

Dispersed Settlements in Medieval England. A case study of Pendock, Worcestershire

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DISPERSED SETTLEMENTS in a woodland parish of SW. Worcestershire provide a detailed example from which general lessons can be learned about the history of settlement. The case study explores such problems as the relationship between medieval settlements and their Romano-British predecessors, the changing use of land in the medieval period, and the evolution of a distinctive type of dispersed settlement, the 'interrupted row'. The usual explanations of the contrasting nucleated and dispersed settlements of the Middle Ages are found wanting, and they are regarded instead as elements in complex regional cultures.

This is a local study of dispersed settlements in a single parish. It is however intended to contribute to a larger enquiry. How can we explain the variety of medieval settlement patterns? The answer will not be found if we confine our research too narrowly to the details of plan forms. Rather the settlement pattern should be seen as an ingredient in a package that gave each region its special character. The elements within each package include natural resources, agrarian methods, social structures and ties of lordship, which were locked together to form a coherent whole — 'an intricate complex of techniques and social relations' to quote Marc Bloch.¹

As is well known, modern England can be divided into areas with nucleated villages and those without. The distinction goes back to the 12th century and perhaps 200 or 300 years earlier. Village England runs down the middle of the country from Northumberland and Durham to Dorset and Wiltshire.² Areas of dispersed settlement lie on either side of that zone, though there are also pockets of hamlets and farms within the village-dominated regions, just as a scatter of nucleated villages can be found in every corner of the country. Occasionally nucleated villages are found in association with isolated farms. We are talking of predominant forms within each region; exclusive territories and sharp boundaries are sometimes hard to find. Settlement patterns were linked with distinct agrarian systems. The inhabitants of nucleated villages cultivated open fields, often of the

two- or three-field type, while the people of the hamlets and isolated farms held land in enclosures or irregular field systems. These formed the lowland landscapes known to the early topographers as 'champion' and 'woodland'. To one modern observer, the neat pattern of enclosure hedges that has replaced the orderly lay-out of open field furlongs has resulted in a 'planned' countryside, while the preservation of old enclosures in the woodlands allows them to be dubbed an 'ancient' countryside.³ Nucleated villages in their heyday in the 13th century depended on extensive arable cultivation; dispersed settlements were linked with a wide range of economic activities, from the intensive grain growing of parts of East Anglia to the pastoralism of the north and west, both in woodlands and on uplands.

Villages have attracted a great deal of research in the last 40 years, yet the dispersed settlements deserve at least as much attention. After all, the village zone covers less than half of the country, and the high densities of population in the eastern counties meant that in the 13th century the majority of people lived in non-village areas. Before the 9th century most settlements were small. Nor is the desire to study dispersed settlements a matter merely of transferring interest from one geographical area to another. If nucleation came at a relatively late date, a study of the areas that resisted that tendency may throw light on the influences that made some regions succumb to village formation.

Four groups of questions can be posed of any settlement type:

1. What are they? What are their different forms?
2. When did they originate?
3. How did they change?
4. Why did they develop? How did they function, and what were they for?

Much progress has been made towards answering these questions in the case of nucleated villages.

1. Their plans have been subjected to rigorous analysis, and the existence of villages with regular rows ranged along streets and greens has been recognized, especially in the north. Among the more irregular villages of the Midlands researchers have classified plans, and identified polyfocal types, apparently the result of the fusion of a number of smaller settlement nuclei.⁴
2. The date of village origins has been narrowed to the period between the 9th and the 12th century. There are still many chronological problems to be solved, such as the apparent gap between the abandonment of the small scattered settlements that preceded the villages in the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries, and the earliest period of large-scale occupation in the villages, which is often dated to the 11th and 12th centuries.⁵ There are likely to have been many local variations in the pace of nucleation, which seems to have happened earlier in Northamptonshire (for example) than in Yorkshire.
3. After they had formed, villages often grew in size, and could be reorganized. Two nearby villages might fuse, or alternatively a large settlement might split apart.⁶ From the 14th century many villages shrank, sometimes changing their shape in consequence, and a significant minority were completely deserted.
4. The reasons for nucleation are still debated. Some argue that lords created the villages and also laid out the open fields, to enhance their power and profit. Another school of thought emphasizes the environment, and especially the interaction of a growing population with limited resources, which drove the inhabitants to extend the arable, adopt common grazing

of fallows, and settle in the midst of their territory to co-operate in the most equitable and efficient exploitation of the land. Such an explanation of nucleation is more likely to draw its protagonists to the conclusion that village communities played an important role in the organization and planning of their own settlements and fields.⁷ Neither view convinces fully. If lords created villages, why is there no strong correlation between the areas of nucleation and the estates of the most powerful lords? And if large rural populations precipitated nucleation, why did this not happen in Norfolk and Suffolk, two of the most densely populated counties in 11th-century England?⁸ Whatever the circumstance of their origin, there can be no doubt of the ways in which the villages functioned at their height, farming according to agreed routines, with a large section of the population holding standard units — *bovates* and *virgates* — which governed their share of the villages' resources, and on which rents and services were levied. The inhabitants of a village had to accept a specific balance between public and private space, and were limited by a community interest which could override the selfishness of the individual.⁹

In turning to the same four questions about dispersed settlement, the answers must be more tentative.

1. We know that their form varies radically, from the straggle of houses along the lanes and greens of East Anglia, through the hamlet clusters of Devon, to the isolated farms of upland Somerset and West Yorkshire.¹⁰
2. Their origins were once thought to lie entirely in the assarting and colonizing movements of the 12th and 13th centuries, as if they were additions to the older established village settlements. Now we know of the ubiquity of isolated farms and small hamlets both in the period 400–800 and in prehistoric and Roman times. It is therefore possible to see at least part of the medieval dispersed settlement pattern as an archaic survival, and it has been suggested that some farmsteads stand on or very near to their Roman predecessors.¹¹
3. Early medieval settlements seem very unstable both in shifting their sites and in changing their forms. In East Anglia there appears to have been a change from small nuclei to elongated strings of houses along the edges of greens.¹² In the uplands of N. England and Wales permanent farms developed out of temporary shielings.¹³ In the 14th and 15th centuries the contraction of dispersed settlements could lead to the total desertion of isolated farms and complete hamlets, or the dwindling of clusters down to a single farm.¹⁴ In spite of the general shrinkage, some new isolated settlements were still being founded in the late 14th and 15th centuries.¹⁵
4. Some of the explanations of the origins and functions of dispersed settlements have to be abandoned in the light of modern research. They can no longer be regarded as 'Celtic' or 'British', as they are found in many parts of the country, not just in the areas where the indigenous population was most likely to survive.¹⁶ Instead we can more fruitfully explore the relationship between the scattered settlements and their irregular and enclosed fields, which could have been carved out of the waste in the course of medieval colonization, or alternatively might have been inherited from the Roman countryside. Often the farming system had a more pronounced pastoral element than was possible in the orthodox open field system. In the absence of strict communal restraints the farmers of the dispersed settlements could exercise more individual choice in their use of land. The woodlands had a different social structure also. They did not lack slaves in the 11th century or villeins in the 13th, but they also often contained a high proportion of freeholders. Departures from the rule of primogeniture, whether partible inheritance or inheritance by the youngest son, are more likely to be found outside the nucleated villages.¹⁷ And the population of dispersed settlements in general appears to have been more heterogeneous when we have our most detailed evidence in the late 13th century. Many smallholders lived in the woodlands, as also did a large number of craftsmen and others with non-agricultural occupations.¹⁸ The inhabitants of dispersed settlements participated more readily in rebellions in the later Middle Ages, and in later centuries tended to embrace non-conformity and radicalism.

Those in authority complained that they were an 'ungovernable people'.¹⁹ This individualistic and rebellious streak can be overstressed however, because the organization of the vill is found throughout medieval England. Peasants in dispersed settlements had the same obligations as those in nucleated villages to arrange the collection of taxes, representation at the royal courts, and the upkeep of the parish church. Although their fields may not have been as closely regulated as those of champion villages, they still needed to control the grazing of the fallows and the use of common pastures.

Before clear answers can be given to these questions, much more work is needed on dispersed settlements, and the case study of Pendock is a contribution to that research.

PENDOCK, HEREFORD AND WORCESTER (WORCESTERSHIRE)

The parish of Pendock lends itself to archaeological fieldwork because it contains both pasture fields with well-preserved earthworks, and arable land suitable for fieldwalking. It is reasonably well-documented and the records of adjoining manors help to fill some of the gaps. The size of the parish (463 ha) made a study over a five-year period manageable; its location on the M50 motorway ensured its accessibility. The chief attraction lay in the supposition that it was an ordinary and unexceptional place—one might be tempted to say typical. It was not the centre of a great estate or minster parish; it was remote from any town; it contained no great extremes of terrain. Its only peculiarity is the extraordinary shape of the parish, as from early times it has been divided into two parts, one a little larger than the other (see Fig. 1). These have been distinguished in the past by various names, including Upper and Lower Pendock, but for the sake of clarity they will here be called West and East Pendock. The research method has been to gather every available piece of evidence, from air photographs, earthworks on the ground, pottery and artefacts from the plough soil, standing buildings, documents and place-names. Inevitably the investigation proceeds from the known to the unknown, backwards in time, from the certainties of the modern landscape and maps, through the more doubtful documentation of the later Middle Ages to the hazardous reconstruction of earlier settlement patterns. However, the results of the enquiry will be presented here in proper chronological order from prehistory until modern times.

Let us begin with the land itself. Champion country in medieval Worcestershire was confined to the Avon Valley in the SE., and the plain E. of the county town (see Fig. 1). The rest consisted of woodland landscapes, including the SW. corner of the county, the focus of our attention, which is bounded by the Malvern Hills on one side and the R. Severn on the other. In relation to the steep slopes of the Malverns, the district is low lying, though it has an uneven appearance with many small hills interspersed with patches of former marsh. Pendock occupies rising ground on the western edge of Longdon Marsh, once the most extensive wetland in Worcestershire, which remained undrained until the 1870s.²⁰ The edge of Pendock Moor, part of this marsh, coincided roughly with the 15 m contour, while the highest point in East Pendock reaches 37 m above OD, and in West Pendock 53 m. This relatively high ground divides the streams, which in the E. and N. run into Longdon Brook, while in the W. the Wynd Brook flows southward via the R. Leadon (see Fig. 1). Both stream

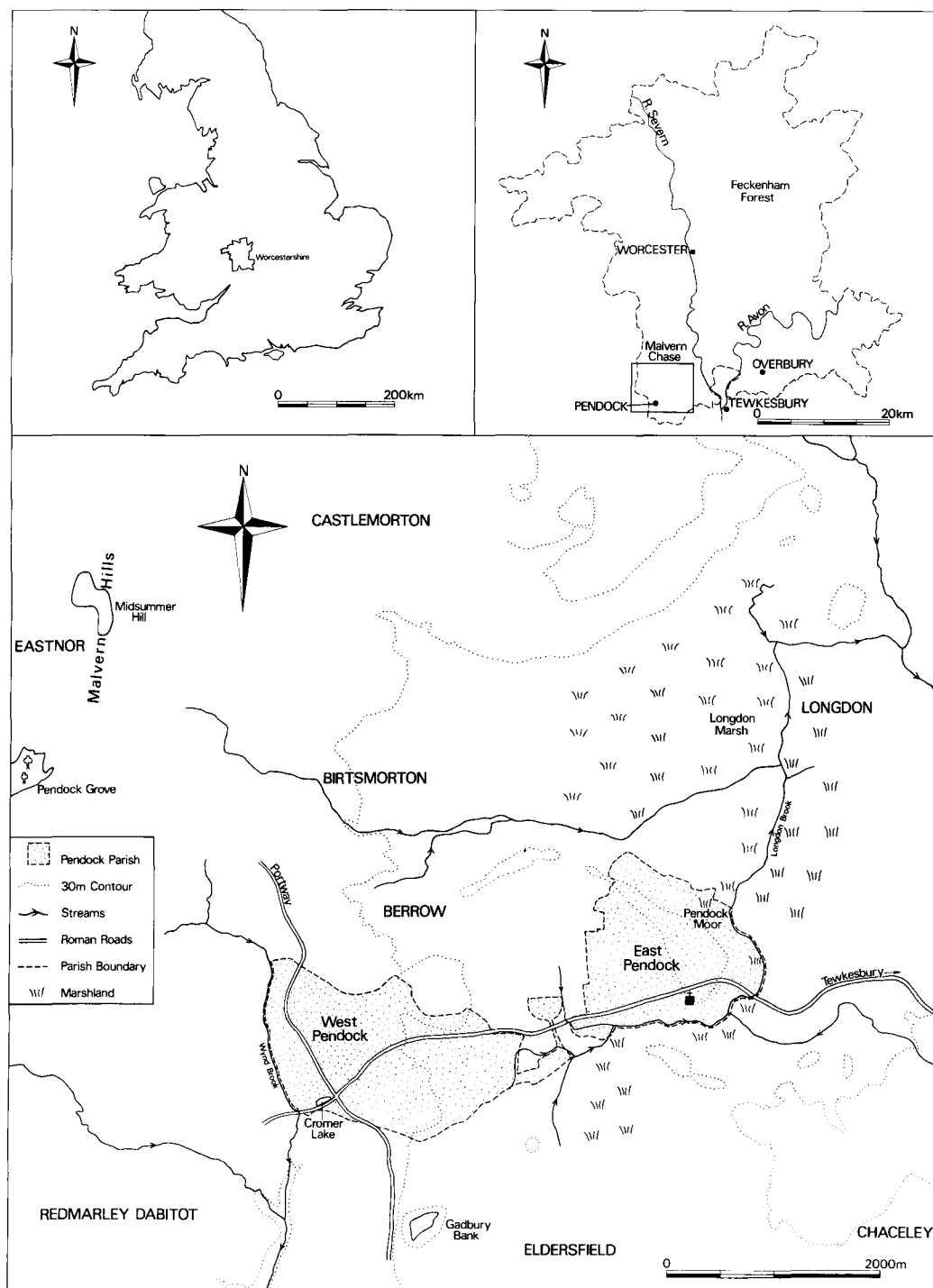


FIG. 1

Location of Pendock showing surrounding parishes, relief and selected features mentioned in the article

systems empty ultimately into the R. Severn. In the valley of the Wynd Brook lies a notable landmark, a natural pool known as *Cran mere* or *Croumere* in the Middle Ages, and now called Cromer Lake. Pendock has reddish loamy and clayey soils over Triassic mudstones, which are judged to be of average quality by the Ministry of Agriculture. The two main soil series represented in the parish are rather similar in terms of modern agricultural potential.²¹ Local opinion rates the land of East Pendock more highly, and there is more arable in the East and more grazing in the West, but this may reflect different management, as well as the inherent quality of the soils. In SW. Worcestershire generally there are small patches of woodland, and some open grassland, notably at Castlemorton Common. At the time of Domesday about a half of the area (probably 12,000 ha in the manors south of Hanley Castle) was described as wood, and in the 12th century Pendock lay on the southern edge of the royal forest of Malvern, which in c. 1217 became Malvern Chase, a private forest in the hands of the earls of Gloucester.²² The Forest and Chase added another jurisdictional layer over existing lordships. Pendock lay in the hundred of Oswaldslow, a liberty of the Church of Worcester, though the laymen who held Pendock as tenants of Worcester were the effective lords of the manor.

Two roads of more than local importance passed through Pendock. The E.-W. route, which now connects Tewkesbury and Ledbury, crossed the marsh at a narrow point, which is now called Horse Bridge. The modern main road, straightened in c. 1800, runs through Sledge Green, but another branch (shown on Fig. 1) took a more southerly course along the modern Pendock Lane to join the two parts of Pendock. This was called a 'street' in the 10th century and could have been a Roman road. The N.-S. road which runs along the western edge of Pendock, known as the Portway, may also have been used in Roman times as it forms part of a route running northwards from Gloucester toward the Malverns.

In conventional historical writing settlement in the lowlands of SW. Worcestershire is believed to have begun in the early Middle Ages.²³ It appears as a blank on distribution maps of prehistoric and Romano-British sites, and is an obvious candidate to form part of the impenetrable forests and swamps which were once said to have deterred early settlers. However fieldwalking at Pendock has produced a thin scatter of worked flints, with finds from thirteen locations mainly in East Pendock (see Fig. 2). These include small scrapers, which are not closely datable, but are likely to be connected with use of the land in the Neolithic or Bronze Age. Barrows mentioned in a 10th-century charter boundary, preserved in the field name *Crokkeberowe* in the NW. corner of East Pendock (Fig. 3a), could be of prehistoric origin. In the Iron Age the minor hillfort at Gadbury and the major one on Midsummer Hill (see Fig. 1) provided points of defence and centres of power over rural territories that must have included Pendock.²⁴

Romano-British pottery has been found in some quantity over the whole of the modern parish (Fig. 2). Two heavy scatters and three lesser concentrations indicate likely settlement sites, and a thinner distribution over 27 sites could arise either from settlements buried too deeply below the modern plough soil for abundant finds to reach the surface, or more often the spreading of pottery with other refuse over arable fields in the course of manuring in antiquity. Almost every modern ploughed field

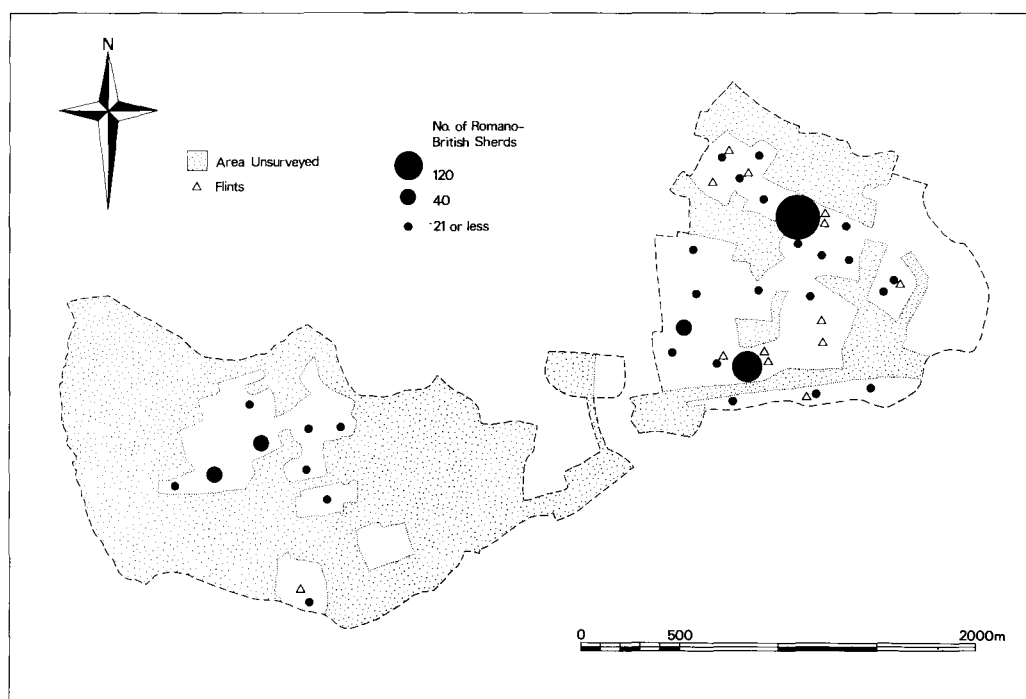


FIG. 2

Pendock before the Middle Ages showing the fieldwalked areas, and prehistoric and Romano-British finds

has produced Romano-British pottery; the only exceptions are either low-lying areas which are likely to have been used in Roman times, as they were in the Middle Ages, as moor or meadow, and which therefore would not have been manured, and three hilly fields in West Pendock. The pottery finds consist overwhelmingly (91%) of Severn Valley ware, the locally made coarse pottery. Few specialist or fine wares have been found.²⁵ This poor ceramic assemblage, together with the absence of building materials, indicates low-status settlements, or native farms to use the customary term. The presence of a few sherds of black burnished ware from Dorset and mortaria from Oxfordshire points to market contacts which must have been directed towards such places as Gloucester to the S., and the wealthy regions of the Avon valley and the Cotswolds in the E. Although the finds from Pendock are not closely datable, their general character places them in the later part of the Roman period. The relatively small size of the concentrated spreads of pottery (which are less than $\frac{1}{2}$ ha), suggests single farms or very small hamlets which lay at least 300 m apart, similar to the density of settlements revealed by aerial photographs in other parts of the region.²⁶ Population figures for the Roman period can scarcely be calculated on such slender evidence, as we do not know the size of the settlements under the pottery scatters, nor how many other Romano-British sites lie undiscovered under the modern pasture fields. Nor do we know if the sites that have been

found were all occupied at the same time. However, it is worth remarking that the Romano-British pottery is more widely distributed, and much greater in quantity, than that of the 12th and 13th centuries. Now all kinds of factors might influence this observation, such as the superiority of Roman mass-production techniques, the wider range of uses of pottery in the Roman period (as drinking vessels, for example), different methods of rubbish disposal and manuring, and finally the durability and visibility of Roman pottery which meant that it is more likely to be discovered in the modern plough soil. Nevertheless we are drawn to the inescapable inference that Pendock could have been at least as extensively cultivated and even as full of people in *c.* 250 as it was to be in *c.* 1250.²⁷ Even if such an equivalence between the two periods is thought to press too hard on flimsy evidence, there can be no doubt that the Romano-British period and the later Middle Ages mark peaks in the material culture with a considerable trough in the intervening centuries.

The cessation of mass production of pottery at the end of the Roman period removes an important source of evidence for settlement. A British population is likely to have survived in SW. Worcestershire, who came under Anglo-Saxon domination in the late 6th or early 7th century. The place-name Pendock was apparently formed around this time by Welsh-speaking people.²⁸ Its elements mean a hill and a barley field; the most likely candidate for the eponymous hill is the permanent ridge on which stands the medieval church in East Pendock (defined by the 30 m contour in Fig. 1). This hill, though lower than those in the West, would have made a greater impact on the visitor as it loomed dramatically over the marshes. Barley still grows on the plateau formed by the rising ground, and this land has a better claim than any other part of Pendock to have been under continuous cultivation since Roman times.

The overwhelming impression of Pendock's history in the post-Roman centuries, as in Feckenham Forest in N. Worcestershire, Wychwood in Oxfordshire and Rockingham Forest in Northamptonshire, is of a retreat in cultivation and of woodland regeneration.²⁹ There is a strong contrast between the evidence for extensive settlement and cultivation in the Roman period, and Domesday's testimony to Pendock's large area of wood, which could have covered 400 ha. This figure can be calculated from the statement in 1086 that the manor of Pendock held of the church of Worcester by Urse D'Abetot contained wood measuring $\frac{1}{2}$ league by $\frac{1}{2}$ league, to which should be added the bulk of an area of wood one league by one league attached to the manor of 'Overbury cum Pendock'.³⁰ The changes in land use can be demonstrated for individual fields, like Newland in West Pendock and Ruddings in the East, where we find much Romano-British pottery, but which had to be cleared of trees in order to extend the area of cultivation in the 12th and 13th centuries (see Figs. 2 and 3a).

Pendock and its neighbours in the 10th and 11th centuries served as wooded appendages of more intensively cultivated manors of the Avon Valley. Two belts of wood at the foot of the Malverns, one at Welland and Little Malvern, and another at Berrow and Pendock, were attached to Bredon and Overbury respectively, at distances of 15 and 17 km (see Fig. 1).³¹ The Pendock-Overbury link is recorded in a charter of 875, but as this is a fabrication it tells us about the administrative

arrangements when the forger was at work in the 11th century.³² A note in Worcester's early 11th-century cartulary states that a lease of Pendock of 967 'belongs to Ripple', another Worcester manor in the Severn valley 6 km W. of Bredon, and therefore much nearer to Pendock. This might refer to administrative supervision of leased land, but could record a temporary transfer of the management of the woods.³³ Indeed the charter itself helps to strengthen the evidence for the link with the Avon valley (to be strictly accurate, the valley of its tributary, the Carrant Brook), because the land leased consisted of two hides at Pendock and one at Didcot, near Overbury. These connections between the arable lands of SE. Worcestershire and the woods of the SW. were duplicated on the Pershore estate; this Avon valley monastery held Longdon with its members Castlemorton, Chaceley, Eldersfield and Staunton, places with plentiful woods which surrounded Pendock on three sides. The links between valley and woodland persisted, but not under Pershore's lordship, because much of its estate, including Longdon, was granted by Edward the Confessor to his newly refounded abbey of Westminster.³⁴ Territorial links over considerable distances are found throughout early medieval England, and are well-known features of counties such as Warwickshire, Kent and Sussex which were divided sharply between arable and wooded districts. The system encouraged regional specialization: the people in the parent settlements concentrated on grain growing, confident that they could obtain fuel, building timber, and pasture at a distance. It is sometimes alleged that the arrangements linking arable and remote woods were primeval in origin.³⁵ However, the abundant Romano-British finds from Pendock would not support the idea that there was much wood there in that period, and the whole system of territorial linkages looks like a response to the collapse of marketing after the fall of the Roman administration. There is even a hint, unfortunately contained only in notes of the contents of a now lost charter, that King Alfred was granting Pendock in 888 to an unnamed party, so the association with Overbury may have formed only in the two centuries before Domesday.³⁶

Pendock's wood should not be visualized as an unbroken tract of trees. Their exploitation for the benefit of the Overbury manor presupposes woodland management, with coppicing to yield poles and fuel, and areas of wood pasture for the production of timber. The road system of the area would have included, not just the main route to the E. for the carriage of timber and wood and the droving of stock, but also a network of local access tracks for the use of woodmen and herdsmen. The boundary clause probably written in 967 refers to the road to Overbury as a street, and tells us that a bridge had been built to take it over the Longdon Brook.³⁷ Much of the circuit follows streams and refers to pools and trees in what could be regarded as a 'natural' landscape, but the references to hedges, open land (*feld*), an enclosure (*haga*) and a clearing (*leah*), suggests a wood/pasture landscape, with grazing land and fencing for stock management. The number of personal names mentioned attached to boundary points — Aelfstan's bridge, Osric's pool, and Ealdred's *feld* — gives the reader the impression of a man-made countryside, parts of which were already in the hands of tenants. Clearly by 967 Pendock had embarked on the familiar process, found in woodland dependencies everywhere, by which the former colony became an independent village. Of course, there is no reason to believe that

permanent settlement and at least small-scale cultivation ever ceased in East Pendock, so the development did not start from scratch in the early Middle Ages. A stage in growth was marked by the leasing of land to laymen, documented in 967. Haehstan, the first known tenant, was followed by Aethelwyn and Aefod. Northmann in the 11th century acquired it by inheritance after the church of Worcester had lost control, but handed it back. By the time of Domesday Pendock was held by the powerful sheriff, Urse D'Abetot. A near contemporary source tells us that Pendock was divided between Warner and Walter, presumably Urse's subtenants.³⁸ Throughout this period we must doubt if Pendock was very populous or profitable. Land at Didcot was included in the 967 lease, presumably so that its fertile fields would supplement Pendock's limited arable resources. In 1086 part of the land, mostly wood and pasture we must suppose, still belonged to Worcester's manor of Overbury, and Urse D'Abetot's manor contained only two plough teams manned by four slaves (three male and one female) with three bordars apparently without ploughs. So, unless Domesday has omitted some category of tenant, such as those paying rents, Pendock's cultivated area attained no more than 200 acres (80 ha), and its population could have been in the region of 20 to 40, depending on whether slaves are regarded as isolated individuals or the heads of households.

Can these historical abstractions be given a topographical reality? It must be supposed that after the post-Roman regeneration, Pendock formed part of a larger area of woodland, including the area now called Berrow (see Fig. 1). At an unknown date in the early Middle Ages Berrow and Pendock were separated. Both needed access to the meadow on the Longdon Brook, and it must have been after some complex bargaining that the lion's share went to Berrow. Pendock was split in two, but was compensated with a large piece of meadow connected to West Pendock by a narrow corridor. The maps still oversimplify Pendock's territory, because later documents show that the manor included parcels of land in Berrow, Birtsmorton, Longdon, Redmarley and Corse, though some of these may have been acquired in the later Middle Ages.³⁹

Do the two parts of Pendock represent the tenurial division at the time of Domesday, with West Pendock containing the woods attached to Overbury? All the evidence supports the view that the lay manor of the 10th and 11th centuries was based on East Pendock where a small nucleus of settlement had always survived. The earliest type of medieval pottery found in fieldwalking, a Saxo-Norman ware probably made at Haresfield (Gloucestershire), comes from the centre of East Pendock, from Broadfield and the Crofts (see Fig. 3a).⁴⁰ It was in the East that the church was built, probably as part of the wave of parish churches founded by secular lords from the 10th century onwards. The earliest datable stonework is of the 12th century; if this was not the first building on the site, it is unlikely that its predecessor was built much earlier.⁴¹ The manorial centre presumably lay in the East, so this was the logical place for the new church. It would be tempting to see the curved shape of Broadfield edged to the N. and W. by a deep holloway (see Fig. 3a) as an early seignorial enclosure.⁴² However, while the nucleus of the first manor lay in the East, a reference to ploughed land near Berrow Meadow in the 10th-century charter boundary, and the possession by later lords of demesne lands in West Pendock, make

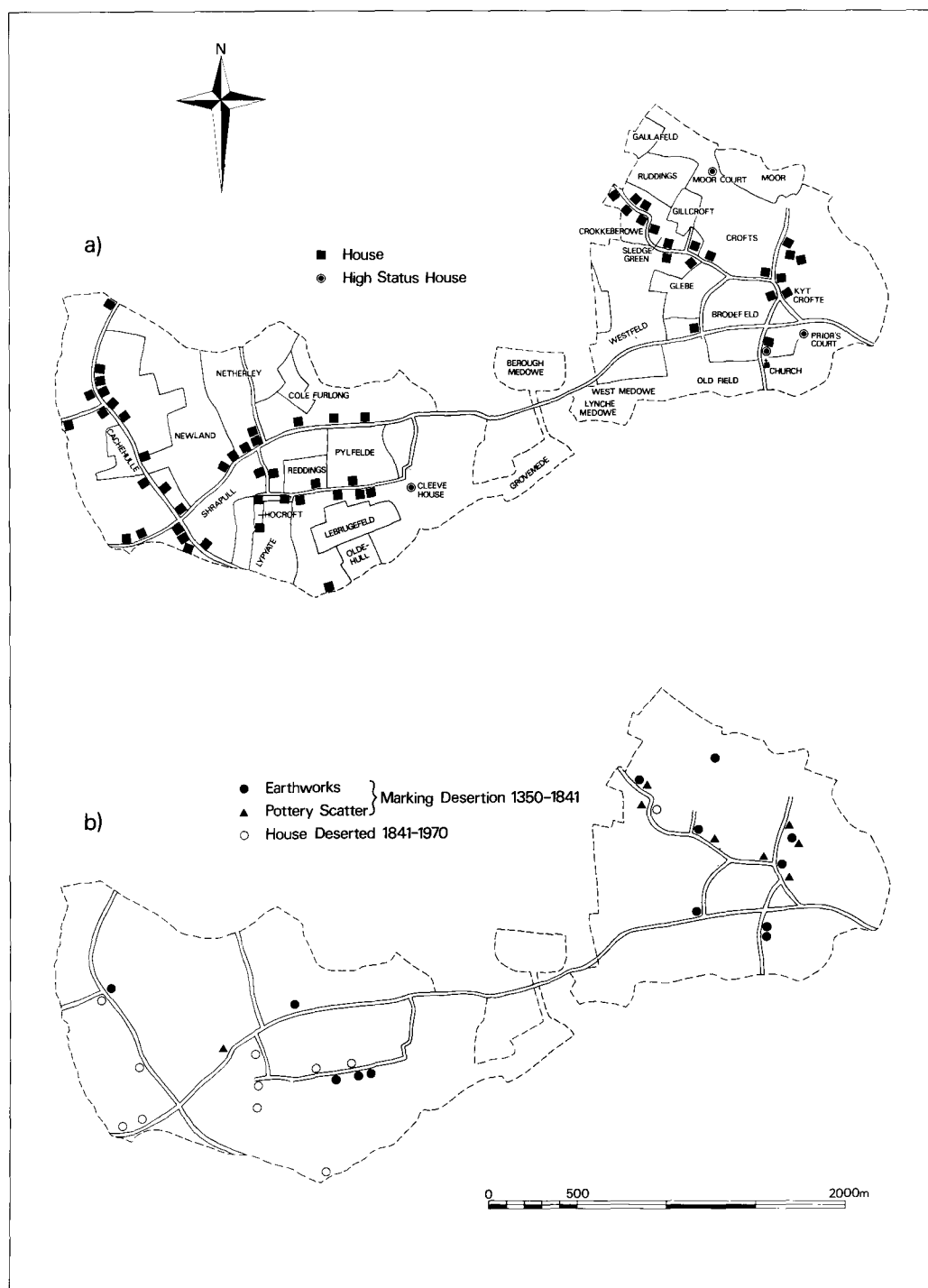


FIG. 3

Medieval landscape and settlements, before and after desertion. *a.* Reconstruction of the houses, fields and roads of Pendock in *c.* 1300, based on a combination of archaeological and documentary evidence; *b.* Known deserted settlements, all periods

it dangerous to assume that there was a simple division between wooded church property on one side and a lay manor practising mixed agriculture on the other. At least a small amount of cultivation is likely to have continued in the early Middle Ages in the West as well as the East.

To sum up the state of Pendock's development by the late 11th century: a heavily wooded area had been divided at least a century earlier, and Pendock emerged in two parts which are likely to have consisted of a wood and pasture enclave of the manor of Overbury and a small lay manor. The East would have contained the houses of peasant tenants, accommodation for slaves and the residence of local officials or subtenants of the absentee lay lord. If there were any permanent inhabitants in West Pendock, they are likely to belong to categories commonly omitted by Domesday — administrators protecting the wood and supervising grazing, or tenants paying cash rents.⁴³

In the 12th and 13th centuries Pendock was transformed by the extension of cultivation at the expense of the wood and pasture. This was not 'new settlement' as the *Agrarian History* calls it, but renewed occupation of land that had been under the plough in the Roman period, if not earlier.⁴⁴ We know of large-scale clearance in other parts of Malvern Forest in the late 12th century, and it was in the 1170s that members of the de Pendock family were fined for assarting.⁴⁵ The movement was still going on in 1189 and probably into the 13th century.⁴⁶ In East Pendock the existing cultivated area was pushed northward into the Ruddings and the Crofts (see Fig. 3a). A medieval field name, probably located near Moor Court, *Moor Old*, preserved the memory of former woodland.⁴⁷ Colonization was conducted on a wider scale in West Pendock with the clearance of such large areas as Newland and Netherley in the north. The division of lordship and tenure increased in complexity. The manor held by Urse D'Abetot in 1086 descended in the family of minor gentry called the de Pendocks whose manor house lay near the church (see Fig. 3a). In about 1240 part of their land was granted to Little Malvern Priory and its centre was subsequently known as Prior's Court, lying to the NE. of the church. The lordship over the lands of Worcester Priory (which had previously been attached to Overbury) by the 13th century came into the hands of the Abetot family of Redmarley (who were not the direct descendants of Urse), and their manor was apparently based in East Pendock also, at the moated site of Moor Court (Figs. 3a and 4d). Also in the early 13th century Westminster Abbey acquired a small group of holdings in West Pendock.⁴⁸ The de Cleeve family built up a large enough holding in the West in the 13th century to enable them to surround their house with a moat, but whether this accumulation can be described as a manor is uncertain (Figs. 3a and 4c).

The proliferation of small manor houses and moated sites itself contributed to the growth of settlement in Pendock. Peasant holdings also multiplied and the number of messuages (that is, a house and associated buildings standing in a small enclosure or toft) can be estimated from the documents at a little under 40.⁴⁹ This could be too low a figure, as it is notoriously difficult to trace either subtenants, who paid no rent directly to a lord, or cottagers who were too poor to contribute to royal taxes. The number of medieval houses can also be calculated from the earthworks, pottery scatters, standing buildings containing early timbers, and by a hazardous estimate

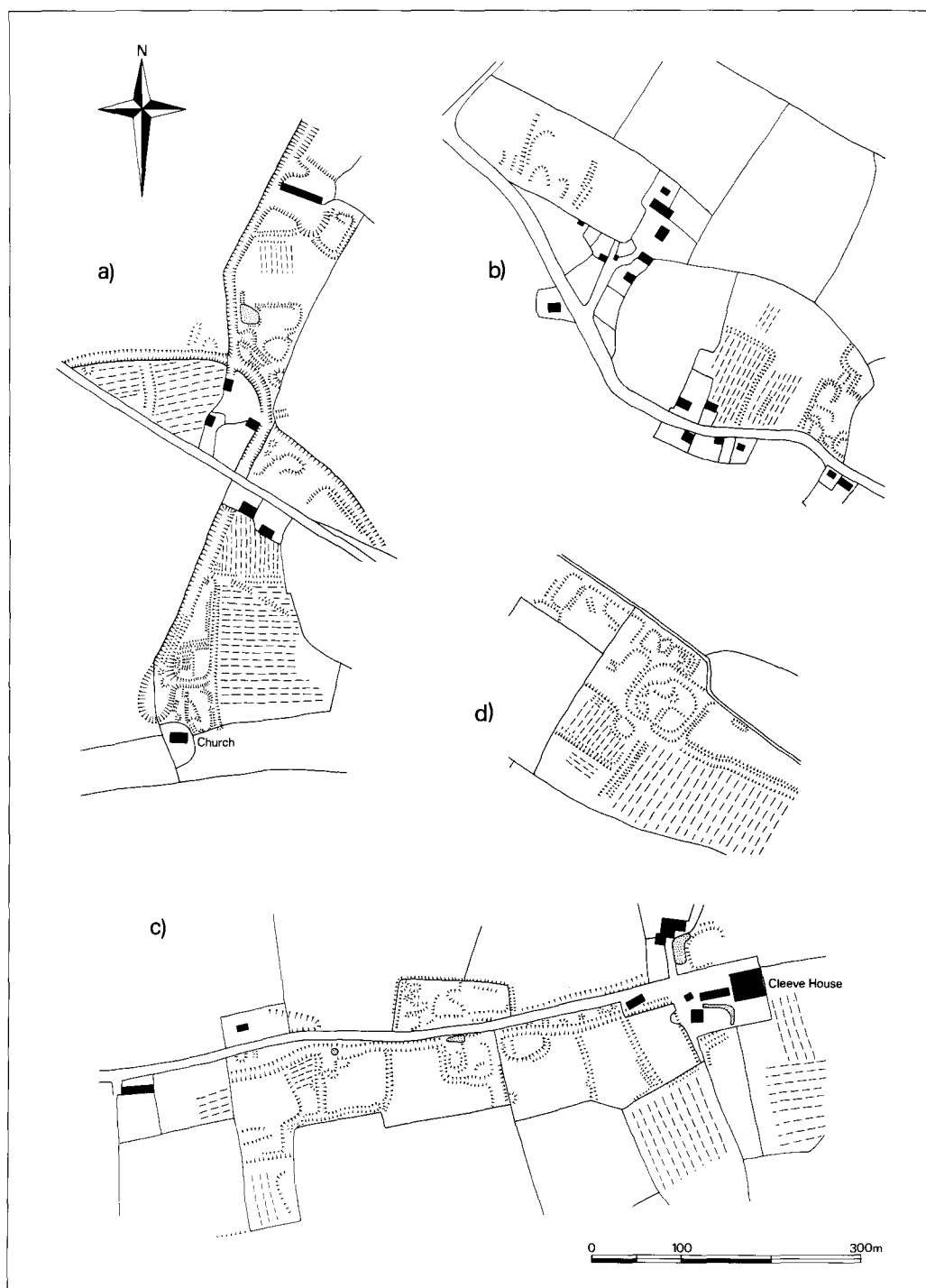


FIG. 4

Medieval settlement earthworks at Pendock. *a.* To the N. of the church, in East Pendock; *b.* At Sledge Green in East Pendock; *c.* Along Grafton Lane, W. of Cleeve House, in West Pendock; *d.* At Moor Court in East Pendock. Sketch plans drawn between April 1984 and February 1988

of houses inhabited in the 19th century which are likely to have stood on the sites of medieval predecessors (see Fig. 3a).⁵⁰ This yields a figure in excess of 60, but may inevitably include some new sites not occupied until modern times. We can presume that Pendock's population at its medieval high point in the late 13th century stood at between 170 and 250. It had increased dramatically in the 200 years after Domesday, perhaps by as much as tenfold. For comparison, the parish's population in 1801 amounted to 211.⁵¹

The overall impression of Pendock's medieval topography is of a network of lanes, many of which are still in use, and are characteristically marked by holloways bounded by multispecied hedges, along which houses stood at 100 or 200 m intervals. Their layout can best be appreciated where the houses have been abandoned and survive as earthworks.

A major holloway runs N. from the church in the direction of Pendock Moor (Fig. 4a). It now appears to end at the church but originally continued to the S. across the parish boundary in the direction of Eldersfield. An area of settlement earthworks immediately to the N. of the church could represent the site of the manor house of the de Pendock family, or the rectory, or both. There appear to be two areas of hollows and platforms separated by a small holloway. Further N. is a patch of ridge and furrow, a modern house and road, and then the junction with the original E.-W. road, the two roads merging briefly in a curving holloway. NE. of the curved section are the well-preserved platforms of a house site, and to the W. the almost ploughed out earthworks of another house site, from which much medieval pottery has been recovered. Again to the north is another area of faint ridge and furrow, and then more earthworks, including a prominent and well-preserved rectangular enclosure, to the SE. of a modern long stable. Another house site, again ploughed away, stood immediately to the N. of the stable, on the crest of a hill overlooking the Moor. At the N. end the holloway is very deeply marked. This was the droveway along which the village cattle were taken to graze on the Moor when dry summer conditions allowed access. The pottery from the northern house-sites is dated to the 12th to 15th centuries; sherds of earlier pottery from the field to the W. of the church suggest that medieval settlement here could have been established by the 11th century.

Sledge Green (Fig. 4b) is now a small hamlet, but its clustered appearance is mainly a product of changes in the 18th and 19th century when the main road was straightened and new houses built. The original medieval features were (running from E. to W. on the N. side of the main road) the sites of one or two houses marked by earthworks and a pottery scatter, followed by a patch of ridge and furrow, part of which lay in an enclosed croft, and then another house, which is a standing timber-framed structure called Broadstock House. Another piece of agricultural land and a group of largely modern houses are followed by the eroded earthworks in plough soil of one or two houses, a site which has produced much medieval and post-medieval pottery. On the S. side of the road there is documentary evidence of a messuage, and a fairly dense scatter of pottery near the modern road junction. One or two of the modern houses probably stand on medieval sites. So the medieval Sledge Green was a linear settlement containing nine or ten houses extending over about 800 m. It illustrates both the slow process of decay and the tendency for modern houses to congregate. The house(s) marked by earthworks to the E. were abandoned before 1500, but those to the W. in the 17th century.

Grafton Lane in West Pendock (Fig. 4c) runs E.-W. from Cleeve House, with the medieval holloway slightly to the S. of the modern road, though with earthworks suggesting alternative routes on the N. side also. Starting in the E. there are two moated enclosures, one surrounding Cleeve House. To the S. of the Lane are two apparently empty crofts defined by ditches, and then a croft containing a large oval platform. This is divided by a modern hedge and an early holloway from a more conventional medieval settlement earthwork, that is a

rectangular enclosure with two building platforms. Opposite this to the N. of the road is another enclosure with a number of platforms, in which a house stood in the early 19th century. Continuing on the S. side an apparently empty space is followed by a croft with another building platform, and then two patches of ridge and furrow. The modern house opposite probably stands on a medieval site. About seven houses were spread over a distance of about 800 m.

Moor Court (Fig. 4d) lies in a valley bottom, with a complex system of ridge and furrow to the SW., and low-lying meadow leading toward the moor to the NE. The moat, which is still water-filled in winter, was fed from the NE., and an overflow leat marked by earthworks ran along the headland of the ridge and furrow to the SE. There is earthwork evidence of buildings on the platform of the moat (with pottery suggesting that it was occupied into the 18th century). A platform for a building lay surrounded by ploughing to the SW. (a barn?). More platforms and sunken rectangular areas suggest a considerable complex of agricultural buildings, yards and perhaps gardens stretching for almost 200 m NW. of the moat. Moor Court was the centre of a manor which seems to have come into existence after 1086, held by the Abetot family in the 13th century.

The main settlement form of Pendock is best described as an 'interrupted row', the term 'row' being borrowed from the vocabulary used to describe nucleated villages, but 'interrupted' because each house or messuage was separated by a piece of land in agricultural use. Houses were sited on both sides of roads, but rarely faced one another. The settlement pattern of Pendock consisted of five interrupted rows, three of which are illustrated in Fig. 4, and the others lay along Pendock Lane and the Portway, the main E.-W. and N.-S. routes in West Pendock. There were also isolated houses, like Moor Court; it lies on a land use frontier between arable and moor. The same may be true of some of the interrupted rows, as Sledge Green, Grafton Lane, Pendock Lane and Portway all ran beside assarts, and their settlements may have originated as rows of houses on the edge of an open pasture common, like the green edge settlements in East Anglia.

As settlements grew in number the cultivated land was extended in the 13th century until it filled almost the whole of the parish. The documents show that much of the area lay under the plough in fields, crofts and furlongs. Extensive ridge and furrow is preserved in the fields now used as pasture, and more was recorded in aerial photographs taken in 1946.⁵² The exact date of use of the ridge and furrow must be uncertain though much of it is likely to be medieval, in view of its close relationship to the earthworks of abandoned medieval sites. It belongs to the narrow type, only 3 m to 5.8 m wide, which is characteristic of the woodlands of Worcestershire. The thin scatter of medieval pottery over the modern ploughsoil is a further indication of the areas of manured arable, which complements the evidence of the ridge and furrow. Taken together, these three sources of information show that, with the exception of low-lying meadows on the banks of streams, and the marshes where cultivation would have been impossible, practically the whole of Pendock was ploughed at some time in the Middle Ages (see Fig. 5). The land then assarted may not all have been of good quality. It certainly includes fields that have been used as pasture in recent times, and a medieval judgement of the quality of one field, Gaula Field, is conveyed by its name, which means barren and wet.⁵³ Very little common pasture remained after the expansion of arable apart from greens along road sides, and the important summer grazing on Pendock Moor. Late medieval documents contain no reference

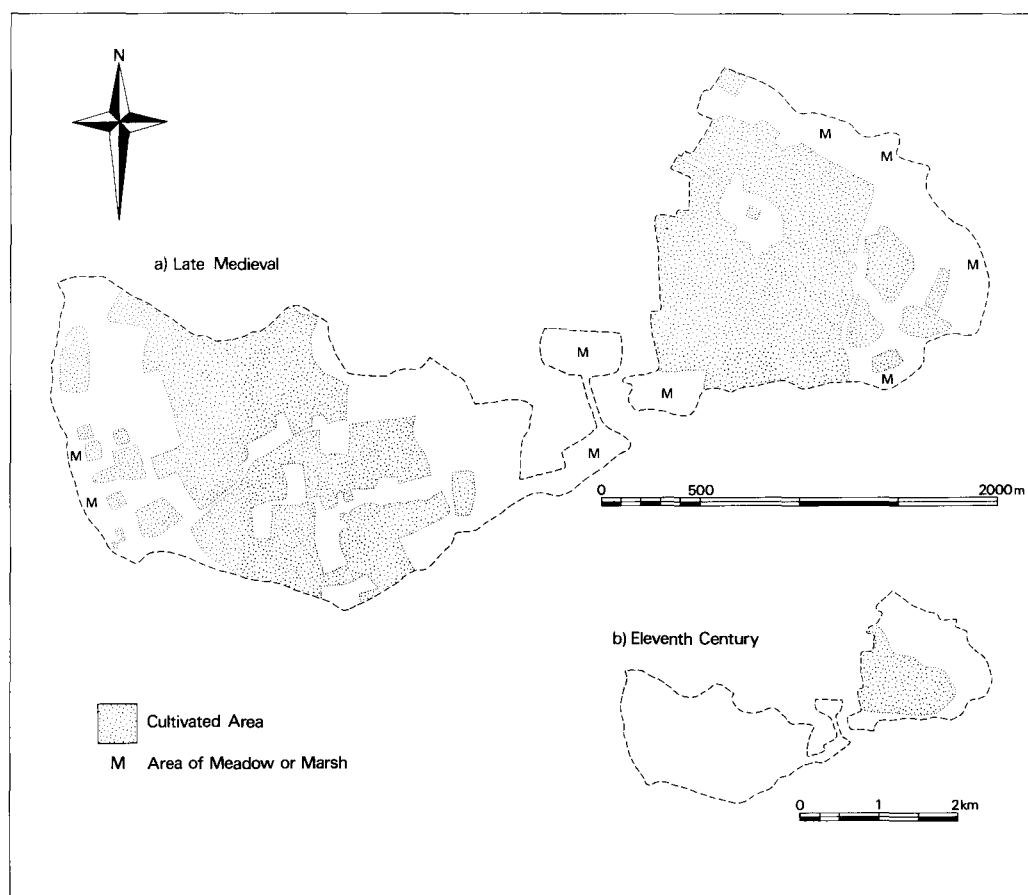


FIG. 5

Pendock: land use. *a.* The cultivated area in the later Middle Ages (12th to 15th century) reconstructed from documents, ridge and furrow, and pottery scatters; the areas without stipple may have included some arable also, but simply lack evidence; *b.* The possible area of cultivation in the 11th century, based on a little documentary and archaeological evidence

to woodland at Pendock. Trees probably grew as they do now, on the steep slope of Berrow Hill (E. of Cole Furlong on Fig. 3a). The names Grovemede and Grafton Lane recall the former existence of a wood to the E. of Cleeve House, but this was probably removed in the assarting movement. Trees grew along the many hedgerows around the crofts and fields. In the 15th century Pendock's main woodland resources lay outside the parish, in a small wood called Lukes Grove in Birtsmorton, but on a larger scale at Pendock Grove (see Fig. 1) which lay in the parish of Eastnor (Herefordshire) on the edge of the Malvern Hills 2 to 3 km from West Pendock.⁵⁴ The size of this wood was variously assessed at 23 and 31 acres (9 and 12 ha) when it was surveyed in the early 19th century. The earthworks of internal subdivisions now visible show that it has changed size and shape over the centuries, but it could well

have been large enough to provide for Pendock's timber and fuel needs. No better demonstration could be found of the completeness of the transformation of a former woodland dependency into a village devoted to cereal cultivation, so that it needed a detached wood of its own.

We can attempt to assess the changing area of cultivation over a period of more than a thousand years. In the Roman period a high proportion of the land available for study, and so by inference most of the territory, was under some form of settlement and cultivation (Fig. 2). The area of arable shrank in the early Middle Ages, perhaps as much as is indicated in a speculative reconstruction of the cultivated area in 1086 (in Fig. 5b). Then the ploughed area expanded once more until in about 1300 it reached the high level shown in Fig. 5a, which was probably similar to the attainment of the Romano-British farmers. In other parts of England there was more continuity between Roman and early medieval cultivation, and consequently a much smaller expansion in the 12th and 13th centuries, but Pendock's story, which may not be so untypical of the woodlands, causes us to be wary of assuming that continuous exploitation of agrarian resources should be found everywhere.

The medieval arable lay in an irregular set of fields, of varying size, and apparently not integrated into any conventional rotational system (see Fig. 3a). Whereas in the regular system of champion Worcestershire each holding would be evenly distributed between the two fields, tenants in Pendock held parcels scattered apparently haphazardly over the various fields. For example in 1464 Philip Taylor had 1½ acres (0.6 ha) 'in the field called Shrapull' and ½ acre (0.2 ha) in Lebrugefeld.⁵⁵ There was no clear difference between a field and a croft, and some crofts could, like the fields, contain selions cultivated by a number of different tenants. The demesne of the de Pendock manor in 1322 included seventeen selions and four butts in Jakkescroft, presumably alongside or mingled with selions occupied by others.⁵⁶ Most crofts were small, an acre or two (0.4–0.8 ha), and held by a single person in severalty. A holding was often described as 'a messuage with croft adjacent', and this can be seen in the interrupted rows, where the gaps between the messuages were filled with crofts, used either as arable or pasture. So the land of Pendock peasants lay both in small enclosures and in parcels intermixed in the large crofts or fields. The largest of the open fields, Newland and West Field, were not finally enclosed until the 19th century.⁵⁷

Without the regular divisions of an orthodox midland field system, farming at a place like Pendock must have required complex management, in which neighbours in groups (rarely the whole vill) would have had to make some agreement on rotations and the fallow grazing of the fields in which they shared. They lacked the advantage often enjoyed by woodland cultivators that each was 'dwelling in the midst of his own occupying' because although most holdings had the convenience of the adjacent croft, their other lands often lay in remote fields.⁵⁸ John de Pendock's demesne in 1322 stretched over both East and West Pendock, and Robert Sandy was not alone among the tenants of 1490 in holding land in both parts of the village, in his case in Kyt Croft and Crokeberowe in the East and Pylfelde in the West.⁵⁹ Cultivation of the land and supervision of grazing stock must have involved

Pendock people in as much travel as was needed for the inhabitants of nucleated villages.

Pendock's society enjoyed relative freedom from seignorial control, but at the same time it was sharply stratified. The 11th-century manor appears to have depended for its labour on four slaves and three smallholders. Perhaps the descendants of these slaves and bordars became the handful of customary tenants paying high rents of about 1s. per acre later in the Middle Ages. The great increase in Pendock's population after 1086 came from an influx of free tenants, who acquired lands at low rents of between 1d. and 6d. per acre. It was they who occupied the majority of the scattered houses of the village, and in consequence many of them were given surnames deriving from the places where they lived — atte More, de Croumere, atte Cleve, Underhill and so on. They cleared the land, or bought from others newly created fields, and so their surnames became linked with assarts, such as Bykerudyng or Waxmonsрудыng.⁶⁰ Those who either assarted on a large scale, or who took advantage of the land market, were able to build up substantial holdings. In the decades around 1300 certain names recur paying a large share of the vill's subsidy to the crown, witnessing deeds, or acting as jurors for inquisitions — atte Cleve, Waupol, Wasp, Archer, Danyel and atte More. At the other end of the social spectrum, numerous smallholders, who are hidden from view in the 13th century, appear in plenty in the 15th when their numbers elsewhere were usually shrinking. At least 20 of them held a messuage and a croft, or a couple of acres of land, or can be assumed to have held little land from the fact that they paid very low rents. Above them were a few middling tenants with between 8 and 22 acres (3 and 9 ha) of land, but they were dwarfed by two very large holdings based at Moor Court and Prior's Court, paying leasehold rents of £3 and £3 6s. 8d. respectively, which must have between them controlled the bulk of the agrarian resources of the village. There is a strong impression in the Pendock records, more so than in those of most manors, that the tenants held land from other lords in nearby villages. This is true of the major tenants like the late 13th-century John Waupol who held land at Welland as well as Pendock, and also of the smallholders, who may not have been as poor as their meagre Pendock holdings would suggest.⁶¹

The differentiation of the Pendock peasants between a few wealthy farmers and the many smallholders resulted from their involvement in the market, which often had a stronger influence in woodland than champion villages. The records of neighbouring Longdon show that its tenants in the late 14th century had commercial links with the towns of Tewkesbury and Gloucester, and in 1423–24 John Persones of Pendock paid the substantial fine of 3s. 4d. for trading in Gloucester, presumably for selling agricultural produce. A John Persons, perhaps his son, appears in the rental 40 years later as a tenant of 10 acres (4 ha).⁶² The high rents paid for the large holdings of Prior's Court and Moor Court could only have been paid out of the profits of selling substantial amounts of surplus produce in distant markets. The medieval pottery tells much the same story as that of the Roman period, in that the bulk of it was made locally, at Hanley Castle, and therefore reflects trade over a very short distance, though pottery from the Forest of Dean and Worcester indicates wider contacts. Pendock peasants also bought the local services of specialist

carpenters, judging from the good quality cruck-based timber frames of a barn still standing on Pendock Lane, and a cottage on the parish boundary in Sledge Green.

Neither the inequalities of Pendock society, nor its commercial character, nor the divided village territory, would have prevented the necessary growth of some community organization. The leading villagers assessed and collected the sums of money needed to meet Pendock's quota of taxes for the king. They elected and supported churchwardens who looked after the fabric and material goods of the church, which at a place like Pendock must have been an important unifying focus. Like the people of the nearby vills of Castlemorton and Chaceley, they would have been expected collectively to repair roads and clean ditches. And like the men of Castlemorton in 1377, they would no doubt have mounted resistance to encroachments on their common grazing from other villages.⁶³

The people living in woodland landscapes were by no means immune from the late medieval crises: the catalogue of disasters mounted inexorably at Longdon, adjoining Pendock, in the accounting year from September 1348 to September 1349. At least eighteen tenants (a majority) died in the plague epidemic, and the wet weather flooded the meadows and rotted the corn. Two messuages and three cottages burnt down, and the sergeant of the manor had to pay 3*s.* 10*d.* in bribes to royal officials who intended to purvey (purchase compulsorily) corn. Tithe corn receipts dropped from 108 qrs in 1340–41 to 67 qrs in 1354–55.⁶⁴ But these were merely transient episodes in a long-term decline in population and shift in agriculture from arable to pasture. In 1428 Pendock was listed for tax purposes among the villages which had less than ten households, imprecisely suggesting that a majority of its population had gone.⁶⁵ In 1490 24 tenants were listed as holding messuages, which would indicate a total population of just over 100. Rather less than 100 are implied by the fifteen taxpayers in 1525 and the eighteen families listed as resident in 1563.⁶⁶ So in the last two centuries of the Middle Ages the numbers of people living in Pendock had diminished by more than a half, very much in line with the national trend. Many of the previously inhabited messuages were abandoned. The 1490 rental lists five tofts (former messuages without buildings) and at least six other messuages were threatened with decay because they were held by tenants with more than one holding. Two others belonged to absentee tenants with homes in other villages. The retreat of settlement is indicated directly by the earthworks of a dozen house sites, and eight concentrated scatters of medieval pottery (see Fig. 3b). The material evidence reminds us that the desertion of house sites has been an almost continuous process, as, judging from the pottery, occupation ceased at one site (to the N. of the church) in the 14th century, and at others in the 15th, whereas another (at Sledge Green), produced finds of both medieval and post-medieval pottery and was not abandoned until after 1600. Desertion continued in recent times; two of the sites now visible as earthworks were marked as standing buildings on early 19th-century maps, and a total of ten buildings existing in 1841 have now gone.

Settlement desertion clearly affected places such as Pendock, but did not result in the departure of all the tenants. Nor were arable lands converted wholesale to pasture, as some of Pendock's fields remained in cultivation in the later Middle Ages. We are discovering more than just shrinkage and decay. The later Middle Ages saw

much tenurial consolidation at Pendock, in which formerly separate holdings merged. Waupol's tenement, for example, was absorbed by its neighbours in the 15th century, and above all the various manors — those of the Pendocks, the Abetots, and Little Malvern Priory, were united in the 15th century under the lordship of a branch of the Throckmorton family.⁶⁷ All of this made messuages redundant, including the manor house of the Pendocks. In modern times the chief mansions of the village were to be Moor Court and Prior's Court. A process of migration within the parish has quickened in pace in the last 150 years. This has partly reflected the consolidation and enclosure of land holdings, and the arrival of growing numbers of villagers whose living did not depend directly on agriculture. Some areas, near the church for example, have lost inhabitants, and clusters of houses have developed at Sledge Green in East Pendock, and at the cross roads near Cromer Lake in the West. In 1889 so far had the centre of gravity shifted to the W. that a wooden church was built near Cromer Lake, and after another century the medieval church has been declared redundant.

CONCLUSION

Can any better answer be given to the questions posed at the beginning of this essay, in the light of the study of Pendock?

1. The arrangement of roads, houses and fields at Pendock amounts to a specific settlement type, the interrupted row. Similar patterns recur in other parts of W. and N. Worcestershire, and published plans show interrupted rows as far apart as South Wales and East Anglia.⁶⁸ Many other forms of dispersed settlement are known (see p. 99) and the next stage of research must be to gather more data and compile distribution maps of the different plan types.

A contrast is often drawn between the regularity of the nucleated village and the informality, even the disorder, of the dispersed settlements, but patterns such as the interrupted row cannot have formed without some degree of organization. This should not surprise us, because 'irregular' field systems are often found to have been worked in practice on a regular rotation.⁶⁹ As in the laying out of a nucleated village, so in the allocation of house sites in a dispersed settlement, both the lord and the community would have had an interest. In particular in the case of an interrupted row each new messuage and croft (we presume that they were added piecemeal) encroached on the common pasture of the existing inhabitants, and the community of the vill could therefore have had a view on the development of sites. The lord claimed rights over the common also, and expected the newcomers to recognize his superiority and pay a rent.⁷⁰

2. The origins of the occupation of the land, at Pendock as in many other woodland areas, goes back into prehistory. But that should not imply a precise continuity in settlement sites. In only one example at Pendock does a concentration of Roman finds coincide with a medieval pottery scatter. Indeed the Romano-British sites in East Pendock lie well apart from the later medieval houses, on land used in the Middle Ages as open fields and arable crofts. It is possible, but unlikely, that Romano-British sites are hidden under the pasture fields containing medieval earthwork sites; nearby arable fields have produced only thin scatters of Roman sherds. Woodland regeneration over a large area in the post-Roman centuries guaranteed an interruption in settlement continuity. Although no pottery of the period 400 to 1000 has been found at Pendock, analogy with Frocester and Roel in nearby Gloucestershire, where grass-tempered pottery has been found on sites that were not occupied in the later Middle Ages, and with E. England where pottery scatters of the period

are more abundant and more closely datable, would lead us to expect that the settlements of that period were subject to instability.⁷¹

Pendock's interrupted rows were mainly created in the 12th and 13th centuries, but the road with its houses running N. of the church could well have been laid out before the Conquest. Evidently the notion that dispersed settlements were formed in the post-Conquest assarting movement is not the whole story. Interrupted rows could have originated as a settlement form in the 10th or 11th centuries, or even earlier, judging from their existence at places with much better evidence for a large pre-Conquest population than Pendock.⁷² There is always the possibility, familiar from the work on nucleated villages, of wholesale re-organization and replanning of dispersed settlements in the 11th and 12th centuries. Only extensive excavation will resolve the problem.

3. Dispersed settlements experienced change and decay just like the nucleated villages. In the case of the interrupted rows growth could have been accommodated by extending the houses along the road system with only limited damage to agricultural activity. Documentary evidence suggests that the crofts and tofts were infilled by cottages for subtenants and relatives, though this is not readily apparent in the earthworks of abandoned sites.⁷³ One could imagine, as has been argued for similar German settlements, that a progressive nucleation could occur as the gaps between houses filled up, but such a far flung pattern as is found in places like Pendock could only form a compact village through wholesale abandonment of outlying houses.⁷⁴

In decline from the 14th century the interrupted row could be thinned by the loss of individual houses avoiding the traumas that affected many nucleated villages. The associated agrarian system was both resilient and adaptable. An example would be Fornsett (Norfolk), which lost a half of its bond tenants by 1565, but without a collapse of the village economy.⁷⁵ The desertion of a whole settlement, and the total conversion of its fields from arable to pasture, was much more commonly experienced in the champion than in the woodland settlements. Nucleated villages, with their specialized and unified agricultural systems, were vulnerable to adverse changes.⁷⁶

4. Dispersed settlements should not be regarded as failed nucleated villages, or be thought to mark a primitive evolutionary survival of a proto-village. They were a very successful and long-lived settlement type, and the combination of scattered houses and irregular fields gave the inhabitants many economic advantages. At some stage in the pre-Conquest period different regions embarked on different paths of development. To continue with the biological analogy, they are the equivalent of sheep and goats, different branches deriving from a common ancestor.

The problem lies in explaining why they diverged. It may be that the common ancestor is an illusion. The Romano-British settlements that preceded the nucleated villages of Northamptonshire, for example, seem to have been fewer and larger than those that underlie a woodland settlement like Pendock. The distribution of Roman industries dependent on wood fuel notably pottery-making and tile-making suggest the presence of woods in such areas as W. Worcestershire and N. Warwickshire, in the same places where they existed in the Middle Ages.⁷⁷ But such a line of argument would merely push the problem back into an earlier period, not resolve the reason for the differences. In the Middle Ages the environment of the champion areas undoubtedly differed from that of the woodlands. The people of Pendock may have eventually cleared its woods and extended arable cultivation over a high proportion of the village's territory, but this came late, a century or more after the period of village formation elsewhere. And even at the end of the colonization Pendock retained the grazing of the moor and a general flexibility in the use of land that most champion villages lacked. But variations in land use form part of the package of

differences between champion and woodland landscapes. Did contrasts in geology and soils determine the type of rural landscape? Environmental factors had some influence, but the differences in soils cannot always be judged to have been very great, and the same soil type can be found in districts with divergent settlement patterns.⁷⁸ The argument that increasing population densities forced the champion into nucleation cannot be the sole explanation, as the woodland areas did not necessarily support lower densities of people. At the time of Domesday, for example, SE. Worcestershire, a land of nucleated villages either in formation or completed, had as many people per square km as parts of E. Suffolk, which probably had a dispersed settlement pattern then, and certainly did later.⁷⁹ Perhaps in any case the demographic characteristics of a region depended on its agrarian regime, and did not independently determine the settlement and farming system.

If 'natural' factors such as soils or population densities do not solve the problem, neither can ethnic or social differences provide an easy explanation. Pendock belonged to a sphere of British influence, but no close coincidence is apparent between settlement types and the assumed distribution of ethnic groups. Pendock's lordship was divided and weak, but a similar lack of powerful lords is found in many nucleated villages. Pendock's neighbours, with a similar pattern of settlement and fields, lived under the powerful rule of Westminster Abbey. The suggestion that the circumstances in which the Germanic conquest took place had a profound influence on the subsequent pattern of development seems unlikely, in view of the remoteness of the conquest from the period in which the different settlement types were formed.⁸⁰

Rather than seeking a single explanation of local differences, we must expect to find that regional cultures, then as now, were forged from a complex combination of environmental and social factors. Soils, social structures, and lordship may not on their own have determined the distinction between champion and woodland, but acting in combination they may have had a cumulative effect. We need to do more groundwork in describing and analysing the complex variations in regional cultures.

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²⁰ C. J. Bond, 'The Marshlands of Malvern Chase', 95-112 in R. T. Rowley (ed.), *The Evolution of Marshland Landscapes* (Oxford Univ. Dept. of External Studies, 1981).

²¹ Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, *Land Classification Maps*, sheet 143; J. M. Ragg et al., *Soils and their Use in Midland and Western England* (Soil Survey of England and Wales, Bulletin no. 12, Harpenden, 1984), 319-23, 344-48.

²² *Domesday Book* (Record Commission, 1783), 1, fols. 173-74, 180. Domesday leagues have been converted to hectares according to the formula in O. Rackham, *Ancient Woodland* (London, 1980), 113-17. For Malvern Chase see B. S. Smith, *A History of Malvern* (Leicester, 1964), 25-40.

²³ E. g. Smith, op. cit. in note 22, 12.

²⁴ S. C. Stanford, *Midsummer Hill. An Iron Age Hillfort on the Malverns* (Leominster, 1981), 165-66. A sherd of pottery from West Pendock could be Iron Age in date, but is more likely to reflect the survival of a native tradition in the Roman period.

²⁵ I am grateful for Paul Booth's comments on the Romano-British pottery.

²⁶ E. g. G. Webster and B. Hobley, 'Aerial Reconnaissance over the Warwickshire Avon', *Archaeol. J.*, LXXI (1964), 1-22.

²⁷ For general observations on this problem, P. Salway, *Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1981), 544. The field-walking evidence is based on investigation of all land under the plough in 1985-88. The blank areas of Fig. 2 were under grass in those years.

²⁸ E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1936), 344. I am grateful to Dr Margaret Gelling for advice on Pendock's place-names.

²⁹ C. Dyer, *Hanbury: Settlement and Society in a Woodland Landscape* (Dept. of English Local Hist. Occasional Paper, Univ. of Leicester, forthcoming); B. Schumer, *The Evolution of Wychwood to 1400: Pioneers, Frontiers and Forests* (Dept. of English Local Hist. Occasional Paper, Univ. of Leicester, 3rd ser., 6, 1984); Taylor, op. cit. in note 6, 121; see also P. T. H. Unwin, 'The Changing Identity of the Frontier in medieval Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire', 339-51 in B. K. Roberts and R. E. Glasscock (ed.), *Villages, Fields and Frontiers* (British Archaeological Reports International Ser., 185, 1983).

³⁰ *D.B.*, 1, fol. 173; *Evesham A, a Domesday Text*, ed. P. H. Sawyer (Worcs. Hist. Soc., Miscellany 1, 1960), 32 shows that the wood was partly in Berrow.

³¹ For Welland see C. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society. The Estates of the Bishopric of Worcester 680-1540* (Cambridge, 1980), 70-71. Berrow's connection with Overbury is suggested by the dependence of its chapel on Overbury church: *Victoria County History of Worcestershire* (henceforth *V.C.H. Worcs.*), III, 260; and by the Domesday satellite, *Evesham A*, op. cit. in note 30, 32.

³² W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum* (London, 1885-93), no. 541; H. P. R. Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester, 1961), 105-06; P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (London, 1968), no. 216.

- ³³ *Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1723), I, 185. The best text of the charter is Birch, op. cit. in note 32, no. 1208.
- ³⁴ B. F. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1977), 360–64; *D.B.*, I, fol. 174.
- ³⁵ D. Hooke, 'The Anglo-Saxon Landscape', 79–103 in Slater and Jarvis (ed.), op. cit. in note 4.
- ³⁶ Finberg, op. cit. in note 32, 106.
- ³⁷ Birch, op. cit. in note 32, nos. 542 and 1208. I am grateful to Dr Della Hooke for showing me her comments on the boundaries.
- ³⁸ *Hemingi Chartularium*, op. cit. in note 33, I, 183, 249–50; *D.B.*, I, fol. 173; *Evesham A*, op. cit. in note 30, 30.
- ³⁹ Hereford and Worcester County Record Office (henceforth H.W.C.R.O.), (Worcester branch), ref. 705: 101, BA 882/2 and BA 1097/1 (rentals of 1464 and 1490).
- ⁴⁰ I am grateful to Dr Alan Vince for his advice on this and other identifications of medieval pottery.
- ⁴¹ The church is described in *V.C.H. Worcs.*, III, 480–81. I have benefited from Mr Allan Brodie's comments on the architecture of the church; on the general point on the dating of churches, J. Blair, 'Local Churches in Domesday Book and Before', 265–78 in J. C. Holt (ed.), *Domesday Studies* (Woodbridge, 1987); id., 'Introduction: from Minster to Parish Church', 1–19 in id. (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches. The Local Church in Transition* (Oxford Univ. Committee for Archaeol. monograph no. 17, 1988).
- ⁴² For similar shapes, see Roberts, op. cit. in note 4, 75.
- ⁴³ For Domesday omissions, J. F. R. Walmsley, 'The "censarii" of Burton Abbey and the Domesday population', *North Staffs. J. of Field Studies*, VIII (1968), 73–80; S. P. J. Harvey, 'Taxation and the Economy', 249–64, in Holt (ed.), op. cit. in note 41.
- ⁴⁴ H. E. Hallam (ed.), *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, II (Cambridge, 1989), passim. The use of the term was an editorial policy.
- ⁴⁵ Dyer, op. cit. in note 31, pp. 63, 91–93; *Great Roll of the Pipe ... 1175–6* (Pipe Roll Soc., xxv, 1904), 39; *Great Roll of the Pipe ... 1176–7* (Pipe Roll Soc., xxvi, 1905), 66.
- ⁴⁶ *Cartae Antiquae*, ed. J. C. Davies (Pipe Roll Soc., LXXI, 1957), 189–90.
- ⁴⁷ Public Record Office (henceforth P.R.O.), C134/74/11.
- ⁴⁸ *V.C.H. Worcs.*, III, 478–81; the location of the de Pendock manor house is implied by the 1322 survey cited in note 47 above.
- ⁴⁹ If 40% of households paid tax, a common estimate, the 15 taxpayers of 1327 would imply a total of 34; *Lay Subsidy Roll for the County of Worcester I Edward III*, ed. F. J. Eld (Worcs. Hist. Soc., 1895), 9; the later rentals (cited in note 39) list 37 messuages and tofts which are likely all to have been occupied in c. 1300.
- ⁵⁰ Christopher Greenwood, *County map-maker, and his Worcestershire map of 1822*, ed. J. B. Harley (Worcs. Hist. Soc., 1962); H.W.C.R.O. (Worcester branch), APS 760/516, BA 1572 (tithe map of 1841); ref. 850 BA 2373 (enclosure map of 1843).
- ⁵¹ *V.C.H. Worcs.*, IV, 469.
- ⁵² R.A.F. Sortie no. 106 G/UC 1488/1946 and UC 1652/1946.
- ⁵³ J. Field, *English Field Names* (Newton Abbot, 1972), 89.
- ⁵⁴ For Lukes Grove, see rentals cited in note 39; for Pendock Grove British Library, Add. Ch. 73751 (dated 1450); H.W.C.R.O. (Hereford branch), OS. 179; Q/R1/17.
- ⁵⁵ H.W.C.R.O. (Worcester branch), ref. 705:101, BA 1097/1.
- ⁵⁶ P.R.O., C134/74/11.
- ⁵⁷ H.W.C.R.O. (Worcester branch), ref. 850, BA 2373.
- ⁵⁸ The quotation is from William Harrison's *Description of England*, cited by Homans, op. cit. in note 17, p. 21.
- ⁵⁹ P.R.O., C134/74/11; H.W.C.R.O. (Worcester branch), ref. 705:101, BA 882/2.
- ⁶⁰ Westminster Abbey Muniments (henceforth W.A.M.), 32817 (rental of 1442); Worcester Cathedral Library, B660–B662 (deeds of late 13th century, 1309, 1319).
- ⁶¹ *Lay Subsidy Roll for the County of Worcester circa. 1280 (recte 1275)*, ed. J. W. Willis Bund and J. Amphlett (Worcs. Hist. Soc., 1893), 44.
- ⁶² W.A.M., 21119, 21125; Gloucestershire Record Office (henceforth G.R.O.), G.B.R. C 9/4 (I am grateful to Dr Richard Holt for this reference); H.W.C.R.O. (Worcester branch), ref. 705:101, BA 1097/1.
- ⁶³ W.A.M., 21120, 21124, 21123.
- ⁶⁴ W.A.M., 21019, 21037–21045; the calculation of the rate of mortality depends on G.R.O., D 1099/M37; Harvey, op. cit. in note 34, 433.
- ⁶⁵ *Feudal Aids*, v, 314.
- ⁶⁶ H.W.C.R.O. (Worcester branch), ref. 705:101, BA 882/2; P.R.O., E179 200/136; T. R. Nash, *Collections for the History of Worcestershire* (London, 1781–82), II, 241–42.
- ⁶⁷ *V.C.H. Worcs.*, III, 479–80.
- ⁶⁸ H. J. Thomas and G. Dowdell, 'A Shrunken Medieval Village at Barry, South Glamorgan', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 136 (1987), 94–137; D. Dymond and E. Martin (ed.), *An Historical Atlas of Suffolk* (2nd edn, Ipswich, 1989), 70–71. For a description of the type, A. Davison *et al.*, 'Six Deserted Villages in Norfolk', *East Anglian Archaeol.*, 44 (1988), 59.
- ⁶⁹ Hallam, (ed.), op. cit. in note 44, 370–74.
- ⁷⁰ A good example of the regularization of a new house is in the Longdon court roll for 1373 (W.A.M., 21116). John Muchegros was reported to have built a house 'of two couples' (i.e. of one bay) on the common of Chaceley. The villagers knew first, and perhaps had consented. They reported it to the lord's court, which accepted the new encroachment on payment of a fine of 6d.

⁷¹ For Frocester, H. S. Gracie, 'Frocester Court Roman Villa, Gloucestershire', *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Archaeol. Soc.*, LXXXIX (1970), 15-86, especially 50-52; for Roel, unpublished finds by the author and D. Aldred; for the general instability, Taylor, *op. cit.* in note 6, 120-21.

⁷² E.g. Frocester, Glos.: M. Aston and L. Viner, 'The Study of Deserted Villages in Gloucestershire', 276-93 in A. Saville (ed.), *Archaeology in Gloucestershire* (Cheltenham, 1984), especially fig. 10.

⁷³ Z. Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish* (Cambridge, 1980), 51-57.

⁷⁴ E. Eigler, 'Regular Settlements in Franconia founded by the Franks in the early Middle Ages', 83-91 in Roberts and Glasscock (ed.), *op. cit.* in note 29.

⁷⁵ D. Dymond, *The Norfolk Landscape* (London, 1985), 140-41.

⁷⁶ C. Dyer, 'Deserted Medieval Villages in the West Midlands', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., xxxv (1982), 19-34.

⁷⁷ On the larger Northants. nucleations see the plans by D. Hall, e.g. in 'The Late Saxon Countryside: Villages and their Fields', 99-122 in Hooke (ed.), *op. cit.* in note 5; on Roman woodland, G. Webster, 'Prehistoric Settlements and Land Use in the West Midlands and the impact of Rome', 31-58 in Slater and Jarvis (ed.), *op. cit.* in note 4.

⁷⁸ The soil series of Pendock, for example, Whimble 3 and Worcester, extended into champion areas of the E. Midlands, see *Soil Survey*, *op. cit.* in note 21.

⁷⁹ H. C. Darby, *Domesday England* (Cambridge, 1977), 90, 127.

⁸⁰ For the suggestion, Williamson, *op. cit.* in note 8.