

⁶ R. Higham and P. Barker, *Timber Castles* (London, 1992), figs. 2.8, 2.24, 2.28, 2.30.

⁷ C. J. Spurgeon, 'Mottes and castle ringworks in Wales', in J. R. Kenyon and R. Avent (eds.), *Castles in Wales and the Marches* (Cardiff, 1987), 23–50.

⁸ T. E. McNeill, *Castles in Ireland* (London, 1997), 58–61.

⁹ R. Higham, 'Early castles in Devon', *Chateau Gaillard*, 9–10 (1982), 103–05.

¹⁰ N. J. G. Pounds, *The Medieval castle in England and Wales* (Cambridge, 1990), 18–19.

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THE EARLY NORMAN CASTLE AT LINCOLN AND A RE-EVALUATION OF THE ORIGINAL WEST TOWER OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL (Figs. 9 and 10, Pl. XVI)

This note emerges from discussions undertaken as a result of work carried out on two related projects, both funded by English Heritage. The first of these is the production of a synthesis of the archaeology of Lincoln, based primarily on the post-excavation and publication work carried out by the City of Lincoln Archaeology Unit on excavations undertaken between 1972 and 1987.¹ The second is the *Lincoln Urban Archaeology Database* (U.A.D.), a GIS-based database of archaeological interventions in the city and their interpretation in terms of monuments.² The two initiatives together have provided the means to re-examine previous archaeological discoveries. Theories about the layout of the city and how it changed with time can be viewed, and alternative theories presented in the form of digital maps. The revised sequence and interpretation of the early Norman castle in Lincoln proposed in this note could easily have been made at any time in the last decade, and indeed may well have been. However, without almost instantaneous access to the totality of the archaeological record and cartographic sources there would be no means of testing the proposal and deciding that it was able to explain the known relevant facts and observations better than the existing orthodoxy.

Our main sources for Lincoln Castle in the 11th century are the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and *Domesday Book*. From the Chronicle we know that the castle was a royal foundation of 1068, one of a number established following the northern revolt which led to the Harrowing of the North. Domesday Book records that Lincoln in 1066 had 970 inhabited messuages (*mansiones hospites*). In 1086, 240 of these were waste. 166 were destroyed on account of the castle and the remainder outside the castle boundary, 'not because of the oppression of the sheriff's and officers but by reason of misfortune, poverty and the ravages of fire'.³ This passage has given rise to much discussion, mainly concerned with whether there could actually have been 166 occupied properties on the site of the castle and, assuming that the passage should be taken literally, the possible fate of the displaced occupants.⁴ Study of finds from excavations carried out in the Upper City in the 1970s and 1980s has, if anything, made the problem more acute, since it is clear that the area was never occupied with anything like the intensity of the commercial centre in the lower city, immediately to the S., and although there was an intensification of domestic occupation in the second half of the 10th century, it was probably given over to churches and elite residences. The production of the Lincoln U.A.D. and the synthesis of Lincoln's archaeology, appear to have provided a solution to the problem. The area of the present castle enclosure at Lincoln (which has hitherto been thought to represent the early Norman castle) amounts to 39,500 sq.m., whereas the total area of the city likely to have been occupied in 1066 amounts to 987,000 sq.m.⁵ Thus the present castle only occupies 4% of the total whereas 166 as a percentage of 940 is 17.65%. Unless the present castle area was occupied with a density five times that of the remainder of the city, or a substantial part of the area included in the calculation was not subject to geld, then it is highly unlikely that 166 houses stood on the site of the later castle or that the area of this later castle could have been assessed at such a figure. However, if we take instead the entire area of the upper city, the area known since at least 1163 as the Bail,⁶ we find that it occupied 156,500 sq.m., or just under 16% of the total area of the city.⁷ It seems clear, therefore, that the entire Bail

was included in the Domesday assessment of the castle and not just the area of the present castle enclosure within its south-western corner. We know, however, that the Bail was not laid waste — All Saints church, for example, is explicitly mentioned in Domesday — and presumably therefore, the passage referring to the 166 houses should be interpreted as meaning that the Bail, on account of being within the castle, no longer paid geld.

This note explores the possible implications of the proposal that, at least in 1086, the term castle (*castellum*) was being applied to a much larger area than that which we consider to be the castle today. This was not simply a matter of medieval terminology, but the new reading of the *Domesday Book* entry forces us to reconsider our understanding of Lincoln Castle in the late 11th century. A detailed consideration of the evidence will be presented elsewhere but in this note we describe the main strands of our revised interpretation and, in particular, we consider how this new view can help to provide a context for the west tower of the Cathedral, whose military character has already been noted by Richard Gem.⁸

The upper city in the mid 11th century (Fig. 9a) appears to have retained at least three of its four Roman gates.⁹ The entire walled circuit was enclosed by a substantial late Roman ditch. Within this discrete area, separated from the remainder of the city by steep hillside, were probably at least four churches, arranged in a rough line from NW. to SE. At one site, St Paul in the Bail, there is evidence for domestic occupation, probably fronting on to a N.–S. road running between the N. and S. gates, but in general evidence for occupation is slight. The area, therefore, was probably already marked out from the remainder of the city as an elite and ecclesiastical enclave and had been so for several centuries.

Evidence for activity in the later 11th century is slight (Fig. 9b) with the notable exception of the W. front of the cathedral church, which is clearly of this date (see below), and probably the refurbishment of the Roman gatehouses in the N. and E. walls of the Bail, although this refurbishment could even be slightly later. At St Paul in the Bail the domestic occupation fronting on to the N.–S. street disappears at this time, and the area was covered with the first of a series of extensive metallised surfaces.

The new E. Bail gate, reconstructed around this time, seems to have been a very substantial structure, known mainly through a drawing made c.1730 by Nathan Drake and only brought back from Canada to England and purchased by the Usher Gallery, Lincoln, in 1983 (Pl. XVI).¹⁰ This drawing shows the W. side of the gate with two semicircular archheads of Norman appearance with, in between, the upper half of a Roman arch. This arch was the northern carriageway of the Roman gate whilst the southern carriageway lay directly under its medieval successor.¹¹ The northern medieval carriageway lay over the site of the N. gate chamber of the Roman gate and is shown blocked in Drake's drawing. Reconstruction of the medieval topography, using the sites of known and documented 12th-century buildings on either side of this gate suggests that the street passing through it cannot have followed the Roman E.–W. alignment and instead took a NE.–SW. line. The N. side of Eastgate, now a gentle curve between Bailgate and the E. Bail gate was, we presume, originally a straight line, heading for the northern carriageway in the E. Bail gate. A hypothetical continuation of this line westwards points to the SW. corner of the Roman enclosure, which suggests to us that the motte situated at this corner predates, or was laid out at the same time as, this road. A second road or lane branches off from Eastgate curving gently towards the NW., linking the churches of All Saints, St Paul and St Clement. It is possible that this lane originated to the SE., at St Mary's, and if so it would have linked all four churches together and predated Eastgate.

It is only in the early 12th century that we have the first definite evidence for the existence of the later medieval castle (Fig. 9c). Both its E. and W. gates were originally of Norman workmanship, the W. gate being sufficiently well-preserved to allow it to be dated to c.1100,¹² whilst the presence of herringbone work in the western face of the curtain wall, and in small areas at the western ends of the N. and S. faces, may indicate that the wall, and the bank on which it is built, is also of this date. This bank is continuous along the

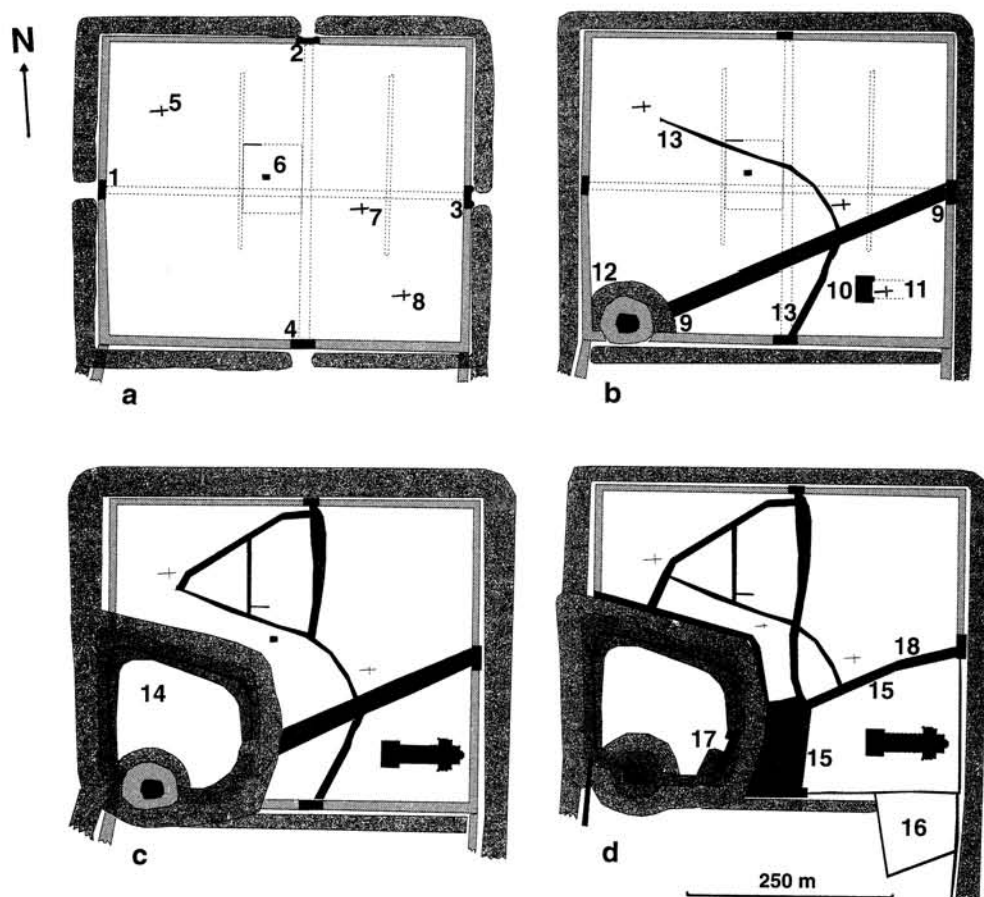


FIG. 9

Development of Upper City at Lincoln c. 1050-c. 1140.

(9a) The Castle area before 1068: 1 - Roman upper city west gate; 2 - Roman upper city north gate (Newport Arch); 3 - Roman upper city east gate; 4 - Roman upper city south gate; 5 - church of St Clement; 6 - church of St Paul in the Bail; 7 - church of All Saints; 8 - church of St Mary of Lincoln.

(9b) The Castle area c. 1075-c. 1100: 9 - Newly laid-out Eastgate on first alignment; 10 - Remigius' Tower; 11 - Cathedral under construction; 12 - Newly-constructed motte; 13 - Possible early road-line linking churches.

(9c) The Castle area c. 1100-c. 1125: 14 - Present castle enclosure under construction.

(9d) The Castle area c. 1125-c. 1140: 15 - Newly defined close; 16 - New bishop's palace (from 1137); 17 - Castle east gate, associated ranges and second motte constructed; 18 - Eastgate on new alignment, new houses built along northern side from c. 1140 onwards. *Drawn by A. G. Vince*

entire northern face and along the northern part of the eastern face and most likely, it formed a continuous bank and ditch enclosing a polygonal bailey NE. of the motte.

The construction of this inner bailey would have interrupted the hypothetical line of Eastgate. The Norman inner bailey gate (i.e. the E. gate of the modern castle), although in the right location, is not orientated along this route but faces towards the cathedral and

this may mean that it is somewhat later in date than its western counterpart. The asymmetrically placed line of the northern inner bailey bank also requires some explanation. We suggest that its line was determined by the presence of the churchyards of St Clement and St Paul since the road which linked them is reflected in its line.

Figure 9d shows that the alignment of Eastgate was subsequently changed so as to exit from the Bail only through the southern carriageway of the E. Bail gate; the line taken by the present road. The northern carriageway was blocked off when first recorded in Nathan Drake's drawing and it is suggested here that the occasion for this blocking and the diversion of the road was the acquisition of the gate by bishop Alexander in 1130–33, '*cum turris que supra ipsam est ad se hospitandum . . .*'.¹³ The gate is described in the writ as the Gate of Eastgate (*portam de estegata*). Two further royal writs to bishop Alexander at this time demonstrate a similar change in attitude towards the defence of the castle. Some time between 1123 and 1133, Alexander was granted leave for a third of the knights of his bishopric to perform their duty at Newark Castle rather than in Lincoln. Hill demonstrates that there were twenty of the bishop's knights at Lincoln castle and that they had held the duty of Castle Guard since the conquest.¹⁴

A few years later, in 1137, Stephen granted Alexander a plot of land from his demesne to the S. of the Bail for the bishop on which to build his palace. In 1155–58 Henry II confirmed this grant to bishop Robert II with the addition of a clause giving leave to pierce the wall of the King's bailey to build a gate between the palace and cathedral church.¹⁵ Excavations by Dennis Petch established that the wall between the church and palace is not the original Roman one but a rebuild further N. The simple round-arched doorway through this wall, presumably that of 1155–58, still exists, although its masonry is mostly renewed. It is always possible that the bishop took it upon himself in the 1150s to rebuild the wall completely, or it may be that the wall was rebuilt at the time of the first grant. In either case, the King released a substantial section of bailey ditch in 1137 and gave explicit permission for building to take place upon it in the later writ. It is tempting to see the construction of this wall as the first step in a series which eventually led to the formation of the Close as a completely self-contained enclave, distinct from the castle and surrounded by the Bail and the City. The boundaries of the early Close seem clearly defined.¹⁶ The W. of the cathedral it was marked by a substantial stone wall, surviving as a revetment wall at the back of properties in Steep Hill, whose line is continued by the western boundary of the White Hart (once the New Inn, and probably part of the cathedral's original endowment). The wall is certainly earlier than the early 13th century, the date at which the Hundred Rolls tell us that a row of shops was built on the king's highway in front of it. The northern limit of the close, before the 13th-century expansion N. of Eastgate, was probably marked by the southern boundary of Eastgate and was followed by the line of medieval cathedral properties fronting on to it, including Atton Place, the Works Chantry and the Old Deanery.

The new evidence for an early 12th-century date of construction for the present castle, a rival work to that of the bishops in the opposite corner of the original castle, suggests that it was undertaken by the De la Haye family who were, subsequently, the hereditary constables.¹⁷ It seems likely from the documents already discussed that the 1130s marked a significant point in the development of this new, reduced, castle. Furthermore it must be in the period from 1129 to 1136 that one of the towers in the castle was fortified by Countess Lucy, whose family, it seems, had been also been connected with the government of the county from the Conquest and who may have had rights in the castle through her family's claim to be hereditary sheriffs.¹⁸ Opinions vary as to which tower was Lucy's. It may be that she constructed a tower upon the pre-existing motte in the SW. corner or, alternatively she may have built the tower on a new motte in the SE. corner of the castle, which is certainly no earlier than her day (but could be the work of her son, Ranulph, Earl of Chester). It may be relevant for working out the chronology of the development of the Bail to note that this tower is aligned with the W. wall of the cathedral precinct and overlooks what our new model suggests was a large open space. The Hundred Rolls indicate that this

space had been encroached upon by Aaron the Jew in the late 12th century, as his houses stretched from the castle gate to the castle ditch (which we interpret to mean the S. Bail gate and the present castle ditch respectively).¹⁹ This, together with the evidence of the alignment of Eastgate, leads us to suggest that the present Castle Hill is but a remnant of a large open space, presumably used as a market place, parade ground and a setting for ceremonial occasions, which probably ran from the W. wall of the close to the ditch of the castle and from the S. wall of the Bail at least as far N. as Eastgate.²⁰ It is only with the infilling of this space that the Bail starts to approach the appearance it had for the remainder of the medieval period and, indeed, retains to the present day.

From the foundation of the Bishopric in 1072 until the 1130s, therefore, the bishop of Lincoln had played the dominant role in the government of the castle and in the provision of the Castle Guard, providing the castle with 20 knights. But after the transfer of his knights' service to Newark castle there is no further mention of any responsibilities held by the bishop in the manning of Lincoln Castle, that duty, perhaps, having been acquired by the Constable.²¹ At the same time as the bishop ceased to have this secular responsibility at Lincoln Castle, we see him withdrawing from the Bail, first into the E. Bail gate and then into his new palace to the S. This removal of the bishop's palace from the castle in the mid 12th century can be seen as the first step in the creating of the Close in the south-eastern part of the original castle. Contemporaneously, the completion of the present castle enclosure, within the SW. corner of the early castle, finally divorced the ecclesiastical and secular powers and so rendered the Bail — which had originally included both powers — redundant in practical terms, although the Bail remained a distinct administrative area until 1835.²²

This proposed sequence of events provides a credible context for the interpretation of the W. end of Lincoln Minster put forward by Richard Gem.²³ His brilliant and radical reassessment of the western end of the cathedral at Lincoln has posed a terrible quandary for students of the early Norman period ever since its publication.²⁴ On the one hand, the archaeological evidence reported by Gem simply cannot be doubted; he reports what is present and the inevitable conclusion is that the western end of the cathedral (erected by Bishop Remigius and ready for consecration by 1092) was a very un-churchlike block, or tower, with certain features which seem to give it a defensible character. On the other hand, however, Gem was unable to point to convincing contemporary parallels for such a defensible tower at the W. end of a major church; the explanation was felt to be somewhat unsatisfactory because the newly revealed structure had little recognizable architectural context. The present reassessment of the function and layout of the upper city as the bailey of the contemporary castle, rather than as an urban unit, however, now provides an architectural and topographical context within which Gem's re-evaluations can be properly appreciated. Ironically, any resistance with which Richard Gem's interpretation has met with hitherto may not have been because it was too radical, but rather that it was, perhaps, not radical enough. Richard Gem leant towards the proposition that the western end of Remigius' Cathedral was laid out as a lightly fortified westwork — a building of fundamentally ecclesiastical character. Given the new topographical context laid out in this paper, however, we would prefer to see this emphasis shifted; stressing instead the similarities between the western block at Lincoln and the great towers of contemporary Lordship. This view would see the building functioning less as a useful part of the church to which it was attached and more as a free-standing great tower.

Gem established that the surviving W. front of the cathedral incorporates the western half of a massive squat tower-like building, which had originally been 19 m by 34 m externally. The eastern half of this building had been demolished when the nave was remodelled and given a stone vault by Bishop Alexander, following a fire, between 1141 and 1146. On the ground floor, this building retains decorative niches in the NW. and SW. corners and three major arched recesses in the W. face, with two in the S. Gem showed that the three major western recesses have 'slits' within their arched heads which, he argued, are primitive machicolations and are one aspect of the defensible character of the

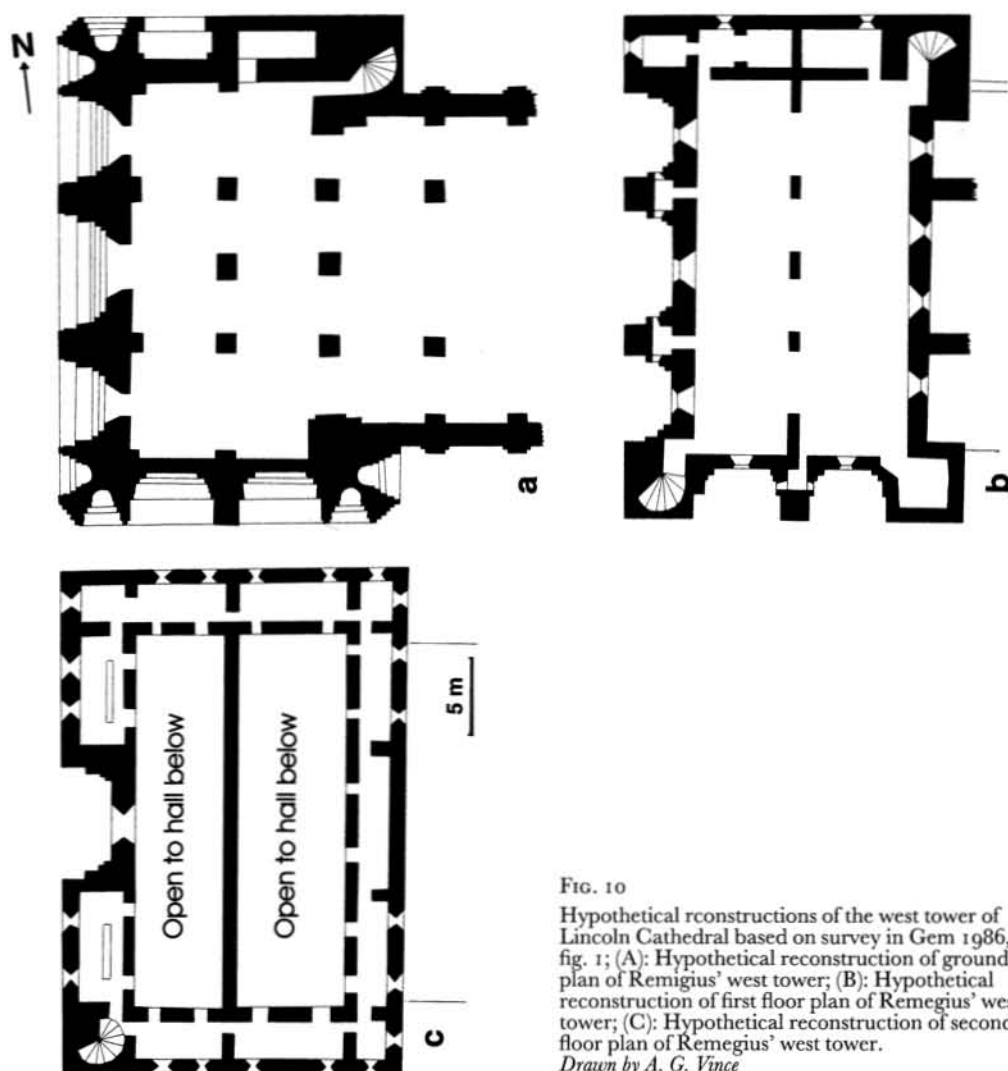


FIG. 10

Hypothetical reconstructions of the west tower of Lincoln Cathedral based on survey in Gem 1986, fig. 1; (A): Hypothetical reconstruction of ground plan of Remigius' west tower; (B): Hypothetical reconstruction of first floor plan of Remigius' west tower; (C): Hypothetical reconstruction of second floor plan of Remigius' west tower.

Drawn by A. G. Vince

building. Towards the N., at ground level, there is a narrow contemporary chamber with a low arch in the N. wall, whilst a conjectural fellow chamber to the E. was (it is argued) removed in the 1140s. At this ground floor level the doorways in the W. wall were all replaced in the 1140s, and no windows are known.

The interpretation of the remains at first floor level is less straightforward, although it seems clear that two opposed views are possible; views which could be characterized as the 'church' view and the 'castle' view. The 'church' view derives from an understanding of the whole western block as a thick 'veneer' applied to the western front of a conventional cathedral nave, and, consequently, it proposes that the doors (which presumably existed in the three western recesses) opened directly either into the nave of the cathedral itself, or into the substructure of a western gallery, which was to some extent open to the nave to the E. — as in the westworks of contemporary German churches. In such a view, the various

walls which now cross the internal space of the first floor from W. to E. can be seen in one of two ways. Either these walls represent the main nave arcade continuing through to the W. wall with galleries in the towers to either side (as at Bayeux Cathedral for example), or as the divisions between chambers extending laterally across the W. front, dividing the first floor space into galleries for the great lords attending services in the church below, or perhaps providing spaces for subsidiary altars. This 'church' view, in which the function of the W. tower is closely related to the church beyond, has in its favour a general similarity between the Lincoln building and the family of structures found at the western end of some contemporary French and German churches, but it does not satisfactorily explain certain significant surviving details. It does not account, for example, for the small 'T-plan' chambers within the thickness of the W. and S. walls, which lead to the small rectangular window loops which overlook the entrances, and which Gem saw, correctly, as a further indication of the building's defensibility. Nor does the 'church' view explain the small chamber in the thickness of the N. wall, which was probably a garderobe (it has drains through the floor into the chamber below which, would itself be vented through the surviving archway to the N.).

Also standing against the 'church view' is the fact that the two major E.-W. walls within the present structure, which are continuations of the nave arcades, tribune galleries and clerestory in the church to the E., are built of masonry of a quite different character from the external W. wall of the western block, and appear to butt up against this wall at their western ends.²⁵ These observations suggest that these two walls are later insertions into the 11th-century fabric and do not form part of the original plan of the tower, although a full structural survey of the fabric is urgently needed to establish the validity of these preliminary comments. These walls are to be dated instead, presumably, by the surviving architectural details of the clerestory passage, which clearly indicate that they are contemporary with the other alterations of the 1140s. There is a single shaft base, which Kidson ascribed to the 11th century, but which, however, does not appear to be *in situ*. Also the floor levels associated with the clerestory passage, and with the tribune levels below, are quite different from that indicated by the original (ie. 11th century) passages in the thickness of the western and northern walls, which are at an intermediate level between the ground floor and the inserted tribune galleries, and now have to be approached by ladders. These changes in the floor levels, alongside the stratigraphic observations and the dating of the architectural details, may suggest that the present E.-W. walls, containing a standard Romanesque church elevation — with main arcade, tribune gallery and clerestory — belong to a secondary campaign which was designed to convert the original western tower block into a conventional great-church W. end, with a three-storey nave elevation beginning at the western wall. Furthermore this radical conversion of the original western tower may be dated by the architectural details in the clerestory and tribune to the 1140s — a date which is confirmed by that of the present western doors and other external alterations, which were presumably also added at this time.²⁶

Once the E.-W. arcade walls (potentially of the 1140s) are removed, and once the fragmentary evidence (discussed in detail by Gem) for the eastern half of the structure is reconstructed symmetrically about the building's mid-line N.-S., our view of the character of the original building must surely shift towards the alternative, 'castle', view. In this hypothetical reconstruction (fig. 10) the Lincoln building can be thought of, not as three E.-W. components corresponding to nave and aisles of the church beyond, but to two large N.-S. 'halls' separated by a 'spine wall'; that is, it has a similar layout to the first generation of Norman great towers, such as those at The White Tower (London) and Colchester, even down to the provision of privy chambers within the thicknesses of the N. wall. It is possible that there were a second pair of chambers over these chambers in the northern wall, which were reached by means of a wall passage at an upper level, which was largely replaced in the 1140s. Certainly there must have been a chamber or pair of chambers in the equivalent position in the S. wall, set over the two giant recesses which rose from the ground.

Furthermore, in this reconstruction as a great tower, the grand staircase in the SW. corner (said to be the largest stair-vice in Anglo-Norman England) is at last given some relevance. This staircase has always posed difficult questions as it does not originate at ground floor, but rises from the level of the first floor hall — the same floor level also indicated by the 'T-plan' chambers. In the hypothetical 'castle' reconstruction, this stair-vice can be seen as the important route way by which the lord would get from the first floor halls to his privy chambers, which we can guess might be those placed above the recesses on the S. front. Although there were major alterations to the upper parts of this vice during the 1140s reconstruction, the remains do permit the suggestion that it originally rose towards chambers in approximately this location. Indeed, the modified remains of such a chamber still survive at the next level up. Although there is no visible evidence whatsoever, it might be that this SW. staircase was balanced by an exactly equivalent one in the NE. corner, which unlike its fellow, would not have been prevented from exiting to the ground floor, thereby providing access to the upper halls.

The major difference between this hypothetical great tower and other examples in this class is its setting above a highly unconventional undercroft which (whatever happened above) must have served, primarily, as the entrance to the church to the west. In the 'castle' view of the W. end, this ground floor would have formed a deep vestibule to the church beyond and would probably have been vaulted at a much lower level than the roof of the nave to the east. In such a reconstruction the short piers would have been organized in a grid which provided a series of square cells for simple, groin or barrel vaulting. The internal appearance of this chamber would perhaps have been similar to the narthexes of continental churches of a generation earlier, such as at St Philibert de Tournus in Burgundy.

Richard Gem's excellent hypothesis has been attacked on the grounds that there are insufficient parallels for churches of the 11th century being overtly fortified. However, this is to make the assumption that the western tower was subordinate in its planning to the church. If one takes the 'castle' view of the W. block, then the church beyond (the symbol of bishop's spiritual lordship) could be seen as a secondary adjunct to the symbol of the new bishop's secular lordship, the great tower. At Canterbury, for example, Lanfranc also built a palace immediately adjacent to the W. end of the cathedral at an early stage in his replanning of the site following the Conquest.²⁷ Perhaps therefore we should reassess the conventional date of c. 1090 which is usually given to the Lincoln building. This date rests on no more secure grounds than the assumption that the newly rebuilt cathedral, ready for consecration in 1092, was built from E. to W.; therefore, the argument runs, the western block would have been the final part to be completed, around 1090.

Certainly there is nothing in the architectural detail on the Lincoln front which suggests that it has to belong to years immediately before the consecration, rather than to the years immediately following the start of work shortly after the see was re-located here in 1072–73. In fact the situation is rather the reverse — the capitals on the W. front (as has been frequently pointed out) are very similar to those at St Stephen, Holy Trinity and St Nicholas at Caen, and these buildings all date, probably, from the 1070s.²⁸ They also find very close parallels in capitals in St John's chapel in the White Tower (which was already under construction shortly after 1077)²⁹ and on the (relocated) doorway in the great tower at Colchester (which was begun in the early 1070s also).³⁰ A further similarity in architectural design between Remigius' tower and those at London and, probably, Colchester can be seen in the recessed, arched panels into which the major elevations of the towers are divided.

In such a re-interpretation, then, instead of Remigius beginning building work at the E. end, construction would have begun with his great tower. In its turn, this would imply that the Anglo-Saxon church of St Mary of Lincoln lay immediately to the E. of the great tower, under the present cathedral nave.³¹ It would also imply that St Mary was retained in use until well into the third decade after the Conquest. Instead of the conventional explanation that the church was built from E. to W., therefore, in this new hypothesis the

order of rebuilding becomes more similar (for example) to that fifty years later at St Denis near Paris. First a western block was applied to the old church, then a new E. end was constructed and, finally, the two new components were connected by demolishing the old church and building a new nave across its site.

The location of the new great tower within its enclosure at Lincoln might suggest that a building sequence of this sort is more likely than any alternative. It now seems clear that the new cathedral was contained within a churchyard (presumably that belonging to St Mary's) defined by the Roman walls to S. and E., Eastgate to the N. and the Roman street line (and probable terrace) to the W. (above). Remigius' great tower was, as we can now appreciate, placed squarely at the centre of this enclosure, and we can also say that it may have been built in the mid 1070s. One could argue that this siting of the tower was so wasteful of the space within this enclosure that reconstruction of St Mary's church itself was not contemplated at this early stage, as relatively little room was left available for it. The great tower's siting alone might suggest that it was added to the W. end of the pre-existing Anglo-Saxon church of St Mary, and if it does date from the 1070s, it must have been the dominant structure on the site at that time. And it was not just dominant within its enclosure; being set on the brow of the hill it would have dominated the lower city as well. Indeed it would have loomed over a timber-built Lincoln more effectively, even, than the great towers at London and Colchester dominated their respective cities, and it is to the W. and S., that the Lincoln tower's façades are elaborated.

The White Tower in London and the great tower at Colchester Castle, then, may provide a more satisfactory architectural context within which to understand Remigius' great tower than contemporary cathedral buildings. Richard Gem himself noted that the 'T-shaped' chambers in the thickness of the walls at Lincoln have very close parallels at the White Tower and at Colchester, and, as reconstructed hypothetically in accordance with the 'castle' view, the Lincoln building has a general similarity of plan with both the White Tower and Colchester, although at Lincoln St Mary's church itself takes the place of the dominant projecting chapels in the other two designs. If the 'castle' hypothesis is valid we must presume that it was intended to function as a residence, and this is indeed the implication of the garderobes and the mural chambers. Consequently, we should suspect that this building was designed to serve as Remigius' Lincoln hall, which was subsequently used for the Bishop's official and domestic duties as bishop, certainly, but also for the duties of the senior lord in the new castle. This dual function ceased in the second quarter of the 12th century, however, when Bishop Alexander transferred his military responsibilities to Newark and we now propose that he decided to evacuate the W. tower of the Cathedral at the same time and move, first to the chamber over the East Bailgate in 1130-33 and subsequently to the present Bishop's Palace site. With the exception of a single reference to the gate leading to the Bishop's house around 1100,³² there is no documentation which sheds further light on the location of the earliest halls of the Bishops, but an explanation of the cathedral W. tower as the Bishop's hall is consistent with the brief reference to a fire in 1122 in the *Annals of Margam* in which Hall and Cathedral are implied to be in close proximity.³³

When first built Remigius' great tower dominated, not just the enclosure containing the attached Anglo-Saxon church of St Mary, but the whole of the upper city. In this respect it occupied the same symbolically charged site as did the mottes and towers of major castles in several shire towns in the first generation after the Conquest, which were also founded on the sites of major churches.³⁴ Regardless of whether it was completed in the 1070s or c.1090, the tower adjacent to the W. end of St Mary of Lincoln must have been planned to be by far the most dominant — and the most strongly fortified structure (minimal though its fortifications are) — of which we know within the first Lincoln Castle. It must have seemed, indeed, to be the 'keep' of Lincoln Castle. And this is also, perhaps, to be expected. Remigius was not just a new Bishop in his cathedral, he was also the principal secular lord of Lincoln and, consequently, in a similar position to Eudo Dapifer in Colchester. The Castle was a royal one, but the Bishop's obligation to provide twenty

knights for the Castle Guard shows that he was to be the pre-eminent lord in the newly-founded Castle, although he certainly had a junior partners amongst the new local aristocracy and in the Sheriff and Constable, the resident officers of the Crown.³⁵ Remigius' construction of a great tower within what we now recognize to be the Castle of Lincoln might be seen as the outward recognition of this pre-eminent military status. If we expand on Gem's analysis and accept the 'castle' interpretation of the architecture of Remigius' western tower, this extraordinary fortification, to which a great church would eventually be attached, is at last given a comprehensible context. In building it, Remigius was behaving not as a bishop, but primarily as a conventional great Norman Lord in a newly conquered former Roman city; symbolizing his Lordship in the conventional Norman way, by constructing a massive, dominant, new great tower, a *donjon* in a newly fashionable, self-consciously Roman, style.

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NOTES

¹ M. J. Jones and A. G. Vince, *The Story of Lincoln as revealed by Archaeology* (The Synthetic Volume in the *Lincoln Archaeological Studies Series*), forthcoming.

² Prepared by the City of Lincoln Archaeological Unit for Lincoln City Council.

³ Sir Francis Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1948), 373.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 54 ff.

⁵ This is taken to include the whole of the Roman walled area, with the suburbs of Wigford, Butwerk and a part of the Eastgate/Pottergate suburb. Newland, Newport, Thorngate and a part of the Eastgate suburb are likely to be post-Conquest foundations and have been excluded from the calculation.

⁶ K. Cameron, *The Place-Names of Lincolnshire Part 1. The Place-Names of the County of the City of Lincoln* (E.P.N.S., 1985), 6.

⁷ The number of residences given in the *Domesday Book* account for Lincoln is stated to be calculated at 120 for 100, so that the given figure of 940 is to be taken as 1120 (900 multiplied by 120, plus 40). There is no similar statement about the waste houses. The 166 houses might therefore be either 166 or 186.

The statement that 166 houses out of 940 were waste might therefore be taken to mean 166 out of 1120, or 186 out of 1120, which give percentages of 14.8% and 16.6% respectively. These differences are relatively slight and cannot possibly account for the discrepancy between the area covered by the later medieval castle and the percentage of waste houses.

⁸ R. D. H. Gem, 'Lincoln Minster: Ecclesia Pulchra, Ecclesia Fortis', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Lincoln Cathedral*. *Brit. Archaeol. Assoc. Conf. Trans.* 1982 London, 1986), 9–28.

⁹ The W. gate was found, intact, in 1836 buried below the bank of the inner bailey and although the lack of evidence for later 11th-century activity from the excavations at the Norman W. gate (1983–88 — see below) may suggest that it continued in use until c. 1100, it remains uncertain precisely when it ceased to be used. The N. and S. gates survived with Roman fabric throughout the medieval period whereas the E. gate appears to have been partly buried, to the extent that its arches would not have been usable, by the time that a Norman successor was built, incorporating parts of the Roman gate — see below.

¹⁰ There is a second sketch, by the Buck brothers, made in 1724 (Bodleian Library Ms. Gough/Lincs./15, f. 19v), which shows the back of this gate as seen through the archway of the western close gate in Eastgate. It does not, however, show the northern archway.

¹¹ H. Thompson and B. Whitewell, 'The Gates of Roman Lincoln', *Archaeologia*, 104 (1973), 129–207.

¹² Recent fieldwork at the W. gate and outside the castle to the W. (in the grounds of The Lawn) have revealed surprisingly little activity in this area in the 11th century. Two major types of 11th-century pottery (SNLS and TORK) hardly occur, for example. However, both areas produced quantities of early 12th-century and later pottery.

¹³ C. W. Foster, *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, Vol. I* (Lincoln Record Soc., 27) (Lincoln, 1931), RA49.

¹⁴ (Sir) Francis Hill, 'Lincoln Castle: the Constables and the Guard', *Associated Architect, Soc. Reps. Paps.*, 40/1 (1930), 1–14.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* in note 12, RA137.

¹⁶ For excellent accounts of the later development of the Cathedral close based on the architectural history of its buildings and on documentary sources, see S. Jones, K. Major, J. Varley and C. P. C. Johnson, *The Survey of Ancient Houses in Lincoln*, 4 Vols. (Lincoln, 1984, 1987, 1990, 1997), esp. Vol. 1, 3–8, and Vol. 4, 2–3.

¹⁷ Hill, op. cit. in note 3, 87–88.

¹⁸ Hill, op. cit. in note 3, 91–94.

¹⁹ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 2 Vols. (London, 1812), 1, 322a–b. For further discussion of the topographical implications of Aaron's property see C. Johnson and A. Vince, 'The South Bail Gates of Lincoln', *Lincolnshire Hist. Archaeol.*, 27 (1992), 12–16.

²⁰ In Fig. 1d we have followed the parish boundary between St Paul and St Mary Magdalene, which runs between Nos. 10 and 11 Bailgate, as the most likely northern limit, although the open area could have extended as far N. as the southern boundary of St Paul's churchyard.

²¹ Hill, op. cit. in note 3, 86–89.

²² Hill, op. cit. in note 3, 100–01.

²³ Cameron, op. cit. in note 6.

²⁴ D. Bates, *Bishop Remigius of Lincoln* (Lincoln, 1992), 17–19; P. Kidson, 'Architectural History', in D. Owen (ed.), *A History of Lincoln Minster* (Cambridge, 1993), 18–21.

²⁵ The changes in the character of the coursing of the masonry between the W. wall and the E.–W. arcades remain unrecorded and this judgement is based only on close, but superficial, inspection. The walls facing into the present western nave bay have been extensively refaced in both the late 14th and the 18th centuries. Within the western towers, however, differences between the W. wall and those running E. are more clearly visible. Even so further survey work is required to establish the stratigraphic relationship between these walls for certain.

²⁶ G. Zarnecki, *Romanesque Lincoln. The Sculpture of the Cathedral* (London, 1988), 22 ff.

²⁷ J. Rady, T. Tatton-Brown and J. A. Bowen, 'The Archbishop's Palace, Canterbury', *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, 144 (1991), 1–60.

²⁸ See for example discussion in Zarnecki, op. cit. in note 25, 12–15.

²⁹ R. A. Brown and P. E. Curnow, *The Tower of London (HMSO Handbook)* (London, 1984), 9.

³⁰ P. J. Drury, 'Aspects of the Origins and Development of Colchester Castle', *Archaeol. J.*, 139 (1982), 391–401.

³¹ Although we have reconstructed the W. tower on the assumption that it was attached to the church of St Mary of Lincoln to the E., Dr Butler points out to us that in a reinterpretation such as we propose there is no necessity for any such connection. From a defensive point of view, and also perhaps from one of convenience, a reconstruction of the W. tower as a building detached from the W. front of St Mary (although in alignment with it) would be equally satisfactory, and might even allow for a conventional forebuilding against the eastern wall incorporating an entrance to the halls at first floor level. If a separate structure from the church, the tower might also have had its own projecting chapel to the E. (as at London and Colchester) and it may even have been linked to the church beyond by a bridge, as at Roskilde. Dr Butler also points out that current research into the 12th-century frieze on the W. front favours an understanding of it as part of a deliberate campaign of 'conversion', and such a conversion may have been thought necessary to turn what had hitherto been a secular building into an ecclesiastical one.

³² Op. cit. in note 12, RA21. The bishop was given licence at a date between 1101 and 1115 to make a door in the wall of the king's castle for the convenience of the bishop's house; 'provided that the wall be not thereby weakened'. This has hitherto been interpreted as a reference to a gate in the present castle wall, but according to our revised understanding, it could have been anywhere in the circuit of the Bail walls — perhaps SE. of the cathedral, for example.

³³ Cameron, op. cit. in note 6, 10; Hill, op. cit. in note 3, 128.

³⁴ At Cambridge, Worcester, Hereford and Leicester, for example.

³⁵ Hill, op. cit. in note 3, 86–90.

A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY BROOCH HOARD FROM HAMBLEDEN, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE (Fig. 11)

In 1996 a hoard of fifty-nine copper alloy annular brooches was found by a metal detectorist in the parish of Hambleden, Buckinghamshire. It was reported that two had been found 'at a depth of about a foot and that the remainder were about eighteen inches deep'. Most had evidently been stacked on top of one another, in a small pit containing a darker fill compared to the surrounding substrate. No archaeological examination was possible. During conservation a very fine sediment loosely adhering to the brooches was noted.

No other artefacts were observed at the time of discovery, nor any evidence of a container or string. The burial positions were not recorded; the sequential catalogue numbers were assigned after sorting in the Museum.