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(incorporating the Cambs and Hunts Archaeological Society)

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**Proceedings of the
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**This volume is dedicated to Susan Oosthuizen,
Secretary of Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1996–2000**

Editorial

After publication this Spring of the long-awaited report on the excavations of Roman Cambridge the Society is now able to issue its Proceedings within the correct calendar year, and as some celebration of this (and to have some respite from the Romans) we are pleased to have a themed volume, this time on the sort of landscape studies for which Cambridgeshire has become well known. In light of this subject and the contribution she herself has made to it (including co-authorship of one article printed here), this volume is dedicated to Sue Oosthuizen, who has just retired as our very hard-working Secretary after four quite difficult years.

As usual, this year saw a full programme of lectures and outings, and we also enjoyed the launch of Roman Cambridge and an exhibition by the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology on the same theme. As has also become customary, we organised two very different conferences. In November, the Fulbourn Conference, hosted by the County Council's Archaeological Field Unit, was a round-up of excavations that had taken place in the previous year, though the scale of work is now so great this now has to be quite selective (which is all the more reason why the Field Work section in this Proceedings is such an important contribution : it is the only source for those needing to know what is happening each year). As customary, most of the talks were given by those who had excavated the sites, a daunting task for many giving their first public lecture but enabling a lively appraisal of evidence that was still almost literally spattered with mud. The Spring conference is usually more traditional and this year followed our landscape theme. Entitled 'Two thousand years of Fen and Upland' and organised by Sue Oosthuizen it included a keynote speech from Harold Fox and talks by Oliver Rackham and David Hall on ancient woodland, fens and fields, topics which they have made so very much their own.

President's Address

A new millennium brings home the fact that CAS is overdue for some changes and new initiatives. In Spring 1997 Sue Oosthuizen wrote a letter to all members entitled "A Call to Arms". This action was in response to a decline in the level of heritage services from local authorities to which CAS and the general public had become accustomed. A very supportive response was given by members, which has succeeded in helping reverse this trend. Further issues have developed since then, however, in provision of expertise and facilities within both local authorities and the University, such as a reduction in research space at the Cambridgeshire Collection and a threatened closure of the Committee for Aerial Photography, to which CAS strongly objected. At present we are concerned about the way in which public consultation has been eroded and how interested parties such as CAS can become involved in ensuring, for example, that a proper record of archaeology is made prior to its destruction by development, and that such work is undertaken to the highest possible quality within an intellectual process which helps answer research questions. To tackle emerging areas of alarm CAS approved a Heritage Policy in 1998, and a strategy to deliver that policy has been adopted.

Membership is another area which we are concerned about. All societies need to attract new and younger members and so a number of initiatives are under way. A web page will be produced to publicize the society, and to keep people up to date with events and information. We hope to run workshops on specific topics so that areas of current research can be discussed in detail, and to have some meetings in other towns to provide better opportunities for those members who live outside Cambridge and cannot easily come to the evening lecture programme. I would also like to encourage active fieldwork so that some investigation is pursued that is not tied to the needs of development. Opportunities for amateur involvement in archaeology have become all too rare over the past decade and a lead from CAS in this area might help to encourage fresh membership, as well as giving a chance for many current members to get more involved. There are many ways in which we can give CAS added dimensions and with those I have suggested here I hope that we will see the Society continuing to flourish in the years to come.

Tim Malim

Rediscovery of a vanished garden in Bassingbourn, Cambridgeshire, and the impact of the Lynne family on the medieval landscape

S M Oosthuizen and C C Taylor

This paper is an attempt to draw together three strands of historical research: the results of a limited archaeological excavation, the documented history of a minor county family, and the analysis of a small area of a village landscape. The use of these different approaches has led to the identification of a type of garden, probably of early 16th century date, hitherto not recognised by garden historians. It has also shed light on the rise and fall of the Lynne family of Bassingbourn. Perhaps its greatest importance, however, is to make a contribution to the current debate on the value of PPG 16 for archaeological work.

Background

As is the case with most places in south Cambridgeshire, the village of Bassingbourn has grown considerably over the last forty years. Its population of just under 1000 in 1951 rose to over 3000 in the year 2000. Most of the new arrivals have been housed in planned estates around the village. One of the largest of these occupies the area to the east of Church Street and North End, north and east of the church (TL 332442). Until the 1980s, when housing development began in this area, the only buildings here were the church itself, Manor Farm to its south, Rectory Farm to its north and Park House, a former farm, and a group of cottages, Park Terrace, further north again. Between and to the east of these buildings the land was divided into a series of rectangular paddocks and orchards. Some of these paddocks had once been bounded by broad ditches. These, together with equally broad ditches around all three farmsteads, led to their identification as part of a medieval moated site (Cambs SMR 01238).

Within the largest of the paddocks were remains of an icehouse, probably of late 18th century date, set within a mound and bounded on three sides by a wide water-filled ditch and known as the Old Mount. There was also a small moated island in its north-eastern corner. To the north of this paddock was a long narrow close, ditched on its south side, and to its south two other long narrow closes, also ditched, with curiously stepped boundaries. To the west of the central paddock both Rectory Farm and Park House were bounded by wide ditches. Apart from the Old Mount and the moated island, none of these features were depicted on Ordnance Survey plans (Fig. 1; OS 1885–1954).

However all of them are shown in some detail on the Enclosure Map of Bassingbourn of 1806 (Fig. 2; CRO 1806). No more recent record of these ditches exists but those at Rectory Farm are said to have been about 5m wide and at least 1m deep in the 1950s (inf P Sell).

The recent history of this area, known as The Park, is well documented (VCH 1982, 5, 18). It formed a small landscaped background to an 18th century gentleman's residence which stood on the site of the present Rectory Farm. This farm was originally the medieval rectory, but in the 1740s the house was rebuilt by Granado Pigott (d 1768), a member of the family which had held the adjacent Abington Pigotts since the early 15th century and who leased the rectory from 1684 until 1775. The house was partly destroyed by fire in 1773 and most of it demolished. What remained became Rectory Farmhouse and the associated parkland was used for agricultural purposes until modern housing development began.

The history of this land as an 18th-century park however does not explain the pattern of ditches which must relate to an earlier phase. Yet the likelihood of this ever being revealed was, seemingly, diminished when both the northern and eastern parts, including the moated island, as well as a small area north of the church, were built over without investigation between 1972 and the early 1990s.

The 1997 Excavations

In 1993 a small excavation on the last surviving section of the moat immediately east of Rectory Farm was carried out by Cambridgeshire Archaeology (Bray 1993). A machine-cut trench was cut across the line of the moat but only what were interpreted as undated basal ditch silts were found. In 1995 further development on the two remaining paddocks was proposed. One of these paddocks contained part of the alleged moats or ditches although by then no trace remained on the ground surface. In accordance with the Government's Planning Policy Guidance Note 16 (PPG 16) an archaeological evaluation was carried out there in 1997 by Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit in advance of the housing development (Roberts 1997).

This evaluation comprised a geophysical survey and seven machine-cut trenches positioned to coincide

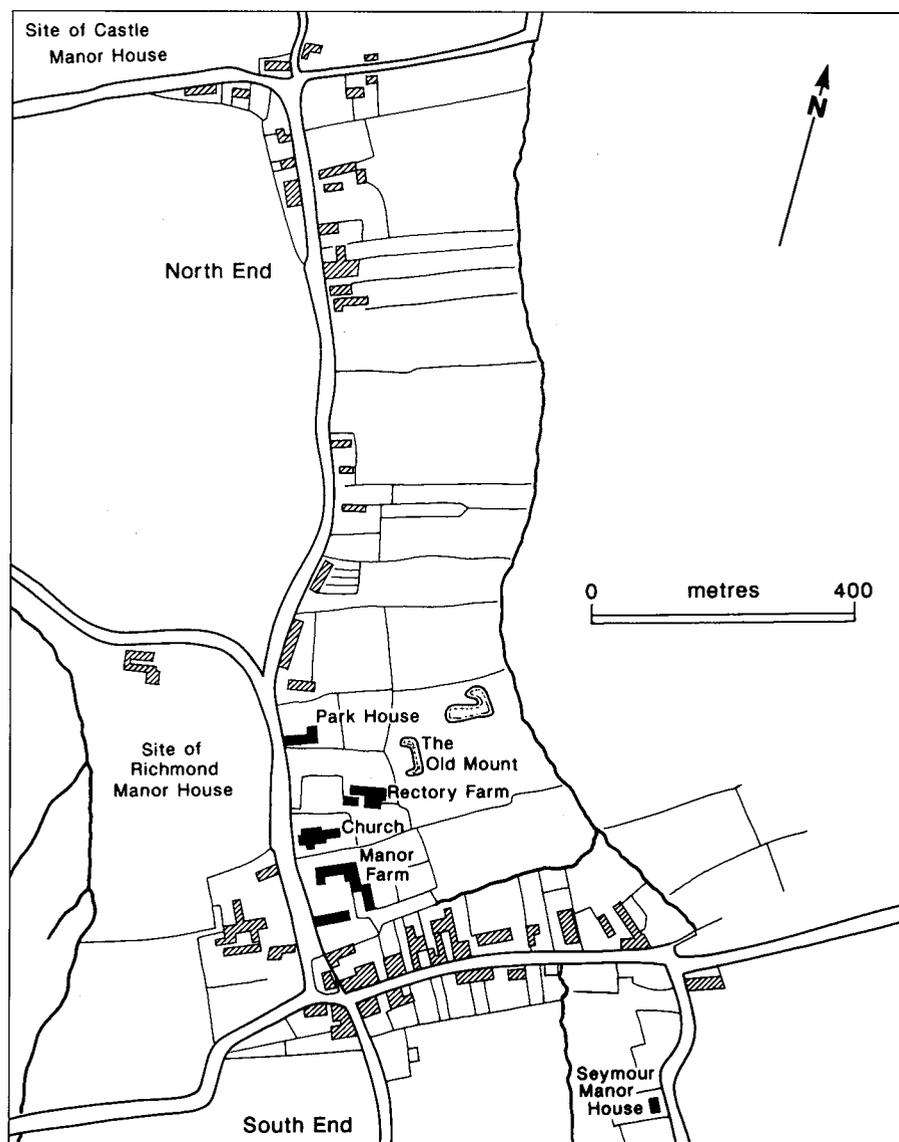


Figure 1. The northern part of Bassingbourn village, based on the Ordnance Survey 1st edition 25 inch plan, 1885.

with proposed house foundations and roads. No anomalies of archaeological interest were detected by the geophysical survey and the trenches exposed only various shallow ditches and gullies, a possible palisade trench, two or three pits and a single posthole. None of the moated ditches were found although only one of the trenches lay anywhere near their assumed position. Sherds of 12th to 14th-century date were found in one of the pits, another pit produced 13th and 14th-century pottery and a further pit, one of the ditches and a shallow depression had 14th to 15th-century pottery in them. In overall terms there was nothing dateable to much before 1200 or after 1500. Plant remains included cereals, legumes, grass, elder and weeds of cultivation. The excavators considered that the ditches did not represent field boundaries, although some may have been cut for drainage. A ditch with a stepped profile and the possible palisade trench were regarded as perhaps having been associated with human occupation or as having formed part

of a system of animal pens. The plant remains were interpreted as rubbish, perhaps from adjacent settlement. All this appeared to indicate domestic and agricultural activity on the site between 1200 and 1500, perhaps related to more intensive occupation nearby.

The most notable feature of the excavation, at least from the point of view of this paper, is mentioned only in passing in the evaluation report. This is the fact that the various medieval remains were relatively well preserved because they had been protected by a layer of topsoil at least 0.5m deep. The significance of this will become clear later after the site has been examined in a much wider context. For by this wider examination the perception of a seemingly unsatisfactory archaeological excavation of a site of apparently limited value will be radically changed.

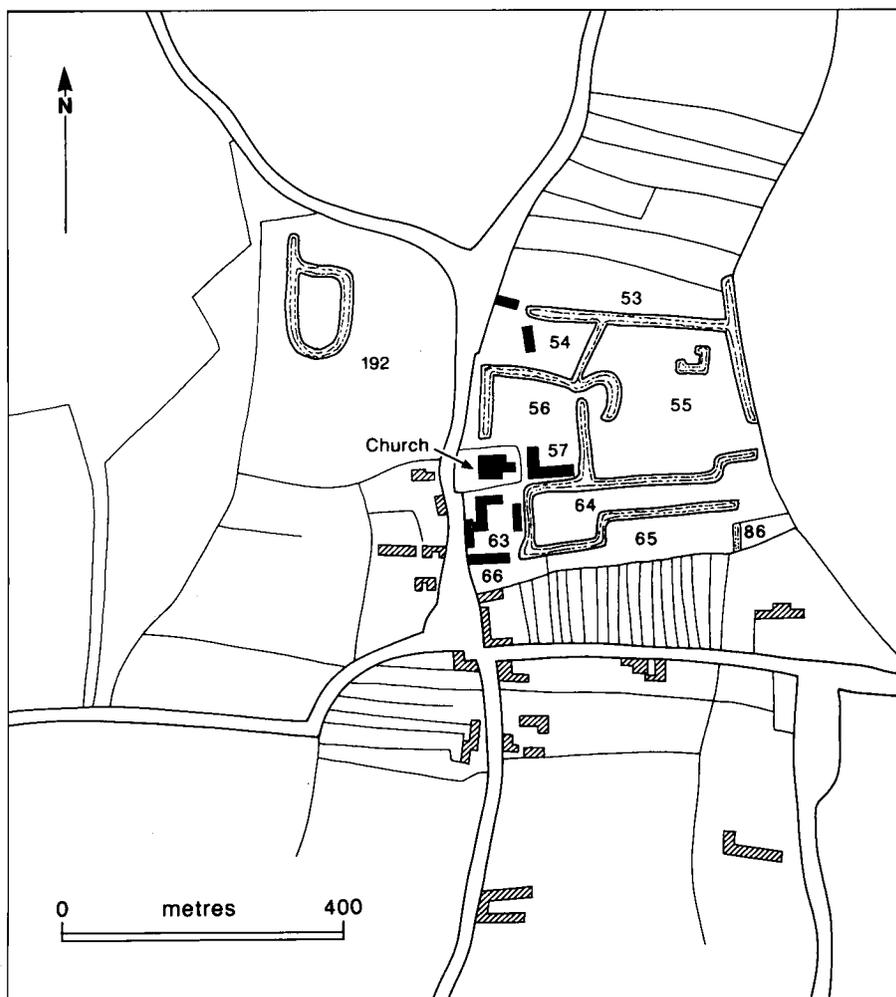


Figure 2. The northern part of Bassingbourn village, based on the Enclosure Map of 1806.

The Lynne Family

Little has been written on the Lynne family of Bassingbourn, yet in the 16th century it was equal to and mixed with other better known Cambridgeshire families such as the Mallorys of Papworth St Agnes, the Paryses of Linton and the Cottons of Landwade. Although at least three family trees of the Lynnes have been published and are of considerable value, they are all vague about the origins of the family and lack the birth dates of most of its members (Bridges 1791, 470; Green 1877; Clay 1897, 102).

The Lynnes are first identifiable in the mid 14th century as London merchants, although the numerous other City families with the same name at that time makes it impossible to establish firm links or to trace earlier beginnings (eg Sharpe 1904, 60; 1905, 10; 1907, 257–9; Thomas 1929, 7, 21, 182, 254; Jones 1954, 39, 40; 1961, 66, 154). It has not been possible to verify the suggestion that they originated in Bedford (Green 1887). However the Lynnes are a good example of a family which in late medieval times rose through trade and land purchase to a position of local eminence.

The earliest identifiable member of the family is a William Lynne, described as a London 'stokefishmonger' who died just before 1380. He had at least one son, another William (1370–1421), who married Alice Stoke of Kent (Sharpe 1890, 433; 1907, 161; 1909, 268–9; 1911, 25–6). The second William Lynne became a wealthy wool merchant with extensive properties in the City of London. On his death he left a house, lands, tenements and a wharf called 'Wollewharfe' or the 'New Woll Wharf' (Sharpe 1890, 433). 'Le Weyinghous' on the wharf was specifically left by Lynne to his wife who between 1433 and 1438 was granted and re-granted the *tonnage*, or charge on wool weighed there, as well as £4 yearly from the custom of wool, hides and wool-fells in the Port of London (*Cal Pat Rolls* 1887, 92; 1907, 142, 225). In 1436 she paid the not inconsiderable sum of £43 in tax on properties in London left to her by her husband (Thrupp 1948, 382).

William Lynne's surviving children, John (d 1486) and Alice, began the rise into the landed classes. Alice married John Knyvet, son of Sir John Knyvet of Southwick, Northamptonshire, while John Lynne married Joan, Sir John's daughter. The Knyvets, themselves originally sheep farmers, had acquired the manor of Southwick in the 13th century. Richard

Knyvet (d 1352) rebuilt the house there in 1324, probably with the money resulting from a judicious marriage. His son, Sir John Knyvet (d 1381), was an able lawyer who also married an heiress. He became Chief Justice in 1365 and Lord Chancellor in 1377. He further enlarged Southwick Hall to reflect his rank, although the family never again achieved such distinction. Sir John's grandson, another John Knyvet (d 1445), was taken prisoner in France in 1438 and a ransom of £1000 was demanded for his release. Perhaps to pay this his son, yet another Sir John, sold Southwick to his wealthy son-in-law John Lynne in 1442 (VCH 1906, 591–2; Bridges 1791, 469–77; RCHME 1984, 137–43; Heward & Taylor 1996, 306–9).

Despite this purchase of a country house and estate, John Lynne retained his mercantile connections and his father's business. In 1464 he was still described as a 'Wolman' and on his death was said to be of Southwick and of St Dunstons in the West. He was also buried in London (Green 1887; Sharpe 1912, 58). Curiously perhaps, John began also to acquire land and probably a house at Bassingbourn. In 1455 he leased some copyhold closes and 'two half-yardlands and a quarter' in the common fields of Bassingbourn, held of the Richmond manor there (PRO C1/657/56). At his death in 1486 he was certainly living at least partly in Bassingbourn for he was then a Commissioner for the Peace for Cambridgeshire and in his will he writes of 'all my household stuff at Bassingbourn' (*Cal Pat Rolls* 1914, 482; PRO Prob 18/8 PCC 5 Muller f 43). John Lynne was also making preparations to enlarge his estate at Bassingbourn when he died, for he was in the process of buying half of the Castle manor there. In his will he asks his widow to spend £200 on its purchase for his son Richard.

The reasons why John Lynne, with a country estate in Northamptonshire and a business in London, was involved at Bassingbourn are not entirely clear. The village lies almost midway between London and Southwick, just off the Old North Road, and originally may have been considered a convenient stopping place on the journey from London to Northamptonshire. But the later planned purchase of half of the Castle manor was perhaps the result of other factors and suggests different aims. One reason may have been that the purchaser of the other half of the Castle manor was John Warde (d 1501), a London grocer and an Alderman of the City (1478–1501) (VCH 1982, 15; Sharpe 1912, 58). Warde knew Lynne through their London businesses, but there were also local links. Warde originated from Hinxworth, Hertfordshire, only 10km south-west of Bassingbourn. While his elder brother inherited the family estate there, John Warde and another brother, later a City mercer, moved to London and mercantile success. On his death John Warde left money to Hinxworth church and for an obit there (Thrupp 1948, Appendix A, 372–3). At the same time as he bought the land at Bassingbourn Warde purchased an estate in West Wickham (VCH 1978, 116). He seems to have had similar aspirations to John Lynne and it may be

that they intended to work together at Bassingbourn.

Another reason why John Lynne was later interested in Bassingbourn may have been his eldest son Richard Lynne (d 1509). Richard did not inherit his father's lands in Northamptonshire. These passed to John's second son William Lynne (d 1511) and remained with his descendants until 1796. Richard took over only the house in Bassingbourn and the old copyhold closes and the fieldlands there which his father had leased in 1455. He was also given the half of the Castle manor on his father's death. Yet Richard had been associated with Bassingbourn before 1486. He had had a distinguished career as vice-chamberlain to Lady Margaret Beaufort, widow of Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, mother of Henry VII and inheritor of the Richmond estates, including the Richmond manor at Bassingbourn. Richard Lynne thus probably moved in the highest social circles. From 1497 he was steward of the Richmond manor at Bassingbourn, but already by 1485 he held parts of two other manors there (VCH 1982, 17). His position as a rising landed gentleman is confirmed by the evidence of his appointments to various local commissions (*Cal Pat Rolls* 1916, 359, 632). He also held land elsewhere locally, for in his will he left 40 acres (16.5ha) in the adjacent parish of Wendy to provide an obit for himself in Bassingbourn church (VCH 1982, 26). On his death in 1509 a monument was erected there. Although this no longer exists, Layer recorded its inscription which described the positions that he held under Lady Margaret Beaufort (Palmer 1932, 220). More significant for this paper is that Richard Lynne also provided himself with a suitable house and setting for his social status. A letter written between 1514 and 1520 by Lynne's wife's second husband states that '[Richard] Lynne did build a new house upon the said garden, amounting to the some of £40, also at great charges ... on moating them around about, and has also made and cast new ponds there and stocked said moats and ponds with pike, tenches, breams, carps and other fish abundantly to his great charge about the sum of £100' (PRO C1/657/56).

Richard Lynne died in 1509 and his wife Alice (d 1546) soon remarried. Her second husband was Antony Mallory (d 1534) of Papworth St Agnes (VCH 1989, 369). Alice seems to have lived in the magnificent Mallory family house at Papworth St Agnes with her husband and she continued to occupy it after his death (RCHME 1968, Papworth St Agnes (2)). Alice Mallory had two surviving sons by Richard Lynne. The eldest, Randall, usually described as 'of Gravely' where he was tenant successively of Ramsey Abbey and Jesus College, Cambridge, also leased land at Papworth St Agnes, first from Huntingdon Priory and, after the Dissolution, from his half-brother William Mallory (VCH 1989, 323; *LFPD* 1916, p 648 nos 22 and 62). He also, at various times, held a manor at Wimpole during the minority of his stepdaughter as well as land at Colne, Caxton, Ely and Willingham (VCH 1932, 168; 1973, 29, 266; Palmer 1897–8, 376). Randall's only child, Margaret, had no issue and thus this branch of the family died out (Green 1877).

The Bassingbourn lands of the Lynnes passed to Thomas (d 1549), Alice Mallory's second son by Richard Lynne, who lived in the village apparently in some style. He paid £44 tax in Bassingbourn for the subsidy of 1524, a sum which was one-eighth of the total for the parish (VCH 1982, 21). In 1548 he and his wealthy county neighbours each provided a horse for military purposes (*Cal State Pap Dom* 1992, no 137). He also retained the family property in London for his will includes a reference to 'my house in London called the New Wolle ... where the Custom House is kept' (Jones 1903-4, 188-9).

Two sons survived Thomas Lynne. The eldest, Philip (d 1557), inherited the Bassingbourn estate and indeed increased its size. In 1556 he purchased the Seymour manor there as well as the other half of the Castle manor. He also held land in neighbouring Steeple Morden during the minority of his stepson (VCH 1982, 15, 16, 114). On Philip's death without heirs, the family lands passed to his brother John (d 1613). John Lynne almost certainly lived at Bassingbourn, although there is no direct proof of this. He certainly imposed his will on the parish. He has been described as 'a grasping and overbearing lord' who enlarged his estate by lawful and unlawful means. He continually harassed the small farmers in Bassingbourn, taking them to court over minor matters. He purchased copyholds by claiming that they were former demesne or by arbitrarily changing their terms and rents. It was alleged that he ploughed up the boundaries of a holding that he leased in order to incorporate it into his own land (VCH 1982, 16, 19-20). At the same time he carried out all of the duties expected of him as a landowner, including sitting on various commissions (*Cal Pat Rolls* 1960, no 2835; 1986, no 1045). Three of John Lynne's sons predeceased him. On his death in 1613 his fourth son, Henry, inherited Bassingbourn and although he lived until 1640, it is unlikely that he remained at Bassingbourn long, for in 1621 he sold all of the Lynne lands there. However, one of his sons, John Lynne (d about 1660), might have lived there for he bought the lease of the rectory estate in 1654 (VCH 1982, 18). His death marked the end of the Lynne family connection with Bassingbourn.

The Bassingbourn Home of the Lynnes

One of the questions raised by the foregoing history is the whereabouts of the house or houses occupied by the Lynnes during their time at Bassingbourn and, in particular, of the home of Richard Lynne to which an elaborate garden and ponds were added between 1486 and 1509. The precise location of this latter house is not given in any of the surviving documents and the Victoria County History (1982, 15) assumed that it was on the site of the Richmond manor house, opposite the church, where a moat and some ponds remain. However there is good evidence to show that this could not have been so and which suggests that the actual location of this house was elsewhere.

The land acquired by John Lynne in 1455 consisted of the two and a half yardlands in the common fields,

together with four 'gardens', copyhold of the Richmond manor and called Bury Yard, Little Orchard, Benewyke and Wallwyke (PRO C1/657/56). As Lynne had no other land in Bassingbourn, it is probable that the house that he built or occupied would have been on or near these four gardens. The probable location of the four gardens is at the north end of The Park. In 1806 this comprised the long narrow close with a broad ditch on its south side and the small, almost square, moated plot south of its southwestern end. The latter then contained a house and outbuildings, presumably a farmstead and now Park House and Park Terrace (nos 53 and 54 on the Enclosure Map; Fig. 2). The reasons for this assumption are threefold. First, these two closes were the only ones in this area of the village that were copyhold in the early 19th century and they may always have been so. Second, they lie almost directly opposite the Richmond manor house site, which lay less than 50m away across the street (no 192; Fig. 2). Thus the Park House farmstead might well have been called Bury Yard. Third, the long narrow plot (no 53) is about 240m long and 80 to 100m wide, almost exactly three times the size (230 to 240m long and 35m wide) of the original long narrow closes that seem once to have extended from south of the church to just north of Park House. This suggests that three of the four 'gardens' were ancient closes that Lynne, or perhaps one of his predecessors there, made into one, while the other was an old farmstead. If this hypothesis is accepted it follows that John Lynne occupied an existing house or built a new one here (on plot no 53). This was presumably where he lived during his time at Bassingbourn. But where was Richard Lynne's home? He too may have lived at Bassingbourn during the latter years of his father's life, when vice-chamberlain to Lady Margaret Beaufort. Such a position would normally have meant occupying the Richmond manor house. But the manor house was almost certainly unoccupied at this time. It was empty and ruinous in 1436, was probably still so in the 1520s and certainly so in the 1620s (VCH 1982, 15). Thus the only place where Richard Lynne could have lived is a house on the site of the present Manor Farm, immediately south of the church. At its rear lay the two long narrow ditched closes with stepped sides depicted on the Enclosure Map (nos 64, 65 and 86).

When therefore Richard Lynne came to build his new house and to lay out his ponds and garden, perhaps soon after 1486 or, more likely, after 1497, he had two dwellings, his father's house and the Richmond manor farmhouse, where he almost certainly lived as steward. Both of these had limited land adjacent to them and neither plot was large enough to accommodate extensive ponds and gardens. The solution was to acquire the land that lay between the two properties, Rectory Farm and its adjacent paddocks (nos 55 and 56 on the Enclosure Map; Fig. 2) and so to create a single holding some 12 acres (5ha) in extent.

The medieval rectory of Bassingbourn was of some value. It was taxed at 40 marks in 1217, £80 in 1254 and £60 in 1270. The advowson lay with the principal

holders of the Richmond manor who were usually royal or foreign notables. The rectors were thus normally non-resident, often clerks in the employment of the king. In 1385 Richard II granted the advowson to the royal free chapel of St Martin's-le-Grand, an appropriation which was finally accomplished in 1411 on the death of the last rector. St Martin's held the rectory until 1503 when Henry VII granted all of its possessions to Westminster Abbey which retained them until 1869 (VCH 1982, 24–5). By the early 16th century Bassingbourn rectory comprised the great tithes of the parish, 80 acres (33ha) of glebe in Bassingbourn, 13 acres (5.4ha) in Kneesworth and the parsonage house which lay immediately north of the church.

Richard Lynne certainly leased the rectory, including the house, sometime in the late 15th and/or early 16th century. A later recitation of the leases in 1533 records that, at an unspecified date, Lynne had sought admission to a messuage, croft and ponds (CRO R88/43). This messuage and its croft and ponds can hardly have been other than the rectory farmhouse and the paddock behind it (no 55 on the Enclosure Map). Thus, sometime between the death of his father in 1486 and his own death in 1509, Richard Lynne held or occupied three separate houses and their associated closes. These formed a compact block and it was on this land that he must have created his garden and ponds, at least in part by widening the ditches of the former property boundaries but also partly by creating new ponds and moats. However, it is by no means certain which of the three houses he demolished to build his 'new' one. Indeed the latter may not have been entirely new. The £40 that he spent on it was a relatively small sum and it may have been merely a refurbishment.

The surviving buildings throw only limited light on the problem. Rectory Farm was rebuilt in the 1580s and again in the 1740s. Manor Farm is a 17th century building refronted in the 18th century. Park Farm, now Fern Cottage, is of more significance. Although much altered in the 17th century and later, it was built originally in about 1500 when it had three ground-floor rooms; the central one of which was an open hall (VCH 1982, 15, 18; DOE 1986). Given the limitations of stylistic dating, this means that Park House was built by John Lynne towards the end of his life, by Richard Lynne between 1486 and 1509 or, more doubtfully, perhaps by one of Richard's sons. The last is unlikely given that its gardens at least are known to have been abandoned soon after 1514. The difficulty is that Park House is a relatively small structure. It seems a little odd that either John Lynne with his Northamptonshire mansion, or Richard with his background and aspirations, should have been satisfied with such a modest dwelling. On the other hand, the £40 that Richard Lynne spent on his new house at Bassingbourn would probably have been the cost of building a structure such as Park House in 1500. William Dickinson, bailiff to the Earl of Shrewsbury and perhaps of similar social status to Richard Lynne, built himself a house in Sheffield in 1575–6 for just over £48 (Airs 1995, 99–100). On the other hand, what

survives at Park House may not represent the entirety of the original building which could have been much larger and only extended in about 1500. The likely interpretation of Park House is that it was indeed built or rebuilt by Richard Lynne soon after he acquired the lease of his father's lands at Bassingbourn in 1486.

Thus after a successful career as an administrator Richard Lynne seems to have aspired to be a landed gentleman, with a new house, an elaborate garden, half an ancient manor and other land. But any hope that he could establish another landed branch of his family from this base was not realised. On his death in 1509 he left all his lands in Bassingbourn to his wife Alice although his eldest son, Randall, may already have become lessee of his copyhold properties (PRO Prob 11/16 PCC12 Bennett f 94v–95v; CRO R88/43). However, Alice soon married Antony Mallory and went to live at Papworth St Agnes where she remained until her death in 1546. Further, on Richard Lynne's death the family could no longer have occupied Manor Farm, which presumably went with the post of steward. The death of Lady Margaret Beaufort within a year meant that all the lands of the honor of Richmond, including Bassingbourn, reverted to the crown whose administrators seem to have made organisational changes. It is possible that the Manor farmhouse was left empty (VCH 1982, 14). Whatever the precise situation, the southern part of Richard Lynne's garden was presumably taken back into the holding of the Richmond manor.

Probably through mismanagement or lack of interest, perhaps John Lynne's house at the northern end of the site and certainly that part of Richard Lynne's garden that lay north-east of it, that is the original copyhold lands, seem to have slipped temporarily out of the hands of the family. The result is explained in some detail in a letter written soon after 1514 by Antony Mallory on behalf of his wife to Sir Thomas More, then Master of the Court of Requests (PRO C1/657/56). Mallory complains that one Guthlake Overton had unlawfully claimed that the gardens which Richard Lynne had created were neither copyhold of the Richmond manor nor in the possession of any tenant. He had therefore asked for, and been granted, a lease of the garden by the crown. Overton had then sub-let the gardens to Robert Waller, a butcher, who 'occupieth them with his cattle'. This letter is important for two reasons. First, it shows that at least the north part of Richard Lynne's garden had already been abandoned. Alice Mallory, through her husband, disputed the tenurial status of the land, but not the fact that there was no one in possession. And second, the letter implies that, as the southern, Manor Farm, part of the garden had apparently also been lost to the family by reversion to the crown, the whole garden, including the Rectory Farm section, was derelict.

Thus Richard Lynne's garden had a very short life, no more than 33 years at the most, possibly only 20 to 25 years, probably as little as 10. And although the Lynne's soon regained the copyhold section and seem to have continued to live in John Lynne's house, the whole garden apparently was never restored or

reclaimed. While Alice Mallory lived at Papworth St Agnes, she and her second husband continued to lease Rectory Farm and its land until the latter's death in 1539. Antony Mallory is recorded as repairing the Rectory house in about 1520 (VCH 1982, 18). In 1539 Westminster Abbey leased the rectory to a local family, the Bolnests, the first of a series of relatively short-term lessees among whom in 1587 was John Lynne.

All of the land in Bassingbourn that had been held by Richard and Alice Lynne, including the copyholds of the Richmond manor, were formally settled on their second son, Thomas, in 1538. But Thomas actually had held them long before, presumably living in his grandfather's and great grandfather's house there. When he died in 1549 he left all of his copyhold lands 'and ... my house at Bassingbourn where I am now dwelling' to the use of his wife Jane for her life (CRO VC12: 13, CW 1550). It is likely that Jane Lynne's two sons, Philip and John, lived with her at least until 1556. As has already been noted, in that year Philip bought the Seymour manor in Bassingbourn, perhaps in order to provide himself with a house of his own separate from that of his mother. The exact whereabouts of this house is not known for certain but it probably lay in the south-east part of the village south of High Street.

Philip Lynne died without heirs in 1557. Although the Seymour land and house were left to his wife Elizabeth, who occupied them until her death in 1576, all of the other Bassingbourn land of the family passed to his brother John who became the 'grasping and overbearing landlord'. On the death of Elizabeth his sister-in-law, John also gained the Seymour manor. He presumably lived in his mother's house, at least until 1576. He may have been attempting to re-establish the Lynne's as a landed family. But in the event three of his sons predeceased him and his fourth son Henry sold all of the Lynne lands in Bassingbourn in 1624.

Conclusions

The foregoing account of the excavations at Bassingbourn, the summary of the history of the Lynne family and the analysis of the possible whereabouts of the various homes of the Lynnes, in particular Richard Lynne's house and garden, while of only minor interest in themselves, individually and collectively raise a number of wider questions. One is what was Richard Lynne's garden like? Very little is known of the appearance of late medieval gardens in Britain and almost nothing of the gardens below the level of the crown and aristocracy. Thus, anything that could be ascertained about the appearance of Richard Lynne's garden would be of interest to garden historians.

The first point to make is that Lynne's garden was edged and intersected by water-filled ditches apparently created by the widening of earlier close boundaries. The early 16th-century letter quoted above specifically says that Lynne 'moated them [his house and garden] around and made ... new ponds' (PRO

C1/657/56). This agrees with the boundaries, water-courses and moats shown on the Enclosure Map of 1806 (Fig. 2). However, this depiction is 300 years after the abandonment of Lynne's garden, during which time its site was used as a landscaped park as well as for farmland. Further, at least one of the features that is shown on the map and which survived into the 20th century was the 18th-century icehouse. This was obviously later than the Lynne's garden and all of the other features are undated. Interpretation is made more difficult by the fact that, as explained above, Richard Lynne's garden was made up from three blocks of land, each of which had belonged to an older property and each of which had its own separate history. Despite the existence of water, the plan of the area, as shown on the Enclosure Map, at first suggests not a garden but a series of former long narrow closes which had been partly amalgamated. In particular the stepped boundaries of the southernmost closes (nos 64, 65 and 86) could be interpreted as once having been four extremely long closes lying behind properties adjoining Church Street. However, with the knowledge that there was indeed a late 15th-century garden on the site, it is possible to suggest that some of the elements that survived until 1806, and later, were part of a garden.

The most obvious of these was the small moated island in the north-eastern corner of close no 55. Although always described as a 'moat' and clearly much damaged and perhaps altered even by 1806, some of its detail can be recovered from its depiction on both the Enclosure Map and the 1st edition OS 1:2500 plan of 1886. Both show that while it was a typical moated site in plan it was actually very small. Its island cannot have been more than 30m by 15m, far smaller than any known medieval moated homestead site in Cambridgeshire. The smallest recorded is that in Gilrags Wood, Croydon, which is 45m by 25m. Most are considerably larger (RCHME 1968, lxi-lxiii, Croydon (19)). The nearest parallel for such a moat, certainly in size, and perhaps in function, is the site of a moated gazebo or summerhouse set within the extensive medieval garden remains at Somersham, Cambridgeshire. The island of this site was just over 20m across (Taylor 1989, 215). Other, somewhat more elaborate, examples include the medieval moated garden at Linton, Cambridgeshire, the central island of which was only 20m by 10m (Brown & Taylor 1991), and that of 1302 at Peterborough with an island approximately 25m by 40m (Harvey 1981, 85). Another moated site, although considerably larger, is at Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire. This was created in 1415 as a pleasance for Henry V (Taylor 1998, 34-5). Similar moated features within gardens of later date are also known. Those at Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire (Everson 1989), Strensham, Worcestershire (NMR SO94 SW6), Hamerton, Cambridgeshire (Brown & Taylor 1991, 64), and perhaps Gorhambury, Hertfordshire (Strong 1979, 127, Fig. 8), all seem to be of early 17th century date. The complex moat at Bindon Abbey, Dorset, is dated to between 1539 and 1640 (RCHME 1970, Wool (3) and (43);

Hutchins 1861, 353).

It thus seems that most garden moats were laid out between the 13th and 17th centuries and that many enclosed gazebos, glories or other places of retreat. Their existence in the late 15th century is confirmed and their appearance and function illustrated in contemporary paintings and illuminated manuscripts, albeit continental ones. For example, the depiction of King René d'Anjou writing in his garden pavilion in the *Book of Hours of Isabella of Portugal* of 1488, has the king seated in an elaborate brick and timber structure within a walled garden containing raised beds and paved walks, the whole being set within a moat (Harvey 1989, 111 no 62). It is at least possible that the tiny moated site at Bassingbourn could have had a similar function in Richard Lynne's garden.

Although the icehouse that lay to the south-west was certainly of 18th century date, the mound in which it was set and the rectangular moat that surrounded it on at least three sides may have been earlier and merely reused then. Moated icehouses do exist but the majority are circular. The rectangular form of that at Bassingbourn might indicate that it was originally another medieval moated summerhouse or perhaps a prospect mound. An icehouse of 1770 at Bindon Abbey, Dorset, is known to have been inserted into an earlier rectangular moated prospect mound (RCHME 1970, Wool (3); Penny 1964, 220).

The other notable feature of the land which was Richard Lynne's garden was the long narrow ditched close at its southern end (no 64 on the Enclosure Map) which, with its stepped boundaries, was shaped like a dumb-bell with rectangular ends. As noted earlier, this can probably be interpreted as the results of the amalgamation of older narrow closes. But the resulting form could easily have been converted into a late medieval garden feature comprising two rectangular ditched compartments linked by a long narrow ditched strip. Although no exact British parallels for this are known, there are a number of continental paintings showing similar arrangements of water and garden compartments. A particularly good example is the garden illustrated in a French version of *Ruralium Commodorum Liber* of about 1485 (Harvey 1981, 102 no 55A). Three sides of the small square area laid out with rectangular beds are bounded by brick walls. The fourth side is a narrow brick-revetted stream or ditch, crossed by a footbridge that gives access into the garden through an elaborate brick arch. The illustration of King René d'Anjou, noted above, is also of interest. The visible part of the moat surrounding the pleasure, together with the walled path alongside it, has a dog-leg plan of exactly the same form as those at Bassingbourn. While there can now never be absolute certainty that any of the features at Bassingbourn were part of Richard Lynne's garden, their possible identification here may assist future garden historians to discover more certain examples.

However, if Richard Lynne's garden was created out of former closes in the late 15th or early 16th century, what were these closes? This is easier to answer and will be answered in detail in a forthcoming paper

(Oosthuizen & Taylor forthcoming). However a brief summary here will assist the understanding of their later history. The closes, which can be reconstructed as originally being eight in number (Fig. 2; nos 53–57, 63–66 and 86), occupy the eastern half of a very roughly trapezoidal block of land bisected by Church Street. The western half of this block was largely taken up by the moated manor house of the Richmond manor, together with its fishponds, gardens, yards and outbuildings. The whole block was created soon after 1066 when the land held by 10 sokemen was amalgamated and granted to Count Alan, son-in-law of William I. The western part was then, as later, the site of the Count's manor house, the eastern half was where the houses and crofts of the 8 villeins recorded in Domesday Book were laid out. These 8 villein holdings were later much altered, certainly by amalgamation, probably by the building of the parish church in the 12th century and perhaps by the establishment of the rectory farm by the early 13th century. Thus the three properties that became Richard Lynne's garden perhaps represent a later demesne farmstead (Manor Farm), formed by the amalgamation of 3 villein holdings, a grant of land to the medieval rectory by a lord of the Richmond manor (Rectory Farm) created from 3½ villein holdings, and a valuable copyhold farmstead of the same manor (Park House or rather John Lynne's house) made up of 1½ villein holdings.

So, finally, the results of three forms of historical research come together and allow an understanding of a tiny piece of the Cambridgeshire landscape. A rising late-medieval merchant family moved into the class of minor country gentry. At the end of the 15th century one member of this family built a new house and laid out a garden, perhaps containing moated gazebos and enclosed compartments. The garden had a very short life and although the house remained the family home for a little longer by the early 17th century it was relinquished and all memory of the family, their house and their garden was soon lost. One curious factor emerges from all of this. When, in 1486, Richard Lynne was given half of the Castle manor in Bassingbourn, the purchase of which had been arranged for him by his father, he acquired the site of one of the most remarkable gardens ever created in medieval England. It lay around the ancient manor house of the Castle manor, had been laid out soon after 1460 by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester and was abandoned in 1470 when Tiptoft was executed. This garden was an essay in early Renaissance garden design and was probably, in part at least, the result of an extended visit to Italy by Tiptoft in the 1450s (Oosthuizen & Taylor 2000). Yet Richard Lynne totally ignored this garden when he came to create his own. Why this was so can only be surmised. Perhaps it was so advanced in its layout that he preferred something more traditional. On the other hand its existence, and its then recent history, may have played some part in Richard Lynne's desire to have a garden here.

Only two other features remain to be explained, both from the excavation on the site. The curious 0.5m layer of topsoil which the excavator noted sealed all of

the pre-1500 material can now be seen as belonging to Richard Lynne's garden, perhaps imported to improve and enhance it. The 12th to 15th-century occupation material below must relate to the earlier use of the area as planned villein holdings and subsequent activity by later occupiers. It is merely the result of 400 years of normal domestic and agricultural activity within the closes that lay behind the adjacent roadside dwellings. It is perhaps ironic that excavations carried out prior to a 20th-century planned expansion of Bassingbourn village should lead to the recognition of a similar expansion 900 years earlier.

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