Lincoln Castle (pl. xxiv, a, and fig. 1) was one of those erected by order of William the Conqueror. It was placed in the south-western quarter of the upper Roman enclosure, the remainder of which was placed under the authority of the
constable of the Castle, thereby becoming 'The Bail'. Domesday Book records that 166 houses were removed to make room for the castle, which, with its ditches, occupied an area of 13 acres. It was very probably to re-house those so evicted from this and from the site occupied by the growing ecclesiastical settlement round the Cathedral (p. 102), that the suburb of Newport was established on the north of the city. Excavation in 1937 showed that the rectangular earthwork enclosing this was made about the end of the twelfth century, and there is now evidence to show that occupation within it continued in the later Middle Ages. For the fortification of the castle, earthen banks were thrown up on the east, north and west sides of the site, though not on the south, where two mounds were made. The bailey was enclosed by a stone curtain, which, from its irregular lines, its herring-bone masonry, and the use of the word murus in 1115, seems to have been built soon after the Conquest. One mound stands in the south-east corner, and carries a tower, the lower part of which is Norman. If this were the only mound the Castle would conform to the usual mount-and-bailey type: but like Lewes it has a second mound. At Lewes, however, the mounds stand at each end of an oval bailey, whilst at Lincoln both stand in the south curtain wall, their bases less than 200 feet apart. The western and larger mound, known as the Lucy Tower, is probably a twelfth-century addition. It is crowned by a fine shell keep, with doorways leading into the courtyard and into the city to the south.

There are two principal gateways to the castle. The eastern one, still in use, opens upon Castle Hill to the east. The Norman gateway has survived, though in the fourteenth century it was masked by a pointed arch springing from two angular corbels. Above, the outer angles are capped by round turrets, between which the curtain projects at an obtuse angle. The gateway must once have resembled Micklegate Bar at York. It is now no higher than the adjoining curtain wall. The western gateway of the Castle, now disused, has escaped alteration. At the north-east corner of the bailey there is a flanking tower, built probably in the thirteenth century, and known as Cobb Hall.

Within the castle, the county gaol was built in 1787, the architect being Carr of York, and in 1826 the County Hall and Assize Courts were built, in Regency Gothic, to the design of Sir Robert Smirke.

Two baronies are known to have owed service of castle guard at Lincoln in the Norman period. A third of the knights of the bishop of Lincoln (namely twenty) did duty there until Henry I gave bishop Alexander licence to transfer them to the bishop’s new castle at Newark. The la Hayes also owed service there, and as they were successors of the Domesday tenant Coleswein, he also may have owed the service. Perhaps the sheriff at the time when the castle was built was Thorold: the Lucy who built the keep was his kinswoman, perhaps his daughter, and her first husband Ivo Taillebois was probably sheriff of Lincoln. Subsequent events make it highly probable that they claimed an hereditary title to the shrievalty of the county and the constableship of the castle, and later to the earldom of Lincoln. The policy of Henry I was to curb the power of the barons, and to put lesser men

---

1 For a brief essay on Norman Lincoln, see A.A.S.R., xli (1932), 7ff, 14-22; for the Anglo-Danish period, see here p. 100 above.
2 A.A.S.R., xli, 14.
into office under him. Robert de la Haye became constable, and there was a success- 

sion of sheriffs.

During the Anarchy the claims of Lucy’s family were raised by her sons Ranulf des Gernons earl of Chester and William de Roumare earl of Lincoln, but did not survive the accession of Henry II. When the barons revolted against John, Ranulph’s grandson Ranulph de Blundeville, earl of Chester, seems to have revived the claim; and he was created earl of Lincoln in 1217, though he did not receive the constableship of the castle.

The constableship passed by marriage from the la Hayes to Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, and subsequently to the earldom of Lancaster. The castle remained the property of the duchy of Lancaster until its sale to the county of Lincoln in 1831. The ditches were alienated by Charles I, and the outside of the Castle was disfigured and obscured by buildings in the nineteenth century. In recent years the Lincoln Corporation has demolished some of these buildings and acquired others with a view to the same end.

The three administrative counties of Lindsey, Kesteven and Holland and the city of Lincoln have agreed to set up a joint archive repository in the old gaol, and the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln have signified their willingness to deposit their rich stores of historical records there.

2. The Lincoln Stonebow, Guildhall, City Charters and Insignia

By J. W. F. HILL

The Stonebow stands within a few yards of the site of the south gate of the lower Roman enclosure. Either the Roman gateway or a medieval successor was removed before 1390 because it was low and inconvenient. The present gatehouse was begun during the fifteenth century, though it was not completed, probably because of the extreme poverty of the city after the decay of the wool trade, until 1520. On the south front, niches on each side of the gateway are occupied by statues of St. Mary and Gabriel, and over the archway are the arms of James I. The room over the arch is the Guildhall, which has a fine carved timber roof: a canopy bearing the arms of George II, with panelling, adorns the west end. There are portraits of a number of monarchs and local personages.

Here are preserved the city charters, a series beginning with a writ of Henry II, and the insignia. Of this collection the principal exhibits are a fourteenth-century fighting sword believed to have been presented by Richard II in 1387 when he conferred on the mayor the right of having a sword carried before him; a fifteenth-century sword called the Henry VII sword; a large silver-gilt mace of Restoration date; and a small silver mace of the Commonwealth period. The corporation plate was sold after the Municipal Reform Bill of 1835, but a few pieces have lately been recovered.


These well-known monuments of the domestic architecture mainly of the twelfth century were described and illustrated in Arch. Journ. xcii (for 1935),

* On the contemporary Manor-house at Boothby Pagnell, see p. 189 below.
THE CASTLE AND CITY OF LINCOLN

191-8, by Miss Margaret Wood, F.S.A., who has resumed the subject in the following notes, supplemented by Alderman Hill in a note on the history and attribution of the 'Jews' Houses'.

NOTES ON THE BUILDINGS
BY MARGARET WOOD

St. Mary's Guild Hall (385 High Street), popularly but erroneously known as 'John of Gaunt's Stables', must have formed an impressive block of buildings, of c. 1180-90. Most original features remain in the northern half of the entrance range, and include an elaborate gateway and string-course. The doorway has mutilated heads of bishops on the stop chamfer of the jambs; there is a slightly pointed arch, but the outer rings to it are round-headed and have rosette and dog-tooth ornament. Above are two projecting heads resting on an ornate string-course carved with scrolls, acanthus and fantastic creatures. The wall is 4 ft. 7 in. in thickness, built in large blocks of ashlar oolite; a loop and four flat buttresses remain. The ground floor may have been vaulted, and evidence of a first-floor hall remains in the north gable, where there are remnants of internal arcading: the halves of two wide semi-circular arches, supported by an extremely lovely capital of wing or acanthus design. This was discovered behind a modern wall, hence the excellent state of preservation; near it is a smaller capital, also beautifully carved, and a doorway. There are traces of an internal string on the west wall and the bases of window-shafts, but the upper storey has mostly gone. It was apparently reached by a newel staircase, of which there are traces near the present stair.

The archway would lead into a courtyard, but the old flanking buildings have gone, except for parts of a so-called Norman house to the NE., apparently re-built of old material in the thirteenth century, with only the N. wall (the windows partially blocked) of twelfth-century date; the parallel wall, to the yard, is much thinner, built up with Norman stones, two shafted windows and a buttress, with a seventeenth-century fireplace on the first floor. It is a curious piece of faking.

The history of the original building is obscure, but its scale and decoration imply an owner or owners of importance, and would suit it for meetings of an important civic guild. The Hall in fact remained in the hands of St. Mary's Guild until its dissolution. Arch. Journ., xcii, 191-4; pls. IV A, XII A, XIII B; plan, fig. 7; bibliography.

' Aaron the Jew's House ' consists of a double block of buildings comprising 46 and 47 Steep Hill and 1 Christ's Hospital Terrace. The architectural evidence suggests a date 1170-80. The south wall, partly faced with brick, retains a fragment of string-course; in the west a Norman window has been re-set and restored. The entrance arch in the west front has terminal grotesques to the hood and originally a fireplace buttress above: the recent removal of nineteenth-century woodwork to this doorway has disclosed jamb-shafts and arch, both keel-moulded and flanked by nail-head ornament (pl. xxiv, 6). A joggled Norman arch, and a plain one, have lately also been revealed within. The semi-underground cellar has a good barrel vault and an aumbry. Ibid., 197-8; pl. v b; bibliography.

'Jew's House' (15 the Strait; fig. 2) is probably the best-known Norman house in England. It has a first-floor hall, built c. 1170-80, with walls of ashlar in large
blocks of yellow oolite; this has been much altered and sub-divided, with modern roof, attics, and shop-windows. The most original features are in the street front, and include an elaborate ground-floor entrance and two windows to the hall above. The latter are mutilated two-light windows, originally five-shafted, but the mid-shafts have vanished completely and modern sashes have been inserted. The hood-mould is continued as a string-course across the frontage, and is carved with cable-pattern on the face and palmette on the chamfer. A second string runs at the level of the sills: it has various bead and roll mouldings, the upper of which has a cable turned with pellets. The hall fireplace is blocked, but the chimney buttress exists, supported on the hood-mould of the entrance: the latter has lost its shafts, but

foliated capitals remain, and unusual interlaced or basket pattern on the arch. Within there is little to see beyond three plain doorways on the original north wall (two on the ground, one on the first floor), and a wide arched recess in the east wall. The hall was probably reached by wooden stairs in a rearward (? kitchen) annexe. Ibid., 196; pls. v a, XIII a; plan, fig. 8 (=fig. 2 here); bibliography.

'Jews' Court' adjoins 'Jew's House' on the east. It is only doubtfully of the twelfth century, and has been much altered, successive additions to it including a solar, three Tudor windows, modern partitions, etc. Ibid., 196; plan, fig. 9; bibliography.

NOTE ON THE HISTORY AND ATTRIBUTION OF THE 'JEWS' HOUSES'

By J. W. F. HILL

' Aaron the Jew's House'. This Aaron died c. 1186. He is mentioned in the Book of Fees and the Hundred Rolls, and thereafter he seems to have been forgotten. He is not mentioned by Leland or Camden, and the local historians of the early
nineteenth century do not know him, nor his house. His importance seems not to have been re-discovered until the publication in 1844 of the Pipe Roll of Richard I, which records the debts due to him; and even after that date the house is merely referred to as 'the other Norman house'. Professor Freeman seems first to have suggested that the house was Aaron's (see his introduction to Giralda Cambrensis, Opera (1877), vii, p. lxxxvii, and English Towns and Districts (1883), p. 215) and he was followed by Miss Kate Norgate. When Joseph Jacobs visited Lincoln he accepted the 'tradition', which he regarded as all the more probable because he knew that no one for six hundred years had known of the importance of Aaron. At that time (1893) the 'tradition' was less than twenty years old.

The evidence of the Hundred Rolls suggests that Aaron lived in the Bail. Charters of the Dean and Chapter indicate that this house belonged (c. 1240) to Peter of Legbourne, and there is no hint of any former Jewish ownership.

'Jew's House'. The collation of a number of charters of the Dean and Chapter with other evidence makes it almost certain that this house once belonged to Belaset, daughter of Solomon of Wallingford, who in 1290 was hanged for clipping coin. It was acquired by William de Thornton, a canon of Lincoln, and became part of the endowment of the Gare & Thornton chantry in the cathedral.

'Jews' Court'. This house has been thought to be the place of the legendary martyrdom of Little St. Hugh of Lincoln, by Jewish ritual murder, in 1255. In fact, the legends of Little St. Hugh and the ritual murder associate the incident with the district called the Dernstall, near old St. Martin's church, though the well into which the child's body was said to be thrown is placed in different places in different versions. One story is that the well was in one of the Jews' Houses in the Strait. In 1911 a pamphlet was published which declared that the well, recently 'uncovered and restored', was in a basement room of 'Jews' Court'. It had a picture of 'St. Hugh's Well', giving it a cavernous appearance, bearing no resemblance to the neat stone basin to see which a small charge was made.

About 1923 the city council acquired the property under the Housing Acts, and in 1928 announced the decision to demolish the house but preserve the well. This announcement provoked much controversy, in the course of which a workman came forward to say that he had been employed to make the 'well' some years before. The 'uncovering and restoring' of the pamphlet was therefore shown to be an understatement. That was the end of the 'legend' of St. Hugh's Well.

The property was acquired and restored by the Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society, which now makes its headquarters there.

'Jews' Court' is said to have contained the medieval Lincoln synagogue. Dr. Roth accepts this view, and sees in a recess in the eastern (or front) wall the niche in which the scrolls of the law were kept. A deed of 1344 refers to land in the corn market (held in front of this house), in which plot the Jews' School used to stand. However, the claim cannot be regarded as proved.

4. THE CHURCHES OF ST. MARY-LE-WIGFORD, ST. BENEDICT, AND ST. PETER-AT-GOWTS, LINCOLN

By A. HAMILTON THOMPSON, with a note by BRUCE DICKINS

Mention has been made already above (p. 101) of the Pre-Conquest origin of these three churches, and of the building of their towers in late Pre-Conquest
style at a time within the eleventh century, but probably enough after the Conquest had actually taken place. See G. Baldwin Brown, The Arts in Early England, ii, 330-40, 385ff, 466-8; and, in Memorials of Old Lincolnshire, 53-50, the article ‘Saxon Churches in Lincolnshire’ by the present writer.

St. Mary-le-Wigford (fig. 3). The tall, massive tower of the church, one of the thirty church towers in Lincolnshire assignable to the latest period of Pre-Conquest building-style in the eleventh century, displays four coupled belfry windows with mid-wall shaft, and has no buttresses nor inside staircase. The large slab built into its west face bears the Roman epitaph to the name of Sacer the Saxonian son of Bruscus, his wife Carssouna and son Quintus, noticed above by Dr. Richmond (p. 49, with n. 159); above that, however, its steep pediment gave the builder of the tower room for an inscription in vernacular Old English. This shows it to have been placed here as the dedication stone of the church; and Professor Bruce Dickins has kindly contributed the following note upon it.

The Dedication Stone of St. Mary-le-Wigford, Lincoln

The dedication stone of this church is built into the west face of the tower, on the sinister side of the door. The vernacular inscription occupies the upper part of the stone, thus:—

```
[Latin inscription here.]
```

The inscription is cut in five lines, to be read in the order 5 4 3 2 1. V, equivalent to ‘W’, and 7, equivalent to ‘&’. are familiar in Old English script; and the rest of the characters are roman capitals, of a poorish type. There is little, if indeed anything, now to be seen of the Cross (a simplified form of the Chi-Rho monogram, ☩, according to John Wordsworth) which earlier scholars thought they could detect on the left of line 5.

The founder of the church, whose name EIRTIG thus begins the lowest line, has not been identified; nor have I been able to find a second example of the name in the British Isles, nor in Scandinavia. It is presumably Danish, with the -IG representing the weak masculine nominative inflexion in -i, as in Pallig, Tofig, Tostig, all names borne by men of pure or mixed Danish stock who were active in England in the eleventh century. The use of the genitive FIOS is odd; but there is nothing else that calls for notice in the language. Neither epigraphy nor language conflicts with the late eleventh-century date postulated for the tower on architectural grounds.

5 The reading is: Dis Manibus / nomini unae coniugis / eius et Quinis i(iii) . . . (C.I.L., Sacri, / Bruci filii civis / Senoni, et Carssio / vii, i91).
FIG. 3. LINCOLN: PLAN OF ST. MARY-LE-WIGFORD CHURCH

FIG. 4. LINCOLN: PLAN OF ST. PETER-AT-GOWTS CHURCH IN c. 1840-50
Based on an original plan of that date in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries.
More conveniently arranged, the Old English inscription runs:

EIRTI G ME LET PIRCE / [A]N 7 FIOS GODIA / N
CRISTE TO L / OFFE 7 SANC TE / MARIE

'Eirtig had me built and endowed to the glory
of Christ and St. Mary.'

E. and A. Trollope, in *Arch. Journ.*, xvii (1860), 14-16.
A. E. Hübner, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vii (Berolini, 1873), no. 191.

Bruce Dickens.

It remains to note that the nave of the church (three bays), the chancel (two
bays), and the chancel arch are of the thirteenth century. The pillars are clustered,
and composed of banded shafts detached, in circular recesses, on a polygonal pier
set diamond-wise. The arrangement of the east end of the chancel is original and
interesting. It consists of two lancet windows separated externally by a buttress
with a quatrefoiled *vesica piscis* in the gable above.

St. Benedict. The tower, originally similar in type to that of St. Mary-le-
Wigford but much reduced and rebuilt, stands at the west end of the chancel
and north chapel, which were equipped for public worship at the Restoration, after
the destruction of the nave in the Civil War. The features most of note, in part
illustrated by pl. xxiv, c, are the thirteenth-century arcade, the inserted series of
Decorated windows with curvilinear tracery, the ogee-arched Decorated sedilia, the
double piscina, the low side window, and the Perpendicular architecture of the north
chapel, with its original roof.

St. Peter-at-Gowts (fig. 4). The tall western tower is of the same type as that
of St. Mary-le-Wigford, and upon its west face is a contemporary piece of
sculpture. The tower was the subject of a picture by Peter De Wint (1784-1849),
which is now in the Art Gallery of the City of Birmingham. At the west
end of the nave there are examples of 'long and short work', which give
the width of the original nave. This may well be Pre-Conquest work, of date
still earlier than the tower, since it is not bonded into it. In the east wall of the
tower, over the massive tower arch inside the church, is a window for the use of the
sacrist. The twelfth-century chancel arch was taken down in 1853, and the north
aisle rebuilt; the present chancel is of 1888. The south arcade of the nave is of the
thirteenth century, much restored. The chantry chapel at the end of the south
aisle was founded in 1347 by Ralph Jolyf and his wife Amice, whose tomb is beneath
an arch between the chapel and the chancel, bearing an inscription which is a notable
example of medieval-Latin elegiac verse:—

RADULFUS IOLYF SVA CONIUX AC AMISIA
HIC SIMUL HUMANTVR QUIBUS ISTA CAPELLA PARATUR
VIRGINE MATER (sic) THEOS (sic) QUI SIBI SALVET EOS
PRO QUIBUS ORATIS OPUS HOC QUICUMQUE VIDETIS
The pentameter line 3 is more daring than successful. *Mater* (sic) is evidently for *matre*, and *theos* (sic) intended presumably for a genitive. This deviation into Greek is not very happy, but apparently what is meant is "by whom this chapel is prepared for the Virgin Mother of God".

5. THE LINCOLN GREYFRIARS

*(City and County Museum)*

By F. T. BAKER

The church of the Lincoln Greyfriars, between Broadgate and Free School Lane in the south-eastern corner of the walled area of the city, was restored and opened in 1907 as the City and County Museum. Mention of the Museum collections has been made above (p. 1); the present note is devoted to the building itself, which is the earliest building of the Franciscan Order now surviving in England. It was fully described and illustrated by Mr. A. R. Martin, F.S.A., in *Arch. Journ.*, xcii (for 1935), 42-63 (with ten plates); see also his *Franciscan Architecture in England* (1937), 89-101. This note, based upon his work, is accordingly brief.

The building seems to date from about 1237, the citizens of Lincoln with the King's consent having allocated to the friars a piece of land near the Guildhall on 7th February, 1231. Building was in progress in 1268; it is not known when the church was divided into two storeys with the insertion of the remarkable vaulted undercroft, but this unique conversion was certainly early. To make room for the undercroft the floor was lowered 2 feet below the column-base of the original north aisle arcade; the vaulting is not bonded in to the outer wall, and the upper floor rests upon it some 4 feet above the sills of the original lancet windows. The church was thus accommodated on the upper floor: the thirteenth-century double piscina shows clear signs of transfer from the original lower level. In 1574, almost forty years after the suppression of the friaries, the building passed into the hands of the City, to be used as a free school; and it has been occupied continuously since that time.

6. THE EXHIBITION: COINS, ANTIQUITIES, AND MANUSCRIPTS, MEDIEVAL AND LATER

*(Numbers in brackets are those of the Catalogue)*

The collection of *coins* minted at Lincoln exhibited by Alderman Hill (103) extended from the Pre-Conquest series noted above (p. 94) to the reign of Edward I. A striking medieval exhibit, lent by Mrs. G. R. C. Harding (109), was a fourteenth-century iron *sword*, with a design in gilt inlay on the blade. It was found in the Witham near Lincoln, as also was the very comparable inscribed sword of the same century in the British Museum (*Medieval Guide*, fig. 8), of which a photograph was shown. The bronze *lamp* found 9 ft. deep near the Stonebow in 1853 (*Arch. Journ.*, x, 83), formerly believed Roman (83 : Lincoln Museum), seems now almost certainly of the medieval period.
Opportunity is here taken to publish the decorative glazed ridge-tile from Lincoln (pl. xxv, a), first exhibited at the 1848 Meeting and now in the collection of Mrs. G. R. C. Harding, on which the following note has been contributed by Mr. G. C. Dunning, F.S.A.

This remarkable brown glazed ridge-tile with a finial in the form of masks on opposite sides was exhibited at the Institute's Meeting at Lincoln in 1848. It is figured in Parker's Glossary of Architecture, 5th edition (1850), 388-9, which shows the pierced semi-circular cresting complete along the ridge. The masks are modelled in high relief and details of the features, the eyebrows, pupils and mouth, are incised. On one side the hairs of the beard are indicated by incised lines, and on the other side by applied scales. The head-dress is a round cap with apical tuft, formed by applied finger-pressed strips. The various techniques used in building up the masks are those familiar on medieval pottery jugs, and in spite of the archaic appearance of the finial it is probably not earlier than the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

The closest parallel is a green glazed finial with masks in relief on opposite sides from Nottingham. This is from a pottery kiln on the site of the Parliament Street Chapel, and it is dated by coins to the first half of the fourteenth century. The Nottingham finial is not, however, attached to a ridge-tile, but is a separate element. The complete thirteenth-century prototype (without masks) is known from the site of St. Giles' Chapel, Hereford. Here the neck of the finial fits inside a tubular socket attached to the summit of the tile. Both the Nottingham and Hereford finials are pierced by large holes, either in the top or round the bulge, and thus they were intended as ventilators. The Lincoln finial illustrates a late stage in the derivation of ornamental finials from functional ventilators, in which the finial, formerly separate, has now coalesced with the ridge-tile, and gives scope for individual decoration. The finial would appropriately surmount the gable-end of a house, with the masks visible from both sides of the roof.

Of the sixteen manuscripts exhibited, fourteen were lent from his large collection by Captain W. A. Cragg (112-125), consisting of administrative and other documents, relating mainly to Lincolnshire, from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, a fifteenth-century psalter of the Bussy family of Hougham, a fourteenth-century breviary once belonging to Robert Holme, (c. 1530), last prior of Haverholme, and a swan-mark roll temp. Henry VIII. Mr. L. W. Pye lent (111) Letters Patent of Henry VIII, dated 1545, with Great Seal (3rd seal) attached, disposing of lands held in the county by the Lincolnshire monastery of 'Nonneormsbye'. Finally, an Elizabethan map (110) of Fulstow and Marshchapel parishes (16 inches to the mile, by William Haviarde, dated 1595) was lent by Alderman G. R. Walshaw.