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EDITORIAL

'We are in a COVID decade: the social, economic and cultural effects of the pandemic will cast a long shadow into the future – perhaps longer than a decade' (British Academy 2021, 6).

We may hope that medieval settlement studies will have recovered from COVID-related disruptions well before a decade has elapsed, but for now the knock-on effects remain apparent in the pages of this journal. For instance, elements of the CARE project in 2021 – such as test pitting in the Netherlands – were once again hampered, though the project still presents an array of valuable findings in this volume (see Lewis *et al.*). Perhaps the most obvious manifestation of the pandemic's long shadow, however, is the relative shortness of this volume: largely a consequence of long-expected submissions being delayed by lockdowns and related repercussions. We likewise find ourselves without a Bibliography again this year, for similar reasons; but we are finally able to acknowledge, in print, our debt to the late David Hall: Bill Franklin's evocative obituary reminds us how much English landscape archaeology owes to David's devotion, energy and prolific work.

The research content of this volume, though shorter than usual, continues to advance and shape our discipline. The final instalment of Stuart Wrathmell's trilogy, 'Sharing out the land of the Northumbrians', sheds light on further case studies in eastern Yorkshire, and draws out crucial themes concerning the chronology of settlement, the role of the Church, intentions, actors and implementation. Tudur Davies presents a foundational new review of pollen evidence for later medieval Wales, and its implications for our understanding of wider developments in the landscape – thus working to address the lack of palaeoenvironmental studies of late medieval Wales which Paul Belford identified in his review of development-driven archaeology in last year's volume. Development-driven archaeology features in this volume too, in Mick Boyle's report on excavations at Great Ellingham, Norfolk; while Carenza Lewis and colleagues present the continuing impact of community research in currently-occupied rural settlements across four countries.

Finally, this volume heralds a new partnership between the Medieval Settlement Research Group and Archaeopress, an Oxford-based publisher which is run by archaeologists and specialises in archaeology-related books and journals. Besides the continued publication of *Medieval Settlement Research* in hard copy for members and subscribing institutions, we will also be working with Archaeopress to develop a digital platform for the journal, to provide subscribers with immediate online access to new volumes. We will retain our current open access policy, of course: papers will become free to download from the Archaeology Data Service after a two-year embargo period. I would like to thank Letty ten Harkel, Susan Kilby and Rebecca Gregory for their invaluable contributions to this new agreement, and David Davison and Patrick Harris at Archaeopress for their continuing advice and support; and I look forward to progressing in this new chapter for *Medieval Settlement Research*.

The Editor

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

The MSRG AGM 2022 and Events

The MSRG Winter Seminar will take place on 10 December 2022. In honour of David Hall and Christopher Taylor, papers will be presented on the theme of 'New Thinking on Medieval Fields'. Although we plan to hold the event at Lucy Cavendish College, University of Cambridge this year, we will once again monitor the situation regarding the pandemic. The latest information regarding the hosting of the Winter Seminar, including details of how to register, will be found on our website: http://medieval-settlement.com/events. Additional information will be issued with the journal, so please do read all of the additional paperwork carefully. With this in mind, we hope to hold the 2022 AGM in person on the morning of the Winter Seminar. Should this need to be reconsidered, members will be invited to participate virtually, as they were over the last two years. If we need to use the virtual method once again, members can either complete the online form that will be circulated by email in November, or the enclosed form, which must be returned to the Secretary by the deadline indicated.

The next Spring Conference will be held in Cardiff on 15–16 April 2023, on the theme of medieval rural settlement in Wales and South West England.

Research Grants

The MSRG can make grants for the support of research by members of the Group within its field of interest. A maximum of £5,000 is available annually until 2023, and applications for sums *up to* this amount or smaller requests are invited. Grants can cover fieldwork and associated analysis, documentary research, and other appropriate forms of assistance towards eventual publication. A summary report of the work will be required upon completion of the work and, subject to editorial consideration, may be published in *Medieval Settlement Research*. The deadline for applications each year is 31 January. Prospective applicants can find more information and download an application form from https://medieval-settlement.com/grants-awards/research-grants.

MEMORIAL PRIZES AND BURSARIES

John Hurst Memorial Prize

The Medieval Settlement Research Group is dedicated to enhancing our understanding of the rural landscape and its settlement in the period *c.* AD 400–1600. The late John Hurst was a major figure in the development of the Group and in his honour, and to encourage new and young scholars, an annual prize of £200 is offered for the best postgraduate student paper on any theme in the field of medieval settlement and landscape exploitation in Britain and Ireland. The winning applicant may also be invited to submit their paper for publication in *Medieval Settlement Research*. Full details, including an application form, can be found at https://medieval-settlement.com/grants-awards/dissertation-award.

Maurice Beresford Memorial Bursaries

In accordance with its aims and in memory of Maurice Beresford, pioneer in medieval settlement studies and a founder member, the Group awards as many as four student bursaries annually up to the value of £100 to help to defray the expenses of attending a conference within the field of the Group's interests. Applicants must be registered as full-time or part-time students. Applications, including full details of the venue, topic and costs of the conference and its relevance to the applicant's interests, together with the name of a referee, should be submitted in writing to the MSRG Secretary by 1 June or 1 December. A panel appointed by the Committee of the Group will decide on the awards. Successful applicants should note that cheques will be sent only after attendance at the conference and after verification of the costs involved.

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Next year's journal will once again include refereed research articles and reports on fieldwork, excavation and other recent work. Submissions should be focused on topics relevant to the core interests of the MSRG, which are primarily medieval settlement and landscape in Britain and Ireland from the fifth to sixteenth centuries AD. Articles and reports focusing on landscapes and settlements from other parts of Europe are also welcomed, especially where they can be demonstrated to be of relevance to British and Irish research in terms of methodology and/or subject matter.

Please submit all copy to the Editor by **1 April 2023**. Please note:

- **Research Articles** should be 4,000–10,000 words in length, with as many illustrations as are deemed necessary to support the argument. As the journal is printed in full colour, there is no limit on the amount of colour illustrations. All submissions to this section are fully peer-reviewed by *at least* two reviewers.

- Short items for **Reports** summarising fieldwork or projects should be kept concise, in the range of 1,500–4,000 words plus one or two illustrations (unless the work is of a scale that necessitates a longer article – for example, reports on major projects). Shorter items, such as project announcements or reports under 1,500 words, can be included in the MSRG digital newsletter.

- Submissions should adhere to the **journal's guidelines**, which can be downloaded from

  https://medieval-settlement.com/publications/journal/.

- Please do not hesitate to contact the Editor on medieval.settlement.research@gmail.com at an early stage for advice on your potential submission.

IN MEMORIAM:
DAVID NEVILLE HALL (1938–2021)

By BILL FRANKLIN[1]

David Hall died on Sunday 1st August 2021 at Hinchingbrooke Hospital, Huntingdon, following a major stroke. An energetic landscape archaeologist and historian with a career spanning more than 30 years, he continued to research and write up to three days before his death.

David was born in Raunds, Northamptonshire, and grew up with his younger brother Richard at the Gas House, Wollaston, where their father was manager of the village gasworks. From at least the age of ten years, David had a keen eye for the landscape. The surrounding meadows and fields, rich in wildflowers, fostered his love of the natural world. It was here too that he began mapping the landscape, drawing maps and recording bird nesting sites. He came to further appreciate the landscape and agricultural history during his schooldays and, later, during university holidays which were spent working in the harvest fields of Strixton, a small hamlet next to Wollaston.

It was during David's university years that he began to take a serious interest in archaeology and history, carrying out his first excavation at Strixton. At one point Sheppard Frere, the distinguished Romanist, took tea at the Gas House to help identify pottery finds. After reading chemistry at St Peter's College, Oxford, David returned to Northamptonshire and took up a post with Unilever Research at Colworth, just over the border in Bedfordshire.

In the years that followed, with work colleagues plus farming and other friends, he undertook excavations at church, manorial and burial sites. Were it not for David's keen eye and doggedness, a number of sites across Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire would have been destroyed by developers or gravel extraction; such sites included Raunds Furnells, Radwell gravel pits, the interior of Thurleigh and other churches in the vicinity, and Irchester manor house. With a trusty team of loyal friends, excavations continued into the 1970s.

The chance discovery of a sixteenth-century open field strip map of Strixton eventually led him to devote the rest of his life to fieldwork and – by teaching himself to read medieval Latin – documentary study too. By 1977 he had published his first book, *Wollaston, Portrait of a Village*, which embodied his passion for both fieldwork and, as he called it, 'sifting through documents'.

As well as researching the history of Northamptonshire and leading excavations, David also undertook fieldwalking in the winter months (Fig. 1). In 1972, while working with the Brixworth Archaeological Research Committee, he met Paul Martin, who had for some time been walking the fields of that parish. For the next 25 years, they would spend their weekends

[1] Burwell.

Figure 1   David fieldwalking in the 1970s, with his characteristic long scarf, clipboard and pencil. Reproduced by kind permission of Ruth Hall.

fieldwalking every parish in Northamptonshire and some beyond. Paul later recalled that 'David was a person who could read the landscape like no other. My many memories were always fond and even now I can remember David moaning about his pencil going blunt and trying to sharpen it with the penknife that he always carried. At lunchtimes, before our sessions in a local pub, we always ate our sandwiches together. My meagre sandwiches were nothing compared to David's slabs, always filled with either mutton or pork and always falling to bits'.

In 1976, after fourteen years in scientific research at Unilever, David was delighted to leave the corporate world behind and take up a post as Fenland Field Officer for the Cambridge Archaeological Committee. His job, Fenland Research Officer, was to survey the 142,000 hectares of the fenland landscape of Cambridgeshire. This he did with his characteristic energy and vision. David devised a plan based on the parish as the unit for study: fieldwalking over the winter and, in the summer months, undertaking documentary research, studying finds, and producing maps (Fig. 2). Wearing his customary long 'Doctor Who' scarf, David went out with his clipboard, map and pencil and noted the soils of every field he walked. He identified and mapped ancient watercourses and found a staggering number of artefacts and sites. The late Professor John Coles noted in 2002 that David had identified more than 2,500 sites of which over 2,000 were previously unknown. In 1978, funds were found to widen the scope

Figure 2   Haddenham, Cambridgeshire. David and colleagues surveying a Bronze Age barrow cut through by a modern drainage dyke. Reproduced by kind permission of Ruth Hall.

Figure 3   David on the final day of the Bosworth survey – which was to be his last ever day of fieldwalking – in 2019. Photograph by Bill Franklin.

of the Fenland Project to include Norfolk and Lincolnshire, and David acted as both secretary and mentor to the newly appointed field officers.

The first Fenland Survey monograph was published in 1987. This was followed in 1992 and 1996 by further monographs by David, ably assisted in the interpretation of aerial photography and the production of maps by Rog Palmer. His work on the Fenland Project and its publications were to become a major and internationally admired success for English Heritage. As the late Professor John Coles was to say: 'Seldom has one individual made more impact on a particular branch of archaeology than has David Hall on Field Survey. No one has walked more miles over more fields or charmed more farmers. No one has recognised more fragments of ancient landscape surviving within the modern countryside'.

In 1990, English Heritage set up a new project to look at the lowlands of seven counties in the northwest of England. They approached David, who agreed to undertake the work using the methodology and experience he had developed in the Cambridgeshire fens.

Somehow, David also found the time to be involved in several voluntary organisations. Among the many positions he held, he was a Trustee and founder of Wollaston Heritage Society and its museum, and for nearly 40 years he served on the Northamptonshire Record Society committee, editing Past and Present as well as the Society's volumes. He was also an active member of the Medieval Settlement Research Group

and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

Away from the work of the Fenland Project, David developed his understanding of medieval settlements and in particular their field systems, a subject about which he wrote articles for many leading archaeology and landscape journals and edited collections. He wrote many histories of local towns including Rushden and Raunds, and encouraged local historians to do the same. Following his retirement, David was not one to be idle. Despite having a very large garden, with a vegetable patch in which he took great pride, he continued to study the fields of his beloved Northamptonshire, collaborating with Glenn Foard and Tracey Partida among others. The resulting data were, with the assistance of Tom Williamson, used in an AHRC-funded project to map the fields, settlements, woods and terrain of Northamptonshire using GIS technology. This work led to publications including *Rockingham Forest: An Atlas of the Medieval and Early-modern Landscape* (2009) and *An Atlas of Northamptonshire: The Medieval and Early-Modern Landscape* (2013).

David's magnum opus, *The Open Fields of England*, was published in 2014 by Oxford University Press. In recognition of his substantial contribution to landscape archaeology, he received an award from the British Academy and an honorary fellowship and doctorate from the University of Exeter.

I undertook excavations and fieldwalking with David between 1969 and 1975, and was fortunate to continue fieldwalking and researching with him upon my retirement in 2012. Between 2012 and 2021, we met

most weeks with another trusty friend, John Hutchings, and between 2012 and 2019 we completed field surveys in Norfolk, Oxfordshire and Essex (Fig. 3). His last survey was an extension to the survey of the area surrounding Bosworth Field for the Bosworth Battlefield Trust. Now in his 80s and becoming more frail, this was to be David's last campaign of fieldwalking. His documentary research continued, however, with regular trips to various archives around the country, and my photographing maps and other documents for later study.

David was a remarkable landscape archaeologist, and always one to play down his achievements. It was important to him to record landscapes for future generations and to gather evidence from original documents rather than rely on what others had written. Where he could help others engaged in the same field, he would do so generously and repeatedly. All those who met David, whether as colleagues or friends, remember him with respect as a loyal, gentle man with a ready sense of humour.

If the measure of a great landscape archaeologist is the number of miles covered during fieldwalking and the number of sites discovered, then David Hall must be one of the greatest, if not the greatest, landscape archaeologist ever to have lived, for I doubt that any others have or will achieve the same. And whilst his academic research remained important until the end of his life, he always spoke of his family with pride and is remembered as a loving father, brother, grandfather and husband.

SHARING OUT THE LAND OF THE NORTHUMBRIANS: EXPLORING PLACE-NAMES AND TOWNSHIP BOUNDARIES (PART THREE)

By STUART WRATHMELL[1]

Introduction

Much of the debate about Scandinavian settlement in England has traditionally focused on its chronology, and on the number of people involved: when and how many? There are, though, other arguably more interesting and illuminating questions about the settlement: where did it take place, how was it implemented and who planned it? Any attempt to answer these last three questions will, of course, have implications for our understanding of the first two.

The earlier articles in this series explored the patterning of settlement evidenced through the mapping of township territories associated with place-names ending in Old Norse (ON) -*bý*, and analysing the ways in which these townships interplayed with neighbouring communities marked by place-names with Old English (OE) generics, notably those in -*tūn* (Wrathmell 2020; 2021). They rested (as this third article rests) on two underlying hypotheses. The first is that many townships in eastern Yorkshire with OE place-names were already in existence at the time of the Scandinavian settlement, and retained their names beyond the period of settlement – though some of them, perhaps for various reasons, acquired ON specifics including personal names. The second is that townships with generics in ON were created as territories for some groups of Scandinavian settlers – though not necessarily for all of them.

This concluding article attempts, first, to draw out some broad themes from the analyses offered in the earlier articles, exploring intentions, means of implementation and actors in the Scandinavian settlement. In further case studies, focusing on the archiepiscopal soke estates of Helperby and Weaverthorpe, and on places in the study area with 'Kirby' names (see Fig. 1), it then attempts to trace the role that the Church, specifically the archbishops of York, may have played in managing both the settlement and the subsequent Christianisation of the newly settled communities. The final sections consider the chronology of settlement, and the circumstances that would have promoted or discouraged the persistence of earlier township names during and beyond the Scandinavian settlement. As with the previous articles, the case studies, and therefore the conclusions, are limited to parts of the former Deiran kingdom in southern Northumbria.

Intentions

Recent analysis of metal-detected finds assemblages in eastern Yorkshire has emphasised the initial disruption to Northumbrian communities resulting from contact with the Great Army and its component war bands (Richards and Haldenby 2018, 344-5). Thereafter, it would presumably have been possible for the Viking leaders to expropriate, should they have wished to do so, large areas of the best available farming land (however that might be defined); to kill, enslave or evict all the existing farmers and their families; and to settle their own followers on that land, creating new communities within large new blocks of farming territories. The previous analyses relating to the Vale of Pickering (Fig. 1) seem, however, to show that such large-scale expropriation of the best land did not occur, and it was presumably not, therefore, the intention of the Viking leaders to do this.

This does not mean, though, that the Scandinavian settlers were content to occupy relatively unproductive farmland which had thus far been ignored by the local population. In the Vale of Pickering, the township territories marked by place-names with -*bý* generics display a number of characteristics which suggest insertion into pre-existing patterns of communities, offering *prima facie* evidence that these do, indeed, signify Scandinavian settlement. Evidence for disruption caused by their insertion can be found in the layout of township boundaries, and in their relationship to fields and village settlements, notably in scatters of detached, intermixed blocks of land attributed to several townships. Yet overall, the intercalation of -*bý* townships indicates a broad intention to minimise disruption whilst at the same time meeting the need for settlement space.

The choice not to expropriate large blocks of farming land in the Vale is emphasised by the choice to do just that in less attractive upland areas, in the Howardian Hills and on the northern Wolds (Fig. 1). To be clear, these are not areas that were inimical to mixed farming regimes, reflecting either an unwillingness or inability on the part of the Scandinavian settlers to take up good land. Rather, they are territories that had not, by the time of the settlement, been divided up into townships; territories that could be occupied with relatively minor disturbance to the existing local communities. The intention seems, once again, to have been to minimise disruption, a conclusion that must surely point to a negotiated settlement achieved through a series of transactions.
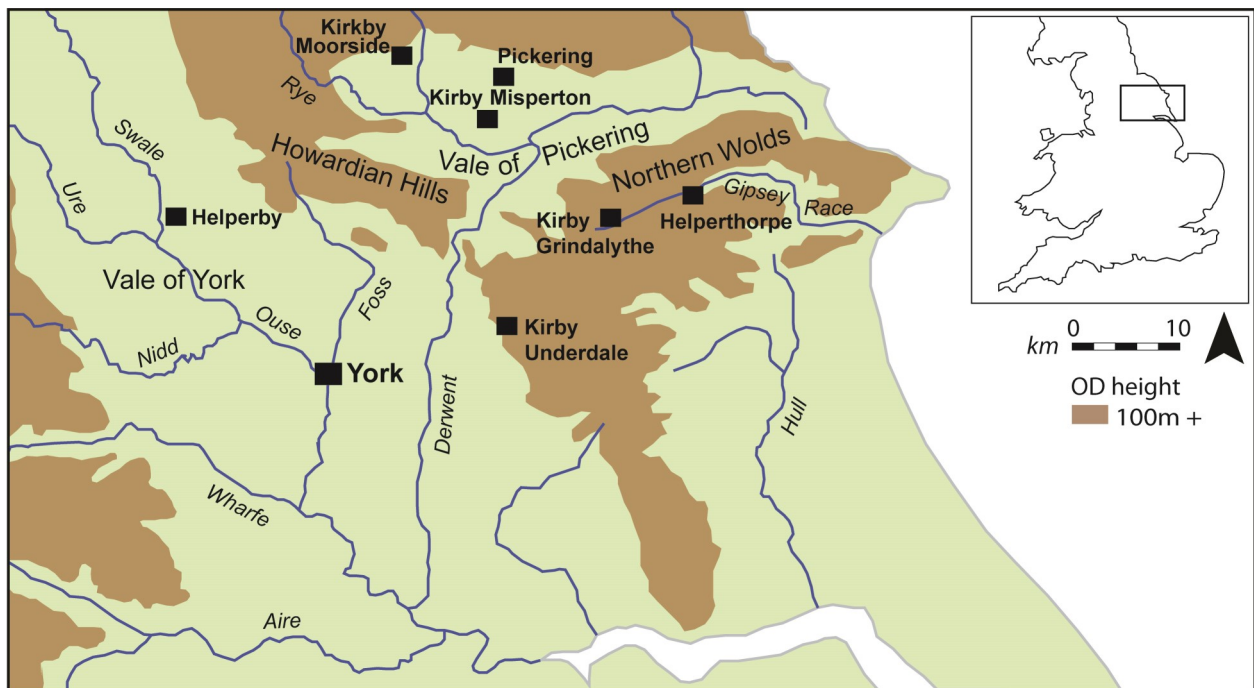
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[1] Fishergate, York.

Figure 1   Location map showing some of the key places appearing in Figures 2–6.

Implementation

Such transactions imply a familiarity not just with the requirements of the incomers, but also with the disposition and character of the existing communities among which the incomers would settle. They will also have required mechanisms for implementation. We cannot now know whether *-bý* townships were established through the allocation of single blocks of land within boundaries certified by perambulation, comparable to those recorded at Newbald, in the East Riding, in the mid-tenth-century grant to Earl Gunner (see Wrathmell 2020, 18); or whether they were established through the allotment of a proportion of the acres of a township, as inferred from the same charter's grant of every other acre in the adjacent eastern part of Hotham; or both. What this grant demonstrates, though, are some of the mechanisms available for creating new townships.

Townships were created across England over the course of about eight hundred years, starting perhaps in the later eighth century and continuing, at least in Northumberland, until the early sixteenth century (Roberts and Wrathmell 2002, 86 and fig. 4.3). During the first few centuries the emphasis was upon the division of pre-existing folk territories, such as Pickering, into smaller units, each with its own defined areas of arable, meadow and pasture. Subsequently, as the landscape filled with townships, the larger ones might themselves be divided up, as at Lutton on the Wolds (see below and Fig. 4), which was split into two townships: East and West Lutton.

Over 40 years ago, Robert Dodgshon published a detailed analysis of the processes involved in township splitting, building on much earlier studies by Sir Paul Vinogradoff and F.W. Maitland. Fundamental to the whole process was shareholding: each landholder had a fixed share of the township's resources, though the shares could be recalculated and reapportioned when circumstances, such as township splitting, required. The quantification of the share was achieved through apportionment of the assessed land – the land that in the Yorkshire Domesday entries was recorded in terms of carucates and bovates. Attached to the assessed land were proportionate rights to share in the community's other resources, so that each landholder had an aliquot share of the entire township (Dodgshon 1980, 34–41, 83–7, 108–09, 129–32; Vinogradoff 1905, 149–52).

The assessed arable and meadow were typically contained in what have been called, variously, 'open', 'common' or 'subdivided' fields (Bailey 2010, 156–7; Dodgshon 1980, 1, 151–3). This last term, employed by Dodgshon, is the one used here, as it emphasises the shareholding dimension of such arrangements, rather than the visual aspects of the fields or the farming practices employed by the landholders, both of which varied over time and across different regions.[2] The shares of assessed land, which were assigned to landholders by lot, were typically represented by long narrow strips, extending on occasion over a kilometre in length. Their widths were determined by measurement, in some places and at various times by twelve 'law-worthy men' using a 'rod and cord' (Dodgshon 1980, 31–4).[3]

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[2] This is not to underplay the importance of understanding communal farming practices relating to arable fields, but rather to emphasise Mark Bailey's comment (2010, 155) that we have little information about them before the thirteenth century. There is a hint of a three-field system at Kirby Grindalythe (Fig. 4) in a late twelfth-century charter which records the grant of three demesne bovates next to three demesne furlongs located in different parts of the township (Farrer 1915, 384, no. 1079).

[3] John Blair, Stephen Rippon and Christopher Smart (2020, 101) have argued that a wooden rod, a customary perch in length, is likely to have been the basic tool of Anglo-Saxon surveyors. The furlong (and later field) name 'Wandales', widely recorded in

In some regions, mainly in the Central Province, the subdivided fields were characterised by a 'regular' allocation, meaning that the strips allotted to the shareholders were set out in a specific order applied to all the furlongs – tenant B always had an allotment of strips between those of tenants A and C. The reason for choosing strips and 'tenurial cycles' of this kind as the basis for allocation was expressed by the landholders of Chatton, Northumberland, in 1566. They 'had their land allotted by rigg and rigg as is the custom in every husband towne, so that each should have land of like quality' (Dodgshon 1980, 31–3, 46–7; see also Gardiner 2009, 11–12).

On the Yorkshire Wolds, the shareholding mechanism can be seen in action in a fourteenth-century inquisition relating to the allocation of dower land at Wharram Percy. The bovate strips belonging to each landholder, including those of the manorial and manorial-dower shares, were recorded in one specific furlong, called *Middelgates*. The order of counting the strips was determined by 'sun-division': the two bovates of the final landholding listed were said to be *propinquiores sole* (that is, at the eastern end of the strips in *Middelgates*). This furlong was used as the model for all the others at Wharram: the order and quantity of strips allocated to each landholder was said to be the same in every furlong in the township (Wrathmell 2012, 290–92).

Thus a very simple calculation, which could be made on the basis of the measured strips in one particular furlong, was the key to mapping all the shares of all the landholders throughout the assessed lands, and by extension could be used to calculate the shares of common pasturage and other resources in the unassessed parts of the township. Sun-division was one of the methods used to plot the tenurial cycle; another, recorded in Scotland, 'was simply to give each landholder a numerical order, so that he held, say, the third or fifth rig throughout a particular toun' (Dodgshon 1980, 33). If there were significant changes to the number of landholders, a completely new share allocation could be made at any time. If additional lands were taken in, they could be shared out according to the existing allocation.

This latter process has been explored by Mark Gardiner in his discussion of the long parallel strip-fields of the Lincolnshire marshlands. These seem to have been meadow lands (sometimes cultivated) which were allocated to individual townships, and then to the landholders of those townships, during the twelfth century. They were known as 'dales', a term with origins in OE *dāl* and the cognate ON *deill*, both meaning a share or portion: 'A number of deeds suggest that dales represented a proportionate share of land in the vill' (Gardiner 2009, 3–5; see also Smith 1956, 126, 128).

Gardiner also notes the use of tenurial cycles in the Lincolnshire allocations, the resemblance of these strips to those of 'open-field' lands in eastern Yorkshire, and the evidence that they could be fenced off and farmed 'almost as holdings in severalty' (Gardiner 2009, 6–10). This last feature supports Dodgshon's argument 'that sub-divided fields in *most* areas had nothing to do with a communal tenure… They may have possessed rights of common grazing or communally-regulated systems of cropping, but their landholding was mostly based on a form of several tenure' (Dodgshon 1980, 49).

The first in this series of articles referenced the tenth-century grant of 'each second field (*æcer*) to the east of Hotham (*hode*)' in the East Riding (Woodman 2012, 131). It also referenced the grant to Archbishop Oscytel of York, in 956, of two manslots in Farnsfield, every sixth acre and three manslots in Halam, every third acre in Normanton, and two shares (*dales*) and four manslots of all the land in Fiskerton, all part of the Southwell estate in Nottinghamshire (Woodman 2012, 98 and 110). The proportionate allocation of numbered acres here seems very similar to the much later references to numbered rigs in Scotland, cited above; and the 'manslots' (literally 'men's lots') have been linked to the allocation of land to the rank-and-file members of the Danish army (see discussion in Woodman 2012, 110).

All these references demonstrate that the allocation of shares in sub-divided fields would have been very familiar to the tenth-century archbishops of York and their officials, and could have been used more widely as one of the mechanisms by which the component war bands of the Great Army were settled in Yorkshire. Indeed, the primary information we have for Scandinavian settlement in Northumbria, that provided by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for the year 876, refers to the land having been 'shared-out': *gedælde* (discussed in Townend 2014, 85). Was *gedælan* used here in a technical as well as a figurative sense?

The concept of sharelands may have been used to implement the Scandinavian settlement, but if so, it was not a new idea. This much is evident from the well-known reference to 'sharelands' (*gedalland*) in Ine's laws dating to the late eighth or ninth century (see Gardiner 2009, 4 and n.10). It is also implicit in the layout of the long, narrow fields of townships to the west of Pickering, discussed in a previous article (Wrathmell 2021, 4–7), which have the appearance of sharelands. The course of the Middleton, Aislaby and Wrelton township boundaries, and the presence of intermixed, detached portions, have led to the proposition that Aislaby was inserted into the eastern and western parts of its neighbours. If so, it will have required a reallocation of sharelands in Middleton and Wrelton, as well as a new allocation for the landholders in Aislaby.

Similarly, the insertion of Farmanby and Roxby into part of Thornton Dale, discussed in the first in this series of articles (Wrathmell 2020, 19–22), will have required the reallocation of sharelands for Thornton's landholders, as well as for the new settlers in Farmanby and Roxby. These inferences then lead us to the prior existence of sharelands in the Northumbrian townships affected by the Scandinavian settlement. It seems

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townships in the study area (e.g. at Thornton Dale: Wrathmell 2020, fig. 5), is thought to incorporate ON *vǫndr*, a wand or twig, and OE *dāl* or ON *deill*, both meaning a share: https://epns.nottingham.ac.uk/browse/North+Riding+of+Yorkshire/ Great+Edstone/53286b0ab47fc40bc6000110-Wandales (Accessed February 2022). Rather than indicating wooden fencing, as suggested in this citation, *vǫndr* may have referred to the rod used to measure out shares of land..

possible that Middleton and Wrelton, for example, had been established as 'regular' shareland townships by the administrators of the Deiran and Northumbrian royal estate of Pickering, decades or perhaps even a century or more before the Scandinavian settlement.

The same sort of argument can be applied to the habitation sites of the landholders who farmed the sharelands and the other resources of these vills. Most of the study area sites appear on historic mapping as regular-row villages, and the underlying structures of these villages – lines of farmsteads set within the shares – were perhaps created as an accompaniment to new or reorganised regular shareland divisions in the period of Scandinavian settlement. This would certainly fit the known broad dates for the abandonment of curvilinear agglomerate 'Butterwick-type' settlements in eastern Yorkshire (Wrathmell 2012, 111–13; see below). Other regular-row villages, however, like Middleton, may well have been in existence before the Scandinavian settlement, reflecting innovative village planning designed to accompany agricultural reorganisation on royal estates like Pickering (see Roberts 2008, 297–8). Yet others will, of course, date to later centuries.

Actors

Having set the scene for implementing Scandinavian settlement, it is disappointing to find a scarcity of leading actors to perform it. Halfdan, the Viking leader billed by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as the person who shared out the lands of the Northumbrians, seems to have exited the stage soon afterwards (Rollason 2003, 216). Very little is known about his successors in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, other than some of their names. The one aspect of their rule in Yorkshire that emerges both from written sources (inevitably, perhaps) and from numismatic evidence is their association with Church interests, intermittently at least with the archbishops of York (Rollason 2003, 216–8, 224–8; Townend 2014, 47–53).

The balance of power in the relationship between the Scandinavian rulers and the archbishops has been much debated (see Townend 2014, 58–60). It is, however, difficult to identify any actors other than the officials of the archbishop who might have had the knowledge and administrative skills to implement the kind of Scandinavian settlement envisaged here, even if it was carried out under the close direction of Scandinavian rulers. There is no evidence for the survival through this period of any Northumbrian ecclesiastical institutions other than those represented by the Archbishopric based at St Peter's, York, and the Community of St Cuthbert based originally at Lindisfarne, subsequently at Chester-le-Street and finally at Durham (Abrams 2001, 33). The overall distribution of -*bý* place-names between the Humber and the Tyne, as recorded by Gillian Fellows-Jensen (1972, 176) and Victor Watts (1988-9, 23) points firmly to the active involvement of the archbishops, and specifically to Archbishop Wulfhere (854-92/3 or 900: see Rollason 1998, 59). Shane McLeod (2014, 178–80) has argued that Wulfhere had a close relationship with the Scandinavian leaders both before the recorded settlement of 876 and afterwards.

The western half of the Vale of Pickering had been home to a remarkable density of Deiran religious communities in the seventh and eighth centuries. Richard Morris (2015, 126) has identified communities at Lastingham, Stonegrave, Hovingham, Kirkdale and Coxwold on the basis of written evidence, sculptural remains and archaeology, along with other possible examples at Gilling East and Kirby Misperton. On topographical grounds, it might be possible to add Ellerburn and Levisham (St Mary's church site) to their number. None of these institutions is known to have survived the periods of Scandinavian rule in the tenth and eleventh centuries. They had certainly lost all their endowments of land by the time of the Norman conquest. Their failure may not always have been a consequence of the Scandinavian settlement: minsters elsewhere in England were also being stripped of their assets in the eighth and ninth centuries (see Blair 2005, 323–4). On the other hand, a clear and very marked divergence is to be found in the northern Danelaw's response to the English monastic reform movement of the tenth century.

The monastic reform movement had only a limited discernible impact in Northumbria (Pickles 2018, 231), despite Archbishop Oswald of York being one of its main protagonists (Blair 2005, 350–54). Whether or not the Scandinavian settlement was a prime cause of the collapse of Northumbrian monasteries, it was almost certainly the obstacle to their refoundation: the Scandinavian landholders seem to have been no more inclined to facilitate monastic renewal than those in Normandy who opposed the refoundation of Jumièges Abbey in the mid-tenth century (Abrams 2001, 35; see also Hadley 2000a, 119).

Monastic life did not return to the Vale of Pickering until the end of the 1070s, the decade when the main landholders of Scandinavian ancestry – those descended, it has been suggested, from King Cnut's *hold* Thorbrandr (Wrathmell 2012, 184–7) – were replaced by Norman tenants-in-chief. In about 1080, Lastingham was refounded under Abbot Stephen (Burton 1999, 40), who reconstituted, as far as he was able, the lands with which Lastingham had been endowed in earlier centuries (Wrathmell 2012, 194–5). The archbishop's reaction to the refoundation of Lastingham (and before it, Whitby and Hackness) is unknown; but these developments may not have been welcome. When the support of William Rufus enabled Abbot Stephen to go a stage further, and begin constructing St Mary's Abbey in York, on St Peter's front doorstep, there were evident tensions between the Abbot and Archbishop Thomas I (Norton 1994, 280–82; Burton 1999, 40–41; Rees Jones 2013, 48, 153).

Until then, the Archbishopric and the Community of St Cuthbert are the only institutions we know of that might have organised and promoted the conversion of the Scandinavian settlers to Christianity. Lesley Abrams has usefully distinguished between conversion, 'the initial transition marked by baptism (or some other formal acceptance of Christianity)' and Christianisation, 'the process whereby Christian beliefs and practices penetrated into the converted society' (Abrams 2001, 31). Both stages will presumably have required ordained clergy to undertake such work, and ordained clergy imply a functioning episcopal organisation.

Though the evidence for baptism is lacking, memorialisation of Christian dead through the erection of funerary monuments in stone is widely evidenced, and in eastern Yorkshire is usually dated to the first half of the tenth century (Stocker 2000, 191). Collections of

funerary sculpture of this period are to be found at many churches in the Vale of Pickering: not only at one of the two churches distinguished by 'Kir(k)by' names (Kirkby Moorside: Lang 1991, 154–8), which are discussed below, but also at churches associated with the (presumably) defunct religious communities of earlier times, such as Lastingham and Stonegrave (Lang 1991, 167–70, 215–20). They are also found at churches that may have been created for pastoral care in a parochial context, perhaps Middleton by Pickering and Sinnington (Lang 1991, 181–7, 207–13).

These collections of sculpture imply an active local ministry in the first half of the tenth century which, as noted above, in turn presupposes an episcopal structure to oversee the work. As Dawn Hadley has put it, the sculpture, along with other strands of evidence, 'could be interpreted as proof of the success of the ecclesiastical network and its provisions for pastoral care in accommodating the settlement of pagan Scandinavians. It seems fair to conclude that both the Christian Church and the Scandinavian settlers adapted themselves to each other, apparently relatively rapidly…' (Hadley 1997, 92; see also Hadley 2000a, 112 and Stocker 2000, 196).

Lesley Abrams has reached a similar conclusion on more general grounds. She has stressed the difficulty of understanding how conversion could have taken place without an institutional structure: 'how were converts to be baptised, for example, without priests, and churches consecrated without bishops?' In the Danelaw there must have been 'priests and churches in operation that could carry out the necessary functions for a newly Christian population (and their English Christian neighbours)' (Abrams 2000, 139). Even in the absence of direct written evidence, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the archbishops and their officials must have played a key role in negotiating the settlement, and in organising the formal conversion of the settlers.

Using the two stages proposed by Abrams, the subsequent Christianisation of the newly converted population may have been partly achieved though the provision of funerary stone sculpture, not only in Yorkshire but also in Lincolnshire. In the latter county, David Stocker and Paul Everson have argued that the bishop of Lindsey 'may have had a direct role in the production of sculpted stones after *c*. 950… and although we have less consistent evidence in Deira, we can suggest that the archbishops were similarly involved here' (Stocker 2000, 196). The iconography of the Nunburnholme cross-shaft, for example, with its juxtaposition of the Eucharist with the feast of *Sigurð* and *Reginn*, was surely conceived by ecclesiastics as means of promoting Christianisation among Scandinavians (Lang 1977, 88; Lang 1991, 193).

Christianisation will also have required the 'correction' of long-established customs and practices in Scandinavian society which were seen to be contrary to the Church's teachings. This will have taken much longer, as is perhaps evident in some of the texts written by or associated with Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, in the first quarter of the eleventh century. Among these texts, the so-called 'Laws of Edward and Guthrum' refer to the payment of *lahslit*, a fine levied on Danes in the Danelaw for various transgressions, including withholding tithes (Whitelock *et al*. 1981, 302–12, esp. 305 n.3 and 308), as does 'The Northumbrian Priests'

Law', which seeks to instruct priests in the northern Danelaw partly on their own behaviour, partly on the behaviour of their parishioners (Whitelock *et al*. 1981, 449–68).

A third text, known as *Wifmannes Beweddunge*, reaches into the heart of family life, with its requirements concerning the entitlement of wives and widows to property, and its admonition regarding the dangers of marriage within the prohibited degrees of kinship (Whitelock et al. 1981, 427–31). In the first of the following case-studies, it is suggested that, in the third quarter of the tenth century, Archbishop Oscytel of York was already in a position to enforce, in a Scandinavian community, the Church's rules regarding the prohibited degrees of marriage. This is demonstrated by the forfeiture to him of Helperby, a township in the Vale of York, by the River Swale (Fig. 1).

The archbishops and the Helperby estate

The soke estate of Helperby (Fig. 2) is referred to in a memorandum, originally composed by Archbishop Oswald of York between 975 and 992 (Keynes 1986, 84), which lists several estates taken from the archbishops by Earl Thored. These dispossessions may have then been recent, a response to the support which had been given by the archbishops to Earl Oslac, whom Thored had supplanted (Woodman 2012, 60–61).

The memorandum names two townships with -*bý* place-names, the two earliest recorded -*bý* place-names in Yorkshire. One is Skidby, located near Cottingham in the East Riding, which had been purchased by Archbishop Oscytel (d. 971) for the support of St John's, Beverley. It was subsequently regained by the archbishops, and was recorded as a berewick of the archbishop's Beverley estate in Domesday (Faull and Stinson 1986, 2E, 1). The other is Helperby, which came into Oscytel's hands through forfeiture. Its place-name incorporates a Scandinavian female personal name, *Hjalp*, in its ON genitive singular form (*Hjalpar*: Fellows-Jensen 1972, 30; Ekwall 1960 232; Townend 2014, 106; Watts 2004, 295), suggesting (as well as the currency of the Old Norse language) that *Hjalp* was at some stage the owner, or at least principal resident of the township.

The memorandum states that: 'Helperby was given to him [Archbishop Oscytel] in compensation for illicit cohabitation – there were two brothers who had one wife – and to Helperby belong two parts of Myton and the soke of Wide Open and Tholthorpe and Youlton and Thorpe' (Woodman 2012, 134–5). Though these places had not been recovered by the archbishops at the time of a survey of their estates in about 1020 (Woodman 2012, 147), they were once more in their hands by 1066 (Faull and Stinson 1986, 2N, 25–26).

Before considering the implications of the memorandum for Helperby's settlement history, it is worth reviewing the circumstances of its forfeiture. It has been suggested that compensation was due to the archbishop on the grounds of polyandry (Barrow 2000, 161), a possibility that cannot be discounted. On the other hand, it is equally possible, and perhaps more likely, that the specific circumstances leading to forfeiture of the estate were the death of one of the brothers and the remarriage of his widow to the other.

Marriage to close affines was prohibited by the early Church, which in the late fourth century specifically
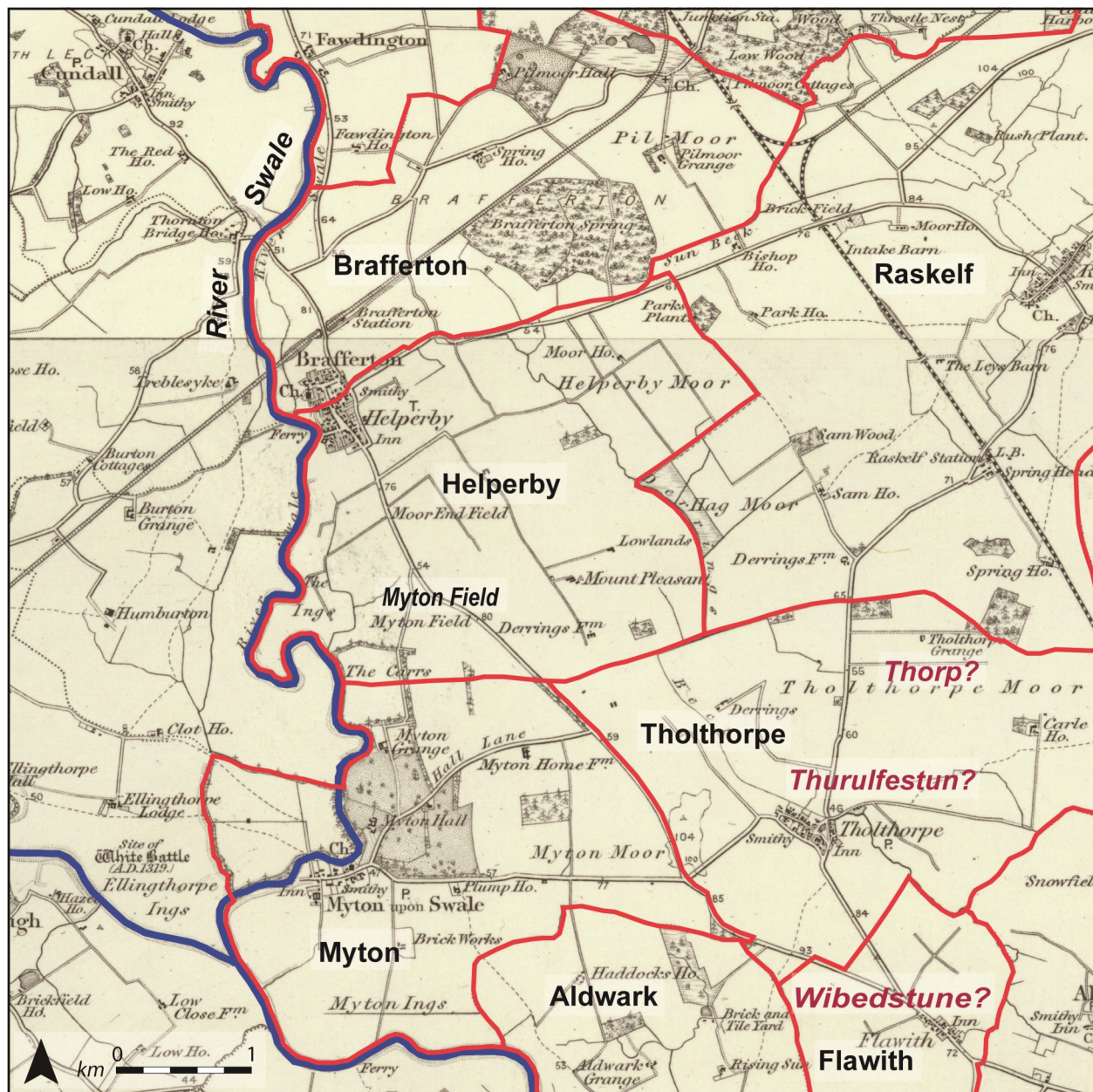
Figure 2   Helperby and adjacent townships on the east side of the River Swale, based on Ordnance Survey One Inch map sheets 52 and 62, revised in 1896, with township boundaries (in red) as indicated on the First Edition Six Inch maps sheets 120-21, 138-9 (surveyed 1848-53). The map shows the approximate locations of the lost townships of Thorp, Thurulfestun and Wibustan recorded in the tenth century, the last of these also recorded as Wibedstune in Domesday. Youlton township adjoins the southern end of Flawith. Base map reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

forbade marriage between a widow and the brother of her deceased husband (Goody 1983, 60–63). Two centuries later, the prohibition on marriage with dead brothers' widows is implicitly included in Pope Gregory's responses to St Augustine's questions during his mission to Kent, as recounted by Bede: 'So also it is forbidden to marry a brother's wife, because by a former union (*per coniunctionem priorem*) she had become one flesh with his brother' (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 84–5).

Four centuries later, the law code known as VI Ethelred, cap. 12 is more explicit: 'And it must never happen that a Christian man marries among his own kin within six degrees of relationship… *or with the widow*

of a man as nearly related to him as this [my *Italics*]' (Robertson 1925, 95). Marriage within the prohibited degrees of relationship was treated by the Church as incest, and the law code known as II Cnut, cap. 51 sets out the range of penalties for incest, the severest being forfeiture of all the transgressors' possessions, reserved for the closest degrees of relationship (Robertson 1925, 201–03). The so-called 'Laws of Edward and Guthrum' (1002 x 1008) state that in cases of incest: 'the king has the male offender and the bishop the female, unless compensation is made to the Church and the State as the bishop may direct, in proportion to the deed' (Whitelock *et al*. 1981, 307, where the Helperby case is cited in n. 3).

Figure 3   Road sign on the southern approach to Brafferton and Helperby villages (S. Wrathmell).

Compensation on the grounds of incestuous marriage provides a ready context for the transfer of Helperby to the archbishops. What remains to be considered is why such marriages might have been attempted in the first place. The most likely scenario is the implementation of endogamous marriage strategies which were used to keep property within a particular kin group, for example when a married woman with rights in land had been childless at the time of her husband's death, or when a daughter, in the absence of sons, would inherit landholdings in preference to collateral male kin (see Goody 1983, 39–40, 60).

In a Scandinavian context these kinds of strategies, and the impact on them of the Church's prohibitions, were the subject of a wide-ranging discussion, written in 2001 by Birgit Sawyer and published online.[4] She described a society which, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, felt under threat from the Church's prohibitions in relation to endogamy: 'The implication seems rather to support the interpretation of the incest prohibition as an instrument for hindering marriages since the more people who were related, the fewer marriages could be contracted.' (p.6). The result would be that more unmarried daughters or widows might seek protection from the Church and take with them their landholdings – an issue that also affected the aristocracy of tenth and eleventh-century Saxony (Leyser 1989, 70–71).

In the absence of contemporary sources for pre-Christian Scandinavian marriage and inheritance practices, there is one well-known later source that purports to describe relevant events in mid-tenth century Scandinavia: *Egils Saga*. It recounts Egil's marriage to his brother's widow, an act which would have enabled him to consolidate his control of her infant daughter who had inherited her father's estate (Fell 1985, 86–8). Though the saga as we have it was not compiled until the thirteenth century, its audience was presumably willing to believe that, three centuries earlier, such arrangements would not have been unthinkable.

The precise circumstances leading to the forfeiture of Helperby are not recoverable, but a plausible, broad context can be offered. In the third quarter of the tenth century, Archbishop Oscytel was in a position to enforce the Church's prohibitions relating to marriage between affines within the prohibited degrees,[5] and to obtain an estate in land in compensation for the offence. More than that, he was able to do this in a community which was probably made up of the descendants of Scandinavian settlers, perhaps still Old Norse speakers. This reinforces the suggestion made earlier in this article, that in favourable political circumstances, the archbishops were able to maintain significant control over local communities, including Scandinavian ones.

Hjalp may have been the founder of Helperby. On the other hand, given the grounds on which this township became forfeit, it is possible that she was the woman who had illicitly cohabited with the two brothers. As the Archbishop would not have recognised the right to the estate of the second brother/husband (and assuming the first brother/husband was deceased), his acquisition of the woman's estate might have led his officials to attach her name to it, an attachment which became fixed by its use in their written records (a circumstance discussed in Hough 2013, 259–60).

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[4] https://www.academia.edu/12193019/Marriage_Inheritance_and_Property_in_Early_Medieval_Scandinavia (accessed February 2022).

[5] That marriages within the prohibited degrees might occur without the Church being aware is indicated in *Wifmannes Beweddung*, which advises that 'It is also well to take care that one knows that they [bride and groom] are not too closely related, lest one afterwards put asunder what was previously wrongly joined together' (Whitelock 1979, 468, no. 50; Wormald 2001, 386).

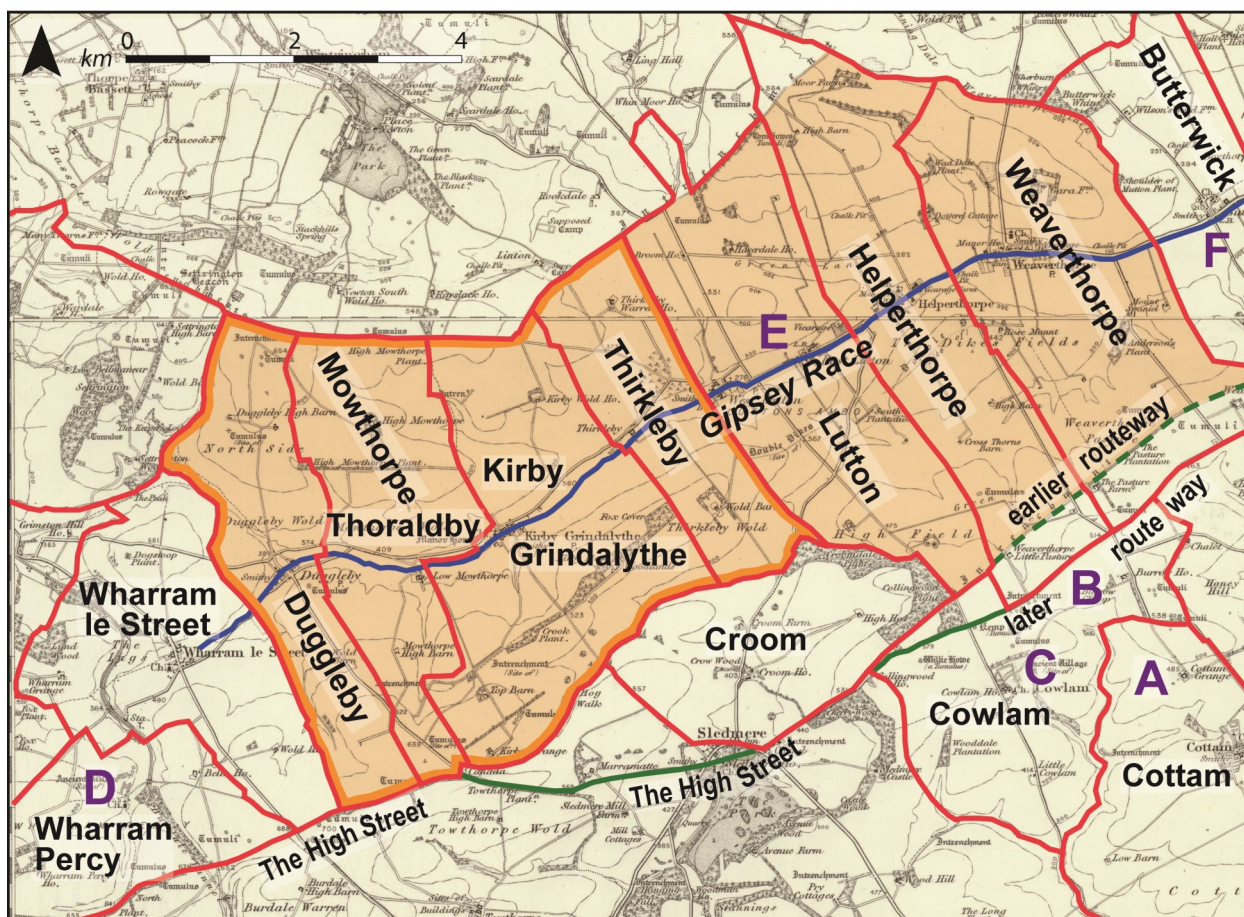*Figure 4   Weaverthorpe and adjacent townships on the northern Wolds in and around Cranedale, based on Ordnance Survey Six Inch map sheets 125 and 143 (surveyed 1850-51). The map shows, shaded, the putative pre-Scandinavian territory of the archbishops of York, with the block given over for Scandinavian settlement outlined in orange. Township boundaries are in red, and the capital letters mark the locations of Butterwick-type settlement sites described in the text. Base map reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.*

Figure 2 shows Helperby and neighbouring townships as they appear on the Ordnance Survey One Inch map sheets 52 and 62, revised in 1896, with township boundaries as indicated on the First Edition Six Inch maps sheets 120-21, 138-9 (surveyed 1848-53). The most striking feature relates to the main settlements of Helperby and Brafferton townships, which seem to take the form of a combined, single large village unit – a circumstance acknowledged in the current signage on the approach roads, as can be seen in Figure 3. The two villages are separated physically by an east-west routeway which runs from Raskelf in the east to Boroughbridge to the south-west, and administratively by the township boundary which runs along the centre of the carriageway.

Immediately west of the village(s), the routeway crosses the River Swale at a ford accessed on the east from a pasture called Swale Green. This is the 'broad ford' which supplies Brafferton with its place-name specific (Ekwall 1960, 59; Watts 2004, 78); but on the First Edition Six Inch map the ford has a name derived from ON: Helperby Wath (Wath also meaning ford: see Townend 2014, 108), emphasising neatly the cumulative impact of English and Scandinavian influence in this one particular location.

The lands which Oscytel acquired in compensation included not only Helperby but also the two parts (or

shares: *tpa dæl*) of Myton which were said in the memorandum to belong to Helperby (Woodman 2012, 134). In the nineteenth century, the southern part of Helperby township contained what was, until 1813, an open field called Myton Field (NYCRO NRRD DO no. 26 and ZMI no. 21; see also Fig. 2). This may simply have referred to its proximity to Myton, but an alternative explanation might be that it represented the two tenth-century shares of Myton. These shares may originally have comprised acres distributed more widely across Myton's open fields, subsequently consolidated for their more convenient management by the farmers of Helperby, in much the same way as suggested in an earlier article with regard to Hotham and Newbald, in the East Riding (Wrathmell 2020, 18). The position of Helperby village in relation to Brafferton village can be interpreted as evidence of Helperby's creation out of what was, originally, the southern half of Brafferton township, with additional lands provided by the two shares of Myton to the south.

The Helperby estate acquired by the archbishops also included soke over *Þibustan*, *Þurulfestun*, *Ioletun* and *Þorp* (Woodman 2012, 134). These lands, assessed as 11 carucates and 2 bovates, remained soke of Helperby at Domesday (Faull and Stinson 1986, SN, B23-24), but with some changes to the vill structure: *Þurulfestun* and *Þorp* had been replaced by *Turulfestorp*, now

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Tholthorpe, its village settlement perhaps occupying the earlier settlement site of *Þurulfestun* (as suggested in Watts 2004, 608; see also Fellows-Jensen 1972, 130). *Þibustan* is also lost. It has been linked to a farm named Wide Open, about 20km to the south-east in Skelton township, close to York (Smith 1928, 17–18), despite A.H. Smith's conclusion that 'The modern name is not a derivative of the early forms, unless by popular corruption'. It is more likely that the lost Domesday *Wibedstune*, following *Turoluestorp* in the Yorkshire Summary and combined with it in a joint assessment of seven carucates (Faull and Stinson 1986, SN, B24), was located next to it. Its disappearance may be associated with the emergence, in the twelfth century, of a new vill called Flawith (Smith 1928, 21). Thus, although these township names display a remarkable degree of instability, their transience may simply be the consequence of an unusual degree of instability in the disposition of township territories.

Two other conclusions can be drawn from these early records. First, the two shares of Myton which belonged to Helperby in the later tenth century might account for inconsistencies in the Domesday survey, which lists a manor of four and a half carucates in Myton as being held by the Count of Mortain, despite the same holding being attributed in the Summary to the archbishop (Faull and Stinson 1986, 5N, 69; SN, B25). The Summary also attributes to the archbishop ten carucates in Helperby, whereas the Survey itself attributes to him eight carucates there (Faull and Stinson 1986, 2N, 25-26; SN, B24-25). The two carucate difference might conceivably relate to the two shares of Myton.

Secondly, two of the other townships in the Helperby soke had 'Grimston hybrid' place-names: Youlton, incorporating the Old Norse personal name *Jóli* (Fellows-Jensen 1972, 130; Watts 2004, 712), and *Þurulfestun*, incorporating the Old Norse personal name *Thórulfr* (Fellows-Jensen 1972, 130; Watts 2004, 608). Fellows-Jensen (1972, 109) identified 42 place-names in Yorkshire (including these examples) which combine a Scandinavian personal name and *-tūn*. It is interesting that two of them recorded in the later tenth century were within the soke of a *-bý* settlement which also has a Scandinavian personal name specific.

Finally, it is clear that the soke estate of Helperby can only have been a century old at most when we first meet it, upon its forfeiture to Oscytel (though it may, of course, have replaced an earlier soke estate centred on Brafferton). This reinforces Dawn Hadley's warning that we cannot assume that all such estates are the remnants of larger, early Anglo-Saxon territorial units, and supports her proposition that some were, at the time of the Domesday survey, more recent formations (Hadley 2000b, 87–8). The same is true of the next Domesday soke to be discussed: the archbishops' Weaverthorpe estate, located on the northern Wolds in a valley once called Cranedale, now the upper part of the Great Wold Valley, on either side of the stream called the Gipsey Race (Fig. 1).

The archbishops and the Weaverthorpe estate

Domesday records that in the time of King Edward, Weaverthorpe (Fig. 4) with its berewicks of Mowthorpe and Sherburn was held by Archbishop Ealdred as a single manor of 26 carucates (Faull and Stinson 1986, 2B, 18). Its soke extended across Helperthorpe, and into North Grimston, Sutton, Birdsall, Croom, Thirkleby, (East and West) Lutton and the lost *Ulchiltorp* (Faull and Stinson 1986, 2B, 18–19). Most of these holdings were on the Wolds to the south and south-west of Weaverthorpe vill, their township areas recorded in Figure 4. Others lay in the Vale of Pickering to the north and north-west, below the Wolds scarp (see Wrathmell 2012, fig. 36).

These were all attributed to Archbishop Thomas, Ealdred's successor, at the time of the Survey, along with two more recent additions to his estates. The first comprised nine carucates at Cottam which had previously been held as one manor by Ulfr, an Anglo-Scandinavian thegn who was a major benefactor of St Peter's (Faull and Stinson 1986, 2B, 17; Rees Jones 2013, 51). The second was the church of Cowlam and half a carucate in the same vill which seem to have been acquired by Thomas himself (Faull and Stinson 1986, 2B, 18).

Ignoring these additions, it is possible to distinguish two different types of component of the Weaverthorpe soke. On the one hand, the majority of the archbishop's Domesday holdings, both berewicks and soke jurisdiction, comprised a few carucates within vills which also contained holdings of the king, the king's thegns, or Norman tenants-in-chief. Mowthorpe, for example, contained a manor of one carucate held by Nigel Fossard from the Count of Mortain in addition to the archbishop's five carucate berewick (Faull and Stinson 1986, 2B, 18; 5E, 71). North Grimston, where the archbishop had soke of three and a half carucates, also contained five manors of five king's thegns amounting to four carucates, and a manor of two carucates and two bovates held by Hugh fitz Baldric (Faull and Stinson 1986, 2B, 18; 1E, 53; 23E, 17).

The Weaverthorpe estate may have been assembled from heterogeneous donations over several centuries before the Conquest, but three components stand out from the others. Weaverthorpe itself, Helperthorpe and Lutton were entirely in the hands of the archbishop at Domesday; the Survey records no other interests in these vills. They may, therefore, represent in origin a single extensive territory donated to St Peter's at a relatively early period, despite the apparently more recent formation of two of their place-names.

One of these names, Helperthorpe, incorporates the ON genitive singular form of the female name *Hjalp*, which we have already met in Helperby (Fellows-Jensen 1972, 60; Watts 2004, 295). Could they refer to the same person? As far-fetched as this may seem, we should bear in mind the rarity of ON female personal names as specifics of *-bý* and *-thorp* place-names. In her survey of women in English place-names, Carole Hough noted only eight secure instances of place-names containing ON feminine personal names recorded in Domesday Book or earlier.[6] Of these, two combine with *-bý* (one being Helperby) and five with *-thorp*

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[6] None of entries in Judith Jesch's additional list of women's names is recorded before the twelfth century (Jesch 2008, 159–60).

(including Helperthorpe). Helperby and Helperthorpe are the only place-names incorporating the personal name *Hjalp* (Hough 2002, 65-6, 97). We may also note that the earliest records of both townships bearing these place-names associate them with the archbishops of York, one in the later tenth century, the other in the eleventh.

Is it more likely that two women with that name, out of a total of seven recorded cases of ON female personal names certainly associated with *-bý* and *-thorp* generics by the time of Domesday, happened to be landholders in Yorkshire who gave their names to townships associated with St Peter's? Or is it more likely that the two places were associated with one woman named *Hjalp*, who had forfeited her original estate to the archbishop on the grounds of illicit marriage, and had been given instead a life interest in a new and less productive township on the Wolds? If so, was *Vithfari*, whose ON name is preserved in genitive singular form in neighbouring Weaverthorpe (Watts 2004, 658), her partner in the illicit marriage?

As noted some years ago (Wrathmell 2012, 181), a Domesday soke estate with its *caput* in a vill named Weaverthorpe is unlikely to have been in existence before the Scandinavian settlement, given that *-thorp* names are believed to have been coined mainly in the tenth and eleventh centuries (Cullen *et al*. 2011, 138–42). There is a further piece of evidence, also previously noted, to suggest that Weaverthorpe and the adjoining Helperthorpe were created relatively late in the sequence of township formation along the Gipsey Race. It is to be found in their relationship to a long-distance, east to west routeway which had been in use since prehistoric times (Wrathmell 2012, 104–5 and fig. 38).

The routeway, known in the nineteenth century as the High Street (Wrathmell 2012, 56), passes just to the south of Croom township, the stretches marked as green lines on Figure 4 indicating where the route has not been used as a township boundary. To the east of Croom there are two divergent trackways marking a change in the course of the route: the later (and present) one to the south, and an earlier one, marked by the Ordnance Survey as an *Intrenchment*, to the north.

The south-eastern end of Lutton township runs only as far as the earlier trackway (as does Croom), but Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe extend across it, running as far as the later course of the route. Lutton, which had been split into East and West Lutton by the early twelfth century, and which had perhaps been so divided before the Norman conquest (Wrathmell 2012, 107), incorporates an OE personal name and *-tūn* (Watts 2004, 387). It is therefore potentially an earlier formation than the names of its neighbours to the north-east. The date when the route changed course is not known, but the sequence of its courses matches the suggested relative dating for the coining of the township place-names.

That said, there are grounds for supposing that the archbishops' interest in Cranedale might have originated in pre-Scandinavian centuries. Part two in this series of articles discussed the block of territory to the west of Lutton, a territory which is occupied by four townships with *-bý* place-names: Thirkleby, Kirby Grindalythe, Duggleby and the lost *Thoraldby* (apparently subsumed in a secondary township, Mowthorpe: Wrathmell 2012, 99). It was suggested that these *-bý* townships might

have been formed out of the territory of an earlier estate, centred on what we now know as Kirby Grindalythe and possibly under the control of an ecclesiastical institution (Wrathmell 2021, 13, 16). We might now venture a little further, to suggest that the institution in question was St Peter's, York.

Among the places named on Figure 4, Wharram Percy and Kirkby Grindalythe have both produced fragments of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture. As John Senior noted (in Lang 1991, 15), stone for sculpture manufacture is virtually non-existent on the Wolds, and the nearest stone in any way suitable for this purpose, the Coral Rag of North Grimston, is susceptible to frost damage. The earliest piece from Wharram Percy, a fragment of cross-arm dated to the late eighth century, seems to have come from more distant quarries, possibly from those at Stonegrave in Ryedale, at the western end of the Vale of Pickering (Lang 1991, 222).

Stonegrave was the location of one of the cluster of Deiran religious houses noted above, dating to the late seventh and eighth centuries; and the incised interlace decoration of the Wharram piece also supports a Ryedale connection (Lang 1991, 222; Morris 2015, 136–7 and fig. 7.2). It is arguable, therefore, that the pre-Scandinavian Wharram 'territory' – however that may have been defined – was affiliated to one or more of these early monasteries, an affiliation signified by a stone cross brought in from Ryedale.

The development of a comparable hypothesis for the Kirby Grindalythe sculpture produces different connections. The analysis of the stone-types of the five fragments there indicated a variety of stone sources (Lang 1991, 150–2). One is Coral Rag (no. 4), for which the nearest source, as noted above, is North Grimston, adjoining Wharram le Street township on the west. Two others (nos 1 and 5) are sandstone possibly from the North York Moors, whilst the two remaining pieces (nos 2 and 3, dated to the ninth to tenth centuries) are Millstone Grit, 'probably reused Roman ashlar from York, perhaps originally from area of Hetchell Crag (Thorner)' (Senior in Lang 1991, 150).

A York connection is strengthened by James Lang's discussion of fragment number 3. Its 'profile beast with ribbon body', though resembling the bound dragons of the Ryedale series, does not, he argued, come from the Ryedale workshops. He pointed instead to the York Metropolitan School: 'Indeed, the modelling, the arch of the neck and the mane have their closest parallel in a grave-cover from the York Minster cemetery… This is undoubtedly in the main stream of the York styles' (Lang 1991, 151).

David Stocker has argued that funerary monuments 'made of stones carved in York itself, on masonry recycled from Roman buildings which themselves belonged to the archbishop... would have been a very tangible visual symbol of the reach of the archbishops' (Stocker 2000, 198). In the case of Kirby Grindalythe, such connections may have indicated the archbishops' continued interest in Cranedale, in what had been a pre-Scandinavian territory of St Peter's extending from what became Duggleby, in the west, to what became Weaverthorpe, in the east. Thomas Pickles has suggested that the place which became known as Kirby Grindalythe may have earlier contained a small religious community (Pickles 2018, 250; see also Wrathmell 2021, 13); was it a dependency of St Peter's,

and the pre-Scandinavian administrative hub of Cranedale?

At the time of Scandinavian settlement, the western part of the territory (outlined in orange on Fig. 4), including what became Kirby Grindalythe, was given over to the formation of new -bý townships and the provision of resources to ensure that the new settlements had access to pastoral care. The rest of the territory, ultimately with a new *caput* at Weaverthorpe, was retained by the archbishops who, as suggested earlier in more general terms, would surely have been instrumental in planning and implementing such allocations to Scandinavian settlers.

The townships in and around Cranedale have produced no less than six habitation sites of the Middle Saxon period, their locations marked by letters on Figure 4. Originally identified by Catherine Stoertz as 'curvilinear enclosure complexes', associated with rectangular pits 'which strongly resemble… *Grubenhäuser*' (Stoertz 1997, 55, 59), they have been categorised more specifically as 'Butterwick-type' settlements, named from one of the clearest examples (Fig. 4, F; Wrathmell 2012, 106). They are frequently located close to medieval and modern village settlements, the agglomerated curvilinear forms of their enclosure ditches standing in marked contrast to the latter's rectilinear forms and regular rows of tofts and crofts.

The eponymous Butterwick settlement (Fig. 4, F), and one at Lutton which lies between the villages of East and West Lutton (Fig. 4, E; Wrathmell 2012, 106–7), are undated other than by their formal characteristics. Those at Cowlam and Wharram Percy, however, have produced artefact assemblages which can be assigned respectively to the eighth and ninth centuries and the seventh to ninth centuries (Fig. 4, C and D; Richards 2013, 252–6). A further site, known as Cottam A (Fig. 4, A), appears to date from the mid-eighth to the mid-ninth centuries. Its identification is based on its artefact assemblage, as structural evidence for enclosures or buildings (apart from a possible truncated *Grubenhaus*) was not identified (Richards 2013, 229–30).

The transition from these Butterwick-type settlements to the better-known rectilinear Wolds villages seems to have occurred in the later ninth century – at least on those sites which have been excavated, or which have provided metal-detected artefact assemblages. It is tempting, therefore, to link this transition to the impact of Scandinavian settlement. It is a link which can be explored in more detail at the final site discussed here, Cottam B (Fig. 4, B), where an Anglo-Saxon settlement, occupied during the eighth and ninth centuries, was replaced in the late ninth or early tenth century by an Anglo-Scandinavian settlement located about 100m further north (Richards 2013).

As noted in the Cottam B excavation report, the Anglo-Saxon settlement has none of the complexity of the Butterwick-type sites, being a sub-rectangular ditched enclosure containing at least two post-built structures but no *Grubenhäuser*. Furthermore, it was set astride a north-south trackway, 'apparently controlling use of the track' (Richards 1999, 89). Its Scandinavian replacement, identified as a farmstead, was marked by a number of sub-rectangular enclosures, and by a substantial, ditched entrance way with what appears to

have been a major timber gatehouse facing south towards the location of the earlier settlement and the trackway (Richards 1999, 94).

A further layer of the site's settlement history has been introduced more recently by Dawn Hadley and Julian Richards. They have deployed the techniques they so successfully developed to define the archaeological 'signature' of the Great Army's winter camps, to identify the presence at Cottam B of a Great Army war band. They regard its presence there as transitory, following and presumably causing the abandonment of the Anglo-Saxon enclosure, and preceding the establishment of its Scandinavian successor (Hadley and Richards 2018, 5–8). As they conclude, 'Cottam B therefore captures the moment of a critical transition in Viking behaviour in England, from raiding to settlement activity' (Hadley and Richards 2018, 8).

It is a transition that implies the eviction of the inhabitants of the Anglo-Saxon settlement, and their subsequent replacement by a Scandinavian farming community. If so, it stands in marked contrast to the principal theme of this series of articles, which is one of a negotiated settlement of Scandinavians, designed to minimise disruption to the existing rural population. Before allowing the contrast to stand, however, it is worth exploring an alternative hypothesis for the archaeological sequence at Cottam B: that the Anglo-Saxon enclosure did not contain a farming settlement of the kind found elsewhere on the Wolds, but had a specialist function as a Northumbrian 'Kingston', part of the royal administrative infrastructure.

Jill Bourne's analysis of places named *Kingston* (and variants) identified a corpus of about 70 such names in England, only five of them north of a line between the Wash and the Mersey, and none in either the East or North Ridings of Yorkshire (Bourne 2012, 261–2, 268). She emphasised the close relationship of many of them to Roman roads (or perhaps to contemporary highways, most of which had originated as Roman roads) and identified 'strings' of them along major routeways. The name seems mainly to have been attached to what are known only as small, dependent settlements. 'Five survive only as names of farms or small country houses, most are no more than hamlets and a few have developed into small villages' (Bourne 2012, 264).

As Bourne suggests (2012, 266, 279–80), the function of a *cyninges tūn* is perhaps to be found in royal administration relating to the highways, notably in relation to the routes connecting royal estate centres. This would certainly fit the context of Cottam B, identified as a possible outlier of the royal estate of Driffield to the south (Richards 2013, 208–9), and set astride the track of a routeway running northwards across the Wolds, a route which could have connected Driffield to the royal estate centre at Pickering.

Cottam B was located at the junction of this routeway with the High Street, the major east-west highway noted above (Fig. 4; Richards 2013, 254–5; Wrathmell 2020, fig. 36). It also seems to have been established outside the local township structure, in an area of land called *Burrehou* in the twelfth century, one of a number of distinct small territories set along the course of the High Street which seem to represent remnants of a corridor of permanent pasture used for driving animals between the
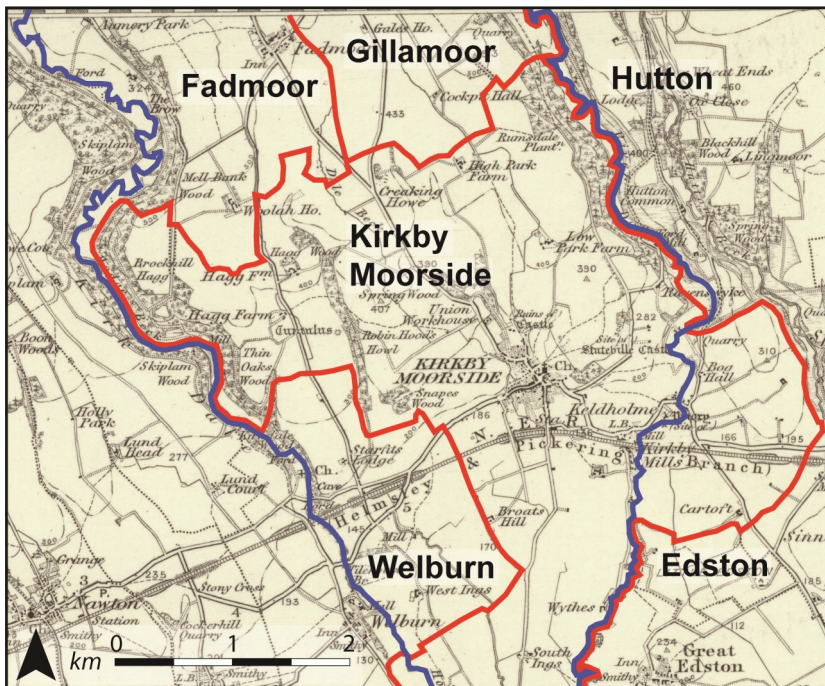
Figure 5   Kirkby Moorside township (based on Ordnance Survey One Inch map sheet 53 (surveyed 1847–53; revised 1895–6). Base map reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.
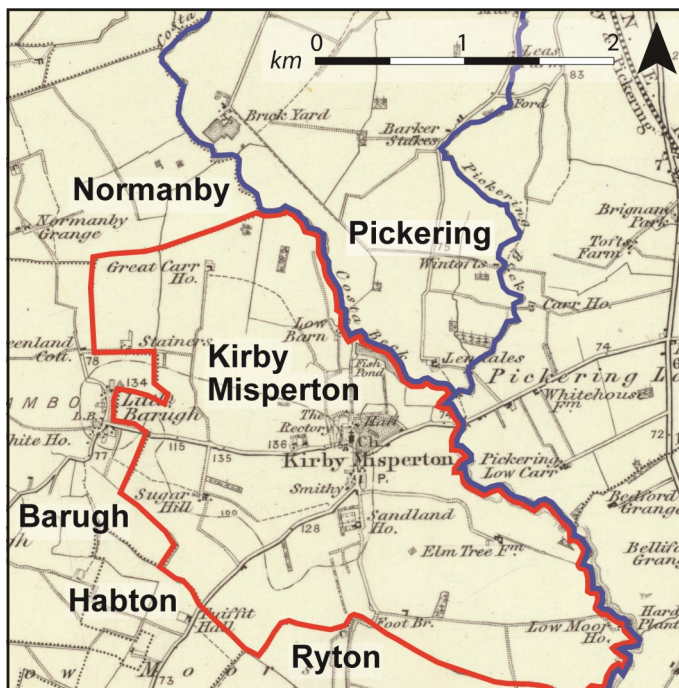
Figure 6   Kirby Misperton township (based on Ordnance Survey One Inch map sheet 53 (surveyed 1847–53; revised 1895–6). Base map reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

Vale of York and Holderness (Richards 2013, 205–6; Wrathmell 2012, 288–9 and fig. 104).

Thus, it is not surprising to find Viking war bands in what seems, at first glance, to be a remote spot on the Wolds, moving along these routes. The Anglo-Saxon enclosure at Cottam B may have been attacked not because it was a rural settlement, but rather because it was a projection of Northumbrian royal administration and justice, facilitating official journeys and supervising commercial activity along these routeways. It was soon replaced by a Scandinavian enclosure, perhaps established to perform much the same function on behalf of the war band leaders. If so, it is not necessarily an indication of more general interactions between Northumbrian and Scandinavian farming communities.

A final dimension to the Cottam B site is potentially even more intriguing: the evidence for its participation in a bullion economy, in the shape of two copper-alloy balance fragments, plain lead weights and a fragment of a dirham coin (Kershaw 2020, 122–3). Jane Kershaw has argued for a dual currency economy in the Danelaw: 'bullion and coin appear to have co-existed as forms of currency for some 70 or 80 years, from the onset of a sustained Viking presence in England in c. AD 865 to at least c. AD 930/40' (Kershaw 2017, 185).

York itself has provided plentiful evidence of coinage of this period, but very little in terms of the paraphernalia associated with metal-weight exchange, perhaps indicating the suppression of bullion in favour of coinage (Kershaw 2020, 127). Yet the evidence for metal-weight exchange appears to have a widespread (if

sparse) distribution through the Vales of York and Mowbray, and on and around the Yorkshire Wolds (Kershaw 2020, fig. 44). Might the dual currency economy reflect, at least in part, differences between those war bands which had been settled as farming communities relatively rapidly, and those which remained mobile – on the road – into the early decades of the tenth century? The late ninth-century coin from Kirby Grindalythe parish (see Wrathmell 2021, 13) and the evidence for metal-weight exchange from Cottam B, only a few miles away, may reflect these two different lifestyles: the one marked by rapid integration into Northumbria's coin-based economy and Christian religion; the other eschewing both for up to half a century (see also Raffield 2020, 203).

The archbishops and places named Kirby (Figs 1, 5 and 6)

The areas of eastern Yorkshire covered in these three articles encompass four Kirby place-names, two in the Vale of Pickering and two on the Wolds (Fig. 1). The latter two, Kirby Grindalythe and Kirby Underdale, seem to be integral to blocks of -*bý* townships otherwise distinguished by ON personal-name specifics, and each was a parochial centre by the twelfth century (Wrathmell 2021, 11–6). The two in the Vale, Kirkby Moorside and Kirby Misperton, are not contiguous with blocks of other -*bý* townships (although one of Kirby Misperton's adjacent townships is Normanby: Fig. 6); but in any case, the Vale townships marked by place-names in -*bý* do not form blocks of territory: they are interspersed with townships bearing other kinds of place-name generics.

The significance of the place-names Kirby and Kirkby has been the subject of lengthy debate. For Fellows-Jensen, a few of these place-names in England seem to denote 'farmsteads owned by a church'. The great majority, however, amounting to 42 names 'were all probably given to old established settlements in which the Scandinavian settlers found a church on their arrival' (Fellows-Jensen 1987, 298). A more comprehensive analysis of Kirby names has recently been carried out by Thomas Pickles (2018, 244–53). He has argued that these names, presumably coined and preserved by ON speakers who settled nearby, are unlikely to have meant 'religious community', or 'farm with/by a church', because of the poor correlation of such names with known early religious communities and with churches known to have been in existence at that period. He has concluded, instead, that 'The coining of new generic Old Norse place-names in *kirkja-by(r)* by local Old Norse communities that signalled some generic status but did not distinguish the place further… seems most explicable if the places were outside the ownership and interest of the local Old Norse naming communities', and that they 'point to a minimum number of places where churches retained land for a significant period after Old Norse-speakers settled nearby' (Pickles 2018, 253).

His conclusions are certainly applicable to the Vale of Pickering, where none of the documented religious communities of the seventh and eighth centuries was renamed Kirby (see Morris 2015, 126, 135–8, 144), but where Kirby Misperton has strong associations with one of them (Lastingham: Morris 2015, 132–3). A fragment of architectural sculpture also indicates a church at Kirkby Moorside in the mid-ninth century (Lang 1991, 158; Pickles 2018, 251). Of the two Wolds examples, the possibility of Kirby Grindalythe having been a pre-Scandinavian episcopal dependency has already been discussed, above.

As noted earlier in this article, Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture signifies the use of at least two of these four Kirbys for burials during the tenth century, but in performing this role they were no different from the churches and graveyards located on the sites of documented pre-Scandinavian religious communities, such as Lastingham and Stonegrave, nor from other local churches in townships with OE place-names such as Middleton and Sinnington: these have all produced Anglo-Scandinavian cross fragments, sometimes in impressive quantities. What sets the Kirbys apart is not the presence of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture, nor the signs of earlier monastic associations, but the names themselves, and the application of those names to territorial units (or, in the Vale, parts of such units) which had earlier been known by other names.

This is certainly the case with Kirby Misperton, where the suffix denotes the name of the earlier -*tūn* township (Watts 2004, 350). Shortly before Domesday Book was compiled, this Kirby had been granted by its Norman tenant-in-chief, Berenger de Tosny, to the Abbot of York (in two parts, reflecting its earlier apportionment between two previous landholders: Faull and Stinson 1986, 8N, 1-2, SN, Ma 1). Abbot Stephen had also received a third part, a berewick of Kirkby Moorside simply called Misperton, from another tenant-in-chief, Hugh fitz Baldric (Faull and Stinson 1986, 23N, 21).

As suggested above, Abbot Stephen seems to have been attempting to reconstitute the land holdings of Lastingham (Wrathmell 2012, 194–5), so it is probable that Misperton was originally one of them. Kirby was created out of Misperton, but perhaps encompassed only part of the township. It is possible that Kirkby Moorside was similarly only part of an earlier township, one associated with a folk-grouping known as the *Gētlingas* (see below). It appears, therefore, that parts of pre-existing township territories were, in or after the late ninth century, renamed Kirby to signify, as Pickles has concluded, their possession by the Church. They were presumably in the possession of the archbishops rather than the religious communities they had formerly supported, though in either case they had passed into secular hands by the time of the Norman conquest.

They may, therefore, mark church lands which had been repurposed to support the provision of pastoral care to the Scandinavian settlers, a role which is evident in the geographical relationship of the Wolds Kirbys to the neighbouring -*bý* settlements, but is not so readily mapped in relation to the Vale Kirbys. They could well, therefore, belong to the earliest phase of Scandinavian settlement, to a period when the archbishops were unable to enforce the payment of tithes and other church dues normally used for pastoral support; a role which became redundant when the archbishops reached the point at which they could enforce such contributions, perhaps by the late tenth century (see Abrams 2000, 146). Such an explanation might account for the Kirbys in the Vale and on the Wolds, but it would not necessarily apply to all (or indeed any) other instances of this place-name elsewhere in the Danelaw.

Dating the formation of -bý townships

The three articles in this series have thus far failed to address directly the question of when Yorkshire's -bý townships with ON personal-name specifics might have been created. It is a question that can no longer be evaded. The starting point for any discussion must be the arguments put forward by Peter Sawyer who concluded that -bý settlement names were *not* coined at the time of Halfdan's initial land-sharing, nor indeed at any time during the final quarter of the ninth century. He observed that 'Scandinavian settlement names are rare in the parts of the Danelaw that were recovered by the English soon after 900', and he ascribed the main period of Scandinavian name production to the early years of the tenth century (Sawyer 1982, 103). The context was seen to be the fragmentation of the Danelaw's soke estates in the first half of the tenth century, when the Scandinavian aristocracy suffered a series of military defeats. The consequent weakening of their authority gave 'many small landowners a chance… to claim fuller rights of ownership over their holdings' an interpretation 'consistent with the remarkable number of Scandinavian place names that incorporate a personal name' (Sawyer 1982, 106).

Fellows-Jensen has elaborated this line of thinking but appears to be broadly in agreement. She identifies at least two strata of -bý names in England, the first 'at the end of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth, when Danish settlers in eastern England took over a large number of pre-existing English settlements, to many of which they gave names in -bý whose specifics were common nouns such as *dal* 'valley' in Dalby… and *kirkja* 'church' as in Kirkby…' (Fellows-Jensen 2013, 85). She continues that 'It was perhaps rather later… that the Danish settlers in eastern England began to break up old estates into small independent agricultural units, many of which may have begun life as dependent secondary settlements. In Yorkshire and the East Midlands this fragmentation resulted in settlements whose names consisted of a Danish personal name and -bý' (Fellows-Jensen 2013, 86).

These inferences have been questioned by Lesley Abrams and David Parsons (2004, 404–6), and they fail to gain support from the detailed evidence of eastern Yorkshire. The place-names of the -bý townships discussed in the first two of these articles include thirteen with certain or likely ON personal name specifics. To these should perhaps be added Whenby, the women's *bý*. Ignoring the Kirbys that have already been discussed, the four remaining 'common noun' specifics, Blandsby, two Dalbys and Skewsby, are all in terrains less favourable for arable and cattle farming than those qualified by personal names. It is difficult to imagine that these territories, rather than those marked by personal name specifics, were the ones first shared out among Halfdan's followers.

On the contrary, it is easier to imagine that an intensive and fairly rapidly organised settlement of Halfdan's followers, achieved by the insertion of new -bý townships into territories already occupied and full of minor topographical names as well as township names, will have required place-name specifics that indicated who, among the new leading landholders, was being given which share. This is, of course, essentially the process outlined by Sir Frank Stenton, when he argued that:

'Beneath the leaders of highest rank in the Danish armies… there must have been a large number of men who led small companies of followers. It would be natural, and indeed inevitable, that when the time for settlement came, some of these companies should group themselves upon the soil around the men who had led them in the war, and that the names of these men should sometimes become attached to the villages which arose in this way' (Stenton 1970, 308).

A relationship between such names and what could be seen as intensive and rapid settlement events can also be detected in two other clusters: one at Flegg, in Norfolk, and the other in Schleswig, north Germany. The 'island' of Flegg, on the Norfolk coast, has a cluster of thirteen contiguous townships with -bý place-names, almost all of them with ON personal name specifics. It has been suggested that this territory, perhaps once a monastic estate centred on Caister, might have been allocated in the early or mid-ninth century as the base for a Viking fleet, one established by the indigenous rulers to protect commercial traffic operating between the inland waterways of Norfolk and Continental markets (Abrams and Parsons 2004, 417–9; Abrams 2005, 316–8).

Denmark has no similar clusters of -bý place-names with personal name specifics, but there is one in the peninsulas of Angeln/Angel and Schwansen/Svansø, now in Germany but under Danish control at various times during the Viking Age. They lie beyond the eastern end of the boundary earthwork known as the *Danevirke*. Birte Hjorth Pedersen's map of such names indicates notable concentrations either side of the Schlei/Slien waterway, which provided the trading centre at Haithabu/Hedeby with access to the Baltic. Rejecting suggestions that this cluster was the result of Swedish or English Danelaw influence, Pedersen concluded that it was simply a reflection of the particular circumstances of settlement activity in this region in the Viking Age (Pedersen 1960, 11, 45–6). Like the concentrations of -bý place-names with personal name specifics in Flegg and in eastern Yorkshire, they may represent a deliberate act of co-ordinated settlement which gave expression to political strategy.

The kind of sharing out envisaged here for eastern Yorkshire is also, perhaps, better aligned to recent research on the make-up of the Great Army, which has placed greater emphasis on its component warbands, the *lið*, which could have operated independently of one another in the Northumbrian countryside (see Hadley and Richards 2018, 5). *Lið* have been defined as retinues of warriors, sworn to a leader who fed, equipped and rewarded them. Those that embarked for Northumbria might be limited to the crews of a couple of ships, or larger depending on the leader's wealth and standing, and might be composed of men (and possibly women) of varying social and geographical backgrounds, some drawn from kin groups or neighbouring farming families, others from more distant communities (see Raffield 2016, 310–11; Raffield *et al.* 2016, 35–40). In his reconsideration of the Great Army's demography, Ben Raffield has argued that:

'this group comprised not only combatants but also family units, suggesting that the Great Army was seeking out land to settle… The common desire to obtain land, however, should not be confused with the
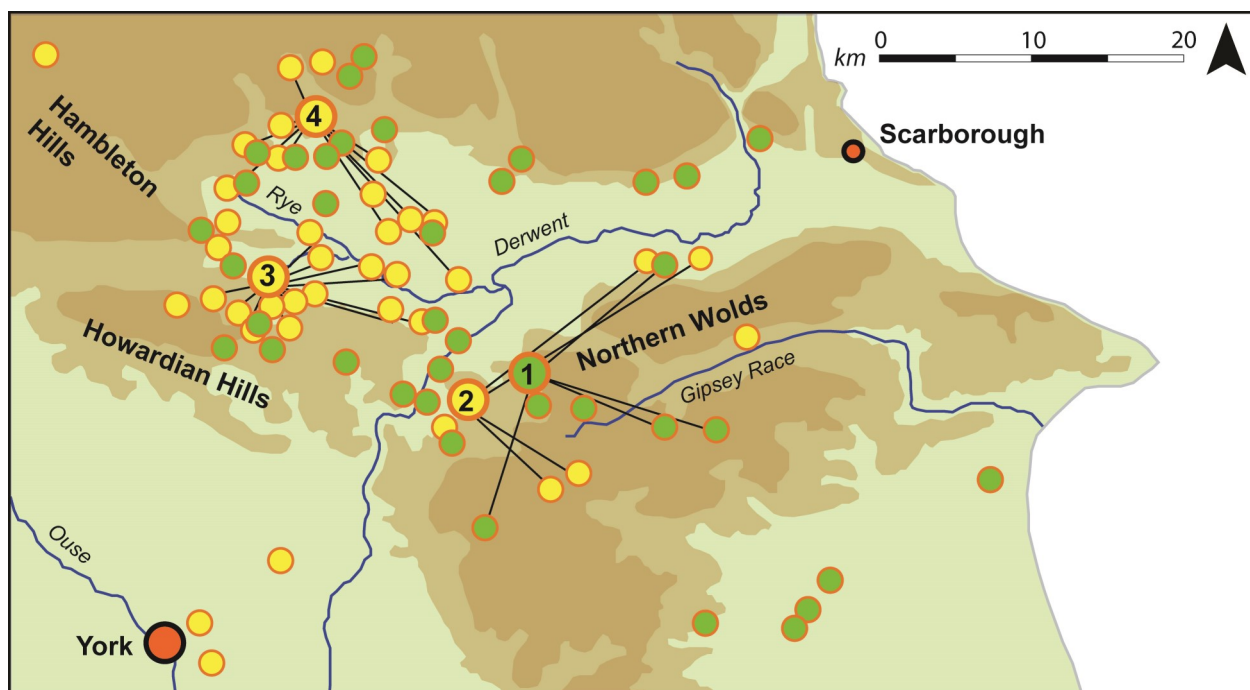
Figure 7 Landholdings of the putative descendants of Cnut's general Thorbrandr the Hold as recorded in the Domesday survey: Thorbrandr/Gamall in green, and Ormr in yellow. The soke estate centres are Buckton (no. 1); Langton (no. 2); Hovingham (no. 3), and Kirkby Moorside (no. 4). Contours at 50m and 100m.

perception that these groups [the autonomous *lið*] possessed a single objective; they were not seeking a single "homeland", but rather individual *homelands*' (Raffield 2016, 330).

The dispersed pattern of -*bý* townships across eastern Yorkshire seems eminently compatible with Raffield's view of the objectives of the individual *lið*. Their settlement within, and dispersal among local farming communities, would also have done much to neutralise the aggressive and disruptive tendencies of *lið* when they operated as fully mobile bands – and perhaps this was the objective of the host communities. The place-names and written records seem in this way to combine to create an intelligible story of settlement in the last quarter of the ninth century.

In contrast, the written records relating to events in the tenth and eleventh centuries are very much concerned with the acquisition by high-status Scandinavians of Northumbrian soke estates comprising groups of pre-Scandinavian townships. The first and best known relates to two multi-township coastal estates in what is now County Durham, estates which had been held in the early years of the tenth century by the Community of St Cuthbert. They were seized by the Scandinavian king Ragnald after the battle of Corbridge in 918, and given by him to two of his followers, presumably military leaders, Onlafbald and Scule (Townend 2014, 56–7, 86; Roberts 2008, 156, fig. 6.3). Within these estates, and in the Community's lands more widely, there is a marked lack of -*bý* place-names and of 'Grimston-hybrid' names (Abrams and Parsons 2004, 413–4 and n. 160). These, surely, could be cases where Scandinavian warrior élites simply took control of existing soke estates and benefitted from their issues, leaving the local farming population largely intact.

The same is probably true of many of the major landholders with ON personal names who feature in eastern Yorkshire's Domesday entries. It has been argued elsewhere that the antecessors of two Domesday tenants-in-chief, Hugh Fitz Baldric and Berenger de Tosny, were descendants of Thorbrandr the Hold, one of Cnut's generals during his conquest of England in the early eleventh century (Townend 2014, 194–8; Wrathmell 2012, 184–7). Thorbrandr's grandson, also Thorbrandr, held until the 1070s a soke centred on Buckton, along with a number of manors in association with Gamall, possibly his brother. Ormr, perhaps another grandson of the *hold*, had held Langton soke; both of these were located on the south side of the River Derwent (Fig. 7). In addition, Ormr held soke estates to the north-west, on either side of the River Rye, at Kirkby Moorside, and Hovingham.

Hovingham was probably a monastic estate of the eighth to ninth centuries, and perhaps earlier (see Morris 2015, 141 and Wrathmell 2021, 7–8); the Langton and Buckton estates may have been more recently formed sokes, but their manorial halls were in -*tūn* townships. Kirkby evidently did not acquire its Domesday name until the Scandinavian period, but given the indications, discussed above, that 'Kir(k)by' names signify the renaming of earlier communities, this one could well have been an earlier estate centre under a different name, perhaps associated with the *Gētlingas*. The folk-name *Gētlingas* is preserved in Gilling East, the probable location of another Deiran religious community just west of Hovingham (Morris 2015, 138; Watts 2004, 250); and Gillamoor, the township immediately north of Kirkby Moorside – and out of which it may have been carved – is named after *Gētla* (Watts 2004, 250).

Outside these centres, the sokes of both Thorbrandr and Ormr included jurisdiction over carucates in several townships with *-bý* place-names. There is, however, nothing to suggest a more meaningful relationship with them than with the *-tūn* and *-thorp* vills which also formed part of these estates; nothing to suggest that townships with *-bý* place-names were created under their control. Indeed, the patterns of landholding shown in Figure 7 seem more closely related to key approaches from the Scarborough coast to York and the Vale of York. An invading army landing on this part of the coast would, after crossing the Vale of Pickering, have been faced with two narrow routeways westwards: the Coxwold-Gilling gap between the northern end of the Howardian Hills and the Hambleton Hills; and the Kirkham gap between the southern end of the Howardian Hills and the northern Wolds. Thorbrandr the Hold, putative ancestor of Domesday Thorbrandr, Gamall and Ormr, might well have been invested with these estates by Cnut to control access to York and the Vale, irrespective of the locations of Scandinavian communities.

The sharing-out and cultivation of Northumbrian lands in the final quarter of the ninth century is recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and is elaborated in Asser's biography of King Alfred (Abrams and Parsons 2004, 407; Townend 2014, 85–6). Should we link these records with the creation of townships with *-bý* place-names? We can choose to make this link; or we can argue that the documented sharing-out of lands has left no trace in township place-names other than perhaps in the 'Grimston hybrids', and that the creation of townships with *-bý* place-names was the result of some other, later and undocumented phase in the history of Scandinavian settlement. Acknowledging that the settlement of Halfdan's followers may have extended over a number of years and perhaps decades, the first of these alternatives is the more economical, and therefore the more attractive.

The persistence of township names

Underlying this discussion of settlement chronology is an assumption that the place-names first given to townships were liable to persist. It is an assumption that should be explored further in the final section of this article. Topographical township names, if appropriate at the time of their creation, would presumably have continued to be relevant throughout the existence of the community occupying that territory. Among habitative names, those which related to early estate functions, such as Appleton and Swinton in Hovingham (discussed in Wrathmell 2021, 8), evidently retained their names long after those particular functions had ceased to characterise these territories.

Personal name specifics, whether combined with *-tūn* or with *-bý*, might seem more amenable to renaming, as one prominent landholder was replaced by another; and such a replacement has been argued above in the case of Helperby. Yet Helperby was subject to forfeiture, and it may be that it was this kind of radical and sudden change in the transmission of land that was most likely to lead to renaming; it might account for the emergence of the 'Grimston hybrids', as Scandinavians with ON personal names took over townships previously held by Northumbrian landholders. Several other townships within the Helperby soke estate were also subject to

name changes between the tenth and thirteenth centuries; but here, it was not just the names that changed, but also the township units and the extent of their territories – a radical alteration in the pattern of rural communities, not simply a name change.

Where townships, once founded, retained their integrity for many centuries, the inclination would have been to retain the original name, not to change it. This would surely have been the case when, by Edgar's reign and probably long before, townships formed the basic units of local administration (see Wrathmell 2020, 23–4). If, for example, the *Farmann* who gave his name to Farmanby near Thornton had been succeeded as principal landholder there by a *Rauðr*, leading to a change in the township's place-name specific, the confusion caused to local administration by the emergence of two adjacent Roxbys would have been considerable. The Kirby names are, I would argue, the only ones where both the specifics and generics of OE place-names were replaced, and even in these cases, as noted above, they may record only a partial, not a complete replacement of the township's earlier name, to signify a new function in the context of the Scandinavian settlement.

Abbreviations

NYCRO: North Yorkshire County Record Office, Northallerton.

NRRD: North Riding Registry of Deeds (collection held by North Yorkshire County Record Office).

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WAR, PEACE AND POLLEN: EXAMINING THE LANDSCAPE OF LATER MEDIEVAL WALES

By TUDUR DAVIES[1]

Introduction

This paper presents the second part of a review of palynological studies covering the medieval period in Wales. The first part, covering the period *c.* AD 410–1050 (Davies 2019), has been published in Comeau and Seaman's edited review of medieval agriculture in Wales (2019); the current paper examines the period *c.* AD 1050–1500. Although some scholars have previously examined palynological trends in Wales through the earlier medieval period (e.g. Dark 2000; Rippon *et al.* 2013; 2015; Davies 2015; 2019; Rippon 2019), the later medieval period has been relatively neglected in regional reviews of palaeoenvironmental data. The greatest contribution has been provided by Astrid Caseldine (cf. Edwards 1997; Roberts 2006), who has demonstrated the potential of such research with her work on cores from Ynys Etws (Caseldine 2006), Llyn Morwynion (Caseldine *et al.* 2001) and several other sites. The current review builds on Caseldine's work, providing a comprehensive examination of published pollen studies and considering the potential cultural influences on Wales' pollen record.

Methodology

The methodology for the current work is consistent with the review of early medieval sampling sites noted above (Davies 2019). Relevant studies were identified through a review of published sources and unpublished 'grey' literature, with the majority of sampling sites being found in Astrid Caseldine's seminal *Environmental Archaeology in Wales* (Caseldine 1990), *Radiocarbon Dates from Great Britain and Ireland* (CBA 2000), *Wales and Borders Radiocarbon Database* (Burrow and Williams 2010) and a search of the *British Pollen Database* (BPOL – Grant pers. comm.).

All original radiocarbon dates were re-calibrated using the IntCal20 (Reimer *et al.* 2020) calibration curve with Clam 2.3.7 (Blaauw 2010). A viability assessment was then undertaken, comparing pollen sampling depths against the revised date models for data pertinent to the later medieval period. Sites without horizons directly dated to the late medieval period were not necessarily discounted out of hand, provided they contained scientific dating evidence either side of the medieval period and demonstrated constant accumulation rates. This discernment is often difficult, however, because there are challenges in establishing chronologies for the upper segments of palaeoenvironmental core samples. Although numerous

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pollen studies have been undertaken across Wales, few have been subject to rigorous scientific dating, as many studies pre-date the regular use of radiocarbon dates in palaeoenvironmental research.

There is also a lack of period-specific research into the environments of the first and second millennia in Wales, as well as some methodological constraints. Several sites have been affected by truncation, or have poorly dated upper sequences, which limit their use for chronological comparison. Sites with sequences that only partly cover the late medieval period have been included where it is possible to compare with earlier or later data. Scientific dating of the upper portion of a core also often proves difficult for a number of reasons. Despite advances in radiocarbon calibration (Reimer *et al.* 2020), the plateau in the radiocarbon calibration curve from *c.* 1700 onwards means that the calibrated date range of material dated between *c.* 50–300 BP is very wide, and samples with different ages BP can often produce almost identical calibrated date ranges. However, other scientific techniques are available to date more recent sediments. These include radio-isotopic dating of Lead-210 and Caesium-137 (Jaakkola *et al.* 1983), tephra dating (Dugmore *et al.* 1995) and establishing Spherical Carboniferous Particle (SCP) concentrations to compare with historical pollution levels (cf. Rose and Appleby 2005). The application of these techniques in Wales is limited. Lead-210, Caesium-137 and SCPs have been used in numerous studies of more recent environmental changes, but only rarely within longer-term studies (e.g. Llwyn Du: Mighall *et al.* 2010; Crew and Mighall 2013; Llyn Syfaddon: Jones *et al.* 1991). Tephra dating, which identifies the unique chemical signature of particles ejected from specific volcanic eruptions, has not been widely utilised. However, work undertaken by Watson *et al.* (2017) at Cors Fochno (or Borth Bog) has identified multiple tephra layers post-dating *c.* AD 1000, demonstrating the potential utility of this method for future palaeoenvironmental research.

The viability assessment also took into consideration pollen sampling frequencies, ensuring that they were sufficiently high to provide a detailed understanding of changes in the environment over time. Unfortunately, given the aforementioned paucity of research into period-specific issues in the medieval period, the sampling frequencies for pollen analysis are very low at several sites, limiting the potential for cross-site comparisons. Although such studies provide useful information relating to the environment surrounding a given site at a specific point in time, it is difficult to ascertain when the local environmental characteristics were established and how they relate to contemporary changes occurring

elsewhere. These sites could not, therefore, be used in direct comparison with others. Where only parts of a core demonstrated dating evidence and pollen sampling of sufficient quality, the relevant segments have been included within the current review.

Results

A total of 56 relevant pollen sampling sites were identified by the literature review (Table 1; Fig. 1). These sites consist exclusively of cores taken from lake sediments and peat bogs which provide excellent preservation conditions for pollen, with chronologies largely based on the radiocarbon dating of organic material within sealed sequential deposits. Studies of pollen from archaeological sites were also reviewed (e.g. Hen Domen, Montgomeryshire: Moore 1971; Sycharth Castle, Montgomeryshire: Crampton 1966; Cefn Graeanog Farmstead, Caernarvonshire: Chambers 1982), but while these studies provide useful information about the landscape context of a given site, they offer limited information relating to changes within definitive timeframes.

The quality of the data available from these sampling sites is highly variable. Due to the general lack of period-specific research, pollen sampling frequency is sometimes restricted to two to three samples for the entire period. For the most part, the later medieval sequences are incidental to other research rather than the result of targeted projects, the only exception being the work at Llwyn Du, Merionethshire (Mighall *et al.* 2010; Crew and Mighall 2013), which aimed specifically to assess the environmental impact of later medieval ironworking activity. Here, examination of 29 sequential pollen samples dating to the later medieval period demonstrated that charcoal production for the bloomery involved the active management of woodland. However, since the chronological range of this core could not be verified beyond cal. AD 1300, it is not included in the comparative dataset of sites shown in Figures 3–6.

The majority of the sites identified in the review are located in north-west Wales, the southern Cambrian Mountains and the Brecon Beacons, where palaeoenvironmental research has tended to focus on peat deposits at higher altitudes. Lake cores provide a limited record of lowland environmental changes, but their pollen catchments are often regional and reflect a mixture of landscape contexts rather than their immediate lowland locale. Lowland sequences are especially underrepresented around the border between England and Wales (especially to the north), Anglesey (in earlier centuries), and south-east and south-west Wales. Pollen studies by a number of researchers have demonstrated that trends in arable activity are more acute within core lowland settlement zones, and that it is vital to study such areas to gain an appreciation of the variations in arable activity over time (Fyfe *et al.* 2003; 2004; Davies 2015; Seaman *et al.* forthcoming). It is therefore problematic that such areas have not been as extensively researched in Wales as elsewhere in Britain, where developer-funded projects have increased the availability of lowland pollen studies (cf. Rippon *et al.* 2015, 57). This issue is particularly problematic along the borderlands and south Wales, where the limited number of environmental sequences may also conceal changes in land use associated with early Norman settlement.

All pollen studies identified were re-examined, looking specifically at habitat types and indicators of land use based on the observations of Behre (1981), Turner (1964), Clapham *et al.* (1987), Grime *et al.* (2007) and Stace (2010). Changes in woodland cover, wetland, pastoral and arable indicators were noted, to provide an indication of changes in settlement patterns and farming intensity in relation to indicators of climate change. The pollen taxa indicative of these habitats are listed in Table 2. Two distinct periods have been recognised within the late medieval pollen record for Wales: the first *c.* AD 1050–1300, and the second *c.* AD 1300–1500. Coincidentally, the latter broadly corresponds with the timing of major cultural and political changes in north and mid Wales following the conquest of Edward I, enabling a comparison of the environmental contexts of medieval Wales under native rulers and English control. The broad changes observed in these data are displayed as graphs in Figure 2 and cartographically in Figures 3–6. In these figures, the lack of arable indicators reflects an absence of either cereal-type pollen or other types of pollen that are associated with arable land use (see Table 2). Such absences sometimes reflect the fact that the studies have not differentiated between wild grass-type pollen and cereal-type pollen. However, the absence of arable weeds in association with cereal-type pollen should always be treated with caution as some wild grass pollen types (e.g. *Glyceria*, a wetland grass species: *cf.* Andersen 1979) have similar characteristics to those of cultivated cereals.

A discussion of the environmental characteristics of these two phases is provided below. The reader should note that the dating of some environmental changes could be affected slightly by variations in the radiocarbon calibration curves. For example, some of the developments attributed to the late eleventh century may actually have occurred in the early eleventh or late tenth century. In most cases, however, only around one pollen sample at each site should be affected by any variance caused by radiocarbon calibration ranges. Given that this study assessed environmental conditions for each phase as a whole in comparison with the preceding centuries, the broad changes observed for each phase should provide an accurate assessment of the pollen record for that timeframe.

c. AD 1050–1300 – Continuity of conflict?

The pollen record for the later eleventh to thirteenth centuries shows a large degree of regional variability (Figures 3–4). This is consistent with what was observed in the latter centuries of the early medieval period (*c.* AD 800–1050), where no clear, uniform trend could be seen across Wales. In the period *c.* AD 1050–1300, woodland levels fluctuate from site to site, with both deforestation and woodland regeneration amply evidenced across the country. There are an equal number of studies that show both increased and decreased wetland indicators without any discernible overall geographical pattern. Overall, there is evidence for both pastoral and arable indicators at most sampling sites. Sites with both increased pastoral and arable indicators dominate, but a high number of studies show decreases or no changes in farming intensity. It should

Table 1   Pollen studies with later medieval environmental sequences in Wales (locations shown in Figure 1).

Map no.	Site	Reference
1	Aber Valley 8.1	Woodbridge *et al.* 2012
2	Aber Valley 9.2	Woodbridge *et al.* 2012
3	Aber Valley 10.1	Woodbridge *et al.* 2012
4	Afon Dwy	Davies 2015
5	Borth Bog	Mighall *et al.* 2010
6	Brecon Beacons	Chambers 1982
7	Bryn Mawr	Buckley 2000
8	Bryn y Castell	Mighall & Chambers 1995
9	Bryn y Castell 2	Mighall & Chambers 1995
10	Burbo Bank Pipeline Pit 21	Gregory *et al.* 2020
11	Carneddau 3	Walker 1983
12	Carneddau 5	Walker 1983
13	Cefn Gwernffrwd A	Chambers 1983
14	Cefn Gwernffrwd B	Chambers 1983
15	Cefn Hirgoed	Walker *et al.* 1997
16	Cefn Mawr	Lascelles 1995
17	Clarach Bay - BH1	Heyworth *et al.* 1985
18	Cleddon Bog	Jones 2011
19	Coed Bryn Bras 2	Davies 2015
20	Coed Ganllwyd	Edwards 1986
21	Cors Gyfelog central	Botterill 1988
22	Cors Gyfelog preripheral	Botterill 1988
23	Cors y Farl	Huggins 2008
24	Craig Y Dullfan 1	Caseldine 2013
25	Craig Y Dullfan 2	Caseldine 2013
26	Crymlyn Bog	Hughes *et al.* 2002
27	Dolaeron	Seymour 1985
28	Ffoston Ceglau	Rosen 1998
29	Figyn Blaen-Brefi	Buckley 2000
30	Hirwaun Common	Chambers *et al.* 2007
31	Llwyn Du	Mighall *et al.* 2010
32	Llyn Cororion	Watkins *et al.*2007
33	Llyn Geirionydd	Bloemendal 1982
34	Llyn Goddionduon	Bloemendal 1982
35	Llyn Morwynion	Caseldine *et al.* 2001
36	Llyn Padarn PA3	Elner *et al.*1980
37	Llyn Peris PE3	Elner *et al.*1980
38	Melynllyn	Walker 1976
39	Migneint 1	Blackford 1990
40	Migneint 2	Blackford 1990
41	Moel Llys y Coed	Grant 2009
42	Moel y Gerddi	Chambers & Price 1988
43	Mynydd Hiraethog	Grant 2007
44	Plynlimon	Mighall *et al.* 2013
45	Rhos Goch Common	Hughes *et al.* 2007
46	Tommy Jones' Pillar	Chambers & Legeard 1997
47	Tregaron	Turner 1964

Table 1   Continued.

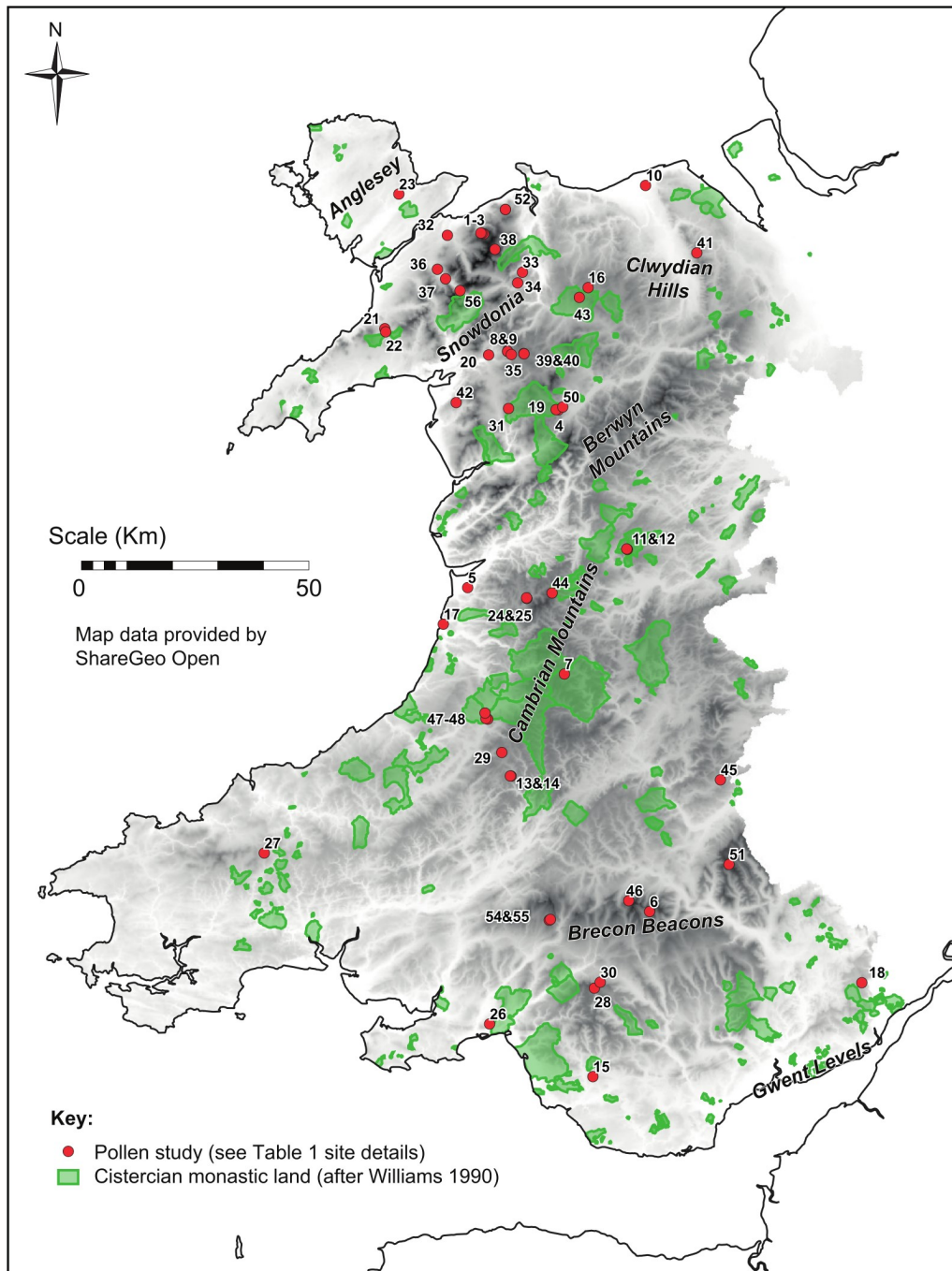| Map no.	Site	Reference
48	Tregaron - Southeast bog	Morriss 2001
49	Tregaron - West Bog	Morriss 2001
50	Ty Cerrig 1	Davies 2015
51	Waun Fach South	Price & Moore 1984
52	Waun Llafair 2	Caseldine 2017
53	Waun Llafair 3	Caseldine 2017
54	Waun-Fignen-Felen (D7E)	Smith & Cloutman 1988
55	Waun-Fignen-Felen (E13N)	Smith & Cloutman 1988
56	Ynys Etws	Caseldine 2006

Figure 1   Distribution map for pollen studies with sequences dating to the later medieval period in Wales in comparison to Cistercian monastic granges (after Williams 1990).

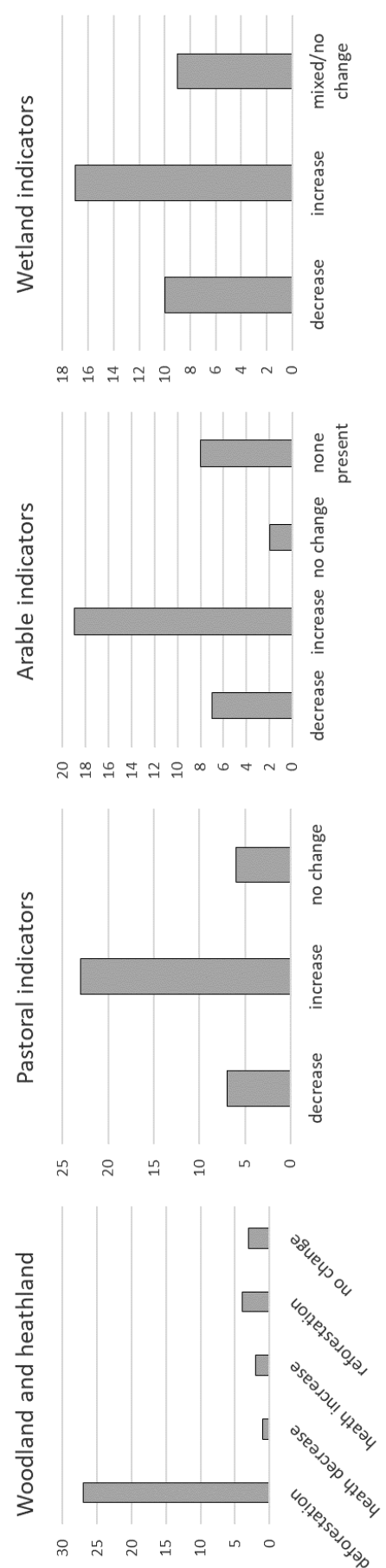**1050-1300**
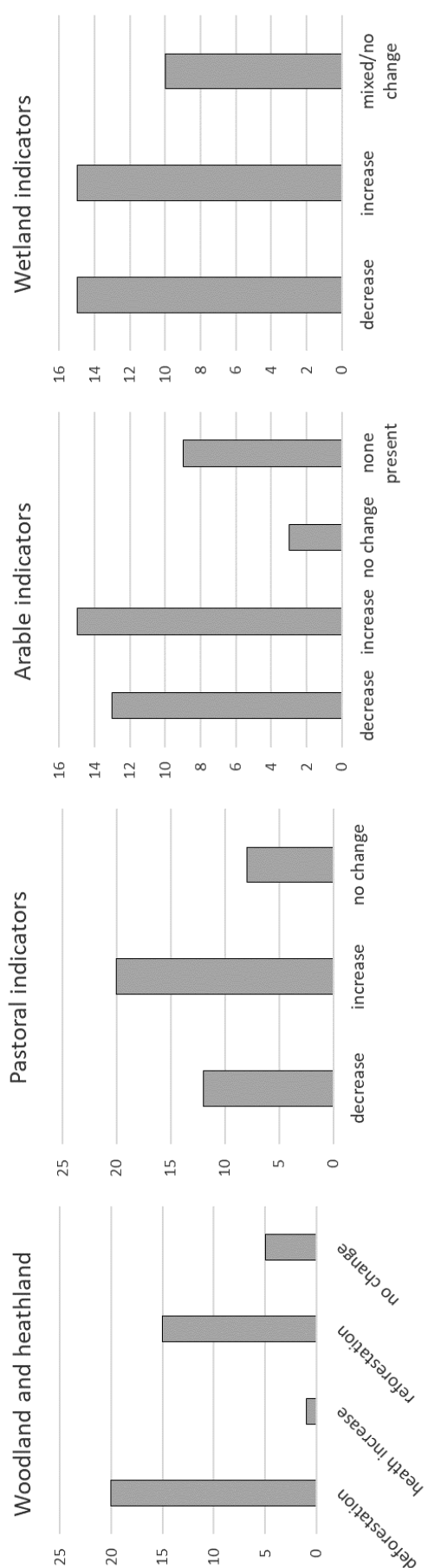
1300-1500

Figure 2   Graphs of palynological changes in Wales, c. AD 1050–1300 and 1300–1500 (the y-axis shows the number of sites in each category on the x-axis).

Table 2 Common pollen taxa by habitat type within the dataset. All pollen taxa nomenclature standardised to conform with Bennett (1991).

Habitat type	Pollen Taxa
Woodland	*Alnus glutinosa, Betula, Carpinus betulus, Corylus avellana*-type, *Fraxinus excelsior, Quercus, Salix, Ulmus*
Heathland	*Calluna vulgaris*, Ericaceae undiff., *Vaccinium*-type
Wetland	*Alnus glutinosa*, Cyperaceae undiff., *Filipendula, Sphagnum, Salix*
Pastoral	*Plantago lanceolata, Cichorium intybus*-type, *Cirsium*-type, Lactuceae, *Rumex acetosa*
Arable	Cereal-type, *Achillea*-type. Brassicaceae, Cannabaceae, Chenopodiaceae (at non-coastal sites), *Plantago major/media*

be noted that the increase in arable indicators at some sites is relatively limited, consisting of additional rare arable weeds or cereal-type pollen. There are also a high number of cores that lack arable indicators for this period, including sites that contain arable indicators in later or earlier levels (Bryn Mawr, Radnorshire: Buckley 2000; Hirwaun Common, Glamorganshire: Chambers *et al.* 2007; Tregaron, Cardiganshire: Turner 1964). Despite the apparent growth in arable land use, therefore, the intensity of arable farming may still be relatively low at this time. Unfortunately Anglesey, an area described by Gerald of Wales in 1188 as producing far more grain than any other part of Wales (Thorpe 1978, 187), has only one study (Cors y Farl) with any pollen for this phase, and cereal-type pollen is entirely absent. It is difficult to understand how representative this is of Anglesey as a whole, but the level of arable indicators in this core contrasts starkly with Gerald's comments.

A better picture is available at Penllyn (Merionethshire), where evidence for spatial variation in farming practices is present at multiple coring sites from the upland to lowland zone (Davies 2015). The upland sampling sites had far more pastoral indicators than cereal-type pollen and other arable indicators, while sites in lowland contexts showed higher proportions of arable indicators. This variation is consistent with the pollen signature expected from transhumant farming practices described in the Welsh law texts, whereby pastoral activities shifted to upland pastures in the summer months away from crop-growing areas in the lowlands (cf. Jenkins 1986; Comeau 2019, Table 8.1; Hooke 2019; Roberts 2019, 85–88). While other studies have sampled sites in comparable proximity to one another (e.g. Woodbridge *et al.* 2012), they have not crossed landscape zones to enable a similar comparison of spatial variations in farming practices.

Evidence for the cultivation of non-cereal crops can also be found during this phase, with low levels of Cannabaceae pollen at both Llyn Cororion, Caernarvonshire (Watkins *et al.* 2007), and Llyn Goddionduon, Caernarvonshire (Bloemendal 1982). Cannabaceae pollen can represent either *Cannabis sativa* (cannabis), which can be grown for hemp or used as a narcotic, or *Humulus lupulus* (hops), used in brewing. It is difficult to assess the extent to which other non-cereal crops were grown as they are often under-represented because of poor pollen dispersal mechanisms (i.e. being insect-pollinated rather than wind-pollinated), and in some instances cannot be differentiated from wild species of similar appearance that fall into the same taxonomic group (cf. Bennett 1994). Some evidence is available from the macrofossil evidence of seeds and grains. Although the archaeobotanical record for later medieval Wales is scarce (van der Veen *et al.* 2013), oat (*Avena*) is often the predominant food crop identified from archaeological excavation (Comeau and Burrow 2021). This is consistent with the late twelfth-century observation by Gerald of Wales that in Wales 'the whole population lives almost entirely on oats and the produce of their herds, milk, cheese and butter' (Thorpe 1978, 233). However, archaeobotanical evidence shows some increased diversity in the medieval diet, with other food types including legume remains (e.g. peas: *Pisum sativum*, and beans: *Vicia faba*) found in urban, military and rural contexts at sites such as Rhuddlan, Flintshire (Holden *et al.* 1994), Dryslwyn Castle, Carmarthenshire (Caple 2017) and Cefn Graeanog Farmstead, Caernarvonshire (Kelly 1998).

Settlement shift?

The high frequency of instances of deforestation and reforestation seen during this phase shows no obvious pattern (Figure 3). Sites showing evidence for heath regeneration and reforestation that may be indicative of the abandonment of land occur in almost as many instances as deforestation suggestive of colonisation. It is possible, therefore, that a shift in the locations of both settlement and farming activity occurred at this time. There is certainly an increased number of settlement sites that have been identified in this period that could account for some instances of deforestation, but establishing a chronology for such sites is problematic given the limited extent of excavation and radiocarbon dating (Comeau and Silvester 2021). The higher number of later medieval settlement sites is partly the result of more reliable documentary evidence which enables the identification of known settlement sites, but there is also a better understanding of site typologies for the later medieval period. Both north and south Wales were subject to incursion from England from the late eleventh century, with settlements of Anglo-Norman and Flemish colonists being established in the south. New monument types – earthworks and stone castles – appear in strategic locations. Norman castles were established in areas of greatest agricultural potential, together with nucleated villages and large common fields with rotations which were 'alien to the Welsh' (Rippon 1997, 23). Several monasteries of orders popular in mainland

Woodland/heathland indicators

Scale (Km)

0   50

Map data provided by
ShareGeo Open

Key:

● Deforestation
○ Reforestation
◆ Heath decrease
◇ Heath increase
▢ No change

Wetland indicators

Scale (Km)

0   50

Map data provided by
ShareGeo Open

Key:

▢ Increase
◆ No perceptible change/uncertain
● Decrease
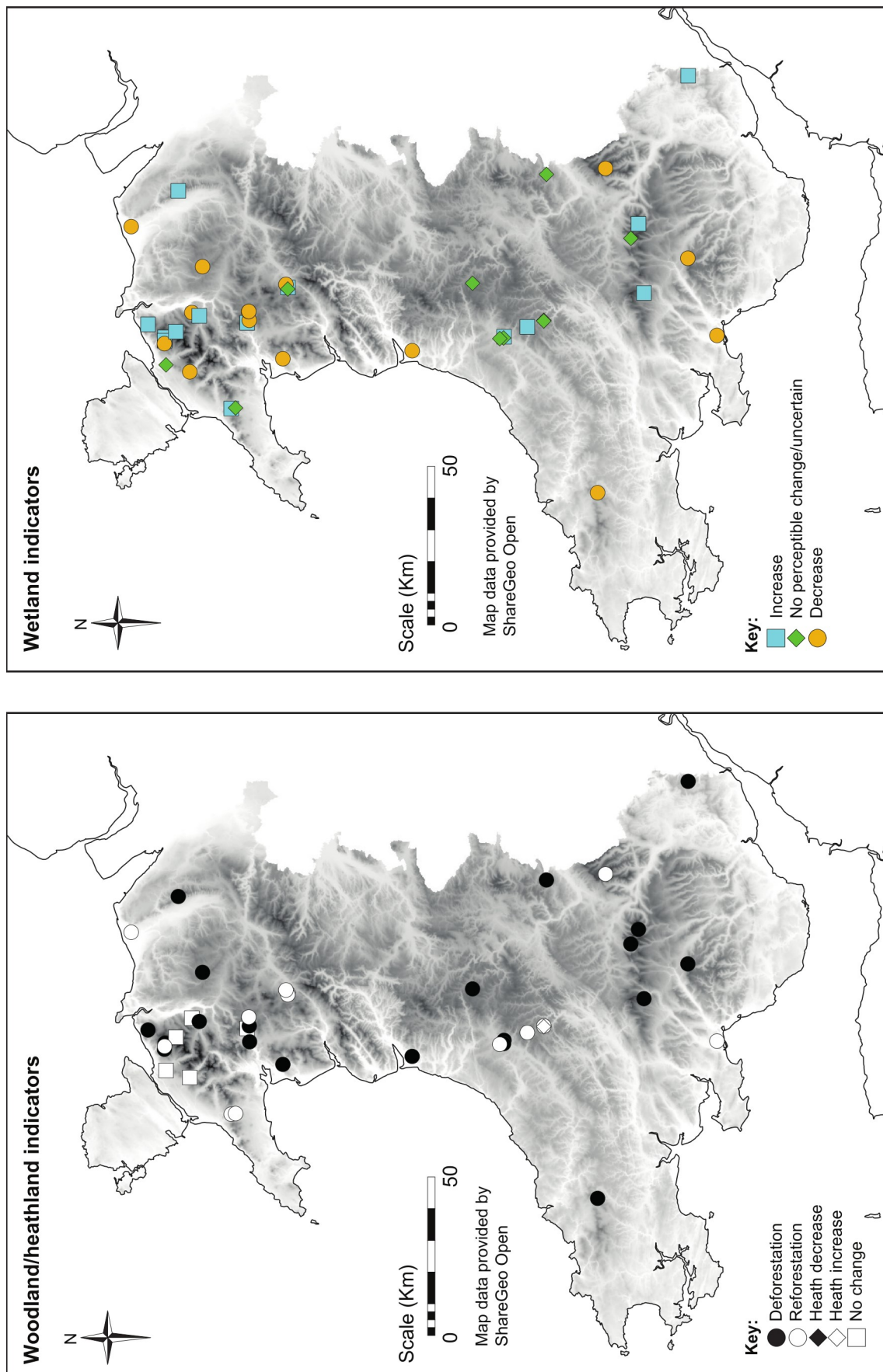
Figure 3   Palynological changes in Wales, c. AD 1050–1300: Woodland and heath and Wetland indicators.
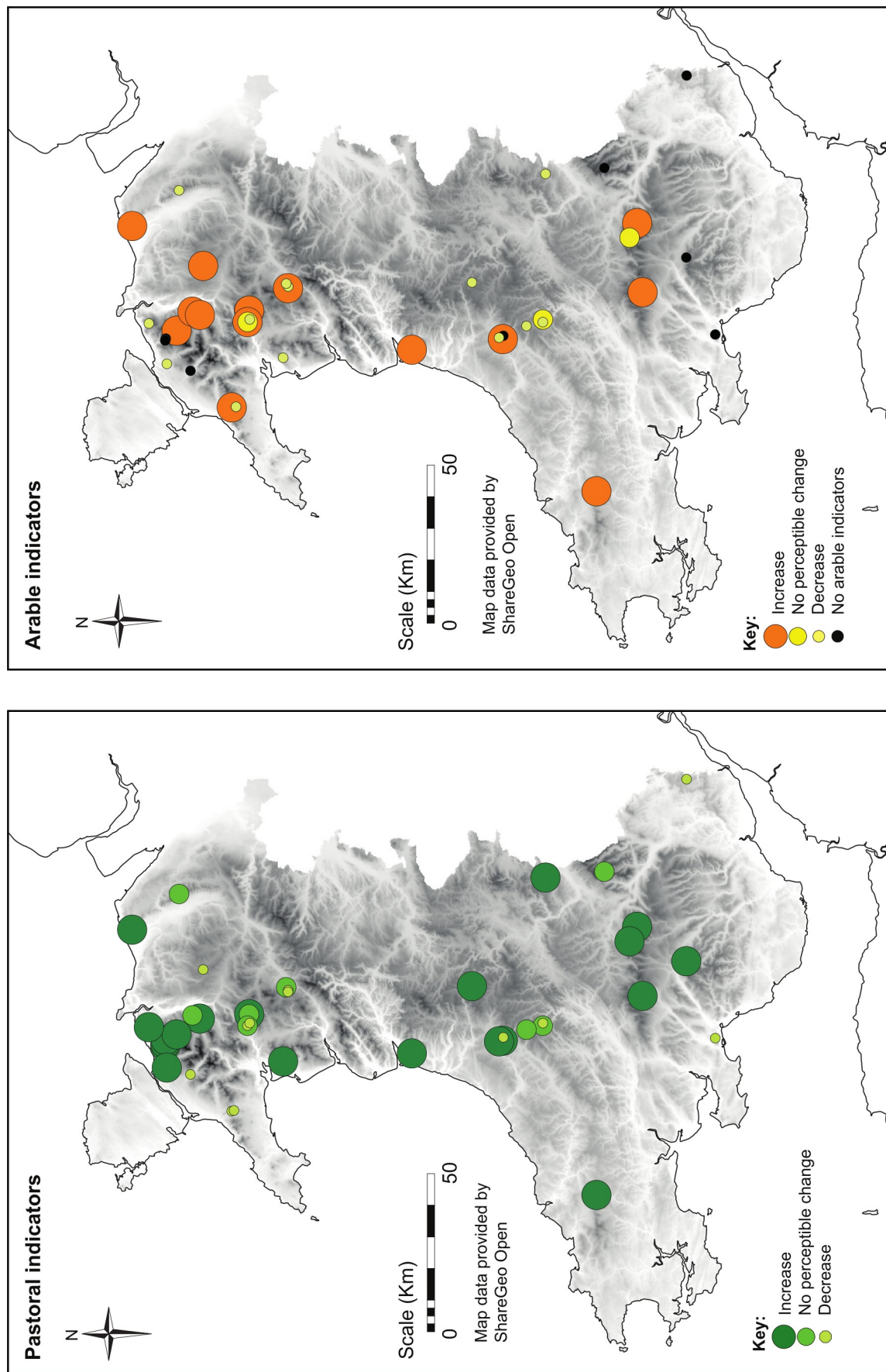
Figure 4   Palynological changes in Wales, c. AD 1050–1300: Pastoral and Arable indicators.

Pastoral indicators

Scale (Km)

0   50

Map data provided by
ShareGeo Open

Key:
Increase
No perceptible change
Decrease

Arable indicators

Scale (Km)

0   50

Map data provided by
ShareGeo Open

Key:
Increase
No perceptible change
Decrease
No arable indicators

29

Europe were also founded during this period, some on sites previously established as religious communities.

Within lowland contexts, open field systems of English type have been identified in the areas subject to early incursions and more purposeful English settlement (Sylvester 1969; Silvester 2019). Although most of these field systems are undated, and some may pre-date the English conquest of Wales (e.g., Caerwys, Flintshire: cf. Silvester 2019, 97–8), but their association with the locations of early Norman activity is suggestive of Anglo-Norman influence. Rippon indicates that the medieval phase of wetland reclamation in the Gwent levels may likewise reflect Anglo-Norman influence, though he acknowledges the possibility of multiple influences and creators (Rippon 1997, 24). One would expect this Anglo-Norman activity to produce a pollen signature indicative of woodland clearances and increased arable intensity in the borderlands and south Wales. However, as previously noted, detailed pollen sequences are few in these areas, which impedes detailed assessment of the environmental impact of Anglo-Norman settlement. Such studies as currently exist provide a highly variable palaeoenvironmental narrative, with evidence for both deforestation and reforestation, increases and decreases in pastoral activity, and reduced or very low numbers of arable taxa.

Urban or nucleated settlement is absent from Wales prior to the high medieval period (c. AD 1000–1300). Towns were established in Anglo-Norman areas in Wales during the eleventh and twelfth centuries (cf. Soulsby 1983, 7–11). In native-held areas of north Wales there is evidence for coinage in circulation during the reign of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (1195–1240), and several semi-urban trading settlements appear during the thirteenth century, partly through a deliberate stimulation of a monetary economy by the Princes of Gwynedd (Davies 1990, 148; Carr 1995, 70–71; Stevens 2019, 58). It is possible that such settlements grew around the earthwork castles of north Wales, which David Longley (1997) notes are often associated with royal *maerdrefi* (settlements of bondmen at estate centres). However, as the excavation of the historic cores of documented early settlements in Wales has been very limited, their evolution is poorly understood.

Lower status rural settlement sites have been found in large numbers across Wales, surviving as earthworks with rectangular building platforms, sometimes in association with field systems. It should be noted, however, that there is a clear upland bias towards the preservation of these sites, few have been subject to rigorous investigation through excavation, and most are dated by typology (Roberts 2006; Comeau and Silvester 2021). The uncertainty of the dates of these structures is exemplified by recent excavations at Rhuddgaer on the coastal lowlands of Anglesey, where rectangular stone-built structures and a field system, originally believed to be later medieval in origin, have been dated to the seventh or eighth century (Hopewell and Edwards 2017). This evidence indicates that this building tradition of rectilinear earth and stone dwellings had much earlier origins than previously thought, and questions the later medieval date assigned to most abandoned rural settlements. It is therefore difficult to ascertain how the apparent increased visibility of upland settlement in the later medieval period truly relates to changes in upland settlement practices, or changes in the pollen record at this time.

The 'Medieval Warm Period'

Traditional interpretations of the patterns of upland settlement in Wales broadly conform with narratives presented across Britain as a whole. It has often been argued that an increase in the exploitation of higher altitudes occurred in response to the warmer climate experienced during the 'Medieval Warm Period' or 'Medieval Climate Anomaly' (Lamb 1995; Parry 1985; Ward 1997; Davidson *et al.* 2017). In Britain, the documentary evidence for climatic conditions (cf. Lamb 1995, 84–86) supports scientific data in central Europe that suggest a stable climate during the period *c.* AD 1000–1200, with wetter summers occurring from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and a change to colder temperatures starting around AD 1300 (Büntgen *et al.* 2011, 580). Considering the fact that the pollen studies in Wales show an equal number of sites with increased and decreased wetland habitats (Figures 2–3), the effects of the medieval warm period do not appear to have had a significant effect in the period *c.* AD 1100–1300. It should also be noted that variations in wetland-species pollen may not always a good proxy for climate change, since human activities can also affect the percentages of wetland species – for example, by cutting drainage ditches or ceasing to maintain a drainage system, and possibly abandoning land formerly cultivated or grazed.

Human responses to climate change do not, however, explain the differences seen in pollen indicators of farming intensity across Wales during this phase. With increased temperatures and length of growing season, increases in both arable and pastoral indicators in the pollen record might be expected, especially since the upland bias of the sampling sites would coincide with the supposed location of increased exploitation during the 'medieval warm period'. Although there are sites where such an increase is observed, it occurs without any distinct pattern across the country or within any specific region (Fig. 4).

Changes in pollen catchments may account for some of the variations seen in farming indicator levels. Woodland clearances are likely to have increased the pollen catchment area of sampling sites and additionally removed barriers to the dispersal of herb taxa. At the Aber Valley, Caernarvonshire (Woodbridge *et al.* 2012), sampling sites show a mixture of evidence for both woodland clearance and reforestation at this time, yet all show increased pastoral indicator levels, suggesting that the evidence for increased pastoral activity alongside woodland clearance is genuine. Similar instances are seen for increased arable indicators alongside reforestation, and reduced farming indicators alongside woodland clearance. The changes in the intensity of farming activity cannot simply be explained by variations in woodland or heathland levels, nor indeed by changes in climate. We must therefore consider cultural reasons for these variations.

Monastic influences

A number of studies of twelfth- and thirteenth-century farming practices have attributed increased farming indicators to the influence of monastic institutions. Turner (1964) suggested that the increased pastoral

levels observed at Cors Caron (or Tregaron Bog), Cardiganshire, could be related to the influence of the Cistercian monastery of Strata Florida, established in 1165. This view is echoed by Morriss' (2001) work, also at Cors Caron, where increased arable and pastoral activity alongside reduced woodland levels is noted at Tregaron South East (TSE) at around the time that Strata Florida was founded. However, it should also be noted that contemporary deposits to the northwest of this site, at 'Tregaron west' (TW), show evidence for reforestation, increased pastoral indicators and reduced arable indicators. It is possible that these differences in the pollen record relate to a slightly closer proximity of TSE to lower lying ground to the west, where '*loci excellentiores*' (more excellent places) are described in the monastery's 1184 charter (Austin 2019, 124). It is arguably more likely, however, that the increase in arable indicators at TSE is related to its closer proximity to better-draining soils at Tregaron to the south. The higher suitability of this area for growing crops is demonstrated by a large area of arable land shown on the Land Utilisation Survey (1932–33) map, when arable land elsewhere in the area appeared scarce. If this interpretation is correct, it suggests that any increase in arable activity was undertaken beyond the grounds of the monastery by the local lay population rather than the monastic community. However, it is also possible that farmers living outside the abbey grounds increased their focus on arable activities to supply the monastery with food. Cowley notes that some of the lands received by the abbey on its foundation included lands that had 'never previously been exploited or had been exploited in the past and gone out of cultivation' (1977, 71). It is likely that some of the woodland clearances seen in the pollen record by both Turner (1964) and Morriss (2001) are indeed related to monastic activities, but since the increase in cultivation possibly occurred outside the monastic estate, it is equally possible that deforestation also occurred outside its boundaries.

The attribution of increased agricultural productivity to monastic influence in Wales is in fact a problematic interpretation for the current dataset. Besides Cors Caron, eight of the remaining sampling sites reviewed are located either inside or within 1km of Cistercian monastic landholdings (cf. Williams 1990 and Figure 1). Despite this, evidence of increased pollen indicative of agricultural activities are only present at three of these sites during *c*. AD 1050–1300. Evidence of increased arable activity is observed at Cors Gyfelog central, Caernarvonshire (Botteril 1988), and Cefn Mawr, Denbighshire (Lascelles 1995), but only at extremely low values. Increased pastoral indicators are also noted at Bryn Mawr, Radnorshire (Buckley 2000), but this is the only site beyond Cors Caron where evidence for increased pastoral activity could potentially be attributed to Cistercian influence. It is also worth noting that despite the increased pastoral indicators noted by Morriss (2001) and at Cors Caron during this phase, the increase did not reach the higher levels observed between the late Roman period and the late ninth century. This suggests that any increase in the exploitation of the landscape initiated by the Cistercians at Strata Florida was not as intensive as grazing practices seen in the past. Given the lack of any positive effect on farming indicators at other sampling sites near or within monastic lands, the Cistercian reputation for innovation and efficiency in farming (cf. Williams 1990, 16) is perhaps questionable in view of the pollen evidence. It is acknowledged, however, that the pollen evidence noted above is based on studies that are incidental in their proximity to monastic lands. Targeted research into the environments of monastic lands, with higher pollen sampling frequencies and increased dating resolution, may provide a more nuanced appreciation of the environmental impact of monasteries in Wales.

Conflict and instability

The diversity of changes in the pollen record at this time is similar to those seen in previous centuries from *c*. AD 800–1050, where no clear pattern is apparent (Davies 2015; 2019). In this earlier period, a possible focus on arable activities in the core area of Gwynedd alongside increased pastoral indicators have been interpreted as possible strategic interventions by the rulers of the kingdom in response to the documented increase in conflict, both between the Welsh kingdoms and with the Anglo-Saxons and Vikings (cf. W. Davies 2002, 163; J. Davies 1990, 45, 85). The deforestation seen in some upland contexts in combination with increased pastoral activity has also been interpreted as a possible effect of the creation of specialist upland pastures in consequence of increased demand for livestock tributes to Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (Davies 2019, 189–193). During the late eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, no similar pattern of arable activity in Gwynedd is evident (Figure 4). However, the continuation or expansion of pastoral activity linked to tribute payments to the Norman/ English crown may be reflected in the pollen record from *c*. AD 1050–1300, in instances where pastoral and woodland taxa remain stable or where deforestation and increased pastoral indicators are noted. Indeed, documentary evidence records the creation of vaccaries in Snowdonia to supply cattle to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in the thirteenth century, which Beverley Smith suggests served as both a food source during times of conflict and a source of income for the prince (Beverly Smith 2014, 231). The creation of these vaccaries may well be partly responsible for the changes observed in the pollen record for north Wales at this time.

Political turbulence and frequent incursions by the English Crown and by Anglo-Norman Marcher lords characterise much of the period *c*. AD 800–1300 (Davies 1982, 102–112; Davies 1987, 56–81). Under such conditions, it is perhaps unsurprising that the intensity of the farming economy is highly variable across the country. It is likewise understandable that woodland and heath pollen levels suggest numerous instances where the abandonment of farmland and settlements is apparent alongside possible shifts in settlement locations. The generally low percentages of arable indicators in comparison to pastoral indicators may also be linked to this turbulence, possibly relating to the risk of crops being destroyed by enemy forces, as indeed happened on Anglesey during Henry III's campaign in north Wales in 1245 (cf. Beverly Smith 2014, 53–4). It is also possible that the low levels of arable indicators reflect the undeveloped market economy of Wales at this time, which may have stifled demand for arable produce (Stevens 2019, 24).

c. AD 1300–1500 – Intensification and 'peace'

In contrast to the previous phase, the majority of sampling sites across Wales dated *c*. AD 1300–1500 show more uniform changes within their pollen record, with most presenting evidence for deforestation and increased arable and pastoral indicators (Figs 2, 5–6). There is also a greater number of sites with increased wetland species, most of them located in north Wales, though sites showing decreased or no change in wetland taxa also occur in relatively high numbers.

Climate deterioration

This phase coincides with the beginning of the Little Ice Age, a time when evidence for wetter conditions and lower temperatures is observed on a global scale (cf. Lamb 1977, 1995; van Loon and Rogers 1978; Buntgen *et al.* 2011). These climatic changes likely account for the increase in wetland taxa observed from *c*. AD 1300–1500 (Figure 5). The higher number of sites showing increased wetland in the north may relate to an increased susceptibility to temperature and precipitation variation at higher latitudes. This deterioration in climate has often been associated with poor harvests and a contributory factor to population decline and settlement abandonment in the fourteenth century (Silvester 2000, 57). However, the pollen evidence in Wales for this period shows high levels of woodland clearance and an increase in both arable and pastoral indicators, which may reflect colonisation of woodland areas and an intensification of farming practices.

The Edwardian conquest

Documented woodland clearances ordered by Edward I have previously been suggested as the cause of woodland decline seen in samples from west-central Wales (Moore and Chater 1969), though this interpretation is based on palynological-historical correlation rather than scientific dating. Similar interpretations have been applied to woodland declines evident at Cwm Lliw, Merionethshire, and (using a more robust chronological framework based on radiocarbon dates) at Afon Dwy, Coed Bryn Bras 2 and Tŷ Cerrig (Davies 2015). Here, all three sampling sites show a sharp decline in woodland at around cal. AD 1300, coinciding roughly with the final conquest of Wales in 1282–3. The majority of other sampling sites examined across Wales also indicate woodland clearances straddling *c*. AD 1300, but in the majority of cases the pollen sampling frequency is not detailed enough to definitively place this clearance within the context of the Edwardian conquest. Where greater chronological detail is possible, it is evident that some sites show a more gradual woodland decline over the period as a whole (e.g., Crymlyn Bog, Glamorganshire: Hughes and Dumayne Peaty 2002; Cleddon Bog, Monmouthshire: Jones 2011; Cors Gyfelog Peripheral, Caernarvonshire: Botterill 1988; Tregaron, Cardiganshire: Turner 1964). Sharper declines dating to *c*. AD 1300 are, however, apparent at Borth Bog, Cardiganshire (Mighall *et al.* 2010, Bryn y Castell 2, Merionethshire (Mighall and Chambers 1995), Dolaeron, Pembrokeshire (Seymour 1985) and Llyn Cororion, Caernarvonshire (Watkins *et al.* 2007). A sharp decline in woodland levels is also observed at Mynydd Hiraethog, Denbighshire (Grant 2007), although the overall proportions of woodland taxa for the whole period *c*. AD 1300–1500 remain similar to those seen in previous centuries. Despite this ambiguity, in a number of instances there does appear to be a similar signature consisting of a sharp and at times extensive woodland decline dating to *c*. AD 1300 that could well relate to the decrees of Edward I during his final conquest of Wales.

Edward I's justification for these woodland clearances was to prevent 'robberies, homicides and other enormities against the King's peace' (Williams 1889), though there may also have been other motives behind this order. The loss of woodland would have had a significant impact on the native population. As well as providing fuel, building material and foraged foods, woodland would have offered seasonal grazing for pigs and hunting grounds for the Welsh lords (cf. Jenkins 1986; Roberts 2019). Hunting represented an important demonstration of authority for Welsh nobility, as indeed did the consequent feasting activities. Woodland was also an important resource for the production of charcoal for metalworking in medieval Wales (cf. Steane 2014, 458). In the post-conquest period, the Crown asserted control over woodland and wastes, and restricted access to their resources, to the extent that the Bishop of Bangor during Edward I's reign complained about his tenants' losses (Given 1989, 41). A severe reduction in the capacity of the Welsh nobility to demonstrate their authority and produce arms for warfare can also be presumed.

It is also useful to consider what may have happened to the wood collected from this apparently widespread woodland clearance. It is unlikely that this resource would simply have been burned and wasted. Timber was used in Edward I's construction projects of towns and castles as part of the consolidation of his rule, and likely also sold to cover the costs of his military expansion. Cargoes of Welsh timber are noted in the medieval port records of Cardiff, as is its transport by barge along the coast and by river from the inland districts of North Wales (Lewis 1903, 139–140). The woodland clearances noted in the documentary and pollen records are therefore likely to have benefited the coffers of the English Crown, as well as its military objectives.

Upland abandonment

Irrespective of Edward I's motives for deforestation, the pollen record suggests significant landscape changes as a consequence. This is especially clear for Cwm Lliw in Penllyn, Merionethshire. Here, alongside evidence for localised deforestation, increased arable and pastoral indicators in the lowland zone coincide with heath regeneration and diminished microcharcoal concentrations in upland contexts (Davies 2015). At the upland sampling site of Coed Bryn Bras 2 (CBB2), high microcharcoal concentrations are present from around 2000 BC and may represent the control of heathland through burning, which is a practice noted in the Welsh Law texts (Jenkins 1986, 170; Richards 1954,106; Wade-Evans 1909, 274), possibly as a means of improving pasture (cf. Dixon 2018, 67). Their cessation at CBB2, alongside an increase in heathland, suggests a degree of abandonment of upland pasture and interruption of upland management practices. The coincidence of this with lowland woodland clearances and increased farming indicators possibly indicates a shift in the
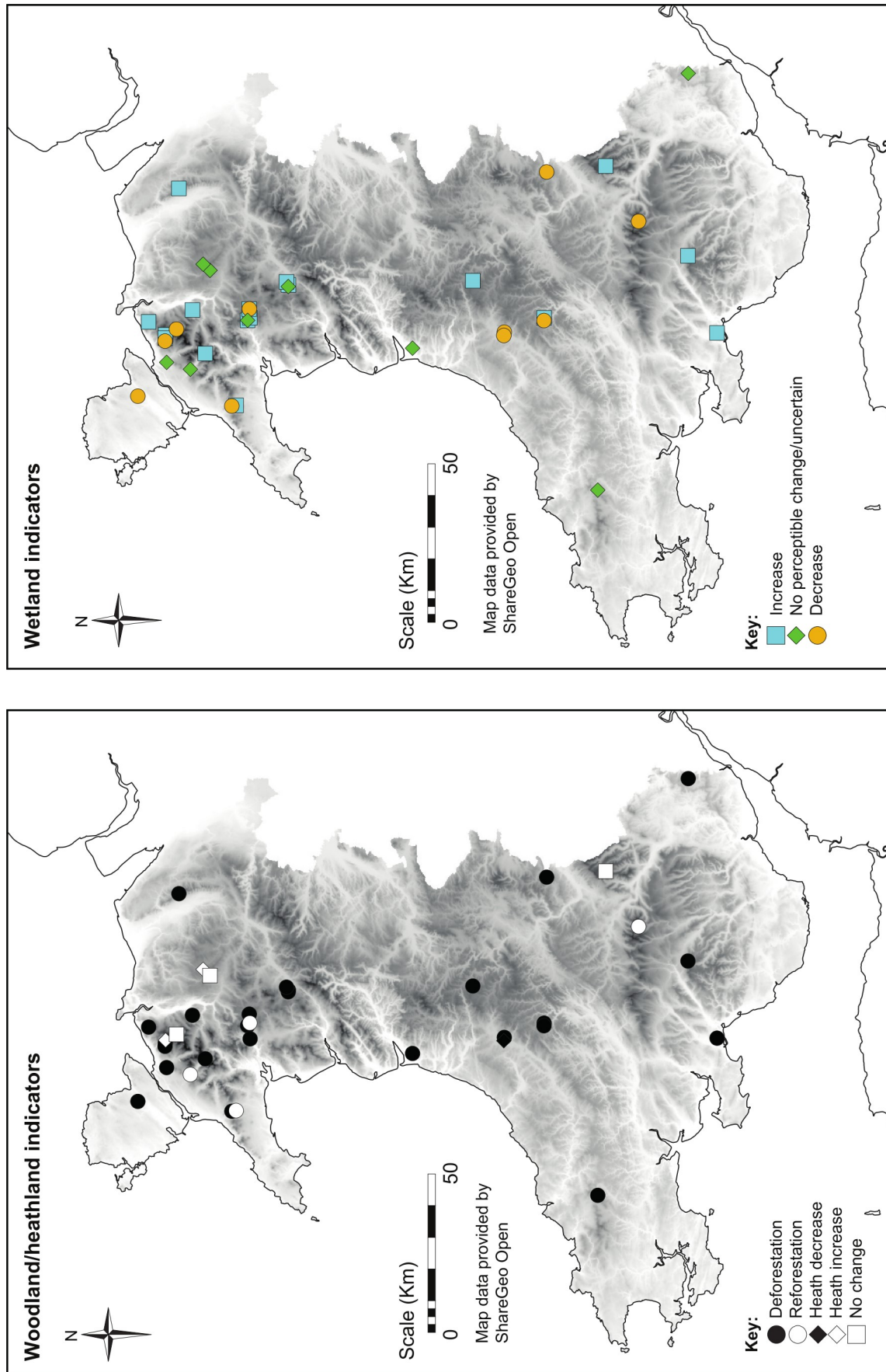
Figure 5 Palynological changes in Wales, c. AD 1300–1500: Woodland and heath and Wetland indicators.
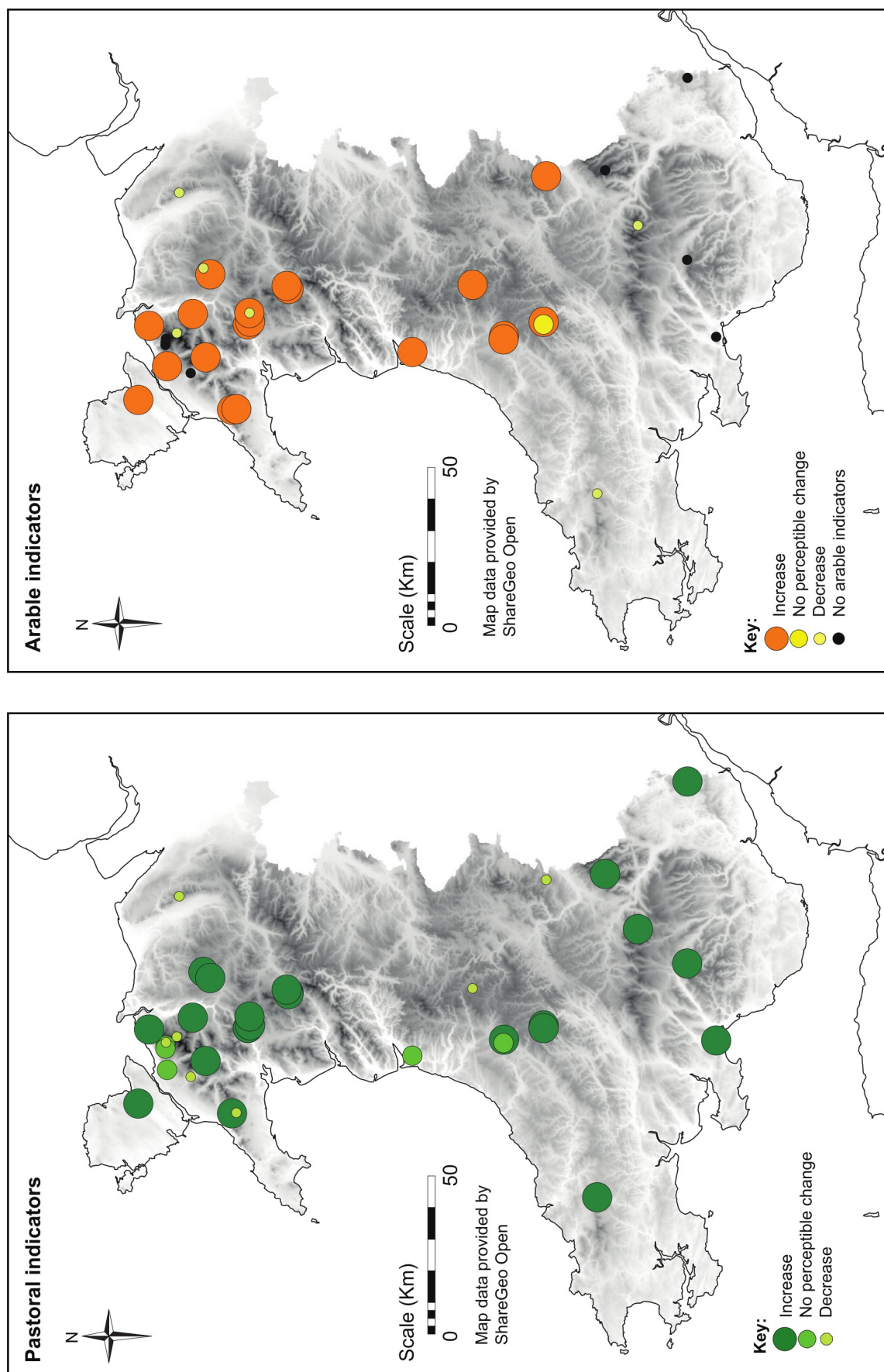
Figure 6 Palynological changes in Wales, c. AD 1300–1500: Pastoral and Arable indicators.

Arable indicators

Scale (Km)

0   50

Map data provided by
ShareGeo Open

Key:
Increase
No perceptible change
Decrease
No arable indicators

Pastoral indicators

Scale (Km)

0   50

Map data provided by
ShareGeo Open

Key:
Increase
No perceptible change
Decrease

*Figure 7 Royal Revenue from the Principality of North Wales 1285–1307
(data from Given 1989, Table 3).*

locations of settlement and farming practices (Davies 2015). These environmental changes may also coincide with, or relate to, the development of medieval sheep farming, which increased significantly after the Edwardian conquest (Stevens 2019, 59). The lack of woodland regeneration following the heathland increase at CBB2 does suggest continued grazing, whilst the specific increase in heathland could represent selective grazing by sheep (cf. Limbrey 1975, 154). It should be noted, however, that cattle rather than sheep dominate at a household level in the local post-conquest Subsidy roll of Penllyn from 1310 or 1318 (cf. Williams-Jones 1976).

One factor that may relate to this possible settlement shift is the aforementioned appropriation of common pasture in this area (Gwynedd) which – in combination with additional taxes and charges for grazing rights – is said to have led to 'a steady outflow of Welshmen into England seeking service in the royal armies or employment as laborers' (Given 1989, 41). This evidence provides an alternative to existing models for the desertion of medieval upland settlements in Wales. In this instance, the pollen and documentary records suggest that medieval settlement abandonment was not necessarily the result of depopulation, previously attributed to conflict or disease (as discussed further below), nor was it necessarily due to a loss of productivity on upland farmlands consequent on climate change (cf. Silvester 2006, 27). Woodland clearances in lowland contexts may also have driven some of the changes in settlement patterns inferred from the pollen record. In Penllyn, the woodland clearances that were probably stipulated by Edward I appear to have provided high quality farming land in closer proximity to the existing core zone of lowland settlement. In combination with the restrictions placed on upland wastes, this may have stimulated the abandonment of some transhumance settlements and brought an end to traditional burning practices used to control heath levels

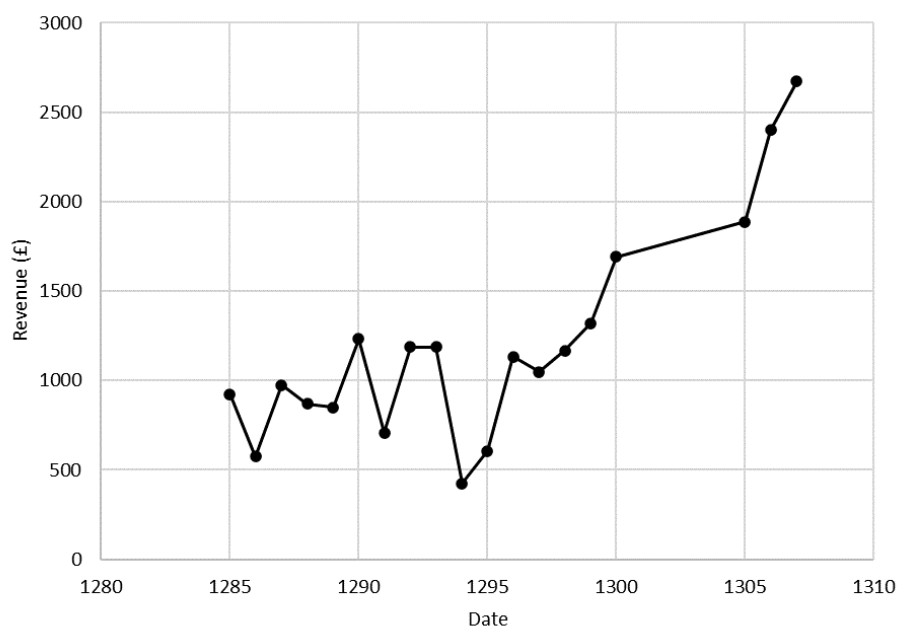(Davies 2015, 202, 215–216). The widespread evidence for woodland clearance and increased farming indicators in the pollen record across Wales at this time suggest that this possible shift in settlement and agriculture may have occurred on a relatively large scale. It is also possible that the increase in farming indicators in the pollen record reflects a general increase in agricultural output encouraged by the relative peace and stability brought about by the final conquest of Wales, or in response to increased tax pressures. This is possibly supported by records of royal revenue from land within the Principality of North Wales, which show a marked increase in revenue after *c.* AD 1300 (Fig. 7). Interestingly, a fall in this revenue corresponds with the revolt of Madog ap Llywelyn in 1294–5 (Given 1989, 31), demonstrating the potential impact of political instability on economic productivity.

Revolt, plague and famine

Previous pollen studies have also suggested that the Black Death (1348–9) and Owain Glyndŵr's revolt (1400–1415) may have affected the pollen record, resulting in episodes of woodland regeneration and decreased farming indicators reflecting the possible abandonment of landholdings and reduced farming activity (Moore and Chater 1969; Grant 2007). The Great Famine of 1315–22 may also have had a similar impact. Pollen evidence for this suggestion is restricted because in the majority of pollen studies in Wales, the pollen sampling frequency within the core is too low to detect any potential variation caused by these specific events. However, many of the studies with suitable frequency of pollen samples do show episodes of woodland regeneration and declines in pastoral and arable activity associated with one, two or all three events (Borth Bog, Cardiganshire: Mighall *et al.* 2010; Bryn y Castell 2, Merionethshire: Mighall and Chambers 1995; Cleddon Bog, Monmouthshire: Jones 2011; Cors Gyfelog Peripheral, Caernarvonshire:

Botterill 1988; Dolaeron, Pembrokeshire: Seymour 1985; Tregaron, Cardiganshire: Turner 1964; and Tregaron SE, Cardiganshire: Morriss 2001). Given the close date intervals between these three events, it is at times difficult to establish which one(s) may have affected the pollen record. Although they do appear to have a genuine impact on the environment, their effects appear to have been relatively short-lived and do not affect the overall trend for *c.* AD 1300–1500 of increased percentages of farming indicators and reductions in woodland taxa. In essence, although these events are thought to have probably caused the death of more than a third of the population of Wales (Stevens 2019, 110), their long-term effects appear relatively negligible in the pollen record; and despite their genuinely devastating impact on the medieval population of Wales, there may not have been as severe and permanent a disruption to the farming economy as previously believed (e.g. Silvester 2006; Grant 2007; Stevens 2019). There is no comparable pollen study from elsewhere in Britain to compare the impact of the Great Famine or the Black Death on the farming economy, although documentary records in England show that population decline related to the Black Death led to a marked reduction in the total area of arable and the output of the principal bread cereals, wheat and rye (Aposolides *et al.* 2008, 13–19). These records indicate a slower arable recovery than the pollen evidence in Wales would suggest prior to the early fifteenth century, but by the end of the sixteenth century arable output of the major cereals in England had returned to pre-plague levels (cf. Aposolides *et al.* 2008, 26–27, 36–38).

Given this apparent increase in agricultural output indicated in the pollen and documentary records, one might easily conclude that there was an improvement in the farming economy after the Edwardian conquest of Wales. James Given's (1989) examination of the economy of Gwynedd in the post-conquest period has demonstrated, however, that the native Welsh population suffered great hardship from increased taxation and other economic restrictions. Although there may have been a greater degree of landscape exploitation and agricultural productivity, this would not necessarily have conferred wider benefits on all sectors of Welsh society.

Conclusions

The dataset examined for this review of pollen studies provides a broad understanding of two distinct phases of development of the later medieval landscape in Wales. Although there are geographical gaps in the distribution of sampling sites across the country, some spatial trends can be observed alongside chronological patterns of environmental change. These patterns broadly align with changes in political dynamics, corresponding with the conquest of Wales in the late thirteenth century. The instability of medieval Welsh dynasties in the pre-conquest period are possibly reflected in the pollen record by the fluctuations in woodland levels and farming indicators observed across the country. It is possible that instances of increased pastoral intensity may signify the influence of monastic foundations, but this is by no means universal and may in part be driven by increased demand for farming produce from the local lay community to supply monasteries, rather than by the direct actions of any given monastery. The development

of specialised upland pastures to support the economy of Welsh rulers may also have driven the increase in pastoral indicators, but contemporary trends in the arable economy of Wales are difficult to discern. The geographical variations observed in the pre-conquest period stand in contrast to the clear patterns of widespread woodland clearances and increased farming output in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The timing and pace of these deforestation events at some sites appear to correlate with the documented edicts of Edward I to clear woodland that might conceal Welsh 'rebels'. Upland heathland development alongside changes in the levels of woodland and farming indicators in north Wales suggest a settlement shift and possible abandonment of upland pastures connected with documented restrictions on traditional grazing rights. A subsequent increase in pastoral and arable indicators suggests the stabilisation of the Welsh economy and increased agricultural surpluses. There is evidence at some sampling sites for declining farming output and woodland expansion associated with the Black Death, Great Famine and Owain Glyndŵr's rebellion, but these events do not appear to have had long-lasting impacts on the Welsh farming economy.

The pollen evidence from Wales provides an important record of the interrelationship between the environment and cultural changes in the past. It should be stressed, however, that the conclusions drawn from the examination of these data have their limitations and should be subject to revision as future studies of palynological data are undertaken.

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AN ENCLOSED MEDIEVAL FARMSTEAD
AT GREAT ELLINGHAM, NORFOLK

By MICK BOYLE[1]

(*with contributions by* SUE ANDERSON,[2] FRANCES GREEN, JOSHUA WHITE[3]
and VAL FRYER, *and with illustrations by* DAVID DOBSON[4])

In 2018–19, geophysical survey and trial trenching in advance of housing development on land between Hingham Road and Watton Road, Great Ellingham, Norfolk (TM018977), highlighted the archaeological potential of the site (Davies 2018), and Informative Trial Trenching recorded the presence of significant archaeological remains (Whitmore 2019). In consequence, NPS Archaeology were commissioned and funded by All Saints Development (Great Ellingham) Limited to carry out excavation and stripping, mapping and sampling of a targeted area covering an apparent ditched enclosure and associated features. The methodologies employed by the project are detailed in the site archive report (Boyle 2021).

Topography

The village of Great Ellingham lies in the south of Norfolk, in the Breckland district, c. 3.5 km from the nearest town, Attleborough (Figure 1). The site lies between 52–60m above OD. The nearest known watercourse is a minor tributary of the Thet, c. 60 m to the south-east. The underlying bedrock in the Breckland district of Norfolk is Cretaceous chalk, with overlying drift deposits of Lowestoft Formation chalky boulder clay, sand, diamicton and alluvium, plus superficial deposits formed in the Quaternary Period (BGS 2015). The local landscape is characterised as 'South Norfolk and High Suffolk Claylands', with relatively sparse settlement and a number of small hamlets at bridging points, either linear (Bridgham) or nucleated (Brettenham), in addition to occasional scattered farmsteads (Land Use Consultants 2007).

Archaeological and historical background

Anglo-Saxon

The place-name 'Ellingham' has Old English origins, probably derived from 'homestead of Ella's, Ēdla's or Eli's people'. Small collections of Early and Mid Saxon (fifth- to ninth-century) pottery have come from a number of locations to the south of the site and also closer to Attleborough Road and the historic core of Great Ellingham (NHER 4257, 57408, 64696). A large clay-lined pit, perhaps for tanning, was recorded by trial trenching adjacent to Attleborough Road, some 500 m south-east of the site (NHER 63025). This pit produced small amounts of Late Saxon and early medieval pottery. Separate trial trenching close to Attleborough Road recorded linear and discrete features (NHER 57408). Dating evidence was scarce, but these remains were probably of Late Saxon and medieval date.

Medieval

Great Ellingham is first documented in the 1086 Domesday survey, which details a church, meadow, woodland, pigs, ploughs, cattle and horses (Morris 1984). Medieval artefacts and remains provide the most numerous records in the historic environment register for Great Ellingham. The known site of a moated manor is 200 m east of the site (NHER 34571); significant medieval earthworks for enclosures and house platforms, and soil marks of probable roads/paths, are present to the south-east (NHER 57408). Earthworks for ditched enclosures and boundaries 400 m north-east of the site, evident on aerial photographs, probably represent medieval settlement (NHER 58612). These features are adjacent to Manor Farm (NHER 35184), an early seventeenth-century building relatively close to the southern edge of Deopham Stolland common land. Metal-detecting near these areas has recovered a range of objects from this period (NHER 18835, 57317). The exact location of a deserted medieval village in the vicinity is currently unknown (NHER 11925).

The fourteenth-century church of St James is approximately 600 m south-east of the excavation site (NHER 4259) (Figures 1–2). That historic settlement at Great Ellingham was focused around the church is confirmed by medieval remains, including pottery of eleventh- to thirteenth-century date, recorded during archaeological investigations on Church Street (NHER 40352).

Results

Archaeological finds were assigned to five periods, from Period 1 (Late Prehistoric) to Period 5 (Post-medieval). The evidence from Periods 3 and 4 is presented below (Figure 3); that from Periods 1, 2 and 5 can be found in the archive report (Boyle 2021).

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[1] Independent researcher.

[2] Spoilheap Archaeology.

[3] Oxford Archaeology.

[4] NPS Archaeology.
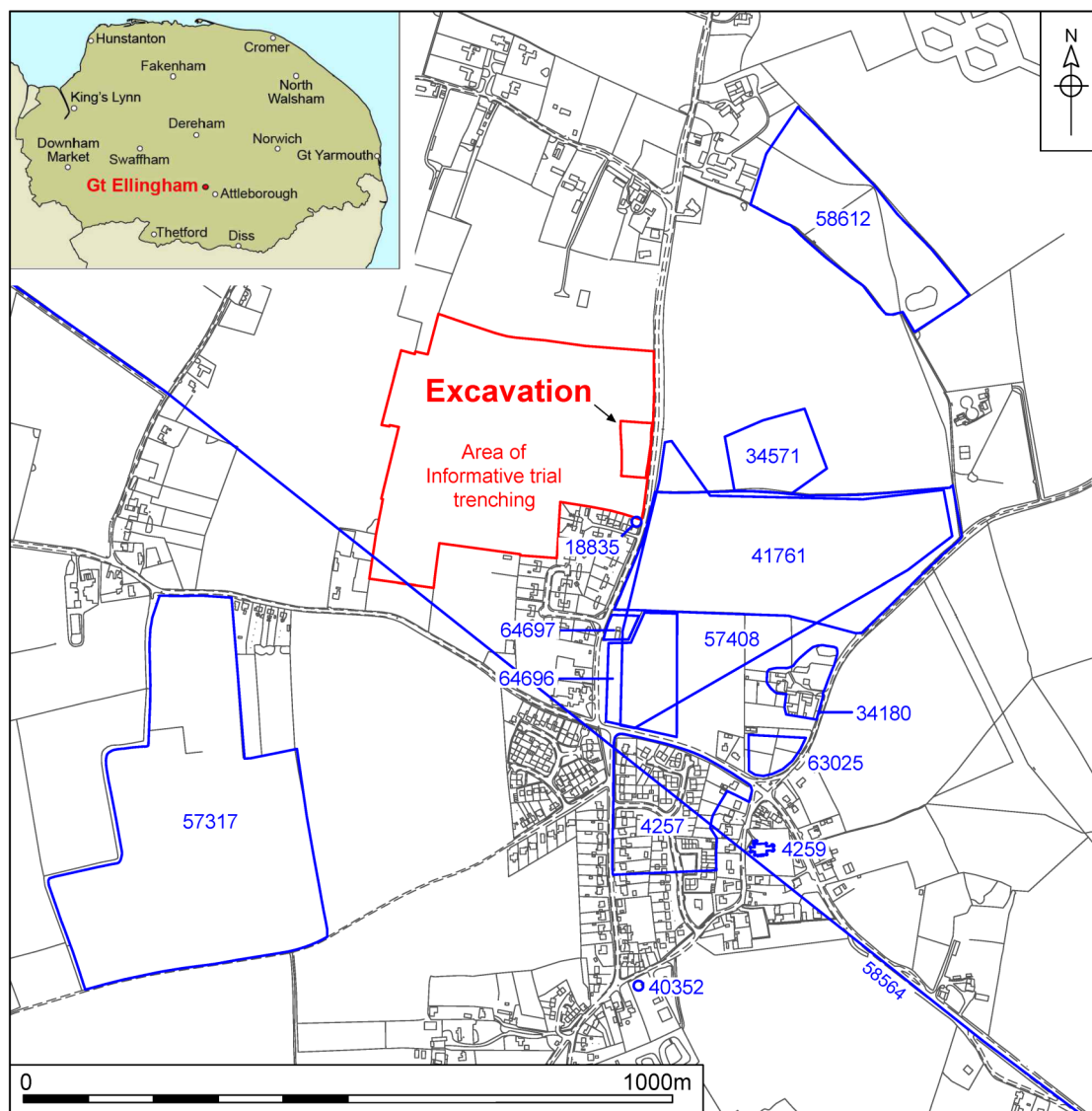
Figure 1   Site location with selected HER data as mentioned in text.

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Figure 2 The site under excavation looking south east. The medieval church of St. James can be seen in the background.

Period 3: Anglo-Saxon (410 – 1066)

Evidence of Anglo-Saxon activity was limited to a small assemblage of potsherds, mostly residual in later features: a single large sherd of Mid Saxon Ipswich ware (*c.* AD 725–850) and eight small abraded sherds of Late Saxon date.

Trample 1272, which sealed medieval metalled surface 1276, contained two sherds of Late Saxon pottery, while a suspected pond in the north-west corner of the site contained three sherds of eleventh-century date. The fact that no other dateable material was recovered from that feature might suggest that it was open in the Late Saxon period or earlier.

Period 4: Medieval (1066 – 1540)

Ditched Enclosure
Medieval features and deposits in the excavation area all lay within an area defined by a sub-rectangular ditched enclosure (G101: c. 62 x 34 m), which seems to have extended beyond the limits of excavation to the east. An angled, linear feature (NHER 57408) east of Hingham Road and opposite the excavation site seems likely to represent the continuation of the southern return of this enclosure (Figure 4). Though the northern return (G102) contained a plastic drainage pipe along its length, other factors indicate that this feature was the original line of the enclosure. The northern end of the western return did not extend beyond G102, and appeared to turn east just before the two features coincided. If these projections of both the north and south enclosure ditches are correct, they suggest that the excavated area represents part of a rectangular enclosure measuring c. 75 x 62 m, with an internal area of c. 4,650 m^2, equivalent to just over one acre. Ceramic evidence suggests that the enclosure ditch was allowed to infill during the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries.

Internal Dividing of Enclosure G101
The ceramic evidence suggests that two broadly parallel, east-west aligned ditches (G84, 85), approximately central in the site, were infilled during the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, a similar period to the filling of the enclosure ditch (G101). These features appear to have divided the enclosed area into three unequal plots. Breaks of approximately 3 m between the western termini of these two ditches and the enclosure ditch might have provided access between plots.

Some variation in the array of medieval features across the three divisions is apparent, with features more numerous in the north and south plots, and virtually absent in the smaller central division, which may therefore have served a different purpose.

Post-built Structure
Four post-trenches and 16 postholes in the northern plot formed a broadly rectangular plan of a timber structure, measuring c. 14.5 m east-west by 11 m north-south (Figures 3, 5). A pair of postholes at the centre of the structure's east end indicates that this side may have been open or contained a main entrance. Two similar postholes perhaps represent internal features close to the north side. If not structural, these perhaps formed an internal setting for a small division, rack or livestock trough.

It may be coincidental that a pit of thirteenth- to fourteenth-century date (G 19) was central within the building. At almost 2 m deep, the base of this circular, vertically-sided feature was below the current water table, and it might originally have been dug to source or store water.

The archaeological evidence provides no clear indication of the function of this rudimentary structure: whether domestic, for agricultural storage, animal shelter, or indeed a mix of all of these across its lifetime, which the small assemblage of pottery from the structure's features suggests fell within the thirteenth century.

Excavations at Boreham Airfield, Essex (Clarke 1996), discovered enclosed settlement of twelfth- to thirteenth-century date, with several timber buildings interpreted as a house, outbuildings, a granary, and an early form of windmill within a large rectangular moat. The surviving remains indicated that the adjacent outbuildings measured c. 11 m by 5.5 m and c. 10 m by 4 m respectively, and both buildings seemed to have one open side. They were constructed with shallow, intermittent post-in-trench slots and postholes, and were thus similar to the larger example at Great Ellingham.

Six substantial pits (Gps 8, 10, 12, 19, 24, 34) in the vicinity of the structure were ultimately used for waste disposal, with pottery from these features perhaps contemporary with the building's use – though whether this material represents domestic waste associated with the building, or rather derived from unidentified settlement activity nearby, remains uncertain.

Two further substantial pits (Gps 16, 17), which cut the structure's southern perimeter, clearly post-date the building's use. Both pits contained small assemblages of thirteenth- to fourteenth-century pottery, which suggests that the structure was relatively short-lived – perhaps unsurprisingly, given its rudimentary construction.

Metalled surface and associated deposits
A metalled surface (G 98) of flint pebbles and stones in the south-east corner of the site was adjacent to the eastern excavation limit and within ditched enclosure G 101 (Figure 3, 6). Measuring c. 9.5 m north-south and at least 9.6 m east-west, this feature extended beyond the excavation limits to the east. Generally heavily worn and wheel-rutted, the best surviving areas of metalling exhibited neat and tight construction. The finds assemblage from the metalled surface comprised 45 pottery sherds spot-dated to the twelfth to thirteenth centuries (including 25 from a single vessel), and twelve lava quern fragments. The damage and wear apparently caused by wheel rutting suggest that this surface may have formed the western end of a trackway rather than a yard or floor surface. If so, could the associated material culture result from imported domestic waste transported to the site for disposal on a midden?

Sealing the metalled surface was a chalk-flecked, reddish-brown silty sand (1272) with occasional flint pebble and stone inclusions. Up to c. 0.3 m thick, this layer had levelled the slightly concave profile of the metalled surface and probably represents material accumulated during the use and abandonment of the feature. Animal bone, marine mollusc shell, pottery and iron objects (including nails and a fragment of horseshoe) were retrieved from this deposit. The 160 pottery sherds from layer 1272 represent a wider, more mixed, and generally slightly later range of wares than that obtained from the underlying metalled surface. The assemblage was dominated by eleventh- to thirteenth-century pottery, including several sherds of a single
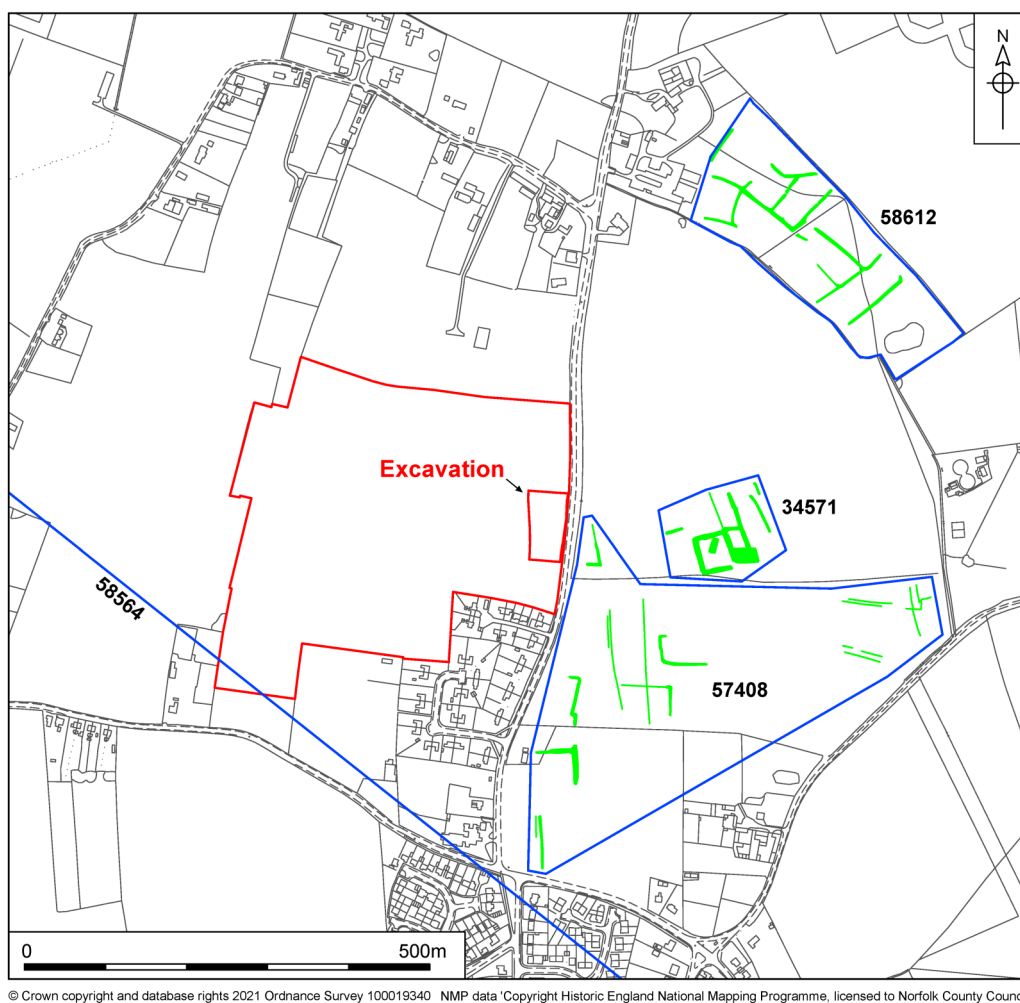
Figure 3   Phased plan of all features.

Figure 4   Site location with selected Norfolk National Mapping Programme NMP data mentioned in the text.
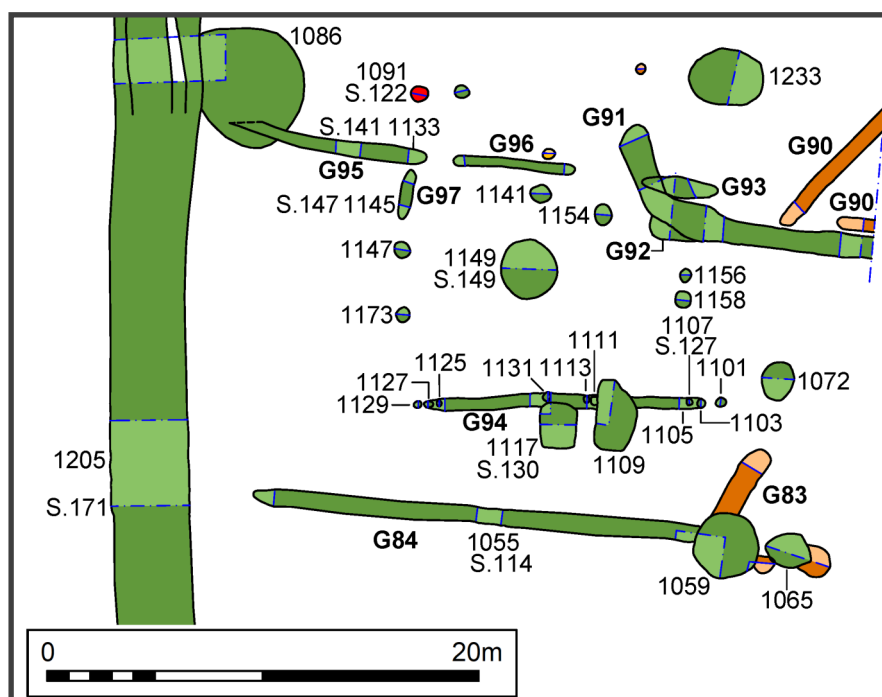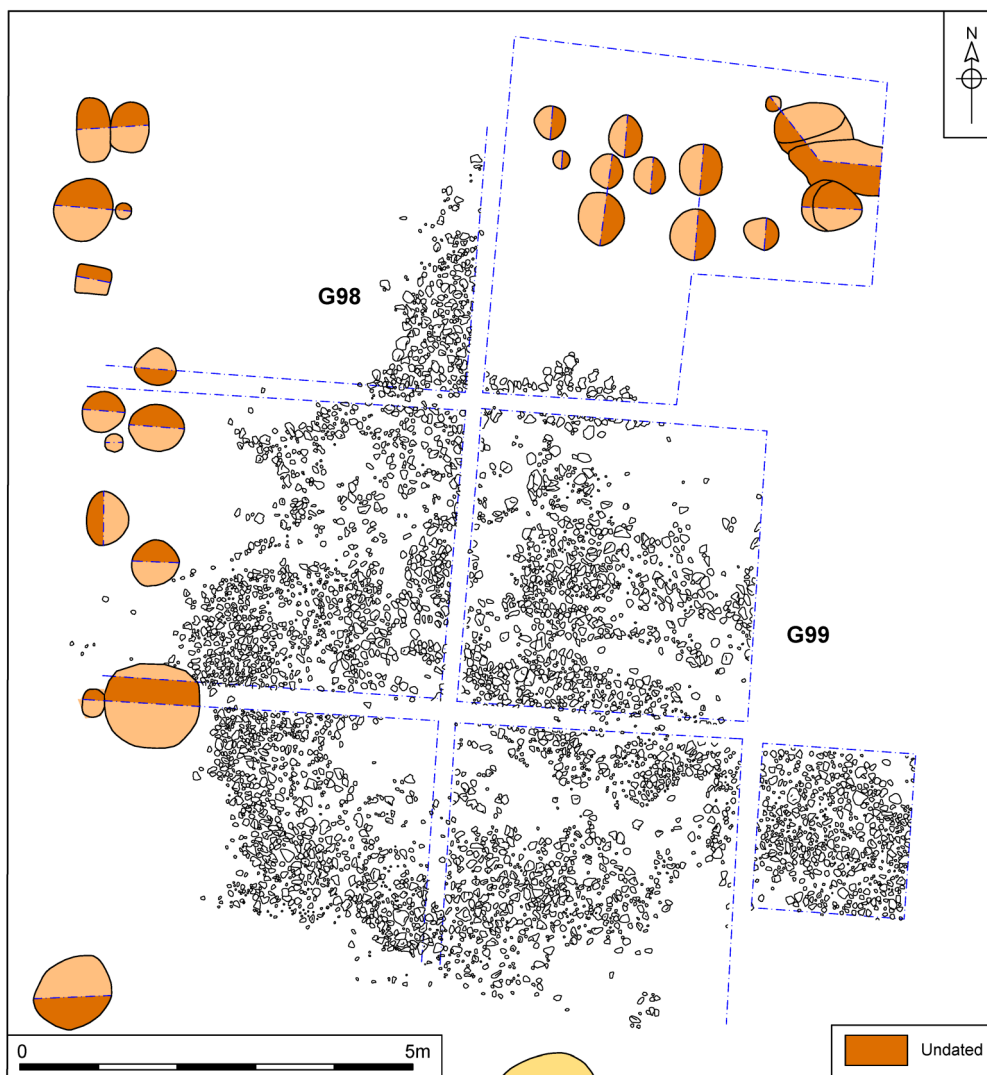

Figure 5   Detail of post-built structure.

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Figure 6 Plan of metalled surface 1276 (G 98).

Figure 7 Metalled surface 1276 (G 98) under excavation looking north, 2 x 2m scales.
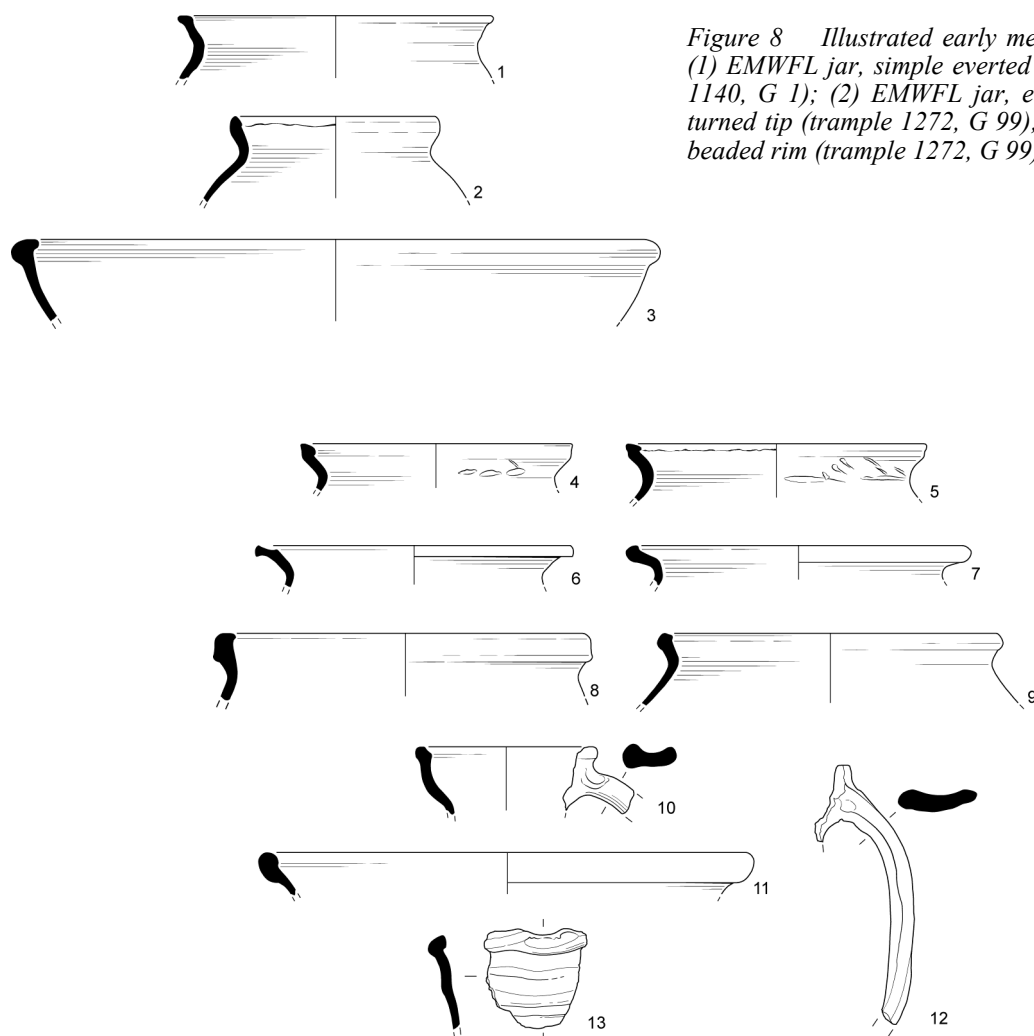
Figure 8 Illustrated early medieval vessels 1–3: (1) EMWFL jar, simple everted rim (tree throw fill 1140, G 1); (2) EMWFL jar, everted rim with in-turned tip (trample 1272, G 99); (3) EMWFL bowl, beaded rim (trample 1272, G 99).

Figure 9 Illustrated medieval vessels 4–13: (4) MCW1 jar, everted square-beaded rim? (ditch fill 1006, G 85); (5) MCW3 jar, everted rim with in-turned tip (trample 1272, G 99); (6) MCW3 jar, everted rim with everted tip (pit fill 1153, G 19); (7) MCW3 jar, everted rim (pit fill 1153, G 19); (8) MCW3 jar, everted square-beaded rim (trample 1272, G 99); (9) MCW3 jar, upright square-beaded rim (ditch fill 104, G 95); (10) MCW3 jug, upright plain rim and wide strap handle (ditch fill 155, unphased); (11) MCW2 bowl, beaded rim (ditch fill 1134, G 95); (12) GRIMT jug, collared rim (ditch fill 1082, G 95); (13) UPG jug, ?triangular beaded rim (trample 1272, G 99).

bowl found spread across the area. A relatively high proportion of twelfth- to fourteenth-century sherds, along with a few late medieval sherds, suggest that the area may have remained in use into the fourteenth century.

Finds

Post-Roman Pottery (by Sue Anderson)

Pottery totalling 395 sherds was collected from 51 contexts. Table 1 provides a quantification by fabric, and selected vessels are illustrated in Figures 8–9.

Late Saxon and early medieval wares have been recovered from a number of sites in Great Ellingham in recent years (e.g. Anderson 2018a–b), but this is the first assemblage to contain a substantial quantity of high medieval and some later medieval wares. It is therefore an important resource for medieval pottery studies in this part of Norfolk.

The ceramic evidence indicates limited activity on this site before the Late Saxon period, with sherds of prehistoric, Roman and Mid Saxon pottery probably representing no more than a background scatter introduced by manuring. The quantity of sherds increases noticeably from the Late Saxon to the high medieval period, and falls again into the late medieval period.

The pottery itself is likely to be of local origin, with much of it in three broadly similar coarseware fabrics. However, the mix of both north Norfolk and apparent Suffolk rim types in the group is of particular interest. Similar forms have recently been noted at Long Stratton (Anderson 2020b), but there has been little work at sites to the south-east of the county around the Waveney Valley. This area was almost certainly the source for much of the pottery used in the north-east of Suffolk in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, but it is currently unclear as to whether they also served parishes in south Norfolk.

Glazed wares in the medieval period appear to have been sourced from both north-west Norfolk and the Fens, although some of the Grimston-type ware may well have been sourced more locally. The unusual

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Table 1   Pottery quantification by fabric. Eve: estimated vessel equivalent; MNV: estimated minimum number of vessels.

Description	Fabric	Date range	No	Wt/g	Eve	MNV
Gritty Ipswich ware	GIPS	L.7th–9th c.	1	14		1
Thetford-type ware	THET	L.9th–11th c.	3	15		3
Thetford-type ware (local?)	THETL	10th–11th c.	4	14	0.11	3
'Early medieval' sandwich ware	EMSW	11th c.	1	18		1
Late Saxon shelly ware	LSSH	10th–11th c.	1	1		1
Early medieval ware	EMW	11th–12th c.	80	458		70
Early medieval ware micaceous	EMWM	11th–12th c.	2	13		2
Early medieval ware with flint	EMWFL	11th–13th c.	89	973	0.90	44
Early medieval ware gritty	EMWG	11th–13th c.	4	48		4
Medieval coarseware gritty	MCWG	12th–13th c.	1	47		1
Grimston coarseware	GRCW	12th–13th c.	4	28		2
Ely coarseware	ELCW	12th–14th c.	1	80	0.12	1
Local medieval unglazed (Norwich type)	LMU	11th–14th c.	13	88	0.20	9
Medieval coarseware?	MCW?	12th–14th c.?	1	4		1
Medieval coarseware 1	MCW1	12th–14th c.	14	227	0.50	12
Medieval coarseware 2	MCW2	12th–14th c.	21	259	0.29	17
Medieval coarseware 3	MCW3	12th–14th c.	51	584	1.12	41
Medieval coarseware micaceous	MCWM	12th–14th c.	8	113	0.05	7
Essex-type medieval coarseware	MEMS	12th–14th c.	2	79	0.15	1
Grimston ware	GRIM	L.12th–14th c.	40	487	0.22	27
Grimston-type ware	GRIMT	L.12th–14th c.?	37	676	0.60	27
Barton Bendish glazed ware	BBGW	12th–14th c.	1	2		1
Ely-type glazed ware	ELYG	12th–14th c.	1	18		1
Unprovenanced glazed ware	UPG	12th–14th c.	3	60	0.18	2
Yarmouth-type glazed ware	YARG	13th–15th c.?	4	34		1
Late Grimston ware	GRIL	14th–15th c.?	5	46		4
Late medieval and transitional ware	LMT	L.14th–M.16th c.	1	2		1
Pearlware	PEW	L.18th–19th c.	2	3	0.03	2
Totals			395	4391	4.47	287

rouletted and glazed sherd is of uncertain provenance but is certainly non-local and may represent an import of English or northern European origin.

Faunal Remains (by Joshua White)

A small assemblage of 115 fragments of hand-collected animal bone was recovered from thirteen different deposits (Table 2). These were in a poor state of preservation with considerable fragmentation and moderate surface erosion. Cattle are the predominant species represented, and age-at-death indicators show that they were mostly aged over three years, and therefore kept principally for secondary products (traction and dairy), only being slaughtered when they had passed the peak of their useful life.

Table 2 NISP quantification of faunal remains.

Species	No. of Identified Specimens
Cattle	18
Equid	2
Ovicaprid	4
Large mammal	3
Medium-large mammal	29
Small mammal	1
Mammal	15
Total	72

Worked Stone (by Frances M.L. Green)

Twelve fragments of lava were retrieved from metalled surface 1276, and a single fragment was recovered from fill 1235 of pit 1233. The lava fragments were derived from one or more broken-up querns or (less likely) millstones. The lithology of these lava fragments is distinctive, and typical of basalt imported from the Meyen/Niedermendig area of the Eifel Hills region of Germany. Quernstones from that region were first imported to Britain in the Roman period and continued to be in use until the early medieval period (Pohl 2010; Peacock 1980).

Environmental remains (by Val Fryer)

While cereal grains were present in most of the environmental samples tested for plant macrofossils, preservation was very poor and quantities sparse. The remains most likely derive from scattered refuse accidentally incorporated across the various features and deposits. A small plant macrofossil assemblage from medieval waste pit 1086 may derive from cereal processing or storage waste. However, given the poor preservation of the material, it could represent hearth waste rather than a primary domestic/agricultural deposit.

Discussion

The medieval remains discovered in these excavations contribute to a gradually emerging picture of Great Ellingham in the Middle Ages, and in particular the development of settlement activity associated with a moated manor. Cropmarks approximately 200 m east of the site are interpreted as a medieval moated manor (NHER 34571), and further cropmarks to the south-east – similarly aligned to the excavated enclosure reported here – may represent roads, paths, boundaries and ditched platforms belonging to the same medieval period of occupation. Homestead moats are characteristic of the medieval landscape in clay-land parts of the East Anglia. Martin (2012) maps the currently known distribution in Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk and parts of Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire, revealing a concentration unmatched elsewhere in England. He presents evidence for them principally being visible status symbols.

The excavated remains reported here appear most likely to represent part of an enclosed farmstead, possibly associated with the unexcavated moated manor. Significant activity probably began in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries with the setting out of the enclosure, metalled surface (or track) and earth-fast timber structure – perhaps an agrarian outbuilding intended to provide temporary shelter. Widespread pits containing domestic debris, such as broken pottery and animal bone, point to nearby habitation, conceivably in the unexcavated eastern part of the enclosure. Although charred plant macrofossils proved very scarce and poorly preserved, the recovery of lava quern fragments – chiefly amongst debris from above the metalled surface, in the southern portion of the site – hints at grain processing in the vicinity. The site appears to have been abandoned during the fourteenth century. It is perhaps best categorised as a 'dispersed' farmstead peripheral to the Great Ellingham parish, the historic core of which is c. 600 m to the south-east, around the fourteenth-century church of St James.

While no close parallels of enclosed medieval farmsteads such as this have been identified within Norfolk by the current project, excavations at Cedars Park, Stowmarket (Suffolk) – similarly situated on the South Norfolk and High Suffolk Claylands – revealed part of an enclosed farmstead with the main period of activity corresponding to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries (Woolhouse 2016).

Conclusions

The most informative aspect of the Great Ellingham excavation is that it captures a distinct period of twelfth- to fourteenth-century rural settlement largely unaffected by later development. The remains of a timber structure represent a rare addition to the few medieval rural buildings excavated in this region.

The postulated farmstead was probably established under favourable environmental conditions in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, at a time of rising population. The reasons for the abandonment of the site in the fourteenth century are unknown, but the Black Death and subsequent outbreaks of plague from the mid-fourteenth century are frequently cited as the root cause of such decline. In addition, the difficulty of farming heavy clay soils during the worsening climate of the

fourteenth century might have contributed to the site's decline and eventual abandonment. Alternatively, or additionally, the abandonment of the excavated site could be associated with a shift in focus towards a new settlement core in the vicinity of the church of St James, built in the fourteenth century.

Similar small farms and roadside or green-edge settlements were typical of the medieval landscape of the Suffolk, Essex and Norfolk claylands. However, while these forms of dispersed settlement are known from documentary records and field survey, until now very few have been subject to modern open-area excavation and the recovery of detailed structural evidence.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

NHER. Norfolk Historic Environment Record. Searchable at https://www.heritage.norfolk.gov.uk/ (accessed 12/08/22).

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TEST PIT EXCAVATION WITHIN CURRENTLY OCCUPIED RURAL SETTLEMENTS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC, NETHERLANDS, POLAND AND UNITED KINGDOM – RESULTS OF THE CARE PROJECT 2021

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In 2021 the four-nation CARE project, '*Community Archaeology in Rural Environments Meeting Societal Challenges*' (CARE-MSoC), continued archaeological test pit excavations within currently inhabited rural settlements of known or suspected medieval date in the Czech Republic, Netherlands, Poland and the UK. As in 2020, the number of test pit excavations that could be carried out was severely restricted in 2021 by the continuing COVID-19 pandemic, but limited work was possible in seven settlements: Drválovice, Merboltice, Předhradí, Vanovice (all in the Czech Republic), Liempde (Netherlands), Biadki (Poland) and Riseholme (UK) (Fig. 1). The results of these excavations are summarised here, as an update to previous reports reviewing test pit excavations in 2019 and 2020 (Lewis *et al*. 2020; 2021).

Results

Czech Republic (P.V.)

Drválovice (district of Blansko) Czech Republic (49° 33'56" N, 16°39'00" E)

Due to interest from local inhabitants in test pit excavations in Vanovice (Lewis *et al*. 2020, 82–6), test pit excavation was extended in 2021 to the neighbouring small hamlet of Drválovice (Fig. 1), which today contains just 64 houses and 138 inhabitants. Drválovice is first mentioned in written records in AD 1256 ('in Drwalowitz'; RBM II, 45). Two test pits were excavated in Drválovice in 2021, both in the garden of house no. 28. These excavations revealed clay-loess natural subsoil at a depth of c. 0.5 m overlain by anthropogenic deposits containing a large assemblage of middle Bronze Age pottery. These finds add to the known evidence for extensive Bronze Age settlement in the wider microregion (Malach, Štrof and Hložek 2016; Štrof 2014).

Merboltice/Mertensdorf (district of Děčín) Czech Republic (50°41'06" N, 14°20'25" E)

The village of Merboltice (Fig. 1) is situated in the Central Bohemian Highlands 60 km north of Prague at 150–350 m above sea level. Geologically, the area has a complex structure of sandstones, basalts, tephrites, nephelines and pyroclastics typical of the tertiary volcanic Central Bohemian Highlands. The village today lies along the Merboltice stream (originally Triebschbach) in a deep valley and its total length reaches 4 km. The origins in this area of long, linear valley-bottom villages such as Merboltice are conventionally thought to lie in the colonisation of previously unsettled Bohemian uplands during the thirteenth century AD, a process thought to have been driven by settlers coming from different parts of medieval Germany (e.g. Klápště 2005, 208). A typical feature of this type of village is a field system formed by long linear arable strips extending from individual village farms to the border of the cadastral area. At Merboltice this system is visible as convex-shaped field boundaries on LIDAR surveys (Fig. 2). In total, 29 historical fields have been identified (Hanzlík, Sellnerová and Veselá 2014).

Although it is accordingly presumed that Merboltice was established in the thirteenth century, it was first documented in 1352 when it was part of Šarfenštejn estate of the lords of Michalovice ('*Merbotonis villa*'). Written reference, from 1357, to a priest in Merboltice suggests that the parish church of St Catharina was in existence by then (Karlíček *et al*. 2012, 6). In the early sixteenth century the village was owned by members of a protestant family (Pojetičtí of Pojetice), from whom it was confiscated after the suppression of the Czech protestant rebellion against the Habsburgs in 1623. General Johann von Sporck, who served the Austrian throne during the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), bought a number of confiscated estates in Bohemia after the war, including Merboltice (Hanzlík, Sellnerová and Veselá 2014, 181). In 1708–09, the construction of a

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Figure 1   Map of northern Europe showing the villages where test pit excavation took place as part of the CARE project from 2019 to 2021 (J. Verspay).

new large baroque church (Zeman 2021, 14–17) demonstrated the successful conversion of the village back to Catholicism. The tax register for 1654 records 38 peasants including 29 tenant farmers and nine cottagers (Karlíček *et al*. 2012, 7), but the number of houses grew significantly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, from 113 in 1713 to 168 in 1785, 179 in 1833, and 198 in 1900 (Karlíček *et al*. 2012, 7–8), and a village school was established in the late eighteenth century. The village economy was mostly based on cattle grazing, corn and flax production and, as in other parts of the northern Bohemian uplands, five small cotton-spinning mills were established in Merboltice in the nineteenth century, with many local people also working in textile factories in nearby small towns. By 1900, Merboltice was densely populated with 965 inhabitants, and in the early twentieth century had a range of services and crafts including a post office, seven pubs, three grocery shops, two butcher shops, three bakeries, a confectioner's, five mills, a sawmill and a glass-grinding mill, as well as workshops engaged in crafts such as musical instrument making,

basketmaking, coopering, cobbling, tailoring and wheelmaking.

After annexation of the so-called Sudetenland to Nazi Germany in 1938, the village – populated entirely with Czech Germans – found itself within the 'Third Reich', and a local organization of the Nazi party was founded in Merboltice (NSDAP Ortsgruppe; Karlíček *et al*. 2012, 8–9, 14–15). As was the case across the Sudetenland, the German population of Merboltice was expelled after the Second World War (1946) and a slow flow of Czech settlers from inland started. The ethnic cleansing resulted in about half of all houses being abandoned, many of which were subsequently torn down. Communist collectivisation of the land was not successful, so that the local cooperative farm established in 1952 was taken over by the state farm in neighbouring Verneřice in 1962 (Karlíček *et al*. 2012, 9–14, 19–20). On the decision of the district communist authorities, the church of St Catharina was demolished in 1975, with only the bell tower surviving (Zeman 2021, 116). According to testimonies of local
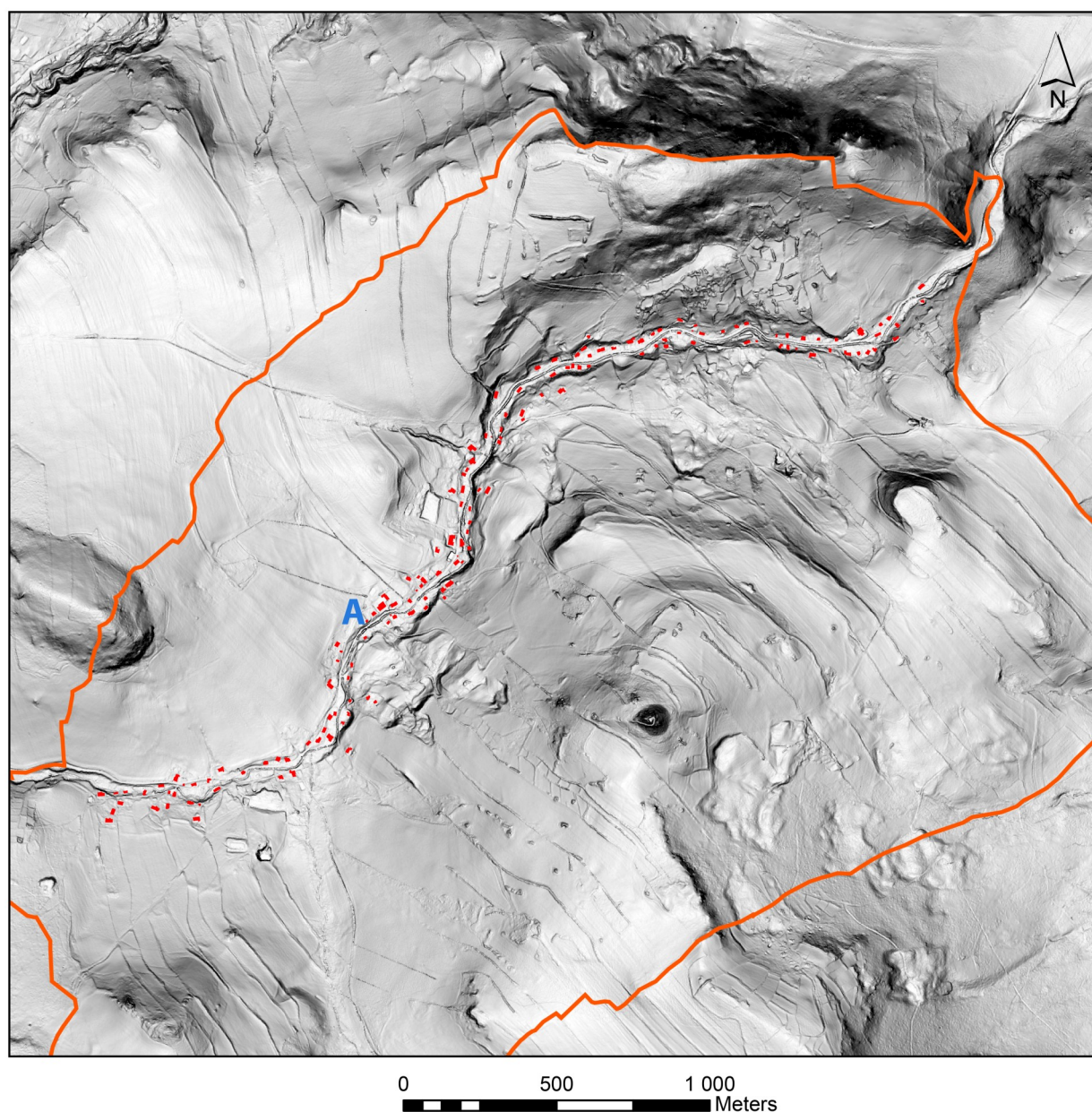
Figure 2   Digital Relief Model of the Merboltice (Czech Republic) cadastral territory based on airborne laser scanning. Linear concave features indicate historic field boundaries. A – former parish church, red – contemporary houses, orange line – cadastral boundary (data provided by the Czech Office for Surveying, Mapping and Cadastre; map by L. Hobl and P. Vařeka).

inhabitants, gravestones from the churchyard were also removed and thrown into a nearby valley (Interview 1).

As in other places in the Central Bohemian Highlands, from the 1960s its proximity to Prague encouraged the conversion of farms in Merboltice into weekend homes, thus saving them from demolition. This holiday home ownership has been of crucial importance for the preservation of historic rural housing in Merboltice and, in 2004, the acknowledged quality of preserved traditional architecture led the Ministry of Culture to declare Merboltice a listed monument (village zone).

Currently Merboltice has 174 houses, 64 of which are permanent residences and the rest holiday homes; thus,

while the number of permanent inhabitants is around 200, summer visitors can raise this as high as 500. Despite this relatively high population, of all the pre-war services and workshops listed above, only one inn has survived. Some civic initiatives have developed in the last few years (e.g. Club of Merboltice Friends, Volunteer Fire Brigade) as have ecological agricultural businesses (e.g. goat dairy production) and a tourist infrastructure including accommodation facilities.

Research into the tangible heritage of Merboltice started with a survey of its well-preserved traditional rural domestic architecture (e.g. Veselá, Sellnerová and Hanzlík 2015, 96–109), comprising impressive storeyed block houses (Fig. 3) with a three-compartment

Figure 3   Storeyed block houses in Merboltice: (top) 'Devil's Mill', house No. 98, dendro-dated to 1713/14–1778/79; and (bottom) House No. 141, dendro-dated to 1759–1766.

Figure 4   Photograph of baroque-era parish church of St Catharina with bell tower in Merboltice in the 1960s (Regional Museum in Děčín, Archive No. č. 34477; photograph by P. Vařeka).

plan. In these, the ground floor consists of a large living room with a narrow annexed room on one side, a central entrance room with so-called black kitchen situated in the back (from which the stove and backing oven in the living room were operated) and a byre on the other side. The central part and the byre were built of stone, with the living section constructed of timber. The first floor was entirely timber-built and consisted of additional living room and storage rooms. Farms also had a timber barn and other outhouses. In response to interest amongst local people in finding out how old their properties were, dendrochronological sampling was carried out in 11 houses, seven of which produced usable results (Nos 14, 57, 60, 98, 109, 141 and 150), showing that the earliest timbers dated to 1645–94. Structural analysis showed, however, that timbers had been re-used from earlier buildings, with the two earliest *in situ* houses proving to date from the early eighteenth century (Nos 57 and 60), and two more to the late eighteenth century (98 and 141), with the rest dating from the nineteenth century (Kincl 2022).

Test pit excavation in Merboltice in 2021 focused, at the request of the local community, on establishing and exploring the location of the demolished church of St Catharina (Fig. 4). Ground penetrating radar (GPR) survey north-west of the preserved bell tower over an area   c. 700 m^2 (survey by M. Vágner) revealed a massive rectangular structure measuring 12 x 29 m with a southern entrance hall (Fig. 5), which corresponded

closely to the church plan from 1974 (State District Archive Děčín, ONV Děčín, kart. No 1119, inventory No. 1965). The GPR data also showed another smaller feature situated within the baroque-era church that appeared likely to be an earlier structure, possibly an early Gothic-era church (length c. 18 m) with rectangular presbytery. In Bohemia, this layout is usually dated to the second or third quarter of the thirteenth century (e.g. Líbal 1984, 154, 166).

The results of geophysical survey were tested by excavations comprising a total of 11 interconnected test pits so that the total excavated area was 12.5 m^2 (Fig. 6). The excavations revealed the foundations of the baroque-era church extending from just 0.1–0.3 m beneath the current ground surface to a depth of 1.1–1.2 m. These foundations were built of quarry stones bound with lime mortar. The south-eastern corner of the nave was identified in test pits 1, 2, 3, 6, 7 and 11, as were modern concrete-built tombs annexed to the outside of the church. The northern wall of the presbytery was found in test pits 4, 5, 9 and 10, which showed the interior of the church to be filled with large stones (Fig. 7), probably representing demolition rubble, which could not be removed due to the limited size of test pits. Fragments of an earlier stone wall built of smaller quarry stones cut by the baroque foundations were excavated outside the church (test pits 5, 8 and 9); these can be interpreted as the remains of a vestry of the thirteenth-century Gothic church. A clay layer 0.8 m below the present ground surface appeared to be part of the vestry floor, an interpretation supported by finds of fragments of Gothic floor tiles and a few sherds of late medieval pottery.

In November 2021, the results of the geophysical survey and the excavations were presented to the local community (Fig. 8), leading enthused inhabitants to

Figure 5   Interpretative plan of ground penetrating radar survey in Merboltice showing the remains of the baroque parish church of St Catharina demolished in 1975 and its Gothic predecessor. A – Gothic church; B – baroque church. 1: test pits 4–5, 8–10; 2: test pits 1–3, 6–7 and 11 (plan by M. Vágner and P. Vařeka).

Figure 6   Photograph of test pit excavations in Merboltice in 2021 on the site of the demolished church in front of the preserved belfry (photograph by P. Vařeka).
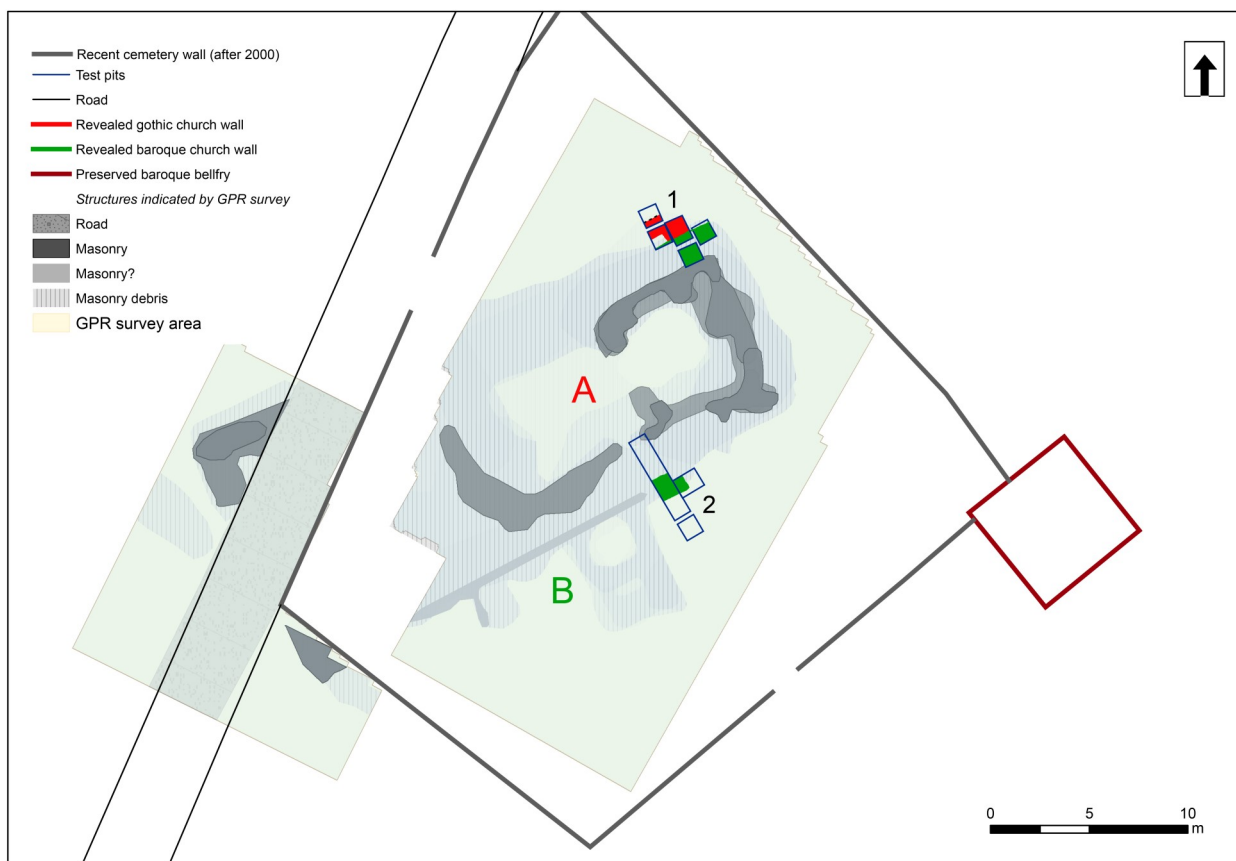
Figure 7   Merboltice 2021 test pit 5 showing the baroque church wall (northern section of the presbytery) and Gothic church wall (probably foundation of the vestry; photograph by P. Vařeka).

Figure 8   The CARE project team discussing conservation and presentation of the parish church foundations with members of the village community in October 2021 (photograph by L. Hobl).

propose the reconstruction of the demolished church on its original site as a spiritual and community centre.

Předhradí (district of Chrudim) (49°49'53" N, 16°02'21" E)

11 test pits were excavated in Předhradí (Fig. 1) in 2021, bringing the total since 2020 to 23. Two test pits focused on the northern edge of the castle garden (Nos 16–17). Here the clay-rock subsoil was covered with a thin cultural layer containing fragments of sixteenth-century stove tiles which may represent waste from the aristocratic residence, which produced identical tiles during earlier excavations. Above this, ceramic finds of eighteenth- to nineteenth-century date relate to modern gardens which raised the ground level by 0.8 m. Test pitting around the former manorial brewery (test pits 19–23) revealed two layers of cobblestones which covered a thick sequence of layers reaching 1.2 m. Numerous finds from the early modern and modern periods (including a large assemblage of broken beer bottles, porcelain and stoneware) indicate that this area was used for waste disposal. The remaining test pits (13–15 and 18) produced only recent archaeological finds.

Vanovice (district of Blansko) Czech Republic (49°34'01'' N, 16°40'01'' E)

Three test pits were excavated in Vanovice (Fig. 1) in 2021, on the village green north of the church, bringing the total since 2020 to 22. The 2021 test pits revealed modern deposits with residual medieval pottery but no intact medieval contexts, although geological subsoil was not reached at the maximum excavated depth of 1.1 m. Two test pits focused on house plot No. 52 which was depicted on the 1826 cadastral map as a solitary farm situated 300m south-east of the village, which also included a pub. Excavations revealed building debris that could relate to the construction of the farm, built of stone and brick. The pottery assemblage dated to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the absence of any earlier material supporting the presumed late establishment of this farm.

Netherlands (H.v.L. and J.V.)

The COVID-19 regulations of the Dutch National Institute for Public Health and the Environment continued to hamper the test pitting programme throughout much of 2021, as its public character meant test pitting activities were classified as events, a category to which severe restrictions applied. It would take until the autumn for research into medieval villages to be resumed.

Before this, possibilities for alternatives presented themselves, as constraints were gradually eased in the summer to permit practical education activities (not classified as 'events'). A community-based field school was organised, investigating the Battle of Boxtel (AD 1794), a topic studied by several local history clubs and which could be explored with socially distanced

methods such as metal detector survey. A well-attended course with 55 participants including amateur archaeologists, students and other history enthusiasts set out on a two-week investigation to test the current identification of the site of the engagement between British Expeditionary Forces and the French Republican Army aided by Dutch Patriots (Wills 2011, 20–24). Although some artefacts were found that could be related to the conflict, analysis suggested the main confrontation probably took part elsewhere in the vicinity. This first CARE Summer School provided some interesting insights, but these were not directly related to currently occupied rural settlements which are the primary subject of this report, and therefore they will not be further discussed here. The format was nevertheless well received by the participating amateur archaeologists, students and professionals, and has been put forward as a means of engaging people at a more in-depth level in the archaeological heritage of their place or region, one of the aims of the Faro programme of the National Heritage Agency of the Netherlands (Van Engelshoven 2021).

Woensel (51°28'57" N, 5°26'48" E)

In 2019, six test pits were excavated in Woensel (Fig. 1) in the area surrounding the Oude Toren, the bell tower of the fifteenth-century church of St Peter and one of the few remaining elements of the historic village (Lewis *et al*. 2020). Following these initial results, we intended to increase the number of test pit excavations in order to map the Carolingian settlement phase in more detail and establish whether its roots extend to the Merovingian or even Roman period. Unfortunately, in 2021 there was little local interest: this was due not so much to the pandemic as to very recent demographic changes, which have seen families replaced by students who have little connection with the neighbourhood. Despite interest from people in surrounding villages, disappointment over the lack of participation from Woensel itself made the local history club Archeologische Vereniging Kempen en Peelland (AVKP), our partners in this event, decide not to proceed.

Liempde (51° 34' 15" N; 5° 22' 25" E)

Liempde (Fig. 1) is another settlement where test pit excavation took place in 2019 (Lewis *et al*. 2020, 86–7), and here it was possible to return for a second campaign in 2021, again organised in collaboration with the local heritage association Kèk Liemt, to involve Liempde residents, people from neighbouring villages, members of fellow history clubs and archaeology students.

The 2019 excavations had indicated that Liempde was an agglomeration of smaller hamlets that had developed into a nucleated village fairly recently (Lewis *et al*. 2020); the current village centre, where several vernacular houses are preserved, only started to form in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The establishment of a clandestine 'barn church' in 1672 and

the construction of the town hall in 1787 appear to have been major drivers in this process, acting as focal points of further settlement development. Subsequently, the area between these nuclei was filled in and developed into the present village centre. Building on these results, the focus of excavation in 2021 was on the northern part of the village, on the habitation in the Kerkeind, around the Kerkakkers and in the hamlet of Hezelaar.

Over the course of the weekend, approximately 50 participants completed a total of ten new test pits (Figs 9 –10), bringing the total in Liempde since 2019 to 17. Several pits were located in the centre of the current settlement. Test pits 8 and 16 confirmed the early modern origin of the present-day village centre and showed that the deposits here had been severely disturbed in recent times. Test pit 17 was sited near the church of St John the Baptist, where previous investigation had showed that the barn church had not been built on an arbitrary plot conveniently chosen in between the hamlets, but rather had been erected on a farm that had been established in the early fourteenth century and developed as a site of craft and industry, in particular for iron processing. To explore the extent of the medieval habitation, test pit 17 was dug on the other side of the former deanery next to the present church of St John the Baptist. As well as material related to the construction of this church, test pit 17 yielded pottery dating from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, including Elmpt ware, red ware and Langerwehe stoneware. These wares are contemporary with finds from the previous test pit, and suggest that the late medieval settlement extended further east and therefore may have consisted of multiple houses.

Test pit 18 was sited to explore an anomalous topographical feature, a rounded plot partly visible in present-day roads and field boundaries, whose curved shape has been identified as possibly indicative of an origin as an early medieval farm (Spek 2004, 678–681). Unfortunately, only a peripheral area was accessible for excavation; although most of the artefacts retrieved from the test pit post-dated the sixteenth century, the pit did yield a single sherd of Carolingian pottery, providing very tentative support for a possible early medieval origin.

Another group of test pits excavated in 2021 was located north of the Kerkeind, around the arable fields of the Kerkakkers. Test pit 19 aimed to explore the site of Wedehamer farm, whose earliest documented references date back to 1365, when it was part of a manorial estate held in fief by the lords of Herlaer, a prominent seigneury with a castle in the neighbouring village of Sint-Michielsgestel (Coenen 2004, 72). The current Wedehamer farmhouse was built in the sixteenth century (Steenbakkers 2017, 218–226), but it is believed to have been a property of Echternach Abbey before it was annexed by the lord of Oud-Herlaer, who served as steward on behalf of the monastery. To test this hypothesis, test pit 19 was dug in the back garden.

Unfortunately, the area proved to have been disturbed when the pond was excavated and no medieval finds were recovered.

Test pits 7, 20 and 21 were excavated on the other side of the Kerkakkers around St John's chapel. This was elevated to a separate church in 1603 and served as the place of worship for the people of Liempde until the region fell to the Dutch Republic after the Treaty of Münster in 1648. Previously, the chapel lay within the parish of Boxtel; its peripheral location, a considerable distance from the village centre and close to the river Dommel, had led to the suggestion that the chapel might have originated as a private church on the site of a manorial farm (Kortlang 1987). Test pits 7, 20 and 21 yielded some high medieval pottery, but no clear evidence for habitation in the previous period.

On the south-western side of the Kerkakkers there is a small cluster of historic farmhouses and a former school, which was built in 1793 to replace the old building at the churchyard (Coenen 2004, 269). Test pit 6 in the 2019 campaign, in the playground on the corner of the Vendelstraat and the Smidsepad, revealed a modern horizon with nineteenth- and twentieth-century artefacts and debris which covered the remnants of an early modern arable soil and a well-preserved ditch that had been filled in the sixteenth century. The ditch lines up with the unpaved part of the Pastoor Dobbeleijnstraat, but its orientation deviates from the present section of the Vendelstraat along which the vernacular houses stand. In 2019, features dating to the seventeenth century were found on the other side of the junction, and in 2021 test pit 22 produced no older artefacts; hence, the combined observations from both pits support the inference of a relatively late origin for habitation at this crossroad.

To refine understanding of the origins of the hamlets that coalesced into the later village centre, we extended research 0.5 km to the east, excavating one test pit (no. 23) in the neighbouring hamlet of Hezelaar. This yielded an assemblage of pottery of fourteenth- to fifteenth-century date, mainly grey ware and Langerwehe stoneware, including adjoining sherds and a cattle bell, suggesting that settlement at the Hezelaarsestraat has been arranged along the road since the late medieval period. Finds collected from the garden by the owner suggest that the farm had predecessors in the high medieval period, and probably even in the Carolingian period. Initially these houses were located further back, on the edge of the main arable field. This infield has been well preserved and its contours still retain the convex surface that has formed since the late medieval period as a result of plaggen manuring. The distinct topography combined with the rounded form of its boundary supports the idea that this arrangement was of considerable age, and perhaps indicates a manorial origin.

As part of the CARE Summer School, four additional test pits (nos. 25–28) were dug around the watermill on
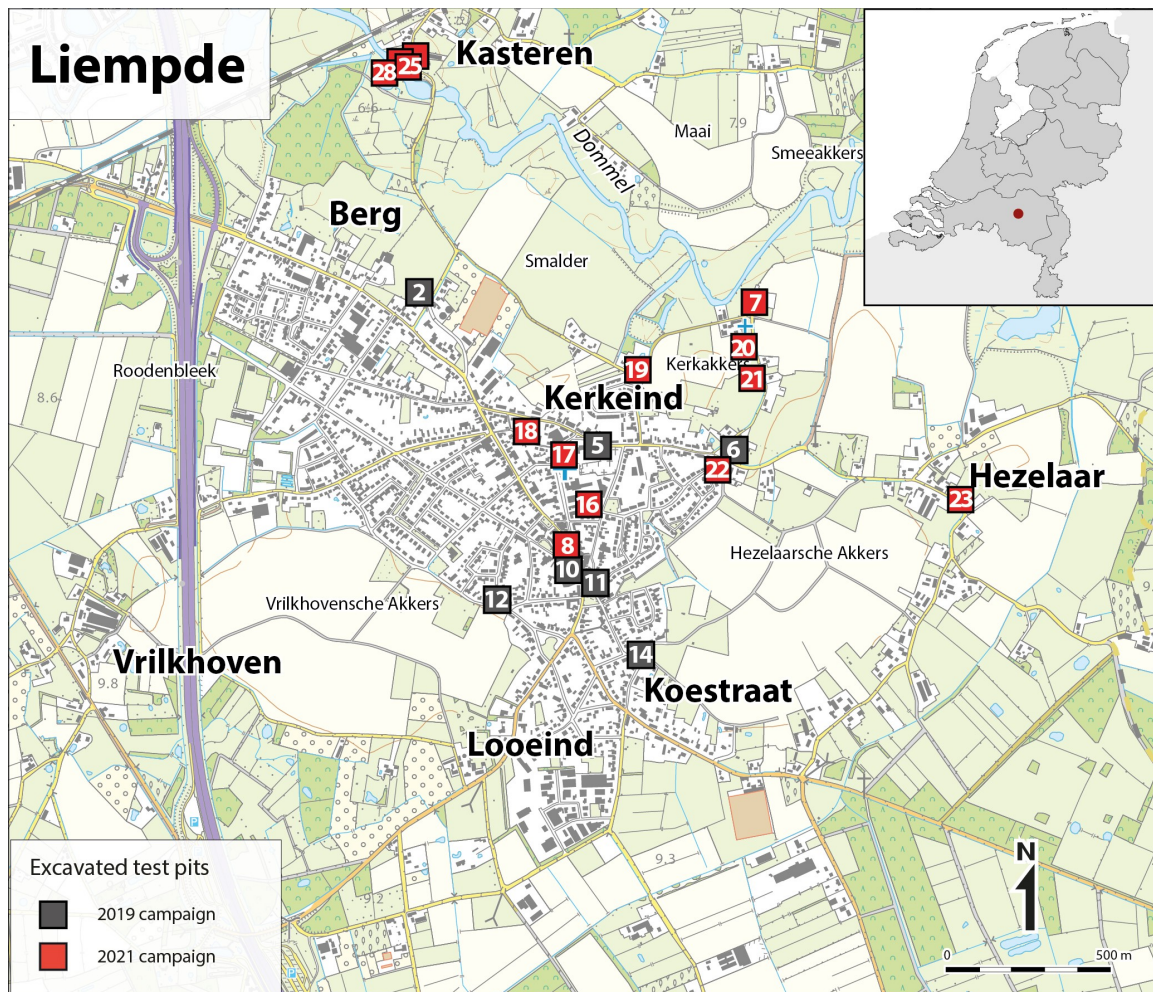
Figure 9 Map of Liempde, North-Brabant, Netherlands, showing the approximate locations of the test pits excavated in 2019 and 2021. Topographic map source Kadaster: The Netherlands' Cadastre, Land Registry and Mapping Agency.
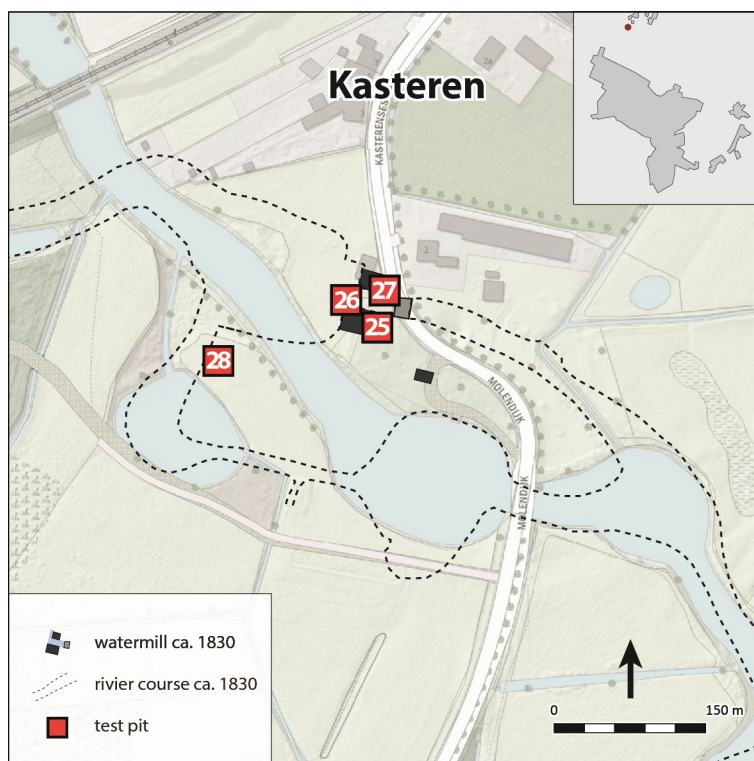
Figure 10 Map of Liempde showing the approximate locations of the test pits excavated at the site of the former watermill in Kasteren on the northside of Liempde. Topographic map source Kadaster: The Netherlands' Cadastre, Land Registry and Mapping Agency.

the northern edge of Liempde. The mill dates back to at least the beginning of the fourteenth century when half of it was a property of the Duke of Brabant held in fief by the lords of Boxtel. The other half was allodial property. There was a grain mill and an oil mill which served the inhabitants of the four parishes who were entitled to the commons of the Bodem van Elde: Sint-Michielsgestel, Boxtel, Schijndel and Sint-Oedenrode. In 1936, the sluice and the oil mill were demolished, and the corn mill burned down in 1960. After this, the mill race and pond were infilled and the Dommel was straightened. All that remains today is part of the brick building that continued to be used as a byre but is now in a dilapidated state.

Three test pits were dug in the immediate vicinity of the mill. Test pit 25 revealed parts of the foundation of the latest construction phase. Test pit 26 encountered the mill pond, which briefly served as a rubbish tip (1967–70). Excavation was halted after digging through 1.5 m of modern debris, which included a large, hand-forged broadaxe which might have belonged to the mill. Test pit 27 was dug in front of the remaining building, but only revealed a modern pavement. Test pit 28 was excavated in the last surviving part of the original mill island. The straightening of the Dommel cut through most of this, but the westernmost part survives. The island was considerably larger than necessary for the watermill alone, so we were interested in its nature, the origin of the mill site, and whether it accommodated additional uses. Test pit 28 showed the island was a natural dune that had been used as cropland since at least the late medieval period, leading to the formation of a modest plaggen soil. No evidence was found for settlement in this area, with the scarcity of artefacts in the plough soil suggesting that the terrain has served only agricultural use. There is no evidence, so far, for intensive use of the mill island prior to the fourteenth century.

Overall, the inference that Liempde as a nucleated village developed from an agglomeration of hamlets, which originated as dispersed farms set amidst their arable fields, seems to be supported by the test pit data. Artefacts from the Iron Age and Roman periods have previously been found at various sites in the surrounding open fields, indicating that settlement remains from this period are to be expected underneath the thick arable soil. So far, there is no indication of a direct link between the medieval settlement and the late Roman or Merovingian period, with no finds known from the area. To establish whether the area was indeed largely abandoned after the Roman period, additional test pits could be excavated at the presently known early medieval sites, with an absence of material from the previous period supporting the suggestion of a distinct break in the settlement development. To establish whether there really was a discontinuity in habitation in the wider area, rather than just a localised shift in settlement location, it would be necessary to investigate the open fields, but test pitting is not the most suitable method for this type of prospection.

Regarding the development of the medieval settlement, further research would benefit from extending the test pit excavation programme to the other hamlets that make up Liempde, to see whether or not these settlements developed similarly and synchronously. In addition, a more thorough historical geographical analysis could reveal key locations in the development of Liempde.

Poland (D.W., K.K. and P.F.)

Biadki (Wielkopolskie Province) Poland (51° 40' 24" N; 17° 33' 08" E)

Biadki (Fig. 1) is the largest village in Krotoszyn commune (southern part of Wielkopolskie Province), with 1,396 inhabitants. The earliest known archaeological evidence of human activity in the area is related to Neolithic communities (Kosiński 1996) and there are also many archaeological finds from the Bronze Age, Iron Age and medieval period to the modern era. The first written records of Biadkhi date to the sixteenth century (Hładyłowicz, Bujak 1932, 147). This part of Poland was annexed by Prussia in 1793, in the Second Partition of Poland. In this Prussian era, the village was situated within the Duchy of Krotoszyn (1819–1927), which was ruled by the princes of the Thurn and Taxis family (Plater 1846). As one of the consequences of the First World War, Poland regained independence and control of the village. During the Second World War, the village was occupied by Germans, who destroyed the Catholic church of Isidore the Labourer, carried out deportations of the locals to Germany, and brought prisoners of war of various nationalities to the village (Wardzyńska 2017).

Today, the village of Biadki is spread out over a large area with housing and amenities arranged along several long, straight, modern roads. The settlement is divided into several districts and includes a primary school with 137 pupils and a public library nearby in the old building of a former school. The parish church is a modern building, situated more than 350 m beyond the edge of the village. Within the village, there are several active organizations, including the volunteer fire brigade and the folk song ensemble 'Biadkowianki' or 'Stowarzyszenie Wspólnie dla Biadek' ('Together for Biadki Society'), the latter having the main aim of promoting culture and heritage. The school, the Catholic parish church and the community leader play a major role in organizing social and cultural life in the village.

15 test pits were excavated in Biadki in 2021 in three cadastral parcels (Fig. 11). Two of these (where test pits 1–5 and 6–10 were sited) lie south of the main road through the village and are currently in use as a playing field and a football pitch, used regularly by children from the local primary school. Test pits 11–15 were also located on a playing field further to the north, close to a
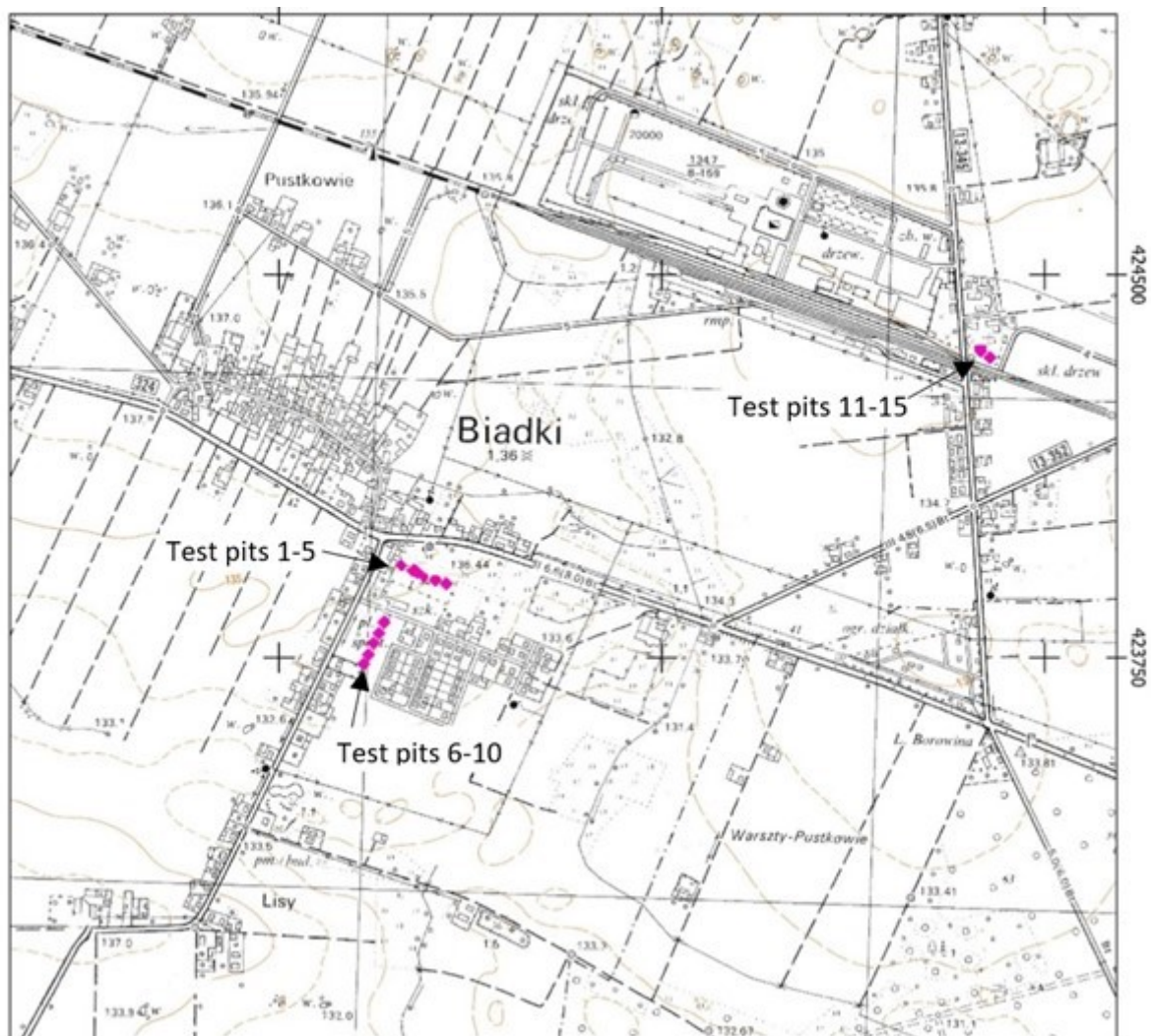
*Figure 11   Map of Biadki, Poland, showing the approximate locations of the test pits excavated in 2019 and 2021. Map produced by Filip Wałdoch.*

railway station in an area that was heavily disturbed during construction of a new housing estate in the 1970s. Ten of the test pits produced finds, comprising 45 potsherds, two tile fragments and an ebonite button (pits 1–8, 10 and 13; Fig. 12). No material predating the seventeenth century was recovered, with 57% of the assemblage dating to the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries and the remainder to the nineteenth to twentieth centuries. Most of the seventeenth- to eighteenth-century material, mostly small body sherds (Bis 2004), was recovered from test pits 6, 7, 8 and 10 (in the southernmost area investigated). Sherds of nineteenth- to twentieth-century date were mostly of simple, common stoneware vessels, except for five fragments of porcelain found in the lower contexts of test pits 5, 8 and 13. An ebonite button (test pit 14) and two fragments of clay tiles (test pits 1 and 3) may have been of eighteenth- to nineteenth-century date, although the latter were in use for a long time in Polish villages (Dąbrowska 1987, 87–88).

The lack of pre-modern finds, along with observation of test pit sections, suggests that none of the excavated areas were used for habitation in the past and prompted the suggestion that they were used as fields, although there was little evidence for anthropogenic soils. From an archaeological point of view, the earlier spatial organization and development of Biadki cannot be reconstructed from the test pit excavations carried out to date. However, the project was successful in engaging more than 200 volunteers including many local children who were very interested in finding material traces of the history of their village (Fig. 13).

United Kingdom (C.L.)

Old Dalby (Leicestershire) UK (52°48'25'' N; 1° 00'07'' E)

In 2021 further test pit excavation at Old Dalby was prevented, as in 2020, by concerns about risks of COVID-19 transmission within the community even when restrictions were lifted, combined with uncertainty around the possible reimposition of restrictions in the wake of new variants emerging, which remained a possibility well into the latter part of the year.

Figure 12   Biadki 2021 test pit 1 – photographs of the surface of each excavated context (D. Kobiałka).

Riseholme (Lincolnshire) UK (53° 16' 00" N; 00° 31' 46" E)

Riseholme lies in eastern England (Fig. 1), around 8 km north of the major Roman and medieval city of Lincoln. The parish includes a deserted medieval settlement and a large number of twentieth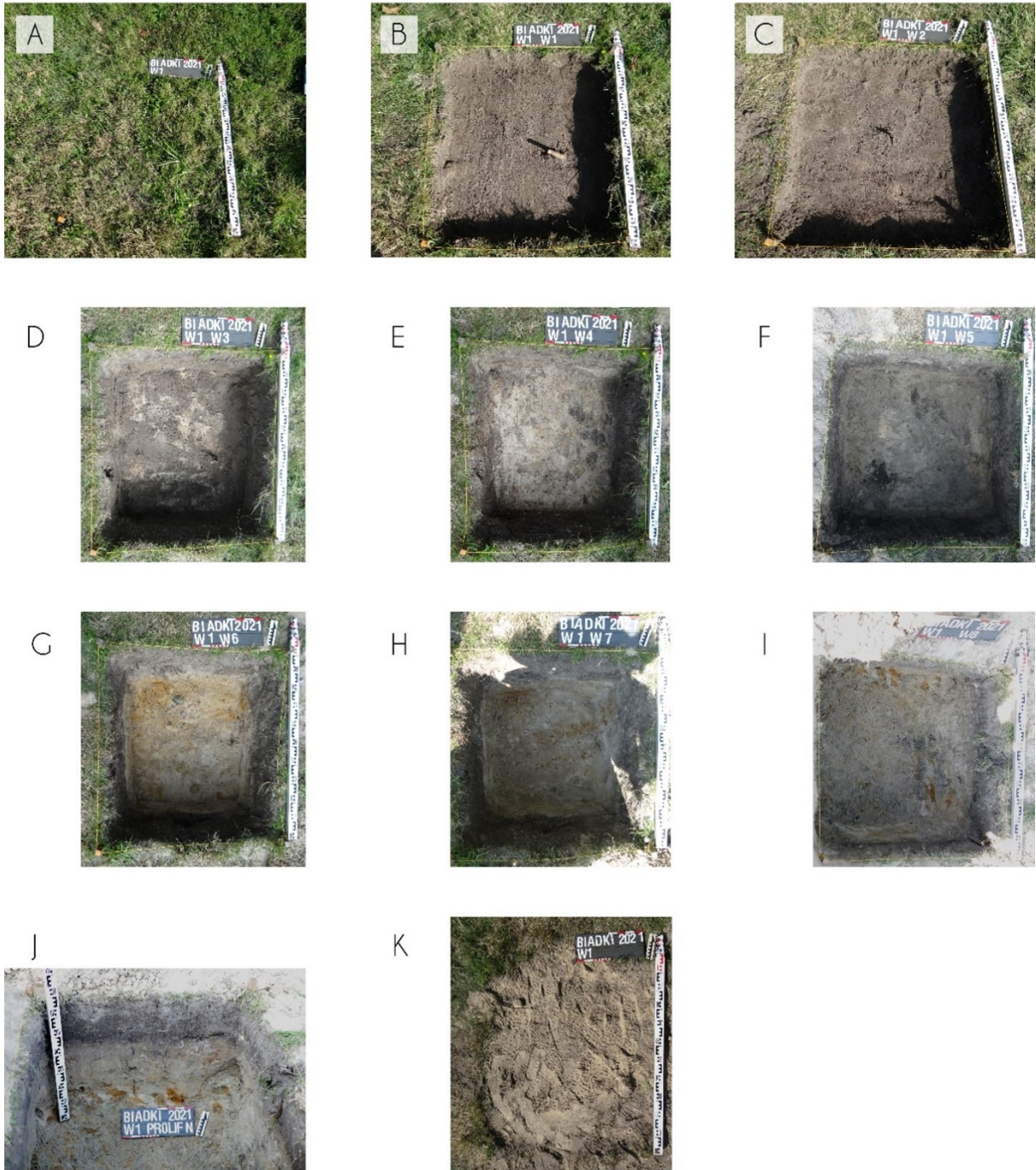-century university campus buildings, but barely a dozen inhabited homes, only two of which (the Lodge and the Rectory) were in existence in the nineteenth century (Fig. 14). The western boundary of Riseholme parish runs along the major Roman road of Ermine Street, and pre-medieval archaeological evidence from the parish includes a large first-century AD Iron Age coin hoard, a late first-century Roman square burial mound, and a fourth-century farmstead. Many stray finds of early medieval date have been recorded from the parish, and five holdings are listed for Riseholme in Domesday Book (1086), hinting at the possibility of more than one settlement predating the Norman period. One of these may have been near the church, as a terrier of 1601 references an east-west orientated lane south of the church (approximately along the line of the present drive to Riseholme Hall), which may have been a former village street (Oxford Archaeology East 2016). By 1166, the five Domesday holdings had been reduced to three and it may have been around this time that, south of the stream, a regularly planned double-row village was created anew (or replanned on the site of a previous settlement of unknown form). LIDAR survey clearly shows the earthworks of the deserted medieval settlement (LHER 54196) south of the stream (now a lake) surrounded by ridge-and-furrow (Fig. 15a). Contour survey indicates that the now-deserted settlement was laid out at least partly over the ridges of previous arable cultivation (Everson *et al.* 1991), and limited excavation of a very small area in 1957 produced no finds pre-dating the twelfth century

(Thompson 1960), offering tentative support for a late date for this part of the settlement. The 1957 excavations recovered no finds post-dating the mid-fourteenth century, tentatively supporting documentary evidence for late medieval demographic decline, including grants of tax relief in 1352 and in 1428 when fewer than ten households were present. Recovery took more than two centuries, and even then was not sustained: two individuals were recorded on the 1539 Muster Rolls, seven taxpayers listed in 1542–3, two farms recorded in 1601, and 12 communicants in 1603; but within 20 years of this post-medieval demographic high point, Riseholme residents were being buried in Nettleham. It is not known precisely where the documented later and post-medieval inhabitants of Riseholme lived, but the settlement south of the stream is presumed to have been abandoned in or before 1721 when the Riseholme estate was acquired by the Chaplin family. They built a substantial south-facing hall with stable block and kitchen garden north of the stream which they landscaped into a lake, and laid out an ornamental park lying mostly north-east, south, and south-east of Riseholme Hall, overlying the remains of the village to the south. In 1839, the hall was bought as a residence for the Bishop of Lincoln and the existing church of St Mary was re-built in 1851, reputedly on the site of the medieval church. In the twentieth century, the estate has been used as a university campus.

In October 2022, 18 test pits (Fig. 15a–b) were excavated by students from the University of Lincoln. The test pits were sited around the existing church to test the hypothesis that this area had been a focus of medieval settlement. The test pits yielded minimal evidence for prehistoric activity, with no pottery of this date from any test pits and just a single heavily patinated worked flint flake. Five pits (nos 4–9 and 12) produced pottery of Roman date, mostly clustered in the

Figure 14   1880s Ordnance Survey map of Riseholme, UK, showing the extent of settlement in the later nineteenth century. © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited (2022). All rights reserved.

north-west of the target area, with the largest number of sherds (seven, 25 g total weight) in test pit 5, closest to the excavated Roman farmstead *c.* 250 m to the north. Most of the sherds were small (less than 5 g) and all abraded, probably due to use of the area for arable farming. Several tile fragments of Roman date were recovered from test pit 8 near the church, but these were in disturbed contexts likely to relate to the construction of the adjacent eighteenth-century stable block and/or church, so do not necessarily indicate a Roman building in the immediate vicinity. No material of fifth- to ninth-century date was recovered from any of the test pits, but two tiny (1 g) sherds dating to the tenth or eleventh century were found in test pits 5 and 18, located close together in the north-west of the excavated area, c. 100 m north of the church. These represent the first hints of activity in the area at this time but, while intriguing, such a small number cannot be used confidently to infer habitation nearby.

Only three test pits (nos 2, 4 and 7) produced more than a single sherd of twelfth- to fourteenth-century pottery, all in the area north-west of the church. The small number of sherds from test pits 2 and 4 suggests that this area was not in habitative use at this time, but the slightly larger number of sherds from test pit 7 (seven sherds including one large (15 g) and unabraded example), the westernmost of the pits excavated in 2021, does raise the possibility of habitation further to the west, beyond the investigated area. Two test pits south of the church (17 and 11) each produced just a

single tiny (1 g) sherd of twelfth- to fourteenth-century pottery, suggesting that this area was then in arable or horticultural use, although these finds may also relate to the documented use of the areas south of the church as a trackway. The near or complete absence of high medieval pottery from the other pits excavated in 2022 suggests that it is unlikely that the area immediately around the church was used for settlement at this time.

Four test pits produced pottery of later medieval (fourteenth- to sixteenth-century) date. These cluster slightly closer to the church than the pits producing pottery of high medieval date. None produced more than a single small sherd, however, so they are unlikely to represent habitation at this time, and thus the spatial change cannot be taken to indicate any church-ward shift in settlement focus. Likewise, low numbers of sixteenth- to eighteenth-century sherds suggest that the area continued not to be intensively used until after the hall was built. A notable scarcity of clay tobacco pipe fragments is likely to reflect the use of the area as parkland rather than for arable or horticultural purposes.

Overall conclusions

A total of 70 test pits were excavated in 2021 as part of the CARE project, considerably fewer than we had hoped for at the end of 2020, but more than might have been expected given the continued disruption caused by the COVID-19 pandemic throughout 2021. While progress in the Czech Republic was more severely

Figure 15   Contemporary aerial images of Riseholme: (a) LIDAR survey of Riseholme showing the deserted settlement and field systems remains; (b) aerial photograph showing the approximate locations of the test pits excavated in 2021.

affected in 2021 than in 2020, in the Netherlands and the UK more fieldwork was possible than in 2020, although this was still limited. Nonetheless, by the end of 2021 test pit excavations had taken place in 14 different communities in the four participating countries, and a total of 182 test pits has been completed since the CARE project started in 2019. The findings are advancing our knowledge of medieval settlement development. In 2021, excavations at Merboltice showed the post-medieval church to overlie a thirteenth-century antecedent which would have been a focal part of the contemporary settlement, even if little evidence for this was found in the test pits clustered around the church, while test pits at Biadki allowed three areas of possible medieval habitation underlying the present settlement to be ruled out. Returning to Liempde in 2021 allowed hypotheses about settlement development proposed in 2019 to be tested, and showed newly identified areas of medieval habitation around St John's Church to be larger than previously known, while data from test pit excavation at Riseholme challenged existing ideas about the extent of medieval settlement around the church.

Since 2019, the CARE excavations have involved more than 700 volunteers, with feedback captured from around a third of these on their attitudes towards the experience of excavating within their local communities, providing a rich source of evidence which is being analysed for publication elsewhere (e.g. Lewis *et al.* 2022; Brizi *et al.* in prep.). Test pit excavation is planned to continue and complete in 2022 in the Czech Republic, Netherlands and UK (pandemic permitting). The results of this final season will be reported in the next issue of *Medieval Settlement Research*.

Abbreviations

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BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by NEIL CHRISTIE

Ruralia XII: Settlement Change across Medieval Europe. Old Paradigms and New Vistas. Edited by Niall Brady & Claudia Theune. 21 x 28 cm. 444 pp, 186 colour and b&w pls and figs. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2019. ISBN 978-90-8890-804-4; epub: 978-90-8890-808-8 (ISSN 2565-8883). Price: €65.00 pb.

The theme of this weighty and well-produced publication, the proceedings from the twelfth (biennial) international Ruralia conference held in Kilkenny, Ireland, in September 2017, is substantial and ambitious. Tackling 'Transitions and transformations in the medieval and early modern countryside' – but with a published title that rather hides the 'transitions' element – the editors sought papers that show how rural change is always happening, at different scales and in different forms, whether social, structural, material or economic, sometimes forced or prompted by external changes, whether demographic, military, economic or even climatic. While texts might guide on big events and key agents, the archaeology, in its diverse forms, is essential to see how the landscape and its workers evolved. Thirty-six contributions are gathered here, which duly reflect Ruralia's wide geographical pull (speakers from 18 European countries presented at Kilkenny). Coverage runs from Scandinavia to Spain and from Ireland across to Croatia, and includes strong east European analyses, such as on sites and rural change in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic; and, temporally, studies run from post-Roman ex-villa landscapes in Italy to the growth of an isolated Silesian village in the later seventeenth century. This short review can merely skim the book's contents and offer some (personal) highlights.

There are five parts to the volume, with the first and third of these containing the bulk of the contributions. Part One (ten papers) explores 'Transformation of the Roman World' and is heavily focussed on archaeologies in Italy and in the Iberian Peninsula (four papers each). The Italian papers (mainly concentrated on the Campania and Lazio regions, but with Carboni & Vermeulen covering Adriatic Le Marche) all tackle the end of Roman villa landscapes and then the progressive rise of villages, many on elevated ground, some perhaps directly linked to settlement by Lombards (as closely debated by Corsi). The Spanish and Portuguese papers suggest more varied early medieval landscapes: Prata cites dispersed farms around Castel de Vide in east-central Portugal; a mix of continuity in site location from Roman to Visigothic in the *Egitania* and Merida zones, but also with new hilltop foci (Cordero Ruiz); and Alegria-Tejedor *et al.* reveal both defensive sites and monastic foci in the Catalan Pyrenees.

In Part Two, four authors consider 'Foundation and desertion: causes and effects', centred primarily on the Black Death period: Brady (with two Irish case studies)

and Schreg (southern Germany) focus on deserted settlements, with Schreg lamenting the dearth of hard archaeological data; Lewis further champions her programmes of test-pitting in occupied villages to reveal insights into England's emergent villages, their forms and shrinkages, arguing that the fourteenth century saw 'sustained contraction [as] a near-universal phenomenon experienced by perhaps 90% of all settlements'; and Svensson directly debates the themes of risk and resilience, showing site endurance especially among intensive outland-using rural communities in western Sweden.

Fourteen papers cluster in Part Three's 'Transformation and transition through medieval times'. In the Netherlands, van Doesburg discusses settlement responding to peatland reclamation, with a sometimes shifting pattern of sites (isolating many churches); site relocations across the late twelfth to mid-fourteenth centuries occur in North-Brabant, away from the older foci of coversand ridges, as demand for new arable grew (Verspay). Such archaeologies reveal adjusted chronologies to assumed desertions, as seen also in Newman's review of a Cumbrian landscape, revealing a busy farm-hamlet-fields panorama, which saw desertion more after the pacification of these borderlands, with seventeenth-century 'improvement' efforts. Irish contexts are examined in discussions of monastic (Cistercian and mendicant) foundations and their local landscape impacts (Lynch on Tintern Abbey; Lafaye on friars in counties Mayo and Sligo), and Doyle & O'Keeffe question the archaeological gaps for the deserted 'rural borough' of Newtown Jerpoint. Three other contributions to note are Legut-Pintal on lands in twelfth- to fourteenth-century southern Silesia (Poland), stressing how rural settlement changes must be understood alongside wider urban, military, political and religious policies and efforts; Nowotny highlights the value of assessing micro- (house form), meso- (village design) and macro-scales (landscapes, authorities) to see change in early to late medieval central Europe; and Ødegaard charts communal cooking-pits at assembly (*thing*) sites in Norway, which peaked in AD 200–400, but fell redundant after *c.* 600, even if various sites remained gathering points.

Part Four tackles colonisation, migrations and conquests/reconquests. Among its six contributions, three might be highlighted. Firstly, Rácz uses data from rescue archaeology linked to road-building in the Pest Plain to seek the roots of the Hungarian village system from the early tenth century, asking how far we might expect continuity of sites and material cultural forms or else dislocation with the Hungarian conquest; while evidence is still restricted, the image, though hazy, points more to continuities than a hiatus and then transformation. Changes in the aftermath of the Christian conquest of 1148 are explored for the Xerta

area of north-east Spain by Virgili & Kirchner: combining a rich textual and toponymic record and landscape archaeological data they map an altered, colonised landscape featuring diverse crop types, intensified cultivation, marsh and riverside reclamation, plus several watermills – the latter characteristic of Catalan feudal systems. Earlier, dramatic change affecting potential kin or local elite sites in late tenth-century central-northern Portugal is discussed by Tente: seemingly new, compact and wall-and-palisade defended bases containing 3 to 6 families, these lay in a largely independent 'buffer zone' between Christians and Muslims, but a majority saw destruction by fire and then abandonment (though Senhora do Barrocal saw revival, suggesting that its occupants managed to retain some authority in the zone), with destruction deposits offering many insights into site economies and contacts.

The volume is rounded off with the topical theme of the potential impacts of climate change on settlement and economics. The two papers tackle different periods: Solheim & Iversen exploit the block of 855 radiocarbon dates for 66 farms and houses in south-east Norway to question if declining numbers from the mid-sixth century relate to documented climate and plague events; and Theune addresses possible environmental impacts on both gold-mining activity (workers, supplies, transportation) and animal husbandry in late medieval and early modern Alpine Austria (Tauern region).

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Power & Place in Europe in the Early Middle Ages. (Proceedings of the British Academy 224). Edited by Jayne Carroll, Andrew Reynolds & Barbara Yorke. 16 x 24 cm. xxi + 506 pp, 123 b&w pls and figs, 13 tables. Oxford: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy, 2019. ISBN 978-0-19726658-8 (ISSN 0068-1202). Price: £105.00 hb.

With its roots in a conference held at UCL in 2011, itself part of a Leverhulme-Trust funded project (2010–21) on '*Landscapes of Governance: Assembly Sites in England, 5th–11th Centuries*', this sizeable volume features a full 23 contributions across 20 papers (plus the editors' valuable extended introduction and overview), including scholars not part of the 2011 event. There has been a time-lag in the publication coming out: a few authors note completion of their texts in 2012/13, and the Preface acknowledges how submissions saw revisions and updates during the gestation period. While a shame to have been delayed (and, sadly, one contributor, Lars Jørgensen, an expert on Danish elite sites, passed away in 2016), nonetheless, the publication forms an important gathering of case studies and insightful discussions on foci of assembly (for elites, authorities and commoners) and their written and archaeological traces across early medieval Europe.

This review cannot cover all the articles presented, but outlines the main contents and highlights some of the contributions on show. The volume's Part I: 'Assemblies, Meeting Places and Negotiation' features nine papers, including four on Scandinavia. Among the latter, Halldis Hobæk shows how a combined analysis

of textual, toponymic and topographic evidence in western Norway magnifies numbers of known and presumed locations of major to local assembly or *thing* sites from a mere six to 83 examples (though with few bearing, as yet, archaeological guides). Intriguing are those recognised by cooking-pit assemblages, here discussed by Marie Ødegaard for the large farm sites of Lunde and Bommestad in south-east Norway in particular, although this mass-meal activity (Lunde has *c.* 1000 pits, many evidently reused), if with pre-Roman Iron-Age roots, does not generally extend beyond the fifth century AD. In Lunde's case, the documented medieval *thing* site was likely relocated, perhaps to enhance its formal judiciary role. Importantly, other assembly-oriented chapters stress the diverse scales and status of these sites and events: Levi Roach (flagging how 'Assemblies are very much "in"' research-wise, especially on an interdisciplinary level) emphasises 'regnal assemblies' (or 'meeting places of the *witan*'), such as those called by King Edgar at Bath and Chester in 973, for which texts offer insights into the players, stages/venues and audiences; John Baker highlights how some Anglo-Saxon meeting-place-names bear heroic, regal or even saintly connotations to emphasise authority and common bonds; and Stuart Brookes' investigation of early Anglo-Saxon south-east England pinpoints meeting, execution and high-status burial foci often in topographically prominent and symbolic points, sometimes coinciding with prehistoric monuments and burial mounds, thereby tying past and present authorities and peoples together. In Norway (as elsewhere) crosses might be set up to 'Christianise' these sites; the Church's role as convenor and arbiter is reflected in evidence from both Lombard Italy (paper by Alexandra Chavarría Arnau) and early medieval Castile (Julio Escalona), indicating spaces in front of rural churches used for village meetings and decision-making; indeed, in Italy, many notarial acts from the eighth century on were signed and witnessed at churches. Escalona notes, however, that for Castile, until the later eighth century, many rural sites lacked a church; did their communities necessarily gather elsewhere at a designated church or might their local cemetery have been used instead?

Part II turns to 'Landscapes of Power', featuring 11 papers and widening out discussion to see other built, spatial and material manifestations of authority (state/ royal/lordly/monastic/ecclesiastical) and their impacts on aspects of social organisation, economic display and settlement design; there are also papers on the 'language of justice' and disputes by Wendy Davies for northern Iberia and on early medieval English mints, moneyers and outputs by Rory Naismith (stressing the *who* more than the *where*, but showing minting might happen where it was needed, not just at urban power-bases). Instructive are two papers on how monasteries could be active in politics (Ian Wood on Luxeuil in the Burgundian Kingdom) and land control and exploitation (Elizabeth Fentress & Caroline Goodson on Villa Magna in central Italy), while extended histories of control can be seen as exploited by diverse powers, such as in the Plain of Kosovo (Felix Teichner), but were more difficult to harness in south-east Wales, where early medieval kingship was weaker and less able to impose a coherent landscape of power (Andy Seaman). Stimulating are contributions that look at emergences of

states, polities and power-zones, namely those by Andrew Reynolds for Anglo-Saxon England generally (modelling three developmental stages), by Christopher Scull for south-east Suffolk, by Patrick Gleeson for the multiple ritual landscapes of Cashel and Munster in Ireland, and by Egge Knol for the extended coastal lands of Frisia, here interpreting a mix of archaeology (e.g. sites, objects, boats).

Perhaps simply a problem with my own review copy (though that seems rather unlikely), the print publication was marred by residual typographical/copy-editing elements or problems with formatting and spacing. For example, on the Contents page the Chapter 5 title has '…Norway̶ Regional…' which is repeated on the title page of the actual paper (p.107); similar issues are evident twice on the facing page 106 (and likewise in the Introduction, with six instances on p.18). Spacing slips occur in various points, such as in footnotes (e.g. p.76 n.49 has 'Eagles pers.c omm.2007') and in captions, for example in Chapter 3 where numbers seem to be 31, 32, 35 instead of 3.1, 3.2, etc. and a space often comes after the first letter of the first word (e.g. p.65 with 'Figure 31 D istribution'). There are also issues with the left-page header for authors' names across Chapter 7. I might further note that various b&w images were not very crisp (Figures 7.1, 13.5 and 17.5 being examples); in some cases the original colour plates were probably much clearer.

These niggling points aside, there is plenty of excellent and stimulating research on show here; the range of papers and approaches certainly makes this a volume worthy of close scrutiny by any scholar engaged with Europe in the Early Middle Ages.

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The Shaping of the English Landscape. An Atlas of Archaeology from the Bronze Age to Domesday Book. (Oxford University School of Archaeology: Monograph 82). By Chris Green & Miranda Creswell. 20 x 28 cm. vi + 123 pp, 136 colour pls and figs. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2021. ISBN 978-1-80327-0060-9; epub: 978-1-80327-061-6. Price: £35.00 pb.

This attractive volume arises from the *English Landscapes and Identities* (EngLaId) project and constitutes a companion to the 2021 monograph of the same name. Two outstanding features of the EngLaId project are, first, its collation and interrogation of several vast national datasets; and, second, its integration of artist Miranda Creswell into a multi-faceted team of archaeologists. Both of these features are at the fore in this book, a collaboration between Creswell and EngLaId's GIS expert Chris Green, which provides a strikingly visual commentary on the project: nearly every page displays one of Green's maps/graphs or Creswell's artworks (and, sometimes, both combined). The result is both thought-provoking and a pleasure to browse – including, notably, the blended methods and philosophies of the closing chapter.

Inevitably, the dataset cannot remain up-to-date (dated on p. iv to 2012), but its staggering size (over 900,000 records) offers reassurance as to its representativeness. By way of context and as a refined measure of this representativeness, Chapter 1 presents a range of views on archaeological 'affordance' – the likelihood of sites of certain types or periods being archaeologically detectable across different regions. Using the distribution of Early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries as a proxy for ceramic usage is rather mysterious, but overall this chapter's findings have important implications for inter-regional archaeological studies.

Most of the rest of the book is arranged into thematic chapters, each examining a different feature, function or activity in the landscape (such as 'settlement' and 'belief'), spanning 1500 BC to AD 1086, within the modern borders of England. Most of the maps in these core chapters plot the presence or density of a particular class of monument, such as roads, metalworking sites or churches. Their clarity, in presentation and exposition, is admirable. There are occasional spelling mistakes and empty cross-references, and the inferences drawn from the multitude of maps are sometimes a little vague, telling (rather than necessarily showing) us that particular patterns are useful or interesting. Some of the observations on distributional patterns (such as the mismatch between the Danelaw and open-field landscapes) are not necessarily surprising, but the sheer breadth and depth of the evidence compiled and analysed in this volume – together with the skilful interleaving of original artwork – make this an essential and characterful atlas for anyone undertaking large-scale archaeological studies of England. The availability of a free digital edition is a welcome bonus.

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Planning in the Early Medieval Landscape. (Exeter Studies in Medieval Europe). By John Blair, Stephen Rippon & Christopher Smart. 16 x 24 cm. xv + 351 pp, 100 b&w pls and figs, 1 table. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020. ISBN 978-1-78962-116-7. Price: £80.00 hb.

This volume explores the medieval use of gridded planning using standardised measurements to lay out rural settlements within the present country of England. It takes as its starting-point Blair's previously published suggestion that in England a number of rural settlements of seventh- to ninth-century date were laid out using precisely measured, planned, regular grids repeating squares of standard dimensions of 15 or 18 perches, in a modular manner analogous to that observed in some medieval buildings. This volume seeks to advance understanding of this type of settlement planning: to establish its chronology and geographical extent, to investigate its tenurial context – i.e. who it was that required settlements to be planned in this way – and, finally, to establish why this was done.

The research analysed nineteenth-century first-edition Ordnance Survey maps to identify relevant settlements and then consulted archaeological evidence for possible corroborative support for grid planning. Other sites were included to avoid missing those where medieval grid plans might not have survived to be mapped by the early OS surveyors, including deserted

medieval settlements and currently inhabited settlements, where lost gridded plans had been revealed by excavation. The early medieval ownership of settlements with evidence for grid-planning was explored and a selection of early medieval monasteries, *emporia* and *burhs* were also analysed to see if gridded plans can be recognised in these.

The authors list 117 medieval settlements they felt reasonably confident were laid out using a standardised perch-based grid. From excavation data, they conclude that grid-planning originated as a top-down process in the later seventh and early eighth centuries employed by monastic estates keen to emulate Roman practice; it went into abeyance when monasticism declined between *c.* AD 720–940; but saw a resurgence during the monastic revival from the later tenth century, during which time the grid method became more widely applied in non-ecclesiastical estates. A series of distribution maps show how the gridded settlements identified appear mostly restricted to central and eastern England, in an area defined as the Eastern Zone.

Of particular interest to readers of *Medieval Settlement Research* may be the authors' analysis of 'ordinary' (i.e. non-monastic) rural settlements in Chapter 6. This identifies grid-planning in a range of settlement types, including some which have characteristics of linear rows, as well as others where gridded rectilinearity is more persuasively apparent. Illustrations include composite plans showing excavated buildings and boundary ditches, property boundaries and streets within areas of nineteenth-century habitation and beyond these, lanes and field boundaries shown on maps, and aerial imagery (including LIDAR) – all overlain by grids. These allow readers to follow the authors' reasoning and make their own judgements. Some developmental models are offered, with one particularly interesting example (for this reviewer) proposing the way in which a loose cluster of farmsteads laid out using a pre-surveyed grid might develop into a linear row (pp. 175–7). The loosely gridded farmstead cluster arrangement is seen in many medieval village plans, including classic sites such as Gainsthorpe in Lincolnshire.

The appendices are not to be overlooked. They include Claire Barnes and Wilfrid Kendall's statistical analysis of excavated features, carried out to explore the potential of this approach for identifying and analysing regular alignments. This contribution acknowledges – but does not resolve – a key challenge in the volume's thesis: mismatches between mapped/excavated features and superimposed perch-based grids. One hopes, on beginning Barnes and Kendall's text, that it will offer a means to test Blair, Rippon and Smart's hypotheses by determining how close (or far) the correlation between actual features and the ideal model needs to be before use of the model can be accepted (or rejected). But, although they offer hope for the future, Barnes and Kendall do not achieve this here. This is important, because, as this volume's illustrations show, most of the identified matches are indeed partial and/or approximate. This is perhaps inevitable given the constraints of using a metrical model in a real-world situation followed by a millennium or more of adaptation, and Blair *et al.* make precisely this point. However, because their argument hinges on correlating reconstructed settlement layouts with mathematically

precise grids, the issue of mismatches is crucial: what is needed is a means of identifying whether variation from the precisely measured layout occurred because classical planning had to adapt to real-world conditions, or because rectilinearity was due to other factors, such as (for example) use of plots within pre-existing rectangular field systems or successive addition of back lanes onto linear settlements. Put simply, evaluation needs to know the acceptable margin of error beyond which the classical argument cannot be sustained. Probably, this judgement cannot be reduced to a statistical rule-of-thumb, but, in its absence, confirmation bias risks the Blair/Rippon/Smart hypothesis being accepted by those who want to believe in early medieval use of classically informed methods by ecclesiastical planners to lay out settlements, and rejected by those who do not.

Beyond the 'margin of error' question, there are other issues. Circular argument seems present in some instances, such as identifying post-built building alignments; features dating to different phases are rather inconsistently conflated or separated; and many readers will be able to think of settlements which seem to fit the grid pattern but are not listed. Nevertheless, overall, I would strongly recommend this book to everyone interested in medieval settlement: the arguments are clearly presented and generous inclusion of well-illustrated plans means that anyone can enjoy considering whether or not they agree with the inferences made. Grid-plans are an important part of the medieval settlement pattern which have not been well understood: the authors here offer a thesis which many readers may find compelling and will provide widespread inspiration to look at known sites in a new light. Blair, Rippon and Smart's theory is controversial, but, if correct, it will have a considerable impact on our understanding of aspects of medieval society, ranging from mentalities and the exchange of ideas to the processes driving settlement planning.

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Medieval Rural Settlement. Britain and Ireland, AD 800–1600. Edited by Neil Christie & Paul Stamper. 19 x 25 cm. xiii + 369 pp, 113 colour and b&w pls and figs, 1 table. Oxford & Philadelphia: Windgather Press/ Oxbow Books, 2021. ISBN 978-1-91118-867-4; epub: 978-1-905119-65-3. Price £25.00 pb.

Since this book was first published in hardback form in 2012, more has been written on the development of towns and fortifications and about the recognition and development of traditional landscapes, but the study of rural settlement remains controversial and very much to the fore.

After a lifetime surveying and researching rural settlements, with numerous post-retirement awards, Chris Taylor, at the time of publication the Vice-President of the Medieval Settlement Research Group, but who died recently, commented in the Foreword to the original edition that 'it will be out-of-date before it reaches the bookshop. But of course this is precisely

what should happen'. In fact, it is as relevant today as ever.

Chris himself continued to express opinions upon the date of settlement nucleation, at times arguing for little pre-tenth-century village development. This well-produced and wide-ranging book presents many different views on the character of the medieval countryside. Initial arguments for widespread nucleation, associated with open-field planning, as early as the eighth century in the East Midlands were indeed found unconvincing by many, and some settlements near boundaries certainly remained a feature in not a few early medieval West Midland charter-bounds. Nevertheless, a degree of nucleation on royal and ecclesiastical estates in the Roberts and Wrathmell 'Central Province' has not been disproved, its efficiency in centralising and decreasing the number of plough-teams necessary encouraging its adoption elsewhere. Others have been loath to accept that it might be the likelihood of continued settlement dispersion, associated with high plough-team numbers over much of Herefordshire and perhaps in other parts of the Borderland, which influenced the statistics recorded in Domesday Book. In Eastern England, however, where the use of early 'Anglo-Saxon' pottery remained common, the arguments for late nucleation appear to have been corroborated by more recent 'test-pitting' programmes. Thus, discussion of these problems and the evidence in some areas for a degree of settlement mobility or the effects of elite status remain as pertinent as ever and this book – and its publication now in paperback form – offers a timely stimulus to such discussion.

While there have been few opportunities for new, large-scale and extended 'open area' research excavations such as those carried out on a small number of deserted village sites, such as West Stow in Suffolk or West Heslerton in North Yorkshire, techniques have been developed which continue to provide valuable evidence. These include the use of LiDAR, which can reveal sites hidden below woodland, for instance; place-name terms continue to be investigated; air photographic analysis, among other analytical techniques, has continued; the influence of physical setting – recently, again, perhaps over-stated – has also been the basis of further discussion. The use of test-pitting via 1 x 1 metre holes within and around villages (and with some application even in lesser urban contexts) has seen growing application, with an especial effort at community engagement, but the value of such work often depends upon the numbers and spread of test pits and can be, as noted, limited in areas which were largely aceramic in the early medieval period. Evidence of subsequent re-planning, indicated by surviving plot boundaries, or changing road layouts and bridge building, have also seen new investigation.

The book is divided into three parts. The first looks at 'Contexts. Chronologies and Forms' showing how the study of medieval settlements has changed since the nineteenth century (paper by Christopher Dyer and Paul Everson), how new approaches guide in the study of sites and landscapes, plus coverage of, for example, Saxon to Scandinavian rural settlement (Gabor Thomas) and seigneurial and elite sites (Oliver Creighton and Terry Barry). Part II comprises a set of regional and national surveys by experts from across Britain (including Audrey Horning on Ireland, Mark Gardiner on south-east England, and Edward Martin on 'Greater East Anglia'); papers offer case studies as well as boxed theme overviews (such as on the Raunds project, and on exploiting the Welsh uplands). These chapters form one of the notable strengths of this book, although, even at the time of the initial publication, it might be said that some omitted relevant references. Since then, a number of local and regional projects have been carried out, as in the Welsh Borderland, parts of Northern Ireland, south-western and eastern England, many reported on in the MSRG's annual journal. Part III, 'Research Methods', an Appendix, presents a practical guide to investigating medieval rural settlements. Written by Carenza Lewis, the current President of the Medieval Settlement Research Group, it covers desk-based assessment, including internet and documentary sources, and the use of historic maps and aerial photographs; field investigation involving earthwork and building surveys; and more intrusive field investigation by such means as field-walking and the collection of finds, metal detecting, even molehill surveys, shovel-pitting and garden-soil surveys. As such methods permanently change the sites examined, clearly all results must be fully reported and catalogued.

Work has obviously continued since the first publication of this book. For example, studies of elite and fortified sites of many different periods have included the development and purpose of hillforts, burh-sites, castles and moated sites; the evidence for the establishment and siting of new *burhs,* such as Rye in the late Anglo-Saxon period; and the influence of monasteries and the growth of medieval markets. However, none of these or those employing the new or developing techniques described above invalidate the content of the original edition, which still offers a valuable starting-point for recognising evidence and trends, and for pointing towards further discussion.

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Ruralia XIII: Seasonal Settlement in the Medieval and Early Modern Countryside. Edited by Piers Dixon & Claudia Theune. 21 x 28 cm. 368 pp, 171 colour and b&w pls and figs, 5 tables. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2021. ISBN 978-94-6427-009-9; epub: 978-94-6427-011-2 (ISSN 2565-8883). Price: £65.00 pb.

This volume collates the proceedings of the thirteenth Ruralia conference, hosted by the University of Stirling in 2019, on the once-neglected but increasingly popular theme of seasonal settlement. In keeping with Ruralia tradition, the contributions span the early medieval to modern periods across much of Europe (plus Qatar, surprisingly), and encompass several related disciplines: ethnography, history, archaeology, geography and palynology. It is commendable that so many of the papers integrate some or all of these different strands of evidence, although a recurring theme is that this is a subject which archaeology has often struggled to elucidate. Piers Dixon's introductory essay suggests, with particular regard to Scotland, that research is now in want of ideas more than evidence: 'The data exist; we now require the awakening of the imagination' – a

challenge to which many of the subsequent papers rise. Others, especially those presenting state-of-the-art reviews, provide a valuable Socratic perspective on the 'known unknowns' of seasonal settlement.

The volume's 32 papers are organised across six sections, focusing on, for instance, 'Southern Europe', 'Herding and nomadism' and 'Woodlands'. The co-existence of both geographical and thematic sections is a mixed blessing, sundering some related papers: Scandinavian studies, for example, occur in three different sections, shieling-related studies in two. On the other hand, this mixed structure highlights the collection as more than the sum of its parts; the overall emerging picture is extremely useful, not least for illustrating the broad scope of the subject and some of the tensions and conundrums which it presents.

One such issue is the fascinating contrast between the often impermanent or ephemeral nature of seasonal settlements (and hence their archaeological elusiveness) on the one hand, and the mutable longevity of the underlying practices on the other. So, for example, Pia Šmalcelj Novaković and Anita Rapan Papeša's survey of the evidence from Croatia ranges from the Roman period to the nineteenth century, Anna Maria Stagno's Basque and Ligurian case studies span the fifteenth to twenty-first centuries, and Oula Seitsonen's study of the Sámi herders in Finland covers *c*. AD 700–1950. In the face of sometimes patchy archaeological evidence, such long chronologies can make it all the more tempting to invoke more recent, better-documented practices in our interpretations of the shadier medieval past. The caution and sensitivity required by such an approach are highlighted by these papers.

Elsewhere, considering the emergence of overarching themes (such as the slippery concept of 'marginal' areas), there is a certain tension between the international scope of seasonal settlement as a field of enquiry and the geographically prescribed remits of most individual contributions. Although by no means exclusive to this subject area, such a tension might usefully spark some international syntheses of seasonal settlement patterns – for example, comparing montane patterns across the Alps, Pyrenees and Cantabrian mountains.

Perhaps the best-known context for seasonal settlement is transhumance and the need for shelter for those people accompanying livestock to summer pastures. Even a cursory look through this collection, however, reminds us of the sheer variety of activities that might accompany seasonal settlement. 'Few areas of human life in medieval rural society were not seasonal in character,' write Tomáš Klír and Martin Janovský in their review of Czech medieval archaeology, citing charcoal and potash production among other examples. A more surprising possibility raised by Elisabeth Waldhart and Harald Stadler's enlightening case study from the Austrian Tyrol is the gathering of wild Alpine flora for medicinal and perhaps apicultural use. Nonetheless, alongside discussions of these other seasonal activities, transhumance and transterminance – its lesser-known short-distance counterpart – are well-represented throughout the collection and provide the particular focus of some papers: from Serbia (Uglješa Vojvodić) and Wales (Rhiannon Comeau and Bob Silvester), to Ireland

(Eugene Costello) and the Iberian Peninsula (Mireia Celma Martínez and Elena Muntán Bordas).

It is significant that the title of these proceedings refers to 'seasonal settlement', rather than 'settlements', thus implying a focus on the *phenomenon* rather than individual sites. This focus is perhaps necessary, given that the physical evidence for specifically seasonally occupied sites tends to be scant and not easily dated, and the focus of modern development (and thus development-led excavation) is biased away from upland pasture and wooded areas. Costello, taking a critical look at the evidence of seasonal land-use in Ireland, queries whether there are in fact any accurately dated medieval upland booley sites (i.e. those associated with transhumance) in the archaeological record. To address this paucity of archaeological evidence, Costello proposes not only a series of targeted research excavations but also an ambitiously large-scale remote sensing survey using satellite and LiDAR data. One might wonder, given the particular transferability of the latter strategy, whether it might support future international comparisons.

This is a pleasingly chunky and well-produced volume, clearly printed, with a wealth of high-quality colour images, including some evocative photographs and invaluable maps. The editors have done an excellent job at weaving a coherent and engaging volume out of a heterogeneous collection of papers. An index would have been a helpful addition, to help the reader navigate the large and varied set of proceedings; but there is, commendably, a free and searchable online edition. Overall, this is a landmark book and a springboard for further research into seasonal settlement – perhaps transcending national borders.

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St Osyth to the Naze: North-East Essex Coastal Parishes. The Victoria History of the Counties of England. A History of the County of Essex, Volume XII, Part 2: The Soken: Kirby-le Soken, Thorpe-le-Soken and Walton-le-Soken. (The Victoria History of the Counties of England, Volume XII). Edited by Christopher C. Thornton, assisted by Herbert Eiden. 21 x 31 cm. xxi + 239 pp, 25 colour pls, 54 b&w pls, figs and tables. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer for the Institute of Historical Research, 2022. ISBN 978-1-904356-55-4 (ISSN 1477-0709). Price: £95.00 hb.

Essex is not a county that lends itself to medieval settlement studies. It is Oliver Rackham's ancient countryside, with enclosure mostly occurring at an uncertain time in the Middle Ages; settlement thus is dispersed rather than nucleated. A great feature of the landscape are secondary settlements, tyes, ends and greens, again of uncertain origin, with the old buildings around them mostly sixteenth- to eighteenth-century in date. Anglo-Saxon sites do not figure prominently in archaeological fieldwork and pottery for that period is often scarce. It is assumed that early settlement underlies most of the village and market-town centres, now well protected by listed buildings, meaning that excavation is often confined to the less informative

backland areas. Few deserted medieval villages have been identified and none excavated, in contrast with neighbouring counties. In the absence of any concerted research on medieval settlement, much useful information can nonetheless be found in the Victoria County History, which with the staunch support of a Committee and volunteers continues to produce regular red books.

This volume should be considered with *Part 1: St. Osyth, Great and Little Clacton, Frinton, Great and Little Holland*, published in 2020. Together they cover the southern half of the Tendring Hundred in the north-east of the county. In landscape terms, this is the Tendring Plain, a London Clay plateau overlain with fertile loams, and a long seaboard characterised by extensive marshland and creeks and low cliffs, much subject to coastal erosion. This was the part of the county most subject to Viking control and influence, as evidenced by place-names such as Kirby and Thorpe. From some remote time before 1066, these parishes had been vested in the Bishop of London and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. The Bishop held the St. Osyth and the Clacton area where he made his mark by re-founding a Saxon religious house as an Augustinian priory at St. Osyth. He also built a distinctive Norman church at Clacton, and in an area once very wooded in contrast with today, he held extensive parkland. The priory, later abbey, became one of the wealthiest houses in the county and led to the establishment of a small market town and port. The marshlands supported extensive grazing, for the management of which there exists documentary evidence.

This *Part 2* publication covers the area known as the Sokens, originally the estate of *Eadulvesness*, run from a manorial centre at Walton Hall on the Naze, described in surveys of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the *Domesday of St. Paul's*. This centre was run by an unfree labour force, an inland, with outlying areas where there were freer peasantry known as hidesmen. These may originally have held farms of one hide in extent; landholdings of fractions of a hide recur consistently in later documents. As is not infrequent in the county, there is evidence for the early existence of a common field system. The early organisation of Kirby and Thorpe into hides for tax and landholding could be seen as supporting this. From the one estate in 1086 there developed the three discrete vills and parishes. The hidesmen eventually became copyholders, a process impossible to trace because of the loss of manorial records. What remained unchanged were the remarkable jurisdictional privileges with many legal and ecclesiastical rights which made the Sokens a distinctive area until as late as the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Sections for each parish carefully and expertly describe settlement, landholding and the agricultural economy. Combined, the books present a valuable picture of an area which John Hunter, the county's well-known landscape historian, described as 'virtually unstudied'.

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Stratton, Biggleswade: 1,300 Years of Village Life in Eastern Bedfordshire from the 5th Century AD. By Drew Shotliff & David Ingham. 21 x 29 cm. xiv + 234 pp, 91 colour and b&w pls and figs, 85 tables. Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing, 2022. ISBN 978-1-80327-074-6; epub: 978-1-80327-075-3. Price: £45.00 pb.

We must be grateful to Drew Shotliff and David Ingham, with support from English Heritage/Historic England, for the publication of this major report after a long delay. It appears in print (with digital appendices) thirty years after the excavation. Stratton became a housing estate on the edge of Biggleswade in the 1990s, but, according to documents, it had been a settlement of at least 30 households in the High Middle Ages. The excavation was remarkable because it managed to explore a high proportion of the settlement, revealing that the site was continuously occupied from the fifth until the eighteenth century.

The long story begins with a small group of sunken-featured buildings in the fifth and sixth centuries AD. The settlement gained in size and coherence in the Middle Anglo-Saxon period, with a regular rectilinear layout of small fields and some post-hole buildings alongside sunken-featured buildings. A small cemetery was also in use. Around AD 800 the field boundaries were remodelled, and at a period not closely defined, but probably in the eleventh or twelfth century, more boundary adjustments and house building changed 'a loose network of small farmsteads to a more recognisable village'. The settlement seems to have continued after 1349 unscathed, and buildings which had previously remained in the post-hole tradition were increasingly being given stone foundations. The excavated settlement seems to have been reduced in size later in the Middle Ages, and became depopulated in the eighteenth century.

A consistent theme throughout was the low level of Stratton's material culture and apparent standard of living, with the persistence of earth-fast timber houses, and small finds of low quality and small quantity. The botanical evidence shows that local woodland was not plentiful, with fuel coming from hedgerows and small copses, while the agrarian economy predictably depended on wheat, barley and oats, and with a preponderance of cattle among the livestock.

Readers cannot complain of a lack of information, but the mass of details seems only partly digested, and its presentation lacks clarity. For example, a single map of the village and its locality has no key, and does not locate the town of Biggleswade nor identify the Roman road which gave Stratton its name. The numerous detailed maps of the site depicting different phases show every ditch, pit and post-hole, but readers would have been much helped by a few interpretative plans. Such a plan of a late Saxon phase of Stratton was published in 1993, showing buildings and significant boundaries, but such illustrations to make the data more easily intelligible are not included here. Every building is catalogued in detail, but no reconstruction has been attempted; and we are not directly told how many houses were built and occupied in successive periods.

The authors have chosen an unusual vocabulary, so that 'longhouse' means a building c. 20 m long, not a structure housing people and animals under the same roof; 'farmstead' is frequently used to describe village

or peasant houses. They seem to avoid the term 'nucleation', and they prefer circumlocutions such as 'the overall form crystallised by the eleventh and twelfth centuries'. Their misunderstanding of the term 'drage' leads them into an unnecessary speculation about the villagers' use of barley.

This report marks a useful interim stage in our understanding of Stratton. Now the accumulated data can be used to devise a clear picture of the settlement's development with plans of each period which select the most important features. Such a study ought to give equal attention to all periods and not focus on the period before 1100.

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St Gregory's Minster, Kirkdale, North Yorkshire: Archaeological Investigations and Historical Context. By Philip Rahtz[†] & Lorna Watts. 21 x 29 cm. x + 327 pp, 33 colour plates, 140 b&w pls and figs, 34 tables. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2021. ISBN 978-1-78969-482-6; epub: 978-1-78969-483-3. Price: £48.00 pb.

The isolated church of Kirkdale, in a stream-valley at the heart of Ryedale, is of national importance as regards two stages in its existence: in the eighth century, and then in the mid-eleventh. A project there during 1994–2014 was the culmination of Philip Rahtz's brilliant career as an excavator and interpreter of early medieval sites. While the excavations were on a small scale, they yielded some very significant results. We owe their publication now to the hard and devoted work of his widow, Lorna Watts, who completed the project in sometimes very difficult circumstances, and has made a splendid job of it.

Kirkdale was clearly an important minster during the Northumbrian golden age. It could be the place that Bede calls *Cornu Vallis*, but is otherwise undocumented before the 1050s, and so assessment of its early status depends on the material evidence. Small trenches in fields north and south of the church offered tantalising hits of a precinct, containing structures, which extended along the stream-valley. Fragments of earlier footings under the standing church walls could represent a seventh- to eighth-century church (with tenuous evidence for some kind of late Roman presence in the background). More conclusive is the spectacular pair of eighth-century carved grave-slabs from shrine-type monuments of outstanding quality and importance. The excavations now add a fragment of a reticella glass rod and a lead plate with an Old English inscription that perhaps includes the word 'bone-box'. These are all very exceptional items, and the authors reasonably argue that eighth-century Kirkdale had a strong role in memorialising the special dead. Whatever it was, it was an international and metropolitan place in the pre-Viking period and anything but 'remote' in a cultural sense. That point bears emphasis, since its location at the interface between the North Yorkshire Moors and the Vale of Pickering is comparable to that of the better-documented minster at Lastingham, whose eremitical remoteness is emphasised by Bede. In that cosmopolitan world, 'seclusion' was more symbolic than literal.

A stone church of the ninth or tenth century, perhaps with an eastern apse, was apparently rebuilt once and then destroyed by fire. It was probably after this disaster that Orm Gamalsson 'had it newly built from the ground for Christ and St Gregory' during 1055–65, as he famously boasts in the sundial inscription over the south door. Orm's church – a key building for immediately pre-Conquest English Romanesque – can now be more confidently defined as the nave with west and south doorways, the chancel arch and chancel, a north-east porticus and (just possibly) a north aisle.

The yield of significant data from this unfunded project, sustained by the enthusiasm of the excavators and local residents, exceeds that from many much larger ones. The report is straightforward, easily used, and provides all the necessary evidence. It passes the acid test for excavation reports in setting out the facts in an objective and non-dogmatic fashion and in suggesting interpretations while leaving the door open for different ones.

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Garranes. An Early Medieval Royal Site in South-West Ireland. By William O'Brien & Nick Hogan. 21 x 30 cm. x + 386 pp, 379 colour and b&w pls, figs and tables. Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology, 2021. ISBN 978-1-78969-919-7; e-pdf: 978-1-78969-920-3. Price: £45.00 hb. Open Access.

The name Garranes (properly Lisnacaheragh, the place-name of the site itself) will be familiar to every student of early medieval Ireland. Rare among ringforts in possessing a documented history of sorts relating to the period between the sixth and tenth centuries AD, it can be provisionally identified as the *caput* of the Eóganacht Raithlenn, a branch of the Munster Eóganacht dynasty. The large multivallate site was first investigated by Ó'Ríordáin in the 1930s, when its 'royal' status was archaeologically affirmed by both the complexity of the defences and the artefacts recovered; these revealed the substantial scale and range of industrial activity, especially skilled bronze-working. This impressive tome combines the results of field research in 1990–92 and 2011–18 with a reappraisal of the earlier work, plus other studies setting the site archaeology in a broader historical and landscape context. The volume includes different types of research outputs, moving from discussions of dynasties to more conventional excavation reports, where the results are published in some detail – rather more than is necessary perhaps, though it was good to see the full colour finds illustrations.

In archaeological terms, the site narrative at Lisnacaheragh is not greatly changed. Ó'Ríordáin excavated a fairly narrow N–S transect across the site and the entrance, as well as a substantial part of the north-east quadrant. There was no direct evidence for housing, but part of a roundhouse inside the north-western quadrant was identified in O'Donnell's work in 1990–92, which also produced the first radiocarbon dates, indicating occupancy during the fifth and sixth centuries. The rest of this structure was revealed in 2017

excavations just to the south; no hearth was identified, but truncation by post-medieval cultivation could be the cause. Further radiocarbon dates confirmed fifth- to seventh-century usage. The lack of pre-modern dateable material beyond this period is notable.

Much of the volume addresses new work at other enclosures in the immediate vicinity, involving extensive geophysical survey as well as excavation. This identified early medieval activity and possibly a roundhouse at Lisnamanroe, with radiocarbon dates here endorsing settlement between the fifth and sixth centuries. At Lisheenagreine, a double-ditched enclosure was explored, with an internal souterrain (first identified in the nineteenth century) and a large pit; radiocarbon dates support site usage mostly in the eighth to tenth century, though two dates generated were of the fifth- to sixth-century. Small-scale excavations were carried out at two further enclosures and a souterrain, but without major results.

Diverse papers are collected as 'specialist studies' and include an edited text of the medieval poem on Ráith Raithleann; a review (not obviously connected to the sites) of the tenth- to fourteenth-century political history of the region; a Bayesian analysis of the radiocarbon dates available, demonstrating probable contemporaneity of settlement; a short paper on imported pottery offering a useful update on this material in Ireland; an analysis of the metal-working residues from the recent excavations; and some pollen studies relating to the region's prehistory. The final contributions offer wider reviews, drawing mostly on recent syntheses of Irish early medieval archaeology, although one of these usefully evaluates map evidence for the disappearance of ringforts in early modern times.

The academic strength and integrity of the work are substantial, but the amount of 'overview' could probably have been slimmed down a bit. Occasional overlap occurs between chapters, and not all of the material seems strictly relevant to the archaeological focus. Colour illustrations are used lavishly throughout and presentation is to a high standard in terms of quality of design, etc., but the text as a whole might have benefitted from some kind of 'executive summary' at the beginning and a few more fingerposts at key places. It would have been interesting also to reflect on the relatively short timespan of site use when compared with the longevity of the monuments, still named and known in the landscape as places over a thousand years after they were abandoned.

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Ireland Encastellated, AD 950–1550. Insular Castle-Building in its European Context. By Tadhg O'Keeffe. 16 x 24 cm. 240 pp, 99 b&w pls and figs. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2021. ISBN 978-1-84682-863-8. Price: €45.00 hb.

Castles have always somehow seemed naturally 'at home' in Irish medieval settlement studies, given that so many formed components within a predominantly non-nucleated rural settlement pattern — alongside other forms of secure, defended or enclosed monuments such as ringforts, raths and cashels — that had ancient origins. Recent years have seen Irish castle studies booming, with several works of synthesis, fresh studies of individual sites and numerous PhD theses refreshing the subject. The key achievement of Tadhg O'Keeffe's ideas-led volume is to offer something entirely new by shifting the prism of castellology to consider the interrelationship between insular traditions of defence and the wider European context of castle-building. Covering the period between the tenth and sixteenth centuries, the text stresses both how sites in Ireland deserve greater recognition on the wider European stage and how developments in fortress building on the island, both before and after the Anglo-Norman conquest and colonisation, can be viewed as part of the European mainstream rather than as traditions peripheral to it.

The volume's style and tone are as distinctive as its scope. Discursive, argumentative at times and always lively, ideas bubble away through an expertly constructed narrative. Innovative thinking is everywhere: prominent, for example, is detailed exploration of the shared ground between traditions of church-building and fortification-building, in a way not often addressed due to the compartmentalised nature of scholarship. In this way and others, the volume opens up new ways of looking at castles that have much wider – indeed, perhaps universal – applicability, with its implications stretching far beyond the island of Ireland.

The meat of the volume is contained in four key chapters sandwiched between an Introduction (Chapter 1) and Conclusion (Chapter 6). Chapter 2 has as its focus 'private' fortification in the periods immediately before and after the Anglo-Norman conquest, in so doing collating a wealth of evidence for pre-Norman 'encastellation'. Here and elsewhere, O'Keeffe does a great job of speaking to a non-Irish audience: the text is especially good on navigating critically and circumspectly through the complex medieval and modern terminology around these sites. Chapter 3 explores rectangular donjons, including exemplars at Trim and Maynooth, while Chapter 4 looks at 'medieval modernism' (high medieval trends) and Chapter 5 considers a 'late medieval epilogue'. The text concludes with some reflections for future research.

Within this chronological narrative, potted case studies focus on sites and their associated landscapes worthy of wider international recognition. Two examples that leap out are Roscommon castle, Co. Roscommon, where O'Keeffe favours a less explicitly colonial explanatory framework for the castle's construction and a less scientific analysis of its form than is usual, instead placing emphasis on its watery wider landscape, which is seen as having ancient ceremonial associations. At Balymoon, Co. Carlow, an unfinished (early?) fourteenth-century castle defined by a plan of continuous ranges around a central rectangular courtyard suggests forward-looking thinking around castle design that is related to planning for an unusually complex medieval household. For settlement historians and archaeologists a key area of interest will be in O'Keeffe's emphasis that castles and tower-houses were themselves settlements and intrinsic elements of the non-nucleated settlement pattern, rather than providing insight into seigneurial re-shaping of the landscape through planning.

With almost 100 illustrations, the volume is enlivened by a superb array of (mainly bespoke) line drawings, crisp photographs and other attractive visuals. Overall, O'Keeffe presents a compelling case that castle-builders in Ireland were not only buying into a Western European culture of nobility, but actively contributing to and shaping as players in a much wider game of power-projection; he is to be congratulated on an inspired and thought-provoking volume.

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Medieval Dublin XVIII. Edited by Seán Duffy. 16 x 24 cm. 389 pp, 101 b&w pls and figs, 4 tables. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2020. ISBN 978-1-84682-816-4. Price: £29.95 pb.

Assembled in COVID conditions, this collection of essays was brought together in lieu of the annual conference of the Friends of Medieval Dublin but also in memory of one of the champions of Dublin's heritage, Cllr John Gallagher, a man at the forefront of the defence of Wood Quay in the 1970s – although this formed only a part of his social and political commitment to the district of the inner city that he came to represent.

Several papers deal with the outputs from archaeological excavations in Dublin. A fairly small intervention on the site of St Sepulchre's Palace offers Hayden the opportunity to review the development of the palace from the twelfth century; the investigation also tentatively identified an earlier burial ground. A fairly extensive review of excavated ecclesiastical enclosures in Ireland by Harney, though interesting, has more tenuous links to the city. The late-medieval and early modern leather-working industry is particularly well served in this volume. First, in an update on work at St Thomas's Abbey, Duffy presents a series of results relating to different phases of the site: here, part of a cemetery pre-dating the abbey was explored as well as the north wall of the abbey precinct; while an extensive complex of pits distributed within and between tenement plots just north of the abbey seems mostly related to tanning in the aftermath of the Dissolution. A revised timeline for the use of the abbey site is also provided. Giacometti reviews the excavation of a large medieval and post-medieval tanning complex at Blackpitts; over 100 pits were distributed within burgage boundaries, offering strong evidence for a tanning quarter spanning several generations and multiple workshops. Different stages of the tanning process could be clearly identified from the character of the pits and their fills, including their distinctive odours. The penultimate paper is a well-illustrated study of a leather assemblage from Chancery Lane, where the distinctive styles of brogues and shoes are reviewed.

There is plenty of interest in the volume's more historically focussed papers, which include a group of papers by Bhreathnach, Smith and Sullivan debating the singularity or otherwise of Dublin's ecclesiastical arrangements. Casey explores the relationship between coin minting in Dublin and the rise in the value of cattle in the twelfth century; Whelan discusses the ways in which the popular legend of Tristan and Isolde offers insights into how Dublin and the Irish were viewed from a European perspective; Coleman explores the records of late-medieval parliamentary subsidies in Co. Dublin, highlighting their strong link with defence, especially the building of tower houses; and Jones offers a study of one of Dublin's later medieval elite families, the Marewards.

The publication series is clear testimony to the continuing dynamism of multidisciplinary debates about the development of Dublin, embracing internal tensions as well as connections with hinterlands and the wider networks that connected it to other places far and near. In line with the challenges of the time, it is good to see some of the new COVID-generated resources made accessible to a wider audience on the Friends of Medieval Dublin website; this includes a playlist of virtual walks of the city and other resources and links: *https://www.youtube.com/channel/ UCzbBWNoDdk1ly631QfYF2KQ*

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Fen and Sea. The Landscapes of South-East Lincolnshire AD 500–1700. By I. G. Simmons. 19 x 25 cm. xxxv + 202 pp, 27 colour and b&w pls and figs, 8 tables. Oxford & Philadelphia: Windgather Press/ Oxbow Books, 2022. ISBN 978-1-91118-896-4; epub: 978-1-91118-897-1. Price: £34.99 pb.

Reclaimed coastal wetlands are one of the most distinctive *pays* in the British landscape, and this fascinating book describes the development of a previously neglected marshland landscape in south-east Lincolnshire, from the early medieval period through to *c.* 1700. The study area lies on the northern side of the Wash, between the modern towns of Boston and Skegness.

The wide range of source material used in this study is very helpfully summarised at the start of the book, followed by an introduction to the 'scope and direction' of the study. Chapter 1 explores the relatively limited evidence for the landscape before Domesday that comprised a complex mosaic of wetland environments that human communities exploited for their rich natural resources while also starting to improve its agricultural potential through construction of fen banks. As Simmons notes, it is interesting how English Fenland settlements at this time were not raised up on mounds, in contrast to the *terpen* seen on the coastal wetlands of mainland North-West Europe. Chapter 2 covers 'The Manor and the Land: High Medieval Times and their Foundations, 1050–1300' – a period that saw a town established at Wainfleet and an increased intensity of landscape exploitation, including a burgeoning salt and fishing industry. We hear most about the heavy involvement of monasteries in both the reclaimed wetlands and the intertidal marshes, although some areas were in lay hands.

'The Later Medieval Era 1300–1500', explored in Chapter 3, was when environmental conditions were relatively favourable to living in coastal wetlands, but this changed in the fourteenth century when there were

falling temperatures, increased storminess, rising relative sea levels and outbreaks of animal and human disease. The problems faced by communities living in this low-lying coastal landscape are reflected by the growing number of royal commissions into flooding, and Simmons estimates that from *c.* 1300 to 1400 relative sea level may have risen by perhaps 2 mm a year. Some land was lost to erosion, but new land was also gained as tidal inlets silted up, meaning that towns such as Wainfleet went into a terminal decline. Despite the increased risk of flooding, wetlands remained attractive areas in which to live due to their wealth of natural resources; these included the inland backfens that were carefully managed as a common resource. Table 3.1, for example, provides a fascinating insight into the complexities of this management by compiling a calendar of the traditional periods when certain wild plants and animals could be harvested; we see also the conditions imposed upon the commoners, such as what equipment could be used (this is a fine example of the value of interdisciplinary research, as it is only documentary sources that provide these insights). Chapter 4 then explores the early modern period (1500–1700), when communities continued to battle with the sea, while the volume is rounded off by Chapter 5 (titled 'Some Contexts') that takes a very brief look at some other wetland landscapes.

Despite the absence of a proper concluding chapter that summarises the development of the south-east Lincolnshire landscape, the book is otherwise very well written, with an engaging style; a particularly strong feature is the use of extracts from primary sources that bring the landscape – and the people who managed it – to life. A wide range of extremely helpful illustrations is also offered, including a series of phase maps showing how the landscape changed over time (although from Figure 2.1 onwards there appears to be an error in the key as the fen banks are in black, not green, which indicates the edge of the Wolds). Overall, this is a really interesting account of how human communities lived their lives in a difficult, but rewarding physical environment.

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Hitcham: A Landscape, Social, and Ecclesiastical History of a Suffolk Clayland Parish. By Edward Martin. 21 x 30 cm. vi + 146 pp, 102 colour and b&w pls and figs. Ipswich: The Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History, 2021. ISBN 978-18381223-1-7. Price: £10.00 pb.

Edward Martin, well known for his work on Suffolk's field systems (and much else), has written an affectionate history of Hitcham, a mid-Suffolk parish, long his home. It stems from a Heritage Lottery project which funded restoration of its church's bells, and a good part of the volume is devoted to the fabric of All Saints' and to its rectors, although little is said there about the church's origins. Those, however, may have been pre-Conquest, since in 1935 the remains of the chapel of St Margaret, mentioned in medieval documents, were discovered only 400 m from the parish church. Primitive delvings showed that, exceptionally, this had right of burial. Was this a case where the parish church shifted site? Or, Martin speculates, did both of the brothers who held shares of Hitcham in *c.* AD 1000 each separately found a church?

What will most interest readers of this journal is the topographical commentary on the very detailed survey of Hitcham – its landscape, territorial units, social organisation and tenants – which appears in the Ely Coucher Book of 1249–50, made for the bishop of Ely. The main headings are the demesne (fields, woods – later stripped for navy timber during the Commonwealth); knights; free tenants; customary tenants; unfree villeins; tenants holding ten acres; and those with five. The peasants' very varied customary obligations are set out in great detail, and give a vivid picture of life and landscape in the Suffolk claylands in the mid-thirteenth century.

A good deal has been written in recent years about Anglo-Saxon and later execution sites, and the Coucher book identifies one in Hitcham through the place-name *Qualmstowe*, from the Old English *cwealmstowe*, meaning a place of execution. In the nineteenth century this was the site of Gallowsfield Barn, which stood where a road entered the parish. This was a typical location for such sites, also typical being the date-span for when felons were hung here, which a fleeting reference documentary reference indicates was between the later tenth century and at least 1199.

As for the wider landscape, mapping (Figure 10.1) shows the manorial demesne lay in large blocks on the parish's best land. Copyhold tenements, probably each with its own closes, were strung out along the parish's roads – a strikingly similar pattern to that mapped for Worlingworth, 15 or so miles to the north-east in Dymond and Martin (eds), *An Historical Atlas of Suffolk* (1989), p. 87. A large number of Hitcham's dispersed farmhouses date from the Middle Ages, and an illustrated gazetteer briskly introduces these and links them with the chief and customary holdings discussed earlier.

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The Archaeology of East Oxford. Archeox: The Development of a Community. (Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph 43). Edited by David Griffiths & Jane Harrison. 22 x 30 cm. xx + 260 pp, 246 colour and b&w pls and figs. Oxford: Oxford University Department for Continuing Education, 2020. ISBN 978-1-905905-43-0. Free download: *https:// archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/ archeox_hlf_2020/*

Community archaeology is hugely to the fore in this well-produced, informative and revealing publication, which is the fruit of a project between academic and professional archaeologists from Oxford and residents in the modern 'East Oxford' area, seeking to highlight a busy archaeological and historical past, different from the modern perception of this as peripheral, suburban and industrial zone. The zone is one part-framed by Oxford's outer ring-road through and enclosing Cowley and Headington, but extending down south to the

Oxford Science Park and east to the ex-Rover (now BMW) car factory. While indeed now featuring much housing, commercial and other premises, the Ordnance Survey map for 1830 (see Fig. 1.1) reveals a far more ruralised vision, comprising fields, farms and supporting villages, including Iffley, Temple Cowley and Sandford, plus remnants of medieval religious complexes like Littlemore Priory and St Bartholomew's Chapel (see setting in Chapter 1). Archeox ran from 2009–15 and was supported by Heritage Lottery Funding (plus 10% match-funding by Oxford University, giving a total budget of just over half a million pounds), and assisted by staff from museums, council, colleges and elsewhere. However, as the cheerful stories from some of the team (Chapter 7) highlight, the key contributors (and recipients – of knowledge, training, team-working, etc.) were the many keen locals, whether individuals or societies, young or old, diggers or pot-washers, re-enactors or school teachers, who clearly enjoyed learning of the past and the skills to study and understand such.

The volume therefore has much to squeeze in! Archeox was – in similar vein to the work I oversaw in conjunction with the Wallingford Historical and Archaeological Society in the Wallingford Burh to Borough Research Project (2008–11) – ordered around a series of diverse archaeological approaches, each important in a now largely built-up zone, but one featuring some more accessible, open areas too: test-pitting programmes, selected trenching, finds analysis, geophysical survey, map and archive work, plus contextualisation through assessment of older archaeological finds and recent rescue/commercial excavation work (see Chapter 2, which also considers the training, volunteering and evaluation angles of the project – HLF and University REF exercises nowadays wanting to ensure that outreach and impact are prominent social results).

Chapter 3 is centred on the test-pitting campaign (plus summaries of the geophysical surveys achieved, pp. 90–103): 72 test-pits were excavated, with most sited in the southern half of the study zone, with clusters in Iffley, Cowley and Blackbird Leys (see Fig. 3.1). Despite a fairly busy Roman rural landscape, minimal early to middle Anglo-Saxon finds were recovered (a mere two sherds at Church Cowley), even though 1999 excavations at the Oxford Science Park had revealed buildings linked to a farm that shifted around in the sixth and seventh centuries. Just 73 sherds for AD 850–1050 show next a scattered working landscape – fitting the place-name evidence, which does also point to estates at Iffley and Cowley (see Chapter 6, highlighting woodland and marshland resources, and the bounds of Cowley as detailed in the charter of AD 1004). The eleventh to sixteenth centuries mark more consistent village presences, if with some claimed fifteenth-century contraction based on the test-pit finds (or lack of).

The site of St Bartholomew's Chapel, a standing remnant of a leper hospital found in the mid-1120s on land of the royal manor of Headington, is explored in Chapter 4. The complex was owned from 1328 by Oriel College in Oxford, which rebuilt the chapel in 1336; good documentation exists on the later fortunes of the hospital and its brethren, with the function shifting more to an almshouse role; much damage came with the 1640s Civil War. Surveys, test-pits and open trenches provide new data on the pre-1336 chapel and wider site activity and in particular on burials, with bodies and charnel finds excavated (and analysed for leprosy and diet) spanning the twelfth to sixteenth centuries.

A second medieval religious complex was the Benedictine nunnery (Littlemore Priory) at Minchery Paddock (the name Minchery deriving from the Old English *mynecenu*, meaning nuns), now sited in a built-up context much divorced from its original rural setting. Founded in *c.* 1150, the standing (but variously converted and now redundant) dormitory block points to a quite well-endowed complex. Chapter 5 details the three trenches excavated in 2012, which examined building traces in the outer precinct (a barn with hearth; a domestic building) and part of the claustral zone (a section of a badly robbed building, perhaps the refectory; part of the later medieval kitchen midden); these add to the 2014 results from excavation of the priory church and part of the related (mixed) burial ground to show good scope to explore the complex (largely demolished in the Little Dissolution) more widely to understand the form and content of a nunnery. This chapter includes sections on textual sources for the priory, primarily bishops' visitations from 1445 and 1517 (the latter detailing priory scandals...) and the 'Littlemore Priory Book' – a set of three mid-twelfth-century manuscripts (notably a beautifully illustrated collection of prayers of St Anselm).

In summary, this nicely produced volume and its editors amply deliver in informing readers on the aims, methods, results and value of what was clearly a well-designed and well-executed project that has succeeded in breathing archaeological and historical life into a neglected part of modern Oxford; most importantly, it highlights the many positive ways that archaeology can work with community groups and bring such together, offering new skills and making locals more aware of the multiple pasts under their feet.

NEIL CHRISTIE
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University of Leicester

Glassmaking in the Weald. Survey, Excavation and Scientific Analysis 2010–2018. (SpoilHeap Publications Monograph 24). By David Dungworth, Colin Clark, Paul Linford, Tom Munnery, Sarah Paynter & Rob Poulton. 21 x 30 cm. xiv + 114 pp, 106 colour and b&w pls and figs, 36 tables. Woking: Surrey County Archaeological Unit, 2020. ISBN 978-1-912331-16-1. Price: £25.00 pb.

This attractive volume, the result of the Historic England-funded Wealden Glass Project, presents a systematic study of the Wealden glassmaking industry. It builds on the previous work of Kenyon, Crossley and, most recently, Clark by using archaeological science to better understand the chronology and organisation of the industry. Historical evidence demonstrates that Wealden glass production likely began in the thirteenth century, with a major change occurring in the 1560s with the settlement of immigrant glassmakers from France and elsewhere on the continent. The book details the results of fieldwork, combining field and geophysical survey

with excavation, as well as scientific analysis of the glass. Magnetometry survey was undertaken at 19 sites on the Surrey/West Sussex border, with follow-up excavation taking place at three of these sites. The report presents the scientific analysis of over 200 samples of glass and glassworking waste, which demonstrates how a fairly consistent glassmaking 'recipe' was used across the industry, with the key difference being chronological; it confirms a technological transition in the 1560s, corresponding with the settlement of continental glass workers in the area.

Overall, this publication is a major contribution to our understanding of the Wealden industry and of medieval glassmaking more generally. The project has demonstrated how intensive survey can lead to detailed information about both the sites themselves and their products. Perhaps the most important outcome has been the refined understanding of the chronology of the industry and the ability to characterise the 'early' (pre-1560s) and 'later' (post-1560s) industries. The early period is characterised by the production of a potash-rich forest glass to a recipe, which is consistent between sites and over time, using quartz-rich crucibles; in contrast, the later industry used grog-tempered ceramics to produce high lime, low alkali glass, with the addition of cobalt to create a deep blue-green colour. The earlier sites are scarcer than the later ones and appear more focussed in the northern parishes of the study area. This important contribution to the study of medieval industry outlines several priorities for future research, including the use of LiDAR, targeted excavation and HER enhancement. In addition, I see this volume forming an essential resource for beginning to explore the relationships between the industries of this distinctive area, which is well known also both for iron and textile production.

BEN JERVIS
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Cardiff University

50 Finds from Buckinghamshire. Objects from the Portable Antiquities Scheme. By Arwen Wood. 17 x 24 cm. 96 pp, 150 (unnumbered) colour pls and figs. Stroud: Amberley Press, 2021. ISBN 978-1-4456-9577-8; e-pub: 978-1-4456-9578-5. Price: £15.99 pb.

50 Finds from Buckinghamshire is a new guide-book focusing on the stand-out artefacts from the Portable Antiquities Scheme recovered within Buckinghamshire. Its author, Arwen Wood, one of the PAS Finds Liaison Officers, examines a full range of finds, from prehistoric lithics to post-medieval jewellery and clay pipes, broken up into seven short chapters, the most relevant here being the latter three covering the 'Early Medieval Period', the 'Medieval Period' and the 'Post-medieval to Modern Period'. Each chapter begins with a short introductory section, describing the periods with a national and county-level context for the finds concerned; then come concise but detailed summaries of each of the selected finds, their context and also their importance to the history (and archaeology) of Buckinghamshire. In many cases Wood also discusses related themes, such as pilgrimage or the local monastic

economy. The text is complemented by high-quality colour images of the 50 finds in question, often shown from multiple angles and in fine detail. Highlights from the later chapters include a sixth-century square-headed brooch from Upper Winchendon, coin finds from the tenth- and eleventh-century Lenborough Hoard, and a fourteenth-/fifteenth-century lead ampulla for transporting holy water.

At less than one-hundred pages, this book is short, but nonetheless provides a great introduction to both the vital work of the PAS and the specific artefactual history of Buckinghamshire – and to the value of metal-detecting enthusiasts especially. Readers will certainly come away with some sense of the place, its people and their material culture, while also being able to dip in and out for periods of personal interest, or even simply leaf through for another look at the striking images.

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English Local History. An Introduction (3rd Edition). By Kate Tiller. 17 x 24 cm. x + 307 pp, 155 b&w pls and figs. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2020. ISBN 978-1-78327-524-3. Price: £19.99 pb.

This is a much expanded, and improved, edition of what soon established itself as perhaps the best introduction to English local history when first published in 1992. It has both breadth and depth, is rich in examples and illustrations, and is deeply informed. Such is hardly surprising, since for 40 years Kate Tiller was a mainstay of Oxford's Department of Continuing Education, developing and laying on all manner of courses and programmes in local history, and in 2019 being appointed OBE for services to the subject. However, what this is not – at least primarily – is a guide to sources or how to write local or parish history, although the medieval and later chapters include succinct sections on 'Sources and Methods' and there are useful endnotes. There's also a good index.

If we're honest, local history can be worthy but a bit dull (which, having spent years writing it for the VCH, I can say with a degree of impunity), with more than a whiff of pipe smoke and sensible brogues. Not so this book, and over its 300-odd pages we are given an extremely engaging and up-to-date synopsis of current understanding of how English society and landscape – the people as well as the places – evolved over the last millennium. General trends and movements are informed by case studies drawn from the academic literature and by extended captions to the illustrations. A few will be familiar, but most are fresh and include a good number of specially taken photographs.

After what is essentially a history of the subject, from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* via Leland and the county historians to the VCH, comes the first of the broadly chronological chapters, this covering the period to 1066; it is a masterful account of how current understanding has been arrived at, using and explaining source materials and techniques. The successive sections on medieval rural society – on manors, lords, tenants,

government and the Church – provide a reminder (if needed) that villages and hamlets existed within many frameworks; these exerted differing levels of control, all of which changed and evolved through time. Cuxham, from the prairie lands of the Central Province, is used as an example, offering a valuable summary of the work of Paul Harvey (pp. 106–11); here, the eight villeins, each holding a half-virgate and owing onerous services and dues to the lord, lived on the south side of the village street; the thirteen cottars, on the other hand, who held no land in the open fields but had lesser obligations to the lord, lived on the north side and down-side turnings. Wharram Percy logically and inevitably appears, and about the only instance I noted of a piece of revisionism having been missed is the phasing of the church here, as given in *Wharram XIII* (2012). As a contrast, Bolton Priory's West Yorkshire estates are used to show how, in more upland areas, different landscapes and conditions necessitated different strategies and responses.

I close by noting how well written the book is, managing that rare trick of being accessible and, above all, interesting as well as authoritative. It's about as near to a page-turner as local history gets!

PAUL STAMPER
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Going to Church in Medieval England. By Nicholas Orme. 16 x 24 cm. xi + 483 pp, 59 colour and b&w pls and figs. London & New York: Yale University Press, 2021. ISBN 978-0-300-25650-5. Price: £20.00 hb.

Books about the history and architecture of Christian churches are innumerable, but the title of this one is unlike any other, and so are the contents. The complexity of religious life in the Middle Ages, the long-abandoned rituals that it embraced and the obscure terminology accompanying them, are unfamiliar to the vast majority of people in Britain today. But medieval churches survive in their thousands and are much visited. In order to understand what one sees both within, and outside, a church it is essential to have at least a basic understanding of the liturgical practices and religious cycle in the average English parish. No-one is better qualified to provide that fundamental introduction than Nicholas Orme, and he has done so here, giving us the benefit of his encyclopaedic scholarship, expressed with great lucidity.

Chapter 1 introduces the origins of churches and parishes, beginning with the Augustinian mission, and explains the differences between the various types and their spheres of influence: monasteries, minsters, cathedrals, parochial churches and chapels. The proliferation of parishes, patronage, the operation of the tithe system, and payment obligations for the maintenance and repair of churches are all explained. The next chapter describes the staffing of churches, how that was funded, the duties of those involved and the vexed issue of clergy celibacy.

In Chapter 3 a clear and concise account of church buildings, their component parts, plans, seating and other major furnishings is provided, without discoursing deeply into architectural history; it also touches on the churchyard and secular activities that took place within

it. This is followed by a discussion of the people who attended – or did not attend – daily and weekly church services and festivals, noting how the laity participated, codes of dress, behaviour and the treatment accorded to different ranks of society, and to children. In the fifth chapter, Professor Orme leads us gently into what, for many, is the bewildering world of medieval liturgy: the daily and weekly cycle, the format of services, the Divine Office, the celebration of mass, processions, communion, confession and sermons. That is followed by an account of the yearly cycle, relating to the seasons and the great festivals: Advent, Christmas, Lent and Easter.

The human life-cycle and its associated sacraments is the subject of Chapter 7, beginning with birth and baptism, and the demeaning treatment of women in the process of 'churching' that followed. The author reminds us that the nomination of godparents – popularised since Victorian times – originated in the late Saxon period. The cycle then moves on to describe confirmation and the sacrament of marriage, together with the prescribed arrangements for weddings; finally, it turns to the rites offered by the Church for sickness, death and burial.

In the penultimate chapter Orme gives a succinct account of events in the first half of the sixteenth century, when almost every aspect of church life was rent asunder during the rapacious reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. He explains how the Reformation attempted to expunge mystery and superstition from the liturgy and the fabric of the buildings, with English replacing Latin as the language of the English Church.

Many of the fine illustrations provided are of medieval stained glass and paintings, as well as architecture and ecclesiastical artefacts. The volume is well referenced throughout, with examples widely drawn from across the country, accompanied by a large and useful bibliography; equally valuable is the explanatory list of technical terms. As well as being highly instructive, this is an enjoyable volume to read, and should be on every church archaeologist's bookshelves.

WARWICK RODWELL
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MEMBERSHIP CHANGES 2021

Recent changes are set out below. Members are asked to send any changes of address, corrections, information, etc. to Dr Helen Fenwick (Membership Secretary MSRG), School of Humanities, University of Hull, Hull HU6 7RX. Email: h.fenwick@hull.ac.uk.

NEW FULL MEMBERS

E. Appleyard *Bishop's Stortfold*	C. Casswell *Lincoln*	P. Child *Crediton*	C. Evans *Scarborough*
C. Foster *Chelmsford*	A. Graham *Leeds*	K. Gray *Leigh*	M. Greig *Abingdon*
M. Headifen *Saffron Walden*	S. Irvine *Cambridge*	V. Jackson *Hunstanton*	B. Jervis *Salisbury*
D. Joyce *Southampton*	G. Kelso *Newry*	C. Middleton *Beccles*	A. Moir *Mitcheldean*
M. Nayler *Alston*	E. Oksanen *Helsinkii*	J. Ranahan *Solihull*	M. Reeves *Driffield*
D. Rowell *Melrose*	R. Walker *Bradford*	E. West *St Albans*	J. White *Great Yarmouth*
S. Wilson *Whitley*	H. Winslade *Waterlooville*	W. Wyeth *Dunbar*	

NEW STUDENT MEMBERS

V. Bailey *Orkney*	S. Breiter *USA*	A. Compton *Halstead*	M. Diaz Ros *Villafranca del Penedes*
A. Frasca *York*	K. Grieve *South Shields*	R. Hedge *Worcester*	J. Margham *Knaresborough*
J. Masters *Carnforth*	L. May *Uckfield*	C. Scott *Lancaster*	M. Thomas *London*
E. Tyler *Glastonbury*	M. Williamson *Sutton Coldfield*		

DECEASED

B. Adams	J. Allsop	P. Fleet	S. Green	R. Thomas
D. Hall	J. Peters	G.W. Ridyard	J. Roberts	

RESIGNATIONS

R. Abrams	G. Baalke	R. Batty	A. Collings	M. Thompson
M. Fradley	M. Hansson	A. Prijatelj	B. Rich	E. Will
D. Russell	K. Scott	D. Shirley	C. Sparkes	

CURRENT POSTAL ADDRESSES WANTED

D.M. Griffiths	(was in Exeter)	S. Harrison	
N. Instone	(was Southampton)	D.W. Johnson	(was in Tooting)
B.E.A Jones	(was in London)	J.P. Northover	(was in Oxford)
S.A. Pinter-Bellows	(was in Canewdon)	D.M. Robinson	(was in London)
T. Turbin	(was in Brentwood)	C.J. Wright	(was in Salisbury)

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES FOR 2021
MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT RESEARCH GROUP

Registered Charity No. 801634

Objectives
The objective of the Group is the advancement of public education by promoting interdisciplinary involvement in the collection, analysis and dissemination of data relating to the history, geography and archaeology of medieval rural settlement, primarily in Great Britain and Ireland from the fifth to the sixteenth centuries.

Trustees' addresses
Prof Carenza Lewis (President), School History and Heritage, University of Lincoln, Brayford Pool, Lincoln, LN6 7TS
Dr Susan Kilby (Secretary), 4 Main Street, Tansor, Peterborough, PE8 5HS
Dr Andy Seaman (Treasurer), School of History, Archaeology and Religion, Cardiff University, John Percival Building, Column Drive, Cardiff, CF10 3EU
Dr Mark McKerracher (Editor), 2 Channels Farm Court, 8 Channels Farm Road, Southampton, SO16 2PL

Review of activity during the year
The Group's activities (policy making, conferences and publication) have continued as before. The range of interests and issues is reflected in the content of the journal (*Medieval Settlement Research* 37) covering the year 2022.

Result of the year
There was an excess of expenditure over income of £6,781 (excess of £1,596 in 2020-21).

Reserves policy
The trustees' policy is to maintain reserves at a level that will enable the Group to perform its core activities for the foreseeable future. The minimum sum to be held in unrestricted reserves is £12,500 and the maximum sum is £250,000. Should reserves rise above the maximum sum or below the minimum sum the trustees will review the activities of the Group and consider such changes as are deemed to be appropriate.

Grant-making policy
The charity makes grants towards research projects and to other bodies involved in similar areas of education and research in respect of medieval settlement.

Investments policy
The charity's funds are invested in National Savings and a bank bond, deposits that are regarded as a safe liquid investment with an adequate return, and suitable for a small charity.

Risk policy
The trustees have reviewed the major risks facing the charity and presently conclude that no specific action is required.

A P Seaman, Treasurer

INDEPENDENT EXAMINER'S REPORT TO THE TRUSTEES
OF MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT RESEARCH GROUP

I report on the accounts for the year ended 31 January 2022 which are set out on the following page.

Respective responsibilities of Trustees and Examiner
The charity's trustees are responsible for the preparation of the accounts. The charity's trustees consider that an audit is not required for this year under Section 145 (1) of the Charities Act 2011 (the Act) and that an independent examination is needed.
It is my responsibility to:
- Examine the accounts;
- Follow the procedures laid down in the General Directions given by the Charity Commissioners under Section 145(5)(b) of the Act;
- State whether particular matters have come to my attention.

Basis of independent examiner's report
My examination was carried out in accordance with the General Directions given by the Charity Commissioners. An examination includes a review of the accounting records kept by the charity and comparison of the accounts presented with those records. It also includes consideration of any unusual items or disclosures in the accounts, and seeking explanations from the trustees concerning any such matters. The procedures undertaken do not provide all the evidence that would be required in an audit, and consequently I do not express an audit opinion on the accounts.
In connection with my examination, no matter has come to my attention:
    (1)   which gives me reasonable cause to believe that in any material respect the requirements
      * to keep accounting records in accordance with section 130 of the Act; and
      * to prepare accounts which accord with the accounting records and to comply with accounting requirements of the Act have not been met: or
    (2)   to which, in my opinion, attention should be drawn in order to enable a proper understanding of the accounts to be reached.

Anthony Bourne

27 August 2022

Maritime Operations Officer
Her Majesty's Coastguard, Langdon Battery, Dover, Kent, CT15 5NA

MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT RESEARCH GROUP
Registered Charity No. 801634

GENERAL FUNDS – RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT
Financial Year ended 31 January 2022

Note 1 Accounting policies
Historical Cost Convention
The Receipts and Payments account and Statement of Assets and Liabilities are prepared under the historical cost convention.

Stocks of Publications
Stocks of Publications are not valued or included in the Statement of Assets and Liabilities.

Note 2 Funds
All funds of the charity are unrestricted.

RECEIPTS	2021-22	2020-21	PAYMENTS	2021-22	2020-21
Donations, and other similar sources			**Charitable Payments**		
Tax recovered through Gift Aid	£ -	£ 777.00	Research Grants	£ 7,076.86	£ 3,600.00
Authors' Licensing and Collecting Society	£ 266.05	£ 443.23	J. G. Hurst Memorial Prize	£ -	£ 480.00
Public Lending Right	£ -	£ -	Student bursaries	£ -	£ 150.00
Donations	£ 559.00	£ 89.00	**Charitable Activity**		
Research Grant Refund	£ -	£ 2,379.05	Journal: printing and postage	£ 6,136.81	£ 6,108.15
			Spring Conference	£ -	£ -
Operating activities to further the charity's objectives			ADS upload	£ -	£ 120.00
Subscriptions	£ 6,720.80	£ 5,794.86			
Conferences	£ -	£ 292.00			
Publication Grants	£ 497.00	£ 150.00	**Management and Administration**		
			Secretarial and Committee expenses	£ 593.47	£ 184.90
			AGM and Seminar expenses	£ -	£ -
Investment Income Receipts			Insurance	£ 359.65	£ 333.80
Current account Interest	£ -	£ -	CBA Affiliation Fees	£ 125.00	£ -
Deposit account Interest	£ 4.50	£ 319.25	Postage	£ 152.20	£ 280.00
			Refunds	£ -	£ 282.00
	£ 8,047.35	£ 10,244.39	Website	£ 337.20	£ 301.20
			Bank Charges	£ 47.40	£ -
Statement of Assets and Liabilities				£ 14,828.59	£ 11,840.05
Balance Brought forward	£ 44,325.73	£ 45,921.39			
Balance of payments over receipts	-£ 6,781.24	-£ 1,595.66			
	£ 37,544.49	£ 44,325.73	Current bank account	£ 148.81	£ 162.25
			National Savings Deposit Account	£ 37,395.68	£ 44,163.48
Pettit Legacy				£ 37,544.49	£ 44,325.73
Brought forward	£ 64,139	£ 63,058			
Added Interest	£ 836	£ 1,081			
	£ 64,975	£ 64,139			