

### PART III. ANGLIAN AND ANGLO-DANISH LINCOLNSHIRE

#### I. LINCOLN IN THE FIFTH CENTURY A.D.

By J. N. L. MYRES

The condition of Lincoln in the period following the Roman occupation is a matter of considerable historical interest, and has been the subject of comment in several recent studies of the sub-Roman and early Anglo-Saxon centuries in this country. Widely different views have been expressed. It has been claimed on the one hand that 'nothing of the pagan period is known from Lincoln City',<sup>1</sup> and on the other hand that Lincoln can be properly included among those walled Roman sites of which the early Anglo-Saxon occupation is attested by the presence of cremation burials.<sup>2</sup> To the confusion represented by such divergent opinions, I have myself contributed,<sup>3</sup> and the present note is an attempt to atone for such conduct by a purely factual statement of the archaeological evidence as it is known to me at present. These facts will contribute to the material on which a proper judgement may one day be formed, but it is no part of my present purpose to attempt that judgement now. To do so would, in my opinion, be premature: it would almost certainly increase the confusion which this statement of the facts is designed to dispel.

The claim that Lincoln was the site of an early Anglo-Saxon cremation-cemetery rests essentially on the presence of two urns in the Lincoln Museum for which an origin in the city has been reasonably asserted. The first is a vessel from the Trollope collection bearing a label which states categorically that it was found in the Eastgate, Lincoln, about 1850. It is important to realize that this label is not contemporary with the discovery of the urn: from the vagueness of the date, 'about 1850', it clearly belongs to a time in the subsequent history of the vessel when the precise circumstances of its origin had been forgotten. In fact there is reason to believe that the information conveyed by the label is wholly inaccurate.

The history of the urn after the death of its owner, Captain Arthur Trollope, who lived at Eastgate House, Lincoln, and died in 1860, is clear. It passed with the residue of his collection to his daughters, the Misses Trollope, who placed it with other objects on loan in the museum of the Stamford Institution. When that museum was broken up in 1910, it was arranged through the good offices of the late Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, F.S.A., that it should go with other supposedly local finds to the museum at Lincoln, where it has since remained.

It has recently been shown, however, that this urn belongs almost certainly to a group of at least eight which Trollope obtained from his brother-in-law, Robert Elwes, of Twyford Hall, near Elmham, Norfolk, some time after November, 1852,

<sup>1</sup> C. W. Phillips in *Arch. Journ.*, xci (1934), 149.

<sup>2</sup> K. D. M. Dauncey in *Antiquity*, xvi (1942), 52-3.

<sup>3</sup> *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, ed. 2 (1937), 414-16 and 456 note; *Antiq. Journ.*, xvii (1937), 424-37; *Antiquity*, xvi (1942), 332.

when they had been found in the well-known North Elmham cremation-cemetery. These urns were excellently drawn in water-colour by Elwes before he parted with them, and two of his paintings, one showing five and the other three pots, are now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. The identification of the urns has been described in detail elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> and there is no need to repeat it here. It may suffice to say that three of these vessels have been traced to Mr. Crowther-Beynon's collection. He obtained them from the Trollope collection through the Misses Trollope. Their history is, in fact, identical with that of the 'Lincoln' urn except that, being broken, they were not sent for exhibition to Stamford, but were retained by the Trollope sisters, who eventually gave their fragments to Mr. Crowther-Beynon.

That the 'Lincoln' urn is identical with a vessel of similar shape, size and decoration shown in one of the Elwes water-colours, is, I think, virtually certain; but it is only right to add that the proof is not quite so complete as in the case of the Crowther-Beynon urns. There is a minor discrepancy between the decoration shown in the drawing and that on the pot itself. The horizontal linear ornament on the neck of the pot consists of five lines, while the illustration shows six. In every other respect, they are identical. It is, therefore, just possible that two urns are involved; but this supposition would involve the extraordinary coincidence that Trollope possessed, among a not very numerous assortment of Anglo-Saxon pots, two with decoration very nearly identical, one from Lincoln and the other from Norfolk, and that, while all trace of the Norfolk vessel has been lost, that from Lincoln has followed a subsequent history similar to that taken by other Norfolk urns from his collection. It is far more probable that Elwes made a slight error in his picture of the urn. If he did, we have no alternative but to write off this pot altogether as evidence for a cremation-cemetery at Lincoln.

How then did it come to be adorned with this very misleading label? It has been noted that the find-spot is given as the Eastgate, the very street in which Trollope lived, and from which his house was named. This suggests an easy explanation. On some occasion on which it was thought desirable to label the urn (the transfer to Stamford is the most likely) the question may have been asked: 'Where did this come from?' and the answer given: 'from Trollope, Eastgate, Lincoln'. In this way the address of the collector could have easily found its way on to the label as if it was the find-spot of the object.

The other witness to the existence of a cremation-cemetery at Lincoln tells a less interesting but hardly more convincing story. It is an Anglian urn of the wide-mouthed bowl type, decorated with linear ornament and bearing a manuscript label with the single word 'Lincoln' (fig. 1, 1). It belonged to the well-known antiquary, Charles Warne (1802-87), and was included in his collections now deposited in the Dorset County Museum at Dorchester. Thence it was transferred in 1935 to Lincoln, as a more appropriate resting-place for an object so labelled.

There is no reason in this case to doubt the *bona fides* of the label, but its meaning is far from certain. Perhaps Warne, who probably wrote it, knew that the pot had been found in Lincoln; perhaps he knew only that it came from the county; perhaps he meant to indicate merely that he had bought it in Lincoln.

<sup>4</sup> *Antiq. Journ.*, xxvii (1947), 47-50, where illustrations of the Elwes drawings, including the 'Lincoln' urn, are given.

It would be unwise to build with confidence the theory of a Lincoln cremation-cemetery on this ambiguous evidence. Nor does the pot itself provide clear information. The bowl form is regarded by continental scholars as early, but it probably had a long life in England. The decoration is typically Anglian with its emphatic use of a scheme of closely-set vertical and horizontal lines and its employment of furrowed grooves in place of bosses to demarcate panels in combination with the finer lines and little swags that fill them. Vessels of this shape, showing many variations on this theme and made in the same dark fabric, which once had a surface burnish, are quite common in the early Anglian or Anglo-Frisian cemeteries of the east coast area from Yorkshire to Norfolk. While such an urn would be perfectly in place at Lincoln, it would be equally so at York or at Caistor-by-Norwich.

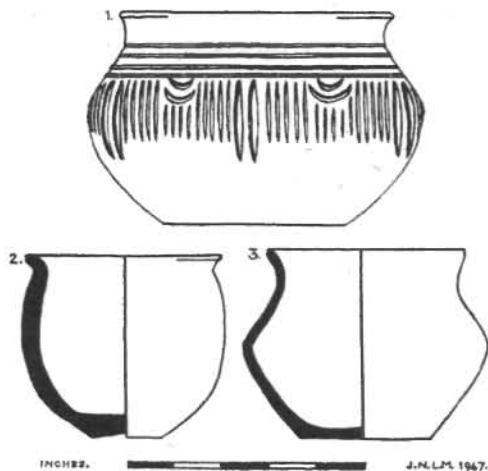


FIG. 1. LINCOLN: POTTERY OF THE EARLY ANGLIAN PERIOD  
 1. BOWL FROM THE WARNE COLLECTION (LINCOLN MUSEUM)  
 2. VESSEL IN THE YORKSHIRE MUSEUM, YORK  
 3. VESSEL FROM THE GREETWELL ROMAN VILLA (LINCOLN MUSEUM)

There are two other vessels known to me which, while throwing no light on the question of an early cemetery at Lincoln, should be remembered in any attempt to picture the city's condition in the sub-Roman age. One is a little, undecorated, hand-made pot, now in the Yorkshire Museum, York (fig. 1, 2: here published by permission of the Keeper). It is heavily built of a dark grey-brown ware, smoothed externally: it has a wide mouth with a short but abruptly everted lip and a narrow ponderous base, slightly hollowed beneath. Nothing is known of its history beyond the fact that it came from Lincoln or its neighbourhood and was bought in 1880. Although labelled 'Anglian Urn' and somewhat reminiscent of a type of accessory occasionally found with Anglo-Saxon inhumation burials, this little jar, to which I can quote no close parallels, has also a faint but unmistakable Romano-British flavour. One can say no more than that if there were still British inhabitants in Lincoln in the middle or late fifth century, this is just the sort of pottery one would expect them to be using.

The other is more interesting. It is a little hand-made jar in a rough hard grey

ware, with a wide flaring lip, a sharply biconical profile with a marked carination, and a well-defined flat base (fig. 1, 3). The biconical form and the lip are distinctly Anglo-Saxon, but both the fabric and the base are much better formed than is normal with Anglo-Saxon vessels of this type. It gives the impression of having been made by someone familiar with Romano-British wheel-turned wares.

Now this pot, which is in the Lincoln Museum, was found in the Roman villa at Greetwell, two miles east of Lincoln along the Roman road from the Eastgate. There is no doubt of its association with the villa, for there is a drawing of it in the Lincoln Museum in a manuscript volume of sketches of the villa and its contents prepared by the architect in charge when the building was excavated<sup>5</sup>. It thus belongs to a category excessively rare in this country, that of objects of Anglo-Saxon character found in Roman villas.

This is not the place to speculate on the significance of such an association two miles from Roman Lincoln. It is, however, a reasonable guess from the hybrid character of the pot that its presence in the villa is not wholly fortuitous. It does not look like a casual dropping of a passing raider, or even the trace of a sixth-century Anglian picnic. It suggests rather that somebody was still living in the Greetwell villa who had a use for strongly fashioned, almost stylish, hand-made pottery at a time when it was usual to make pots of Anglo-Saxon design. In the second quarter of the seventh century, Paulinus converted to Christianity at Lincoln an Anglian noble whom Bede (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 16) calls the *Praefectus civitatis*. Had he a predecessor, Angle or British, in the second half of the fifth century?

<sup>5</sup> Information kindly supplied by Mr. F. T. Baker, to whom I am much indebted for help in writing this article.

## 2. THE EXHIBITION

By C. F. C. HAWKES

(Numbers in brackets are those of the Catalogue.)

BM=British Museum. GM=Grantham Museum. HM=Hull Museum.  
LM=Lincoln Museum. SM=Scunthorpe Museum.

### A. PAGAN ANGLIAN ANTIQUITIES

The archaeology of Pagan Anglian Lincolnshire (fifth to seventh centuries A.D.) was summarized in 1934 in this *Journal* by Mr. C. W. Phillips, F.S.A.,<sup>6</sup> and a distribution-map, based upon his and completed to 1946 in uniformity with the prehistoric and Roman period maps above noticed (pp. 4, 16) was displayed in the Exhibition. What can at present be said of a possible continuity of occupation between Roman and Anglian occupations at Lincoln itself has appeared in the foregoing section by Mr. Myres. Of the county's three other Roman-walled sites, however, Ancaster had an Anglian cremation-cemetery joined with its Roman cemetery beside the Ermine Street just outside the south face of the Roman

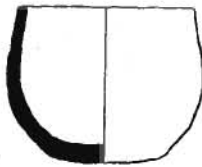


FIG. 2. BEACON HILL, CLEETHORPES: ANGLIAN POT.  $\frac{1}{4}$

defences;<sup>7</sup> while Caistor had close by it, on the way south to Nettleton, an inhumation-cemetery,<sup>8</sup> which has yielded not only Anglian iron gear, but the interesting bronze hanging-bowl to be noticed separately below, along with the other such bowls and bowl-escutcheons included in the Exhibition (p. 91). That from the inhumation-cemetery at Barton-on-Humber was found in one grave with a bronze work-box, etc., and a remarkable set of scales and weights, which was exhibited with it (92: HM).<sup>9</sup>

Caistor and Barton, of course, belong to the Lindsey series of cemeteries in the north and north-east of the county. With them may be noticed the single plain black pot (fig. 2) from the Beacon Hill mound at *Cleethorpes*, found (crushed) in an evidently secondary position 5 feet from the Bronze Age urn-group described and illustrated on pp. 6-7 above (45: Cleethorpes Borough Council); it is certainly

<sup>6</sup> *Arch. Journ.*, xci, 137-51 (with map, pl. xxvii), 154; gazetteer, 155-87. For 'plough-stones' possibly of this age, see p. 13 above.

<sup>7</sup> Above, p. 20 and fig. 1; Trollope, *Arch. Journ.*, xxvii (1870), 3-4; Phillips, *ibid.*, xci, 141.

<sup>8</sup> *Arch. Journ.*, xiv (1857), 174; Phillips, *ibid.*, xci, 144.

<sup>9</sup> Published in 1940, with a note from Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford of the British Museum, by the late Mr. T. Sheppard: *Hull Mus. Publ.* no. 208.



a Pagan Anglian funerary vessel, though the excavators could find no burial with it.<sup>10</sup>

The remaining exhibits of the period came from the south of the county. They included the early 'window-urn' from near Stamford and the zoomorphic bronze buckle-loop, in fifth-century Roman-derived style, from Saltersford near Grantham (93: LM; 94: HM; *Arch. Journ.*, xci, 142-3, 149 (refs.), pl. xxviii, a and b). The other material from the Grantham district comprised cremation-urns from Caythorpe (99) and Loveden Hill, Hough-on-the-Hill (97-8, 100); brooches (102), both square-headed and cruciform, from Carlton Scroop—with other bronze objects (101)—and Woolsthorpe; and from the little-known 'mixed' cemetery at *Ruskington*, three miles north of the famous Sleaford cemetery (which was represented by British Museum photographs), a diverse series (95) of bronze and iron grave-goods, sherds and (96) cremation-urns, exhibited by Messrs. Ronald and Philip Hossack (cf. *Antiq. Journ.*, xxvi, 69), which included the following (all doubtless of the sixth century):

- Pl. x, d:
1. Small annular brooch, ring of flattish-oval section, with dot-ornament. Scarcely classifiable; but two others, with broader, flat ring, stand closer to Leeds's class *e*: two others again, with oval-section ring (one plain, one corrugated) represent his class *f* (E. T. Leeds, *Archaeologia*, xci, 46-9: this whole family of brooches seems of native British origin).
  2. Cruciform small-long brooch, of Åberg's group III (N. Åberg, *The Anglo-Saxons in England* (1925), 39ff): simple knob; see on 4.
  3. Small square-headed brooch, related to Kentish types, but rendered in an Anglian style, with the lozenge panel in the foot-plate crossed by a vertical bar, and the twin animal-heads above it decorated in a disarrayed 'Style I' like that of the head-plate, which has a border of elements no longer free but conjoined so as to leave round apertures between their waists: see Åberg, *op. cit.*, 65ff; Leeds, *op. cit.*, 63ff, and *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (1936), 83ff and pl. xxiv.
  4. Cruciform small-long brooch, of Åberg's group IV (*op. cit.*, 42ff), simple knobs (his fig. 70, 1); see Leeds, *Archaeologia*, xci, 69-71, with map, fig. 37.
  5. Florid cruciform brooch, of Åberg's group V (*op. cit.*, 50ff); see Leeds, *op. cit.*, 81-3, with pl. xxii: cf. the well-known Sleaford brooches, B.M. A.-S. *Guide*, figs. 18-19. Seems quite early of its kind, with 'Style I' animal-ornament of recognizably 'helmet' character.

With these were shown one other small-long brooch (inferior 'cross pattee derivative': Leeds, *op. cit.*, 22-5; foot as his fig. 14b, head as *d* but worse); one openwork swastika disc-brooch (*ibid.*, 52-3); three pairs of simple rectangular wrist-clasps of dot-embossed sheet-bronze (*ibid.*, 53); a pair of girdle-hangers; small buckle-loops; other small bronze articles and fragments; and an iron shield-boss and spearheads.

#### B. HANGING-BOWLS AND ESCUTCHEONS

(with a note on the Stone Carvings in South Kyme church).

Both the 'Middle Angles' of south Lincolnshire, and also the 'Northerners' or 'men of the Humber' among whom were the Angles of Lindsey,<sup>11</sup> had some access to the products of a native or sub-Roman population. As well as annular brooches such as those just quoted from Ruskington and a few others<sup>12</sup> likewise

<sup>10</sup> For the excavation (1935), see *Lincs. Notes & Queries*, xxiii, 129; *Hull Mus. Publ.* no. 190.

<sup>11</sup> *Nordi, Humbrenses*: see J. N. L. Myres,

'The Teutonic Settlement of Northern England', in *History*, xx, no. 79 (December, 1935), 250-62.

<sup>12</sup> Penannular and disc types: on all these see Leeds, *Archaeologia*, xci, 44-52.



*a*

*b*

*c*

HANGING-BOWL ESCUTCHEONS :

- a.* BENNIWORTH
- b.* WILLOUGHTON
- c.* MANTON COMMON

$\frac{1}{1}$



*d*, 1-3

*e*

*d*, 4-5

*d.* RUSKINGTON :  
BROOCHES FROM ANGLIAN CEMETERY

$\frac{2}{5}$

*e.* TATTERSHALL : MEDIEVAL EARTHENWARE VESSEL  
PRESERVING PRE-CONQUEST FEATURES (p. 93)

D. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  INS.





probably of native origin, they obtained a number of the bronze hanging-bowls which are the most distinctive of those products known.<sup>13</sup> That from the Sleaford cemetery is even rather Roman than sub-Roman, though it was old and patched when buried,<sup>14</sup> and both the bowls from Lindsey already mentioned (p. 89) are probably sub-Roman work of the fifth century, that from Barton-on-Humber (88 : HM)<sup>15</sup> having hooks rising from small plain kite-shaped escutcheons with three rivets, and that from Caistor (89 : LM)<sup>16</sup> zoomorphic hooks rising from circular escutcheons engraved with simple ring-and-dot ornament. But the greatest interest of these hanging-bowls begins when they appear with escutcheons and basal 'prints' ornamented in the Celtic tradition of champlévé enamelling; and in the design of these there are three principal style-conventions, one more Roman than Celtic, one more Celtic than Roman, and one in which both are transcended in a new Celtic style based on the 'trumpet' pattern and the close-coiled spiral. All three were long-lived.

The fine bowl found in 1939 and exhibited from *Manton Common, Scunthorpe* (87 : SM) is represented here by one of its two surviving escutcheons (pl. x, c), which shows the Roman-derived convention in the cross and three-leaf motive of its central panel, and in the pelta motive of its outer band; but the peltae alternate in a wholly Celtic interlocking of bronze and red enamel, and the running scroll-work of both the basal prints (not here illustrated) is still more thoroughly Celtic in its treatment, while both they and also the escutcheons (round the border of the central panel and on the cross within it: surviving in fragments only) have been embellished in coloured mosaic glass—a technique of East-Roman antecedents which either survived in or was re-introduced into the Celtic west in the sixth century. The bowl and its ornaments were described in 1941 by Mr. Kendrick (*Antiq. Journ.*, xxi, 236-7, with pls. LII-LIII): he dates it in the seventh century, conformably with his discussion of the great bowl from the Anglo-Saxon burial-treasure of Sutton Hoo in Suffolk, with which the Manton bowl is clearly related (*Antiquity*, xiv (1940), 30-1; and see now *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial: a Provisional Guide* (British Museum, 1947), 21-4). The home of this long survival of Roman-derived and Celtic conventions seems from the known distribution of bowls to lie in east-central England; the trumpet-pattern style on like grounds is to be located in south and south-central England, arising seemingly in the first half of the sixth century, and it is interesting to speculate how the two exhibited specimens of it have come to appear in Lincolnshire. One (pl. x, b) is Mrs. Rudkin's from near *Willoughton* (90 : *Antiq. Journ.*, xxv, 149), which shows a cunningly-contrived triplication of the trumpet-armed, spiral-ended triquetra,<sup>17</sup> set off against a field of red enamel that has nearly all perished. In the other (pl. x, a), found in 1933 at *Benniworth* (91 : LM; *ibid.*, xvi, 98-9), a looser version of the trumpet-spiral

<sup>13</sup> It must suffice to cite Mr. T. D. Kendrick's article, 'British Hanging Bowls', in *Antiquity*, vi (1932), 161-84, and, with chapter III of his *Anglo-Saxon Art* (1938), Françoise Henry in *J. R. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, lxvi (1936), 209-46, and H. Kilbride-Jones in *P.S.A. Scot.*, lxxi (1936-7), 206-47.

<sup>14</sup> Kendrick, *Antiquity*, vi, 165, and pl. I, 5: of the originally late-Roman 'Ichester' type with inturned rims and out-turned hooks.

<sup>15</sup> Sheppard, *Hull Mus. Publ.* no. 208 (1940), 257-62, with photograph (259) and list of other plain-escutcheoned bowls (258: cf. esp. that from Hawnby, Yorks). The publication is reprinted from *The Naturalist* of October, 1939.

<sup>16</sup> Sheppard, *ibid.*, 281-2; Kendrick, *op. cit.*, 166-7, fig. 3, B.

<sup>17</sup> Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, 56-7 and pl. xxvii.

formula<sup>18</sup> has been adapted to an oval space, the escutcheon being of bird shape, with beak-formed hook and projecting tail. Its enamel is rich red, except for the yellow  $\square$  spot at the base of the hook. Its affinities with the well-known Winchester bowl escutcheons suggest a date late in the sixth century.<sup>19</sup> Lincolnshire can also claim the latest and most splendid of all recorded hanging-bowls, that found in the Witham and shown in an exhibition at Leeds in 1868; unhappily it has since disappeared, and is known only from the illustrations published by Mr. Kendrick in 1941 (*Antiq. Journ.*, xxi, 161, pls. xxxiv-xxxv): its peculiar Anglo-Celtic style of ornament suggests the ninth century, but it remains rather mysterious.

*The Stone Carvings in South Kyme Church.* The developed trumpet-pattern of the sixth/seventh century hanging-bowls poses, amongst other questions, that of the relationship between British art and Irish: above all since this motive became one of the chief ornaments of the great series of Celtic illuminated manuscripts of which our knowledge begins with the Irish seventh-century Book of Durrow. This being the age of the Irish Celtic missions in northern England, it is interesting to find the trumpet-pattern motive, in fully-developed form as in the manuscripts, among the fragments of carved stonework surviving in the Lincolnshire church of South Kyme, visited by the Institute at this Meeting and described below (p. 170). These stones, first published in 1923,<sup>20</sup> come apparently from the low chancel-screen or ambo of a vanished church. They display also plant-scroll and other 'Anglo-Saxon' motives (fret, interlace, and part of an eagle; all set within moulded panels), and it is debatable whether these can be early enough to allow the accompanying trumpet-spirals to be ascribed to the seventh-century Celtic impulse in English Christianity or not. Mr. Kendrick<sup>21</sup> hesitates to date the plant-scroll much before 800; but if the whole group were of about 700 the association of plant-scroll and trumpet-spiral would perhaps be easier to understand. It is a possible conjecture that this vanished church at Kyme was really that of the monastery of Icanhoe, known to have been founded hereabouts in 654 (p. 171). But this is a part of England where lamentably little of early Christianity is known, owing to the great destruction brought to it in the ninth century by the Danes.

#### C. LATER ANTIQUITIES AND COINS

One of the *carved stones* exhibited, found in Lincoln (64: LM), may possibly be Anglian work of the later pre-Danish age (presumably then of the ninth century): on each of three sides (the fourth is broken away) it has been carved in relief with a human figure standing full-face in a round-arched niche. The work is of a period not certainly determinable; in Sir Alfred Clapham's opinion, however, the probabilities are on the whole in favour of the Pre-Conquest period, and perhaps of the pre-Danish section of that period; it would in this case fall into line with a number of other sculptures representing busts or figures under arches found in various places in the middle or northern half of England.<sup>22</sup> The Pre-Conquest carved stones of

<sup>18</sup> Cf. especially the Oxford and Hitchin escutcheons: Kendrick, loc. cit., and *Antiquity*, vi, 176, pl. vi, 3.

<sup>19</sup> So also Kilbride-Jones, *P.S.A. Scot.*, xxi, 225 (with fig. 8, 8).

<sup>20</sup> A. W. Clapham in *Antiq. Journ.*, iii, 118-21, with figs. 1 (photograph) and 2 (drawing); hence *Arch. Journ.*, lxxxiii (1926), 1-2, 18-19, pl. viii; *Antiquity*, viii (1934), 43ff., 53-7.

<sup>21</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Art*, 171, 174.

<sup>22</sup> Kendrick, op. cit., x.

the county as a whole were published by the Rev. D. S. Davies and Sir Alfred Clapham in *Arch. Journ.*, lxxviii (for 1926), 1-20 : nearly all are of the Anglo-Danish age, from the later ninth to the eleventh century. The two in Stow church are noticed below (p. 170).

No *pottery* later than the Pagan period could be exhibited ; but a photograph was shown of a remarkable earthenware vessel from Tattershall now in the British Museum (pl. x, e), which, though apparently as late as the thirteenth century, manifestly shows the influence of Pre-Conquest pottery tradition. It is therefore relevant to the present context ; and the following description and note have been contributed by Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, F.S.A.

Pl. x, e. *Earthenware Container from Tattershall.*

Heavy, hand-made earthenware container of hard, tile-like red fabric. The outer surface is dull brown and is flaking off, exposing a brick-red body. The base is slightly concave. The rim overhangs inwards, but not in a pronounced manner. The walls are thick and taper from about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. at the base to about  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. at the mouth. Ornamentation consists of twenty impressions from a circular stamp applied round the circumference of the vessel, below the rim. Two such impressions occur, one above the other, inside the crescents formed by the two lugs. The lugs have seventeen and eighteen stabs respectively on their upper surfaces, and the two stamps within each lug are crossed by two intersecting lines of stabs. The finish of the vessel and execution of the ornament are extremely hasty and crude. Distinctive features are a white stain inside the vessel, perhaps due to secondary use ; the rough, irregular finish of the surface by smearing and scraping ; and the apparently haphazard occurrence, inside and out, of groove-like slashes or cuts, some several inches long and mostly vertical. Height,  $12\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Maximum diameter,  $16\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

Formerly the property of George Philip Skipworth of Tattershall, a collector of local antiquities, and believed to have been found in the Tattershall district. Now in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, British Museum (1943, 10-2, 1).<sup>23</sup>

In spite of its hard red fabric it is difficult to imagine a post-medieval date for a vessel possessing archaic features such as stamps, stabbed lugs and a scraped finish, unless it can be regarded as an instance of deliberate antiquarianism. Antiquarian feelings are perhaps unlikely to have been expressed in a vessel of such a homely, heavy and unattractive character. The vessel is also unparalleled, so that no prototype from which it might have been copied is known. Furthermore, a deliberate antiquarian feeling, while achieving the primitive effect, is not likely to have been expressed with the obvious haste and indifference shown by the Tattershall pot. No instance of definitely post-medieval occurrence of all the primitive characteristics of this vessel is known. They are in fact associated with Late Pre-Conquest and early Medieval (eleventh to twelfth century) pottery. The fabric of the Tattershall vessel is not inconsistent with medieval date. It is the type of body universally employed in Medieval England for the manufacture of tiles. The Tattershall vessel is in the category neither of cooking nor table pottery. It is a heavy storage-vessel which might well have been made from normal tile ingredients. In this case it would belong to a period of the Middle Ages when tiles were manufactured, i.e. not earlier than the thirteenth century. Its primitive characteristics make it less likely at later dates. It may then be provisionally regarded as a vessel of uncertain use made in the thirteenth century under the influence of Pre-Conquest tradition.<sup>24</sup>

The Danish settlement of the later ninth century<sup>25</sup> made what is now Lincolnshire one of the most strongly Scandinavian parts of England (p. 100), which it

<sup>23</sup> See W. E. M. Jope, *Oxoniensia*, v (1940), 47, 49.

teristics in the Early Medieval culture of Lincolnshire generally, see pp. 100-1 below.

<sup>24</sup> For the persistence of Pre-Conquest charac-

<sup>25</sup> For 'plough-stones' possibly of this age see p. 13 above.

remained no less after Edward the Elder's 'reconquest' in 919-20. It was then that *coins* began to be struck in Lincoln. While the types were in general based on the pennies of Alfred, special interest attaches to the Lincoln 'St. Martin' pennies, which may be as early as 921-942; and examples were included in the collection of Lincoln-minted coins exhibited (103) by Alderman Hill, who has kindly contributed the following note on the type.

'The penny bearing the names of St. Martin and Lincoln has on the obverse a sword, a device which suggests a connexion either with Sihtric of Northumbria and a date of *c.* 925, or with the coinage of Eric Bloodaxe, one of the Norse kings ruling in York in the middle years of the tenth century. On the reverse is a large open cross enclosing a small plain one; a cross similar in form appears in the inscription over the south door of Kirkdale Church in Yorkshire and on runic monuments in Scandinavia. It is natural to compare the penny with the penny of St. Peter of York and the memorial coinage of St. Edmund in East Anglia. There are, however, two important distinctions: there were many varieties of St. Peter and St. Edmund pennies, and of St. Martin only one type with three varieties; and both St. Peter and St. Edmund were the patron saints of the places where their pence were struck. St. Martin is not known to have been so established in Lincoln: the precedence of St. Mary was established beyond question before 1066, though there was a church of St. Martin in Lincoln at that time. The St. Martin coinage cannot have lasted long.'

Coins were shown also (107: LM) from the hoard found at Tetney in 1945 (*Num. Chron.*, 6th ser., v (1945), 81-95), representing kings Edred (946-955), Edwig (955-959), and Eadgar (959-975). It was apparently under Eadgar that the regular striking of Lincoln coins began, the moneyers' names on the reverse being for long predominantly Danish; the commonest are of the reign of Aethelred II. Those exhibited from Alderman Hill's collection (103) covered the whole period from Eadgar to Edward I (p. 166).



### 3. A LOST INSCRIPTION OF PRE-DANISH AGE FROM CAISTOR

By C. A. RALEGH RADFORD

(The significance of Caistor as a late Roman and early Anglian site has been pointed out above (pp. 23-5, 89-91). The inscription here discussed bears upon its importance in the Christian age of Anglian Lindsey before the Danish invasions, when it may very possibly have been the site of the episcopal see of Lindsey, known to us as Sidnacester. Of this place-name Alderman Hill writes that while he has not found direct Pre-Conquest evidence for it, it would at least seem to be a Post-Conquest guess at the original name represented adjectivally in the title *Syddensis*, which is known to have been borne by the bishops of the early see of Lindsey.)

In 1770<sup>26</sup> a broken stone with the remains of a Latin inscription was found at Castle Hill, Caistor, by labourers, who were digging materials for the repair of the roads. The earliest mention of the discovery occurs in a letter, dated July 28th, 1773, from J. Bradley of Lincoln, in which he is principally concerned to refute Gibson's identification of Stow as the lost site of Sidnacester. This letter, with a covering letter from J. Turner of Caistor, dated July 29th, 1774, was published in 1784, accompanied by a drawing of the stone, from which the present illustration (fig. 3) is taken.<sup>27</sup> Turner describes the stone as measuring 'about 18 inches broad by 9 inches deep, each character about 4 inches long'; but, as we shall see, these measurements are inconsistent with each other. In 1831 the stone was in the 'Museum at Lincoln' and a writer in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* described it as 'a flat grey stone about a foot broad by two feet and a half long'.<sup>28</sup> Finally it was recorded in 1862 by the Rev. E. Trollope, who bases his report on the account of 1831, adding a few unimportant details.<sup>29</sup> Castle Hill, the place where the stone was found, is stated, in the caption below the drawing published in 1784, to be 'close by the church in the town of Castor in Lincolnshire'. The foregoing accounts give conjectural readings of the inscription, to which reference will be made later, and indulge in historical and topographical speculation concerning the site of Sidnacester.<sup>30</sup>

This inscribed stone cannot now be discovered at Lincoln and it appears to have been lost for many years. It may have been available when the Rev. E. Trollope wrote in 1862, but his account contains little or nothing that might not have been taken from earlier descriptions. The drawing published in 1784, and here reproduced, is sufficiently clear to establish the character and date of the inscription; the forms of the letters are all consistent with this date and may in general be accepted, though it would, in the writer's opinion, be unwise to place much reliance on a reconstruction based on imperfect letters occurring along the broken margins of the stone.

The fragment consists of five incomplete lines of lettering—the first and last mutilated—from the left side of a large inscription. Part of the surrounding frame, probably the raised and moulded edge of the stone, is also represented in the drawing.

<sup>26</sup> The date is given by the Rev. E. Trollope writing in 1862 (see note 29 *infra*).

<sup>27</sup> *The Antiquarian Repertory*, iv (1784), 161-2. Gibson had propounded the Stow theory in his edition of Camden's *Britannia* (1695).

<sup>28</sup> *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1831, ii, 204; cf. *ibid.*, 1829, ii, 221-4.

<sup>29</sup> *A.A.S.R.* for 1862, 152.

<sup>30</sup> I am greatly indebted to Sir Alfred Clapham, who first drew my attention to this inscription, provided me with the illustration and references cited above and who has read this note in proof.

This feature may be compared with the similar but less elaborate raised frames edging the two eighth-century epitaphs found at Whitby Abbey.<sup>31</sup> The dimensions are uncertain. The earliest description states that the letters are 4 inches long, while giving an overall measurement of 18 inches by 9 inches. Letters 4 inches high would give a total height of 2 feet 4 inches, allowing 2 inches to each interspace, and this agrees sufficiently well with the 2½ feet long of the later account. The same account gives the other measurement as 1 foot broad and this proportion



*Representation of a stone found at Castle Hill, close by the Church in the Town of Caistor in Lincolnshire, about 14 inches broad and 9 deep with an imperfect inscription, which the late Mr. Bodley of Lincoln reads thus — Cruci Spolium quod Egbert rex in honorem . . . he supposed it a memorial of Egbert's Victory over Wiglaf King of Mercia gained A.D. 827 at or near Caistor.*

FIG. 3. LOST INSCRIPTION FROM CAISTOR

is not far from correct if we assume it to have applied to the inscription only, with the frame adding another 8 or 9 inches of the total width. The resulting 2 feet 6 inches high by 1 foot 9 inches broad with letters 4 inches high may therefore be accepted as approximately correct. The scale of the inscription would be approximately double that of the two Whitby epitaphs and the conclusion that the Caistor inscription was more elaborate is borne out by the frame which is represented by five parallel lines compared with the simple raised margin of the epitaphs.

The lettering of the inscription is an angular, ornamental form of Insular majuscule. The angular forms employed are not adapted for writing and the models

<sup>31</sup> *Archaeologia*, lxxxix, 41-2.



of most of these letters must be sought in the elaborate capitals used in the decorative lines following the great illuminated initials or in the illustrated pages of the MSS. Some artists seem to have been particularly fond of these angular forms and pages almost entirely composed of them can be found. The two pages of the Gospels of St. Chad, illustrated by Zimmermann,<sup>32</sup> are good examples, which provide parallels to the H, N, Q, R and the square U of the Caistor inscription. The most unusual form is, perhaps, the square O, with two uprights joined by two crossbars. This occurs on the first page of Koln Cathedral MS., no. 213, a late eighth century MS. of ecclesiastical Canons;<sup>33</sup> the same page also uses the N and the square U. The elaborate E of the Caistor inscription may be noted on the illuminated title page to St. John's Gospel in the Echternach Gospels, a Northumbrian MS. of *circa* A.D. 750.<sup>34</sup> The D and the second S (in line 2) are angular variants of normal majuscule forms; the shaft of the D rising above the general level of the line is typical of this script. The B is a Roman capital, which occurs on the Ruthwell Cross, where the angular C and the R may also be found.<sup>35</sup> A characteristic feature of the ornamental pages of these MSS. is the concurrent use of more than one form of the same letter, a feature which is exemplified in the two types of the S and the U and the variant forms of the C and the R in the inscription. The Gospels of St. Chad is a Welsh MS., closely connected with the Northumbrian group; it was written in the second quarter of the eighth century. The other two MSS. quoted are Northumbrian products of the second half of the same century. The Ruthwell Cross, which has a higher proportion of the earlier capital forms, belongs to the end of the seventh century. On this evidence the Caistor inscription should belong to the eighth century; even if some latitude for the survival of these forms is allowed, it is clear that it must be earlier than the Danish conquest of Mercia in the second half of the ninth century.

The earliest commentators read the inscription as CRUCI SPOLIUM QUOD EGBERT REX IN HONOREM. This was connected with the victory of King Egbert of Wessex over the Mercians recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 827 (*recte* 829). In 1862 Dr. Pegge, using the mutilated lines on the upper and lower margins of the stone, expanded the whole to read ISTUD CRUCI SPOLIUM QUOD EGBERT REX IN HONOREM MATRI DEI (*sic*). This restoration, which fails to take into account the form of the inscription, with approximately equal lines, may be summarily dismissed. The REX of the earlier reading is certainly wrong, and the formula CRUCI SPOLIUM, though not demonstrably incorrect, would be unusual.

Line 1. The only certain letter is the second, S, which is preceded by an upright, probably an I. The upright as shown is too close to the S to represent the shaft of an initial cross, but the position of these two letters suggests that the draughtsman missed the base of this cross in the blank space at the beginning of the line. The letters following the S are too imperfect for restoration; ISTUD is impossible; ISTO followed by a letter with two uprights (e.g. N) is possible.

Line 2. CRUCISPOL is certain. The next letter reads L, but a raised

<sup>32</sup> Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, pl. 246.

<sup>34</sup> *Codex Parisinus Latinus* 9389, fol. 176 b. (*ibid.*, pl. 255).

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 252.

<sup>35</sup> Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, v, 176.

transverse bar would be unusual; possibly an O is intended. The most probable interpretation is CRUCIS dependent on a noun like SIGNUM or VEXILLUM in the previous line and followed by some part of the verb POLLERE, or, if we read O, by POLO.

Line 3. QUODECBEREC, with the ER ligatured is certain. The neuter relative QUOD confirms the suggestion of a neuter substantive in the first line to govern CRUCIS. The long tail to the first C may indicate a Roman capital G of angular form, misunderstood by the stone cutter or the eighteenth-century draughtsman. The variant spelling ECGBERECTUS for King Egbert of Kent occurs in some early MSS. of Bede.<sup>36</sup>

Line 4. INHONOR is certain, the next letter should be E. The phrase followed by the genitive is normal for dedications.

Line 5. The third letter is T and the seventh is D. The rest are too mutilated for reconstruction, but MATRI DEI is an impossible reading if the digits as drawn approximately represent the original.

This fragment forms part of the titulus, an inscription set up in a church or other holy site to record the dedication of the building or the altar, to form the epitaph of a saint or ruler or to call attention to some memorable event. Such tituli were often of considerable length, some recalling the donor's name and asking for prayers on his behalf. They were often in verse, and to this we owe the preservation in literary sources of many texts, the monumental inscriptions of which have perished. The custom of erecting these tituli goes back to the early days of the Church; in particular Pope Damasus at the end of the fourth century adorned the holy places in Rome with a great series of beautifully cut marble inscriptions,<sup>37</sup> which long remained an inspiration to the western world. The popularity of these tituli in Carolingian and earlier times must be judged, not by the paucity of the surviving remains, but by the number of verses composed for this purpose by men like Alcuin<sup>38</sup> and his contemporaries. Though the custom is not so well attested in Saxon England,<sup>39</sup> there is no reason to doubt that tituli, like the epitaphs of Aelflead and Cyneburg at Whitby,<sup>40</sup> were common in the greater churches in the seventh and following centuries.

The titulus found at Caistor is too fragmentary for a restoration of the text to be possible. It does not appear to be funerary. The most likely interpretation is that it recorded the dedication of a church or an altar, the arrangement including a standing cross, as at Reculver.<sup>41</sup> One may compare the work carried out by Archbishop Aelbert (767-80) at York, in the church, in which King Edwin had received baptism; here he built a great altar, covered with gold, silver and jewels

<sup>36</sup> e.g. *Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica*, iii, 27, and v, 23 (ed. Plummer, pp. 193 and 348); these spellings are from the Moore MS. (Cambridge University Library, Kk., V, 15); this MS. is Northumbrian of circa 737. Cf. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, ii, 139, 'written presumably in the North of England, or possibly in a Continental centre with Northumbrian connexions'. Cf. the form HERBERICT on the pre-Danish sepulchral slab from Monkwearmouth (*Arch. Ael.*, 4th ser., xxi, 121).

<sup>37</sup> Cabrol and Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archeologie chretienne et de Liturgie*, iv, i, s.v. Damase.

<sup>38</sup> *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae: Poetae Latini Carolini*, i: Alcuin, *Carmina*, lxxxvii-cix *passim*.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Alcuin, *Versus de sanctis Eboricensis ecclesiae*, 1221:

Plurima nam titulis sanctae ornamenta  
venustus

Addit ecclesiae,  
(*ibid.*, p. 196); the reference is to the gifts of St. Wilfrid.

<sup>40</sup> *Archaeologia*, lxxxix, 41.

<sup>41</sup> *Archaeologia*, lxxvii, 250.

and dedicated it to St. Paul and beside the altar he raised a symbol of the cross, inlaid with precious metals.<sup>42</sup>

It is unfortunately impossible to identify the Egbert, whose name is recorded in line 3 of the titulus. The older writers assumed, and supported the assumption by a false reading, that it was Egbert, King of Wessex. But Lindsey remained under Mercian rule till A.D. 829. The West Saxon conquest of Mercia in that year proved ephemeral, for in the following year the Chronicle records that Wiglaf, the Mercian king defeated in 829 'obtained the Mercian kingdom again' a phrase which is likely to imply a successful revolt and can hardly have been used to describe a peaceful cession by Egbert.<sup>43</sup> This transitory triumph leaves little time for Egbert to have erected any memorial in the remotest corner of his new dominions. Egbert, Archbishop of York (732-66), is known to have been a builder and benefactor of the Northumbrian church, but his episcopate fell within the period of Mercian ascendancy and he is unlikely to have been allowed to exercise the function of a founder and donor in Lindsey, which was then subject to the Mercian supremacy. A more probable candidate is the ealdorman Egbert, whose name appears among the subscriptions to the decrees of the Councils of Clovesho in 824 and 825.<sup>44</sup> The early ninth century list of the Kings of Lindsey ends with Aldfrith, who is probably to be identified with a king of that name known to have been at the court of Offa of Mercia, about 780.<sup>45</sup> It would be in conformity with the general development of the period to find the old line of Lindsey replaced by ealdormen, either descendants of the former royal house or servants of the Mercian king intruded into the province.<sup>46</sup> There is no evidence to connect the ealdorman Egbert with Lindsey, but the date established for the titulus would fit the period at which he appears and the man named in the inscription is likely to have been a person of high rank, a member of the royal house or an ealdorman.

The discovery of this titulus has a bearing on the long disputed identification of Sidnacester, the site of the early See of Lindsey. Professor Stenton has argued on general grounds that the most probable claimants are Caistor and Horncastle and that, for philological reasons, it is difficult to accept the latter.<sup>47</sup> The discovery of a large and elaborate titulus establishes the existence of an important church at Caistor, for an inscription of this type is unlikely to have been set up in a village church at this date. Finds from Caistor itself (p. 89) and the important pagan cemetery at Searby, which had yielded material of the fifth century, are evidence of an early Anglian occupation of this part of the Wolds of Lincolnshire.<sup>48</sup> The position of Caistor, a Roman walled city (p. 23), lying near the centre of Lindsey in every way fits the town for the site of the lost episcopal See. The inscription is tantalizing in its incompleteness, but it does prove that an important church existed here before the Danish invasions.

<sup>42</sup> Alcuin, *Versus de sanctis Eboricensis ecclesiae*, 1489 and 1496:

Namque ubi bellipotens sumsit baptismatis  
undam  
Eduin rex, praesul grandem construxerat  
aram,  
Textit et argento, gemmis simul undique et  
auro  
Atque dicavit eam, sancti sub nomine Pauli  
Doctoris mundi  
Et sublime crucis vexillum erexit ad aram

Et totum textit pretiosis valde metallis.  
(loc. cit., p. 202).

<sup>43</sup> Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 230-3.

<sup>44</sup> Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, 218 and 220.

<sup>45</sup> Stenton in *Essays in History presented to R. L. Poole*, 136-49.

<sup>46</sup> Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 301-2.

<sup>47</sup> *Arch. Journ.*, lxxxiii, 2, note.

<sup>48</sup> Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, v, 799.

#### 4. ANGLO-DANISH LINCOLNSHIRE AND THE DESERTED VILLAGES OF THE WOLDS

By C. F. C. HAWKES

The Danish raids of the ninth century were very destructive in Lindsey and north-eastern Mercia, especially in 841 and 869, but with the great land-taking of 877 they were followed by Danish settlement. In the Danelaw, so created, authority and government lay in the fortified centres called *burhs*, the greater of which mark the resurgence in England of the fortified town, above all in the 'Five Burhs' of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and Stamford, Lincoln having its fortifications ready-made in the surviving Roman walls. The tenth-century 'Saxon re-conquest' did little to alter the Danish character either of these towns or of the Danish-settled countryside. It was thus as an Anglo-Danish trading-town that Lincoln grew so notably in prosperity through the tenth and into the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when it was one of the leading towns of all England, with a population in 1066 which may be reckoned from Domesday Book as about 5,000, a figure perhaps never exceeded until the later eighteenth century.<sup>49</sup> The country, divided in the Scandinavian manner into Ridings, replacing the Anglian organization by Folks, long remained Danish rather than English in language and legal custom, and its independent peasant landowners were still in the thirteenth century keeping up Danish personal names, while its place-names show a strong overlaying of Anglian local nomenclature by Danish.<sup>50</sup>

These matters were touched on by me during the Meeting in my short lecture to the Institute on 'Anglo-Danish Lincolnshire', the concluding thesis of which may here be summarized as follows. Documentary historical studies, due largely to Professor Stenton, have shown that the sturdy vitality imparted by the Danes to the whole life and society of this quarter of England was so great, that it survived better than any other complex of contemporary institutions both the shock of the Norman Conquest, and the slower onset of internal change. Thus, in Stenton's words, 'it was in the Danelaw that the traditions of the age before the Conquest influenced most deeply the social order of Medieval England'.<sup>51</sup> This invests with singular importance the study of the Danish settlement itself, which the place-name evidence shows to have been intense, but yet made in or upon a framework of the country's old Anglian settlement-pattern. But the historical record of it is dim. As Stenton puts it: 'Behind the society which is revealed for a moment by the Domesday Survey of the Northern Danelaw there lie two centuries of darkness'; on the historical side 'it is improbable that evidence as yet unknown will ever permit the reconstruction of the history of this region between the age of Alfred and the age of the Conqueror'.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup> See J. W. F. Hill, 'Danish and Norman Lincoln' in *A.A.S.R.*, xli (1932), 7-22.

<sup>50</sup> Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 48, 251-2. The place-name evidence is conveniently summarized by Ekwall in *A Historical Geography of England* (ed. H. C. Darby, 1936), 144-7. For

the Danish name *Eirtig* borne by the late eleventh-century founder of the church of St. Mary-le-Wigford, Lincoln, see p. 163 below.

<sup>51</sup> Stenton, *Social and Economic History of the Danelaw*, cxxxvii.

<sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.*, 1.



Here, then, it may be suggested, is an opportunity for archaeology. At present, for these centuries in the Danelaw, archaeology can show only a typological record in their weapons and a few other things, a stylistic record in their sculpture and ornament, and an architectural record in their all too rarely surviving churches. Organized excavation, as yet, has contributed nothing. It could, almost certainly, contribute much. The recognition of this period's military earthworks may be difficult. But there is no difficulty, in Lincolnshire, about recognizing sites of its rural settlements or villages. For one of the outstanding works of the late Canon Foster, in the edition of the Lincolnshire Domesday which he made with Canon Longley, was the location and documenting of the many villages in the county existing in the eleventh century which are now extinct. The sites of a number of these are known, above all in the central Wolds; and sometimes they are still plain to see, under no more than a modest mantle of turf.<sup>53</sup> Some of them have Danish names: Osgodby, Ringsthorpe, Dunsthorpe, Butyate. Were they established by Danish settlers on virgin sites, or were they Anglian villages re-named? Others have English names: Holtham, Beckfield. Were these pre-Danish? and in any case did they differ in character from Danish-named places? All were inhabited in the eleventh century. What would be the equivalent, in their archaeological record as excavated sites, of their known assessments in Domesday? And how far would excavation show an unchanged persistence of their material culture, corresponding to the proved conservatism of Anglo-Danish institutions, into the ensuing phase of the Middle Ages, when, with the passing of the peak of the Lincolnshire wool-trade that had made most of their prosperity, they became at last deserted?

There seems no reason why excavation, conducted with the full range of modern techniques, should not reveal enough of such sites to enable at least a fresh approach to be made from them to answering such questions. On the strength of surface indications, the most promising of the located villages would appear to be South Cadeby and West Wykeham, in the heart of the Wolds. Excavating on a new kind of site is always something of a gamble. But the winnings here might be a new kind of contribution, not to be made in any other way, to the history of Lincolnshire and of England.

## 5. CHURCHES OF THE PRE-CONQUEST AND CONQUEST PERIODS

The Pre-Conquest churches visited by the Institute, and described in Part VI below, were St. Peter's at Barton-on-Humber (p. 179) and the church of Stow (p. 168). The Lincoln churches of St. Mary-le-Wigford, St. Peter-at-Gowts, and St. Benet, of Pre-Conquest origin but with towers datable about or very shortly after the date of the Conquest, are described in Part V (pp. 162-6). The tower of St. Mary-le-Wigford is notable for a built-in slab bearing a Roman inscription (p. 49), to which has been added an inscription in Old English. On this a note contributed by Professor Bruce Dickins will be found on p. 163.

<sup>53</sup> Foster and Longley, *Lincs. Record Society Publ.*, xix (1921), Appendix I, with full list and locations. I was first shown some of these sites

in 1934 by Mr. C. W. Phillips, to whom I owe a deep debt of gratitude for the inspiration of this note.—C.F.C.H.