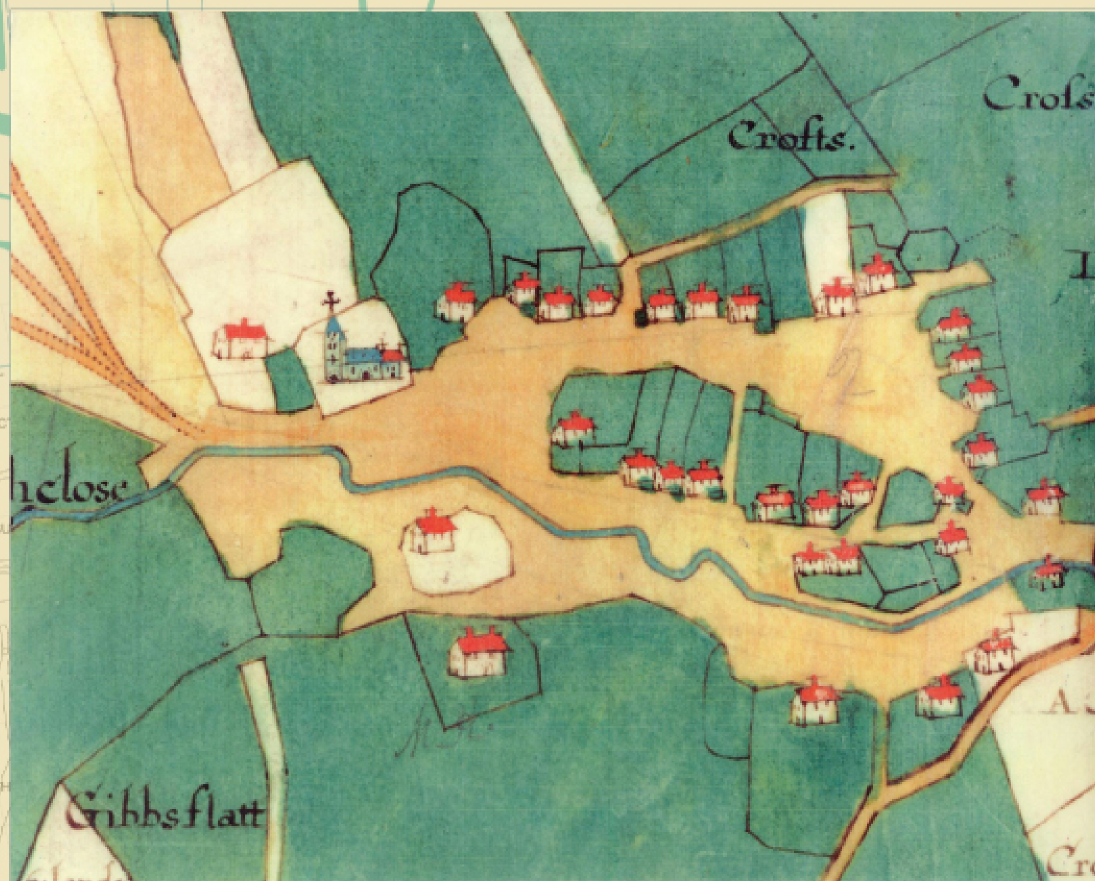
Medieval Rural Settlement

Britain and Ireland, AD 800–1600



edited by

Neil Christie and Paul Stamper

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Britain and Ireland, AD 800–1600

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WINDgather
PRESS

To all those
who since the formation of the deserted medieval village research group in 1952
have walked, surveyed and dug,
talked, thought, and written
to advance the study of medieval settlement

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Aerial photograph of the multi-period settlement of Jarlshof, Shetland (© RCAHMS)

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Foreword

Chris Taylor
Vice-President, MSRG

It is more than 50 years since I began to study rural settlement in Britain, and well over 60 if you include my gradual but haphazard realisation that settlements had settings and shapes that related to their past. I have thus lived through, seen and, indeed, sporadically contributed to much of the development of the subject that is brought up to date by this book.

Through that time we have gone from belief in austere determinism to accepting the importance of human intervention and then back to more complex determinism; from the alleged impact of democratic Saxon settlers on the landscape, via authoritarian control, and thence to the influence of a peasant society, albeit with a somewhat more intricate social structure than that of the settlers. We have seen the examination of simple unchanging settlements replaced by the study of complex villages and hamlets that resulted from continuous change arising from expansion, contraction, desertion or movement. And we have wrestled with the differences between deliberate planning and accidental regularity at all periods. We have studied rural settlements both singly and collectively, have mapped them, excavated them, investigated their standing buildings and researched their documentary history. We have looked at their inhabitants, their actions, failures and successes as both individuals and communities. Their possessions, constructed, collected or manufactured, of every type and place of origin, have been studied, often with the assistance of modern scientific techniques. The settings of settlements at all levels, physical, economic, social and even symbolic, have been subjected to minute examination, while their beginnings, ends and futures have been scrutinised.

The result of all this varied research has been the spectacular growth of what started as a somewhat limited subject. Originally it was almost entirely the preserve of geographers and local historians; now it is a multi-disciplinary enquiry involving archaeologists, social, economic, landscape, architectural and art historians as well as environmental scientists and others, and its influence has spread far beyond mere settlement studies.

Thus, perhaps, it would seem timely to see this book as illustrating the collective achievement of all the scholars involved and to recognise it as a landmark in the development of the subject. Alas, I do not believe that this is so. For, although the book is undoubtedly important and, hopefully, will have some impact, it is only a summary of the state of rural settlement studies in Britain in 2010. Further, it is likely that, as with all good academic works, it will be out-of-date before it reaches the bookshops. But of course this is precisely what should happen. Indeed, I have always taken the view that if any of our writing is not immediately severely criticised, rejected as inadequate, wrong-headed in conception and in need of total revision, we have failed. Success in historical studies should be measured only by the extent to which ideas and interpretations are taken forward, written off and replaced by new ones – or, in some cases, by old ones.

None of us ever produces 'the last word'. I too have published what is now regarded as rubbish. My first major work on settlement history (on Whiteparish in Wiltshire) in 1967, was largely misconceived, although the excuse is that it was, inevitably, written in its time and of its time. I could do no more.

Curiously I have never been taken to task over it, as I should have been – either no one has noticed its inadequacies, or they have been too polite to tell me! Personally I have been less well behaved, and over the years have disagreed with various methodologies and interpretations, most recently with landscape characterisation which I regard as merely a more complicated and polished return to ideas rejected 40 odd years ago. However, if nothing else, with age sometimes comes wisdom, and I now see that even the cyclical nature of some of our work has its advantages.

As individual scholars we can do little to add much to the understanding of our chosen subject. We are not involved in the completion of the roof of the great structure that is rural settlement studies, only adding the odd, and often ill-fired, brick to the lower courses. The building will not be completed in our lifetimes – it probably never will be. Every generation rewrites its own history. That is all that is possible. What we produce usually says more about our world today than about the world gone by.

This is not to deny that the work we have done and will continue to do is of value. The slow development of settlement studies in Britain, as well as abroad, with its cyclical, and often repetitive, appearance of 'new ideas', as it seems to some of its more ancient participants, *is* important. It seems to me that we are not just gradually bettering our understanding of the homes, settlements and landscapes of our predecessors but learning of their hopes, aims, achievements and beliefs. And seeing them as real *people*, very close to us in many respects, and only lacking our technology, and perhaps our cynicism.

While others will undoubtedly want more from settlement studies and from this book in particular, and may even get it, this is the modest philosophy that has kept me involved in the subject over the years. I believe that the following pages are a first-class example of the way our discipline has progressed and will continue to progress. It certainly demonstrates the splendid results of both the scholarship and the almost boundless enthusiasm of my friends and colleagues in the Medieval Settlement Research Group.

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PART I

CONTEXTS, CHRONOLOGIES AND FORMS

CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Medieval Rural Settlement Research. Emergence, Examination and Engagement

Mark Gardiner, Neil Christie and Paul Stamper

> A cross-country scramble across darkening fields brought us at last to consolidation. The earthworks, accentuated by the long shadows of the disappearing sun, seemed tremendous. Ploughmarks, fishponds, boundary-mounds… all were on a gargantuan scale.[1]

The past: ways of looking and thinking

The study of rural settlement and landscape has been a prominent part of archaeological research on the Middle Ages ever since the 1950s. It has attracted an extraordinary level of interest from both professionals and amateurs. This is particularly apparent if we compare it with the study of medieval towns which remains by comparison a minority pursuit. The study of churches or monastic sites, even though these are widely visited, also do not have a similar following. The countryside has been the subject of countless television programmes, and conferences on the subject attract substantial audiences. What is it about the rural landscape of the Middle Ages which has such a pull for many who might have little fascination with history and only a passing interest in being in the countryside? There is a perception that the countryside still retains evidence of a past world. Unlike towns, which have been reworked by commercial and industrial development, the countryside is imagined to have remained largely immune from such developments; it preserves an earlier world hidden away in villages, churchyards and woodlands. Indeed, the impression is that traces of the past remain barely concealed and awaiting discovery.

Such a view of the countryside could only arise when the majority of the population lived in towns and was separated from its rural roots by a generation and more. By the last decades of the nineteenth century it was possible for the urban middle class to regard the countryside as place of renewal and escape from the dirt of the town. Such ideas found their literary expression in William Morris's *News from Nowhere* (1888), and it was natural that followers of Morris, inspired by his vision of guilds of workers, should look to the countryside as the place where communities of artisans could be established. The best known of these was C. R. Ashbee's community of craft-workers at Chipping Camden which moved there from London in 1902, but this was far from the only one. Similar groups were established in 1896 at Haslemere (Surrey) by Godfrey Blount, a friend of Ashbee, and at Ditchling (East Sussex) in 1907 by Eric Gill.[2] The Haslemere community, named the Peasant Arts Society, sought to re-establish a connection between production and vernacular traditions. But it also had a wider aim, namely 'to make a Country Movement… effect the re-population of England and the restoration to our people of their Hands, their Faith and their Country-side'.[3]

There was an obvious affinity between the Arts and

Crafts movement inspired by Ruskin's rejection of industrial production, Morris's idealisation of medieval society and the emerging conservation movement of the late nineteenth century. In 1878 Morris had founded the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings which was particularly concerned with the standards and manner of restoration of churches. Ashbee took this concern in another direction and in 1894 played a formative role in establishing the Watch Committee to record and protect London's architectural heritage. From this small organisation emerged The Survey of London, which from 1910 received official support from London County Council to record the history and architecture of the metropolis. Ashbee was also associated with the other emerging conservation body of that period, the National Trust. This was established in 1895 both to preserve places of natural beauty and historic interest, and Ashbee joined its committee the following year.[4] The founders of the National Trust held many of the views associated with Ruskin. Indeed, two of them, Hardwicke Rawnsley and Octavia Hill, owed their acquaintance to an introduction made by him. Even before the foundation of the Trust, both had also been involved in the fight to preserve public access to open spaces, as had the third founder, Robert Hunter, who had presented the legal arguments for saving Epping Forest from enclosure.[5] The mutual interests of the National Trust in preserving places of historic interest and those of local archaeological societies were signalled when the latter were invited to become affiliates, and by 1903 a full 18 had done so.[6]

A key figure linking the Arts and Crafts movement with an interest in the historic landscape was Heywood Sumner. Sumner combined the developing interest in earthworks fostered by the Congress of Archaeological Societies through its Ancient Earthworks Committee with an artistic style which was derived from Arts and Crafts illustration. He demonstrated that it was possible to undertake both scientific survey and sensitive draughtsmanship, neither of which was particularly notable in, for example, Hadrian Allcroft's *Earthwork of England* of 1908,[7] or the early volumes of the *Victoria County History,* which catalogued earthworks on a county-by-county basis. In the hands of a skilled illustrator the hachure survey was developed into an extremely subtle means of depicting changes in slope and a key tool in the emergence of analytic survey. This is seen, for instance, in the first of the volumes, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Hertfordshire* (published in 1911), of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments for England, set up in 1908 to record by inventory monuments which predated 1700, and to make recommendations for their preservation. The hachure technique was developed particularly by H. S. Toms. Toms was an exceptionally good observer and surveyor of earthworks and a fine illustrator, able to produce not only clear plans, but also passable illustrations in Sumner's style.[8] In spite of his own skill, from 1913 a number of his surveys were drawn up for publication by Robert Gurd, a professional draughtsman and, according to a recent appraisal, 'a man whose style and achievement have rarely been bettered'. Gurd retained some elements of the whimsy of Arts and Crafts style in, for example, the Roman legionary whose serves as the north point of a map of a Roman station drawn in 1923, or the depiction of a folded corner of a map in a plan the previous year, though on the whole his work was functional rather than ornamental.[9]

The transition from an appreciation and recording of individual sites to a realisation that they were part of wider archaeological landscapes was only possible with the development of aerial photography which revealed the extent of remains, both upstanding and those that survived as soil marks. The publication by O. G. S. Crawford of a paper on aerial photography, together with the accompanying map, established simultaneously both the ubiquity of remains and the potential for archaeology to place them in some sort of chronological order. Crawford introduced the term 'Celtic fields' to described the remains of Iron Age and Roman agriculture and distinguished them from 'Saxon' agriculture marked by strip lynchets. He recalled an early June morning when, flying over Salisbury Plain, he realised that the greater part of the zone was covered with traces of 'Celtic fields'.[10] The implications of Crawford's discovery were immense. It suggested not only that the landscape had occasional and often large fragments of the past on show, such as henges and cairns or larger monuments such as hill-forts, but it also indicated that much more had survived into the present, inscribed on the ground.

Figure 1.1. Maurice Beresford at Wharram Percy, 1962. (Photo: Brenda Rose, reproduced by kind permission of Paul Stamper)

Indeed, he saw that it was possible to reconstruct entire landscapes of the past from aerial photography and ground survey.

Yet, in spite of these insights, Crawford was able to dismiss the medieval or later animal enclosure recorded on an aerial photograph of Cherhill Down (Wiltshire) with the comment that 'The earthworks on this plate are none of them of any particular interest'.[11] The recognition of the significance of medieval remains and the contribution of that period to the present landscape in fact had to wait until the period after the Second World War. It was not that earlier fieldworkers had ignored the copious medieval remains – after all, under Crawford's supervision as Archaeological Officer, they had been carefully noted in the Ordnance Survey records[12] – but they had either not been recognised for what they were, or had been regarded as less significant when considered alongside prehistoric and Roman earthworks.

The revelation which had to wait until the 1950s was that the medieval remains on aerial photographs were just one element of a broader historic landscape. Hedges, road, villages, standing buildings and churches could be considered alongside the humps and bumps of ridge and furrow, and of tofts and crofts, to allow a broad view of the landscape of the Middle Ages. That resource opened up by W. G. Hoskins and Maurice Beresford was a natural extension of Crawford's discovery from the air. He had established the concept of the ancient landscape which could be viewed from the air and mapped from photographs and on the ground. Beresford (Figure 1.1) appreciated that aerial photographs provided a unique and informative resource and duly included them in *The Lost Villages of England.* He took this further in 1958 when he published, in co-operation with J.K.S. St Joseph, a volume of aerial photographs of the medieval remains of Britain, which was almost as influential, at least among those studying the period, as Crawford's photographs of the earthworks of the chalk downland had been 30 years earlier.[13]

The implications of a wider perspective apparent from the air and from the ground took a long time to absorb, for it required moving from the concept of the archaeological site to an appreciation of the ubiquity of remains of the past. The particular genius of Hoskins and Beresford was to take the further leap and realise that archaeology did not remain merely in the ground, but also in numerous features in the countryside. That idea was so radical that the ramifications of it were still being worked out some decades later. Indeed, it took until the late 1980s for Stuart Wrathmell finally to make the connection between the 'ephemeral' buildings excavated by archaeologists and standing structures. He argued that the sole difference was that those which were excavated had been abandoned and standing buildings had been continued to be maintained.[14] Rackham's discussion of trees and woodland was no less important, for it showed that the living vegetation also reflected the medieval countryside. Indeed, some coppice trees were of medieval origin and had survived over many centuries through a continuous cycle of cutting and re-growth.[15]

It is not necessary to discuss in detail the history of the study of medieval settlement here. That is

considered in Chapter 2 by Paul Everson and Chris Dyer below. Instead, it is useful to set the emergence of the study into the broader intellectual context. The end of the Second World War marked a new interest in planning the environment, a process of constructing new buildings while preserving the remains of the past. The National Buildings Record had been set up during the course of the war to take stock of the number of historic buildings and to save them from unthinking destruction; the Town and Country Planning Acts of 1944 and 1947 allowed for the listing and recording of these before they were demolished.[16] The study of vernacular buildings was gradually developing under the direction of R. A. Cordingley who became Professor of Architecture in 1946 at Manchester University. His interest had developed during his time as architect to the National Coal Board and a wish to ensure that new houses adopted the local vernacular.[17] Such an approach was itself derived from the Arts and Crafts concern to follow the style established by the local vernacular.[18]

The influence of the Arts and Crafts aesthetic also continued to be felt in the study of earthworks. The carefully surveyed earthworks recorded in the volumes prepared by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England in the 1960s and 1970s continued to be depicted with hand-drawn hachures, and even the most recent advice note includes a plan drawn in that manner. Matthew Johnson sees such surveys as potentially seductive, noting that, in contrast with a standard line plan, 'a well-executed hachured plan is far more aesthetically pleasing, an object of beauty'.[19]

This brief summary of the intellectual genealogy of the study of medieval rural settlement studies has, we hope, emphasised the way in which it grew out the Ruskinite vision of the past, as developed by William Morris and his followers. The emerging interest in the Middle Ages was not a dry historicism, but sprang from a sense of the relevance of the past to the present. This was expressed not only in a passion to preserve and record what remained, but in a view that the virtues of the past, particularly of the countryside, had been lost. There was a further element. Running through the thought of Morris, Ashbee and Crawford, as well as more recent workers, including the historian Rodney Hilton and the authority on vernacular buildings, Eric Mercer, was a left-wing streak. Maurice Beresford certainly had this, although it was expressed less in dogma (Robin Glasscock's *Independent* obituary of 14.1.2006 classified him politically as 'old Labour') than in practical concern and help for the educationally or socially underprivileged. After spells of wartime social work in London and Birmingham (while registered as a Conscientious Objector), he was appointed warden of an adult education centre in Rugby; here it was, in 1945 (aged 25), that he made the seminal identification of the remains of the lost village of Bittesby village in Leicestershire. Those who had fallen into criminality were a particular and lifelong concern of his; in the 1950s and 1960s approved school (borstal) boys were given the opportunity to do 'hearty' work like trench-opening and backfilling at Wharram, and for much of his life he was a prison visitor: among the interests noted in his 2005 *Who's Who* entry was 'delinquency'.[20] The radicalism of other scholars of the medieval countryside was similarly expressed less politically but rather in religious non-conformity, in a sense of social inclusivity and in a belief in the rejuvenating possibilities of countryside and the right of public access. These various ideas recurred throughout the twentieth century in many organisations with different emphases and in new combinations, like the transparent objects viewed through the eyepiece of a kaleidoscope.

The purpose of trying, above, to identify the context of medieval landscape studies has not been merely to claim an intellectual ancestry for it, but to argue that it offers a very distinct vision of the past and that it arose out of a sense of political and social engagement. Matthew Johnson, writing about the landscape tradition in British archaeology, sought, as others have, to place Hoskins at the centre of the study. From the perspective offered here, Hoskins's lack of a radical and socially inclusive perspective, and the expressions of a conservative, lapsarian regret which permeate *The Making of the English Landscape*, place him somewhat apart from the tradition.[21] However, the argument is fundamentally not about whether Hoskins was or was not aligned with the tradition of landscape study, but rather about the approach of the study to the landscape.

The case presented here is that implicit in much of

the writing about medieval settlement and landscape has been an engagement with the past driven more strongly than is normal in historical studies by a wish to help understand and to inform contemporary society. It is argued that medieval settlement and landscape studies have not lacked a theoretical position, though it has not as much to the fore as in prehistoric archaeology. Instead, the relationship of the past to the present runs like an under-current through many works on the medieval rural landscape. The arguments presented in Alan MacFarlane's *The Origins of English Individualism* and Hilton's response to it were all about contemporary politics.[22] *The Origins* may not have been a book about the landscape specifically, but it was about the character of medieval rural society. Once we appreciate an implicit social engagement is a feature in a number of studies on the medieval countryside, then it is possible to understand some of its preoccupations. It is arguable that one of the aspects behind the continuing fascination with the emergence of the village is not merely an historical problem about a certain geographical form of settlement, but an interest in the appearance of a social formation, the village community.

This brings us to the final point which is to affirm that prehistoric and medieval landscape archaeology have taken separate paths. Johnson has noted that late medieval archaeologists, with access also to a rich documentary record, avoid using the abstract and generalising terms of their prehistoric or even their early medieval counterparts, preferring to use historically specific language: feudalism is chosen instead of the less specific notion of social power.[23] The reasons for this should now be clear. It is not just that instead of using abstractions, late medievalists happen to use context-specific terminology; it is that the late Middle Ages, in particular, matter. They are far enough away to be apart from us, but sufficiently similar to us to be imaginable and relevant. The medieval rural landscape is the place at which the past and the present meet, and the context in which ideas of what we are and how we view ourselves are being worked out.

The present: new thoughts and questions

This book does not adopt a single or fixed position on the character of the medieval countryside, and there is certainly no party line. The views here are as diverse as the authors. The book overall takes its origins from discussions within the committee gatherings of the Medieval Settlement Research Group (MSRG). Here it was recognised that, despite the valuable outputs of the Group in terms of Spring and Winter seminars and day conferences, along with its well-respected journal (now *Medieval Settlement Research*, formerly the *Annual Report of the Medieval Settlement Research Group*) and Policy Statements distributed and accessible via the website, there was no monograph published by the Group that embodied and flagged the scale, variety and depth of research on medieval rural settlement undertaken by its members across so many years. This new volume is, put simply, designed to fill that gap and to act as a flagship publication, highlighting the very active field of rural settlement studies in Britain and the input of MSRG members into that field. As readers of the journal will know, a rich range of work, whether derived from field-work, documentary history or even laboratory studies, is frequently reported, each year adding new insights into the sequences and forms of settlement, land use and human presences in different counties and regions, while also showing the ways that theory can be applied or old studies and data re-interpreted. The journal also draws on MA and PhD studies and casts its net into Europe too.

There is no need here to identify in detail the roots of the MSRG (see instead the valuable introduction by Chris Taylor in *Deserted Villages Revisited*),[24] but it is pertinent to observe how the first incarnation, the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group, coincided with the start of the major, widely recognised village excavations led by the late John Hurst and Maurice Beresford at Wharram Percy in North Yorkshire from 1950: while the detailed publications attached to this long-term project of excavation, survey, finds analysis, etc. only began to appear from the late 1970s (see Chapter 15, this volume), and with the final volume (XIII) due in 2012, the MSRG, active as a formal body from 1986, has not had a single attached project (with related monographs) as its own flagship. Nonetheless, its name has been attached to a number of surveys and projects, most notably the AHRC-funded Whittlewood project from 2002–04,[25] and to a significant AHRC-funded programme of workshops and seminars held across Britain and Northern Ireland

in 2007 entitled 'Perceptions of Medieval Landscape and Settlement':[26] the first was influential in providing new data and methodologies for assessing village origins, growth and economic interactions in the Midlands; the second consisted of highly stimulating sessions on a variety of theoretical and related themes such as 'Planning and Meaning', 'Working and Sharing' and 'Belonging, Communication and Interaction', which have seen an impact in subsequent projects and publications.

The MSRG recently produced two essential documents which are of high relevance to this new publication on rural settlement in medieval Britain. Our *Revised Policy Statement*, naturally drawing upon various published or online Regional Research Agendas and Resource Assessments,[27] offered both an agenda of study and a strategy of research and related priorities, observing how studies have evolved or, in some instances, not evolved.[28] The Statement pointed to a continuing emphasis on deserted sites and a neglect of smaller rural units such as hamlets and individual farms and of active rural seats, and to failures to draw adequately on developer-led field results. It identified also how many Historic Environment Records (HERs) offer a sometimes sketchy record of medieval rural settlement and their variations, which makes the research task problematic; at the same time, it recognised that related work on medieval rural landscapes is still uneven between counties.

The second key report was a Research Review,[29] covering the decade between 1996 and 2006: drawing together the main strands of a vast array of research in archaeological, historical, environmental and other science-based fields, the Review could identify a much enhanced image of rural Britain across the mid-first to mid-second millennium AD, one benefiting from closer interrogation and interpretation of the structural and material data, and also from increased co-operation between disciplines – witnessed, for example, in the Whittlewood project, integrating archaeology survey, excavation (including test-pitting in existing villages), standing building survey, geomorphological study, pollen studies, and toponymic analysis, with data gathered, mapped and analysed via a GIS (Figure 1.2).

But although this Review identified extensive academic contributions, with papers, projects and some regional overviews – key publications among these being Lewis *et al.* (1997), Hooke ed. (2000), Roberts and Wrathmell (2002), Govan ed. (2003) for Scottish medieval and later rural sites, Roberts ed. (2006a) on deserted sites in Wales, and Turner ed. (2006c) on Devon and Cornwall, and bolstered since by the 'Landscape History after Hoskins' volumes (Gardiner and Rippon (eds) 2007), centred on medieval landscapes, and Barnwell and Palmer eds (2007) for the post-medieval period) and Rippon (2008) – it remains the case that an up-to-date academic volume bringing together surveys (oriented by period and region) for all of medieval Britain is lacking and long overdue. Beresford and Hurst's *Deserted Medieval Villages* (1971) was the first major overview of the subject, and especially of the contribution of archaeology, since Beresford's *Lost Villages* of 1954. Studies since then, such as Aston *et al.*, *The Rural Settlements of Medieval England* (1989), while often reporting important work (which has, of course, regularly appeared as site-specific studies in journals such as *Landscape History*, county journals and the *Annual Reports* of the MSRG), have not attempted comprehensive coverage. This fuller MSRG publication is thus timely, enabling scholars to reflect on work generated in regions across Britain and to provide an essential guide for new scholars wanting to start or to expand their studies in medieval rural settlement. The volume is also, on many levels, responding to Chris Taylor's view nearly 20 years ago, that 'The last thirty years' work in medieval rural settlement in England has not produced any clear pattern. Indeed, matters have become increasingly complex and confused.'[30]

This present volume thus has four main objectives: (i) to identify and characterise the range of medieval expressions in the landscape of Britain; (ii) to highlight the value and significance of exploring the variety of medieval rural settlement forms; (iii) to consider connections and differences between regions; and (iv) to flag current research targets and methods, gaps in knowledge, and routes for future study. The book is organised into two main parts: the first comprises papers introducing the roots of investigation into medieval rural settlement, the evolution of the methods of study of sites

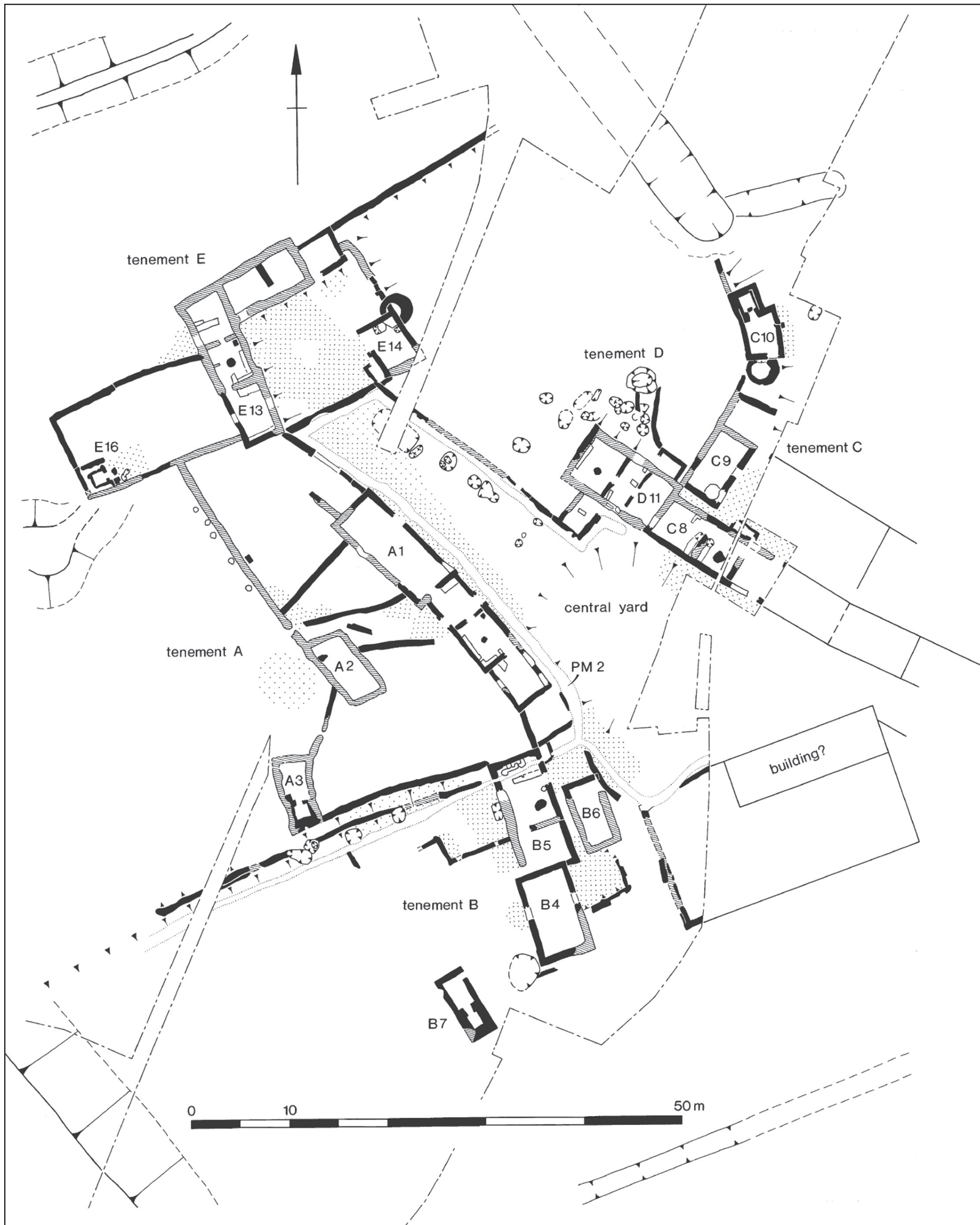

Figure 1.2. West Cotton, Raunds, Northamptonshire. While published after the MSRG Research Review for 1996–2006, this major excavation, undertaken in the later 1980s, successfully integrates an array of techniques and approaches to interpreting early medieval and medieval settlement sites. The plan here relates to c. *AD 1300 when an earlier, small manorial complex was abandoned and the site redeveloped as a hamlet of up to seven tenements. Several of these, with three-roomed houses (kitchen cross-passage chamber and open hall), were arranged either side of a funnel-shaped central yard. But by 1350 the hamlet was shrinking, that process continuing until by around 1450 West Cotton was no more. (Plan reproduced by kind permission of Northamptonshire Archaeology)*

and landscapes, and the principal chronological developments and structural types. Part II consists of a number of regional surveys, some based on individual counties, or groups of counties and regions, or on country, but each providing up-to-date statements on research in those spaces regarding settlement forms and landscape impacts across the full early medieval to late medieval periods. We should point out that the regional survey chapters were not designed to provide full or in any way comprehensive coverage of all areas of Britain, but they explore a sizeable and, we hope, representative sample. Distinctive to these papers is the inclusion of 'feature boxes', presented to highlight a theme or aspect of particular relevance or visibility for that zone and to summarise specific key sites, one of which readers can visit on the ground. For example, in the chapter by Sam Turner and Rob Wilson-North (Chapter 9), the selected topic is 'Dispersed settlement' and the featured sites are Mawgan Porth (Cornwall) and Badgworthy on Exmoor. Finally, an Appendix offers a practical guide to how (and where) to initiate and undertake study (in archive and on foot) on medieval rural settlement in the UK and Ireland.

What key themes and arguments stand out in this body of research? To a degree it is not the task of the editors to highlight specific elements since these may simply appeal most to our own research leanings, and each reader will hopefully draw their own conclusions and points of debate as they read through the papers. But there are evident foci of debate which will naturally emerge and which we simply list here:

(a) village origins and early medieval land patterns
(b) the extension of village forms and questions of planning
(c) variabilities of settlement forms, identifying persistences of dispersed forms
(d) structural forms and developments
(e) field systems and land use
(f) economics and markets
(g) landscape manipulation and conflicts with the environment
(h) parks and woodlands
(i) populations in villages and on the land
(j) status and the land: authorities and patrons – landlords, Church, monasteries as agents of change
(k) interconnections between farms and village and between villages and towns
(l) chronological and economic peaks and troughs
(m) depths and coverage of research, from site to landscape. What new techniques are being or should be deployed? Where should the next stages of research lead us? How well are the varied data sources being integrated?

We need also to stress how the papers here are not meant to be identikit texts, with the same issues raised and debated; each author or pair of authors draws on their own experiences and necessarily draws on the often diverse types of evidence to hand to provide a current image. For some the balance may be more to the later medieval period; for others the emphasis lies in the pre- and immediate post-Conquest centuries; for others still the nature of the land and of the population dictates the themes discussed; and in some cases the manipulation of the land and its resources provides the key angle of debate.

This is, therefore, the work of many scholars, themselves variously drawn from universities, national heritage bodies, national parks, commercial archaeological units, county councils and museums. Thus, finally, the editors would like to acknowledge the numerous contributing authors: the line-up has undergone some transformations since the project was first planned, but we thank all those who have responded to requests to fill in a variety of gaps that emerged *en route* to the end product. All contributors are to be thanked for following guidelines closely, thereby saving the editors much time, and for speedy responses to referee and editorial comments and suggestions. We are very grateful for Chris Taylor for contributing a typically brisk Foreword and for his advice during the compilation of the book. The editors acknowledge a publication subvention from the MSRG itself to help in the production costs of the volume. We thank Oxbow Books for agreeing to take on the publication within the Windgather series, and are grateful to Clare Litt and Tara Evans for seeing things through in Oxford for us; we also pass thanks to Jane Olorenshaw for her highly efficient and accurate indexing and copy-editing work. Lastly we would like to recognise all members, past and present, of the MSRG for their input across seminars, fieldtrips, projects, articles in the journal, ideas at conferences, wider fieldwork and research, and from correspondence, who have thereby provided much of the meat which has found its way into

this volume. We hope that, like the MSRG Policy Statement, this volume will do much to inform and guide current and future researchers into medieval rural settlements, landscapes and populations across Britain and elsewhere.

Notes

1 Beresford 1954, 273. The impressive site in question was Thorpe le Glebe, Nottinghamshire.
2. Cumming and Kaplan 1991, 71.
3. Myzelev 2009, 601.
4. Crawford 1985, 57–66, 94; Hobhouse 1987, 25–30.
5. Fedden 1968, 4–7.
6. Fedden 1968, 12
7. Allcroft 1908.
8. Bradley 1989. For an illustration by Toms in Sumner's style, see Toms 1922, fig. 5. See also Bowden (ed.) 1999, 19–22.
9. Curwen and Curwen 1922, 33; Goddard 2000, 7; Winbolt 1923, 82.
10. Crawford 1923, 349, 352; Crawford and Keiller 1928, 7.
11. Crawford and Keiller 1928, 234.
12. Hauser 2008, 60–64.
13. Beresford 1954; Beresford and St Joseph 1958. See also Gerrard and Rippon 2007, 531–532.
14. Wrathmell 1989.
15. Rackham 1976.
16. Croad 1989, 24–25; O'Neil 1948, 34–35.
17. Quiney 1994, 229.
18. For a recent discussion in the context of the Lake District, see Whittaker 2011, 100–102.
19. English Heritage 2007; Johnson 2007, 95. See also Brown 1987, chapters 3 and 4; Bowden (ed.) 1999, 52–67 on drawn surveys.
20. Glasscock 2009.
21. Matless 1998, 274–277; Matless 2002, 87–94.
22. Hilton 1980; Macfarlane 1978; White and Vann 1983.
23. Gardiner and Rippon 2009, 70, citing Johnson 2007, 59–60.
24. Taylor 2010.
25. Jones and Page 2006.
26. Dyer 2007.
27. E.g. Petts and Gerrard (eds) 2006; Cooper (ed.) 2006.
28. MSRG 2007.
29. Gardiner 2006a. See also MSRG website: http://www.britarch.ac.uk/msrg/
30. Taylor 1992, 9. This key paper in fact is one where Taylor revisits his own earlier views of patterns and sites, including Whiteparish, noted in his Foreword to this book.

CHAPTER 2

The Development of the Study of Medieval Settlements, 1880–2010

Christopher Dyer and Paul Everson

Beginnings, 1880–1915

British intellectuals before 1880 took remarkably little academic interest in the history of villages, peasants or fields, although many of them were employed by institutions with rural estates. Victorian historians' interest in the medieval countryside developed as an offshoot of their central preoccupation with constitutional history. Even as they explored the government of the manor and village, they were broad-minded enough to see that an understanding of village plans and the layout of fields might help to elucidate the hides, ploughlands and tenures which were their main focus of interest. Accordingly, an excellent plan of the settlement and fields of Hitchin (Hertfordshire) was used to illustrate Seebohm's discussion of the English village community published in 1883.[1] In a response designed to demonstrate the Germanic rather than the Roman antecedents of English rural society, F. W. Maitland in 1897 illustrated the point that the vill in Domesday Book could have been either a nucleated village or a group of dispersed settlements, by reproducing two sections of Ordnance Survey maps, contrasting 'A land of villages' (in the Thames valley) with 'A land of hamlets' in Devon.[2] Both scholars were familiar with the geographical advances made by Meitzen, who classified the plan forms of the villages of Germany, and made historical deductions about their origin and function. No British geographer or historian attempted to imitate this German research on a large scale, though H. L. Gray published in 1915 a gazetteer of field systems, and drew a map which is still reproduced.[3] He identified the 'midland system', characterised by the division of the village territory into two or three open fields, which predominated in a broad belt running through the country from Co. Durham in the North-East down to Dorset.

The thinking of all these scholars was influenced by an ethnic approach – that is, identifying the Germanic, Celtic and Roman influences on fields, settlements and manors – which was rejected during the twentieth century.

Archaeology in 1883–1915 was still emerging as an academic subject, being mainly practised at universities by classicists and a growing number of prehistorians. The study of medieval settlements, however, was left to antiquarians. The early county historians such as Dugdale (for Warwickshire, in 1656) and Bridges, whose history of Northamptonshire was published in 1791, commented on deserted village sites.[4] The earliest excavations were of course carried out by amateurs, or by scholars without any special expertise. The excavations at Woodperry (Oxfordshire) have a claim to have been first in the field as they were published in 1846, and trenches had been dug into a number of deserted villages by the time that St Clair Baddeley produced useful plans of buildings from his work at Hullasey (Gloucestershire) in 1910. A hamlet site in Cornwall, Trewortha, was excavated by Baring-Gould with worthwhile results in the 1890s.[5]

Scientific approaches, 1915–1945

Between the wars the historical study of medieval rural society and agriculture was making great advances, in which broad questions about social structure, estate management and money rents were answered critically by analysis of written sources.[6] Much of the writing was at too high a level of generality to deal at length with particular places, though N. S. B. and E. C. Gras devoted a book to Crawley (Hampshire), and the Orwins' work on the open fields used Laxton (Nottinghamshire) as its principal example.[7] The quality of the work reflected the advance of economic history as a discipline under the strong influence of the social sciences. Historical geography, also emerging as a highly professional sub-discipline, was applied to the systematic mapping of historical data, which is best displayed in the first edition (1936) of H. C. Darby's *An Historical Geography of England before AD 1800*, in which authors such as Darby himself and R. A. Pelham illustrated their chapters with maps of counties, regions and the whole country showing such features as cloth-making centres. Noticeably, the section on the English village has maps of population densities derived from Domesday, but no plan of a village.[8]

Archaeology began to engage seriously with medieval rural settlements in the 1930s, thanks to the efforts of pioneering scholars who realised the potential value of excavated material evidence. Christopher Hawkes, a prehistorian with a broad imaginative approach, noted in 1937 the many deserted village sites available for excavation, and saw their potential: 'an archaeologist's picture of a fourteenth-century English peasant community would be a unique contribution…'[9] Notable projects of the 1930s included the identification and excavation by Aileen Fox of thirteenth-century houses on Gelligaer Common (Glamorgan), which could have belonged either to permanently inhabited farmsteads or to shielings occupied only during the summer grazing season.[10] Meanwhile, Martin Jope excavated a farmstead on Dartmoor and R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford began work on the deserted village of Seacourt on the outskirts of Oxford.[11] Excavators were thus successfully engaging with key problems for advancing the subject: that is the recognition of the remains of medieval peasant buildings, and the dating of occupation by means of locally made pottery.

The subject takes off, 1945–1979

The great expansion in medieval settlement studies came about in the 1940s because of the systematic investigation of deserted medieval villages (DMVs). The new energy in academic life after the end of World War II, with its democratic and progressive inspiration, promoted subjects which shed light on the lives of ordinary people in the past. Students in adult education classes, which both W. G. Hoskins and Maurice Beresford taught, were enthusiastic for archaeology and local history.[12] Hoskins's research contribution was to identify sites in Leicestershire, and Beresford did the same in Warwickshire; their findings received wider recognition in June 1948 when a gathering of academics from a seminar in Cambridge, led by M. M. Postan, visited sites in Leicestershire.[13] Both Beresford and Hoskins combined documentary research with analysis of maps and fieldwork – something which would now be called interdisciplinary – and would eventually lay the foundations of landscape history. Hoskins regarded deserted villages as an important dimension of economic history, but they were not for him an all-consuming passion; Beresford, however, building on his Warwickshire research, devoted himself single-mindedly to the subject for some years, and this enabled him to write the *Lost Villages of England*, published in 1954.[14] The scope of the work was further extended in 1952 when John Hurst from Cambridge took over the direction of excavations which Beresford had begun in perhaps rather amateurish fashion at Wharram Percy, though Beresford remained as a collaborator (Figure 2.1). In the same year the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group was founded, which brought together a combination of archaeologists, geographers and historians, and included both professionals and local enthusiasts.[15] One of the Group's objectives was to compile and circulate county lists of DMVs, selected according to a rigorous and consistent set of criteria. Some of these were published separately, notably for Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire,[16] but all of the lists were assembled into a national gazetteer and distribution map which were published in 1971 as part of a volume of 'studies' of deserted medieval villages. The lists continued to be refined and extended through the 1970s.[17] The majority of the DMVs lay

in a belt of counties, from Northumberland down through the East Midlands to Dorset and Hampshire. It was initially believed that more could be found in such counties as Shropshire, Lancashire or Essex, but it was realised eventually that they were largely absent from both western and south-eastern counties because the settlement pattern there was dominated by hamlets and isolated farms – there were few deserted villages because there had been few villages.

Among tens of thousands of medieval rural settlements in Britain, why were the 2,263 deserted villages (revised upwards to 2,813 in 1977) the principal interest of researchers for so long? They represented a minority of the larger settlements which we have agreed to call villages, and an even smaller percentage of settlements as a whole. Noticeably, no other type of archaeological site is described by reference to its present inhabited or uninhabited state – for example, there are no 'deserted Roman villas' or 'deserted castles'. Alongside the deserted medieval sites were a larger number of villages that were much reduced in size, and many hamlets and farmsteads have also been abandoned or have shrunk. A very high proportion of medieval settlements, however, are still inhabited, so survival should be regarded as a normal experience of villages, hamlets and farmsteads. Perhaps part of the explanation for the high profile of the deserted villages lies in the romantic sense of loss associated with abandonment, and a further note of drama was added by Beresford's explanation of desertions, which he believed were caused by the expulsion of the peasantry by a greedy upper class attracted by the profits of the sheep pasture that replaced the village and its fields. *Lost Villages*, which conveys the excitement of discovery, as well as regret for the destruction of communities and some indignation at past injustices, was written attractively for a wide readership.

The advantage of extending research beyond deserted villages became widely accepted, and in 1971 it was decided that the word 'Deserted' should be dropped and that the title 'Medieval Village Research Group' better described the research interests of the Group's members.

Archaeologists were drawn to the deserted villages for very practical reasons. First, they provided an opportunity to study village plans as surviving earthworks. Much of the thinking about plan forms was after all based on maps of existing villages, which may have recently changed their shape. The well-preserved deserted village, with its streets, boundaries, houses and other features fossilised in the modern landscape since the last inhabitants left in, say, AD 1400 or 1500, tells us about the last phase of the medieval settlement. Secondly, the deserted village site also provided an opportunity for excavation: in surviving villages, much of the earlier evidence is inaccessible or has been destroyed, whereas excavation in a deserted village has a better chance of recovering information about houses, artefacts, layout and origin.

In the three decades after scientific excavation began at Wharram Percy, single houses in deserted village sites were dug in different parts of the country (though in no way in a co-ordinated fashion), and these samples, such as Holworth (Dorset) and Martinsthorpe (Rutland), contributed usefully to building up knowledge of local styles of building and house plans.[18] At least a dozen village sites were excavated much more extensively, although reports were published sometimes 20 or more years after the work was completed, and, sadly, some are still awaited. On three sites, West Whelpington (Northumberland), Great Linford (Buckinghamshire) (Figure 2.2) and Caldecote (Hertfordshire), the excavated area extended over a high proportion of the whole village.[19] A number of hamlets and farmsteads were excavated, many of them in the South-West (Devon and Cornwall) but also in Wales, Shropshire and North Yorkshire.[20] Although all of the sites were occupied in the Middle Ages, Cowlam (East Yorkshire), Great Linford, Riplingham (East Yorkshire) and West Whelpington were not abandoned until the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[21]

Much of this digging involved little or no public expense, as labour was provided by volunteers or unpaid students. Many of the directors had 'taught themselves' about medieval archaeology, having come into the profession from many walks of life; if they had archaeology degrees, they had not necessarily taken courses on the medieval period.[22] They did not in those days have to justify their choice of site, or define their aims by providing a 'research design'. Beresford's initial objective was to establish that there was a settlement under the visible earthworks, and this was readily proved by finding building materials,

Figure 2.1. Maurice Beresford (left) and John Hurst at Wharram Percy in 1979 (Photo: Paul Stamper).

Figure 2.2. Great Linford, Buckinghamshire: area excavation in 1975 in advance of development for Milton Keynes new town, showing Building 10. Despite superficially good preservation, extrapolating details of the above-ground form of medieval houses can be problematic. This example may have had a long and complex structural history before abandonment in the fifteenth century. A broad cross passage (beyond the circular oven) bounds the far-side hall, suggesting longhouse origins. Yet rather than a byre, the middle room apparently served as a kitchen or second living room, and that nearest the camera a dairy or buttery. (Photo: Paul Stamper)

pottery and artefacts, which were often only thinly covered by turf. It was some time, however, before the earthworks were fully explained – the large depressions which puzzled many visitors to deserted village sites were identified in the 1970s as farmyards which had become depressed by the wear and tear to their surface, and through constant removal of earth and dung.[23] One of the other main aims of the Wharram excavations was to provide archaeological evidence for the date of desertion, which was not precisely recorded in the documents. (The excavation reports are listed chronologically after the Notes at the end of this chapter.) It could eventually be said that a few pieces of pottery and artefacts found on the main village site could be dated to the early sixteenth century.[24] On the other excavated sites the last phase of occupation varied between the eleventh and the nineteenth centuries, with a considerable number coming between 1380 and 1600. Hurst's more ambitious agenda was rather similar to that expressed by Hawkes in 1937: namely to explore the material culture of the peasants. At the back of the minds of excavators of many sites was the hope that the history of the village could be pushed back to the Anglo-Saxon period. It was not known with any certainty if settlement plans had changed, or had remained much the same for centuries. As Roman and prehistoric artefacts and pottery often figured among the finds, the possibility even arose of long-term continuity of occupation.

The recovery of house plans was the primary objective of many excavations. This could be pursued as a realistic aim because, unlike many Roman or prehistoric sites, the outlines of the walls were visible as earthworks in the turf, and the mode of open-area excavation, which became universal following the success of the Wharram model, could be designed to include the whole building with as much of the surroundings as possible. Exposing the building foundation often posed no problems, because many of the excavations selected sites in regions with easily obtained building stone – such as the moorlands of the South-West, chalk country in the southern downlands or the Yorkshire wolds, and the Cotswolds. As excavation skills developed, it became possible to recover house plans from sites such as Barton Blount (Derbyshire) and 'Goltho' (Lincolnshire) on the midland clays where stone was very scarce, and walls were marked by lines of pad stones or even more subtle signs. The pioneer of these sensitive techniques, Guy Beresford, also applied them at Caldecote (Hertfordshire) (Figure 2.3).[25]

Figure 2.3. Caldecote, Hertfordshire, July 1976. Guy Beresford drives the digger, while a volunteer uses an onion hoe to clean the surface. (Photo: Jonathan Hunn)

In buildings in the regions with stone walls standing as high as a metre, such details as built-in seats or ovens were preserved. It was sometimes supposed that the walls were built high, up to the eaves, but often low foundations supported walls of timber and wattle and daub, or sometimes of cob or clay. Most buildings were between 8 m and 15 m long and 4–5 m wide, and were divided into two or three spaces or rooms.[26] Doors tended to be placed in the long walls. Floors were of earth or chalk, or sometimes attempts had been made to give them a stony or pebbly surface. Roofs were seen to be usually of thatch, though there might be a small number of stone slates or ceramic tiles, perhaps placed around the smoke hole. Hearths were sited either in the middle of the floor or against a wall, the former implying an open hearth below a smoke hole, with no chimney or smoke hood.

Houses provoked controversy, focusing on their construction, durability and functions. Timber-framed buildings survived in large numbers, and were being studied by members of the Vernacular Architecture Group. The standing buildings were not closely datable, however, and no-one was sure about which social group built and occupied them. It was widely believed that excavations would reveal the structure of the 'authentic' peasant house, which was likely to be inferior to the Wealden houses of the

South-East or the cruck houses of western England and Wales. It was suggested that the walls and roofs of the excavated houses would have been made of rough branches rather than solid timbers. In general it was argued that houses were so insubstantial that they were rebuilt at regular intervals, but by 1979 in the case of Wharram this idea had been quietly discarded.[27]

The function and layout of buildings provoked more debate. The typical peasant house, it was argued, was the long house, in which animals occupied one end. A building type well known from modern survivals in the highland zone was therefore thought to have been prevalent everywhere, and it was also doubted that there were many specialist agricultural buildings. On sites over much of southern and midland England, however, houses seemed to have been used solely as human dwellings, and barns were identified, at Barton Blount for example.[28] Were buildings with kilns and ovens to be interpreted as barns with facilities for drying and processing grain, or as dwellings with developed food-processing facilities, or as bakehouses or kitchens? Such puzzles were presented at Hangleton (Sussex) and Hound Tor (Devon) (Figure 2.4).[29] Perhaps there were changes over time, and peasant 'farms', with dwellings and agricultural buildings grouped around a yard, emerged at the end of the Middle Ages? At some sites, however, this arrangement was certainly in use in the thirteenth century. But there were real problems in identifying the uses to which rooms and buildings were put, as hearths were not always easily identified, and rooms of all kinds, not just byres, seem to have been provided with drains. Buildings could be changed from one use to another, like the house at Hangleton which was converted into accommodation for animals as pastoral farming expanded at the end of the Middle Ages.[30]

The sample of buildings which was being discussed belonged to the later phases of abandoned settlements, and so much of the debate about construction and function related to houses built and occupied in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This was the period when houses were being founded on stone foundation walls, or on pad stones if stone was scarce. Previously, from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, houses, sometimes similar in plan to those of the later Middle Ages, were constructed using vertical timbers set in post holes, or on horizontal beams. Those which rested on the ground surface, sometimes using clay or cob as their main wall material, left few traces for the excavators except for the edge of floors, or eaves drip-trenches, which defined the outline of the house.[31] Few complete building plans of this period could be obtained from villages deserted in the later medieval period because the later occupation damaged the vestiges of timber buildings, and more useful evidence came from sites abandoned in the early Middle Ages, such as Eaton Socon (Bedfordshire).[32] The transition to stone foundations did not happen in all cases, so buildings constructed entirely of timber and earth persisted in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and beyond. Excavators who may have hoped to find settlements of the fifth and sixth centuries stratified below villages deserted up to a thousand years later were disappointed. Often the earliest phases that could be found were dated to the eleventh or twelfth centuries. A continuous sequence of buildings from the ninth century onwards, which were claimed for some settlements in the South-West, is now thought to be based on a misinterpretation.[33]

The best way of understanding villages in a longer time dimension, however, was not to dig deeper beneath their houses, but to step back and see the village as a whole, and to consider its place in a wider landscape. A complete village consisted of a range of structures, not just the roads, boundaries, ponds and parks, but also the manor houses and churches. These latter buildings were obviously important, but some archaeologists felt uncomfortable with them, and not many were excavated. It was realised that the layout of villages could go through radical changes: at Wharram, the manor house site of the twelfth century was abandoned and used for peasant houses in the thirteenth, while the moated site at Milton (Hampshire) was built on a site previously part of the village.[34] Evidence for replanning of a village on new alignments came from excavations at Wythemail (Northamptonshire) and from analysis of earthworks at Bardolfeston in Dorset.[35] West Whelpington was replanned after a Scottish raid, and tenements at Caldecote were reduced in number and increased in size after the Black Death, and there was also a reorganisation into larger holdings at Hangleton.[36]

The great discovery (or rather rediscovery) was of village planning. Excavations of boundary banks could establish, at Upton in Gloucestershire, for example, that the regular plan of toft boundaries

surrounded by a boundary bank was probably of pre-Conquest origin.[37] In the early and mid-1970s historical geographers argued from analysis of maps and documents that a master plan of almost geometric regularity had been imposed on some northern villages by their lords in the twelfth century or earlier.[38] Colin Platt, who thought about such problems in general terms, pointed out that the community showed signs of a collective orderly mind, and thus argued that not all plans should be attributed to the lords.[39] Villages like Barton Blount grew piecemeal in five phases, as if groups of tofts were added to the settlement as population grew; other villages which merged when separate nuclei expanded could be called polyfocal.[40]

The village lived on the produce of the land in its territory, and it became increasingly common for the research to extend to the fields, woods and pastures surrounding settlements. In this way Lyveden (Northamptonshire) (Figure 2.5) was recognised as one of a number of dispersed settlements that belonged in a woodland landscape, with patches of cultivation and extensive woods which provided its potters and iron workers with fuel.[41] Wade-Martins showed through fieldwalking in Norfolk evidence for the complex movements of settlements from the vicinity of the church to larger nucleations and then to the edges of greens by the twelfth century.[42] The tendencies for villages to increase in size and spread over the landscape in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries fitted the characterisation of these centuries as an age of colonisation and agricultural expansion. Village territories belonged to large ancient estates, for which the term 'multiple estate' was devised by the historical geographer Glanville Jones.[43] Excavated village sites like that at Upton (Gloucestershire) could be assigned a role as a subsidiary settlement on the upland pasture of a great estate based at Blockley, which fitted the model proposed by Jones as it had a pre-Conquest history and may have been a significant land unit in the Roman and prehistoric periods.[44]

Importantly, the tendency to take into account the wider landscape context drew attention to the full range of settlements, including hamlets and farmsteads. Taylor showed that a parish in the woodlands of Wiltshire, Whiteparish, contained a complex array of settlements, large and small.[45] Hamlets were already being excavated, notably in the South-West, but only gradually did researchers adopt an agenda of mapping and listing dispersed settlements, as was done in the case of Dartmoor by Linehan in the mid-1960s.[46] Moated sites were the great exception, because they were the subject of regional studies, leading to a co-ordinated nationwide collection of data in the 1970s, which enabled them to be counted (5,307) and mapped.[47] Some moats were part of the fabric of nucleated villages, but most had a place in patterns of dispersed settlements, especially in low-lying woodland landscapes. They were seen to be concentrated in very large numbers in Essex and Suffolk, and with a significant cluster in the West Midlands. Not just lords of manors and parish clergy, but better-off peasants too could have aspired to live in a house surrounded by a moat. To these could be added a category of dispersed settlement which was definitely imposed from above, namely the monastic grange, which might be found in areas of nucleated settlements, but were often located in wooded country, or on uplands, where lords, both religious and secular, also built establishments for managing stock, namely vaccaries and bercaries.[48]

The various developments sketched above were the results of combinations of disciplines, and especially archaeology and geography. A reference is needed to the achievements of historical geography, which reached its high point in the 1970s. Darby pursued his agenda, already apparent in the 1930s, of mapping Domesday data county-by-county according to a consistent formula, and this was triumphantly completed and celebrated in a general survey of the whole country in 1977.[49] Not only did the series map the population, ploughs, woodland, mills and fisheries of the 1086 survey, but in each county geographical subdivisions were identified in an anticipation of later landscape characterisation. Again by enlisting the contributions of colleagues and coordinating their efforts, he also published in 1973 a historical geography which gave a picture of spatial change over time by analysing slices of evidence for 1086, 1334, 1377 and 1524.[50] These generalised maps gave a background for rural settlements, but lacked local detail. Another group of geographers, led by Darby's students Baker and Butlin, compiled a regional survey of field systems published in 1973, which Trevor Rowley followed by holding a conference in 1978 (later published), which explored the interpretation of

Figure 2.4. Hound Tor, Devon: a longhouse complex, looking outward to more cultivable lands below. (Photo: Paul Stamper)

Figure 2.5. Potters Lyveden, Northamptonshire, 1973: a longhouse (left) stands on one side of a cobbled yard, with a late fifteenth-century tile kiln to the right. Rockingham Forest's ample supplies of clay and wood meant that many of the local villages made pottery and tiles. (Photo: John Steane)

open fields and their origins.[51] The school of historical geography led by Thorpe at Birmingham kept its nose (and eyes) nearer to the ground. Thorpe himself (after pursuing an old-fashioned ethnic approach to the green village) produced a full account of a single settlement, Wormleighton (Warwickshire), while among his students Roberts worked on dispersed settlement in the Forest of Arden and then on planned villages in the North-East, and Aston and Bond went on to drive landscape studies forward in a variety of directions.[52]

After the original impetus by two economic historians in the 1940s, historians did not make as important a contribution as they could have done. Hoskins's successors at Leicester achieved notable advances in landscape and village studies, including Finberg's very influential revival of the idea that the manor and village could be traced back to the Roman villa, based on the example of Withington (Gloucestershire).[53] Thirsk and Everitt worried at the problem of defining regional variety, and came up with a map of farming regions, and the very influential idea of *pays*, which enabled the countryside to be divided into meaningful categories, such as champion, woodland and wold.[54]

Some interest was provoked by Beresford's depopulation hypothesis, which attracted criticisms from both right (by Kerridge) and left (by Hilton).[55] But the big idea which dominated historical thinking was Postan's hypothesis of population growth followed by crisis. Deserted villages, Postan hoped, would support his theories, but when he found that they were not located on marginal land, and were abandoned long after the demographic collapse of the fourteenth century, he lost interest.[56] The theory that climatic deterioration had some bearing on the late medieval crisis was suggested by the ditch-digging on settlement sites, but was not favoured by historians. They investigated peasant poverty, and seemed unaware that the houses and finds from village sites, as Platt pointed out, revealed how some peasants were not so poor and cut off from trade.[57] Some historians saw the value of the excavated evidence for the study of living standards and styles of life.[58] Otherwise historians were working on population, families and other dimensions of peasant society, and regrettably they rarely saw connections with the material evidence.

The concentration on the nucleated village encouraged research within England on the central belt of countryside where villages and open fields were most plentiful. It was difficult to extend this interest to Wales, Scotland and Ireland, because of the scarcity of large nucleated settlements. Each country had its own traditions of rural settlement research, but a common theme was the distinction between areas of Anglo-Norman domination and the larger areas in which native populations had most influence. In Wales an interest in the hafod settlements on summer pastures resulted in excavations in the 1930s, and in Ireland distinctive sites, small ring forts or raths, were counted, surveyed, excavated and listed. In Scotland the hamlet settlement, the ferm toun, attracted attention from geographers and the Scottish Royal Commission. Reports on all three countries were made to the 1971 *Deserted Medieval Villages* book.

Widening perspectives: 'landscape'

As the 1980s unfolded, two trends were to the fore. Final publications resulting from numbers of substantial excavation projects on deserted village nucleations appeared, following on the heels of the first of the diverse series of Wharram studies, published in 1979.[59] Secondly, and drawing strongly on traditions in adult education teaching, attention to the context of settlements developed strength, in what were widely termed 'landscape approaches'.[60] Occasionally, there was an immediate interplay between the two. Guy Beresford's study of 'Goltho' manor (Lincolnshire), companion to his village report of a decade earlier, caught the attention of students of castles for its controversially early dating of the manor's ringwork and motte and the attention of those interested in vernacular architecture for its stimulating reconstructions of simply framed timber buildings from the excavated evidence. The revisionist perception was made that the settlement investigated had actually been the village of Bullington (which boasted a full range of documentation for village, manor and church) rather than the woodland hamlet or farm of Goltho (which was scarcely documented). The idea's origin lay not in the direct evidence about the settlement, however, but rather from just that wider contrast between village and hamlet and between open common-field arable and woodland

zones with different patterns of resource and exploitation, and was probably more characteristic of contemporary researchers' interests.[61] Such landscape approaches to what had previously been thought of – at least in simple listings – as regional variations of deserted medieval villages began to offer radically changed perspectives. A series of studies by David Austin and his co-workers in south-west England, for example, brought new understanding to the long-studied hamlets and farmsteads in that region.[62]

The Society for Landscape Studies had been founded in 1979 'with the aim of promoting the study of the landscape in all its aspects', principally through its annual journal *Landscape History* but it was very much given impetus by the group of young scholars who had produced the monumental study of the medieval and pre-medieval archaeology of West Yorkshire.[63] While never much exercised with theoretical issues about what might be meant by 'landscape' or 'landscape history', as explored for example by cultural geographers and others, the subject was located rather within an empirical tradition of medieval and later studies in the manner of Hoskins.[64] The new Society reflected a contemporary trend in thinking and duly attracted the active support of many people also engaged in settlement studies. What became increasingly clearly articulated was that simply listing 'deserted medieval settlements' – and even extending the categorisation to 'shrunken settlements', or even to 'living settlements' – was not adequate. It represented the continued tyranny of the pigeon-holing of archaeology, by which remains were slotted into limited and discrete and easily recognised types. This did not reflect actual experience of the complexity of settlement forms and it left large zones of Britain apparently without archaeological evidence of medieval settlements. In some areas, the National Monuments Record (NMR) and the newly created county-based Sites and Monuments Records (SMRs) promoted the drawing of lines around sites and their treatment as monuments. This led, unhelpfully, to the presumption that a place-name and other documentation must represent a former nucleated settlement – even where no plausible trace was detectable. Some scholars (perhaps especially those whose professional activity limited their focus to classifiable 'monuments') saw that desertion or shrinkage might, wholly or partly, be a matter of redistribution of population within a territory – typically a parish or township – and that the organisation of settlement could be dynamic and cyclical, requiring suitable approaches to understand it. Taylor invoked the image of balls on a billiard table, and both his own writing and work by Royal Commission for Historical Monuments of England (RCHME) that he guided persistently strained against the strait-jacket of merely recording monuments.[65]

Alongside landscape approaches, then, a high-level distinction between nucleated and dispersed settlement patterns came to be fundamental to thinking in settlement studies. People came to these interlinked issues in a variety of ways.

Excavators such as David Austin at Thrislington (Durham) had taken the bold step, in the context of rescue excavation with limited time and resource, to investigate the boundaries and outer limits of the settlement layout, away from a narrow focus on building plans and artefacts (Figure 2.6); he had also carried out extensive fieldwalking surveys as background to work at Hart, also in County Durham, in a way that two decades later would be a voluntary group or community activity.[66] At Wharram, ever the test-bed, trenching of boundaries on the pattern of Rahtz's approach at Upton (see above) produced remarkable and unexpected evidence of both Roman and early medieval occupation. For a moment it seemed that such trenching might become a major tool of investigation of abandoned settlements, but it was difficult to give an explanatory context to this evidence alone, given the limited scale of the work. Fieldwalking investigation of the whole parish followed.[67]

Historians with a topographical bent, such as the editors of Victoria County History volumes, often came directly and without fuss to a clear appreciation of the settlement pattern they were dealing with – Shropshire with a pattern of multiple hamlets and farmsteads per parish being a good example – whereas archaeologists, still keen on listing and monumentalising, were slow to articulate an account of field evidence in such clear terms.[68] For aerial prospection, with its established focus on discrete sites, dispersed settlement and landscape approaches proved surprisingly difficult, this despite the fact that the early post-war near-vertical aerial photographs (now publicly accessible in the NMR), capturing a view of the countryside before large-scale

Figure 2.6. Thrislington, Co. Durham: excavations in 1973–74 in advance of quarrying revealed large parts of the stone-built medieval village. Seen here is Toft C, with Tofts B and A beyond. (Photo: Richard Daggett and David Austin)

mechanised farming, proved in some areas helpful in giving access to now-lost patterns of settlement. The comprehensive character of the National Mapping Programme, initiated in England in 1988 and aiming at country-wide transcription of archaeological evidence captured in aerial photographs systematically and to a common standard, in principle afforded just the sort of material to make a major contribution to these shifts in settlement studies. But, slightly puzzlingly – and in part because of the Programme's focus on creating records of monuments by plotting and categorising according to shape and site type, rather than interpreting settlement patterns and relationships – it scarcely did.[69]

By contrast, non-excavating field surveyors such as Christopher Taylor, who certainly had encountered the field remains of dispersed settlement, were clear in their own minds that it differed from traditional deserted nucleations, and made attempts to articulate that, notably on the basis of work in Bedfordshire.[70] Taylor had earlier encountered medieval settlements of various forms in Dorset, including his first planned village at Holworth, a settlement at Bardolfeston whose earthworks showed that it had been replanned on a different alignment, and the remarkable run of physically contiguous but administratively separate settlements that lined the chalk valleys of southern Dorset.[71] Grounded in fieldwork skills of inquisitive observation developed within the RCHME by Collin Bowen, whose simple practice he himself set out for others to imitate,[72] Taylor's distinctive enthusiasm was to interpret and explain. Through a vigorous campaign of original fieldwork in Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire, he developed a series of ideas about medieval settlements including the so-called polyfocal form of many large nucleations, the occurrence of internal change in village plans (sometimes amounting to a complete re-casting), of planned additions and of mobility of settlement.[73] All of these spoke of continuous change in settlements through time, and the temporary – almost aberrant – nature of nucleation on the long view. Most of all, Taylor was impressed with the evidence of scattered early medieval settlements in Northamptonshire parishes such as Great Doddington, Brixworth and Maidwell – known from fieldwalking surveys by Foard, Hall and others and evidently pre-dating the villages – and he took that as an indication that the villages, far from being the foundations of Anglo-Saxon settlers as traditionally thought, were late, replacing a dispersed pattern that had formerly been universal.[74] In the same county, excavations from

1985–89 at West Cotton near Raunds, revealed just such an emergence as well as later, radical, re-ordering (Figure 2.7).

Figure 2.7. West Cotton, Raunds, Northamptonshire: the chronological sequence (a) late Saxon settlement (AD 950–1150); (b) the medieval manor (1150–1250); and (c) the medieval manor and hamlet (1250–1450). (Plan reproduced by kind permission of Northamptonshire Archaeology)

Though Brian Roberts was to provide a reminder that this was only one conceivable pattern of development that might fit our stock of information, Taylor's formulation became the dominant model of village origins. It formed the basis for an ambitious, large-scale project – one of several in the following two decades – to look at the origin and development of the medieval nucleated village in Northamptonshire. This, the Raunds Area Project, examined a group of parishes/townships in central Northamptonshire, encompassing a pre-Conquest administrative unit and covering topographical zones from river flood plain to clay-land watershed.[75] The concept of a 'village moment' was also persuasively articulated in the conclusions to a research study aimed, in part, at identifying a locale in the English midlands for a next-generation field project to succeed that at Wharram Percy.[76] With the re-casting of settlement, it seemed likely that creation of open communal field systems and local church foundation were intimately bound up. In addition to efforts to investigate this directly, as at Raunds and through David Hall's remarkably comprehensive studies of ridge-and-furrow field systems that have made Northamptonshire the epitome of that topic,[77] evidence for this process and its dating came from two unlooked-for directions. One was the ambitious, long-term project at West Heslerton in the Vale of Pickering, where a key feature was geophysical prospection to produce a detailed mapping of buried features for a 10 km strip of the settlement zone along the side of the valley. Remarkable for its revelation of a richness of pre-medieval features, in its overall sweep it, at the same time, but less obviously, documented the moment of the landscape's comprehensive re-casting, setting the date for that occurrence to the later tenth century.[78] Paralleling that, a study in Lincolnshire of the Anglo-Saxon stone funerary sculpture identified the moment of parish formation and creation of local church graveyards there as also lying in the late tenth century.[79] This was a later date for nucleation than had appeared to be the case on the basis of the pottery from the superseded early medieval scatters in Northamptonshire, with the eighth or ninth century more generally suggested.[80]

But the most substantial and effective new attempt to investigate this issue of origins occurred within the Whittlewood Project (piloted between 2000

and 2002 and extended to a full five-year span to 2005), based in the woodland zone spanning the border between southern Northamptonshire and northern Buckinghamshire. Here, quite similar fieldwork information to that recovered in central Northamptonshire was persuasively interpreted as indicating the later date. At the same time, the Whittlewood results argued that the process was a long, drawn-out one, in contrast to the immediate, comprehensive re-casting presumed in Lincolnshire or Yorkshire, and that the outcome of 'the moment' might equally be a dispersed or nucleated pattern.[81]

Settlement character: bottom-up and top-down

Taylor and others, then, were articulating very clearly the fundamental distinction between nucleated and dispersed settlement by the early 1980s, and when the (D)MVRG discussed dispersed settlement Harold Fox wrote strikingly of 'countrysides where villages never appeared'.[82] In 1986 the Group transformed itself, most obviously by formally merging with the formerly separate Moated Sites Research Group.[83] But moated sites in many parts of the country were simply one part of a variety of dispersed settlement patterns and the more far-reaching aims of the new Medieval Settlement Research Group became medieval rural settlement in any and all of its forms – and, for some, medieval settlement *tout court*, thereby including towns and castles and monastic institutions for example.

Before the end of the 1980s, research projects had been planned specifically in the zones of dispersed settlement and their results duly delivered. Quite outstanding in their clarity of purpose and notably informative in their results was a series of projects in the West Midlands undertaken and reported by Chris Dyer.[84] These illustrated two things pre-eminently: firstly, how dynamic and adaptable dispersed settlement might characteristically be, its elements changing location within a given topographical framework; secondly, by what means, combining many forms of fieldwork but especially requiring good contemporary documentation, one might successfully approach this character of settlement. An ambitious project in advance of the new Roadford reservoir in Devon saw these new agendas invoked in a rescue situation, but outcomes did not match ambition. More traditional approaches on Bodmin Moor yielded more significant results.[85]

A very interesting phenomenon that began to attract useful attention was seasonal settlement of various forms. These related in their origin to transhumance exploiting specialist resources of various sorts – of woodland, downland, moor, fen, marsh and coast.[86] Most simply viewed as a contributory factor to the diverse forms of dispersed settlement, the significance of these seasonal sites is potentially more complex. Many were abandoned, to become archaeologically identifiable as sheep-cotes, shielings and the like; but others among these temporary 'non-settlements' could themselves became permanently occupied, sometimes as quite large villages (which, as with the coastal fishing bases studied by Harold Fox, appear alien within a traditional settlement pattern), on or near the earlier location. This is readily understood in a later medieval sequence as a significant change of character and function, where it would be a category mistake to equate the two, as if one was just a bigger and better-organised form of the other. It has yet to be explored, however, whether there is something to be learned here about the relationship, in some cases, between our early medieval settlement evidence, identified by fieldwalking and remote sensing, and later medieval village nucleations: namely a change between specialist temporary and permanent occupation.[87]

Despite excellent specific initiatives such as Dyer's, there was no overall grasp of the locales and varieties of dispersed settlement in the UK as a whole, and very little catalogued information in the public domain on which to plan conservation or protection agendas. The absence of such a framework even affected exceptional investigative opportunities such as that afforded by the development of the new city of Milton Keynes in rural Buckinghamshire; at worst, it caused misunderstanding about the various forms of dispersed settlement affected and its misconstruing as nucleated.[88]

A remedy, sponsored by English Heritage, was sought by an achievable top-down approach of characterising historic settlement forms countrywide, using the earliest reliable and consistent mapping available, namely the early to mid-nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey coverage, rather than the alternative option of waiting on the accumulation of specific

studies to create any sort of overall picture. The result was the Roberts and Wrathmell *Atlas of Rural Settlement in England*, and an associated volume of discussion.[89] Alternative bottom-up approaches were subsequently implemented in Scotland (the Medieval or Later Rural Settlement (MoLRS) initiative) and Wales, in both cases conceived principally as exercises in cataloguing abandoned and predominantly dispersed rural settlement for the first time.[90] The Irish Discovery Programme tackled medieval settlement in the Republic in a more traditional, problem-oriented manner by looking thematically at English peasant settlement in Anglo-Norman manors of the Pale and contrasting the forms of Gaelic settlement in other areas.[91] The short-term effect of the English *Atlas* might have been to grapple with the lack of conventional medieval settlement data in many areas, in contrast to the plethora in what became identified as England's Central Province of settlement, and to encourage other conservation strategies than the protection of identifiable earthworks. But its usefulness was far wider and research-oriented – in explanation, in framing questions and in the stimulation of ideas.[92] Perhaps most importantly it promoted the proposition – inviting investigation and explanation – that observed patterning of settlement forms in identifiable regions, sub-regions and local zones has a cultural basis, sometimes of great antiquity. This contrasted with a basis in soil type and aspect, together determining farming practices, as has alternatively been advocated by Tom Williamson.[93]

A complementary initiative by English Heritage during the last decade of the twentieth and first of the twenty-first century was 'Historic Landscape Characterisation', designed to identify patterning of historic land-use county-by-county and region-by-region.[94] Principally developed as a tool to support practical planning and conservation initiatives, its relevance to traditional settlement studies was perhaps not obvious; but in capable hands there were strong signs of its research potential.[95] Used intelligently, the methodology was employed in East Anglia, away from the open, communal field systems of the Central Province and their fossilised ridge-and-furrow furlongs, to identify locally characteristic field systems, and alongside them bundles of other characteristics – greens, commons and woodlands, road patterns, resource exploitation and rural industry – that sat not only with distinctive settlement forms but also distinctive building types.[96] Perhaps other factors will prove to correlate: even the incidence of ecclesiastical provision and its scale and formal development.

This (in 2010) is as yet scantly explored territory, but offers the prospect of identifying interdependencies of settlement, land use and resource exploitation approaching Taylor's call, long ago, for 'total archaeology', rich in significant connections rather than mere accumulation of data.[97]

New values and changing perspectives: 'a normal component of all settlement history'

The study of rural settlement has indeed always been interdisciplinary. There was plenty of evidence for that continuing multi-facetted nature through this recent period. The study remained a meeting point for history, geography and archaeology, of course, and benefited from the active commitment and lively contribution of eminent scholars in those disciplines, transforming recorded detail into an accessible wider picture and significance.[98] The morphology of settlements – M. R. G. Conzen's proposition that settlement is the 'geographical record of its own evolution' – continued to attract study, and to suggest, notably through Brian Roberts's investigations, that deliberate planning of settlements was commonplace and might have common origins and European ramifications.[99] Pottery studies, long relied on for dating excavated occupation sequences, with secure local and regional type series coming to be established in all parts of the country – typically on the basis of complex, well-stratified urban contexts – have come to pay more attention to the actual uses of the vessels represented and the information they may give about everyday peasant life and trade networks.[100] The same shift of emphasis applied, too, to metalwork and other finds, with the successful Portable Antiquities Scheme bringing to light significant quantities of medieval rural material after its inception in 1997.[101]

Our understanding of the quality of peasant buildings on the basis of excavated evidence and associated finds was strikingly revised by Stuart Wrathmell's reassessment of the structures at Wharram Percy, which he demonstrated were substantial cruck buildings – long-lived and carefully repaired, rather than flimsy and frequently replaced (Figures 2.8

Figure 2.8. Wharram Percy, North Yorkshire: House 6 under excavation 1962. The group stands within the longhouse whose side wall (running down the centre), flimsy and irregular, misled a generation of archaeologists into believing these were short-lived buildings. (Photo: Brenda Rose, reproduced by kind permission of Paul Stamper)

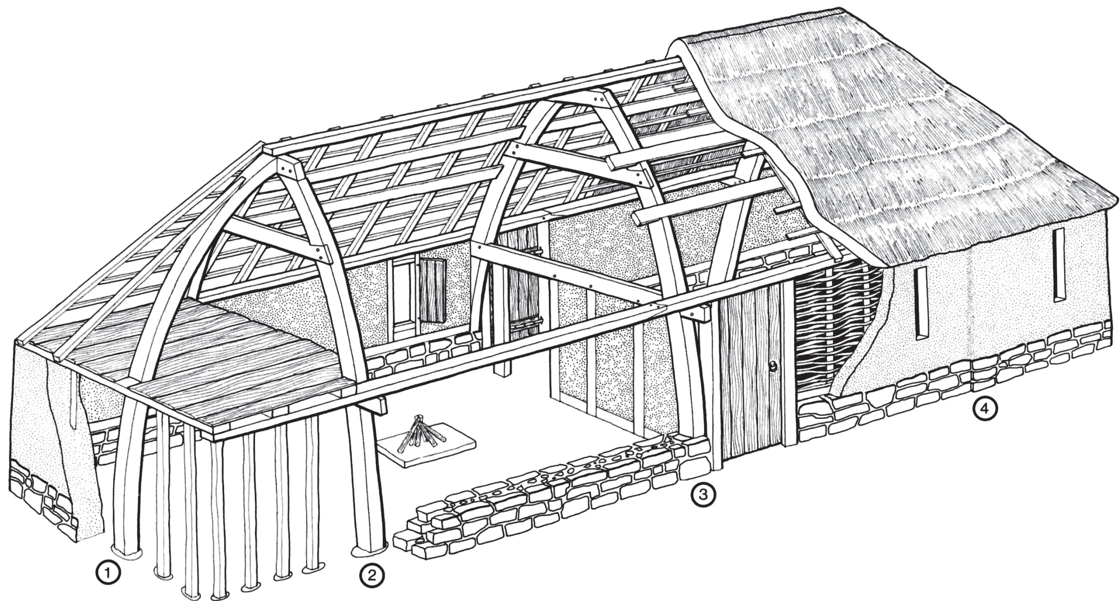

Figure 2.9. Wharram Percy, North Yorkshire. Stuart Wrathmell's 1989 reinterpretation of Wharram-type longhouses as substantial and long-lived cruck buildings. The chalk walls, spanning bay to bay, have no structural function and can easily be rebuilt on a piecemeal basis. (Drawing by Chris Philo, reproduced courtesy of Wharram Research Project)

and 2.9).[102] Significantly, this revision brought the excavated evidence much closer to the building traditions of surviving vernacular structures, whose study has continued vigorously in its own right.[103] There has also been a growing interest in assessing this material evidence in nuanced and theoretical ways in order better to understand the quality and experience of peasant culture.[104] Still perhaps underdeveloped, this approach points to a further direction in which studies may be expected to grow and to draw fresh insights from what are now quite large archaeological data-sets, and to link up with themes of power and community and individualism that have long interested historians.[105] The POMLAS ('Perceptions of Medieval Landscape and Settlement') seminar series in 2008, promoted by the MSRG, sought similar new avenues of thought about the mentality and culture that lay behind the forms and histories of medieval settlements.[106] In an approach with wider applicability, Roberta Gilchrist's subtle discussion of popular beliefs as revealed in medieval burial practices pursued another aspect of these issues through a large body of data, much of it from excavation of monastic cemeteries, that had not been exploited in this way, identifying meaning in objects and their specific deposition.[107] Similarly, original work came forward on the minor features of the medieval landscape – such as wayside crosses, points of transition from one cultivation zone to another, and pre-medieval remains – which were the everyday experience of peasants' lives and the reference points for communal memory.[108]

Direct contact with the population of rural settlement through excavation of graveyard populations on any significant scale has generally been rare – except at Wharram Percy. Publication of the results of studying that large group, numbering nearly 700 individuals and amounting (as is estimated) to somewhere between a third and a half of the total buried at Wharram, has been a major landmark, therefore, not only allowing a direct appreciation of the health and diet of a remote rural community but also enabling comparisons with better-studied medieval urban communities.[109] Some effective insights from environmental evidence have resulted from more systematic and informed sampling, better correlations of different sources – soils, animal bone, pollen/seeds/macro- and micro-flora, etc. – and a sharper focus on the objective of understanding a distinctive local economy and environment, often through periods of change. Favourable conditions at West Cotton within the Raunds study area enabled especially informative results of the consequences of flooding and alluviation.[110] A feature of fieldwalking studies was a renewed evaluation of manuring scatters, often reckoned mere 'background', and their value in understanding arable farming practices.[111]

There has also been a notable revival of interest in the relevance of place-names to settlement history, after a protracted period when that technical and specialist branch of scholarship rather followed its own agendas and, despite many efforts, deployed modes of thinking that seemed to run in parallel with archaeological and historical work, as opposed to connecting with them.[112] Notably, the large areas covered by the Whittlewood Project allowed specialist study of place- and field-names to form an integral component of the enterprise; and a further AHRC-funded seminar series in 2009 – 'Sense of Place in Anglo-Saxon England' (SPASE) – built productively on that experience.[113] Study of the church as a key focus of rural communities has been an early and persistent feature of settlement studies, led by excavation and recording of St Martin's church at Wharram. Publication of the results of this in 1987 produced a complex sequence of growth and decline that has stood, despite some puzzling aspects, as a paradigm for church and settlement studies.[114] Excavation of the lost church at Raunds Furnell in the context of the creation of a manorial curia and peasant properties in that sector of the larger medieval village provided an equally important exemplar of the link between settlement and church.[115] Much influenced by that, and wishing to test easy assumptions about the ubiquitous link of lordship with church foundation and patronage, a study of eleventh-century building in Lincolnshire used simple morphological analysis of village forms to categorise church locations. By revealing several alternatives to an intimate proximity of church and seat of lordship, including foundation on public space, the study opened up for settlement studies a wider range of different characteristic relationships between church and settlement (and, by inference, its community) than had perhaps been envisaged hitherto.[116]

This was a period of large-scale projects. Just as