

Figure 11
English Heritage
plan of the
South Manor
(1:1 000 scale)

Manor, it would remain unclear whether the South Manor was built by the Chamberlain family to oversee their residual holding, or by the Percy family to service their new estate (Roffe 2000, 3).

With hindsight, the existence of the manorial complex might have been suspected prior to the 1955 excavation on the basis of the earthwork remains, although nothing of the backfilled undercroft itself could have been detected. The building lies within a rectangular enclosure, or *curia*, which is itself anomalous and encompasses a number of other unusual features (Figures 11 and 12). The enclosure is defined on south, west and north sides by a substantial bank up to 0.7m high, possibly representing a tumbled wall. This is accompanied by an external ditch, now of negligible depth, which has previously only been traced as a discontinuous geophysical anomaly (Beresford and Hurst 1990, fig 52). The ditch appears to form an integral part of the *curia* boundary, which contradicts the earlier interpretation of the ditch on the northern side as an element of the late Iron Age or Romano-British field system. The same conclusion has also been reached on the evidence of the more recent geophysical survey (Linford and Linford 2003, fig 8). A less cursory examination of the four datable sherds recovered from the primary silt of the ditch has also indicated that while three of the sherds are Roman, one is 12th-century 'pimply ware' (information supplied by Ann Clark). If this single sherd can be taken as an indicator, the boundary of the *curia* would seem to have been built at about the same time as the excavated *camera*. At the western end, however, the *curia* bank directly overlies Boundary 3, part of a more extensive field boundary that may be of Romano-British or late Iron Age origin (see Section 5.10). The eastern end of the *curia* seems to have been defined by a ditch, the northern section of which was revealed by excavation in Area 10, continuing the line of the frontage of West

The *curia* enclosure overlies the lynchet bank, which in turn post-dates ridged cultivation of unusual form, as described in Section 5.7. Within the *curia* of the South manor, the traces of this cultivation are even less clear than elsewhere, especially in the southern half. However, the broad, low ridges are similar to those in the area south of Track 5b, where they survive in better condition. This episode of cultivation is of uncertain date and is discussed more fully in section 5.8.

What appears to be a large rectangular building platform, is set into the corner formed by the lynchet bank and the southern side of the *curia* boundary (see Figure 12). This has not previously been interpreted as the site of a building, possibly because this was the area used for the main spoil dump from the excavations in the 1950s (Beresford and Hurst 1990, 76). The proportions and large size of the platform are unusual, measuring 17m long from north to south by 10m wide. The sharpness of the scarp along the western side of the platform, where it cuts into the foot of the lynchet bank, suggests that it may represent the line of a chalk wall. However, the slight scarp along the eastern side does not immediately suggest the existence of any stone walling on this side, which may indicate that the building was a free-standing timber structure, or perhaps one largely open on one side. In either case, the unusually large size of the building hints that it may have been part of the South Manor. Alternatively, given the thorough eradication of the *camera* in contrast to the apparently well-preserved condition of this building and its proximity to a number of late medieval or post-medieval routes, it may have been associated with one of the late courtyard farm complexes or with post-medieval livestock management.

Also within the *curia* boundary are two depressions which have previously been interpreted as livestock ponds of post-medieval origin (Stamper *et al* 2000, 19). The more easterly of the depressions (a on Figure 12) is approximately circular in plan, c 10m in diameter and up to 0.7m deep, with an amorphous low mound, perhaps representing spoil dug out of the depression, adjoining on the north-east. The depression is cut into the gentle slope and is completed on the south by an embankment. The form of the earthwork is somewhat reminiscent of a small stock pond, as has previously been suggested. However, the early ridged cultivation, which predates the *curia* enclosure as mentioned above, seems to respect the depression, implying that it is of early date. It may have originated as a quarry, perhaps in the Romano-British period and been converted to form a pond at some later date, not necessarily in the post-medieval period.

The more westerly depression (b on Figure 12), previously depicted as square in plan, is actually rectangular, measuring 9.0m by 4.5m with a maximum depth of 0.3m. Thus, its plan and dimensions are not dissimilar to some of the smaller medieval buildings. In addition, the sharpness of the sides of the depression and the presence of a bank of minimal height around most of the exterior suggests that chalk walling may be present. In other words, the feature is more likely to represent a small medieval building than a stock pond, although it may well post-date the demise of the South Manor. There are slight suggestions of other structures in the vicinity including a small platform cut into the north-western corner of the *curia* enclosure. These may be outbuildings associated with Building 11, or perhaps the

components of a farmstead of relatively late date, described below as part of Toft 13 (see Section 5.6).

5.5 The North Manor

At the northern end of the village, a distinctive cluster of mostly rectangular buildings of varying sizes has been interpreted, almost certainly correctly, as the site of the second of the village's two documented manors. None of the principal buildings of the complex has been fully excavated, but trenches to the south recovered no pottery later than the 12th and 13th centuries. Despite the paucity of direct evidence, a bold and detailed attempt was made to interpret the disposition of specific rooms by John Hurst and Jean le Patourel, based on a plan of the earthworks surveyed at a scale of 1:20 by WJ Hopkins (Figure 13; Hurst 1985, fig 4). In metrical terms, the new plan surveyed at 1:500 scale does not differ greatly from its predecessor, although there are a few important differences (Figure 14). Perhaps the most significant difference is the addition of chronological depth to the previous interpretation, which treated the complex as a single, static entity (Figure 15). The new survey suggests it underwent at least one major phase of expansion and that several of the buildings which might previously have been interpreted as part of the complex are more likely to represent later encroachment onto the site. The irregular trapezoid plan of the *curia*, which makes a striking contrast with the almost perfect rectangle of the South Manor, suggests that it was initially fitted into existing boundaries, specifically Road 1B and Boundary 1. Within the manor *curia*, a series of slight scarps on a north to south alignment may represent the vestiges of slight positive lynchets on the eastern (downslope) side of cultivation ridges, hinting that the complex may also have been laid out over what was once arable land. This theory is supported by the observation that the alignment of many of the principal buildings and boundaries echoes that of the cultivation ridges in Field 2, which in turn replicate the north-north-west to south-south-east stretch of Road 1A/1B beyond the Guardianship Area. The origins of this ploughing may be of considerably earlier date, like the early ridged cultivation detected elsewhere, which apparently underlies the lynchet bank (see Sections 5.7 and 5.8). However, there is no trace of these or later cultivation remains where they might be expected to survive best, in the large yards associated with the barn and immediately to the south of the manor house. This observation is also relevant in understanding the use of the *curia* after the demise of the actual manor house. As described in Section 5.2, the provision of access to Field 1 via Track 1 may be contemporary with the initial imposition of the manor.

In both phases of its existence, the plan of the manorial buildings seems to have been more organised and regular in layout than has previously been appreciated. Initially, the *curia* enclosure seems to have been a quadrangular area of about 0.47ha (1.16 acres), that is, somewhat smaller than that of the South Manor. At this stage, the main east to west range of the manor house, which has previously been interpreted as a solar, hall and buttery/pantry, seems to have formed part of an L-shaped building of modest size, with a major wing projecting to the north of the eastern end. A separate small building to the north of the western end of the east to west range, was perhaps only connected by a broad corridor to the main L-shaped building; this has been interpreted as the private rooms of a solar block.

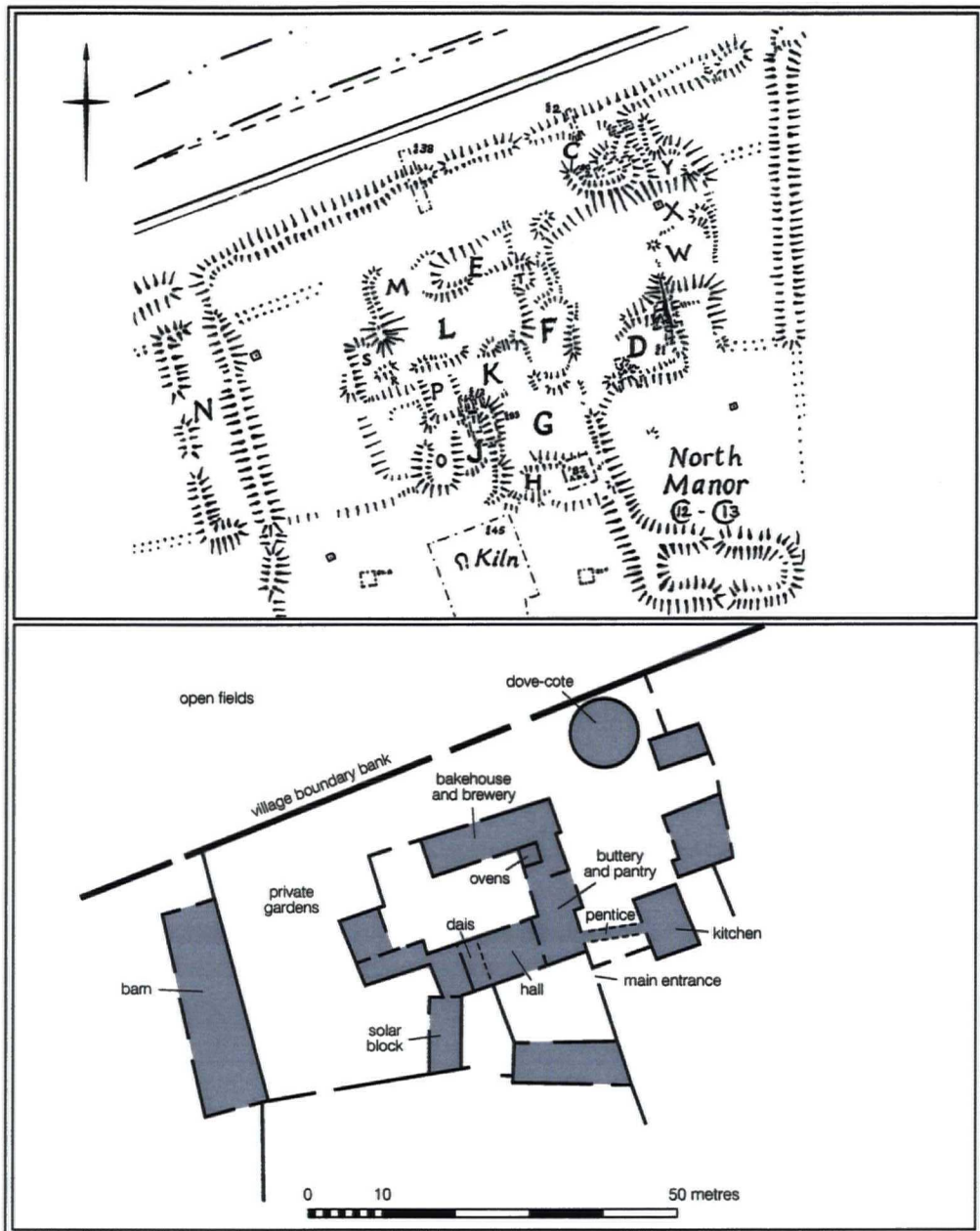


Figure 13
Plan of the North Manor
 by WJ Hopkins
 surveyed 1976
 (reduced from original
 at 1:20 scale),
 with interpretation

These three arms defined three sides of a possible courtyard or enclosed garden of up to c 300m². A building on the northern side of this has previously been interpreted as a bakehouse and brewery, partly because it shares the same east – west alignment of the manorial buildings. This structure is similar in size and form to the peasant houses found in other parts of the village. There is no clear-cut stratigraphic indication that the building is of different date from the manor, nor any reason why the cruck-beam construction technique employed by many of the peasant houses should not also have been used at the higher-status complex. However, the possibility that it represents encroachment by peasant houses onto the former site of the manorial complex after its destruction cannot be dismissed. The interior of the main east – west range was evidently divided into three parts, suggestive in essence of a typical division into solar, open hall and service end, but the interpretation of the function of individual rooms is problematic. In its eventual form, the manor appears to have been approached from the east, and this would support the earlier theory that the private chambers of the solar block were towards the west, in the most private part of the

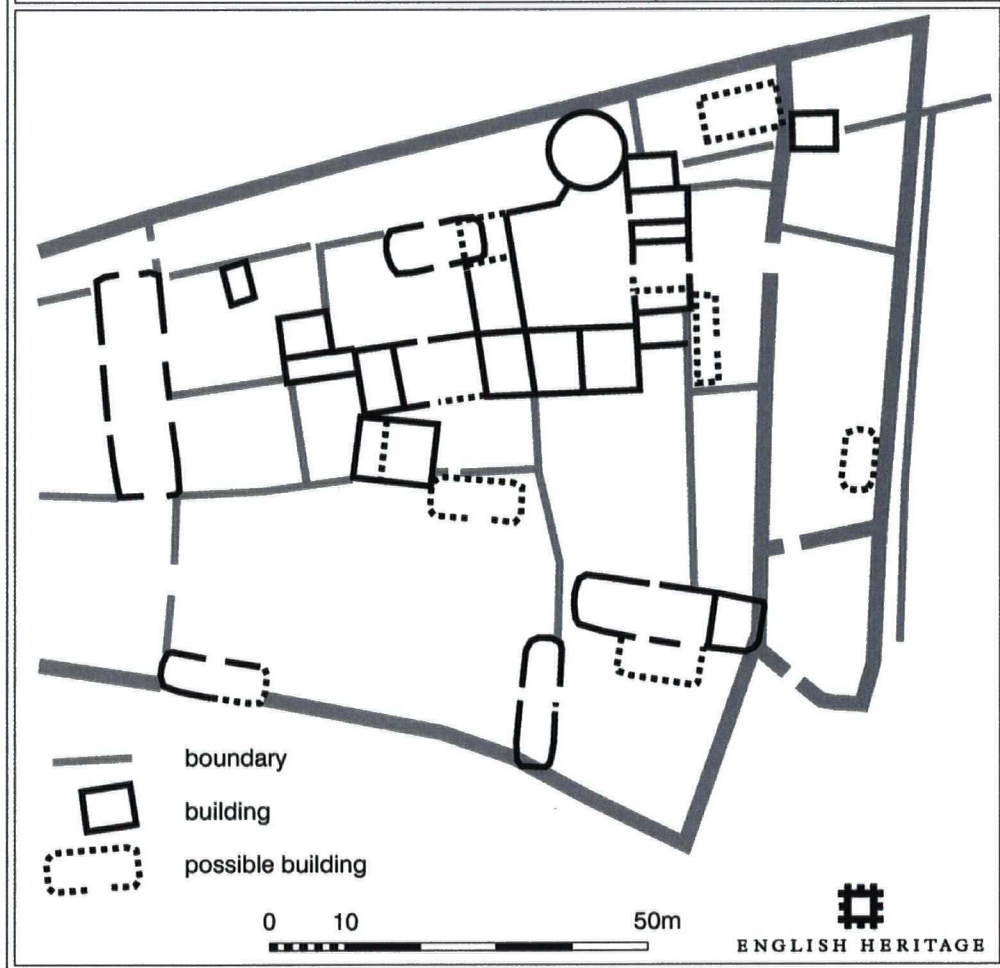
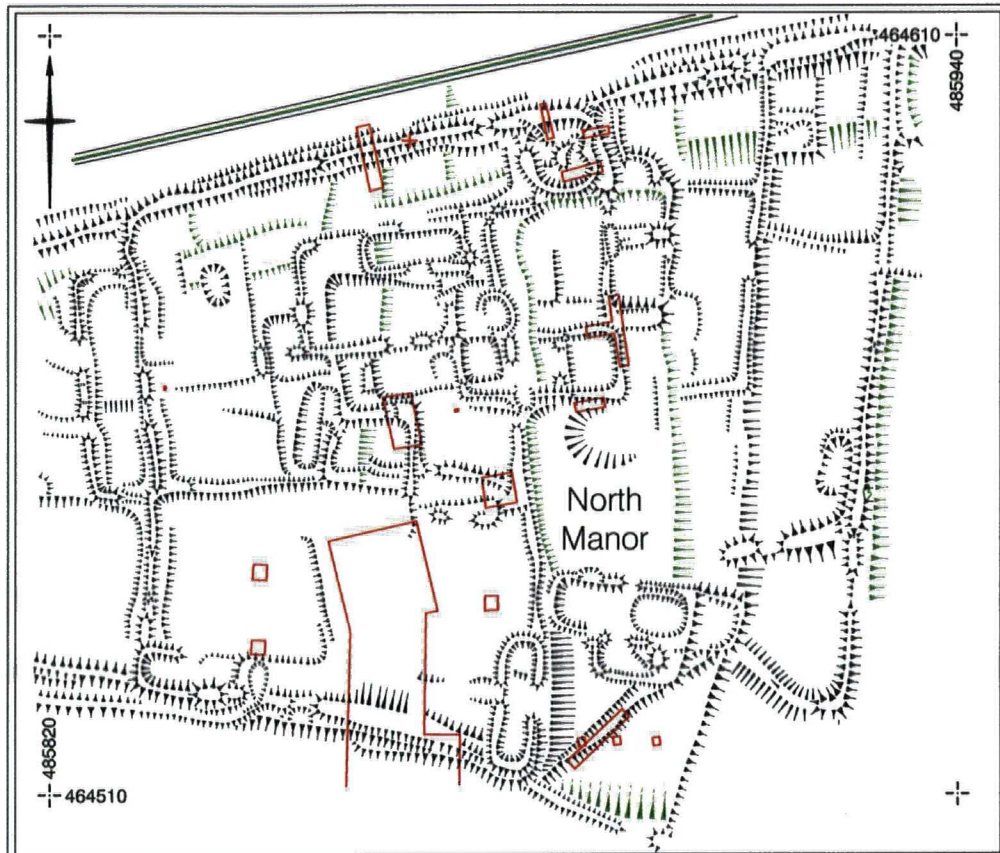


Figure 14
English Heritage
plan of the North Manor
(reduced from original
at 1:500 scale
to 1:1 000 scale),
with schematic plan,
without phasing

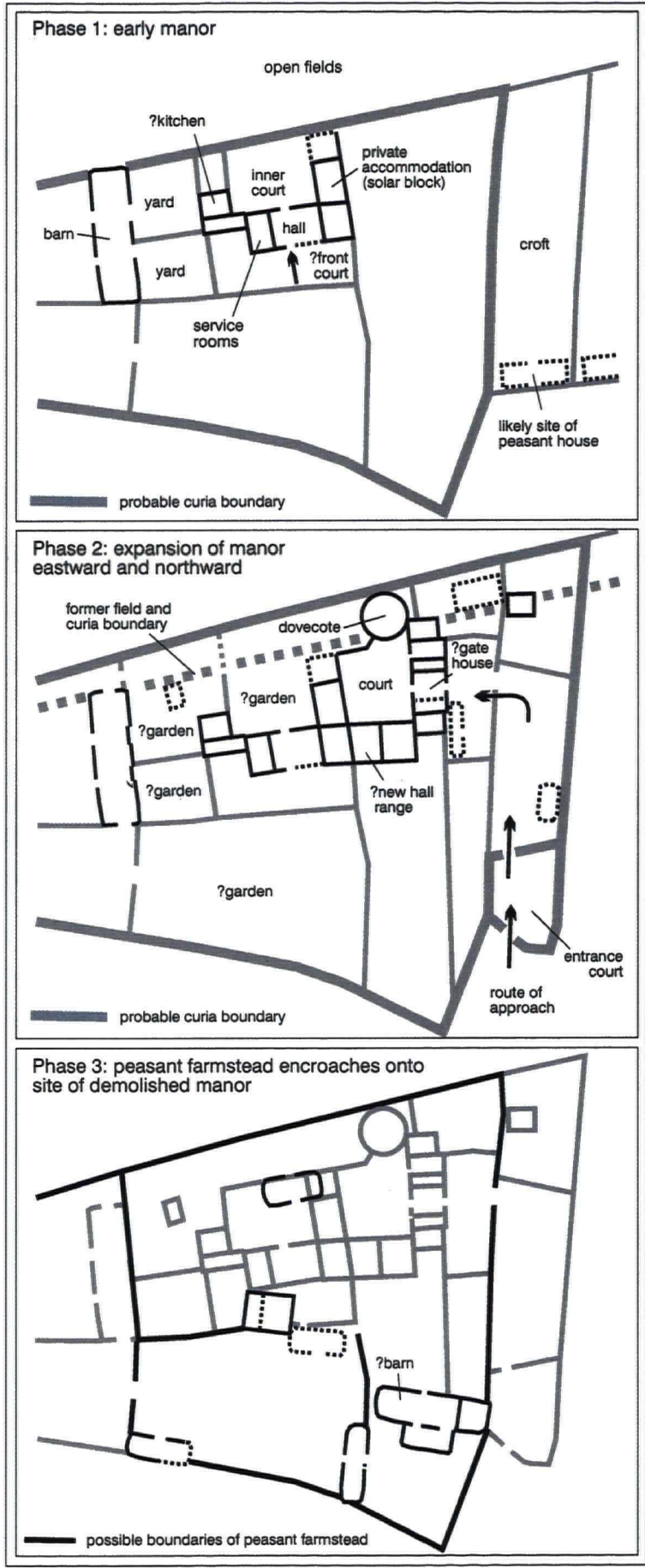


Figure 15
 English Heritage
 interpretative phase
 plan of the North Manor

complex. However, it is less clear how access was gained in the earlier phase - possibly from the west via the yards as concluded on the evidence of the earlier survey. A pronounced step within the range has previously been interpreted as the edge of a dais, whose identification seems optimistic. If proven, this would also support the identification of the western end of the building as its 'high' end. The new survey suggests that the step corresponds to the line of an underlying lynchet, although this observation in itself need not invalidate the previous interpretation. The proximity of the barn (described below) to what has been seen as the private high-status solar block was regarded as somewhat awkward, but was justified by the apparent absence of doorways in the eastern side of the barn. The identification by the new survey of two doorways on this side, apparently blocked at some stage, again call this theory into question. Access from such a utilitarian building to yards overlooked by service rooms seems more plausible. In this scenario, the building previously interpreted as a solar block might be a kitchen connected by a covered corridor or 'pentice'. The wing extending northwards from the main range might represent the private rooms of a larger solar range. Although it might be assumed that a solar block should project southwards, ranges extending northwards were far from exceptional (see, for example, Pearson *et al* 1994). In this form, the long south side of the main range might be said to have faced towards the church and the rest of the village, although how access was gained is unclear.

In the second major constructional phase identifiable from the earthworks, the *curia* seems to have been enlarged eastward and northward to encompass an overall area of 0.90ha (2.22 acres). To the east, this expansion demanded the reclamation of the westernmost toft and croft of the North Row (Toft 21), whose western boundary can still be discerned. To the north, it involved taking in a 10m wide strip of Field 2, so that the *curia* encroached beyond the former southern edge of the field (Boundary 1). The narrowness of the additional strip of land claimed on the north is perhaps significant. If the cultivation ridges in Field 2 were aligned north to south at the time when the expansion took place, as they may have been at some stage (see Section 5.8), it may have been the former headland of the field that was taken in. Alternatively, if the change to the eventual east to west alignment had already occurred, a single ridge may have been taken, but there is no surface trace of any continuation of either feature to the east of the *curia*.

In the same phase, the main east to west range of the building seems to have been extended eastwards to an overall length of 37m, encompassing what has previously been interpreted as a detached kitchen. This expansion is suggested in part by the fact that the eastern end of the range is on a fractionally different alignment from the wings that form the L-shaped portion. The addition may have created what might be interpreted as an outer courtyard, its eastern side formed by a range extending northwards, comprising what appears to be a large gatehouse with adjoining rooms. An alternative interpretation might be that the extension was essentially the addition of a whole new manor, which replicated the rooms of the earlier manor, but in a location shifted to the east so as stand more centrally within the extended *curia*. In this scenario, the outer court would be the main courtyard, and the south frontage of the hall range would have retained an unimpeded aspect. The rooms in the Phase 1 building may have become more utilitarian in function and the surrounding compartments

may have been converted to gardens at this stage. The dovecote (as previously interpreted, almost certainly correctly) overlooks the northern end of the new courtyard, an arrangement found widely in post-medieval manors. Despite damage done by stone-robbing, the structure remains one of the best preserved components of the manorial complex, with walls surviving to at least 0.5m high. East of the gatehouse lay a small forecourt, with an opening in its eastern side opposite that in the gatehouse. The northern and southern sides of the forecourt continue the alignment of the rest of the main ranges to the west, while the eastern side follows the western boundary of the former Toft 21. East of the forecourt lies a larger enclosure whose eastern side follows the eastern boundary of the former toft, an area effectively corresponding to the course of Track 2 as interpreted previously. The southern end of this outermost enclosure is formed by a broad bank up to 0.4m high, with an original opening which would have given access on to the village green. Thus, while the focus and orientation of the complex as a whole had apparently shifted eastwards, the outermost entrance remained oriented towards the church and the heart of the village.

On the exterior of the bank that appears to have defined the western edge of the *curia* enclosure are the remains of a rectangular building with internal dimensions of 28m long by 7.5m wide, aligned from north to south. This was apparently one of three buildings standing within a yard, one of two such enclosures accessed from Track 1. The largest of the three buildings has been interpreted, entirely plausibly, as the barn mentioned in a valuation of 1368 (Beresford 1979, 12). The northern end of the building initially seems to have lain against Boundary 1, which may have been the headland of Field 2 when the North Manor was first laid out and thus presumably allowed access to the barn from the cultivated land. Access from this direction was apparently blocked by the northward expansion of the manorial complex beyond Boundary 1. In the west side of the building are gaps which must represent broad doorways (as concluded previously), since both have slight traces of wear outside them. While the evidence for the doorway located centrally in the northern end is also secure, the gap in the southern end is not central and may be the product of later stone-robbing. Arguably of greater importance is the identification by the new survey of two possible doorways in the eastern wall of the barn, opposite those in the western wall. The gaps are much less clearly defined than those identified previously, possibly because they were deliberately blocked, perhaps as part of the wider changes described above. In each case, the blocking wall lies just inside the line of the rest of the wall, a misalignment reminiscent of the construction of the walls of cruck-framed buildings excavated elsewhere around the site. The pattern of opposing doorways, designed to funnel wind through the building to assist threshing, is almost universal amongst medieval and later barns. As mentioned above, the identification of possible points of access into the main part of the manorial complex would tend to suggest that the area to the east is unlikely to have been used as a private garden, at least while the opposed doorways were in use. The function of the building after the probable blocking of the eastern doorways is uncertain, but it has been pointed out that doors are commonly located in the end of sheephouses in Yorkshire (Hurst 1984, fig 4; Beresford and Hurst 1990, 47). It could be that doors were inserted into the north and south ends of the building at the time that the eastern doorways were blocked.

A large, square building lies adjacent to the south frontage of the western end of the main range of the manor house and has previously been interpreted as a 'solar block'. Yet its alignment is slightly at odds with the other components of the manorial complex, suggesting that it may belong to a later phase. The alignment echoes that of Road 1B and the southern boundary of the *curia*. It also corresponds to that of a shallow sub-rectangular hollow immediately to the west of the building. Geophysical survey shows that this alignment replicates that of an adjacent late Iron Age or Romano-British plot boundary running at right angles to Road 1A (Linford and Linford 2003, fig 11). Indeed, it is not impossible that the anomalous hollow is actually part of that boundary.

At the south-east corner of the extended *curia* enclosure lies Building 23, another large and well-preserved rectangular building, apparently constructed in at least two phases, which may also be plausibly interpreted as a barn. In its initial phase, the building seems to have been 24m long by 7m wide, while the second phase is suggestive of a porch-like annexe. Building 23 and Building 24, a second well-preserved building lying at right angles, share the same alignment as the alleged solar block and may also belong to this phase. It has previously been suggested that the tenants of a 'demesne farm', its centre identified as the courtyard farm in Tofts 23/24, may have been responsible for managing the manorial lands after the departure of the Percy family (Hurst 1985, 97). It could be that these two buildings within the *curia* defined two sides of another late courtyard farm, similar to that previously identified in Tofts 2/3 and 23/24, with nearby Building 19 providing a plausible candidate for an associated farmhouse. The isolated position of this building within the overall pattern, together with its well-preserved condition and the fact that it blocks the line of Track 3, all suggest that it is of relatively late origin and its proximity to the buildings within the former *curia* is suggestive. The ditch of Boundary 12, which forms part of one of the post-medieval field boundaries described in Section 5.11, cuts obliquely through the middle of the building from west to east. This relationship indicates that the building had already been reduced to an earthwork by the time the ditch was dug, perhaps in the late 1770s. There is clear evidence of a door in the south side, but the evidence for an opposing doorway may have been erased by the digging of the ditch, which cuts through the northern wall at this point. The re-use of the former manorial *curia* in this way could explain why the latest episode of ploughing in Field 2, which encroached onto Road 1B and Track 1, conspicuously did not encroach within the *curia*.

A series of grants in the 1320s mention the existence of a 'park', but do not specify its size or location. On the assumption that it would have been directly accessible from the North Manor, apparently the only manor in existence at that date, the extent of the park has been equated with that of the North Row, which, it has been deduced, must have been entirely cleared away in 1254 (Beresford and Hurst 1990, 47). The precise meaning of the term 'park' is variable in the medieval period and it has been suggested that the enclosure was no more than a small paddock, which perhaps did not even hold deer (Neave 1991, 57). Certainly, it is well documented that from the mid-14th century, it was increasingly common for Lords of the Manor to keep their cattle and pigs in parkland, or to allow villagers to pasture their animals there, as at Beverley in the summer and autumn of 1388 (Stamper 1988, 145-7).

None of the enclosures recorded by the English Heritage investigation can be securely interpreted as a park. However, it is worth noting that the bank which defines the northern sides of the extended manorial *curia* and North Row is accompanied on the north by a slight and poorly preserved ditch, though there are hints that this may have been recut in the post-medieval period. An equally slight ditch runs along the western edge of the lynchet that defines the eastern side of Field 1. In both cases, the placement of the ditch in relation to the bank could be compared to a conventional park pale, if the park occupied approximately the same area as Field 1.

What seems to have been an enclosure some 30m square straddles the eastern boundary of the extended *curia* enclosure at its north-eastern corner, extending well into the croft adjoining Toft 22. In its eventual form, this appears to post-date the manorial complex and is described in Section 5.11.

5.6 Domestic settlement and the village green

At an early stage in the Wharram Percy Research Project, it was recognised that the plan of the village as a whole, together with the regular size and shape of the individual tofts constituted strong evidence that the settlement had been deliberately planned at some stage. Initially, it was assumed that there would have been a single episode of planning and there has been prolonged, but ultimately inconclusive, debate over when this might have taken place. At first, it was thought that since the pattern of the settlement and its associated fields results from the Scandinavian system of land apportionment known as *solskift*, the planning must have been carried out in the Anglo-Scandinavian period, probably the 10th century (Beresford 1979, 22). Other possibilities were subsequently considered: that the planning might have taken place either in the middle or late Saxon periods, in the 8th or 9th centuries, or in the late 11th or 12th centuries, perhaps in the wake of the devastation caused by William the Conqueror's 'Harrying of the North' (Hurst 1984, 85-7). However, the evidence for settlement in the 8th and 9th centuries seemed to imply a population too small to warrant the laying out of a planned village of at least thirty plots. The absence of documentary evidence and the complexity of later land ownership also seemed to rule out a date after the 10th century. Although it has been concluded that the question remains unresolved, the circumstantial evidence in support of the 10th century option has generally been accepted as relatively convincing (Beresford and Hurst 1990, 99; Richards 2000, 197-8). However, more critical analysis of the plan of the settlement has demonstrated that the western row is probably composed of two distinct units (Wrathmell 1989, fig 29). This opens the door to the possibility that two or more episodes of planning took place. In addition, Stuart Wrathmell (1989, 42-5) has argued for a more piecemeal development of different types and alignment of buildings within each individual plot. Dimensions of individual peasant buildings are compared graphically in Figure 17. It seems over-optimistic to try to distinguish the end of the longhouse that would have been occupied by humans on the evidence of a concentration of nettles (Beresford and Hurst 1990, 24). While it is true that nettles and thistles can thrive on the high nutrient levels caused by burning, higher levels of nitrates are left by animal dung, so it could be argued that the pattern of use was the opposite of what has previously been suspected. However, nettles are also attracted to

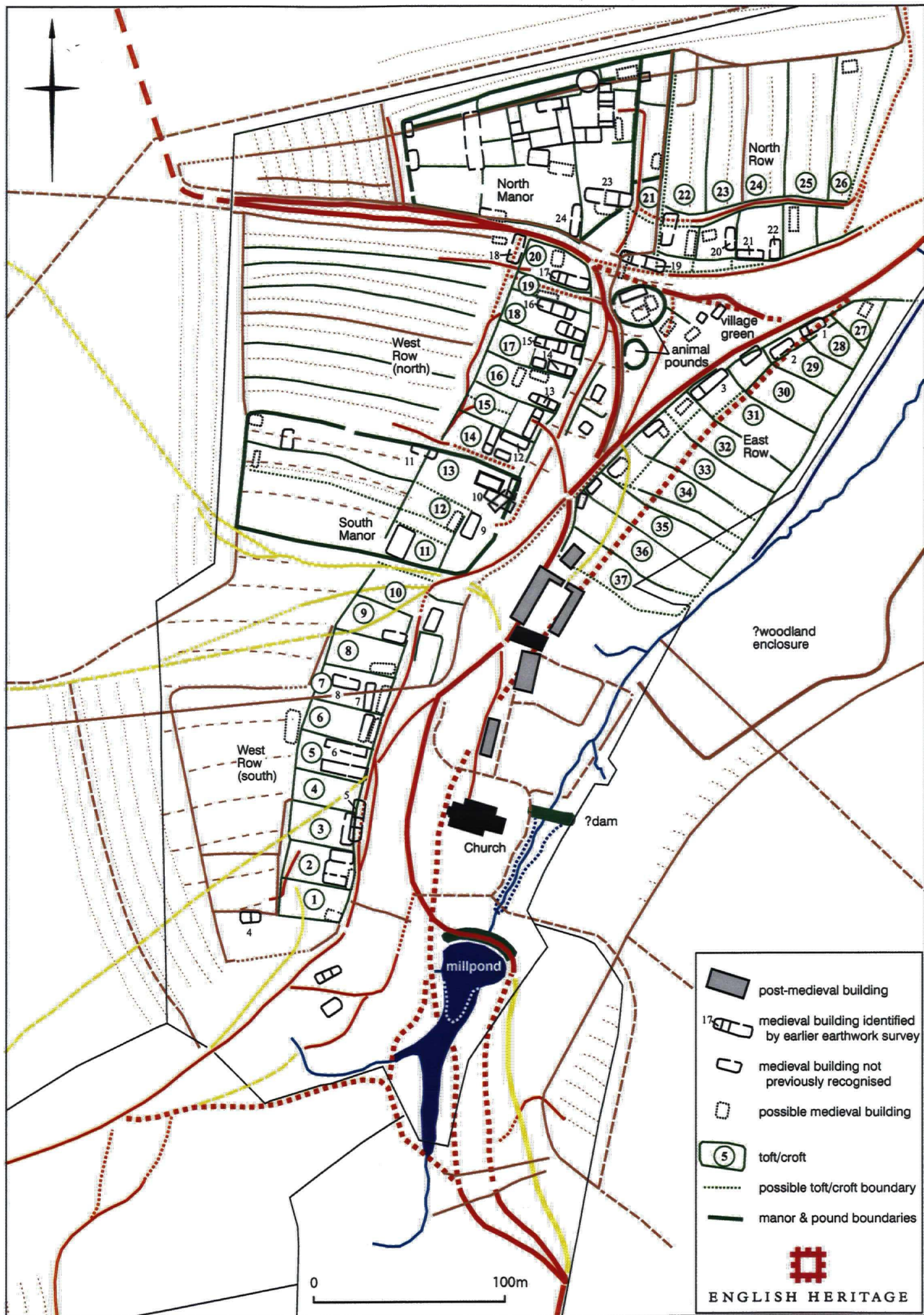
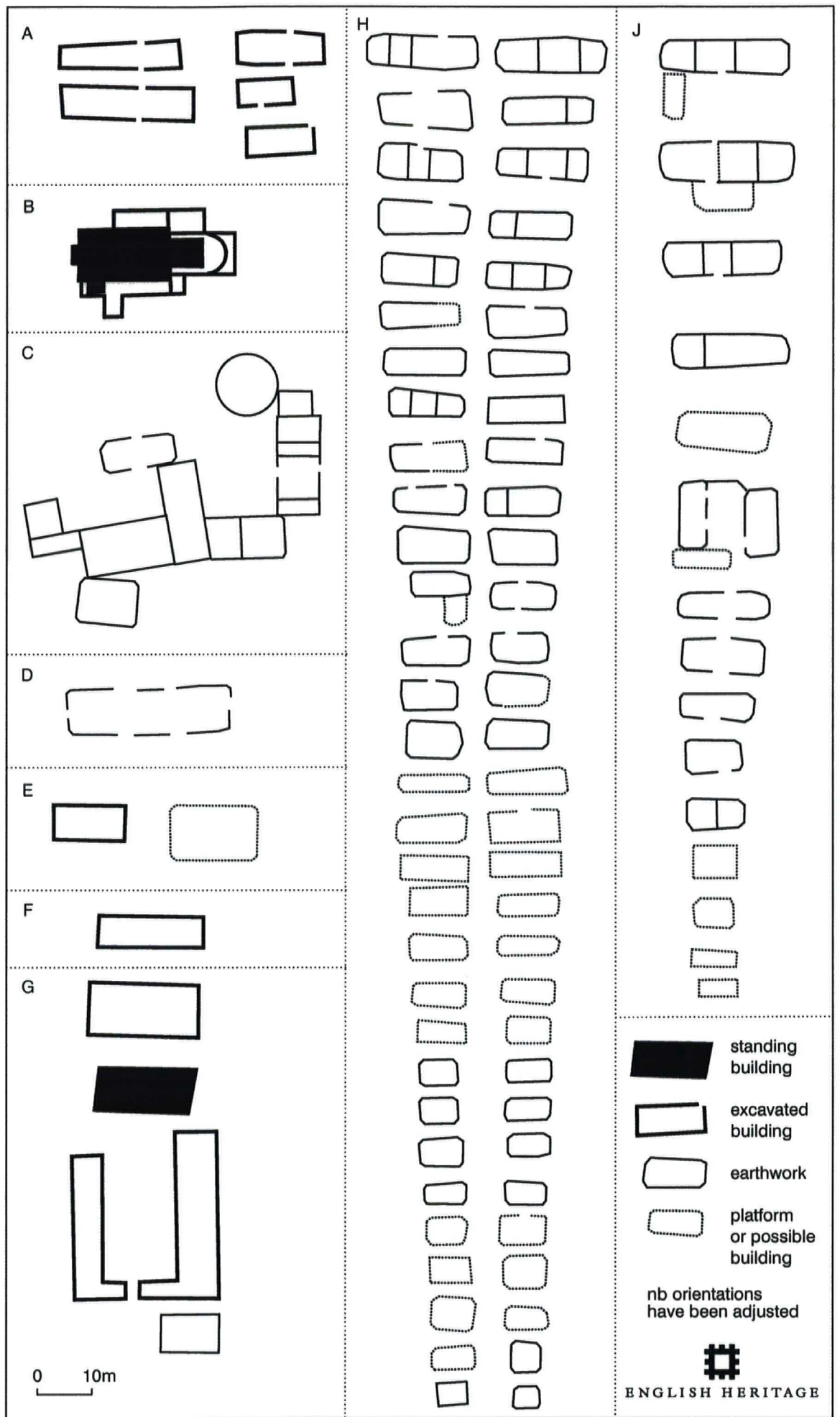


Figure 16 English Heritage schematic plan of the village



disturbed ground and clumps are scattered across the whole site. The more severe disturbance caused to the steep-sided earthworks of the buildings by the cattle that graze the site today (as opposed to sheep for most of the post-medieval period) may be a factor in the localised growth of nettles. In general, the ends of the building used as a byre might be expected to lie downslope, to allow the livestock's excreta to flow away freely.

West Row (south)

Stuart Wrathmell (1989, fig 29) has pointed out that what was initially interpreted as a single row of tofts along the crest of the western plateau shows evidence of being the outcome of the amalgamation of two distinct units, in this report termed West Row (south) and (north). Arguably, however, the character of these two parts of the settlement is so different that it is misleading even to term the southern part a 'row'. The two units appear to have overlapped in Tofts 11 and 12, which are crossed by two separate boundary banks, presumably defining the frontages of the plots at different dates. Wrathmell (1989, 41) interprets the change in alignment of successive peasant houses excavated in Toft 13 (Area 10), from north – south to north-east – south-west and finally to east – west, as a reaction to the misalignment of the frontages. However, in view of the complexity of the settlement record as a whole, he stops short of drawing any conclusion as to which is the earlier of the two units. The fact that Tofts 11 and 12 lie within the *curia* of the South Manor implies further chronological depth. The relationship between the earthworks at the point where the frontage of West Row (south) and the *curia* boundary intersect at first sight suggests that the frontage of the row cuts through the manorial boundary and is therefore later. However, closer inspection reveals that both earthworks have been dug away, the edge of this operation coinciding with the line of the frontage, so that the crucial relationship is unintelligible from the surface traces. Given the duration and complexity of the settlement as demonstrated by excavation, all the earthwork evidence must be treated with caution, but there are slight suggestions in the overall plan that West Row (south) existed first and that the South Manor and West Row (north) were laid out in a single episode, the *curia* of the South Manor encroaching onto the northern end of West Row (south). West Row (south) comprised as many as twelve toft-like enclosures fronting onto Track 8a. While their lengths from west to east range from 34m to 42m, their widths are fairly regular, varying only a metre or two on either side of 20m. The excavation of Area 6, thought at the time to have examined a single toft, may in fact have uncovered parts of three, as discussed below.

There is no convincing evidence for crofts adjoining West Row (south), nor for conventional ridge and furrow cultivation in the area where they would normally be expected. Under optimal conditions, a series of broad ridges can be traced on the ground to the west of the lynchet bank (differing slightly in length, breadth and alignment from those plotted from aerial photographs for the earlier survey). However, these are unusually broad and do not generally coincide precisely with the adjacent toft boundaries or share the same alignment. All are cut by the lynchet bank, suggesting that they pre-date the laying out of this part of the settlement, at least in its eventual fairly regular form. Their survival also seems to confirm that the area was subject to little or no conventional ploughing, either contemporary with the occupation of the adjoining tofts or later.

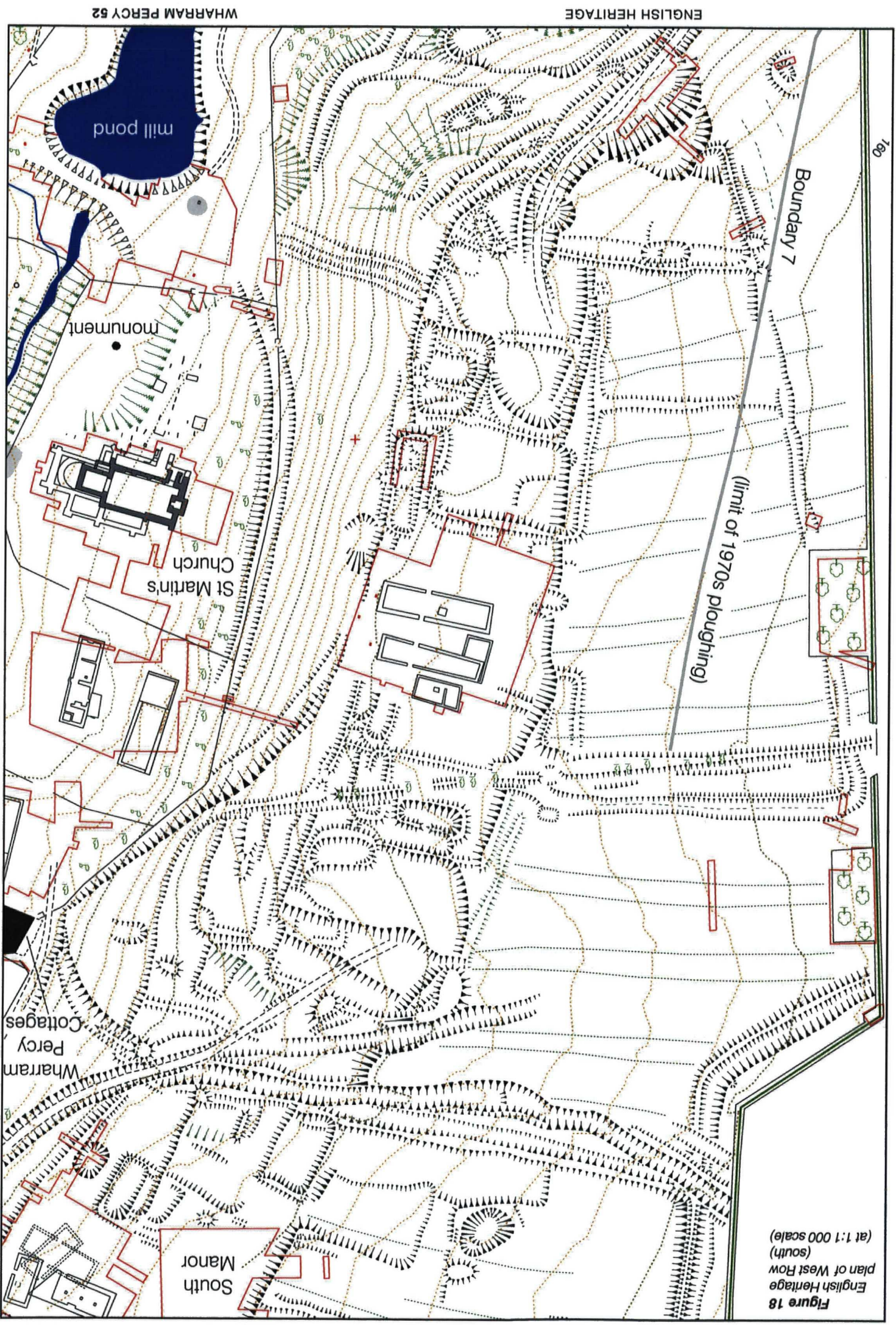


Figure 18
 English Heritage
 plan of West Row
 (south)
 (at 1:1,000 scale)

Toft 1, the southernmost in West Row (south), contains vestigial traces of a possible small building in its south-east corner. A ramp-like track which ascends the lynchet bank at the rear of the toft seems to relate to the relatively late courtyard farm in Toft 2.

Toft 2 contains the remains of two, or possibly three, fairly small buildings set around a rectangular sunken yard 1.5m deep. East of Toft 4, a small quarry cuts into the crest of the escarpment; it is possible that the hollow which contains the yard of Toft 2 originated as another such quarry. The earthworks were apparently not interpreted as buildings by the earlier large-scale survey carried out in the course of the Wharram Research Project, although they had been depicted as such on the First Edition 25-inch scale map (Ordnance Survey 1890). It seems likely that the complex in Toft 2, which is similar in overall layout to that in Tofts 23/24, may represent a farmyard associated with a larger domestic building in Toft 3 (Building 5). The paddocks to the south and west of Toft 1 may be parts of the same farm, and the paddock to the south of Toft 1 encloses Building 4, which may be an agricultural outbuilding. Building 5 is the latest constructional episode in Toft 3 in the sequence identifiable through the earthworks and encroaches onto Track 8a, which seems to point to the whole farm complex belonging to the latest phase of the village's existence. A ledge in the scarp that forms the western end of the sunken yard seems to represent a minor track, perhaps an alternative course of Track 9, a footpath shown on the First Edition 25-inch scale map (Ordnance Survey 1890).

Toft 3 contains one of the most remarkable pieces of earthwork stratigraphy at Wharram Percy. One of the buildings first depicted on the Ordnance Survey (1890) 25-inch scale map, later identified as Building 5, is relatively large and well preserved, with opposed doorways and a clear tri-partite division in its interior. The southern end of the building was excavated through a series of trenches in 1952; the results were evaluated subsequently (Wrathmell 1989, 33-5). It was the first building where evidence of more than phase of construction was recognised in the course of the excavation, but both phases can actually be recognised in the form of the surface traces. The earthwork evidence indicates that Building 5 falls very late in the sequence, for it not only encroaches northwards into Toft 4, but also eastwards beyond the original frontage of the row, impeding, if not preventing altogether, the passage of traffic along Track 8a. As mentioned above, it is possible to interpret Building 5 as a domestic farmhouse associated with a farmyard in Toft 2, for all these elements are relatively late and lie in close proximity to each other. Intriguingly, however, all the pottery recovered by the 1952 excavation dates to the 14th and 15th centuries, providing no confirmation that the building was inhabited up to the start of the 16th century, as might reasonably be supposed.

The 1952 excavation unearthed the eastern wall of an earlier building on roughly the same site as Building 5, but the vestigial earthworks of both this wall and the other three walls of the building were not surveyed until the 2002 investigation. The earlier building lies on the same north to south alignment as Building 5, filling almost the full width of Toft 3 and adjoining the frontage. Remarkably, the eastern wall of this building, or perhaps the wall or bank that originally defined the frontage of the row, if this was a separate structure, can still be traced within the southern half of the interior of Building 5. This cannot be attributed

entirely to the effects of the 1952 excavation, so may indicate that the feature was retained within the later building, perhaps providing the footings for a wall that divided the southern end into two rooms, for it is otherwise difficult to account for its continued survival as an earthwork within the later house. At face value, however, the somewhat schematic record of the section across the building would not support this theory (Wrathmell 1989, fig 25).

The excavation trench known as Area 6 (centred on a well-preserved longhouse initially identified from the earthworks and called Building 6) interpreted the entire area it examined as a single toft. The earliest stone buildings encountered, dating to the late 13th to late 14th centuries, were described as being '... clearly grouped around a courtyard', while the latest longhouse was said to have been '... built in the centre of the site' (Milne 1979b, 48 and 51). The earthwork investigation undertaken by English Heritage in 2002 suggests that parts of three tofts may actually have been examined and that several of the excavated buildings may have lain outside the toft occupied by the well-preserved longhouses. The overall pattern of toft boundaries identified by the new earthwork survey strongly suggests that two boundaries might be expected within the area of excavation. Immediately to the west of the excavation trench, in the predictable positions, are what appear to be the stubs of two slight banks, running eastwards from the lynchet bank. Only the more northerly of these stubs was recorded by the earlier survey and neither was recorded as an earthwork within the excavated area. The levels survey undertaken prior to the excavations employed enhanced contours at 0.15m intervals and is therefore insufficient to determine in hindsight whether the earthworks actually continued further eastwards in a slighter form (Milne 1979b, fig 12). Perhaps more surprisingly, no continuation of the stubs was detected during the excavations, except that the line of the more southerly one corresponds to that of an earthen bank, whose interpretation was left open, running along the southern side of the latest longhouse.

The western end of what is here interpreted as Toft 4 was extensively excavated, revealing a small square structure with a fenceline extending to its west. This was then interpreted as being the southern boundary of a large toft at a relatively early date, but could now be seen as a medial sub-division of the interior of Toft 4. Only a small part of the building that lay along the eastern frontage was examined, so its form was not established, but it was interpreted as an outbuilding. The presence of Cistercian ware in the occupation layers was taken as evidence that the building was inhabited in the late 15th or early 16th centuries, and thus that it was broadly contemporary with the latest longhouse in Toft 5.

Toft 5 was almost completely excavated, revealing two well-preserved longhouses on an east – west alignment, the later and better preserved (that initially recognised as Building 6) dating to between the early 15th and early 16th centuries. The more northerly of the two, which might also have been recognised as an earthwork with hindsight, was built slightly earlier and was converted to form a courtyard for its successor. An earthen bank whose function was not fully understood, but which was thought to have accumulated after the construction of the wall of the later longhouse, seems to correspond to the southern boundary of Toft 5. The narrow gap between the northern wall of the more northerly longhouse and two

smaller buildings lying immediately to the north corresponds to the line of the stub of bank to the west and may therefore represent the northern boundary of the toft.

On the top of the lynchet bank, what may be the degraded remains of a building span the boundary between Tofts 5 and 6. The siting of the possible building in relation to the lynchet bank is comparable to Buildings 11 and 18. If it is genuinely a building, it may well be a barn relating to the latest occupation of the village, but its poor preservation sets it apart from the other buildings in this category. It may therefore have been a livestock pen, similar to several others identified around the fringes of the village and provisionally interpreted as being post-medieval in date (see Section 5.11).

Toft 6, in the light of the revised interpretation of the toft boundaries presented above, may have contained two of the earliest stone buildings excavated in Area 6, dating to between the late 13th and late 14th centuries. Towards the front of the toft, a building on a north – south alignment was left untouched by the excavation of Area 6, so its relationship to the small stone buildings mentioned above cannot be established. This, like the building on the same alignment in Toft 7, lies several metres back from the frontage and it is not impossible that the intervening rectangular depression, which apparently acted as a courtyard in its eventual form, represents the site of an earlier house adjoining the frontage.

Toft 7 is traversed by Boundary 6, a probable late 18th-century field boundary formed by a bank surmounted by a relict hedgeline (probably of 19th-century date), with a shallow ditch along its northern side. Despite this disturbance, two buildings have been identified in the past (numbered 7 and 8). The earlier earthwork survey, like the First Edition 25-inch map (Ordnance Survey 1890), failed to recognise that the more easterly building extends beyond the field boundary, its northern end level with the northern side of the westerly building. This L-shaped arrangement might suggest an enclosed yard, but the only entrance identifiable in the more westerly building lies in its northern side, that is, facing away from the more obvious enclosed space. This may indicate that the two buildings are not contemporary, but their earthworks are equally crisp. The more easterly of the two buildings, like the adjoining building on the same north – south alignment in Toft 6, is set back from the frontage of the row and here, too, it is possible that the intervening rectangular 'forecourt' represents the site of an earlier building.

Toft 8 contains, in its south-east corner, an earthwork which almost certainly represents a building, but which lacks the crisp definition of many of the other examples. It may therefore have been similar in construction to Building 10 (that is, the latest building to be excavated in Area 10), which reportedly comprised a broad rubble bank without facing stones. This may have served as a foundation for a sleeper beam, but whatever its function, it appears to have been a relatively late style of construction, dating to the late 15th or early 16th centuries.

Toft 9 contains the remains of a probable building in its south-east corner, but all the earthworks in this area seem degraded and disturbed. A scarp which divides the toft into two, lengthwise, may represent some form of boundary or terracing designed to counteract the natural slope of the ground.

Toft 10 cannot be interpreted with confidence as a toft; none of the boundaries is distinct, in part due to the disturbance caused by the establishment of Tracks 5b and 6. If the pattern of tofts c 20m wide detected to the south continued further northwards, the bank that runs along the southern edge of Track 5b east of the lynchet bank might represent a toft boundary. However, its alignment is closer to that of the track, so it may be that it is a post-medieval feature, at least in the form in which it now survives on the surface.

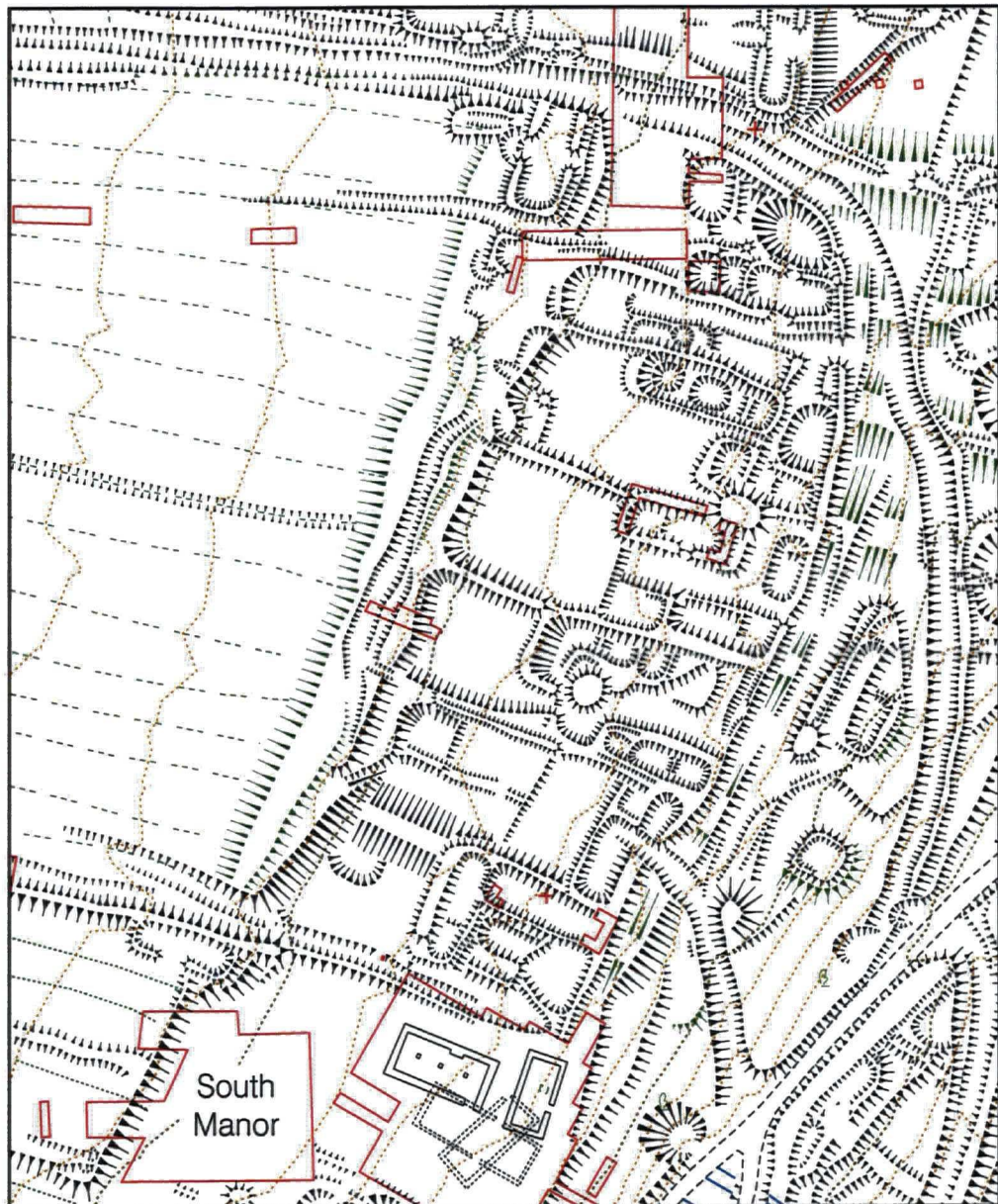
The scarp convincingly identified by Stuart Wrathmell as a continuation of the frontage of West Row (south) extends well within the manorial compound, which would imply the existence of more tofts prior to the imposition of the South Manor. The bank that defines the northern side of the large building platform set against the foot of the lynchet bank might represent the modification of the northern boundary of an earlier croft (numbered 11). This lies almost precisely 20m north of the predicted position of the northern boundary of Toft 10 and there are hints that an earthwork may at one stage have extended eastwards from the building platform as far as the supposed frontage. Toft 12 may have been re-occupied and redefined after the demise of the South Manor, as described below. However, the southern boundary of Toft 13 would also fall neatly into the 20m pattern, and may represent the northern limit of Toft 12, perhaps the northernmost in the original layout of West Row (south). This interpretation might help to explain the slight mismatch of orientations discussed below.

Toft 12 contains only one rectangular building that can be interpreted with confidence as relating to peasant settlement, that formerly identified as Building 9. This is aligned north – south, an alignment perhaps shared by most of the earlier buildings in West Row (north). However, its well-preserved condition, together with the fact that it lies east of, or outside, the frontage of West Row (south) but not against the frontage of West Row (north), suggests that it may be a later encroachment. It may be broadly contemporary with the establishment of Toft 13, which seems to have lain beyond the original end of West Row (south). The anomalous siting of the building in relation to the frontages may be connected with the smoothing of the misalignment between the two phases, reflected in the adjusted orientation of the houses in the adjacent Toft 13. The construction of Building 9 presumably predates a 1.4m deep oval pit, interpreted as a quarry, which lies immediately outside the doorway mid-way along its eastern side and would have made access extremely awkward. What appears to be a large building platform in the south-west corner of the toft, which has not previously been recognised, is unlike any other peasant building and is tentatively interpreted as part of the South Manor complex described in Section 5.4.

West Row (north)

Toft 13, as far as can be discerned and assuming it existed at all, would have been at odds with the patterns of toft boundaries in both West Row (south) and (north) and may have not have been planned as part of either. In other words, the establishment of the *curia* of the South Manor may have involved the reclamation of the two northernmost tofts of West Row (south) and also a portion of unoccupied ground, this corresponding to the area where Toft 13 was established after the demise of the manor. Building 10, which lay within Toft 13, and

Figure 19
English Heritage
plan of West Row
(north)
(at 1:1 000 scale)



its environs were extensively excavated: the edges of the trench themselves are still recognisable as earthworks, but these and the slight earthworks within the excavated areas have been omitted from Figure 9. The earthworks of Building 10, the latest in the sequence of peasant houses in the toft, were contoured at 6 inch (0.15m) intervals prior to excavation, but the earlier hachured survey is arguably a more useful interpretation and a more intelligible record (see Figure 5). Excavation indicated that unlike earlier buildings on the site, the 'walls' of the latest building, that is, the one surviving as an earthwork, was simply a bank of chalk rubble without any trace of facing stones. Although at first no firm conclusion was reached as to the nature of this earthwork, it could now perhaps be interpreted as a 'sleeper wall', that is, the foundation for a timber wall plate.

The earliest peasant house excavated in Area 10, which Stuart Wrathmell (1989, 41) has suggested may have shared its north to south alignment with early buildings in the West Row (north), was judged to date to the early part of the 14th century (Milne 1979a, 37). However, this cannot be taken as a foundation date for the whole of West Row (north) if Toft

13 was indeed a later encroachment within the boundary of the *curia* enclosure of the South Manor. Toft 12 may also have been re-established at this point, its southern boundary lying a few metres north of where it had possibly lain prior to the imposition of the South Manor. Perhaps reflecting the earlier alignment of the northernmost tofts of West Row (south) or the frontage of West Row (north), the sides of the two encroaching tofts and crofts were laid out at a slight angle to the northern and southern boundaries of the manorial enclosure. This resulted in a significant diminution of the area of the croft of Toft 13, for the South Manor was evidently laid out slightly askew to the pre-existing toft boundaries, apparently favouring the alignment of the early, broad-ridged cultivation.

Toft 13 may have become the site of a farmstead similar to those in Tofts 2/3 and 23/24, perhaps associated with the final stages of the occupation of the village. It is the only instance, apart from the East Row, where the croft is definitely defined by a deliberately constructed bank (presumably a former hedgeline or fence). As described in Section 5.4, a number of buildings may have stood at the western end of the croft, including one previously interpreted as a pond. In addition to the latest of the buildings excavated in Area 10, Building 11 may also have been part of the putative farm complex. Aligned east to west, the building is similar in size and form to other buildings interpreted as being domestic in function, but apparently had only a single door, on the south side. This, together with its location at the corner of a croft and on top of the lynchet bank, suggests that it may have been a small barn or similar agricultural outbuilding, like Building 18. It is cut slightly into the former northern boundary of the *curia* enclosure and its eastern end overlies the lynchet bank, so that it would have blocked any access along the ends of the crofts (see Track 13). Both these stratigraphic relationships, along with the crisp condition of the earthworks, suggest a relatively late date of origin.

West Row (north), excluding the later encroachments into the *curia* of the South Manor, comprises six tofts of regular size and one of half-width (Toft 19), all fronting onto Track 4. The tofts are generally about 1.5m narrower than those in West Row (south), measuring on average 18.5m wide; as a whole, the settlement unit gives the impression of more regular planning than any other element of the village. What may be the fragmentary remains of earlier broad cultivation ridges have been identified east of the frontage of the row, and the toft boundaries seem generally to coincide with these, both in spacing and alignment. The alignment and spacing of the earlier ridges seems therefore to have been sufficiently convenient to influence the later village planning, but it is not clear whether this necessarily implies any direct continuity of ownership. If so, the sequence proposed above, that West Row (south) is the earlier element of the settlement, might need revision. Apart from the half-width example, the size and layout of the tofts appears to be somewhat more regular than those of West Row (south). The form of this section of the lynchet bank is also straight and regular, supporting the interpretation (at least of this section and in its initial form) as a deliberately constructed boundary, contemporary with the laying-out of this part of the planned settlement. Six buildings have previously been identified within the tofts (numbered 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17), with another (18) lying on top of the lynchet bank immediately west of the northernmost toft. The addition of the newly recognised buildings to those identified

previously suggests that there was a common pattern in the layout of each toft. Buildings and/or boundaries were placed so as to enclose a central courtyard in the front half of each toft, with a more open half to the rear (presumably the garden or 'garth'). There is a reasonable suspicion, based on the presence of Building 18 and the late sub-division between the former crofts of Tofts 16 and 17 (comparable to that between Tofts 23 and 24), that at least one of these tofts may have continued in use as a late farm complex. However, it is difficult to pin-point the location.

On the ground, the shallow furrow-like depressions that represent the croft boundaries can be identified primarily by their coincidence with the adjacent toft boundaries; in form, they are virtually impossible to distinguish from the intervening furrows. Seen under optimum conditions from the air, however, the croft boundaries can be seen to be slightly more pronounced linear depressions, suggesting that they represent the over-ploughed remains of former ditches; it is not impossible that all trace of accompanying banks has been ploughed away (St Joseph 1970; Figure 21). Each croft seems to have been sub-divided into two virtually flat cultivation ridges approximately 8m wide, while the half-width Toft 19 comprised a single ridge. However, this pattern of each croft comprising two ridges may well reflect the ploughing regime at the very end of the village's existence, rather than the original use of the crofts, as Wrathmell has suggested (Wrathmell 1989, fig 29). Since all the crofts



Figure 20
*Aerial photograph
of the village
by JK Joseph,
taken 1970
(reproduced by
permission of
Cambridge University
Committee for Aerial
Photography)*

of West Row (north) were separated from the open fields by Boundary 3, it is possible that there were no hedges between the individual holdings, a pattern observed elsewhere (Roberts 1987, 3.7). Only in one instance – the boundary between Crofts 16 and 17 - does a furrow appear much more pronounced on the ground, to the point where it might more accurately be termed a shallow ditch. This seems likely to be a late development, probably associated with the establishment of a late medieval or early post-medieval farm complex within the row, as suggested above and as Stuart Wrathmell has observed (1989, fig 29). This seems to imply that the latest episode of ploughing in this area is similarly late. If so, it may be of less chronological significance that this fairly conventional ridge and furrow seems to have erased traces of the broader cultivation ridges, comparable to those recorded west of West Row (south) and within the *curia* enclosure of the South Manor. In other words, the crofts may not have been subdivided into two ridges until after the occupation of the row was effectively finished.

The relationship of the tofts in West Row (north) to the northern boundary of the *curia* enclosure of the South Manor suggests that the remainder of this sector of the settlement is likely to have been laid out at the same time as, or later than, the manorial compound. The width of the frontage of Toft 14, and consequently those of the tofts to its north, was evidently measured out with respect to the line of the north boundary of the manorial *curia*, for the only tofts whose frontages are of irregular size are the two northernmost in the row, Tofts 19 and 20. The sides of the tofts, on the other hand, were apparently set out at right angles to the frontage rather than parallel to the northern boundary of the *curia*. As a result, the width of Toft 14 was distorted and markedly broader at its western end. This too supports the argument that it was originally the southernmost in the row. It therefore appears that the north boundary of the manorial enclosure was deliberately singled out as the starting point for the demarcation of the property boundaries. From this, it can be inferred either that the row post-dates the establishment of the manorial complex, or that the two were laid out at the same time. This might suggest a date for the planning and construction of West Row (north) in the late 12th century, since the date of the construction of the *camera* was established as c 1180. There is also a single sherd from the primary silts of the ditch of the *curia* boundary to suggest that this was laid out at about the same date (see Section 5.4). However, it is not impossible that there was an earlier manor house on the site and that the foundation of the row was contemporary with this as yet unrecognised building. Alternatively, the row may have been laid out later to fill in the space between the South Manor and the North Manor, if the North was built after the demise of the South.

Toft 14 seems to have contained, in addition to Building 12, two other buildings sited so as to enclose a yard at the front of the toft. A separation between the northern boundary of the *curia* enclosure and the southern sides of the southernmost buildings suggests that Track 15 may have passed between the toft and the *curia* enclosure, though there is no clear indication of the point where this joined Track 4. It is also possible that Track 15 is of relatively late origin, since it cuts through the ditch of the *curia* boundary, in which case the siting of the buildings would suggest that they too are of relatively late date.

Toft 15 apparently contains a single major building aligned along the front of the toft. Track 19, which could conceivably be of post-medieval date, cuts through the building. A narrow trench, perhaps representing stone robbing rather than archaeological excavation, has removed part of the wall along the frontage. This mutilation probably accounts for why the earthworks have not previously been interpreted as building remains. In the garth that forms the rear half of the toft, a vestigial bank running precisely along the central axis of the plot hints that it may have been subdivided at some point. There are hints of another structure in the north-west corner of the toft.

Toft 16 contains the building formerly identified as Building 13, which has clear evidence of a tripartite division of its interior. It also includes an area of very slight and evidently disturbed earthworks which may represent the remains of two or more other structures, not necessarily all contemporary, but apparently enclosing a small central courtyard. The nature of the later disturbance is unclear, but one circular mound is reminiscent of a small spoil heap. Whether this is the result of stone robbing or unrecorded excavation is uncertain.



Figure 21
*View of Building 13
from the east*

Toft 17 contains two principal buildings, both of which have been identified previously (14 and 15). Building 15 was the first house at Wharram to be excavated by Beresford, in 1950 (Beresford and Hurst 1990, fig 15). However, parts of the building seem to have gone unrecognised: there seems to have been a westerly extension to Building 14 and perhaps a smaller structure in the north-east corner of the toft, effectively continuing the range formed by Building 15. A scarp, which seems to indicate a less substantial boundary joining the western ends of the two long ranges, suggests that the buildings were grouped around a central yard.

Toft 18 contains a building identified previously as Building 16, which has clear evidence for a tripartite division of its interior. A second smaller building on the same axis occupies the

south-east corner of the toft, creating a narrow passage between the two buildings with a small courtyard adjoining the frontage in the north-east corner.

Toft 19 is anomalous in that it is precisely half the width of the other tofts in West Row (north) as mentioned above, but clearly an integral part of the row as a whole. It is possible that it was initially left as a through-route to the lynchet bank, which evidently served as a 'back lane' running behind the row (see Track 13) and there are certainly signs that the opening onto the frontage (Track 4) was fairly intensively used. However, use of this route may have been a reaction to the blocking by Building 18 of the more natural point of entry onto Track 13, at its intersection with Road 1B. On balance, it seems more likely that the toft was deliberately laid out as a half-width plot, as a consequence of the use of the northern boundary of the *curia* enclosure of the South Manor as the starting-point for the laying-out of the row. Despite its narrow width, the toft may have included at least one large building.

Toft 20, whose plan is the most irregular in the row, contains one large building that has been identified previously (17), though it may have extended further to the west than previously recognised. A second structure, whose existence was hinted at by the earlier survey, may have lain at right angles to this, defining a sunken yard in the north-east corner of the toft. This layout seems in part to have been intended to make the best possible use of the irregular plan of that sector of the toft.

Building 18 is comparable to Building 11 in its siting overlying the lynchet bank and in the north-eastern corner of the crofts enclosed by the southern embankment of Road 1B and the late boundary between Crofts 16 and 17. This stratigraphic relationship, together with the fresh condition of the earthworks, suggests that it may belong to the latest phase of the village's existence. In plan, it is shorter and broader than other buildings, with wide opposed doorways. This form, together with its siting in relation to the crofts, suggests that it may have been a barn or similar agricultural outbuilding. There are slight hints of a smaller structure aligned at right angles to the west of the main building.

North Row

It has been suggested that the North Row originally comprised six tofts in a row aligned from west to east, but that all these were cleared away when the two manors were amalgamated in 1254, the land eventually becoming the holding of a courtyard farm, which is now the most easily recognisable feature (Hurst 1984, fig 4; Beresford and Hurst 1990, 47 and 80). The earthwork investigation undertaken by English Heritage in 2002 supports the first and last of these observations, but also suggests that only the westernmost of the tofts may have been cleared away in about 1254 and that the buildings that formed the courtyard farm may have been converted from surviving earlier buildings. There is further evidence that the sequence as a whole is likely to have been more complex.

In the first place, it is possible that the ridged cultivation hinted at by possible positive lynchets underlying the North Manor may have extended eastwards to the edge of the western plateau. What may be the southern terminals of these ridges are preserved as

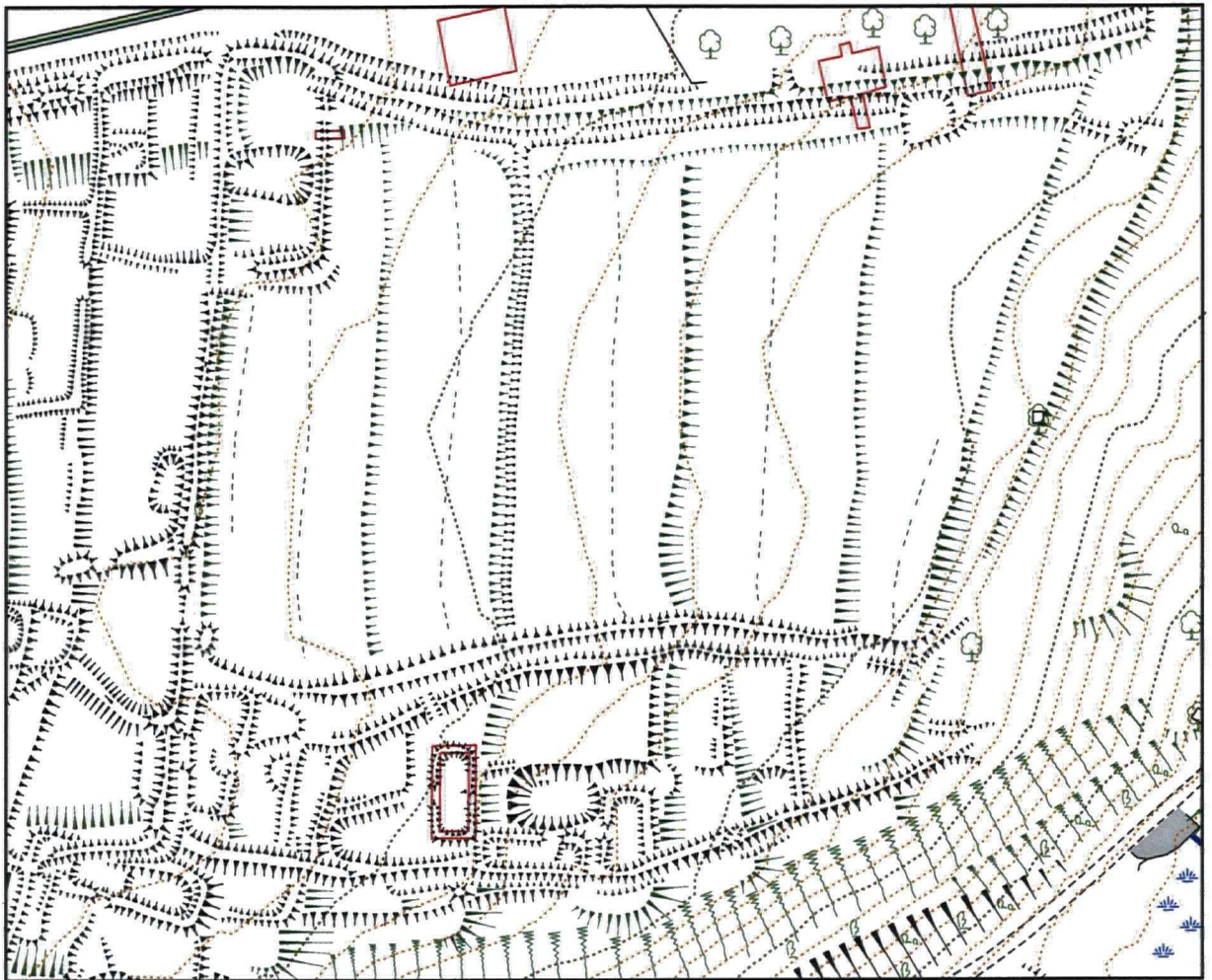


Figure 22
English Heritage
plan of North Row
(at 1:1 000 scale)

positive lynchets on the very limit of the escarpment, to the south of the frontage of the row. In several cases, these more or less coincide with the more prominent positive lynchets that mark the divisions between the crofts of the row, hinting that earlier agriculture may have influenced the plan of the row. However, earlier ploughing might be expected to run perpendicular to the early Boundary 1, or parallel to the crest of the western plateau. The alignment of the croft boundaries does not correspond precisely to either of these predictable alignments, so it could be inferred that they were set out with little regard to any pre-existing earthworks.

Secondly, the line of the western section of the frontage of the row may have been pushed back by up to 7m from the edge of the escarpment. This modification is suggested by a distinct change of angle towards the eastern edge of Toft 24 and a slight scarp which seems to represent a remnant of the earlier boundary. This apparent retraction from the edge of the escarpment may represent a reaction to the natural slumping that has evidently occurred in the locality. However, the survival of what seem to be the terminals of early cultivation ridges, mentioned above, would tend to suggest that slumping was not a problem at this point (unless the bulges interpreted as ridge terminals are, in fact, themselves the product of natural slumping). Therefore, it is possible that the re-alignment reflects the incorporation of the westernmost toft in the row, Toft 21, into the expanded *curia* enclosure of the North Manor. This change, which has already been described in Section 5.5 represents another

major change to the layout of the row. The amalgamation of at least two of the peasant tofts to form a courtyard farm, in the very late medieval or early post-medieval period, is perhaps the latest of the significant developments. It is notable that at no point is there any sign of an entrance into any of the tofts from Track 3; this apparent absence is almost certainly due to the reconstruction of the frontage, with the addition of a shallow ditch along its outer edge, to form a continuous boundary around the late courtyard farm.

The dimensions of the tofts do not appear to have been as strictly laid out as those in West Row (north), their widths, ranging *c* 2m on either side of 20m. There is similar variation in the width of the adjoining crofts, whose boundaries are easier to distinguish than those of West Row (south) and (north) because the divisions are marked by positive lynchets. These boundary lynchets are slightly more pronounced than those associated solely with the cultivation ridges, two of which make up each croft. The lynchet that forms the boundary between Crofts 23 and 24 is accompanied by a shallow ditch, apparently a late subdivision of the land, like the bank between Crofts 16 and 17. This variation cannot be entirely accounted for by the constraints of the natural topography. Any variation in the length of the tofts is more difficult to detect, due partly to the putative re-alignment of the frontage and partly to the existence of Track 14, which seems, at least in the form that can now be seen on the surface, to be a relatively late development, although presumably the approximate line of an earlier back lane.

Toft 21, formerly interpreted as the course of a track leading out into Field 2 (Track 2), is primarily identifiable from the pattern of boundaries that define it, for there are no certain traces of buildings likely to be contemporary with its occupation. The relation of Track 14 to the rear of the toft, assuming it once continued further westwards, is also uncertain. The width of the plot may have been narrowed slightly by the modification of the eastern boundary when the toft was taken into the expanded *curia* of the North Manor and by the subsequent superimposition of an embankment for a hedgeline in the late 18th century.

Toft 22 contains one building, not previously identified as such, which like Building 18, is slightly shorter and broader than most other buildings interpreted as peasant houses, with wide opposed doorways. The location of the building is also comparable in that it lies at the corner of the crofts enclosed by the eastern boundary of the *curia* enclosure and the late boundary between Crofts 23 and 24. In addition, the building partially blocks Track 14, suggesting that it is one of the latest features and therefore quite probably an outlying component of the farmyard in Tofts 23/24. A second possible building, less clearly defined, lies against the eastern boundary of the toft and this may conceivably be of earlier date. The pen at the rear of the adjoining croft seems to be later still and is discussed in Section 5.11.

Toft 23 contains a single small building (20) whose earthworks remain fairly well-preserved despite excavation of all the wall lines in the early years of the Wharram Research Project. Pottery from the early excavation was lost, but is remembered as being of 15th-century date (Hurst 1984, 97). There is little to distinguish it from many of the other buildings that make up the village, but a relatively late date is also suggested by its position in relation to the boundaries of the toft, for it does not abut the frontage, as is common elsewhere, but is

instead sited so as to enclose, in conjunction with Building 21, the western end of the sunken courtyard in the adjacent Toft 24. This would seem to confirm, as proposed previously, that Tofts 23 and 24 had been amalgamated into a single unit. The interpretation of the complex as the 'demesne farm' of the North Manor is less convincing in the light of the presence within the *curia* of other buildings which perhaps post-date the manor (Hurst 1984, 97 and fig 4; Beresford and Hurst 1990, 51). On the other hand, it might be supposed that the eventual form of Building 20 results from the modification of an earlier building which related solely to the occupation of Toft 23. In the north-west corner of the toft, a roughly square platform, with vestigial traces of an enclosing bank, may be a pen as suggested by the previous survey. However, it is also possible that it represents a building platform.

Toft 24, as indicated by the earlier survey, contains two well-preserved buildings (21 and 22), which, together with Building 20 in Toft 23, enclose a sunken rectangular area that can be interpreted with confidence as a farmyard. Like Building 20, however, it is conceivable, if not likely, that both buildings, in their original form, were components of the earlier arrangement contained within Toft 24, which presumably combined domestic and farming functions. The form of the whole arrangement is very similar to that of the sunken farmyard in Toft 2. In this instance, however, there is no readily identifiable farmhouse in the immediate vicinity: Buildings 19 and 23 are the most likely candidates, although Building 3, which lies somewhat further away down the steep valley side, is an outside possibility. Another difference is that in this case, the 1.4m deep rectangular depression that forms the farmyard seems unlikely to have originated as a casual quarry, since it is not driven into the slope from the edge of the escarpment, but rather dug as a discrete pit. The sides of the depression were evidently not just left as raw chalk, but carefully walled, for a short length of the upper courses of the walling is exposed on the northern side. Entry into the yard was evidently gained from the east via a narrow passage immediately north of Building 22.

Toft 25 has traces of two possible buildings which may relate to the occupation of this toft prior to the formation of the late courtyard farm.

Toft 26 retains few earthworks which may relate to buildings and these are difficult to distinguish from a pattern of angular earthworks apparently created by modern disturbance, in part caused by farm vehicles. The eastern boundary of the adjoining croft is also difficult to distinguish, although a positive lynchet along the very edge of the western escarpment indicates that at some point arable cultivation extended this far. Consequently, the eastern end of Track 3, if indeed it did not continue northwards along the edge of the escarpment, is difficult to identify. What may be a building platform set against the northern boundary of the croft may relate to the late farmstead in Tofts 23/24. It lies near the corner of the field defined on the west by the ditched boundary between Crofts 23 and 24, which makes it comparable to other buildings identified as possible barns, such as Buildings 11 and 18.

East Row

The row consists of as many as eleven tofts and crofts fronting onto the eastern side of Road 2B and stretching down to the foot of the western side of the valley. Earthwork traces

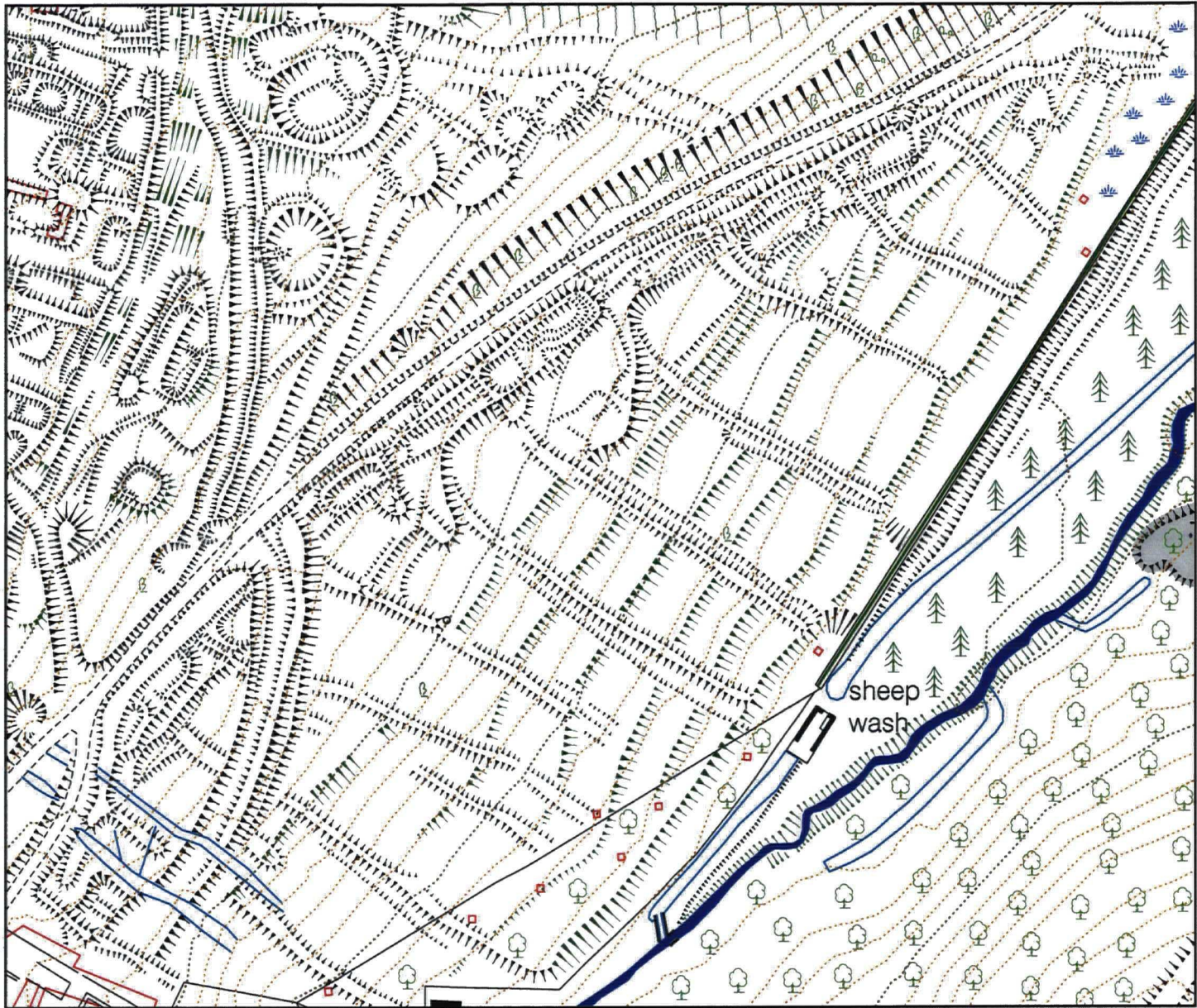


Figure 23
 English Heritage
 plan of East Row
 (at 1:1 000 scale)

of three buildings, numbered 1 to 3, have been recognised in the past. Apart from buildings recognised in excavation beneath the Improvement farm, which may lie at or beyond its southernmost end, this row has not been excavated. It was first subjected to geophysical survey in 2002, with good results (Linford and Linford 2003, figs 3 and 6). The sloping ground of the valley side has experienced considerable soil creep, but a series of more pronounced positive lynchets up to 0.3m high can be distinguished from these natural terracettes, as described in Section 5.8. These cannot be dated with any precision, except in so far as they predate the establishment of the croft boundaries.

The plan of the southern end of the row has been reconstructed conjecturally as a rectangle whose southern end coincides with the boundary of the plots enclosing the parsonage and the church itself (Beresford and Hurst 1990, fig 60). On paper, this gives a pleasing appearance of regularity comparable to the pattern of the other rows, but it ignores the form of the natural topography. The steep-sided, scallop-shaped depression eroded into the valley side by the