

JOHN HURST DISSERTATION PRIZE 2016

In 2004, the *Medieval Settlement Research Group* announced the launch of a prize, set up in honour of the late John Hurst, who did so much to promote the field of medieval archaeology and in particular the study of medieval settlement. To encourage new and young scholars in the field, an annual prize of £200 is offered to graduate students for the best Masters dissertation on any theme in the field of medieval settlement and landscape in Britain and Ireland (c. AD 400–1600). Directors of Masters courses in Archaeology, English

Local History, Landscape Studies and related fields are invited to submit high-quality completed dissertations for consideration by the MSRSG Committee. For the 2016 award, we are delighted to announce that the prize winner is Norma Oldfield, whose dissertation was part of her MA in Medieval Archaeology at the University of York, and who currently works as Project Supervisor at Trent and Peak Archaeology in Nottingham. The following article presents an extended summary of Norma's MA research.

SYMBOLS OF INITIATIVE AND POWER? PARISH CHURCH FOUNDATION IN RURAL SETTLEMENTS OF THE SAXO-NORMAN DANELAW

By NORMA OLDFIELD

Introduction

It was once written that Bishop Herman of Ramsbury, during a visit to Pope Leo IX in 1049, spoke of 'England being filled everywhere with churches which daily were being added anew in new places' (Gem 1988, 21). Still scattered throughout the English countryside today, parish churches stand as some of the most prominent cultural artefacts of our medieval past. As the fields of both landscape and church archaeology continue to evolve, these buildings are gathering greater recognition as essential to our understanding of settlement history (Bowden 1999, 155–156; Rodwell 2012, 48).

This paper will apply new principles and methods of landscape and church archaeology to the study of Saxo-Norman parish churches in the Danelaw. During this crucial transition period of settlement expansion and replanning, as well as increased levels of manorialization and tenurial complexity, the Danelaw became a place where the creation of new manors, the emergence of new patterns of authority and landownership, and the construction of local churches were all tied together (Blair 1991, 124; Jones and Page 2006, 68; McClain 2011a, 151). In investigating the function of these particular buildings within settlements, my aim is better to understand the articulation of power within rural villages and how it can be revealed through spatial analysis of parish churches. Of the many components of settlements, buildings and, more specifically, parish churches may provide some of the most promising avenues of research into the Saxo-Norman period. Whilst there was once a tendency to regard churches as neutral and interesting only as architectural and archaeological

remains, there is now increasing recognition of churches as important focal places for settlements, as forces of stability, and as influential symbols in the landscape (Aston 1985, 50; Daniels 1996, 113; Morris 1989, 248).

This paper seeks to address the following questions: what is the role of the parish church during the Saxo-Norman period? What patterns of spatial distribution between parish churches and other village features be discerned? How does the social composition of village inhabitants influence the physical placement of churches within the village? These questions focus on current landscape archaeology themes that aim to develop a more holistic understanding of the origins and development of landscapes (Rippon 2012, 20). The themes that apply to this paper not only include concrete landscape components such as settlement patterns but also conceptual aspects of status and tenurial structures (Rippon 2012, 21–23).

Background

Changes to the parochial system during the Saxo-Norman period brought an increasing overlap between ecclesiastical and secular spheres. As a result, connections between the origins of parish churches, the development of local lordship, and the emergence of local communities still provides fertile ground for historians (Blair 1988, 7). More specifically, it was the combination of new systems of local government and land-tenure alongside a developing territorial aristocracy that brought about new forms of power and patronage (Blair 1988, 2). As a result, both the establishment of lordly control and the negotiation of elite status

were more highly contested during the post-Conquest period. Such change had implications on the exercise of lordship on both general patterns of landholding and on relationships within the village. The ability of some lords to structure the countryside and settlements, some scholars suggest, had a great impact upon social relationships within the village, for it led to intensified manorial exploitation and a 'heavier hand of lordship' upon the peasantry (Blair 2005, 370). Thus, it is claimed that the creation of nucleated settlements was closely tied to coercion and exploitation by the landowning class (Saunders 2000, 214–216).

However, such claims are still highly contested. Dyer (2000, 2–3) suggests that they most likely actually lacked either the inclination or the opportunities to exercise complete control. Because lords ranged from great lay aristocrats to prosperous peasants, the exercise of lordship was likely to have been a highly individualistic practice (Hadley 2000, 49; Harvey 1989, 36).

The consideration of agency and power within settlements is essential if we are to understand spatial relationships, as it will allow us to assess whether the parish church was used as a means of conveying such interactions between various groups of people in a settlement. Although frequently small and rural, parish churches would have had a significant role in the negotiation of control (McClain 2011a, 155). If we accept the model of planned settlements, regardless of influence from the lord or peasant communities, then the distribution of buildings cannot be seen as wholly random and the location of the church may have been particularly influential (Jones and Page 2006, 14–15). Thus, questions of church foundations and spatial location are intrinsically tied up with those of social dynamics.

As the parish system developed and as new manors were created before and after the Norman Conquest, boundaries of parish and manor frequently coincided and many churches were sited near the manor-house (Jones and Page 2006, 69–71). Those supporting the argument for seigneurial foundation of churches and settlements cite the quantity of sites from the twelfth century onward featuring church and manor-house in close proximity (Morris 1989, 248–268). For example, investigations on 52 isolated churches in western Suffolk revealed that at least 36 stood beside existing halls or moated sites (Morris 1989, 274). In his study on rural churches in Surrey, Blair (1991, 135) found that the largest group of churches were those near manor houses; almost all of lay origin, a number of them were identified as being the result of subinfeudation and are sited away from the village. It is argued that incidences such as these demonstrate that churches were used by the elite to reinforce and stabilise feudal relationships, with their patronage a means of constructing political and social power (McClain 2011b, 471; McClain 2017, 217). However, existing studies on this subject have failed to move beyond specific sites towards the analysis of wider regions, leaving few studies from which to base this paper.

However, there is also a growing body of scholarship that seeks to recognise the status and power of the village community. During the Saxo-Norman period, the peasantry of the Danelaw consisted of a wide variety of

groups. The most common categories of peasants were slaves, *villani*, *bordarii/cottarii*, sokemen and freemen, with each containing different obligations and different patterns of distribution across the region (Hadley 2000, 176; Loyn 1962, 344). Sokemen and freemen were most often found in the Danelaw and can be described as free peasants who owed only light services to the lord (Hadley 2000, 180; Loyn 1962, 344–345; Stenton 1969, 1).

It is these groups of people who may also have been responsible for planning villages and field systems, as their presence might have meant that the lord only exercised intermittent control (Dyer 2000, 2; Hadley 2000, 81–82). It is possible that the construction of many churches was also heavily influenced by the wider parish community (McClain 2011b, 471). While churches may have existed as symbols of overlordship, it is equally possible that their construction may have served as an expression of independence by peasant communities (Hadley 2000, 82).

In their study of churches with Lincolnshire towers, Stocker and Everson (2006; Everson and Stocker 2006) demonstrated that in some instances, freemen were clearly influential in determining the location of the parish church. The high occurrence of churches sited on an open green is a significant find, for it goes against many preconceived scholarly notions about the relationship between the lord and foundation of the parish church. Where those such as Daniels (1996) have found close connections between church and lordship emerging in the pre-Conquest period, this analysis of churches in Lincolnshire has demonstrated that this may not necessarily be so, for the high percentage of churches located on open greens also correlated with those places with high proportions of sokemen (Everson and Stocker 2006, 121). Thus, the public siting of a church with a settlement containing a high population of freemen is likely to signal a communal rather than lordly initiative in the foundation of these churches (Everson and Stocker 2006, 115; Stocker and Everson 2006, 67).

With evidence that both settlements and churches could be founded through community rather than through seigneurial initiative, further exploration of spatial relationships that do not correspond with the church-manor model would be beneficial. Despite a few examples that attempt analyses of spatial distribution across large areas, the role of human agency in shaping the location of parish churches is still poorly considered. Since landscapes are the products of numerous cultural processes, the integration of a social dimension into systematic investigations of rural landscapes is necessary (Rippon 2012, 52). While Morris (1989, 239) provided population distribution as a factor in church placement, we must also consider whether population composition was a significant factor. In integrating both archaeological and documentary evidence, this paper further demonstrates the need for the application of historical landscape analysis to the study of parish churches for this crucial period in medieval history.

Methodology

This paper attempted to take the principles of analysis for parish churches in Lincolnshire by Stocker and Everson

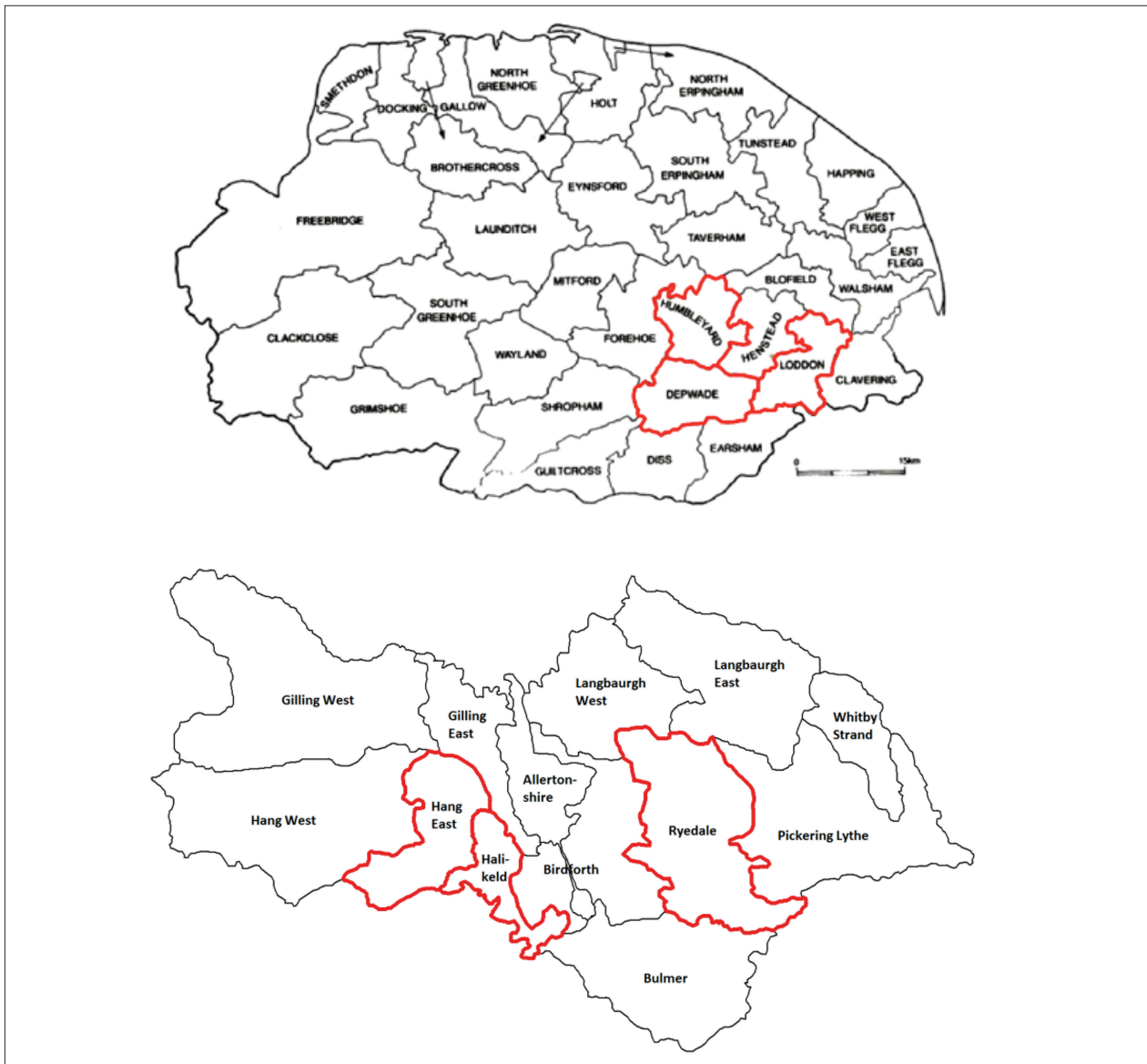


Figure 1 The hundreds of Norfolk (top) (Williamson 1993, 127) and wapentakes of the North Riding (bottom), with study areas highlighted in red. Figure prepared by author.

(2006) and applied them to previously unexplored parts of Norfolk and the North Riding of Yorkshire. These areas were selected for their idiosyncratic populations and landholding patterns during the Saxo-Norman period. East Anglia contained the highest concentration of recorded freemen in the country and in Norfolk specifically, freemen and sokemen accounted for 42 per cent of the population (Darby 1952, 114; Loyn 1962, 345; Warner 1986, 43–44). It was also a county featuring complex patterns of lordship, where many vills contained more than one manor (Godfrey 2007, 3). By contrast, although the North Riding of Yorkshire was part of the northern Danelaw, there were few sokemen recorded here (Darby and Maxwell 1962, 119). Additionally, the manorial structure of the region was quite different from the rest of England; it contained dispersed patterns of landholding and lordship, with large estates consisting of a central manor and outlying dependencies (Hadley 2000, 165).

To assess the setting of each church, this paper undertook a plan-form analysis of each settlement for which it can be determined a church stood during the Anglo-Norman period. First Edition Ordnance Survey maps, as well as available tithe maps and aerial photographs, were used to apply the principles of map regression onto qualifying settlements and to derive conjectural plan forms (Norfolk County Council 2012; Rippon 2012, 79). In order to understand these settlement forms and where the church fits within them, I have applied the system developed by Roberts (1982, 10–11; 1987, 20–21), which states that all villages are composed of the same basic plan-elements that can be combined in a multitude of ways to produce a variety of settlement forms. In so doing, such classifications help to sharpen observations and discussions, resulting in easier identification between the delineation of settlement components including public, private and communal spaces (Roberts 1982, 14; 1989, 61).

After general settlement patterns have been established, this paper focuses on the analysis of the spatial relationships between the church and other settlement components, following that of Stocker and Everson (2006, 64): Type 1 churches (relationship with topographical locations or pre-existing features); Type 2 churches (relationship with the open green of the settlement); Type 3 churches (various relationships with the manorial curia). Type 3 churches will be further divided: (a) churches built in or near the manorial curia and (b) churches established within the settlement rows (Everson and Stocker 2006, 117–119). Using the methodology for spatial analysis and identification of settlement components from Everson *et al.* (1991) and Stocker and Everson (2006), this paper will assess whether the occurrence of Type 2 churches in settlements is indeed connected to the presence of sokemen or freemen in the selected study areas.

Results

In Norfolk, the assessment focused on settlements in Humbleyard Hundred, Depwade Hundred and Loddard Hundred (Fig. 1). This area, containing a total of 67 parishes, was selected because it contained a comparatively high number of settlements, population, free peasantry, and medieval churches, which maximised the chances of finding relevant sites. Investigations into the presence of standing fabric for all 67 parish churches revealed that a total of 35 churches, eight, thirteen and fourteen, respectively, could definitively be dated to the Saxo-Norman period (Fig. 2).

One of the many details recorded in each entry of Domesday Book is the population. Since it is recorded as the number of heads of household, this does not provide exact numbers. Nevertheless, it paints a relatively accurate representative picture. Population

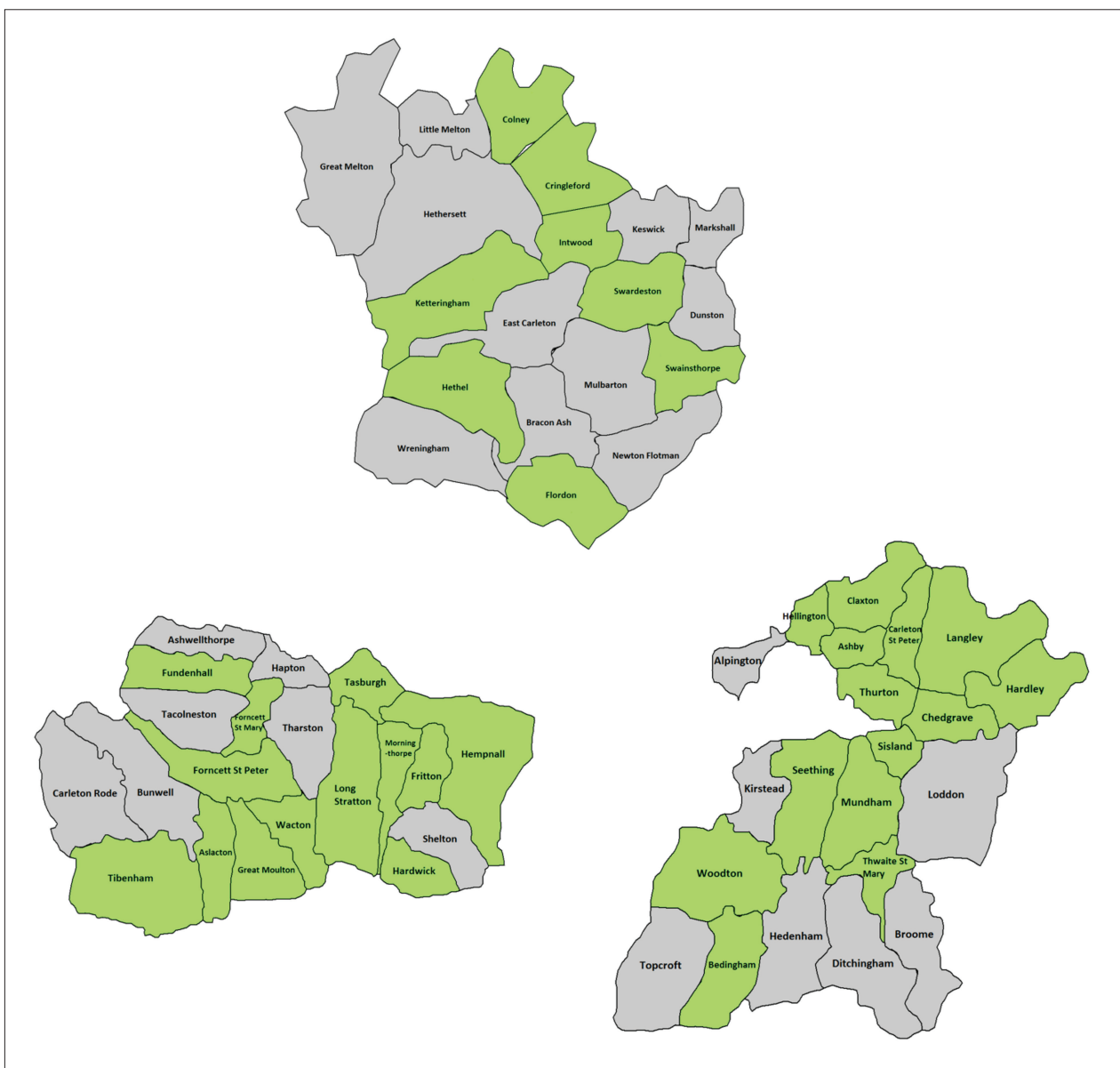


Figure 2 Parishes within the hundreds of Depwade (bottom left), Humbleyard (top centre) and Loddard (bottom right). All parishes in green are those whose churches are confirmed to contain standing fabric from the twelfth century or earlier. Figure prepared by author.

Table 1 Domesday Book Records for Norfolk Study Area (Source: Brown 1984).

Church/Hundred	Domesday Book Tenant-in-chief of largest/most valuable holding in vill	Domesday Book Lord of largest/most valuable holding in vill	1066 lord of church	Number of estates in Domesday vill	Number of Domesday Book freemen and/or sokemen	Church part of largest holding in vill?
St Andrew, Colney (Humbleyard)	Godric the Steward	Walter	-	3	30	-
St Peter, Cringleford (Humbleyard)	Bishop Odo of Bayeux	Roger Bigot	-	3	29	Yes
St Michael, Flordon (Humbleyard)	Bishop Odo of Bayeux	Roger Bigot	-	8	34.5	-
All Saints, Hethel (Humbleyard)	Roger Bigot	Aitard of Vaux	-	2	8	Yes
All Saints, Intwood (Humbleyard)	Eudo the Steward	Ralph	-	1	0	Yes
St Peter, Ketteringham (Humbleyard)	Roger Bigot	Ranulf, son of Walter	-	3	17	Yes
St Peter, Swainsthorpe (Humbleyard)	Eudo the Steward	Ralph	15 freemen	4	43.5	No
St Mary, Swardeston (Humbleyard)	Ralph of Beaufour	Richard	-	5	26	Yes
St Michael, Aslacton (Depwade)	Roger Bigot	Roger Bigot	-	5	17	-
St Mary, Forncett St Mary (Depwade)	Roger Bigot	Roger Bigot	-	6	10	-
St Peter, Forncett St Peter (Depwade)	Roger Bigot	Roger Bigot	-	6	10	-
St Catherine, Fritton (Depwade)	Roger Bigot	Roger Bigot	3.5 free men	9	22	No
St Peter, Fundenhall (Depwade)	Earl Hugh	Roger Bigot	-	4	7	Yes
St Michael, Moulton (Depwade)	Roger Bigot	Roger Bigot	1 free man	6	42.5	No
St Margaret, Hardwick (Depwade)	Roger Bigot	Roger Bigot	-	5	6	-
St Margaret, Hempnall (Depwade)	Ralph Baynard	Ralph Baynard	-	2	3.25	Yes
St John the Baptist, Morningthorpe (Depwade)	The Abbot of St Edmund	Robert of Vaux	-	2	14	Yes
St Mary, Stratton St Mary (Depwade)	Count Alan of Brittany	Count Alan of Brittany	-	10	63	-
St Mary, Tasburgh (Depwade)	Count Alan of Brittany	Ascelin; Berard of Cockfield	-	6	19	-
All Saints, Tibenham (Depwade)	Roger Bigot	Roger Bigot	-	9	12	-
All Saints, Wacton (Depwade)	Roger Bigot	Durand	-	5	17.5	-
St Mary, Ashby St Mary (Loddard)	Roger Bigot	Robert of Vaux	-	5	27	-
St Andrew, Bedingham (Loddard)	King William	King William	-	3	31	-
St Peter, Carleton St Peter (Loddard)	Reginald, son of Ivo	Reginald, son of Ivo	-	6	25	Yes
All Saints, Chedgrave (Loddard)	Ralph Baynard	Einbold	Leofric	2	25	No
St Andrew, Claxton (Loddard)	Roger Bigot	Robert of Vaux	-	4	36	Yes
St Margaret, Hardley (Loddard)	Abbey of St Benet of Holme	Abbey of St Benet of Holme	-	1	4	-
St John the Baptist, Hellington (Loddard)	Godric the Steward	Ralph	-	2	9.5	-
St Michael, Langley (Loddard)	Bishop William	Bishop William	-	1	28	Yes
St Peter, Mundham (Loddard)	King William	King William	-	12	47	Yes
St Margaret, Seething (Loddard)	King William	King William	Church 1: Alwy of Thetford Churches 2 and 3: Ulfkil	10	32	No
St Mary, Sisland (Loddard)	King William	King William	-	2	10.5	-
St Ethelbert, Thurton (Loddard)	Roger Bigot	Robert of Vaux	-	3	7	-
St Mary, Thwaite St Mary (Loddard)	Not recorded	Not recorded	-	Not recorded	Not recorded	-
All Saints, Woodton (Loddard)	King William	King William	1 free man	7	18.5	No

Table 2 *Domesday Book Records for North Riding Study Area (Source: Faull and Stinson 1986).*

Church/Wapentake	Domesday Book Tenant-in-chief of largest/most valuable holding in vill	Domesday Book Lord of largest/most valuable holding in vill	1066 lord of church	Number of estates in Domesday vill	Number of Domesday Book freemen and/or sokemen	Church part of largest holding in vill?
St Hilda, Ampleforth (Ryedale)	Hugh, son of Baldric	Hugh, son of Baldric	Kofse	2	0	-
All Saints, Appleton-le-Street (Ryedale)	King William	King William	Cnut, son of Karli	1	0	-
St Michael and All Angels, Edstone (Ryedale)	Berengar of Tosny	Berengar of Tosny	Gamal, son of Karli	1	0	-
Holy Cross, Gilling East (Ryedale)	Hugh, son of Baldric	Hugh, son of Baldric	Orm, son of Gamal	2	0	-
All Saints, Helmsley (Ryedale)	Count Robert of Mortain	Count Robert of Mortain	Uhtred	2	0	Yes
All Saints, Hovingham (Ryedale)	Hugh, son of Baldric	Hugh, son of Baldric	Orm, son of Gamal	1	0	Yes
St Gregory, Kirkdale (Ryedale)	Not recorded	Not recorded	Not recorded	Not recorded	Not recorded	Not recorded
All Saints, Kirkbymoorside (Ryedale)	Hugh, son of Baldric	Hugh, son of Baldric	Orm, son of Gamal	1	0	Yes
St Mary, Lastingham (Ryedale)	Berengar of Tosny	Canons of York Minster	Gamal, son of Karli	1	0	-
St Michael, New Malton (Ryedale)	Not recorded	Not recorded	Not recorded	Not recorded	Not recorded	Not recorded
St Leonard, New Malton (Ryedale)	Not recorded	Not recorded	Not recorded	Not recorded	Not recorded	Not recorded
St Mary, Old Malton (Ryedale)	King William	King William	Siward, Thorkil	4	0	Yes
St Oswald, Oswaldkirk (Ryedale)	Count Robert of Mortain	Count Robert of Mortain	Uhtred	2	0	-
St John of Beverly, Salton (Ryedale)	Archbishop of York	Canons of York Minster	Ulf, son of Carleton	1	0	-
St Mary, Scawton (Ryedale)	Robert Malet	Robert Malet	Eskil	2	0	-
Holy Trinity, Stonegrave (Ryedale)	Ralph Paynel	Ralph Paynel	Merelswein	2	0	-
All Saints, Kirby Hill (Hallikeld)	King William	King William	Gospatric	2	0	-
St Michael, Kirklington (Hallikeld)	Count Alan of Brittany	Robert of Moutiers	Roskell	1	0	-
All Saints, Pickhill (Hallikeld)	Count Alan of Brittany	Count Alan of Brittany	Sprot; Thor	1	0	-
St Nicholas, West Tanfield (Hallikeld)	Count Alan of Brittany	Count Alan of Brittany	Thorkil	1	0	-
St Mary, Wath (Hallikeld)	Count Alan of Brittany	Count Alan of Brittany	Roskell	1	0	-
St Gregory, Bedale (Hang East)	Count Alan of Brittany	Bodin, brother of Bardulf	Thori	1	0	Yes
St Mary, Hornby (Hang East)	Count Alan of Brittany	Gospatric, son of Arnketil	-	1	0	-
St Mary, Kirkby Fleetham (Hang East)	Count Alan of Brittany	Odo, the Chamberlain	Gamal, son of Karli	1	0	Yes
St Patrick, Patrick Brompton (Hang East)	Count Alan of Brittany	3 men at arms	Arnketil	1	0	-
St Radegund, Scruton (Hang East)	Count Alan of Brittany	Picot of Lascelles	Cnut, son of Karli	1	0	-
St Michael, Well (Hang East)	Count Alan of Brittany	Bernwulf	Thorkil	1	0	Yes

Table 3 Spatial Analysis Observations for Norfolk Study Area.

Church/Hundred	Number of sokemen and/or freemen	% of total population	Settlement Plan classification	Location of church to settlement	Church Type	Notes
St Andrew, Colney (Humbleyard)	30	88	Irregular row plan without green	Within settlement	3B	
St Peter, Cringleford (Humbleyard)	29	85	Irregular agglomerated plan without green	Within settlement	3B	
St Michael, Flordon (Humbleyard)	34.5	87	Irregular row plan with green	Proximal to settlement	3B	
All Saints, Hethel (Humbleyard)	8	22	Dispersed plan	-	1	Church near a water source
All Saints, Intwood (Humbleyard)	0	0	Dispersed plan	-	1	Church near a water source
St Peter, Ketteringham (Humbleyard)	17	57	Regular row plan with green	Peripheral to settlement	3A	
St Peter, Swainsthorpe (Humbleyard)	43.5	73	Dispersed plan	-	1	Church near a water source
St Mary, Swardeston (Humbleyard)	26	88	Irregular row plan with green	Within settlement	1	Church near a water source
St Michael, Aslacton (Depwade)	17	68	Irregular agglomerated plan without green	Peripheral to settlement	Unclassifiable	
St Mary, Forncett St Mary (Depwade)	10	59	Regular row plan without green	Proximal to settlement	1	Church near a water source
St Peter, Forncett St Peter (Depwade)	10	59	Regular row plan without green	Proximal to settlement	1	Church near a water source
St Catherine, Fritton (Depwade)	22	47	Regular row plan with green	Peripheral to settlement	1	
St Peter, Fundenhall (Depwade)	7	12	Irregular row plan without green	Proximal to settlement	1	Church near a water source
St Michael, Moulton (Depwade)	42.5	66	Dispersed plan	-	1	
St Margaret, Hardwick (Depwade)	6	30	Irregular row plan without green	Within settlement	3B	
St Margaret, Hempnall (Depwade)	3.25	3	Irregular agglomerated plan without green	Within settlement	3B	
St John the Baptist, Morningthorpe (Depwade)	14	41	Regular row plan without green	Within settlement	3A	
St Mary, Stratton St Mary (Depwade)	63	61	Regular row plan without green	Within settlement	3A	
St Mary, Tasburgh (Depwade)	19	95	Irregular row plan without green	Proximal to settlement	1	Church near a water source
All Saints, Tibenham (Depwade)	12	12	Regular row plan without green	Within settlement	3B	
All Saints, Wacton (Depwade)	17.5	78	Irregular row plan with green	Peripheral to settlement	3A	
St Mary, Ashby St Mary (Loddard)	27	100	Dispersed plan	-	3A	
St Andrew, Bedingham (Loddard)	31	56	Irregular row plan with green	Peripheral to settlement	3A	
St Peter, Carleton St Peter (Loddard)	25	66	Dispersed plan	-	1	

Church/Hundred	Number of sokemen and/or freemen	% of total population	Settlement Plan classification	Location of church to settlement	Church Type	Notes
All Saints, Chedgrave (Loddard)	38.5	52	Regular row plan with green	Proximal to settlement	Unclassifiable	
St Andrew, Claxton (Loddard)	36	78	Regular row plan without green	Peripheral to settlement	1	
St Margaret, Hardley (Loddard)	4	44	Irregular row plan without green	Peripheral to settlement	3A	
St John the Baptist, Hellington (Loddard)	9.5	35	Dispersed plan	-	1	Church stands on a hill
St Michael, Langley (Loddard)	28	72	Dispersed plan	-	1	Church near a water source
St Peter, Mundham (Loddard)	47	69	Dispersed plan	-	3A	
St Margaret, Seething (Loddard)	32	60	Regular row plan with green	Within settlement	2	
St Mary, Sisland (Loddard)	10.5	72	Dispersed plan	-	1	
St Ethelbert, Thurton (Loddard)	7	77	Dispersed plan	-	Unclassifiable	
St Mary, Thwaite St Mary (Loddard)	Not recorded	-	Irregular row plan without green	Within settlement	3B	
All Saints, Woodton (Loddard)	18.5	43	Dispersed plan	-	3A	

Table 4 Spatial Analysis Observations for North Riding Study Area.

Church/Wapentake	Number of sokemen and/or freemen	Total population	Settlement Plan classification	Location of church to settlement	Church Type	Notes
St Hilda, Ampleforth (Ryedale)	0	0	Regular row plan without green	Proximal to settlement	3B	
All Saints, Appleton-le-Street (Ryedale)	0	0	Regular row plan with green	Within settlement	1	Church situated on rising ground
St Michael and All Angels, Edstone (Ryedale)	0	0	Irregular agglomerated plan without green	Within settlement	1	Church stands on summit of steep hill
Holy Cross, Gilling East (Ryedale)	0	4	Regular row plan without green	Within settlement	3B	
All Saints, Helmsley (Ryedale)	0	7	Regular grid plan with green	Within settlement	3B	Church is also in close proximity, but not upon, the green
All Saints, Hovingham (Ryedale)	0	11	Irregular row plan with green	Within settlement	3A	Church is also in close proximity, but not upon, the green
St Gregory, Kirkdale (Ryedale)	Not recorded	Not recorded	Dispersed plan	-	1	
All Saints, Kirkbymoorside (Ryedale)	0	11	Irregular row plan with green	Within settlement	2	
St Mary, Lastingham (Ryedale)	0	1	Irregular agglomerated plan with green	Within settlement	3B	Church is also in close proximity, but not upon, the green

Church/Wapentake	Number of sokemen and/or freemen	Total population	Settlement Plan classification	Location of church to settlement	Church Type	Notes
St Michael, New Malton (Ryedale)	Not recorded	Not recorded	Regular grid plan without green	Within settlement	3B	
St Leonard, New Malton (Ryedale)	Not recorded	Not recorded	Regular grid plan without green	Within settlement	3A	
St Mary, Old Malton (Ryedale)	0	13	Regular row plan without green	Within settlement	1	Might have later transitioned to Type 3A
St Oswald, Oswaldkirk (Ryedale)	0	0	Regular row plan with green	Within settlement	3A	
St John of Beverly, Salton (Ryedale)	0	4	Irregular agglomerated plan with green	Within settlement	1	Church near a water source
St Mary, Scawton (Ryedale)	0	0	Irregular row plan with green	Within settlement	3B	
Holy Trinity, Stonegrave (Ryedale)	0	0	Regular row plan with green	Within settlement	3A	
All Saints, Kirby Hill (Hallikeld)	0	0	Irregular agglomerated plan with green	Proximal to settlement	2	
St Michael, Kirklington (Hallikeld)	0	4	Regular row plan with green	Proximal to settlement	1	Church near a water source
All Saints, Pickhill (Hallikeld)	0	1	Irregular agglomerated plan with green	Proximal to settlement	3A	
St Nicholas, West Tanfield (Hallikeld)	0	5	Regular grid plan without green	Within settlement	3A	Might have begun as Type 1
St Mary, Wath (Hallikeld)	0	45	Regular row plan without green	Within settlement	3A	
St Gregory, Bedale (Hang East)	0	22	Regular row plan with green	Proximal to settlement	3A	
St Mary, Hornby (Hang East)	0	0	Irregular agglomerated plan with green	Within settlement	2	
St Mary, Kirkby Fleetham (Hang East)	0	29	Regular row plan with green	Peripheral to settlement	3A	
St Patrick, Patrick Brompton (Hang East)	0	27	Irregular row plan with green	Within settlement	1	Church stands on slight eminence within village
St Radegund, Scruton (Hang East)	0	10	Irregular row plan without green	Proximal to settlement	Unclassifiable	
St Michael, Well (Hang East)	0	43	Irregular agglomerated plan with green	Within settlement	3A	

figures for the 35 parishes revealed a wide range of composition of inhabitants (Table 1). Freemen and/or sokemen were recorded in nearly every settlement and one was even composed entirely of free peasantry. While the remainder of settlements contained a wide range of peasant status categories, a majority of these

(65%) consisted of a population that was 50% or greater freemen and/or sokemen (Table 3).

Each of the 35 settlements underwent both a general plan form analysis and a spatial analysis of their respective parish churches. The plan form analysis revealed a variety of different layouts (Fig. 4; Table

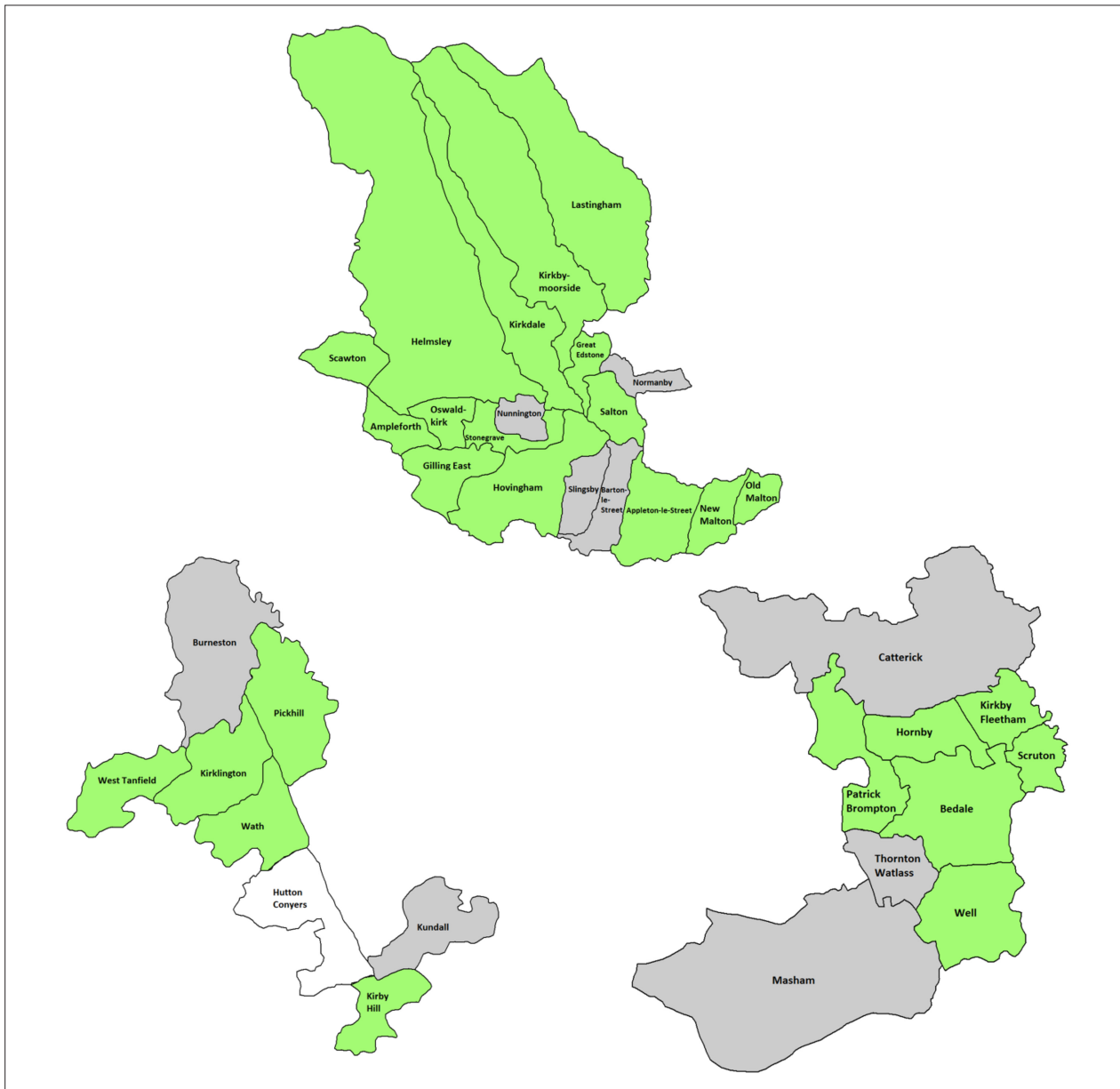


Figure 3 Parishes within the wapentakes of Hallikeld (bottom left), Ryedale (top centre) and Hang East (bottom right). All parishes in green are those whose churches are confirmed to contain standing fabric from the twelfth century or earlier. Figure prepared by author.

3). Generally, dispersed plans were the most frequent (34% of settlements), followed by regular and irregular row plans without a green (each 17% of settlements). Radial plan forms characterised none of the settlements. In total, 19 out of the 35 settlements (26%) contained a green. Moving specifically to the spatial analysis of the churches, the majority (43%) could be topographically classified as Type 1. Combined, Type 3 churches make up the majority. However, when broken down into subcategories, there were nine Type 3A churches (26%) and seven Type 3B churches (20%). Type 2 churches only accounted for one (3%) of the total sample and three churches (9%) could not be classified.

Areas selected for the North Riding were the wapentakes of Ryedale, Hallikeld, and Hang East (Fig. 1). Compared with the Norfolk study areas, these

contained 37 parishes combined: 21, seven, and nine respectively. Of these, only 27 contained parish churches that could be dated to the Anglo-Norman period (Fig. 3). However, as New Malton (SE785717) features two churches, 26 distinct settlements were analysed. None of these settlements featured free peasants (Table 2). Thus, rather than calculating population percentages, the total population for each settlement was analysed. From this, it was evident that a number of settlements had low total recorded populations. The majority of settlements (seventeen of 26, or 65%) actually had total populations of nine people or lower (Table 4). Eight of those settlements had a recorded population of zero, while three had no population recorded whatsoever.

The plan form analysis of these 26 settlements revealed that irregular agglomerated plans with greens

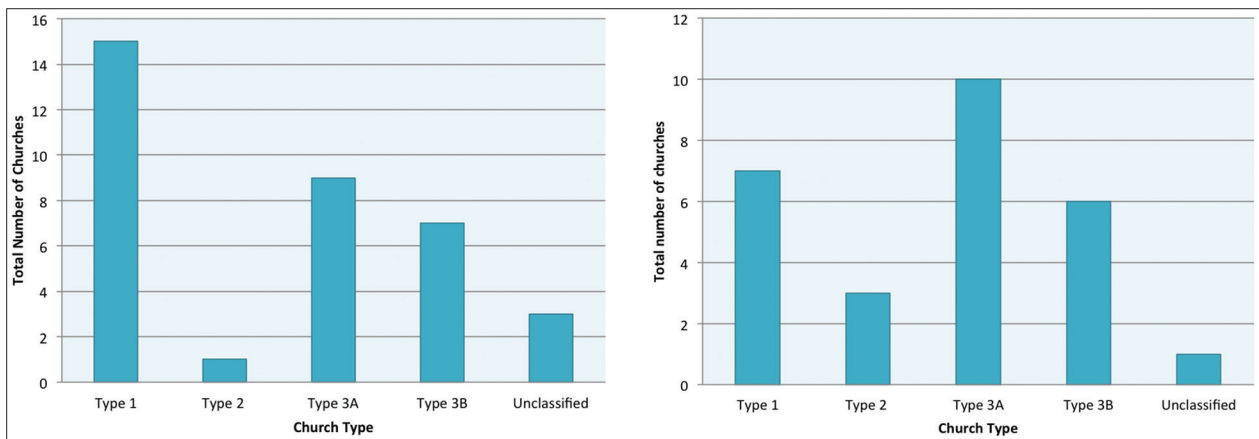


Figure 4 Total frequency of church types for Norfolk study areas (left) and North Riding study areas (right). Figure prepared by author.

and regular row plans with greens were the most common form, each representing six (23%) of the sample (Fig. 4; Table 4). The remainder represented a diverse group of plan forms, with the exception of radial plans. In total, thirteen of the 26 settlements (50%) contained a green. None of the settlements were characterised by radial plan forms. Following spatial examination of the churches, it was found that Type 3A churches accounted for the majority, representing 10 (37%) of the settlements. Taken together with Type 3B churches, of which there were six (22%), Type 3 churches accounted for a total of 16 (59%). There were seven Type 1 (26%) churches and only three Type 2 churches (11%) and one church, St Radegund, Scruton, could not be classified.

Discussion

Based on these results, it is clear that there is no correlation between a high percentage of free peasantry and Type 2 churches in either county's study areas, in contrast to the results of Stocker and Everson (2006). Norfolk, the only county in this study in which freemen were recorded, had only one Type 2 church at St Margaret, Seething (TM319979) (Fig. 4). Whilst this settlement was predominantly populated by freemen, it was the only occurrence of this church type in a sample area featuring high numbers of freemen, suggesting that that there was no strong connection. In lieu of the absence of such a relationship this paper will now proceed with a discussion of what can be interpreted from these results.

In contrast with the paucity of Type 2 churches in Norfolk, the North Riding, for which no free peasantry were recorded, had three churches of this type at All Saints, Kirkbymoorside (SE697866) (Fig. 5); All Saints, Kirby Hill (SE393685) (Fig. 6); and St Mary, Hornby (SE222937) (Fig. 7). Disregarding the percentage of free peasantry, since they were not recorded in any Domesday Book entries, total population figures for these settlements reveal that in the case of the latter two churches, no people were recorded in these settlements (Table 2). Thus, a correlation also cannot be made between total population and Type 2 churches.

However, such results can point to different conclusions. Of the three churches that topographically

belong to Type 2, two contain pre-Anglo-Norman elements. All Saints, Kirkbymoorside contains both Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture dated between the eighth to tenth centuries (Lang 1991, 7–11). Similarly, All Saints, Kirby Hill features Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture dating from the ninth to tenth centuries (Lang 1991, 7–11). Although St Mary, Hornby includes Saxon standing fabric, it is roughly contemporary with Domesday Book but it is possible that an older Saxon church once stood on the same site.

Based on these early architectural features we may postulate that the foundation of these Type 2 churches predates Domesday Book. The presence of Saxon sculpture at All Saints, Kirkbymoorside assigns to it the earliest foundation of all three churches, and it may have been a minster. All Saints, Kirby Hill and St Mary, Hornby, which contain fabric of a later date, may have been founded as local churches during a time when settlements may have had greater proportions of free peasantry than at the time of Domesday Book. Of course, this can only be a speculative suggestion, and the nature of the foundations for these Type 2 churches remains unclear.

In addition to these three Type 2 churches, there were cases in the North Riding in which the church was not directly on the green but was in close proximity, such as All Saints, Helmsley (SE611838), All Saints, Hovingham (SE666757), and St Mary, Lastingham (SE728904) (Table 4). However, figures for the total populations of these settlements also fail to provide any opportunities to make an association between population and church location. Rather, we may also try to attribute the placement of these churches to a time before the Domesday Book, as all of them had either Saxon standing fabric or Saxon/Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture. In fact, many of these churches, including Hovingham and Lastingham, were certainly founded as minsters in the pre-Viking period (Wood 2008).

This attribution to an earlier period is important to consider in light of disagreements concerning the impact of the Harrying of the North. If the Harrying did devastate Yorkshire, causing a population decrease, it may explain why Type 2 churches occurred in settlements for which Domesday Book attributed either no population or no

freemen. On the other hand, even if the Harrying of the North was not as destructive as commonly portrayed, it is still possible that Yorkshire's efficiency began to lag behind its true agricultural capacity during this time (McClain 2017, 206). As a result, such conditions may not have been able to support the presence of a free peasantry as it once did during the earlier church-founding period.

In attributing the placement of these churches to an earlier period, it is also important to consider their topographical locations. Although sited in close proximity to the green, All Saints, Helmsley, All Saints, Hovingham, and St Mary, Lastingham were all found to have been Type 3 churches because they were also clearly paired with the manor. More specifically, Helmsley and Lastingham were classified as Type 3B while Hovingham was classified as Type 3A. However, considering the close proximity that these churches have with the green, these classifications are subject to re-interpretation. If they are reclassified as Type 2 churches, this both increases the overall number of this topographical church type and shows more of a correlation between Anglo-Saxon minster foundations and green locations. Given that freemen are highly unlikely to be associated with the foundation of a minster, such a relationship is unsurprising.

However, if we retain the Type 3 classifications for these churches, further explanation is needed, as it seems odd for minster-founded churches to exhibit a topographical relationship with the manorial enclosure, since this physical relationship was more commonly associated with manorial church foundations of the tenth century or later. Because of the open-ended interpretations of the topographical location of these churches, it is likely that they were founded as one topographical type and later became another. As a result, what began as isolated minster churches later became incorporated into the fabric of the settlement either within the settlement plan or manorial enclosure. In this scenario, later lords sought to align themselves with these Anglo-Saxon churches by placing their settlement and manor house in close physical proximity, rather than churches coming to be placed in these locations during the Saxo-Norman period.

The same could be said of other churches, such as Holy Trinity, Stonegrave (SE655778). In this case, the plan form and spatial analysis determined that while the settlement was a regular row plan, the church was topographically associated with the manorial enclosure. However, as a minster-founded church (Wood 2008), it most likely preceded the settlement and manorial enclosure. Stocker and Everson (2006) explore the phenomenon of changing topographical types in their analysis of Lincolnshire churches. When arranged by topographical type, the majority of Type 1 churches were subsequently reclassified. For example, based on its high location on a scarp and dedication to a Mercian saint, the church of St Chad, Harpswell (SK935899) likely had a Saxon origin (Stocker and Everson 2006, 185). However, the settlement later came under divided lordship that continued on into the post-Conquest period and resulted in the church being located closest to the soke farm of a royal holding (Stocker and Everson 2006, 85). With numerous examples such as these, it is

not unlikely to suggest that some churches in the North Riding could have gone through multiple topographical relationships with other settlement components.

With a scarcity of Type 2 churches in Norfolk and a questionable number in the North Riding, we may instead examine any patterns of church types that were found. As previously stated, Type 1 churches dominated in Norfolk. Of the fifteen Type 1 churches, eight were associated with dispersed settlement plans (Table 3). There were also seven separate churches located on the periphery of their settlements, which was characteristic of Norfolk, a county with poorly nucleated villages. While Middle Saxon settlements had previously been located near the church, common-edge drift, which most likely occurred prior to the Norman Conquest, resulted in isolated churches and scattered hamlets (Wade-Martins 1975, 146; Williamson 2003, 92). Thus, these eight churches could be the result of Mid-Saxon foundations subsequently impacted by common-edge drift, which was especially predominant in the south and east of Norfolk (Williamson 1993, 2–3). This may also help to explain why in contrast to Type 1 churches in Lincolnshire, which displayed changing topographical relationships, those in Norfolk did not. In becoming isolated, they retained their Type 1 classifications.

Additional theories regarding this landscape character may hinge on the proposed lack of strong manorial lordship in Norfolk (Finn 1967, 13). Upon closer inspection of Domesday Book entries for the county, it is clear that this resulted in tenurial complexity. For instance, only three out of the 35 settlements were associated with one lord. The remainder ranged from two manors (*e.g.* Hempnall (TM236942)) to twelve (Mundham (TM335978)) within a single settlement. This stands in contrast to the results that show a scarcity of Type 2 churches, since it would be expected that the more tenurially fragmented a settlement was, the greater the opportunity was for lay patronage to occur. However, this may be reconciled by noting that in a significant proportion (33%) of the eighteen settlements with either a church or priest recorded in Domesday Book, the church belonged to a manor that was not the largest holding in the vill. Thus, while church patronage was not connected to freemen, it was also not connected to strong manorial lordship. A quick comparison to Stocker and Everson's (2006, 71) data shows that Lincolnshire was equally complex in its patterns of landholding. Out of the 36 settlements for which information from Domesday Book could be gathered, only four (11%) were contiguous with the vill. Those settlements with the highest numbers of manors contained parish churches of various topographical types. For example, Corringham (SK875915) and Winterton (SE926185) were classified as a Type 2 churches while Hagworthingham (TF344692) and Rothwell (TF151995) were classified as Type 1. However, in contrast to Norfolk, the parish churches of these settlements all belonged to the largest holding in the vill.

As previously stated, Type 3A and 3B churches represented a combined total of sixteen churches in Norfolk, with nine belonging to the former group and seven to the latter. It is surprising, however, that Type 3A did not dominate overall, for if freemen were not determining church placement, then we might have

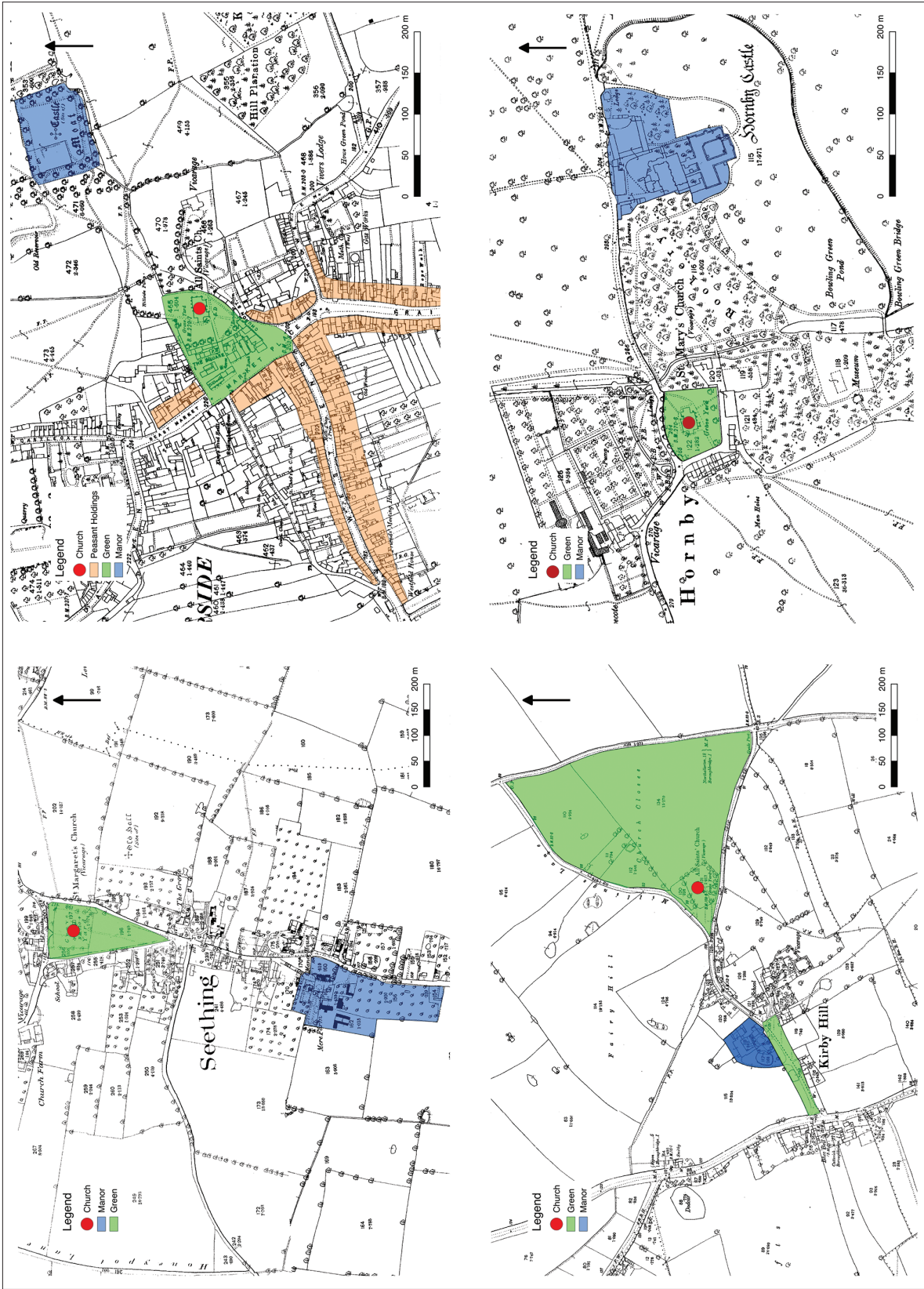


Figure 5 Spatial analyses of Seething, Norfolk (top left), Kirkbymoorside, North Riding (top right), Kirby Hill, North Riding (bottom left) and Hornby, North Riding (bottom right) (1st Edition OS Maps). Figure prepared by author.

expected to see a predominance of manorial lordship influence. The final results were unlike Daniels' (1996) study on church location in the Tees Valley, which concluded that more than a third of the churches in the study were either adjacent to or within the manorial complex. In Norfolk, however, only 26% of churches matched this layout, with that percentage subject to change based on individual interpretations of the settlement.

Upon further inspection of Type 3A churches in Norfolk, it is revealed that four of them not only had a relationship with the manorial complex but were also peripheral to their settlements (Table 3). These results can be compared to McDonagh's (2007) study on the spatial relationship between church, manor and settlement in the Yorkshire Wolds, which determined that the majority of churches and manors were located together but nevertheless separate from the remainder of the settlement in order to emphasise lordly power. In Norfolk, however, the patterns of settlement plans and church locations demonstrate that this is not the case either. Rather, Type 3A churches in Norfolk varied in their location, as they were within the settlement, peripheral to the settlement and in some cases unclassifiable, because they were located in dispersed settlements. As a result, it was difficult to find a correlation between seigneurial influence and church placement; this is unsurprising given the lack of strong manorial control recorded in Domesday.

Even when settlements are arranged from the greatest to least number of recorded manors, no clear patterns appear, providing further evidence of no correlation between lordly initiative and the location of parish churches. The two most tenurially fragmented settlements, Mundham and Stratton St Mary (TM196922), do not contain churches located in a neutral location – rather, they are tied to a manorial complex. In fact, if we take the total number of Type 3 churches, exactly half of the sixteen settlements are split between those containing five manors or more and those containing fewer. Thus, there was no difference in the spatial relationship between church and manor house in more and less tenurially-complicated settlements.

Tenurial patterns of the North Riding strongly contrast with the evidence from Norfolk. Here, the majority of settlements contained one manor, with the only exception being Old Malton (SE799728), which contained four estates (Table 4). In addition, all recorded churches and priests belonged to the largest holding in the vill. This pattern corresponds with the frequency of church types found here. As previously stated, Type 3A churches were most numerous, accounting for more than a third of the sample. However, at the same time, such results do not reconcile with the presence of multiple Type 2 churches, which may be more likely to occur in a heavily fragmented landscape where the presence of multiple lords may have resulted in a church located on neutral territory, such as at Seething, Norfolk, which contained ten estates within the settlement. However, as previously stated, it is possible that such Type 2 churches had pre-Conquest foundations and were not connected to manorial church foundation.

The introduction of a new Norman aristocracy is often written about in conjunction with post-Conquest changes

to parish churches, as these buildings were often rebuilt as part of a greater plan to embody control through religious foundations (Pickles 2009, 39). However, unlike Stocker and Everson (2006, 72–73), who were able to discuss the owners of the estates in which Lincolnshire church towers were constructed, post-Conquest lordship is unlikely to aid in discussions of church foundation in either Norfolk or North Yorkshire. Since it has been established that many of these parish churches had pre-Conquest foundations, it is pre-Conquest landholding patterns that are more likely to be relevant to their origins. Such patterns may be more difficult to reconstruct in Norfolk due to the large number of manors within a single settlement and the inability to determine which one the church belonged to due to the large number of entries where churches or priests are not mentioned. Because of the relatively simple pattern in landholding, the task is easier for the North Riding. Here, Domesday Book records a different lord for each of the Type 2 church settlements (Table 2); this should not be surprising if we follow the assumption that a powerful lord would not have allowed multiple Type 2 churches to be established on his territory. However, following that, if we examine the most commonly named lords from 1066 in our sample area, including Orm and Gamal, we also find that there is no consistency in topographical church type within their holdings. This may perhaps be explained by the fact that many of the churches owned by these two lords were previously discussed as having been earlier Saxon foundations.

Through spatial analysis, it was ultimately demonstrated that the patterns of church location in Norfolk and the North Riding were highly distinct from Lincolnshire and from one another, thus emphasising regionality in church foundation. In both counties the location of a parish church may have already been determined long before the establishment of the post-Conquest settlement morphology. This may have great implications for our understanding of the role of society in church foundation, for if a number of churches in both regions had origins as far back as the mid-Saxon period, this suggests that even the role of the later manorial lord may be overemphasised. A consideration of temporality also highlights the fact that over time, many of these churches, which were established in various periods and through various means, came to be classified within the same topographical types. For those churches to which we cannot ascribe such an early date and which may actually have been established later in the tenth and eleventh centuries, it is possible that manorial lords were more influential. However, as seen with the lack of Type 2 churches and multiple estates in Norfolk settlements and stronger lordship but greater number of Type 2 churches in the North Riding, seigneurial initiative may not always have been the source of parish church foundation. Instead, it may have been a combination of a number of factors, including but not necessarily limited to population composition and tenurial complexity, that may have worked together during this time to drive the regional differences in church location between Norfolk and the North Riding.

Conclusion

The inability to replicate the results of Stocker and Everson (2006) should not be seen as a shortcoming in attempting to understand the relationship between spatial distributions and the articulation of power in settlements. Instead, the results uncovered in this paper may actually serve a dual purpose: firstly, to highlight the unique nature of Lincolnshire and secondly, as further argument against applying uniformity across the Danelaw. Because the Danelaw differed from the rest of England in many ways, attempts at uncovering similar results to those found in Lincolnshire further drives a perception of the region as a distinct cultural entity. However, such an approach ultimately ignores regional variations that occurred during certain times (Hingham and Hill 2001). This is especially important to consider in light of the processes that may have influenced the foundation of parish churches in Norfolk and North Yorkshire. While undertaking future studies would be beneficial to building on these results, this paper has nevertheless set a first important step towards improving our understanding of distinct processes that shaped church foundation.

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