structure seems unlikely to have been any different in this section than it was as it crossed into Ailsworth and on towards Sutton (Ntp) and Upton, so why did it bear a different name along this extremely small portion of the road? It is possible that a different name was always used in Ailsworth, but the consistency of use of *langedich*

[408] B.L. Cotton MS Nero C. vii/14
[409] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 235; H. Neilson, 'Early English woodland and waste', *Journal of Economic History*, 2:1 (1942), p. 58
[410] See, for example N.R.O. F(M) Charter 6, 11 and 172
[411] B.L. Cotton MS Nero C. vii/14

Figure 5.4: Roman Roads in Castor and Ailsworth



suggests an alternative explanation. The element *norð-mann*—a late OE term—may offer a clue.[412] Although it is impossible to date its introduction, given the likely earlier—*hecge*, —*hege*, it is conceivable that this unique name for Ermine Street in this portion of the vill suggests a late Anglo-Saxon change of name. This being the case, *norð-mann* is especially interesting. The element has been positively endorsed as describing Scandinavians rather than Normans, suggesting that the name had a Viking connection in the minds of those selecting it.[413] In the late ninth century and possibly again in the early eleventh century, Castor was reputed to have been attacked by Vikings, both incidents alleged to have been perpetrated by Danes, who the twelfth-century scribe of the *Peterborough Chronicle*, Hugh Candidus described as 'servants of the devil'. Candidus mentioned the 'much ruined church at Cyneburch-caster' in the time of Ælfsy, Abbot of Peterborough between 963-1013, and this has been tentatively associated with the early eleventh-century ravages.[414] Certainly, the eighteenth-century antiquarian William Stukeley suggests that locals believed the Danes destroyed Kyneburgha's convent and murdered the nuns.[415] The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* documents the later Danish incursions, recording that by 1011, they had 'overrun' Northamptonshire; and in 1013 alongside other territories, the people of the Five Boroughs, including nearby Stamford (Lin) had capitulated.[416] Stamford lies directly east of Ermine Street, which connected the town with Castor and Ailsworth less than ten miles to the south. It seems likely that Ermine Street would have been used as a route by the Danes at this time, and this perhaps explains the putative later change of the field-name: when entering Castor territory, did the Danes do so via the *normangate*?

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412 *E.P.N.E. II*, p. 52

413 "Norman, n.1 and adj.", *OED* Online, http://www.oed.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/view/Entry/128279 [seen 15 May 2013]; Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* http://www.bosworthtoller.com/023899 [seen 22 May 2013]; although some onomasts suggest that it may have denoted Norwegian Scandinavians specifically: *E.P.N.E. II*, p. 52

414 C.G. Dallas, 'The nunnery of St Kyneburgha at Castor', *Durobrivae*, 1 (1973), p. 17; Morris, 'The Anglian period', p. 51; C. Mellows (ed., trans.) and W. T. Mellows (ed.), *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus* (1941, Peterborough, 1966), p. 12 and p. 27

415 W. Stukeley, *The Family Memoirs of the Rev. William Stukeley, and the Antiquarian and Other Correspondence of William Stukeley*, Vol. 3 (London, 1887), pp. 56-61

416 The Abingdon (C) manuscript suggests that Northamptonshire was overrun, but the Peterborough (E) version does not, suggesting that north-east Northamptonshire may have been spared in 1011: M.J. Swanton (ed., trans.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London, 1996), pp. 141-4

In isolation, the name *normangate* hints at some interesting possibilities, but is little more than conjecture at this point. However, a closer examination of the field-names in this area of the vill reveals some extraordinary evidence that supports the hypothesis that *normangate* might be a medieval reference to cataclysmic local events. The first of these names is *denchemor*, probably derived from OE *denisc* (Danish) and *mor* (marsh).[417] Based on the detail contained within the main body of the relevant charters, the approximate location of medieval *denchemor* is known: abutting on Normangate Field, and close to the assumed line of the footpath, *Lady Conneyburrow's Way* (figure 5.5). This name is very difficult to explain in isolation, beyond pure definition in the John Field tradition. However, set in its landscape context alongside *normangate*, perhaps a more culturally relevant picture begins to emerge. The second noteworthy name is *walwortwong*, resulting from Old English *wealh-wyrt* (dwarf elder), and *wang* (piece of meadow-land, open field). Ostensibly, this references flora, and a traditional reading would consider this a place characterised by this plant. Like *denchemor*, *walwortwong* was situated in the same area of the Castor and Ailsworth landscape, this time in Nether Field, again, close to Ermine Street.[418] Flora is rarely referenced within the corpus of Castor field-names. There are allusions to trees and arable crops, all of which are commonly noted in contemporary English field-names. Only two additional floral qualifiers are recorded: in the simplex names *flegges* (iris or reeds) and *lyngg* (heather).[419] Both plants were useful resources to the medieval peasant, as thatching material, fuel, or animal feed suggesting these field-names referred to places where these resources were found.[420]

This separates the single remaining plant reference—*walwortwong*—from the two more practically named furlongs. It is possible that dwarf-elder was noted for medicinal purposes. However, there were myriad plants with healing properties that

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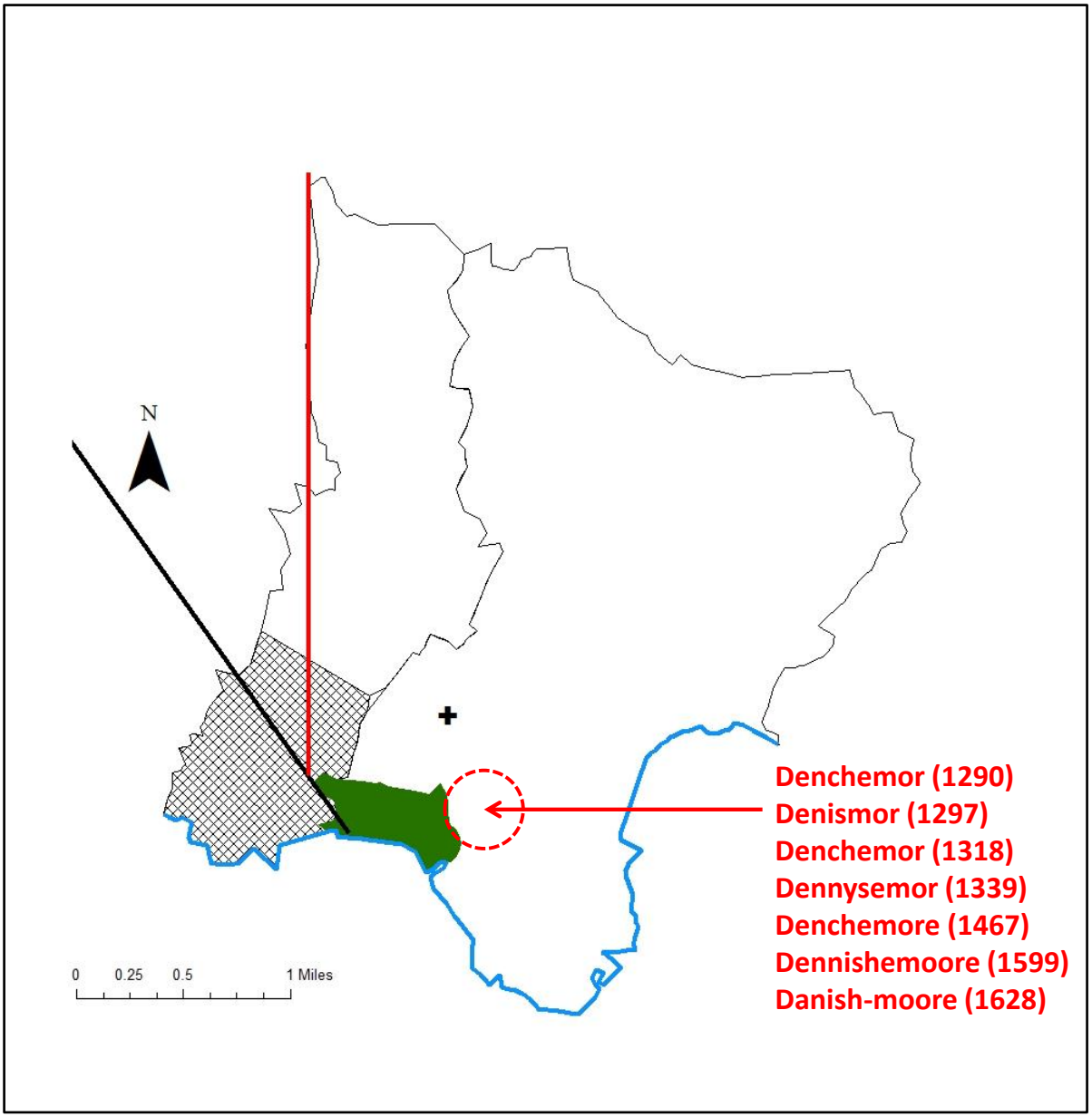
[417] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 248, 365, 380 and 561; *C.N.*, p. 116; N.R.O. F(M) Tin Box 1, Castor & Ailsworth, Parcel No. 5 (c) and (d); the variant spellings of *denche* are found in figure 5.5.; it may derive from the personal name Denic, although it is unlikely. Even if that was the case, from at least the late thirteenth century onwards the residents of Castor clearly interpreted the name as 'Danish moor': P. McClure, pers. comm [October 2013]

[418] B.L. Cotton MS Nero C. vii/14

[419] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 92, 162, 184 and 357; *C.N.*, p. 117

[420] J. Grieg, 'Plant resources' in G. Astill and A. Grant (eds), *The Countryside of Medieval England* (1988, Oxford, 1994), p. 125; C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200-1520* (1989, Cambridge, 1998), p. 131; M. Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk: an Economic and Social History, 1200-1500* (2007, Woodbridge, 2010), p. 95

Figure 5.5: The Approximate Site of *denchemor*, Castor



Source: N.R.O. F(M) Charter

might have featured amongst Castor's field-names but were not. Moreover, *wealh-wyrt* did not appear as frequently as many other common plants in herbal remedies: *Lacnunga* only lists it twice and the *Old English Herbarium* once.[421] Furthermore, its precise etymology is problematic. In *Lacnunga*, it is spelled *wælwyrt*, which Pettit, following the *Oxford English Dictionary* translates as '(?) slaughter-wort, (?) foreign-wort'.[422] Van Arsdell, who does not offer a transcription, translates the relevant entry as '…the plant called *ebulus* or dwarf elder…[that] some call danewort'.[423] Cockayne's transcription and translation outlines both *weal-wyrt* and *wæl-wyrt* in the same document; and Cameron and D'Aronco also transcribe *wæl-wyrt* which the facsimile copy plainly shows (figure 5.6).[424] Clearly, the late fourteenth-century reference to Ailsworth's *walwortwong* prevents precise etymological definition since there are no variant spellings to allow discrimination between *wæl* and *wealh*. Modern English folklore associates the plant—in this tradition, usually known by the folk names *daneweed*, *danewort*, or *Dane's blood*—with places in which Danish blood was shed, since its dark reddish-purple berries were reminiscent of blood.[425] It is often very difficult to determine the origins of local myth, and therefore inadvisable to link folklore recorded in modern documents with the medieval period without further evidence. The earliest known written reference to 'danewort' is by Turner, who writes in 1538 that *ebulus* (dwarf-elder) '*ab Anglis danwort aut walwort vocatur*'.[426] Although it cannot be seen as conclusive, it is nevertheless striking that linguists suggest 'slaughter' or 'foreign' as a possible definition of the term, perhaps in this instance offering a tentative link between medieval and modern folklore. When this name is added to the earlier group of Castor and Ailsworth names in a small area clustered around Ermine Street, the evidence becomes much more compelling.

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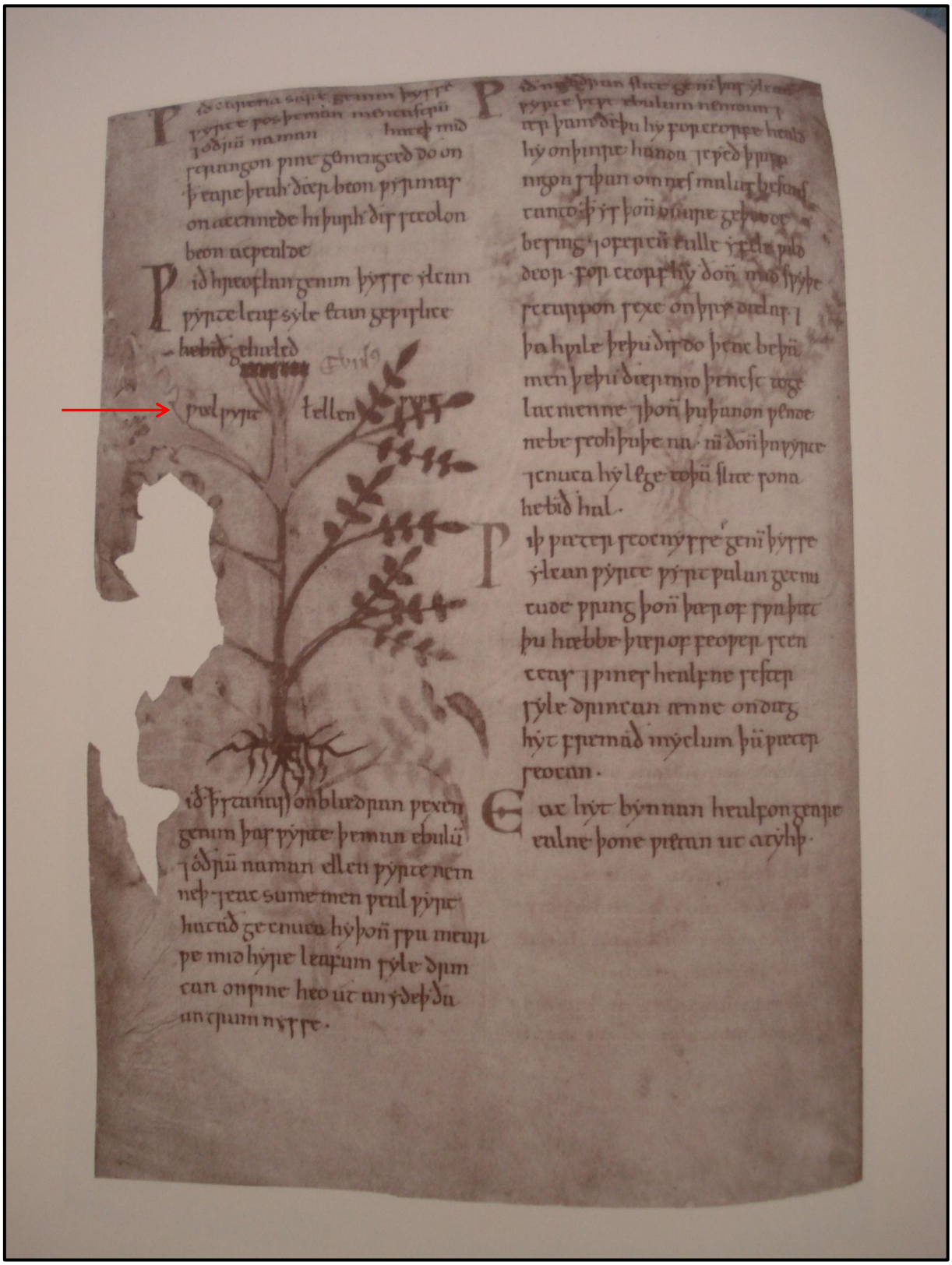
[421] E. Pettit (ed., trans.), *Anglo-Saxon Remedies, Charms, and Prayers from British Library MS Harley 585, The Lacnunga*, Vol. 1 (Lampeter, 2001), p. 58 and p. 68; A. van Arsdall (ed., trans.), *Medieval Herbal Remedies: the Old English Herbarium and Anglo-Saxon Medicine* (London, 2002), p. 129
[422] Pettitt, *Lacnunga*, p. 266. *O.E.D.* suggests the possibility that forms of the word in *wæl* indicate 'slaughter, the slain in battle'
[423] van Arsdall, *Medieval Herbal Remedies*, p. 189
[424] T.O. Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wort-Cunning and Starcraft of Early England*, Vol. 1 (London, 1961), p. 38 and p. 202; M.L. Cameron and M.A. D'Aronco (eds), *The Old English Illustrated Pharmacopoeia: British Library Cotton Vitellius C iii*(Copenhagen, 1998), p. 54
[425] J. Westwood and J. Simpson, *The Lore of the Land: a Guide to England's Legends from Spring-Heeled Jack to the Witches of Warboys* (2005, London, 2006), p. 531
[426] R. Holland and J. Britten (eds), *A Dictionary of English Plant-Names* (London, 1886), p. 143

Figure 5.6: *Wælwyrt* in the *Old English Herbarium*



Source: M.L. Cameron and M.A. D'Aronco (eds), *The Old English Illustrated Pharmacopoeia: British Library Cotton Vitellius C iii* (Copenhagen, 1998), f.47v.

Might it have been the case that an important historic event in late Anglo-Saxon Castor was memorialised within the very landscape in which it occurred, and that over the ensuing centuries the story became conflated with, and finally obscured by the legend of St Kyneburgha, reputed to have taken place in the same small area of the vill? Whilst far from diagnostic, it is remarkable that in over 200 field-names sourced from more than 600 charters and manorial documents, none of the medieval names represent St Kyneburgha or her footpath, despite the fact that over twenty roads and paths are named within the source material.[427] On visiting Castor in 1737, Stukeley noted that:

> 'much daneweed still grows upon the Roman Road in Castor Fields. They have still a memorial at Castor of S. Kyniburga…and of her coming in a coach and six, and riding over the field along the Roman road before Michaelmas. This is the remains of her festival celebrated here, on the day of her obit, 15 Sept.,…'[428]

Here, both myth and landscape setting have shifted slightly, and St Kyneburgha is visualised travelling swiftly along Ermine Street—albeit still in Normangate—rather than walking along a footpath. The date of this alleged apparition may also be significant. Culpeper advised that 'most…Elder trees flower in June, and their fruit is ripe…in August. But the…Wallwort flowers somewhat later, and its fruit is not ripe until September.[429] The dwarf-elder's dark berries symbolised the blood associated with the slaughter of the Danes, and its fruit would have been ripe at the same time that the spectral St Kyneburgha journeyed along Ermine Street in the eighteenth century. Assessing the medieval field-name evidence of Normangate Field alongside this 'new' Kyneburgha folklore, what Stukeley outlines here appears as a possible mutation of an earlier story, one that fits more readily with the idea of a Danish assault. The field-names, alongside the diminutive size of Normangate Field as an open-field and the potential links between medieval and modern folklore strongly hint at something unusual.

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[427] The name *little borugates* may refer to the same path, especially if the qualifier refers to Roman archaeology rather than the town of Peterborough. Margary 250 is modern Lady Conneyburrow's Way, and it is possible that *great borugates* is Margary 25. Charter data shows many furlongs lying in Thornes, between these two paths, which would fit topographically: I.D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain* (London, 1973), p. 198

[428] Stukeley, *The Family Memoirs*, pp. 56-61

[429] N. Culpeper, *The English Physician Enlarged* (London, 1698), p. 92

This evidence alone, whilst incomplete in comparison to the oral testimony gathered by ethnographers, is strikingly reminiscent of the manner in which many non-western societies living in close proximity to the natural world embedded important stories and myths within local landscape. Indeed, there is indisputable evidence of this in Castor. In 1330, land known as *St Edmunds' land* was leased by the Abbot of Bury St Edmunds to transport Barnack stone across Castor territory to the Nene. By 1597 it was known as *St Edmunds' stones*, referencing the stone markers used to identify the riverine landing place. The corresponding colloquial name was recorded as *Robin Hood's stones*, or *Robin Hood and Little John*, and local folklore suggests the stones mark the point at which arrows fired by Robin Hood from the opposite bank of the Nene in Alwalton (Hnt) churchyard landed in Castor.[430] The possibility that Normangate Field and the immediately surrounding area was a repository of Castor's eleventh-century medieval history is compelling, even though the sources can only hint at the postulated events they perhaps represented. However, there may be further evidence to support this emerging hypothesis.

Within the early twelfth-century church dedicated to St Kyneburgha there is a magnificent set of Romanesque capitals. Whilst all the capitals are of great interest, one in particular has been unequivocally associated with local folklore and landscape since at least the eighteenth century. This capital depicts two warriors fighting, watched by an alarmed woman (figure 5.7). This is an intriguing carving that has in modern times generally been understood to be a pictorial rendition of the legend of St Kyneburgha. The association of the legend with the church capital prior to the modern period is problematic, however. The connection has not been universally accepted, and it is easy to see why.[431] The capital shows two warriors fighting each other (figure 5.8, a and b), rather than attacking the woman, who remains motionless to one side (figure 5.8, c). The woman is flanked by foliage (figure 5.8, d), which, it has been suggested, might represent the flowers that sprang up to aid Kyneburgha's escape. However, the stone foliage is situated behind, rather than in front of the woman. The

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[430] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 320 and 326; N.R.O. F(M) Misc. Vol. 424; N.R.O. F(M) Tin Box 1, Castor & Ailsworth, Parcel No. 5 (c) and (d); *V.C.H. Ntp*, p. 472; J. Bridges, *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, Vol. 2 (Oxford, 1791), p. 499; M. Chisholm, 'The medieval network of navigable Fenland waterways II: Barnack stone transport', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 100 (2011), pp. 172-3

[431] For example, by the C.R.S.B.I., http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/search/location/castor/site/ed-nh-casto.html [seen 13 Nov 2012]

Figure 5.7: The Warrior Capital, St Kyneburgha, Castor, *c.*1100-1110

Figure 5.8: 'St Kyneburgha' and Warriors, St Kyneburgha, Castor, *c*.1100-1110

a

b

c

d

two warriors are worthy of closer scrutiny. They are clearly fighting one another, but close inspection suggests that the warrior defending the woman (a) is actually fighting a much larger figure (b). Warrior (b) appears to be a more hulking figure with enormous features and a huge head. The warriors are wielding clubs or maces, the former being a weapon associated with giants and peasants.[432] The foliage (d) is also worth closer inspection. Figure 5.9 provides a close-up of this adjacent capital, which appears to show a plant crowned with clusters of berries. The remaining few foliate capitals in the church are all highly stylised. In light of the earlier evidence, might this pair of capitals represent the putative Danish attack on Castor, alongside the inevitable sprouting of *wælh-wyrt*? Unquestionably, the eleventh-century attack would have still been reasonably vivid in local memory over such a relatively short period.

In order to test this idea further, it is necessary to consider who conceived the scheme, and what their purpose was in placing it at the heart of the twelfth-century church. Can there be a connection between the iconography within the church and the landscape surrounding it? The questions concerning patronage and meaning are especially problematic, and whilst interpretation is considered it is acknowledged that this can only ever be speculative. Although the scheme's sponsor will always be difficult to identify conclusively, there are some possibilities that can be explored. The Norman church was constructed in the early twelfth century and dedicated between 1114-24. A dispute in 1133 reveals that the advowson formed part of two knights' fees belonging to Thorold by *c*.1069, this manor being ultimately held from Peterborough Abbey. By 1133, Thorold's younger son held the fee, whilst the elder was the priest of St Kyneburgha's, who, deciding to become a monk at Peterborough Abbey, granted the church to the abbey. This was contested by his brother who asserted that 'the church was part of his fee, and he had the right to service from it', although he later dropped his claim.[433] This suggests that at the time the capitals were carved, the advowson was probably held by the original Thorold.[434] His youngest son's attitude to

[432] J. B. Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Art and Thought* (London, 1981), p. 33
[433] E. King, *Peterborough Abbey 1086-1310, a Study in the Land Market* (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 28-31
[434] Thorold's son did not inherit the fee until 1116-7: E. King, 'The Peterborough 'Descriptio Militum' (Henry I)', *E.H.R.*, 84, 330 (1969), p. 86; Hugh Candidus describes Abbot Thorold and his knights as grasping (*Peterborough Chronicle,* p. 40 and p. 44).

Figure 5.9: 'Danewort' Capital, St Kyneburgha, Castor, *c.*1100-1110

the church in 1133 reveals that he considered the church in financial terms, giving up his rights once it was clear that half a fee was to be remitted. Might this also have been the attitude taken by Thorold? It is of course impossible to know; French's conclusion that the local lord wielded influence is pertinent, but Thorold was a low-ranking knight holding only two hides, and would have been unlikely to have met the full cost of church construction, especially given the size and magnificence of Castor church.[435]

[435] K.L. French, *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese* (Philadelphia, 2001), p. 28; in Chale (Iow), the lord was presumed to pay for part of the construction of the church: C.D. Cragoe, 'The custom of the English church: parish church maintenance in England before 1300', *Journal of Medieval History*, 36 (2010), p. 28; see also Chapter 8, p. 249

Might Peterborough Abbey have exercised an influence? The abbey was comprehensively sacked and demolished by the Danes in the ninth century, about which Abbot John de Séez wrote in the early twelfth century:

> 'The altars all suffered, the monuments all broken, the great library of books of the saints burned, an immense quantity of charters of the monastery were torn, the precious relics of the holy virgins Kyneburga, Kyneswitha and Tibba were trampled underfoot, the walls were overturned, the church itself was burned along with all the other buildings, and throughout the following fortnight it continually burned.'[436]

The abbot's description, albeit not a contemporary account, emphasises the gravity of the event and its continued relevance as far as the monastic community of the twelfth century was concerned. Hugh Candidus mentions the arrival of the Danish King Swein in 1070 alongside the alliance between Hereward and the Danes in Ely, who sacked Peterborough Abbey in the same year, these events being directly contemporary with the appointment of Thorold, the first Norman Abbot of Peterborough.[437] In Castor's new church, it seems extremely unlikely, given the pedigree of lord Thorold and the new abbot, that the capital memorialised the Norman Conquest. The most recent common adversaries of the English and the Normans were the Danes, and whatever the full contemporary interpretation of the Castor capital may have been, it seems extremely plausible that the enormous warrior it depicted was Danish. Importantly, this also links the late Anglo-Saxon field-names and the early eleventh-century events with the early twelfth-century capitals, inferring a continued local narrative beyond the Conquest.

Given the amalgamation of the menacing and the prosaic with the capital scheme as a whole (figure 5.10), the 'warrior' capital fits into this pattern which

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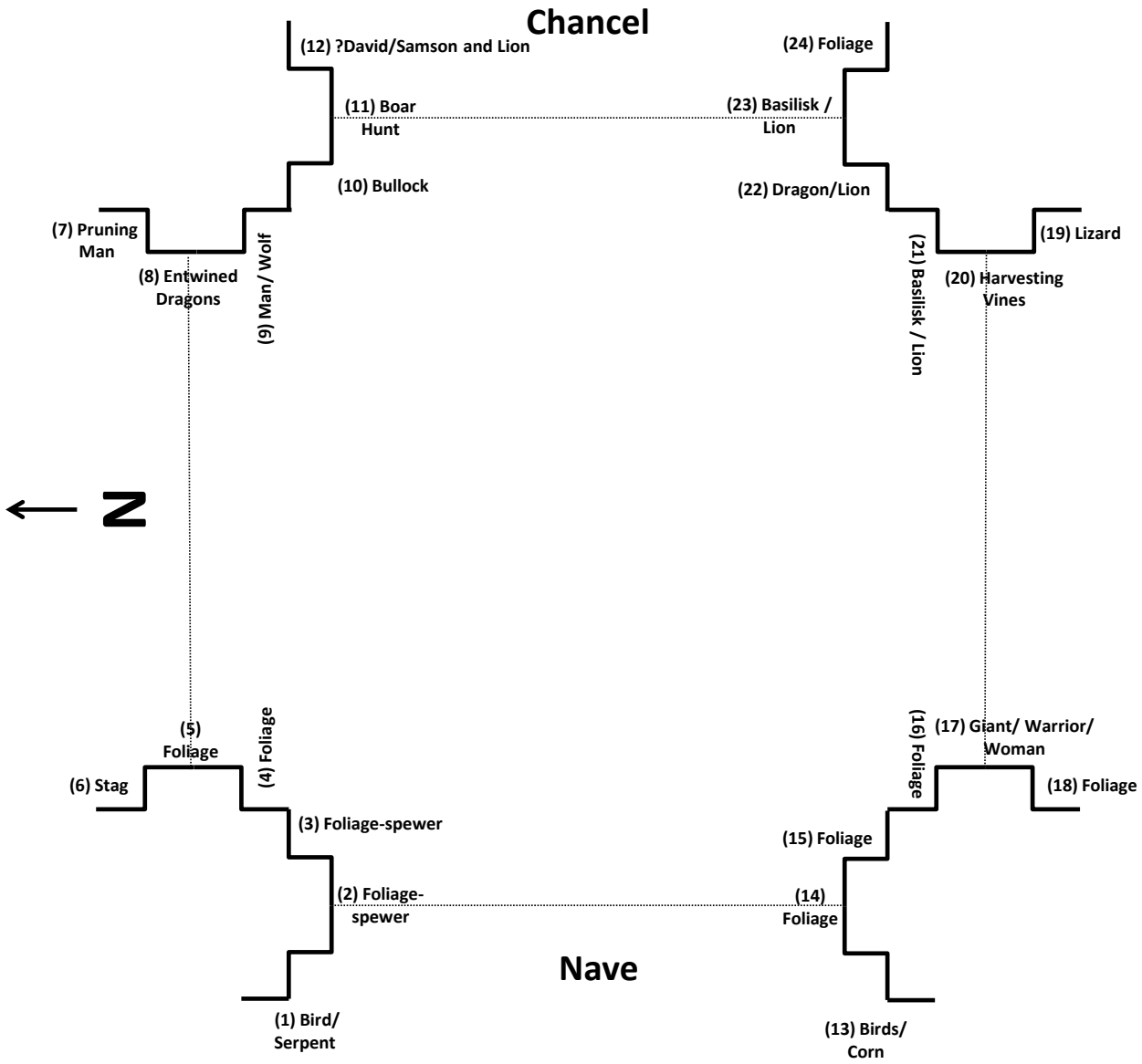
[436] *H.A.S.V. I*, p. 18
[437] Candidus, *Peterborough Chronicle,* p. 40

Figure 5.10: The Sculpture of the Tower Capitals, St Kyneburgha, Castor



includes a number of symbols of the devil.[438] The possibility that it has a local landscape context is also strengthened by the inclusion of several images that reflect Castor's hunting landscape—a stag, a wolf and a boar (figure 5.11). Medieval field-names referencing deer and wolves in a hunting context are found at Castor—*rohauue* and *wulfhauue*—(see also Chapter 4) and alongside the Abbot of Peterborough's extensive woodlands at Castor, Thorold also held at least fifty acres of woodland pre-1215.[439] These images were not intended to convey a purely singular message, but taken individually they almost certainly symbolise a range of potential meanings.[440] Considering them together, whilst acknowledging the likelihood of valid, co-existing alternative narratives, others have interpreted images like this more in line with my own conclusions: that they simultaneously represent fauna associated with local landscape, perhaps even referencing seigneurial resources and pursuits, such as hunting.[441] Medieval imagery was deliberately designed to be ambiguous, and the generation of multiple meanings would have been seen as a distinct advantage rather than a problem.[442] If these hunting scenes did embody local landscape, then perhaps the warrior image might also have been seen in the same light. Whilst the capital cannot be linked with the furlongs of Normangate Field and their conceivable memorialisation of

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[438] The serpents, wolf and boar all symbolize the devil in contemporary bestiary tradition, and if the giant warrior represented a Dane, this fits Candidus' view of Danes as 'servants of the devil'.

[439] King, *Peterborough Abbey*, p. 77

[440] Interpretations of medieval wolf images are worth examining, since some seem to connect the Castor field-name *wulfhaaue* with the church capital. Evans notes that in bestiary lore, if the wolf was seen by a man with its jaws shut, then it lost the ability to open them. This may explain the apparently docile nature of the clearly fearsome Castor wolf, and the lack of concern shown by the man holding its jaws shut. Is this a pictorial pun on the name *wulfhauue*, which was after all a 'wolf enclosure', designed to entrap or otherwise control wolves? Arguably, a *wulfhauue* strongly suggests man's dominance over this problematic wild animal; E.P. Evans, *Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture* (London, 1896), pp. 150-1

[441] E. den Hartog, 'All nature speaks of God, all nature teaches man: the iconography of the twelfth-century capitals in the westwork gallery of the church of St Servatius in Maastricht', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 59 (1996), p. 30; M. Thurlby, *The Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture* (Logaston, 2000), p. 51; A. Pluskowski 'Constructing exotic animals and environments in late medieval Britain' in S. Page (ed.), *The Unorthodox Imagination in Late Medieval Britain* (Manchester, 2010), p. 195; Albarella suggests that wild boar was rare in the post-Conquest landscape, and hunting was restricted to elites, further strengthening one interpretation of this group of images as depicting seigneurial resources: U. Albarella, 'The wild boar' in T. O'Connor and N. Sykes (eds), *Extinctions and Invasions: a Social History of British Fauna* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 63-4

[442] For example: E. Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century* (trans.) D. Nussey (London, 1972), pp. 32-3; F. Klingender, *Animals in Art and Thought to the end of the Middle Ages*, (London, 1971) p. 328; M. Camille, *Image on the Edge: the Margins of Medieval Art* (London, 1992), p. 29; Thurlby, *The Herefordshire School*, p. 45 and p. 51

Figure 5.11: Hunting Scenes, St Kyneburgha, Castor, *c*.1100-1110

local history conclusively, the possibility of a connection cannot be entirely discounted. Having pushed the evidence as far as it may be permitted, in the next chapter we return to the more familiar territory of the manorial historian.

Chapter Six: The hidden economy

The rural environment as an economic resource: the demesne

Historians working on peasant economies generally acknowledge the difficulties in framing the peasant view. Necessarily, enquiries of this nature begin with the demesne economy, which is relevant to the peasant experience but may not resemble it closely. Additionally, greater survival of documentary evidence for large ecclesiastical estates in the Midlands, south and East Anglia means that there is a bias towards understanding peasant livelihood in those regions. In tracing the economic outlook of one Midland yardlander in Gloucestershire, Dyer focused on peasant cereal production using records outlining peasant holdings surrendered into the lord's hands alongside tithe receipts.[443] Livestock, garden produce and non-agricultural income sources were also considered. Within his study, peasant success—indicated through likely crop yields and income from additional sources, such as the garden, alongside output in the form of rents, tallages and tolls—was largely dependent upon the size of the holding and the vagaries of the weather. In a pioneering volume on the Breckland area of medieval Suffolk, Bailey emphasised the limitations of historians' understanding of so-called marginal landscapes, highlighting an alternative, thriving economy comprising minimal cereal production.[444] This is of course pertinent when considering the economy of the Lakenheath peasant. Smaller scale peasant activities such as gardening, fishing and obtaining fuel are traditionally considered fleetingly, in isolation, or not at all.[445] This does not generally constitute an unwillingness amongst historians to consider such matters, more a recognition of the intrinsic difficulties in gathering valid and sufficient data, although this is not always stated. It is not the intention here to produce a detailed account of peasant agricultural and environmental income and expenditure, since, for the reasons outlined, this is problematic. However, it is possible to consider in more

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[443] C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200-1520* (1989, Cambridge, 1998), pp. 111-3

[444] M. Bailey, *A Marginal Economy? East Anglian Breckland in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 18

[445] Bailey, *A Marginal Economy?*, pp. 161-5; C. Dyer, *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (1994, London, 2000), ch. 6 and 7

detail those aspects of the peasant economy that feature more briefly in manorial documents than that of the lord.

Nevertheless, it is sensible to begin with an overview of the demesne economy. This is outlined for each manor within their respective manorial accounts. Elton and Castor were both dominated by arable production, whilst Lakenheath had a sheep-corn economy. Campbell describes the Castor demesne as an arable economy, marginally dominated by spring-sown cereals; whereas Lakenheath was strongly centred on rye, and sowing very little wheat.[446] Elton is more difficult to classify: there are no firm yield data for any of the surviving account rolls, and whilst corn issues are recorded alongside the quantities set aside for seed, there is no indication of the acreage sown. The works sections of the accounts do not specify sowing-related tasks. Spring-sown barley appears to dominate pre-1326, as outlined in figure 6.1, but this is derived from unsatisfactory data that cannot be further examined. In 1279, the Elton demesne was 432 acres. It is possible that this figure may have changed by the early fourteenth century, but nevertheless it provides a useful baseline from which to assess the data presented here.[447] Arable agriculture in Elton was organised around a three-field system during this period, suggesting that each year, approximately 288 acres were in production.[448]

In contrast to the arable-dominated demesnes at Castor and Elton, sheep were an important aspect of the Lakenheath demesne economy, where the size of the demesne flock frequently exceeded 2,000 (figure 6.2). It can be seen clearly that sheep were a less significant element of demesne revenues at Elton, where flock numbers were frequently less than some of the peasant flocks at Lakenheath.[449] Little information on sheep is recorded in the Castor account rolls. In 1300-1, the total

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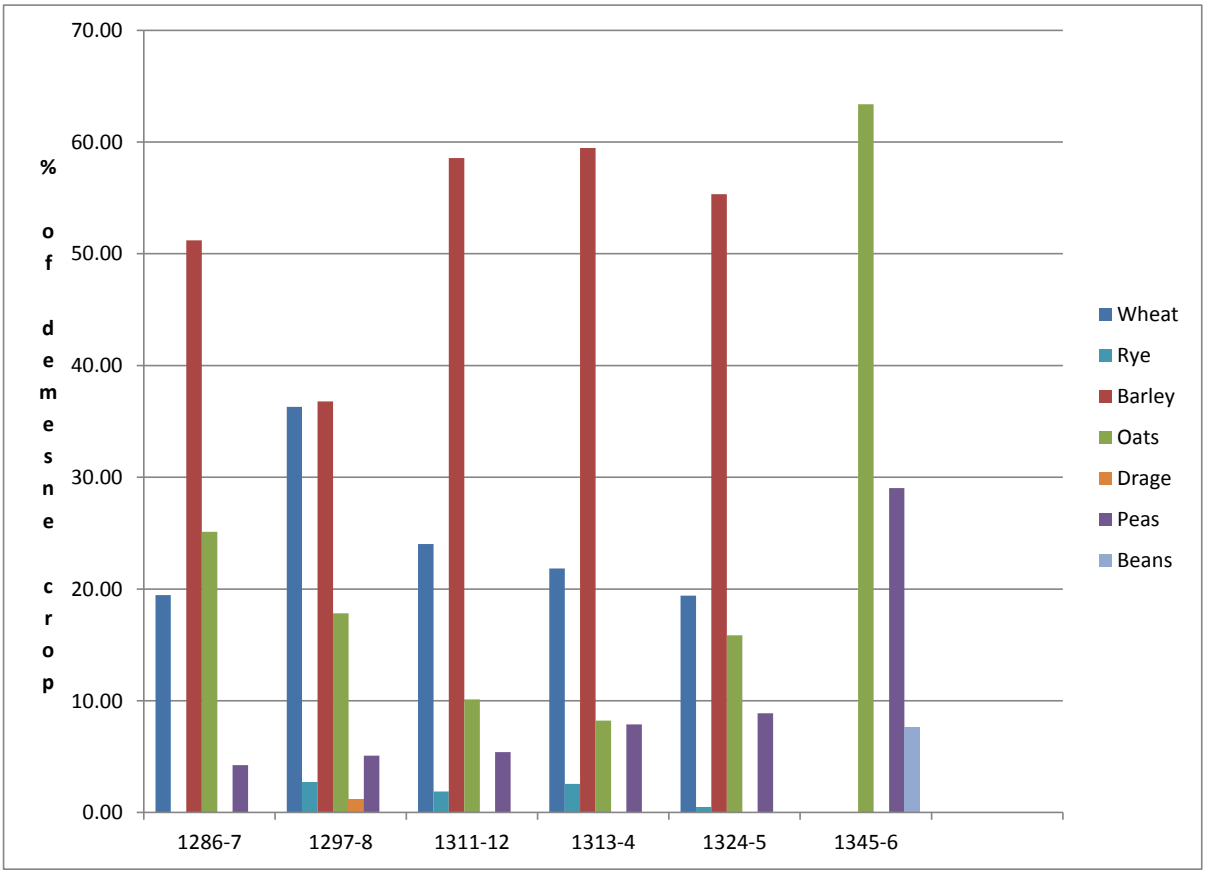
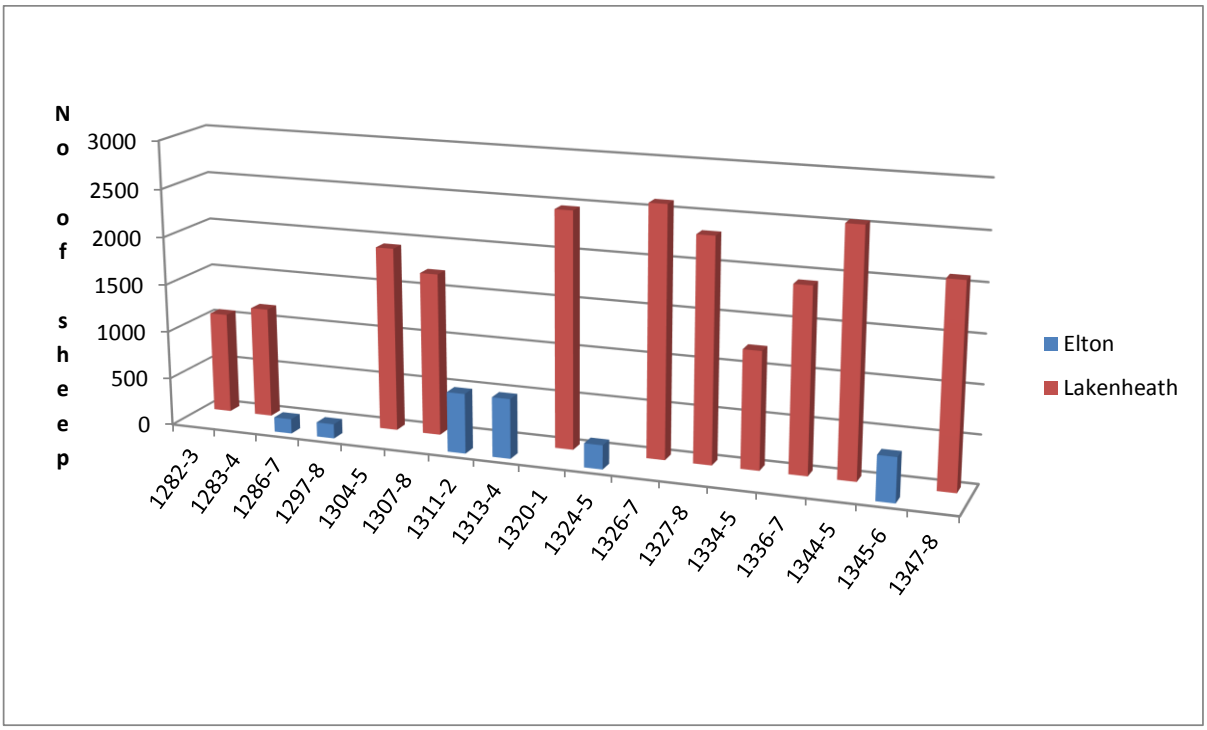
[446] B.M.S. Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture 1250-1450* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 250-1
[447] *R.H. II,* p. 656
[448] S. Kilby, 'A different world? Reconstructing the peasant environment in medieval Elton' (unpub. MA dissertation, University of Leicester, 2010a), pp. 35-8; it is possible that additional land may have been sown through *inhoks*, but this is not recorded.
[449] In six sets of accounts between 1286-1346, the mean average flock size at Elton was 469 (but a co-efficient of 66.38 emphasizes a high level of dispersion around the mean), *E.M.R.*, pp. 9-337

Figure 6.1: Demesne Cereal Issues at Elton, 1286-1346



Source: *E.M.R.*

Figure 6.2: Demesne Sheep at Elton and Lakenheath, 1282-1348



Source: *E.M.R.*; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/ 1/2; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/3; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/I/4; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/6; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/7; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/9; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/11; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/13; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/14
Note: These figures record Michaelmas flocks

demesne flock numbered 426.[450] On the Peterborough Abbey estate from at least 1307-8, sheep within the Nassaburgh hundred were recorded on a separate account and were clearly being managed as a distinct economic unit.[451] The account for both Walton (Ntp) and Castor indicates that only wethers were present, suggesting that certain Peterborough demesnes may have specialised in particular types of sheep.

In terms of additional economic focus, the three manors diverge somewhat. The Elton accounts reveal a range of manorial servants typical of a Midlands champion manor. At Castor, in addition to those working on the arable, a forester was employed.[452] Foresters were evident on a number of Peterborough Abbey manors, although only two manors, Longthorpe (Ntp) and Castor, included woodland produce in their respective stock accounts. Whilst at Longthorpe the woodland does not appear to have been commercially managed, at Castor the few extant accounts detail sales of felled oak.[453] Indeed, plough-beams were 'bought in the wood of Castor' for use at Elton in 1314, alongside timber bought for Elton mill.[454] Since no account survives for this date for Castor, it is impossible to tell whether these sales represented demesne or peasant resources. The 1215 survey of the disafforestation of the Soke of Peterborough reveals extensive woodland in Castor, held by the Abbot of Peterborough, the knight landlords, and some freeholders:

> '…*einig* of Ralph Munjoye contains 5 acres of thicket. *einig* of the lord abbot contains 5 acres of thicket. *rohauue* and *thinferdesland* and *w[u]lfhauue* of the abbot contain 78 acres and 3 rods, and half is covert and the other half thicket. *frith*, of Torold of Castor contains 25 acres. The wood of Ralph, son of Silvester and the wood of Paris and the wood of Reginald of Ashton contains 25 acres. *eylisuuorthemore* of the abbot contains

[450] N.R.O. F(M) 2388
[451] *A.G.C.,* p. xxviii; in the 1307-08 and 1309-10 accounts for Castor, only wethers received from customary payments were recorded, whereas the Nassaburgh flock account for 1307-08 indicates that Castor had a stock of 257 wethers that year, and in 1309-10 lambs were transferred to Castor from Eye (Ntp). See also K. Biddick, *The Other Economy: Pastoral Husbandry on a Medieval Estate* (London, 1989), p. 100
[452] N.R.O. F(M) 2388; N.R.O. F(M) roll 233; N.R.O. (F)M 2389
[453] N.R.O. F(M) 2388; N.R.O. F(M) roll 233; N.R.O. (F)M 2389
[454] *E.M.R.*, p. 211 and p. 231

> 22 acres and 3 rods. The wood of William, son of Gilbert contains 7 acres and 1 rod. *abbotishauue*, *estrys* and *iungeuuode* contain 120 acres. *aleuuode* of the abbot contains 8 acres and of thicket, 1 rod…The wood of William Abuuetun contains 28 acres. The wood of Ralph Cordel contains 6½ acres. The wood of the parson of Castor contains 16 acres. The wood [of] Illing contains 16 acres. *baketeshauue* of the abbot contains 8 acres…*tikkeuuode* of William de Euermue contains 4 acres. *sistremor* of Robert de Meltune contains 25 acres…'[455]

It is difficult to ascertain precisely how much woodland survived at Castor after this assarting, although an undated survey of 1272x1307 indicates that woodland six furlongs by four remained, alongside a wood of three furlongs by two in Ailsworth.[456] Clearly sufficient endured that it was considered a vital resource and part of the local economy, albeit on a smaller scale than the arable; nevertheless, Castor woodland listed in 1215 amounted to 400½ acres, whereas in the late thirteenth century this had been reduced to 300.[457] Conversely, wood was a scarce resource in Elton and Lakenheath. Assessing the field-name corpus, woodland is rarely mentioned: *longhyrst* and *schorthyrst* at Elton may reference a wooded slope, but since both places were meadow, hillock or bank is more likely. Other 'tree' names reference individual trees or small stands of one type (see also Chapter 4).[458] The account rolls for Elton note purchases of wood and timber being made in Fotheringhay park (Ntp), Ellington (Hnt)

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[455] E. King, *Peterborough Abbey 1086-1310, a Study in the Land Market* (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 172-7; some of these named woods are only confirmed as lying in Castor through other documents: *rohauue* is also referenced within *rohaubroc* (which itself is possibly referenced in the later *le rowessick*) in a Castor charter detailed in a Peterborough cartulary; as is *w[u]lhauue*, which is later referenced as *wolhauue*; *baketeshauue* later referenced in *basketisuuelle*; *sistremor* also features, and is described as being located in Castor (there is also a *cistermoyr* in Boroughbury, Ntp); *The Book of Robert of Swaffham*, C.U.L./PDC/Manuscripts/MS 1; N.R.O. F(M) roll 233; *A.G.C.,* p. 707; Ralph Munjoye, Geoffrey Illing and William de Euermue were tenants of Peterborough Abbey in *c.*1231: *Black Book of Peterborough*, MS 60, Soc. Antiq., ff. 186-187v

[456] *The Book of Robert of Swaffham*, C.U.L./PDC/Manuscripts/MS 1

[457] Based on the measurements provided, and including Ailsworth; naturally, the smaller knights' fees may have increased the total area of Castor woodland; by 1321, a transcript of a survey indicates one common wood, and a small enclosed wood of six acres, suggesting the assart process continued into the late thirteenth century: *H.A.S.V. II*, pp. 175-7

[458] *E.P.N.E. I,* pp. 276-7

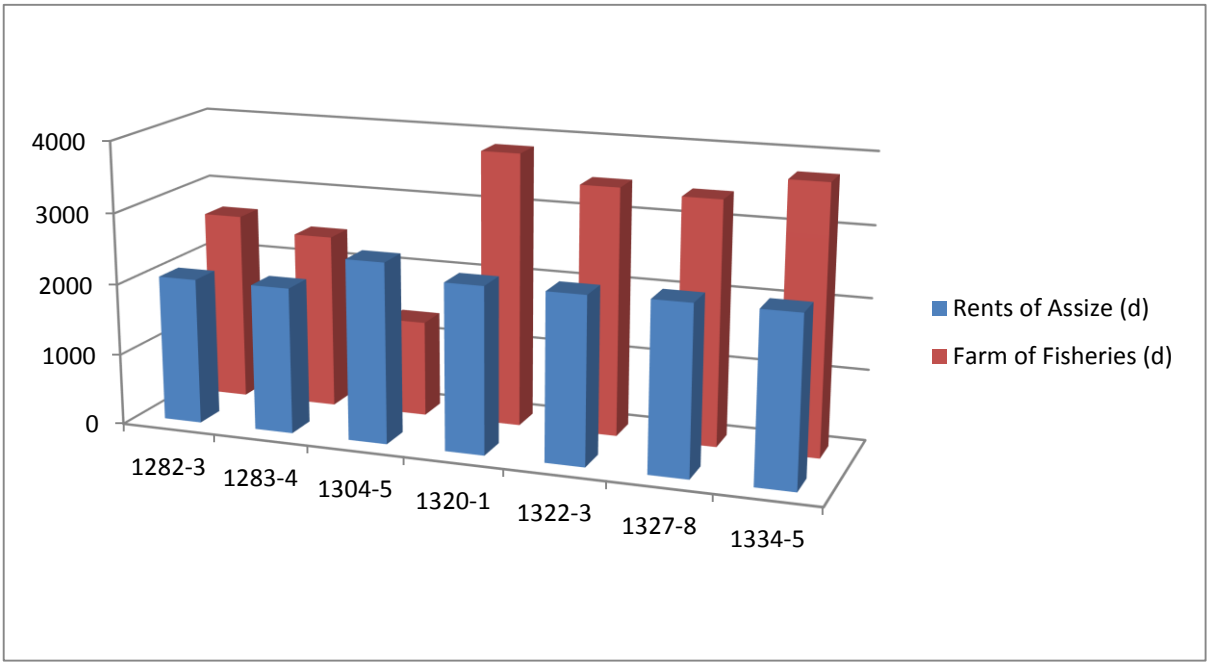
and Weston (Hnt) in addition to Castor, whilst Lakenheath was supplied from Wyverstone (Sfk) or Ixworth (Sfk).[459]

At Lakenheath, although cereals formed an important part of the economy, only a small proportion of the overall parish acreage was dedicated to arable farming. Of its *c*.11,000 acres, arable represented just 1,500, the demesne being 600 acres. Peat fen covered 7,000 acres, and heathland another 2,000 acres, part of which formed the warren. In addition, there were extensive fisheries.[460] Peat was an important fenland fuel in the medieval period. The accounts record enormous quantities of peat turves purchased and transported to Ely, but they are not recorded in the accounts as an economic resource until 1344-45, the same year that sedge is also noted in the stock account.[461] Smaller quantities of rushes feature in the accounts from 1334.[462] Fishing was by far the most lucrative of the more marginal activities in terms of revenue, setting aside Lakenheath's sheep farming operation. The Lakenheath fisheries were almost continually leased during the period in which accounts survive, and revenues frequently outstripped those received from rents (figure 6.3), emphasising the importance of this revenue stream to the Prior of Ely, but also offering an important indicator of their significance as a peasant resource, since it was to them that many of the fisheries were leased.

At both Elton and Castor there is little mention of fishing, despite both manors being bounded by the Nene. A survey dated 1218-9 details a demesne several fishery in the Nene at Elton, 'beginning at the head of the mill-pond and extend[ing] to the mill' and 'another common fishery which begins at *derneforde* and extends for a league and a half in length, to *stodholm netherhende*, of which fishery lord John de Baliol by force and power

[459] *E.M.R.*, p. 231 and p. 273 ;C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/13-14
[460] M. Bailey 'The Prior and Convent of Ely and their management of the manor of Lakenheath in the fourteenth century' in M.J. Franklin and C. Harper-Bill (eds), *Medieval Ecclesiastical Studies in Honour of Dorothy M. Owen* (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 2-3
[461] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/13
[462] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/9-11

Figure 6.3: Revenues from Rents of Assize and Fisheries at Farm, Lakenheath 1282-1335[463]



Source: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/2-4; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/7; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/9

wrongfully withheld for himself from the same Abbot [of Ramsey], and the lady of Baliol still withholds it'.[464] The Abbot of Ramsey seems to have finally conceded the larger fishery to the Baliols in return for sole seisin of the smaller mill fishery, and fleeting references to that resource appear in the accounts, where it was noted that eel traps were purchased and eels accounted for within the mill account, although the income was negligible.[465] At Castor, nothing is mentioned concerning fisheries until an inquisition dated 17 February 1272, which details all the Peterborough Abbey Nene fisheries, and reveals that '…from *ingewell* up to *alwaltonedam* there is a several fishery of the Abbot of Peterborough by right of his demesne of Castor'.[466] In 1308, the watercourse of *iggewelle* was at farm to the Abbot of Thorney for half a mark; and in Sparke's transcript of the 1321 survey, a several fishery worth two shillings was noted,

[463] These revenues taken from the Prior of Ely's manor; Clare fee had fisheries at farm, but these were much less extensive
[464] *C.M.R. I*, p. 490; also outlined in 1279: *R.H. II*, p. 656
[465] *E.M.R.*, pp. 82, 110 and 230-1; *C.M.R., II*, pp. 361-2
[466] *Black Book*, f. 172v

which was at farm although it seems unlikely to have been the same resource, the value being far too low.[467]

The rural environment as an economic resource: peasant cereal production

Much of what has been written about the peasant economy is acknowledged as hypothetical, and to a degree, speculative. On establishing the economic situation of his Midland yardlander in Bishop's Cleeve (Glo), Dyer, conscious of the many variables arising from differences in manorial custom, social status and landholding, was keen to establish that his model peasant was representative in a wider context.[468] It is likely that the peasant experience at Elton shared similarities with the Bishop's Cleeve model, not least because a three-field system was operated in a landscape dominated by cereal production. Castor is more difficult to pinpoint. First, there are at least five fields mentioned in the records.[469] Also, in 1321, alongside nine virgates held by villeins, there were seven and a half virgates of bond land leased to free tenants 'because of the lack of cultivation of the bondmen', which means that the experience of all virgaters in Castor was unlikely to be uniform.[470] In addition, despite these manors' location in the Midlands and their focus on arable agriculture, there is very little information pertaining to the peasant economy within surviving records. If there are some similarities at Elton and Castor, the experience of Dyer's Gloucestershire peasant probably differed markedly to his contemporaries in Lakenheath, situated on the breck-fen edge, and being much less dominated by arable production.

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[467] Unless it had deteriorated, which was sometimes the case with some of the Lakenheath fisheries; N.R.O. F(M) roll 233; *H.A.S.V.* II, p. 176

[468] Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p. 118

[469] Hall suggests three potential fields in the early fourteenth century, Wodefeld, Hamfeld and Eyning, and further considers Normangate and Thornis as furlongs. This is incorrect. He based his findings solely on *Carte Nativorum*, which is an incomplete source. The great quantity of extant contemporary charters unequivocally identifies Normangate and Thornis as fields, alongside Wodefield, Ham and Eyning, although Normangate is much smaller than the other fields and seems to contain a number of enclosed, several areas. This excludes *oldfeld*, used in the fourteenth century for pasture: D. Hall, *The Open Fields of Northamptonshire* (Northampton, 1995), pp. 229-30

[470] *H.A.S.V., II,* p.176; might this have related to the Great Famine?

Assessing Elton first, there is very little information to go on. No tithe data are recorded in the surviving account rolls for the period. Some brief information is forthcoming from additional customary dues. Each customary virgate owed one ring of oats each year for *foddercorn*, a bushel of wheat for *benesad*, and a further quantity of grain for the mill toll.[471] All this reveals is that a quantity of oats and wheat were sown each year; it does not reveal how much was sown or the quantity kept by the peasants. Technically, the grain for these customary payments could have been purchased, although this seems less likely. Since we may have expected peasants to grow both these cereals in Elton, we have learned very little. If they also sowed legumes, barley and mixed grain, the accounts remain silent. The virgate size at Elton was 24 acres, suggesting a sown acreage of 16 acres in its three-field rotation. However, given that we cannot identify what may have been sown, it is unsafe to assume what the average Elton virgater would have sown. This is further complicated by a foldage schedule by which certain peasants paid for the right to fold their sheep on their own land, thus increasing soil fertility and ultimately affecting the cereal yield.[472]

At Castor, we are marginally more fortunate. Although there are no tithe data, in the account for 1300-1 the confiscated chattels of a fugitive tenant are recorded (table 6.1), albeit this was no ordinary peasant. The individual in question, Robert Lord, alias Robert, son of William Thorold was a member of a lordly family, some of whom had fallen into hardship. The Thorolds were the holders of one and a half knight's fees in Castor, but their status had diminished by the late thirteenth century.[473] Robert, who was from a cadet branch of the family, and was either six or seven generations removed from the original Thorold and his holding of two hides alongside one and one-third of a virgate, held just a messuage and one virgate in 1300, for which he had paid annual rent of 24s. and owed the customary *burwerk*, an obligation to perform customary works in Peterborough.[474] Although no solid yield data can be established from the demesne at

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[471] *E.M.R.*; a ring is equivalent to half a quarter; foddercorn and benesad were only paid by customary virgaters, not those paying cash rents
[472] S. Kilby, 'A different world? Reconstructing the peasant environment in medieval Elton' (unpub. MA dissertation, University of Leicester, 2010a), p. 73
[473] King, *Peterborough Abbey*, p. 35
[474] N.R.O. F(M) 2388; the knights' fees (reduced to 1½ by 1133) were transferred to successive heirs intact until at least 1348: C.U.L./PDC/Manuscripts/MS 6, *The Red Book of John of Achurch*

Table 6.1: The Chattels of Robert Lord of Castor, 1300-1[475]

Issue of Wheat (bsh)	Issue of Rye (bsh)	Issue of Barley (bsh)	Issue of Drage (bsh)	Issue of Peas (bsh)	Misc.
38	25	48	98	8	1 old cart 3s. from the sale of chattels Hay, unspecified amount

Source: N.R.O. F(M) 2388

Table 6.2: Estimated Demesne Yield, Castor, 1300-1

Cereal	Acres Sown	Bsh. Sown Per Acre	Mean Yield per Seed
Wheat	124	2.49	3.2
Rye	37	2.49	4.2
Barley	50	4.02	3.3
Drage	42.5	4.00	5.3
Peas	25	2.00	8.3

Source: N.R.O. F(M) 2388; mean yield figures: B.M.S. Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture 1250-1450* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 316-9; the mean yield for drage is taken from D. Stone, *Decision-Making in Medieval Agriculture* (Oxford, 2005), p. 38

Table 6.3: Estimated Acreage Sown by Robert Lord, Castor, 1300-1 (based on demesne sowing ratios)

Cereal	Mean Yield per Seed	Est. Bushels Sown	Est. Acreage Sown
Wheat	3.2	11.88	4.77
Rye	4.2	5.95	2.39
Barley	3.3	14.55	3.62
Drage	5.3	16.33	4.62
Peas	3.0	2.67	1.33
Total			**16.73**

Source: N.R.O. F(M) 2388; mean yield figures: B.M.S. Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture 1250-1450* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 316-9

Castor, the same account records demesne sowing rates for the cereals also grown by Robert Lord (table 6.2). Working with these data, it is possible to hypothesise, however tentatively, on the acreage that may have been sown by him (table 6.3). The virgate size at Castor is not recorded, but at Upton (Ntp) which borders Ailsworth, and which for a brief period was leased to Peterborough Abbey, it was 24 acres.[476] Although it is unclear precisely how cropping operated in Castor, the estimated acreage sown by Robert Lord

[475] Note that the quantities were recorded in quarters and skeps. A skep is the equivalent to a bushel, and for sake of uniformity, used here

[476] *V.C.H. Ntp*, p. 483; *W.B.P.*, p. 41; at nearby Elton, the virgate was also 24 acres.

is convincingly close to what he would have been expected to sow with sixteen acres in production.

Figures 6.4 and 6.5 highlight the different proportions of arable land sown on the Castor demesne and by Robert Lord, based on his estimated sowing schedule. The proportion of land devoted to wheat is strikingly similar, whilst slightly more land was dedicated to rye on the peasant holding. The significant differences between the demesne and the peasant holding are emphasised through the higher ratios of barley and drage sown by Robert Lord. Indeed, according to the account roll, he sowed no oats at all, although the emphasis on demesne oats was probably due to the greater quantities of livestock that required feeding. The significantly higher proportion of land committed to growing drage is worthy of comment. Robert Lord reserved an estimated 29 per cent of his productive arable land to the crop, compared with just eleven per cent of the demesne.[477] Only 30 per cent of the demesnes surveyed by Campbell produced drage in the fourteenth century, the majority located in the Midlands, especially in Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire. It was used predominantly for brewing or pottage, or sold as a cash crop, as on the Wisbech Barton (Cam) demesne. [478] The surviving Castor account rolls show that the majority of its issue of drage was committed to brewing and, once processed, sent to Peterborough Abbey.[479] Since the produce of the Soke manors was generally sent to the Abbey rather than entering the local market, it is difficult to deduce Robert Lord's motivation from the demesne strategy. Pretty argued that mixed grains were sown primarily because they were more likely to restrain weeds, but he also showed that on Winchester manors drage was both productive, and cropped consistently, suggesting it was a pragmatic choice, raising interesting questions about Robert Lord's possible impetus in selecting drage as one of his principal cereals.[480] Although the data are interesting, they provide little more than a snapshot of a very brief period for one individual, and we have no

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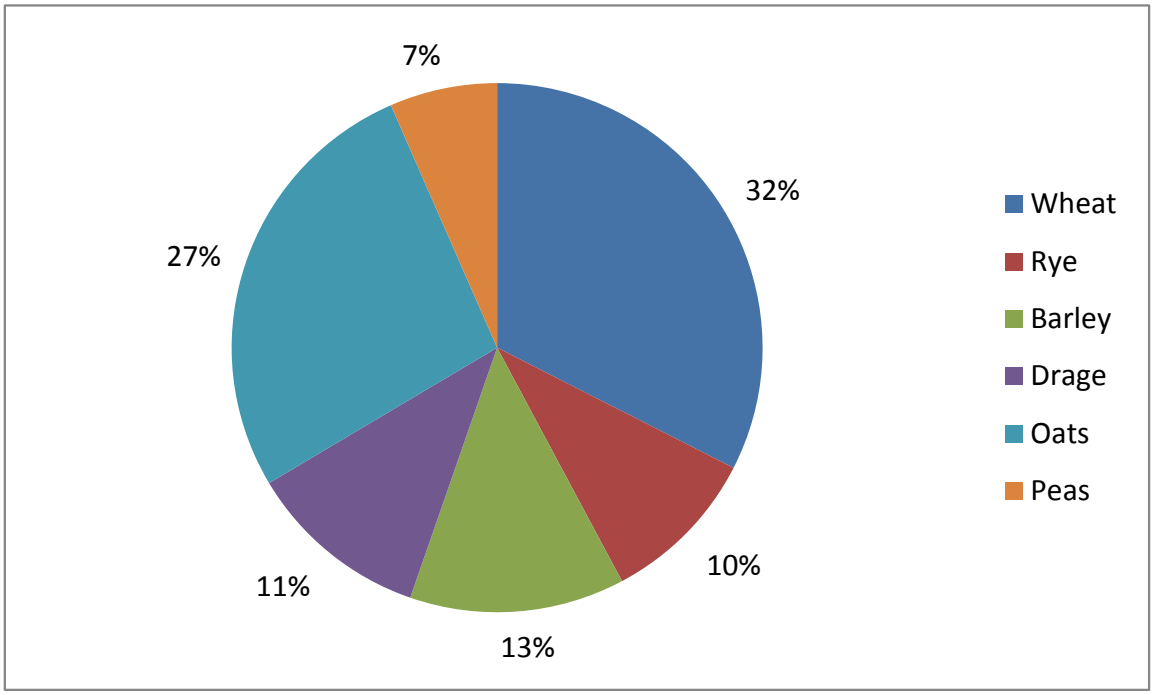
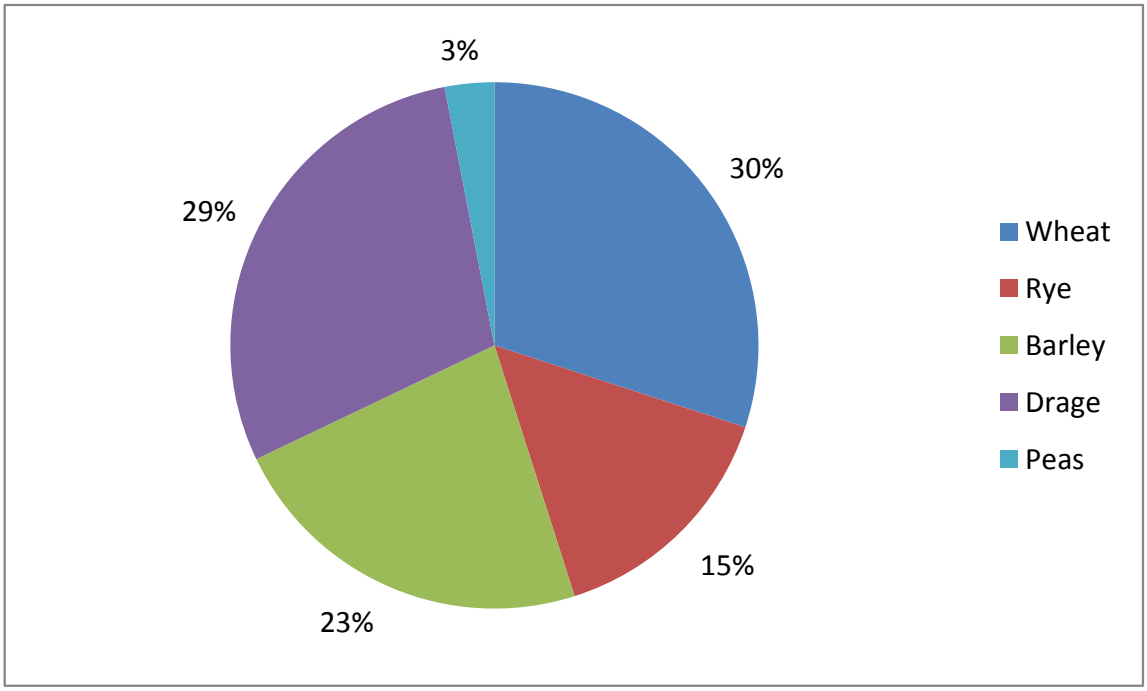
[477] This assumes that the sowing ratio mirrored that of the demesne, four bushels per acre, and therefore should be treated with caution.
[478] Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, p. 226, and pp. 243-5; D. Stone, *Decision-Making in Medieval Agriculture* (Oxford, 2005), p. 48
[479] N.R.O. F(M) 2388; N.R.O. F(M) roll 233; N.R.O. F(M) 2389
[480] J. Pretty, 'Sustainable agriculture in the Middle Ages: the English manor', *A.H.R.*, 38:1 (1990), p. 5; Lord may have been minimising risk in sowing drage

Figure 6.4: Acres Sown on the Castor Demesne (percentage), 1300-01



Source: N.R.O. F(M) 2388

Figure 6.5: Estimated Acres Sown on the Free Tenant Robert Lord's Virgate at Castor, 1300-01



Source: N.R.O. F(M) 2388

means of knowing how productive a farmer Robert Lord was. Most of the data remain hypothetical, and this accentuates the difficulty in establishing peasant agricultural productivity using manorial accounts.

At Lakenheath, a different set of data offers yet another snapshot into peasant arable production. There, the account rolls reveal sporadic information concerning peasant tithes. Within most of the extant account rolls, data are recorded concerning the issue of lambs alongside fells and fleeces received from peasants. Some of the later account rolls detail grain receipts from the tithe within the stock account, but this process seems to have been developing from the mid-1330s. Crops were not generally recorded until 1334-5, and the following surviving Ely Priory account in 1336-7 sets the tithe out in a supplementary roll, attached to the sergeant's account.[481] The two surviving tithe accounts reveal a mixed picture of the peasant arable at Lakenheath, as outlined in tables 6.4 and 6.5. Whilst wheat, barley and oat issues seem reasonably consistent across this eleven-year divide, issues of peas and rye fluctuate. These data should be used extremely cautiously, however. When compared with evidence relating to the Castor peasant Robert Lord, some problems are immediately apparent. Lord's estimated number of acres sown seems plausible, whereas those calculated at Lakenheath do not. Lakenheath peasants held *c*. 900 acres of arable, and the estimates in table 6.5 outline the problems inherent in using both demesne and average regional yield data.[482] Using Lakenheath demesne sowing rates alongside mean yield data from Campbell's Norfolk database which includes some Suffolk demesnes, it is clear that these calculations cannot realistically estimate peasant arable production at Lakenheath.[483] The data suggest that either the peasants' mean yield per seed was greater, or that sowing rates per acre were greater; alternatively, we might see a combination of the two factors. Lakenheath's arable land was extremely poor quality.

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[481] For 1336-7, a reeve's account, a sergeant's account and a tithe account survive. In 1347-8, a similar arrangement is apparent, with a sergeant's and a tithe account extant. The remaining account rolls for the post-1336-7 period do not record cereal tithe data as in the 1334-5 account, hinting at a series of separate tithe accounts that no longer survive.
[482] Bailey, 'The Prior and Convent of Ely', p. 3; Campbell's mean average yields for Norfolk include some Suffolk demesnes.
[483] Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, pp. 318-9; Bailey suggests that on extremely poor soils, it was usual to sow much less than the two-thirds that would have been sown on a typical Midlands manor: Bailey, 'The Prior and Convent of Ely', p. 6

Table 6.4: Cereal Tithe Returns, Lakenheath, 1336-7 and 1347-8

	1336-7			1347-8		
Cereal	**Quantity (qtr)**	**Quantity (bsh)**	**Total Issue (qtr x10)**	**Quantity (qtr)**	**Quantity (bsh)**	**Total Issue (qtr x10)**
Wheat	-	-	-	-	3	3.3
Rye	23	4	235	11	5	116
Barley	74	2	742.5	76.5	4	770
Malt Barley	-	-	-	1	6	17.5
Oats	8.5	-	85	7.5	-	75
Peas	7	4.5	75	1	3	13
Total	**112.5**	**10.5**	**1,137.5**	**97**	**21**	**994.8**

Source: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/11; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/14

Table 6.5: The Tithe Account: Modelling Estimated Sown Acreages Lakenheath, 1336-7 and 1347-8: (1) Mean Average Yield pre 1349 (Nfk)

		1336-7			1347-8		
Cereal	**Mean Yield per Seed**	**Est. Bushels Sown**	**Bsh. Sown per Acre (demesne)**	**Est. Acreage Sown**	**Est. Bushels Sown**	**Bsh. Sown per Acre (demesne)**	**Est. Acreage Sown**
Wheat	4.6	-	-	-	5.74	2.83	2.03
Rye	3.6	522.22	1.88	277.78	257.78	2.1	122.75
Barley	3.3	1800.00	3.62	497.24	1909.09	4.02	474.90
Oats	2.6	261.54	2.0	130.77	230.77	2.05	112.57
Peas	2.6	230.77	2.0	115.38	40.00	3.33	12.01
Total				**1,021.17**			**724.26**

Source: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/11; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/14; mean yield figures: B.M.S. Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture 1250-1450* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 318-9

Whilst the demesne benefited from folding its own sheep alongside those of the majority of its peasant population on the fallow, very few peasants had a licence to run a foldcourse, suggesting that their manuring abilities were hampered somewhat, resulting in less fertile soil than the demesne. So perhaps this points more readily to higher sowing rates per acre overall. What is clear, however, are the difficulties inherent in determining peasants' agricultural success.

Bailey argues that peasant lands in Lakenheath were plentifully manured, citing the demesne managers hiring the village fold in 1345 to manure four acres and three

rods of the lord's land.[484] This is perhaps an optimistic view. It is difficult to determine folding arrangements with precision at Lakenheath. It seems likely that this hire occurred during the period when fallow grazing was restricted to foldcourse owners, and this view is supported by three incidents in which peasants were amerced for 'damage [caused]…pasturing sheep on stubble…against the bylaw', an action that would have been acceptable on a Midlands manor.[485] Certainly, it was a grave offence if peasants failed to use the demesne fold, and several statements and inquiries confirm this.[486] In 1332, a shepherd, John le Pipere, was amerced because the 'sheep of the common fold lie down outside the demesne fold through his negligence', so it seems that at night, the village flock, which had a sheep-walk next to that of the rector, was folded with the demesne sheep.[487] Furthermore, a village shepherd was paid a stipend alongside other *famuli* every year, albeit at a lower level. It seems unlikely that the lord would pay for work that did not benefit him, and it seems that demesne as well as tenant lands profited from villagers' manure. In 1283, a stipend was paid to a shepherd looking after the parson's fold; again, this arrangement must have benefited demesne lands otherwise it does not seem sensible.[488] Those peasants with a fold licence all employed and paid shepherds, and so for the lord to make these payments, some trade-off must have been made.[489] The accounts for 1326-7 and 1327-8 reveal that 177 acres and 162 acres of demesne lands respectively were manured using the fold, suggesting that if manorial officials felt that supplementary manure was required in 1345, then soil conditions must have been exceptionally poor, especially since the lord felt compelled to compensate the peasants for the loss of what was after all a relatively small quantity of manure.[490]

This is a comparative study, and so something should be said regarding the merits of assessing the data from Castor and Lakenheath collectively. Superficially, it

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484 Bailey, *Marginal Economy*, p. 83
485 Bailey, *Marginal Economy*, p. 78; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/40; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/18; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/11
486 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/2; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/24; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/31; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/12/2; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/13/1
487 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/11; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/5
488 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/3
489 Richard Baker, Robert Bolt, John de Wangford and Isabel and John Douue, all fold owners, all employed shepherds: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/27; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/5; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/12
490 C.U.L./EDC/1/16/1/6; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/7

seems that a greater proportion of peasant land was dedicated to the production of barley at Lakenheath than at Castor.[491] We might instinctively suppose that Robert Lord benefited from higher grain yields than his Lakenheath counterparts, but we cannot deduce this from the evidence to hand. Our sample of one from Castor can hardly be deemed representative, and this exercise is perhaps best used to emphasise first, how difficult it proves to represent the peasant economic outlook satisfactorily; and secondly how problematic it is to move beyond the confines of a single manor and compare peasant experiences, especially when there is little true uniformity within the source material, as there might be when assessing manors from a single estate. Additionally, here, the contrasting geography creates an extra level of complexity that must be taken into consideration. Most obviously, the vastly dissimilar soil quality clearly impacted peasants at Lakenheath; but it is also likely that different agricultural operations were in force. Although it has been suggested that Suffolk's Breckland area shared similarities with the Midlands system of arable agriculture, it is possible that a shift system, rather than a three-field system was utilised, which means that it is much more difficult to assess the collective size of annual cropping area with any precision.[492] Nevertheless, evaluated singly, both these brief snapshots offer interesting, if incomplete, portraits of part of the peasant economy. Historians have naturally preferred to focus their analysis of the peasant economy on arable farming, precisely because of some of the limitations stressed here. It is occasionally possible, however, to look beyond the fields to create a more comprehensive representation of the economic life of the medieval peasant.

Hidden peasant economies—beyond the open fields: fishing

Moving beyond the arable scene can be problematic: provided peasants paid their rents, tallages, customary dues, tithes and taxes, lords devoted little attention to how they

[491] Dyer suggests that barley yielded higher returns than other cereals, and this might explain the emphasis on barley production, nevertheless, assessing the Lakenheath demesne yields are similar to those for rye: Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p. 128

[492] M. Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk, an Economic and Social History, 1200-1500* (2007, Woodbridge, 2010), p. 104; Bailey, *Marginal Economy*, p. 59: here, Bailey highlights a lease of land on which the lessee was granted leave to use the land for '12 crops by reasonable courses': C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/4

raised the necessary cash. We have already seen that there were fisheries at Castor and Elton, however there are few hints within the documentary record that this provided a supplementary source of income or diet for members of the peasant community. At Elton, the accounts record a regular payment made each Lady Day of 4d. from every five virgates for 'fishsilver', related to the commuted service of providing fish for the lord.[493] This suggests that fishing was probably a frequent peasant activity as might be expected on a riverine manor, at least in the period before the Baliols commandeered the common fishery there (see above, p. 171). In 1259, five Elton men were distrained by Ramsey Abbey's honor court at Broughton (Hnt) to appear at the leet court in Elton to explain why they refused to assist in mending the mill pond, the lord's several fishery.[494] Perhaps their lack of access to the common fishery explains their action. At Castor, a reference to peasant poaching in 1363 reveals that peasants occasionally fished there too, but to what extent, we cannot know.[495] There is no other mention of local fishing activity throughout the surviving records, although one tantalising reference to a pool once held by a virgater, Geoffrey Illing, in *c*.1231 intimates a potential fishing resource.[496] The poaching incident pinpoints the limitations of the account roll as a source of information for a holistic view of the peasant economy, and hints at a more profitable seam of information held within the manorial court rolls.

The paucity of information on fishing at Elton and Castor is perhaps surprising, since both vills had river boundaries. However, this anomaly is explained through the lack of relevant surviving documentation. At Castor, the earliest surviving court roll is dated 1363. Three more halimote rolls from the late fourteenth century provide little further information.[497] At Elton the surviving rolls are for leet courts, limiting the court business somewhat since the cases that most interest us here were probably recorded in the manorial court. Fortunately, a great quantity of manorial court rolls survive for

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[493] *E.M.R.*, pp. 10-318; presumably this service originally provided Ramsey Abbey with supplies of fish during Lent

[494] W.O. Ault (ed.), *Court Rolls of the Abbey of Ramsey and of the Honor of Clare* (New Haven, 1928), pp. 55-6

[495] N.R.O. PDC CR Bundle A3

[496] *Black Book of Peterborough*, MS 60, Soc. Antiq., f. 186; it is not certain that this was a peasant resource. The survey mentions the relaxation of Illing's customary services because of 'the land that he gave for *belasise*, and…the meadow that he gave for the pool of *cufwik*'. *Belsize* was the grange created at Castor in 1214, and following this reading, it may be that he gave meadow in exchange for *cufwik*, or in order for the pool to be created by the abbot.

[497] B.R.O. Russell Box 300

Lakenheath, and its fenland geography suggests that fishing ought to have been a prominent peasant activity, as implied by the extensive leasing of the demesne fisheries (see above p. 172). In the first instance, it might be considered relevant to assess the corpus of peasant bynames in all three locations. In all three vills, peasants named *Herring* are recorded. This may be a nickname, or refers to fish dealers. At Lakenheath, the name *Gudgeon* may refer to the freshwater fish, but might be a nickname for a gullible individual.[498] Of greater interest is the Lakenheath name *Wiles*, meaning 'fish-trap', which suggests a topographical byname, or perhaps refers to a skill.[499] Surprisingly, of the two men named *Fisher* or *Fisherman*, neither appears in the documentary record with any connection to fishing; although they may well have been fishermen, this emphasises the dangers of making assumptions about peasant occupation using bynames alone.[500]

As at Elton, references in the account rolls for Lakenheath's Clare manor detail commuted services involving the procurement of fish. The only extant account roll outlined a receipt of 43s. 1½d. 'for 172 sticks of eels' in rent for the period of Lent, 1291.[501] After the manor was absorbed into the prior's estate in 1331, the early accounts were kept separate and were occasionally very detailed, presumably to assist the prior's officials in familiarising themselves with their employer's new asset. In 1334-5 45s. rent was received in lieu of 180 sticks of eels from twelve tenants, each owing fifteen sticks, each worth 3d.[502] It is uncertain when the eels were commuted into cash since no extents or custumals survive for Lakenheath.[503] In 1344-5, a detailed schedule of leased fisheries is provided. There were three types of tenancy related to fishing at Lakenheath: fisheries were the largest, and commanded high rents such as the 26s. paid by John Wace and John atte Church for the lease of *plantelode*; *botisgongs* offered private access to mooring, allowing fishermen a dedicated place to moor their boats for a fee of 5s. per annum; and *stikings*, which were places from which one could fish, and

[498] P. McClure, pers. comm. [email 21 Jan 2013]
[499] P. McClure, pers. comm. [email 21 Jan 2013]
[500] Nicholas *Piscator* (alias Fichs, Fyscher) and William le Fischere of Prickwillow (Sfk): C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/33; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/3; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/9; in towns, 'Fisher' meant a fishmonger: C. Dyer, pers. comm. [June 2013]
[501] J.T. Munday, *Crane's Croft* (Lakenheath, 1970), p. 6
[502] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/10
[503] With the exception of the brief I.P.M.; one such reveals that rents were paid in cash and eels in 1261-2: T.N.A. C132/27/5

cost 1s. annually.[504] Of the 24 individuals listed on the schedule, almost all were men, and several leased more than one resource.[505] Richard Lericok leased three fisheries and a *botisgong* at a total rent of 24s. per annum. William Sporoun leased two fisheries for 42s., suggesting that they were priced according to their size or the perceived value of their resources.[506]

Payments for leases often went unpaid when the resource became unusable. The Earl of Gloucester leased *depemere* for three days each year, but ceased payment when it dried up.[507] Similarly, in 1323, Geoffrey Thury was excused payment for six months' rent on a *botisgong* 'because there was no fishing'.[508] The court rolls occasionally yield information regarding the lease of fisheries. In 1329 Richard in the Lane leased:

> 'all the demesne fisheries…with weirs, fens [and] courses for 18 boats on *Wendilse* with appurtenances for ten years at annual rent of £13 10s. reserving half the bitterns in the fisheries and fens, to be kept at the cost of the lessee until three weeks old; [and] all pike as required price 12d. or above; purchases to be made on the water as before; lessee not to fish with other than customary nets or traps, or to scythe to the injury of swans. He is to take swans for the lord whenever necessary at own cost except for one day marking cygnets at the lord's expense, and is to receive one robe per annum for the custody of swans and nests and to be accountable for those missing.'[509]

This entry reveals the complex nature of the resources associated with the fisheries. Here, Lane also took on the role of custodian of the swans, but he also had rights over

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504 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/13
505 John at the Hythe and his wife leased *depemere* and *bolewong* for the term of their lives: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/13; according to Munday, the *botisgongs* were situated along the Little Ouse. If correct, this also gave sailors riverine access for trade and carriage: J.T. Munday, *Parliament's Plunder* (Lakenheath, 1970), pp. 6-7
506 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/13
507 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/2
508 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/4; fishery rent values on some Devon manors also fluctuated: H.S.A. Fox, *The Evolution of the Fishing Village: Landscape and Society along the South Devon Coast, 1086-1550* (2001, Oxford, 2004), p. 52
509 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/4/3

bitterns and wetland flora, suggesting that lessees of other fisheries also had access to these resources.

Assessing the court rolls in detail, it is clear that some peasants specialised in fishing. Cases involving the Lericok family support the view that fishing was a major source of their income. Table 6.6 outlines all of the court cases involving the Lericok family within surviving court rolls, alongside what is known about their land holdings and leases. Assessing all of these incidents together, it is clear that a significant proportion of the family's earnings came from fishing and related activities. Little is recorded regarding the Lericok family landholding, and it is unclear what their status was. Richard Lericok features the most frequently in the records. Of 30 incidents, 14 are directly related to fishing. Of the remaining incidents, a further six are indirectly related to the fisheries: in 1327, he erected a causeway, causing a nuisance in *wyndilsee*; in 1332 he made a ditch in *le cruchistampe*, which is variously described in the records as a fen and a fishery; and in 1334 he was accused of assaulting Walter White, tellingly whilst Walter was in his boat.[510] It is possible to trace the development of Richard's occupation as a fisherman. When he first appears in the record in 1315, he reveals himself as an enterprising individual, clearly keen to maximise the potential of his leased assets. He was caught fishing with too many bow-nets 'to the great destruction of the fishery and damage to the lord'.[511] Notwithstanding the melodramatic language employed by the clerk, Richard's behaviour was problematic because it depleted fish stocks. At the same time, he was accused of 'making new *rodes* by *wyndelsee* and elsewhere in the fisheries against the lord's and the bailiff's ban and [against] ancient custom of the manor and fishery, whereby the fisheries are brought to nought'.[512] In May the same year, he was accused of selling his fish outside the local market. The impression created by these brief court records is of a man with a resourceful nature, keen to exploit his holdings fully. He is seen periodically reordering Lakenheath's fishing landscape, erecting weirs,

[510] *Cruchistampe* is described as a fishery in 1313 and 1345: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/8; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/13
[511] Bow-net: 'a…trap…[made] of wicker work closed at one end and having a narrow funnel-shaped entrance at the other' *O.E.D.*
[512] It is difficult to determine whether *rodes* meant fishing rods or paths. Although it could conceivably mean either, rods seems more likely

Table 6.6: Land Holdings and Court Incidents, the Lericok Family, Lakenheath, 1314-1345

HOLDINGS					
Name	**Holding**	**Term**	**Rent**	**Date**	**Notes**
Richard Lericok	Fishery, at *hereshel*	9 years	24d	12 Mar 1314	Fishing with nets according to ancient custom; not to scythe more than one-third of *le segfen*
	Land, 3 perches by 3 perches			22 Jan 1319	Grantee of unfree land from Clare fee; granted to his son, Walter in October 1334
	Farm of fishery	6 years	17s	1345[513]	For the fisheries of *melnemarch* and *blakemere*, this year the 4th
	Farm of fishery	6 years	5s	1345	For 1 *botisgong*, this year the 4th
	Farm of fishery		2s	1345	For the farm of *adereshel*
John Liricok	Farm of fishery			1327	For 1 *stikinge* in *wyndilse*, rendered into the lord's hands
	Farm of fishery		12d	1328	For 1 *stikinge* in *wyndilse*, rendered into the lord's hands
	Farm of fishery	6 years	15s	1345	For the fishery of *loueswere*, this year the 4th
INCIDENTS					
Name	**Incident**	**Category**	**Party**	**Date**	**Notes**
Richard Lericok	Trespass	Fishing	Accused	8 Jan 1315	Fishing with more *bouenetes* than he ought, to the great destruction of the fishery and damage to the lord
	Trespass	Fishing	Accused	8 Jan 1315	Making new *rodes* by *wyndelsee* and elsewhere in fisheries against the lord's and bailiff's ban, and [against] ancient custom of the manor and fishery, whereby fisheries brought to nought
	Fine	Fishing	Accused	15 May 1315	Failure to sell fish in the lord's market, to lord's prejudice and contrary to agreement made by the lord
	Trespass	Fishing	Accused	22 Jan 1319	Fishing with [illeg] beyond the assise
	Trespass	Digging pits	Accused	11 Jun 1321	Digging a pit at *haspey* in the common fen. Order to amend
	Trespass	Fishing	Accused	14 Nov 1324	Fishing and erection of weirs in demesne several waters and elsewhere where he ought not
	Trespass	Fishing	Accused	16 Oct 1325	Raising an illegal pool and making a new watercourse called *bacgate*. The steward orders removal

[513] Bailey suggests these leases were recorded in account rolls dated 1356, however the rolls are clearly dated '…E tertii post conquestus xviij vsque…xix'; M. Bailey, *A Marginal Economy? East Anglian Breckland in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 162

INCIDENTS					
Name	**Incident**	**Category**	**Party**	**Date**	**Notes**
Richard Lericok	Trespass	Fishing	Accused	19 Feb 1326	Fishing with nets, namely *drivend*, against the custom
	Fine	Nuisance	Accused	16 Apr 1327	Erection of causeway in *cranehilhord*, to harm and annoyance of lord, [illeg] water in *wyndilsee* and impeding capture of fowls called *schouinge*
	Trespass	Fishing	Injured	16 Apr 1327	Removal of nets, *weels*, and other equipment for taking fish placed in the water of *wyndilse*[514]
	Fine	Detinue - trees	Injured	4 Jun 1327	Alleged loan of 13 willows to Richard in the Lane worth 60d.
	Corn account	Mixed corn	Payee	1328	Issued to Richard Lirecok, John Faukes and William Qwit for looking after the lord's swans, 3 quarters of mixed corn
	Trespass	Fishing	Accused	31 May 1330	Fishing with unlicensed boat in demesne several water, frequently
	Trespass	Fishing	Accused	31 May 1330	Has two *botisgongs* in demesne several fishery where he ought to have one
	Trespass	Landed trespass - fishing	Accused	22 Dec 1330	In the lade of Richard in the Lane
	Trespass	Mowing	Accused	22 May 1331	Mowing in *le fodirfen* to the damage of all commoners
	Trespass	Bylaw infringement	Accused	13 Jun 1331	Mowing and reaping against the bylaw
	Trespass	Landed trespass – fishing	Accused	11 Mar 1332	On 4 Nov 1331, by force of arms, fished in the several fishery of Richard in the Lane and took fish and nets to the value of 10s, which he denies
	Trespass	Purpresture	Accused	11 Jun 1332	Made a ditch in the common fen at *le cruchistampe* 1 furlong long and 3ft wide to the annoyance of all commoners
	Trespass	Fishing	Accused	4 Oct 1332	Fishing in *windelse*
	Trespass	Landed trespass	Accused	1 Dec 1332	Failure to amend order of leet to throw down and remove ditches and pools in many place around *winddilse* before Michaelmas
	Default of mill soke		Accused	1 Dec 1332	Possessing handmill in messuage and grinding own and neighbours' grain to lord's damage
	Default of fold soke		Accused	29 Sep 1333	Sheep in fold of William Mayhew
	Default of fold soke		Accused	15 Nov 1333	Sheep lying outside demesne fold
	Trespass	Assault	Accused	16 Jun 1334	Putting his hands on Walter Whit and assaulting him in his boat

[514] Weel, wele: a trap for catching fish:, M.E.D.

INCIDENTS					
Name	**Incident**	**Category**	**Party**	**Date**	**Notes**
Richard Lirecok	Trespass	Obstruction of watercourse	Accused	5 Nov 1336	Failure to clear the lade called *wyttisthornshoce*, so that it dried out
	Trespass	Fishing	Injured	28 Jan 1337	Thomas Wyles fishing in Richard Lericok's fishery, damages assessed at 6d
	Default of fold soke		Accused	15 Mar 1337	Wethers lying in William Mayhew's fold; order that he make his sheep lie in the demesne fold
	Default of fold soke		Accused	12 Jun 1337	Folding ewes outside the demesne fold
	Trespass		Presentor	28 Apr 1338	As buyer for the Prior and Convent in the name of the cellarer, presents the fishermen who refused to show him their catch as is customary
	Trespass	Landed trespass	Injured	8 Jun 1340	Stephen Thury, by force of arms with staves, tore up and carried away a pool in the several fishery of the prior which Richard Lericok holds, and took away nets, baskets and committed other enormities. The accused denies force of arms, and claims that Richard Lericok placed his pool in such a way to disturb fish in a weir which the accused holds at farm, so that the fish could not get directly to the weir, wherefore he removed the pool as is allowed him to do
	Corn account	Mixed corn	Payee	1327	Issued to Richard Lirecok, John Faukes and William Qwyt for looking after the lambs, 3 quarters of mixed corn
John Liricok	Fine	Licence to fish		8 Oct 1326	Licence to take eels in the fen for one year
	Trespass	Fishing	Accused	7 Jan 1337	Fishing in enclosed fen called *druuing*; he claims he had a licence from brother Robert de Aylsham and is given a day to produce writing under pain of 40d, forbidden to fish in future under pain of heavy amercement
	Foreign expenses		Payee	1345	Paid to J Lirecok for 1 pike, xv[illeg]
Walter Liricok	Foreign expenses		Payee	1345	Paid to W Lirecok for 1 pike, 2s

Source: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1

creating illegal pools, watercourses, causeways and ditches. In one instance the pool he created prevented fish from reaching the traps set in a weir leased by Stephen Thury. In 1338 he is identified as the lord's buyer of fish, to whom all Lakenheath fishermen must show their catch, emphasising his perceived skills as a fisherman and one capable of assessing the merits of local fishermen's haul.

Other families can also be identified as having more than a passing interest in fishing. The Faukes family were frequently in court for fishing-related incidents. On several occasions, John Faukes was presented to the court alongside Richard or John Lericok.[515] More is known about this family than the Lericoks. The Faukes were villeins, and in 1314 Richard Faukes was the heir to a messuage alongside a virgate of land.[516] It seems that the tenure of a fishery came with the responsibility for keeping lades clear, and that being the case, the court records Faukes' implied tenancy of fisheries near *wilwlade* and *morlade*.[517] In 1329 he acknowledged owing Richard in the Lane 158d. which he promised to pay when he '[could] raise money from his fishery in the summer time', suggesting that he viewed the fishery as more of an economic resource than his arable land.[518] Faukes clearly had access to other resources, like his virgate of land, and although it is less clear-cut for Richard Lericok, the records show that he held some land. In 1331 he was amerced for reaping against the bylaw, suggesting that he grew crops on at least a portion of his land. On several occasions he failed to keep his sheep in the lord's fold, and although we cannot know how many sheep he had, it seems unlikely that the majority of his income came from sheep rearing. The point to emphasise here is the difficulty in reconstructing a full picture of the economic outlook of a typical peasant. Nevertheless, based on what we already know from the tithe receipts, these details confirm what we might have assumed to have been the case: that additional sources of income and subsistence were a necessity in late medieval Lakenheath. It is worth noting that neither man featured in the Lay Subsidy for 1327, suggesting that neither was considered well off.

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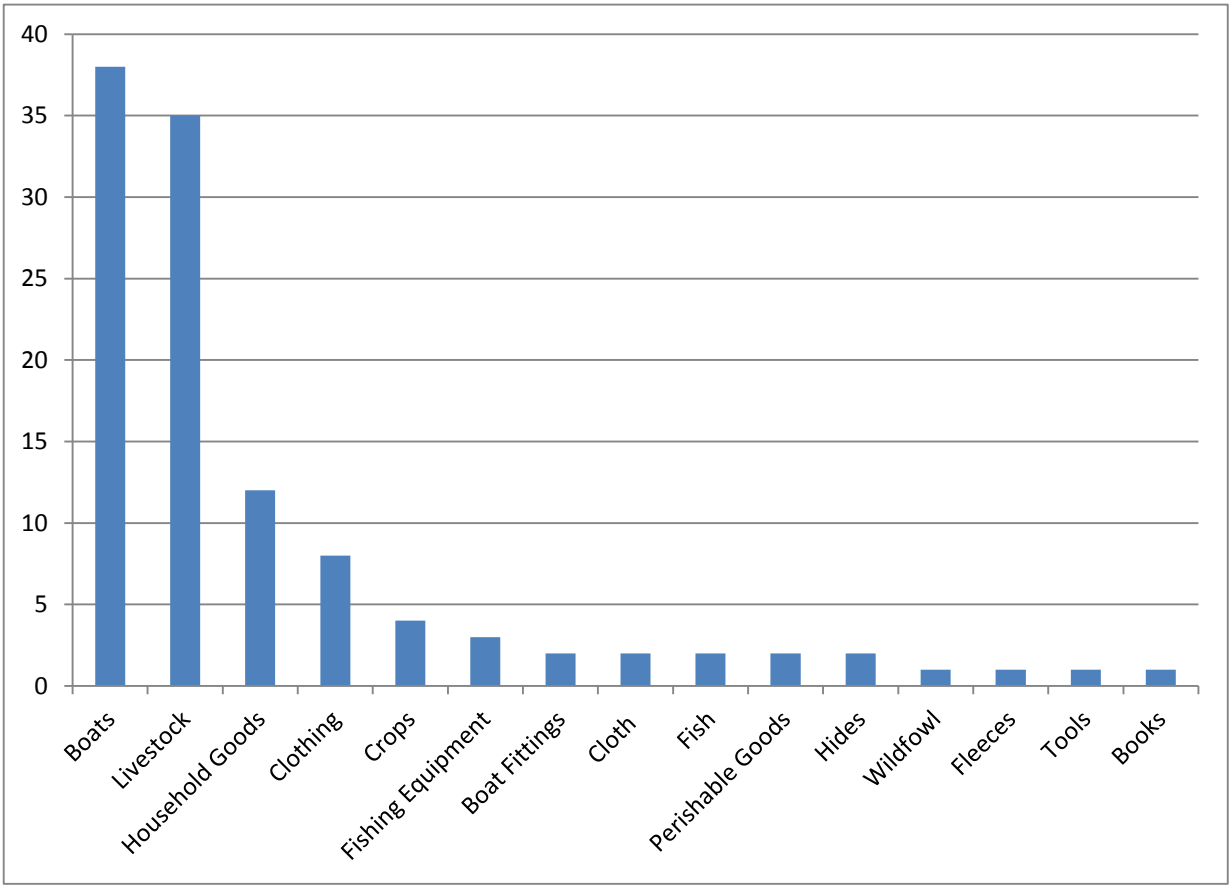
[515] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/12; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/14; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/12; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/43
[516] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/8
[517] In 1337, John Horold and William Sabyn were joint tenants of a fishery, and considered responsible for the condition of the lade: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/43; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/37; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/3
[518] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/16

There is reason to suppose that the Faukes and Lericocks were not the only ones whose economic wellbeing relied heavily on access to Lakenheath waters, although not all peasants were as well documented as these two families. Nevertheless, it is possible to speculate on the number of peasants whose livelihoods were in part reliant on local waters. The Lakenheath court rolls provide much detail concerning distraints. At Elton, where distraints are recorded, the item withheld from the accused party is never revealed. Of 114 fully itemised distraints at Lakenheath, boats featured more frequently than any other possession, marginally more than livestock (figure 6.6).[519] When fishing equipment and fish are added to this figure, 38 per cent of all recorded distraints were water-related items. Assessing all the distraints in detail, the withheld items were often connected with the owner's occupation, and therefore his or her economic wellbeing. For example, Robert Bolt, a sheep farmer,

Figure 6.6: Distraint Items Recorded in Lakenheath Court Rolls, 1310-1340



Source: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1

[519] Although it should be noted that items distrained are not always recorded

leasing his own fold and employing his own shepherd was distrained by 60 sheep in 1321.[520] Ralph Dyer was twice distrained, by 17 ells of woollen cloth, and on another occasion by 20 ells of bluet cloth.[521] Geoffrey Nethirde was distrained by a cow in 1331; and Thomas Barker had a cow-hide and an ox-hide seized.[522] It seems that court officials gave careful consideration to the items they detained, attempting to secure the attendance in court of peasants accused of misdemeanours by retaining items that were either valuable, or central to peasants' economic success. If this was the case, then the implication must be that access to local waters was of great importance to a significant number of Lakenheath's peasant population. This is underlined by a note on the court roll for 30 May 1325 regarding the detention of John French's boat, where it was ordered to 'answer for its profits at 1d. for every week, since the bailiffs testify it has been let since its attachment'.[523] It had been confiscated for eight weeks, highlighting the pressing need and ready market for river craft.[524]

Unlike Dyer's Midland yardlander, it is impossible to outline the economic outlook for any of the Lakenheath fishermen since there are simply too many unknown variables. The varying rents recorded for different fisheries imply a lack of uniformity. It is probable that unlike the uniform virgates, the area of each fishery differed, making it hard to establish the real rental value. Alongside the unknown fishery sizes, we have no information on the expected yield of fish. It is difficult to determine what proportion of fish were consumed by peasant families, and how many were sold. There was certainly a market for fish in Lakenheath, but little is known about it. Other than the price of the occasional pike recorded in the account rolls, there is no information on the value of the fish that were caught. Similarly, there is little information on the cost of fishing equipment. In 1332, Richard Lericok was accused of taking fish and nets worth 10s. from Richard in the Lane's several fishery.

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[520] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/27; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/27

[521] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/27; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/28; at Walsham-le Willows (Sfk), John Tailor was distrained by woollen cloth, suggesting a similar policy may have been adopted there: R. Lock (ed., trans.), *The Court Rolls of Walsham-le-Willows 1303-1350* (Woodbridge, 1998), p. 234

[522] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/10; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/31

[523] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/38

[524] Great quantities of goods transported by water between Lakenheath and Ely further emphasise the revenue potential for those owning boats. Turves, livestock and victuals were frequently shipped by Lakenheath peasants. The economic importance of small craft has been noted by Gardiner: M. Gardiner, 'Hythes, small ports, and other landing places in later medieval England' in J. Blair (ed.), *Waterways and Canal-Building in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2007), p. 106

He was eventually found guilty of taking four *bowenettes*, the damage being assessed at 8d., suggesting that fishing equipment was reasonably inexpensive.[525] The intermittent decay of fisheries mentioned above (p. 184) would also have impacted fishing revenues. Richard in the Lane paid the highest recorded rent for a Lakenheath fishery. His annual financial commitment of £13 10s. was significant, and yet in 1327 he was listed as one of the lowest tax payers in the vill, with a contribution of 12d.[526] Certainly, Lane's original lease of *windelse* had expired by 1327, and the records are silent regarding its further lease. It may be significant that none of the prominent fishermen paid tax in 1327. Of those taxpayers who appear in the documentary record having chattels distrained, it is striking that those paying a higher rate of tax had livestock—most frequently horses—or clothing confiscated, rather than goods connected with fishing.[527] Although highly speculative, this adds to the weight of evidence hinting that those making a living principally from fishing did not number amongst the wealthiest inhabitants of Lakenheath, and fishing was probably the preserve of the smallholder.

Hidden peasant economies—beyond the open fields: sheep farming

The Lakenheath court rolls are a mine of information on the activities of peasants who focused their attentions on sheep farming. But once again the records of Elton and Castor are less forthcoming. At Elton there are infrequent references to peasant sheep, detailing such incidents as Richard Hubert, John Wrau and Geoffrey Shoemaker failing to fold their sheep with the lord's.[528] In 1345, a peasant flock was noted, when a shepherd was paid for looking after the peasants' sheep. Only once was it mentioned that a peasant had too many sheep, when John Newbond overpastured the common in 1312.[529] At Castor, the account rolls reveal that ten wethers were received each

[525] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/17
[526] S.H.A. Hervey, *Suffolk in 1327, Being a Subsidy Return* (Woodbridge, 1906),p. 198
[527] Miller and Hatcher note that even the cheapest clothing might cost 2-4 months wages: E. Miller and J. Hatcher, *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348* (1978, London, 1980), p. 163
[528] *E.M.R.*, p. 117 and p. 193
[529] *E.M.R.,* p. 200 and p. 327

year from customary payments, a custom also recorded in twelfth- and thirteenth-century extents.[530] Unfortunately, this does not reveal how extensive peasant sheep farming was locally. The 1300-1 account records the purchase of sheep from two Castor men: 66 wethers and 24 ewes from Roger Paris, a free tenant holding from the lord of one of the minor manors; and 158 wethers and 86 lambs from John de Asfordby, a clerk associated with Castor church.[531] This is the only reference to Roger Paris, and there are few additional mentions of John de Asfordby, and so it is impossible to say anything further regarding their involvement in sheep rearing. Thus, it is to Lakenheath that we must turn once again to consider the contribution made by sheep farming to peasants' economic livelihood.

Bailey calculated that at Lakenheath there were more than 2,000 peasant sheep in the 1340s.[532] Generally, it has been estimated that peasant flocks were twice that of demesne numbers, and given that Breckland was a *pays* in which sheep husbandry was important economically, there is no reason to suspect that this was not the case there.[533] Although the majority of Lakenheath peasants' sheep were part of the village flock, and folded with the demesne sheep at night, a number of peasants had rights to their own sheep-fold, outlined in table 6.7, which also details illegal peasant folds. Some folds were clearly inherited, such as that of Isabel Douue jointly held with her brother-in-law John Braunch, who inherited half a fold from Isabel's father, William Bastard, and the other half after the death of her mother, Sarah.[534] Others were arranged in agreement with senior officials, such as that of William Mayhew, and Isabel Douue's second fold, held with her son, Thomas, approved by the bailiff in 1327. It is unclear how Richard Baker came by his fold. He may have inherited it from Thomas Baker, but nothing in the records confirms this, and it is only apparent because a number of peasants were amerced for keeping their sheep in his fold illegally.

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530 N.R.O. F(M) 2388; N.R.O. F(M) roll 233; N.R.O. F(M) 2389
531 N.R.O. F(M) 2388
532 Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, p. 40
533 Bailey, *Marginal Economy*, pp. 120-1
534 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/3; Braunch transferred his rights in his quarter fold to William, rector of Wangford in 1333: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/23

Table 6.7: Peasant Folds at Lakenheath, 1308-1333

Legal Folds				
Name	**Number of Folds**	**Sheep per Fold**	**Date**	**Held From**
Thomas Baker	1	unknown	1308	Margaret de Undley
Richard Baker	1	unknown	1314	Prior of Ely
Isabel Douue and John Braunch	1	300 + 3 rams	1318	Earl of Gloucester
Robert Bolt	1	unknown	1321	Margaret de Undley
William Mayhew	1	300 + 1 ram	1322	Prior of Ely
Isabel and Thomas Douue	1		1327	Prior of Ely
Vicar of Lakenheath	1	180	1327	William de Undley
Simon Wyles and Laurence Criteman			1327	Countess of Gloucester
Simon Wyles and Thomas Douue	1		1327	Countess of Gloucester
John de Wangford	1	180 + 2 rams	1333	Sacristan of Ely
Richard in the Lane	1	190	1333	
Illegal Folds				
Thomas Douue and Simon Wyles	1		1313	
Adam Strange and John de Beri	1		1327	
Robert Bolt	1		1331	
Payn Jakes	1		1332	

Source: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/1/11; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/4; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/9; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/27; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/1; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/3; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/5; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/2; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/25; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/2; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/3; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/11; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/20; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/10/1

Clearly, senior manorial officials found it difficult to keep track of such large numbers of sheep, and on several occasions statements were made in court reminding tenants that they should keep their sheep in the demesne fold. Officials made conflicting statements: in 1316 it was announced that 'it is the custom…that free men as well as neifs should have their ewes…in the demesne fold', but by 1333 just 'neifs and…tenants in bondage ought to put their sheep in the demesne fold'.[535] Unsurprisingly, several peasants were accused of withholding their sheep from the lord's fold. Some erected their own folds, like Adam Strange, who was amerced in the prior's court on 26 June 1327 for this offence, and again in the Clare court the following day.[536] John Smith and Payn Jakes habitually kept their sheep from the lord's fold, occasionally folding them in a licensed peasant fold, and on one occasion Jakes was caught with his own illegal fold.[537] Even those having a licence to fold occasionally found themselves requiring more space than they had access to. Sometimes, they deliberately overstocked their folds, presumably hoping no one would notice. In 1321, Robert Bolt was caught with 60 sheep above his quota; in 1331 John de Wangford had

[535] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/2; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/24
[536] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/10/1; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/3
[537] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/24

40 more sheep than he ought in his fold; predictably, both were caught.[538] In fact, many of the licensed fold owners frequently held more sheep than they were meant to.

The emerging picture shows a few peasants actively focused on large-scale sheep farming, with even those having a relatively small flock aiming to capitalise on the manure when they could manage to avoid the notice of the sergeant. Tithe receipts for lambs and fleeces were recorded within most of the surviving account rolls and help to supplement the developing impression. Extrapolating these figures provides an estimate of total peasant sheep, outlined in table 6.8. and figure 6.7. Since Ely Priory held the advowson of Lakenheath church, the tithe figures include Clare sheep. We know more about peasant folds for the period *c*.1327, and so some tentative assumptions can be made. Isabel Douue and John Braunch still held a fold for 300 sheep in 1328, and William Mayhew's fold was also still in situ; if we add to that an estimated 180 sheep each for the two folds licenced by the lady of Clare manor, the total reaches 960.[539] Provided John de Wangford's and Richard in the Lane's folds did not predate 1333, then there were an estimated additional 670 peasant sheep in the village flock in Lakenheath that year.

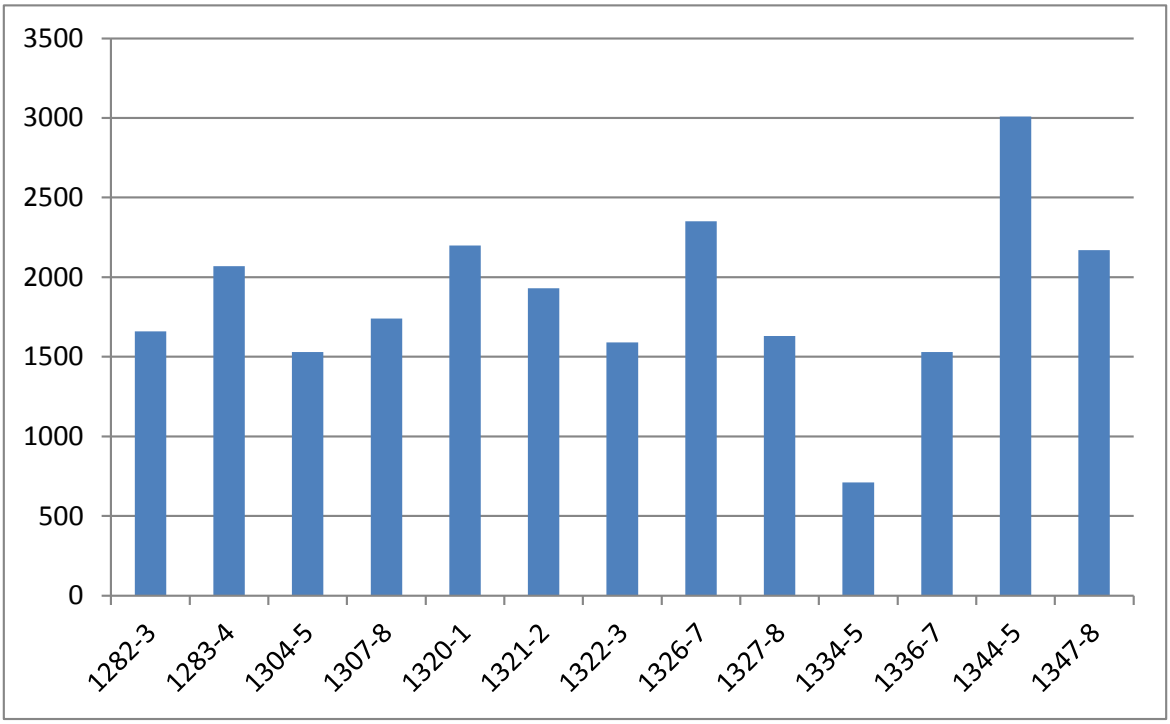
Table 6.8: Estimated Total Peasant Sheep at Lakenheath, 1282-1348

Date	Lambs (x10)	Fleeces (x10)	Total
1282-3	380	1280	**1660**
1283-4	400	1670	**2070**
1304-5	250	1280	**1530**
1307-8	470	1270	**1740**
1320-1	550	1650	**2200**
1321-2	220	1710	**1930**
1322-3	320	1270	**1590**
1326-7	580	1770	**2350**
1327-8	170	1460	**1630**
1334-5	50	660	**710**
1336-7	310	1220	**1530**
1344-5	640	2370	**3010**
1347-8	350	1820	**2170**

Source: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1

[538] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/27; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/2
[539] The vicar of Lakenheath would not have contributed to the tithe

Figure 6.7: Estimated Total Peasant Sheep at Lakenheath, 1282-1348



Source: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1

It is extremely difficult to calculate the net income likely to have been made by a peasant sheep farmer. Certainly, wool would have provided a steady source of revenue, however, there are few references to the price of fleeces within surviving documents. In 1324, John Joye acknowledged that he owed Richard in the Lane 5d. for a wool-fell, and John at the Churchgate 18d. for four more.[540] Within the account rolls, fleece prices are intermittently recorded, and even where noted they are difficult to interpret, given that the price varied according to the weight of the fleece. In 1283-4, the manor received 2½d. per fleece, whereas in 1304-5, 5½d. each was paid. Bailey suggests that pre-1348, fleece prices were seldom under 3½d. and this allows us very tentatively to estimate what some peasants may have received from wool income.[541] Based on the data in table 6.8, the average percentage of peasant lambs each year was nineteen. This suggests that in 1318 Isabel Douue and John Braunch would have clipped 243 sheep, earning a projected £3 10s. 10½d. Those like John de Wangford having a smaller fold of 180 sheep would have expected to clip 146 sheep, producing

[540] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/33
[541] Bailey, *Marginal Economy*, p. 245

approximately £2 2s. 7d. in 1333. More is recorded about de Wangford's costs. In 1335, he paid a fine of half a mark 'for holding one fold for one year next following, which is called *dalewereslai*'.[542] It is uncertain whether this was an extension of the lease on his existing fold, or a new one which may have allowed him a greater number of sheep, but it is clear from the fine that the lord viewed large-scale sheep farming as a very profitable enterprise. In 1337, the account roll details rent of 6s. 8d. 'for the liberty of a fold'.[543]

It is impossible to calculate precisely what de Wangford's costs were, given that it is unclear exactly how many folds he had, but some assumptions can be reasonably confidently made, outlined in table 6.9. It seems likely that the sum paid in 1335 constituted an entry fine, suggesting it was a one-off payment. In 1327 he employed a shepherd, who, based on the earnings of the village shepherd, the lowest

Table 6.9: Estimated Income and Expenditure on Sheep Farming, John de Wangford, Lakenheath, *c.*1330s

	Income	Expenditure / Cost	Estimated Balance
One-Off			
Entry fine (1335)		13s. 4d.	
Construction of fold		unknown	
Annual			
Rent		6s. 8d.	
Employment costs (1 shepherd)		4s. 0d.	
Upkeep of fold		2s. 6d.	
Veterinary costs (ointment)		5s. - 5s. 7¾d.	
Veterinary costs (shepherd)		1s.0d.	
Branding		negligible	
Washing and shearing		1s. 6½d.	
Tithe – lambs		36d.	
Tithe – fleeces		4s. 2¾d.	
Stock replenishment		unknown	
Additional feed and hay		unknown	
TOTAL		**£1 8s. 7d.**	
Wool (less tithe)	£2 2s. 7d.		
Ewes milk	4s. 4½d.		
Pelts	unknown		
TOTAL	**£2 6s. 11½d.**		
BALANCE			**18s. 4½d.**

Source: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/9-11

[542] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/35
[543] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/11

paid of the famuli shepherds, might have expected to earn 48d. each year.[544] He would have needed to pay for the construction and upkeep of his fold. There is no information on the cost of new folds, and their size must have reflected the quantity of sheep that required penning. On the Winchester manor of Morton (Buc) there were no demesne sheep in 1301-2, however a fold of 36 hurdles was erected to house a stranger's sheep for manuring purposes.[545] It is impossible to know how many sheep this may have held, and whether it was built anew, or incorporated elements of an earlier structure. Entries in the account rolls suggest that hurdles and stakes were used in the construction and repair of folds, and in a few instances the cost is recorded. Using the data for 1321, hurdles were purchased at a rate of approximately 0.08 per sheep, and stakes 0.05. Rushes and sedges were used at Lakenheath for wattling folds, and in 1335 these cost 4½d. and 3¼d. per 100 respectively. On the same basis as the hurdles and stakes, approximately 150 sheaves of each would have been required, producing a total estimated cost of 2s. 6d. for the upkeep of the fold. More concrete information is available for the nature and cost of ovine medication. In 1321, sheep were anointed at a rate of 1d. for four, although hoggets cost 1d. each. In 1337, 1d. was spent for every three sheep. This suggests that de Wangford would have spent between 5s. and 5s. 7¾d. annually on unguents for treating his sheep. This cost may have been reduced if he produced the ointment himself, and that may have been the case for some of the more typical treatments, including butter and pig fat. He may have chosen to increase his spending on medicaments, by including bitumen, verdigris and quicksilver in his regimen, all used on occasion on the demesne sheep.[546]

The cost of branding lambs is recorded for demesne livestock in 1321, working out at 0.04d. per lamb.[547] The mean average ratio of demesne lambs across the period under review was nineteen per cent. If this proportion is valid for de Wangford's 180 sheep, then branding costs would have been insignificant. Washing and shearing would have cost slightly more, once again, using the price paid by the lord, de Wangford probably paid less than ¼d. per sheep. Based on the mean number of peasant lambs, an average of 3.4 lambs and 14.5 fleeces must have been handed

[544] This also suggests that he had a sizeable flock before 1333.
[545] M. Page (ed.), *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2* (Winchester, 1996), p. 170
[546] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/3
[547] Sheep were marked with red ochre

over for the tithe each year. Demesne lambs were rarely sold in Lakenheath, but in 1334, there is a record of the detinue of a lamb worth 12d. in a court roll. If this can be used as a guide price for lambs, then the loss of de Wangford's tithe lambs cost 3s.[548] His fleeces have already been estimated at 3½d. each, losing him 4s. 2¾d. He may have had additional expenditure. The accounts outline occasional quantities of oats allocated for some of the sheep, but the amount per sheep is not detailed. In Crawley (Hmp), oats, beans and vetches were invariably given to ewes.[549] There is also the occasional mention of the purchase of hay for feed; again, it is difficult to estimate what this cost.[550]

In terms of income, as already outlined, the largest source of revenue came from wool. Demesne dairy data record that a mean average of 49 per cent of demesne ewes were leased for lactage each year, and in the 1330s, this was worth 1½d. per ewe. We cannot know whether peasants leased their ewes, or if they did, what proportion of their flock, but it seems likely that ewes' milk was worth a minimum of what the demesne were prepared to receive for it. If John de Wangford either leased or otherwise used 49 per cent of his ewes' milk, in the production of cheese or butter, then it would have been worth at least approximately 4s. 4½d. annually. He would also have derived some income from the skins of animals that died during the year. The 1335 account details sheepskins sold for 2d. each, but it is impossible to determine how many of his flock were lost each year, and at some point these would have been replenished, and at a significantly higher rate. So, both the estimated annual gross income and expenditure necessarily have a number of caveats attached. Nevertheless, it can be seen that in a good year when losses from murrain were stable, a profit could be made. Based on these projected figures, John de Wangford probably recouped the cost of his initial entry fine within the first year of operating his fold.

It is doubtful that John de Wangford derived his wealth from sheep farming alone. Between 1319-1342 he appears in the court rolls taking possession of small

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548 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/23; this should only be used as a guide as lamb prices recorded in the court rolls in other years offer markedly different sums

549 M. Page, 'The technology of medieval sheep farming: some evidence from Crawley, Hampshire, 1208-1349, *A.H.R.*, 51:2 (2003), p. 148; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/4; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/9; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/14

550 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/9

areas of land, beginning with a messuage and an acre (table 6.10), and although we cannot tell how much of this may have been sub-let or worked by family members, it ultimately comprised a significant acreage. In 1337, the account roll enumerates the rents from the term of St Andrew, alongside 'the farm of…John de Wangford', suggesting a lease of a substantial size.[551] However, from these data it is impossible to construct a more comprehensive picture of his land holdings, and so complete a fuller

Table 6.10: John de Wangford's Holdings, Lakenheath, 1319-1342

Holding	Entry Fine	Term	Rent	Date	Notes
Messuage & 1 acre	13s. 4d.			28 Feb 1319	Grantee
4½ acres	12d.	4 crops		24 Jul 1324	Lessee
Plot of grange				8 May 1325	Grantee; illegal sale
Messuage			3d.	11 Jun 1326	Grantee
Meadow & curtilage	24d.	8 years		8 Oct 1326	Lessee
1½ acres		6 crops		8 Oct 1326	Lessee
1 acre	24d.			13 Jul 1328	Grantee; customary land
17 acres	20s.			20 Feb 1331	Grantee; held by rod
1½ rods & plot of meadow	12d.			1 Dec 1332	Grantee; at will of lord
1½ acres				10 Mar 1333	Lessee: unlicensed
1 acre	4d.	9 years		3 Jan 1334	Lessee
2½ rods & meadow	12d.			23 Mar 1334	Grantee
1 rod				14 Jul 1334	Grantor
1 rod	6d.			14 Jul 1334	Grantee
1 acre	6d.			20 Dec 1334	Grantee; at will of lord
5 rods	24d.			8 Mar 1335	Grantee; at will of lord
1 rod & meadow	12d.			20 Apr 1335	Grantee
1 rod	6d.	6 crops		20 Apr 1335	Lessee
6 acres ¾ rod & meadow	15d.			8 Jun 1335	Grantee
1 acre	40d.		2s.	27 Jun 1336	Grantee; at will of lord
Meadow & curtilage		10 years		3 Sep 1336	Lessee
1½ rods arable/meadow	6d.			3 Sep 1336	Grantee; at will of lord
5 acres	4d.	4 crops		3 Sep 1336	Lessee
2 acres	4d.	2 crops		3 Sep 1336	Lessee
3 rods arable/meadow	6d.			15 Feb 1337	Grantee; at will of lord
2 acres	12d.	4 crops		21 Oct 1337	Lessee
Cottage	24d.	10 years		11 Nov 1337	Lessee
1 rod	6d.			11 Nov 1337	Grantee; at will of lord
1 rod	8d.			8 Jun 1340	Grantee; at will of lord
3 rods	12d.			5 Dec 1342	Grantee; at will of lord

Source: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/21; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/34; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/35; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/41; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/54; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/4; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/18; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/15; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/22; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/23; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/27; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/29; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/33; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/39; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/41; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/12/1; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/12/2; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/13/1; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/2/13/5; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/2/13/7

[551] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/11

itemization of his economic outlook following the Dyer model. We know that in 1327, de Wangford paid 10s. 7½d. in tax, the highest rate in Lakenheath, and marginally more than Isabel Douue, the second highest tax payer, who by then ran two folds of 300 sheep each.[552] Was it a coincidence that the three highest contributors to the Lay Subsidy in Lakenheath in 1327 were tenants running folds—John de Wangford, Isabel Douue and Robert Bolt? In fact, all the peasants listed in table 6.8 were contributors that year, with the exception of Thomas Douue.[553] The fourth highest contributor, Robert de Eriswell, was a wool merchant; and Adam Strange, who erected an illegal fold in 1327 was listed as one of the highest contributors in the neighbouring vill of Eriswell.[554] Sheep farming in Lakenheath, it seems, could be a lucrative enterprise.

Hidden peasant economies—conclusion

Generally, we know much more about the peasant experience in the Midlands, but the documents' preoccupation with the demesne makes it difficult to be certain about peasants' circumstances. Much of this hard-won knowledge has been gleaned from documents less sparing than those reviewed here, where the Midlands documents of Elton and Castor offer but fleeting glimpses of the composition of peasant economies. One thing seems certain: that we should be thinking in terms of *economies*, rather than *economy*. The documents emphasise peasants' distinctive experiences, from both financial and practical perspectives. Although this is most evident in Lakenheath, there are hints that this was the case at Castor, where Roger Paris appeared as a likely specialist sheep farmer. Many alternative or additional factors certainly would have supplemented peasants' income, but the sources are inadequate or silent on many themes. There are references to the leasing of demesne cows at Lakenheath, for example, and despite indications of a small woodland economy at Castor, nothing definite can be said concerning the impact that this had on peasants' livelihoods there. Allusions to garden crops are noted, as at Elton, where the customary payment *tollflax*

[552] Hervey, *Suffolk*, pp. 197-8
[553] Bailey notes that Breckland's rich peasants owned 73 per cent of the peasant flocks: Bailey, *A Marginal Economy?*, p. 192
[554] Hervey, *Suffolk*, p. 198

was paid in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Wildfowl also must have played a part in the peasant economy: we know that Richard in the Lane of Lakenheath had rights over bitterns.

The brief outline offered here is an attempt to uncover peasants' economic experiences, and as such it is imperfect on a number of levels. The case studies cannot elucidate the complete economic position, even if we focus solely on the particular peasants whose lives were briefly illuminated. Nevertheless, by evaluating what can be assessed in detail, it can be seen that, once again, it is incorrect to consider 'peasant economy' as a standardized entity, but rather a series of interlinking economies that were not necessarily aligned with the aims of the demesne. But what this surely does do is to re-emphasize the close relationship between peasants and their environment.

Chapter Seven: The practical landscape

Waste not, want not: the natural world as a resource

Notwithstanding the problems inherent in determining peasants' economic strategies, it is clear that in order to make a living within the three diverse rural communities explored here it was important to have a comprehensive knowledge of the local environment. To a certain extent, as we have seen, local environmental conditions influenced the decisions that some peasants made about the best way to support themselves from the land. Whilst at Elton and Castor arable farming prevailed, at Lakenheath, there was a greater proportion of peasants who derived the bulk of their income from keeping substantial sheep flocks and by fishing. In all three vills, there would also have been a number of smallholders making at least part of their living from artisanal crafts using local resources or their by-products (Appendix 3). However, although the occupational names reveal important evidence concerning professions that might otherwise remain unseen, the data are nevertheless still problematic. There are far fewer occupational names at Castor. Are we to believe that there were no shepherds, swineherds, bakers or brewers there? This was indubitably not the case, but due simply to the vagaries of the survival of those sources most likely to reveal the occupations of smallholders and poorer peasants. The account rolls expose the presence of demesne pigs and sheep, however the principal sources from which bynames have been extracted at Castor—the charters—are biased toward free peasants, most of whom were less likely to have undertaken such lowly professions. The survival of a coroner's report from Ailsworth in 1305 provides a useful insight: John, son of Roger Henry of Ailsworth was found dead, having been beaten around the head and stabbed in the stomach.[555] The inquest reveals him to have been looking after pigs when he was attacked by Adam de la Mor. Neither man appears in any extant records, and yet in 1305, however brief his tenure may have been, Roger Henry was undoubtedly an Ailsworth swineherd.

[555] T.N.A. JUST 2/107

Even where occupational bynames identify those seemingly making their principal living utilising the local environment, the reality may not always have been quite so unambiguous. In Lakenheath, there were four men and one woman called Gardener.[556] Of these individuals, only John Gardener is ever mentioned in connection with gardens, when in 1311 he paid for a licence to make gardens and crofts alongside three other men, none of whom were called Gardener.[557] William Gardener was identified in 1333 as an attorney, but never a gardener.[558] Between 1328-30, a man identified as William Cowherd leased the prior's demesne garden.[559] It is possible that William Gardener and William Cowherd are the same man, but the byname Gardener might well have been inherited and no longer referenced his occupation. Plenty of Lakenheath peasants bore names that did not match their occupation, like Nicholas Gocelyn, butcher and wine merchant; John le Man, fishmonger; and Henry Babil, the prior's fowler.[560] Many peasants must also have attained proficiency in a variety of trades, like William Bloodletter of Castor, who is acknowledged as a tanner.[561]

Nevertheless, the variety of occupational names listed in Appendix 3 hints at the levels of environmental knowledge and expertise acquired by rural peasants. Some occupations, like those connected with cloth manufacture, are more widely referenced. There was a fulling mill at Elton, and several references within the manorial documents isolate evidence of cloth production. The accounts reveal that peasants there owed flax to the lord, which in 1298 was commuted for cash.[562] At Castor, there are no references to the mills in the surviving accounts, despite a late thirteenth-century survey of the abbey's manor detailing one mill in Castor and two in Ailsworth—perhaps there was a separate mill account as there was at Elton.[563] Certainly, earlier surveys alongside the accounts show that servile peasants there collectively owed 30 ells of linen cloth annually, which was probably being produced

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556 William, Thomas, Simon, John and Isabel. Ranulf *le Gardener* lived in Eriswell.
557 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/8
558 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/25
559 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/17; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/13; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/5; this is detailed in the corresponding account rolls, but the farmer is not identified: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/7; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/8
560 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/27; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/10/1; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/ 9/9
561 N.R.O. F(M) Charter 368
562 *E.M.R.*, p. 82
563 C.U.L./PDC/Manuscripts/MS 1

locally.[564] Presumably, those bearing bynames referencing the cloth trade were servile, and do not feature in the surviving records. Despite the inclusion of peasant dyers, there is no direct reference to dying plants in any of the sources, although in modern Breckland the dyeplants madder (*Rubia tinctorum*), dyers' greenweed (*Genista tinctoria*) and weld (*Reseda lutea*) are all native.[565] In 1325 Richard Fairhair was distrained by fourteen ells of red cloth, worth 168d., probably dyed using madder. Based on the correlation between distrained goods and occupation outlined above (Chapter 6, p. 190), we might hazard that Fairhair was a cloth worker.[566] Soap, frequently used in the cloth-making process, was often made from wood ash. In 1318, Richard Oter was in court accused of owing John le Sopere 33d. for soapwort (*ostricium*) supplied to him.[567] The roots of soapwort produced lather, and since there would have been very little wood available for soap-making in Breckland, perhaps the plant was considered a suitable alternative.[568]

Other occupations, alongside domestic and agricultural activities are revealed more obliquely through the chance survival of brief references. Fen grasses were an important resource in Lakenheath, particularly rushes and sedge, which were used for thatching, the latter being considered a superior roofing material.[569] Breckland peasants had common rights over certain resources including mowing rushes and sedge, and cutting peat. Despite the Prior of Ely appointing a fen-reeve for overseeing these valuable resources, it is clear that these rights were frequently abused. Lakenheath peasants were entitled to cut sedge in common fens according to a strict schedule: before Whitsunday, they were to mow only in *westmor*; and in *depfen* only after Lammas, in line with the bylaw; after 1 November each year, peasants were allowed to gather any mown sedge left lying in the fen.[570] It was decreed that all rushes and sedges cut were to be sold within the vill. This bylaw was habitually flouted

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564 Soc. Antiq, MS 60; N.R.O. F(M) 2388-9 and F(M) roll 233
565 P.J O. Trist, *An Ecological Flora of Breckland* (Wakefield, 1979), p. 53, p. 59 and p. 83; J. Grieg, 'Plant resources' in G. Astill and A. Grant (eds), *The Countryside of Medieval England* (1988, Oxford, 1994), p. 124
566 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/38
567 T.N.A. SC2/203-94/M4
568 It was also used for medicinal purposes: A. van Arsdall, *Medieval Herbal Remedies: the Old English Herbarium and Anglo-Saxon Medicine* (London, 2002), p. 213
569 M. Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk, an Economic and Social History, 1200-1500* (2007, Woodbridge, 2010), p. 95
570 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/33; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/2/13/7

by several Lakenheath mowers, and often ignored even by the manorial officials. In 1334 whilst he was fen-reeve, Richard Querour mowed against the statute; since in 1319 he had taken payment from Mildenhall (Sfk) men to allow them access to mow Lakenheath common fens, this should not have come as a surprise.[571]

Some Lakenheath peasants supplemented their income with fen resources, and these often seem to have been the poorer residents. In 1310 Nicholas Sabyn was pardoned for poverty following an unidentified trespass against Matthew Costyn; he was distrained by a scythe, indicating that this was integral to his livelihood (see Chapter 6, p. 190).[572] Over the course of the next few years, most of his court appearances related to the recovery of money owed for sedge supplied to his neighbours, such as the 300 sheaves of roofing thatch he delivered to John de Bircham in 1317.[573] On occasion it is clear that those engaged in mowing took advance orders for sheaves: Henry Pyre, a regular supplier of sedge reneged on a promise to deliver 8,500 sheaves worth 32d. to Richard in the Lane in 1326.[574] At Castor and Ailsworth in 1231, a survey outlines that the virgaters owed 185 sheaves of rushes to the lord annually, so presumably they were extensively available.[575] The field-names *flegges* and *lyngg* perhaps reveal common fuel resources there. Rushes were used in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Castor and Elton, although they had to be purchased elsewhere. Both manors were supplied from Whittlesey Mere (Cam), situated in the fens beyond Peterborough. In 1301, the demesne officials at Castor spent 8s. on eight acres of Whittlesey reeds, whilst in 1298 Elton was supplied with 3,200 sheaves delivered by boat to Yaxley and Alwalton (Hnt) for repairing buildings.[576] Rushes were also used for other purposes, most notably for lights, repairing roads, as wattle, and for scattering on floors.[577] In Lakenheath from 1326, John Cowherd paid 12d. annually for the right to cut rushes and reeds around the fishery of *windelse* for

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571 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/5; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/9; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/11; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/36; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/18
572 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/3
573 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/16
574 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/41
575 Soc. Antiq., MS 60; although the later survey makes no mention of this custom: *H.A.S.V. II,* pp. 175-7
576 N.R.O. F(M) 2388; although tasks related to the carriage of 15 acres of thatching from Whittlesey are listed in the works schedule; *E.M.R.*, p. 65
577 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/18; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/4; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/11; rushes were used for wattle in sheep-folds, the calf-byre and also in more elite buildings like the solar adjacent to the hall

twelve years, specifically for making mattresses.[578] In Lakenheath church today, two hassocks made from local sedge still survive (figure 7.1).

At Lakenheath, the same peasants featuring in the account rolls regularly mowing reeds and sedge were often also associated with turf-cutting, an important fenland fuel. Peat was usually cut in spring, and at Lakenheath the bylaw stated that no peat was to be cut after midsummer.[579] Again, turves were to be sold in the vill, however, for some peasants the lure of additional income was too great and many were amerced for digging more than they ought and selling beyond the village boundary, breaching the bylaw. Peasants attempted to transport turves out of the vill by cart or boat in order to sell them. The vast number that was caught testifies to their necessity—it was clearly worth the risk of a fine.[580] It is possible that the officials could not police such an extensive territory, but more likely that they turned a blind eye:

Figure 7.1: Sedge Hassocks, St. Mary, Lakenheath

Photograph: author

[578] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/45
[579] Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, p. 94; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/32
[580] Between 1310-38, over 200 incidents were recorded in court, with fines ranging from 2d.–12d.

in 1321 the fen-reeve Gilbert Scot, alias Martin, was fined for failing to prevent a boat-load of turves leaving the vill.[581] He reappears in 1336, having dug 80,000 turves—a staggering 60,000 more than his quota.[582] Generally, those habitually in court for these transgressions numbered amongst the poorer peasants; where the better-off peasants feature, like Gilbert Martin, it appears that they had probably acted improperly. In 1322 whilst reeve, William Flaughner sold 10,000 turves to the demesne; the account does not record what he was paid, but based on other entries they were worth at least 6s. and possibly as much as the 13s. John Tunte paid for the same quantity in 1334.[583] In 1337, Flaughner was accused of owing the lord for 7,000 turves he had failed to pay for when serving as reeve.[584] Whereas most of those breaking the bylaws in the turf fens probably did so out of financial need, both Flaughner and Martin abused their office. In 1327 they were tax-payers, suggesting they were relatively well-off: none of the other habitual offenders feature in the Lay Subsidy.[585] Cutting and preparing peat was a laborious task. It was cut into blocks when the land was at its driest, then stacked and dried out, requiring regular turning to ensure that it dried out fully.[586] The Lakenheath account records the '*houlyng*'—covering over—of turves, after which they were carried out of the fen and stacked in the court-yard.[587] Turves were purchased for the demesne at Elton: 4,300 were bought 'at the fen', probably at Farcet (Cam) in 1287 at a cost of 1½d. for every hundred.[588]

Turves were not recorded in Castor; however, there was a common wood there from which the peasants had the right to collect underwood which could be used as fuel. In the twelfth century, the earliest survey details the cottars giving a loaf and a hen each for access to the wood.[589] The Castor works account reveals the process of making faggots—bundles of underwood—many of which would have been used for fuel, although in 1301 several were also used for repairing a pond.[590] The few

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581 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/32
582 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/41
583 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/4; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/32
584 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/13/1
585 S.H.A. Hervey, *Suffolk in 1327, Being a Subsidy Return* (Woodbridge, 1906), pp. 197-8
586 I.D. Rotherham, *Peat and Peat Cutting* (Oxford, 2011), p. 27
587 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/4
588 *E.M.R.*, p. 22
589 *H.A.S.V. II,* pp. 175-7; Soc. Antiq., MS 60; P. Stamper, 'Woods and parks' in G. Astill and A. Grant (eds), *The Countryside of Medieval England* (1988, Oxford, 1994), pp. 134-5
590 N.R.O. F(M) 2388

surviving accounts only mention oak, probably because oak was the most commercially important. Alder grew in the warren at Lakenheath, alongside birches in the fen at Undley and ash in the demesne garden; by far the most frequently noted trees within peasant messuages there were willows.[591] Today, several species of willow are found in the fen, including grey willows (*Salix cinerea*), and two species particularly associated with Lakenheath fens: osiers (*Salix viminalis*) and creeping willow (*Salix repens*).[592] In 1310, Hugh Carpenter was in debt to Alexander Pollard for 5¾d., three willow planks and one 'manday'.[593] Whether he employed him regularly or this was a specific commission is unclear. Notwithstanding the difficulties in correlating bynames and occupations, the number of carpenters and wrights at Lakenheath in proportion to the available timber was high. There is evidence that some peasant houses were made of timber. In 1326, John and Margaret Pralle tried to recover the cost of trees felled for building a house after Matthew Outlawe recovered the tenancy.[594] Alder was used for the demesne kitchen, but there is no mention of the species felled for the Pralles' house.[595] At Elton, hawthorn was used in 1298 for repairing the chapel; whereas brushwood was used to construct a pigsty in the fen at Farcet in 1346.[596] At Lakenheath on several occasions thorns were purchased for the harrows.[597]

References to the stripping of oak bark may reveal evidence of peasant tanning at Castor. In 1301, the account records a receipt of 12s., a not insubstantial sum, from the sale of bark, oak bark in particular being an important part of the tanning process.[598] Additional resources such as urine and dog faeces would have also been required for these processes. There was a tanner in Castor in the fourteenth century (see above, p. 204), and the *Black Book of Peterborough* records carrying services from Castor to Peterborough which specifically included hides (*coria*) that

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591 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/14; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/10/3; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/ 5; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/7; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/35
592 Trist, *An Ecological Flora*, p. 73
593 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/1; Pollard's name may have reflected his occupation
594 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/43
595 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/14
596 *E.M.R.*, p. 65 and p. 323
597 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/7; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/9; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/11
598 N.R.O. F(M) 2388

must have been treated prior to their carriage.[599] Few data survive, except two references to the tawing of cart-horse and draught-animal hides, a process that did not involve the use of bark, the latter being reserved for the tanning of cattle hide.[600] White-tawing featured frequently in the Lakenheath accounts, with most references to horse and sheep hides.[601] There was a tanner at Elton, Ralph Tanner, alias le Barker, who was a tax-payer in both 1327 and 1332 indicating that he was among the better-off residents.[602] The anonymous author of *Husbandry* suggests 'you can easily dress the hide of a horse for 3½d. or 4d.' although in Castor in 1310 it cost 16d. to taw the hides of two draught-beasts.[603] Whether there were enough animal hides to keep one tanner or tawer in work in each rural vill is difficult to determine, and, as we have already seen, William Bloodletter had more than one occupation.

A ditch in time: managing drainage and water resources

According to the anonymous author of the *Seneschaucy*, 'the reeve ought to be…the best husbandman and farmer and…the most suitable person for looking after the lord's interests. He ought to see that the…lands are well ploughed, cultivated, prepared, and sown with as much good and clean seed as the lands demand'.[604] The appointment to the role of reeve was not always a welcome one, and some men like Richard in the Lane at Lakenheath paid a fine rather than take office.[605] But as those writing the agricultural treatises of the late thirteenth century had astutely noted, notwithstanding their reluctance, experienced peasant husbandmen were specialists when it came to understanding the local environment and knowing how to get the best from it. In all three vills, drainage was a major issue: Lakenheath because of its fenland location, and Elton and Castor since they were both riverine. This is reflected

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599 Soc. Antiq., MS 60, f. 187v.
600 N.R.O. F(M) 2388 and 2389
601 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/3; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/4; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/6; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/9; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/11; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/13
602 J.A. Raftis and M.P. Hogan (eds, trans), *Early Huntingdonshire Lay Subsidy Rolls* (Toronto, 1976), p. 187 and p. 248
603 *W.H.*, p. 441; N.R.O. F(M) 2389
604 *W.H.*, p. 277
605 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/12

in the works schedules which reveal the priority given to the maintenance of ditches and drainage dykes. In two out of three years in which accounts survive for Castor, drainage was important: in 1301, and again in 1308 channels were created to allow floodwater to run off, and a runnel was cleared in *penycroft* (Sutton, Ntp) 'to protect the corn'.[606] 124 customary works focused on drainage at Elton in 1298, including 'water-furrowing' and cleaning ditches and fish-ponds.[607] This was a very real issue for riverside manors; Elton's court rolls detail a number of longstanding issues with neighbouring manors damming waters on their boundaries, with Yarwell (Ntp), Water Newton (Hnt), Haddon (Hnt) and Morborne (Hnt) all persistent offenders.[608] More problematic was the damming of the Great Ouse at Outwell (Nfk) by the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry which flooded the Nene at least as far as Elton; that being the case, it must also have impacted Castor and Ailsworth, both closer to the source of the problem.[609] Recent serious flooding in the Nene valley impacted extensive tracts of farmland, following which all the drainage ditches were cleaned and re-dug by local farmers (figure 7.2).

The upkeep and cleaning of ditches and watercourses was so important that it was one of the specific issues dealt with in the leet court, presentments usually being made by senior manorial officials.[610] The overriding impression is that whilst peasants understood the need for maintaining ditches and water resources, their efforts were frequently self-serving. It could prove difficult to rectify the damage caused by obstructing or altering watercourses, especially when the offenders were outsiders. William Miller of Eriswell (Sfk) caused long-standing problems in Lakenheath, beginning in 1321. In 1326 and 1328 he obstructed *ereswelledam* causing extensive flooding to meadow and adjacent common land. The court levied a fine of 80d. and also attempted to recover a further 160d. in damages.[611] By 1333, he had still not cleared the impediment; and between 1334-5 he blocked another watercourse at

606 N.R.O. F(M) 2388; N.R.O. F(M) roll 233
607 *E.M.R.*, pp. 79-80
608 *E.M.R.*, p. 4, p. 34, p. 151; S. Kilby, 'A different world? Reconstructing the peasant environment in medieval Elton' (unpub. MA dissertation, University of Leicester, 2010a), pp. 42-3
609 Kilby, 'A different world?' (2010a), p. 29; *C.M.R. III*, p. 146
610 H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles (eds, trans), *Fleta*, Vol. II (London, 1955), p. 176
611 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/5; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/19

Figure 7.2: The River Nene in Flood, Winter 2012

Notes: Taken upstream of Elton, at Tansor (Ntp). Top: arable fields in flood. Bottom: the road in flood, immediately to the right of the fields.

caldewell, submerging demesne and common land, again being fined 80d.[612] In 1333, a group of Mildenhall (Sfk) men erected an embankment in Lakenheath 'one league long and ten feet wide, and diverted a watercourse used beyond memory of man to the lord's and commoners' damage'.[613] But these self-interested actions were not uniquely perpetrated by outsiders. At Elton in 1331, John Abovebrook was fined for altering a watercourse.[614] Many Lakenheath peasants were amerced for failing to clean ditches, *broos* and lades, causing damage to fenland and meadow: *toftmedwes* and *holm* were frequently affected.[615] This may not have been entirely due to peasant negligence. By 1337, the account records that two new dykes were raised in both places, suggesting that irrespective of peasants' maintenance efforts, these fields were particularly vulnerable to changes in the water-levels.[616] In 1336, several peasants were amerced as their failure to clean a number of named lades allegedly resulted in them drying out.[617] Prompt action could avoid major issues, like the one caused in 1335 when Richard Faukes failed to clean *wilwlade* 'whereby Lakenheath fen flooded to the damage of the whole community of the vill'.[618] Even where peasants proactively cleared their own resources, occasionally there was little consideration for others, as when Matthew Faukes 'threw the filth from his cleared pond' into a common watering place.[619]

The account rolls occasionally reveal the problems caused by extensive natural flooding. In Elton in 1351, a severe flood caused the ruination of meadows, part of the barley crop which was 'rotted by the flood-waters', the loss of eight geese and three bee-hives, 'lost in the flood-waters in the summer'.[620] The account records the impact on the demesne, but the plight of many local peasants must have been calamitous. Demesne officials had to be especially vigilant in the fen, which was much more prone to flooding. Livestock were drowned on a number of occasions at Elton's

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612 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/18; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/20; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/26
613 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/20
614 *E.M.R.*, p. 301
615 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/11; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/19; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/43: *broo*: the bank of a ditch, M.E.D.
616 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/11
617 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/43
618 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/37
619 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/18
620 *E.M.R.*, pp. 364-85

common fen at Farcet in 1314, just prior to the Great Famine of 1315.[621] In Lakenheath in 1283, those responsible for pasturing livestock in the fen at Undley took no chances, returning the demesne stotts to the safety of higher, dryer ground in Lakenheath 'at the time of the great storm'.[622] Occasionally measures were taken to protect demesne resources at Lakenheath, like the ditch dug and new watercourse created between the garden and the fen at Lakenheath 'for the defence of the garden' in 1345.[623] In 1348, the fens of *saxwarp*, *cranesfen* and *crouchestampe* were newly ditched—the implication being that these replaced older structures. With 126 perches at *saxwarp* and 226 perches for the combined *cranesfen* and *crouchestampe*, this was a major undertaking. Peasants too were alert to the possibility that an inundation of water might cause havoc. Many references to peasant ditches—largely unlicensed—indicate their deep understanding of the fenland landscape and the need to protect their resources. A group of Lakenheath fishermen illegally constructed a series of ditches and ponds near *windelse*; and John Douue enclosed an acre of land with hedges and ditches, which in 1321 was of ten years standing: he was clearly in no hurry to expose his investment to the fenland elements.[624]

If flooding was a vexing issue, drought was just as problematic. Breckland was especially vulnerable to dry spells, and was considered to be exceptionally dry by national standards.[625] Kershaw deduced from various manorial accounts that a widespread harvest failure in 1321 was due to prolonged drought, despite no mention of the weather conditions by chroniclers.[626] The Lakenheath account seems to confirm this, with several *botisgongs* paying no rent because 'there was no fishing'; William Kynala was not charged 6s. 8d. rent for a fishery, and Adam Outlawe and John de Bircham surrendered their leased fen into the lord's hands as it was worth nothing

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[621] *E.M.R.*, p. 225; Kershaw suggests the chroniclers were in error when they recorded heavy rainfall in 1314, but it seems the weather must have been wetter than usual that year in Farcet: I. Kershaw, 'The Great Famine and agrarian crisis in England, 1315-1322', *Past and Present*, 59 (1973), p. 6
[622] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/3
[623] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/13
[624] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/15; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/27
[625] M. Bailey, *A Marginal Economy? East Anglian Breckland in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 29-33
[626] Kershaw, 'The Great Famine', p. 15

that year, the drought seriously affecting the fenland water-levels.[627] In 1326-7, the Lakenheath accounts specifically mention a 'great drought' whereby a greater than usual quantity of cereals was sent to Ely, presumably because it was in short supply.[628]

Adverse weather could seriously affect the health of sheep flocks, particularly heavy rains in summer alongside heavy frosts, both these weather extremes being typical in Breckland.[629] The account roll for 1334-5 details 'a great frost', and that year almost 70 per cent of the sheep flock was lost to murrain, the reeve reporting that the hoggets were 'nearly all dying in winter'.[630] High sheep mortality was also evident in 1327-8, and whilst there is no direct reference to drought or excessive rain, *pokkes* was reported in autumn and summer, seven additional grooms were employed to alleviate the shepherd's 'great labour this year', and the entire vegetable crop failed suggesting that something was meteorologically amiss.[631]

As common as muck: keeping the land in good heart

The idea that it was important to maintain clean ditches and watercourses also extended to the way peasants thought about the conservation of the arable farmland. It was necessary to keep the land in good condition, which required an exhaustive knowledge of its composition and quality, alongside what was required in order to conserve and improve soil nutrients. Account rolls frequently offer detailed information regarding seigneurial soil improvement strategies, most often focused on the application of manure. This was certainly the case in all three vills, although the quality of the information differs markedly. In Castor the virgaters owed customary works clearing and spreading dung. The 1231 survey states that: 'each virgater will carry dung every day except Saturday until all the dung from the court-yard is

[627] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/4; M. Bailey, 'The prior and convent of Ely and their management of the manor of Lakenheath in the fourteenth century' in M.J. Franklin and C. Harper-Bill (eds), *Medieval Ecclesiastical Studies in Honour of Dorothy M. Owen* (Woodbridge, 1995), p. 4
[628] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/6
[629] Bailey, *A Marginal Economy?*, p. 125
[630] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/9
[631] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/7

removed, namely, each day six cart-loads'. There were 27 virgates in Castor and Ailsworth listed therein, suggesting that the quantity of demesne dung must have been considerable. The entry follows on from the autumn works, so it seems likely that dung clearing was done after the summer, in preparation for the new agricultural year.[632] The quantities carted at Castor declined between 1300-10; however, there were few servile tenants on the manor, perhaps concealing some of the activities undertaken by the *famuli*; in each oat account, extra feed was reserved for draught-animals carting dung, which were probably led by demesne workers.[633] An Elton works schedule dated 1298 outlines the importance of manuring there. 114 works related to carting and spreading manure, and making dungheaps in the fields.[634] As at Castor, these were all undertaken between Michaelmas and Christmas. A Lakenheath works schedule discloses that 29 customers owed one manuring work each before Christmas, suggesting this was the standard period in which manuring was concentrated. There, 'each will carry dung with his own horse from sunrise until the ninth hour wherever it is ordered upon the lord's land…each work worth 1d.'[635] Caution should be used, however: at Lakenheath in every year in which dung works are recorded, all of them were either commuted for cash or allowed.

More information on manuring is contained within the Lakenheath records than at Elton or Castor, although the data are sporadic and unsystematically recorded. In two years, the sergeant recorded the proportions of demesne land that was manured (table 7.1). Then, only wheat, rye and barley were manured, although a high proportion of the sown acreage of each crop was treated. This may have been due to its predominantly sandy soil—Lakenheath numbered amongst the least productive of the Breckland vills.[636] The majority was manured using the fold, whereas barley was treated using folded and carted dung, the latter comprising just under thirty per cent. The manorial officials were of course peasants, but this did not necessarily mean that peasant manuring strategies mirrored those of the demesne. Little is known about the

[632] N.R.O. F(M) 2388; Soc. Antiq., MS 60
[633] N.R.O. F(M) 2388-9 and roll 233
[634] *E.M.R.,* p. 79
[635] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/6
[636] Bailey, *A Marginal Economy?*, p. 31

Table 7.1: Lakenheath Demesne Manuring Schedule, 1326-8

Crop	1326-7				1327-8			
	Acres Sown	Manured (Fold)	Manured (Cart)	% Manured	Acres Sown	Manured (Fold)	Manured (Cart)	% Manured
Wheat	-	-	-	-	13	13	0	100
Rye	118	112	0	95	99.5	85	0	85
Barley	115	62	33	83	112.5	64.5	30	84

Source: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/6; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/7

practicalities of peasant manuring, but the surviving records testify to its importance. Countless Lakenheath and Elton residents found themselves in court for causing a nuisance in connection with their dungheaps: they placed them in the road, on the common, even blocking and diverting watercourses through their negligence.[637] The problem was so acute that in Lakenheath in 1336 the court issued a statement that:

> 'it is ordained by the whole community of the vill that no one is to make dungheaps in the village and if anyone does so they are to be amerced from court to court.'

This clearly had little effect, since just over a year later an inquiry was ordered to determine the names of those still in breach of the bylaw.[638]

It is usually suggested that peasants generated less manure than lords, since they owned fewer animals, although Stone correctly suggested that they needed less.[639] It is impossible to assess precisely how much peasant manure was produced in Lakenheath, but some individuals undoubtedly generated a great deal. In 1329, Payn Jakes was amerced for taking six cart-loads of manure from outside his house, but which he had already sold to John de Wangford.[640] If we consider the 33 cart-loads that were used to treat the demesne barley in 1326, Jakes' manure would have

[637] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/3; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/26; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/11; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/37; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/18; *E.M.R.*, p. 197, p. 300; others in Elton paid for a licence to place their dungheaps next to their houses, on the common: p. 316, p. 343 and p. 364

[638] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/34; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/13/1

[639] C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: social change in England c.1200-1520*, (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 128-9; R. Jones, 'Manure and the medieval social order' in M.J. Allen, N. Sharples and T. O'Connor (eds), *Land and People: Papers in Memory of John G. Evans* (Oxford, 2009), p. 215; D. Stone, *Decision-Making in Medieval Agriculture* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 263-7

[640] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/13

comprised almost one-fifth of the total, and it is far from certain whether this constituted his entire stock. Jones has suggested that lords seemed unlikely to acquire peasant manure.[641] This may have been the case on secular manors, where resident lords were more aware of the content of peasant dungheaps, but at Elton and Lakenheath, the demesne officials purchased peasant dung several times.[642] In 1308, the dungheap of the deceased villein, Philip Noppe was purchased at Elton, and another was bought in 1325 from a peasant called Shakelock.[643] There are several accounts of dung being purchased at Lakenheath. The majority provide little information, but it seems likely that it was locals' manure. The going rate for a cart-load of manure at Lakenheath in the 1330s and 1340s was 1d.[644] In 1283-4, 8s. was spent on manure for six acres and three rods of land; if the cost then was 1d. per load, then 96 cart-loads were purchased.[645] It is entirely possible that the rate was lower, or that less manure was used in the late thirteenth century, but irrespective of the quantity purchased, 8s. assuredly bought a large amount, and in most years, the accounts record a substantial purchase (figure 7.3).

Whilst these figures are informative, they must be treated with caution, as a glance at the data for 1336-7 shows. Here, the vastly different quantities recorded by the reeve and sergeant reveal that they were each responsible for procuring manure, perhaps from different sources. The reeve's account details the specific quantities, value and former ownership of dung—all local peasants (table 7.2). The sergeant's account simply notes the aggregate cost of purchased dung, which must have included the 5s. 2d. spent by the reeve. How the decisions were made regarding how much manure was required, and which official should source it remain uncertain. What seems clear, however, is that in years when only the reeve's accounts survive, we are probably only seeing a proportion of the total demesne spend on supplementary manure. The data in the reeve's account for 1336-7 are illuminating. Only in William

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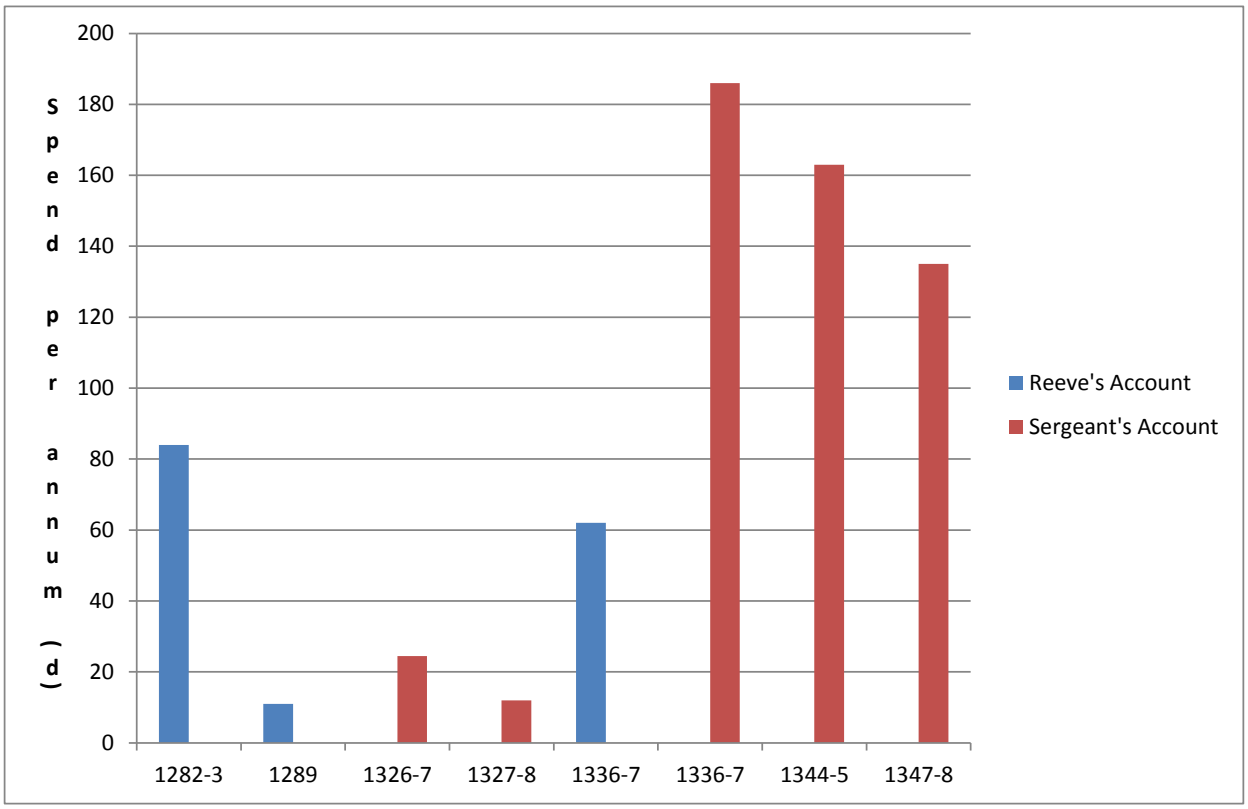
641 Jones, 'Manure', p. 219
642 On manors where the lord was absent it is much less likely that the provenance of the manure mattered, and where peasant managers were making day-to-day decisions.
643 *E.M.R.,* p. 138 and p. 275
644 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/11; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/13
645 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/3; in 1345, 163 cart-loads were purchased for 13s. 7d., or 1d. per load: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/13

Figure 7.3: Dung Purchased by Manorial Officials, Lakenheath, 1282-1348



Source: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1
Note: This excludes manure from the demesne and the village fold

Table 7.2: Peasant Dung Purchased at Lakenheath by the Reeve, 1336-7

Name	Quantity (Cart-Loads)	Price	Price per Cart-Load
Peter Carpenter	24	2s.	1d.
John de Bircham, jnr	[12]	1s.	[1d.]
Agnes Jakes	[6]	6d.	[1d.]
William Cowherd	[13]	13d.	[1d.]
Robert Bole	[7]	7d.	[1d.]
Total	**62**	**5s. 2d.**	**1d.**

Source: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/11
Note: [] denotes assumed quantity / price

Cowherd's case is the source of the manure immediately apparent.[646] Of the remaining peasants, only Robert Bole appears in court in connection with livestock, having caused damage to the demesne with his sheep.[647] The others undoubtedly owned animals, but they do not feature in the surviving records.

The evidence suggests that each of these peasants was poor. The court rolls record that most of them were frequently in court for offences connected with turf digging and sedge mowing, misdemeanours already shown to be more generally associated with the poorer residents (above, p. 206).[648] On the death of John de Bircham senior, his heir Thurstan, John junior's younger brother was due to inherit his father's cottage in Undley; the court records that he paid no heriot, because he was poor, and the land was taken in hand when he failed to present himself.[649] In 1336, Robert Bole claimed to have been disseised of a plot of messuage, having tried to retain it by force of arms; he was unassociated with any other property transfer, and it seems likely that he was a smallholder.[650] Agnes and William Jakes were amerced at least twice for debt.[651] Again, in isolation this is inadequate, nevertheless assessing the combined evidence for each of the peasant manure sellers, the implication seems to be that they were impoverished. Certainly, as smallholders they needed less manure, but the possibility that some were selling expendable assets cannot be ignored. As Payn Jakes' example shows (above, p. 217), it also seems likely that there was an intra-peasant manure market, wherein poorer peasants sold to those with larger holdings. John de Wangford, the buyer of Jakes' six cartloads of dung was the wealthiest peasant in Lakenheath in 1327. It is worth noting that following his purchase, the manure remained outside the vendor's house, rather than being moved by the purchaser. In a similar vein, Isabel Douue, the second wealthiest peasant in Lakenheath, was amerced for failing to fill in a 'great cesspit' (*puteum magnum*) containing dung, which therefore cannot have been located on her property. Were these wealthy peasants attempting

[646] William Cowherd leased the demesne herd, so their dung was effectively his property.
[647] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/22
[648] Robert Bole and his father, Hugh were amerced on several occasions for associated offences, as were John de Bircham and his father; Agnes Jakes' husband William was fined for similar offences.
[649] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/5
[650] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/34
[651] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/12; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/22

to emulate elites in distancing themselves from compost production processes?[652] Certainly, peasants considered manure to have a commercial value. In 1333, Ranulf Gardener accused Adam Outlaw of failing to return a cow leased to him for six months, for which he had allegedly agreed to pay 6d. for dung and milk; and Adam Goodhewe held the ignoble position of 'groom of the dungheap', looking after the cow dung, presumably partly because of its perceived value.[653]

Scientific fields: peasants and medieval science

Maintaining soil quality was important to manorial officials and peasants alike, peasants' survival being closely linked to their agricultural success. It was necessary to understand the qualities of local soil and know how to treat it in order to get the best return from it. Besides using manure to enhance soil structure, peasants also dug for chalk, marl, and, at Lakenheath, clay in order to aid improvement; planting schemes also frequently included legumes, replenishing soil nutrients. Peasants clearly understood that the land needed nourishment, but they also had to decide where best to deploy their limited fertiliser stocks, and this required a thorough understanding of the land they worked. Nothing emphasises this more than the field-names, many of which were selected and retained over a long period, and which describe the specific nature of discrete cropping units. This has been overlooked by many scholars, who fail to see beyond the confines of modern taxonomic concerns and therefore generally only consider medieval field-names anachronistically, through the prism of a nineteenth- and twentieth-century emphasis which privileges classification over contextual analysis.[654] This view fails to take into account the world-view of the late-

[652] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/10/1; Hervey, *Suffolk*, p. 198; Jones, 'Manure', p. 217; R. Jones, 'Elemental theory in everyday practice: food disposal in the later medieval English countryside', *Ruralia*, 8 (2011), p. 62
[653] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/25; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/14
[654] J. Field, *A History of English Field-Names* (London, 1993); W.E. Cunnington, 'The field-names of Kingsbury (Middlesex)', *J.E.P.N.S.*, 32 (2000), pp. 41-6; H. Daniels and C. Lagrange, 'An analysis of Romsey field-names', *J.E.P.N.S.*, 34 (2002), pp. 29-58

medieval peasant, although outside onomastic study, scholars are beginning to address this.[655]

By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the world had long been understood in elemental terms, and as part of a universal scheme in which all matter comprised a combination of one of four elements: fire, air, water and earth. Everything within this system was further assigned specific qualities: warm, cold, moist and dry.[656] The entire universe was considered in these terms, and in order to ensure harmony it was deemed necessary to attain balance in all things. By the early eleventh century, Byrhtferth of Ramsey considered these ideas to be widely known. Even though he taught young oblates and secular clerics—those he referred to as 'rustic priests' [*uplendisca preost*]—and suggested that certain matters were difficult for the latter to grasp, he nevertheless advocated that 'it is a commonplace that there are four elemental bodies, each of which has two qualities, one being intrinsic (confined to itself), the other being shared with another element.'[657] This indicates that even for the uneducated, the idea that natural order was maintained through the shifting balance between the four elements and their corresponding qualities was widely understood. In the thirteenth century, this was interpreted by Walter of Henley in the context of maintaining the right elemental balance in the fields. He instructed that in some instances dung ought to be mixed with earth to temper its great heat, and that great care should be taken in considering the qualities of the mixture of fertiliser applied, alongside those of the ground itself. By way of example he suggested using mixed manure on gravelly soil because:

> '…the time of summer is hot, and the gravel is hot also, and the dung is hot, and when these three heats meet together, by their great heat they vex and burn, after midsummer, the barley that

[655] Kilby, 'A different world?' (2010b), p. 74; M. Gardiner, 'Oral tradition, landscape and the social life of place-names' in R. Jones and S. Semple (eds), *Sense of Place in Anglo-Saxon England* (Donington, 2011), p. 16
[656] R. Jones, *The Medieval Natural World* (Harlow, 2013), pp. 12-17
[657] P.S. Baker and M. Lapidge (eds), *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion* (Oxford, 1995), p. 111 and p. 121; C. Hart, *Learning and Agriculture in Late Anglo-Saxon England and the Influence of Ramsey Abbey on the Major English Monastic Schools: a Survey of the Development of Mathematical, Medical and Scientific Studies in England Before the Norman Conquest*, Vol. II, Book 2 (Lampeter, 2003), p. 439; Kilby, 'A different world?' (2010a), p. 48

> grows in gravel as you may see as you go along by the fields in many places…'[658]

Thus, Walter implies that careful consideration of the constituent elements of the material in question—earth and manure—should be taken, alongside the right time of year for the most efficacious treatment to increase the chances of a successful harvest. This recognises that in medieval terms, a field is not just a field: each furlong displayed qualities that were taken into account when assessing how best to treat them.

Those peasants principally engaged in working the fields were aware of the qualities of the land they tilled. In Lakenheath in 1317, Peter Swift was excused the customary entry fine upon receipt of one acre 'because of the weakness of the land, and the great burden of the customs'; and in 1325 Katherine Faukes surrendered one and a half acres into the lord's hands for the same reason.[659] It is perhaps unsurprising to find that some Lakenheath land was considered inferior by general medieval arable standards, given its Breckland location. However, a transfer of over 33 acres in Elton in 1304 included half an acre described as sub-standard; and in a bond agreed at Castor in 1275, Peter Asselin promised to pay John le Butler 3s. 6d. 'for every acre belonging to [John] in the fields of Castor, except one *cultura* which is called *westallewete*'.[660] The name translates either as 'west all wet' or, more likely 'waste all wet', indicating its wet nature and lack of worth.[661] It was clearly a matter vitally important to peasants. Might this help to explain obviously descriptive field-names in each of the three vills (table 7.3)? They reveal much more than mere description or close observation: they also succinctly conveyed vital information that assisted peasants' understanding of what might be needed in order to manage them successfully. It is immediately obvious why Castor's *westallewete* might be seen as problematic and worth avoiding from the perspective of a medieval husbandman, whereas *blakemylde* with its rich dark, soil would be much more appealing.

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[658] *W.H.*, p. 327; Jones, 'Elemental theory', p. 3
[659] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/31; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/2
[660] T.N.A. E40/10857; N.R.O. F(M) Charter 79; *cultura* can mean either furlong or selion, and it probably means the latter since it is unlikely that John le Butler held an entire furlong. Since the deed suggests the funds were paid 'in the manor of the said John', and there was a later documented Butler's Fee, the possibility that it means 'furlong' cannot be entirely discounted.
[661] In ME 'waste' was spelled *west*, *wiste*: *M.E.D.*

Table 7.3: Descriptive Furlong Names at Elton, Castor and Lakenheath

Furlong	Vill	Definition
Aldwellemor	Castor	Old spring marsh/barren upland
Blakemylde	Castor	Black soil
Blakelonds	Lakenheath	Black lands
Brendlond	Castor	Burned land
Calkeshe	Lakenheath	Chalk
Chalkyhil	Elton	Chalky hill
Chiselstonhowe	Elton	Gravel stone mound
Cley, le	Castor	The clay
Cleyfurlong	Elton	Clay furlong
Caldewell	Elton	Cold spring
Coldfurlong	Castor	Cold furlong
Dedemor	Castor	Dead marsh/barren upland
Kaldewellwong	Lakenheath	Cold well field
Follewellemor	Elton	Foul well marsh/barren upland
Fulond	Castor	Foul land
Folwyndelond	Lakenheath	Very windy land
Molwellehyl	Elton	Gravel spring hill
Rouenee	Lakenheath	Flooding landing place or stream
Sandmere	Lakenheath	Sandy pool
Sondput, le	Lakenheath	Sandy pit
Sondes, le	Elton	The sands
Stanesbeche	Lakenheath	Stony ridge
Stanelode	Lakenheath	Stony lode
Stonehylles, Stonihel	Elton, Lakenheath	Stony hill(s)
Stanewelle, Stanewellehil	Castor	Stony spring
Stonywong	Castor	Stony field
Welle	Lakenheath	Spring
Westallewete	Castor	Waste all wet

A number of the descriptive names reference soil types that Walter of Henley considered especially problematic if treated incorrectly: clayey, chalky, sandy and stony soils.[662] Is it possible that these names survived into the late medieval period specifically because of their mnemonic qualities? One of the most puzzling aspects of the study of field-names is determining what generates change, and conversely, ensures stability. Returning to the consideration that in their earliest form field-names most commonly contained a landscape referent (see Chapter 4, p. 125), clearly some of these survive whilst other names became obsolete. The names referencing soil type are especially interesting, since they only really make sense when we realise that their environmental context is noteworthy. At Elton, *cleyfurlong* is significant because it lay

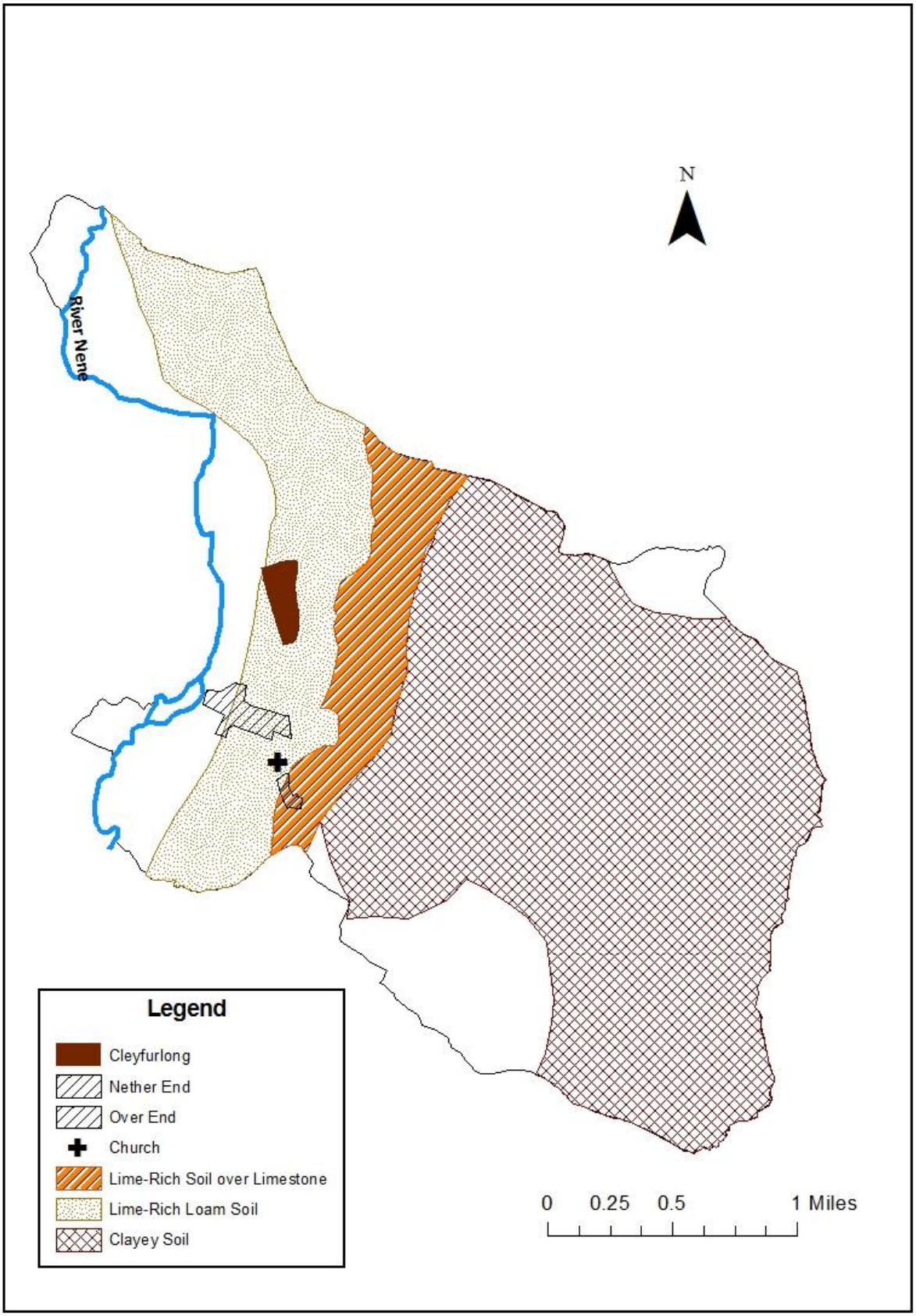
[662] *W.H.,* p. 323

outside the main band of heavy boulder clay, its name a practical reminder of an isolated area of uncharacteristic soil (figure 7.4).[663] Similarly, the 'sand' names stand out at Lakenheath, which was in part characterised by its sandy soil. These names initially seem odd, until the location of one medieval furlong, *le sondput*, is considered (figure 7.5). It is surrounded by fenland, and lies in the extreme easternmost portion of the arable. The name suggests that it represents an especially sandy area even by Breckland standards, but also perhaps marks the point at which the peat fen becomes sandy soil. Like Elton's *cleyfurlong*, *le sondput* seems ordinary, but was in fact conspicuous in its contextual difference. Returning to Walter of Henley, might it be possible that there is a correlation between these particular furlongs and his instructions for the treatment of these soil types? This might also help to explain the greater longevity of some of the earliest field-names, like Castor's *aldwellemor* and Elton's *molwellehyl*. In his instructions regarding chalky and sandy soils, Walter reminds the husbandman that they are 'not like to be stirred in great moisture': in other word's they were more likely to be dry, this a reference to medieval science that would have been obvious to a contemporary readership.[664] Conversely, the name *aldwellemor* revealed its extreme wetness, since both *welle* and *mor* were wet; and at *molwellehyl*, in medieval scientific thinking, the wet spring would have been tempered by the dry, hot gravel which is still a noticeable feature of this furlong today (figure 7.6).[665] Elton's *chiselstonhowe* would have been seen as doubly-dry, since *cisel* (gravel) and *stan* (stone) were both individual elements. Not having access to agricultural treatises, did the peasant community selectively retain those names that provided the most useful reminder for the treatment of specific, and potentially problematic furlongs?

To suggest that peasants understood the fundamental tenets of medieval science might be considered to stretch the boundaries of credibility to their absolute limit. Nevertheless, there is contemporary evidence that supports this view in each of the three vills. Practices that were undoubtedly scientific and grounded in the thinking

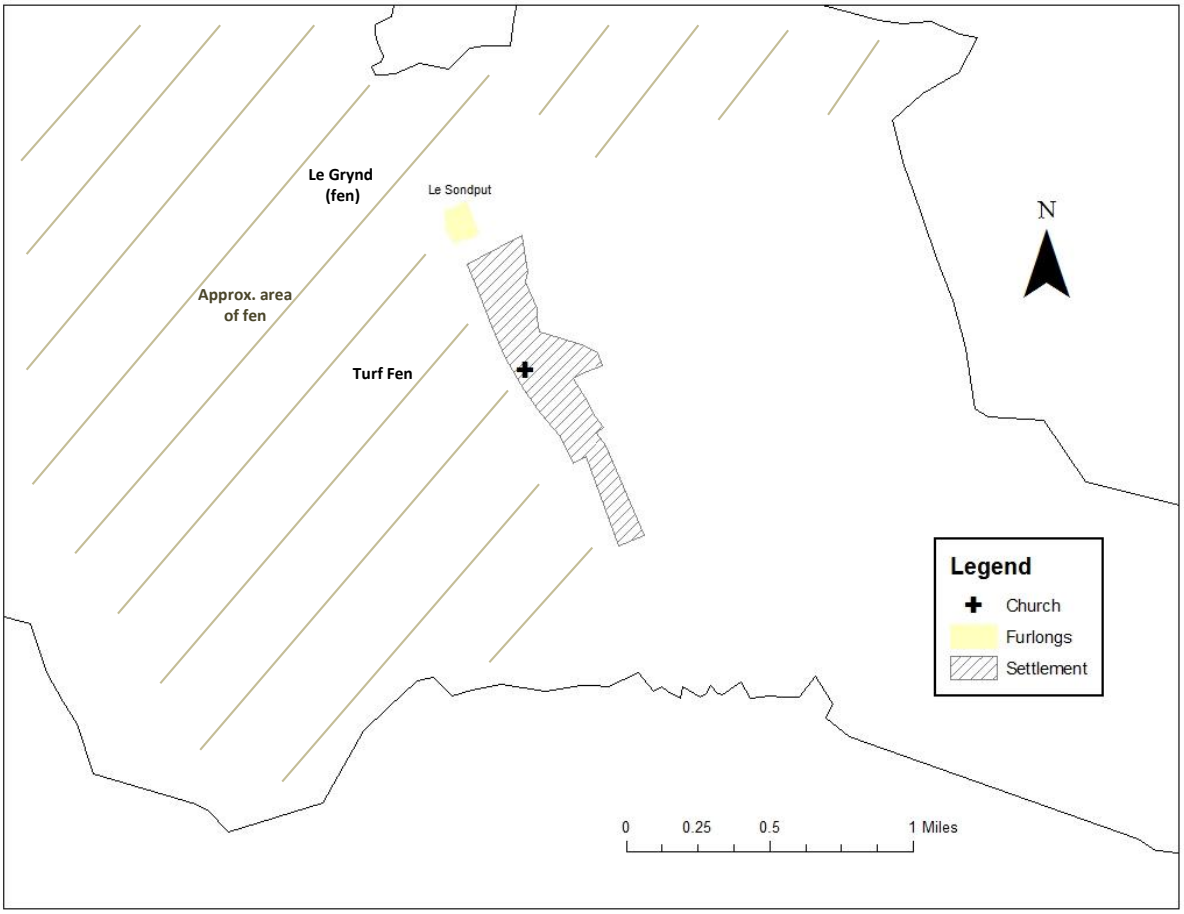
[663] Kilby, 'A different world?' (2010a), p. 53; R.O.L., Appendix 3.1
[664] *W.H.,* p. 323
[665] Kilby, 'A different world?' (2010b), p. 75

Figure 7.4: *Cleyfurlong*, Elton



Source: R.O.L.; National Soil Resources Institute, Cranfield University, http://www.landis.org.uk/development/soilscapes/

Figure 7.5: *Le Sondput*, Lakenheath



Source: B.R.O. HD 1720/3; J.T. Munday, *Field and Furlong* (Lakenheath, 1972)

Figure 7.6: Modern *molwellehyl*, Elton

Photograph: author
Notes: Top: modern *molwellehyl* from below. Bottom: limestone brash lying along the ridge of the hill

already outlined were undertaken in both Elton and Castor, the most obvious of which was phlebotomy. Blood-letting was an integral part of the canon of medieval medical treatment, intricately connected to elemental theory through the idea of macrocosm and microcosm: that man (microcosm) mirrored the universe (macrocosm) in miniature. Whereas the universe consisted of a combination of four elements, man comprised four humours—blood, phlegm, black bile and yellow bile.[666] Jolly suggests that the basic idea of the microcosm and macrocosm is the 'unstated basis of practices found in both learned…and…*popular* texts' from the early medieval period onward.[667] Man's humoral composition changed at different life stages and when unwell, and it was considered important to try and maintain a balance of all four. Blood-letting, alongside purging the body and the application of ointments and plasters, was one of the key means by which it was believed that balance could be restored.[668]

These procedures must have been practised at Castor by William Bloodletter. Unlike some of the peasants outlined above (p. 204), this byname certainly related to at least one of William's occupations.[669] Several charters mention the family, who bore three bynames all related to blood-letting. Blood-letter; *fleobo*, which references the instrument William used to extract blood; and *sharp*, a nickname referring to the more wince-inducing elements of his occupation.[670] Even though he was almost certainly a freeman, William was unlikely to have had a university education, and was probably one of a number of common practitioners operating in fourteenth-century England; Voigts argues that the circulation of vernacular treatises on phlebotomy after 1300 reveals an increase in the number of such empiric practitioners.[671] Perhaps even more indicative of the dissemination of these scientific ideas to the lower orders was the

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[666] C. Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England* (1995, Stroud, 1997), p. 33
[667] K. L. Jolly, 'Magic, miracle, and popular practice in the early medieval west: Anglo-Saxon England' in E.S. Frerichs, P.V.M. Flesher and J. Neusner (eds), *Religion, Science, and Magic in Concert and in Conflict* (Oxford, 1989), p. 172, my emphasis
[668] Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society*, p. 61
[669] He is also identified as a tanner (see above, p. 204). Curth suggests that animal urine and excrement were often used in medicine, which may help explain William's alternative occupation: L. Curth, *The Care of Brute Beasts a Social and Cultural Study of Veterinary Medicine in Early Modern England* (Boston, 2010), p. 24
[670] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 351, 368, 404, 413 and 462 all refer to William and his wife, Alice.
[671] I. Taavitsainen, 'A zodiacal lunary for medical professionals' in L.M. Matheson (ed.), *Popular and Practical Science of Medieval England* (East Lansing, 1994), p. 284; L.E. Voigts, *A Latin Technical Phlebotomy and its Middle English Translation* (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 6-7

porcine blood-letting practised at Elton.[672] Byrhtferth of Ramsey encompassed animals and birds in his writings on humoral theory, as did the eleventh-century *Lacnunga,* and so it is perhaps unremarkable to discover faunal phlebotomy in Elton.[673]

Of the two mentions of bleeding pigs, the later incidence was undoubtedly carried out by low status peasants.[674] Two *garcionum* were sent to Farcet fen to bleed the pigs, 'about the Feast of the Blessed Peter in April' [29th April 1308].[675] Clearly, the task of bleeding the pigs was not considered so specialised that it required a mature and learned practitioner, the implication being that young men were taught this practice as part of their education in animal husbandry; perhaps more importantly, despite their status they were still expected to know how to perform this scientifically based practice. The tenth-century Bald's *Leechbook* describes in detail the most efficacious times for blood-letting, all of which are closely aligned to the lunar cycle:

> '…bloodletting is to be abstained from for fifty nights before Lammas and afterwards for thirty-five nights, because then all harmful things are flying and do much injury to people...physicians teach also that no one should let blood when the moon is five nights old and again when it is ten nights and fifteen and twenty and twenty-five and thirty nights old, but between each of the six fives...'[676]

On 29th April 1308, the moon was in the eighth day of its cycle and so based on the *Leechbook*, if the blood-letting was performed then, it was considered to be a good day.[677] The undated folkloric rhyme *The Days of the Mone* confirms this:

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[672] Kilby, 'A different world?' (2010a), pp. 55-8; Kilby, 'A different world?' (2010b), p. 75
[673] Hart, *Learning and Culture*, p. 453; E. Pettit (ed., trans.), *Anglo-Saxon Remedies, Charms, and Prayers from British Library MS Harley 585, The Lacnunga*, Vol. 1 (Lampeter, 2001), p. 123
[674] H.S.A. Fox, 'Exploitation of the landless by lords and tenants in early medieval England' in Z. Razi and R. Smith (eds), *Medieval Society and the Manor Court* (Oxford, 1996), p. 521
[675] *E.M.R.,* p. 142
[676] Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, p. 161
[677] NASA, US Government, http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/phase/phasecat.html [seen online September 2010]

Þe viii day, ho so wele,	[The eighth day, who so well,]
Lat hym blod by good skele	[let him blood by good skill]
Whan he seet hys tyme.	[when he set his time.]
But ho so wel schal any dede done,	[But who so well shall any deed done,]
Best hyt ys before þe none,	[best it is before the noon,]
By twyxte underne and pryme.	[between undern (9 a.m.) and prime (6 a.m.)] [678]

The verse singles out blood-letting, but advises that it is best performed before noon, specifically between 6 a.m. and 9 a.m. The idea that there were good and bad days on which to undertake certain tasks was not limited to medical theory in this period, and the notion that those working the land should have an understanding of the lunar calendar and the moon's effects on husbandry was certainly a commonplace by the sixteenth century. Gervase Markham, editing the sixteenth-century *La Maison Rustique* in the early seventeenth century and applying it to English husbandry was unequivocal that:

> 'Notwithstanding that the consideration and observation of the motions...of the stars...the sun and the moon...appertain unto some excellent astrologian than to a simple husbandman...for as much as the greatest part of matters of husbandry, as beasts, plants, trees and herbs...take their generation, nourishment [and] growth...[from] these two organs...it is very expedient that the farmer...should have that knowledge...which teacheth their virtues and powers...'[679]

Sowing seeds and harvesting crops, including the felling of timber, were all rooted in the same scientific belief system. Precise dates for harvesting crops are

[678] W. Farnham, 'The days of the mone', *Studies in Philology*, 20 (1923), p. 75
[679] G. Markham (ed.), *La Maison Rustique or The Countrey Farme* (1616), p. 22 [seen online September 2010] http://eebo.chadwyck.com

never offered within manorial accounts, however isolated dates for related matters occasionally feature. An entry in Elton's 1311-2 account roll outlines that 'two carpenters [were] hired during 4 days...about mid-Lent for felling, trimming and drying timber', which would mean that the date of their employment was around 6 March 1312.[680] The Roman agronomist Varro, whose works were widely read across the medieval period by encyclopaedists like Bartholomew the Englishman, suggested that 'some operations should be carried out...during...the waning of the moon...such as the harvest and [the cutting of] wood'.[681] According to Byrhtferth, trees should never be cut in the days following a new moon, but ought to be felled following a full moon and its period of waning since they were 'more resistant to...worms and more durable than those that are cut when the moon is new'.[682] The full moon appeared on 23 February 1312, and it continued to wane until the new moon on 9 March. At the time the Elton carpenters were felling trees, it would have been in the last quarter of its cycle, and so the trees were felled in accordance with didactic instruction. A fourteenth-century translation of a Roman treatise on horticulture outlines that even wine needed to be handled in accordance with the lunar calendar, lest it be ruined.[683] Moving wine around the full moon would sour it, and the right time for transportation was close to the new moon. Lakenheath carters frequently transported the prior's wine, although the precise date is only given once: on the day of the Holy Innocents [28 December, 1307] a dole of wine was taken to the prior at Shippea (Cam), three days after the new moon.[684] These fleeting glimpses into peasants' scientific world-view are buried deep within the manorial documents. Quantitatively, they are insignificant, and yet despite their insufficiency there is a consistency that suggests we ought not discount the possibilities they present altogether.

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680 *E.M.R.*, p. 169
681 *O.A.*, p. 261; echoed by Cato, p. 53
682 Byrhtferth, *Enchiridion*, p. 145; this advice is also offered by Plutarch: Plutarch, *Moralia*, Book 8, P.A. Clement and H.B. Hoffleit (trans) (London, 1969), p. 277
683 D.G. Cylkowski, 'A Middle English treatise on horticulture: Godfridus Super Palladium' in L.M. Matheson (ed.), *Popular and Practical Science of Medieval England* (East Lansing, 1994), p. 324
684 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/6

‘All that a young colt is taught, he will hold’: peasants and animal husbandry

So wrote a Benedictine monk, Michel of Northgate in 1340.[685] He was writing on morality and the seven deadly sins, but the proverb also acts as a reminder of the traditions of oral transmission and unacknowledged apprenticeship established within peasant culture through which the young learned the art of agronomy. The responsibility for demesne livestock ultimately lay with local peasants, who received no formal schooling in animal husbandry, but presumably learned from childhood by accompanying relatives and neighbours at their work. Fleeting references to grooms assisting shepherds, and young boys scaring birds from newly sown fields abound in manorial accounts. At Lakenheath, it was the business of local women to assist the shepherd in shearing and anointing sheep as well as milking them.[686] There, local fishermen were responsible for the annual swan-upping, the process through which swans and other fowl were captured, accounted for, checked, pinioned and marked. In 1283, 24 fishermen alongside other unnamed individuals spent four days capturing and marking ‘48 old swans and 42 young’, a practice known as *shouyng* and *stoukyng*.[687] Marking the swans involved carving assigned marks into their bills, a process that continued in Lakenheath into the sixteenth century.[688]

Assessing the key treatises of the late thirteenth century—*The Rules*, *Seneschaucy*, and *Walter of Henley*—there is little mention of the practical application of animal husbandry. The *Seneschaucy* and *Walter of Henley* note that sheep might succumb to ‘murrain’, the general term for unspecified disease, or rot, but neither offer veterinary advice; both suggest slaughtering livestock in order to assess their health, rather than considering palliative care or healing.[689] A later copy of the original *Walter of Henley* manuscript, dated *c*.1300 includes a separate brief treatise on the

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[685] R. Morris (ed.), *The Aȝenbite of Inwit* (1866, London, 1965), verse 220
[686] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/3; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/6
[687] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/3;
[688] J.T. Munday, *Styward’s Substance* (Lakenheath, 1970), p. 3; A. MacGregor, ‘Swan rolls and beak markings: husbandry, exploitation and regulation of *Cygnus olor* in England, *c*.1100-1900’, *Anthropozoologica*, 22 (1996), pp. 48-9
[689] *W.H.*, p. 275 and p. 337

treatment of sheep which begins with an account of 'pocks'.[690] This may be because it is considered that some ovine diseases were only introduced *c.*1274, when scab (*psoroptes communis var. ovis*), associated with the term 'murrain' was first recorded as having been imported from mainland Europe.[691] Were diseases like this—soon to become epidemic—simply too new to be noted in the original treatises? Even if that were the case, the omission of practical advice on treatment from the later copies is striking, and when compared with the information recorded in some manorial accounts it seems odd.

Certainly, it seems that in treating sheep scab there was a transition from the application of unguents like pig fat, butter, ointment and verdigris through to using tar *c.*1320; this is apparent at Elton and Lakenheath, where tar seems to have been introduced in 1325 and 1335 respectively.[692] Nevertheless, according to numerous accounts, the earliest treatments were being applied by the late thirteenth century, and their absence from the treatises and their later copies suggests elective omission. At Lakenheath in 1284, the purchase of ointment was specifically described as being 'for the medical care of the sheep'.[693] Albeit sporadic, the several hints at veterinary treatment in the Elton accounts imply an underlying peasant practice that did not feature in the treatises that were written by those higher up the social scale, however marginal that elevation might be. In 1287, the Elton account records two payments in minor expenses for 'carminating an ox' followed by 'healing nine piglets'.[694] No information is provided on the processes undertaken, but these were clearly veterinary procedures that were probably carried out by local peasants. Pliny refers to the carminative effects of thistles when eaten by asses, and this is implied in the *Old English Herbarium* which instructs that thistles are efficacious for 'stimulat[ing] the

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690 *W.H.*, p. 185 and p. 381
691 R. Trow-Smith, *A History of British Livestock Husbandry to 1700* (London, 1957), p. 155; T.H. Lloyd, 'Husbandry practices and disease in medieval sheep flocks', *Veterinary History*, 10 (1977), p. 11; although the *Lacnunga* includes a treatment for sheep scab: Petitt, *Lacnunga*, p. 99
692 M. Page, 'The technology of medieval sheep farming: some evidence from Crawley, Hampshire, 1208-1349, *A.H.R.*, 51:2 (2003), p. 149; *E.M.R.*, p. 275; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/9
693 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/3
694 *E.M.R.*, p. 22

intestines' when the dried roots were powdered and made into a drink.[695] Some ailments were clearly beyond the capabilities of local husbandmen: in Lakenheath in 1323, a weak cow urinating blood was sold. Three hundred years later, Markham suggested a curative drink made from shepherd's purse, but clearly any contemporary remedy had failed in this case.[696]

In 1325 in Elton Robert le Marchal—the farrier—was paid 12d. 'for treating [*marescallando*] one sick horse and burning another horse with *le ringbon*', a disease associated with horses' hooves which makes them lame.[697] Treatises on equine medicine did not appear in English until the fifteenth century, and yet over 100 years earlier this reference appears in Elton's manorial accounts. This mirrors works on faunal phlebotomy: treatises like Markham's *Compleat Husbandry* outlined in the early seventeenth century what peasant husbandmen had practised in the thirteenth.[698] There were farriers residing in Elton as early as 1300, and so treatment was undertaken by local practitioners; moreover, they were described as villeins.[699] A 1345 reference to sheep dead from murrain, of 'ailments on their bones' suggests that husbandmen attempted to diagnose disease, even if they were not aware of the correct vocabulary; Bailey's comment that the common use of 'murrain' reflected general ignorance hardly seems fair, particularly as it is unclear whether many accounts echo scribal or peasant understanding in this respect.[700] The absence of detailed veterinary advice in the thirteenth-century treatises alongside the fleeting references in manorial accounts might be explained because it was expected that these duties formed an integral part of the offices of those occupied in demesne

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[695] Pliny, *Natural History*, Vol. 7, W.H.S. Jones (ed., trans.) (London, 1956), p. 457; A. van Arsdall, *Medieval Herbal Remedies: the Old English Herbarium and Anglo-Saxon Medicine* (London, 2002), p. 217

[696] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/1/4; G. Markham, *A Way to Get Wealth* (1623, London, 1695), p. 66; Mascal suggested 'sharpe tanners owze' as a remedy: L. Mascal, *The Government of Cattell* (London, 1633), p. 13

[697] *E.M.R.*, p. 274

[698] G.R. Keiser, 'Medicine for horses: a medieval veterinary treatise', *Veterinary History*, 12 (2004), p. 125; G.R. Keiser, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500,* vol. 10, (New Haven, 1998), pp. 3906-7; G. Markham, *The Compleat Husbandman and Gentleman's Recreation, or The Whole Art of Husbandry* (London, 1795), p. 24 [seen online August 2013] http://eebo.chadwyck.com

[699] *E.M.R.*, pp. 93-5

[700] Bailey, *A Marginal Economy?*, pp. 125-6

animal husbandry, and were included in their stipend.[701] Certainly, on many manors, shepherds were responsible for the medical care of their flocks.[702] The majority of account rolls record large flocks of wethers, but of their castration, nothing is mentioned. It is striking that the porcine blood-letting at Elton took place in Farcet Fen: it was recorded because of the travelling expenses, not because of the practice itself. Of the medical procedures featured in myriad accounts, it is those with associated costs that appear most frequently: the medicaments purchased for sheep, the corn used for feeding enfeebled livestock, pigs slaughtered for their fat etcetera. We cannot entirely discount the possibility that these brief examples from within the accounts hint at hidden veterinary expertise that was not learned from written sources, but attained through direct experience, apprenticeship and oral testimony.

[701] Curth, *The Care of Brute Beasts*, p. 66; although Harrod noted a reference to ewes and wethers within court rolls at Heacham (Nfk) being sold '*per visum veterinarii*' in 1360, but it is unclear who this individual was: H. Harrod, 'Some details of a murrain of the fourteenth century, from the court rolls of a Norfolk manor', *Archaeologia*, 41 (1867), p. 11

[702] D. Stone, 'The productivity and management of sheep in late medieval England', *A.H.R.*, 51:1 (2003), pp. 18-9

Chapter Eight: Ordering the landscape

Organising the landscape of the medieval vill

Examining village morphology is often an important first step in understanding the local environment in more detail. Traditionally the domain of the archaeologist, approaches to the physical medieval rural environment tend to focus on settlement and open-field reconstruction. From the perspective of the historian, there is a relative abundance of documentary sources which ostensibly survey aspects of the agrarian landscape, but, as Dyer and Harvey suggest, they are frequently problematic, usually omitting much information and rarely offering a fuller picture of the rural environment populated by medieval peasants.[703] Whereas archaeological survey normally offers a more balanced insight into lords and their tenants, medieval documentary surveys tend to emphasise seigneurial assets, being especially informative about manorial *curia*, but offering only the most fleeting details of the peasant holdings are recorded. A 1321 survey of the Peterborough Abbey manor at Castor illustrates the point:

> …there is there a capital messuage without garden or curtilage…1 dovecote... in demesne 195 acres of arable…13½ acres of meadow…a certain common pasture…a certain foreign wood…a certain enclosed wood…and…a certain several fishery in the river *Neene*…[704]

The Castor tenants are mentioned in connection with their arable holdings and their respective value to the lord. Thus, each virgate is noted, but the messuage associated with each holding is absent. Beyond the demesne assets, we learn nothing of the physical organisation of either manor or vill alongside the associated dwellings, crofts, roads and paths. Without detailed archaeological survey, it is difficult to say very much about medieval settlement morphology—both manorial *curia* and peasant dwellings

[703] P.D.A. Harvey, 'The documents of landscape history: snares and delusions', *Landscape History*, 13 (1991), pp. 47-52, reproduced in *M.M.,* 13, pp. 1-13; C. Dyer, 'Documentary evidence: problems and enquiries', in in G. Astill and A. Grant (eds), *The Countryside of Medieval England* (1988, Oxford, 1994), 12-35
[704] *H.A.S.V. II*, pp. 175-7

could migrate—nevertheless, it is possible to outline some elements of the settlements of Castor, Elton and Lakenheath using a combination of archaeological and documentary data.

The areas occupied by the principal lords in each respective vill can be identified (figures 8.1-3). At Castor, the earthworks of the Abbot of Peterborough's manorial complex are still visible.[705] The complex was situated a short distance from the centre of both settlements, almost equidistant between Castor and Ailsworth. The moated site is set back from the modern road.[706] Similarly, the Abbot of Ramsey's manorial complex at Elton appears to have been separate from the peasant dwellings, occupying a site close to the Nene and containing one and a half acres, including a garden.[707] As at Castor, the monastic complex was not sited near the church. There are no surviving earthworks indicating the site of John de Aylington's proto-manor at Over End, presumably obscured by the extensive landscaping prior to the construction of Elton Hall. At Lakenheath, the sites of the manorial complexes of both the Prior of Ely and the Earl of Gloucester are known. Here, unlike at Castor and Elton, the conventual manor was located near the church. This may reflect the fact that in 1086 Ely priory held the church, although this was also the case in late eleventh-century Elton. Each of these monastic and prioral centres had an absentee lord, and so the difference at Lakenheath is striking. It is possible that the manorial centres at both Castor and Elton had been relocated post-Conquest, and that Lakenheath's unusual topography played a part in the siting of the prior's manorial complex: with fenland due west and heathland to the east, the options for a suitable site may have been more limited.[708] Unusually at Lakenheath, there was no chief lord of the vill before the conjoining of Clare Fee with the prior's manor, and this may also have been a factor in determining

[705] A tentative location for the Thorold manor has been suggested, and is discussed below.
[706] *Peterborough New Town: an Archaeological and Architectural Survey* (London, 1969), p. 26
[707] *R.H. II*, p. 656
[708] D.F. Mackreth, 'The abbot of Ramsey's manor, Elton, Huntingdonshire', *Northamptonshire Archaeology*, 26 (1995), p. 134 suggests the complex was thirteenth century. The manorial site close to the Nene was evidently carefully selected. A 1950s photograph of the Nene in flood shows the manorial site as one of a few areas of high ground within the surrounding area: A.G. Clark, *A Village on the Nene*, vol. 1 (Stamford, 2007), fig. 7

Figure 8.1: The Settlement and Peterborough Abbey Manorial Complex: Castor

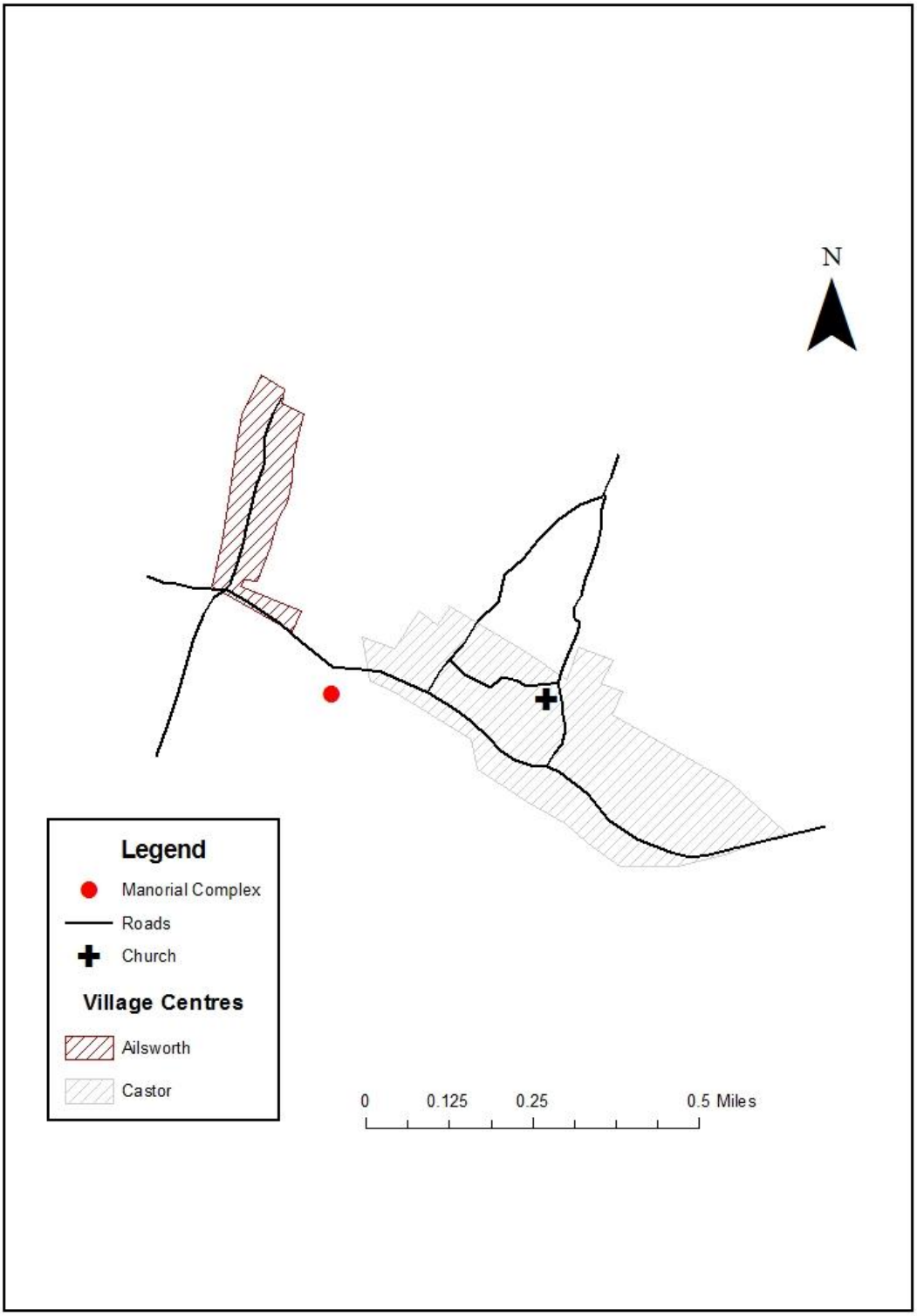


Figure 8.2: The Settlement and Ramsey Abbey Manorial Complex: Elton

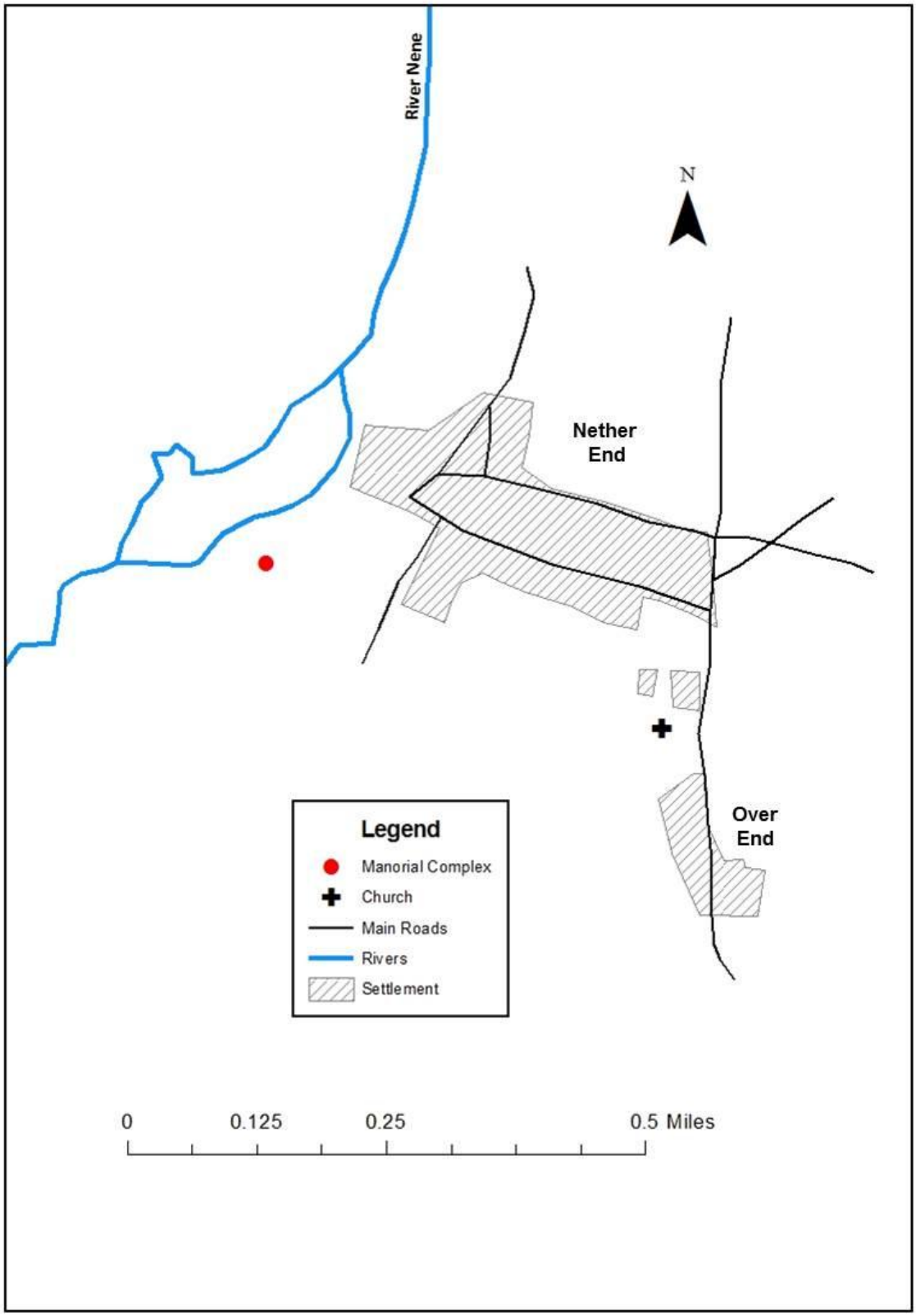
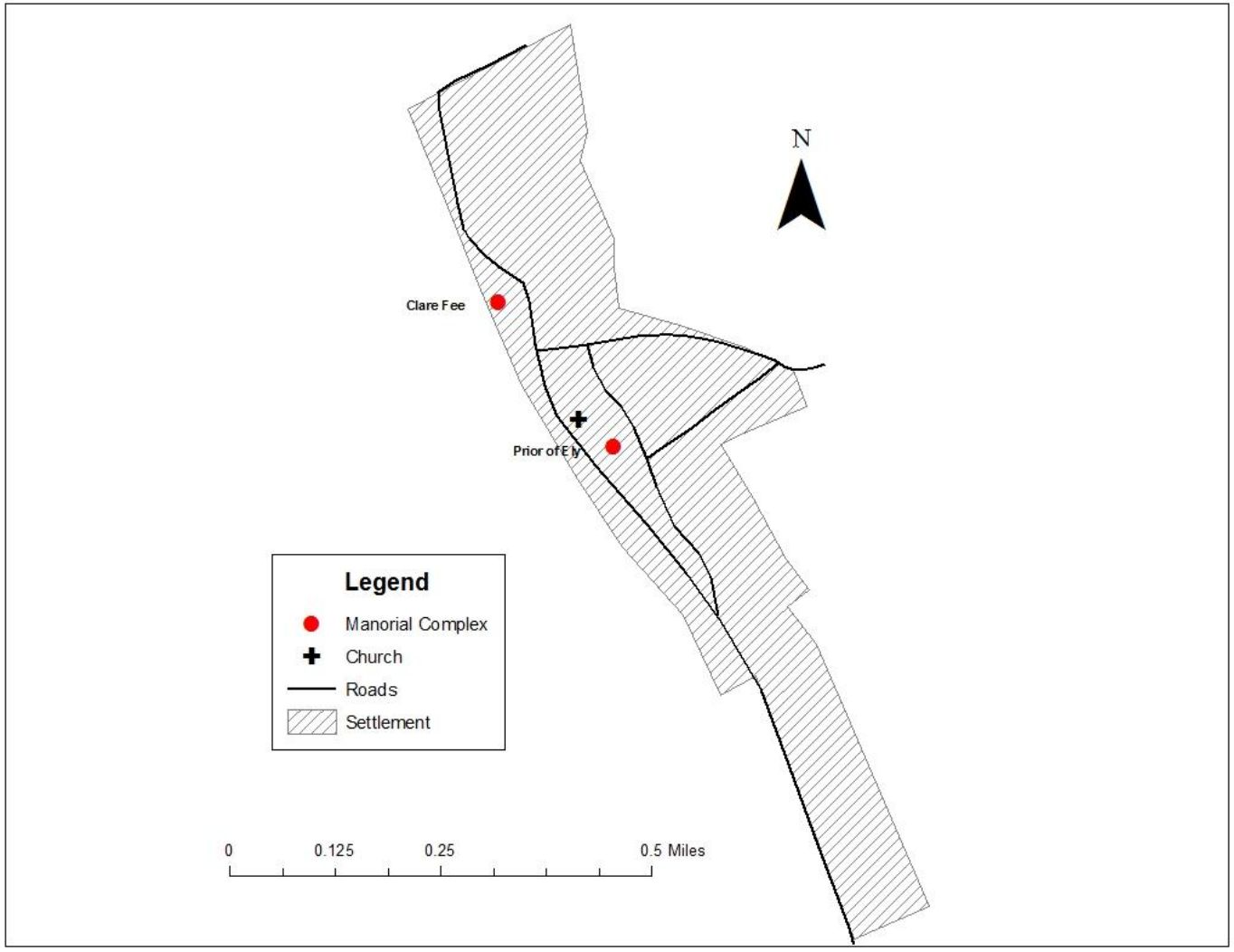


Figure 8.3: The Settlement and Manorial Complexes: Lakenheath



the sites of the respective manorial complexes.[709] Nevertheless, despite knowing the location of these sites, it is difficult to ascertain their dates, and to determine whether any movement occurred during the period under review, particularly as in the post-Conquest period, lords often remodelled some elements of settlements, frequently attempting to uncouple the manorial *curia* from the areas linked with resident peasants.[710]

Assessing the detail within a number of charters alongside a list of 1301 tax-payers, it is possible to suggest, albeit very tentatively, a potential site for the secular Thorold Fee manorial complex in Castor. The Thorold family were known by a number of bynames in the late medieval period. In the late thirteenth century, Henry Thorold, the incumbent lord, was variously referred to as Henry de Uphalle, Henry le Lord, Henry Thorold and 'Henry, son of William, called louerd'.[711] The designation *uphalle* is interesting, since it signifies an elevated position, especially when compared with the abbatial manorial complex which occupied a lower site, closer to the more level ground towards the Nene. A number of Castor freeholders are listed in the Lay Subsidy of 1301. The Silvester, Cordel, Dionys and Paris families are shown together, alongside Henry, son of William who paid 7s. 8¾d, and who must have been Henry Thorold.[712] This suggests the possibility that the tenants of the Thorolds occupied one area of Castor. A number of the Castor charters refer to the transfer of messuages and tofts. The majority of these messuages lay end-on to the main street, usually referred to by the standard late medieval description of the king's way, and a reasonable number indicate neighbouring messuages. In 1292, Thomas and Agnes Shearman lived next to Leticia Paris.[713] In 1295 the Shearmans' neighbour was William Paris. Additional detail reveals that the messuage abutted on the king's way at one end, and on the cemetery of St Andrew the Apostle on the other.[714] In modern Castor a footpath due east from the church runs along the back of land called *St Andrew's Piece*, and it seems likely

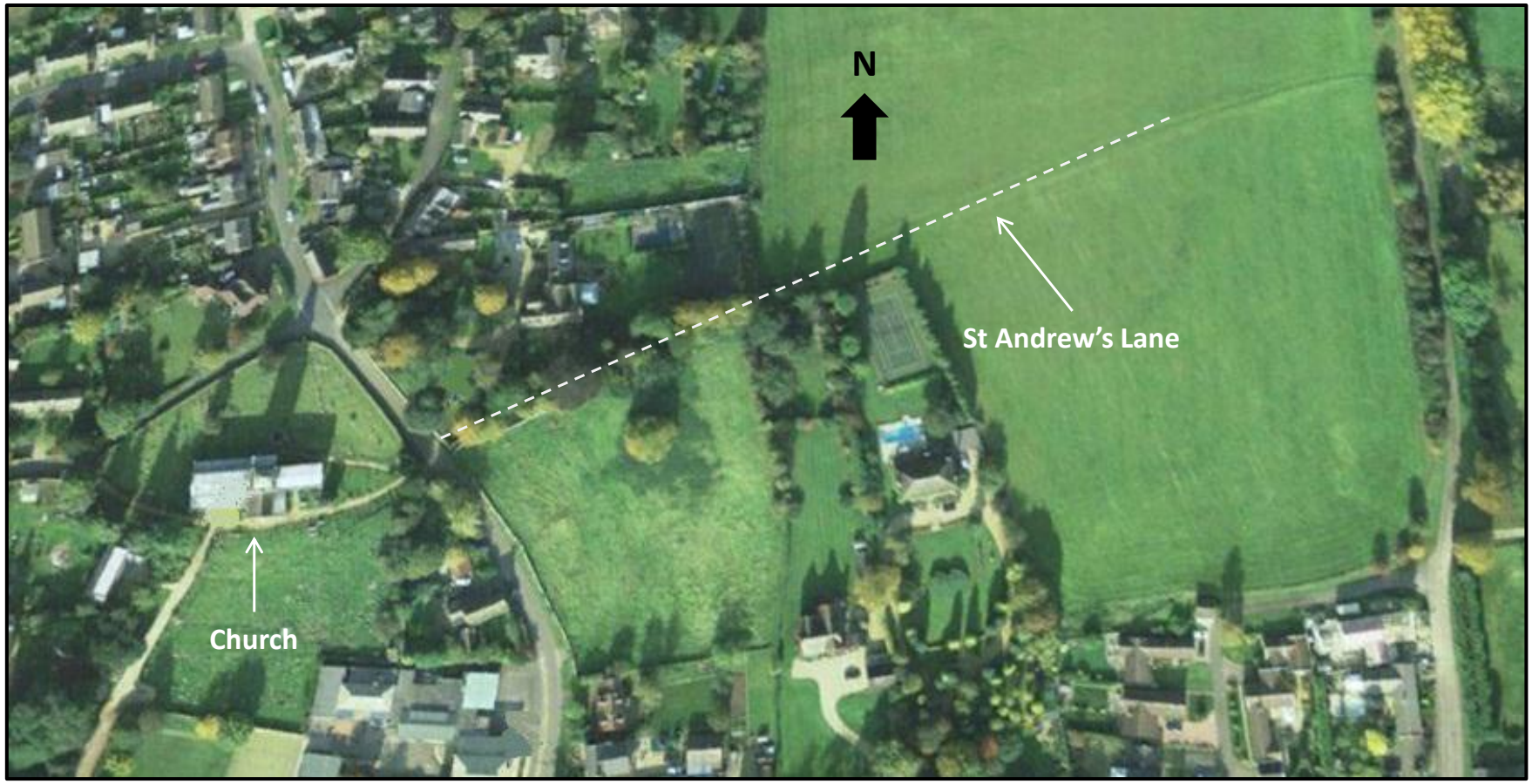
[709] M. Bailey, *A Marginal Economy? East Anglian Breckland in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 73-4
[710] R. Jones and M. Page, *Medieval Villages in an English Landscape: Beginnings and Ends* (Macclesfield, 2006), p. 198
[711] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 115, 133, 143, 185 and 399
[712] T.N.A. E179/155/31/42; these families are not listed in any of the abbey surveys, and were probably tenants of the Thorold Fee. King also suggests this was the case: E. King, *Peterborough Abbey 1086-1310, a Study in the Land Market* (Cambridge, 1973), p. 63
[713] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 86
[714] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 95

that this refers to the medieval cemetery (figures 8.4-5).[715] St Andrew's Lane is mentioned in a charter dated 1330, possibly referring to the footpath. This detail helps to place these peasant tofts within the settlement (figure 8.6), although precisely where they lay along the main street is unknown. Each of the main roads running through Castor was known as the king's way in the fourteenth century, so whether the tenements abutted modern Peterborough Road or Stocks Hill is unclear, although the former seems more likely. Additional charters attest to the clustering of the Thorold free tenants in this area of Castor. William Paris granted one of his messuages to his sister Cecilia in the late thirteenth century.[716] This emphasises that this area of Castor was the residence of the Paris family. Cecilia Paris married Gilbert Dionys, and together they exchanged a messuage with Leticia Paris and her husband Richard de Overton.[717] This undated exchange reveals that one of these messuages was next to that of Ralph Hare.

An extract from the 1301 Lay Subsidy seems to parallel this layout of messuages, suggesting that the tax collectors moved from one toft to the next (table 8.1). This is important, since without the confirmation contained within the charters, it might be assumed that the clustering of the Thorold tenants simply suggested a split between the abbot's and Thorold's tenants. The order of the Lay Subsidy corresponds with the neighbouring plots outlined above. Alice, daughter of Gilbert was probably the daughter of Cecilia Paris and Gilbert Dionys; a 1339 charter confirms that a tenement in this row belonged to 'Isabel, daughter of Gilbert, son of Roger' which is how Gilbert Dionys was frequently described.[718] The Hare family, living next to the Paris', were interchangeably known as the Bartholomews, and they too feature in the right place on the tax document.[719] This points to the possibility that the capital messuage of Henry Thorold lay in the same area of Castor as his tenants' messuages. Further charters outline the position of the messuage of Robert, son of John le Lord,

[715] Pers. comm. Brian Goode, churchwarden, St Kyneburgha's church [2011]
[716] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 57
[717] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 46 and 47
[718] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 365
[719] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 46, 67, 136 and 159

Figure 8.4: Modern St Andrew's Lane, Castor



Source: Google Earth [October 2008]

Figure 8.5: St Andrew's Lane, Castor (opposite the east church gate)

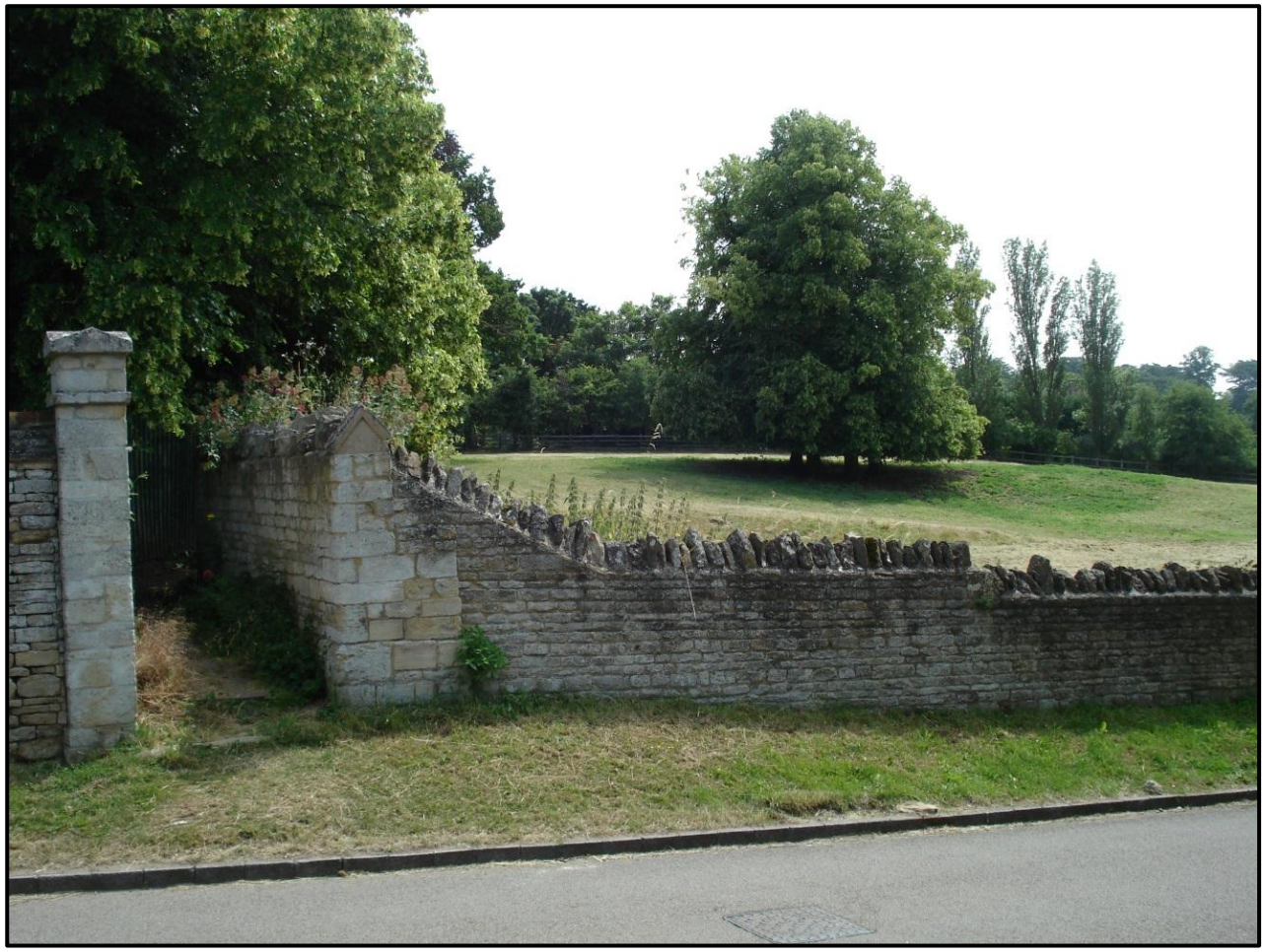
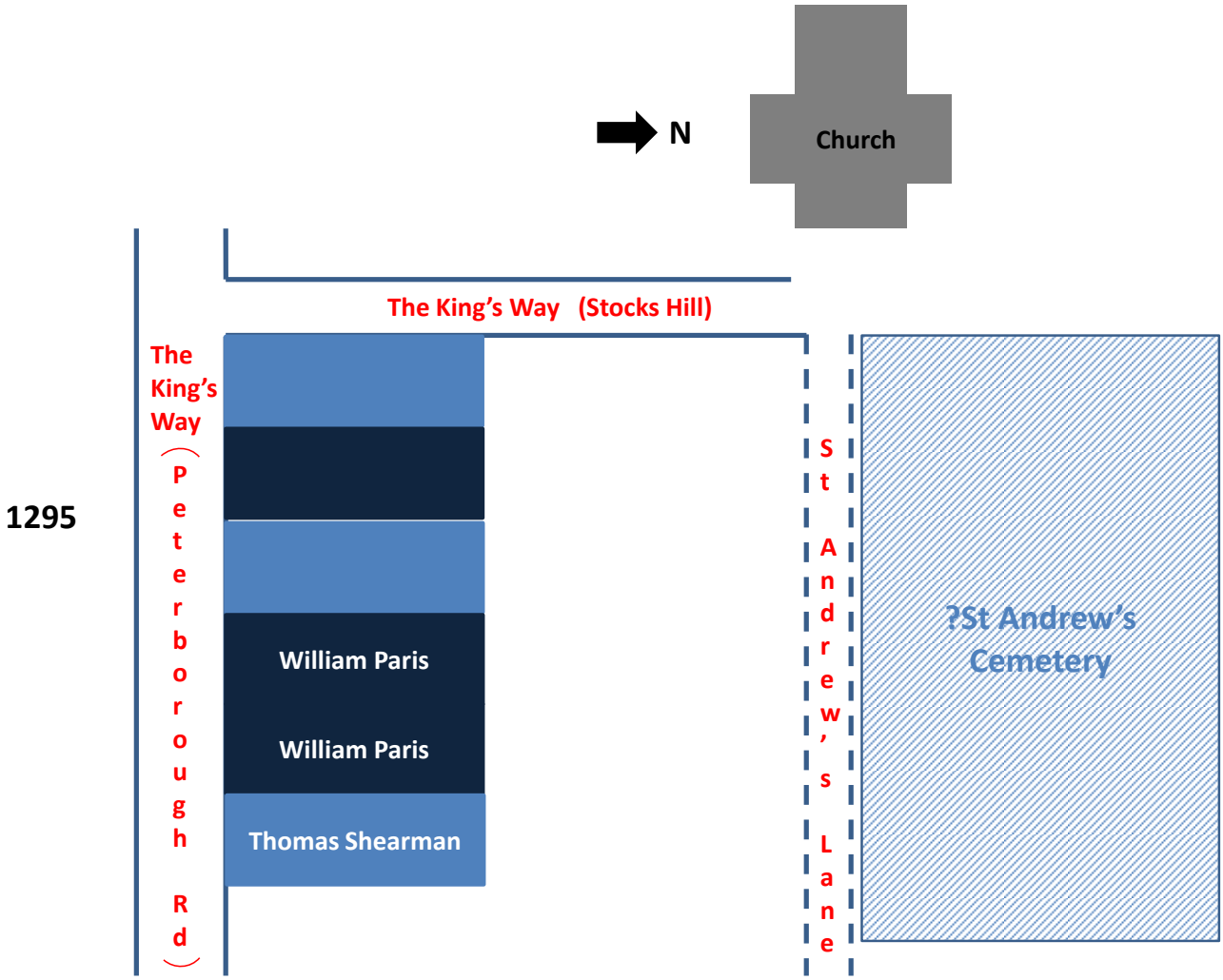


Figure 8.6: The Approximate Position of the Paris and Shearman Tenements, Castor, 1295



Source: N.R.O. F(M) Charter 95; Note: The line of St Andrew's Lane denotes the modern footpath; it is not known whether this path lies at the edge of the medieval cemetery, or runs through it.

Table 8.1: Extract from the 1301 Lay Subsidy, Castor

Name	Amount Paid	Family
Robert Silvester	7s. 7¼d.	Silvester
Roger Cordel	7s. ¾d.	Cordel
Robert Kimborule	2s. 3¾d.	Kimberlee
Henry, son of William	7s. 8¾d.	Thorold
Alice, daughter of Gilbert	16¾d.	Dionys / Paris
Sarah Bertilmeu	9¾d.	Hare
Robert Schardelawe	7s. 4¼d.	
William Parys	3s. 1¼d.	Paris

Source: T.N.A. E179/155/31/42

Henry Thorold's grandson. In 1328 it lay next to that of Robert ate Nonnes, with the parson of Castor's messuage on the other side. The parson's neighbour was William Paris.[720] Again, it is difficult to know the precise placement of these messuages, since the direction of the neighbouring plots is not noted.[721] It is possible, but unlikely, that Robert Lord was granted part of the Thorold holding to build his messuage; the seigneurial complex would more probably have been maintained as a discrete unit. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the Thorold family dwellings would have been close to the capital messuage. A 1330 charter outlines the transfer of Simon Herwart's messuage and toft to Bernard de Pickworth 'lying…between the messuage of the aforesaid Bernard and Beatrice…on one side, and the lane of St Andrew on the other, one end abutting on the king's way and the other on the tenement of the aforesaid Bernard and Beatrice', indicating the alignment of tofts along modern Stocks Hill in addition to Peterborough Road.[722] A tentative layout is suggested in 1328 (figure 8.7). Another charter suggests one of the Thorold holdings may also have been on Stocks Hill. Roger Dionys, another Thorold tenant, transferred a messuage to his son Geoffrey, Gilbert's brother, and noted that it was:

> 'situated between the messuage of Ralph Mason of Castor on one side and the messuage of the aforesaid Geoffrey on the other, and it contains in breadth on the king's way 51 feet, the other end abutting on the toft of Eustace son of William son of Thorold of Castor, and it contains in breadth 50 feet'[723]

The overriding impression is that the Thorold tenants were clustered in the area below and to the east of the church, and that the seigneurial capital messuage lay close by, near the church, in an elevated position above the main settlement.

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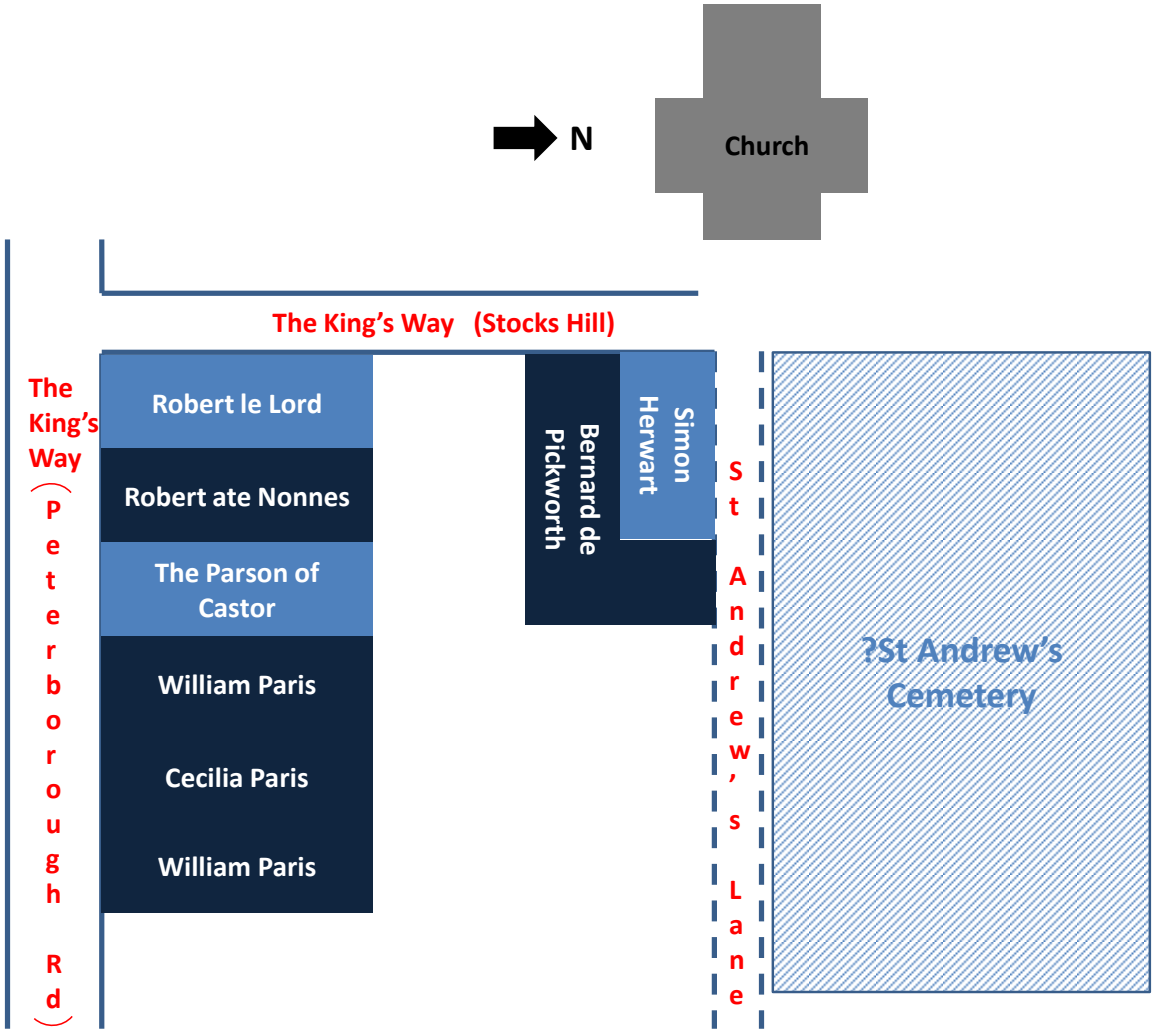
[720] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 311 and 365; in 1373, this line of messuages is still in the hands of the same families, with the parson of Castor next to William Paris' niece Helen, who is next to Isabel Dionys: N.R.O. F (M) Charter 457

[721] Since the parson's tenement was also adjacent to William Paris in 1339 as being, it seems more likely that Robert Lord's messuage was at the western end of this scheme: N.R.O. F(M) Charter 365

[722] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 323

[723] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 169

Figure 8.7: The Approximate Position of the Thorold Fee Tenant Tofts , Castor, 1328-30

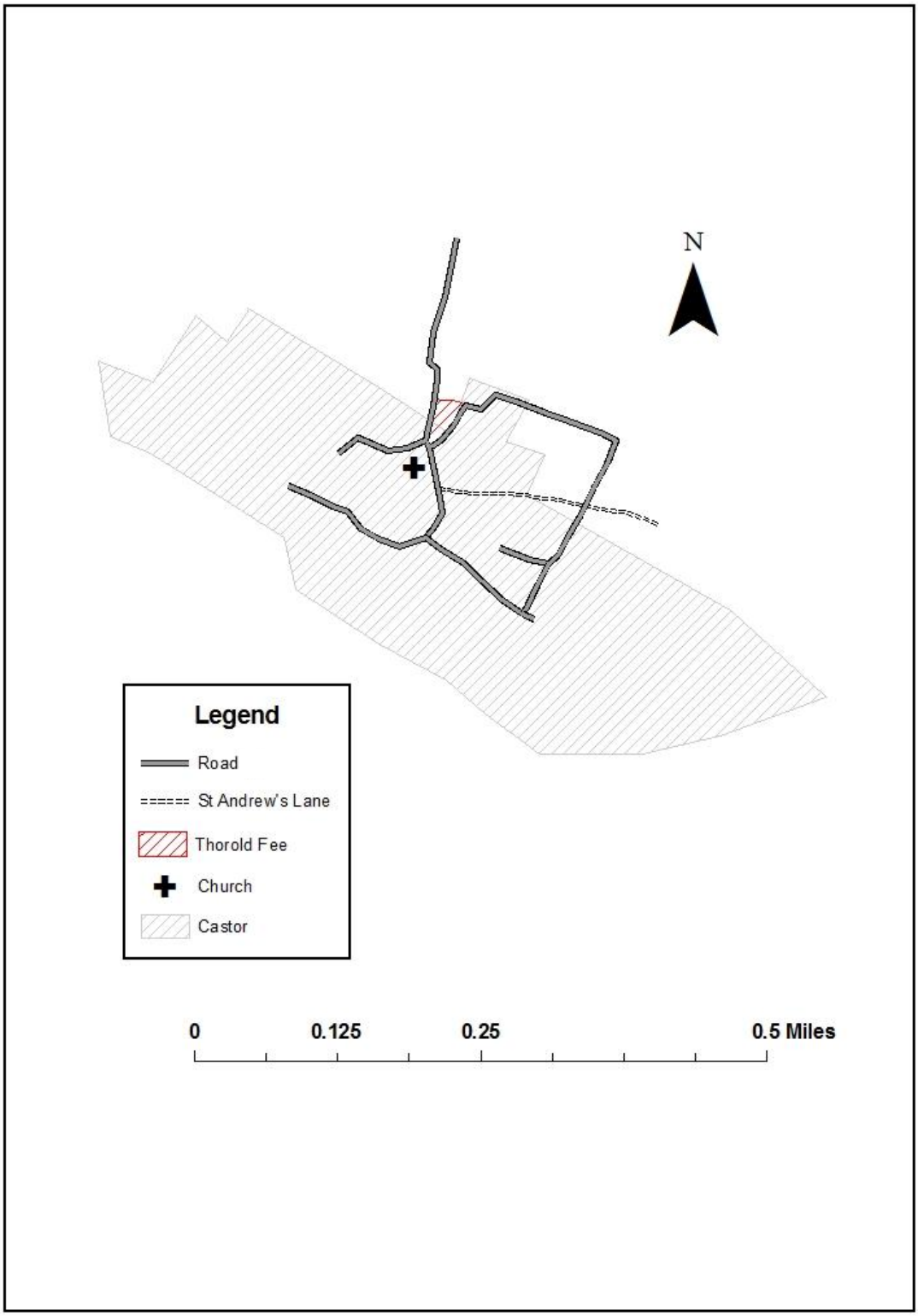


Source: N.R.O. F(M) Charter 46, 95, 311, 365 and 457; T.N.A. E179/155/31/42

The Fitzwilliam estate version of the tithe map of 1846 shows an enclosed space bounded on both sides by roads, which may be the site of the Thorold manorial complex (figures 8.8 and 8.9). In terms of its area, the proposed enclosure is smaller than Peterborough Abbey's manorial complex in Castor, although an adjacent field known in modern Castor as *tarrols* may have been part of the complex or demesne several, and this addition suggests that the site is proportionally appropriate.[724] An existing wall indicates the far end of the enclosure (figure 8.10). A position adjacent to the church would have been fitting, emphasising the Thorold's seigneurial status. As the holders of the advowson until 1133 and resident lords, it might also be expected that the Thorolds would have a strong association with the church, manifesting itself in close physical proximity between the capital messuage and the church.[725] Elsewhere, the correspondence between manorial complex and church has been noted, particularly in relation to secular, resident lords.[726] Figure 8.11, taken from the back line of the putative manorial complex, highlights the steep gradient, emphasising the appropriateness of the name *uphalle*. It may have been the case that a new capital messuage was created by the first Thorold in *c*.1069, when the knight's fee was created, and that this part of Castor was developed then, at the same time that the new Norman church was under construction. Nevertheless, as the only small, secular manor with a resident minor lord within the scope of this study, however tentative these initial conclusions, it is important to attempt to locate the seigneurial elements of the Castor villagescape, especially given the tendency for lords to control the development of the village core and to disassociate themselves physically from the peasant tofts.

[724] Pers. comm. Brian Goode, churchwarden, St Kyneburgha's church [2011]: *tarrols* is marked on a copy of an Ordnance Survey map that was annotated with old field-names by local farmers.
[725] The Thorolds were minor lords, and the possibility that they acquired an earlier Peterborough Abbey manorial complex cannot be discounted: pers. comm. C. Dyer [September 2013]
[726] Jones and Page, *Medieval Villages*, p. 197; O.H. Creighton, *Designs Upon the Land: Elite Landscapes of the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2013), p. 56

Figure 8.8: The Possible Site of the Thorold Manorial Complex



Source: N.R.O. Map 1964 (dated 1846); 1st edition Ordnance Survey map of Castor

Figure 8.9: An Extract from the Fitzwilliam Estate Map of Castor and Ailsworth, 1846, showing the possible site of the Thorold Manorial Complex

Source: N.R.O. Map 1964

Figure 8.10: The Northern End of the Thorolds' Putative Manorial Complex

Figure 8.11: St Kyneburgha's Church from the back of the Putative Site of the Thorold Manorial Complex

An Englishman's home: peasant dwellings in the rural environment

Within the predominantly nucleated settlements of the Midlands, lords appear to have been largely responsible for the layout of settlements. Peasant dwellings were usually arranged along one or two main streets, with plot size differing according to personal status. It was commonly the case that cottagers had smaller plots, typically consisting of a dwelling and around two acres, and villeins occupied a toft or messuage, which was usually a regular size in each manor—albeit varying from place-to-place—in addition to their standard holding in the open fields.[727] Information regarding the size of peasant tofts is often absent from manorial documents. Lords were mainly concerned with the size of overall peasant holdings, but since this was usually only from a financial perspective, only the size of the agricultural holding was generally recorded. At Elton and Castor, manorial sources omit even this information. Survey references to those holding virgates focus on the value of the virgate and the concomitant customary services, revealing nothing of the size of the virgate or the associated peasant dwelling.[728] At Lakenheath, where no manorial surveys survive, in a Clare Fee Inquisition *post mortem* we learn in *c*.1261 only that there were 225 acres in villeinage, and in *c*.1307 that then, there were twelve customers.[729] Nevertheless, additional information is occasionally provided. Within the Elton *Rotuli Hundredorum*, the cottar holdings were carefully recorded. Of those holding cottages at Over End—the proto-manor held by the free tenant John de Aylington—most are listed as holding 'a cottage with a croft at the will of the abbot'. We are provided with more information concerning the cottars of Nether End:

> '…Richard le Combere holds a cottage with a curtilage containing one rod of land…Alexander Shepherd holds half a cottage containing half a rod of land…Philip Saladin holds a messuage with a croft containing half an acre of land…Richard

[727] C. Dyer, *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (1994, London, 2000), p. 134; Jones and Page, *Medieval Villages*, p. 189
[728] *C.M.R. I*, pp. 487-490; T. Stapleton (ed.), *Chronicon Petroburgense* (London, 1869), pp. 163-4
[729] T.N.A. C132/27/5; C133/129/1; by 1327, there were fifteen messuages and 220 acres of land: C.U.L./EDC/1/A/1/4

> Smith holds a part of a cottage containing one-sixth part of a rod…Reginald Red holds a cottage with a curtilage containing half a rod…Ranulf Webster holds a messuage with a curtilage containing half a rod…William Webster and Richard Shepherd hold a messuage with two crofts containing one rod of land…John Finx holds a messuage with a curtilage containing one-eighth part of a rod…[730]

It seems possible that the cottages at Over End were newly laid out at the time that John de Aylington was developing his holding. A 1218 survey outlines de Aylington holding a hide, 'for himself and his tenants', including a demesne of one and a half virgates. An undated survey that may be earlier reveals first, that 'the freemen and rent-paying men hold three hides and half a virgate'.[731] This figure is very close to the total area of land held by John de Aylington, the free tenants of Ramsey Abbey and the parson of Elton in 1279, and perhaps suggests some reorganisation of Over End in the meantime. In the second survey, 24 cottars are mentioned; in 1279 there were 29 in Nether End and another nine in Over End, further supporting the idea that the early thirteenth-century Over End cottages were a recent addition.[732]

Assessing Crown and manorial surveys it is difficult to determine very much regarding peasant dwellings or peasants' attitudes toward them. This was largely because lords were generally uninterested in them unless they were perceived to have been ruined by those holding them, in which case peasants were considered to be wasting and devaluing the lord's assets. It has long been considered that there is more substantial archaeological evidence than documentary sources for peasant houses. Nevertheless, the archaeological approach is not without its issues: much potential archaeology is obscured by modern construction or by frequent ground disturbance, and the most useful data often emanates from deserted settlements.[733] Few historians have ventured to discuss peasant houses, largely because of the scant nature of

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[730] *R.H. II*, pp. 657-8; there was some uniformity: several cottages had a curtilage of one rod, but perhaps these represent the newer Nether End cottage holdings.
[731] *C.M.R. I,* p. 267 and pp. 490-1
[732] *C.M.R. I,* pp. 487-90
[733] J.G. Hurst, 'Rural building in England and Wales' in *A.H.E.W. II*, p. 898

surviving evidence, which generally consists of sporadic references within court rolls.[734] The documentary sources for Castor and Lakenheath, and to a lesser extent for Elton, intermittently reveal important information regarding peasant messuages, tofts, crofts and cottages and the street plan of each respective vill, albeit the emerging picture is indistinct and difficult to interpret fully.

In Lakenheath, most of the data regarding the peasant messuages and tofts are gleaned from the court rolls, whereas in Castor, all of the evidence is found within the charters. This suggests that the majority of Lakenheath records refer to servile peasants, and that of Castor to freeholders. The documents reveal the predominant use of the terms *messuage* and *toft*. Dyer suggests that in the Midlands, a toft denotes a plot empty of buildings.[735] There is some indication at Lakenheath that this may also have been the case: in 1329 William at the Cross transferred to Robert his brother:

> 'a *toft* and a moiety of fifteen acres of land with its appurtenances…lying between the hithe of Richard Baker on the west and the *messuage* of the aforesaid William on the east, abutting south on the *messuage* of the aforesaid Robert, and north on the common with free ingress and egress for…beasts and with carts to the said toft'[736]

The deliberate use of these different terms suggests that the toft that was being transferred was an empty plot. The family were servile, and the size of the holding suggests that they held a virgate of land between them, since the next court entry reveals Robert to be the holder of the additional seven and a half acres, which was being exchanged with William. Unfortunately, nothing is revealed of the size of the toft. Similarly, in a copy of an undated charter, Mary de Blakeham granted 'part of a

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[734] More plentiful data are found after *c.*1380 [C. Dyer, pers. comm.], but see: R.K. Field, 'Worcestershire peasant buildings, household goods and farming equipment in the later Middle Ages', *Medieval Archaeology*, 9 (1965), pp. 105-145; R. Smith, 'Rooms, relatives and residential arrangements: some evidence in manor court rolls 1250-1500', *M.V.R.G.*, 30 (1982), pp. 34-5; Dyer, *Everyday Life*, pp. 133-165; C. Dyer, 'Building in earth in late-Medieval England', *Vernacular Architecture*, 39 (2008), pp. 63-70; archaeological data is more abundant: see, for example D.C. Mynard and R.J. Zeepvat, *Excavations at Great Linford, 1974-80* (Aylesbury, 1991), p. 50; M. Gardiner, 'Vernacular buildings and the development of the later medieval domestic plan in England', *Medieval Archaeology*, 44 (2000), pp. 159-79

[735] Dyer, *Everyday Life*, p. 139

[736] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/12

messuage in Lakenheath…[lying] between the toft of the lord Prior of Ely and the toft of Matilda, widow'.[737] Things are less clear at Castor. In an undated thirteenth-century charter, Matilda de Ashton granted to Margaret her daughter 'my toft that I hold in Castor with all its appurtenances, namely the capital messuage that is situated between the house of Geoffrey, son of Ascelin and the house of William Blundi'.[738] Clearly, this toft was not empty. A related charter, also undated, refers to the same plot of land, this time Margaret's brother Robert seems to confirm her tenure, but refers to the dwelling as a messuage.[739] Another charter discusses 'one part of my toft in the vill of Castor with all buildings…', and so we should not assume that toft had the same meaning in late medieval Castor, and toft and messuage seem to have been used here interchangeably.[740]

In some instances, the dimensions of the messuages are known. This does not necessarily mean that it is easy to discern the standard size of peasant homesteads. In 1329, Thomas at the Hithe of Lakenheath confirmed the remaining term of a 40-year lease of a messuage at the hithe to Margaret Hottowe and her son John, following the death of her husband. It was described as 'thirteen perches long, 22 feet long at the roadway, and 43 feet wide at the other end', clearly covering a large area.[741] It is unclear precisely what type of tenure this messuage related to. In 1321, Thomas at the Hithe inherited a messuage of '*mollond* by rod' at the hithe.[742] He also held another messuage, since he lived next to the one occupied by the Hottowes in 1329. Another messuage of *mollond*, surrendered in court in 1339 by Robert and Agnes Bolt to William Cranewys was '3½ perches, 1½ feet by 2¼ perches, 1½ feet', suggesting that the messuage Thomas at the Hithe leased to the Huttowes was not *mollond*, or that *molland* messuages were not a standard size.[743] There is some evidence that there were some standard sized messuages at Lakenheath. In 1338, Geoffrey Richer transferred 'a customary messuage, 30 feet by 24 feet' to Gilbert Martin, and in 1308

[737] C.U.L./EDR/G3/28/Liber M
[738] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 17
[739] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 19
[740] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 39
[741] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/13
[742] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/ 5
[743] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/13/4; this suggests that a Lakenheath perch was sixteen feet, giving a measurement of 57½ feet by 37½ feet for this messuage.

Ellis Stubbard surrendered 'a moiety of a messuage 24 feet long and 30 feet wide', which was granted to Henry Faukes.[744] In 1314, John Aunger transferred a 'messuage *and plot* 60 feet by 24 feet' to Richard and Joan Baker via the manorial court.[745] If the entry relating to the Stubbard moiety gave the full messuage size, then the standard size for a customary messuage was 30 feet by 24 feet.

Other messuages held by servile peasants were of differing sizes, ranging from Robert Bolt's transfer to the Wright family of a 'messuage with house thereon…measured by the long hundred…134½ feet by 84 feet', suggesting a length of 154½ feet; the Reeve's moiety of a messuage 120 feet by 33 feet; and the Wyles' toft and messuage measuring 64 feet by 40 feet.[746] The regular messuages were all on the prior's manor, whereas those of differing sizes—Bolt, Piper and Wyles—were all originally part of Clare fee, suggesting that there may have been less standardisation there. The messuages at Castor are not of standard sizes, but this is predictable, since they were all held by free tenants. Transferring just part of his toft to his daughter, Robert, son of Ranulf recorded that 'it contains in length…3 perches and 8 feet, each perch contains 16 feet…'; the measurements for half of the neighbouring toft belonging to Matilda, daughter of Silvester were 27 feet long by 22 feet wide, suggesting that both holdings were almost equal in length if the toft had been halved across its width.[747] William Paris' messuage was 44 feet long by 25 feet wide; and Roger Dionys' messuage measured 51 feet wide as it abutted on the king's way, and 50 feet wide at its farthest end.[748] The only recorded detail of a peasant toft at Elton is found in an undated charter relating to a family that do not appear elsewhere in the documentary record. The messuage was 58 feet by 44 feet, and probably related to a free tenement, but little more can be ascertained.[749]

Another important omission in the manorial documents is the configuration of the peasant holdings. Historians have long known that the detail contained within

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[744] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/8; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/1
[745] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/13/2
[746] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/12/1; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/1; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/4; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/2/13/5
[747] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 39 and 157
[748] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 169 and 356
[749] T.N.A. E40/3286

manorial surveys does not accurately convey peasant living arrangements within each respective messuage. Although little information survives for Elton, one of the undated surveys unwittingly reveals the presence of additional peasant dwellings within the 'official' messuage plots in confirming that only those living in the main dwelling owed services: '…each house, having a door open toward the street…should provide a man for the *loveboon*…'.[750] This was probably also the case in Castor and Lakenheath. Families frequently provided for their relatives within the main messuage. Robert, son of Ranulf gave to his daughter Mabel 'one part of my toft in the vill of Castor with all buildings', presumably so that she could live separately.[751] In the late thirteenth century, Ralph Brimbel of Castor granted his grandson Ralph, son of Simon de Sutton and Alice Brimbel '…one part of my capital messuage which contains houses and walls and buildings, in width 20 feet and 24 and 6 feet in length…'.[752] In 1319, Geoffrey de Pickworth leased to Bernard and Beatrice Paston for their lives:

> 'his capital messuage in Castor…surrounded by fences, walls and ditches. The said Geoffrey to have that house situated through the great gate of the said messuage on the east side and near the king's way on the north side occupying at his will while he lives with free ingress and egress…without obstruction by the said Bernard and Beatrice...Geoffrey also reserves half of any kind of fruit growing in the garden called *orcherd* each year…with free access to the same…[Bernard and Beatrice] will keep the house, buildings, walls, hedges and ditches in good repair at their own expense. And they shall pay 32s. annually, and will find for the said Geoffrey every year for one month food and drink, a good chamber with decent furniture and necessaries for his groom and horse as is fitting…'[753]

[750] S. Kilby, 'A different world? Reconstructing the peasant environment in medieval Elton' (unpub. MA dissertation, University of Leicester, 2010a), p. 63
[751] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 39
[752] N.R.O. F(M) 31 and 32
[753] N.R.O. F(M) 254 and 255

In later documents, Bernard Paston is also known as Bernard de Pickworth, and it seems very likely that he was related to Geoffrey. The charter provides a detailed outline of what must have been a sizeable and impressive messuage that was leased, along with substantial lands, in return for an annual payment and a maintenance agreement. In Elton, a charter reveals the presence of a substantial peasant orchard, part of which—'that plot of orchard that lies on the north side and extends 7 rods in length and 7 rods in width'—was granted by Henry, son of Roger Miller to Henry de Hale.[754] A later charter confirms that the plot lay on the northern side of Henry Miller's house, and that it contained 7 square rods, suggesting the whole orchard must have been a very substantial size.[755] A court presentment at Lakenheath in 1325 reveals the presence of another peasant orchard, when William Flaghener's livestock caused damage in John de Dodlington's orchard.[756] These peasant messuages clearly contained a number of buildings and features such as gardens, orchards and ponds.

Maintenance was also important to peasants in Lakenheath, and the court rolls divulge a number of cases where agreements were recorded. Henry and Margaret Scarbot granted 19 acres 1 rod of land to their son Richard, in return for him keeping them in clothes, food and lodgings for the rest of their lives.[757] In 1314, Laurence and Helewise Bully transferred a messuage and fourteen acres of land to Gilbert Martin, alias Scot. In return, he was to provide a house for the Bullys for life within the messuage, and they were to have 'half of all easements and half the courtyard of the house, as far as the pond in the messuage'; Gilbert was to reside in the main dwelling, as was frequently the case in agreements of this nature.[758] It is unclear from the surviving rolls whether the Bullys had any family, but the inference was that they could no longer manage the holding themselves. In 1310, Roger Martin leased a plot of his messuage, 28 feet by 28 feet, for a term of thirty years to his brother Gilbert, with a provision for him to build as he wished, and at the end of the term he would be able to

[754] T.N.A. E40/5841; the charter is undated, but as Henry Miller was a free tenant of Ramsey Abbey in 1279, it is likely to be late thirteenth century.
[755] T.N.A. E40/5887; in this charter, Henry de Hale is called Henry Godsweyn.
[756] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/36
[757] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/20
[758] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/10; Smith, 'Rooms, relatives and residential arrangements', pp. 34-5

recoup the value of the buildings as ordered by the court.[759] It seems that Gilbert had moved around the manor until he could find a permanent holding. Roger Criteman agreed to maintain Richard and Alice Criteman for life upon receiving their messuage in May 1326. Their relationship is uncertain, but it may have been the case that Roger was not due to inherit a substantial holding; throughout the extensive run of court rolls, his only other major holding was a cottage acquired in February 1326, which he disposed of in 1334, possibly after the elder Critemans' death.[760] Others continued to move within the manor as necessary: in 1311 Helewise Snype leased half a messuage and fifteen acres, a standard villein holding, to William Whyt for the duration of her 7-year-old son Simon's minority with the proviso that the 'heir [should] be maintained in as good a state as now'. In 1320, when Simon would have been fifteen, William was granted a cottage and an acre of land; the court rolls record that in 1342, Simon Snype was holding his full fifteen acres.[761] It seems that, although peasants' heirs notionally inherited the main holding, others moved around the manor, building up a holding over a period of time.

My space: peasant mentalities regarding privacy in the medieval manor

The enclosed and segregated seigneurial manorial complexes have already been considered (Chapter 2, p. 62), but how did peasants view their own messuages and extended holdings? In legal terms, the lord had rights over all unfree peasants' holdings, goods and chattels. In practice, many peasants created spaces that could be defined as their own. The limitations of the surviving documents at Elton and Castor mean that we have only fleeting views of peasant messuages there. Archaeological survey in Elton's Nether End outlined ditched medieval property boundaries.[762] This may have been because of the wet nature of the Elton landscape, although, as Astill

[759] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/3; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/1
[760] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/45; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/47; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/23
[761] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/8; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/4; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/2/13/7
[762] Kilby, 'A different world?' (2010a), p. 42; John Samuels Archaeological Consultants, *Proposed Development at Duck Street, Elton, Cambridgeshire* (Newark, 1995), pp. 12-18

attests, bounded peasant tofts were usual in the late medieval period.[763] There is no mention of ditch-making in a domestic context at Elton. The ditch made by Ralph Barker 'in the king's highway at *benelondheuden*, 2 perches long and 2 feet wide', was probably made for drainage purposes since it lay in the fields.[764] In Castor, there is only one mention of a peasant messuage being bounded by a ditch, in Geoffrey de Pickworth's detailed charter (above, p. 259). It is by no means certain whether Geoffrey's main dwelling 'surrounded by fences, walls and ditches' was typical of freeholders, or peasants in general in Castor, but it does suggest a thorough approach to the creation of a private environment. The fact that many of the Castor charters give clear measurements for the messuages and parts thereof suggests a desire for precision in defining exactly what the boundaries were.

Practical concerns would undoubtedly have played a part in determining arrangements for enclosing peasant messuages. Livestock was often kept within the yard, and it would have been unacceptable for peasants to allow their animals to wander through neighbouring plots destroying garden produce.[765] The toft that William at the Cross granted to his brother Robert in Lakenheath had access for draught beasts and carts.[766] At Elton in 1300, Emma Miller 'knocked down a certain wall…by which…the beasts of the neighbours go in and destroy the hay and fodder of Henry Smith'.[767] Since the court convened in January, the wall in this instance must have been that of a barn in which animal feed had been stored. In 1328, Margaret Aunger was amerced for failing to repair an enclosure between her messuage and that of Richard Baker, whereby both hers and other neighbours' livestock entered Baker's messuage, eating and trampling his vegetables.[768] Enclosing peasant space beyond the village core was also important for the same reasons. Much of the Castor landscape was enclosed, in part due to the greater quantity of free land held there. The Abbot of Peterborough had several enclosed woods. In 1393, the wood called *estres* measuring

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[763] G. Astill, 'Rural settlement: the toft and croft' in G. Astill and A. Grant (eds), *The Countryside of Medieval England* (1988, Oxford, 1994), p. 51
[764] *E.M.R.*, p. 310
[765] W.O. Ault, *Open-Field Farming in Medieval England: a Study of Village By-Laws* (London, 1972), p. 50
[766] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/12
[767] *E.M.R.*, p. 92
[768] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/23

30 acres, 3½ rods, 10 perches and 8 feet was described as several and enclosed.[769] The same survey describes the wood called *le moore* as several, and in 1308 the accounts confirm that it was enclosed by a hedge of 228 perches, alongside the wood of *rowessick*, extending to 102 perches.[770] Several peasant woods are listed in the survey of 1215.[771] Although there is no indication of their enclosure, given the quantity of woodland in Castor and its multiple ownership, it seems likely that some of these peasant spaces would have been bounded. A copy of an early thirteenth-century charter, in which Thorold granted his thicket to the Abbot of Peterborough, describes the thicket as lying 'between the abbot's wood called *w[u]lfhauue*, and the wood of Christiana Parys, and extends in length as far as the wood of the aforesaid Christiana extends'.[772] The Thorold and Paris woods were of equal length and shared a common boundary, suggesting that some manner of formal boundary or enclosure would have been necessary to distinguish between the two.

Whilst there are few other references to walls and other physical boundaries, there are several mentions of metes and bounds. In Castor in 1296 Robert, son of Hugh at the Stile granted to William and Sarah de Pickworth 'one part of my messuage with buildings and appurtenances, which contains in length 48 feet up to the boundary of my aforesaid tenement, just as it is shown by the metes and bounds fixed between us'. In 1331, Agnes le Driver used the same means to demarcate her messuage from that of her neighbour, Ralph Godwyn 'just as the bounds placed there fully testify'.[773] Several Lakenheath peasants resorted to the manorial court in order to determine and affix bounds between themselves and their neighbours, for which they paid a fine, usually 6d.[774] There is generally little indication within the court rolls that there was any antagonism between neighbours prior to the confirmation and placement of bounds. Richard Scarbote was granted a messuage at the great hithe in June 1333 neighbouring John at the Hithe, and paid to have bounds placed between them in May

[769] B.L. Cotton MS Nero C. vii/14
[770] N.R.O. F(M) roll 233
[771] E. King, *Peterborough Abbey 1086-1310, a Study in the Land Market* (Cambridge, 1973), p.173
[772] C.U.L./PDC/Manuscripts/MS 1, f. 208
[773] N.R.O. F(M) Charter 98 and 331
[774] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/31; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/13; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/6; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/8

1334.[775] If there had been any dispute between the two families, it was not recorded by the court. When there were problems, fixed bounds did not necessarily prevent trespassing: despite paying 6d. to have bounds placed in April 1314, Stephen Martin could not prevent John Waryn felling willows in his courtyard the following month.[776] Occasionally, however, conflict was apparent, and some peasants appeared to be more concerned than others over the issue of establishing and maintaining boundaries. On 1st April 1329, Simon Wyles was accused of carrying willows from John Horold's yard; two weeks later, Simon suggested that in fact, John had broken the boundary between them and appropriated part of his land in order to grow the willows. It seems that Simon felt it was his right to enter what was in fact his own land and take what was growing there.[777] In 1331, Horold paid to have bounds placed between them. In 1325, he paid for an inquisition 'to view hedges, ditches and boundaries, and [to] establish bounds' between himself and Richard in the Lane, and so it seems that he was more concerned than most about ensuring that his boundaries were clearly defined.[778] Simon Wyles had encountered previous issues with the borders of his property. In 1326 he presented that John Godhewe, the sergeant, trespassed by placing bounds between his and the prior's land without his consent. Evidently, witnessing the process, particularly the measuring, was essential.[779]

There are other indications that peasants sought to create private spaces, and that boundaries could occasionally be contentious. Breaching neighbours' boundaries was an offence frequently reported to the courts. Simon Kayston paid a fine of 6d. for breaking a boundary between himself and Reginald de Yarwell in Elton in 1300.[780] In Lakenheath in 1310, John Carpenter was found guilty of entering the property of William Smith and tearing down a palisade, allegedly to William's loss of 80d.; the jurors fined him 12d. and reduced the damages to a more realistic 6d.[781] Perhaps William's memory was long, since sixteen years later he returned the favour, pulling

[775] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/21; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/31
[776] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/6; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/7/5
[777] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/15; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/7
[778] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/38
[779] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II//6/48
[780] *E.M.R.*, p. 94
[781] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/24

down John's father Hugh's fence, which he was subsequently ordered to raise.[782] In what was clearly a long-running neighbourly dispute, in 1332 Hugh Carpenter was found guilty of 'breaking down [Smith's] gates and entering his close *against his will*'.[783] Cases of landed trespass frequently mention loss or damage—it is not unreasonable to expect to be fined for fishing in a leased fishery for which rent has been paid, or for crops destroyed by wandering livestock—but here, nothing was reported as stolen, but the jurors clearly viewed this intrusion as an offence worthy of punishment. Notwithstanding the damaged gates, William Smith evidently saw this as an intrusion into his private space. There is also evidence of an emerging trend for peasants to associate themselves more keenly with their tenements at Lakenheath. Robert Gopayn's attempt to elicit a strong association between himself and his land at *gopaynshithe* (see above, Chapter 4, p. 131) is mirrored by Thomas Douue's efforts to identify *douuezhithe* with his own family. He described to the court how Walter and Agnes Tailor came armed with sticks to *douuezhithe*, entered the water and trampled the washing being done by Thomas' wife.[784] The use of these names, however narrowly confined that may have been, was undoubtedly designed to emphasise the strong sense of possession these peasants felt regarding their dwellings—*gopaynshithe* and *douuezhithe* were private, and unsolicited entry could be viewed in a very dim light. Irrespective of their legal rights regarding their holdings, documentary sources accentuate in myriad ways how strongly peasants identified with a sense of their own private space.

Forbidden space? Peasants and seigneurial property in the medieval manor

We have already considered one version of the seigneurial view of the manorial environment in the late medieval period, in which lords saw their manorial complexes,

[782] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/41; It is unclear what the palisade had been erected for, but John at the Hithe used one to enclose a garden that he had created by illegally appropriating a piece of common land 20 feet by 4 feet: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/19
[783] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/13; my emphasis.
[784] T.N.A. SC2/203-95/M3

alongside lordly appurtenances like dovecotes, mills, warrens and parks as distinctly separate from peasant space, and as such, they were visualised and pictured as devoid of peasants (see Chapter 2, p. 55). This view is largely corroborated by archaeological evidence where it has been shown that lords often manipulated the manorial environment either through the planning of settlements, or via their reconfiguration, often re-siting peasant tofts.[785] Roads might also be closed or diverted to suit lords. The Abbot of Peterborough re-routed a Roman road through Oundle (Ntp) in order to obtain additional tolls.[786] In mid-thirteenth-century Pinley (War), Geoffrey de Langley, a minor secular lord, obtained royal assent to enclose a footpath and forbade its use henceforth; other paths were diverted, and new ones created as he sought to reorganise his manor.[787] And in fourteenth-century Lillingstone Lovell (Oxf), the main village street was redirected following the re-siting of the manorial complex.[788] As scholars from across many disciplines have attested, lords frequently attempted to control the landscape, taking a planned approach to settlements, even in rural areas.

The historical geographer Dodgshon considered spatial order and the perceived control elicited by lords over subordinate peasants to be the direct result of principles of feudalism. Importantly, he argued that 'the landscape became divided into a chequerboard on which occupation was legitimised in some spaces but not others'.[789] Considering the morphology of the medieval vill, the archaeologist Saunders supported this idea, emphasising the political nature of the planned settlement through lords' attempts to observe, restrict and regulate peasant movement.[790] However, the majority of lordly settlement re-modelling followed the changes taking place in the common law at the end of the twelfth century, after which peasant status was formalised. As Harvey has argued, it was at this point that

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[785] Jones and Page, *Medieval Villages*, p. 183, 193 and 198; K. Altenberg, *Experiencing Landscapes: a Study of Space and Identity in Three Marginal Areas of Medieval Britain and Scandinavia* (Stockholm, 2003), p. 34; also noted in Cambridgeshire: C. Taylor, 'Landscape history, observation and explanation: the missing houses in Cambridgeshire villages', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 95 (2006), 121-132

[786] *Q.W.*, p. 551

[787] P. Coss, *Lordship, Knighthood and Locality: a Study in English Society c.1180-c.1280* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 108

[788] Jones and Page, *Medieval Villages*, p. 162

[789] R.A. Dodgshon, *The European Past: Social Evolution and Spatial Order* (Basingstoke, 1987), p. 167 and p. 192

[790] T. Saunders, 'The feudal construction of space: power and domination in the nucleated village' in R. Samson (ed.),*The Social Archaeology of Houses* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 183-6 and p. 193

seigneurial focus shifted away from the idea of tenurial relationships with individuals toward consideration of land in terms of tenements. As he suggests 'in 1100 the lord of a manor was the lord of men who held lands of him; in 1200 he was the lord of lands that were occupied by tenants'.[791] Dodgshon's and Saunder's arguments are valid in part: undoubtedly they capture the essence of seigneurial mentalities behind the switch in emphasis towards a greater focus on tenement rather than tenant, even if they have misdated the change. However, they fail to evaluate lords' success in their attempts to regulate and control peasant movements through the manorial environment, and to ascertain the peasant view of these impositions, and have essentially taken the position adopted by late medieval lords—and disseminated in written sources and illuminations—at face value.[792] The sociologist Lefebvre astutely notes that 'visible boundaries, such as walls or enclosures in general, give rise for their part to an appearance of separation between spaces where in fact what exists is ambiguous continuity'.[793] In other words, from the perspective of late medieval peasants, the encumbrance of a network of constraints imposed upon them as a socially subordinate group of individuals by elites may not have been viewed in quite the way lords intended.

The reality for many peasants living and working in rural manors was of course markedly different, and the sources suggest that their view of the manorial environment was at variance with the idealised way in which the rural landscape was envisaged by lords. Peasants enjoyed a great deal of access to areas of the manor that were ostensibly private. If it was possible to earn a greater income by leasing resources, lords were generally happy to make arrangements with their tenants. As already noted (Chapter 6, above, p. 172), the several fisheries of the Prior of Ely and Abbot of Peterborough, at Lakenheath and Castor respectively, were leased to peasants during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The overall

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[791] P.D.A. Harvey, 'Aspects of the peasant land market in England, thirteenth to fifteenth centuries', in P.D.A. Harvey (ed.), *The Peasant Land Market in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1984), reproduced in *M.M.*, 9, p. 12 and p. 18

[792] Although Saunders moderates his position somewhat in a later essay, suggesting more correctly that although lords attempted to regulate peasant spaces, they were not always successful: T. Saunders, 'Class, space and "feudal" identities in early Medieval England', in W.O. Frazer and A. Tyrell (eds), *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain* (London, 2000), 209-232

[793] H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (1991, Oxford, 2009), p. 87

impression is that peasants required a licence in order to enter particular demesnal areas. To a certain extent, this was true, however this rarely seemed to deter them from crossing the lord's several lands in all three vills under review here. Although there is a marked bias toward this kind of activity in Lakenheath, this is simply because of the survival of the greatest quantity of manorial court rolls there. In Elton, there are several references to peasants appropriating land, altering watercourses and digging pits.[794] If manorial court rolls had survived there in addition to those of the leet, we would undoubtedly have seen greater evidence of a wider range of peasant trespass. In Castor, even though a very small quantity of court rolls survives for the late fourteenth centuries, there are examples of peasants being amerced for trespassing: in 1363, William Thakkere took fish in the lord's several fishery, and in 1380 three men trespassed in the lord's several pasture, while eight men were caught in the lord's wood.[795]

Naturally, there is a greater quantity of evidence at Lakenheath. In addition to the dozens of cases involving encroachment and the accumulation of thin strips of land to surreptitiously enlarge existing holdings, scores of peasants are recorded trespassing in unlicensed areas of the manor engaged in illegal activities.[796] Many of these activities involved the removal of resources. Peasants were frequently amerced for taking away trees: in April 1329, William atte Ash cut down and removed thorn trees from a demesne several fen, and two months later found himself back in court for taking willows; in the same year Thomas Douue took birches and alders from the demesne; and in 1335, Richard Shenlond cut down and carried away fifteen ash trees from the demesne garden.[797] There is also evidence that peasant poachers entered demesne lands. On several occasions the court noted the removal of swans, bitterns and doves or their respective eggs. In 1324, ten men were accused of taking

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[794] *E.M.R.*, p.115, 152, 196-7, 250 and 301

[795] Here, I define 'trespass' using the modern definition, as opposed to the medieval legal term which encompasses a wider range of misdemeanors; N.R.O. PDC CR Bundle A3; B.L.A.R. Russell Box 300

[796] Dyer suggests that amercements for some such activities are effectively licence fees, ensuring the lord received a share of the income: C. Dyer, *An Age of Transition? Economy and Society in England in the Later Middle Ages* (2005, Oxford, 2007), p. 64

[797] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/15; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/10/2; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/10/3; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/12; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/35

wandering bitterns belonging to the lord.[798] One of their number, Richard le Querour had been caught with nine nesting doves that he had removed with a chaffe-net in 1321; the records do not state whether he took them from the prior's dovecote, but the implication was that he had penetrated a distinctly seigneurial space.[799] In 1328, Geoffrey Thoury and Richard Faukes entered the prior's several fen and took four bitterns from their nests.[800] Bitterns are naturally secretive birds, and so their removal must have required considerable talent. These skills were still being mastered by the younger generation: in 1332, cousins William and Adam Outlaw, alongside John Martyn were caught 'placing clothes and traps for catching doves'; their fathers were ordered to be attached to attend the next court to answer for the boys' offence.[801] It is probable that these activities were widespread: Darby notes that the poaching of birds and eggs was recorded elsewhere in the medieval fenland, and it seems likely that this type of activity also took place at Elton and Castor, both just beyond the fen edge.[802] Certainly, the Elton account rolls record birds sent to the abbot at Ramsey: 18 mallards, 13 field-fares and 12 larks in 1297; 8 mallards, 43 small birds and 64 larks bought in 1313; and 23 small birds bought in 1324.[803] It seems likely that these were caught by local peasants.

The casual manner in which peasants treated the ostensibly regulated manorial environment was not confined to those areas some way distant from the manorial centre. In Lakenheath in May 1328, William Flaughener, a former and future reeve was charged with failing to repair the walls at the entrance to the demesne garden where, in plain sight 'his household…[and] many boys and women enter[ed] and carr[ied] away vegetables'; by October that year, having failed to repair the wall, he was under pain of 40d. to restore it.[804] Four Elton peasants collectively threw down the lord's wall in 1320, although it is not recorded why.[805] That year, a great number of Elton peasants either failed to attend boon-works or performed their labours badly,

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798 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/33
799 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/31; a chaffe-net was used for trapping birds: *M.E.D.*
800 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/23
801 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/9
802 H.C. Darby, *The Medieval Fenland* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 36-7
803 *E.M.R.*, p. 62, p. 209 and p. 271
804 C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/18; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/19; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/20
805 *E.M.R.*, p. 249

suggesting the possibility that the demolished wall was part of an agenda of minor acts of resistance, the precise significance of which now eludes us.[806] From at least 1337 Payn Jakes paid ½d. each year to plant against the wall of his grange, which was above the wall of the lord's garden; he clearly took full advantage of this arrangement, and in 1341 broke the demesne garden wall when he placed his turf-heap alongside it.[807] It seems that he may in fact have leased the entire demesne garden in 1337, or had an arrangement with the reeve, since he was accused of failing to cultivate vegetables within for the famuli pottage.[808] Many trespasses were committed in order to access resources—both licensed and forbidden—or for earning extra cash, as was the case when William Sporoun was fined 12d. for inviting three strangers to fish in Lakenheath waters, along with their 300 fish-traps.[809] Occasionally, there were other incentives to trespass without licence: in Lakenheath in 1326 Richard Hurlebatte and John Piper were amerced for appropriating a curtilage 33 feet long and half a foot wide for setting plants in *gropecunte lane*, perhaps an enterprising scheme designed to attract Lakenheath's female population.[810]

Off the beaten track: the hidden morphology of the medieval landscape

Evidently, there are indications that peasants considered their local environment very differently to the ways in which lords viewed the manorial landscape. In Elton and Lakenheath, where each respective lord was absent from his manor, the peasant community's knowledge of the surrounding area would have been superior. The secular lords of Castor would not have involved themselves in the physical toil of agricultural labour, so even there local peasants would have had a more intimate

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[806] Scott includes sabotage in his list of everyday forms of peasant resistance: J.C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (London, 1985), p. 29; in Walsham-le-Willows (Sfk), there was a marked increase in landed trespass (without livestock) by certain individuals within the manorial complex after 1381: R. Lock (ed., trans.), *The Court Rolls of Walsham-le-Willows 1351-1399* (Woodbridge, 2002)
[807] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/I/11; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/I/13; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/I/14; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/2/13/6
[808] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/12/1; the demesne garden was frequently at farm.
[809] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/11
[810] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/45

connection with the local landscape. Much of what has been considered thus far relates to peasants' own homesteads, or areas of the demesne leased for their personal use. Nevertheless, we have seen hints that peasants treated what was ostensibly seigneurial space as if it were common land, albeit in a more clandestine manner. This is most apparent through the analysis of acts of poaching, but it is possible to develop the idea further by considering other incidences of landed trespass. Generally, trespass considered in this modern sense has been avoided by many historians, largely because of the difficulty of determining whether it was accidental or deliberate.[811] Open fields suggest a landscape in which unintentional damage may have been the norm, especially since many peasants owned livestock which must on occasion have wandered onto prohibited territory. However, within the documentary sources lies a seam of evidence that suggests peasants did not always move through the landscape using roads and paths that were sanctioned by lords. For all their deliberate planning, once out of sight of the settlement there are many indications that peasants created their own preferred routes through the manorial landscape. It is also worth pausing to consider Saunders' assertion that elites regulated peasant movement around the manor.[812] Archaeologists considering binary oppositions between lords and peasants tend to focus on settlements, and the immediately surrounding road network. Whilst important, this fails to consider more ephemeral paths beyond the built environment that may have been significant to peasants but have left little archaeological trace.[813]

Yet again, thorough analysis at Elton and Castor is impossible, thus limiting a truly comparative examination of the three vills. In order to resolve this, Lakenheath data will be compared here with contemporary material for Walsham-le-Willows (Sfk) for which a similar data set survives.[814] There are nonetheless fleeting indications that

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[811] P.R. Schofield, *Peasant and Community in Medieval England, 1200-1500* (Basingstoke, 2003), p. 161; Müller generally considers landed trespass as an act of peasant defiance against the lord: M. Müller, 'Peasant mentalities and cultures in two contrasting communities in the fourteenth century; Brandon in Suffolk and Badbury in Wiltshire' (unpub. PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2001), p. 292

[812] Saunders, 'The feudal construction of space'; Saunders, 'Class, space'

[813] See also S.V. Smith, 'Houses and communities: medieval peasant experience' in C. Dyer and R. Jones (eds), *Deserted Villages Revisited* (Hatfield, 2010), p. 74 who considers the more transient nature of paths in dispersed settlements

[814] Hereafter Walsham

peasants may have moved through their environment using non-approved routes in both Elton and Castor. In the manorial accounts for both manors, there are references in the works accounts to 'stopping up roads' or paths in the corn. At Elton in 1297, twelve works were dedicated to this task between Michaelmas and Christmas.[815] In Castor in 1301 and 1308, thirty and thirteen works respectively were aimed at 'blocking up paths with thorns'.[816] It is unclear what these brief and oblique references mean. Might they refer to peasants taking short-cuts or wilfully damaging demesne crops? Or, do they denote livestock, or wild animals such as deer making their way through demesne corn? Without court records for corresponding dates it is impossible to tell. However, the Lakenheath court rolls reveal that peasants were not averse to creating their own preferred routes, even if that meant traversing demesne land—both pasture and sown fields. Many Lakenheath peasants committed acts of landed trespass during the period under review. These ranged from livestock trampling crops and meadow which may or may not have been accidental, to stealing resources under cover of night and poaching. Many of these presentments refer to what are described by the clerk of the court as 'illegal' paths that were created by peasants (table 8.2). Closer examination reveals that illegal paths were frequently made and used by the same select group of peasants, and were often concentrated in specific areas of the manor.

Initial scrutiny of the records suggests that there was a small quantity of incidents relating to the formation of illegal paths, however closer inspection reveals that an immense number of peasants were involved in these activities, many of whom committed several similar offences. Of the new paths that were made or re-used, 69 per cent were created as cart-ways, so table 8.2 also outlines the number of offences presented in court relating to landed trespass involving damage with peasant carts. Assessing the detail of these incidents, it is clear that there were a number of habitual transgressors. Several peasants committed these offences more than once, but a small group were compulsive offenders. Sixteen individuals, all but one male, found themselves in court with alarming frequency charged with making or using an illegal

[815] *E.M.R.*, p. 79
[816] N.R.O. F (M) 2388; N.R.O. F (M) roll 233

path over a lengthy period of time, or with causing damage with a cart (table 8.3).These individuals, although occasionally acting alone, were invariably amerced within a group.

The court rolls do not always record all of the information historians would like to see, and these cases are no exception. Most incidences do not reveal the location of each misdemeanour, merely stating that it took place on demesne pasture, several heath, or sown ground. In a small number of incidents, however, we learn the precise location, detailed in table 8.4. While it is difficult to be conclusive with such a small data set, there appears to be a distinct concentration of activity in *wyteberwe*. In one incident, the location is described as demesne several pasture, and so it is possible that at least some of the non-named locations where illegal paths were used, and which were described in similar terms, may well also have been *wyteberwe*. Certainly, the new path there was distinct enough that in July 1310 it was used by foreign carters arriving from Ipswich.[817] Despite the imperfections of the data, the illegal path at *wyteberwe* was employed from at least July 1310, when a large group of Lakenheath peasants used it in addition to outsiders, through to October 1330.[818]

Table 8.2: Illegal Paths and Damage with Carts in Lakenheath, 1310-1341

Illegal Paths	
Total unique incidents	32
Total peasants involved	191
Total unique peasants involved	87
Damage with Carts	
Total unique incidents	39
Total peasants involved	115
Total unique peasants involved	62

Source: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1

[817] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/3
[818] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/3; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/1; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/5

Table 8.3: Habitual Offenders – Illegal Paths and Damage with Carts, Lakenheath, 1310-1336

Jul 1310	May 1312	Jun 1313	Mar 1321	May 1321	Jun 1321	Nov 1324	Jun 1325	Apr 1326	Oct 1327	Dec 1327	Mar 1328	May 1328
Baxtere, le	Baxtere, le	Baxtere, le			Baxtere, le	Baxtere, le						
Douue, J	Douue, J	Douue, J			Douue, J	Douue, J						
Pistor		Pistor		Pistor					Pistor			
Godyng	Godyng	Godyng			Godyng	Godyng						
		Hithe	Hithe	Hithe					Hithe			Hithe
		Outlaw			Outlaw			Outlawe		Outlawe		
Dikeman, P	Dikeman, P	Dikeman, P				Dikeman, P						
					Flaghener		Flaghener				Flaghener	
				Wyles	Wyles				Wyles			
				Cross, at		Cross, at						Cross, at
						Douue, T		Douue, T				
						Pigge	Pigge	Pigge	Pigge			
									Douue, I		Douue, I	
									Dykeman, W			Dykeman

Oct 1328	Sep 1329	Mar 1330	Oct 1330	Mar 1331	Oct 1331	May 1332	Jan 1333	Jan 1334	Mar 1334	Oct 1334	Jun 1335	May 1336
		Pistor	Pistor	Pistor		Pistor	Pistor	Pistor	Pistor	Pistor		Pistor
		Hithe	Hithe	Hithe		Hithe	Hithe	Hithe	Hithe	Hithe	Hithe	Hithe
		Outlawe	Outlawe	Outlawe		Outlawe	Outlawe	Outlawe		Outlawe		Outlawe
	Flaghener	Flaghener										
Wyles		Wyles					Wyles					Wyles
		Cross, at	Cross, at	Cross, at								
			Douue, T	Douue, T		Douue, T	Douue, T	Douue, T				Douue, T
		Pigge	Pigge	Pigge		Pigge				Pigge		Pigge
		Douue, I	Douue, I	Douue, I	Douue, I	Douue, I	Douue, I		Douue, I			Douue, I
	Dykeman, W	Dykeman, W	Dykeman, W	Dykeman, W								
Criteman		Criteman	Criteman	Criteman		Criteman	Criteman	Criteman		Criteman		
		Lane	Lane	Lane			Lane	Lane				

Source: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1; Notes: Peasant offenders in order of appearance: Thomas le Baxtere, John Douue, Richard Pistor, Adam Godyng, John at the Hithe, Matthew Outlawe, Payn Dikeman, William Flaghener, Simon Wyles, William at the Cross, Thomas Douue, Robert Pigge, Isabel Douue, William Dykeman, Laurence Criteman, Richard in the Lane; emboldened entries relate to incidences of damage with carts

Table 8.4: Illegal Paths at Lakenheath – Known Locations

Location	Incidents
Wyteberwe	4
Le Wrongwong	2
Le Wonge	1
The mill	1
Dedchirl	1
Brendhall	1
The warren	1
Below the vill	1

Source: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1

In 1317, an ambiguous entry in the rolls gave a 'day…to the whole homage under penalty of 80d. to certify to the steward before next court concerning damage done at *whiteberewe* since it has been suggested that the damage amounts to 10 marks', but whether this related to the illegal path is unclear.[819] Assessing named locations at Walsham where illegal paths were used, it is clear that a similar pattern is apparent: time and again, the paths used were in the same places—*angerhalefield* and *oldtoft*. There are also indications that presentments relating to damage with carts in the same places referred to the illegal paths, as hinted at in the Lakenheath rolls.[820]

Other incidents of landed trespass were recorded at *wyteberwe*, but there was no unambiguous correlation between these—usually involving damage with livestock—and the peasants using the path. Assessing the earliest incidents at *wyteberwe*, eleven peasants were involved overall. Of these, eight individuals continued to use the path on each of the earliest reported occasions, most of whom feature in table 8.3. Might the continued use of 'illegal' paths by the same individuals indicate some form of licensing the use of the new path? Certainly, for incidents before 1324 a standard fine of 3d. was issued. After this point, however, although difficult to pinpoint with precision due to the incomplete nature of the sources, they become differentiated. At around this time, the prior appointed a new sergeant, John Godhewe, who replaced the long-serving Ralph de Dereham sometime in or before

[819] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/16
[820] Lock, *The Court Rolls of Walsham*, p. 184, 219, 247, 269, 275, 291 and 294; p. 221 details damage with carts in the lord's several pasture at *angerhale*, and p. 314 at *oldtoft*.

1322. Godhewe lived locally, and might have had an influence on manorial policy regarding illegal paths. Interestingly, Godhewe numbered amongst the earliest perpetrators, and was in court three times for using illegal paths—twice at *wyteberwe*: did he have a better understanding of the rationale behind the use of the paths than his predecessor?[821] His trespassing activity certainly ceased after his appointment as sergeant—possibly suggesting a form of licencing—and one that need not be paid by officials.

However, further evidence suggests that the peasants were possibly not paying a licence fee to use their chosen paths. In 1328, the damage caused by carts in *le wrongwong* by foreign carters from Thetford was brought about 'through the agency of William and Robert at the Cross'; the furlong also being damaged by locals.[822] In 1334, John at the Hithe denied outright that he had committed any offence. One of nine individuals accused, found guilty and amerced, he was one of four fined 6d., all of whom were habitual offenders.[823] If he had simply been paying for a licence, there would have been no need to deny the transgression. In any event, on a number of occasions paths were created through sown demesne land and directly through the centre of the lord's fold, 'paths' unlikely in the extreme to have been licensed by manorial officials.[824] A separate incident in July 1330 reveals how one peasant viewed trespassing on private land. William Dykeman allegedly seized John de Wangford's horse in *dykemannesdich*, and took it to the prior's pound. He claimed that 'the said place is several land where no one should go…and the horse was in the said place to his damage'. De Wangford responded that 'in the said place there is a way for conveying with carts, horses and other beasts for the liberty belonging to his free tenement…and this can be proved'.[825] The outcome of the dispute is unknown, but it is apparent that these individuals understood the regulations governing movement through the manor using sanctioned routes, but nevertheless each interpreted matters concerning *dykemannesdich* differently. Interestingly, both men

[821] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/3; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/1; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/4
[822] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/20
[823] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/9/23; the others were fined 3d.
[824] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/14; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/35; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/19; the two incidents involving paths through sown land were both recorded in May courts, suggesting standing crops were destroyed, rather than stubble.
[825] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/9

used illegal paths, William Dykeman habitually.[826] After 1334, the phrase 'illegal' path or way was no longer used. However, the number of incidents involving damage with carts remained high, frequently involving the same habitual offenders, suggesting a permanent change in the wording used to record these incidents. A new steward—John de Aylsham—was appointed *c.* October 1334, coterminous with this apparent change. Before then, it seems likely that at least some transgressions described as 'damage with carts' related to illegal paths, and assessing the habitual offenders in table 8.3 bears this out.

Perhaps these habitual users of the paths were simply carters. In 1321, a rod of land had been illegally leased 'to all carters of the vill whereby they may have a path for carts'; the land was ordered to be seized.[827] Unfortunately, the carters were not listed. Those habitually trespassing may have been carters, but they number amongst almost 90 individuals recorded as owning or having access to a cart in Lakenheath, the majority of whom committed relevant offences infrequently or never. No one called Carter was ever linked to incidents relating to illegal cartways or damage with carts. Although these peasants' occupation cannot be categorically determined, it is clear that most of them acted intermittently as manorial officials in some capacity, mainly as reeve or sergeant (table 8.5). Curiously, where data survive, the periods during which they held office coincide precisely with the gaps indicated in table 8.3 when they committed no offences related to illegal paths, much in line with the way in which John Godhewe disappeared from the record concerning similar offences. This suggests that either these men stopped their illegal activity for the duration of their office, that a blind eye was turned; or that a notional licence fee was 'allowed' by the lord during the period of their office-holding. Whatever the rationale may have been, it is clear that a small number of Lakenheath peasants were creating their own paths, designed to suit their needs rather than the lord's, and which appear to have been used predominantly by this select group. In fact, examining the court records relating to landed trespass more widely, it is apparent that these habitual transgressors were more likely to commit acts of landed trespass generally. This suggests that these

[826] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/11; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/19; C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/8/20
[827] C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1/6/27

Table 8.5: Habitual Offenders' Manorial Offices in Lakenheath

Name	Office	Date
Simon Wyles	Sergeant	1310
William at the Cross	Reeve	1312
William Flaghener	Reeve	Sep. 1321 and 1328-9
Thomas le Baxtere	Sergeant	1325
Thomas Douue	Sergeant	1325 and 1328
Laurence Criteman	Sergeant	1325-6 and 1332
William Dykeman	Sergeant	1328
Matthew Outlawe	Reeve	Oct 1331

Source: C.U.L./EDC/7/16/II/1

individuals had a different attitude toward moving through the Lakenheath landscape than most. This may also have been connected with the fact that most of them were members of leading Lakenheath families.

The evidence at both Lakenheath and Walsham seems to link both the creation of illegal paths with damage caused by peasant carts. Furthermore, the Lakenheath rolls hint more toward attempts by the lord to retain control of routes through the manor rather than licensing access to those willing to pay. This is further corroborated in the account rolls where several payments for such licences are detailed.[828] The reasonable conclusion must be that those creating and using illegal paths did so against the lord's wishes. Some peasants used such paths more routinely than others, suggesting that they may have been less concerned about complying with the lord's wishes than others. Overall, there is overwhelming evidence to suggest that irrespective of lords' desire to create a regulated environment through which peasants ought to travel according to strict conventions, they created and used paths that suited them. The sources repeatedly show that peasants wandered, often at will, through private demesne areas and neighbouring peasant properties regardless of whether they had secured permission. Some went further by committing acts of purpresture, appropriating small areas of land in the fields or adjacent to their tofts and gardens perhaps hoping that no one would notice. Here, the documentary sources

[828] CUL/EDC/7/16/1/11; CUL/EDC/7/16/1/8; in Castor in 1310, John de Cambridge gave a capon for having a right of way across *langgemor* for his draught-beasts: N.R.O. F(M) 2389

reveal what Saunders was unable to see by simply assessing plans of reconstructed settlements: that peasants considered their local environment very differently from the way in which lords would like them to have done. In the early nineteenth century when John Clare was writing about the landscape around Ailsworth, he captured the essence of what it meant at that time to stray from the beaten track, onto privately owned land:

> 'I dreaded walking where there was no path
> And pressed with cautious tread the meadow swath
> And always turned to look with wary eye
> And always feared the owner coming by;
> Yet everything about where I had gone
> Appeared so beautiful I ventured on
> And when I gained the road where all are free
> I fancied every stranger frowned at me
> And every kinder look appeared to say
> "You've been on trespass in your walk today"…'[829]

The evidence from late medieval Lakenheath suggests that for many peasants living there, this would not have been an outlook they shared.

[829] 'Trespass' in P. Farley (ed.), *John Clare, Selected Poems* (London, 2007), p. 105

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

Unveiling the peasant environment

Early in the New Year of 1300, nine Elton men almost came to blows with Hugh Priest—the lord's beadle—in court. They had been attached by Priest to appear before the court because they had driven their livestock along *greneweye*, en route to their common pasture. According to the men, they were prevented by the lord's bailiffs from using the droveway which 'all men of the vill…ought by right to have…at all times of the year, inasmuch as strangers passing by the same way can have a free droveway with their animals…without challenge or hindrance'. Priest responded provocatively: Elton's customary tenants were accustomed to pay for this privilege. This assertion was vociferously challenged by '…customary tenants and all others of the vill, as well as free-tenants and others…[including] the twelve jurors'. The steward wisely declined to adjudicate the matter, referring it to the abbot for judgment.[830] Nothing more of the incident is recorded, and the abbot's decision is unknown; however, this event encapsulates a number of important themes emerging from the study of medieval peasants' relationships with the rural environment.

Although it is unclear whether Priest was acting upon direct seigneurial orders, the impression given is that the abbot's agents' view of the droveway was very different from that of the customary tenants. Within the body of the text, there are also hints that Elton's peasant community were not always as one concerning contentious issues. Rather than simply suggesting that the whole homage was in agreement, the clerk's notes insinuate that customary and free tenants' opinions on such matters were not always in alignment. In attempting to extort money from the customary tenants, Priest endeavoured to override local custom, which in this case was intricately associated with the local landscape and consequently an important element of local cultural memory. From a practical perspective, any long-term impasse as a result of the bailiff's actions potentially threatened to impact the peasants'

[830] *E.M.R.*, p. 94 and p. 98

economic outlook: preventing livestock from accessing pasture might result in unnecessary cost and enfeebled animals. Although *greneweye* was clearly a common roadway and therefore an officially sanctioned route, under the auspices of lordship Hugh Priest had attempted to enforce further environmental regulation on select elements of the local populace. In the same court six years later, the jurors presented Hugh Priest for digging pits in the common highway outside his house.[831] Perhaps he had conveniently forgotten that this was an offence, but it is much more likely that his actions emphasise the capricious nature of individuals' relationships with the local environment generally.

It is perhaps unsurprising that lords found ways to set themselves apart from the manorial environment inhabited by the lower orders. The common trend from the late Anglo-Saxon period was to distinguish lordly spaces from those occupied by the lower orders. Post-Conquest, across all levels of lordship, this generally developed into the construction of moated, walled and gated seigneurial dwellings and *curia* in the case of resident and absentee lords alike by the late medieval period. Additional features like enclosed parks and gardens were also used in part to aid segregation, and in some instances, manorial *curia* were set apart from peasant residences. It seems likely that even in places selected as temporary retreats or retirement residences, like those favoured by the Prior of Ely at Undley and Shippea, the environment had been carefully chosen. Perhaps these locations were preferred for their aesthetic settings, situated as they were in rural isolation on 'islanded' land accessible only by causeway. A more sceptical reading might lead us to imagine that some element of deliberate screening had been prioritised as part of the process of selecting the most apposite site.

There is evidence to suggest that peasants higher up the social scale attempted to emulate some of the environmental differentiation practised by lords. This is perhaps most obvious in Bernard de Pickworth's capital messuage in Castor, but it is also apparent in the manner in which free peasants generally eschewed topographical bynames. Subtly, this implies deliberate avoidance of any overt association with the physical terrain of the rural environment, itself inextricably linked

[831] *E.M.R.*, p. 119

with agricultural labour, servility and dirt. Conversely, in bestowing their personal names on the landscape, Castor's freemen irrefutably associated themselves with the local environment. The relevant field-names represent leading families—a trend mirrored at Lakenheath. Their perceived unwillingness to be linked to topographical bynames whilst simultaneously asserting their attachment to particular places suggests a desire to be in a position of authority over the environment, akin to elite relationships with the environment, rather than being associated directly with it. Understanding the rationale for these actions is more problematic. We appear to be witnessing a considered initiative on the part of freemen to distance themselves from their servile neighbours, but whether this sprang from a need to ensure that their legal status was not misunderstood, or was more prosaically an attempt at social climbing is unclear. Although this differentiation was clearly apparent in the vills under review here, it seems worthy of wider geographical consideration to assess whether this was a general trend. Already, Mileson has suggested that in Oxfordshire some freemen used bynames that were associated with religious topography; might the more rural nature of Huntingdonshire—the county most thoroughly assessed here—account for this discrepancy?[832]

Similarly, changes in the named environment from the late Anglo-Saxon period through to the mid-fourteenth century seem to reflect a shift from a tendency to favour topographically descriptive names, through to more culturally focused labels. Here, naming patterns suggest that within the community with the highest proportion of freemen—Castor—minor names were more dynamic earlier than elsewhere. Again, this is a tentative conclusion and requires more rigorous testing: does this pattern emerge here purely because of the greater survival of appropriate documents, or because of differences in lordship, for example? Certainly, the tendency among leading peasant families in Lakenheath to associate themselves with the local environment via their *cognomina* toward the end of the period suggests the latter, particularly as a similar pattern is not apparent in Elton. The lack of suitable earlier material for Lakenheath means that these findings must be treated with caution;

[832] S. Mileson, 'The South Oxfordshire project: perceptions of landscape, settlement and society, *c.*500-1650', *Landscape History*, 33:2 (2012), p. 93

nevertheless, it is a hypothesis that is worth examining more extensively. The idea that there might be another hidden, more ephemeral seam of minor names also cannot be ruled out, as the unique reference to Lakenheath's *gopaynshithe* attests. What does this unveil about the processes of naming, and how names became accepted or were rejected by rural communities in this period?

A great quantity of medieval field-names were recovered as part of this study, many of which reveal highly nuanced detail regarding the characteristics of the local landscape. It may have been possible to speculate upon much of this, such as Lakenheath's vast fens, but not only do these names provide solid evidence of environmental attributes, like Castor's *rohauue*, they also offer a partial chronology of change, most obvious within the assarting names recorded in late medieval Castor. At this point, this thesis departed from more traditional onomastic territory to consider the transparency of field-names, and to re-assess them from a more cosmological perspective. Influenced by the work of anthropologists and ethnologists, specific field-names were re-examined from a more phenomenological perspective. Crucially, this approach favours cultural context over pure linguistic definition and taxonomy, attempting to restore later medieval field-names within more temporally appropriate physical and metaphorical frames of reference. Despite an emerging scholarship linking cultural memory with the historic landscape, this methodology is unlikely to have wide application in the late medieval period due to the problems associated with identifying places with satisfactory supporting evidence. The coupling of local myths and landscape is unlikely in the extreme to be unique to Castor. However, the survival of local folklore that can be unequivocally traced to the later Middle Ages alongside suitable landscape evidence, like extant field-names, is probably rare. Nonetheless, it does emphasise that an approach that prioritises landscape and cultural context over taxonomy can yield interesting results, even though the conclusions drawn are tentatively posited.

The consideration of names as evidence perhaps offers new ways of reflecting on peasants' relationships with the local environment, with their neighbours, and with the upper orders. Other aspects of the thesis focus on more traditional lines of enquiry. Turning to the more practical aspects of peasant relationships with the local

environment it is evident that, whilst at least some peasants may have shared some common experiences—customary tenants' labour services and famuli tasks for example—it would be incorrect to consider all peasant encounters with the environment in general terms. The survival of the Lakenheath manorial records emphasises the variety of means by which local peasants made a living. The wealthier residents tended to rear large flocks of sheep, whilst those less well-off were principally engaged in activities like fishing and artisanal crafts. Despite living in reasonable proximity to one another, the experience and practical knowledge of the environment and its resources accumulated by tenants like John de Wangford and Richard Lericok must have been markedly different. Other aspects of the local landscape were likely to have been understood more widely. Materials used in the construction of local buildings, as fuel, and as food for peasants and livestock, for example. Additionally, it seems likely that most peasants had a reasonably detailed understanding of the physical characteristics of the landscape. This is apparent through the manner in which some furlongs were named; and through the general adherence toward maintaining the landscape in good order, considering drainage and the common importance of the production and application of manure to arable land. The evidence from Lakenheath hints that sales of manure may have been associated with poorer peasants, and that, in some instances, better-off peasants may have attempted to disassociate themselves from this kind of refuse. Just as many free peasants avoided associations with topographical bynames, perhaps an overt connection with manure—and its strong connotations with foul odour and filth—were deemed undesirable by those aspiring to social elevation.

There is also undoubted evidence that peasants at even the lowest strata of society had an understanding of the key tenets of medieval science. References to the medical treatment of swine by agricultural labourers using practices associated with humoral theory confirm that there must have been the medieval equivalent of an apprenticeship in animal husbandry, passed on orally to young men as part of the natural cycle of attaining and disseminating practical information. Additional hints at early veterinary practice are also apparent at Elton, although what this practice actually involved is unclear. Contemporary treatises on husbandry fail to consider

disease in livestock adequately, and a tentative conclusion—that treatments practised by peasant husbandmen were conveyed orally and practically between generations, and were the preserve of peasant practitioners—cannot be determined conclusively, but might explain their absence from the treatises. These ideas were only explored briefly here, however understanding the role of uneducated peasants in veterinary practice would undoubtedly benefit from further, more geographically diverse, research. Undoubtedly, assessment of these more practical concerns—whether considering the improvement of the soil through the application of fertiliser, or determining the most efficacious time to cut timber—emphasise that the environment influenced decision making in myriad ways.

Finally, although there is evidence that in Elton and Castor peasant messuages were situated in the same area of the vill as the manorial *curia*, nevertheless in the case of the chief lords, a certain distance was maintained. The messuages of Castor's Thorold fee seem likely to have been located below the seigneurial site, clustered together in an area common to the Thorold manor. It seems likely that the settlement morphologies of Elton and Castor were determined by their respective lords, although it is impossible to be certain. The initial impression, supported principally by the survey evidence, is of three environments that were ordered by their respective lords, in line with the conclusions drawn by Dodgshon and Saunders.[833] More rigorous examination of the evidence supplied within Lakenheath's court rolls reveals behaviour that contradicts the view that lords successfully regulated the manorial environment. Whilst this may well have been their intention, for a number of peasants these seigneurial restrictions did not appear to limit their movement within the manor. These men—for they were predominantly male—created their own paths through the manor, occasionally without regard for standing crops, or indeed the lord's livestock. References to these ephemeral tracks are fleeting, but they are vitally important in offering a counterpoint to the impression that peasants' movements were successfully controlled by the upper orders. In addition to flouting regulations put in place by lords,

[833] R.A. Dodgshon, *The European Past: Social Evolution and Spatial Order* (Basingstoke, 1987), p. 167 and p. 192; T. Saunders, 'The feudal construction of space: power and domination in the nucleated village' in R. Samson (ed.), *The Social Archaeology of Houses* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 183-6 and p. 193

there is much evidence to support the idea that many peasants perceived their own holdings as private spaces, whilst often simultaneously infringing the privacy of others. In short, although these peasants evidently understood what it meant to live in a regulated environment, within which there were many bounded, ostensibly private areas, their recollection of these official and unofficial rules could be conveniently erratic. For many, both overt and covert trespass seems to have been the norm.

What begins to emerge from these disparate aspects of peasants' experience of their respective local landscapes is that there is no universal narrative that distils the peasant viewpoint into one all-purpose perspective. Certainly, common threads emerge that suggest some shared beliefs were held across all three vills. This is particularly apparent when considering personal naming patterns, and free tenants' seeming dislike of topographical bynames. Whilst this reveals important evidence regarding free peasants' mentalities, crucially, it does not expose the viewpoint of the servile population. Their voice remains largely unheard, and we cannot know whether they tolerated these bynames or whether they were content to identify with the local environment in such a manner. Returning to the research questions set out at the beginning of the thesis, here, at least, there appears to be evidence that supports the idea that in some respects attitudes differed between the free and unfree peasant population. In others, however, it did not, particularly when considering how the 'authorised' parish morphology was considered by free peasants and leading villeins at Lakenheath alike.

Superficially, attitudes demonstrated by late medieval elites appear at odds with those exhibited by peasants. However, lords' determination to promote outwardly private seigneurial spaces did not always match their actions, and peasants frequently enjoyed licensed access to certain seigneurial resources. Nevertheless, admittance might be restricted when it suited, and lords certainly enjoyed giving the impression that there was a marked difference between their private spaces and those authorised for peasant use. Their desire to promote an outward sense of seclusion seems to have been mirrored in miniature by some of the peasants examined here. We have encountered a number of private peasant domains that were fenced or walled. Some peasants reacted angrily to others trespassing on their personal

holdings. Others still strengthened their associations with what they perceived as their exclusive territories by giving these areas their name—there can be no doubting the strength of purpose behind names like *bouetonhay* and *gopaynshithe*, or that these names were devised by the people that held them. Here, the meta-narrative that lords expected the world to accept can be dismantled further as we encounter peasants who moved through the manorial environment with little regard for seigneurial restrictions.

There is some evidence to suggest that in some respects, peasants' attitudes toward the local landscape changed between 1086-1348. Some changes are hinted at, like free tenants' disassociation with topographical bynames, but there is too little evidence from the eleventh-twelfth centuries to be certain that this represented modified attitudes. Transformation is most discernible through changes within the corpus of minor names, especially at Castor and Lakenheath, where personal names and cultural elements were more likely to be used as minor name qualifiers in the later part of this period. Others have noted these changes, and although the pace of transition seems to have differed in the three vills assessed here, the general outlook appears to favour a shift toward closer familial associations with aspects of peasant holdings, possibly more so in manors with weaker lordship.[834] This appears to occur across the lines of freedom and servility, and is most notable through the tendency for leading peasant families to forge strong associations with the local landscape using their names.

At the outset, it was suggested that one of the principal aims of this thesis was to expose peasant mentalities concerning the local environment. This was undoubtedly a challenging initiative. The primary difficulty was the lack of direct peasant testimony, since the source material was largely elite-sponsored. This problem has been outlined by many others venturing into this territory. Gurevich *et al*. argue in response to criticism that there is no other way to approach medieval peasant culture than via sources of this nature, which can be fruitful when treated

[834] S. Olson, *A Mute Gospel: the People and Culture of the Medieval English Common Fields* (Toronto, 2009), p. 189

sensitively.[835] Those of the Annales School have typically explored material such as penitentials, chronicles, sermons and saints lives. In England we are fortunate to possess manorial documents and charters, an alternative basis for enquiry. As a body of material, these records have proven to be both profitable and problematic. Arguably, the rich seam of evidence provided by the names—minor-names and bynames alike—offered an opportunity to assess terms coined by the peasants themselves. Certainly, some had been translated into Latin, however the size of the dataset revealed their vernacular equivalence in sufficient quantity to aid detailed investigation. Where the analysis focused on peasant activities, again, although these were necessarily viewed through the filter of the manorial clerk, much of the data were quantitatively significant allowing dominant themes, such as the creation of illegal paths, to emerge.

There are problems that must be addressed, however. Although much has been revealed, the documents themselves restrict our view in important ways. In some instances, especially with regard to the court rolls, we only see those practices deemed subversive by the authorities. As such, the leet court rolls abound with peasant encroachments, but might there have been other issues that did not feature? Undoubtedly, some of these rarer problems appear periodically, but it is very likely that poorer peasants and women are underrepresented. Although an attempt has been made to consider peasants' sense of history and folklore, it is acknowledged that this offers at best a partial view, and one that is tentatively presented. Throughout, it has not been the intention to assess cultural ideas that were not expressed—explicitly or indirectly—within the source material. Therefore, some of the most common beliefs frequently associated with the lower orders that were connected with the natural world have not been considered, such as herbal remedies, field blessings and rogation rituals. Additionally, it has proven difficult to make more detailed assessments of peasants' knowledge of their local flora and fauna: much that was indisputably familiar did not feature in the records. This undoubtedly means that what

[835] J.M. Bak, A.J. Gurevich and P.A. Hollingsworth, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 1; A.J. Gurevich, 'Medieval culture and mentality according to the New French Historiography' in S. Clark (ed.), *The Annales School: Critical Assessments*, Vol. 2 (London, 1999), p. 212

is presented here can only be a partial reconstruction of the mental world of the medieval peasant insofar as their relationship with the local environment was concerned. The study of mentalities has been generally concerned with the idea of collective attitudes, and scholars are frequently struck by the difference between elite and popular culture, although this approach has been criticised by some.[836] Again, it has been shown here that a narrative based on an overly simplistic binary opposition between lords and peasants is inappropriate. Collective mentalities were apparent; however these consisted of a number of different, fluid groups. We have witnessed freemen operating in apparent concert concerning naming practices; groups of leading free and servile peasants acting as one; and at Elton, the entire peasant community cooperatively disputing the legitimacy of the abbot's actions regarding a common droveway.

Lords and their administrators should not be held to account for these omissions: it was not the purpose of the records reviewed here to preserve the details of the worldview of their tenants. Arguably, the fault lies as much with scholars working in discrete disciplines and who have failed to consider the local landscape holistically. In recent years, scholars have begun to reassess the manorial economy, rationalising it from a contemporary rather than a modern perspective, and this is an approach that needs to be replicated more widely when considering the environment.[837] As one of the best sources for understanding peasant mentalities, minor names have largely been interrogated outside their cultural and geographical context, which means that some misinterpretation is likely. In reuniting this illuminating material with its contemporary landscape setting, and seeking to interpret this in ways meaningful to the medieval peasant, we may come closer to understanding how the environment was seen by those living and working locally. What is clear, is that the late medieval manorial landscape cannot be tightly defined, but formed a series of interlocking places and ideologies—each having greater and lesser validity depending upon social and temporal factors, and the vacillating attitudes of the groups that created them.

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[836] P. Burke, 'Strengths and weaknesses of the history of mentalities' in S. Clark (ed.), *The Annales School: Critical Assessments*, Vol. 2 (London, 1999), p. 447
[837] D. Stone, *Decision-Making in Medieval Agriculture* (Oxford, 2005)

Appendices

Notes to appendices

Those bynames, minor names and field names that have particular relevance to this thesis have been discussed with language experts (the majority with Peter McClure, University of Hull). However, it is important to note that not all the names listed in the appendices have been reviewed in this manner, and only those that the author required an expert opinion on were assessed.

In Appendix 4 (minor names), sources are only listed for the more unusual or problematic elements. For all other minor name definitions the following key sources were used: *E.P.N.E. I*; *E.P.N.E. II*; M. Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape: the Geographical Roots of Britain's Place-Names* (1984, London, 1993); M. Gelling and A. Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names* (Stamford, 2000); M.E.D.

Notes specific to each appendix are also found below each respective section.

Appendix One

Personal names with more than one possible definition (Elton, Castor and Lakenheath)

Name	Definition	Definition Source	Possible Categories	Manors
Balle				
	ODa personal name[#]	*O.E.S.*, p. 25	Patronym	Elton
	'Ball' or 'bald'	*O.E.S.*, p. 25	Nickname	
Bele				
	Personal name 'Bele'	*O.E.S.*, p. 34		Elton
	'Belle', beautiful	*O.E.S.*, p. 34	Nickname	
Blade				
	Metonymic for blader, bladesmith	*O.E.S.*, p. 47	Occupational	Castor
	May be topographical	*O.E.S.*, p. 47	Topograph	
	Nickname for one who wore a knife	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)		
Blythe				
	From Blythe (Ntb, Ntt)	*O.E.S.*, p. 50	Toponym	Elton
	Possible personal name	*O.E.S.*, p. 50	Patronym	
	'Merry'	*O.E.S.*, p. 50	Nickname	
Brid				
	OE 'bridd': the young of a bird	*W.M.E.N.*, p. 76	Nickname	Elton
	Metonymic for bird-catcher		Occupational	Lakenheath
Buck, Buk				
	Metonymic for dealer in venison		Occupational	Elton
	'Buck' or 'he-goat'	*P.L.C,* p. 194	Nickname	Lakenheath
Bully				
	'Bull enclosure'	*O.E.S.,* p. 72	Topograph	Elton
	French place-name	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Toponym	Lakenheath
Bumbil				
	'Of the bittern, to boom'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Nickname	Lakenheath
	'Humming'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Nickname	
	'Jumble, confusion'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Nickname	

Name	Definition	Definition Source	Possible Categories	Manors
Bykir				
	'Bee-keeper'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Nickname	Castor
	From Bicker (Lin)		Toponym	
Cade				
	Personal name	*O.E.S.*, p. 79	Patronym	Elton
	'Stout, lumpish person'	*O.E.S.*, p. 79	Nickname	
Casse				
	OFr metonymic for case-maker	*O.E.S.*, p. 86	Occupational	Castor
	Pet-form of Cassandra	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Relational	
Cat				
	'Cat'	P.L.C., p. 194	Nickname	Lakenheath
	Pet form of Cateline	*O.E.S.,* p. 87	Metronym	
Cherry				
	'Ruddy faced'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Nickname	Elton
	Grower or seller of cherries	*O.E.S.,* p. 93	Occupational	
	Elliptical for *atte cherrie*	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Topograph	
Clay				
	'Dweller on the clay'	*O.E.S.*, p. 99	Topograph	Lakenheath
	'Worker in a claypit'	*O.E.S.*, p. 99	Occupational	
	From Cley (Nfk)		Toponym	
Clerk				
	Clergy in minor orders; scholar, secretary, recorder or penman	*O.E.S.*, p. 98	Occupational	Castor Elton
	Nickname for one who is literate	*O.E.S.*, p. 169	Nickname	
Cobbe				
	'Male swan'	M.E.D.	Nickname	Lakenheath
	'Big man, gang leader, bully'	M.E.D.	Nickname	
	Pet form of Cobald, Cobbard, Cobbert	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Patronym	
Cod				
	The fish 'cod'	M.E.D.	Nickname	Lakenheath
	'Bag, wallet or seed-pod'	M.E.D.	Nickname	
	'Pillow or cushion'	M.E.D.	Nickname	
	'Larynx, throat, belly or scrotum'	M.E.D.	Nickname	

Name	Definition	Definition Source	Possible Categories	Manors
Crane				
	'Long-legged'	*O.E.S.*, p. 115	Nickname	Elton
	'Tall bird' or 'lifting gear'	P.L.C., p. 194	Nickname	Lakenheath
Cyte				
	OE 'cyte': 'hut'#	*W.M.E.N.*, p. 84	Topograph	Lakenheath
	OE 'cyte': 'cottage, cell', usually a hermit's or monk's cell#	*E.P.N.E. I*, p. 124	Topograph	
	OE 'cyta' / ME ''kete, kijt, kuytte, kyte': 'kite'	*E.P.N.E. I*, p. 124	Nickname	
	OE 'cyta' / ME ''kete, kijt, kuytte, kyte': 'one who preys on others'	*W.M.E.N.*, p. 84	Nickname	
Cuttyle				
	OFr 'cotel, coutel': probably metonym for cutler	*O.E.S.*, p. 112	Occupational	Elton
	'One who wore a coutel or knife'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Nickname	
	OFr 'cotel', coat of mail	*O.E.S.*, p. 112	Nickname	
Dawe				
	Pet-name for Ralph	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Patronym	Lakenheath
	'Jackdaw'	*O.E.S.,* p. 128	Nickname	
Deche				
	Variant of *Diche*; cf. Dyke	Peter McClure, pers. comm	Topograph	Elton
Dikeman				
	One who lives near a dike/ditch	*O.E.S.,* p. 134	Topograph	Lakenheath
	One who works on a dike/ditch	*O.E.S.,* p. 134	Occupational	
Donge				
	'Mud, dirt, refuse, dung'	M.E.D.	Nickname	Lakenheath
	'Dirty, filthy'	M.E.D.	Nickname	
Drake				
	Nickname 'dragon'	*O.E.S.*, p. 141	Nickname	Castor
	Nickname 'drake, male duck'	*O.E.S.*, p. 141	Nickname	Lakenheath
Dyke				
	A pet form of Richard	*O.E.S.,* p. 133	Patronym	Castor
	'Dweller by the dike'	*O.E.S.,* p. 136	Topograph	

Name	Definition	Definition Source	Possible Categories	Manors
Fish				
	'Fish'	*O.E.S.,* p. 169	Nickname	Lakenheath
	Metonymic for fish dealer[≠]		Occupational	
Freke				
	OE 'freca': 'man or warrior'	*O.E.S.,* p. 177	Nickname	Lakenheath
	'frith, wood, woodland'	*O.E.S.,* p. 169	Topograph	
Frost				
	Nickname		Nickname	Castor
	Possible patronym	A.B.C., p. 12	Patronym	
Grout				
	'Mud or slime'	M.E.D.	Nickname?	Lakenheath
	'Crushed or peeled grain used for making malt'	M.E.D.	Occupational	
	'Thick, dark ale'	M.E.D.	Occupational	
	'Course meal (or ON porridge)'	M.E.D.	Nickname?	
Hack				
	ME 'hak': 'unsparing, ruthless'	Peter McClure(pers. comm)	Nickname	Lakenheath
	ME 'hak': 'cutting tool'	Peter McClure (pers. comm)	Nickname	
	Personal name from ON Haki[≠]	Peter McClure (pers. comm)	Patronym	
Herring				
	Nickname for dealer in herrings	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Occupational	Castor
	'Herring'	P.L.C., p. 194	Nickname	Elton
Hert				
	'Male red deer'	*O.E.S.*, p. 219	Nickname	Castor
	Possible patronym	A.B.C., p. 12	Patronym	Elton
Horn				
	'Residence near a spur of land'	*O.E.S.,* p. 238	Topograph	Lakenheath
	Metonym for horn-blower	*O.E.S.,* p. 238	Occupational	
Houel				
	OW 'houel' 'in the eastern counties, where Bretons were numerous'	*O.E.S.,* p. 241	Nickname	Lakenheath
	From Howell (Lin)	*O.E.S.,* p. 241	Toponym	

Name	Definition	Definition Source	Possible Categories	Manors
Kyde				
	Young goat or roe deer	*O.E.S.*, p. 264	Nickname	Castor
	Metonymic for kidder (woodman, cutter or seller of faggots)	*O.E.S.*, p. 264	Occupational	
Leylond				
	'Dweller by the untilled land'	*O.E.S.*, p. 278	Topograph	Elton
	From Ealand (Lin)[#]	*O.E.S.*, p. 278	Toponym	
Marche				
	'Boundary'	*O.E.S.,* p. 298	Topograph	Castor
	From March (Cam)	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Toponym	
Morris				
	'Swarthy'	*O.E.S.*, p. 303	Nickname	Elton
	From the personal name Maurice	*O.E.S.*, p.303	Patronym	
Mustard				
	'Sharp-tongued'	*O.E.S.*, p. 318	Nickname	Elton
	Seller of mustard	*O.E.S.*, p. 318	Occupational	Lakenheath
Noc, at the				
	'Dweller by the oak-tree or group of oaks'	*O.E.S.,* p. 327	Topograph	Castor
	'Dweller at the nook, corner or triangular plot of ground'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Topograph	
Noteman				
	Servant of Nott	*O.E.S.*, p. 326	Occupational	Lakenheath
	Dealer in nuts	*O.E.S.*, p. 264	Occupational	
Pecke				
	OE 'peac': 'knoll, peak, hill'	*L.B.E.A.,* p. 85	Topograph	Lakenheath
	ME 'pek': 'pointed'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Nickname	
Quarel				
	'Short, heavy square-headed arrow or bolt'		Nickname	Lakenheath
	Metonym for an arlebaster		Occupational	

Name	Definition	Definition Source	Possible Categories	Manors
Rich				
	'Rich'	*O.E.S.*, p. 377	Nickname	Elton
	'Dweller by the stream'	*O.E.S.*, p. 377	Topograph	
	Diminutive of Richard	*O.E.S.*, p. 377	Patronym	
Roche, de la				
	'of the rock, cliff, or promontory'	*L.B.E.A.*, p. 141	Topograph	Castor
	From a place called Roach	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Toponym	
Russel				
	Diminutive of 'red'	*O.E.S.*, p. 386	Nickname	Castor
	Personal name	*O.E.S.*, p. 386	Patronym	
Sheer				
	Metonym for shearsmith[#]	*O.E.S.,* p. 404	Occupational	Lakenheath
	'Bright, fair'	*O.E.S.,* p. 404	Nickname	
Sley, Sly				
	ON nickname 'clever, cunning'	*O.E.S.*, p. 413	Nickname	Castor
	Metonymic for slay-maker	*O.E.S.*, p. 413	Occupational	
Strake				
	Used in place-names	M.E.D.	Topograph	Castor
	'Piece of iron to secure cart-wheel'	M.E.D.	Nickname?	
Swan, Sweyn				
	From the personal name 'Swan'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Patronym	Lakenheath
	Swineherd		Occupational	
Tankard				
	Nickname from the drinking vessel	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Nickname	Lakenheath
	Relationship name derived from 'Tancard'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Nickname	

Name	Definition	Definition Source	Possible Categories	Manors
Thrusslour				
	'Throstel, thrustel': a songbird of the Turdus family, especially a blackbird or the song thrush	M.E.D.	Uncertain	Lakenheath
	Perhaps a spelling of (an unrecorded) 'trusslour', which might be a derivative of ME 'trussel', 'packet, baggage', with a sense of 'one who packs goods into bundles' or else 'baggage carrier, porter, packman'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Occupational	
Trip				
	Tripe-seller	*O.E.S.*, p. 455	Occupational	Lakenheath
	Metonymic for 'tripper' (dancer)	*O.E.S.*, p. 455	Occupational	
	ME *trippe*, 'ruse'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Nickname	
	Herd (of goats), flock (of sheep)	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Nickname	
	Small piece of cheese curd or rind	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Nickname	
Turf				
	'Slab or clod of earth'	M.E.D.	Nickname	Lakenheath
	Turbary, place where peat is cut	M.E.D.	Topograph	
	Metonymic for turf-cutter	M.E.D.	Occupational	
Tyde				
	From personal name OE 'tyda'	*O.E.S.*, p. 447	Patronym	Elton
	From Tydd St Mary or Tydd St Giles	*O.E.S.*, p. 447	Toponym	
Wagge				
	'To shake, waddle'	*O.E.S.*, p. 471	Nickname	Elton
	Possibly 'atte Wagge', dweller by the marsh	*O.E.S.*, p. 471	Topograph	
	'Mischievous boy'[838]	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Nickname	
Wait				
	'Watchman'	*O.E.S.*, p. 472	Occupational	Lakenheath
	'White'	*O.E.S.*, p. 472	Nickname	

[838] Although this sense is not recorded before the sixteenth century.

Name	Definition	Definition Source	Possible Categories	Manors
Wele				
	From ME 'wele': 'deep pool'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Topograph	Elton
	From ME 'wel': 'fortunate, prosperous'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Nickname	
Willows				
	'Dweller among the willows'		Topograph	Lakenheath
	Form of Will	*O.E.S., p. 494*	Patronym	
Wych, at the				
	'Dweller by the wych-elm'	*O.E.S., p. 490*	Topograph	Elton
	'Dweller by the 'wic' (dairy farm)	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Topograph	

Notes: # Peter McClure thinks these definitions are unlikely (pers. comm.)

≠ Peter McClure suggests that eliminating the initial 'H' might produce a wider range of possible meanings (pers. comm.)

Appendix Two

Environmental personal names (Elton, Castor and Lakenheath)

Name	Category	Definition	Definition Source	Manor
FLORA				
Brimbel	Nickname	'Bramble , dog-rose, teasel'	M.E.D.	Castor
		'A prickly individual'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	
Blosme	Nickname	'A flower, blossom, bloom or bud'	M.E.D.	Lakenheath
Cherry	Occupational	Grower or seller of cherries	*O.E.S.*, p. 93	Elton
	Nickname	'Ruddy faced'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	
	Topograph	Elliptical for *atte cherrie*	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	
Garlic	Nickname	Nickname for garlic-seller	*O.E.S.,* p. 184	Lakenheath
Mustard	Nickname	'Sharp-tongued'	*O.E.S.,* p. 318	Elton
	Nickname	Nickname for mustard-seller	*O.E.S.,* p. 318	Lakenheath
Myncecrop	Nickname	One who finely chops up a crop (leaves and stem of medicinal herb, *or* harvest); it is also possible that the initial 'c' is a 't'	M.E.D.	Lakenheath
Peppercorn	Nickname	'One who paid a peppercorn rent'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Elton
	Nickname	'One of diminutive size or worth'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	
Peseayt	Nickname	Unclear	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Lakenheath
Rose	Topograph	An elliptical form of *atte rose*, 'at the rose bush'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Lakenheath
	Relational	From OFr 'Rohese'	*O.E.S.*, p. 383	
Slary	Uncertain	'sclari, slaream' = the herb clary (*salvia sclare*)[#]	M.E.D.	Lakenheath
Willows	Topograph	'Dweller among the willows'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Lakenheath
	Relational	Form of 'Will'	*O.E.S.,* p. 494	

Name	Category	Definition	Definition Source	Manor
FAUNA				
Beste, le	Nickname	Brutal, savage man	*O.E.S.,* p. 41	Elton
	Nickname	'The best'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	
Bitore, Butor	Nickname	'Bittern'	M.E.D.	Lakenheath
Blaccalf	Nickname	'Black calf'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Elton
Bole	Nickname	'Bull', 'Strong as a bull'	*W.M.E.N.*, p. 71	Lakenheath
Bolewere	Topograph	Topographical name alluding to a weir, dam or pond	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Lakenheath
Bottes	Uncertain	OFr 'toad'	*W.M.E.N.*, p. 73	Lakenheath
		'Help, remedy'	M.E.D.	
		'Blunt, dull, insolent, listless	*W.M.E.N.*, p. 73	
		OE personal name 'Botta'	*W.M.E.N.*, p. 73	
Brid	Nickname	'The young of a bird'	*W.M.E.N.*, p. 76	Elton
		Metonymic for bird-catcher	*O.E.S.,* p. 45	
Buck	Nickname	Nickname 'buck or 'he-goat'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Elton
				Lakenheath
Bumbil	Nickname	'Of the bittern: to boom'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Lakenheath
	Nickname	'Humming'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	
	Nickname	'Jumble, confusion'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	
Bunting	Nickname	From the bird 'bunting', a colour name, meaning 'mottled'	O.E.B.N. I, p. 488	Lakenheath
Bykir	Nickname	Bee-keeper	*O.E.S.,* p. 42	Castor
	Toponym	From Bicker (Lin)	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	
Cat	Nickname	'Cat'	P.L.C., p. 194	Lakenheath
		Pet-form of Cateline	*O.E.S.,* p. 87	
Cobbe	Nickname	'Male swan'	M.E.D.	Lakenheath
	Nickname	'Big man, gang leader, bully'	M.E.D.	
		Pet form of Cobald, Cobbard, Cobbert	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	

Name	Category	Definition	Definition Source	Manor
FAUNA				
Cod	Nickname	'Bag, wallet, seed-pod'	M.E.D.	Lakenheath
	Nickname	'Larynx, throat, belly, scrotum'	M.E.D.	
	Nickname	'Pillow, cushion'	M.E.D.	
	Nickname	'Fish'	M.E.D.	
Crane	Nickname	'Long-legged'	*O.E.S.*, p. 115	Elton
	Nickname	'Tall bird' or 'lifting gear'	P.L.C., p. 194	Lakenheath
Crowe	Nickname	'Crow'	M.E.D.	Elton
				Lakenheath
Cyte	Topograph	OE cite, cyte: 'hut' [#]	*W.M.E.N.*, p. 84	Lakenheath
	Topograph	OE cyte: 'cottage, cell', usually a hermit's or monk's cell[#]	*E.P.N.E. I.,* p. 124	
	Nickname	OE cyta, ME kite 'one who preys on others	*W.M.E.N.,* p. 84	
	Nickname	'Bird of prey'	*E.P.N.E., I.*, p. 124	
Dawe	Nickname	'Jackdaw'	*O.E.S.,* p. 128	Elton
		Pet-name for Ralph	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Lakenheath
Drake	Nickname	'Dragon'	*O.E.S.,* p. 141	Castor
	Nickname	'Drake, male duck'	*O.E.S.,* p. 141	Lakenheath
Fish	Nickname	'Fish'	*O.E.S.,* p. 169	Lakenheath
	Occupational	Metonymic for fisherman		
Fox	Nickname	'Fox'	*O.E.S.,* p. 176	Lakenheath
Gudgeon	Nickname	'Gullible person'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Lakenheath
		'Small freshwater fish'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	
Hack	Nickname	ME 'hak': 'unsparing, ruthless'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Lakenheath
		ME 'hak': 'cutting tool'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	
		Personal name from ON Haki	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	

Name	Category	Definition	Definition Source	Manor
FAUNA				
Herring	Nickname	'Herring'	P.L.C., p. 194	Elton
	Nickname	Nickname for dealer in herrings	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Castor Lakenheath
Hert	Nickname	'Male red deer '	*O.E.S.,* p. 219	Elton
	Relational	Possible patronym	A.B.C*.,* p. 12	Castor
Hog	Nickname	'Pig'	*O.E.S.*, p. 234	Elton
Laverack	Nickname	From 'lark'	*O.E.S.*, p. 272	Castor
Marmioun	Nickname	'Little fellow, monkey, brat'	*O.E.S.*, p. 299	Castor
Oulle	Nickname	Owl	M.E.D.	Lakenheath
Partridge	Nickname	'Partridge'	P.L.C., p. 194	Lakenheath
Pigge	Nickname	'Pig'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Castor Lakenheath
Pikerel	Nickname	'Young pike'	M.E.D.	Lakenheath
Pipere	Nickname	Usually an occupational name, but possibly relates to 'water bird'	O.E.B.N. II, p. 4	Lakenheath
Puttock	Nickname	'Kite'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Castor Lakenheath
Pye	Nickname	From 'magpie', a sly person	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Lakenheath
Ram	Nickname	'Ram'	P.L.C., p. 194	Lakenheath
Skarbot	Nickname	'Dung-beetle'	M.E.D.	Lakenheath
Snype^	Nickname	'Common snipe, great snip or jack snipe'; interchangeable with 'snype'	M.E.D.	Lakenheath
Spink	Nickname	'A finch', especially a chaffinch	P.L.C., p. 194	Lakenheath
Swan, Swon	Relational	From the personal name 'Swan'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Elton
	Occupational	'Swineherd'	*O.E.S.*, p. 435	Lakenheath

Name	Category	Definition	Definition Source	Manor
FAUNA				
Thrusslour	Uncertain	'Throstel, thrustel': a songbird of the Turdus family, especially blackbird or the song thrush	M.E.D.	Lakenheath
	Occupational	Perhaps a spelling of (an unrecorded) 'trusslour', which might be a derivative of ME 'trussel', 'packet, baggage', with a sense such as 'one who packs goods into bundles' or else 'baggage carrier, porter, packman'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	
Wolf	Nickname	'wolf'	*O.E.S.*, p. 498	Lakenheath
NATURAL ENVIRONMENT				
Abovebrook	Topograph	'Dweller above the brook'	*O.E.S.*, p. 67	Elton
Ash, at the	Topograph	'Dweller by the ash tree'	*O.E.S.*, p. 15	Lakenheath
Bank	Topograph	'Dweller by a slope, bank or hillside'	*O.E.S.*, p. 26	Elton
Beyebrook	Topograph	'Dweller by the brook'	*O.E.S.*, p. 67	Elton
Boys	Topograph	OFr equivalent to 'ate Wode'	*L.B.E.A.*, p. 128	Lakenheath
	Toponym	From a French place called Bois	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	
Brook, at the	Topograph	'Dweller by the brook'	*O.E.S.*, p. 67	Elton
Cirve, at the	Topograph	'Dweller at the service-tree'	M.E.D.	Lakenheath
Clay	Topograph	'Dweller on the clay'	*O.E.S.*, p. 99	Lakenheath
	Occupational	'Worker in a claypit'	*O.E.S.*, p. 99	
	Toponym	From Cley (Nfk)		
Dingle	Topograph	'Dweller in the deep dell or hollow'	M.E.D.	Lakenheath
Donge	Nickname	'Mud, dirt, refuse, dung'	M.E.D.	Lakenheath
	Nickname	'Dirty, filthy, foul'	M.E.D.	
Foulond	Uncertain	'Dweller by the foul land'		Castor
Gore	Topograph	'Dweller by the triangular-shaped land'	*O.E.S.*, p. 200	Castor
Green, at the	Topograph	'Dweller by the green'	*O.E.S.*, p. 204	Elton Lakenheath

Name	Category	Definition	Definition Source	Manor
NATURAL ENVIRONMENT				
Grout	Nickname?	'Mud, slime'	M.E.D.	Lakenheath
	Occupational	'Crushed or peeled grain for malt, or malt for a certain type of ale'	M.E.D.	
	Nickname?	ON 'porridge'	M.E.D.	
	Occupational	'Thick, dark ale'	M.E.D.	
Horn	Topograph	'Dweller near a spur of land'	*O.E.S.,* p. 238	Lakenheath
	Occupational	Metonymic for horn-blower	*O.E.S.,* p. 238	
Hulle	Topograph	'Dweller on a hill'	*O.E.S.,* p. 243	Lakenheath
	Relational	From a personal name 'Hulle'	*O.E.S.,* p. 243	
Hythe, at the	Topograph	Dweller at the landing place	*E.P.N.E., I,* p. 278	Lakenheath
Knarre	Nickname	'A rugged rock'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Lakenheath
Leylond	Topograph	'Dweller by the untilled land	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Elton
Lynch	Topograph	'Bank, ledge', especially a terrace of land with a road running along it, or a terrace of ploughed land running along a hillside	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Lakenheath
Marche	Topograph	'Boundary'	*O.E.S.*, p. 298	Castor
		From March (Cam)	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	
Mere, at the	Topograph	'Dweller at the pool'	*E.P.N.E., II*, p. 38	Lakenheath
Noc, at the	Topograph	'Dweller by the oak-tree, or group of oaks'	*O.E.S.*, p. 327	Castor
	Topograph	'Dweller at the nook, corner, triangular plot of ground'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	
Nook, in the (also Hirne, Wro)	Topograph	'Dweller at the nook, corner, triangular plot of ground'	*E.P.N.E., I*, p. 276	Elton
Overbeck	Topograph	'Dweller beyond the stream'	*O.E.S.*, p. 333	Lakenheath
Pecke	Topograph	OE *peac*, 'knoll, peak, hill'	*L.B.E.A.*, p. 85	Lakenheath
	Nickname	ME *pek* 'pointed'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	
Pool, at the	Topograph	'Dweller near a pool'	*O.E.S.,* p. 357	Elton
Ripam, ad	Topograph	'Dweller at the riverbank'		Elton

Name	Category	Definition	Definition Source	Manor
NATURAL ENVIRONMENT				
Roche, de la	Topograph Toponym	'Dweller by the rock , cliff or promontory' From a place called Roach	*L.B.E.A.,* p. 141 Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Castor
Rok	Topograph	From ME *atter ok*: 'at the oak'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Lakenheath
Rodland	Topograph	'Dweller by the cleared land'	*O.E.S.*, p. 381	Lakenheath
Schenlond	Topograph	'Bright, beautiful land'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Lakenheath
Smallwood, of the	Topograph	'Dweller by the small wood'	*O.E.S.*, p. 415	Castor
Spring, at the	Topograph	'Dweller at the spring'		Elton
Turf	Nickname Topograph Occupational	'Slab or clod of earth' (2) (3) Piece of peat (4) Metonymic for turf-cutter Turbary, place where peat is cut Metonymic for turf-cutter	M.E.D. M.E.D. M.E.D.	Lakenheath
Wagge	Nickname	'To shake, waddle' Possibly topographic: ate Wagge 'dweller at the marsh' 'Mischievous boy'	*O.E.S.,* p. 471 *O.E.S.,* p. 471 Peter McClure (pers. comm.) (see Appendix 1)	Elton
Water, at the	Topograph	'Dweller by the water or stream'	*O.E.S.,* p. 478	Elton
Wele	Topograph Nickname	From ME *wele*: 'deep pool' From ME *wel*: 'fortunate, prosperous'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.) Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Elton
Well, at the	Topograph	'Dweller at the spring'		Elton Lakenheath
Withwater	Topograph	Possibly a misinterpretation of *bithewater*, 'by the water'?		Elton
Wych, at the	Topograph Topograph	'Dweller by the wych-elm' 'Dweller by the 'wic' (dairy farm)	*O.E.S.,* p. 490 Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Elton

Name	Category	Definition	Definition Source	Manor
BUILT ENVIRONMENT				
Aboveton	Topograph	'Dweller above the vill'	*O.E.S.*, p. 58	Castor Lakenheath
Boure, at the	Topograph	'Dweller at the chamber, cottage'	*L.B.E.A.*	Lakenheath
Bridge, at the	Topograph	'Dweller by the bridge'		Castor
Choppe, at the	Topograph	'Dweller at the shop' [room or building used as place of business by a victualler or trader]	M.E.D.	Lakenheath
Church, at the	Topograph	'Dweller by the church'		Elton Lakenheath
Churchgate, at the	Topograph	'Dweller by the church-gate'		Lakenheath
Cote	Topograph	'Dweller at the cottage' 'Shelter for small domestic animals'	M.E.D. *L.B.E.A.,* p. 35	Lakenheath
Court, of the	Topograph Occupational	'Dweller at the manor court-yard' 'Employed at the manor court-yard'		Lakenheath
Cross, at the	Topograph	From OE 'cros': 'dweller by the cross'	*E.P.N.E.,* I., p. 114	Elton Castor Lakenheath
Dam	Topograph	From ON 'dammr': 'dweller near the dam'	*E.P.N.E.,* I., p. 127	Lakenheath
Delf, at the	Mixed	'Dweller by the ditches, quarry or quarries'	*E.P.N.E.,* I., p. 140	Lakenheath
Dikeman	Topograph Occupational	'One who lives near a ditch' 'One who works on a ditch'	*O.E.S.*, p. 134 *O.E.S.*, p. 134	Lakenheath
Ditch, Dyke	Topograph	From OE 'dic': 'Dweller by the dyke/ditch'?	*E.P.N.E.,* I., p. 131	Elton Castor
Enthebourgh	Topograph	'In the burgh'?		Elton

Name	Category	Definition	Definition Source	Manor
BUILT ENVIRONMENT				
Fryth, of the	Topograph	Possibly 'land overgrown with brushwood, scrubland on the edge of a forest'; may be identified with the field-name *edych* at Lakenheath	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Lakenheath
Garit, at the	Topograph	'A small tower on the roof of a house or on a castle wall'	M.E.D.	Castor
	Topograph	'A watchtower'	M.E.D.	
	Topograph	'A room just under the roof, loft or attic'	M.E.D.	
Gappe, at the	Topograph	'Dweller by the breach in the wall or hedge'	*O.E.S.*, p. 183	Lakenheath
Gate, at the	Topograph	'Dweller by the gate'		Elton
Hall, of the	Topograph	'Dweller at the hall'		Elton Castor
	Occupational	'Worker at the hall'		Lakenheath
Hay, at the	Topograph	'Dweller by the enclosure'		Lakenheath
	Topograph	'Dweller by the forest fenced off for hunting'; so may also be associated with *edych* (see also Fryth)	*O.E.S.*, p. 222	
Hulk	Topograph	'A hut for hogs'	M.E.D.	Lakenheath
	Topograph	'A hollow'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	
	Nickname	'A huge, clumsy fellow'	M.E.D.	
Lane, at the	Topograph	'Dweller in the lane'	M.E.D.	Elton Castor Lakenheath
Newhall, at the	Topograph	'Dweller at the new hall'		Lakenheath
	Occupational	'Worker at the new hall'		
Oven, at the	Topograph	'Dweller at the oven'		Elton
	Occupational	Baker	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Castor

Name	Category	Definition	Definition Source	Manor
BUILT ENVIRONMENT				
Pathe	Topograph?	'Dweller by the path'	M.E.D.	Elton
Plat	Topograph	'Dweller by the small patch of land *or* footbridge'	*O.E.S.*, p. 354	Lakenheath
Sale, at the	Topograph	'Dweller at the willow'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Castor
Stok, at the	Topograph	'Dweller by the stump of a tree *or* by a foot-bridge'	Peter McClure (pers. comm.)	Castor
Stile, at the	Topograph	'Dweller by the stile *or* steep ascent'	*L.B.E.A.*, p. 100	Castor
Townsend, at the	Topograph	'Dweller at the end of the vill'		Lakenheath
Vill, without the	Topograph	'Dweller beyond the vill'		Elton
Wente, at the	Topograph	'Dweller by the passage, way or path'	*L.B.E.A.*, p. 114	Lakenheath
Wynd, in the	Topograph	'Dweller by the winding path or ascent'	*O.E.S.,* p. 495	Elton

Notes: ^ High numbers of snype have been recorded in modern Lakenheath Fen: N. Sills, K. Puttick and S. Wiltshire, *The Birds of Lakenheath Fen Nature Reserve, Suffolk* (2008, Lakenheath, 2011), p. 12

Most probably relates to a nickname from ME *kite*, 'kite, bird of prey' used of a predatory person [P. McClure, pers. comm.]

Appendix Three

Occupational personal names referencing the environment (Elton, Castor and Lakenheath)

Environmental Category	Unique Name	Definition	Manor
FLORA			
	Baker, Baxter	Baker	Elton, Lakenheath
	Brewster	Brewer of ale	Elton, Lakenheath
	Canvas	Metonymic for canvas maker?	Lakenheath
	Carpenter, Wright, Wrethe	Carpenter	Elton, Castor, Lakenheath
	Chalonner	Maker or dealer in blankets and coverlets	Lakenheath
	Cherry	Grower or seller of cherries, dweller by cherry tree, or nickname 'ruddy faced'	Elton
	Cooper	Maker or seller of casks, baskets or tubs	Elton, Lakenheath
	Dyer, Lister	Dyer of cloth	Elton, Lakenheath
	Forester	Officer in charge of a forest, or forest worker	Castor
	Gardener	Gardener	Lakenheath
	Garlic	Nickname, possibly for a grower or seller of garlic	Lakenheath
	Harvestman	Harvestman	Elton
	Hayward	Official responsible for harvest	Elton,Castor, Lakenheath
	Miller	Miller	Elton, Castor, Lakenheath
	Mower	Mower	Lakenheath
	Pearmonger	One who sells pears	Lakenheath
	Reeder	One who thatches with reeds	Lakenheath

Environmental Category	Unique Name	Definition	Manor
FLORA			
	Sedger	Sedge thatcher *or* one who makes mats from sedge	Lakenheath
	Striker	One responsible for measurement of corn	Lakenheath
	Thatcher	Thatcher	Lakenheath
	Thresher	Thresher of grain	Elton
	Tipler	Seller of ale	Lakenheath
	Viner	Vineyard grower or worker	Castor
FAUNA			
	Barker, Tanner	Tanner	Elton, Castor, Lakenheath
	Butcher	Butcher	Castor, Lakenheath
	Capons	Metonymic for seller of capons	Lakenheath
	Cobbler	Shoe-mender	Castor
	Comber, Kempster	Comber of wool or flax	Elton, Lakenheath
	Cowherd	Cowherd	Elton, Lakenheath
	Dairyman	Dairymaid	Elton, Castor, Lakenheath
	Draper	Maker or seller of woollen cloth	Castor
	Farrier	One who tends horses	Castor, Elton
	Fisher	Fisherman	Lakenheath
	Flanner	Maker of flawns	Lakenheath
	Fuller, Walker	Fuller of cloth	Elton, Lakenheath
	Glover	Maker of gloves	Lakenheath
	Honeyman	Seller of honey	Lakenheath
	Hunter, Hunt	Hunter	Castor, Lakenheath
	Keu	Seller of cooked meat or keeper of eating house	Lakenheath
	Mercer	Merchant dealing in textiles	Lakenheath

Environmental Category	Unique Name	Definition	Manor
FAUNA			
	Oter	Reduced form of *oterer*: otter-hunter	Lakenheath
	Palfreyman	Man in charge of palfreys	Lakenheath
	Pulter	Poultry dealer	Lakenheath
	Scriven	Writer, one who writes and copies books	Lakenheath
	Shearer, Shearman	One who removes the nap of cloth by shearing	Lakenheath
	Shepherd	Shepherd	Elton, Lakenheath
	Shoemaker	Shoe-maker	Elton, Lakenheath
	Skinner	Skinner	Elton, Lakenheath
	Soaper	Soap-maker, seller of soap	Lakenheath
	Stabler	Stabler	Elton
	Sumpter	Driver of a pack-horse	Lakenheath
	Swineherd	Swineherd	Elton, Lakenheath
	Tailor, Seuster	Tailor, sewer	Castor, Lakenheath
	Warrenner	Official responsible for the warren	Lakenheath
	Weaver, Webster	Weaver	Elton, Lakenheath
	Woolmonger	Seller of wool	Elton
NATURAL ENVIRONMENT			
	Blome	Iron-ingot worker *or* metonymic for 'bloomer'	Lakenheath
	Bloodletter	Blood-letter	Castor
	Cook	Cook	Castor, Elton
	Dauber	White-washer or plasterer	Lakenheath
	Leadbeater	Leadbeater	Lakenheath
	Loader	Carrier of goods	Lakenheath
	Mariner	Sailor	Lakenheath
	Mason	Mason	Lakenheath, Castor, Elton

Environmental Category	Unique Name	Definition	Manor
NATURAL ENVIRONMENT			
	Nurse	Nurse	Elton
	Painter	Painter	Elton
	Smith	Smith, blacksmith, farrier	Elton, Castor, Lakenheath
	Slater	Slater	Elton
	Tiler	Tiler, tile-maker	Castor
	Turf	Possible metonymic for turf cutter	Lakenheath
	Wire, le	Wire-drawer	Lakenheath

Appendix Four

Minor names: Elton, Castor and Lakenheath *c*.13th-15th centuries

(1) Elton

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
ELTON				
Abbotisholm		*Abbat, holm*	Abbot's water-meadow	
Achardescroft		Pers. name + *croft*	Achard's or Atharde's croft	Achard / Athard is a personal name found in Elton
Akermanlond	Akermanneslond, Akermanelond, Akirmonlond	*Æcer-mann, lond*	The land of the acre-men	
Aldewell		*Ald, eald; wella, welle*	Old spring	
Aldewikslade	Oldewychslade	*Ald, eald; wic, slæd*	Old dwelling or building used for special purposes (in the) valley	
Andelongeforacer		*Andlang, fore, æcer*	Alongside the front acre	
Andelongforeweye		*Andlang, fore, æcer, weg*	Road or way leading along the front acre	
Arnewassh	Arnewas	*Ærne, wæsse*	Wet place, swamp or marsh to be crossed by riding	*V.E.P.N.*; D. Parsons, (pers. comm); however, *earn* is suggested as the first element for this field-name in D.W. Yalden and U. Albarella, *The History of British Birds* (Oxford, 2008), p. 116
Arnewessebrok		*Ærne, wæsse, broc*	Stream (by the) wet place, swamp or marsh to be crossed by riding	
Attirdholm		Pers. name + *holm*	Achard's or Atharde's water-meadow	See also Achardescroft
Benelond		*Bean, lond*	Land used/suitable for growing beans	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
ELTON				
Benelond heueden	Benelond heuedene	*Bean, lond, heafod*	The upper end, or headlands of the land used for growing beans	
Beneyeston		*Bean, tun*	Possibly the enclosure or farmstead near the beans	
Billingbrok	Byllingbrok, Billyngbrok, Bilingbrok, Byllynggesbrok, Billingesbrok, Billingisbrok	Pers. name + *broc*	Billa's stream, stream of Billa's people, stream of Billing or stream of Billa's son	*P.N.B.H.*; a tributary of the Nene
Billingbrokfurlong		Pers. name + *broc, furlang*	Billingbrook furlong	
Bosweyn	Boseweyn	*Bos, weg*	Road or way leading to the cow-byre	
Boterflyemede	Botirfliemede	*Boterflye, med*	Butterfly meadow	
Bouhtwell		*?Bought; welle, wella*	Spring at the (1) bend (2) sheep-fold, cattle pen	Uncertain, D. Parsons (pers. comm.)
Brache	Brach	*Brec, breche*	Land broken up for cultivation; or thicket, strip or piece of rough land covered in gorse or furze	*V.E.P.N.*
Brodemor		*Brad, bræd; mor*	Broad marsh or barren upland	
Buruweye plot		*Byrig, weg, plot*	Road or way leading to the small piece of ground by the manor	
Byrilond, le		*Byrig, lond*	The land of the manor (demesne land)	
Caldewell	Caldwell furlong (1747)	*Cold; wella, welle*	Cold spring	
Calmerz	Cawlemersh (1605), Calmas (1692)	*Cal; mersc, merisc*	Watery land or marsh where cabbages grow	Later spellings are consistent with OE *cal*: P. Shaw (pers. comm.)
Catfretene		*Cat, freten*	(Land with the appearance of having been) chewed by cats	P. McClure (pers. comm.)
Chalkyhil		*Calc, hyll*	Chalky hill	
Cherlesweye	Chelrisweye	*Ceorl, weg*	Road or way used by peasants	
Chircheplot		*Chirche, plot*	Small piece of ground belonging to or near the church	
Chiselstonhowe		*Cisel, ceosol; stan; haugr*	Gravelly and stony mound, burial mound or hill	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
ELTON				
Clack	Clak	*Clæcc*	Hill-top or hillock	
Clackeuesmor	Clackesmor	*Clæcc, mor*	Marsh or barren upland, with a hill-top or hillock	
Clakkisheuden		*Clæcc, heafod*	The upper end, or headlands of the hill-top or hillock	
Cleyfurlong		*Clæg, furlang*	Clay furlong	
Cockeshyl		*Cocc, hyll*	A tautological compound: 'a heap', as in a hillock, hill	
Crofthaueden		*Croft, heafod*	The upper end, or headlands of the croft	
Croswong		*Cros, wang*	Meadowland or open field by the cross	
Dam, le		*Dammr*	The dam, bank across a stream	
Damhalfaker		*Dammr, half, æcer*	The half-acre of land near the dam	
Dedewong		*Dead, wang*	Dead meadowland or open field	*E.P.N.E.I*: dead is usually used in place-names to reference violent death or the discovery of bones
Derneford	Derneforthe	*Derne, ford*	Hidden ford	
Ekelthorpgrene		Place-name + *grene*	Eaglethorpe green	Eaglethorpe is a hamlet near Warmington (Ntp)
Everesholmfeld		*Eofor, holm, feld*	Water-meadow field of the boar	
Flyttingcroft		*Fliting, flitting; croft*	(1) Disputed croft (2) changing croft	
Follewellemor	Fulwellmere	*Ful; wella, welle; mor, mere* or *mære*	Marsh or barren upland; pool; or boundary with/near a dirty or foul spring	
Fordweye, le	Fordweie, le Foreweye	*Ford, weg*	The road or way leading to the ford	
Foxholes		*Fox, hol*	(1) Fox's earth, place infested with foxes, or (2) place where limestone is mined	(2) D. Blackburn, 'Foxholes, Pendle and Ryelands' *J.E.P.N.S.*, 41 (2009), 127-9
Furweys, le		*Feower-weg*	'Four-ways': a crossroads	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
ELTON				
Goderichescladeshouerende		Pers. name + *slæd, ofer, ende*	The upper end of Godric's valley	
Goracre		*Gara* or *gor; æcer*	(1) Filthy acre (2) triangular-shaped acre	
Gorebrode		*Gara, brædu*	Measured triangular-shaped land	D. Parsons (pers. comm.)
Gores, le	Le Goris	*Gara* or *gorst*	(1) Triangular-shaped land (2) Gorse, furze	In modern Elton there is an area characterized by furze, called 'Elton Furze'
Gorewong	Gorywong	*Gara* or *gorst*	(1) Gore-shaped land (2) Land characterised by furze	
Goseholm	Gosholm	*Gos, holm*	Water-meadow frequented by geese	
Grene		*Grene*	Grassy spot, village green	
Greneweye		*Grene, weg*	The way or road by the green	
Gyldengore, le	Le Gildenegore, le Gyldinegore, le Gildenegore	*Gylden, gara*	Golden-coloured triangular-shaped land	
Halewellmore		*Halig; wella, welle; mor*	Marsh, barren upland with a holy spring	See also Hollewellefurlong
Haycroft, le		*Heg, croft*	Hay croft	
Herdwyckbenelond	Herdewikbenelond	*Heorde-wic, bean, lond*	Land used for growing beans near the herd farm	
Herdewikweye		*Heorde-wic, weg*	The road or way by the herd farm	
Hollewellefurlong		*Halig; wella, welle; furlang*	Furlong near the holy spring	See also Halewellmor
Holm, le		*Holm*	The water-meadow	
Holmeshende		*Holm, ende*	The end of the water-meadow	
Holweye, le		*Hol, weg*	The hollow way	
Hosebernessladehouerende		Pers. name + *slæd, ofer, ende*	The upper end of Osbern's valley	
Hosebernessladenetherende		Pers. name + *slæd, neodera, ende*	The lower end of Osbern's valley	
Hosebernessladewell		Pers. name + *slæd; wella, welle*	The spring in Osbern's valley	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
ELTON				
Hulkecroft		*Hulc, croft*	Hut or hovel croft	*P.N.B.H.*
Hypperode		*Heope, rod*	A clearing with wild rose-hips	
Inmade, le		*In, med*	The inner meadow	
Jarwelledam		Place-name + *dammr*	Yarwell dam	Yarwell (Ntp) shares a boundary with Elton
Knolfurlong		*Cnoll, furlang*	Hill-top, knoll, hillock furlong	
Kylnebrigge		*Cyln, brycg*	Bridge near a kiln	
Lauedysholm		*?læd, holm*	Possibly water-meadow with a drain or water-course	
Langehilweye		*Long, hyll, weg*	The road or way near the long hill	
Langelond		*Long, lond*	Long land	
Langemedehaueden, le	Langmedeheuedue, Longemadesend	*Long, med, heafod*	The upper end or headlands of the long meadow	
Littelbrok	Lytlebrok	*Litel, broc*	Little steam or brook	
Littelemerefurlong		*Litel; mere, mære*	Little pool or boundary furlong	
Littelstanehylles		*Litel, stan, hyll*	Hills characterized by little stones, or little hills characterized by stones	See also *stonehylles*
Longheueden	Le Longheuedlond	*Long, heafod*	Long upper end or headland	
Longegrenehyl	Greenhill (1747)	*Long, grene, hyll*	Long green hill	
Longewong	Le longwong	*Long, wang*	Long meadowland or open field	
Longhyl		*Long, hyll*	Long hill	
Longhylslade		*Long, hyll, slæd*	Long hill valley	
Longhyrst, le	Le Longeherst	*Long, hyrst*	Long hillock, bank or wood	
Lympyttes		*Lim, pytt*	Lime pits	
Lytelbenelond		*Litel, bean, lond*	Little land used for growing beans	
Lyttlebroc furlong		*Litel, broc, furlang*	Little stream or brook furlong	
Merschforlong	Mersfurlong	*Mersc, merisc; furlang*	Watery land, marsh furlong	
Merssh, le		*Mersc, merisc*	Watery land, marsh	
Michele porstrate, le		*Micel, mycel; port, stræt*	Great road leading to a town	
Michelgrove	Michelegrave	*Micel, mycel; græf, græfe*	Great (1) grave or (2) grove, copse	
Michelholm	Micheleholm	*Micel, mycel; holm*	Great water-meadow	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
ELTON				
Middelfeld		*Middel, feld*	The middle field	An open field
Middelforlong	Myddelfurlong	*Middel, furlang*	Middle furlong	
Milneweye, le	Le Milnewey, Milneweye	*Milne, weg*	The road or way leading to the mill	
Molwellehyl		*Mol; wella, welle; hyll*	Hill with a spring and gravelly soil	See Chapter Seven, p. 225
Mone rode		*Mona, rod*	Moon clearing	
Morburnemere		Place-name + *mere, mære*	Morburn pool or boundary	Morborne (Hnt) shares a boundary with Elton
Morforlong		*Mor, furlang*	Marsh or barren upland furlong	
Morslade, le		*Mor, slæd*	Marsh or barren upland valley	
Mylnepyttel	Milnepithel, Mylnepyttyl, Milnepyttel, Mylnepightle, Milnepyghtil, Mulnepythtel, le Pyttel, le Pythel	*Milne, pichtel*	Small enclosure by the mill	Note that le Pyttel lay at the end of the abbot's mill, and is therefore likely to be synonymous with Milnepyttel.
Neutonmorishefeds		Place-name + *?mor, heafod*	Water Newton marsh or barren upland headland	Water Newton (Hnt) shares a boundary with Elton
Neutonmore	Newtonemor	Place-name + *mor*	Water Newton marsh or barren upland	
Neutonweyefurlong		Place-name + *weg, furlang*	The furlong by the road or way leading to Water Newton	
Noldich		OE *hnol,* or ME *nol; dic*	(1) head or (2) north ditch or dyke	
Northfeld		*Norð, feld*	The north field	An open field
Ogerstonbrygg		Place-name + *brycg*	Ogerston bridge	Ogerston is a lost settlement: *P.N.B.H.*
Okezerd		*Ac, geard*	Oak yard, field, or plot of land	
Oldemor		*Ald, eald; mor*	Old marsh or barren upland	
Overetounesende, le		*Ofer, tun, ende*	The upper end of the vill	Elton was split between Over End and Nether End
Peselond	Le Peyselondes	*Pease, lond*	Land used for growing peas	
Pyt Londes		*Pytt, lond*	Pit, hollow or excavated hole lands	
Pytrodes, le		*Pytt, rod*	The clearing by the pit, hollow or excavated hole	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
ELTON				
Pyttlesthornfurlong		Possible pers. name or *pyttel* + *thorn, furlang*	Pihtel's thorn-tree furlong, or buzzard's thorn-tree furlong	Pihtel is an attested A-S personal name; for *pyttel* see O.E.B.N II, p. 9
Rameshil		*Ramm, hyll*	Ram's hill	
Rawelotestone	Raulotston	*?hragra*	Possible first element 'raven', but unclear	"Intriguing but obscure first element" D. Parsons (pers. comm.)
Riewong		*Ryge, wang*	Meadowland or open field where rye was grown	
Rygweye	Riggeweye	*Ryge, weg*	The road or way near the rye	
Roudych, le	Rowedich, Rudich Way	*Ruh, dic*	Rough ditch or dyke	
Russemere		*Rouse; mere, mære*	Red pool or boundary	
Saldinescrosfurlong	Saldynis	Pers. name + *cros, furlang*	Saladin's cross furlong	A cottar family at Elton were called Saladin; see Chapter Four, p. 129
Schortgrenehyl		*Sceort, grene, hyll*	Short green hill	
Schorthyrst		*Sceort, hyrst*	Short hillock, bank or wood	
Seveneacres		*Seofon, æcer*	Seven acres	
Sibstone strateland		Place-name + *stræt, lond*	The land near Sibson Roman road	Sibson (Hnt) shares a boundary with Elton
Smalewellefurlong		*Smæl; wella, welle; furlang*	Small spring furlong	
Smalmor		*Smæl, mor*	Small marsh or barren upland	
Suoneslond, le		?Pers.name or *swin* + *lond*	(1) The land of a person called Swan (2) Swine land	Swan or Swane is an attested A-S name
Sondes, le		*Sand*	The sands	
Sporephorde		*Spora, ford*	The ford at the spur of land	
St Mary's well		Saint's name + *wella, welle*	St Mary's spring	
Stoke, le		*Stoc, stocc*	(1) place, religious place (2) tree-trunk, stump	
Stonehylles		*Stan, hyll*	Stone hills	See also *littelstanehylles*

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
ELTON				
Strete, le		*Stræt*	The Roman road	
Syke, le		*Sic, sik*	(1) OE small stream, especially one in flat marshland (2) ON ditch, trench	In place-names, often a stream forming a boundary; this furlong is situated on the parish and county boundary
Thatchdole		*Thæc, dole*	A share of the common field where thatch is found	
Thorn, le		*Thorn*	A thorn-tree, the hawthorn	
Thwertbrokes	Le Thwertbrok	*Thwert, broc*	Stream or brook running cross-wise	
Tunge, le		*Tunge*	A tongue of land	
Twelveacris		*Twelf, æcer*	Twelve acres	
Uuerehammare		*?Wer, wær; hammarr*	Uncertain: possible first element 'weir' above a rock or cliff	D. Parsons (pers. comm.)
Waterfalle	Waterfalles	*Wæter-gefall*	Waterfall, cascade, rapid; also 'place where a stream disappears into the ground'	
Welleslade		*Wella, welle; slæd*	Spring valley	
Werywong		*?Werið* or ?*wering, wang*	(1) Marsh, island in a river or (2) river-dam piece of meadowland or open field	
Woluedale	Wolueldale	Possible pers. name or *wulf* + *dæl*	(1) The pit, hollow or valley of a person called Wulf (2)Wolf pit, hollow or valley	
Wrongakyr	Wrongaker	*Wrang, æcer*	Crooked or twisted acre	
Wulfstondikes		Pers. name Wulfstan + *dic*	The ditches or dykes of a person called Wulfstan	D. Parsons (pers. comm.)
Wylegeylake		*Wilig, lacu*	Willow stream or water-course	
Wymundeswong		Pers. name + *wang*	Piece of meadowland or open field of a person called Wigmund	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
ELTON				
Wynewykesholm		Possible place-name + *holm*	The water-meadow associated with Winwick	Unlikely personal name, D. Parsons (pers. comm.). There is a place called Winwick (Hnt), although it is *c.*15 miles away.

Post-medieval sources: R.O.L.; *E.F.B.*

Notes: All place-name elements are in Old English, unless prefixed ON; ? denotes an uncertain term or definition; the dates of all post-1348 names are parenthesized

(2) Castor and Ailsworth

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
CASTOR				
Abbotishauue	Abbotishawe	*Abbat, haga*	The abbot's hedge or enclosure	Hooke suggests names appearing as ME *haw, haugh* are associated with game enclosures. See Chapter Four, p. 112
Aldewellemor	Haldewelmor	*Ald, eald; wella, welle; mor*	Marsh or barren upland with an old spring	
Aldewellemorsike		*Ald, eald; wella, welle; mor, sic, sik*	A small stream near marsh or barren upland with an old spring	In place-names, often a stream forming a boundary
Aleuuode		*?Alh, ealh; ?ælren; wudu*	Uncertain first element: (1) temple or (2) alder wood	
Allewaltoneforde	Alwaltoneferye	Place-name + ford	Alwalton ford	Alwalton (Hnt) lies across the Nene from Castor
Ashauue		*Æsc, haga*	Ash-tree hedge or enclosure	
Asshecroftwong		*Æsc, croft, wang*	Ash-tree croft meadowland or open field	
Baketeshauue		Uncertain first element + *haga*	? hedge or enclosure	Scribal error? See Basketisuuelle
Baillies halfaker		*Baillie, æcer*	Bailiff's acre	
Bareshankhill	Bareshankhyl, Bareshankhile (1467), Bare-shanck forlong (1597)	*Bare-shank, hyll*	Bare-legged hill, probably meaning unproductive land	Field discusses names like *bare-arse*, *bare legs* in J. Field 'Derogatory field-names', *J.E.P.N.S.*, 9 (1977), p. 21
Basketisuuelle		?OFr *basket; wella, welle*	Uncertain; the container-shaped spring?	
Beggarsbalke		OFr *begart, balca*	The ridge or bank of the (1) paupers, (2) mendicants or (3) knaves	
Belasisewode	Belassiwod, Bellsees Wood (1567), Bellsers Wood (1628)	OFr *bel*; *wudu*	Beautiful wood	Frequently anglicized to 'belasis': *E.P.N.E. I*, p. 27

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
CASTOR				
Berch		?*birce, byrce*	Birch tree	
Bernardiswro		Pers. name + ON *vra*	The corner or nook belonging to or associated with a person called Bernard	The earliest documented reference is dated 1393; it is probably associated with a place later known as *bernardisplace* (see also Chapter Four, p. 132)
Berwe, le	Le Berw, le Berrwe, Berrue	*Beorg*	Hill, mound	*Berwe* is the dative singular of *beorg*, often meaning prehistoric burial mound: M. Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape* (London, 1993), p. 127
Bilmanstibbyng		Possible pers. name; or derived from OE *bil* + *stubbing, stybbing*	The place where trees have been stubbed or cleared by a person called Bilman, or by a man whose occupation is to use a cutting, hacking or grubbing implement	
Biryhay		*Byrig, hæg*	The fence or enclosure belonging to the manor or demesne	
Blakemildegate	Blakmildegate, Blakmyldegate	*Blæc, mylde, gata*	The road or way near the black or dark coloured soil	
Blakemylde	Blakmilde, Blakemylde, Blakmyld	*Blæc, mylde*	A place characterized by black or dark-coloured soil	
Blakemyldbussk		*Blæc, mylde, busc*	The bush or shrub near the place characterized by black or dark coloured soil	The earliest documented reference is dated 1393; this name appears to change into Black-man bush by 1597

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
CASTOR				
Borougate	Mikelburgates, Mikelburgate, Mekylborougates, Littilburgatis, Littilburgates, Littilburgate, Littilborugate, Littilborugates, Littelburgates, Litleburgatis, Litil Burgates, Liteleberugates, Lichleburgates, Burugate, Burghgate, Burgates	*Burh, gata*	Possibly (1) The great and little road or way leading to Peterborough; (2) the great and little road or way leading to the manor; (3) the name may also reference Roman archaeology	
Bosfourwlang		OE *Bos; or OFr boce, furlang*	(1) The furlong near the cowstall; (2) the furlong associated with the ornament or shield boss	The earliest documented reference is dated 1375
Bouetonhay		Pers. name + *hæg*	The enclosure belonging to a person called Aboueton	In this instance, Bouetonhay was associated with the Boueton family (see Chapter Three, p. 96)
Bowetoneholm		Pers. name + *holm*	The water-meadow belonging to a person called Aboueton	
Brendlond	Brenlond, Brendelondes	*Brende, lond*	Burned land	
Brimbilhilheuydlond		*Brimbel, hyll, heafod-land*	A headland near the hill characterized by brambles or blackberries	
Calfcroftwong		*Cealf, croft, wang*	Meadowland or open field associated with the croft where calves are found	
C'anefurlong		Uncertain first element; *furlang*		
Cartonebrok	Cartonbrok, Cartonn brok, Cartun brocke (1597), Cartinbrooke, Kirton Brook furlong (1599), Cartine brooke (1628)	Uncertain first element; *broc*	'Carton' brook or stream	See also Kartunewelles

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
CASTOR				
Cartonehowes	Cartunehowe, Carthonhowys, Carton howes	Uncertain first element; *hoh*; or ON *haugr*	'Carton' mound	Gelling suggests that –howe probably relates to *haugr* rather than *hoh*: M. Gelling, *Signposts to the Past: Place-Names and the History of England* (London, 1978), p. 138
Castor ford		Place-name + *ford*	The shallow place across a river or stream associated with Castor	
Castor forthegrene	Forgrene (1359), Forthegrene (1393), foard greene (1567), Ford greene (1628)	Place-name + *forð, grene*	Possibly 'the prominent green'	Ford Green survives as a field-name into the present day
Castorston		Place-name + *stan*	The stone associated with Castor, possibly a boundary stone	See also *louerdeston*
Castrehanggand	Hangende, le	Place-name + *hangende*	The hanging, sloping place associated with Castor	The name survives into the present day as Castor Hanglands
Cemetery of St Andrew the Apostle		Latin *cimitarium*		See also St Andrew's Lane
Cley, le	Le Clei, Clayfurlong (1393), Cley (1445), le Cleyfurlong (1461), Clay forlong (1597), Clay furlong (1599, 1628)	*Clæg, furlang*	Furlong characterized by clay, or clayey soil	
Clynt, le		*Clint, ODan klint*	Ledge of rock, cliff or steep bank	
Coldfurlong		*Cald, furlang*	Cold, isolated or exposed furlong	
Coltstibbingges		*Colt; stubbing, stybbing*	The place where trees have been stubbed or cleared, associated with colts	
Cornhay, le	Cornehay, Corinhay	*Corn, hæg*	Enclosure for (1) corn, grain (rare in place-names: *E.P.N.E. I*), or (2) crane	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
CASTOR				
Couplond	Coupeland (1393)	ON *kaup*; *lond*	Purchased land, estate (Gelling suggests that *lond* in this context should be translated as 'estate'	M. Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape* (London, 1993), p. 246
Crakereye	Crakeri, Crakerey, Crakrey, Craakray (1467), Cracrie gait forlong (1597), Cray-cry gate furlong (1599), Cra-cri gate furlong (1628)	Possibly ON *kraka*; *eg*	Dry, raised ground associated with crows	
Croftis, le		*Croft*	The crofts	
Cross, the		Latin *crucem*	The cross	
Croufurlong	Croweforlong, Crowefurlong, Crou forlong (1597), Crow furlong (1628)	*Croue, craw*	Furlong associated with crows	
Crowellesike		*Croue, craw; wella, welle; sic or* ON *sik*	(1) OE small stream, especially one in flat marshland (2) ON ditch, trench; near the spring associated with crows	In place-names *sik* is often a stream forming a boundary
Cuffic	Cuffic lacum, Cuffiche, Cofwyk, Coffikehe, Coffiszehe, Cuffik, Cuffych, Cufuuic, Cufwick, Cufuuik	?*cyf, wic*	Possibly vessel or tub-shaped dwelling or building used for special purposes	*Cyf* can take the form *cuf-* in ME
Cuffichil		?*cyf, wic, hyll*	Hill associated with or near the ?vessel or tub-shaped dwelling or building used for special purposes	
Cuffic lacum		?*cyf, wic, lacu*	Small stream or water-course associated with or near the ?vessel or tub- shaped dwelling or building used for special purposes	
Cufficmilne		?*cyf, wic, milne*	Mill associated with or near the ?vessel or tub-shaped dwelling or building used for special purposes	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
CASTOR				
Cufficwelle	Cuffuiclingwelle	?*cyf, wic; wella, welle*	Spring associated with or near the ?vessel or tub-shaped dwelling or building used for special purposes	
Cuffycdam		?*cyf, wic, dammr*	The dam, bank across a stream associated with or near the ?vessel or tub shaped dwelling or building used for special purposes	
Dedemor, le	Deedmore forlong (1597), Dead-more furlong (1628)	*Dead, mor*	Marsh or barren upland (1) associated with a death or (2) disused, worn out land	In 1597, there is Over deed more forlong, suggesting the furlong may have been split into two or more parts
Denchemor	Denchesmor, Denesmor, Deniusemor, Denismor, Dennysemor, Denis more forlong (1597), Dennishe Moore furlong (1599), Danish-moore furlong (1628)	*Denisc, mor*	Marsh or barren upland associated with Danes or Norsemen. The pers. name Denic cannot be ruled out, although only one instance of a genitive ending appears in *C.N.—denches*	In ME *denisc* becomes *denish, dennish, denis, densce, denshe, denez*; see also Chapter Five, p. 151
Dodesfurlong	Dodisfurlong	Possibly pers. name + *furlang*	The furlong of a person called Dodda	
Edmundisleye		Pers. name + *leah*	The woodland clearing of (1) a person called Edmund or (2) associated with the abbey of Bury St Edmunds	See also *St Edmund's land* and *St Edmund's stones*
Erberhowis	Erberwehowses, Herburhoues, Herberhowes, Herberehowe, Harborrow House furlong (1599), Erberwehilles	?*eorð-burh* or *here-beorg;* ON *haugr*	Mounds or hills associated with the earth-fort, ancient building or encampment	Gelling suggests that *eorð-burh* and *here-beorg* can become Harborough, as it does here: Gelling, *Signposts*, pp. 147-8
Erbermor	Erberwemor, Erburmor, Herbermor, Herbermoore, Herburmor	?*eorð-burh* or *here-beorg; mor*	Marsh or barren upland associated with or near the earth-fort, ancient building or encampment	See also *erberhowis*

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
CASTOR				
(H)erburbrog'		?*eorð-burh* or *here-beorg; broc*	Stream or brook associated with or near the earth-fort, ancient building or encampment	
Estholm	Estholme	*Est, holm*	Eastern water-meadow	
Estrys	Estres, Estrith	*Est, treow*	The eastern trees	Estrys appears in the 1215 survey of Nassaburgh woodland: E. King, *Peterborough Abbey 1086-1310* (Cambridge, 1973), p. 173
Eylesworthmedwe	Eylisworth meadow	Place-name + *med*	Ailsworth meadow	
Eylsworthmedewgate		Place-name + *med, gata*	The road or way leading to Ailsworth meadow	
Eylisuuorth mor		Place-name + *mor*	Marsh or barren upland in Ailsworth	
Eylisworth longedole		Place-name + *lang, dole*	The long 'dole' (common field) in Ailsworth	
Eylisworthe wes		Place-name + *wæsse*	Wet place, swamp or marsh in Ailsworth	
Eylsworthowe		Place-name + ON *haugr*	The mound or hill associated with Ailsworth	
Eying	Eyingg, Eyingge, Einig, Eniuge, Eiing, Enyngstonfeld (1561), Ennyngston-feld (1561), Enystone feld (1567),	Uncertain; this could be either Eying or Eynig		This is one of the 1215 woodland names; Forward notes a modern name 'Eninge' in Lillingstone Dayrell (Buc): E. Forward, 'Place-names of the Whittlewood area' (unpub. PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 2007), p. 47
Ferie, le	Ferye, le	*Ford or* ON *ferja*	The ford or crossing place	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
CASTOR				
Ferthhinggrene	Ferthingrene, Farlding forlong (1597), Farthing furlong (1599 and 1628)	*Feordung, feording; grene*	'Quarter green'; in ME and later field-names, may denote a measure of land or a farthing rent	
Flegges, le	Fleges, Fleggis, Fleggesfurlong (1393), the Flegge (1467), the furlong called the Fledges (1599), the Fledges (1628)	*Flegge, flagge*	ME 'iris', 'place where reeds grow'	
Forthegrene			See Castor forthegrene	
Fowlond	Fulond	*Ful, lond*	Dirty or filthy land	
Five rods	Quinque rods (1393)	*Fif, rod*	Land measuring five rods	
Fordegate	Forthegate, le	*Ford, gata*	The road or way leading to the ford	
Fordeslade		*Ford, slæd*	The valley associated with or near the ford	
Foxdolis		*Fox, dole*	A share of the common land associated with either (1) a fox's earth or (2) a place frequented by foxes	This is odd, but the original definitely reads *foxdolis*, and not *foxholis*
Fremannesacre	Fremansacre (1440), Fremannsacre (1479)	*Freo-mann, æcer*	The plot of cultivated land associated with a person called Freeman, or with a free man	
Frith		*Fyrhðe*	Land overgrown with brushwood; woodland	
Galuwis, le	*Furcas* de Castre	*Galga, gealga*	The gallows	A charter transcribed in C.N. (no. 356) and dated 1305 possibly sites the gallows in Normangate Field. *Furcas* can be translated as gallows or crossroads, but no crossroads is recorded in this location.
Gatacrehegge (1359)	Gateacrehegg (1393), Gat acre forlong (1597), Gateacre furlong (1599, 1628)	*gat; æcer; heg, hege*	Goat acre (1) hay, mowing grass or (2) hedge, fence	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
CASTOR				
Glademannesheg		Pers. name + heg, hege	Either (1) the hay, mowing grass or (2) hedge, fence belonging to a person called Gladman	
Glademanishirne	Glademanshirne, Gladmanshyrne (1467)	Pers. name + *hyrne*	The angle or corner of a person called Gladman	
Gorefurlong		*Gara, furlang*	Triangular-shaped furlong	
Gores, les		*Gara*	The triangular-shaped lands	
Gosefurlong	Gosfurlong	*Gos, furlang*	Furlong frequented by geese	
Gosholm		*Gos, holm*	Water-meadow frequented by geese	
Graues, le		*Græf, græfe*	(1) The groves or (2) the graves	
Grenegate	Le Grenegate	*Grene, gata*	The way or road leading to the green	
Gunewade		Pers. name + *wæd*	The ford associated with or belonging to a person called Gunna	Associated name: Gunwadeway (1467)
Ham	Hamfeld	*Hamm* (although *ham* is a possibility)	Probably (1) land hemmed in by water or marsh or, less likely, (2) 'near the farmstead or residence'	Ham was an open field, adjacent to the Nene. The field forms a promontory, and a glance at the map supports a definition of 'hemmed in by water'
Haresaker		Pers. name or (1) *Har* or (2) *Hara*; æcer	Either the acre belong to an individual called ?Heresa or (1) the acre that is grey through being overgrown with lichen, or (2) the acre frequented by hares	
Haschehil	(atte) Hassehil	*Æsc, hyll*	Ash hill	Haschehil and its variants are distinct from Tasilhill and its variants (P. McClure, pers. comm.)
Hawtwaytstye (1393)	Haweystylles (1461), Hauwarts Holt (1567)	*Haga,* ?ON *þveit, stig*	The path, ascending path, or narrow road leading to or near the enclosed ?clearing	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
CASTOR				
Hay, le	Hayfurlong, le Hayefurlong (1461)	*Hæg*	The enclosure	
Hayes, les	The abbot's Hayes, Hays, le Hays	*Hæg*	The enclosures	
Hayesende		*Hæg, ende*	The land at the end of the enclosure(s)	
Hedenesgate	Hedeinsgate, Heddenesgate	Uncertain first element; *gata*		Ekwall suggests the place-name Hednesford is 'perhaps Heddin's ford', so this may be a pers. name: *O.D.E.P.N.*, p. 231
Hegbalk (1393)	Hegebalke (1467), Heigh baelke forlong (1597), Hedge-baulk or Bourn baulk furlong (1599)	*Heg, hege; balca*	The ridge or bank near (1) the hay of mowing grass or (2) the hedge or fence	
Heyhewod, le (1393)		*Hæg, wudu*	The enclosed wood	
Holdhe	Holdhee	*Ald, eald; ?ea or ?eg*	Possibly old river or stream	Gelling and Cole only associate *ea* with rivers: M. Gelling and A. Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names* (Stamford, 2000), p. 14; both references to this minor name place it in or near *littlelangmeadow* which was by the Nene, suggesting an older river course. Alternatively, *eg* is possible. O*ld ee* (Cam, 1356) is derived from *ea*: P.H. Reaney, *The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely* (Cambridge, 1943), p. 262
Holmes, les (1393)		*Holm*	The water-meadows	
Illing		Pers. name	Belonging to the Illing family	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
CASTOR				
Irthonehegg (1393)		*Eorðe, hecge*	Earthen hedge	Ailsworth; see also Chapter Five, p. 148
Iugewell	Iggewelle, Iugewelle	?*ig* or *eng; wella, welle*	Spring (1) near a yew tree, (2) an island or water-meadow, or (3) pasture land	
Iugewelle medwe		?*ig* or ON *eng; wella, welle; med*	Meadow near a spring (1) near a yew tree, (2) an island or water-meadow or (3) pasture land	
Kartunewelles		Uncertain first element; *wella, welle*	'Carton' spring	See also Cartonebrok
Kerkegate	Kyrkegate, Miltune Kirke Gate, Miltunkyckegate; Kirke gait forlong (1597), Kirke-gate furlong (1628)	ON *Kirkja*, ON *gata*	The road or way leading to Milton church	
Keten'place (1393)		Pers. name + *plas*	The place or tenement of a person or family called Keten	
King's way		*Cyning, weg*	The king's way (the common highway)	
Kydwelwang (1393)		*Kide; wella, welle; wang*	Piece of meadowland or open field by the spring associated with young goats or roe deer	M.E.D.; as this is a landscape associated with hunting, roe deer calf seems more likely, especially as it was located in Wodefeld
Landykbusk (1393)	Ladybusske (1393)	*Lang, dic, busc*	The Langdyke Bush	Possibly the earliest documented reference to the Langdyke Bush; but note that the 1393 terrier suggests this place lies in Thornes, some distance from the present site of Langdyke Bush; A further reference under Wodefeld—a more likely location—notes *ladybusske*

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
CASTOR				
Langedic	Langgedik, Langedich, Langedik; Langdaike forlong (1597), Lang-dyk furlong (1628)	*Lang, dic*	The long ditch or dyke	This was the medieval name for Roman King Street (see Chapter Five, p. 148)
Langedichgate	Langdykgate (1393), Langdike way forlong (1597), Langdyke way, Langdykeway furlong (1599)	*Lang, dic, weg*	The road or way called long ditch or dike	Langedic, Langedichgate and Langgedikheg seem to have been interchangeable
Langgedikheg		*Lang, dic, hege*	The hedge called the long ditch or dike	Probably meaning the earthen hedge or bank
Langemergate		*Lang;* (1) *mere,* or (2) *mære;* ON *gata*	The long road or way running along the (1) pool, or, more likely (2) boundary	It is also possible that this is a scribal error and should read *mor* rather than *mer,* especially as this form is only found once (*C.N.*)
Langemor	Langgemor; Langmoore (1393), Longmore furlong (1445)	*Lang, mor*	The long marsh or barren upland	
Lillefordbalk (1393)	Lillford balke forlong (1597), Lillford furlong (1599, 1628)	Pers. name + *balca*	The ridge or bank belonging to a person or family called Lilford	The de Lilford family held land in 13th- and 14th-century Castor
Linchforlong		*Hlinc, furlang*	Ridge or bank furlong	
Linche wellis		*Hlinc; wella, welle*	The spring near the ridge or bank	
Litildales	Litill dalls forlong (1597)	*Litel, dæl*	Little pits, hollows or valleys	
Littilheylisworthemedue	Litil medwe de Eylisworth, Litle medewe, Litleholm	*Litel,* Place-name + *med*	Ailsworth little meadow	
Littilbrig (1351)	Littelbrigg, Littelbrigge, Littilbrigge	*Litel, brycg*	Little bridge	
Littilhuuermowe		*Litel, ofer, mawe*	Little upper meadow	
Littellangmedwe	Litlelongemeduue, Litillangemedue, Litelelangmede, Litellongmedwe, Littlelangemedewe	*Litel, lang, med*	Little long meadow	
Littilmedilfurlong		*Litel, middel, furlang*	Little middle furlong	
Longfurlong		*Lang, furlang*	Long furlong	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
CASTOR				
Lordeston, le	Le Lordisston, the cross called Lordiston, le Loudeston, Louerdeston, le Louerdston; Lordston (1359), Lordistonfurlong (1376)	ME *lord, stan*	The lord's stone	Relating to the Lord family, minor lords of Castor
Lordyslake (1393)		ME *lord, lacu*	The lord's small stream or watercourse	
Lydgatewong (1393)		*Lid-gate, wang*	Piece of meadowland or open field near the swing-gate for cattle	
Lymkilnewong		*Lim, cyln, wang*	Piece of meadowland or open field near the lime kiln	Note also lymekilln hill (1445)
Lynche, le	Lynch, Lynchefurlong (1393)	*Hlinc*	The ridge or bank	
Lyngg		*Lyng*	Place where ling or heather is found	
Maggebuskhert (1393)		?*Mai-busc, ?heorot*	Very uncertain: ?the hart associated with the may-bush	The may-bush is a hawthorn tree, associated with May celebrations (*O.E.D.*)
Marhamgate	Marham waye (1567)	Place-name + ON gata	The road or way leading to Marholm	
Medowgate (1393)	Medugate; Medegate (1445), Medewegate (1461)	*Med,* ON *gata*	The road or way leading to the meadow	Ailsworth
Medueforlong		*Med, furlang*	Meadow furlong	
Medweside	Mekylholmsyde (1467)	*Med, side*	The meadow with a sloping long side	
Menewodesti	Menew[o]desty, Menewoddesti	*Mæne, wudu, stig*	The ascending path, path, or narrow road leading to the common wood	
Merchs, le		(1) *mearc* or (2) *mersc, merisc*	The boundary or the watery land	
Micclelangemedue	Mucle lange medwe, Mikellangemedue; Mikillangemeddwe; Mikillangemedue	*Micel, mycel; lang, med*	Great long meadow	
Micleholm	Mikelholm, Mikilholm, Mikilholme	*Micel, mycel; holm*	Great water-meadow	
Middelforlong, le	Midelfurlong; Midilfurlang (1393), Middilfurlong (1461)	*Middel, furlang*	The middle furlong	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
CASTOR				
Middelwodegate (1351)		*Middel, wudu,* ON *gata*	The middle way or road leading to the wood; or the road leading to the middle wood	
Mikelberwe	Mikilberu	*Micel, mycel; beorg*	The great barrow	
Mikilcroft (1393)		*Micel, mycel; croft*	The great croft	
Mikilhuuermowe (1393)		*Micel, mycel; ofer, mawe*	Great upper meadow	
Mikilwodegate		*Micel, mycel; wudu,* ON *gata*	The great way or road leading to the wood; or the road leading to the great wood	
Milnedam		*Milne, dammr*	The dam, or bank across a stream near the mill	
Milnegate		*Milne,* ON gata	The road or way leading to the mill	
Milnehill		*Milne, hyll*	The hill close to the mill	
Milneholm		*Milne, holm*	The water-meadow near the mill	
Milnehowe		*Milne, haugr*	The mound, burial mound or hill near the mill	
Milnepost	Mylnpost, le (1467)	*Milne-post*	A post supporting a windmill	*O.E.D.*
Milnesti, le		*Milne, stig*	The ascending path, path, or narrow road leading to the mill	
Miltoneston	Miltonstone (1400)	Place-name + *stan*	The stone (?cross) near Milton	
Miltonweie		Place-name + *weg*	The way leading toward Milton	Probably synonymous with Kirkgate, Milton kirkgate
Mor	La Mor, le Mor, la Moor, la More, le Moyr, le Mour, Castre Mor, Caster moore (1566)	*Mor*	Marsh or barren upland	
Mordyke, le		*Mor, dic*	The ditch or dyke near the marsh or barren upland	
Morfurlong		*Mor, furlang*	The furlong near the marsh or barren upland	
Morgate		*Mor,* ON *gata*	The road or way leading to the marsh or barren upland	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
CASTOR				
Musewelle	Muswell, Mosewlle	(1) Pers. name or (2) *mus* + wella, welle	The spring associated with (1) a person called Musa or (2) mice	
Nab, le (1393)		ON *nabbi, nabbr*	Projecting peak, knoll or hill	
Neane	Nene, Nenee, Neene		The river Nene	
Netherepresthil	Netherpresthill (1393), Nedyrpresthyll (1467)	*Neoðera, preost, hyll*	Lower priest hill	See Prestehil below
Netherlangedik	Netherlanggedyk; Netherlangdyke (1364)	*Neoðera, lang, dic*	Lower long dyke or ditch	See Langedic above
Netherlanggedykgrene		*Neoðera, lang, dic, grene*	The grassy spot or village green near the lower long dor ditch	
Nethirforlong	Nether forlong (1597), Nether furlong (1599, 1628)	*Neoðera, furlang*	The lower furlong	
Neutonehouwes		Place-name + ON *haugr*	The mound, burial mound or hill near Water Newton	
Neutonesike	Newtonesike	Place-name + *sic, sik*	Small stream near Water Newton	
Normangate	Normanegate, Normangatefurlong	*Norðman,* ON *gata*	The road or way associated with the northmen (Norwegians or Danes)	
Northfield		*Norð, feld*	North field	
Norwel		*Norð; wella, welle*	Northern spring	
Norwell Hill		*Norð; wella, welle; hyll*	The hill associated with the northern spring	
Norwellewong (1393)		*Norð; wella, welle; wang*	The piece of meadow or open field associated with the northern spring	
Oldfeld	Oldefeld	*Ald, eald; feld*	Old field	
(H)oldfeldmere	Holdfieldmere (1364); Old-field pond (1599, 1628)	*Ald, eald; feld; mere*	The pool associated with old field	
Ouerescrofts, les	Ouercroft (1362), Ouircrofte (1467); Over craftes forlong (1597)	*Ofer, croft*	The upper croft(s)	
Ouercroftfurlong		*Ofer, croft, furlang*	The furlong near the upper croft	
Ouerlangedik	Ouerlangdyk (1362)	*Ofer, lang, dic*	Upper long dyke or ditch	See Langedic above
Ouerpresthill (1393)		*Ofer, preost, hyll*	Upper priest hill	See Prestehil below

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
CASTOR				
Paris		Pers. name	(Woodland) associated with Christiana Paris, a free tenant	
Pesfurlong (1360)	Peysfurlong (1363), Pees forlong (1597); Pease furlong (1599, 1628)	*Pease, furlang*	The furlong where peas are grown	
Pesewong (1393)		*Pease, wang*	Piece of meadow or open field where peas are grown	Ailsworth
Pittis, the (1366)	Pytes, the (1388)	*Pytt*	The pits, natural hollows	Ailsworth
Plumbtres	Plumtres (1393), Plome tree stake (1597), Plomb-tree stake furlong (1599), Plomb-tree stake (1628)	*Plume, treow*	Land near the plum trees	
Portissewell	Porteswell (1445)	*Port; wella, welle*	The spring near the gate	
Prestehil	Presthil; Prest Hill forlong (1597), Prest-hill furlong (1599), Priest-hill furlong (1628)	*Preost, hyll*	The hill associated with a priest	
Pylþweythbrok	Pethewaytbroke (Upton, 1393)	Uncertain first element: (1) ?*pyll* or (2)?*pie*; *þveit*, *broc*	The stream or brook near a clearing associated with (1) insects or magpies or (2) a small stream; possibly (2) with later loss of medial –el?	Ailsworth, although it clearly crossed into (or bordered) Upton
Redelond	Le Redelond, Redelondes, Redelont, Redlond, Redlonfurlong; Rodefurlong (1393), Redlond (1467), Reed forlong (1597), Red-land forlong (1599), Red-land furlong (1628)	Either (1) *hreod* or (2) *read, lond*	Most probably (1) land on which reeds grew, or (2) 'land with red soil'	*Hreod* produces forms in *rode*, *red* and *rede* (*O.E.D.*)
Fons Reginaldi			Reginald's spring	
Reueles, le	Upton brok (1340); Upton Reuell' (1445)	OFr *revel*	Stream or brook	
Rohaubroc		*Ra, haga, broc*	Brook or stream near the deer enclosure	
Rohauue		*Ra, haga*	Deer enclosure	
Ruhowe	Roughowe (1393)	*Ruh, haugr*	The rough mound, burial mound or hill	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
CASTOR				
St Edmund, the land of	St Edmunde's stones forlong (1597), Sedman stones furlong (1599, 1628)	St Edmund, *lond*	The land associated with Bury St Edmunds' abbey	This name later changes into Robin Hood's Stones, or Robin Hood and Little John (see Chapter Five, p. 156)
Saltarisgate	Salterisgate, Psaltiersgate; Saltersgate (1393, 1467, 1479), Salters gait (1597), Salters Way (1628)	*Saltere,* ON *gata*	The road or way used by the salt-workers	
Sartis		OFr *sart*	The assart (cleared land)	
Schelf		*Scelf*	Probably 'shelving terrain'	
Schepdic, le	Scipdik, Schipdyk, le, Schepdike, Schypdyk, Scipdich, Sippdick, Sipdich; Shepdyk (1393)	*Scip, dic*	The ditch or dyke associated with sheep	
Schortedole	Schortdole (1445)	*Sceort, dole*	The short piece of the shared common field	
Schortfurlong	Sortfurlong, Schortefurlong, Scortfurlong; Short forlong (1597, 1599)	*Sceort, furlang*	The short furlong	
Seueneacre (1393)		*Seofan, æcer*	Land measuring seven acres	
Seyntemarylond	St Marie headland (1599, 1628)			
Sherreueswong (1393)		*Scir-gerefa, wang*	The piece of meadow or open field associated with the shire-reeve	Ailsworth; within Middelfurlong
Shortcroft (1393)		*Sceort, croft*	The short croft	
Sikfurlong	Sikerfurlong, Sykefurlong	*Sic, sik; furlang*	The furlong near the small stream, especially one in flat marshland	In place-names, often a stream forming a boundary
Sistremor		*Sweoster, mor*	The marsh or barren upland associated with sisters	
Smalebrok	Smalebrook (1461)	*Smæl, broc*	The narrow stream or brook	
Smalmeduehil	Smalmedewhyll (1473)	*Smæl, med, hyll*	The hill near the narrow meadow	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
CASTOR				
Smalwodegate (1393)		*Smæl, wudu,* ON *gata*	The narrow way or road leading to the wood; or the road leading to the narrow wood	
Stanuwellefurlong	Stanewelfurlong (1393)	*Stan; wella, welle; furlang*	The furlong near with the stony spring	
Stanewelle	Stanuwelle; Stanewell (1360, 1371), Stanwell (1467)	*Stan; wella, welle*	The stony spring	
Stanewelgate		*Stan; wella, welle;* ON *gata*	The road or way leading to or by the stony spring	
Stanewellebrok	Stanwell brocke forlong (1597), Stanwell-brooke furlong (1599, 1628)	*Stan; wella, welle; broc*	The stream or brook near the stony spring	
Stanewellefeld		*Stan; wella, welle; feld*	The field near the stony spring	
Stanewellehil	Stanewelhil, Stanwellhyll	*Stan; wella, welle; hyll*	The hill associated with the stony spring	
Stanywong	Stoniwong, Stonywong	*Stan, wang*	Stony piece of meadow or open field	
Stibbing	Les Stubbinges; le Stybbyng (1448)	*Stubbing, stybbing*	A clearing, a place where trees have been cleared	
Stonhowe		*Stan,* ON *haugr*	The stone mound, burial mound or hill	
Stretegate		*Stræt,* ON *gata*	The way or road leading to the Roman road	
Suttonhowe		Place-name + ON *haugr*	The mound, burial mound or hill associated with Sutton	
Tasilhill	Tasehil, Thasehil; Taselhulle (1377), Tasylhyll (1467), Tasshel hill forlong (1597), Tazell hill furlong (1599, 1628)	*Tæsel, hyll*	Hill were teasels are found	Tasehil and Thasehil are variants of Tasilhill with the loss of medial —el. This name is not to be confused with Hassehil (see above), (P. McClure, pers. comm.)
Ten acre (x acre) (1393)		*Ten, æcer*	Land measuring ten acres	
Thicwode	Tikkeuuode, Thykkewode; Thikwod (1393)	*Þicce, wudu*	Either a dense wood, or a thicket	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
CASTOR				
Thurwardislund	Thornwardulound; Thiuferdesland; Thurwerslound (1393)	Pers. name + *lond*	The land belonging to Thurward	An Anglo-Scandinavian personal name (*P.N.N.*)
Thirspitt	Thorspittes, Therspittes (1445),	*Thyrs*, or ON *þurs*; *pytt*	Giant's or demon's pit	Ailsworth
Thornes	Thornis, Thornys	*Þorn*	Possibly place overgrown with thorn trees; may relate to the pers. name Thorn, but there is no generic element	An open field
Trehowes	Threhowes	*Þreo,* ON *haugr*	Three mounds, burial mounds or hills	
Tresch			Uncertain	
Uptongate		Place-name + ON *gata*	The road or way leading to Upton	
Uuerhauedlond		*Ofer*, *heafod-lond*	?Upper headland	There is no corresponding field-name with the qualifier *neoðera*, so the first element may be *wer*: weir
Uuercroft		*Ofer, croft*	?Upper croft	As for above
Wacriscroft	Wakriscroft, Wakerecroft, Wakerescroft, Wakescroft; Wakecroft (1444, 1448, 1473, 1479), Way-croft furlong (1628)	*Walcere, croft*	The croft associated with the fuller, cloth dresser	
Walcotemor	Ualkotemor, Walkotemore, Walcotmers; Wawcott more (1567)	Place-name + *mor*	Marsh or barren upland near or associated with Walcot	
Walcotemorfurlong		Place-name + *mor, furlang*	Furlong near Walcotemor	
Walstondike	Walstondic, Wulftonesdic	Pers. name Wulfstan + *dic*	The dyke or ditch of a person called Wulfstan	
Walwortwang		*Wealh-wyrt, wang*	Piece of meadow or open field in which Dwarf Elder or Danewort grows	See Chapter Five, p. 151
Westallewete		*Weste, wæt*	Uncertain; possibly relates to wet wasteland	
Westhay	Uesthay	*West, hæg*	Western enclosure	
Wiluys	Wyluwes	*Wilig*	Place where willows grow	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
CASTOR				
Wulfhauue	Wolfhaw	*Wulf, haga*	Wolf enclosure	
Wodecroft		*Wudu, croft*	Croft by the wood	
Wodecroftfurlong		*Wudu, croft, furlang*	Furlong by the woodcroft	
Wodecroftheud	Wodecroft heuedis; Wodecrofthed (1393)	*Wudu, croft, heafod*	The headlands at Woodcroft	
Wodefeld		*Wudu, feld*	The field near the wood	An open field
Wodefurlong (1352)		*Wudu, furlang*	The furlong near the wood	
Wodegate	Wodegatis	*Wudu,* ON *gata*	The road(s) or way(s) leading to or near the wood	
Wodehil	Woodhylles	*Wudu, hyll*	The hill(s) by thewood	
Worgfurlong		Uncertain first element: ?*wearg, furlang*	?Furlong associated with a felon or gallows	
Wredemereslade	Wydmereslade	*Wrid, wrið, wride; mere, mære; slæd*	The valley by the winding pool or boundary	
Wridemere		*Wrid, wrið, wride; mere, mære*	The winding pool or boundary	
Wridemeregate	Wriddemeregate, Writhemeregate, Wrydemeregate; Wydmergate (1367); Wynmeregate (1467)	*Wrid, wrið, wride; mere, mære*; ON *gata*	The road or way leading to, or near the winding pool or boundary	
Wyndegateshort (1393)		*Wind,* ON *gata*, OE *sceort*	Short piece of land near the winding road or way	
Yrenbrok	Irnebrok (1393), Irnebrooke (1461), Irnefurlong (1461), Irenfurlong (1478)	?*irne, or* ?*hyrne; broc*	Uncertain first element: ?running, ?iron or ?corner brook or stream	

Post-1348 sources: N.R.O. F(M) Charter; N.R.O. F(M) Roll 343; N.R.O. F(M) Misc. Vol. 424; N.R.O. F(M) Tin Box 1, Castor and Ailsworth, Parcel No. 5 (c) and (d); B.L. Cotton MS Nero C. vii/14, ff. 157-161; C.U.L. PDC/F/MS/55

Notes: All place-name elements are in Old English, unless prefixed ON; ? denotes an uncertain term or definition; the dates of all post-1348 names are parenthesized

(3) Lakenheath

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
LAKENHEATH				
Abouetoun	Boueton	*Bufan, tun*	Land situated above the vill	
Acredych, le		*Æcer, dic*	The plot of cultivated land near the ditch or dyke	
Aspeye	Haspey	*Æspe, eg*	Dry, raised ground with an aspen tree or trees	
Bacgate		*Bæc, bece;* ON *gata*	The way or road by (1) the low ridge or (2) the stream valley	
Badwyneslond		Pers. name + *lond*	Land belonging to or associated with a person called Badwine	
Bankes, le	The Bank (1649)	*Banke*	Bank(s); the slope of a hill or ridge; bank of earth to restrain water	
Barewmor, le	Bar Fen (1649)	*Beorg, mor*	The marsh or barren upland near the barrow	
Beche		*Bæc, bece*	(1) The low ridge or (2) the stream valley	
Belhaghe		?*Bel-haga*	An enclosure where the dead were cremated (*E.P.N.E.*, I, p. 26)	Ekwall tentatively suggests 'piece of dry ground in a fenny country', *O.D.E.P.N.*, p. 35
Berdele	Berdhill; Bardwell Furlong (1793)	*Ber, dæl*	Pit, hollow or valley associated with barley	
Berdeleweye		*Ber, dæl, weg*	Road or way near the pit, hollow or valley associated with barley	
Bericrouch		*Byrig, crouche*	The cross near the manor	
Besemer		*Beos, mere*	The pool associated with bent or rough grass	*V.E.P.N, I*, p. 84 suggests *beos* is usually found in East Anglia/the Midlands
Bibilstal		Uncertain first element: ?*babelen*; *steal*	?A babbling place for catching fish	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
LAKENHEATH				
Blakelonds	Blake acre (1533)	*Blæc, lond*	Black or dark-coloured land	
Blakemer	Blakmere, Blakemere; Black Lake (1649), Blackwell Hole (1793)	*Blæc, mere*	Black or dark coloured pool	
Blakemerelond		*Blæc, mere, lond*	Land near the black or dark-coloured pool	
Bolemanswong	Bulemanswong, Bolmaneswong; Bullymongs Wong Furlong (1663); Bullingway Wong Furlong (1793)	Poss. Pers. name + *wang*	Piece of meadow or open field associated with a person called Buleman	
Bolesheuedlond		Poss. Pers. name + *heafod-lond*	The headland belonging to or associated with a person or family called Bull	There was a Bole family in 14th c. Lakenheath
Bolewer		*Bula, wer*	?The weir associated with a bull	
Bradebeche	Broad Breech Hill (1649)	*Brad, bræd; bæce, bece*	The broad (1) low fenland ridge or (2) stream valley	
Brademere	Brademer, Bredemor; Brodmere furlong (1533)	*Brad, bræd; mere*	The broad pool	
Brademerepettis	Brademereputes, Brademerepettes,	*Brad, bræd; mere; pytt*	The pits near the broad pool	
Brademerewong	Brademerwong, Bredemerewong	*Brad, bræd; mere; wang*	The piece of meadow or open field near the broad pool	
Brambelheuede	Brimbelheuden, Brembilueueden, Brymelheueden	*Bremel, bræmel, brembel, bræmbel; heafod*	The headlands associated with blackberries or brambles	
Bramhowe	Bramowe (1533), Bramow (1793)	*Brom,* ON *haugr*	Mounds, burial mounds or hills associated with broom	
Bramheweye	Bramweye	*Brom,* ON *haugr; weg*	The way near the mounds, burial mounds or hills associated with broom	
Bramouemedwe	Braunchhouemedwe	*Brom,* ON *haugr; med*	The meadow near the mounds, burial mounds or hills associated with broom	Is Braunch a scribal error? There was a 14th c. Lakenheath family called Braunch

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
LAKENHEATH				
Breggele	Bregele; Brygyll (1482), Bregells (1516)	Uncertain		
Brendhall		*Brende, heall*	?the burned hall	
Brodehethe	Brodeth; Brode hive (1533), Broad hythe (1782)	*Brad, bræd; hyð*	The broad landing place	
Brodepolis		*Brad, bræd; pol*	The broad pools, ponds, or pools in a river	
Brok, le		*Broc*	The brook or stream	
Bullwerdiche		*Bula, wer, dic*	The ditch or dyke near the weir associated with a bull	See Bolewer above
Buskes, le		*Busc*	The bushes or shrubs	
Byrch, le	Birch, le, Birch, Burch, le; Birch Fen (1649)	*Birce, byrce*	The birch-tree	
Byriweye	Bereway	*Byrig, weg*	The way leading to the manor	
Caldewell	Kaldewell, Kaldwell	*Cold; wella, welle*	The cold spring	
Caldwellwong	Caldewellwong; Cawdwell furlong (1533), Cawdele (1649), Cardel furlong (1663), Cardell furlong (1793), Caudle (1793)	*Cold; wella, welle; wong*	The piece of meadow or open field near the cold spring	
Calkeshe	Calkesse, Calkesee	*Calc, sæge*	The chalky swamp, marsh or lake	
Calkesherne		*Calc, hyrne*	The chalky corner or nook	
Carvismor		Ofr *carvi; mor*	Caraway marsh or barren upland	
Chalang, le	Chaleng, le	Ofr *chalenge*	Disputed land, or land used for tournaments	
Champart		*Champarte*	The lord's share in the crop of a tenant's land	M.E.D.
Cherchecroft, le		*Chirche, croft*	The croft near to or belonging to the church	
Chircheheuedlond		*Chirche, heafod-lond*	The headland near to or belonging to the church	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
LAKENHEATH				
Clapetofthalle		Uncertain first element + *toft, hall*		
Cloude, le	Clouds, east and west (1649), Clouds (1782)	*Clud*	Rock, cliff or hill; possibly irregular shaped hill; or land with rocky outcrops	
Commonboskys	Le Buskes	*Commune, busc*	?The common shrubs or bushes	
Coniger	Cuniger	*Coninger*	The rabbit-warren	
Coppedemere		*Copped, mere*	Odd. Pool with a peak from which the head has been removed	
Cosewelew		*?Gos, wylig*	Possibly willow frequented by geese	
Cotes		*Cote*	Cottages, huts, shelters or dens	
Cranehilhord		*Cran, hyll, hord*	?The hoard found on Crane Hill	
Cranescroft		Pers. name + *croft*	The croft associated with or belonging to the family called Crane	
Cranesfen		Pers. name + *fenn*	The fen, marsh or marshland associated with or belonging to the family called Crane	
Crestis, le		*Creste*	The ridges of a balk in a ploughed field	
Croftes, le		*Croft*	The crofts	
Crouch, le		*Crouche*	The cross	
Crowepetwong	Crowpitwong, Croupetwong	*Crou, craw; pytt, wang*	Piece of meadow or open field near the pit frequented by crows	
Cruxstampe	Cruchistampe, le, Crouchstampe; Crosswells Water (1649), Cross Water (1782)	*Crouche, stampe*	The stank or pool of water by the cross	
Curteslane	Curteislane	Possible pers. name, or *curteis* + *lane*	Lane associated with a person called Curtis; or 'courteous, respectful' lane	There are people called Curtis in fourteenth-century Lakenheath, although they appear infrequently; Might this have been a pun on Gropecunte Lane (below)?

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
LAKENHEATH				
Dalewereslai		Uncertain first element, possible pers. name; *læge*	?Fallow, unploughed land	This name is only used in connection with a sheep-fold
Dedcherl	Dedecherle, le, Dede Chirl; Dead Charles Furlong (1793)	*Dead, ceorl*	Place where a dead peasant was found, or where a peasant died	
Delmford, le	Delmeford, le	Uncertain first element + *ford*		
Depemer	Depmere, Depmer, Depesmere; Deepmere (1782)	*Deop, mere*	The deep pool	
Depemerefen		*Deop, mere, fenn*	The fen or marsh near the deep pool	
Depfen, le		*Deop, fenn*	The deep fen or marsh	
Dephalph		*Deop, half*	'The deep half, or deep side'	
Deulacres	Dale furlong (1649)	? ON *deill,* OE *æcer*	Shared or apportioned acres	
Doune, le				
Douuozhithe		Pers. name + *hyð*	The landing place associated with the family called Douue	There are many individuals with the byname Douue in 14th c. Lakenheath
Douesdich	Douuesdich, Dowedich	Pers. name + dic	Probably the ditch or dyke associated with the family called Douue	
Doune, le	The Downe (1533), Down Furlong, (1649), Down Furlong (1793)	*Dun* or *dune*	(1) hill, or (2) down, below	
Druning			Uncertain: a place where a person drowned?	
Dumelade	Dumbelode, Dumlade	*Dumb, lad*	'Silent' dyked water-course	
Dykmannesdich	Dikemannesdich, Dykemandych	Pers. name + *dic*	The ditch or dyke associated with a person or family called Dikeman	There are many individuals with the byname Dykeman in fourteenth-century Lakenheath
Dykmanneswong		Pers. name + *wang*	The piece of meadow or open field associated with a person or family called Dikeman	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
LAKENHEATH				
Eddish	Edihs, Edych, le	*Edisc*	An enclosure or enclosed park	
Egginge			Uncertain	
Eldernestub	Helderenestob, Elderinstomp; Elder stub (1533)	*Ellern; stobb, stubb*	Elder tree stump	
Ellondhel	Eilondhel, Hellondhil, Ellond Hel, Eylondehil, Hellondhelfurlong; Ellmon dole furlong (1533), Ellome Dole (1649), Ellome Dole (1649), Ellam Dole (1663)	*Eg-land, hyll*	'Island hill'	
Ereswell Lode		Place-name + *lad*	The dyked water-course near or leading to Eriswell	
Eriswell, bridge of		Place-name + *brycg*	Eriswell bridge	
Eriswelledam	Ereswelledam, Ereswelldam	Place-name + *dammr*	The dam or bank across a stream at Eriswell	
Ereswellweye		Place-name + *weg*	The road or way leading to Eriswell	
Erlespundfold	Erlespynefolde	Pers. title + *pinfold*	The Earl of Gloucester's pound	
Erneshowepath	Ernyshouepat; Easthowpath (1482)	*Earn* or possible pers. name; ON *haugr*, OE *pæth*	The path near (1) the eagles' mound, burial mound or hill, or (2) the mound, burial mound or hill associated with a person called Earna	Gelling suggests eagles might have an association with particular topography, and uses –beorg as an example: M. Gelling, 'Anglo-Saxon eagles', *Leeds Studies in English*, 18 (1987), p. 177
Ernishowelle		*Earn* or possible pers. name; ON *haugr,* OE *wella, welle*	The spring near (1) the eagles' mound, burial mound or hill, or (2) the mound, burial mound or hill associated with a person called Earna	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
LAKENHEATH				
Estbechemor		*Est; bæc, bece; mor*	The eastern dry ground in the marsh of barren upland	This definition of *bæc, bece* differs: Gelling suggests this as a possibility, and topographically it fits: Gelling, *Place-Names*, p. 125
Fiches, le		*Fecche*	The place where vetches grow	
Flawners	Flawenhors, le; Flawenhos; Slawhors (1516), Slain Horse or Flanders (1793)	Pers. name	A place associated with a person or family called Flawner	The Flawners were a prominent 14th c. Lakenheath family. There appears to have been a scribal error in the 16th c. leading to confusion over the name
Fledmere		*Fletan* or *flit; mere*	(1) Flowing, or (2) disputed pool	
Fledmerecote		*Fletan* or *flit; mere; cote*	The cottage, hut, shelter or den near the flowing or disputed pool	
Fletmerefen		*Fletan* or *flit; mere; fenn*	The fen or marsh near the flowing or disputed pool	
Flitmerebeche		*Fletan* or *flit; mere; bæc, bece*	A dry ridge of ground near the flowing or disputed pool	
Fodirfen, le	Fotherfen, Fodderfen; Fodder Fen Corner (1649)	*Foðr, fenn*	The fen where fodder is gathered	This was a common fen
Folwyndelond		*Fol, wind, lond*	Very windy land	
Frith, le	Fryth, le	*Fyrhð or frið*	(1) Woodland or (2) 'refuge, protection'	E.P.N.E. I, p. 188: *frið* can mean 'the restoration of rights to an outlaw'. The parish boundary abuts county boundaries for Nfk and Cam, and so 'place offering safety or asylum' might fit

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
LAKENHEATH				
Fukaker, le	Fokacre	*?Fucus, æcer*	Uncertain. The acre where red lichen is found?	M.E.D.: used for dyeing
Gopaynshithe		Pers. name + *hyð*	The landing place associated with the Gopayn family	There are several individuals with the byname Gopayn in 14th c.- Lakenheath; see Chapter Four, p. 131
Greneweyewong	Greneueyewong	*Grene, weg, wang*	The piece of meadow or open field near Green Way	
Gresacre		*Gres, æcer*	The acre where grass is grown	
Gropecunte Lane		*Grapian, cunte, lane*	'Grope cunt' Lane	K. Briggs, 'OE and ME *cunte* in place-names', *J.E.P.N.S.*, 41 (2009), p. 28
Grynd, le	The Grime (1649), Grine (1782)	*Grynde*	Uncertain: 'abyss'	*E.P.N.E., I,* p. 211
Gygouneslane		Pers. name + *lane*	The lane where people called Gygoune live	There were individuals called Gudgeon in 14th c.- Lakenheath, but none of the spellings match this one
Hall, Clare	The countess' hall, the earl's hall, the hall	*Hall*	The hall or manor associated with Clare fee	
Halledich, le	Halledych, le, Haldich, le	*Hall, dic*	The ditch or dyke near Clare manor	
Heldesond		*Helde, sond*	Sandy ground sloping downward	
Hellondhelhend		*Eg-land, hyll, ende*	The land on the end of 'island hill'	See also Ellondhel
Herdeweye	Hirdeweye	*Heord, weg*	The way or road used for cattle	
Herdeweyslade	Hyrdeweyeslade; Hardway Slade (1793)	*Heord, weg, slæd*	The valley near the way used for cattle	
Hereshel	(Ad)ereshil, (At)hereshel, (At)hirishel	*Herse, hyll*	'Hill top' hill	
Hereshelswere	(At)hirishelswere, Hirishelswere	*Herse, hyll, wer*	The weir, river-dam or fishing-enclosure near 'hill-top' hill	
Hithe, the	The Hethe, the Great Hithe	*Hyð*	The landing-place	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
LAKENHEATH				
Holemere	Holmere, Hollemere	Uncertain first element: (1) *hol* or (2) *halig; mere*	(1) Mere near a hole or hollow, or (2) holy mere	
Holm Hel	Holme Hill (1793)	Uncertain first element: (1) ON *holmr,* or (2) *holm, hyll*	(1) Island or water-meadow hill; (2) water-meadow hill	This might be an alternative name for Ellondhel (see above)
Holmis	Le Holm, Holm; Holmes Meadow Furlong (1793)	*Holm*	Water-meadow	
Holmweye, le		*Holm, weg*	The way near to or leading to the water-meadow	
Knytesmere	Knights Fen Head (1649)	*Cniht, mere*	Knight's pool	
Kokisbreche		*Cocc; brec, breche*	The heaped (as in a hillock) land broken up for cultivation	
Kyngeshethe	Kyngeshyth, le	Possible pers. name or *Cyning + hyð*	Either the landing place associated with a person called King; or the landing place associated with the king	
Ladispol	Ladys Poole Lake (1649)	*Hlæfdige, pol*	The lady's pool, pond or pool in a river	
Leuissote		Uncertain: possible pers. name, or ?ME *levi*; ?*sceat, or ?sceot*	(1) The corner of land of a person called Leve, or (2) the corner of land covered in leaves; or else the first element may be (3) 'the shooting'	ME *levi*: Forward, 'Place-names', p. 280; (3) This element has been associated with fisheries in North-East England and Scotland, referring to the shooting of nets (P.McClure, pers. comm.)
Livermere		*Lifer, mere*	The pool with thick or clotted water	
Longehalfaker, le		*Lang, half, æcer*	The long half acre	
Lochewere	Lower Mow or Moore (1649)	Uncertain first element: *loche*, or *lothe; wer*	(1) weir, river-dam or fishing enclosure where loach are found or (2) 'hateful' weir	
Locheweremor		Uncertain first element: *loche*, or *lothe; wer; mor*	Marsh or barren upland near the loach or hateful weir	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
LAKENHEATH				
Loweheth, le		*Hlaw, hyð*	The landing place by the mound	
Lusewere	Loueswere	Either (1) *lus* or (2) OFr *luce; wer*	(1) weir, river-dam or fishing enclosure associated with lice, or the more likely (2) weir, river-dam or fishing enclosure where pike are found	There are frequent references in the manorial records of pike being caught
Lymming		Uncertain		
Lyndich		*Lin* or *lind, dic*	(1) ditch or dyke near the place where flax is grown, or (2) ditch or dyke near the lime-tree	
Lytelspot		*Litel, spot*	A small piece of ground	
Mackesrode		Pers. name + *rode*	The clearing of a person called Macke	Macke was a 13th-c. name at Lakenheath
Maudeleneslane	Maudelineslane; Madley Lane (1793)	Saint's name + *lane*	Mary Magdalene's lane	
Maudeleneslanesend		Saint's name + *lane, ende*	The end of Mary Magdalene's lane	
Mayyhewcruch	Mayhewecrouch; Maryhors Cross (1516), Maidens Cross (1663), Maids Cross Furlong (1793)	Pers. name + *crouch*	The cross associated with a person or family called Mayhew	There were many Mayhews in 14th-c. Lakenheath
Meldeburn		*Melde, burna*	The spring or stream where the plant 'plane orach' grew	
Meleshakk	Meleshalk	?*Milne,* or *?mela, shakke*	(1) Grazing place near the mill, or (2) place where fallen grain is grazed	
Melnedale	Melledale, Milnedale	*Milne, dæl*	The pit, hollow or valley near the mill	
Melnefeld	Windmelnefeld, Wyndmelnefeld	*Milne, feld*	The field near the mill	One of the open fields
Mere, le		*Mere*	The pool	
Merewong		*Mere, wang*	The piece of meadow or open field by the pool	
Merschelade	Merslade	*Mersc, merisc; lad*	The dyked water-course near the watery land or marsh	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
LAKENHEATH				
Mersladeweye		*Mersc, merisc; lad; weg*	The way near or leading to or through the dyked water-course near the watery land or marsh	
Middilbusc	Middilbusk	*Middel, busc*	The middle bush or shrub	
Middilheued		*Middel, heafod*	The middle headland	
Midelfeld	Middelfeld	*Middel, feld*	The middle field	An open field
Mikelispot	Michelespot	*Micel, mycel; spot*	The greater small piece of ground	
Millemarch	Melnemarch, Milmarch, Melemarch; Millmarsh (1649), Mill Marsh (1782)	*Milne, mearc*	The boundary near the mill	
Millemarchmor		*Milne, mearc, mor*	The marsh or barren upland near the mill boundary	
Milnecross		*Milne, cros*	The cross near the mill	
Milnehel		*Milne, hyll*	The hill by the mill	
Milnemunt		*Milne, munt*	The mound or hill near the mill, or the mound on which the mill stands	
Mokelingeshol		Uncertain: ?*muk*; with diminutive suffix —*ling; hol*	The hole or hollow of a someone or something associated with dung, muck or dirt	*Hol* can also mean 'the pit of hell' (M.E.D.). The term *mogling*, 'a person with a tail' may be worth considering (M.E.D.)
Morlode		*Mor, lad*	The dyked water-course near, or running through the marsh or barren upland	
Muchwere		*Much, wer*	The large weir, river-dam or fishing-enclosure	
Musepeselane		*Mous-pese, lane*	The lane where mouse-peas grow	*Mous-pese* was the colloquial name for vetch: T. Hunt, *Plant Names of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 1989), p. 193

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
LAKENHEATH				
Mutforde	Mutforth, Mitford, Mundeford, Motteforth, Motford; Mutford Green (1649, 1793)	*Mot, gemot; ford*	An assembly or meering place by the ford	
Newecarreweye		*Niwe, neowe; carre; weg*	The new way or road for carts and wagons	
Newehall		*Niwe, neowe; hall*	The new hall or manor	
Newelode		*Niwe, neowe; lad*	The new dyked water-course	
Nine acres	Neefacres	*Nigon,* Ofr *neuf*; *æcer*	Land measuring nine acres	
Northfeld		*Nord, feld*	The north field	An open field
Northfen	North Fenne (1649)	*Nord, fenn*	The northern fen or marsh	
Oldelode		*Ald, eald; lad*	The old dyked water-course	
Oldelodisende		*Ald, eald; la; ende*	The place at the end of the old dyked water-course	
Ousaut, le		Uncertain: ?*ouse;* ?*sceat, or ?sceot*	? (1) The corner of land or (2) shooting by the river Ouse	See also Leuissote
Oucsschel	Oxhill (1649)	Uncertain: ?*oxa,* ?*scela*	Perhaps hut used for oxen	*Scela* can become ME *shele*, *schel(e), shel*; this seems more likely than *hyll* (M.E.D.)
Overherhowepad		?*Uferra;* ON *haugr;* OE *pæthe*	The path by the higher or upper mound, burial mound or hill; or the higher or upper path near the mound, burial mound or hill	
Paschefordwong	Paycheforthwong; Pashford Furlong (1793)	*Pase, passe, pais; ford; wang*	The piece of meadow or open field near the ford by the road or footpath	
Passhford	Passeford, Paisford, Pashford, Pascheforth; Pashford (1649)	*Pase, passe, pais; ford*	The ford by the road or footpath	
Pertweye, le	Portweye, le; Porters wey (1533)	*Port, weg*	The road or way by the gate	
Pinefoldhel	Pinefoldehel	*Pinfold, hyll*	The hill by or with the pound	
Plantelode	Plantelod, le; Plant Lode (1649)	*Plante, lad*	The dyked water-course near the planted shrubs, herbs or plants	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
LAKENHEATH				
Pynnerslane	Piennerelane	Possible pers. name + *lane*	Lane associated with a person or family called Pinner	Pinner is not a byname recorded in Lakenheath
Rechelode	Reach Lode (1649)	*Rysc, lad*	The dyked water-course by the rushes	In ME, *rysc* becomes *rich*, *retch, reshe* (M.E.D.)
Redebek		*Hreod; bæc, bece*	The low fenland ridge or dry ground, or stream valley where reeds or rushes are found	
Redemere	Redmore (1782)	*Hreod, mere*	Pool where reeds or rushes are found	
Redfen, le	Red Fen (1649), Reed Fen (1782)	*Hreod* or *red; fenn*	The (1) fen or marsh where reeds or rushes are found, or (2) the red-coloured fen	
Rouenee	Rouene, Rothenhee	*Rouen,* ?*hyð* or ?*ea*	The flowing or flooding (1) landing place or (2) river, stream	In ME, *hyð* can become *hithe, hethe, hee* (M.E.D.); but see also H.C. Darby, *The Medieval Fenland* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 97: 'Old Wellenhee, or Wellstream'
Sandmerewong		*Sand, mere, wong*	Piece of meadow or open field by the sandy pool	
Sandpete, le	Sondput, le, Sondpet, le; Sandpit Corner Furlong (1793)	*Sand, pytt*	The sand pit or natural hollow	
Saxwarp		Uncertain: *seax*; ? ON *varp* or OE *wearp*	?A place where a knife or dagger was thrown up	
Schepelode	Shippey Lode (1649)	Either place-name or *scip* + *lad*	(1) The dyked water-course near or leading to Shippea, or (2) the dyked water-course associated with sheep	
Schortfurlong	Shortfurlong (1482)	*Sceort, furlang*	The short furlong	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
LAKENHEATH				
Schotlinglowe	Shotlinglowe, Scothlyngroue; Shoynglowe Furlong (1533), Shettlow Furlong (1649), Chitterlow Furlong (1663), Shittelow Furlong (1793)	*?Shotling; ?hlaw*	?The mound associated with young weaned pigs	Shotling (M.E.D.)
Scorebrynke, le	Scorebanke, le	*Scora, banke*	The bank or ridge by the shore of a sea, lake or riverbank	
Seelode	Selode	*Sæge, lad*	The dyked water-course running by or through the swamp, marsh or lake	
Segfen	Sechfen, le	*Secg, fenn*	The fen where sedge, reeds or rushes are found	
Settecoppe, le		*Sett-copp*	A hill with a fold, or a seat-shaped hill	
Shepewassh		*Scip, wæsse*	The place where the sheep are dipped	
Sidolmsbech		?Pers. name or *sid*; *holm* or *holmr*; *bæc, bece*	(1) The low, dry fenland ridge associated with a place or person called Sidholm; or (2) the low, dry fenland ridge with the wide water-meadows; or (3) the low, dry fenland ridge near the wide island	
Smeyeslond		*Smiððe, lond*	The land associated with the smith, or with a family called Smith	
Smythesheuedlond		*Smiððe, heafod-lond*	The headland associated with the Smith's land, or with the land belonging to Smith	
Southcroftes		*Suð, croft*	The southern croft	
Southfeld	Suthfeld	*Suð, feld*	The southern field	An open field
Southfen	Suthfen	*Suð, fenn*	The southern marsh or fen	
Southgate		*Suð,* ON *gata*	The southern way, road or street	
Southtounesende		*Suð, tun, ende*	Place at the southern end of the vill	
Spot, le		*Spot*	A small piece of ground	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
LAKENHEATH				
Stafholdend		*Stæf; ald, eald; ende*	The place at the old end where staves were made or obtained, or which is marked by a stave	
Stafishithe		*Stæf, hyð*	The landing place associated with staves	
Staflode	Stauelode, Stavelode; Stallode Fen (1782)	*Stæf, lad*	The dyked water-course associated with staves	
Stampes		*Stampe*	A stank, a pool of water	
Stancast		*?Stank, ?æsc*	?The stank by the ash-tree	O.E.B.N. I, p. 486: *stanceacca*, 'stonechat', which may be a possibility
Stanesbeche		*Stan*; *bæc, bece*	The stony low, dry fenland ridge	
Staneshethe	Stamsheth	*Stan, hyð*	The stony landing place	
Stonecruch, le		*Stan, crouche*	The stone cross	
Stonihel		*Stan, hyll*	The stony hill	
Strateshille		*Stræt, hyll*	The hill by the Roman road	
Stubbardesfen	Stoobardesfen	Pers. name + *fenn*	The marsh or fen associated with a person or family called Stubbard	The Stubbard family lived in fourteenth-century Lakenheath
Swalewesbeche	Swallow Bech (1782)	*Swalwe*; *bæc, bece*	(1) Low, dry fenland ridge where swallows are found; or (2) Low, dry fenland ridge near rushing water, or a whirlpool or abyss	See Chapter Four, fn. 339
Swalwerenges	Swalwerendes; Swallowring (1649, 1782)	*Swalwe*, *hring*	Swallow rings: ?whirlpool	
Tholredisende		Pers. name + *ende*	The land on the end associated with a person called ?Tholred	
Thurlake		?*þur, lacu*	?A small stream or watercourse associated with Thor	This is uncertain since it is not in the genitive case

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
LAKENHEATH				
Toftes	Toft, le	*Toft*	Plot of land on which a house stands, the curtilage, messuage	
Toftmedwes		*Toft, med*	The meadows near the toft	
Tungemor	Tongemor	*Tunge, mor*	The marsh or barren upland shaped like a tongue	
Turuemere	Turf Fen	*Turf, mere*	The pool near the turves	
Undeley causeway		Place-name + *causeway*	The causeway across the fen between Lakenheath and Undley	
Undeleyefen		Place-name + *fenn*	The marsh or fen near Undley	
Undeleyeheuedlond		Place-name + *heafod-lond*	The headland near Undley	
Undeleyelode		Place-name + *lad*	The dyked water-course leading to or running near Undley	
Undeleyemere		Place-name + *mere*	The pool near or in Undley	
Wassyngg, le	Walisshinge, le	*Wæsse*	Wet place, swamp or marsh	
Welle		*Wella, welle*	The spring	
Welues		*Wilig*	A place where willows grow	
Westforlong, le		*West, furlang*	The western furlong	
Westleyrmor	Westleuermor, Depwestlemor; Westerland (1782)	*West,* ?ON *leirr, mor*	?The clayey western marsh or barren upland	The alternative spelling suggests Westlivermor
Westmor		*West, mor*	The western marsh or barren upland	
Whitewed		*Hwit, weod*	?A place where white weeds are found	
Wilwlade		*Wilig, lad*	Dyked water-course where willows grow	
Winterlode	Wynterlode	*Winter, lad*	?Dyked water-course used in winter	
Wirk, le		?*Weorc*	?The work, building structure	
Wodefen		*Wudu, fenn*	Fen or marsh near the wood	
Woluarderwelle		Pers. name + *wella, welle*	The spring associated with a person called Wulfheard	
Wong, le		*Wang*	The piece of meadow or open field	

Name	Variant Spellings	Place-Name Elements	Definition	Notes
LAKENHEATH				
Wrongwong, le		*Wrang, wang*	The crooked or twisted piece of meadow or open field	
Wydhopen, le		*Wid, ?hop*	The wide plots of enclosed marshland	*E.P.N.E. I*, pp. 259-60 shows *hopen* as dative plural
Wyndmelneweye		*Winde-milne, weg*	The road or way by the windmill	
Wyndelsee	Wyndilse, Wendelse	*Windels,* or *windel; sæge*	(1) The swamp, marsh or lake with winding-gear or (2) the swamp, marsh or lake where long withered grass is found	
Wyteberwe	Quiteberwe, Qwytebergh, Whiteberwe, Witebarwe	*Hwit, beorg*	The white barrow	
Wyttisthornshote	Whittisthornshote	*?wita; þorn; ?sceat, or ?sceot*	Uncertain: the (1) corner of land or (2) shooting by the ?councillors' thorn-tree	*E.P.N.E. II*, p. 270 notes the possible genitive plural in Whitstable (Knt) and associates this with *wita;* see also Leuissote above

Post-medieval sources: B.R.O. HD/1720/1; B.R.O. HD 1720/3; J.T. Munday, *Man's Manor* (Lakenheath, 1970); J.T. Munday, *Thirty Testaments* (Lakenheath, 1969)

Notes: All place-name elements are in Old English, unless prefixed ON; ? denotes an uncertain term or definition; the dates of all post-1348 names are parenthesized.

Appendix Five

Minor name elements

GENERIC ELEMENTS									
OE Element	**Modern Definition**	**Elton**	**Castor**	**Lakenheath**	**OE Element**	**Modern Definition**	**Elton**	**Castor**	**Lakenheath**
Æcer	Acre	6	6	6	Clud	Rock	0	0	1
Æsc	Ash-tree	0	0	1	Coninger	Rabbit-warren	0	0	1
Allota	Poss pers. name	1	0	0	Cote	Cottage, hut	0	0	1
Bæc, bece	Low fenland ridge	0	0	5	Creste	Ridge of balk	0	0	1
Balca	Balk	0	2	0	Croft	Croft	4	8	4
Banke	Bank	0	0	2	Crouche	Cross	0	1	5
Beorg	Barrow	0	2	1	Dæl	Pit, hollow, valley	1	0	2
Birce	Birch	0	1	0	Dammr[†]	Dam	2	0	1
Bolewer	Pers. name	0	0	1	Dic	Dyke/ditch	3	5	6
Brædu	A measure	1	0	0	Dole	Dole	1	4	0
Brec, breche	Broken land	1	0	1	Douue	Pers name	0	0	1
Broc	Brook	3	4	1	Druning	Uncertain	0	0	1
Brode	Broad strip	1	0	0	Dun, Dune	Hill, or 'down, below'	0	0	1
Brycg	Bridge	2	1	1	Ea	River, stream	0	1	?1
Burna	Spring, stream	0	0	1	Edisc	Enclosure, park	0	0	1
Busc	Bush	0	0	2	Eg	Island	0	1	1
Butt	Butt	0	1	0	Einig	Uncertain	0	1	0
Ceorl	Churl	0	0	1	El	Small island	0	0	1
Chalenge[≠]	Challenge	0	0	1	Ende	End	6	2	6
Champart	The lord's share	0	0	1	Fecche[‡]	Vetches	0	0	1
Clæcc	Hill-top, hillock	1	0	0	Feld	Field	1	2	0
Clæg	Clay	0	1	0	Fenn	Fen	0	0	10
Clint, klint	Steep bank	0	1	0	Ferja	Ferry	0	2	0

GENERIC ELEMENTS									
OE Element	**Modern Definition**	**Elton**	**Castor**	**Lakenheath**	**OE Element**	**Modern Definition**	**Elton**	**Castor**	**Lakenheath**
Flawners	Pers name	0	0	1	Hlinc	Lynch	0	1	0
Flegge	Iris	0	1	0	Hol	Hole, hollow	1	0	1
Ford	Ford	2	2	3	Holm	Meadow	7	6	1
Furlang	Furlong	13	29	3	Hord	Treasure hoard	0	0	1
Freten	Chewed	1	0	0	Hopen	Plots of enclosed marshland	0	0	1
Fyrhð or frið	Refuge or woodland	0	1	1	Hring	Ring	0	0	1
Galwe	Gallows	0	1	0	Hyll	Hill	9	14	6
Gara	Triangular-shaped land	3	0	0	Hyrne	Hirne	0	1	0
Gata†	Road	0	16	2	Hyrst	Wooded hill	2	0	0
Geard	Yard, enclosure	2	0	0	Hyð	Landing place	0	0	8
Græf	Grave or grove	1	1	0	Illing	Pers. name	0	1	0
Grene	Green	2	2	0	Lacu	Stream	1	1	1
Grynde	Abyss, foundation	0	0	1	Leah	Woodland clearing	0	1	0
Hæge	Fence, enclosure	0	5	0	Lede	Meadow	0	1	0
Haga	Hedge, enclosure	0	5	1	Lane	Lane	0	0	7
Hall	Hall	0	0	4	Lad	Dyked water-course	0	0	17
Hamm	Meadow, land hemmed in by water	1	1	0	Lond	Land	10	6	4
Hammar†	Rock, cliff	1	0	0	Lyng	Heather	0	1	0
Hangende	Sloping place	0	1	0	Mawe	Meadow	0	2	0
Haugr†	Barrow	1	8	1	Mæd, med	Meadow	2	3	1
Heafod	Head	0	1	2	Milne	Mill	0	0	1
Heafodland	Headland	6	1	4	Mere, mære	Pool or border	2	2	11
Hege	Hedge, fence	0	2	0	Mersc, merisc	Marsh	2	0	2
Heord	Herd	1	0	0	Munt	Mount, hill	0	0	1
Hert	?Stag	0	1	0	Mylde	Soil, earth	0	1	0
Mor	Moor, fen	7	8	7	Stampe	Stank, pool	1	0	1

GENERIC ELEMENTS									
OE Element	**Modern Definition**	**Elton**	**Castor**	**Lakenheath**	**OE Element**	**Modern Definition**	**Elton**	**Castor**	**Lakenheath**
Nabbi, nabbr[†]	Peak, hill	0	2	0	Spot	Small piece of ground	0	0	3
Pæth	Path	0	0	2	Stan	Stone	1	3	0
Paris	Pers. name	0	1	0	Stig	Path	0	2	0
Plot	Small area of ground	2	0	0	Stigel	Stile	0	1	0
Pol	Pool, pond	0	0	1	Stob, stubb	Tree stump	0	0	1
Post	Post	0	1	0	Stoc, stocc	Religious place/or tree-trunk	1	0	0
Pytt	Pit	1	2	2	Stræt	Street, Roman Road	1		
Pyttel	Buzzard, or pers. name	1	0	0	Stubbing	Stibbing	0	3	0
Revel[≠]	Stream	0	2	0	porn	Thorn-tree, hawthorn	1	1	0
Ric	Narrow strip	0	1	0	Toft	Toft	0	0	1
Rod	Rod	0	1	0	Ton	Town	0	0	1
Rode	Clearing	3	0	1	Treow	Tree	0	2	0
Sæge	Swamp, marsh, lake	0	0	2	Tunge	Tongue of land	1	0	0
Sand	Sand	1	0	1	Vra[†]	Nook, corner	0	1	0
?Scela	Hut, shelter	0	0	1	Wæd	Ford	0	1	0
Scelf	Shelf	0	1	0	Wæsse	Wet place	1	1	2
Sceort	Short	0	1	0	Wang	Meadow/field, open ground	6	11	10
Shakke[‡]	Grazing	0	0	1	Wæter-gefall	Waterfall, place where stream disappears	1	0	0
Sic, sik	Syke	1	2	0	Wearp, varp[†]	?Thrown up	0	0	1
Side	Side	0	2	0	Weg	Way	4	3	12
Slæd	Slade, valley	4	2	1	Wella, welle	Spring	5	9	4
Slai		0	0	1	Weod	Weed, herb	0	0	1
?Sceat; ?sceot	Corner of land, 'a shooting'	0	0	3	Wer	Weir	0	0	6

GENERIC ELEMENTS									
OE Element	**Modern Definition**	**Elton**	**Castor**	**Lakenheath**	**OE Element**	**Modern Definition**	**Elton**	**Castor**	**Lakenheath**
Werk[‡]	Work	0	0	1	Wrang	Twisted	0	1	0
Wet	Wet	0	1	0	Wudu	Wood	0	5	0
Wic	Wick	0	2	0	Yunger	?Younger	0	0	1
Wilig	Willow	0	1	1					

QUALIFYING ELEMENTS									
OE Element	**Modern Definition**	**Elton**	**Castor**	**Lakenheath**	**OE Element**	**Modern Definition**	**Elton**	**Castor**	**Lakenheath**
Abbat	Abbot	1	0	0	Bos	Cowstall	1	1	0
Ac	Oak	1	0	0	Boterflye[≠]	Butterfly	1	0	0
Æcer	Acre	0	1	1	Boue[≠]	Above	0	1	1
Æcer-mann	Acre-man	1	0	0	Bought	?bend ?sheep/cattle pen	1	0	0
Æsc	Ash-tree	0	3	0	Brad, bræd	Broad	1	0	5
Æspe	Aspen, white poplar	0	0	1	Breg	Brow of a hill	0	0	1
Ailsworth	Local place-name	0	4	0	Brende	Burned	0	1	1
Ald, eald	Old	3	4	2	Brimbel	Bramble, blackberry	0	1	0
Alwalton	Local place-name	0	2	0	Broc	Brook	1	0	0
Andlang	Along the length of	1	0	0	Brode	Broad strip	0	0	1
Arne	Pers. name	2	0	0	Brom	Broom, thorny bush	0	0	2
Achard	Pers. name	2	0	0	Byrig	Manor	2	2	1
Bæc, bece	Low fenland ridge	0	0	1	Cal	Cabbage	1	0	0
Baillie[≠]	Bailiff	0	1	0	Calc	Chalk	1	0	1
Bakke[‡]	Back	0	0	1	Carre[‡]	Cart, wagon	0	0	1
Bare-shank	Poor soil quality	0	1	0	Carton, cartun	? local place-name	0	2	0
Baskets[≠]	Containers	0	1	0	Carvi[≠]	Caraway	0	0	1
Bean	Bean	6	1	0	Castor	Local place-name	0	2	0
Bel	Encl. where dead cremated	0	0	1	Cat	Cat	1	0	0
Belasis	Beautiful seat	0	1	0	Cealf	Calf	0	1	0
Beorg	Barrow	0	0	1	Ceorl	Churl	1	0	0
Beos	Bent or rough grass	0	0	1	Cheri	Cherry-tree	0	0	1
Ber	Barley	0	0	2	Chirche	Church	1	0	2
Billingbrook	Local topography	1	0	0	Cisel, ceosol	Gravel	1	0	0
Bilmans	?Mower's	0	1	0	Clæcc	Hill-top, hillock	2	0	0
Blæc	Black	0	2	2	Clæg	Clay	1	0	0
Bolemans	Pers. name	0	0	1	Cniht	Knight	0	0	1

QUALIFYING ELEMENTS									
OE Element	**Modern Definition**	**Elton**	**Castor**	**Lakenheath**	**OE Element**	**Modern Definition**	**Elton**	**Castor**	**Lakenheath**
Cnoll	Hill-top, knoll, hillock	1	0	0	Dodda	Pers name	0	1	0
Cocc	A heap, a hillock	1	0	1	Dove, douue	?Pers nam	0	0	1
Cold	Cold	1	1	2	Dum, dume	?Silent	0	0	1
Colt	Colt	0	1	0	Dykmannes	Pers name	0	0	1
Copped	Peak with no top	0	0	1	Eaglethorpe	Local place-name	1	0	0
Corn	Poss. 'grain', but prob. 'crane'	0	1	0	Edmund, St	Bury St Edmunds Abbey	0	3	0
Coupe	Basket, coop or tub	0	1	0	Eg-land	Island	0	0	1
Craca	Crow, raven	0	1	0	Ellern	Elder tree	0	0	1
Cran	Crane	0	1	2	Eofor	Boar	1	0	0
Croft	Croft	1	5	0	Eorðe	Earth, soil, ground; or potter's clay	0	1	0
Cros, crouche	Cross	2	0	1	Erber, herber	From Eorðe-burh 'earth fort'	0	2	0
Croue, craw	Crow	0	1	1	Ereswell	Local place-name	0	0	5
Cyf	?Vessel, tub	0	3	0	Erles	Earl's	0	0	1
Cyln	Kiln	1	2	0	Ernes		0	0	1
Cyning	King	0	0	1	Est	East	0	2	1
Dæl	Pit, hollow, valley	0	0	1	Feld	Field	0	2	0
Dammr	Dam	1	0	0	Feordung, feording	Fourth-part, quarter	0	1	0
Denisc	Danish	0	1	0	Feower-weg	Cross-roads	1	0	0
Dead	Dead	1	1	1	Fif	Five	1	0	0
Delm, delme		0	0	1	Fletan, flit	Flowing; disputed	0	0	2
Deop	Deep	0	0	3	Flitting	'Dispute' or 'changing'	1	0	0
Derne	Hidden, secret, obscure	1	0	0	Fodr	Fodder	0	0	1
Deul		0	0	1	Folle‡	Full	1	0	0
Dic	Ditch, dyke	0	3	1	Folwynde	?Very windy	0	0	1

QUALIFYING ELEMENTS									
OE Element	**Modern Definition**	**Elton**	**Castor**	**Lakenheath**	**OE Element**	**Modern Definition**	**Elton**	**Castor**	**Lakenheath**
Ford	Ford	1	3	1	Hall	Hall, large residence, manor	0	0	2
Forð	Prominent, before	0	1	0	Hara, har	Hare or lichen	0	1	0
Fore	In front of	1	0	0	Hæg	Enclosure	0	1	0
Fox	Fox	1	1	0	Heg, hege	Hay or hedge, fence	1	1	0
Freo-mann	Free man	0	1	0	Heope	Wild rose-hip	1	0	0
?Fucus	Red lichen	0	0	1	Heorde	Herd	0	0	2
Ful	Foul, dirty	1	1	0	Heorde-wic	Herd-farm	1	0	0
Gara	Gore, triangular plot of ground	3	1	0	Herse	Hill-top	0	0	1
Gat	Goat	0	1	0	Hlæfdige	Lady	0	0	1
Gata	Way, path, road, street	0	2	0	Hlaford	Lord	0	3	0
Gladman	Pers. name	0	1	0	?Hlaw	Mound, hill	0	0	1
Goodrich	Pers. name	1	0	0	Hlinc	Ridge, bank	0	3	0
Gos	Goose	1	4	0	Hnol	Top of head, or ME celestial north pole	1	0	0
Grene	Grassy spot, village green	2	1	1	Hoh, haugr	Low projecting piece of land; slight or steep ridge heel, spur of land; end of ridge where ground falls steeply; mound, burial mound, barrow	0	2	2
Gres	Grass	0	0	1	Holm	Water-meadow; higher ground amidst the marshes	2	1	2
Gunna, Gunni	Pers. Name	0	1	0	Hreod	Reed, rush or reed-bed	0	0	4
Gylden	Golden	1	0	0	Hulc, huluc	Shed, hut	1	0	0
Hæden	Poss. Pers. name	0	1	0	Hwit	White	0	0	3
Haga	Hedge, enclosure	1	3	0	Hyll	Hill	1	0	4
Half	Half	1	0	1	In	Inner	1	0	0
Halig	Holy, sacred	2	0	0					

QUALIFYING ELEMENTS									
OE Element	**Modern Definition**	**Elton**	**Castor**	**Lakenheath**	**OE Element**	**Modern Definition**	**Elton**	**Castor**	**Lakenheath**
Ig	Island, water-meadow	0	1	0	Maudelaine	Mary Magdalene	0	0	1
Iren	Iron	0	2	0	Mayhew	Pers. name	0	0	1
Kide	Young goat	0	1	0	Med	Meadow	2	4	0
Kirkja†	Church	0	2	0	Melde	Plant 'orach'	0	0	1
Lad	Dyked water-course	1?	0	2	Mere, mære	Pool or boundary	1	3	8
Lede	Meadow	0	1	0	Mersc, merisc	Watery land, marsh	1	0	3
Leirr†	Clayey soil	0	0	1	Micel, mycel	Big, great	2	7	1
?Lenish	Thin soil	0	0	1	Middel	Middle	1	2	3
Ley or læge	Pool or fallow, unploughed field	0	1	0	Milne	Mill	1	5	8
Lid-gate	Swing gate for cattle	0	1	0	Milton	Local place-name	0	1	0
Lifer	Liver (i.e. thick, clotted)	0	0	1	Mokeling	?Something or someone associated with dung, dirt or filth	0	0	1
Lilford	Pers. name	0	1	0	Mol	Gravel, gravelly soil	1	0	0
Lim	Lime	1	2	0	Mona	Moon	1	0	0
Lin	Flax	0	0	1	Mor	Marsh, barren upland	2	4	1
Litel	Little	6	5	1	Morburn	Local place-name	1	0	0
Loche or lothe	Loach, or hateful	0	0	2	Mot, gemot	Meeting	0	1	1
Lond	Land	1	1	0	Mous-pese	Colloquial name for vetches	0	0	1
Lone	Lane	0	0	1	Much	Large	0	0	1
Long	Long	10	14	1	Mus	Mouse, or pers. name Musa	0	1	0
Mæne	Common, land or property owned or held communally	0	1	0	Mylde	Soil, earth	0	1	0
Mai-busc	May-bush (hawthorn)	0	1	0	Neoðera	Nether, lower	1	4	0
Marholm	Local place-name	0	1	0	Newton	Local place-name	3	2	0

QUALIFYING ELEMENTS									
OE Element	**Modern Definition**	**Elton**	**Castor**	**Lakenheath**	**OE Element**	**Modern Definition**	**Elton**	**Castor**	**Lakenheath**
Nine	Nine	0	0	1	Rouse≠	Red?	1	0	0
Niwe, neowe	New	0	0	5	Rouen≠	To flow, flood	0	0	1
Norð	North, northern	0	2	2	Ruh	Rough	1	1	0
Ofer	Bank, river-bank; edge of hill; over, above, across	4	6	1	Ryge	Rye	1	0	0
Ogerston	Local place-name	1	0	0	Sæge	Swamp, marsh, lake	0	0	1
Osborn	Pers. name	3	0	0	Saldine	Pers. name	1	0	0
Ouse	River name	0	0	1	Saltere	Salter	0	1	0
Oxa	Ox	0	0	1	Sand	Sand	0	0	2
Pase, passe, pais	Road, footpath	0	0	2	Sart≠	Cleared land	0	1	0
Pease	Peas	1	2	1	Sceort	Short	2	3	1
Pichtel	Small enclosure	1	0	0	Scip	Sheep	0	1	2
Pie	Insect or magpie	0	0	1	Scir-gerefa	Shire-reeve	0	1	0
Pinfold	Pound	0	0	1	Scora	The shore a lake; a river-bank; a precipitous slope	0	0	1
Plante	Something planted, shrub, herb, plant	0	0	1	Seax	The Saxons, or stone, rock	0	0	1
Plum	Plum	0	1	0	Secg	Sedge, reed, rush	0	0	1
Port	Gate, entrance to walled town	0	1	1	Seofon	Seven	1	1	0
Preost	Priest	0	4	0	Set-copp	Hill with a fold, or possibly a seat-shaped hill	0	1	1
Pytt	Pit	2	0	1	Setten	Sitting, or planting	0	1	0
Ra	Roe-deer	0	1	0	Shotling	Young weaned pig	0	0	1
Ramm	Ram	1	0	0	Sibson	Local place-name	1	0	0
Rawlot	Pers name?	1	0	0					
Rede	Reed-stalk? Red?	0	2						
Rice	Rich	0	0	1					
Rode	Clearing	0	1	0					

QUALIFYING ELEMENTS									
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Sic, sik	OE 'small stream, esp one in flat marshland' Sik: ON 'ditch, trench'; in p-n often stream forming boundary	0	1	0	Thwert‡	Cross-wise	1	0	0
Slæd	Valley	4	0	0	Toft				
Smæl	Narrow, thin	2	2	0	Ton	Vill	1	0	1
Snaw	Snow? Pers name?	1	0	0	Treow	Tree	0	1	0
Sorn‡	Grief, sorrow, distress, trouble, harm?	0	1	0	Tunge	Tongue of land	0	0	1
Spor, spora	Track; spur of land	1	0	0	Turf	Turf	0	0	1
St Mary	Saint	1	1	0	Twelf	Twelve	1	0	0
Stæf	Staff, stave or rod', ususally assoc with places where staves were obtained	0	0	3	Þæc	Thatch	1	0	0
Stan	Stone, rock	3	6	4	Þicce	Thicket; thick, dense	0	1	0
Stank	Stank, pool	0	0	1	Þorn	Thorn-tree, hawthorn	1	0	1
Stræt	Roman road, paved road, street	1	0	1	Þreo	Three	0	1	0
Sud	South, southern	0	0	5	Þurs, pyrs	Giant, demon	0	1	0
Sutton	Local place-nam	0	1	0	Þurward	Anglo-Scandinavian name	0	1	0
Swalwe	A swallow; a whirlpool, rushing water; abyss	0	0	2	Þveit†	Clearing	0	1	0
Sweoster	Sister	0	1	0	Uferra	Higher, upper	0	0	1
Tæsel	Teasel	0	1	0	Undeley	Local place-name	0	0	5
Ten	Ten	0	1	0	Wæsse	Wet place, swamp, marsh	1	0	0
Thoke‡	Lacking firmness, flabby	0	1	0	Walcere	Cloth-dresser, fuller	0	1	0

QUALIFYING ELEMENTS									
OE Element	**Modern Definition**	**Elton**	**Castor**	**Lakenheath**	**OE Element**	**Modern Definition**	**Elton**	**Castor**	**Lakenheath**
Walcot	Local place-name	0	2	0	Windel	Long withered grass; willow; winding gear	0	0	1
Wealh-wyrt	Plant: Danewort, Dwarf Elder	0	1	0	Wind-milne	Windmill	0	0	2
Weg	Way	2	0	2	Winter	Winter (streams that run or places used in winter)	0	0	1
Wella, welle	Well, spring, stream	6	5	1	Winwick	Local place-name or pers. name	1	0	0
Wer	Weir, river-dam, fishing-enclosure in a river	0	0	3	Wrang	Crooked or twisted	1	2	1
Wearg	Felon, gallows	0	1	0	Wride, wride	Shoot, bush; winding, twist, bend	0	2	0
?Werig	Weary	1	0	0	Wudu	Wood	0	9	1
West	West, western; or waste-land	0	2	3	Wulf	Wolf, or pers. name	1	1	0
Wic	Dwelling, building, collection of buildings	2	0	0	Wulfstan	Pers. name	1	1	0
Wid	Wide, spacious	0	1	1	Wymund	Pers. name	1	0	0
Wilig	Willow	1	0	1	Yarwell	Local place-name	1	0	0
Wind	Something winding, path, ascent	0	1	1	Yunger	?Younger	0	1	0

Notes: †Old Norse; ≠Old French; ‡Middle English; ? Uncertain definition

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