

ST PETER'S

Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire

A Parish Church and its Community

by

Warwick Rodwell

with

Caroline Atkins



VOLUME 1

HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHITECTURE

PART 1

ST PETER'S,
Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire:

A Parish Church and its Community

For Barton's church historians,
to whom we owe a great debt

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(1907–1995)

G. Hugh Varah
(1917–1994)

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St Peter's church and churchyard from the south-west. English Heritage Photo Library

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Preface

The intensive study of St Peter's, Barton-upon-Humber, represents a landmark in church archaeology. It is seldom possible to carry out a major archaeological investigation on an intact parish church, and when an opportunity does arise it is usually restricted to a particular component of the building, or area of the site where repair or new construction is in progress. Moreover, the time available for investigation is generally limited. Very occasionally, exceptional circumstances arise, when large-scale, relatively unhurried investigations can be put in hand, and such a situation presented itself at Barton in 1978.

The sizeable medieval church of St Peter's had become superfluous to parochial requirements, there being another equally large church (St Mary's) only 100 m away, and the maintenance of two buildings was a burden upon the parishioners. St Peter's was therefore declared redundant under the *Pastoral Measure, 1968*, and was placed in the care of the Department of the Environment (now English Heritage) in 1978. The intention was to repair the building and open it to the public as a historic monument: the first stage of this objective was achieved in 1985 and the second in 2007.

St Peter's was already well known to architectural historians for its remarkable late Saxon tower, but the history and archaeology of the remainder of this complex, multi-period building were ill known. Consequently, in 1978, the then Directorate of Ancient Monuments of the Department of the Environment determined to carry out a major archaeological research programme in conjunction with the necessary repair and conservation work. That programme ran from 1978 to 1984, and intermittently thereafter. During this time the upstanding fabric was extensively recorded, the furnishings, fittings and monuments were studied, the greater part of the interior of the church was meticulously excavated, and a large swathe of churchyard around the east, north and west sides of the building was also excavated.

In addition to elucidating the structural development of the church, a large sample of the burial archaeology of the site was also investigated. A great deal of evidence was recovered relating to grave types, coffin construction, burial posture, and other aspects of funerary practice, from the late Saxon period to the mid-Victorian. The excavated graves spanned approximately nine centuries, down to *c.* 1855. The skeletal remains from Barton constitute by far the largest assemblage excavated from an English church and churchyard, and there is every reason to believe that they represent a true cross-section of the community of this small market town in north Lincolnshire. It is the stability, continuity, and even the 'ordinariness', of the population that gives the skeletal assemblage its especial interest.

The potential importance of the human remains for detailed study was recognized from the outset, and arrangements were made to have a palaeopathologist, the late Dr Juliet Rogers, on site during the main excavation seasons. The skeletal material was subsequently transferred to the School of Medicine at the University of Bristol. There, an eight-year programme of recording and analysis was carried out under the direction of Dr Rogers, and the planned programme was completed in 1999. However, her illness and untimely death in December 2001, prevented Dr Rogers from completing the preparation of the final report for publication. In the event, Professor Tony Waldron, who had already been closely associated with the Barton project, nobly stepped into the breach and brought publication of the study to fruition (Waldron 2007).

It was recognized at the outset of the project that the history and archaeology of St Peter's could not be properly understood merely through excavation and structural recording. The parish church was the principal focus of the town, physically, spiritually and socially, and many fundamental issues needed to be studied. These included: the relevance of the Roman and Anglo-Saxon ancestry of the church site; its relationship to the nearby major Anglian cemetery; possible links between St Peter's and the seventh-century monastery founded by St Chad at neighbouring Barrow-upon-Humber; connections with the important Domesday holdings in the area; the church's influence on the topography of the late Saxon and medieval town of Barton; the complex and enigmatic relationship between St Peter's and its dependent chapel, St Mary's; the history of earthwork enclosures and the town defences (two elements of which physically impinged upon the churchyard); and the effect that the later medieval and post-medieval vicissitudes of life in Barton had on the fabric of the churches.

All of these, and many other lines of enquiry, needed to be pursued if we were to obtain a full and balanced understanding of St Peter's church and the community that it served for a millennium. Consequently, wide-ranging studies by scholars in various fields have been in progress for many years, and the fruits of their researches are embodied in this report. But the field is by no means exhausted, and much remains to be tackled by future researchers. The results of the investigations of 1978–84, and of the associated research, are presented in two volumes. This one contains an account of the history, architecture and archaeology of St Peter's church, as well as considering its local setting and wider significance. The second volume, published in 2007, is devoted to the study and analysis of the human skeletal remains. The size and importance of the collection is such that it merited presentation as a separate entity.

The huge quantity of evidence which was recorded, both in the ground and in the standing fabric of the church, has had to be summarized all too briefly: literally thousands of features recorded in the field receive no mention here. Although extensive sampling of soils, mortars, charcoal and other deposits took place, funding was not available to analyze and report upon any of this material. Similarly, no reports have been prepared on animal bone or disarticulated human bone.

St Peter's church is a complex monument, and this is a historical and architectural narrative, rather than a conventional archaeological report. Ideally, we would also have wished to embark on a much fuller discussion of architectural comparanda and many academic issues, but their inclusion would have enlarged this volume yet further. It would have been desirable to devote one volume to the structure and setting, another to excavation and interpretation, and a third to the human remains. We eschewed any idea of appending electronically stored data to these volumes, which may have a usable life of only a decade or two. For more than two centuries scholars have been writing about Barton, and their work remains permanently and easily accessible in printed form. Our contributions should be the same. Notwithstanding, circumstances have dictated that the appendices to this volume could not be

included: they have been deposited with the Archaeology Data Service (ADS) and can be consulted via the Internet,

http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/bartonhumber_eh_2010/

Since the two volumes are likely to be consulted, for the most part, by scholars working in substantially different fields, it was considered pragmatic to provide sufficient complementary information in each so that it is capable of standing alone. Hence, a single chapter summarizing the study of the human remains is included here (chapter 14) and two introductory chapters in Volume 2 explain, respectively, the historical setting of St Peter's and the archaeological context of its burials.

The site archive and excavated finds are held by English Heritage in York, and the human remains have been returned to St Peter's church where they are housed in a purpose-built ossuary within the former organ chamber, thus enabling the material to remain accessible for re-examination in the future.

Warwick Rodwell
Downside, Somerset
August 2009

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Since the Barton project began, just over three decades ago, a large number of persons have been involved. Responsibility for initiating the investigations lay primarily with the late Dr Harold Taylor, whose own study of St Peter's began in 1937.

The entire project was funded and carried out under the aegis of, initially, the Department of the Environment, and then English Heritage. A succession of Inspectors of Ancient Monuments and other officers has been involved with St Peter's. The main phase of archaeological investigation and recording was carried out under the inspectorship of John Weaver, who was unfailing in his support, as was his assistant Dr Stephen Johnson. Similarly generous support was given by Barrie Clark (architect), Trevor Lancelott (Superintendent of Works), Raymond Stockdale and Colin Burns at the York office. The local foreman, David Sleight, and the DoE works staff from Thornton Abbey were always helpful. In the early stages of dealing with the waterlogged coffins, Marjorie Hutchinson and her colleagues at the Ancient Monuments Laboratory were very supportive. Since the church was reopened, the Key Keepers, Thomas Suddaby and the late Donald and Mrs Christine Blood, patiently accommodated the needs of a succession of visiting specialists.

The post-excavation project was begun under the inspectorship of the late Dr James Lang and Dr Keith Emerick, but in later years Martin Allfrey and Keith Miller assumed responsibility: we are indebted to them all. Additionally, Keith Miller very generously made available the fruits of many years' research that he has undertaken on the Barton area in the Middle Ages. The assistance of Kevin Booth and Susan Harrison in providing access to stores and locating objects for study has also been invaluable. Dr Alex Bayliss and her colleagues in the Ancient Monuments Laboratory have devoted much time to advising on technical matters, and scientific dating in particular. The conservation of the preserved timber coffins was carried out by the York Archaeological Trust. The English Heritage temporary web-site for the St Peter's church project and the post-excavation database were set up by Mark Bell, who also constantly advised on all other matters relating to information technology. The preparation of this report was monitored by the late Sarah Jennings, for whose continued support and patience we were grateful, especially since theoretical work-schedules and reality seldom coincided. Subsequently, Dr Hilary Cool assisted in the final stages of preparing this study for press, and her timely input was invaluable. Copy editing was undertaken by Val Kinsler, with her usual meticulous attention to detail.

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My co-director on site in 1978–84 was Kirsty Rodwell, who also carried out the initial post-excavation analysis. The number of site supervisors, excavators, recording assistants and others who worked at St Peter's is legion, and our thanks are due to all of them. Supervisory staff included John Adams, Dora Almy (née Reeve), Simon Almy, Robert Bell, Jennifer Buchanan, Peter Busby, Stephen Coll, David Greenhalf, (Professor) Michael Parker Pearson, Dr Jem Poster, the late Gerald Pratt, Christopher Stone, Robert Sydes, Janet Tully, Lady Mary ('Mariah') Weld and Richard Williams. The finds shed was very ably managed by (Dr) Jane Grenville, assisted by Julie Keal. The excavation benefitted greatly from having the on-site services of the late Dr Juliet Rogers as palaeopathologist, and it is a great sadness that her premature death prevented her from seeing the completion of the palaeopathology volume, after devoting so many years' labour to it. We are indebted to Professor Tony Waldron for taking over responsibility for reporting on the human bones, and to Dr Geraldine Barber who worked on them as research assistant for several years.

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Special mention must be made of Caroline Atkins, who not only took part in the excavations and carried out much structural recording, but has also been project manager for the post-excavation and publication phases. Her patience and tireless efforts over many years have been instrumental in bringing this work to

completion. In recognition of this, it is entirely appropriate that she should share in the authorship of this volume. Fulsome thanks are due to the numerous specialists who have studied, catalogued and reported upon the architectural materials, funerary monuments and various classes of artefacts deriving from the excavations: their contributions here are individually acknowledged. Sadly, Dr Alan Vince (d. 2009) did not live to see the fruits of his labours in print. Many of the line drawings are the work of Simon Hayfield, whose skill and attention to detail deserve the highest praise. Drawing the timber coffins, whilst they were still maintained under wet conditions, was painstakingly carried out by Judith Dobie.

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Summary

The small town of Barton-upon-Humber, North Lincolnshire, has attracted the attention of antiquaries since the late sixteenth century, and for two hundred years, the tower of St Peter's church has been recognized as an important structure of late Saxon date. It was one of the principal elements discussed by Thomas Rickman in 1819 when presenting his ground-breaking argument for the survival of buildings from the Anglo-Saxon era. Since then, the church's place in architectural history has become pivotal, but the date and form of the primary structure have been subject to widely differing opinions.

Barton was a prosperous town, market and port in the Middle Ages, but was gradually eclipsed by the emergence of Kingston-upon-Hull. St Peter's church was progressively enlarged and rebuilt, although retaining the Anglo-Saxon tower together with its small adjunct on the west. Only 100 m distant a second church – St Mary's – was founded *c.* 1100, as a market place chapel. It too was rapidly enlarged and aggrandized, so that by the end of the Middle Ages the two churches were equal in size and architectural complexity; both belonged to Bardney Abbey. However, by the sixteenth century, Barton was in decline, and was ill-equipped to support two large churches which, by now, effectively served separate parishes (although St Mary's was still only of chapel status). A new lease of life was provided by the Victorian expansion of Barton, and a revival in church-going. But that was only a temporary reprieve.

In 1972 St Peter's was declared redundant and in 1978 it was taken into public guardianship by the Department of the Environment; it is now maintained as an ancient monument by English Heritage. A major programme of archaeological research was instigated, to elucidate the complex architectural history of the church; this was an exceptional opportunity to carry out a large-scale, unhurried investigation of an intact church and its site. Three lines of approach were adopted: historical and archival research; archaeological excavation both inside and outside the building; and detailed architectural recording and analysis of the fabric. The main field campaign lasted from 1978 to 1984, with further minor investigations down to 2005. The greater part of the interior of St Peter's church was excavated, together with a broad swathe around the exterior on the east, north and west sides. Every wall face, both internally and externally, was recorded in detail. From the outset, it was appreciated that the history of St Peter's was so interlocked with that of St Mary's, and with the town as a whole, that a true understanding of the church would only be achieved by studying the whole ensemble. The Barton project has therefore been accompanied by an extensive programme of historical and topographical research in order to set the archaeological and architectural evidence in its local and regional context.

The primary church was three-celled, having a turritiform nave, flanked by a chancel and a baptistery: several strands of evidence point to a date at the beginning of the eleventh century (or perhaps the close of the tenth) for its erection as a proprietary adjunct to the principal manor of Barton. That was based immediately to the east of the church, within a large sub-circular enclosure of middle Saxon date: the present manor house, Tyrwhitt Hall, is its successor. The origin of the site lay, however, in a Romano-British farmstead, followed by an early Anglo-Saxon settlement. Potentially associated with the latter is the extensive inhumation cemetery of the sixth to early eighth century only a short distance away, at Castledyke South. Several of the later burials there were richly furnished.

The first church was erected immediately to the west of the Tyrwhitt Hall enclosure, on a site which had been occupied by early Saxon timber buildings that were subsequently sealed beneath an earthen platform upon which a late Saxon cemetery was established. The graves contained coffined burials. The site chosen for the church was systematically 'cleansed' by exhuming those graves which fell within its footprint.

In the late eleventh century the tiny chancel was demolished and a new church built on its site, comprising a nave, chancel and apsidal sanctuary. The old turritiform nave now became a west tower, which was heightened by adding an upper belfry stage. A churchyard was defined and burial increased. There was rapid expansion in the Norman period, when the nave was doubled in length and a new chancel was built. Additions on the north side appear to have comprised a porch and chapel, which were subsequently swallowed up in a narrow north aisle. A narrow south aisle and integral porch were added in the early thirteenth century. Later in the same century the aisle was widened and a new two-storied porch was built. The chancel was probably extended too.

The early fourteenth century saw a major reconstruction of the nave arcades, together with a new wide north aisle. This phase was characterized by the inclusion of much figural sculpture: the east window of the aisle was embellished with a Crucifixion carved on the central mullion, flanked by Saints Mary and John. The label-stops on the arcades all bear finely carved human and grotesque heads and the responds incorporate 'Green Men'. Also, the chancel was rebuilt with a vestry, a timber spire was added to the tower, and the north porch was constructed. In the mid-fifteenth century an impressive clerestory was erected over the nave and a new chancel arch was formed and fitted with a timber screen.

The eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw a succession of restorations and improvements, and much has been elucidated about the history of furnishings and fittings. A large amount of

previously unpublished documentation relating to the churches in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been assembled here for the first time.

Over 2,800 graves within and around St Peter's were investigated during the excavations, yielding the largest assemblage of human remains recovered to date from any parish church in the U.K.: the 2,750 skeletons recovered span the period from the late tenth century to the mid-nineteenth. The human remains have been subjected to intensive study and Volume 2 is devoted to them. Owing to waterlogging of part of the excavated area, more than forty oak coffins (and one of pine) were found in varying states of preservation. Dating from the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, they shed important light on joinery techniques of the period. Other graves yielded evidence of body-encapsulation in charcoal, lime and liquid mud.

The close ecclesiastical relationship between St Peter's and St Mary's, their physical juxta-positioning, and their parallel architectural histories, meant that the latter could not be ignored. A brief account of the origins, historical development and architecture of St Mary's is therefore included. Church monuments have also been studied: in addition to grave-covers of the thirteenth century, both buildings have significant assemblages of English and Belgian incised slabs, and several brasses. The heyday of monuments at Barton was in the fourteenth century, and the most exceptional is a recumbent effigy of a priest holding a chalice.

The excavations unexpectedly yielded evidence of Anglo-Saxon and Norman defences; these discoveries have considerable ramifications for the history and development of Barton as a whole, and they enable a string of small-scale excavations and casual observations – made over many years, at various locations – to be placed in context.

Barton possesses three defensive *enceintes*. The earliest was the middle Saxon sub-circular enclosure of 3 ha., centred on Tyrwhitt Hall: the western arc of its ditch passes beneath St Peter's. Second, the whole town was enclosed on three sides by a D-shaped earthwork, known as the Castledykes; the Humber marshes protected the fourth side. This enigmatic earthwork, enclosing *c.* 45 ha., has never been satisfactorily explained or dated: it is argued here that it was a Viking base-camp associated with raids into central England in the later ninth century. The earthworks were maintained as an urban enclosure throughout the

Middle Ages. There was also a short-lived Norman castle erected by Gilbert de Gant during the period of the Anarchy. Topographical and historical arguments suggest that it lay on rising ground on the south side of the town, where its earthworks formed an appendage to the town enclosure. A twelfth-century defensive ditch excavated on the edge of St Peter's churchyard is seen as a continuation of the castle defences, cutting off the unoccupied eastern part of the town enclosure. The church tower formed a look-out and vantage-point in that new defensive line: the main threat to Barton was from the east, where the Counts of Aumale had a castle at neighbouring Barrow-upon-Humber.

The history of the town is briefly explored. Medieval Barton and Barrow fell within the bounds of the 50-hide estate of *æt bearuwe*, which was given by King Wulfhere of Mercia to the saintly bishop Chad in *c.* 669, to found a monastery. A review of the evidence points to the ecclesiastical centre being at Barrow, and the commercial focus at Barton. The latter developed as a late Saxon market town with a port and control of the principal Humber ferry. That *status quo* was maintained until the late Middle Ages. Elementary street grids and burgages are preserved in the modern townscape. Finally, cartographic evidence suggests that during the reign of Henry VIII a half-moon battery was constructed on the north side of the town as part of the Humber defences. This battery is likely to have been recommissioned during the Civil War, when a garrison was stationed on the Waterside at Barton (1642).

The Civil War marked a turning point in Barton's history. Subsequently, streets of timber-framed tenements were replaced by substantial brick-built houses with large walled gardens. Shops and other commercial premises were rebuilt in brick too, but were relatively few in number, and scattered. In due course, the extensive envelope of medieval Barton loosely contained the small and diffuse Georgian country town. The religious needs of its population were more than adequately catered for by the two large churches that had survived unscathed from the Middle Ages. The entire history of Barton and its inhabitants is reflected in the fabric, furnishings, churchyards and memorials of St Peter's and St Mary's and, although much still remains to be researched by future scholars, it may not be an exaggeration to claim that St Peter's is the most intensively studied and recorded parish church in the British Isles.

Résumé

La petite ville de Barton-upon-Humber, au Lincolnshire Nord, attire l'attention des antiquaires depuis la fin du seizième siècle, et cela fait deux cents ans que l'on reconnaît que la tour de l'église de St Peter est une importante structure de la fin de la période saxonne. Elle était l'un des principaux éléments dont traitait Thomas Rickman en 1819 lorsqu'il présenta ses arguments révolutionnaires pour la conservation des bâtiments de la période anglo-saxonne. Depuis, cette église a une place centrale dans l'histoire de l'architecture, mais la date et la forme de la structure primaire ont fait l'objet d'opinions très différentes.

Barton était une ville prospère, une ville de marché et un port au Moyen Age mais fut peu à peu éclipsée par l'apparition de Kingston-upon-Hull. L'église de St Peter fut progressivement agrandie et reconstruite, mais conserva sa tour anglo-saxonne ainsi que son petit bâtiment auxiliaire à l'ouest. Rien qu'à 100 m de distance, une deuxième église – St Mary – fut fondée vers 1100, en tant que chapelle pour la place du marché. Elle aussi fut rapidement agrandie et prit de l'importance, et par conséquent, à la fin du Moyen Age, les deux églises étaient de même taille et complexité architecturale; toutes deux appartenant à l'abbaye de Bardney. Néanmoins, dès le seizième siècle, Barton était en déclin et n'était plus à même de soutenir deux grandes églises lesquelles, en fait, desservaient des paroisses séparées (bien que St Mary ne fut encore qu'une chapelle à titre officiel). L'expansion de Barton à l'époque victorienne, et le fait que les gens se remettaient à aller à l'église, lui firent connaître un renouveau. Mais ce ne fut qu'un sursis temporaire.

En 1972, l'église de St Peter fut déclarée superflue et, en 1978, elle fut mise sous tutelle du ministère de l'environnement; à l'heure actuelle, elle est maintenue comme ancien monument par English Heritage. Un grand programme de recherches archéologiques fut lancé, afin de tirer au clair l'histoire architecturale complexe de l'église; c'était là une occasion exceptionnelle d'entreprendre l'enquête à grande échelle, sans hâte, d'une église intacte et de son site. Trois façons de l'aborder furent adoptées: des recherches historiques et dans les archives; des fouilles archéologiques à l'intérieur ainsi qu'à l'extérieur du bâtiment; et un registre architectural ainsi qu'une analyse de la structure détaillée. La principale campagne sur le terrain dura de 1978 à 1984, et fut suivie de plus petites enquêtes jusqu'en 2005. La plus grande partie de l'intérieur de l'église de St Peter fut fouillée, ainsi qu'une large bande autour de l'extérieur à l'est, au nord et à l'ouest. Chaque paroi murale, tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur, fut consignée de manière détaillée. Dès le début, on a bien compris que l'histoire de St Peter était si étroitement liée à celle de St Mary, et avec la ville dans son ensemble, que l'on ne pourrait réellement comprendre l'église qu'à travers l'étude du tout. Le projet de Barton fut donc accompagné d'un programme poussé de recherches historiques et topographiques dans le but

de situer les indices archéologiques et architecturaux dans leur contexte local et régional.

L'église primaire était constituée de trois cellules, ayant une nef à tour, flanquée d'un chœur et d'un baptistère; plusieurs filières d'indices indiquent une date du début du onzième siècle (ou peut-être de la fin du dixième) pour sa construction en tant que chapelle annexée au manoir principal de Barton. Ce dernier se trouvait juste à l'est de l'église, à l'intérieur d'une grande enceinte subcirculaire datant du milieu de la période saxonne; le manoir actuel, Tyrwhitt Hall, est son successeur. L'origine du site se trouvait néanmoins dans une ferme romano-britannique, suivie d'un peuplement du début de la période anglo-saxonne. Le cimetière d'inhumations étendu, datant du sixième siècle au début du huitième siècle, qui ne se trouve qu'à petite distance, à Castledyke South, pourrait être lié à ce peuplement. Plusieurs des dernières inhumations dans ce cimetière étaient pourvues d'un riche mobilier funéraire.

La première église avait été construite juste à l'ouest de l'enceinte de Tyrwhitt Hall, sur un site qui avait été occupé par des bâtiments en bois du début de la période saxonne, lesquels furent par la suite enfouis sous une plateforme de terre, sur laquelle fut établi un cimetière de la fin de la période saxonne. Les tombes contenaient des enterrements en cercueils. Le site choisi pour l'église fut systématiquement 'purifié' par l'exhumation des sépultures qui se trouvaient dans son périmètre.

À la fin du onzième siècle, le chœur minuscule fut démolit et une nouvelle église fut construite sur son site, ayant une nef, un chœur et un sanctuaire dans le bas-côté. L'ancienne nef surmontée d'une tour devint alors une tour ouest, laquelle fut surélevée par l'addition d'un beffroi en étage supérieur. Un cimetière fut délimité et il y eut davantage d'enterrements. Une expansion rapide eut lieu durant la période normande, époque à laquelle la longueur de la nef doubla et un nouveau chœur fut construit. Il semble que, au nombre des additions sur le côté nord, se trouvaient un porche et une chapelle, lesquels furent par la suite englobés dans un étroit bas-côté nord. Un étroit bas-côté sud et un porche intégrant furent ajoutés au début du treizième siècle. Par la suite, pendant le même siècle, le bas-côté fut élargi et un nouveau porche à deux étages fut construit. Le chœur fut probablement aussi agrandi.

Le début du quatorzième siècle vit une importante reconstruction des arcades de la nef, ainsi qu'un large nouveau bas-côté nord. Cette phase fut caractérisée par l'inclusion d'un grand nombre de sculptures de figures: la fenêtre est du bas-côté fut embellie d'une croix sculptée sur le meneau central, encadrée de Sainte Marie et de Saint Jean. Les arrêts de larmier des arcades portent tous des têtes humaines et grotesques délicatement sculptées et les dossierers intègrent des 'hommes verts'. De plus, le chœur fut reconstruit avec une sacristie, une flèche en bois fut ajoutée à la tour et le porche nord fut construit. Au milieu du quinzième

siècle, une impressionnante claire-voie fut érigée au-dessus de la nef et un nouvel arc triomphal fut formé et équipé d'un écran en bois.

Le dix-huitième siècle, le dix-neuvième siècle et le début du vingtième siècle furent témoins d'une série de restaurations et de réhabilitations, et bien des choses ont été tirées au clair concernant l'histoire du mobilier et des agencements intérieurs. Un grand nombre de documents concernant les églises au dix-huitième et au dix-neuvième siècle, jamais encore publiés, ont été réunis ici pour la première fois.

Plus de 2800 tombes, et à l'intérieur et autour de St Peter, furent examinées durant les fouilles, donnant le plus grand ensemble de restes humains retrouvés dans une église paroissiale au Royaume-Uni jusqu'à présent: les 2750 squelettes retrouvés englobent la période allant de la fin du dixième siècle au milieu du dix-neuvième siècle. Les restes humains ont fait l'objet d'études approfondies et le second volume leur est consacré. Etant donné qu'une partie de la zone fouillée était détrempée, plus de quarante cercueils en chêne (et un en pin) ont été découverts en divers états de conservation. Datant du onzième siècle et du début du douzième siècle, ils éclairent considérablement les techniques de menuiserie de la période. D'autres tombes ont donné des indices d'encapsulation des corps dans le charbon de bois, la chaux et la boue liquide.

Les rapports ecclésiastiques proches entre St Peter et St Mary, leur juxtaposition géographique et leur histoire architecturale parallèle signifiaient que cette dernière ne pouvait pas être ignorée. Un bref compte-rendu des origines, du développement historique et de l'architecture de St Mary est donc inclus. Les monuments de l'église ont également été étudiés: en sus des couvercles de tombes du treizième siècle, les deux bâtiments contenaient d'importants ensembles de plaques gravées anglaises et belges, et plusieurs plaques mortuaires en cuivre. Le quatorzième siècle fut l'âge d'or des monuments à Barton, et le plus exceptionnel était un gisant d'un prêtre qui tenait un calice.

Alors qu'on ne s'y attendait pas, les fouilles ont donné des indices de défenses anglo-saxonnes et normandes; ces découvertes ont d'importantes ramifications pour l'histoire et le développement de Barton dans son ensemble, et elles donnent la possibilité de faire une série de fouilles à petite échelle et de situer dans leur contexte des observations fortuites, faites à divers endroits pendant de nombreuses années.

Barton possède trois enceintes défensives. La plus ancienne était l'enceinte subcirculaire de 3 ha, du milieu de la période saxonne, axée sur Tyrwhitt Hall: l'arc ouest de son fossé passe en dessous de St Peter. En deuxième lieu, la ville entière fut entourée sur trois côtés par un ouvrage de terre en forme de D, appelé le Castledykes; les marais de la rivière Humber protégeaient le quatrième côté. Cet énigmatique ouvrage de terre, entourant environ 45 ha, n'a jamais été expliqué de manière satisfaisante ou daté; ici, on soutient que c'était un camp de base Viking lié à des raids dirigés vers le centre de l'Angleterre

à la fin du neuvième siècle. Les ouvrages de terre furent maintenus en tant qu'enceinte urbaine pendant tout le Moyen Age. Il y eut également un château normand, qui ne dura pas longtemps, érigé par Gilbert de Gant pendant la période d'anarchie. Les arguments topographiques et historiques suggèrent qu'il se trouvait sur un terrain montant en pente au sud de la ville, où ses ouvrages de terre formaient un appendice de l'enceinte de la ville. On pense qu'un fossé défensif du douzième siècle fouillé au bord du cimetière de St Peter est une continuation des défenses du château, éliminant la partie est inoccupée de l'enceinte de la ville. La tour de l'église constituait une position avantageuse et un poste d'observation dans cette nouvelle ligne défensive: la principale menace pour Barton venait de l'est, où les comtes d'Aumale avaient un château au site voisin de Barrow-upon-Humber.

L'histoire de la ville est brièvement explorée. Le Barton et le Barrow médiévaux se trouvaient à l'intérieur des limites du domaine de *æt bearuwe*, un domaine de 50 hides [L'hide était la surface de terre considérée comme nécessaire pour subvenir aux besoins alimentaires d'un foyer, une fois cultivée – approximativement 6 à 12 ha, en fonction de la fertilité de la terre], domaine qui fut donné par le roi Wulfhere de Mercie au saint évêque Chad vers 669, dans le but de fonder un monastère. Un bilan des indices indique que le centre ecclésiastique était à Barrow, et le centre commercial à Barton. Cette dernière devint une ville de marché à la fin de la période saxonne avec un port contrôlant le principal ferry de la Humber. Ce statu quo fut maintenu jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Age. Des plans élémentaires de rues élémentaires et de 'burgages' [forme de tenure foncière urbaine, sur parcelle longue et étroite] sont préservés dans le paysage urbain moderne. Pour finir, les indices cartographiques suggèrent que, pendant le règne d'Henri VIII, une batterie en demi-lune faisant partie des défenses de la Humber fut construite sur le côté nord de la ville. Il est probable que cette batterie fut remise en service pendant la guerre civile, lorsqu'une garnison fut postée au Waterside à Barton (1642).

La guerre civile marqua un moment décisif de l'histoire de Barton. Par la suite, les rues de bâtiments à charpentes en bois furent remplacées par de grandes maisons en brique avec de grands jardins clos. Les boutiques et autres locaux commerciaux furent également reconstruits en brique, mais il n'y en avait qu'un relativement petit nombre, et ils étaient dispersés. Pour finir, la petite ville provinciale géorgienne diffuse était contenue à l'intérieur des limites étendues du Barton médiéval. Les besoins religieux de sa population étaient desservis de manière tout à fait adéquate par les deux grandes églises qui avaient survécu indemnes depuis le Moyen Age. L'histoire entière de Barton et de ses habitants est reflétée dans la structure, le mobilier, les cimetières et les monuments funéraires des églises de St Peter et de St Mary et, bien que les érudits de l'avenir aient encore bien des recherches à faire, nous n'exagérons sans doute pas quand nous déclarons que St Peter est l'église paroissiale la plus étudiée et la plus consignée des îles britanniques.

Zusammenfassung

Die Kleinstadt Barton-upon-Humber in der Grafschaft North Lincolnshire hat bei Altertumsforschern seit dem späten sechzehnten Jahrhundert ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf sich gezogen und seit zweihundert Jahren wird der St. Peter Turm als ein bedeutendes Bauwerk aus der späten Sachsenzeit anerkannt. Er war im Jahr 1819 Hauptgegenstand einer Diskussion von Thomas Rickmann, der er sich mit seinen bahnbrechenden Argumenten für die Erhaltung von Gebäuden aus der Angelsächsischen Zeit einsetzte. Seitdem war für die Kirche ein entscheidender Platz in der architektonischen Geschichte gesichert, aber das Alter und ursprüngliche Form des Grundrisses waren unterschiedlichen Ansichten ausgesetzt.

Barton war eine wohlhabende Stadt, mittelalterlicher Markt und Hafen, wurde aber allmählich durch den Aufstieg von Kingston-upon-Hull in den Hintergrund gedrängt. Die St. Peters Kirche wurde allmählich erweitert und wiederaufgebaut, der Angelsächsische Turm mit seinem westlichen Anbau blieb erhalten. Die 100m entfernte zweite Kirche – St. Mary's – wurde ca. 1100 AD als Marktkapelle gegründet. Sie wurde rasch vergrößert und verherrlicht, so daß am Ende des Mittelalters die beiden Kirchen von der Größe und architektonischer Komplexität gleichgestellt waren; beide gehörten zur Bardney Abtei. Im sechzehnten Jahrhundert verfiel Barton und war nicht mehr fähig zwei große Kirchen zu unterstützen, die inzwischen zwei separate Gemeinden unterhielten (obwohl St. Mary's immer noch den Status einer Kapelle hatte). Die viktorianische Erweiterung von Barton ließ den Kirchengang wiederaufleben, jedoch erwies sich das als nur kurzfristig.

Im Jahr 1972 wurde die St. Peters Kirche geschlossen und 1978 an die öffentliche Hand übergeben unter der Schirmherrschaft des 'Department of the Environment' (Umweltsamt); Sie untersteht jetzt als Denkmal der 'English Heritage' (Englische Denkmalbehörde). Ein großangelegtes Forschungsprojekt wurde initiiert, um die komplexe architektonische Geschichte der Kirche aufzuklären; dadurch erbot sich eine breitangelegte und gründliche Untersuchung einer intakten Kirche und ihrem direkten Umfeld durchzuführen. Drei Forschungsmethoden wurden angewandt: historische Quellenstudien; archäologische Ausgrabungen innerhalb und außerhalb des Gebäudes; und detaillierte architektonische Aufzeichnungen und Analyse der Materialstruktur. Der Großteil der Geländearbeit wurde in der Zeit von 1978 bis 1984 durchgeführt, kleinere Untersuchungen bis 2005. Der Großteil der inneren Kirche wurde ausgegraben, sowie ein breiter Streifen um die Kirche herum im Osten, Norden und Westen. Jede Mauer, wurde innen und außen im Detail aufgezeichnet. Von Anfang an wurde erkannt, daß die Geschichte von St. Peter mit der von St. Mary und der Stadt selbst, so miteinander

verbunden sind, daß ein Verständnis der Kirche nur ermöglicht wird, indem man das ganze kollektiv untersucht. Das Barton Projekt besteht deshalb aus einem weitreichenden Programm von historischen und topographischen Studien, um die archäologischen und architektonischen Erkenntnisse in einen lokalen und regionalen Zusammenhang zu bringen.

Der ursprüngliche Kirchenraum war in drei Zellen geteilt, ein turmartiges Kirchenschiff, geflaggt vom Chor und einem Baptisterium: Mehrere Hinweise deuten auf ein Erbauungsdatum zu Anfang des 11. Jahrhunderts (oder Ende des 10.) als Zubau zum nahegelegenen Herrschaftshaus von Barton. Es befand sich direkt östlich der Kirche, innerhalb einer großen halbkreisförmigen Einfriedung aus der mittleren Angelsachsenzeit: das heutige Herrenhaus, Tyrwhitt Hall, sein Nachfolger. Das zum letzteren dazugehörigen, weitläufige Gräberfeld aus dem sechsten bis siebten Jahrhundert ist nur eine kurze Distanz, bei Castledyke South. Einige der späteren Beisetzungen hatten reiche Beigaben.

Die erste Kirche wurde direkt westlich der Grenze von Tyrwhitt Hall errichtet, auf einer Fläche, wo sich ursprünglich Fachwerkgebäude aus der frühen Angelsächsischen Zeit befanden, die danach durch eine Erdaufschüttung versiegelt wurden, und auf der das Spätangelsächsische Gräberfeld gegründet wurde. Die Gräber enthielten Sargbestattungen. Das Baugelände für die Kirche wurde systematisch 'bereinigt', indem die Gräber innerhalb des Kirchenfundaments exhumiert wurden.

Im späten elften Jahrhundert wurde die kleine Kapelle abgerissen und am selben Ort eine neue Kirche erbaut, sie bestand aus einem Kirchenschiff, Chor und einer Altarnische. Das alte turmförmige Kirchenschiff wurde der Westturm, und durch den Zubau einer Glockenstube erhöht. Es wurde ein Friedhof gegründet und Beerdigungen häuften sich. Während der Normannischen Eroberungen wurde das Kirchenschiff verdoppelt und es wurde ein neuer Chor gebaut. Erweiterungen an der Nordseite bestanden aus einem Vordach und Kapelle, die später in einen schmalen nördlichen Mittelgang vereinigt wurden. Der schmale südliche Mittelgang mit dem integrierten Vordach wurde im frühen dreizehnten Jahrhundert zugefügt. Später, im selben Jahrhundert, wurde der Mittelgang verbreitert und ein neues zweistöckiges Vordach gebaut. Der Chor wurde wahrscheinlich auch erweitert.

Zu Anfang des vierzehnten Jahrhundert wurden die Säulengänge entlang des Mittelschiffs bedeutend ausgebaut, zusammen mit einem neuen, breiteren nördlichen Mittelschiff. Diese Phase war geprägt von der Zufügung von figürlichen Skulpturen: Das Ostfenster des Mittelschiffs wurde mit einer Kreuzigung geschmückt, die in den Mittelpfosten geschnitzt wurde, und von den Heiligen Mary und John flankiert war. Die Bogenenden der Arkaden

wurden mit feingeschnitzten menschlichen und grotesken Köpfen verziert und die Responden wurden mit 'Green Men' (Laubmasken) verziert. Der Altarraum wurde in eine Sakristei umgebaut; ein hölzerner Spitzturm wurde an den Turm hinzugefügt und das nördliche Portal konstruiert. In der Mitte des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts wurde eine beeindruckende Lichtgade über dem Mittelschiff errichtet, ein neuer Bogen über dem Chor errichtet und mit einer hölzernen Abschirmung versehen.

Im achtzehnten, neunzehnten und Beginn des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts wurden eine Reihe von Restaurationen und Verbesserungen durchgeführt, und es wurde viel über die Herkunft der Innenausstattung bekannt. Eine Menge bisher unveröffentlichter Quellen über Kirchen aus dem achtzehnten und neunzehnten Jahrhundert sind hier zum ersten Mal zusammengebracht worden.

Über 2.800 Gräber wurden im Laufe der Ausgrabungen in und um St. Peters untersucht, sie verkörpert damit die größte Sammlung von menschlichen Überresten einer Gemeindekirche im Vereinigten Königreich: die 2.750 Skelettüberreste erstrecken sich vom Ende des Achten bis ins mittlere Neunzehnte Jahrhundert. Die menschlichen Überreste sind intensiv untersucht worden und Band 2 widmet sich ausschließlich dieser Studie. Dank des hohen Wasserspiegels in Teilen des Ausgrabungsareals sind über vierzig Eichensärge (und einer aus Kiefer) in verschiedenen Erhaltungsstadien gefunden worden. Da sie aus dem elften und zwölften Jahrhundert stammen, geben sie uns Informationen über das Tischlerhandwerk dieser Periode. Andere Gräber enthielten Hinweise auf Bestattungen mit Kohle, Kalk und Schlamm.

Da die Kirchengeschichten von St. Peter und St. Mary so eng miteinander verflochten sind, sie so nah aneinander liegen und ihre architektonische Geschichte teilen, liegt es an, die Baugeschichte von St. Mary nicht zu ignorieren. Eine kurze Abhandlung ihrer Herkunft, geschichtlichen Entwicklung und Architektur wird deshalb hier mit einbezogen. Kirchendenkmale wurden auch untersucht: Zusätzlich zu den Grabplatten aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert haben beide Gebäude beachtliche Sammlungen von Englischen und Belgischen gemeißelten Grabplatten und mehrere Messingplatten. Die Blütezeit der Grabdenkmale in Barton war das vierzehnte Jahrhundert und das außergewöhnlichste ist ein ruhendes Abbild eines Priesters, der einen Kelch hält.

Die Ausgrabungen haben unerwartet Angelsächsische und Normannische Verteidigungsanlagen aufgedeckt. Diese Entdeckungen haben beachtliche Folgen für die Geschichte und die Entwicklung von Barton im allgemeinen, und sie ermöglichen eine Reihe von kleineren Ausgrabungen und beiläufigen Beobachtungen, die über viele Jahre hin gemacht wurden, in einen größeren Zusammenhang zu bringen.

In Barton gibt es drei, zur Verteidigung angelegte, Enceintes (geschlossene inneren Ringe). Der früheste war eine Mittelsächsische, eine als Halbkreis angelegte Einfriedung von 3 Hektar, die sich um Tyrwhitt Hall befindet: der westliche Bogen seines Grabens geht direkt unter St. Peter hindurch. Vom Zweiten wurde die gesamte Stadt an drei Seiten durch ein D-förmiges Erdwerk umschlossen, auch Castledykes genannt; das Marschland vom Humber hat die vierte Seite geschützt. Dieses enigmatische Erdwerk, das ca. 45 Hektar umschließt, ist noch nie zufriedenstellend gedeutet oder datiert worden. Es wird hier argumentiert, daß es ein Wikingerlager war, daß mit den Raubzügen des neunten Jahrhunderts ins Zentrale England in Verbindung gebracht werden kann. Diese Erdwälle wurden als Stadtwälle im Mittelalter weiter unterhalten. Auch eine kurzlebige normannische Burg wurde von Gilbert de Gaunt während einer Periode der Anarchie errichtet. Topographische und historische Quellen deuten darauf hin, daß sie auf einem Hügel im Süden der Stadt lag, wo die Erdwälle eine Erweiterung der Einfriedung aufweisen. Ein Verteidigungsgraben aus dem zwölften Jahrhundert, der am Rand des Friedhofs von St. Peter ausgegraben wurde, ist vermutlich ein Kontinuum der Burgverteidigungsanlage, und grenzt den unbesiedelten östlichen Teil der Stadteinfriedung ab. Der Kirchturm war ein günstiger Aussichtspunkt in dieser neuen Verteidigungslinie: die Hauptgefahr für Barton kam aus dem Osten, wo die Grafen Aumale im benachbarten Barrow-upon-Humber eine Burg besaßen.

Die Geschichte der Stadt wird kurz beschrieben. Das mittelalterliche Barton und Barrow fielen innerhalb der Grenze des 50 Hufen Anwesen von æt bearuwe, welches ungefähr im Jahr 669 von König Wulfhere von Mercia an dem Heiligen Bischof Chad übergeben wurde, um eine Mönchsabtei zu gründen. Eine Quellenstudie weist darauf hin, daß Barrow das kirchliche Zentrum war, wogegen Barton der wirtschaftliche Mittelpunkt war. Barrow entwickelte sich als Spätsächsische Marktstadt mit einem Hafen und Kontrolle über die wichtige Fähre über den Humber. Dieser Status Quo wurde bis ins Mittelalter erhalten. Der Straßenplan und die Abgrenzungen der Bürgerlehen sind im heutigen Stadtbild noch erhalten. Historische Karten zeigen, daß während der Regierungszeit von Henry VIII eine Half Moon Battery an der Nordseite, als Teil der Humber-Verteidigungsanlagen, erbaut wurde. Die Geschützgruppe wurde wahrscheinlich während des Bürgerkriegs wieder in den Dienst gestellt, als 1642 eine Garnison bei Waterside in Barton stationiert wurde.

Der Bürgerkrieg galt als ein Wendepunkt in der Geschichte von Barton. Danach wurden die mit Mietshäusern aus Fachwerk gesäumten Straßen mit soliden Häusern aus Ziegelsteinen und von Mauern umgebenen großen Gärten abgelöst. Geschäfte und

andere kommerzielle Gebäude wurden auch aus Ziegel neu gebaut, waren aber relativ vereinzelt und verstreut. Bald wurde aus dem weitläufig umgrenzten mittelalterlichen Barton eine weitschweifige kleine Georgianische Landstadt. Die religiösen Bedürfnisse der Einwohner wurden mehr wie ausreichend durch die beiden großen Kirchen gedeckt, die das Mittelalter unversehrt überstanden hatten. Die gesamte

Geschichte von Barton und seinen Einwohnern spiegelt sich in der Baustruktur, Einrichtung, Friedhöfen und Denkmälern von St. Peter und St. Mary wieder und obwohl es noch viel von zukünftigen Forschern zu untersuchen gibt, ist es keine Übertreibung, wenn man behauptet, daß St. Peter die am intensivsten erforschte Gemeindekirche auf den Britischen Inseln ist.



St Peter's church tower, 1810

1. ANTIQUARIAN BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

Barton is a mean dirty town with one tolerable inn.
Gough 1789

... pleasantly situated on the south bank of the Humber, at the
foot of the Lincolnshire Wolds ... combining with the advantages
of a market town the pleasing appearance of a rural village.
Lewis 1835

Setting and Morphology of Barton-upon-Humber

Barton-upon-Humber¹ is a small market town situated at the northernmost extremity of the historic county of Lincolnshire,² on the south bank of the river Humber, 42 km (26 miles) from the mouth of the estuary, over which the fishing port of Grimsby presides. On the north bank of the river, 8 km (5 miles) downstream from Barton, lies the prosperous port and town of Kingston-upon-Hull – better known today simply as Hull – which is the nearest substantial urban centre (Fig. 1b). With the opening of the Humber bridge in 1981, Barton is now situated alongside a major north–south thoroughfare (A15), whereas previously it lay in an area of sparsely populated countryside that was not well served by roads. Although Barton was but a short distance to the east of a major Roman road (Ermine Street) which ran the 56 km (35 miles) north from Lincoln to a ferry at Winteringham, and thence on to York, it was separated from that road by the marshy valley containing the river Ancholme. The town was, however, linked in more recent times to Brigg, and thence to Lincoln, by a turnpike road (the former A15).

In the Roman period, and again from the early Middle Ages until modern times, connections between the Lincolnshire and Yorkshire banks of the Humber were maintained by several ferries: Winteringham to Brough, South Ferriby to North Ferriby, Barton to Hessle, Barton to Hull, and, latterly, New Holland to Hull (Fig. 1c; Clapson 2005, ch. 5). The last-mentioned ferry only closed down when the Humber bridge opened to traffic.³ Access by water and road to Hull, Beverley (19 km, 12 miles), and even to York (64.5 km; 40 miles), has therefore never been more difficult than access to Lincoln, for example, except in inclement weather. However, Barton's closest commercial connections have long been with Hull.

The parish of Barton occupies a triangular block of land that stretches 6.4 km (4 miles) southwards from the Humber bank, to just beyond the 60 m (200 ft) contour on the chalk Wolds (Figs. 3 and 137). The parish contains some 2,567 ha (6,343 acres). The northern boundary comprises 5.7 km (3½ miles) of river frontage, and is flanked by a broad belt of marshland. The town lies at the interface between the marsh and the rising ground, and consequently several

streams (now culverted) traversed the settlement area. Also, in the midst of this is the bed of a dried-up pond, known as the Beck, which was fed by an artesian spring or 'blow well'. The Beck formerly powered one of the town's two watermills.

The town of Barton is a loosely structured settlement, now centred on the post-medieval market place; the street pattern displays obvious elements of rectilinearity indicative of former planning (Fig. 2). However, a fully integrated layout is not evidenced, and it is clear that planned additions have been made piecemeal; this is plainly seen on the earliest map of the town, 1796 (Fig. 4). At the eastern end of the medieval and later town is the pair of fine churches – St Peter's and St Mary's – separated only by a street and the Beck (Pl. 1; Fig. 5). Here, south of the Beck, probably also lay the earliest market place. The main street (contiguously comprising Burgate and High Street) stretches westwards from the churches to a secondary focal point at Junction Square, where formerly lay the medieval 'Chapel on the Well'.

Fleetgate, a once-separate focus of settlement, is situated 500 m to the north-west, at the head of an artificially modified inlet from the river Humber, known as the Haven (Figs. 3, 4 and 6). Here also lay the town's second watermill. The ferry to Hessle ran from the mouth of the Haven (known as Barton Waterside), which was the town's port too. A small, planned block of tenements developed along Fleetgate, and another planned unit, Newport Street, adjoins that at right-angles. There were earthwork defences enclosing a large D-shaped area around the town, but nothing can be seen of these today, or of Barton's short-lived Norman castle.

Historical Prologue

Prehistoric to Anglo-Saxon

The river Humber was one of the ancient routes into eastern Britain from the North Sea, particularly in prehistoric and Anglo-Saxon times, and it is not therefore surprising to find numerous traces of early habitation along its banks.⁴ Pre-Roman settlement in north Lincolnshire is well attested, and several important sites in the locality have been excavated (May 1976; 1996, 2, 633–44; Van de Noort and Ellis 1997). Of exceptional interest are the preserved remains of boats

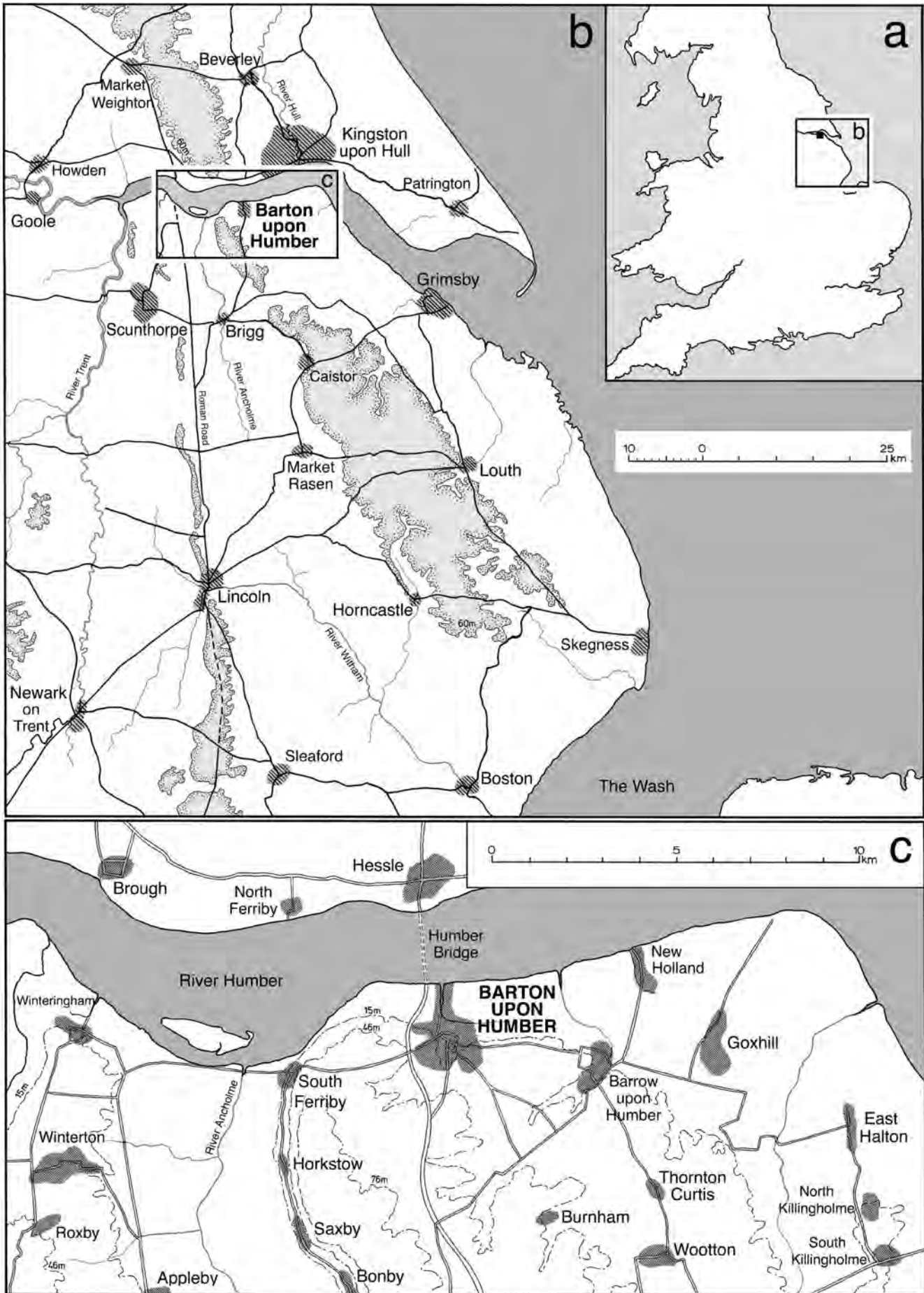


Fig. 1: Barton-upon-Humber: location plans. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

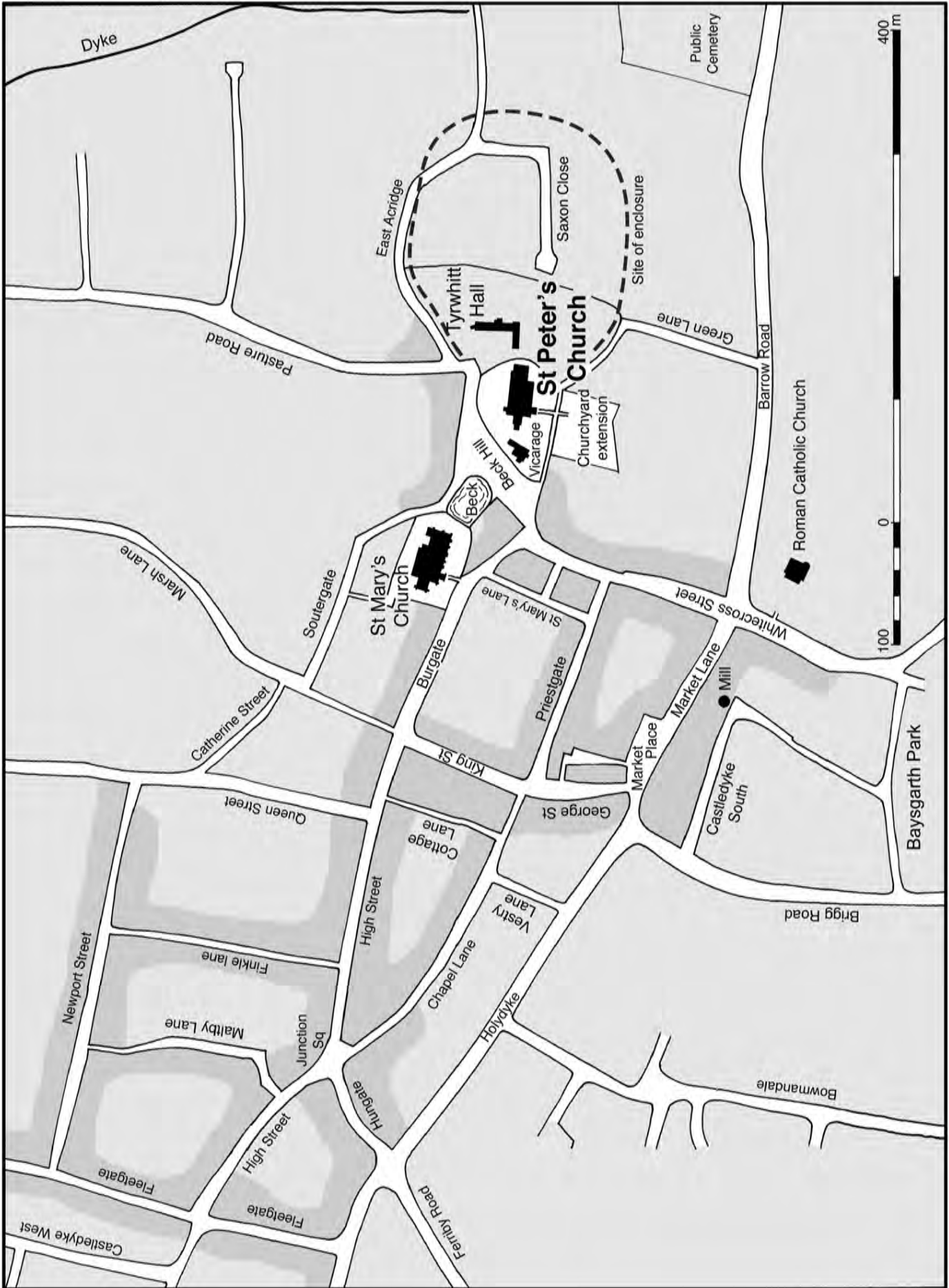


Fig. 2: Plan of the historic core of Barton-upon-Humber, showing the principal streets and topographical features. The darker tone indicates street frontages which were built-up before the middle of the nineteenth century. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

and other timber structures in waterlogged deposits (Van de Noort 2004). Scatters of prehistoric artefacts have been found at a number of locations in the parish of Barton, including St Peter's church site, but a significant centre of occupation has yet to be located.

Likewise, in the Roman period, there is no evidence for a major settlement at Barton, but groups of finds attest several localized centres of occupation; much material has also been recovered from the Humber foreshore, almost certainly indicating that riverside settlements have been inundated. The western boundary of the parish is coincident with the line of a minor Roman road which ran north-westwards from the small walled town of Horncastle, through Caistor (another small Roman town), to the Humber at Poor Farm, Barton.⁵ Here, almost certainly, lay a ferry between the south bank and North Ferriby. Another Roman-period ferry, previously mentioned, was only a little further up-river, at Winteringham. Although St Peter's church contains recycled Roman building materials in its fabric, excavation has demonstrated that it is not directly on the site of a Roman-period structure.

In the early Anglo-Saxon period the Humber once again acted as a highway for continental immigrants into eastern Britain; it was also the boundary between two early English kingdoms. The coastal and riverine distribution of both cremation and inhumation cemeteries of the pagan period in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire provides ample testimony to the arrival of Germanic folk in the fifth, sixth and early seventh centuries.⁶ Northern and central Lincolnshire emerge in the annals of English history as the small and ill-understood kingdom of Lindsey (Leahy 2007a). For the early (pagan) Anglo-Saxon period, the major site in the Barton locality is the Anglian cemetery at Castledyke(s) South, only 250 m south-west of St Peter's church (Fig. 2; Drinkall and Foreman 1998). It is highly plausible that some of the later burials there were of Christians.

The Castledyke cemetery was associated with a community of moderate affluence, as the quality and diversity of the grave goods attest: weapons, jewellery, craft implements, vessels of bronze, glass, pottery and wood, and other personal possessions. A rare find was a bronze balance and accompanying weights; two bronze hanging-bowls are also noteworthy. From the nature of the cemetery and the origin of some of its grave goods, there can be little doubt that the people initially buried at Castledyke were not indigenous to Britain.

There seems to have been a second cemetery on the western boundary of Barton, at Poor Farm (Leahy 1993a, 39). While various other early Saxon finds have been made in the parish, the site of the principal settlement has yet to be pinpointed, but it is unlikely to have been at a great distance from the Castledyke cemetery. The balance of probability favours settlement in the area around Tyrwhitt Hall, which was later

to become the seat of the medieval manor. It lies immediately to the east of St Peter's church (Fig. 2).

Topographical evidence reveals that Tyrwhitt Hall lies within an earthwork enclosure of sub-circular plan, which can be shown to be broadly of middle Saxon date. Although not a massive fortification, it seems likely that the earthwork was constructed to enclose and give limited protection to a settlement nucleus which was itself successor to a Roman and early Saxon settlement. In the tenth century, a Christian cemetery was established immediately outside the enclosure to the west, and it was here also that St Peter's church was subsequently erected, by or in the early eleventh century. The extent to which the ninth-century Viking incursions into eastern England, via the Humber, left their mark in the archaeology of Barton remains debatable, but it is possible that the D-shaped earthwork within which the entire medieval town lay originated as a riverside camp during this period.

Late Saxon and medieval Barton grew up to the west of St Peter's church. Historians have been greatly exercised by several events that are recorded in the middle and later Saxon period. One of those concerns the gift to Chad, the Mercian bishop and saint, by King Wulfhere, of fifty hides of land to build a monastery, *æt Bearuwe* ('at the wood'), from which Barton's eastern neighbour, Barrow-upon-Humber, derives its name. The bounds of the fifty-hide estate have been traced and shown to embrace both the present-day parishes of Barton and Barrow (Everson 1984; Everson and Knowles 1992–93). Barton may have been one of several foci within the estate of *æt Bearuwe*, perhaps serving an administrative and mercantile centre; it was most likely also a minor port.

An outline picture of Barton in the third quarter of the eleventh century can be reconstructed from the Domesday Survey of 1086. There can be no doubting from the two relevant entries that Barton was already a small town by 1066, and one of the most important settlements in north Lincolnshire (Bryant 1994, 138–51). The population in 1086 can be calculated at around one thousand persons, which was double or treble that of even the largest of the surrounding villages. The composition of the population suggests that the majority of the inhabitants were engaged in farming, but local trades and occupations related to the sea must have accounted for a significant proportion of the total. Domesday records that Barton had a church and a priest, a ferry, a market and two mills. It has been presumed that the church in question was St Peter's, and the fact that it appears under the survey entry for Gilbert de Ghent's (Gant's) demesne, indicates its status as a proprietary foundation (*i.e.* it was his personal property and was consequently listed along with Gilbert's other taxable assets). By extension, this confirms that St Peter's was not a monastic establishment, and thus it may reasonably be assumed that those buried in its graveyard represented a cross-section of the local lay community.

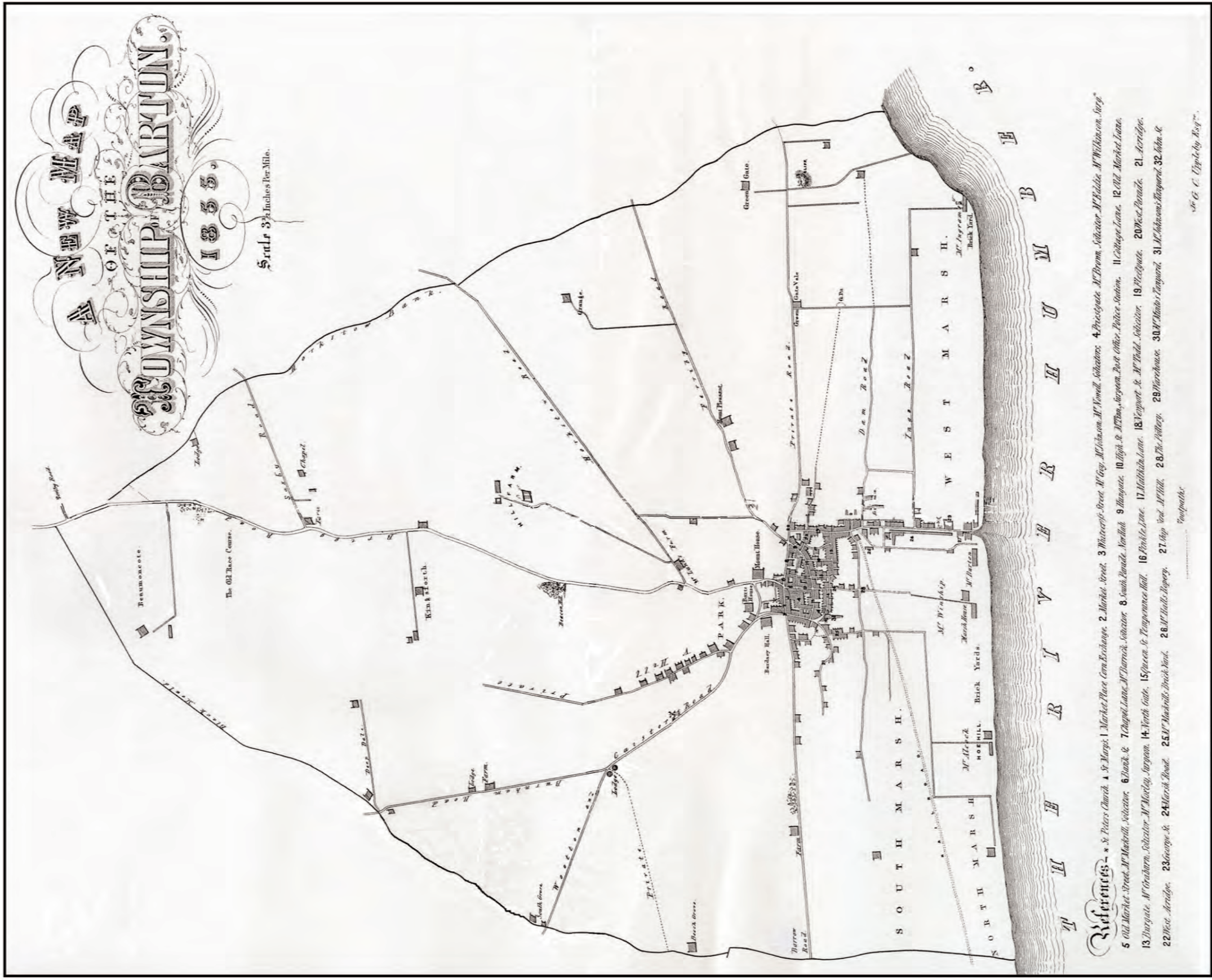


Fig. 3: Map of the township of Barton, 1855. Note that north is at the bottom and reproduction is at less than the stated scale. Courtesy of North Lincolnshire Museum Service (Ball, scrapbook 2)



Fig. 5: Aerial view of Barton from the north-east, c. 1960, before large-scale expansion of the town and infilling of gardens took place. The Lincolnshire Wolds are seen in the distance and the medieval churches in the foreground: St Peter's is on the left, with Tyrwhitt Hall adjacent; St Mary's is on the right. Beck Hill runs between the churches. The black tower in the middle distance, directly above St Peter's is a former windmill which stands on the site of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Castledyke South. Photo: Grimsby Evening Telegraph

Barton's market was one of only six in the whole of Lincolnshire in 1086 and was almost certainly located close to St Peter's church, immediately south of the Beck. The site, although subsequently built upon, is readily detectable in the street plan (Fig. 2, between St Mary's Lane and Whitecross Street). At an unknown date in the Middle Ages, the market was moved to a new site on the western side of the historic core (George Street), from which it subsequently migrated southwards, to its present location (Market Place).

The ferry was one of only seven mentioned in the Lincolnshire Domesday Survey, and was apparently the most profitable. Of the other four Humber ferries, that at South Ferriby yielded the next highest return.⁷

Medieval

A comprehensive history of medieval and early post-medieval Barton has yet to be written.⁸ The town evidently expanded piecemeal during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and some street-blocks show clear signs of formal planning: *e.g.* Fleetgate and Newport (Fig. 4). The latter was in existence by the 1180s, and on morphological grounds the former was undoubtedly

an earlier creation, potentially late Saxon. The prosperity of the market led to the erection of a convenient chapel for the use of the traders, although still dependant upon St Peter's.⁹ The chapel, which is recorded as having originated around the beginning of the twelfth century, was at first dedicated to All Saints, but this was later changed to St Mary the Virgin. However, underlying the church are the foundations of a yet earlier building, plausibly late Saxon.

A small harbour (now called the Haven) was developed at the northern end of Fleetgate, by cutting a channel southward from the river bank, across the marsh (Fig. 6). This is undated but was presumably either a late Saxon or early Norman enterprise. A second channel, based on a natural creek, crossed the marshes at the east end of the town, bringing tidal water almost up to the Beck. Clearly, there was substantial investment in urban development at Barton in the Norman period. Moreover, there was a short-lived earthwork castle dating from the period of the Anarchy during King Stephen's reign. The castle's location has not been firmly established, but the principal contender is on the south side of the town, on the slight knoll at Castledyke South, where a windmill was later



Fig. 6: View of the Haven, looking south from the Humber bank, in 1834. The two churches are glimpsed in the middle distance, on the left. Drawn by G.B. Topham. Allen 1834

erected (Figs. 2 and 4). The situation was, however, unexpectedly complicated when the excavations at St Peter's revealed a massive Norman ditch under the present boundary between the churchyard and Tyrwhitt Hall. This established the existence of a short-lived eastern defence to the town, which physically incorporated the chancel of the church.

The one-time opulence of the town is now reflected principally in its church architecture, and it was almost certainly the profits from sheep farming and the wool trade that paid for the late medieval aggrandizement of both buildings (Fig. 5). The only other structure to have survived from the Middle Ages is Tyrwhitt Hall, the manor house of Barton; this was a very fine courtyard mansion built in the early fifteenth century, and parts of that structure survive in the present house (Fig. 32).

Unfortunately, little can be said of the town's other medieval structures since they were mainly timber framed with thatched roofs, and have almost entirely vanished. Among them was a hospital of St Leonard, founded in 1259, but its history, location and date of dissolution are all unrecorded (Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 313).

Post-medieval

Towards the close of the Middle Ages, Barton entered a period of economic stagnation, partly consequent upon the rapid rise during the fourteenth century of Kingston-upon-Hull as Humberside's principal town

and port. The population of Barton undoubtedly declined (probably to well below the Domesday figure), trade slumped and the urban fabric fell into disrepair. In effect, Barton became a large, amorphous village and the inhabitants derived their livelihood principally from agriculture. Street frontages were no longer crowded with commercial and residential properties, and derelict plots must have been commonplace. Possibly, Barton's sole remaining *raison d'être* was the Humber ferry, and that fell into profound disrepute, especially after 1640, when the boat sank in a storm and several lives were lost. The fatalities included the Rev'd Andrew Marvell, Master of Hull Grammar School and father of the Member of Parliament for Hull.¹⁰

For a century-and-a-half, one traveller after another inveighed against the ferry. Neither was the journey to Barton by land highly commended. One of the earliest descriptions of the area is provided by William Stukeley, who visited the south bank of the Humber in 1724 (Stukeley 1776, 1, 99–100). He approached from the west, stopping to make sketches of the site of the Roman town at Old Winteringham and the supposed *castrum* at Alkborough (Fig. 1c). At South Ferriby he found 'a stately bridge of three arches ... but now broken down and lying in dismal ruins', and was thus compelled to cross the Ancholme by boat. South Ferriby he described as 'a sorry ragged place', and complained that 'it was a long while before we could find the way to Barton; and scarce could the people direct us to it, though but two miles off'. Eventually, 'after wandering

some time backward and forward, we hit upon the road' and, with relief at 'escaping the Stygian pool', Stukeley and his companions came in sight of Barton, which 'makes a pretty prospect, having two churches, several mills and the houses pleasantly intermixed with trees'. Only mentioning the Humber ferry, *en passant*, Stukeley went on to Barrow, where he was intrigued by the castle earthworks, lying low in the marshes. He concluded that the site was a 'British temple'.

Another flavour of what life was like in the early eighteenth century is given by Daniel Defoe in his *Tour*:

'There are an abundance of very good towns too in this part [of Lincolnshire], especially on the sea coast, as Grimsby, in the utmost point of the county north east, facing the Humber and the ocean, and almost opposite to Hull: a little farther within Humber is Barton, a town noted for nothing that I know of, but an ill-favoured dangerous passage, or ferry, over the Humber to Hull; where in an open boat, in which we had about fifteen horses, and ten or twelve cows, mingled with about seventeen or eighteen passengers, call'd Christians; we were about four hours toss'd about on the Humber, before we could get into the harbour at Hull; whether I was sea-sick or not is not worth notice, but that we were all sick of the passage any one may suppose.' (Defoe 1725/1983, 231–2).

Richard Gough described Barton ferry as 'the most famous passage into Yorkshire', but was not impressed with the town, proclaiming 'Barton is a mean dirty town with one tolerable inn' (Gough 1789, 2, 230, 278). The Hon. John Byng, another traveller, gave a similar verdict in 1791: 'we expected to find a goodish inn, but the best dismal and casemented! Walked thro' the town which is mean and dirty ... Most glad to part from Barton, which is a nasty gloomy place.'¹¹ However, he mentioned the two churches as being 'both of great antiquity'. In his travels too, Charles Dibdin commented adversely on the town's hospitality: after leaving Grimsby and passing through 'a small town or two more, you at length get to Barton. ... It is a small uncomfortable place, and calculated for little more than to afford accommodation, though heaven knows sorry accommodation it is, to those passengers who cross that ferry from Hull, in which Anson, after he had sailed around the world, had very nearly been drowned.' (Dibdin 1801).

However, around the turn of the nineteenth century, things began to look up and a strenuous effort was made to improve the ferry service and the boats, with a view to bolstering travel and commerce between Barton and Hull. A painting was commissioned of the new ferry boat in Barton Haven, from which a large-size engraving was made and published in 1801, together with a text extolling the virtues of the new

service.¹² This promotion was patronized by the Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriff of Hull.

Barton's economy had already begun to enter a slow renaissance in the middle of the eighteenth century: the derelict buildings and abandoned plots which prompted Defoe to describe it as 'a mean stragglng town'¹³ were being acquired by a new entrepreneurial class. They were able to buy and amalgamate blocks of properties and build substantial houses with extensive walled gardens. Importing and exporting, boat-building, fishing and the manufacture of bricks and tiles brought new prosperity. The riverine deposits of brick-earth were ideal for making ceramic products: consequently, brickyards and tileries thrived on the reclaimed marshes until soon after the middle of the twentieth century (Holm 1976; Neave 1991; Bryant and Land 2007). In the main streets of the town, timber-framed and thatched buildings disappeared, and the frontages sported little else but brick and tile.

Consequently, John Britton described Barton as 'A market town, pleasantly situated ... an improving place ... carries on a considerable trade ... the great improvement which has been made in the ferry, and the additional accommodations made for travellers, within these few years, have rendered it a great thoroughfare. The town has a well supplied weekly market ...' (Britton 1807, 682–3). Guides to Lincolnshire continued to describe Barton in mixed but increasingly favourable terms: 'From the ferry we walk by the side of the drain towards the town: it mainly consists of narrow, short, irregular streets, in which there has been little alteration made for a long period. Green shrubs and trees mix pleasantly with the houses, some of which are modern and very pretty, whilst others are very old. The Market-Place contains some good shops and a handsome inn, "The George". The theatre is only a barn, but neatly fitted up ...' (Saunders 1836, 41–2).¹⁴

In 1835, the entry in Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary* was positively eulogistic: 'The town is pleasantly situated on the south bank of the river Humber, at the foot of ... chalk hills called the Lincolnshire Wolds, and is of considerable extent, consisting of several streets, in which are numerous good dwelling-houses with gardens and orchards attached, and combining with the advantages of a market-town the pleasing appearance of a rural village. The market ... is on Monday, and is well supplied with corn and with provisions of every kind; a market is also held every alternate Monday for fat cattle, A fair, chiefly for toys, is held annually on Trinity Thursday and the following day.' (Lewis 1835).

Topographical artists began to record the town, haven and ferry, promoting Barton as a convenient and desirable place to live and conduct business. Panoramic views were sold of the town and Humber, seen from the Wolds to the south,¹⁵ and also views of Barton taken from the Waterside (Fig. 6).¹⁶ By the 1830s the architectural interest of the town's churches was considered to be an attraction, and vignettes were published in guidebooks.¹⁷

The major topographical development, accompanied by social change, came at the end of the eighteenth century. Between 1793 and 1796 enclosure of the medieval common fields completely transformed the face of the parish: new roads, fields and hedges were established, and agricultural practice changed out of all recognition (Russell 1968; 2002). Over the next half-century the livelihood of the inhabitants of Barton was transmuted from being almost wholly dependent on farming, to largely non-farming related trades and professions. The evolving fabric of Barton and the diverse nature of its inhabitants' occupations are revealed in the decennial census returns, *Pigot's Directory* of 1841¹⁸ and *White's Directory* of 1856.¹⁹ They reveal that the population was engaged in a wide range of manufacturing and service occupations, which includes some surprises, such as four hairdressers in 1841 (Table 1).

White's Directory also records: 'Barton has now a Railway Station ... many neat modern houses ... A great trade in corn, malt, and flour is carried on here. There are ... several corn mills; malt and lime kilns; brick and tile, and tan and fellmongers' yards; a ship yard; a coarse pottery; and manufactories of whiting, rope, sail-cloth, &c. Gas works were constructed here in 1845.' Brief descriptions of the town appeared in many nineteenth-century county histories and travel guides (e.g. Allen 1834, 2, 232–3; Saunders 1836, 40), and 'A New Map of the Township of Barton' was published in 1855: this was the first bespoke plan of the town and parish (Fig. 3), pinpointing many local place-names.²⁰

Although Barton is an ancient market town, it has never developed into a thriving regional centre owing to its relative isolation. Its significance has remained strictly local, and it was, moreover, eclipsed economically by Hull, a medieval 'new town' founded by King Edward I in 1293. Nor did Barton have the potential to emerge as a significant east-coast port, a function that was better suited to Grimsby, which lies at the mouth of the Humber. Poor communications, and the paucity of commercial and industrial potential,

ensured that Barton did not experience rapid growth or an influx of population until the early nineteenth century: the industrial revolution did not have a major impact on the town. That is not to say that Barton was devoid of commercial enterprise. Brick and tile making has already been mentioned, and in the later nineteenth century some light industry arrived in the town, including a cycle works, but this has all now disappeared. Small-scale commerce has long been, and still is, a sustaining factor, although since the Second World War Barton has increasingly become a dormitory town. Still functioning is the terminus of a single-track railway line, linking Barton to Barnetby-le-Wold and thence to main-line services.

The very essence of Barton is its typicalness as a small English market town serving local needs, and inhabited by a stable and predominantly indigenous population. There is no evidence to suggest that this situation changed to any appreciable degree over the course of a millennium: significant change began only in the nineteenth century, and even then it was very low-key. It is this long-term stability that makes the pre-Victorian population of Barton particularly attractive for demographic study.

The Medieval Churches

'Barton is dignified, but at the same time rather overburdened, by the possession of two large churches ... within a stone's throw of one another'.²¹ Both Barton's churches are, in their present form, moderately large, aisled buildings which reached their zenith in the late Middle Ages (Figs. 11 and 12). They are situated only 100 m apart, and both have complex architectural histories: they display structural elements spanning many centuries, and some phases are no longer represented by visible structure. In terms of maximum length and width, respectively, the churches are almost identical, but in floor area St Mary's is fractionally larger than St Peter's (Fig. 7).

Excavation has demonstrated the developmental stages through which St Peter's church went, to arrive

Table 1: Occupations and businesses in Barton, as represented in 1841 (not comprehensive)

Attorney (3)	Ferry operator	Rope manufacturer (2)
Baker	Grocer & draper (5)	Saddler
Banks (2)	Hairdresser (4)	Schoolmaster
Blacksmith (2)	Hatter (2)	Shopkeepers (various)
Bookseller & printer	Ironmonger (2)	Stone mason (2)
Boot & shoe maker (7)	Joiner & cabinet maker (5)	Surgeon (2)
Brewer	Lime burner	Tailor & draper (4)
Brick & tile maker (4)	Maltster (3)	Tallow chandler
Bricklayer	Miller & flour dealer (3)	Tanner & fellmonger (2)
Butcher (6)	Milliner (2)	Tea dealer
Carrier (sev.)	Nursery & seedsman (3)	Tin-plate worker
Chemist & druggist (4)	Plumber & glazier (2)	Vicar; and curate
Clog & patten maker	Postmaster	Watch & clock maker
Coal merchant (2)	Public houses (12)	Wheelwright
Earthenware manufacturer (2)	Quarry operator	Whiting manufacturer

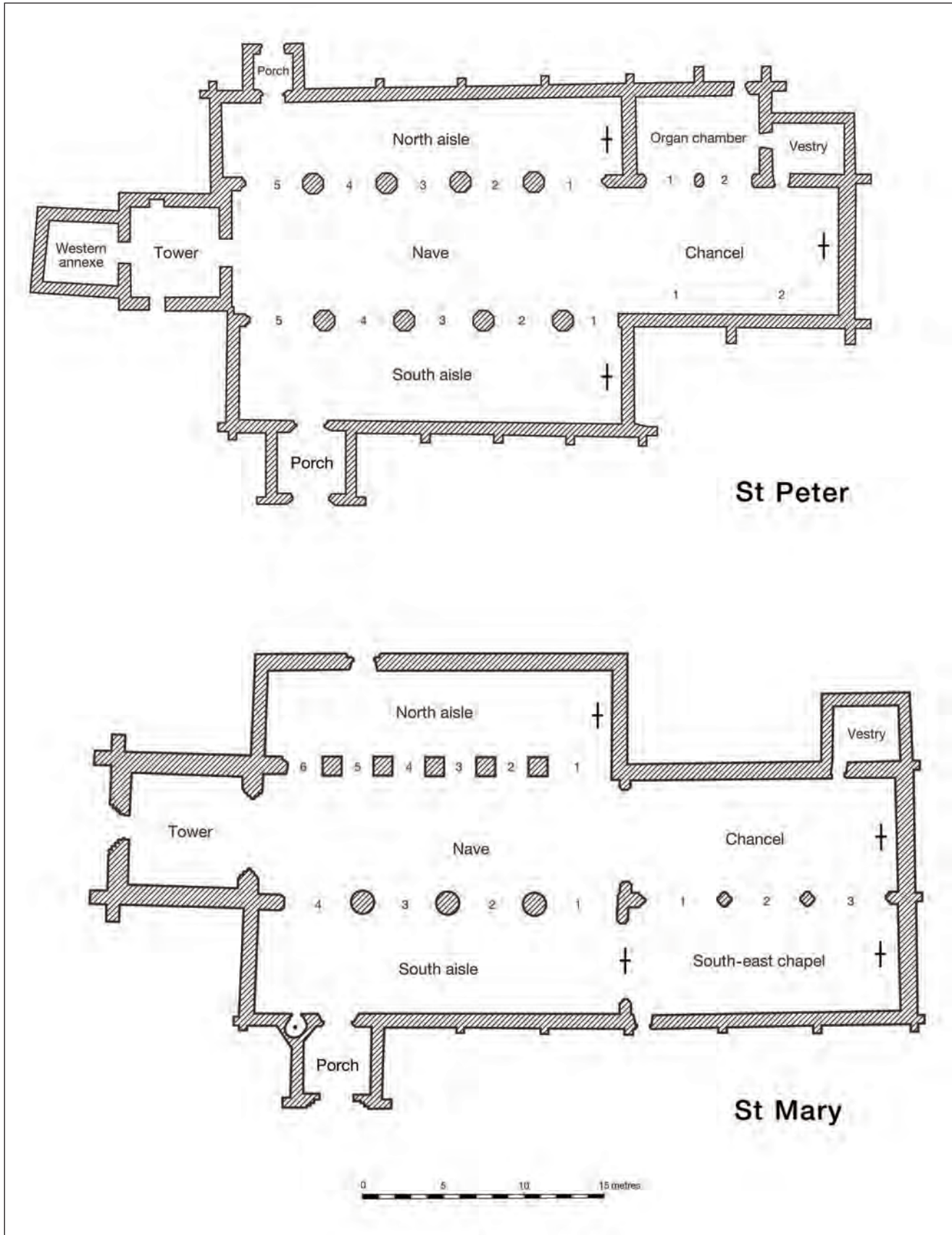


Fig. 7: Comparative floor plans of St Peter's and St Mary's churches in their fully developed form. The nomenclature and bay-numbering system adopted in this report is indicated. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

at the large, aisled building which has existed here, virtually unchanged, since the fifteenth century. Similarly, St Mary's church, although technically only a dependant chapel, attracted a medieval gild and several chantry foundations, and its fabric exhibits a complex development (chapter 3). Brief descriptions of one or both churches have appeared in innumerable publications.²²

It may be noted *en passant* that a third Anglican church, dedicated to St Chad, was built in 1902–03 at Waterside, to cater for the needs of those who lived at a considerable distance from St Peter's and St Mary's. It was never more than a modest chapel-of-ease, and was demolished in the 1970s.²³

St Peter's church (Pls. 2–4; Figs. 8–9)

The more easterly of the churches, dedicated to St Peter, served as the sole parish church of Barton from the early medieval period, until 1972. For more than two centuries it has attracted antiquarian attention, and has acquired a distinguished rôle in the study of architectural history, largely on account of the survival of its remarkable western tower. At first, antiquaries paid little attention to the remainder of the church with which the pre-Conquest tower was associated. In particular, the antiquity of the small, plain, gabled structure adjoining the tower on the west was unappreciated until the middle of the nineteenth century, and even then its true significance engendered fierce debate.

Generally referred to as the 'western annexe', this feature is now known to be the only extant Anglo-Saxon baptistery. In the later eleventh and twelfth centuries the church was progressively enlarged in an eastwards direction, as well as laterally, and by the early thirteenth century the nave was fully aisled, but nothing from these phases remains standing. The south aisle and porch were rebuilt in the late thirteenth century, and the nave, north aisle and chancel were entirely reconstructed in the early fourteenth, when a vestry was added too.

The fifteenth century saw a remodelling and general aggrandizement of the church without increasing its footprint (apart from the addition of a tiny north porch). The chancel was heightened and a magnificent clerestory was erected over the nave. Brick, a popular new building material, was extensively employed; roof pitches were lowered and lead became the ubiquitous covering. While changes in belief and liturgy brought about several internal reorderings after the mid-sixteenth century, the architectural frame remained essentially unaltered until 1897, when an organ chamber was added alongside the chancel.

St Mary's church (Pls. 2 and 5; Fig. 10)

St Mary's church has been the subject of a limited amount of architectural study, but no intrusive archaeological investigation. Consequently, its evolution is not understood in anything like the detail that obtains



Fig. 8: St Peter's church from the south, 1999. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 9: St Peter's church. Tower and western annexe from the west, 1965. View from St Mary's churchyard, with the Beck in the foreground and the vicarage to the right. For the same view in 1823, see Pl. 9, and in 2006, see Pl. 4. Photo: David Lee Photography



Fig. 10: St Mary's church from the east, 1965. Taken from scaffolding on the tower of St Peter's (cf. Pl. 5). Photo: David Lee Photography

for St Peter's. The origins of the present building lay in a Norman market place chapel dedicated to All Saints, and when first mentioned in 1115 the chapel was evidently of recent foundation. The change of dedication seems to have occurred shortly before 1250. However, All Saints' chapel was preceded by a simple rectangular building, potentially late Saxon, of which nothing is now visible: it is known only from foundations discovered under the floors in 1891.

The chapel, as rebuilt in the twelfth century, was enlarged several times, first with a north aisle and then with one on the south. The aisles were narrow but, during the course of the thirteenth century they were doubled in width, and a substantial chancel was erected. Most surprising, however, was the addition of a monumental west tower crowned by a timber spire. It has a ceremonial west doorway, indicating that civic functions took place here and not in St Peter's.

Like St Peter's, a two-storied south porch was built in the thirteenth century and there is a slightly later vestry. The fourteenth century saw the addition of an aisle alongside the chancel, bringing the ground plan of St Mary's to its maximum extent. In the fifteenth century the impressive clerestory – not dissimilar to St Peter's – was raised above the nave. Again, brick was extensively used and low-pitched, lead-covered roofs were substituted for earlier arrangements with steep pitches. Post-medieval reordering of the interior and a succession of restorations followed. Finally, in 1980, a church hall was constructed on the north side of the church.

As a dependant chapel, All Saints would not initially have had burial rights, and it is therefore curious that the building stands in such a sizeable churchyard; this is another factor to consider in its enigmatic history. Interments were certainly being made within the chapel in the thirteenth century.

Although never strictly parochial, St Mary's developed its own identity and attracted a discrete group of parishioners, tradition asserting that the chapel was built by the merchants of Barton. By degrees, the two churches came to serve the spiritual needs of geographically different sectors of the community, and they began to develop their own administrations, but still with only one vicar; curates were, however, recorded in the parish from time to time.²⁴ So far as can be ascertained, St Mary's church alone attracted medieval chantry foundations, and a structure commonly referred to as a chantry priest's house was erected at the north-west corner of the churchyard. It may have been a chapel. After the Reformation, it passed into private ownership and later became the parish workhouse, before being demolished in 1938. Two of the chantries are recorded as having been founded by Richard Dinot in 1268, and John de Ouresby in 1397, respectively. The apparent absence of chantries in St Peter's might be taken to imply that by the thirteenth century St Mary's had become the more prestigious of the two churches.

The date at which St Mary's gained this semi-independence cannot be established, but the two churches were maintaining separate registers by the mid-sixteenth century. Complete sets of registers recording baptisms, marriages and burials survive for St Peter's from 1566, and for St Mary's from 1570 (Appendix 2).

Historiography of Barton and its Churches

Antiquarian descriptions

The earliest antiquarian references to the churches of Barton are contained in the notes made by Richard Lee, Richmond Herald, during his visitation of Lincolnshire in 1592.²⁵ Lee's interest was confined to heraldry. Next came Gervase Holles, who compiled notes on Lincolnshire churches in 1634–42²⁶ (Cole 1911), and Abraham de la Pryme, the Yorkshire antiquary who visited Barton in 1695 and 1697²⁷ and mentioned the glazing in St Peter's in 1703 (Peacock 1866a, 236).

Antiquarian interest in Barton, at a national level, emerged in the late eighteenth century, but was only developed in the early nineteenth: it was largely generated by the tower of St Peter's church. The earliest known description is by Richard Gough, who observed, 'The church of St Peter, which is handsome and in good order, has a very singular tower with round and pointed arches alternately of old construction. The arch of the south door is Saxon.' (Gough 1789, 2, 278). The archaeological importance of this structure was, however, first appreciated in the early years of the nineteenth century by the architect Thomas Rickman during his quest for authentic examples of Anglo-Saxon architecture, at a time when scholars were divided between those who claimed a pre-Conquest date for almost every building with basic Romanesque features, and those who maintained that little or no pre-Conquest architecture survived at all. Using the principles of archaeological stratification, Rickman deduced that the lower stages of the tower at Barton must be Anglo-Saxon because they are surmounted by a belfry of clearly different style and workmanship, which by analogy with better datable structures elsewhere can be assigned with confidence to the Saxo-Norman 'overlap' period. Rickman carefully pointed out the structural differences characterizing the two stages, concluding of the lower 'all this arrangement is so different from the Norman work, that there seems a probability it may be real Saxon' (Rickman 1819, 45). This logical argument represented a milestone in the emergence of architectural history as an academic discipline.

St Peter's church continued to attract scholarly interest throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, being illustrated or discussed by a succession of leading scholars including, *inter alia*, Sir George Gilbert Scott (1879), James Thomas Micklethwaite (1896), Professor Gerard Baldwin Brown (1903; 1925), Sir Alfred Clapham (1930; 1946), and Dr Harold

Taylor (Taylor and Taylor 1965; Taylor 1974b; 1978). Some of these papers were occasioned by visits of learned societies to Barton, which included the Royal Archaeological Institute in 1867, 1909, 1946 and 1974, the British Archaeological Association in 1889 and 1921,²⁸ and the Lincoln Architectural and Archaeological Society in 1849, 1859 and 1888.²⁹

The churches of Barton featured in several nineteenth-century county-based studies, including those by Sir Stephen Glynne in 1825/1867 (Glynne 1898),³⁰ Lord Monson in 1835 (Monson 1936) and Archdeacon Bonney in 1846 (Harding 1937).³¹ Glynne described St Peter's as 'a pattern of neatness and cleanliness'. The unpublished manuscripts of the indefatigable collector of architectural and funerary information, John Henry Loft, are of exceptional value for the study of both Barton's churches. He recorded them and their churchyards during multiple visits between 1827 and 1832 (Appendix 3). During the second half of the nineteenth century, and into the twentieth, the scene was dominated by a handful of local historians, whose achievements are listed below. The first modern guide to St Peter's was published by the Department of the Environment (Rodwell 1983), and others by English Heritage (Miller 2000; Rodwell 2007).³²

Barton's historians and their publications

Barton has been exceptionally well served by its own local historians and antiquaries, since the middle of the nineteenth century. Their collected materials are, however, dispersed and most of their published works are now extremely scarce.

William Smith Hesleden (1774–1854)

The first antiquary of note was Hesleden, a local solicitor, who recalled the town before Enclosure in 1793–96 and who amassed historical notes during the first half of the nineteenth century. He also read the first paper on the archaeology of Barton and Barrow at the British Archaeological Association's Congress at Winchester in 1845 (Hesleden 1846), and gave public lectures in Barton.³³

Hesleden intended to publish a volume entitled *The History and Antiquities of Barton upon Humber*, but died before this went to press.³⁴ The manuscript, completed c. 1850, passed to H.W. Ball (see below). Hesleden prepared a map of Barton in 1834–35, along with several illustrations of the churches which were intended to accompany his publication. Engravings were made and proof copies of these have survived (Figs. 19, 44, 45, 62, 67, 127, 247 and 248).

Henry William Ball (1833–1914)

Ball, whose family were Barton's stationers and printers, was an indefatigable collector of historical miscellanea, and much of his material has survived, although

again dispersed. Of particular importance are two scrapbooks containing a wide variety of material ranging in date from the seventeenth century to the early twentieth.³⁵ Both volumes contain notes, letters, some other original documents, transcripts of entries in the Lincoln Registry, posters, handbills, sketches and watercolours. The first volume includes the original manuscript for Ball 1856,³⁶ a good deal of material on Thornton Abbey, and some relating to Barrow-upon-Humber.³⁷

Ball published his *Social History and Antiquities of Barton-upon-Humber* in 1856: it embodied the earlier researches of Hesleden, who had recently died.³⁸ Most of Hesleden's illustrations were not, however, included. A reprint of Ball's description of St Peter's appeared as the first guide-book to the church: *Some Account of St Peter's Church* (1909).

Thomas Tombleson (1834–1918)³⁹

Tombleson was a local Alderman and landowner, who compiled extensive notes on Barton,⁴⁰ and read a series of papers before the Barton Literary Institute in the early twentieth century. He subsequently published them as *Fragments Relating to Barton-on-Humber* (Tombleson 1905).⁴¹ His researches were described at the time as 'singularly minute and exhaustive' (Brown 1906, 75).⁴²

Robert Brown, Jun., F.S.A. (1844–1912)

The most thorough exploration of the history and topography of the town was prepared by Robert Brown, another local solicitor, whose *Notes on the Earlier History of Barton-on-Humber* were published in two substantial volumes (Brown 1906; 1908).⁴³ His work, which for the most part is reliable, made a major contribution to understanding the history of medieval Barton.⁴⁴

Charles Moor (1857–1944)

During the short period that he was vicar of Barton (1889–94), the Rev'd (Canon Dr) Charles Moor carried out valuable historical research, a pursuit which he continued after his departure to Gainsborough. Moor was responsible for initiating the *Barton Parish Magazine* in 1890 (Appendix 4), for assisting Brown with his publications, and for the first guidebook to St Mary's: *Some Account of St Mary's Church* (1892).⁴⁵

William Edward Varah (1863–1945)

The Rev'd (Canon) W.E. Varah was vicar of Barton from 1911 to 1944. He wrote prolifically on historical matters in *Barton Parish Magazine*, and published a booklet devoted to both churches: *The Notable Churches of Barton on Humber* (1928).⁴⁶ He also wrote the *Barton-upon-Humber Pageant* (1920). Varah, whose historical writing was heavily derivative, was more of a romancer than a scholar.

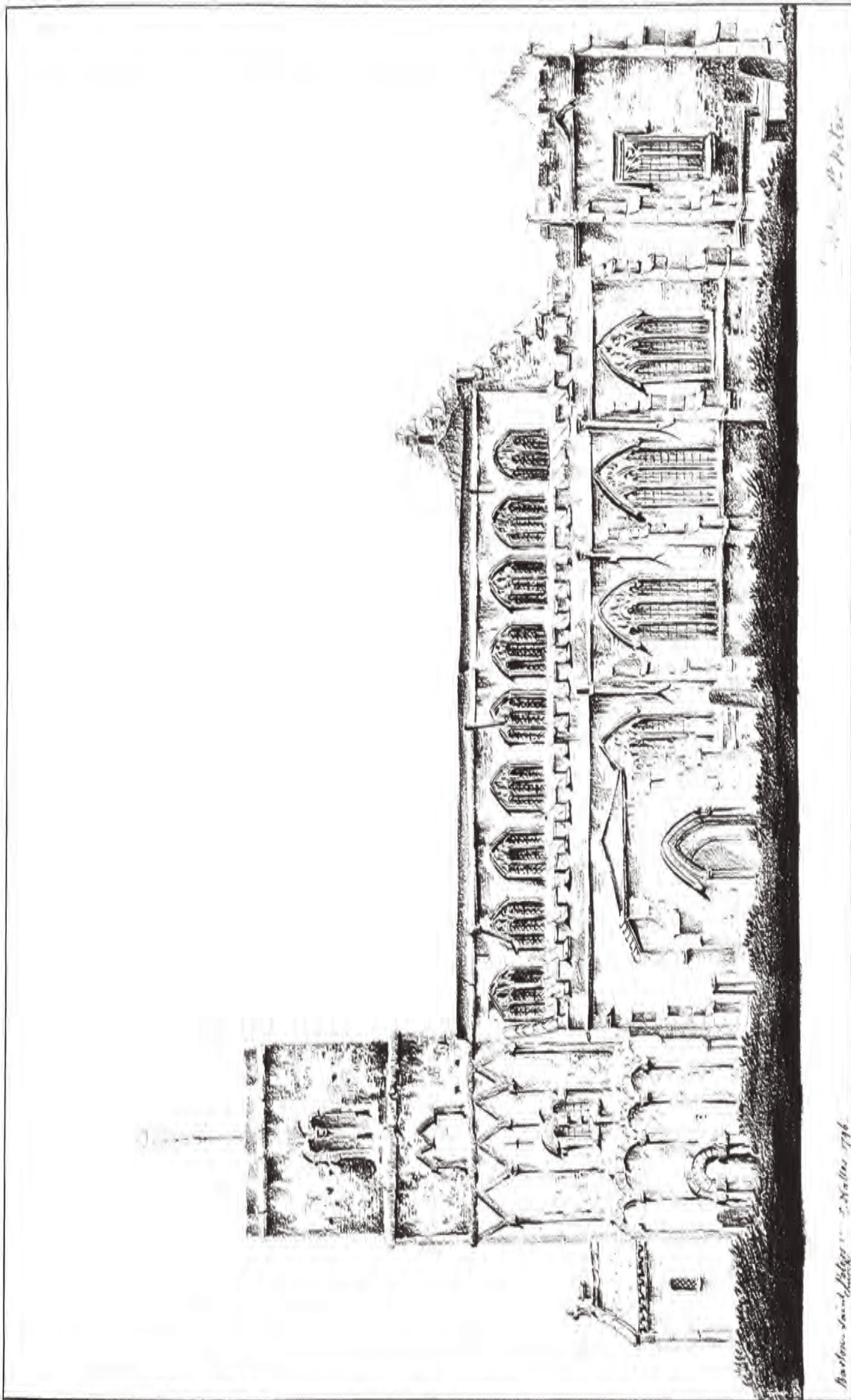


Fig. 11: St Peter's church from the south, 1796. Drawn by Claude Nattes. Photo: Lincoln Library Services. Reproduced from the Local Studies Collection, Lincoln Central Library, by courtesy of Lincolnshire County Council



Fig. 12: St Mary's church from the south-west, 1796. Drawn by Claude Nattes. Photo: Lincoln Library Services. Reproduced from the Local Studies Collection, Lincoln Central Library, by courtesy of Lincolnshire County Council

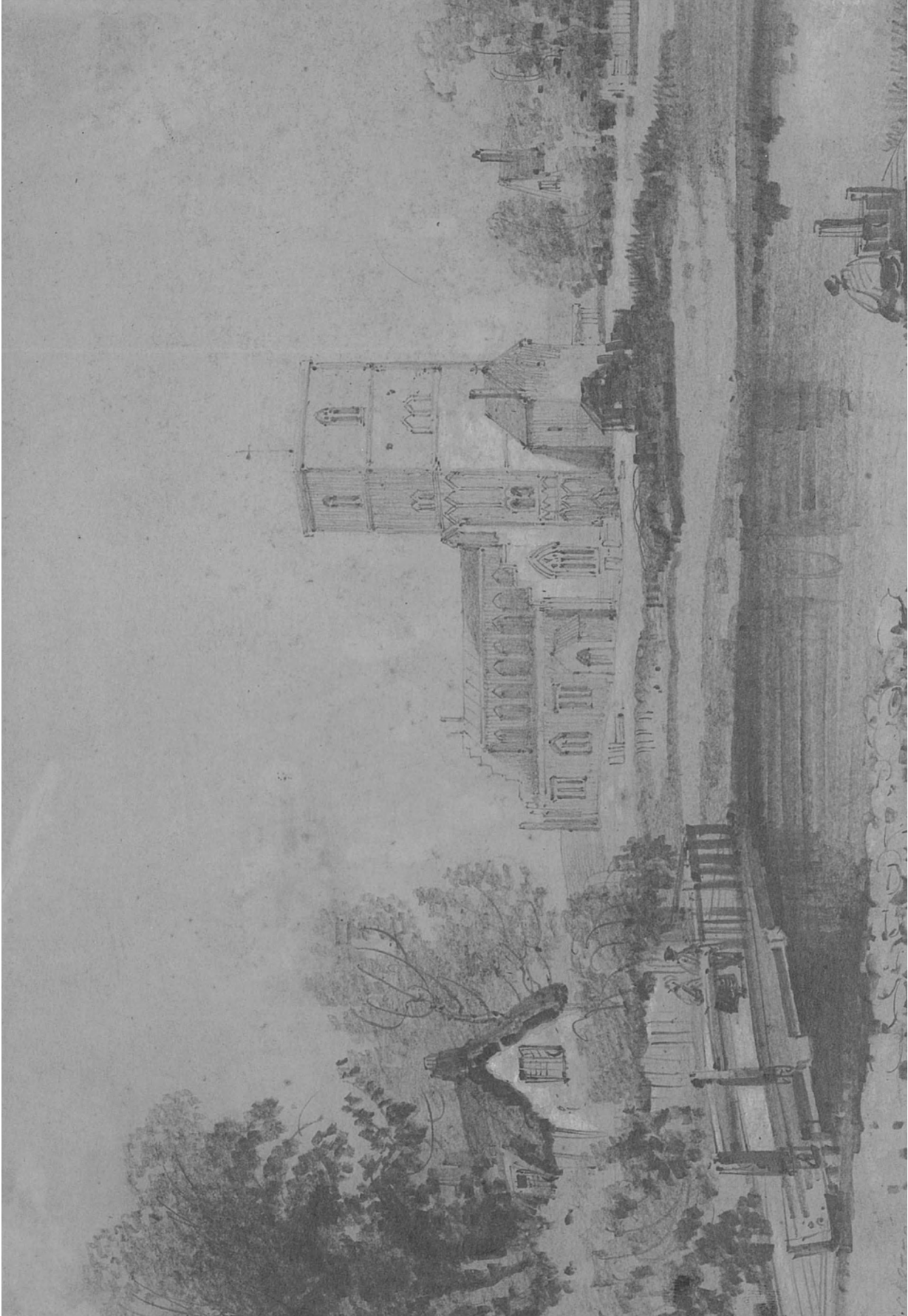


Fig. 13: St Peter's church and the Beck from the north-west, c. 1830. Pencil drawing by Henry Barlow Carter. Private collection



Fig. 14: *St Peter's church and vicarage from the west, in the 1820s. A lost painting with part of St Mary's churchyard in the foreground and the Beck beyond. To the left of the church is Tyrwhitt Hall, and to the right is the vicarage. Reproduced from a heavily damaged late nineteenth-century photograph. Photo: Warwick Rodwell, courtesy of North Lincolnshire Museum Service (Ball, scrapbook 2)*

Oswald Varah, one of the vicar's sons, produced a booklet on the church bells of Barton (Varah 1948). Another son, Hugh (1917–94), published a pictorial history of Barton's churches (Varah 1965), notes on the vicars of the parish (Varah 1982), and a guide to St Mary's church (Varah 1984). The Varah family amassed a considerable collection of materials relating to the churches of Barton, including correspondence with Bilson and Baldwin Brown, notebooks by Tomblason and Moor, and various early photographs and postcards. G.H. Varah deposited some material in Lincoln Archives in the 1980s, but gave all photographs and architectural notes relating to St Peter's to H.M. Taylor in 1977. He in turn passed those to the present writer.⁴⁷ Other material formerly held by Varah is now in private possession.

Finally, an impressive series of publications on numerous aspects of the history of Barton has been issued in recent decades under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association (Barton Branch). The principal authors are Rex Russell and Geoffrey Bryant. The former has concentrated on social and agrarian history, while the latter has contributed much

on archaeology, ecclesiology and architectural history. Of particular note in relation to the present work are Bryant's *Early History of Barton-upon-Humber* (1981/1994), a masterly summary of the archaeology and history (to 1086), based on recent research; *The Medieval Churches of Barton-on-Humber* (1984); and *The Church in Late Medieval Barton-on-Humber* (2003). Church life in the nineteenth century is discussed in the latest addition to the series, *Church and People in a Victorian Country Town* (Tyszka 2006).

Early illustrations

The churches of Barton were first illustrated by the notable topographical artist Claude Nattes in 1796, whose sketches of many Lincolnshire churches constitute an important architectural record.⁴⁸ Nattes paid great attention to detail, and his drawings of Barton are not widely known⁴⁹ (Figs. 11, 12 and 139). In 1810, an accomplished drawing was made of the tower and western annexe from the south-west, by an unidentified artist (frontispiece).⁵⁰ An elegant drawing of the tower was prepared by A.C. Pugin in 1819 (Fig. 242), and the

only known early view of St Peter's from the north-west – by the Yorkshire artist H.B. Carter – dates from c. 1830 (Fig. 13).⁵¹ Several artists depicted the town of Barton panoramically from Beacon Hill, to the south: one such view, dated 1823, reveals the straggling nature of the town, and how sparsely the main street was populated with buildings (Pls. 7 and 8).⁵²



Fig. 15: *St Peter's church from the south-west, c. 1830. Woodcut from a sketch by Greenwood. Saunders 1835*

Two general views of St Peter's church and vicarage, painted from St Mary's churchyard in the early nineteenth century, provide an important record of architecture and topography. One is dated 1823 (Pl. 9);⁵³ the other is unfortunately lost and known only from a poor photograph (Fig. 14).⁵⁴ A watercoloured sketch of similar date shows both churches from the south-east (Pl. 10).⁵⁵ Also in the 1820s, John and John Chessell Buckler produced various sketches and drawings, and they, like subsequent artists, concentrated their efforts on the western part of the church. From the 1840s onwards, Orlando Jewitt and others drew the tower and Anglo-Saxon details, to illustrate architectural text-books (Figs. 243, 248 and 249). Early views also occur in county guidebooks (Fig. 15).

Frustratingly, no view of the interior of St Peter's is known before the restoration of 1858–59, but there is a single watercolour of St Mary's, showing the box pews, of c. 1820 (Pl. 13). The earliest ecclesiastical details to be engraved (in 1803 and 1806: Figs. 660 and 661) were two panels of medieval stained glass in St Peter's,⁵⁶ and the Seman brass in St Mary's.⁵⁷

A diagram schematically illustrating the seating layout in St Mary's has survived from 1711, but the walls are not shown. The earliest known plan of St Peter's church, dated 1803, was made by the curate (M. Barnett), and that of St Mary's in 1834, by Hesleden.



Fig. 16: *Bird's-eye view of Barton, c. 1538–39, showing St Mary's church (left), St Peter's church and a Tudor riverside fortification, above which rises a possible signalling mast. Photo: British Library. Cotton Ms Aug. I.i, f. 83*

Sketch plans, carefully dimensioned, were prepared by Loft of St Peter's (complete) and St Mary's (exterior only) in 1831–32 (see Appendix 3). A plan of 1858 survives, showing the proposed restoration of St Peter's, and another, of 1897, covers only the chancel.

Barton has not been well served by cartographers. The earliest representations of the town appear incidentally on two Tudor military engineers' plans (plans) of Hull and its environs (de Boer 1973).⁵⁸ Both are largely schematic and one is in very poor condition. The earlier map, which probably dates from 1538–39, gives a bird's-eye view of the fortifications at Hull in considerable detail; it also includes the eastern part of Barton (Fig. 16).⁵⁹ A ship is shown approaching the town. Unfortunately, the edges of the map have been trimmed, with some loss of detail, and a small piece has been torn from the lower left-hand corner.⁶⁰ The mouth of Barton Haven is just glimpsed on the extreme edge.

Two churches are prominently depicted, both as rectangular buildings with leaded roofs and two-light Gothic windows. St Peter's is shown with a parapeted tower of three stages, without a spire; this stands in front of the body of the church, towards the east end.⁶¹ St Mary's is on the edge of the map, and its west end has been torn away: the tower, which stands behind the church and towards the east, is topped by a spire and a cross. Given that the church towers in Hull are depicted with obvious care, it seems clear that the cartographer was at pains to represent the general form of each structure correctly, if not the detail. Curving around the north side of the town is a defensive circuit, evidently a riverside battery, which is similar to the half-moon gun battery of timber and earth which is shown projecting into the Humber at Hull. A small spire-like feature is also shown on the northern edge of the town, most likely a signalling mast associated with the battery.

While there is no doubt that the map is Tudor in its present form, the possibility that it was based substantially on an earlier (fourteenth-century) plan has been repeatedly discussed.⁶² The view of Barton may therefore contain anachronistic detail, as is certainly the case with some of the churches in Hull; in particular, it is noticeable that neither St Peter's nor St Mary's church is shown with a clerestory. Also, one may question the date of what was shown at Beverley Minster, where the twin west towers both have spires. Were these on the present towers of *c.* 1400, or on a previous west front?⁶³ Either way, the spires had certainly gone before the first known illustration of the minster in 1656.

The second map, which dates from 1541–42, is much cruder and depicts the entire Humber mouth.⁶⁴ Consequently, the scale is much smaller, and little attention is paid to the detail of buildings. Again Barton is included and labelled. The view seems to include two churches with towers, and a series of gable-ends which could be interpreted as aisles and other parts of the churches, but are more likely to represent buildings on a street frontage (Fig. 17). A wood



Fig. 17: Plan of Barton, *c.* 1540–41, showing buildings in rudimentary form, including the two church towers. Photo: British Library. Cotton Ms Aug. I.i. f. 86

is shown immediately east of the town. The canopies of the trees are dappled with white paint, and a thick, crude line in the same paint separates the town from the wood.⁶⁵ This plan is very schematic and no conclusions can safely be drawn from what is depicted.⁶⁶

The earliest surviving map of Barton drawn to scale is associated with the Enclosure Act of 1793–96, and covers the entire parish; it also includes a usefully detailed plan of the town (Fig. 18). Another plan of the town, showing all major boundaries and buildings, was drawn by Hesleden in 1835, with publication intended (Fig. 19).⁶⁷ The first modern large-scale map – the Ordnance Survey 1:2,500 plan – was surveyed in 1886 (Fig. 20).⁶⁸

While St Peter's church has been extensively photographed since *c.* 1900 – the Anglo-Saxon components in particular – few views before this date are known. The earliest surviving shots of the exterior date

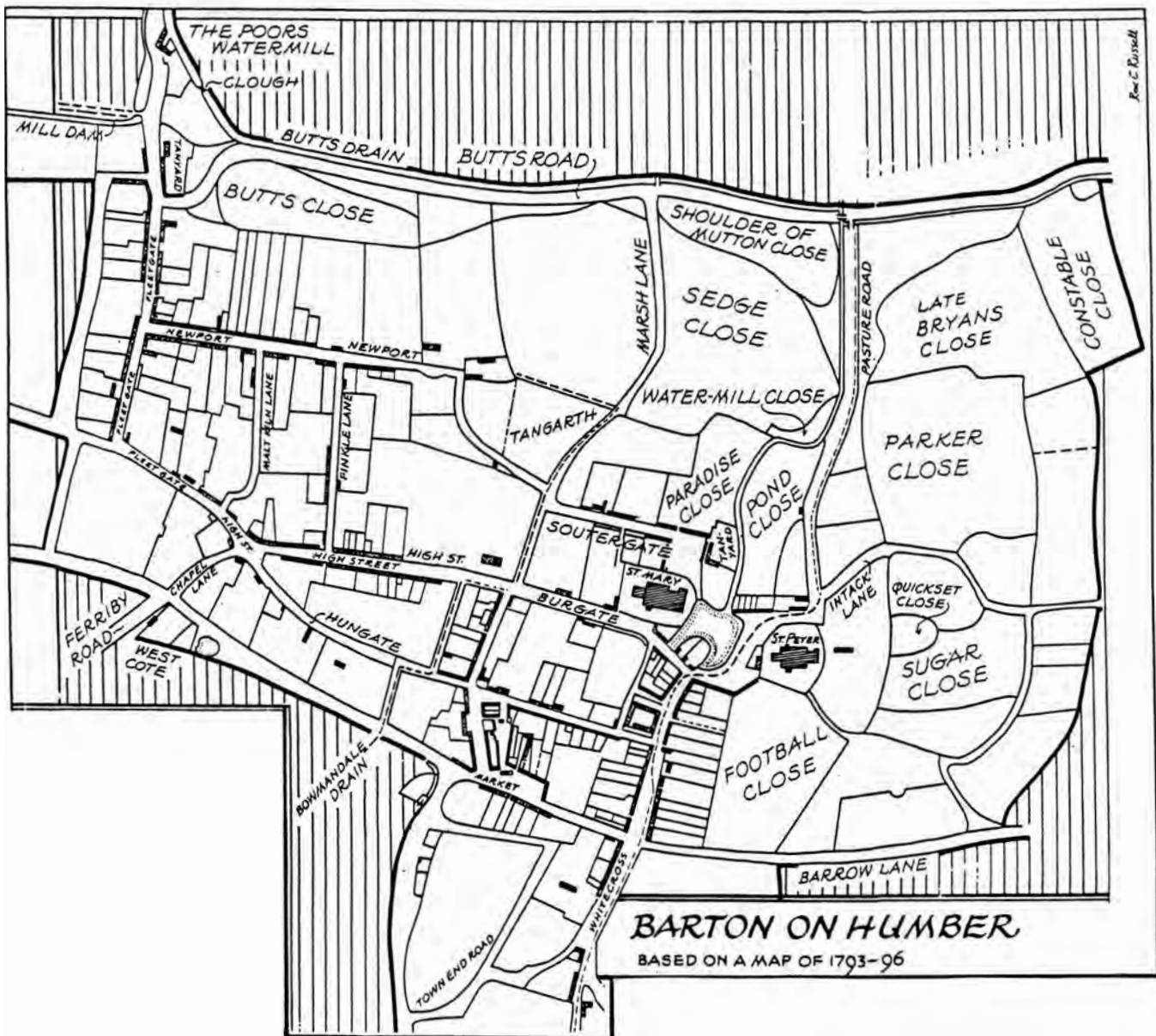


Fig. 18: Town plan with local names, redrawn from the Enclosure map of 1796. Broken lines indicate the courses of Bowmandale Drain and Waterslacks (Whitecross) Drain. Drawing: Rex Russell

from the early 1860s (Fig. 687) and *c.* 1875 (Fig. 672), and there is an internal view of the nave in the late 1880s (Fig. 601).⁶⁹ Arthur Brummitt, a local amateur photographer, took some good general shots of both churches around the 1890s.⁷⁰ In the 1930s Stanley Smith was the principal professional photographer in the town,⁷¹ and since the 1960s David Lee has filled that rôle.⁷² Many postcard views of the town, churches and other buildings were issued in the first half of the twentieth century, but few are closely datable (Holland and Holland 2006).

Archaeology in Barton: opportunities and responses

Despite its historical importance and considerable archaeological potential, neither Barton nor the surrounding area has been well served by archaeology.

A great deal of mainly small-scale development has taken place over the past half-century, both within the built-up areas and in the surrounding countryside but, almost without exception, the archaeological response has been inadequate or non-existent. A lengthy and distressing catalogue of missed opportunities could be compiled. Meanwhile, a trickle of finds comes to light through the activities of treasure hunters, although details of provenance are seldom reported.⁷³

The exceptional interest of the Anglo-Saxon archaeology of Barton was demonstrated in 1939 when several richly furnished burials were found at Castledyke South (Fig. 145). A piecemeal series of excavations in the 1970s and 1980s explored parts of what is undoubtedly a major middle Saxon cemetery (Drinkall and Foreman 1998). A sub-circular earthwork, Romano-British, Anglo-Saxon and medieval settlement centred on Tyrwhitt Hall have been progressively

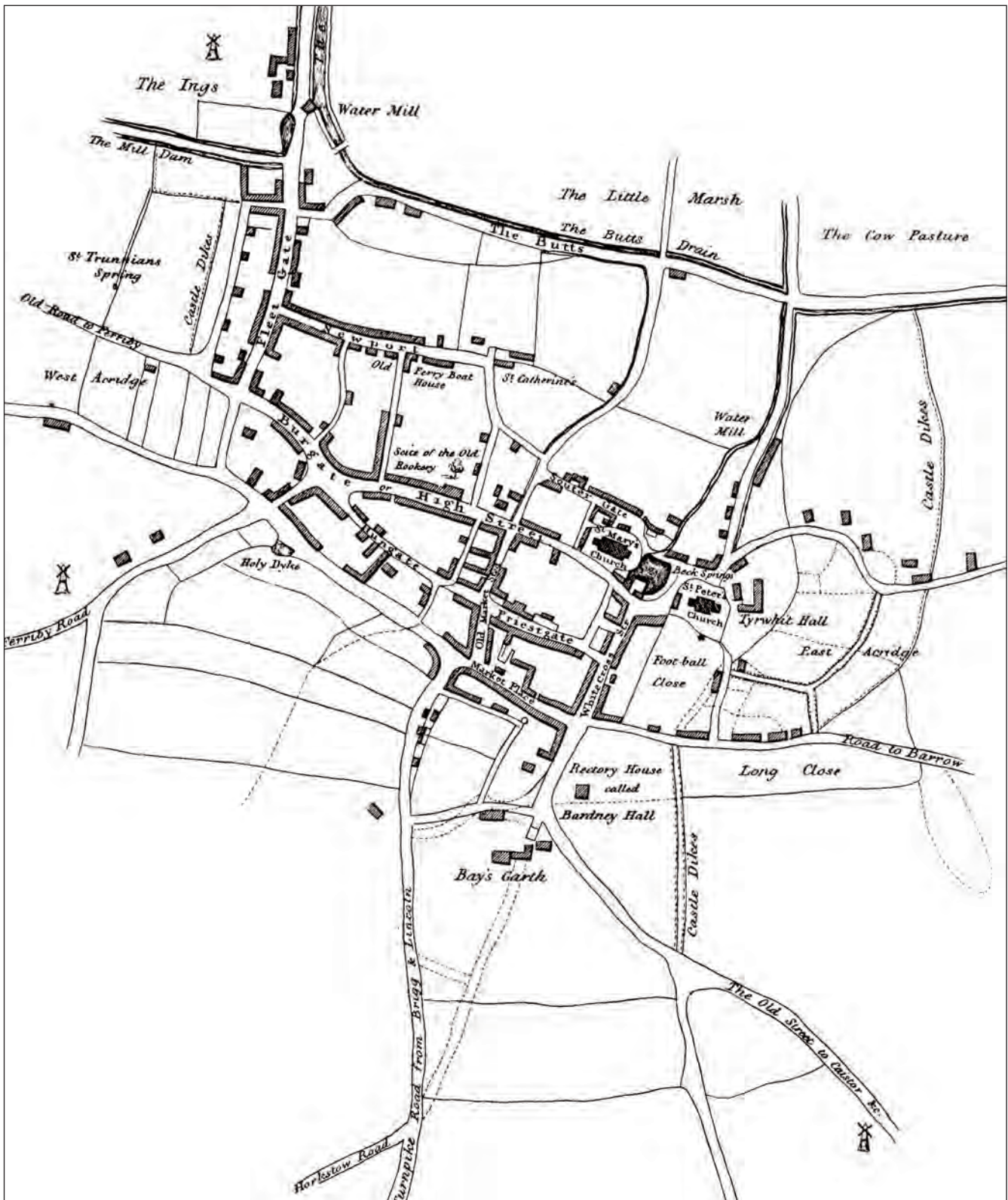


Fig. 19: Printer's proof of a map of Barton compiled by William Hesleden, 1835. Courtesy of North Lincolnshire Museum Service (Ball, scrapbook 2)

built over since the 1960s, effectively without any archaeological response (Fig. 2, Saxon Close). This was the settlement to which St Peter's church was appendant. Several substantial peripheral sites received excavation only on a limited scale, despite the fact that

Anglo-Saxon structural remains were present at all of them: in 1980, two trial trenches were dug when the new vicarage was built; in 1995, trial-trenching was carried out when a minor housing estate was erected on adjoining land in Barrow Road (Burkitt's Garage),



Fig. 20: Ordnance Survey 1:2,500 town plan of Barton, first edition, 1886. The churches, vicarage and Tyrethitt Hall have been emphasized

and in 1999 a small area-excavation took place when another property was constructed in Barrow Road (Bradley 2002).

Nowhere in the built-up area of the town have medieval or earlier levels been seriously investigated, although watching-briefs and occasional trial trenches have been undertaken on redevelopment and infill sites. These have conspicuously failed to yield structures and occupation levels *in situ*; nor has any evidence been recovered for the layout of tenements and streets. For the most part, recorded remains have been eighteenth century or later, with some unstratified finds of earlier date. There was no archaeological provision when a large new hall was erected in St Mary's churchyard in 1980, but a small excavation took place inside the vestry in 1994 in connection with reflooring.

Although Barton was enclosed by earthworks and had a short-lived Norman castle, only a single, narrow section has been cut across one of the defensive ditches. In 2004 a new police station was constructed in Holydyke, just within the town earthworks, but no archaeological excavation or recording took place. The site of the medieval hospital remains undiscovered, and no work has been done on the town's two watermills. Outside the defences, the town has expanded relentlessly and several known or suspected sites of significance have been overwhelmed, including an early Saxon settlement at Bowmandale (Fig. 2).

Further afield, just to the east of Barton, an industrial estate is currently spreading across farmland, where cropmarks have been recorded and some trial trenching undertaken. One significant area excavation, of an Iron Age and Roman farmstead, has been carried out at Glebe Farm (Steedman 1992). Historically, archaeologically and topographically, Barton and Barrow are closely linked, and the ecclesiastical focus of the middle Saxon estate held by St Chad must lie somewhere within their bounds. The discovery and excavation in 1978–79 of a hitherto unknown late Saxon church and cemetery at Barrow, although still unpublished, was important; but this was part of a much larger complex, trial trenching of which yielded middle Saxon structural evidence and metalworking debris. The whole area was lost to a dreary housing development which may itself soon be ripe for redevelopment. Like Barton, the large gardens and undeveloped plots in Barrow are rapidly being infilled, with the loss of other known and suspected sites of archaeological significance.

It is against this local background of insidious and relentless destruction, often accompanied by a minimal archaeological response, that we have to attempt the interpretation of the complex, multi-period evidence recorded at St Peter's, Barton. Clearly, in the Anglo-Saxon period, there were several separate settlement and religious foci within the combined parishes, and their inter-relationships need further elucidation.

Background to the Study of St Peter's Church, 1978–2005

Investigations prior to 1978

St Peter's church underwent major restorations in 1858–59 and 1897–98, but no archaeological evidence was recorded during the former. Some exploratory digging evidently took place in 1894, when the foundations of the tower and annexe were examined during ground-level lowering,⁷⁴ and as part of the subsequent restoration campaign the first trenches were dug inside the church (1898) for the purposes of archaeological research. They successfully located the foundations of the Anglo-Saxon chancel, beneath the floor of the present nave. It was thereby established that the pre-Conquest church was a three-celled structure, comprising a tower-nave with small squarish adjuncts to the east (the chancel) and west (the annexe, now known to have been a baptistery). The first reconstruction drawing of the original St Peter's church was published by Baldwin Brown in 1903 (Fig. 253), and the various theories concerning the history of the building were rehearsed by Robert Brown in 1906.

Further small-scale excavations were carried out in 1912–13, 1945 and 1951–54, revealing ambiguous structural evidence and a bell-metal furnace (Fig. 21), but they failed to shed fresh light on the architectural history of the early building. Meanwhile, various scholars published their views on the form and date of the late



Fig. 21: St Peter's church: trap-door set into the floor of the tower in 1913, to display a sixteenth-century bell-metal furnace discovered during excavations by W.E. Varah. View north-east. Photo: David Lee Photography

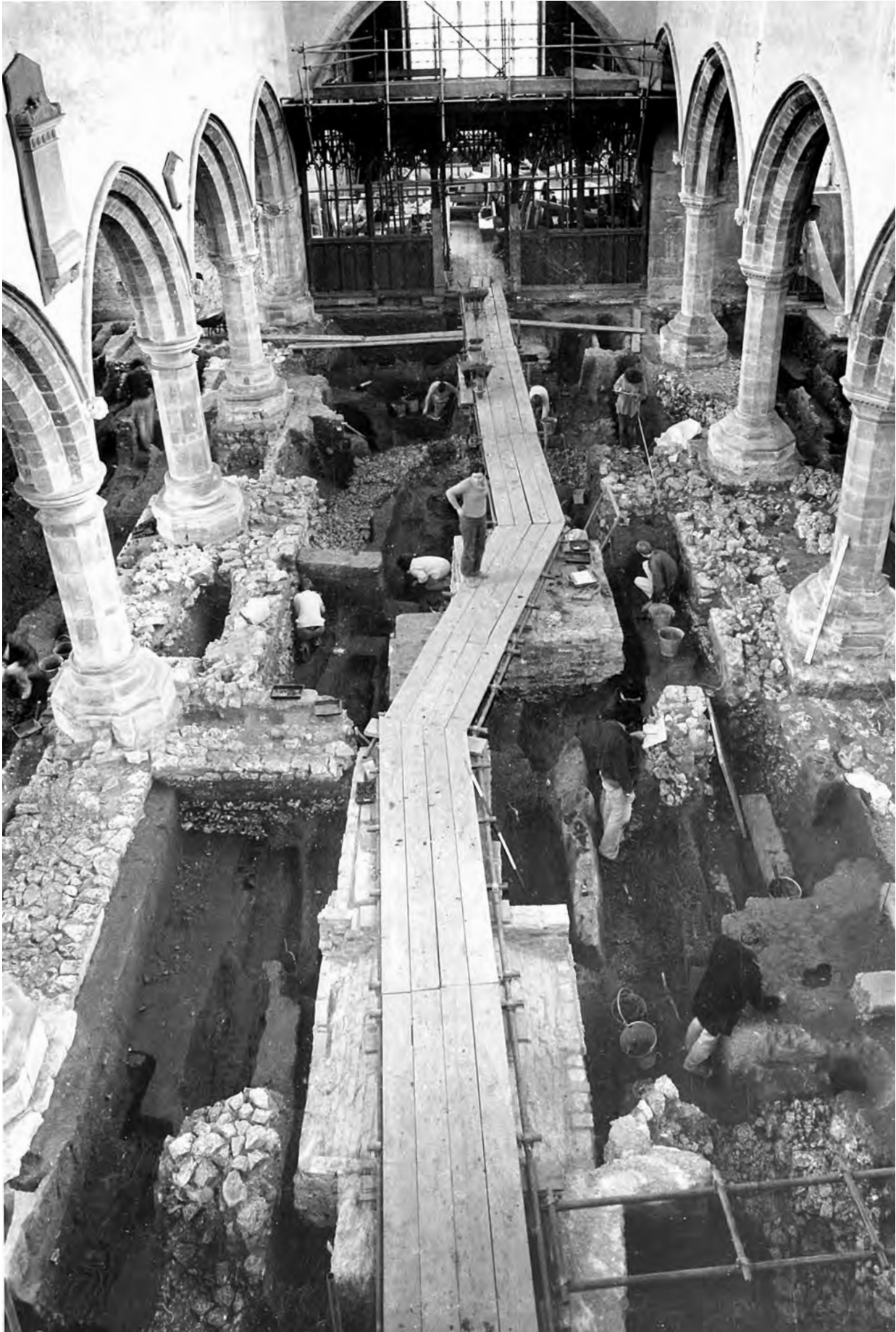


Fig. 22: St Peter's church: excavation in progress in the nave, 1980. View east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Saxon turriform church and its possible antecedent, for which it was supposed foundation evidence had been uncovered (*e.g.* Clapham 1946, 179–81; Taylor and Taylor 1965, 52–7). The seminal importance of the church, and in particular of the tower, to later Saxon archaeology and architectural history is plainly demonstrated by the prodigious number of citations which it has received in academic literature since 1819.

Nevertheless, even in the later 1970s, many fundamental questions remained unanswered, while others still awaited the asking. For example, scarcely any attention had been paid to the history and archaeology of the large medieval church that succeeded the small but elaborate Anglo-Saxon one. How and when was the transition between them effected? Then there was the seminal but unaddressed question of the relationship between St Peter's and the equally large St Mary's. There had only ever been one ecclesiastical parish in Barton, and St Peter's was the parochial church. St Mary's was – remarkably in view of its size, grandeur and close proximity – still only a dependant chapel. Finally, the relationship between Barton and its neighbour Barrow needed to be explored, their early histories being thoroughly intertwined.

In common with many other small towns in the 1960s, the parishioners of Barton found it impossible to maintain more than one church, and it was therefore

decided to close two (one being St Chad's mission church at Waterside). Even before the Second World War, services alternated between the two medieval churches, and there never was a simultaneous need for both. St Peter's was duly closed in 1970, and its redundancy was confirmed by Order in Council in 1972: thereafter St Mary's became the parish church of Barton. In 1974, H.M. Taylor published a plea for a full-scale archaeological investigation of St Peter's to be launched (Taylor 1974b, 373).

Archaeological investigation, 1978–2005

In view of its national importance, the church was taken into public guardianship by the Department of the Environment in 1978, and consideration was immediately given to organizing a programme of archaeological study to run concurrently with the necessary repair works that would be required over the next few years. The present writer and Mrs Kirsty Rodwell were invited jointly to direct a programme of archaeological investigation and architectural recording, which continued until 1985.

While Taylor's initial plea was for the elucidation of the architectural history of the Anglo-Saxon church, it was readily apparent that this could not be tackled satisfactorily *in vacuo*, and that nothing less than a



Fig. 23: St Peter's church: excavation in the nave and aisles, 1980. View north-west, from the east end of the south aisle. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

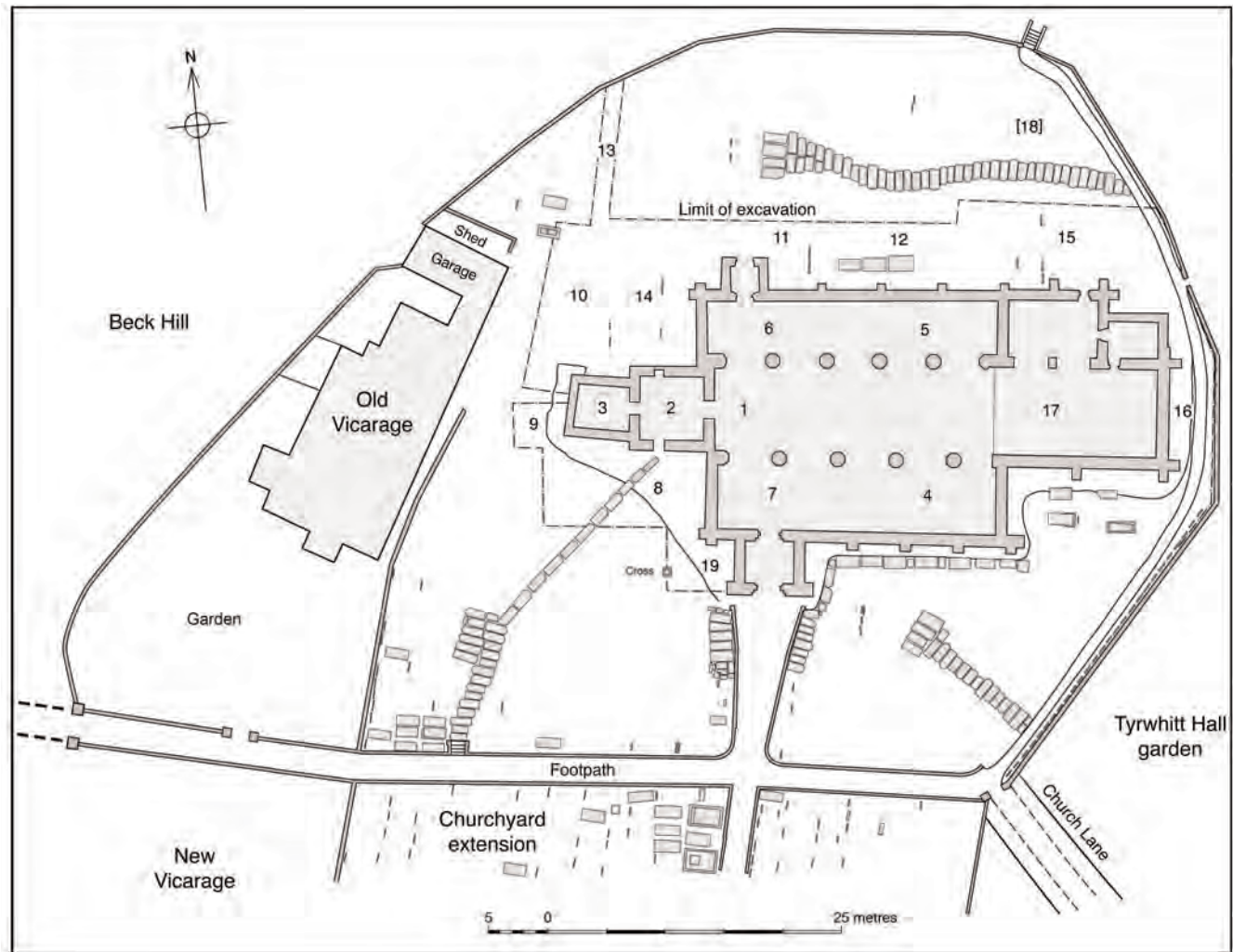


Fig. 24: Plan of St Peter's churchyard and Old Vicarage, showing topographical features. The churchyard was recorded in 1980–82, as it survived after the clearance of 1967. The limit of the excavations of 1978–84 is indicated, and the areas are numbered 1–17 and 19. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

holistic approach to the study of St Peter's could be satisfactory in academic terms. Based on the experience gained from other excavations within and around medieval parish churches, it was inevitable that a very large number of burials would be encountered: it was clearly necessary to formulate a policy for dealing with human remains. The tendency hitherto among archaeologists had been to regard unaccompanied burials (*i.e.* those without grave goods) as a nuisance and a problem: something to be cleared away as rapidly as possible so that the 'real' archaeology of the site could be investigated. However, by the 1970s the tide had begun to turn, and the importance of according the same attention to the excavation and recording of Christian burials as was given to earlier interments, was beginning to be voiced and acted upon (Rodwell and Rodwell 1976, 49; Rodwell 1981, ch. 9; 1997, 12). It was therefore determined at the outset that burial archaeology would be tackled positively at Barton, an approach which was eventually to lead to the excavation and study of over 2,800 graves.

Between 1978 and 1984 seven seasons of excavation were conducted within and immediately around St Peter's church, accompanied by campaigns of structural recording and investigation of the above-ground fabric of all parts of the building (Figs. 22, 23, 24, 260 and 390). The latter continued until 1985 and was supplemented by further campaigns of architectural study in 1988–89, 2000 and 2005. An interim report on the first four seasons' work was published while investigations were still in progress (Rodwell and Rodwell 1982), and a preliminary guide booklet to the church was issued (Rodwell 1983). Subsequently, the restoration of the fabric has continued intermittently, and the building was opened to the public in 1985. Aspects of the archaeological and architectural investigations have also been used to illustrate other published works (*e.g.* Rodwell 1981; 1986; 1989; 1990; 2005a). Similarly, the prolonged study of the human remains, since excavation, has resulted in many references to Barton material in published papers (for a bibliography of these, see Vol. 2).

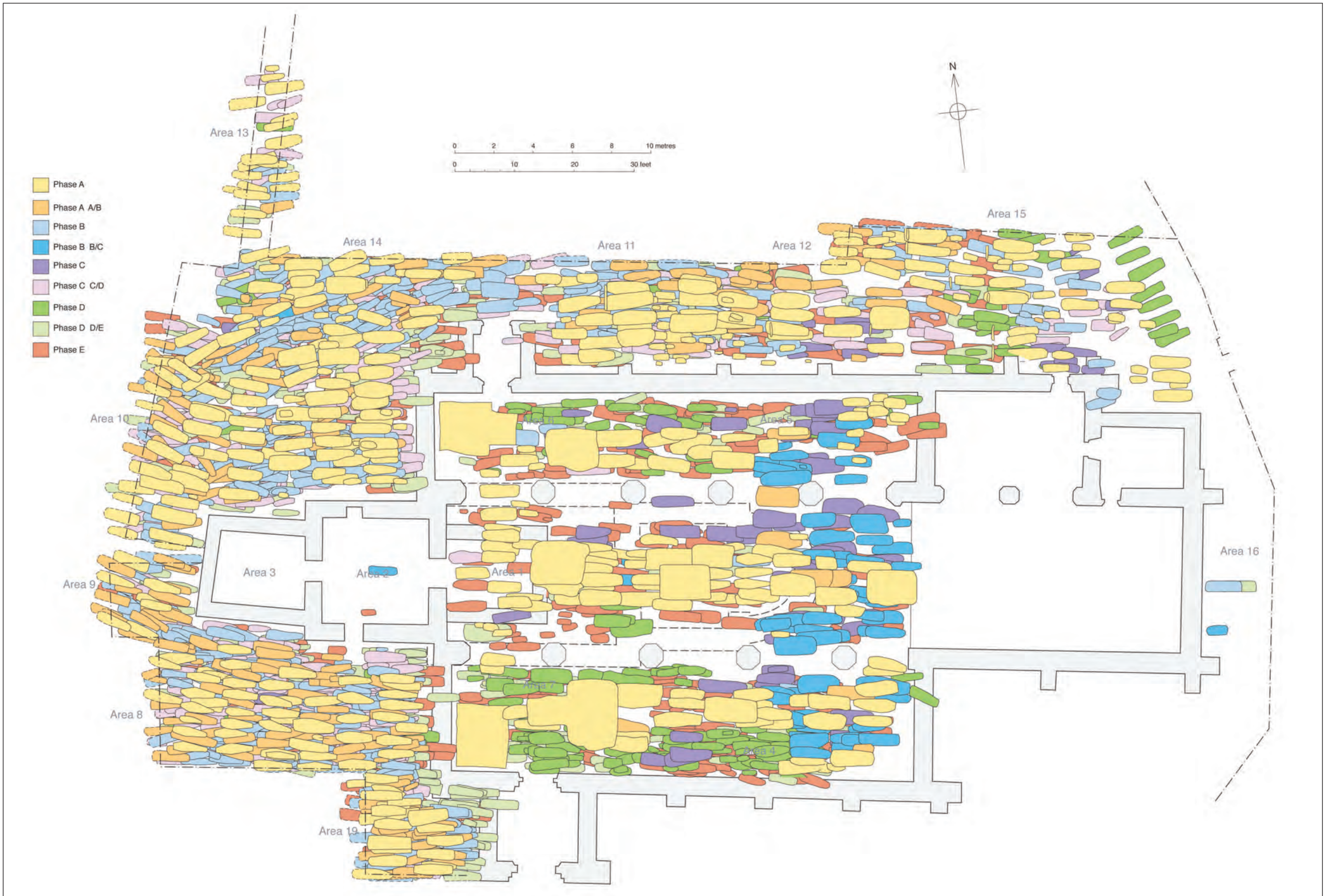


Fig. 25: St Peter's church: composite plan of excavated graves of all phases. Many of the earliest graves cannot be shown here on account of their being overlaid by later burials. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Table 2: St Peter's church: structural periods

<i>Period</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Principal structural features</i>
1	Prehistoric, Roman and Anglo-Saxon	Pre-church
	1A Prehistoric (Mesolithic to Iron Age?)	
	1B Roman settlement	
	1C Early and middle Saxon settlement	
2	Late tenth and early eleventh century	Late Saxon church and cemetery
3	Mid-late eleventh century	Saxo-Norman apsidal church; upper belfry added to tower
4	4A Early to mid-twelfth century	Norman long nave and chancel
	4B Mid-twelfth century	Norman north porch and chapel
	4C Late twelfth century	Narrow north aisle
	4D Early thirteenth century	Narrow south aisle and porch
5	Later thirteenth century	Wide south aisle and porch; extended chancel?
6	Early fourteenth century	Wide north aisle, new nave arcades; rebuilt chancel and vestry; timber spire added to tower
7	7A Mid-fifteenth century	Nave clerestory constructed, chancel and aisle roofs modified; north porch added
	7B Late fifteenth to early sixteenth century	South aisle modified and crow-stepped gables added throughout
8	8A Later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries	Minor works
	8B Early and mid-eighteenth century	Minor restoration
	8C Later eighteenth century	Chancel roof restoration
	8D Early nineteenth century	Nave roof restoration; repewing
9	9A Mid-nineteenth century	Major restoration and reordering
	9B Late nineteenth century	Organ chamber built; further restoration, mainly chancel
	9C Early and mid-twentieth century	Restoration of tower and west end
10	Late twentieth and early twenty-first century	Major restoration throughout

Table 3: St Peter's church: burial phases

<i>Phase (period)</i>	<i>Date bracket</i>
Phase E (Anglo-Saxon and Norman)	— c. 950–1150
Phase D (early medieval)	— c. 1150–1300
Phase C (late medieval)	— c. 1300–1500
Phase B (early post-medieval)	— c. 1500–1700
Phase A (Georgian and Victorian)	— c. 1700–1855

Summary of Structural Periods and Burial Phases

Archaeological features associated with pre-church settlement – ranging in date from prehistoric to middle/late Saxon – were variously encountered across the site. These are reported upon chronologically, as far as can be ascertained, but some of the features are not closely datable. Excavation and structural study have, however, enabled a secure sequence to be established embracing all the major and most of the minor components of the church (Table 2). Many constructional and allied features within and around the building have also been stratigraphically linked into that sequence.

Establishing stratigraphic relationships between structures and burials, and thus a well-defined chronology, proved much more difficult: indeed, for the majority of burials no such link was demonstrable. Initially, an attempt was made to assign all burials to one of five time-blocks (designated chronologically as Phases E to A), each spanning two

centuries, but this proved to be an unattainable goal (Fig. 25). Consequently, it has been necessary to accept broader designations in many cases (*e.g.* A/B) (Table 3).

Conservation Philosophy and Archaeological Methodology

Down to the mid-1980s, most repairs to, and the presentation of, guardianship monuments were conducted by the staff of one of the DoE's regional works depots, under the direction of the local Superintendent of Works (York, in the case of Barton). Architects, structural engineers and Inspectors of Ancient Monuments – all based in London – had some input into the process. Archaeology was normally confined to a set-piece excavation in the summer and was viewed as an optional extra, not as part of a year-round integrated process; archaeological recording of fabric was rarely carried out. At Barton, a fresh approach was adopted.

In 1977, at the outset of discussions on the future study and presentation of St Peter's church, the present writer argued for a ten-year research strategy to be drawn up, embracing all aspects of archaeological investigation, integrated with a comprehensive repair programme. This was rejected by the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, which insisted that the entire project would be completed within five years. In the event, thirty years were to pass, with the repair and presentation of the church still nowhere near complete. A fresh impetus in this direction arrived in 2006–07, with very satisfactory results.

Despite having reservations about the wisdom of the restricted approach, in the first season (1978) the archaeological team excavated the interior of the western annexe, the tower, and the site of the demolished Saxon chancel beneath the floor of the medieval nave (plan, Fig. 24; Areas 1 to 3). In 1979, the interior of the nave and aisles was completely cleared, enabling the floors to be recorded and lifted *in toto*. An area excavation then ensued (Areas 4 to 7). A policy decision was made by the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments that the chancel should not be disrupted; although the furnishings were all subsequently removed, excavation was not undertaken. Over the course of two seasons, the nave and aisles were substantially excavated, as well as completing work in the base of the tower and the western annexe (Figs. 22 and 23). In 1980, excavation also began outside the church, commencing on the south-west, in the angle between the annexe/tower and the south aisle (Area 8). All this work was completed in 1981.

The fifth season of excavation, in 1982, saw the opening of two sizeable areas immediately outside the church, to the west (Areas 9 and 10) and to the north (Areas 11 and 12). A trench was also cut across the north-west part of the churchyard, extending to the boundary wall (Area 13). The interior of the north porch was excavated too. The excavations were continued and expanded in 1983 to embrace the whole of the north side of the church, returning around both the west end (Area 14) and the east end (Areas 15 and 16). The seventh and final season of excavation took place in 1984, when a small additional area adjacent to the south-west corner of the church was investigated (Area 19), and superficial recording was carried out beneath the chancel stalls (Area 17). A proposed extension of the excavation into the north-east corner of the churchyard (Area 18) did not materialize.

Near-total excavation in the areas described was the research aim, it being considered important to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the archaeology of the church and the adjacent churchyard. At the same time it was recognized that, wherever possible, major deposits should not be entirely removed, so that re-investigation in the future would not be precluded. Also, the chancel, vestry and organ chamber remain unexcavated. Similarly, the interior of the south porch has not been investigated, nor has any part of the churchyard abutting the south side of the building. The research philosophy firmly embraced burial, and it was determined from the outset that as large a sample as possible of interments of all periods should be excavated.

Field survey and architectural recording took place in tandem with excavation, beginning with the superstructure of the tower in 1979; systematic recording continued until 1985. The base for much of this work was a set of elevation drawings generated photogrammetrically, which covered all the exposed wall faces of the church both externally and internally. The drawings were augmented and annotated as scaffolded access became available to each part of the building. As already noted, the concept that repairs to the fabric should be preceded,

and accompanied, by detailed archaeological recording and analysis was not the accepted norm at this date, and the implementation of more-or-less continuous monitoring and recording of structural works was not always easy, and some opportunities were lost. Reorganization of the Department of the Environment took place in 1984, leading to the formation of the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission (now English Heritage), into whose care the former guardianship monuments were transferred. The demise of the old DoE's directly employed labour force resulted in the engagement of external architects and contractors to work on St Peter's. Funds dried up and the pace of repair slowed in 1985; by then, archaeological recording had virtually ceased.

The main restoration campaign of 1978–85 was directed towards the roofs, all of which were re-covered with lead. The clerestory was reglazed and its walls replastered internally at the same time. Some repointing of masonry took place. Finally, the nave, aisles and tower were refloored, some windows were repaired, and drainage was laid.

Meanwhile, pressure was mounting for the church to be reopened to visitors, it having been closed for some fifteen years. The public were admitted to the nave in 1985, and an exhibition of the church's history and archaeology was installed in the north aisle (Rodwell 1985).⁷⁵ The chancel, organ chamber and vestry, still unrepaired, remained closed. In 1981, Tyrwhitt Hall came on the open market and a proposal was advanced that it should be acquired for a museum, and closely linked with St Peter's,⁷⁶ but the scheme did not come to fruition. In default of this it was determined that Barton's town museum, in Baysgarth House, would house and display the collection derived from the investigations at St Peter's, but that too did not materialize.⁷⁷ Consequently, the artefacts and archaeological records are held in English Heritage's regional stores (York and Helmsley).

Small-scale repairs continued intermittently after 1985, and some further archaeological recording took place: *e.g.* on the belfry stage of the tower in 1989 and 2005. A condition survey of the fabric was commissioned in 2000, with a view to informing the completion of the restoration.⁷⁸ Moreover, some parts of the church, and its fittings in particular, had escaped adequate study for publication, and also in 2000 a series of supplementary recording operations took place, to fill the principal *lacunae* in the records. Associated with these operations was a programme of cleaning the wall monuments, three of which had to be dismantled and refixed for safety reasons. A further three that had been taken down in the 1980s were also cleaned and later reinstated. The long-intended scheme to construct an ossuary within the former organ chamber – to store the excavated human remains under suitable conditions for research – was implemented in 2006–07 (Mays 2007). At the same time the chancel was fully restored and its furnishings reinstated. St Peter's was reopened to the public in May 2007 (Pls. 19 and 20).

2. THE TOWN OF BARTON: ITS ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT

*Barton has been a very great and rich town formerly, but,
Hull, growing up, has robb'd it of all its trade and riches.
Abraham de la Pryme, 1697 (Jackson 1869, 132)*

The diffuse plan of Barton does not readily conform to any stereotype: historically, it was a single parish but with two large churches, almost side by side; it had several separate foci, small blocks of planned streets, large areas of open space, a market place that changed locations several times, a 'lost' castle and a hospital, and three or four properties of substance, not forgetting its port facility and control of the principal Humber ferry.

The town was naturally defined on the north by the marsh edge, but the other three sides have, until modern times, been artificially delimited by various boundaries, known generically as 'butts'. These included substantial earthworks called the 'castledykes', and at the limits of the common fields were boundary furrows, termed 'mearfurs'. The latter were detailed in 1719 in the *Barton Town Book*.¹ The three medieval open-fields were enormous and primarily devoted to arable farming: West Field, 603 ha. (1,490 acres), South Field, 482 ha. (1,190 acres) and East Field, 765 ha. (1,890 acres). In 1793 an Act of Parliament was passed to enclose the common fields of Barton: three years later details had been finalized and the arrangements were summarized in the *Enclosure Award*.² Along with neighbouring Barrow and Goxhill, Barton was described as 'one of the greatest inclosures in England' (Young 1813, 80–3).

The pre-enclosure plan shows that small parts of the West Field, adjacent to the town, had already been enclosed at some earlier time, and it is also readily apparent that a number of ancient 'closes' had been carved out of East Field too. These activities had the effect of partially blurring the medieval boundary between town and countryside, a boundary which was based on a circuit of defensive earthworks, D-shaped in plan and of considerable extent. The *enceinte* was evidently later in date than the middle Saxon sub-circular enclosure around Tyrwhitt Hall, which was contained within the south-east corner of the new circuit.

The place-name 'Barton' is first recorded in 1086, in the Domesday Survey, and its derivation from the Old English *baer-t-n* ('barley farm') has long been accepted by scholars without question (Cameron 1991, 30–1). Moreover, since Everson (1984) convincingly argued that the bounds given in the Barrow charter embraced Barton as well (p. 161), there has been a tendency to assume that the 'barley farm' was no more than an outlying grange to the monastic centre at Barrow. While the linguistic evidence may point in that

direction, such an association is certainly not suggested by the topographical and archaeological evidence. Its points to a long history of riverside settlement, burial and fortification, with complex communication links by land and water: it does not suggest an agricultural centre.³

The development of the settlement must now be reviewed, and it is well to begin with the defences.

The Defences

Sub-circular enclosure at Tyrwhitt Hall

The medieval and later seat of the manor of Barton was at Tyrwhitt Hall, which lies immediately east of St Peter's church. It is readily apparent from topographical evidence that the hall lies within an earthwork enclosure of sub-circular plan which seems to have been entirely overlooked by antiquaries in the past. The circuit of the enclosure is reconstructible from topographical evidence, and is visible from the air (Figs. 26 and 150–151). Its existence was first noted in the late 1970s, during the excavations at St Peter's, and it has recently been discussed by Bryant (1994). The *enceinte*, which has an average diameter of c. 250 m (810 ft) overall, is detectable on the Enclosure map of 1796 (Fig. 4), where much of the ditch defining the northern part of the circuit appears to be perpetuated by Intack Lane (now East Acridge). The outline of the north-east arc is missing, where the lane makes a dog-leg.⁴ On the east and south-east the circuit was marked by another unnamed lane, and a field boundary continued the line on the south.⁵ These boundaries have all been lost to modern development. The south-west segment alone survives, where a curving and sunken footpath, running between the churchyard and Green Lane, still follows the line of the ditch and was known in the nineteenth century as Church Lane (Figs. 24 and 136).⁶

St Peter's church straddles the western arc of the enclosure, completely masking its circuit. The gently curving ditch was, however, encountered during excavations within the nave and aisles (F1751; Areas 4 and 5; Figs. 153–154) and to the north of the church (Area 12). The earthwork circuit thus described contained an estimated 3 ha (7.5 acres) within the ditch.⁷ Stratigraphically, it was earlier than all features associated with the late Saxon church and cemetery, and by



Fig. 26: The sub-circular enclosure in relation to the modern topography of Barton; view from the east, 1983. The bungalow estate in the foreground occupies the site of the enclosure, its northern boundary being marked by the angular course of the road (East Acridge) on the right. In the middle ground is Tyrwhitt Hall garden and St Peter's church beyond: the footpath running away from the south-east angle of the churchyard marks part of the southern side of the enclosure. In the distance is St Mary's church and Burgate (to the left), the town's main street, which aims directly for the enclosure. Photo: Geoffrey Bryant

the twelfth century no trace of the western arc of the earthwork would have been visible. Outside the churchyard, the enclosure has not been archaeologically investigated at any other point, and it cannot presently be determined when the earthworks disappeared from view, but there must be a strong suspicion that they were levelled in the Middle Ages. That they did not survive until the nineteenth century – despite the entire site being open land – may safely be concluded from the absence of any reference to earthworks here in antiquarian descriptions of Barton.

Topographical indicators point to three possible entrances: on the west, the east, and the south (Figs. 28, 145 and 151). No trace of the west entrance was discovered during the excavations at St Peter's, and it could have lain either to the north or south of the church. The former is particularly attractive since it would have coincided with the medieval entrance to Tyrwhitt Hall. The southern alternative – using the present opening at the south-east corner of the churchyard – is perhaps less likely since the ground is slightly lower and wetter here. However, this approach has the

merit of being an eastward continuation of Burgate. The south entrance into the enclosure appears on the 1796 map, which shows that it was approached by a short lane branching off Barrow Road. Finally, a track (now part of East Acridge) emerged from the east side of the enclosure, and followed the river terrace to Barrow. This was, in effect an eastward continuation of Burgate, and in post-medieval times was referred to as the 'Middle Way' to Barrow (p. 33).

Near the centre of the enclosure was a small copse, known in the eighteenth century as Quickset Close, on the edge of which was a spring; running along the west side of the close was one of the minor watercourses discussed in chapter 4 (p. 143).

The plan of the earthwork is well defined, and its assignment to the middle Saxon period seems assured, but the question remains: what was its purpose? There is nothing to suggest an ecclesiastical origin, and it is most likely to have defended a minor royal or administrative centre, arguably the secular counterpart of St Chad's monastery at Barrow (p. 163), all within the bounds of the estate of *æt Bearuwe*. Given that the enclosure was superimposed upon a Roman settlement, that Anglo-Saxon artefacts of all periods have been found within its circuit (p. 154), that a small but elaborate late Saxon church was erected immediately adjoining, that a high-status medieval courtyard house was built within (Tyrwhitt Hall), and that the seat of the later manor also lay here, its identification as the administrative focus of the area seems almost indisputable.

There is nothing especially diagnostic about the form of the enclosure, and its possible origins have been discussed by Bryant (1994, 73–7), who inclined towards interpretation as an Anglo-Danish camp or *burh*, constructed in the ninth century. This is a plausible option, although the critical question is: was the sub-circular enclosure an Anglo-Saxon defence erected in response to early Viking raiding in the Humber estuary, or a Danish camp belonging to the period when permanent settlements were being established? In view of the suggested subsequent history of the defences of Barton (see below), the former is more likely.

Another attractive possibility arises from Cox's study of 'Old English *burh* in early Lindsey' (Cox 1994). He has convincingly demonstrated that there was a comprehensive network of non-standardized fortifications in Lindsey, and that they have a discernible relationship to surviving *burh* place-names. He has dubbed this the 'Lindsey *burh* system', and argued for its origins in the seventh century. The defended sites occur mainly in two localities around the perimeter of the kingdom.⁸ First, there is a string of them on high ground overlooking the marshes flanking the Humber estuary: Habrough, Stallingborough, ?Grimsby, Ludborough, Burwell and Burgh-le-Marsh. Second, there are those on the east bank of the Trent: Alkborough, ?Burton-upon-Stather, Flixborough, Gainsborough and ?Gate Burton. Along the lower reaches of the Humber, between the two groups of

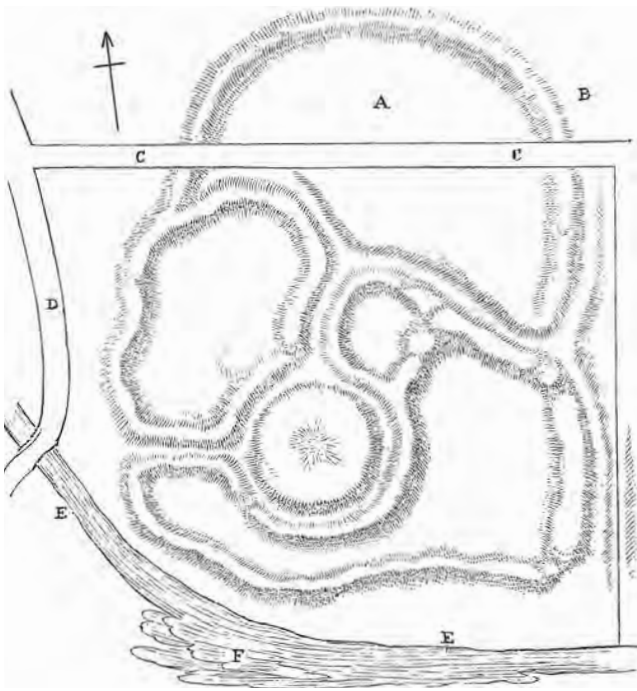


Fig. 27: *Barrow Castles: plan of the earthworks in the mid-nineteenth century. Barrow Beck is labelled 'E' and Barrow Bogs (blow-wells) are indicated at 'F'. Hesleden 1846*

sites already listed, there appears to be a *lacuna* (Cox 1994, fig. 1). Notwithstanding, it is inherently unlikely that the northern boundary of the kingdom would have lacked similar defences. Significant settlements such as Winterringham, Barton and Barrow appear to be devoid of *burh* names, but the possibility that they have been lost from the record must be entertained.

No specific evidence for a potential *burh* can be adduced at Winterringham, although it was a small medieval market town, and had streets known as High Burgage and Low Burgage (Cameron 2001, 122). Similarly, Barrow lacks historical evidence, but it should be recalled that the complex earthen defences at Barrow Castles appear to include a pre-Norman ringwork (Fig. 27; p. 47). Cox has drawn attention to a lost field name in Barton, *Goldburgh Wra*, the only surviving mention of which is in a charter of 1415. He presents an alternative to Cameron's interpretation of this as a personal name, suggesting that it recalled the former status of the Tyrwhitt Hall sub-circular enclosure as a *burh* (Cameron 1991, 45; Cox 1994, 42–6). He also observes that 'Burgate', the main street of Barton, runs directly to the west side of the enclosure.⁹

Unfortunately, almost nothing is known about the archaeology of any of the north Lincolnshire *burh* sites, which renders it difficult to discuss Barton's enclosure in the local context. While the sub-rectangular earthwork at Yarborough Camp, Croxton, is likely to have been a *burh*, its period of construction is unknown (Loughlin and Miller 1979, 195). Similarly, the squarish enclosure near the church at Alkborough is undated, but has been presumed medieval (Dudley 1949, 171–3; Loughlin and Miller 1979, 179). Each covers

an area of approximately one hectare, and they are thus much smaller than the Tyrwhitt Hall enclosure. A more relevant comparison for Barton may be found at Gainsborough. Although there are no upstanding remains of the *burh*, its circuit is readily discernible in the plan of the medieval and later town. The road pattern defines a sub-rectangular enclosure of c. 10 ha. overlooking the Trent. Outside the enclosure to the west is the parish church of All Saints, and alongside that is the medieval hall; adjoining on the south-west is the market.¹⁰

It is becoming increasingly apparent from fieldwork and excavation that sub-circular earthwork enclosures of middle to late Saxon date underlie many village and small town centres in England, and that they fall into two groups: ecclesiastical and secular (Reynolds 2003). In the former category a church and cemetery lie within the enclosure, as at Bampton (Oxon.), Bisley (Glos.) and Lambourne (Berks.); these are generally deemed to be the sites of minsters (Reynolds 2003; Blair 2005).¹¹ Tyrwhitt Hall, Barton, however, belongs firmly with the latter category, where the church and cemetery are located immediately outside the enclosure, which contains a manorial nucleus. Although smaller, Goltho (Lincs.) and Lower Slaughter (Glos.) provide comparable examples (Beresford 1987; Kenyon and Watts 2006). Of similar size and shape to Barton is enclosure 3 at Yatesbury, Wilts. (Reynolds 2000). Multiple recuts of the ditch are, as at Tyrwhitt Hall, a characteristic of those sites where the earthwork has been sectioned.

The 'Castledykes'

The Tyrwhitt Hall enclosure was not the only fortification: for the past two centuries, one of the most frequently discussed and seemingly intractable aspects of Barton's history has been the question of its earthwork defences. The existence of various dykes, and the names associated with them, has never been in doubt, but their age and function have defied convincing explanation. In addition to the linear earthworks there is documentary evidence for a short-lived castle in Barton in the twelfth century, the site of which remains uncertain. The discovery in 1983 on the eastern edge of St Peter's churchyard of a major ditch that appeared to be part of a twelfth-century fortification added a new dimension to the problem. A review of the evidence is therefore timely.

The first antiquarian notice of the defences of Barton was by John Britton, who described the town as 'a place of high antiquity. It was once surrounded by a rampart and foss, the remains of which are yet visible in what are called *the Castle Dikes*'.¹² In 1827, Loft described the town as 'fortified' and 'there being a good part of the ancient fosse now remaining'.¹³ Hesleden was the first to write at length about earthworks in the Barton area, although it was in the context of attempting to identify (erroneously) the site of the battle of *Brunanburh* of AD 937 (Hesleden 1846).¹⁴

The subject of earthworks was mentioned only in passing by Ball (1856, 1, 6), more attention was paid to it by Tomblason (1905, 11), and the circuit of what he believed to be the Anglo-Saxon defences of Barton was described in considerable detail by Brown (1906, 29–34). Essentially, what he saw was an abandoned dyke system that surrounded the town on three sides, separating it from the common fields. Some parts still collected water from the Wold streams, directing it into the Humber via the Haven. In places there were significant vestiges of ramparts, which confirmed that Barton had been surrounded by earthwork defences, and not merely drains. Also, the persistent use of the term ‘castledyke(s)’ as a local name can be traced back to the fifteenth century.¹⁵ The earliest mention is in a will of 1458, which referred to the earthwork on the west side of the town.¹⁶ Today, the name is still preserved there as Castledyke West. Another street on the south side of the town is known as Castledyke South, and there are early eighteenth-century references to the ‘castledykes’ on the east (WEA 1980, 42).

Collectively, the ‘castledykes’ evidently once comprised an earthwork circuit around the three landward sides of the town, and Brown (1906, opp. 30) published a plan showing ‘the course of the ancient Rampart and Dyke’, plotted on to a redrawn version of the 1796 Enclosure map (Fig. 4). More detailed and in some respects more accurate, however, is Hesleden’s unpublished map of 1835 (Fig. 19).¹⁷ These maps clearly depict an amalgam of landscape features that delineate the principal earthwork enclosures. Although the sub-circular enclosure around Tyrwhitt Hall was never recognized as a discrete topographical feature by the early antiquaries, it was nevertheless clearly delineated in the landscape by lanes and footpaths (Fig. 19). As previously noted, the enclosure must already have been obliterated as a recognizable earthwork.¹⁸

Brown’s circuit may be broken down into three components. First, running from east to west along the marsh edge is the Butts Drain, which still functions as a dyke; alongside that, on the south, is a raised bank carrying Butts Road (Figs. 4 and 18).¹⁹ Various channels feed into the drain, which in turn discharges into the head of the Haven at the north end of Fleetgate. As a construction, Butts Drain has the appearance of a coastal flood defence of the seventeenth century. It is, however, likely that this, and the smaller channels which feed it from the east (along Pasture Road South) and from the west (along Dam Road), are of earlier origin.

Second, the town was enclosed on the west, south and east by a D-shaped earthwork (the ‘castledykes’) which almost certainly once formed a continuous circuit, its northern ends connecting with the Butts Drain. Towards both the northern terminals, the dyke had been modified, its course doglegging to take in two rectangular closes of post-medieval date.²⁰

Third, projecting from the centre of the south side of the D-shaped enclosure was another, irregularly shaped, enclosure within which lay, *inter alia*,

Baysgarth Park and Bardney Hall (Figs. 4, 18 and 19). While parts of the circuit are medieval, much of its markedly angular course clearly reflects later ditching. Nevertheless, the fact that this area was enclosed at all – and it is plainly secondary to the main town enclosure – is of note, the more so since it includes the site of the prehistoric earthwork (p. 149), the Castledyke South Anglo-Saxon cemetery, and is reputedly the location of the lost Norman castle.

The D-shaped town enclosure (Fig. 28)

Ignoring the two small closes that have been added to the lowest lying part (and the dykes re-routed around them), the entire D-shaped circuit is traceable on the 1796 Enclosure map, on Hesleden’s map of 1835, and on early Ordnance Survey maps, as roads, earthworks and property boundaries. The rectangular close appended to the west side, adjacent to Fleetgate, was claimed as a ‘Roman camp’ by Hesleden.²¹

Much of the west side is marked by the street called Castledyke West (also previously known as Back Lane), which lay just inside the earthwork and formed a rear property boundary to the burgage plots in Fleetgate. Hesleden marked the ‘Castle Dikes’ here. An entrance is implied at the point where West Acridge crosses the circuit; this is a westward continuation of the town’s main street (Burgate), leading towards the Shadwells and South Ferriby.

South of this point, Brown shows the dyke taking an angular course, but this is conjectural because the early topography here had already been obliterated by a small block of pre-1793 enclosed land (lying between West Acridge and Westfield Road). More likely, the earthwork swung eastwards in a curve, to the point where Ferriby Road arrived at the town: here was another ancient point of entry.

The southern limit of the historic town is defined by a continuous series of separately named streets which together form a gently curving route (its components now known as Holydyke, Market Place, Market Lane and Barrow Road). For much of its length, this road could be following the ditch. Towards the west, a narrow close of land containing earthworks – the ‘Harrow Dike Closes’ (Brown 1906, 32) – ran alongside Holydyke, suggesting that the present road lies just inside the earthwork. Also, there was a pond at the west end, which Hesleden marked as ‘Holy Dyke’. The application of the name to a road is of recent origin: none of the early maps label ‘Holydyke’ as a street, and it is clear that the road bearing the name today was previously called ‘Castledykes’. Until the early twentieth century, the Tomblason family owned property on the southern edge of the town, occupying the block between modern Chapel Lane and Holydyke. Two early deeds, of 1651 and 1697, respectively, make it clear that the property lay in ‘Houndgate’ (now Chapel Lane, which flanked it on the north), while on the south it abutted ‘upon the highway called Castledikes’.²²

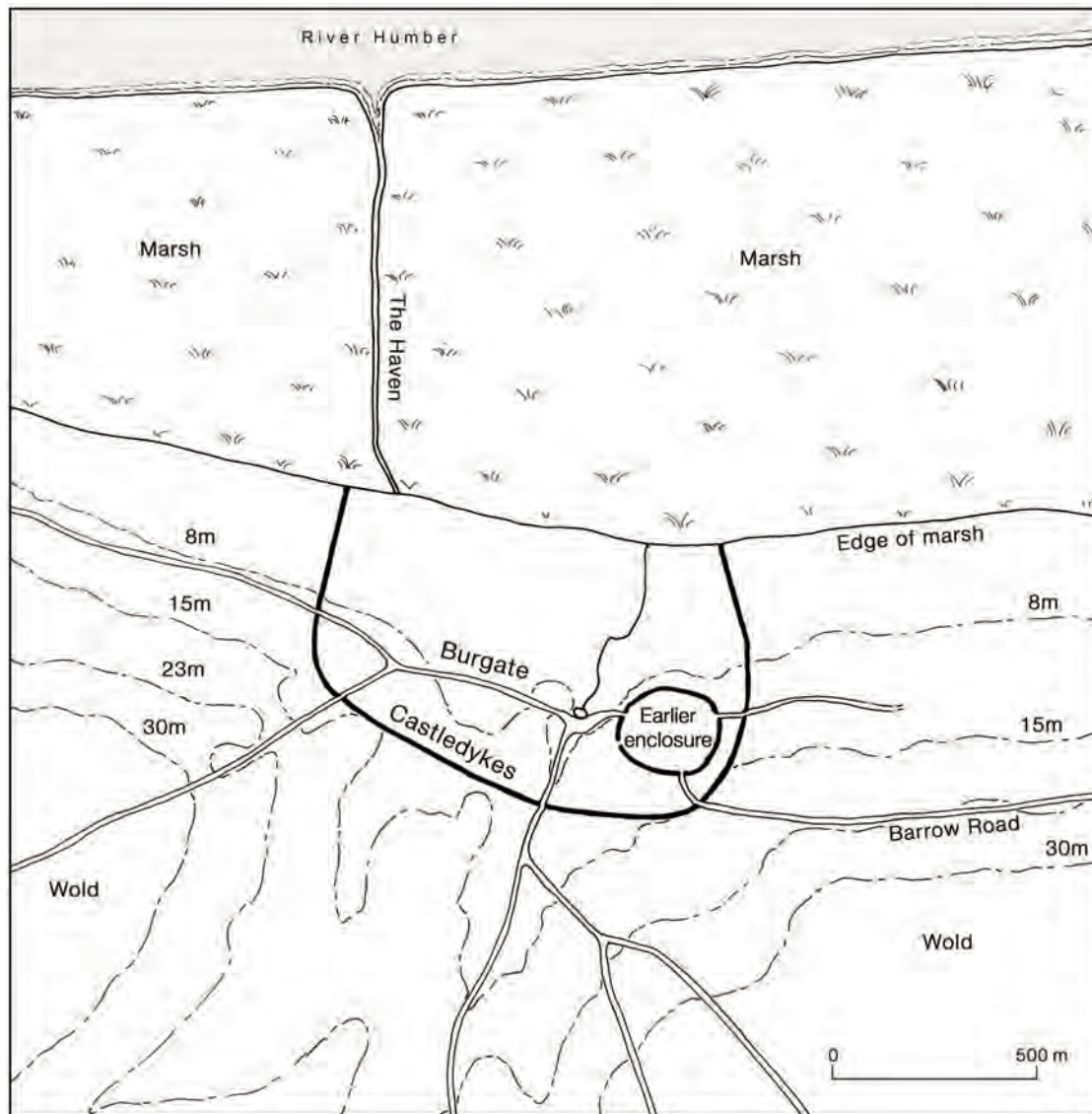


Fig. 28: Reconstructed plan of the D-shaped earthwork encompassing the town of Barton and the earlier sub-circular enclosure. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

The main route into Barton from the south was via Whitecross Street, and there must have been an entrance at the point where it crossed the earthwork. Properties on the south side of Market Place probably overlie the ditch. East of Whitecross Street, Barrow Road runs in a very distinct hollow, and a change of alignment marks the south-east corner of the earthwork. That corner, together with the east side, was marked by a continuous and slightly curving dyke on the 1796 map. On the 1835 map the course is labelled 'Castle Dikes'. There are numerous references in the seventeenth century to the earthworks here: *e.g.* in the Parliamentary survey of 1649, a plot in Eastfield was described as being 'betwixt a slip of common ground called the Castle Dikes on the west and'.²³

A small kink in the otherwise smooth line was present on the north flank of Barrow Road, suggestive of a modification. Fortunately, an excavation conducted in 1999–2000, just west of 'Seaforth', located the primary course of the dyke at its south-east corner, and a section

was cut across it (Bradley 2002, figs. 6 and 7). This revealed a V-shaped ditch that would initially have been *c.* 4.5 m wide by *c.* 2.3 m deep; it was recut several times,²⁴ and the bank lay on the inner (north-west) side. The 1796 map indicates the likelihood of an entrance at the south-east corner, and another midway along the east side. The latter is where East Acridge now runs; and this marked one of the medieval routes (the 'Middle Way') to Barrow.

The Barton earthwork thus described a D-shaped plot 900 m in length, abutting the marshes, and up to 580 m wide. The area enclosed was some 45 ha (111 acres).

Date and purpose

We must now consider the construction date and purpose of the D-shaped enclosure. Regrettably, Barton's Castledyke has been archaeologically sectioned at only one point on its circuit, and that by a very narrow

trench (Bradley 2002). The excavator made an assumption that the ditch was cut in the mid-twelfth century, was related to the Norman castle, and that the earthwork had a short life. This is patently incompatible with the evidence of recutting and the 'fourteen separately identifiable fills' that the ditch contained. Pottery recovered from the fills spanned the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.²⁵ That may indicate the period at which the ditch was realigned, to meet Barrow Road at a squarer angle, but it tells us nothing about its date of origin.

It is implausible to suggest that such a large enclosure could have constituted Gilbert de Gant's castle, although that may well have been contained within. Equally, it seems unlikely that this was the circuit for a new town laid out by Gilbert in the second quarter of the twelfth century, and then abandoned after the civil war. The scale of the undertaking seems impossibly ambitious, and the multiple recuts of the ditch at the south-east corner argue for a much longer history. This effectively pushes back the date of the earthwork to the eleventh century, or earlier. Brown (1906) saw it as 'Anglo-Danish'.

It is readily apparent that the curvature of the earthwork on the south-east corner reflected that of the much smaller sub-circular enclosure that lay within. There can be little doubt that the construction of the D-shaped defence was later than that of the sub-circular enclosure, and that the latter was deliberately encompassed. A middle Saxon date has been demonstrated for the sub-circular enclosure, with the probability that it originated in the eighth or ninth century (pp. 159–60).

There are difficulties in accepting the notion that the castledykes were constructed as the defences for a putative new town of the tenth or eleventh century. First, there is no identifiable patron or specific historical context that could be linked to such an operation, although that might be excused on the grounds of incomplete record survival. Second, there is no evidence for the large-scale planning of streets or burgage plots within the enclosure, which is a prominent characteristic of other planned towns of the period. While there are discrete planned units in Fleetgate, Newport and possibly Whitecross Street, these are almost certainly twelfth century (p. 53). Third, the known settlement of middle to late Saxon date is concentrated within about one-tenth of the enclosed area, and part of this was abandoned rather than developed in the Norman period. Fourth, up to one-third of the enclosed area was low-lying and apparently undeveloped until the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Fifth, in terms of urban resources, the circuit was undefendable and would have required the presence of a small army to protect the town. Similarly, if the intention were simply to restrict access to the town for trade and taxation purposes, a more compact and effectively controllable circuit would surely have been established.

Consequently, the possibility that the D-shaped earthwork was thrown up in the middle or late Saxon period for some purpose other than urban enclosure should be considered. Large D-shaped earthworks, constructed on river banks, were characteristic of the period of Viking conquest. Some were conceived primarily as temporary camps for over-wintering, or as bases from which to launch inland forays; others were bridgeheads at strategically important river crossings. In the latter category fall a number of sites where towns later grew up, the earthworks providing ready-made protection. Unfortunately, these large riverside enclosures are poorly understood and ill-explored, partly because of their size and the fact that they are often buried beneath medieval and later settlements, and partly on account of the paucity of associated archaeological evidence within them. Few attempts have been made to discuss Danish earthworks in England, yet they must have been numerous (Dyer 1972).

Bedford and Stamford (Lincs.) rank among the smaller and better known examples that were directly associated with the establishment of settlements, but there is a steadily growing realization that there was also a group of much larger D-shaped enclosures in eastern England, as at Witham (Essex), 27 ha.; Cambridge, 36 ha.; and Thetford (Norf.), 60 ha. (Rodwell 1993a, 76–84). These were all situated well inland, but on navigable rivers. They represent stages in the inland progress of the Viking conquest: the primary bases lay at the mouths and lower reaches of the rivers where Viking ships first made land-fall. Like the Thames, the Humber was one of the major arteries and we should expect to find evidence of encampments on both its banks. On the north bank of the Thames, there is historical evidence for camps being established at Fulham (878–80), Benfleet (893) and Shoebury (893). Topographical indicators at Fulham suggest a D-shaped enclosure containing *c.* 27 ha.;²⁶ a small earthwork at Shoebury which is generally identified with the Viking camp encompasses only 9 ha.;²⁷ and the extent of the camp at Benfleet has never been satisfactorily established.²⁸

The first reported Viking attack on Lindsey was in 841, but whether that involved entering the Humber estuary is unrecorded. What cannot be in doubt is the more-or-less constant presence of elements of the Viking fleet in the estuary in the 860s and 870s. It was via the major tributaries of the Humber that penetration deep into Mercia and Northumbria was achieved. Although Viking ships would have sailed as far as possible into the Trent (to gain access to the Mercian heartland) and into the Ouse (to attack York), the mouths of these rivers could easily have been blockaded by the English fleet, had it sailed into the Humber. Consequently, semi-permanent Viking bases must have been maintained as a rear-guard in the estuary. Hull would be an obvious choice of site on the north bank, while seizing control of Barton and its hinterland would have provided critical advantages on the south

bank, especially if the area still had royal connections and local administrative functions. Barton was also well placed for access by road to the hinterland of Lindsey.

Thus a rational context can be established for the construction of the 45 ha. enclosure at Barton as a Viking base-camp of the mid- or later ninth century. The belt of marshland would have provided an ideal beaching-ground for ships drawn up from the water for the winter. The process would have been made easier by the presence of narrow inlets, into which ships could sail at high tide, and then be manhandled onto dry land as the water receded. This inevitably raises the question of the date of Barton Haven, an artificial channel which, until the twentieth century, was a navigable inlet allowing ships to reach the northern end of Fleetgate (Fig. 6).

While the construction of the Haven could be as late as the twelfth century, a Viking or later Anglo-Saxon date is equally possible. The topography of the area around the head of the Haven and Fleetgate – and in particular the swan-neck in the course of Butts Road, where it runs into Fleetgate – points to the former existence of a small inland harbour with a quay on the west side (Fig. 4). Local tradition also asserts that Barton had a second navigable inlet in the form of the Beck Drain. This is not impossible, but the whole of the area in question has disappeared beneath modern development. For consideration of the Beck as a potential haven, see p. 160.

Bryant has drawn attention to the large number of local place-names and street names at Barton containing Scandinavian elements, including Fleetgate and Beck, but has cautiously stressed that close dating is impossible (Bryant 1994, 81). No Viking artefacts have been reported, but the ninth-century coin (*dirham*) from St Peter's is a rare and potentially significant find (pp. 234, 1005; Fig. 236). Coins such as this derived from the Arab world, and tended to arrive in the West as a result of Viking trading. Only one other coin of the period has been reported from Barton, a *lunette* penny of King Alfred, dated c. 871–75;²⁹ another was found at St Chad's, Barrow (p. 165). The latter site also yielded one of Burgred of Mercia, c. 870–75 (Blackburn 1993, 87). Collectively, however, the general distribution of coin-finds of the eighth and ninth centuries in northern Lindsey is evocative of Viking activity, to such an extent that Barbara Yorke described their abundance as indicating that 'it was one of the wealthiest regions' (Yorke 1993, 146; Bryant 1994, 76). Although somewhat later, one further coin from the 'Barton area' may be mentioned: it is a rare issue of Edgar from the York mint, c. 970.³⁰

Once the D-shaped enclosure had been constructed, it implanted a footprint on the topography that was never to be eradicated. The medieval town of Barton grew within it, but even at its zenith did not fill half the acreage available, a situation which still obtained well into the nineteenth century.

Barton: The Early History

by David Roffe

The recorded history of most English settlements begins with Domesday Book, which was compiled in the late eleventh century. For many antiquarians this was also the beginning of their history. Historians now make better use of their sources. For a start, Domesday usually records the holder of each settlement or estate in 1066. A simple plotting of these names is often enough to reveal something of a hierarchy. Where earls and thegns of regional prominence held land we may suspect that their manors were locally of some importance. Broader patterns of tenure may also emerge: clusters of manors indicate an interest and may further imply a domain. A record of tenure in 1086 begins to reveal patterns of tenure in 1066. But for any landscape historian this is nowadays only a start. In recent years studies of pre-Conquest societies have uncovered tributary networks that identify well-defined forms variously termed multiple estates, *sokes*, or *shires*. Studies of hundred and parish boundaries, patterns of communal organization like intercommoning and, above all, place-names are now used to push back the history of settlement well into the Saxon period.

Just how far is increasingly a matter of debate. The reality of the tributary nexus has been widely accepted. But for the enthusiast the multiple estate model has become a catch-all. For them the whole of settlement history is witness to the inexorable workings of entropy. Primitive estates were large and from their very beginnings they were subject to decay. Domesday estate structures and related evidence are vestiges of a prelapsarian society, which can be reconstructed by filling in the gaps. Sceptics, by contrast, have been variously agnostic to defeatist. For them the stuff of landscape history is to a greater or lesser degree contingent. Estate structures, boundaries, and the like are dynamic elements in a mental landscape that is constantly changing, and they therefore primarily talk of the time they are recorded.

These are issues that loom large (or should do) in the reconstruction of any historic landscape. They are particularly crucial for understanding the history of the Humber estuary and surrounding lands. Vestiges do survive of an ancient past, but, it is argued here, the character of the region was largely a function of recent events in 1086. William the Conqueror had granted the Isle of Axholme and Holderness to individuals in the 1070s, regardless of previous tenure. This, however, was no peculiar species of Norman colonization. The pre-Conquest tenurial profile of the area suggests that there had long been jockeying for influence on what was a major and well-established political boundary.

What can be perceived of the early history of Barton-upon-Humber fits into this broader context. The primary source for the following study is Domesday Book. We shall have to consider not only what it does and does not say, but also the interstices

of the data. Patterns of tenure are as important, sometimes more so, than the details of individual estates. However, Domesday does not stand alone. A charter and boundary clause of 971 survives for an estate identified as Barrow-upon-Humber, and there are a significant number of references to pre-Conquest tenure in early chronicles and hagiographies. These are all of relevance to an understanding of the development of the area. Finally, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles afford sufficient references to provide something of a political context.

No dogmatic interpretations of tenurial forms are adopted. Lincolnshire and Yorkshire are areas in which tenurial relationships are most often expressed in terms of *soca*, soke. In the reductionist way that characterizes much work on Domesday, historians have rushed to define it in legalistic terms: it is defined as 'jurisdiction'. That is a temptation to be resisted. In the *clamores*, the record of the legal proceedings that came out of the Domesday inquest in Lincolnshire, the North Riding of Lindsey declared that Count Alan's predecessor had soke over land in Tealby, but they knew not of what sort.³¹ *Soca* points to a relationship but does not define it. It is clearly presumptuous to insist on one meaning where Domesday conceives of a number of possibilities. It follows that there can be no *a priori* assumptions about the origins of Domesday forms.

Barton in Domesday

Not surprisingly, the first explicit notice of Barton occurs in Domesday Book. In 1086 there were two holdings there. The more substantial was a manor held by Gilbert de Ghent. It is described in the following terms:

Manor. In Barton-upon-Humber, Ulf had 13 carucates of land to the geld. [There is] land for 27 ploughs. Gilbert has 7 ploughs there in demesne; and 63 villans and 16 bordars with 9 ploughs, and 42 sokemen and 67 bordars with 10 ploughs. There is a church and a priest, and 2 mills [rendering] 40s, and 1 market and a ferry rendering £4.³²

Attached to the manor were appurtenances in two neighbouring vills. In South Ferriby there were almost 3 carucates of sokeland and a ferry worth £3, and in Horkstow 4 carucates of inland and soke.³³ Gilbert de Ghent had come into possession by virtue of a grant of William the Conqueror of all the estates of Ulf Fenman, the pre-Conquest lord. Ulf had clearly been an influential figure in the East Midlands: Domesday Book indicates that he held extensive estates in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, Rutland and Cambridgeshire, with outlying manors in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire. Barton was on the very northern edge of this complex.

This is not to say, however, that it was an insubstantial interest. Gilbert de Ghent was heir to a predecessor who had had extensive rights in Barton. Enjoying sake and soke, toll and team,³⁴ Ulf Fenman

was a king's thegn and held the manor as something like bookland, that is hereditary land enjoyed in return for service to the king. This type of tenure implied a substantial tax-free demesne. Gilbert's 7 ploughs and 63 villans attest its size in Barton, although there was probably more that was unassessed. However, bookland did not just subsist in 'freehold' of this kind. The 42 sokemen were equally his right. They were undoubtedly free men who had free disposal of their land, but due from it to their lord were the various food rents, labour dues, and quit rents which went under the catchall of *soca*, soke. Ulf's interest, as Gilbert's after him, consisted in rights over freely held land as much as in land itself. The record of a market and ferry, largely confined in Domesday Book to the most exalted personages (although more widely distributed in fact) underlines the importance of Gilbert's estate.

A further 2 bovates in Barton were held by Earl Hugh of Chester as sokeland of his manor of Barnetby-le-Wold, some eight miles to the south.³⁵ The entry is laconic:

In Barton-upon-Humber, 2 bovates, and Bigby, 1 carucates, and Worlaby [near Elsham], 2 carucates, and Somerby [near Howsham], half a carucate, and Habrough, 1 bovate and 2 parts of a bovate to the geld. [There is] land for 7 ploughs. There are 36 sokemen and 1 villan having 4½ ploughs, and 40 acres of meadow. This SOKELAND belongs to Barnetby-le-Wold.³⁶

Earl Hugh owed his tenure to Earl Harold Godwinson, his Lincolnshire predecessor. Like Ulf, Harold also held his manors with sake and soke.³⁷ Earl of Wessex and East Anglia, and, of course, king in 1066, he was the most powerful man in England in the later years of the reign of Edward the Confessor. How he came to hold lands in Lincolnshire is unclear: many may have come from his brother Tostig who had been earl of Northumberland, of which Lindsey was intermittently a part, between 1055 and 1065 (Baxter and Blair 2006, 27). The context may well have been Tostig's deposition in 1065. Significantly, Barnetby was also almost the northernmost element in his vast fee. The lands that paid tribute to the manor were extensive and wide-spread, extending into *Lobingeham*, Irby, and Riby, as well as Barton, Bigby, Worlaby, Somerby, and Habrough. The population of the sokeland in Barton is not separately recorded, but there is no reason to doubt that it consisted of sokemen.

The 188 individuals of Gilbert de Ghent's manor of Barton, with a notional ten or so of Barnetby's sokemen, suggests perhaps a total population in excess of one thousand people. Barton was a large settlement in 1086 and may already have begun to exhibit the characteristics that were to mark it out as a small town in the thirteenth century. Its port was apparently busy: the jurors of Yarborough complained that 'Gilbert de Ghent's men are receiving a different toll from the one they received TRE, in respect of bread, fish, hides, and very many other things, for which nothing was ever given'.³⁸

Gilbert held three of the six recorded Humber ferries, those in Barton and Ferriby being the most valuable. The market is explicitly linked with the ferry and, although it is unlikely to be the only one on the wapentake, it was clearly in a position to take advantage of cross-Humber trade.

Barton and Barrow

This was the tenurial landscape that was to provide the framework for the subsequent history of medieval Barton. It was of recent development in 1066. Barton is a subordinate place-name, that is it signifies a relationship with a greater whole. It means ‘outlying barley farm, demesne farm’ (Parsons and Styles 1997, 86–7), and a pre-Conquest charter suggests a credible context. In 971 an estate identified as *æt Bearuwe* was granted by King Edgar to Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester for the newly re-founded Peterborough Abbey.³⁹ *Æt Bearuwe* can be identified with Barrow-upon-Humber (Cameron 1991, 15–16) and an English boundary clause indicates that the estate was coterminous with the present parish from the Humber to the east of Barrow to its southernmost point at its junction with the parish of Barton (Fig. 157): *Ærest up of Humbre andlanges þere ealdan dic þæt it cym’e’ð to wyrðe . fram wyrðe to Heope bricge . fram Heope bricge to merce mot . fram merce mote to Cumbre hole . fram Cumbre hole to willum . fram willum to micle hoh . fram micle hohe to middel hille . fram middel hille to mære dic*. Thereafter, the boundary returned to the river ‘by the boundary dyke’ (*swa andlang mære dic eft ut on Humbre*), but no further details are given as to its course. The western limit of Barrow is a possibility, but it seems more likely that it returned by the western boundary of Barton. In his analysis of the boundary clause Paul Everson has pointed out that the two parishes are topographically one unit, and that the western boundary is marked by a substantial bank which was also the boundary of a number of parishes to the south (Everson and Knowles 1992–93, 19–37).

It would seem, then, that the two holdings in Barton were formerly subsumed in the estate of Barrow. According to Hugh Candidus, a monk of Peterborough writing in the mid-twelfth century, Barrow was lost because the abbey was unable to pay the geld due from the estate in the reign of Æthelræd the Unready in the early eleventh century, probably in the period 1013–17.⁴⁰ Its subsequent fragmentation seems to have provided opportunities for a number of individuals. The Barrow element emerged in 1086 as three manors held by Drogo de la Beuvriere.⁴¹ Before the Conquest the largest, assessed at 9 carucates and 2 bovates, was in the hands of Earl Morcar, probably earl in Lincolnshire after 1065. The remaining two manors, assessed at 2 carucates, were held by Earnwine and Siward who cannot be positively identified. However, their fees were valued in Earl Morcar’s estate and so he was presumably their overlord. He in turn probably

held it in his capacity as earl by mortgage or forfeiture, for, in common with other estates to which Earl Morcar gave title to Drogo de la Beuvriere, it seems likely that it had formerly belonged to the extensive interests of Ulf Topesune, a king’s thegn of the East Midlands.⁴² The three manors of Barrow represent one tenurial interest.

The Domesday holdings in Barton, by contrast, clearly denote two. The intrusion of the lord of Barnetby may merely betoken a simple transfer of sokemen by sale: although sokemen were free to dispose of their lands as they saw fit, their soke lord was equally free to dispose of the dues they owed him (Roffe 2000c, 32). If Barton was a nascent town in the mid-eleventh century, the lord of Barnetby may have found it convenient to have men there to represent his interests. However, there is no sign of further tenurial heterogeneity of this kind and it therefore seems more likely that aggression was a factor. Lordship was not confined to sokeright before the Conquest. In addition to owing tribute, every free man was also required to seek, or commend himself to, a lord to vouch for his law-worthiness (Roffe 2000c, 28–30). A modern parallel might be the seeking of someone to put up bail but before a crime is committed. Unlike soke, the bond thereby created did not devolve upon the tenure of land, but rather was personal, being dissolved on the death of either party. Domesday Book indicates that there were some instances in which the free man felt it politic to commend himself to his soke lord, but more usually he assiduously chose someone who had no rights over his land (Abels 1991a, 38–40; Abels 1991b, 30–2; Williams 2001, 103–20). It was a balancing act that often came to grief in times of uncertainty. As Hugh Candidus attests at Barrow, inability to pay Danegeld in the early eleventh century led to the surrender of land to commendation lords or to simple appropriation along with the soke dues over it. This may well have been the fate of the sokemen of Barnetby in Barton. In commending themselves to Earl Harold, they were probably making the best of a bad job. They cannot have relished the thought of subordination to anyone, but better the protection of an absent national figure than that of a local lord.

The subversion of tenurial rights, however, was probably not confined to the lord of Barnetby. In his turn, the new lord of Barton may have appropriated the soke dues of South Ferriby and Horkstow. Situated to the west of Barton and beyond its boundary ditch, both settlements were outside the bounds of Barrow in 971. The fact does not in itself preclude the possibility that the vill fell within the soke of Barrow at this time. Boundary clauses do not necessarily delimit the full extent of estates. A charter of 956 granting Southwell in Nottinghamshire to the archbishop of York describes the bounds of five settlements, but a further eleven over which the archbishop was to have ‘sake and soke’ are only summarily listed (S659; Lyth and Davies 1992). Here the rehearsal of the extent of the

estate is apparently confined to the demesne. Whether the same is true of Ferriby and Horkstow is unclear, but the lack of ecclesiastical links between the three settlements dispose us to think that there was no underlying tenurial connection.

The Barrow/Barton complex might look as if it were the victim of a series of smash-and-grab raids. Self-help was probably a factor in the formation of the Domesday tenurial landscape, but in its main outlines the division of the Barrow estate was probably more ordered than it appears. If it were not, then it would have been very much the exception. Hugh Candidus records that Peterborough Abbey also failed to defend Howden in Yorkshire by paying the geld,⁴³ and Conisbrough in the same county, and Hough, Leadenham, Long Bennington, and Washingborough in Lincolnshire were probably also lost for the same reason. In 1066 all were large discrete estates. Hough, Leadenham, Long Bennington, and Washingborough were held by Ralf the staller, earl of East Anglia,⁴⁴ and, as former comital estates held by Earl Siward of Northumbria (Roffe 1993, 9–10), have every appearance of having been granted *en masse* by the king or whatever earl had authority in the area. Howden was held by King Edward and Conisbrough by Earl Harold,⁴⁵ probably in substantially the same form as Peterborough held them (Parker 1987, 42–3). In these estates failure to pay the geld had evidently resulted in escheat, that is reversion to the king or earl, and then re-grant. The Barrow/Barton complex was probably no different. Held by sake and soke, and the service that they implied, the various elements appear to have been the subject of specific grants.

Æt Bearuwe and its antecedents

At the outset, then, we have indications that the development of Barton devolved upon personal contingencies in the hundred years before 1066. Pre-Conquest lordship was not as fully identified with land as it was to become in the twelfth century. In consequence, there was a degree of structural fluidity that is not so widely evidenced later. No greater stability can be assumed in its earlier history. With firm documentary evidence for the extent of the Barrow estate in the late tenth century, it is tempting to assume that was its earliest form. In his early eighth-century history of the church in England, Bede records that King Wulfhere of Mercia granted fifty hides *Adbaruae* [*æt Bearuwe*] in the province of Lindsey to bishop Chad of Lichfield to build a monastery.⁴⁶ As elsewhere, Æthelwold seems to have sought the estate probably with the intention of re-founding the house and it has seemed to many that the boundary clause of 971 must represent the earlier estate (Everson and Knowles 1992–93). In the light of an unstable tenurial topography, however, the claim must be treated with caution.

Æthelwold sometimes was mistaken in his identification of earlier sites. He originally thought that

Medehamstede, now Peterborough, was to be identified with Oundle.⁴⁷ Moreover, when he correctly located the site, he was unable to acquire its former patrimony in full (Potts 1974). Barrow may be a similar case. The place-name Barrow means 'at the grove' (Cameron 1991, 15–16), which is precisely the Latin gloss that Bede gives *Adbaruae*. There are, then, no philological grounds for rejecting the Barrow estate of 971 out of hand. Two deserted ecclesiastical sites, St Chad's and Hann Hill in Barrow parish, have been suggested for the monastery (pp. 164–7). Either might fit the bill, but positive evidence of seventh-century occupation has not as yet been forthcoming.

Æthelwold, then, evidently had good reason to think that Barrow was part of Chad's estate, but he was probably less confident that he had acquired it all. The assessment of *Adbarue* at fifty hides, land for fifty families in Bede's terminology, does not obviously correspond with the Domesday assessment of Barton, Barrow, and/or their various dependents (Table 4). This is hardly surprising: the carucation of the Northern Danelaw, probably no earlier than the late tenth century, was apparently unrelated to earlier assessments (Roffe 1991a, 32–42). However, what evidence there is suggests that fifty hides was more than the 24 carucates of the Barrow complex in 1066. Before the mid-tenth century, grants were generally of large tracks of land encompassing a number of settlements. Evidence of any type is largely absent for Lincolnshire (Hart 1966, 97–113), but examples survive from Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire (Hart 1975, 92–113). There an interesting pattern emerges. In place of the carucate the *manens* or *mansura*, is the unit of assessment, a Latin translation of the land of a family or hide, and in almost every case each can be identified with a Domesday *vill* (Roffe 1990–91, 47–60). For example, the 60 *manentes* at Hope granted by King Athelstan to Uhtred in 926⁴⁸ are represented by the 60 *vills* of High Peak Wapentake in 1066.

If such an equation were to apply in Lincolnshire, then we might expect the estate granted to Chad to be something of the size of Yarborough Wapentake: oddly enough, there are precisely fifty *vills* that were assigned to the wapentake in Domesday Book.⁴⁹ The area might

Table 4: Assessment of Barrow, Barton, and associated estates in 1066

<i>Within 971 bounds</i>		<i>Without 971 bounds</i>	
	<i>c.b</i>		<i>c.b</i>
Barrow	11.2	Goxhill	2.0
Barton	13.2	Ferriby	2.7
		Horkstow	4.0
	24.4		8.7

NOTE: *c* = carucate *b* = bovate. There are 8 bovates to the carucate.

seem excessive, but it must be remembered that it was not a grant of land in the modern sense. Rather it was a transfer of food rent which the king would have otherwise expected from his subjects; in other words it was a fiscal grant. There is little, however, to validate this hypothesis. Hundreds and wapentakes are often assumed to perpetuate the area of ancient estates. In the south and west the hundred is regularly associated with a royal manor and it has seemed a logical step to conclude that the system emerged from a middle Saxon administration based on the *villa regis* (Cam 1932, 353–76). Wapentake, of course, is a Danish term denoting the symbolic flourishing of arms to signal consent in a meeting, and the institution has usually been dated to the early years of Scandinavian settlement (Hart 1992, 281–7). Earlier survivals have, nevertheless, been allowed for wapentakes with English names. Yarborough is derived from OE *eorð-burg*, ‘earthwork’ with reference to a small Iron Age hillfort at Yarborough Camp in Croxton (pp. 149–50). Yarborough Wapentake might seem to have all the hallmarks of an early estate like the hundreds elsewhere (Sawyer 1998, 84–5).

There are a number of objections to this analysis. The survival of a name categorically does not mean the survival of the institution to which it was attached. There was a concept of ‘Britain’ from the Roman period, but between the early fifth century and 1707 it had no political content: we know that Britain was a geographical term. Hundred and wapentake names are not necessarily otherwise. Remodelling of the system was undertaken in the East Riding of Yorkshire and Derbyshire between Domesday and the thirteenth century (Thorn 1992; Roffe 1991b, 246–7; Roffe 1986, 102–8). In Leicestershire there were changes of a less drastic kind in the same period, but a reorganization of the tenth century had seen a radical reshaping of boundaries (Slade 1956, 30–68; Roffe 1996). Wapentakes appear to have been more stable in Lincolnshire (Roffe 1991a, 32–42), but, with common

taxation quotas, they must often have been a creation of the process of carucation, suggesting that their boundaries are no earlier than the late tenth century.

The fact of an English name and a unit of local government is not a sufficient argument for the antiquity of Yarborough Wapentake. Ancient tenurial forms can, however, be detected within the wapentake. At the outset it is important to eschew the join-the-dots school of landscape studies here. A number of medium to large territorial sokes can be identified within the Wapentake, but not all are of equal antiquity. Barnetby is a case in point. If it acquired its soke in Barton between 971 and 1066, its form suggests that much of the rest of its soke was also of recent origin. First, there was no consolidated demesne at its centre. There were three other manors in Barnetby and a parcel of soke-land that, in 1066 at least, were tenurially independent.⁵⁰ Second, its elements were widely dispersed throughout the wapentake of Yarborough with little to indicate that the intervening land had ever belonged to the manorial centre (Table 8). There is no one parish that dominates the complex: that of Barnetby itself is confined to the eponymous township and its lord is not known to have had any ecclesiastical right in any of the others (Table 6). Barnetby gives every appearance of being essentially *ad hoc* in its structure. It is widely paralleled in East Anglia where the appropriation of free men, the local equivalent of the Lincolnshire sokeman, by local bigwigs is copiously recorded after the Conquest and more sparsely before. The soke of Barnetby probably owes its existence to the patronage that Earl Harold, or a comital predecessor, exercised as its lord. Its form is a function of the personal bonds of commendation.

A geographically compact core of inland and soke is more likely to indicate an ancient structure, but it remains true that, in isolation, the lands of most sokes look decidedly random. It was, after all, these distributions that convinced Stenton that he beheld vestiges of the ninth- and tenth-century settlement of free Danish

Table 5: Yarborough Wapentake, south-west

	1	2	3	4	7	12	14	16	22	25	27	30	32	34	40	44	47	68
Caistor	1																	
Hundon	2																	
Grasby	12			3														1
Owmbly	13					7			5									
Searby	14					4										2		
Cadney	3					5, 8		3										
Howsham	4					6, 9												
Kelsey, North	6					3												
Fonaby	7																	
Clixby	8																	
Nettleton				2				5					7		1			4
Audleby								4										

NOTE: The numbers at the head of each column indicate chapter numbers in the Lincolnshire section of GDB, those below the order of entries in each chapter. In the latter, Roman type indicates a manor; *italic* a berewick or soke. * indicates disputed tenure.

Table 6: Advowsons and lordship in Yarborough Wapentake

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Lord in 1086</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Parish</i>	<i>Lord in 1086</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Audleby	1	par. Caistor	Immingham		
Barnetby	34(½)	<i>LD</i> , 34.4	Keelby	7(½) or 30	
Barrow	30	LRS 9, 55	Kelsey, North	1	LRS 27, 51
Barton	24	<i>LD</i> , 24.13	Kettleby	7	par. Bigby
Bigby	7	<i>LD</i> , 7, 18	Kettleby Thorpe	7	par. Bigby
'Bodebi'	34 or 36	par. Thornton	Killingholme	32	<i>DC</i> , 212-13
Bonby	25	<i>LD</i> , L11/10	Kirmington		
Brocklesby	3, 14, 25, 27, 32, 34	<i>LD</i> , xxii	Limber, Great		
Burnham	34 or 36	par. Thornton	Limber, Little	3, 14, 25, 27, 32, 34	par. Brocklesby
Cadney	?1	VCH, 167	Lobingham	32	par. Killingholme
Caistor	1	<i>LD</i> , 1, 65	Melton Ross	34	<i>LD</i> , 34, 1
Clixby	1	par. Caistor	Nettleton	44	<i>LD</i> , 44, 5
Croxton			Newsham	3, 14, 25, 27, 32, 34	par. Brocklesby
Elsham	7	LRS 9, 57; BF, 159	Owmbly	44	par. Searby
Ferriby	23	<i>LD</i> , 23, 1	Riby		
Fonaby	1	par. Caistor	Saxby	14	<i>LD</i> , L11/10
Goxhill		LRS 9, 172	Searby	44	<i>LD</i> , 44, 7
			Somerby	?22	VCH, 131
Grasby	4	<i>LD</i> , 4, 26	Stallingboro'	32(½)	<i>LD</i> , 32, 1
Habrough	27	<i>DC</i> , 180	Thornton	36	LRS 9, 55
Halton	32 (part)	<i>DC</i> , 212-13	Ulceby	34	<i>LD</i> , 34, 2
Horkstow			Wootton		
Houfleet	32(½)	par. Stallingboro'	Worlaby		
Howsham	?1	par. Cadney	Wrawby	64	<i>LD</i> , 64, 18
Hundon	1	par. Caistor	Wykeham	44	par. Nettleton

NOTE: Not all churches are recorded in Domesday Book; much of the evidence for the right of presentation comes from later sources. Here the data are related to the corresponding lord in Domesday Book: the numbers in the 'Lord in 1086' column refer to the chapters of each in *GDB*, *LD*, and *DB Lincs*.

Table 7: Yarborough Wapentake, south-east

	1	2	3	4	7	12	13	14	16	22	25	27	30	32	34	40	44	47	68
Kirmington	9					2					5		4						
Limber, Great	5										3		5			1			
Croxton	10				7				6		6								
Limber, Little	11							3						11					
Habrough	15					6	5			2		2		10	10				
Brocklesby			1					6			7*	4		2*	9				
Newsham	16							4							11				
Keelby	17	2		4	8			8					6	4					1
Killingholme						1		2					7	7					
Lobingham							7	7		3			8	3					

NOTE: The numbers at the head of each column indicate chapter numbers in the Lincolnshire section of *GDB*, those below the order of entries in each chapter. In the latter, Roman type indicates a manor; *italic* a berewick or soke. * indicates disputed tenure.

armies (Stenton 1969). A wider view can provide a different perspective (Roffe 2007, 280–305). Patterns of tenure around Caistor and its soke are markedly contrasted with those of Barnetby (Table 5). There the manorial centre was undivided and was closely associated with inland in nearby Hundon and parts of Cadney, Howsham, Owmbly, and Searby. Sokeland in Clixby and Fonaby embraced the whole of each vill, but otherwise the manor shared the soke of the adjoining vill. There was, however, nothing random in its

distribution here. Caistor's soke (column 1) is closely mirrored in the lands of Count Alan (column 12), held by Grimbold Crac before the Conquest, and vestigially in other holdings in the area. Ecclesiastical provision underlines the unity of the complex (Table 6). The parish of Caistor extended into Hundon, Audleby, Clixby, and Fonaby. Further, the king had the presentment of North Kelsey and possibly Cadney, suggesting that they too had formerly belonged to a mother church in Caistor. Only the dues of the peripheral

Searby, Owmbly, and Nettleton did not belong to the Caistor fee in 1086. The cumulative evidence points in one direction only: at some period before 1066 a single compact unit had been divided up, element by element, in an ordered way.

This method of pre-Conquest estate formation is well attested in patterns of tenure throughout the Danelaw and beyond, and is even documented in a handful of cases (Roffe 2005, 271). It was employed as late as the 1160s in Northumberland where the baronies of Bolebeck and Bywell were created out of Bywellshire by the ordered division of each of the constituent villas of the older holding (Hodgson 1902, 6). But if it was not exclusively an early mechanism, then it was associated with early tenurial forms. What characterizes all the areas where it is most commonly found is that they were still predominantly tributary societies in the eleventh century. By then many of the rights that constituted the sokes had gone some way to being territorialized – dues had become identified with land – but their dispersed form suggests that they had had their origins in a share of food rents rendered at a central court.

A recurring pattern of such groups adds substance to this conclusion. It has been suggested that the arrangement of villas in groups of six and twelve in the sokes of the North reflects less Danish influence than an early system of rent payment based on the months of the year (Kappelle 1979, 80; Roffe 2000a, 12–14). Some early grants of land in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire reveal such a pattern, and it may, then, be no coincidence that there were twelve villas in the Caistor complex. However, the Domesday soke of Caistor was not confined to these villas. There were a further seven over which the king only had partial rights (Table 7). The rest of the land was held by thirteen tenants-in-chief in 1086 and no less than twenty-two individuals in 1066. Again, however, there is an impressive degree of interlocking of estates. Most notable is the group of manors and sokelands held by Ivo Taillebois (column 14), of which Little Limber, Newsham, and Keelby had been held by Alwine TRE along with Brocklesby, and Habrough by Turgisl. But Hugh son of Baldric (column 25) held an interdependent group of five manors in Kirmington, Great Limber, and Croxton, again with land in Brocklesby; Drogo de la Beuvriere (column 30) three manors in Kirmington, Great Limber, and Keelby/Coton held by Ulf and his man Rolf; and Norman Darcy (column 32) three holdings in Little Limber, Habrough, Keelby, and Brocklesby in succession to Styr, Grimkel, and Fulcric. There are further connections with Killingholme and Lobingham. Here is a second complex within the soke of Caistor.

Apart from both being in the soke of Caistor in 1086, there is little to relate these two groups of estates. There are no pre-Conquest seigniorial links: Count Alan (column 12) and Roger the Poitevin (column 16) held lands in both but in succession to different pre-

Conquest lords. More emphatically the church of Caistor had no especial rights in the second (Table 6): the predominant interest there seems to have been Alwine, to whose fee three churches became attached. Although adjacent to each other, the two complexes appear to have formed discrete, geographically compact, entities. There are numerous parallels for eleventh-century sokes encompassing two or more distinct tenurial groups, especially where they were held by the king. Whether related or not, the two complexes stand alone in Yarborough Wapentake. No comparable structures can be identified in the north of the wapentake (Table 8). Barrow and its dependency of Barton do not appear to fit into any matrix that can be shown to precede the Domesday structure. If its seventh-century estate was larger than the two parishes, then its extent is irrecoverable from the available written evidence.

What can be said, however, is that the relatively small size and compact form of the Barton estate, and, indeed, of the Barrow complex of 971, are typical of late tenth- and eleventh-century grants. Although poorly documented, estates of this type are widely distributed throughout the East Midlands and the North. In some areas they are relatively small in number and can be seen to be peripheral to the larger interlocking groups of earlier date. In Manley Wapentake to the west of Yarborough a complex of villas centred on West Halton can be reconstructed from interlocking patterns of Domesday tenure which can probably be identified with the *Alfham* where Æthelflæda founded a monastery in the late seventh century (Table 9). Situated on the northern edge of the complex, Alkborough and Whitton are topographically integral elements, but, held as bookland in 1066 by William Malet and Siward Barn respectively,⁵¹ they share no tenurial links with it. They would appear to have been granted with rights that superseded earlier interests; they intrude into earlier estate structures (Roffe 2000b).

Elsewhere, discrete estates predominate and also appear to have supplanted earlier forms. The northern part of Yarborough Wapentake was of this type. With the exception of Barnetby, the tenurial landscape is characterized by small manors with, at most, a scattering of dependent sokelands. It typifies the south bank of the Humber in general. To the east and inland, Haverstoe Wapentake appears largely to represent an earlier estate centred on Waltham. Cabourne, Cuxwold, and Rothwell were composed of numerous interrelated small estates, but the bulk of the area was soke of Waltham with a handful of small manors interlocking with it (Bryant 1985, 77–81). It is similar in form to the complexes within the soke of Caistor on which it abuts. It contrasts with Bradley Wapentake to the north of Haverstoe and abutting on the Humber to the east of Yarborough. There the pattern of tenure is predominantly small estates with no sign of any underlying metastructures (Table 10).

Table 8: Yarborough Wapentake, north

	4	7	12	13	14	16	22	23	24	25	27	30	32	34	36	40	44	47	64	68
Wrawby																				1
Immingham							1						8							
'Bodebi'															2					
Bonby										1					4					
Barton				2					1											
Barrow												1								
Bigby		1		3						9										
Elsham	1	2				2														2
Worlaby		3		4						2										
Melton Ross														1						
Wootton		4											5		3					
Ulceby		5											6	2						2
Barnetby				1			4							3						
Thornton Curtis														4	1					
Burnham														5						
Goxhill														6						3
Kettleby												3		8						3
Saxby					1															
Somerby				5			6													
Goxhill		6									1	2								
Stallingborough	5									7			1*							
Houfleet	6																			
Kettleby Thorpe										8										
Ferriby								1	2											
Horkstow									3											
Riby				8		1*														

NOTE: The numbers at the head of each column indicate chapter numbers in the Lincolnshire section of GDB, those below the order of entries in each chapter. In the latter, Roman type indicates a manor; *italic* a berewick or soke. * indicates disputed tenure.

Table 9: The West Halton complex of estates

	13	32	8	34	14	21
West Halton	1					
Walcot	2	1	1	2		
Alkborough			2		1	
Winterton	3	2		3		2
Roxby		3				
Coleby	4			1		
Haythby	5	4	3			
Conesby, North		5				
Flixborough		6				
Thealby	6	7				
Crosby & S. Conesby	7	8				
Burton	8					
Normanby		9				
Whitton						1

NOTE: The numbers at the head of each column indicate chapter numbers in the Lincolnshire section of GDB, those below the order of entries in each chapter. In the latter, Roman type indicates a manor; *italic* a berewick or soke. * indicates disputed tenure.

With the exception of the Halton complex on the top of the Lincolnshire Edge, Manley Wapentake, to the west of Yarborough, exhibits much the same tenurial profile. There are records of various grants to Peterborough Abbey in this area, dating from the mid-eleventh century, and all of them are of discrete parcels of lands smaller than a vill.⁵² Further west still Epworth Wapentake, conterminous with the Isle of Axholme, is no different. William the Conqueror had granted it in its entirety to Geoffrey de la Guerche sometime in the early 1070s, but there is nothing to suggest that it had a distinct tenurial identity before that date.⁵³ In 1066 there were ten manors of various sizes, each with a modest amount of soke. Two multiple manor entries in the Lounds and Belton indicate some degree of interdependence. Four claims, however, suggest that there was no one underlying title to the area. There are no interlocking patterns of tenure or significant super-parochial structures (Table 11).

With the notable exception of the hundred of Howden, a similar landscape of fragmented tenure can be observed to the north of the Humber in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Such patterns are characteristic of marginal areas. They are found, for example, in south-west Kesteven and on the Wolds of Lindsey, areas that were densely wooded in the eleventh century. In both districts assarting appears to have been largely unregulated, irregular patterns of tenure signifying late, and

Table 10: Bradley Wapentake

	2	3	4	12	13	14	16	22	27	30	32	36	40	44	47
Weelsby										1					
Aylesby		1		1					2						
Swallow	1		1	2, 4			1		4			2			
Cotes, Gt			6	3					1		1			1	
Healing			2						3						
Tetney									1						
Holton Cl				5		2, 3							1		
Clee			3, 7, 11			5									
Trunco			4, 13			6									
Cotes, Lt			5							2					
Grimsby			10							3					
Laceby			9					1		4					
Bradley															
Scartho												1			
Itterby			8, 12							5					1
Irby					1	7								2	
Humberston						4									

NOTE: The numbers at the head of each column indicate chapter numbers in the Lincolnshire section of *GDB*, those below the order of entries in each chapter. In the latter, Roman type indicates a manor; *italic* a berewick or soke. * indicates disputed tenure.

Table 11: Epworth Wapentake

	<i>Status of holding</i>	<i>TRE holder</i>
Epworth	manor	Leodwine
Owston	manor	Gytha
Haxey	manor	Siward Barn
Eastlound	two manors	Fulcric and Wege
Graizelound		
<i>Ibidem</i>	soke of Epworth	
<i>Ibidem</i>	berewick of Belton	
The Burnhams	soke of Belton	
Belton	two manors	Ulf and Alnoth
Beltoft	soke, unspecified	
Althorpe	soke, addition	
Crowle	manor	Alwine
	inland of Upperthorpe	
Amcotts	soke of Crowle	
<i>Ibidem</i>	inland of Westwood	
<i>Ibidem</i>	soke of Garthorpe	
Garthorpe	soke of Crowle	
Luddington		
<i>Ibidem</i>	manor	Fulcric
<i>Ibidem</i>	soke of Belton	
Butterwick	soke and inland of Owston	

probably haphazard, incorporation of cleared land into neighbouring manors, probably through the medium of commendation. Similar patterns are found on the fen edge of South Lincolnshire and the coastal salt marshes of the north, and again free-range colonization may be a factor. Here more often, however, fragmented tenure would seem to reflect seigneurial competition for high value resources. The lords of upland manors frequently sought access to the rich pasture and salterns of the area with a resulting fragmentation of tenure (Roffe 2005, 271–2).

The Humber estuary undoubtedly afforded opportunities of this kind. The minute sub-division of estates around Stallingborough, North Thoresby, Audby, Fulstow and Tetney is clearly related to the large number of salt-pans that Domesday records in the settlements in 1086. But other, more potent, factors were also at work. The holders of land on the south bank of the Humber were not just the usual assortment of sokemen and minor thegns of the marginal areas. They were, of course, present, but what above all characterizes the area is the large number of lords of regional importance holding relatively small estates. We have already noted the high status of the lords of Barton, Barrow and Barnetby. They were in good company. Major regional or national figures also held estates in the area. In Yarborough Wapentake we find Toki son of Auti at Wrawby,⁵⁴ Eadgifu at Melton Ross, Kettleby, Brocklesby and Thornton,⁵⁵ Healfdene Topi at Bigby, Worlaby, Ulceby and Keelby,⁵⁶ Grimr at Goxhill, Ulceby, Barnetby, Thornton and Burnham.⁵⁷ Bradley to the east is similar – Eadgifu held Grimsby,⁵⁸ Iolfr Holton-le-Clay,⁵⁹ Rolf Weelsby,⁶⁰ possibly Earl Morcar Great Cotes and Healing⁶¹ – while William Malet and Siward Barn held important estates on the Humber in Manley and Epworth.⁶²

All of these lands tended to be towards the northernmost limit of the lords' fees. Earl Harold held manors in Catton and Flamborough in the East Riding of Yorkshire and Conisbrough in the West Riding,⁶³ but otherwise it was only Eadgifu and Grimr who had substantial estates north of the Humber. The river was a tenurial boundary on which a large number of midland and southern lords sought to have a presence. This was no economic decision, nor can it have been accidental. The fragmented tenure of the area and its related high-status lordship reflect a political boundary of great importance in the eleventh century.

Boundary and march

Lincolnshire and Yorkshire were both settled by the Danes in the late ninth and early tenth centuries. As such, they were subject to various Danish customs and, from a Wessex perspective, were thus characterized as Danelaw counties. However, this is not to say that the two counties shared a common political, much less ethnic, identity. By 894, the Danes of York seem to have controlled the region as far south as the river Welland,⁶⁴ but after the devastating defeat of the army of the North by Edward the Elder, the king of Wessex, at Tettenhall (Staffs.) in 910, the East Midlands had to look to their own defence. Boroughs at Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and Stamford were fortified, probably for the first time, by more or less autonomous armies, but soon fell to a campaign of reconquest: by 921 all had submitted to Edward the Elder. What measures were taken to consolidate the area are largely invisible, but there is some evidence that boroughs were refortified and a coordinated burghal system introduced. Lincoln, by contrast, remained within the sphere of Viking York until at least 927 and may not have submitted until 942. In 939 the Danelaw had again succumbed to York, now under the sway of Ragnald and a Norse army, but the Christianized Anglo-Scandinavian population of the East Midlands seems to have chafed under 'the heathen yoke' of the northerners and they apparently welcomed 'the redemption of five boroughs' by Edmund, king of Wessex, in 942.⁶⁵

Steps were soon taken to consolidate West Saxon rule. Estates in the East Midlands were granted to important English and southern Danelaw lords, sometimes speculatively in advance of conquest, and local administration was centralized (Sawyer 1975, 28–39). Edmund, or possibly Edgar, instituted a regional assembly known to historians as the Confederacy of the Five Boroughs, which brought together the communities of Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, and Stamford for the first time in this form. At the same time attempts were made to reorganize the local church and wrest it from the control of the archbishop of York (Sawyer 1998, 149–52). Viking York submitted to Wessex in 954 and a similar policy of assimilation was undertaken. Most immediately, Archbishop Wulfstan was replaced by Osketil, a southern Danelaw cleric. Reform of local administration followed. However, by then the new networks of lordship and patronage had already begun to foster a community of interests and a common identity in the East Midlands (Stafford 1985, 124–7). Wulfric Spot was probably typical of a local élite that emerged. Mercian in origin, he held lands in Cheshire, Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, and Worcestershire on his death in *c.* 1004, but the core of his interests lay in Staffordshire, Leicestershire, Derbyshire, and Lincolnshire. Conisbrough and Doncaster were the only estates he held in Yorkshire.⁶⁶ Somewhat later, Wulfric's kinsmen

Sigferth and Morcar were described as leading thegns 'of the seven boroughs'.⁶⁷ The unique district name has been the subject of much speculation, but it seems likely that their estates were likewise concentrated in the East Midlands, for when Edmund Ironside subsequently seized them he is said to have gone into 'the Five boroughs'.⁶⁸

By the late tenth century, the East Midlands had diverged both politically and socially from the North. It was recognized as a discrete cultural entity (Stocker and Everson 2001) and was closely integrated into royal administration where Yorkshire remained semi-detached (Whitelock 1979, 403). The distribution of TRE lordship in Domesday Book, and the boundary that it describes, evidently attests over a hundred years of separate development. The distinctive seigneurial profile of the region, by contrast, the concentration of king's thegns, was probably of more recent origin. The Five Boroughs were undoubtedly set up as a march against an unstable North, but by the late tenth century high-status lords were probably drawn to the area by a threat to both communities. In 993 the Danes sacked Bamburgh 'and after that the army came to the mouth of the Humber and did much damage there, both in Lindsey and Northumbria' (*ASC, s.a.* 993). Although the thegns Fraena, Frythegyst and Godwine, apparently from the East Midlands, are said to have refused to fight 'because they were Danes on their father's side',⁶⁹ they can hardly have welcomed the destruction of their estates. Their continued appearance at court for some years to come suggests that they acted to limit the wasting (Williams 2003, 112–13).

No further raids are recorded in the area until 1013 when King Swein of Denmark sailed into the Humber and fortified Gainsborough on the Trent.⁷⁰ Again, expediency rather than fellow feeling may have dictated the subsequent submission of the men of Lindsey, Northumbria, the Five Boroughs, and then the whole of the Danelaw. England followed and King Æthelræd fled into exile. The men of the Danelaw simply recognized that the old English state was crumbling. They were to pay for facing harsh realities. On the death of Swein in the following year, his son Cnut was unable to command the allegiance of the English. With Æthelræd's return from exile, he was forced to retreat to Gainsborough and then return to Denmark. Left in the lurch, Lindsey was wasted by the avenging king.⁷¹ The purge of Sigferth and Morcar followed in 1015, apparently for treason, and Edmund Ironside then marched north and seized their estates in defiance of the king.⁷² The region may have seen further disruption in the following year when Cnut marched north from Kent again to secure the area.

The Humber, then, was an open back door to both the North and the East Midlands in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. The wholesale acquisition of estates in the area by high-status lords probably dates from this period as an attempt to shut it. The chaos of the times provided a ready supply of forfeited lands.

Peterborough Abbey cannot have been alone in losing estates through failure to pay the geld and the assassination of Sigeferth and Morcar must have released further swathes of land for re-allocation. Both King Æthelræd and Edmund Ironside probably assigned manors to those who were better able to defend them and the region.

Thereafter Lindsey did not feature so prominently in the politics of England until after the Conquest when again it became an invasion route. Cnut's reign saw the settlement of some Danish lords in the area and 'new men' were promoted, probably locally as well as regionally. But there were few occasions for the Humber to become a frontier. In the dynastic struggle that followed the death of Cnut in 1035, the North sided with the East Midlands and, as far as the evidence goes, much of the drama was played out elsewhere. Again, in the reign of Edward the Confessor the earldom of the East Midlands became a political football, but links between Yorkshire and Lindsey remained strong. In the revolt against Tostig in 1065, for example, Lindsey appears to have risen with the North (Kapelle 1979, 98–100). The tenurial profile of Lindsey in 1066 almost certainly came out of the events of the early years of the century.

St Peter's church

How St Peter's church fits into this tenurial maelstrom must, by necessity, be a matter of speculation. At the outset, however, it seems clear that St Peter's had always been an estate church or chapel. From its first notice in the Bardney Cartulary, St Mary's church was a chapelry,⁷³ but otherwise the rights of St Peter's did not extend beyond the parish of Barton-upon-Humber. Nor did any neighbouring church have rights over St Peter's. No pension was paid to Barrow or any other church that may have had an earlier minster status. There is nothing to show that St Peter's had ever been anything other than an ordinary parish church, that is, that it was built as an adjunct of an estate.

The archaeological evidence indicates a date within the range 970–1015. The grant of Barrow to Peterborough Abbey in 971, then, is a possible context for the construction of the church. Nothing is known about the internal organization of Peterborough's estate, and it is thus difficult to perceive what role St Peter's would have played within it. Given its name, it may seem reasonable to assume that Barrow itself was the estate centre and St Chad's, or its predecessor, its church. In that case, St Peter's would have to be something like a chapel within the grange that was Barton. However, the assumption that Barrow was the estate centre is not necessarily warranted. Barrow is primarily an estate name and its caput and church could have been anywhere in its territory. Barton must remain a possibility. In origin the name would certainly indicate a subordinate element in a larger estate, but it may not have been so in the tenth century. The ditch system

pre-dating the church may attest a seigneurial presence before that date, unless, of course, it was associated with the grange at whatever period it was built (Cox 1994, 42–7).

Against this context is the seeming independence of St Peter's. Had the church been founded within the Barrow complex, then some relationship between the two churches might have been expected. A second context for construction therefore suggests itself, namely the dismemberment of the Barrow estate after Peterborough's forfeiture in the early eleventh century. If Barton was indeed granted by the king, as argued above, then it may well be from this time that the estate was held with the full rights that Ulf Fenisc enjoyed in 1066. Bookright of this kind was, above all, signalled by the possession of a belfry and church (Williams 1992). The tower of St Peter's is undoubtedly a powerful statement of lordship: it may well have been constructed to signal the presence of a new lord who had been granted Barton for the specific purpose of defending the Humber march.

Morphology of the Town

The diffuse and seemingly unplanned nature of the medieval and later town is the result of many centuries of growth that was not exactly haphazard but was dominated by a multiplicity of topographical factors, partly natural and partly man-made. By the time of the Norman Conquest, Barton had seen at least three stages of development based on earthwork enclosures. First, the prehistoric enclosure to the south of Market Lane (later home to the middle Saxon cemetery); second, the sub-circular earthwork of middle Saxon date around Tyrwhitt Hall; and third, the huge D-shaped enclosure for which a Viking origin has been argued. The second was enveloped by the third, and running through both in an east–west direction was a slightly sinuous track which followed the Humber terrace: that is, today, West Acridge, High Street, Burgate, Beck Hill and East Acridge (Fig. 4). Other tracks also entered the area, from the south-west (Ferriby Road), from the south (Whitecross Street), the south-east (Caistor Road) and the east (Barrow Road). These provided the skeleton of the medieval and later road system within the town.

The names of most of the older streets and the roads leading into Barton appear in medieval records (Cameron 1991, 36–40): *Barugate*, *via de Baru* (Barrow Lane/Road), *Brunnumgate* (Burnham Road), *Burghgate* (Burgate), *Casteldyke* (Castledykes), *Fletgate* (Fleetgate), *Hautemarket* (Market, George Street), *Hundegate* (Hungate), *Marketgate* (King Street?), *Neuport* (Newport Street), *Prestegate* (Priestgate), *Sootergate* (Soutergate⁷⁴), *Sut'gate* (Southgate, Whitecross Street), *Virid' via* (Green Lane), *via de Feriby* (Ferriby Road), *via de Haketorn* (Hawthorn Lane, Eastfield Road), *via de Horkestau* (Horkstow Road), etc. Several other medieval names are recorded

but cannot now be identified precisely, such as *Spitalsteighgate*, which doubtless alluded to the lost hospital. Local road and street names have been discussed at length by Brown (1908, 84–95).

The other major topographical determinants were the streams, springs and blow-wells (Fig. 138). There appear to have been two significant streams – Bowmandale Drain and Waterslacks Drain – and one or two others of lesser consequence. Most important, however, was the Beck, a sizeable blow-well that, in its natural state, would have comprised a boggy area, into which the Waterslacks Drain fed. The outflow to the marsh was via the Beck Drain. The potential to control the water flowing into and out of the Beck, and to harness this source of power for milling, must have been obvious from the Roman period onwards. Although there is little evidence *in situ* for Roman watermills in Britain, their ubiquitousness is demonstrated by finds of grinding-stones (many of them of Rhenish lava) which were too big to have been hand-operated querns.

Whether or not there was a Roman watermill situated on the Beck, there can be little doubt that there was one in the Anglo-Saxon period, associated with the settlement inside the sub-circular enclosure. Fragments of millstones, both of Rhenish lava and Pennine Gritstone, were found in association with Roman and Anglo-Saxon pottery, just outside the enclosure (Bradley 2002, 15). The fragments were mostly too small to ascertain whether they derived from millstones or querns. A simple timber-framed mill, akin to the ninth-century structure excavated at Tamworth (Staffs.) (Rahtz and Meeson 1992), might be expected somewhere on the north side of the Beck.

In 1086 Barton had two mills, both of which functioned throughout the Middle Ages and into relatively modern times. One was in Pasture Road, where it was fed by the Beck, and the second mill lay at the head of the Haven (Poors Mill), which itself provides indirect evidence that this artificial channel was most likely constructed in the Anglo-Saxon period (Figs. 18 and 19). The history of the Haven, and of the sea-banks, dykes and marshes associated with it, cannot be considered here (see Brown 1908, 60–4, 87; fig. 6).

By the late tenth century a Christian cemetery had been established on the slight knoll just outside the sub-circular enclosure, overlooking the Beck. Whether there was an associated focus in the form of a church, chapel or standing cross has not been established; neither have the limits of the cemetery, except in an eastward direction. It is entirely feasible that the first church stood where the Old Vicarage now is, and that the excavated portion of primary cemetery lay to its east. The erection of churches in locations intimately associated with water in the Anglo-Saxon period is a notable phenomenon.⁷⁵ Unfortunately, terracing of the land to build the vicarage will have destroyed the evidence for any earlier structure on its site. A parallel may be drawn between Barton and Great Limber

(Lincs.): St Peter's church at the latter stands 120 m east of a large circular pond set in the centre of a road junction (Everson *et al.* 1991, fig. 74). In the early eleventh century Barton's small but sophisticated church of St Peter had been built on its present site, eclipsing part of the earlier cemetery (see further below, p. 279). Alternatively, the earliest church could have lain immediately to the south of the present building, in the unexcavated graveyard: that was potentially the highest point in the local topography.

Thus, having considered the known fixed-points of the Anglo-Saxon landscape – watercourses, principal thoroughfares, defences, church and mills – it remains to explore the evidence for streets and burgages. It is clear that by the end of the Anglo-Saxon era settlement east of the Beck had shrunk: the western part of the sub-circular enclosure probably continued to support a residence of some status, but there is no sign of medieval urban development in this area.

The importance of the market at Barton in the eleventh century is made clear in the Domesday Survey (p. 36), although the first recorded market grant dates from the thirteenth century. By this time All Saints' church (later St Mary's) had been built by traders as a market-place chapel. Although no borough charter is recorded, a number of references to land held in burgage tenure suggest that Barton had attained borough status by the mid-twelfth century. Burgage plots are documented in Fleetgate, Marketgate (now King Street) and the road to Barrow (now Market Lane and part of Market Place). However, the earliest concentration of plots would doubtless have been alongside Burgate (*i.e.* 'borough street'), the main thoroughfare linking the area of early habitation around St Peter's with the quayside settlement at the Haven.⁷⁶ The first market site is likely to have been at the east end of Burgate (below, pp. 51–2).

Barton Castle

Historical evidence and its interpretation

Several generations of historians have puzzled over the terse and oblique references contained in the Bardney Abbey Cartulary to a castle at Barton, built in the twelfth century by Earl Gilbert de Gant (Ghent, Gand or Gaunt).⁷⁷ There are four relevant mentions:

1. A charter of Earl Simon of Northampton (husband of Alice, daughter of Gilbert de Gant), datable to 1156–61, refers to '... the exchange which Earl Gilbert made with the above said monks of Bardney at Barton when he built the castle (*quando firmavit castellum*) in the same town ... the said monks may have the land towards the south of the same town outside the wall (*extra murum*) ... for their own dwellings near the church of St Peter and for all the dwellings of their men within the same town ...'. (ff. 63–64)⁷⁸

2. The exchange is recorded in a notification to Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, of a grant by Gilbert de Gant to Ivo, Abbot of Bardney, datable to 1139–40. This makes no mention of a ‘castle’ but describes the same exchange of land for the various dwellings, adding that the newly assigned land was to ‘the east side of the south gate’ (*porti australis: i.e.* Whitecross Street), and was bounded by another road entering from the east (*i.e.* Barrow Road) and the bank (*fossati*) which ran between it and Thornton road. (f. 69v)⁷⁹
3. A charter of Robert de Gant, dated 1186–90, confirms his father’s (Walter de Gant’s) grants to Bardney and, in the same wording as the earlier grant, refers to ‘... the exchange which Earl Gilbert my brother made ... when he built the castle in the same town’. (f. 56r–56v)⁸⁰
4. A charter of Pope Eugenius III (1145–53) to John, Abbot of Bardney, confirms Bardney’s possession of lands at Barton, including ‘a house which is outside the castle [or town?] defences’ (*mansione quo est extra castrum*). (f. 13)⁸¹

Collectively, these tell us that sometime before 1139 Gilbert de Gant carried out an exchange of lands with the monks of Bardney, in order to build a castle for himself. He took possession of land-parcels and the houses thereon which lay in the vicinity of St Peter’s church, and elsewhere in the town; in exchange, he granted the monks a single block of land lying immediately outside the south gate of the town, between two of the approach roads and an earthwork. This block can confidently be identified as the holding which was later known as Bardney Hall (p. 50).

The implication of the exchange is that Gilbert needed possession of certain properties near St Peter’s church in order to build his castle. Instinctively, that would appear to point to the castle’s location, and it has generally been assumed that the construction took the form of a ringwork or motte-and-bailey, although no certainty obtains. Comparisons have frequently been drawn with the contemporary earthwork castle at Barrow (see below). However, there being no topographical indications of castle earthworks in the vicinity of St Peter’s, Brown (1906, 99) suggested that Gilbert’s construction lay on the south side of the town, on the low promontory now occupied by the tower windmill adjacent to the present market place. He was influenced both by the superior natural topography of this location and the existence of the street name ‘Castledyke’. He noted also the presence of earthworks in the vicinity, although the footprint of a motte-and-bailey castle was not immediately recognizable.

We have already observed that ‘castledykes’ is a term which has historically been applied to earthworks all around the perimeter of the town, and is thus of no help in locating the Norman castle. The Bardney Cartulary expressly confirms the existence of the town defences (*murum*), including the south gate (*porta australis*).⁸²

While *castellum* is used in the primary reference to Gilbert’s castle, the land newly assigned to Bardney Abbey was outside the *castrum*: too much should not be read into this, since the Cartulary derived the terms from separate documents. However, the question remains: was the Bardney land outside the castle, or the town? It might be argued that it would have been to the abbey’s disadvantage to exchange dwellings within the relative security of the town for an unprotected extramural site, unless of course a new grange was being established. On balance, it is suggested that in the context of the papal charter, *castrum* referred to the recently erected castle.

Barton and Barrow: establishing a context for their castles

The local political and economic context for the erection of a castle at Barton may be briefly examined. Gilbert de Gant had acquired the lordship of the manor of Barton by 1086, and held it until his death in 1156. The neighbouring territory of Barrow-upon-Humber was held by the Count of Aumale, Lord of Holderness (English 1979). In the middle years of the twelfth century, Aumale and de Gant were bitter adversaries, and the latter was also in dispute with Ranulf, Earl of Chester and Lincolnshire, who was an ally of Aumale’s (Dalton 1991). The town of Barton was prosperous and of considerable value and, moreover, it controlled the most successful of the Humber ports. From Aumale’s point of view, Barton was a prize worth taking; from de Gant’s, it was an asset worth protecting.

Barton was, however, vulnerable to attack from land or water, and it was remote from de Gant’s principal holdings in the south of the county. Worse still, the Aumales were ensconced at Barrow castle, only 3 km east of Barton, and could attack the town from the east with considerable ease. Three parallel roads ran from Barrow to Barton, the most significant being the ‘upper’ road (now Barrow Road). The ‘middle’ road led to Tyrwhitt Hall and St Peter’s, and the ‘lower’ road followed the marsh edge. The Aumales had their castle at Barrow Haven, where there is a complex of earthworks of several periods, known locally as ‘Barrow Castles’⁸³ (Fig. 27). The site was first noted by William Stukeley in 1724,⁸⁴ when he enthusiastically described it as ‘a temple of the old Brittons’ (Stukeley 1724, 95), and in the following year he drew a prospect of the site.⁸⁵ The castle is also mentioned by Camden (Gough 1806, 388). Several early plans of the earthworks exist,⁸⁶ and a full survey of the surviving remains was made in 1982 (Atkins 1983, fig. 1), but there has been no modern archaeological excavation. It is likely to have pre-Norman origins, and potentially incorporates a ringwork; finds dating from the Roman period onwards have been made in the vicinity. Most prominent, however, is the motte-and-bailey castle which was undoubtedly occupied, if not built, by the

Aumales, although its first documented mention is only in 1190 (Cameron 1991, 18). The large, low motte, three sizeable baileys and other earthworks are still visible.

Thus the greatest potential threat to Barton came from the east, and it is reasonable to suppose that Gilbert's castle would have been strategically sited to intercept any advance by road. The huge D-shaped enclosure defined by the 'castledykes' was not practicably defensible, and the erection of a castle to monitor access was the contemporary response. While a track along the marsh edge was probably not conducive to the efficient movement of troops, the middle and upper roads from Barrow to Barton were. Somehow, both of these had to be controlled.

Both Barton and Barrow castles were unlicensed and thus only appear in retrospective references. They are likely to have been erected at about the same time, in the later 1130s or 1140s. In the case of Barton, a date before 1139 is implied by the exchange of land. Both castles were doubtless decommissioned and rendered unusable in the 1150s, as political stability was re-established in England. Hence, they do not appear in later history.

Topographical and archaeological evidence

St Peter's church and Tyrwhitt Hall

The unexpected discovery of a massive ditch of Norman date on the eastern boundary of St Peter's churchyard during excavation in 1983 reopened the question of the castle's location (Figs. 680 and 681). Although less than a half-section of the ditch could be obtained, it was clearly of defensive character and on a scale appropriate to an earthwork castle. The excavated details are given on p. 609. The ditch passed hard by the east end of the church, while the accompanying bank on its west flank must literally have clasped the side walls of the chancel. The alignment of the earthwork north of the church was established by excavation, and is still preserved by the boundary of Tyrwhitt Hall. Pasture Road appears to mark the northward continuation of the defensive line (Fig. 29).

South of the church, the alignment of the earthwork is unknown, but it presumably headed towards Barrow Road. It would be difficult to find a rational explanation for the defences to have swung west, towards the centre of the town. Had they done so, and had the castle been in the middle of the town, its impact on the urban topography would have been considerable and vestiges would surely have remained. There is no hint in the morphology of the medieval town to indicate that an enclosure of castle-like proportions was imposed on it.

It is more logical to envisage the bank and ditch on the edge of the churchyard, not as part of an encircling earthwork, but as a linear defence for the eastern flank

of Barton. It is therefore posited that the earthwork ran south from the church, to the present Barrow Road (which probably did not quite follow its present line in the twelfth century), and thence on to the kink in Caistor Road. A length of earthwork south of Barrow Road still existed in the early twentieth century, and was known as the 'Fosse' (Figs. 4 and 19).⁸⁷ It has now been almost entirely obliterated.⁸⁸ The dyke is also to be equated with the earthwork (*fossati*) mentioned in 1139–40 in the Bardney Cartulary. The alignment is continued even further in a southerly direction by Eastfield Road.

Finally, Tyrwhitt Hall needs to be mentioned, if only to dismiss it as a contender for the castle site. Although the hall is very close to St Peter's, it is on slightly lower ground, the church tower overlooks it (which would not make defensive sense) and the excavated ditch emphatically places the hall outside the *enceinte*. Furthermore, Tyrwhitt Hall is the most likely candidate for the house, orchard and fishpond which was granted to Bardney Abbey by Walter de Gaunt, father of Earl Gilbert.⁸⁹ A case may, however, be made for the hall lying between two lines of defence: to its east was a sinuous stream – one of those discussed in chapter 4 (p. 146) – which appears to have been modified to form an earthwork. That became the eastern boundary of the hall close in the later Middle Ages (Fig. 151; p. 55).

Baysgarth and south of the town

The topography immediately outside the south gate of the D-shaped town enclosure merits further consideration (Fig. 29). Here, a second area containing earthworks has attracted antiquarian attention in the past. Boundaries define a squarish block of land, defined on the north by Market Lane and Barrow Road, on the west by Brigg Road, and on the east by 'The Fosse'. At the centre of this block is a three-way road junction. Running north is Whitecross Street, the principal entrance to Barton from the south; pointing in a south-south-westerly direction is a branch of the road to Brigg (and to Horkstow); and finally arriving from the south-east is Caistor Road (the prehistoric routeway known as Barton Street, p. 149; Fig. 142).

Brown described what he believed to be the line of the town defences in this area, but his proposed route is impossibly tortuous (Fig. 4). Clearly, he was following ditches and boundaries of varying origins. He, in common with other antiquaries, suggested that the Norman castle occupied the rising ground just south of Market Lane, where a windmill now stands, but no trace of a medieval fortification was encountered in the vicinity when excavations were conducted on the Castledyke Anglo-Saxon cemetery (Drinkall and Foreman 1998).

Nevertheless, the area still holds considerable interest, not only for the ill-understood evidence of its dykes and earthworks, but also for the fact that two of

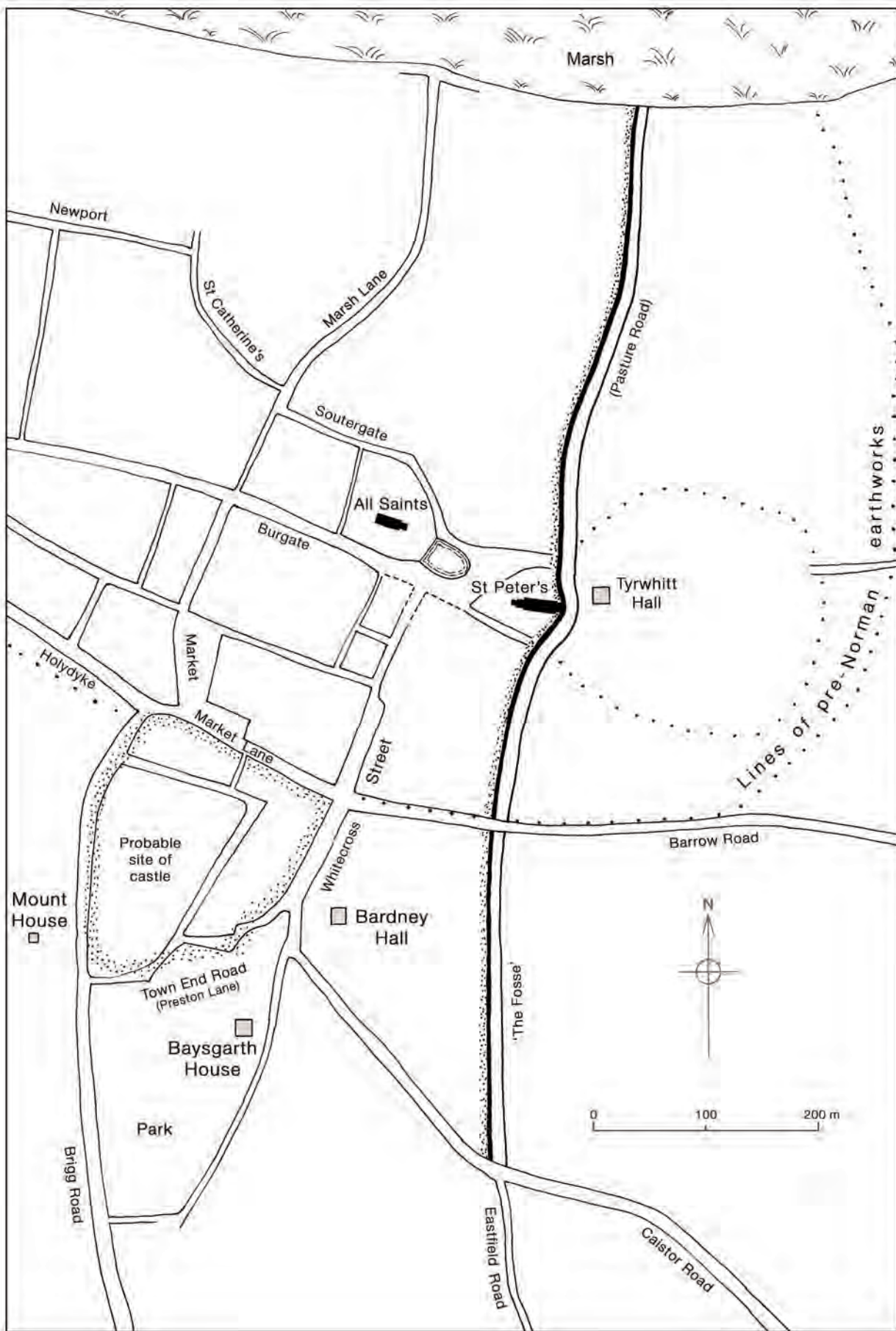


Fig. 29: Suggested reconstruction of the topography of Barton castle and the eastern defences of the town in the mid-twelfth century. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

the major houses of Barton are located here. On the east side of the three-way road junction lies Bardney Hall, now a fine early eighteenth-century house (Pl. 11), but previously a medieval grange of Bardney Abbey, to which the rectory and living of St Peter's church were appropriated. The earliest record of Bardney Hall occurs in 1391, when it was fortuitously mentioned in connection with the death of a servant of the abbot of Bardney (Cameron 1991, 32). Circumstantial evidence can, however, be invoked to suggest that Bardney Hall was the property referred to by Walter de Gant in the early twelfth century as 'the house with the orchard adjoining my park' (Brown 1906, 86). The only park known to have existed in Barton is at Baysgarth where, it is argued, the castle once lay (p. 54).

The topographical setting of Bardney Hall has been modified by quarrying and modern development, but it formerly occupied a distinct eminence, potentially reinforced with earthworks. It was noted in 1836 as 'a raised enclosure, with fine thick elm and walnut trees ... a very ancient house' (Saunders 1836, 42). The site of the hall was described by Hesleden (1846, 225) as 'considerably elevated above the level of the roads which surround it', and he had no hesitation in claiming this to be the location of the castle keep. However, it has already been argued that the origins of Bardney Hall are to be found in Earl Gilbert's land exchange, and that would rule it out as the site of the castle.

The second major house is Baysgarth, which lies to the south-west of the road junction (Fig. 30). This is now a substantial and largely eighteenth-century mansion, set in parkland; from 1620 onwards it was the seat of the influential Nelthorpe family (Tomblinson 1905, 45). The ancestry of the property has been researched by David Williams.⁹⁰ It is first mentioned in 1537, as *basegarth*, and again in 1585 as *Base garthe*. Although alluded to in the will of Thomas Naylor of Glentham (Lincs.) in 1557, it is unnamed. Cameron (1991, 32–3) points to a likely Scandinavian origin for both elements: significantly, in relation to the present discussion, an enclosure is implied.⁹¹ Tomblinson (1905) records another version of the name as *Basegarde*, a common medieval term for the lower ward of a castle. One further place-name, albeit very late, may be mentioned as having possible relevance: west of the park in what is now Brigg Road is 'Mount House' (Fig. 29). Although first recorded in 1824, the property takes its name from Mount Close, which has mentions back to 1778, and implies the proximity of a prominent earthwork;⁹² this is perhaps too much of a coincidence to dismiss. Although the Nelthorpes (of Baysgarth) may have had a windmill here, the origin of the 'mount' itself could have been much earlier (Tomblinson 1905, 17).

There are thus credible grounds for suggesting that Baysgarth House may have been erected on the site of one of the castle's baileys. There is no specific evidence for a house here before the Elizabethan period, and the



Fig. 30: Baysgarth House, Barton. A (upper) South front; B (lower) The back wing from the north-west. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

ownership of the land is uncertain: if it had been acquired in the Middle Ages as part of Bardney Abbey's estate in Barton, the property will have been confiscated and sold by the Crown in the mid-sixteenth century. If so, the first house of significance may have been erected in the 1550s by the new secular owner, as frequently happened elsewhere.⁹³

However, the topography is complicated and more than one phase of earthwork enclosure seems inevitable, but whatever their dates of construction, enclosures undoubtedly existed here. As already observed, the earthworks are morphologically appendages to the town defences (*i.e.* to the D-shaped enclosure), and a re-examination of the topography suggests two possible scenarios for the development of this area.

First, there are indications of an approximately square enclosure attached to the town earthwork, with Brigg Road marking the west side, a straight length of dyke on the east ('The Fosse', which formed the rear boundary of Bardney Hall, and is mentioned in 1139–40), and a field boundary on the south which appears on the 1796 Enclosure map. The area thus delimited would have been roughly 340 m square, or 11.5 ha. (28.5 acres). This is not convincing as a castle, and in any case includes Bardney Hall within the circuit: the rectilinear outline could merely be the result of pre-enclosure improvements and boundary

straightening. Alternatively, it could be a relict feature of considerably earlier date.

Second, a much smaller enclosure of curvilinear plan, with an area of *c.* 6 ha. (14.8 acres), to the west of Whitecross Street, may be reconstructed using topographical indicators. Particularly evocative is the curvature at the northern end of Brigg Road and the dog-legged plan of Town End Road, as portrayed on the 1796 map (Fig. 29). This kind of configuration is commonly found where urban streets had to negotiate castle defences. One might even speculate that the motte lay close to what is now the junction between Preston Lane and Brigg Road (noting that Mount House lies directly opposite, on the west side of Brigg Road), and that there was one bailey to the north (*i.e.* in the direction of the tower mill) and another to the south (in what is essentially now Baysgarth Park). That would place Baysgarth House in the *base-garde*, rendering a literal meaning to its name.

Discussion

On balance, the circumstantial evidence for the castle best favours the Baysgarth area of town: the land is slightly elevated; the configuration of roads and boundaries here indicates enclosures additional to the D-shaped defence; dykes and earthworks are recorded; and the place-name evidence is supportive. Indeed, on current knowledge there is no other serious contender.

Had the middle Saxon sub-circular enclosure around Tyrwhitt Hall been refurbished in the twelfth century it is almost inconceivable that all evidence for the castle phase would have been so thoroughly expunged; that would not have occurred merely as a result of slighting. It is difficult to envisage how the labour involved in systematically levelling the castle would have been justified, given that the land remained in basic agricultural use thereafter. The problem would be further compounded by the churchyard ditch and bank. These could never have been part of a defence around Tyrwhitt Hall, and were therefore demonstrably not associated with any Norman refurbishment of the sub-circular enclosure.

It is more logical to view the 'churchyard' defence as part of a linear earthwork, protecting the whole of the east side of the town from potential attack from the direction of Barrow. Gilbert de Gant's need to acquire land close to St Peter's church is thus readily explained (p. 47). The period of the Anarchy would provide a suitable context for such a construction, and for its slighting when political stability was re-established. While the northern and southern parts of the linear defence are evidenced in the landscape, the central section (from the church to Barrow Road) can only be surmised since it has been completely engulfed by development. The area through which it must have run lay within Football Close in the eighteenth century (Figs. 18 and 19), and when this was sub-divided in the middle of the following century a north-south

boundary was established on the posited line of the earthwork; also the 1850 churchyard extension for St Peter's was given a curiously angled southern boundary. The simplest explanation for the sub-division of Football Close taking the form that it did would be the influence exerted by residual earthworks lying within it.

The incorporation of the chancel of St Peter's church in the defensive circuit is remarkable, but is by no means a unique circumstance. Clearly, the line was chosen to ensure that the parish church was secured within the defences, its tower at the same time providing a valuable and ready-made vantage point. It was not uncommon for churches to be incorporated in the circuits of urban defences, and sometimes denoted with the suffix '-on-the wall'. Admittedly, the church was usually a secondary attachment to the wall, as at St Olave, York, or St Michael-at-the-North Gate, Oxford, but Repton (Derbys.) provides an analogue for the physical incorporation of a pre-existing church in an earthwork circuit, in that instance a Viking fort erected in 873-74. The church, which formed part of the southern defence, served as a gatehouse (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1992). At Castle Rising (Norf.) a complete Saxo-Norman church was embodied in the earthen defences of the Norman castle (Morley and Gurney 1997).

Barton's castle was short-lived and no mention of it appears in any context after the twelfth century. Most likely its earth and timber defences were deliberately slighted, to render it ineffective, and such physical evidence as remained was gradually absorbed into the developing landscape of Barton. The creation of Baysgarth Park would have dealt the final blow.

Streets, Burgages and Market: the Early Phases

Geoffrey Bryant (1994, fig. 7.4) has drawn attention to the street pattern occupying the strip of land lying between the two principal streams that traverse the town. Bounded on the south by Castledyke, there are four parallel streets: 'Barrowgate' (now Market Lane), Priestgate, Burgate and Soutergate. All are attested by name in medieval documents, and it seems likely that they are much older than their recorded histories. On the west, they all run into King Street (formerly 'Marketgate') and on the east into Whitecross Street (formerly 'Southgate'). This rectilinear disposition of streets points strongly to a planned development (Fig. 31).

At the east end of the block between Priestgate and Burgate, at the closest point to St Peter's church, is a rectangular area, bounded on the east by Whitecross Street and on the west by St Mary's Lane: this has the appearance of being an infilled market place.⁹⁴ It can also be deduced that Whitecross Street (medieval Southgate) was broader than it is today, particularly in the northern half. Here, we can detect westward encroachment on to the once open market area.

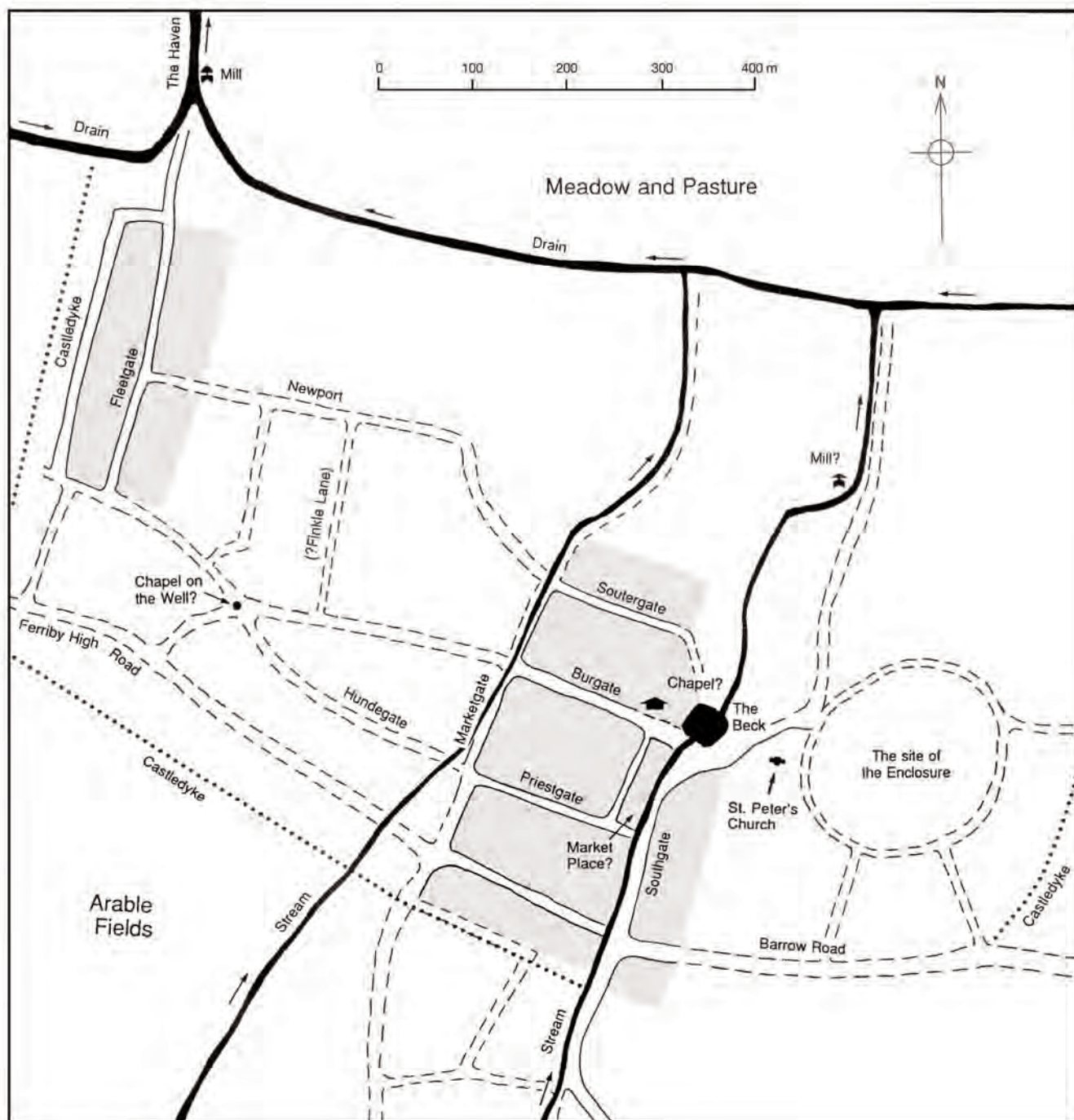


Fig. 31: Reconstructed plan of the late Saxon and Norman town of Barton. After Bryant 1994

The line of the medieval frontage on the east is preserved at the southern end of Whitecross Street, and also at the mid-point by Laurel House, the façade of which is set back from the line of all the other properties on this side.

Little can be said with certainty about the dimensions of the burgage plots: they were not all of a standard length, but there are consistent patterns. Thus, the plot depth on the west side of Whitecross Street and St Mary's Lane was *c.* 150 ft (45.7 m), whereas between Burgate and Priestgate, on the north side of Soutergate, and on the east side of Whitecross Street they measured *c.* 170 ft (51.8 m). For the most part,

the original widths of burgages have been lost as a result of post-medieval amalgamation of plots, but in Whitecross Street and Priestgate dimensions between 35 ft (10.5 m) and 40 ft (12.1 m) recur frequently.

Thus, the core of late Saxon Barton is likely to have comprised a broad street (Southgate), beginning at the main point of entry to the town and continuing northwards to the Beck (Fig. 31). There, the street opened onto a rectangular market place on the west and to St Peter's church on the east. Initially, there may have been only three blocks of burgages west of Southgate, these being separated by Priestgate and Burgate, respectively.

The urban or proto-urban unit thus described was patently orientated towards the hinterland to the south of Barton, and not in the direction of its maritime asset on the north. The importance of the Humber ferry is made clear by Domesday, and that could only have operated from the Haven, not from the unprotected marshes. The ferry terminal would undoubtedly have attracted commercial premises, alehouses and lodgings. Then there was the necessity of harbours and premises for all those engaged in the fishing industry, boat building and water-borne trades. Finally, we know that there was a Domesday mill alongside the Haven. All of these considerations point inescapably to the conclusion that there was a substantial settlement at the head of the Haven by the mid-eleventh century, and that must have been the forerunner of Fleetgate, which remained into modern times as a separate commercial and residential entity within Barton.

Fleetgate comprises a single street running south from the probable inland harbour at the head of the Haven, to meet the principal road entering the town enclosure from the west (*i.e.* the continuation of Burgate–High Street). Fleetgate was lined on both sides by a regular series of burgage plots, those on the west abutting the ‘castledyke’. The depth of the plots averaged 170 ft (51.8 m), and the width was again in the 35–40 ft (10.5–12.1 m) bracket, the same as in Whitecross Street. Fleetgate is therefore likely to represent a second planned development of early date (Fig. 31).

Streets, Burgages and Market: Later Developments

The twin foci of the late Saxon town gradually expanded during the Middle Ages, until they coalesced. Additional blocks of properties are detectable around the margins of the market place nucleus, on the north side of Soutergate, on the west side of King Street, and to the south of Market Lane, where they either abutted or overran the Castledyke. A self-contained block of burgages was laid out on the north side of Burgate, west of Marketgate.

Branching off the east side of Fleetgate a new road was laid out at right-angles, and aptly known as Newport. Two further streets (Finkle Lane and Maltby Lane) running between Newport and High Street (as the western part of Burgate became known) formed the skeleton of another rectilinear planned unit. But this was different: here, the plots do not appear to have had a consistent rear boundary and they are markedly narrower. Nevertheless, this was a development in the Norman period since Newport is the earliest recorded street name in Barton: in 1185–91 a toft here was among the several parcels of land granted to Bridlington priory by Robert de Gant.⁹⁵ The name is interesting since the *port* element potentially suggests a market or at least a thriving mercantile settlement (*cf.* Newport, Lincoln): it is not connected with sea trade.

The possibility that the Fleetgate area of Barton was sufficiently prosperous in the late twelfth century to warrant having its own market (separate from that at the east end of the town) should not be discounted.

It seems likely that the long, tapering island between what is now High Street and Chapel Lane (formerly Hundegate), extending as far west as Junction Square (where the Chapel-on-the-Well lay; p. 59), would have become infilled at an early date, but there are no indications to show that the substantial block between Chapel Lane and Holydyke was built-up in the Middle Ages (for the modern topography and street names, see Fig. 4).⁹⁶

An important development in the early years of the twelfth century was the foundation of the chapel of All Saints (now St Mary’s) adjoining the northern end of the posited early market place. This has some of the characteristics of a market chapel, founded and maintained by the prosperous commercial sector (but see p. 56). Writing in 1827, Loft recalled that the chancel aisle ‘was once the exchange or place of meeting for merchants when this town was a larger post’. No serious archaeological investigation has taken place in the vicinity of St Mary’s church, although stratified levels were preserved on the north of the churchyard: late Saxon, medieval and post-medieval pottery was found in 1967 when new houses were built in Soutergate, adjoining the churchyard.⁹⁷ However, trial trenching in 2005 on a development site immediately north-west of the churchyard, on the corner of Soutergate and Chantry Lane, demonstrated that no stratified levels remained there. Only two features were revealed: one was the shaft of a circular well, lined with blocks of pale limestone; this was potentially medieval and the use of Lower Magnesian Limestone for its lining is of interest.⁹⁸ Regrettably, the well was not excavated. The other was a linear feature running parallel to Soutergate, just behind the frontage line. It had a width of 1.9 m, the depth was in excess of 1.0 m, and the sides were vertical; although there were modern building materials in the filling, both its date and purpose are uncertain.⁹⁹

At an unrecorded date – but before 1343 – the market was moved to a new location in the south-west corner of the primary planned block, where it truncated the west end of Priestgate.¹⁰⁰ While it is tempting to suggest that the move was occasioned by the need to acquire more trading space, that may not be true. Although the old site was hemmed in on all sides by properties, the new site does not seem to have been any larger, unless it has subsequently been encroached upon.

Instead of occupying a rectangular block, the new market place was curiously trapezoidal in plan (at least in 1796), the west side being significantly skewed (north-west to south-east; Figs. 18, 19 and 29). This had the effect of rotating the longitudinal axis of the market towards the direction of Baysgarth, and it is tempting to suggest that the skewing was consciously related to the entrance to the Norman castle. In other words, was the new market place founded, like so

many others, outside the castle gates? If so, the move to this site must have occurred in the mid-twelfth century. An alternative scenario might be considered, namely that the new market place was initially square in plan – taking in what is now the west side of George Street – and was thus significantly larger than its predecessor. The skewed arrangement that appears on the 1796 map could have been the result of prolonged movement on a north-west to south-east axis across the market.

Whatever its initial form, the once-spacious market place became clogged with shambles, which were eventually transmuted into a solid but irregular block of properties filling the central area. The medieval moot hall also stood here. The available space for the market was consequently restricted to a broad street (now George Street) on the west side of the shambles, while on its east was only a narrow lane, known as The Butchery. The arrangement survived down to the late nineteenth century, when it was recorded on the first edition Ordnance Survey map (Fig. 20). Infilling of this kind – replacing temporary market stalls with permanent structures – became very common in the late Middle Ages. It may have been the resultant congestion which gave rise to the market spilling eastwards, around the corner into Market Lane, thus assuming an L-shaped plan. The present-day Market Place occupies only the lower arm of the 'L'.

It has already been argued that the Norman castle lay in a defensible enclave on the south side of the town, in the area later occupied by Baysgarth House (p. 48). Nowhere else in the town are there relict topographical features consistent with the former presence of an earthwork castle. In this connection, two streets running through what appears in the eighteenth century to have been an unbuild-up area between Market Lane and Baysgarth are worthy of remark. One of these streets was named Town End Road on the 1796 map; the other, branching off Whitecross Street, was unlabelled. Here we see a mixture of curves and sharp changes of angle, implying that obstacles had to be negotiated. This kind of pattern is typical of streets wending their way between castle earthworks.

Medieval Secular Buildings

Remarkably little is known about the secular buildings of Barton in the Middle Ages. The street frontages were doubtless lined with town houses and tenements, the majority of which would have been timber-framed, and perhaps founded on dwarf-walls of chalk or limestone rubble.¹⁰¹ One substantive fragment remains, and that is the fifteenth-century, oak-framed rear wing of a house fronting the west side of Fleetgate (now no. 51), and this important survival only came to light in the 1970s. It was two storied, with a crown-post roof and an independent brick stack; thin medieval bricks were also used as nogging between the studs. The frontage is now occupied by an eighteenth-century range. Other,

fragmentary elements of timber framing surviving at 51 Whitecross Street and 5 Priestgate are likely to be later: sixteenth or even seventeenth century.

Several large and important properties lay around the periphery of the town in the later Middle Ages, including Tyrwhitt Hall, Bardney Hall¹⁰² and potentially Baysgarth.¹⁰³ Of the last, nothing survives of the Elizabethan house, or any medieval predecessor if there was one. Circumstantial evidence can be invoked to suggest that Baysgarth park (and presumably an associated house) was a major component in the medieval landscape of Barton (Brown 1906, 86). The oldest standing fabric (brick) probably dates from the 1680s, but chalk-block foundations belonging to previous structures have been revealed, pointing to the likelihood that the earlier house was timber-framed, resting on sleeper walls.¹⁰⁴ A new wing was added in 1731, and there was further enlargement in the nineteenth century (Fig. 30).

Only Tyrwhitt Hall retains any significant medieval fabric, although externally it gives the impression of being a brick structure of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Fig. 32); internally a great deal of timber framing remains. This was a high-status courtyard house, although only two ranges now survive, forming an L-shaped plan (Figs. 5 and 151). It was recorded by Keith Miller during renovations in 1982–84.¹⁰⁵ The east range consists of three elements: at the north end is an eighteenth-century barn, superseding a medieval structure, probably a chamber block; in the middle of the range is the magnificent timber-framed great hall of three bays, measuring 10 m by 7 m (33 × 23 ft), which is still open from the ground floor to its crown-post roof. An original timber-framed partition survives at the north end of the hall, marking the site of the dais. Adjoining the hall on the south is a service block, which was rebuilt in the nineteenth century, but incorporates medieval timbers. Almost certainly, this is the site of the medieval service rooms, although the kitchen itself may have been at a further remove. The hall dates from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, and has survived by virtue of being converted into a barn.

The south range once comprised eight bays (now reduced to seven) and its fabric incorporates medieval chalk rubble masonry and timber framing, although much refurbished and clad in brick at later periods. Some of the rubble walling stands to first-floor level, where it carries a timber-framed superstructure. An excavation in 1984 alongside the south wall revealed foundations of medieval buttresses and a lateral chimney stack to the central room in this range. There are now two inserted brick chimney stacks: the eastern one has diagonally set shafts. Prior to its remodelling, probably in the late seventeenth century, as a range of reception rooms with chambers above, this wing may have comprised a two-storied Tudor hall.

There were stables and outbuildings in the west range, which might also have contained the medieval kitchen. It was separated from St Peter's churchyard by



Fig. 32: Tyrwhitt Hall, Barton. View east into the courtyard, towards the brick-encased medieval hall; the south range is on the right. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

a narrow strip of land through which the Norman defences ran. Little now survives of this range. Historically, the principal entrance seems always to have been on the north side, but whether there was an enclosure wall and formal gateway here is uncertain, although that is highly likely. Possibly there was a gatehouse range. Boundaries define a second and smaller entrance court adjoining on the north. It is not on the same alignment as the house, but is skewed to meet East Acridge at right-angles. This court had the effect of blocking the north-west entrance into the sub-circular enclosure (p. 30; Fig. 151).

The area around the hall, particularly to the east and south, has yielded finds of pottery dating from the twelfth century onwards, and there is a partly infilled rectangular fishpond measuring 24 m by 8 m. The existence of this pond, together with an orchard, seems to be implied from a twelfth-century document. An excavation conducted in the garden in 1966 revealed two partially superimposed circular foundations of chalk rubble, interpreted as evidence for medieval dovecotes.¹⁰⁶ Foundations of other walls have also been reported in the garden, but no adequate record exists. Archaeological investigation north-east of the hall in 1984 revealed foundations and other associated features in the grounds of what is now East Acridge House (built c. 1850); previously this area was part of the hall complex (Fig. 151).¹⁰⁷

The eastern boundary of Tyrwhitt Hall is coincident with the sinuous line of the stream that crossed the Anglo-Saxon sub-circular enclosure (p. 48; Fig. 151). This was recut as a substantial ditch in the Middle Ages, perhaps initially as an outer line of defence for Gilbert de Gant's work (pp. 47–8). The course of the

ditch (c. 3.5 m wide) is still marked by boundaries and a slight hollow (up to 0.5 m deep), with a differential of up to one metre in ground level to either side.¹⁰⁸

The history of Tyrwhitt Hall is poorly documented, but it was certainly the seat of the manor in the later Middle Ages, being described in 1624 as 'the Capitall mesuage or Tenement called or knowne by the name of Tirwhite Hall' (Cameron 1991, 35). The name is derived from the Tyrwhitt family who lived there in the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁹ The most significant connection was with Philip Tyrwhitt (d. 1558) who, in 1549, was king's bailiff at Barton and lord of the manor. He came into possession of the manor as a result of his marriage to Margaret Burnaby, heiress of Edward Burnaby, the former lord of the manor.¹¹⁰

Medieval Churches and Chapels

St Peter's and St Mary's

Architecturally, the parish church of St Peter developed in a thoroughly traditional manner. It was, however, more typical of a church in a prosperous village than in a town. Several aspects that may not individually be especially noteworthy, assume greater significance when assessed together: St Peter's was nowhere near as large as many churches in comparable market towns; it did not develop a cruciform plan with transepts that could house minor altars; the chancel was neither as large nor as flamboyant as might be expected; no chancel aisles were added, and there was thus no provision for a conventional Lady Chapel, which might have been expected in the thirteenth century (but see p. 488); no chantry foundations are

recorded here; and the retention of the Anglo-Saxon tower and western annexe must always have caused the building to appear old-fashioned. Enlargement of the chancel eastwards was physically constrained by the presence of Tyrwhitt Hall, but there was no obstacle to prevent expansion in other directions.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the foundation of market place chapels which were attached to mother churches was a widespread phenomenon in England. Thus, St Mary's church, Beverley (E. Yorks.), was just such a chapel appendant to the Minster (Bilson 1920, 357). The parish church of St James, Great Grimsby (Lincs.), also spawned a chapel of St Mary (now gone), and many other examples could be cited in small towns. A market place chapel might be erected in the centre of the space, or against one side where it formed part of the street frontage (and may have been physically abutted by other structures). While some chapels remained small, others attracted wealthy patronage and rapidly grew into major architectural monuments. Initially, these chapels-of-ease would not have possessed graveyards, since they were not permitted to be places of burial, or baptism, these sacraments being jealously guarded by the parish churches to which they were appendant. Sometimes, market place chapels acquired sufficient social and political strength for them to be raised to parochial status: new parishes were carved out of old ones and burial grounds were established, often by necessity at a slight remove from the church itself. St Runwald's church, which formerly stood in the middle of the High Street at Colchester (Essex), is a case in point: erected no later than the mid-eleventh century, it acquired a parish but was without a burial ground until one was established on a vacant plot in a side-street (Rodwell 1977, 33).

However, the characteristics just described are not wholly applicable to St Mary's, Barton. First, the chapel was not erected within the market place, or even as part of its frontage: instead it was located on slightly elevated ground to the north. Second, the chapel was provided with its own rectangular churchyard, which presupposes the need for burial space, *ab initio*. Topographically, there are close similarities with Beverley. One cannot help wondering how a newly founded chapel in the centre of a town could have acquired such a generous amount of surrounding space. Were several burgage plots acquired and cleared of the properties that occupied them? Third, the discovery of Barton's oldest grave-marker (eleventh or early twelfth century) at St Mary's, as well as the head of an early thirteenth-century standing cross, points to the significant status of the churchyard (Figs. 710 and 135, respectively). Moreover, when the present north aisle was constructed, soon after 1200, its foundations cut through earlier burials (p. 99).

Superficially, the evidence might suggest that a new parish church was being founded. But regardless of whether that was the initial intention, it did not come

to fruition. Instead, St Mary's acquired the rites of burial, certainly by the twelfth century, and of baptism by the middle of the sixteenth century (and probably much earlier).¹¹¹ Another scenario may be considered, namely that the chapel was not founded *de novo* in the early twelfth century, but was a refoundation on the site of an Anglo-Saxon church that had fallen into demise.¹¹² The recorded evidence for a rectangular structure beneath the Norman nave, on a slightly different alignment, lends support to this theory (p. 114; Fig. 46). This would do much to help excuse the diminutive scale of St Peter's in the late Saxon period: if, as David Roffe argues (p. 45), that was initially a proprietary church associated with the adjacent manorial centre, another building would have been required to serve the townsfolk. That in turn may not have been parochial, but dependent upon the probable minster church at Barrow (the successor to Chad's monastery, p. 167). When Barton gained independent parochial status, there may well have been a struggle for pre-eminence – a struggle which history has not recorded – between the two churches. If so, St Peter's was the victor, but perhaps not decisively in all aspects.

There can be little doubt that the two churches were architecturally in competition with one another throughout the Middle Ages (Bryant 2003). In the late eleventh century St Peter's, with its tower and fashionable new belfry, would have been physically dominant. If, as we shall argue (p. 69), the present nave of St Mary's was newly built around 1100, it would have had the edge over St Peter's in that particular aspect. Potentially that prompted St Peter's to construct its impressively long nave in the first half of the twelfth century. Both churches would have had relatively short chancels at the time, about which nothing of substance is known. The development of the footprint of St Peter's is illustrated in Figure 33 and St Mary's in Figure 34.

The addition of aisles, one at a time, followed in both churches, although the precise order of construction cannot now be determined with certainty, since the four narrow aisles have not survived. St Mary's may have initiated the process in the middle of the twelfth century with its first north aisle: St Peter's has no Romanesque detail to equal either it or the Transitional arcade that followed when the south aisle was erected. St Mary's certainly prospered in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and its architecture was grander than St Peter's. Around 1200 the narrow north aisle at St Mary's was replaced with a wide one, and that was quickly followed by a great architectural leap and conspicuous display of prosperity when the tower and spire were erected. St Peter's never managed to equal this achievement, although a small timber spire was added to the ancient tower.

St Peter's south aisle incorporated a small porch, and we may suspect that one was subsequently added to St Mary's (*cf.* the elaborate doorway reused in the later porch; Fig. 92). Then, *c.* 1270–80, followed the widening of the south aisles of both churches: St Peter's

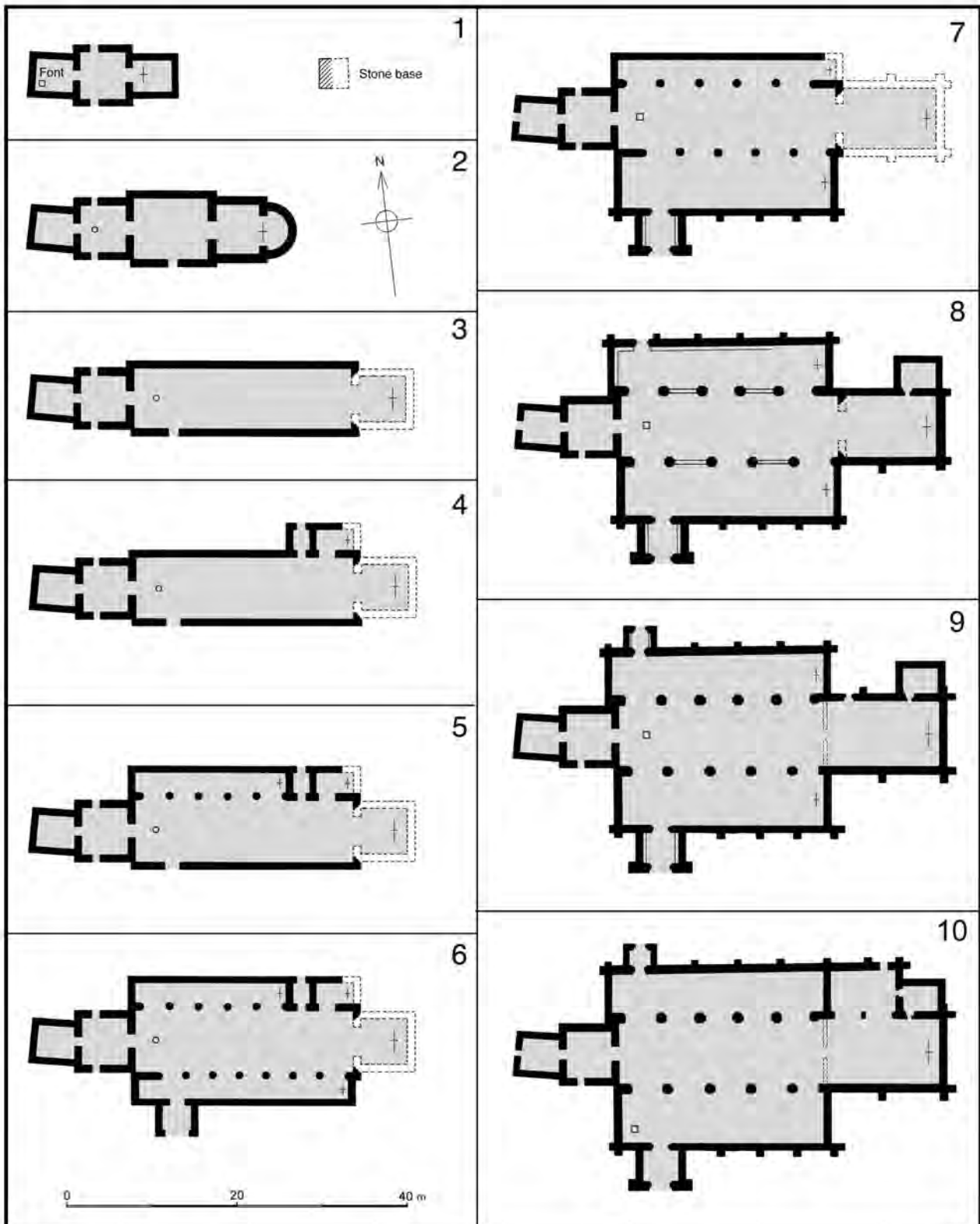


Fig. 33: St Peter's, Barton. Phase plans showing the development of the church. Font and probable altar positions are marked. 1 Late tenth or early eleventh century; 2 Mid-late eleventh century; 3 Early-mid twelfth century; 4 Mid-twelfth century; 5 Late twelfth century; 6 Early thirteenth century; 7 Late thirteenth century; 8 Early-mid-fourteenth century; 9 Mid-fifteenth century; 10 Mid- and late nineteenth century. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell and Simon Hayfield

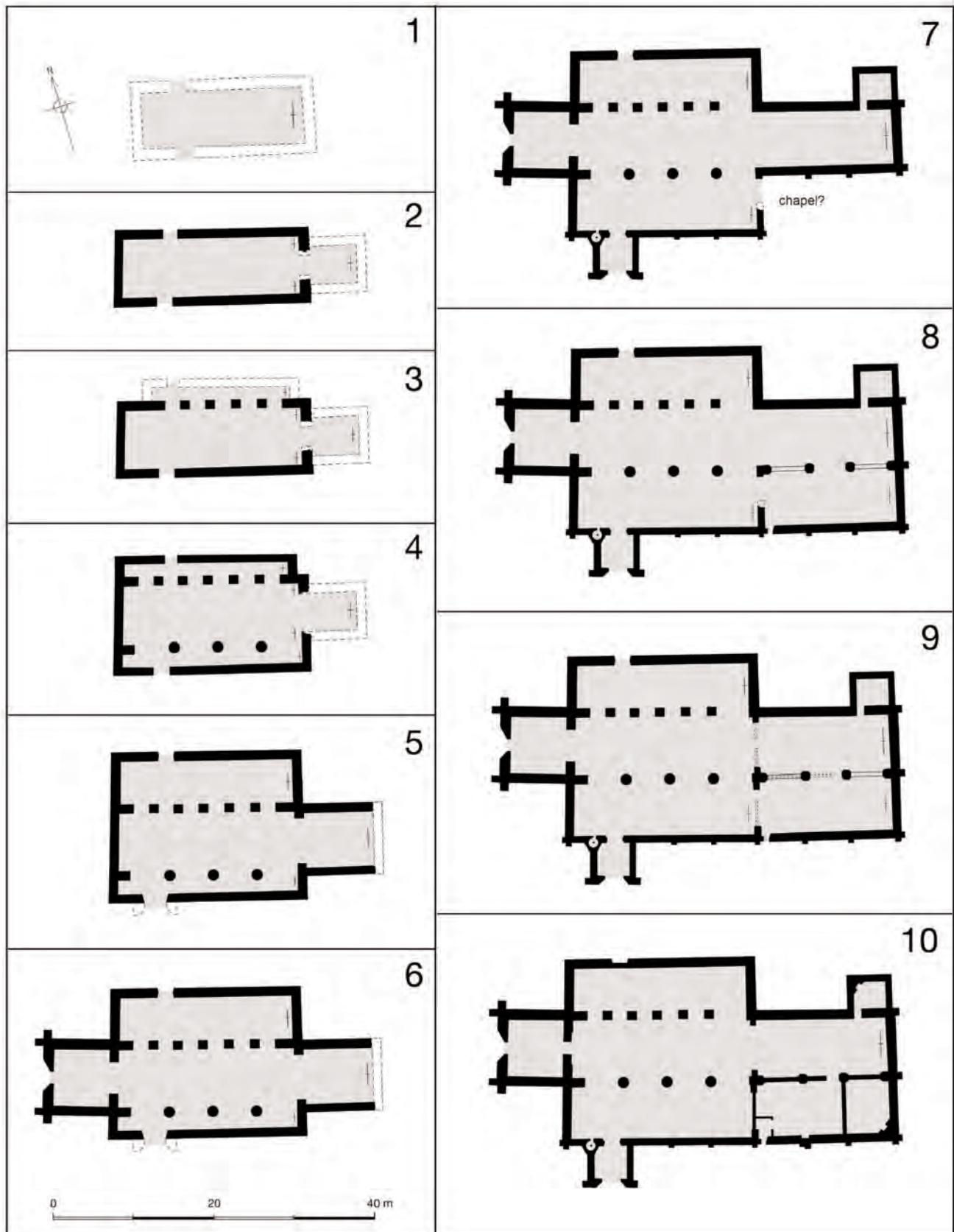


Fig. 34: *St Mary's Barton. Phase plans showing the probable development of the church. 1, eleventh century; 2, early twelfth century; 3, mid-late twelfth century; 4, late twelfth century; 5, early thirteenth century; 6, mid-thirteenth century; 7, late thirteenth century; 8, early-mid-fourteenth century; 9, mid-fifteenth century; 10, seventeenth-mid-nineteenth century. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell and Simon Hayfield*

came first, incorporating Geometrical windows and a fashionable two-storied porch. St Mary's followed suit, but incorporated a newel stair in the design of the porch. Also during the thirteenth century, both chancels were extended eastwards, but details are necessarily hazy. St Mary's was able to build a longer chancel because it had the space to do so, whereas St Peter's was physically constrained by the close proximity of Tyrwhitt Hall. Moreover, the east window of St Mary's was, and remained, the grandest in Barton. In the late thirteenth century St Mary's included a single-storey vestry at the north-east corner of the rebuilt chancel; St Peter's did exactly the same in the fourteenth.

Until the early fourteenth century St Mary's undoubtedly had the edge over St Peter's, but thereafter a levelling out occurred. The new nave arcade and north aisle at St Peter's are the work of the same team as built the south-east chapel and its arcade at St Mary's, both around 1330. The three-bay arcade at St Mary's displays more unity than either of the five-bay arcades at St Peter's, but the latter church is distinguished by the unique crucifixion window in the east end of the north aisle.

Both churches were given impressive Perpendicular clerestories: St Peter's led the way with its ten-bay design (reduced to nine bays during construction); St Mary's had room for only eight bays. No less striking than the addition of clerestories was the reduction of the roof-lines of both churches: steeply pitched roofs and gables gave way to near-flat leads and crenellated parapets. Contemporary with and following on from these drastic remodellings were sundry adjustments to the fenestration in both churches, and St Peter's made one final attempt to modernize its image by erecting a suite of crow-stepped gables on the chancel, nave and aisles. Early illustrations suggest that they were more cumbersome than elegant.

Neither of Barton's churches was subjected to wholesale rebuilding in the late Middle Ages, which was so characteristic of many areas of Lincolnshire and East Anglia. With the town well on the road to decline by the end of the Tudor era, it is perhaps surprising that the parishioners of Barton were able to maintain both the churches of St Peter and St Mary for as long as they did, especially since the buildings stood in such close juxtaposition. It may only have been rivalry between the separate sections of the community maintaining them – thereby creating *de facto* 'parishes' – that ensured their continued existence.

Very little is known about medieval life and institutions in Barton: three chantries are recorded in St Mary's, founded in 1268, 1348 and 1392, respectively (pp. 74–5). There was apparently a fourth, but it is not known where it was housed. Nevertheless, between them, the churches of Barton have, or rather once had, the second largest assemblage of medieval tomb-slabs and memorials in a Lincolnshire parish (after Boston), which included many examples of imported stone and some fine brasses (pp. 647–62).

Lost chapels, crosses and wells

Writing in 1827, Loft, who was normally a fastidiously accurate reporter, made the extraordinary remark: 'It is said that there were once 13 parish churches here.' His source is unrecorded, but it was clearly inaccurate. Nevertheless, local tradition in the nineteenth century held that there had been seven churches in Barton, a subject that exercised the imaginations of early historians, but has no solid basis.¹¹³ In addition to St Peter's and St Mary's, there were several minor chapels: one within the town (Chapel-on-the-Well), one on the western edge (St Trunion), and others out-lying. These were presumably all, to some degree, dependant upon St Peter's. There was also once a hospital of St Leonard somewhere on the south side. The various structures are all likely to have been destroyed in or by the middle of the sixteenth century, there being no evidence for the survival of physical remains into recent centuries.

Chapel-on-the-Well

Post-medieval deeds make reference to this chapel, which stood at the meeting of four roads in the west part of the town, aptly known today as Junction Square (Figs. 2 and 31). The earliest reference is contained in a deed of 1565, which refers to a house in Burgate *iuxta le Chapell de le well*.¹¹⁴ Another deed of 1590 relates to a property on the north side of Burgate, which was 'nigh unto the Chapel on the Well'. That would appear to place the chapel on the north side of the road, somewhere between Maltby Lane and Finkle Lane.

A deed of 1747 suggests a slightly different story: it relates to a 'cottage with yard adjoining ... near the Chappell Well there abutting on the Comon way or street called Chapel Lane on the south, the Highway or street called Fleetgate on the north, on Burgate towards the east, and on an orchard towards the west'. Chapel Lane was the road leading south-west from Junction Square.¹¹⁵ This description firmly places the property in the western angle of Junction Square. The most satisfactory explanation might be that the well lay at the centre of the square itself, which would give this rather curious junction greater meaning.¹¹⁶ The well was still being cited as a topographical feature in 1784.¹¹⁷

The location of the chapel itself, which took its name from the well, has eluded discovery. However, Tomblason (1905, 10) unwittingly published a potentially important clue:¹¹⁸

At the south-west corner of Junction Square there stood until recently a small bit of Crown property called Stowe's Garth. In the valuation of the Crown's estate, made in 1649, it is described as 'One old Cotage consisting of four low rooms and two upper rooms with two small gardens ...'

This must be the same property as was referred to in the deed of 1747, and the description points to the likelihood of it being a medieval structure. Most interesting is the fact that it was a tiny island of Crown property in the centre of the town; although incapable of proof, this peculiar circumstance would be consistent with it having been a chapel which was seized at the Reformation and not immediately sold. A further coincidence is the name 'Stowe's Garth', which could indicate possession by a person of that name, or it may derive from *stowe*, meaning a church or chapel.¹¹⁹ Finally, the cottage with 'low rooms' may even be an unwitting description of the chapel, a once-lofty space into which a floor had been inserted. Other lost medieval chapels have been rediscovered, long after their conversion into cottages in the sixteenth century: e.g. St Helen's, Malmesbury (Wilts.) and St Lawrence's, Bradford-on-Avon (Wilts.). The dedication of the Barton chapel is unrecorded.

St Leonard's hospital

Historically, this is known only from a single mention in 1259: 'the hospital of St Leonard, Barton on this side [of the] Humber'.¹²⁰ A reference in 1269 in the Bardney Cartulary, a *crofto Hospital* is doubtless the same (Brown 1908, 42).

St Leonard's may have lain on the southern outskirts of the town, or on the Wolds beyond, but its location has yet to be identified. Multiple property references in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to *spittle steigh gate* – the lane running past the hospital – provide only tantalizing clues (Cameron 1991, 43); they nevertheless make it clear that 'Spital Steigh' was in the South Field.¹²¹

Shadwell

West of the town, in the vicinity of the blow-wells, foundations and pieces of dressed masonry, together with window glass and leading, were reported in 1867 (Fig. 138, B). These were interpreted at the time as the remains of a former chapel at 'St Chad's Well'.¹²² However, doubt has now been cast on the association of St Chad's name with the blow-wells (Cameron 1991, 31–2).

St Trunion's chapel, well and tree

An undated reference, *temp.* Elizabeth I, to a lease by James Langton of 'Sante Trynnyon Chappell' confirms the existence of this structure.¹²³ Several seventeenth-century and later documents make reference to 'St Trunion's', placing it just outside the town on the west; other recorded spellings include 'Trunnion' and 'Tronian'.¹²⁴ The principal feature of the site was a spring, but some references also associate the name with a thorn-tree; thus, in 1697, de la Pryme mentioned the spring, a former shrine and 'a great tree call'd St

Trunion's tree' (Jackson 1869, 132). Brown (1908, 90) cites examples of the thorn-bush being regarded as a significant landmark. The site is located on Hesleden's map of Barton, 1835 (Fig. 19),¹²⁵ which places it behind nos. 58/60 West Acridge. A sepia sketch, probably by Hesleden, shows the thorn tree in c. 1830.¹²⁶

There is no other similar dedication recorded in England, and various possible origins for the name have been posited, including *tri-une*, an allusion to the Trinity (Cameron 1991, 42–3).¹²⁷ Brown (1906, 24–5) argued that Trunion was a corruption of Romanus. Another claim – not acknowledged by Cameron – is that Trunion represents a local corruption of Ninian: this was first mooted in the nineteenth century, and later championed by W.E. Varah.¹²⁸ It was partly on this doubtful basis that Varah established the chapel and altar of St Ninian in the north aisle of St Peter's church in 1924 (p. 537). The problem is compounded by the survival of a single reference in the will of George Portyngton, in 1528: he bequeathed 'To the reparation off saynt Nynyan chaple xvjd.' (Foster 1914, 73). Whether that chapel was integral to one of the churches, or was a separate structure near the well, is not recorded.

St James's Cross

A medieval cross dedicated to St James is implied by several references of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century date. It lay south of the town, where the roads to Thornton and Burnham met (Brown 1906, 23). Brown argued for its dedication to St James the Less, although there is no explicit evidence. A reference in the Bardney Abbey Cartulary to land 'on the south side of the cross' may extend the history of this feature back to the early thirteenth century. It has further been suggested that a wayside shrine existed here, based on evidence observed in 1939 when foundations were exposed by the Home Guard in digging a trench. The foundations were destroyed with explosives (Cameron 1991, 34–5).

Ravens' Cross

Mentioned in 1652 as *Ravonscrosse*, this was presumably the site of another wayside cross, and may be linked to thirteenth-century references to *Rafeneshaudale* (Cameron 1991, 46–7). The latter name, 'Hrafn's mound' is of topographical interest. Brown (1906, 24) suggested that Ravens' Cross and St James's Cross were one and the same, but that cannot be certified.

White Cross

The name Whitecross Street possibly recalls the former presence of a stone cross, although its site is unknown (Cameron 1991, 40). A potential location

would be the forked junction with Winship Lane, opposite Bardney Hall (Fig. 4).¹²⁹ A different explanation was advanced by Brown (1906, 91), who saw the white cross as purely heraldic and related to Bardney Hall: the Northumbrian king, Oswald, whose arms included a silver cross, was buried at Bardney Abbey. Consequently, the abbey's arms embodied those of the saint. Barton's white cross may thus have been displayed on the abbey's grange at Bardney Hall.

Lincoln Cross

Nothing of substance appears to be known about this cross, which stood beside the road to Brigg, c. 2.5 km south of the town (Brown 1908, 93; fig. 8). This places it somewhere between Beacon Hill and Kingsforth (Fig. 3).

St Catherine's Well

The modern Catherine Street lies north-west of St Mary's church, and anciently formed a link from Soutergate to Newport Street (Figs. 2 and 4). In the eighteenth century it was referred to as St Catherine's Street, and in 1697 de la Pryme wrote: 'There is a famous well at Barton which is called St Catharin's well, which had the image of that Saint well cut in white marble standing by it within the memory of several men now living, but it was all broke in pieces in Cromwell's time.' (Jackson 1869, 142; Cameron 1991, 37, 39).

This feature possibly originated as a small blow-well, and it is the only example in the immediate Barton area recorded as having borne a dedication; and the marble image indicates that there was an associated shrine. The map of 1796 shows no structures in Catherine Street, although on the east side, adjacent to New Hall, there was a small close containing two buildings.¹³⁰ That site was labelled 'St Catherine's' on Hesleden's map of 1835 (Fig. 19).¹³¹ The well is recorded as being a reliable water-source, even in times of drought (Tomblason 1905, 30). A stone-lined well still exists in a garden on the east side of the street, at the north end.¹³²

Two parishes: a history of confusion

As far as can be established, Barton has only ever comprised a single ecclesiastical parish, yet there are innumerable post-medieval references to the separate 'parishes' of St Peter and St Mary. Nor can these simply be dismissed as errors by ill-informed writers, since the division is implicit in documentation maintained by local church officials. A date for the origin of this artificial separation cannot be ascertained, but it seems likely to extend back at least to the mid-sixteenth century.

As early as the mid-thirteenth century, the status of St Mary's (then still known as All Saints) was being questioned. Some time before 1246 the Archdeacon of

Lincoln apparently sought jurisdiction over the building, on the basis that it was a parish church, a claim rebutted by the abbot of Bardney. The latter's jurisdiction prevailed, and it was confirmed that the *capella omnium Sanctorum* was a chapel, dependent upon the parish church and its vicar (Brown 1908, 80–2). Whether there was any local folk-memory basis for the archdeacon's claim is unknown, but the possibility is worth entertaining. It is by no means inconceivable that All Saints was an erstwhile Anglo-Saxon parish church, the status of which had been eclipsed when the structure was rebuilt – and perhaps rededicated – in the early twelfth century (p. 69). It was not unusual for churches honouring obscure Anglo-Saxon saints to be rededicated to 'All Saints' in the Norman period.¹³³

There was also a hint of confusion in 1494, when Robert Osborne was presented to Ouresby's chantry 'at St Mary's altar in Barton parish church' (Brown 1908, 217). That chantry was in St Mary's, not St Peter's (p. 75). In his will of 1525, Richard Thomas instructed 'my bodye to be buried within the chapell of our lady in Barton', which seems to imply that the original status of St Mary's was still recognized.¹³⁴ This is made even clearer in the will of William Wright (1532), who left money for repairs to St Peter's church and St Mary's chapel, and directed that his body was to be buried 'in the chapellyerde of Barton' (Hickman 2001, 142). Similarly, two years later John Fownder wished to be buried 'in the chapell yerde of Our Lady in Barton' (Hickman 2001, 386).

Varah assigned the unofficial subdivision of the town to the reign of Elizabeth I and to the levying of parish rates.¹³⁵ In the first place, there are separate registers for St Peter's and St Mary's: these survive intact, respectively, from 1566 and 1570 (Appendix 2), and there are also fragmentary transcripts back to 1561–62. There is no evidence for combined registers. Second, each church had its own churchwardens, and incomplete lists of these have been compiled for St Peter's from 1622, and for St Mary's from 1602 (Appendix 5).¹³⁶ Not surprisingly, separate churchwardens' account books were maintained for the two churches. Of the various extant glebe terriers, from 1578 onwards, some are combined and others are separate for St Peter's and St Mary's.¹³⁷

Varah cited a return from an archdeaconry survey of churches and chancels, dated September 1602, which stated in respect of 'Bartonne St Maries' and 'Bartonne St Peters' that 'the Church and Chancell of theis severall parishies are well repayred and kept decently'.¹³⁸ When Leonard Wadeson died in 1602, a marginal note in St Peter's burial register described him as 'Vicar of this Parish and Saint Maries', and when his successor, John Lewes, was instituted to the vicarage, the entry in the episcopal register was marked 'St Mary'; later, in another hand 'St Peter' was added.¹³⁹ A memorandum on the flyleaf of St Mary's register, dated 1621, states that Anthony Harrison bequeathed £20 to the poor of 'St Marye's parish';¹⁴⁰

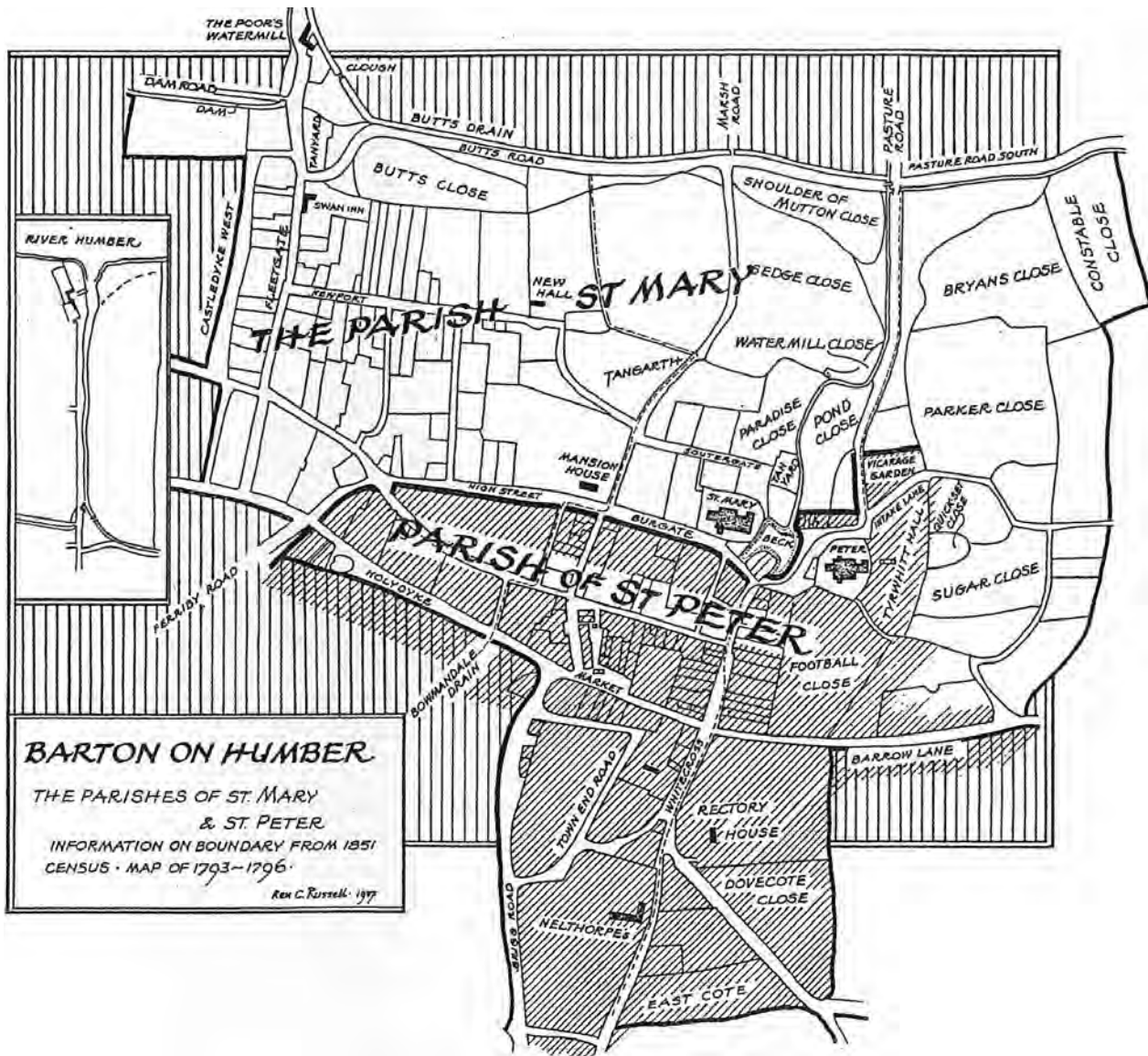


Fig. 35: Reconstruction of the de facto division of Barton into two 'parishes'. Russell 2002

he also made bequests to 'the vicar of Barton', the reader of St Maryes parish' and the 'clerk of the parische of St Marye'.¹⁴¹ In 1650, Thomas Robinson similarly made a bequest to the poor of 'Saint Marie's parish in Barton';¹⁴² and in 1652 separate bequests were made to the two parishes by Richard Cliffe.¹⁴³ In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the wills of Barton's inhabitants regularly referred to one or other of the 'parishes'.

The apparent certainty with which the clergy regarded parochial separateness as *de facto* is witnessed by references in the church terrier of 1730, compiled by the vicar, to 'furniture of the church belonging to both parishes' and to 'the Church Wardens of each parish'. The inscription on the memorial in St Peter's church to the same vicar, the Rev'd John Gelder (d. 1751), describes him as having, for thirty-seven years, 'assiduously perform'd the Duties of his Office as Vicar of this and St Mary's Parishes'.¹⁴⁴ It is further worth noting that in 1713, when Gelder was installed in the

benefice, it was described as the 'united vicarage' of Barton, which is the first appearance of this term in the records.¹⁴⁵ Despite all this, in 1807 John Britton stated the position accurately and succinctly: 'Though there is but one parish, there are two large churches St Mary's church [is] considered a chapel of ease to that of St Peter. These being repaired by separate districts, has probably given rise to the idea that the town contains two parishes.'¹⁴⁶

The *de facto* position was set out by Hesleden in 1821: 'From the circumstance that the repairs of each church are and have been for time immemorial kept up by different portions of the Township, the Town of Barton has become nominally divided into two parishes, the one part of the Town rated to the repairs of St Peter's being called St Peter's Parish, the other *vice versa* St Mary's'.¹⁴⁷ Ball (1856, 1, 54) confirmed this, asserting that the medieval endowment remained with St Peter's, and 'St Mary's has nothing now to support it but the goodwill of the inhabitants. For the purpose

of repairs the town was divided into two parts, the part north of High Street or Burgate taking the support of St Mary's, and the south part of the town that of St Peter's'.

An interesting case is recounted by Ball (1856, 2, 19–20): 'Nearly fifty years ago a man was indicted at Lincoln assizes for stealing a horse in *the parish* of Barton. It was objected that there were two parishes in Barton, St Mary's and St Peter's, and therefore that the indictment was defective. The judge held the objection valid, and the man was acquitted. Strange, that the doubtful division of Barton into two parishes once saved a man's life, for horse-stealing was then punishable with hanging.' In 1863, the outcome of another court hearing depended upon the judge's mistaken belief that there were two parishes in Barton.¹⁴⁸ But in a directory of 1835, Barton is plainly described as comprising 'the united parishes of St Mary and St Peter'.¹⁴⁹

Notwithstanding, the census of 1851 divided Barton very clearly into two parishes, the boundary following the south side of High Street and Burgate, and the north side of Beck Hill: households to the south were in St Peter's, and those to the north in St Mary's (Fig. 35; Russell 2002, fig. 3). A case heard before the Court of the Queen's Bench in 1863 placed some reliance on the supposed fact that there were two separate parishes in Barton.¹⁵⁰ Barton had certainly been divided into two parishes for rating purposes, which were united by a Local Government Board Order in March 1887; the system was changed again by the *Local Government Act, 1894*.¹⁵¹

St Mary's was not alone in gradually establishing quasi-parochial status over the centuries: exactly the same happened with its namesake at Beverley which, as early as 1442, was inaccurately described in a visitation as a 'parish' church (Bilson 1920, 357).

The Post-Medieval Town

The history of Barton between the Reformation and the late eighteenth century has yet to be written. For the earlier part of the period, in particular, very little is known about the physical fabric of the town, except for the churches and Tyrwhitt Hall. However, a bird's-eye view of Hull, probably dating from 1538–39, shows part of Barton and includes a curving line of defensive works around the north side of the town (Fig. 16). There can be little doubt that this was a half-moon battery, erected during the reign of Henry VIII as part of his east-coast defences. The same plan shows a half-moon battery with four cannon projecting into the Humber in front of the Watergate at Hull. Barton evidently provided the defensive counterpart on the south bank of the Humber, a detail which appears to have been overlooked by historians hitherto. The way in which the defences are drawn seems to indicate that they were constructed on the low-lying land between the town and the water's edge, rather than being a distinct projection into the river (as at Hull).

Unfortunately, the topography has been so drastically altered since the seventeenth century, first by the construction of sea-walls, and subsequently by the enclosure and commercial exploitation of the marshes that no trace of a Tudor battery is now detectable.¹⁵²

The earliest reliable cartographic evidence for the town and parish generally dates only from 1793–96, and was produced in association with the *Barton Enclosure Act*.¹⁵³ The two accompanying maps show the former open fields around the town, the radiating network of roads and, in some detail, the layout of the settlement nucleus (Fig. 18). Immediately striking are the long runs of street frontage with few or no buildings, and large open spaces in the backlands. The frontages of the Market Place, Priestgate and Whitecross Street were built-up, and the layout of the burgage plots still preserved. By contrast, surprisingly few buildings stood in Burgate which, it has already been argued, must once have been the principal street. Several long stretches of its frontage were abutted only by gardens, particularly towards the east end. Indeed, one of the large open areas on the north side of the street was sufficiently rural in character to support a rookery, although this may have comprised only one very large tree: its site is marked on Hesleden's map of 1835 (Fig. 19),¹⁵⁴ although the tree had blown down in a gale some years previously.¹⁵⁵ There were also barns in the heart of the town.¹⁵⁶ In the western part, the frontages of High Street, Newport Street and Fleetgate were lined with buildings and the relict pattern of burgage plots is again still discernible. Elsewhere, it is readily apparent that the pattern of burgages had already been lost as a result of the amalgamation of plots.

What the Enclosure map does not reveal is the age of the buildings, or the materials from which they were constructed. Down to the late seventeenth century, it seems certain that virtually all domestic buildings were half-timbered, their sill-beams resting on foundations of chalk and flint rubble; the roofs were thatched. But, from around the turn of the eighteenth century, the rapid emergence of the local brick and pantile industry must have initiated a fashion for rebuilding which was to span the next two centuries.¹⁵⁷ A detailed study of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century buildings of Barton is long overdue.¹⁵⁸

As previously noted (p. 54), the only remnants of timber framing today are to be found in Tyrwhitt Hall, 51 Fleetgate, 51 Whitecross Street and 5 Priestgate; these modest survivals date from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. Everywhere else brick has subsequently prevailed. The appearance of freestone in domestic buildings was sufficiently uncommon to be the subject of remark a century ago. Tombleson (1905, 3) commented: 'A few houses, perhaps a score, are ornamented with mouldings about three feet from the foundation.' Here, he was presumably referring to chamfered limestone plinths, which are likely to point to the sixteenth or seventeenth century. One building he described as having 'a moulding of carved stones', a

barn in Holydyke had similar material in its plinth, and the front wall of a cottage in High Street was composed of ashlar.¹⁵⁹ A merchant's house in Burgate, demolished in the mid-1930s, was said to be sixteenth century and had 'characteristic inverted-beehive cellars'.¹⁶⁰

It is not known when the enlargement of the Market Place into an L-shaped plan occurred. Topographically, it would appear that properties on the north side of Market Lane must have been demolished, and the frontage set back, in order to create the present modestly proportioned, rectangular open space. Also, the southern frontage may have been adjusted after the buildings here were destroyed by fire in 1730. Although undated, the present layout must be post-medieval: the market had reached its present form by the time it was mapped in 1796.

Decline in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

Barton played a modest rôle in the English Civil War, principally on account of its proximity to Hull, a key town, and the fact that it controlled the Humber ferry.¹⁶¹ In 1642 a Royalist garrison was established at the waterside, probably recommissioning the Tudor fortification there (p. 19). The operation was associated with the siege of Hull and when the town was relieved the Parliamentary forces burned Barton in retribution, although the churches seem to have been unaffected. In 1643 the Royalists briefly regained a foothold in Barton, before Oliver Cromwell arrived on the scene and seized control of the ferry. The *status quo* was again upset in August 1645, when Royalist troops raided and burned the ferry boats in Barton Haven. Although the town and its economy were severely damaged, and the churches were allegedly desecrated by Cromwell's men, details are not meaningfully recorded. It has been asserted that several items of seventeenth-century armour which were formerly exhibited in St Peter's were relics of Civil War activity (p. 570).

The *Town Book* of Barton provides a snap-shot of life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although the book in its final form dates from 1676, it is based on one of 1600, and also incorporates yet earlier material (WEA 1980). It reveals aspects of daily life, such as: details of the regulation of the sale of coal and other commodities brought in by boats to the Haven; rules for the upkeep of the dam for the water mill; rules to protect property from fire damage;¹⁶² regulations for the repair of streets and sea walls, and for the scouring of the drains; instructions for gathering furze for fuel; and a prohibition on making dung-heaps in the streets. Light is also shed incidentally on some unusual trades: a man was appointed to kill sparrows, so as to protect the corn growing in the common fields; there was a mole catcher for the common pastures and meadows; and the job of the pinder was to round up stray animals. The entire thrust of the *Town Book* was towards the protection and regulation of a community

that depended upon agriculture and livestock. The few trades mentioned, such as brewers and bakers, were all closely related to farming. No hint of industry, or of commerce, is found in the book.

Barton was visited by a plague in 1593, with devastating effect (Vol. 2, 122–6). In that year the registers record 274 burials, compared with an average of fifty-two in the previous years. At the end of 1593, during which some 26% of the population had died, the clerk of St Peter's added a marginal note to the parish register: 'During this year a major and contagious plague and pestilence appeared among us'. Plague struck the town again in 1658, when 148 deaths were recorded in St Mary's burial register, but only thirty-two in St Peter's. This probably indicates that the pestilence arrived in Barton via the port and principally affected those living in the north-western part of the town. A further indication of the run-down state of Barton is the lack of a vicar between the years 1653 and 1662. In 1669 a piece of land (Paradise Close) just north of St Mary's church was given to support an almshouse for four poor widows. A long building shown on the street frontage in 1796 was presumably the almshouse. In 1701 the redundant Chantry house at the north-west corner of St Mary's churchyard (p. 575) was bequeathed as an almshouse for the poor (WEA 1984, 78).

Extant buildings

Very little brickwork in Barton can be assigned to the seventeenth century, although there was once doubtless a good deal: it is present at Tyrwhitt Hall in chimney stacks, and as a casing to timber framing. Two substantial buildings contain fabric that dates from the very end of the century (*c.* 1690): the George Hotel (a former coaching inn on the west side of the Market Place) and nos. 1–5 King Street, which at one time served as the vicarage (p. 614; Fig. 689). Also, it would be surprising if Baysgarth House were not a major brick building in the seventeenth century, or even earlier. It had been bought by the Nelthorpes in 1620, and is likely to have been upgraded by them.¹⁶³

Two other major houses which existed in the seventeenth century, but have since disappeared, are likely to have been of brick. One was the mansion of the Empringham family, which lay on the north side of Newport, next to New Hall, and the other was the Long family's house on the north side of Burgate.¹⁶⁴

Eighteenth-century revival

In the early years of the eighteenth century several of the town's major residences were under construction. Most notable among these are New Hall and Bardney Hall. The former is an impressive house on the corner of Newport Street, for which a date towards the end of the seventeenth century has sometimes been suggested, but a deed of 1709 refers to 'two waste tofts, now built [upon] called the New Hall'.¹⁶⁵ Bardney Hall is a

substantial and elegant Queen Anne house in Whitecross Street (Pl. 11). Deriving its name from Bardney Abbey, the medieval impropiator of the rectory of Barton, it was built by William Gildas (d. 1724), whose tomb and benefaction board are in the south aisle of St Peter's church (p. 565). The new vicarage on the west side of St Peter's churchyard, built c. 1715, was also of brick (p. 615; Fig. 690); it is encased within the present early Victorian structure.

In addition to the fire of 1730, the town suffered from violent storms and floods in 1762, 1768, 1817 and 1821, and all doubtless caused damage to insubstantial buildings.¹⁶⁶ Baysgarth, Barton's grandest house, set in its own park, was rebuilt in 1731. It was the seat of a branch of the prosperous Nelthorpe family, whose monuments are also to be found in the chancel and south aisle of St Peter's church (p. 505; Pl. 12; Fig. 30). Given to the town in 1930, Baysgarth houses Barton Museum.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, additions were made to New Hall, while many other houses of lesser pretension were newly built on levelled sites: these included Priestgate House (demolished) and the White Lion Inn (now a shop on the south side of Market Place). The later Georgian era saw a rash of medium-sized houses, as well as cottages, erected all over the town. The frontages of Fleetgate and Whitecross Street in particular were smartened with new brick façades: e.g. Laurel House, in 1786. Most houses were two-storied, some with attics, but a few were three-storied, and there are several in Priestgate. Everywhere, roofs were pantiled. Some of the smarter façades were finished with parapets, and had concealed lead gutters that discharged into rainwater heads; these could be ornate, as at Cob Hall, Priestgate. There, a moulded hopper is dated 1766 and bears the initials 'TEM', for Thomas Marris, the solicitor responsible for its construction. The Marris family were buried inside the west end of St Peter's church. The rainwater head was probably made by the same plumber who was responsible for those on the clerestory of St Peter's (dated 1773; Fig. 583).

Development began to prosper alongside the Haven too – now known as Waterside – where a ropery was built in 1767 and, opposite it, a late Georgian terrace of houses. Remarkably, Barton had its own bell foundry, which was established near the south-west corner of the Market Place in 1770. It was run by the Harrison family of Barrow-upon-Humber, who were more notable for their contributions to horology (Ketteringham 2009, 297–308). The foundry site was subsequently taken over by the Barton Cycle Works Company, which became a thriving industry in the late nineteenth century (Bryant and Land 2007).

Archaeology of Georgian houses

Some of the closely built-up frontages of late Georgian date, such as parts of Fleetgate, High Street and Whitecross Street, hint at organized reconstruction by landlords. Almost certainly, rows of medieval timber-

framed town-houses were destroyed in the process. Plots were often amalgamated too, in order to create larger properties with spacious gardens. Perhaps the best preserved evidence for medieval burgage plots is to be found in the topography of Newport Street. Here, most of the surviving cottages are nineteenth century and clearly post-date not only the Georgian rebuilding but also the Enclosure map of 1796. However, the map depicts almost continuous built-up frontages on both sides of the street. It therefore seems possible that blocks of medieval tenements survived more-or-less intact into the early nineteenth century.

Some of the Georgian houses display complex archaeological sequences in their fabric. For example, New Hall, erected c. 1700, has several phases of addition, which include the monumental doorcase of c. 1760.¹⁶⁷ Moreover, in front of that stands a classical porch which embodies parts of the great nave gallery that was erected in Beverley Minster in the 1720s, and removed again in 1826.¹⁶⁸ The elaborate eighteenth-century wrought iron gates and their pier-finials which now form the entrance at Baysgarth were previously at New Hall.

The archaeology of Laurel House (14 Whitecross Street) was studied during its restoration in 1979–84.¹⁶⁹ The house is exceptional in having a front garden: almost all but the grandest town houses were built directly on the street frontage. The medieval property which occupied this burgage plot was indeed on the frontage, and insubstantial foundations of chalk rubble were discovered under the garden. The building they supported was presumably timber-framed. A small brick structure, possibly a detached kitchen, was erected at the rear of the house in the later seventeenth century. In c. 1730–40 a new all-brick house was erected behind the old one, which was then pulled down to create a substantial front garden. The long burgage plot to the rear was also enclosed by a brick wall with pilasters. In the middle of the eighteenth century this comfortable new house with its private walled garden belonged to William Allcock, a timber importer. In 1786 it was purchased by William Benton, a surgeon, who constructed a complete new range of rooms, also in brick but with some limestone dressings, on to the front of the previous house, thereby halving the garden and bringing the façade once again closer to the street. The pedimented earlier doorcase was removed from the old façade and fixed to the new one, and the mahogany used in the new staircase was salvaged from the cargo of a shipwreck in the Humber estuary.

One of the rooms on the ground floor of Laurel House was specially fitted up as a surgery. Benton was seriously interested in the pursuit of medical science, and it was probably here that he carried out *post mortem* investigations: he may even have been responsible for the autopsy performed on skeleton 219, which was excavated in Area 8 at St Peter's church (p. 677). Benton was himself buried in 1800 in the nave of St Peter's, where his memorial slab remains (p. 667).¹⁷⁰

Nineteenth-century consolidation and expansion

The final decades of the eighteenth century saw the beginnings of a new social fabric, which included the arrival of Nonconformity in the town. The Barton Old Friendly Society (1774) and the Congregational Chapel (now United Reformed Church; 1780s, rebuilt 1806) were among the first on the scene. These were followed, in 1861 and 1867, by the establishment of two (later three) Methodist Chapels, the Barton Temperance Society (1837), the Barton Athenaeum (1844), the Lodge of Oddfellows (1853), the Literary Institute (1874), and various charity, day and Sunday schools. The first Roman Catholic Church of St Augustine of Canterbury was erected in 1840.¹⁷¹ All needed premises from which to operate. New buildings in unfamiliar architectural styles and non-local materials began to appear, and often dominated streetscapes. The Assembly Rooms were built in 1843,¹⁷² the school opposite in 1844, the nearby police station in 1847 and the Corn Exchange opened in 1854. The Italianate Oddfellows Hall was erected in 1864, the Wesleyan Chapel with its pedimented 'temple' façade in 1861, the Primitive Methodist Chapel in Romanesque style in 1867, and the Freemasons' Lodge with its contrasting brickwork came in 1874. Little architecture of the Gothic Revival appeared in Barton, the most notable exception being 16 Whitecross Street; this house has windows with reticulated tracery imitating the fourteenth century, but executed entirely in timber.

The south-west corner of the town, between Holydyke and Chapel Lane, contained few buildings until the mid-nineteenth century. Here, in 1854, Alderman Thomas Tombleson erected a neo-classical mansion: Providence House. The Tombleson monuments and burial vault are in the north aisle of St Peter's church, and Thomas, who was a Methodist, was the author of one of the early histories of Barton (Tombleson 1905). Several exuberant properties were designed for local entrepreneurs: thus, Eagle House in Fleetgate was built in 1829 in the Greek Revival style for the owner of the nearby ropery; and the distinctive Elm Tree House, on the corner of High Street and Marsh Lane, was erected in 1844 for the proprietor of one of Barton's several brickyards.

Some new buildings were unusual for the locations chosen: thus, a brick windmill (King's Garth Mill) was erected on the south side of the Market Place in *c.* 1815, and it was certainly convenient for the Corn Exchange which lay opposite. There was a tower mill for corn at Waterside (Hewson's Mill), built *c.* 1813, and two more whiting mills close by. South-east of the town, on Caistor Road, lay a corn mill, to the south-west was a whiting mill on Ferriby Road, and there was a further tower mill due south of Barton, somewhere beyond Beacon Hill (Fig. 19).¹⁷³ Since it was situated alongside a chalk quarry, this was most likely a whiting mill (Pl. 7¹⁷⁴).

Schools and banks were constructed, and other institutions appeared for the first time. Gasworks were

erected in 1846 and waterworks in 1889. The arrival of the railway in Barton in 1849 opened up the town to a fresh wave of incomers and traded goods, as well as new industries.¹⁷⁵ By the middle of the nineteenth century non-local bricks had begun to make an appearance in Barton, and Welsh slate was being imported in competition with local clay tiles. Also, in the 1850s, local newspapers began to circulate, and two were printed in Barton. The social and administrative apparatus of a small Victorian town was all rapidly being put into place, and with it class distinctions were brought sharply into focus (WEA 1977).

Changes in the social fabric of Victorian Barton are charted by the architecture of the town, by the press, and by nineteenth-century street directories. These last provide instructive lists of the Georgian and Victorian residents of Barton, incidentally chronicling the rise of professions such as ministers, physicians, surgeons, solicitors, accountants and auctioneers. They also reveal the growing number of hostleries and places of entertainment: thus, in 1856, there were twelve inns and taverns, and six beerhouses in Barton. The nineteenth-century population censuses reveal many other interesting facts, such as the building boom and its numerous spin-offs. It is instructive to compare the map of 1796 with one of 1855, which shows the dramatic impact of new building on the townscape (Figs. 18 and 3).¹⁷⁶

Despite all the rebuilding and infilling of vacant plots, the street plan and limits of the town hardly changed until the beginning of the twentieth century. One of the few additions to the plan was Queen Street (or 'New Road'; Fig. 2) which, in 1827, was driven through the extensive grounds of a mansion formerly belonging to the Long family, on the north side of Burgate.¹⁷⁷ The house, which was of 'half-H plan' and had been built in the mid-seventeenth century, was sold in 1843: it was described at the time as 'an opportunity for investment or speculation rarely to be met with, and the builder or other person purchasing the property to pull down would no doubt derive great advantage' (French 1991, 212). The mansion was duly demolished, and Elm Tree House (1844) and the Police Station (1847) were erected on its site.

The nineteenth century saw the final demise of the town's two watermills, brought about at least in part by the diminution of the water supply (Fig. 19). By 1785 Beck mill was suffering from a restricted supply, and by 1805 it had fallen out of use (Tombleson 1905, 26). Poor's mill, at the Haven, which had been bequeathed in 1644 to the poor of Barton, struggled on until the middle of the nineteenth century, by which time not only had the water supply run out, but it had also been engulfed by development.

Towards the present

The building boom was accompanied by steady population growth. In the seventeenth century the population was probably little over one thousand, and at the



Fig. 36: Barrow Road cemetery and chapels, opened in 1867. View from the south-east in the 1890s. Photo: Arthur Brummitt, courtesy of John French

time of the first census in 1801 it was only 1,709 persons. Other, locally recorded, figures are also available for various years, and these provide a break-down between the populations served by the two churches.¹⁷⁸ Growth, however, was rapid in the nineteenth century, and in forty years the population had doubled; thereafter the rate slowed and there were even slight reductions.¹⁷⁹ Population growth was accompanied by immigration. In 1851, fewer than half the parishioners were Bartonians by birth: over 1,100 people had moved into the town from other Lincolnshire parishes, a further 749 had arrived from elsewhere in England, sixty-five came from Ireland, Scotland and Wales, and three were from outside Great Britain.¹⁸⁰ These developments probably represent the first serious change to the population-base since the Scandinavian incursions of the ninth to eleventh centuries.

Increased population inevitably put pressure on the ancient churchyards. There was no adjacent land into which St Mary's could expand, but on the south side of St Peter's was a field (Football Close), part of which was acquired in 1850 for a cemetery extension. That provided only a short-term solution, and not one that satisfied the Nonconformists. Hence, in 1866 the Barton Burial Board was set up, land was acquired on the north side of Barrow Road, a loan of £300 was obtained from the Public Works Loan Commissioners, and a new municipal cemetery was established.¹⁸¹ Bellamy and Hardy of Lincoln were appointed as architects and surveyors. The cemetery was laid out with its own Anglican and non-denominational chapels, a dead house and a gate lodge; it was opened

in 1867 (Fig. 36). Subsequently enlarged, it remains in use today.¹⁸²

The twentieth century saw intense infilling of the remaining large gardens and other potential building plots, together with considerable expansion into the countryside, to the east, south and west. More industry arrived, in the form of light engineering works, and housing was provided for the workers (*e.g.* the development of Queen's Avenue). New schools and a mission room were erected at the Waterside, at the instigation of George Hogarth, the vicar. Their history is complex. At first, services were held in a boat-house, but in 1864 a mission room was specially built and services were taken there by the curate.¹⁸³ However, a licence to hold divine worship was apparently not granted until 1891, and from about this time Waterside had its own curate.

A new development, on another site, was initiated in 1893, beginning with a Sunday School: it was intended from the outset that a mission church would subsequently be built alongside, and both were to be dedicated St Chad.¹⁸⁴ At a covert gathering, in August 1893, the foundation stone for the school was laid.¹⁸⁵ At this stage services were still being held in the mission room, but were transferred to the Sunday School building, which was duly licensed for the celebration of Holy Communion by the Bishop of Lincoln in 1899. By 1901, an adjacent plot had been acquired and funds had been raised for a purpose-built mission church; C.H. Fowler was appointed architect.¹⁸⁶ The foundation stone was laid in the following year and St Chad's Mission Church was completed in 1903, at a cost of £1,850.¹⁸⁷

However, by the middle of the twentieth century, Barton Waterside was in terminal decline: one by one, the buildings of this once-busy commercial suburb and port were vacated and left to decay, and many were demolished. Its mission long in demise, St Chad's church was bulldozed in the 1980s, and the attractive Mission Room of 1864 was demolished in 1993. On the marshes, the huge area occupied by the clay pits and brickyards – once a regional production centre – was abandoned to nature.

The most notable development in the twentieth century was the construction of the Humber Bridge, which was opened in 1981, re-establishing Barton's historic connection with the river crossing. As well as expansion, the twentieth century also witnessed the destruction of significant elements of the historic townscape. Several eighteenth-century properties in the Market Place were demolished, effectively destroying the east end of what was a more intimately enclosed space than it is today. At the north end of the old market, in George Street, the

imposing Priestgate House was demolished in 1954, and was a major loss to the townscape. This was where the historian Robert Brown, Jun. lived and wrote his two seminal tomes on Barton (Brown 1906; 1908). In the 1950s and 1960s various cottages were demolished in the name of 'slum clearance', and the medieval chantry house on the edge of St Mary's churchyard had earlier suffered the same fate. Many of the once crisply delineated street junctions were wrecked by demolishing properties occupying one or more of their corners, in order to widen roads and create open spaces. A particularly unfortunate example of this is to be found at the north end of Whitecross Street.

Finally, since the 1960s, an insidious tide of new building has swept through Barton, Barrow and their hinterland: important archaeological sites that had lain untouched for centuries have now been destroyed by developers. Countless opportunities to investigate the complex and wide-ranging archaeology of the area have been missed (pp. 20–3).

3. ST MARY'S CHURCH

The house that is to be builded for the Lord must be exceeding magnifical.

1 *Chronicles*, 22: 5

formerly it was a perfect gallery of heraldry, history and archaeology.

Brown 1908, 152

History and Setting

Introduction

St Mary's church lies 100 m west of St Peter's, separated only by the Beck and a road (now known as Beck Hill) (Figs. 37 and 38; Pl. 5). Its history and architecture are so completely interlocked with St Peter's that a considered account of the church must be included here. The earliest mention of St Mary's – then known as All Saints' chapel – is found in the Bardney Abbey Cartulary, embodied in a charter of Walter de Gant, datable to 1115. From it we learn that Walter bestowed upon the abbey the manor of Barton, together with the church of St Peter, with all its lands and tithes, including the chapel of All Saints in the same town. He further tells us that the chapel was 'established pursuant to vows in our own days' (*Capella Omnium Sanctorum in eadem villa his diebus nuncupata*) (Brown 1906, 81–2). This suggests that the chapel was founded by Walter's father, Gilbert de Gant, in the early years of the twelfth century, or possibly late in the eleventh. The date cannot be fixed any more precisely. Brown (1906, 100) argued that use of the term *nuncupata* implied that the foundation was a thank-offering resulting from a special event in Gilbert's life. However, the charter does not actually state that Gilbert was the original founder.

The chapel receives several further mentions in the Cartulary in confirmation of gifts made: e.g. in the charter from Pope Eugenius III (1145–53), confirming Bardney Abbey's possession of the church of St Peter and chapel of All Saints, and their appurtenances (Brown 1906, 91). The dedication of the chapel was changed to St Mary the Virgin during the episcopate of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln 1235–53. Rededication had not occurred by 1246, and it can therefore be assigned to a date within the bracket 1246–53 (Brown 1908, 83). The rising popularity of the cult of the Virgin in the thirteenth century occasioned many new dedications in her honour, as well as rededications.

Immediately east of the church lies the Beck, which was formerly fed by powerful artesian springs (Figs. 39–40 and 139–141). This association gave rise to the church being described as 'St Mary at the Spring'. Thus an episcopal licence, dated 1401, referred to the church as *Capella Ste Marie ad fontem de Barton super Humbrum* (Brown 1906, 99).

Churchyard and environs

The churchyard comprises a roughly quadrangular plot with an area of 0.84 acre (0.34 ha.) (Fig. 40). When first mentioned by name, in the early sixteenth century, it was known as the 'chapell yerde of Our Lady'.¹ In 1827, it was described as 'fenced all round by brick walls, or walls of buildings'. The surface of the churchyard is slightly elevated and stands 1.5 m above the pavement of Burgate. The brick boundary walls all appear to date from the later seventeenth or eighteenth century, with subsequent repairs and heightening; on the south the wall is capped with blocks of limestone of varying lengths. The principal entrance is on Burgate, directly opposite the south porch (A): the opening here was widened in 1863.² Early twentieth-century photographs show the walls on this side topped by railings, and the internal paths were also flanked by them (Fig. 41).³

An entrance formerly existed at the south-west corner of the churchyard, and a footpath just inside the western boundary ran from Burgate (B) to Chantry Lane (C) (Fig. 40). This path was in turn successor to the original Chantry Lane, which lay just west of the churchyard boundary, and linked Burgate to Soutergate. However, in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, a house was erected on the Burgate frontage (with a range of outbuildings to the rear), blocking the southern entrance to Chantry Lane (D), and an alternative thoroughfare then developed just inside the churchyard boundary. That in turn was abandoned in or by the early nineteenth century: the brick wall on the frontage of Burgate was extended to block the entrance, and the level of the churchyard behind was raised, allowing burial to spread up to the western edge.⁴ A range of buildings now forms the boundary on this side. There were also formerly blocks of small buildings against the northern boundary of the churchyard, and an entrance (E) at the mid-point, nearly opposite the north door of the church. That point of access probably fell out of use in the mid-seventeenth century, after the vicarage was no longer located in East Acridge (p. 613).

From the main entrance (A), the southern churchyard boundary continues eastwards, behind the cottages fronting Burgate; the wall here has been substantially rebuilt in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The eastern boundary is accompanied by an abrupt change of level (up to 2 m) between the



Fig. 37: St Mary's church and its setting from the east in the 1890s. View from St Peter's tower, probably taken by Arthur Brummitt. Compare with Fig. 1. Courtesy of North Lincolnshire Museum Service (Ball, scrapbook 2)



Fig. 38: St Mary's church from the south-west in the 1890s. Photo: Arthur Brummitt, courtesy of John French

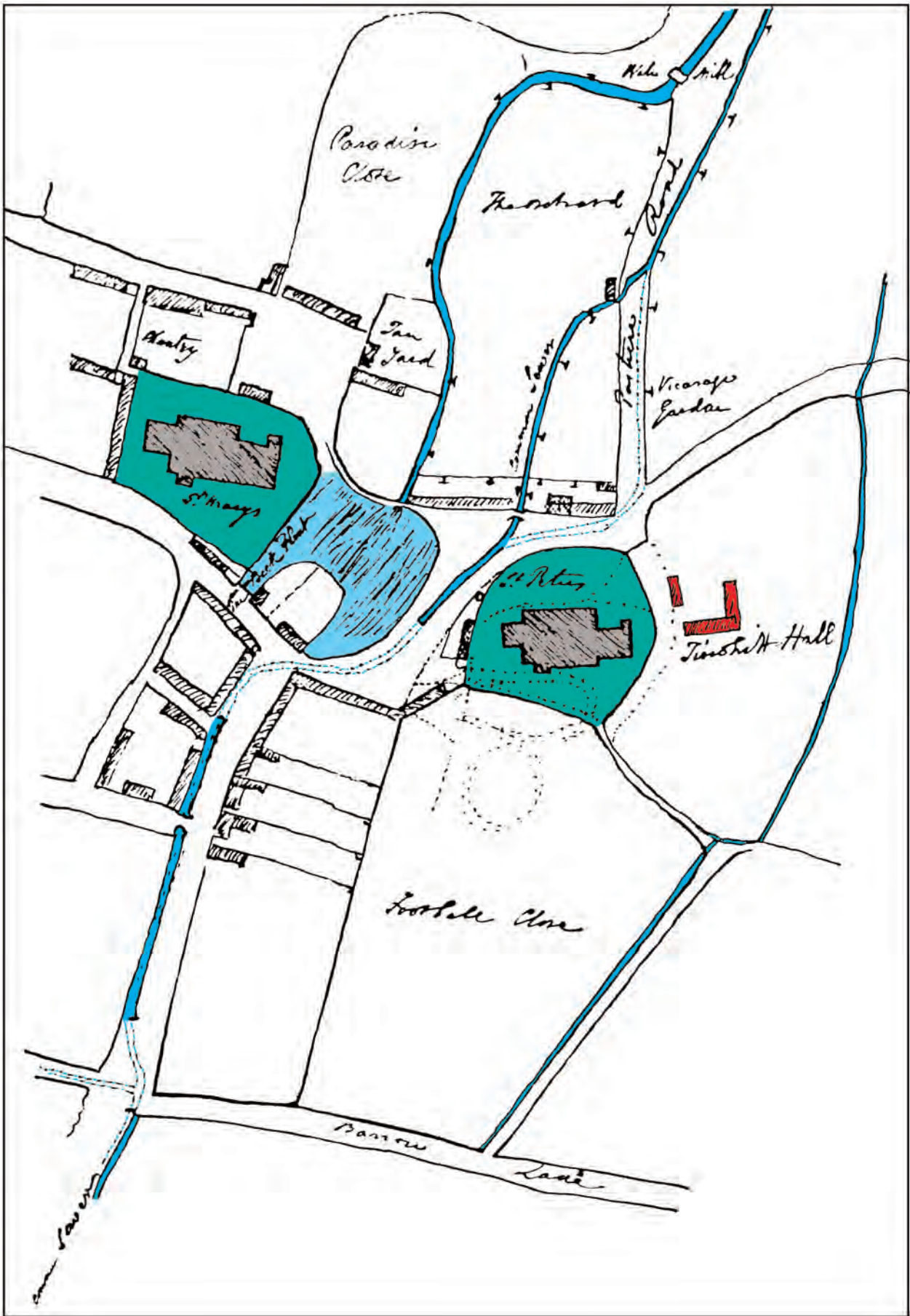


Fig. 39: The environs of St Mary's and St Peter's churches. Undated, late eighteenth-century plan. Colour has been added to emphasize the churchyards, streams and drains. Lincolnshire Archives

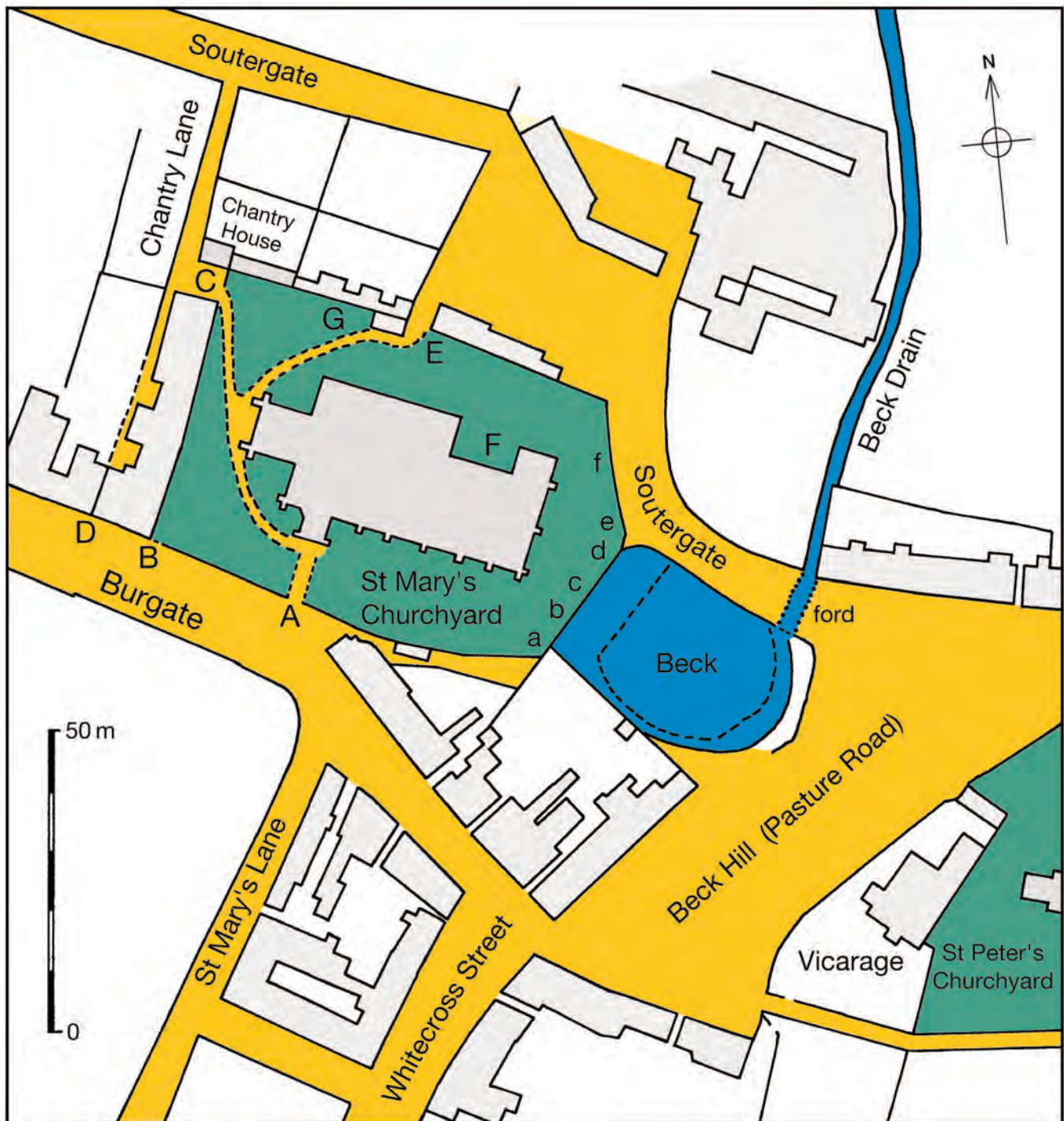


Fig. 40: Topographical plan of St Mary's churchyard and its environs in the mid-nineteenth century. Compiled from the Ordnance Survey 1:2,500 plan of 1886, and other sources. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

churchyard and the Beck, and the wall acts as a revetment. The eastern wall is in two distinct sections and takes a markedly angular course, perhaps reflecting an encroachment eastwards during the Middle Ages – into the Beck – as the church itself was enlarged. Both sections of this boundary are composed of a mixture of materials and are of many different builds: in 1862 the east wall was described as being in ‘very bad’ condition, but by the following year it was ‘much improved’ (Fig. 140).⁵ Photographs of the 1890s show the walls containing the Beck on the south and west without a

cloak of vegetation, and with a greater height exposed than there is now. In the 1980s, up to one metre of soil was imported and dumped in the Beck during municipal landscaping.

Today, the eastern churchyard wall comprises six distinct elements (Fig. 40, a–f):

- a) The south-east angle of the churchyard is concealed by a garden, but outside this, fronting the Beck, the wall comprises (from the bottom up) a plinth of reused limestone blocks (at least two



Fig. 41: St Mary's churchyard in the 1890s. The south-west corner seen from a garden in Burgate. On the left, behind the railing, is part of the pale limestone ashlar wall of the medieval chantry house, which was incorporated in the northern boundary of the churchyard. The church porch is on the right. Photo: Arthur Brummitt, courtesy of John French

courses, each of 12 cm), four courses of seventeenth- or eighteenth-century brick (45 cm), an offset, more brickwork (80 cm), and finally a nineteenth-century heightening finished with a bevelled brick capping (70 cm).

- b) North of this is a length of wall with a plinth of mixed reused ashlar, including moulded blocks and flat slabs. The ashlars comprise both Lincolnshire limestone and Lower Magnesian Limestone; also incorporated are lumps of ironstone, medieval brick and roof tile. There is a tapering offset above the plinth, surmounted by brickwork, as in (a). Now in very poor condition.
- c) Here, the wall stands to a maximum visible height of 2.3 m, but was previously *c.* 3 m, and the stone plinth is now buried by modern soil dumping. The southern half of this section comprises brickwork, as in (a), while the northern half is now an early twentieth-century rebuild using 3-inch bricks. Photographs indicate that previously the wall here comprised large ashlars of pale limestone (Lower Magnesian?) standing to a height of *c.* 2 m (Fig. 140).
- d) The change of angle at the centre of the east wall is marked by a nineteenth-century brick-built diagonal buttress, partly reconstructed at a later date.
- e) This very short, re-entrant section of wall has a visible footing of large limestone ashlars; it carries four courses of seventeenth- or eighteenth-century brickwork, without an offset, and then a late nineteenth-century wall and capping.
- f) At the second change of angle there is a straight vertical joint, beyond which is a plain eighteenth-century brick wall, with Victorian heightening.

While the basic sequence of post-medieval repairs seems clear, the true antiquity of the eastern churchyard wall is far from certain. It was presumably constructed to serve both as a boundary and as a revetment in the Middle Ages, but whether the large limestone ashlar blocks at the base of the wall were newly



Fig. 42: St Mary's: eastern churchyard wall (c), adjoining the Beck, showing reused moulded stones and flat limestone slabs. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

prepared for this purpose, or were salvaged from a previous use, is unknown. Reused materials are certainly present in the later work, including flat slabs (medieval grave-covers?) and mouldings (Fig. 42). The stone wall stood at least 2 m high before the brick capping was installed in the nineteenth century and, as noted above, was probably in the region of 3 m. Additionally, it must have been founded on a solid base, rather than on unstable silt around the rim of the Beck, otherwise the lateral pressure exerted by the raised churchyard would have overturned the wall bodily. It was probably in the late seventeenth century that the process of replacing decayed masonry with brick began, and may be related to several references in the churchwardens' accounts (particularly in the 1690s) to hauling quantities of bricks to the churchyard (p. 126). In 1862 the whole wall was heightened – or the upper courses were removed and rebuilt – and given a bevelled capping.

If the east wall was originally built entirely of ashlar, that implies the availability of a serious quantity, and there is no architectural element associated with either of the churches from which the blocks could derive. Similarly, it is very doubtful whether masonry of this type would have been present in the abandoned

outlying chapels and, apart from popular supposition, there is nothing to link the materials with Thornton Abbey. It is just possible that we are glimpsing here the remnants of a medieval harbour wall, and the suggestion that the Beck is the remnant of a second haven has already been raised in chapter 2 (p. 35). It is clear from the eighteenth-century sketch plan (Fig. 39) and the Enclosure map of 1796 (Fig. 18) that the Beck was once larger, and that the entire block of cottages and their gardens south-east of the churchyard represents progressive post-medieval backfilling of, and encroachment upon, the Beck. Moreover, the boundary wall just described (a–d) also continues in a southward direction well beyond the churchyard, while maintaining the alignment perfectly. Although only a brick wall is visible above ground today, there can be little doubt that it is founded on a stone base which was part of the revetment on the west side of the Beck, before it was reduced in size.

The northern churchyard wall comprises a mixture of eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth-century brickwork. There was an entrance midway (Fig. 40, E), and also a wide opening at the north-west corner (C), leading to a footpath, formerly known as Chantry Lane. Here, forming part of the north boundary, once lay the medieval 'chantry house', which later became an almshouse (below p. 75). Its wall was composed of large limestone ashlar, which have now all been lost.

Only two structures are known to have existed within the churchyard: the first was noted by Loft, who wrote 'a small building of brick & covered with tiles joined to the vestry, and a lock upon the door; perhaps it is a well or conduit; it is only 6 ft 3 long, by 5 ft wide; the height from the ground to top of roof is 9 ft; height from ground to pan of the roof is 5 ft.' The description suggests a lean-to, perhaps built against the west side of the vestry; it is not marked on Loft's plan of 1831 or Hesleden's of 1834. Nor is it identifiable on later maps, and was therefore probably demolished before 1886 (F). The most likely date for its removal is 1883–84, when the chancel and vestry were restored (p. 129). It is curious that Loft did not determine the function of the building through local enquiry: there is no historical reference to a conduit-house.

A photograph of the 1890s shows the second structure, a small brick building (G) with a sledged roof abutting the northern churchyard boundary, roughly opposite the north door (Fig. 37).⁶ It first appeared on the Ordnance Survey map of 1906, but was demolished after 1965. Its function was doubtless a fuel store, similar to that created at St Peter's in 1913 (p. 534).

The churchyard was used for burial until it was closed by order of the Secretary of State in 1855, but permission was given for brick vaults and graves to be used by persons having a right of burial in them, until 1860.⁷ Unlike St Peter's, this churchyard was not systematically cleared of memorials in the 1960s: numerous headstones and a few altar tombs of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries remain *in situ*. They are

mostly in poor condition and many are now illegible, at least in part. A feature of both churchyards in the early nineteenth century was the use of tall headstones which were given additional support by driving one, or two, oak posts into the ground, against the rear face of the stone (Fig. 771). A hole was then drilled through both the stone and the post, at 0.7–0.9 m above ground level, and the two secured together with a coach-bolt and nut (p. 721).⁸

Medieval chantries and the chantry house

There are records of at least three, and probably four, chantries in St Mary's church: for details of the priests who served them, see Appendix 5.⁹ Although the dedications of three altars are mentioned, no documentary evidence exists to locate these within the building. The earliest mention of an altar to St James occurs in William Lorymer's will of 1458: he directed that his body was 'to be buried in the Chapel of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Barton before the Altar of St James, beneath a blue stone adjacent thereto'.¹⁰ Since at least the early nineteenth century, the south-east chapel (or chancel aisle) has been known as St James's aisle; this may well represent a genuine survival in folk memory. However, in the early twentieth century the dedication began to be referred to more specifically as 'St James the Deacon': no authority for this is recorded, and it was most likely assigned by Varah, c. 1920 (in the same way that he assigned dedications to chapels in St Peter's church).¹¹ More likely, the chapel honoured St James the Great who, as the patron saint of pilgrims and travellers, is appropriate for this fourteenth-century aisle, which was erected at the height of Barton's prosperity as a port and trading centre.

In his will dated 6th July 1531, Thomas Knowlys directed that his burial should take place within the aisle of St Thomas in St Mary's church.¹² Attribution of the north aisle to St Thomas the Martyr is not attested before the early twentieth century, and the supposition that the altar to Holy Trinity was in the south nave aisle is even more recent (Varah 1928, 33, 38). Thus the authenticity of the present dedication of the north aisle is equivocal.

The possibility that there was a detached chantry chapel in the churchyard was mooted in the nineteenth century, and pivotal to this argument is the origin and function of the now-destroyed building known as the 'Chantry House', at the north-west corner of the churchyard. The idea was promoted in the nineteenth century that the house was originally a detached chapel dedicated to St Thomas.¹³ This is plausible.

Adinot chantry at St Thomas the Martyr's altar

The chantry was founded by Richard Adinot for himself, his wife (Matilda), their ancestors and descendants. The foundation deed survives,¹⁴ and in 1268 he

presented Richard de Burton Stather to be instituted as the first chaplain. The chantry was described as held 'at the altar of St Thomas the Martyr in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary'. Subsequent institutions followed a similar format, and there is nothing in these to indicate whether the chantry chapel was a physically separate structure from St Mary's chapel (*i.e.* the present church).

Support for the notion of a separate chapel appears to be found in a description of 1577 when, following the Suppression, the chantry and chapel were described as ruinous (*totam illam cantariam et capellam nostram ruinosam*),¹⁵ but unfortunately that does not provide unequivocal proof of a structure separate from the church. The description could potentially have been applied to an aisle, 'ruinous' being a term employed in many senses in the Middle Ages: here, it could simply mean disused, abandoned, or in disrepair.

If Adinot's chantry was established in a structurally separate chapel, it was probably a new building in 1268. On the other hand, if it was established within St Mary's it is likely to have been associated with an existing altar, and that could have been in either the north or the south aisle. Archbishop Thomas Becket was murdered in 1170 and the rise of his cult was extremely rapid: at least seven parish churches in Lincolnshire were dedicated in his honour. In the early fourteenth century a chapel to St Thomas was built alongside the presbytery of Thornton Abbey (Clapham and Baillie Reynolds 1956). The narrow south aisle may have been erected in the 1170s or 1180s, and could thus have been assigned the dedication *de novo*. Alternatively, the building of the wide north aisle soon after 1200 would have provided another context. The latter would, however, have involved abandoning the dedication assigned to the altar in the previous narrow aisle. But this is all speculation, and no certainty can obtain.

Cokhevede chantry

A chantry was founded by Hugh Cokhevede in St Mary's chapel in 1348, for himself, his ancestors and heirs.¹⁶ Nothing further is known of this and it may well have been eclipsed by events in the aftermath of the Black Death.

Ouresby chantry

The third chantry was founded by John de Ouresby in 1392, and was described as being at the altar of St Thomas the Martyr in St Mary's chapel,¹⁷ but in 1433 it was recorded as being at the altar of Holy Trinity. The latter provides the only reference to an altar of that name. A curiously worded entry in 1494 records that Robert Osborne was instituted to Ouresby's chantry 'at St Mary's altar in Barton parish church' (Brown 1908, 217). Almost certainly this was careless wording,

based on the belief that St Mary's was parochial: the alternative would be to posit the removal of the chantry to the south aisle of St Peter's church, which may have served as its Lady Chapel (see also p. 488).

Sometimes the two chantries were served by a single priest acting in plurality, although they were usually separate. In 1546, at their demise, John Brown (aged 68, and described as unfit for his work) was chaplain to Adinot's chantry, and Lawrence Straker (aged 40, and fit) was chaplain to Ouresby's.

Harrington chantry

This is known only from a single historical mention that gives no clue as to which church housed the chantry. Robert Smythe was serving the Harrington chantry at the Suppression in 1546, and he was a pensioner in 1553. There are no entries relating to the name 'Harrington' in the surviving parish registers for the sixteenth century.

The 'Chantry house'

A small building of rectangular plan, known in the nineteenth century as 'The Chantry', and later as 'St Mary's Cottage' lay in Chantry Lane, adjacent to the north-west entrance to the churchyard.¹⁸ It was first noted by de la Pryme in 1697: '... part of an old building which has been a chantry, called chantry house to this day.' (Jackson 1869, 142). Although it survived into the twentieth century, unfortunately no illustration of it seems to have been preserved. The building was said to be made of chalkstone but, given the unsuitability of this material for ashlar-work and external walling, it is more likely to have been faced with Lower Magnesian Limestone.

A late eighteenth-century plan shows the cottage as part of a small complex labelled 'chantry' (Fig. 39).¹⁹ In 1894, it was stated that one wall of the medieval chantry house was still standing,²⁰ and a small part of this appears in two contemporary photographs of St Mary's church: it comprised slightly irregular courses of pale limestone ashlar, then serving as the churchyard wall (Fig. 41). In appearance, it was not dissimilar to the belfry stage of St Peter's tower (Fig. 399). However, in 1938 it was said that the cottage 'includes in its wall a large part of the original thirteenth-century work', and that there was 'a blocked up lancet window'.²¹ Apparently, an order was made by the local Urban District Council in 1937 to demolish the property, which was then challenged by W.E. Varah, the vicar. The Ministry of Health was also involved, presumably because the property had been condemned as a slum.

Varah made representations to the Council and to H.M. Office of Works, who sent an inspector to examine the building in April 1938. Evidently, this was to no avail, and during the ensuing months the house was unroofed and reduced to a ruin; attempts to persuade the Council to consolidate the remaining walls failed.²²

Gradually the ruin disappeared, and in the 1960s garages were built on the site; the ashlar boundary wall was replaced with brick, and there is nothing visible above ground today.

There is some doubt as to the function of this building: was it a dwelling for a chantry priest, or could it have been a detached chantry chapel? It has potentially been associated with the Adinot chantry, although that is not a certainty.²³ While it certainly was a dwelling after the Reformation, a case may be made for its origin as a chapel: the building was orientated east–west, and was expensively constructed using large ashlar of limestone. A medieval priest's house is much more likely to have been either timber framed or built of local chalk and flint rubble.

Following the Suppression of Chantries, under Edward VI, the chantry fell into disrepair, and it was not until 1577 that its assets were dispersed by the Crown. In that year, a grant made by Queen Elizabeth I to John Farneham, a pensioner of her court, apparently included all chantry assets at Barton.²⁴

In 1701 the property was owned by Christopher Benton who vested it in trustees for the habitation of the poor. For it to have served that purpose, there must have been more to this property than a tiny building – effectively a one-roomed cottage – and the gift presumably included the rectangular plot abutting the churchyard on the north. Doubtless there was another structure on the land which housed the poor, and there is mention of a new workhouse being built on 'Chantry Hill' in 1741.²⁵ The medieval structure seems to have been rebuilt in 1753 as part of the workhouse complex (Hesleden 1822, 11–12).²⁶ Late eighteenth-century plans show a building range fronting on to Soutergate (since demolished). It seems that the old chantry house also served as the town lock-up, which in turn became redundant when the police station was built in 1847; then it was converted into a cottage, which was still occupied in the early twentieth century.

General Description

Antiquarian descriptions and illustrations

'St Mary's church is a more modern building, and is very spacious. It has evidently been built with materials from some of the decayed religious houses, as appears from the discrepancy in the pillars and arches, some of which are circular, and others in the Pointed style.'²⁷ Antiquaries have often alluded to St Mary's as the 'new' church, in contradistinction to St Peter's, which they termed the 'old' church, but there is no basis for assigning a monastic origin to anything in its fabric which was, in any case, all erected before the Dissolution.

St Mary's was first illustrated by Nattes in 1796, with a detailed drawing from the south-west, and a watercolour from the east,²⁸ with the Beck in the foreground (Figs. 12 and 139). A fragment of a tantalizing

description of the church around the turn of the nineteenth century has survived: it was penned by an unknown author, during William Uppleby's incumbency (1789–1834).²⁹ The account, which must antedate the restoration of the nave that began in 1815, is worth examining closely:

'Gothic arches & cornices supported by ancient pillars whose capitals are ornamented with various singular devices – clustered pillars – Roof ornamented with carved flowers – circular columns, fretwork. The brackets are supported by whole length figures of the Apostles.

In the south wall of the chancel are two stone stalls of the earliest Gothic architecture with plain pointed arches; a piscina with the drain very perfect & another small. Recess which was closet perhaps for holding Chrisom & sacramental elements.'

Most of the details are readily recognizable: the writer is first describing the south arcade with its clustered piers and waterleaf capitals; the tie-beams in the chancel still carry rosettes, and the nave probably did too; the circular piers are in the north arcade. Either screens or pierced roof decoration could be referred to as 'fretwork'. More startling is the mention of full-length figures of apostles, supporting brackets. This cannot refer to figures in the panels of screenwork, and the components of a roof are more likely: almost certainly the writer saw small figures carved on or attached to the wall-posts of the roof in the nave, a roof that was destroyed in 1816 (below, p. 127). The fretwork was probably in the spandrels. Some of the finer late medieval roofs in eastern England had supporting figures, *e.g.* Knapton and Outwell (Norf.) and at St Martin's, Leicester (Brandon and Brandon 1849, pls. 8 and 37).

The writer continued by describing two of the sedilia in the south wall of the chancel aisle (the third had been opened up to form a doorway; Figs. 58 and 59). The piscina with the 'very perfect' drain must be a reference to that in the north aisle, with the 'recess' being the aumbry in the same wall.

The church was visited by J.H. Loft in 1827 (Appendix 3): 'The whole is of stone except where it is repaired with brick ... there has been a plinth of stone, as also a moulding and basement all round the church, a good part is yet remaining.' The south elevation was covered with stucco. The vestry had a brick chimney and tiled roof, while the other roofs were lead covered, 'but the battlements have been taken down, and they are now principally parapeted'. Loft mentioned the 'porch with a chamber over', and listed four entrances, the principal one being that at the west end, through the tower.³⁰

Loft described the architectural form of the church, giving dimensions, but did not comment on the condition of the building, save to observe that on the east

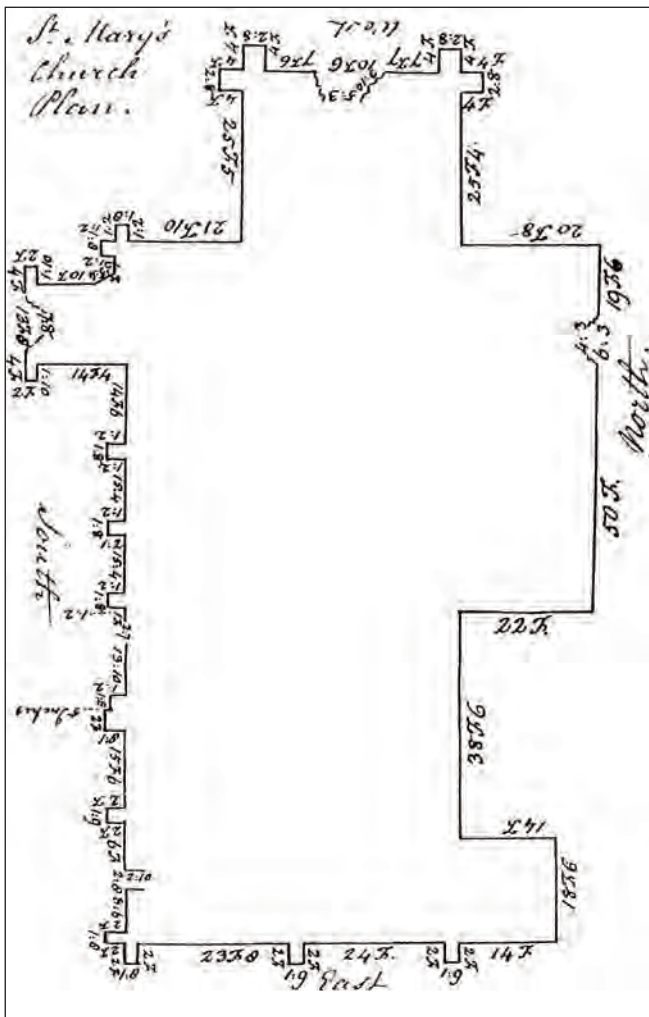


Fig. 43: *St Mary's: plan of the exterior by J.H. Loft, 1831. West is at the top. Lincolnshire Archives*

side of the tower 'the battlement is injured'.³¹ He noted the structural archaeology exposed in the fabric, especially in the north aisle, which he erroneously believed was 'evidently Saxon' in origin: referring to the Gothic window in the west wall, he observed, 'there has been a semicircular Saxon arch, one partly filled up for the insertion of the one now there'. St Mary's was briefly described by Archdeacon Bonney in 1846 (Harding 1937).

The earliest plan of the church dates from 1775, but is schematic and was intended only to record the seating layout; it shows nothing of the building.³² Another plan of 1822–23 also relates to a seating layout, and is again schematic but delineates the interior with a good deal of detail.³³ Loft prepared a fully dimensioned external plan in 1831, but if he drew its internal counterpart, it has not survived (Fig. 43).³⁴ More explicit is a full plan of 1834 by Hesleden, which not only shows architectural detail and seating, but also marks the principal floor slabs (Fig. 44).³⁵

The next plan dates from 1838, is internal and was designed to record the seating allocation.³⁶ That was followed by another, dated 1847; unsigned, it purported to be a true copy of a previous seating plan (but not the 1838 plan).³⁷ Of particular interest is the appearance of two fonts on this plan, one of which is labelled 'old font'. Only one internal view of the church in the nineteenth century is known, a watercolour of c. 1820, showing the recently repewed nave and aisles (Pl. 13).³⁸

A view of the tower from the west was drawn by Hesleden in 1833: site sketches, a preliminary drawing, and an engraved version which was intended for publication have all survived,³⁹ as has an ink and grey-wash

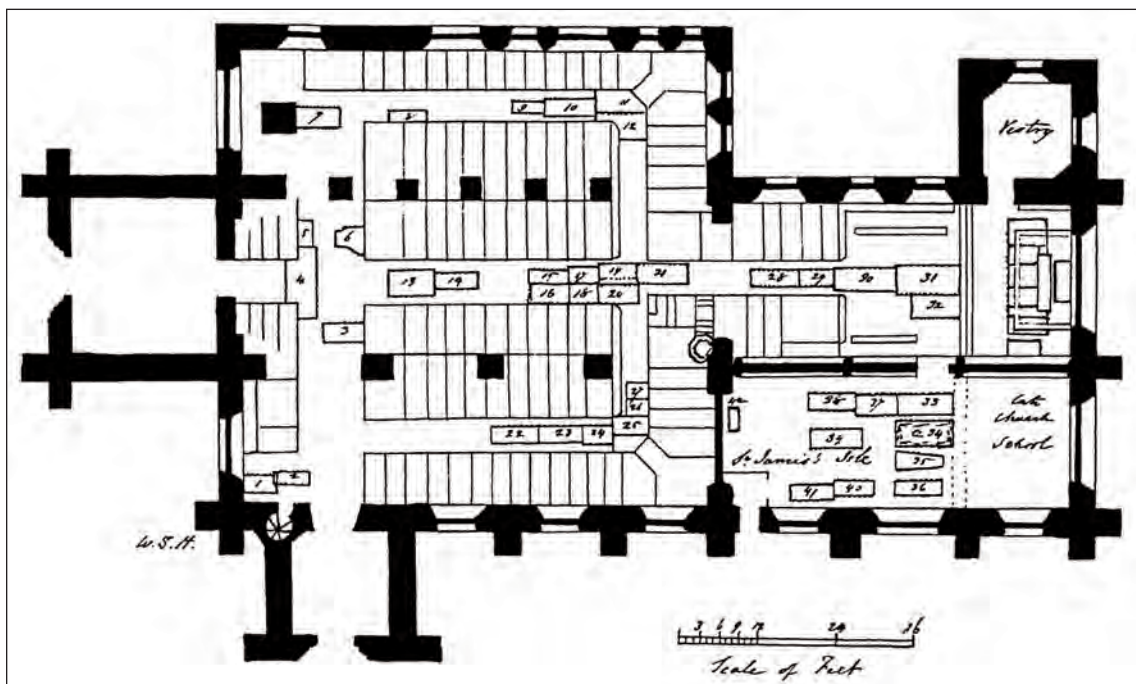


Fig. 44: *St Mary's: plan of the church and seating by W.S. Hesleden, 1834. Lincolnshire Archives and Brown 1908*



Fig. 45: St Mary's: west elevation of the tower by W.S. Hesleden, 1833. The figure on the left (partly obscured by the binding) represents Hesleden himself, taking notes, and the other figure holding a measuring rod would have been his assistant, possibly his son. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: Ms Top. Lincs. b.1, f. 211

drawing.⁴⁰ Interestingly, the preliminary drawing shows the pinnacles surmounted by vanes, but the final version does not. However, it is enlivened with two male figures: one (Hesleden) holds a plan, the other a measuring-rod (Fig. 45).

In preparation for his proposed publication, Hesleden also made a series of sketches and colour-wash drawings of other parts of the church, including the north nave arcade,⁴¹ details from the south nave arcade,⁴² and foliate capitals from the south chancel arcade (Figs. 62 and 67).⁴³

The two earliest attempts to write a history of St Mary's were by Ball (1856; 1909) and, in considerably more detail, by the vicar in 1890 (Moor 1892).⁴⁴ These accounts were subsequently reworked by Varah (1928).⁴⁵

Archaeological investigation and recording

Very little attention has been paid archaeologically to St Mary's church, which has both impeded an understanding of its origins, and makes detailed comparison with St Peter's difficult. The briefest of observations were made in 1980, when foundation trenches were dug for the construction of the church hall, in 1983 when new drainage was laid around the west end, and in 1984 when the internal walls of the nave were partially replastered. A limited excavation was carried out in the vestry in conjunction with reflooring in 1994. In 1961 masons' marks were recorded and in 1985 a measured plan of the church was prepared (Figs. 46 and 47).⁴⁶ A useful introduction to its architectural history has been published by Bryant (2003), and the window typology reproduced here is based upon his work (Figs. 48–50).

Like St Peter's, the church contains an important series of early fourteenth-century architectural sculptures from the same workshop (Figs. 109–22), and the two assemblages will be considered together in chapter 8. For the locations and numbering of the series in St Mary's, see Figure 108.

Chancel

The four-bay arrangement of the late thirteenth-century chancel is preserved in the north wall, which is unbuttressed; the coeval vestry is attached to the easternmost bay, while the other three have windows. The south side is abutted by an aisle, the chancel wall here having been entirely replaced by an arcade of three bays. The east wall is dominated by a large Geometrical window, and the corners are supported by buttresses (Fig. 53). The lowest part of a former steeply pitched, and now truncated, east gable is visible in the exterior masonry.

Externally, there is a marked difference on the north side between the masonry of bays 1–3, and that of the easternmost bay and the vestry; this indicates two periods of construction (Fig. 51). The east elevation is united by a moulded plinth and a string-course at window sill level; the masonry is predominantly squared limestone rubble laid to neat courses. The north and west sides of the vestry are less well finished and lack the string-course (Fig. 54). The masonry of bays 1–3 is much less regular and contains a greater mixture of rubble, with clear banding present, representing the arrival on site of different loads of stone. Thus, up to sill level the rubble is mixed, there is then a band of flattish pieces of limestone, followed by a band which is primarily chalk. This wall also contains the remnants of a string-course which is a little above sill level and the mid-thirteenth-century windows have clearly been cut through it. Internally, traces of former (Norman?) windows can be detected in the wallplaster above the present window heads in bays 1 and 2. The primary masonry of the north wall is similar to that in the same location at Barrow church.

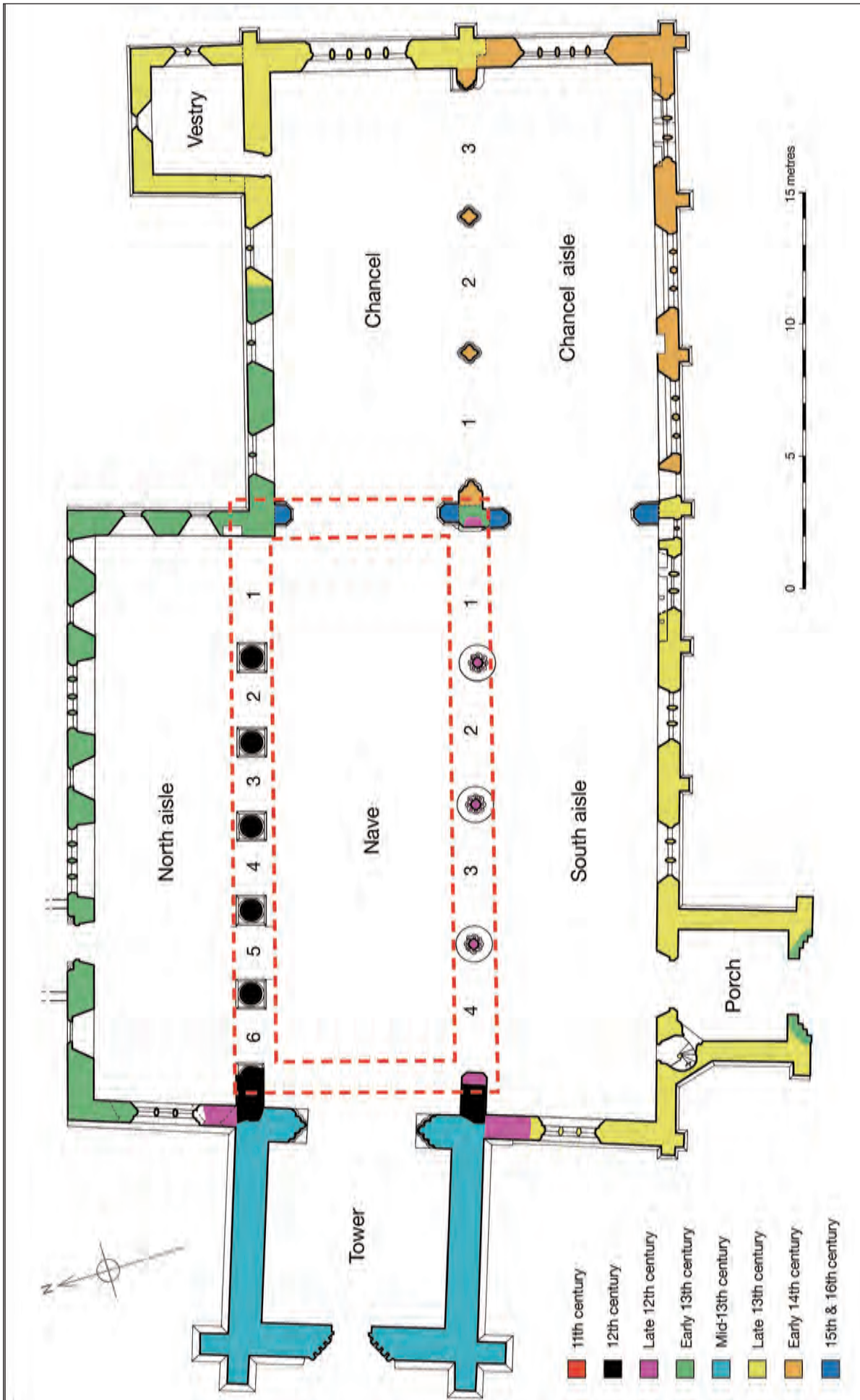


Fig. 46: St Mary's church: phased plan of the upstanding walls. The approximate positions of the earlier (Anglo-Saxon?) nave are also shown. Drawing: Caroline Atkins and Simon Hayfield

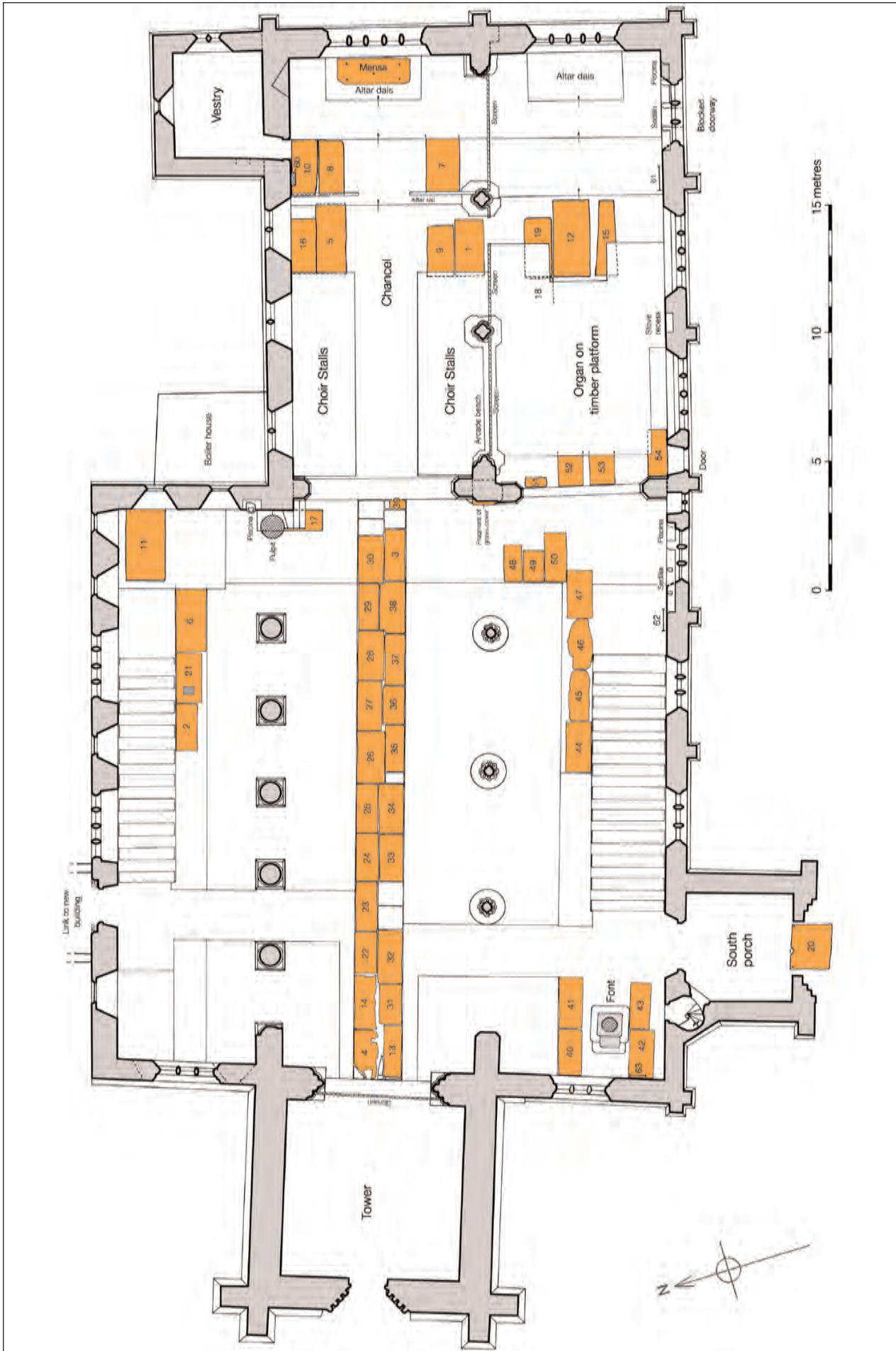


Fig. 47: St Mary's church: ground plan, showing also the locations of funerary monuments. M.1-54 are floor slabs; M.60-63 are affixed to the walls. Drawing: Caroline Atkins.

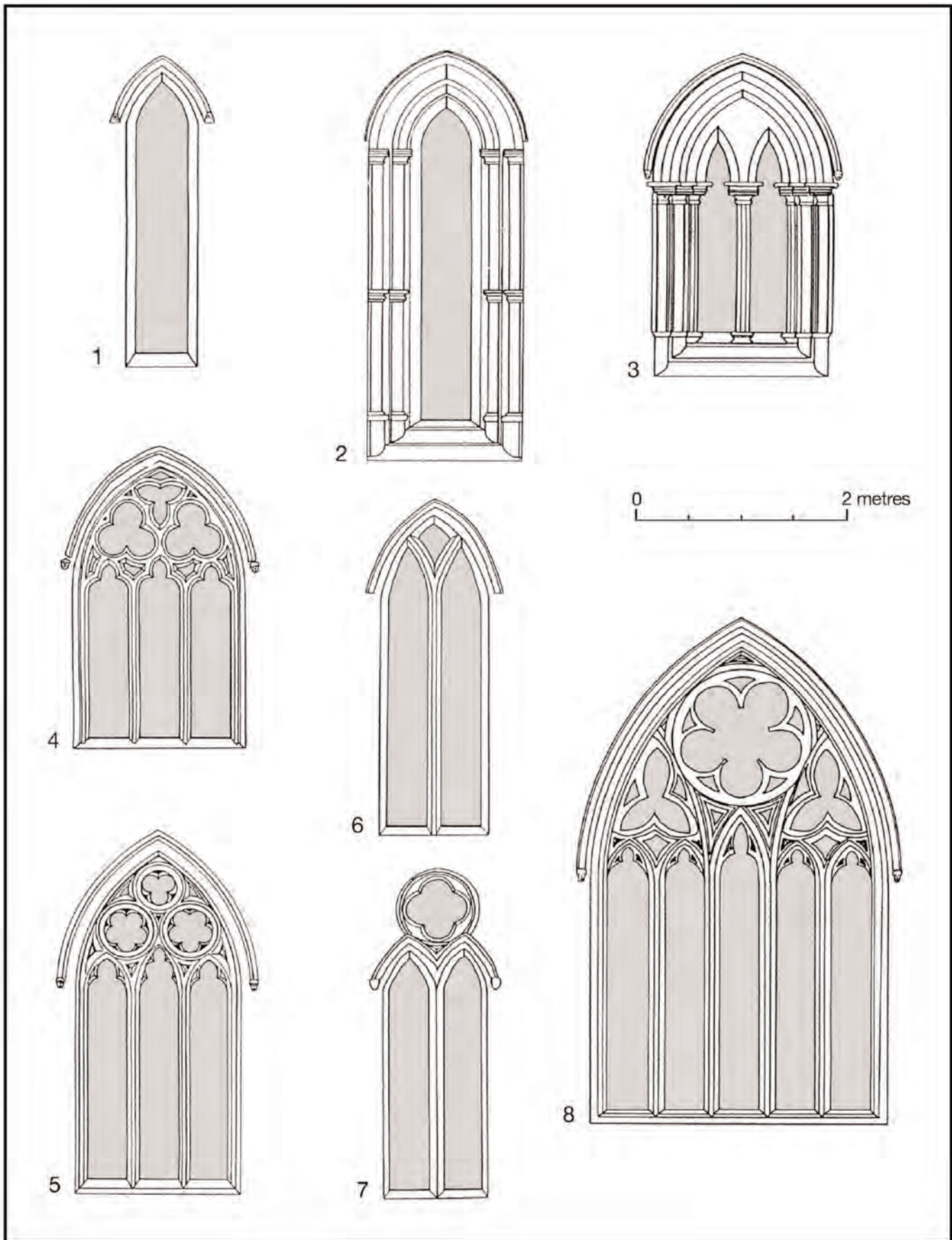


Fig. 48: Typology of the medieval windows in St Peter's and St Mary's churches. 1 St M., north aisle; 2, 3 St M., tower; 4 St P., south aisle; 5 St M., south nave aisle; 6 St M., chancel north wall, bay 3; 7 St M., chancel north wall, bay 2; 8 St M., chancel, east wall. Scale 1:50. After Bryant 2003

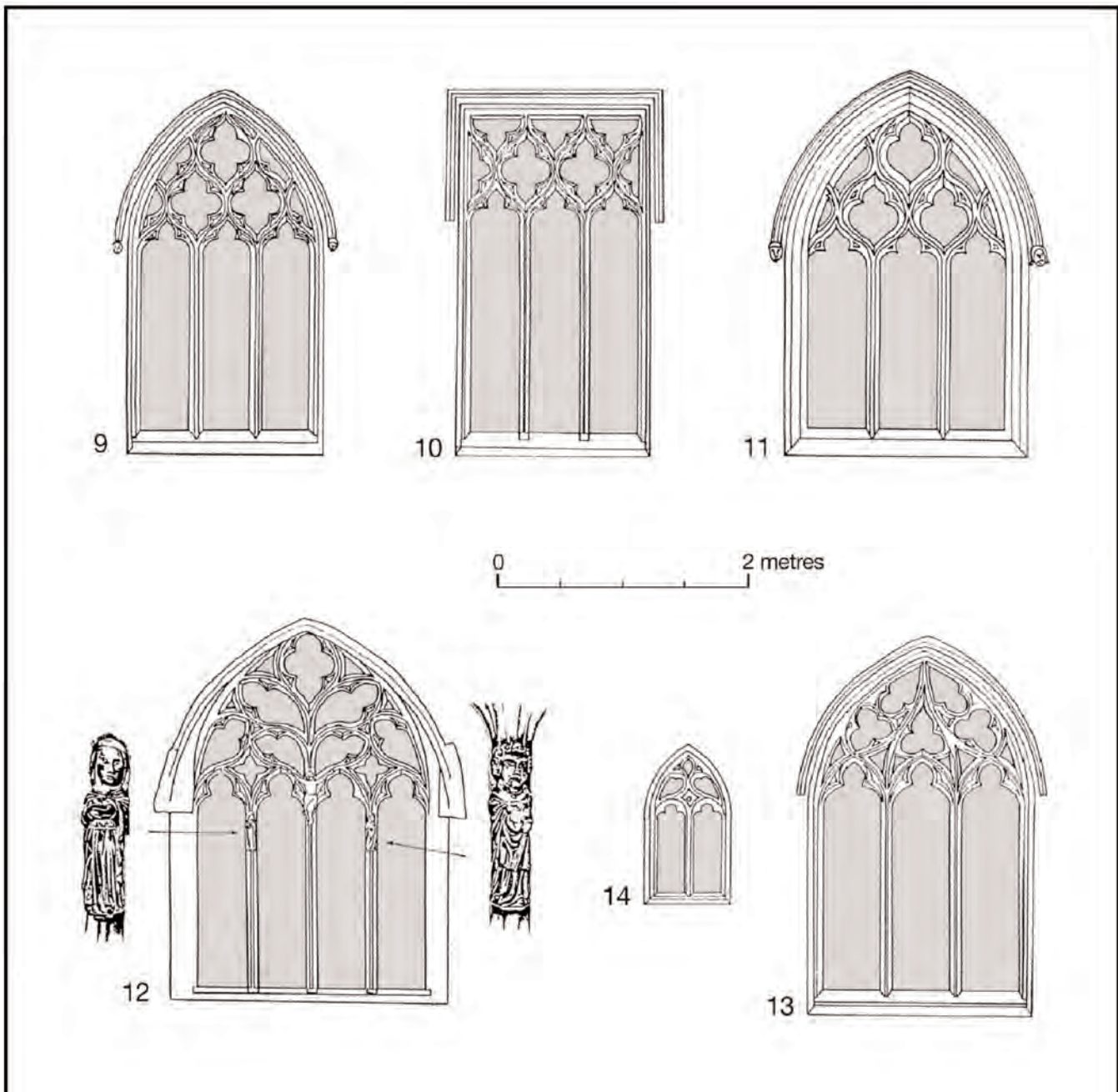


Fig. 49: Typology of the medieval windows in St Peter's and St Mary's churches. 9, 10 St P, north aisle; 11 St M., south chancel aisle, bay 3; 12 St P, north aisle, east wall (interior); 13 St P, north aisle, west wall; 14 St M., south nave aisle, bay 1. Scale 1:50. After Bryant 2003

The entrance to the chancel from the nave is defined by a high-pointed, two-centred arch of two chamfered orders: fifteenth century (Pl. 14; Fig. 52). The responds are half-octagonal, with bell-moulded bases, and imposts that mirror these but have an additional sunk moulding. There are ancient graffiti on the responds and a few medieval bricks incorporated in the fabric. On either side of the arch, at about mid-height, are stone brackets which doubtless supported the rood-beam. Lower down, close to impost level, are housings for another beam that was still present in the 1820s;⁴⁷ this was probably the top-rail of the screen, and it also supported a boarded tympanum filling the lower part of the arch above (Pl. 13).

The arch has been inserted, with straight joints on both flanks, into a formerly plain opening which was defined only by a square jamb on the north and a chamfered one on the south; both jambs rise from the floor to the eaves-level of the thirteenth-century church.⁴⁸ An iron hook at the centre of the arch is probably medieval and suspended the rood; the present crucifix was salvaged from the demolished St Chad's church at Barton Waterside.⁴⁹

The Geometrical east window is of five trefoil-headed lights under a two-centred head with a hood-moulding (Figs. 48, 8 and 53); the central light is slightly taller than the others. The same arrangement is also found in the east window of the chancel aisle and

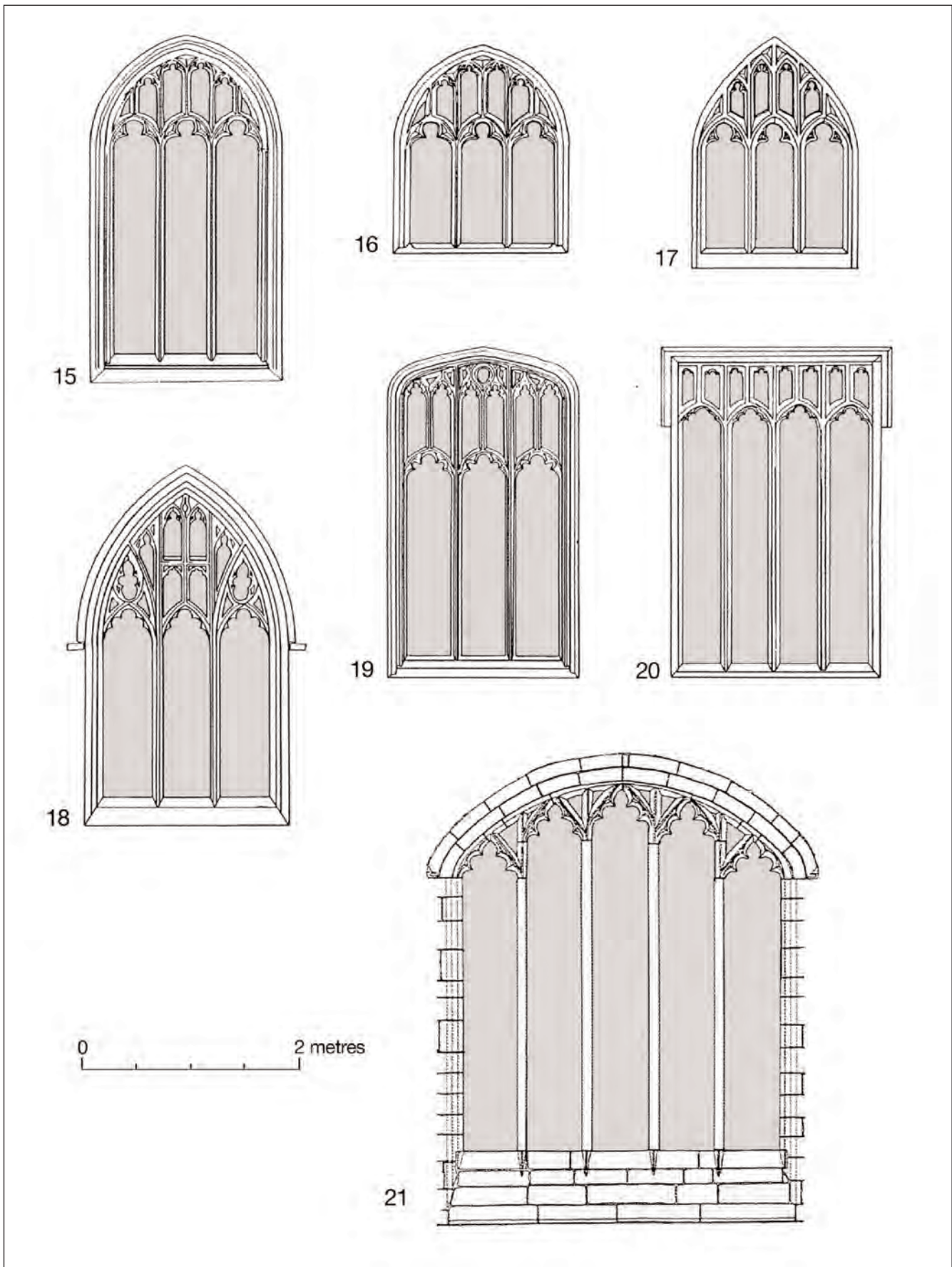


Fig. 50: Typology of the medieval windows in St Peter's and St Mary's churches. 15 St P., south aisle, west wall; 16 St P., clerestory; 17 St M., clerestory; 18 St M., north aisle, west wall; 19 St P., south aisle, east wall; 20 St M., north aisle; 21 St P., chancel, east wall. Scale 1:50. After Bryant 2003 (except 21)



Fig. 51: St Mary's: north elevation of the chancel, showing also the vestry (left) and boiler-house (right). Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 52: St Mary's: interior of the nave and chancel, looking east, c. 1965. The transverse screen in the south aisle was later removed to the tower, and the organ from St Peter's installed here: cf. Pl. 14. Photo: David Lee Photography



Fig. 53: St Mary's: east elevation of the chancel, south aisle and vestry, 2005. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

in the small windows of the south nave aisle.⁵⁰ Above the outer lights are pointed trefoils, and crowning the centre is a large cinquefoil in a circle. The pointed rear-arch is moulded, but the stone has all been renewed; the reveals are dressed but not moulded. The scale of the traceries appears too large in relation to that of the main lights, prompting the suggestion that the mullions were originally taller (Bryant 2003, 37). Evidence that this was so can be seen to either side of the window head, where ghost outlines reveal the arcature of the masonry that abutted the hood-moulding in its primary location. The entire head was dismantled, the mullions and jambs shortened by *c.* 0.8 m, and the head rebuilt; this occurred in the Tudor period when the chancel was given a low-pitched roof. The line of the original steep roof is visible in the masonry towards both ends of the east wall, but most clearly on the south.

Leaded into the centre light are the only surviving fragments of medieval window glass in the church, arranged as a Crucifixion (Pl. 15; p. 133). The sill of the inner reveal is much lower than that of the glazed lights, suggesting that it formerly supported a substantial altarpiece. The window is not aligned on the present axis of the chancel, which was slightly widened on the south when the fourteenth-century arcade was erected.

The first two bays of the north wall contain a near-matched pair of two-light lancet windows (Fig. 48, 7). The first appears to be integral with the surrounding masonry, but the second exhibits convincing signs of being an insertion.⁵¹ Set in the 'Y' above the lancets is a separate stone pierced by a chamfered quatrefoil in a circle: externally, these two quatrefoil windows are not quite identical (Fig. 51). They each have their own hood-mouldings which are not linked to those of the lights below. This is pseudo-plate tracery. The rear-arch of each window, which embraces both the lancets and the quatrefoil, is two-centred and has a dropped head; there is a small, neat roll on the arris.⁵² The mullions each have a small roll on the inner face, surmounted by a delicate capital at the springing of the heads. In bay 2 the stones forming the head of the rear-arch have been replaced: they lack the roll and are chamfered.

The window in bay 3 is taller and has uncusped Y-tracery (Fig. 48, 6). The rear-arch lacks mouldings, but the sill is chamfered like those in bays 1 and 2. The head is chamfered but not dropped: it appears to be a replacement. Patching over the arch possibly reflects the site of an earlier window.

Bay 4 contains the small, plain doorway leading into the vestry, and an inserted window above. The doorway has a steeply pointed arch and a continuous

plain chamfer which is stopped just above sanctuary floor level. The stops continue as returns into the reveals (*i.e.* they appear as small chamfered plinths).

The three-light window in the chancel wall above the vestry is of squat proportions: it has trefoil heads to the main lights and above these a row of diminutive tracery lights with cusps, all under a square head. The chamfered rear-arch is low and segmental. Above, but offset to the east, is a relieving arch of roughly cut stone, which cannot function meaningfully in relation to the present window: possibly it is relic from an earlier opening here. The window shares similarities with one at Barnetby-le-Wold (Lincs.).⁵³

Diagonally set into the north-east corner of the chancel is a rectangular recess, tapering in plan, which has attracted comment in the past but has not been satisfactorily explained. It has a flat, chamfered sill, which is at a higher level than all other sills in the chancel; the head is formed by a series of oak lintels (Victorian), and the left-hand side has the appearance of being a window splay with stone dressings; the right-hand side is formed by the east wall. This cannot have been a window, since it would have passed diagonally through the corner of the chancel, colliding on the exterior with the chancel buttress and the east wall of the vestry. Two possible explanations may be offered. First, it could be the remnants of an entrance from the chancel (via steps alongside the north wall?) into a chamber above the vestry. However, there is no evidence for an upper storey. Second, it could have been a recess constructed to hold

an unconventional post-medieval memorial, which has subsequently been lost. It could not have contained an Easter Sepulchre because the recess is set too high above floor level. Equally, its interpretation as a recess to hold a statue of the Virgin carries little conviction, despite frequent repetition (Varah 1928, 35–6; 1984, 10). Without investigation, it remains an enigma.

On the north wall, *c.* 3 m above floor level and just east of the chancel arch, is a small but exquisite limestone corbel in the form of a male head supporting an abacus 15 cm across (Fig. 118, sculpture no. 11; see also p. 483). The function of the corbel, which is likely to date from *c.* 1300–20, is uncertain: it may have been associated with a timber screen, pre-dating the stone chancel arch; alternatively, and perhaps more likely, the corbel may not be *in situ*. Any corresponding corbel on the south would have been lost when the chancel arcade was inserted in the early fourteenth century.

Internally, the chancel walls have all been stripped of plaster, exposing limestone rubble. The low-pitched roof is Tudor, arranged in six bays with moulded and cambered tie-beams supported from below by wall-posts and braces rising from stone corbels.⁵⁴

Vestry

This small, square structure adjoins bay 3 of the chancel on the north, and occupies the same position as the vestry at St Peter's. It is unbuttressed and single-storied. There are two original windows: that on the

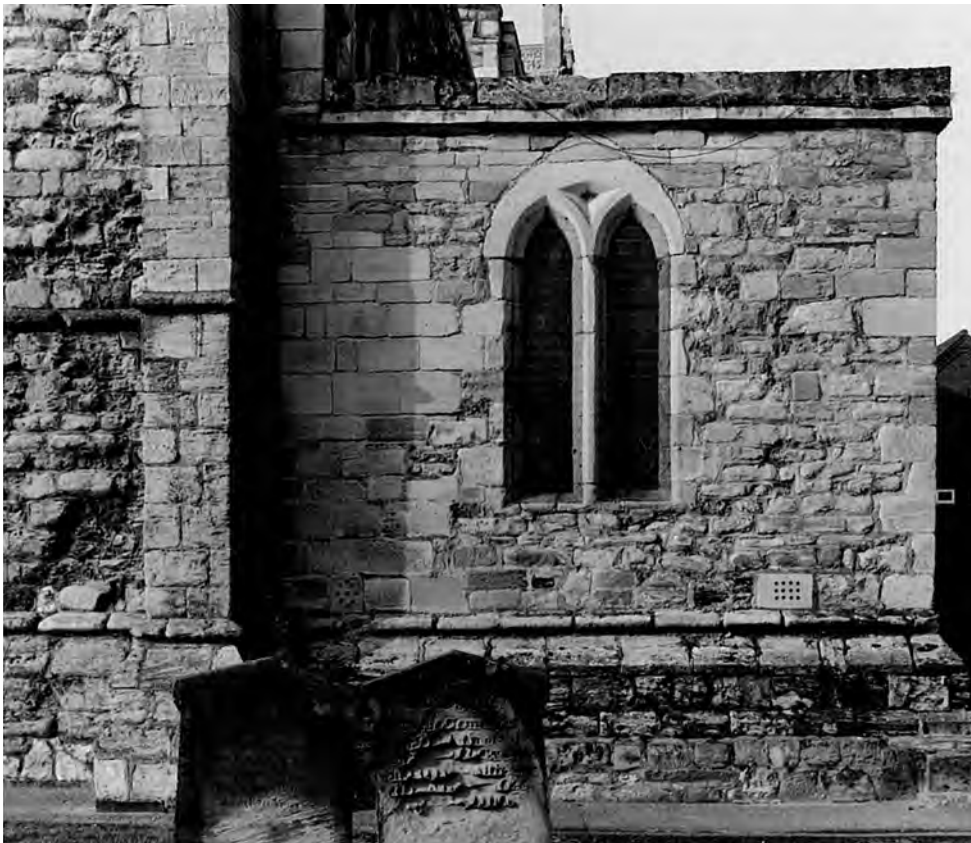


Fig. 54: St Mary's: east face of the vestry. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

north has a single lancet, and that on the east has two lights with Y-tracery; no hood-mouldings (Fig. 54). The internal reveals are widely splayed.

Low down in the west wall, just inside the door, is a rectangular stone-edged recess of uncertain age and purpose; it is infilled. An early iron safe which has lost its door is built into the south wall: it was probably installed in 1813, like the safe in St Peter's (p. 564). The vestry formerly had a fireplace set diagonally across the north-west corner, which probably dated from the eighteenth century, but it has been removed. Nineteenth-century plans also show a smaller diagonal feature across the south-east corner, which is no longer in evidence and its function has not been identified: *cf.* the corresponding recess in the corner of the chancel (p. 86). The two features are likely to have been associated.

Photographs of *c.* 1900 show that the vestry then had a north gable with an upstanding verge and a pan-tiled roof (Fig. 37). The west slope cut diagonally across the blocked Tudor window in the chancel, suggesting that the gabled roof was a later addition.⁵⁵ There is now a flat lead roof and a mean stone parapet, which may reflect the arrangement in the fifteenth century, although originally a steeply pitched roof with a north gable is likely. The presence of a north-facing buttress on the corner of the chancel (part of a clasping pair with the east-facing one), above the level of the vestry wall-top, confirms that it was only ever single-storied.

The interior was refurbished in 1994, when a new concrete floor was laid and the walls were rendered. A superficial excavation was carried out at the time.

Beneath the floor of 1883 was a redeposited layer containing an interesting assemblage of finds, including: medieval brick; Flemish glazed floor tiles; iron and lead; painted medieval window glass (pp. 133–5); medieval and later pottery; clay tobacco pipes; coins and tokens. A medieval mortar bed was found below this deposit, but excavation ceased at that level.⁵⁶

South chancel aisle (south-east chapel)

The aisle is of three bays, punctuated by shallow buttresses, and has a clasping pair at the south-east angle (Figs. 37 and 55). The weatherings are gabled and cusped. A plinth runs around the aisle, and there is a string-course at window sill level which connects with the hood-moulding of the priest's door, but is interrupted by the buttresses. The string steps up in bay 3. The south wall is contiguous with that of the adjacent nave aisle, but there are differences in construction. The east wall is contiguous with that of the chancel which, again, is earlier (Fig. 53).

Loft described the gargoyle at the south-east angle of the church as 'a most capital Gothic figure of stone projecting 3 ft from the wall: it is a man with his face looking horizontally, his arms raised & his hands closed at the back of his head'. This feature, which is now heavily weathered, is glimpsed in Figure 53.

The five-light east window was once much taller and more elaborate (Fig. 56). It has been truncated at the apex of the main lights and all the traceries have gone: it now has a cambered head externally and a timber lintel internally. The springing of the two-centred head



Fig. 55: St Mary's: south chancel aisle. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 56: *St Mary's: south chancel aisle. Upper, east end, with its truncated window. Lower, detail of the window tracery and substitute cambered head. Photos: Warwick Rodwell*

survives outside, together with the scars where the hood-moulding and label-stops have been removed. The springing of the head can also be seen inside, together with the lower ends of the hollow-moulded hood and the two human heads that formed its label-stops (Fig. 117, sculpture nos. 9 and 10). They are *en suite* with the stops on the chancel arcade. The reveals are unmoulded. The main lights have trefoil heads, with the exception of the central one which stands slightly taller and has an elongated cinquefoiled head, similar to the windows in the south nave aisle.⁵⁷ This suggests that the tracery of the east window was Geometrical and was not contemporaneous with the fourteenth-century aisle: almost certainly, this was a repositioned window, fitted with a pair of label-stops to match those on the new arcade. The window is likely to have originated in the east end of the late thirteenth-century south nave aisle and to have contained one or more foiled circles in the tracery.

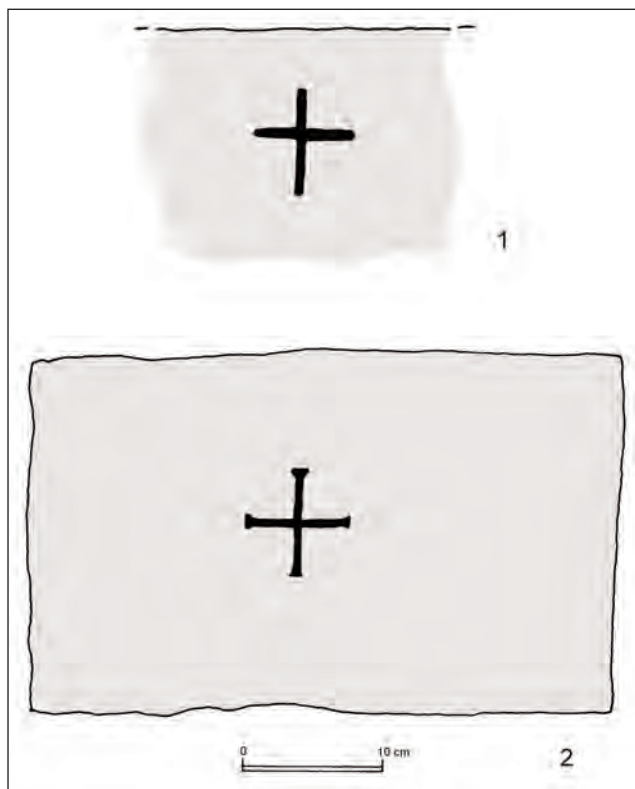


Fig. 57: *Incised ?consecration crosses. 1, St Peter's: eastern reveal of north doorway to tower; 2, St Mary's: south chancel aisle, alongside the southern reveal of the east window. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell*

The lowest block of the southern reveal of the east window carries an incised cross with slightly splayed terminals (Fig. 57):⁵⁸ it would have been close to the medieval altar and was presumably a simple consecration cross: *cf.* also the incised cross on the north door-jamb in the tower of St Peter's (p. 259).

The three-light reticulated window with a two-centred head in the south wall of bay 3 is almost identical to those in the north aisle of St Peter's: only the cusping is slightly different (Figs. 49, 9 and 11 and 58). The rear-arch is chamfered, the splays plain. The window is contemporary with the triple sedilia in the wall below (Fig. 59).⁵⁹ The openings are pointed and have continuous chamfered arrises. The divisions between the seats were originally mullion-like and freestanding (*cf.* sedilia in the south nave aisle), but the lateral openings have been infilled with brick. There is a hood-moulding of crude, angular section (not hollowed), cut on the same blocks as the voussoirs of the arch; this is similar to the hood over the vestry doorway in St Peter's (p. 456). The associated piscina originally had a broad, trefoil-shaped head with a continuous plain chamfer (cut from a single block), but the cusping has been hacked away to form a square-topped cupboard. The basin has gone and a plain stone slab substituted as a sill. The piscina and sedilia are thirteenth century in style and were probably once in the south wall of the chancel, being repositioned when the aisle was added.



Fig. 58: St Mary's: south chancel aisle. Reticulated window tracery and blocked post-medieval doorway in bay 3. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 59: St Mary's: south chancel aisle. Piscina and sedilia in south wall, the central seat restored after being converted into a doorway. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

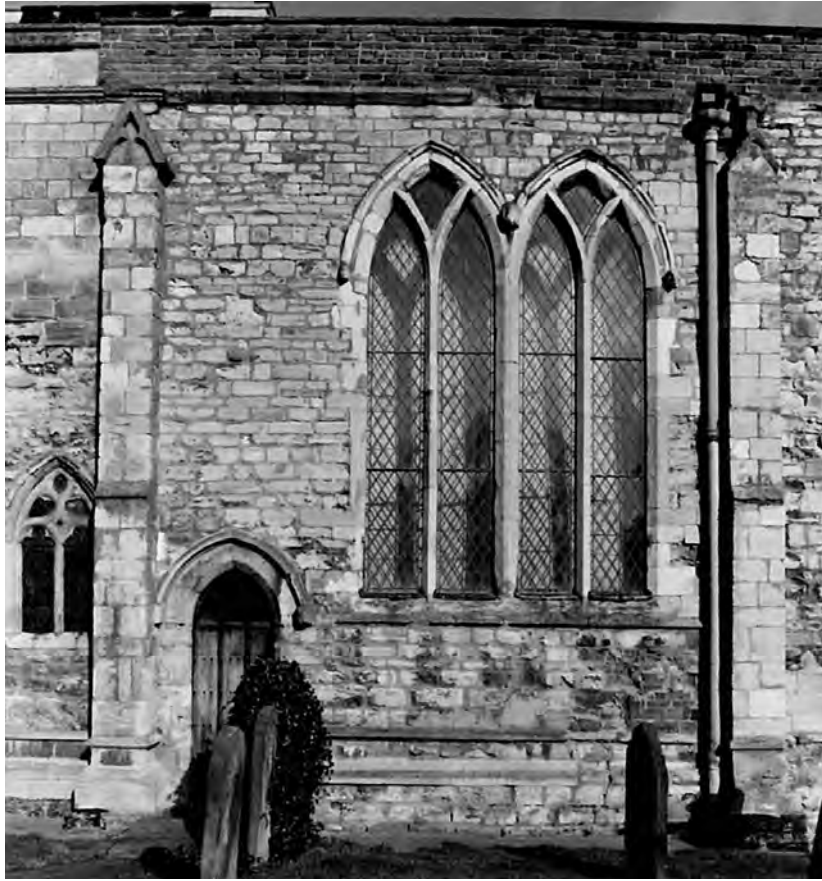


Fig. 60: St Mary's: south chancel aisle. Four-light window with Y-tracery and adjacent priest's door in bay 1. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 61: St Mary's: chancel arcade. View south-east of bays 2 and 3. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Probably in the eighteenth century, the masonry in and beneath the central sedilium was broken out to create a small pointed doorway; this was the external entrance to the schoolroom that, from an unrecorded date, occupied the easternmost bay of the aisle (Fig. 58). A fireplace was installed in the south-east corner of the room, and a chimney erected on top of the angle buttresses. The doorway was infilled, probably in 1883, and the fireplace later removed.

The windows in bays 1 and 2 are identical and of four lights with Y-tracery (Fig. 60). The lights are arranged in two pairs with a king-mullion in between; externally they have conjoined hood-mouldings. The rear-arches are almost semicircular and the dressings are chamfered, as in bay 3. The tympanum between the pair of lights is flat and unadorned. While these windows are clearly integral to the construction of the aisle, they nevertheless relate closely to the single window with Y-tracery in the north wall of the chancel (Fig. 48, 6). They are surely reset, having once been in the south wall of the chancel.

The small priest's doorway at the west end of bay 1 is contemporary with the aisle. Externally, it is chamfered and has a two-centred head with a hood-moulding: it has a stop on the east side (Fig. 60). The pointed rear-arch is chamfered, but the reveals are plain. Also in the south wall, between bays 1 and 2, is a low-level, flat-backed recess under a steeply pointed head: it is ashlar-lined and is an eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century stove recess. Loft's plan shows an external stack attached to the buttress here (Fig. 43). Internally, all the walls have been stripped of plaster and the small, coursed rubble in the lowest one metre of the south wall in the western half of the aisle is of a different character from the masonry above, but is in sympathy with that in the adjoining nave aisle. This suggests that the masonry is reused, although it may be argued that there was a previous south-east chapel. If so, none of its fabric survives above ground, except the reveal of the intercommunicating arch with the chancel (see below).

The monopitched roof is constructed in six bays defined by bridging-beams (none at the east and west ends), three of which are Tudor and have mouldings; the others are replacements. Similarly moulded is a wallplate which bridges the window reveal at the east end (the rear-arch having been taken down when the roof pitch was lowered). A series of plain stone corbels on the south face of the chancel formerly carried the wallplate (now gone).

Chancel arcade (Figs. 61–62)

The fourteenth-century arcade of three bays replaced an earlier opening – perhaps of a single bay – in the south wall of the chancel, but only the plain chamfered west reveal survives. The respond of the new arcade abuts that with a straight joint. The arches are of two plain-chamfered orders, with hollow hood-mouldings on both faces. The masonry above the arches consists of

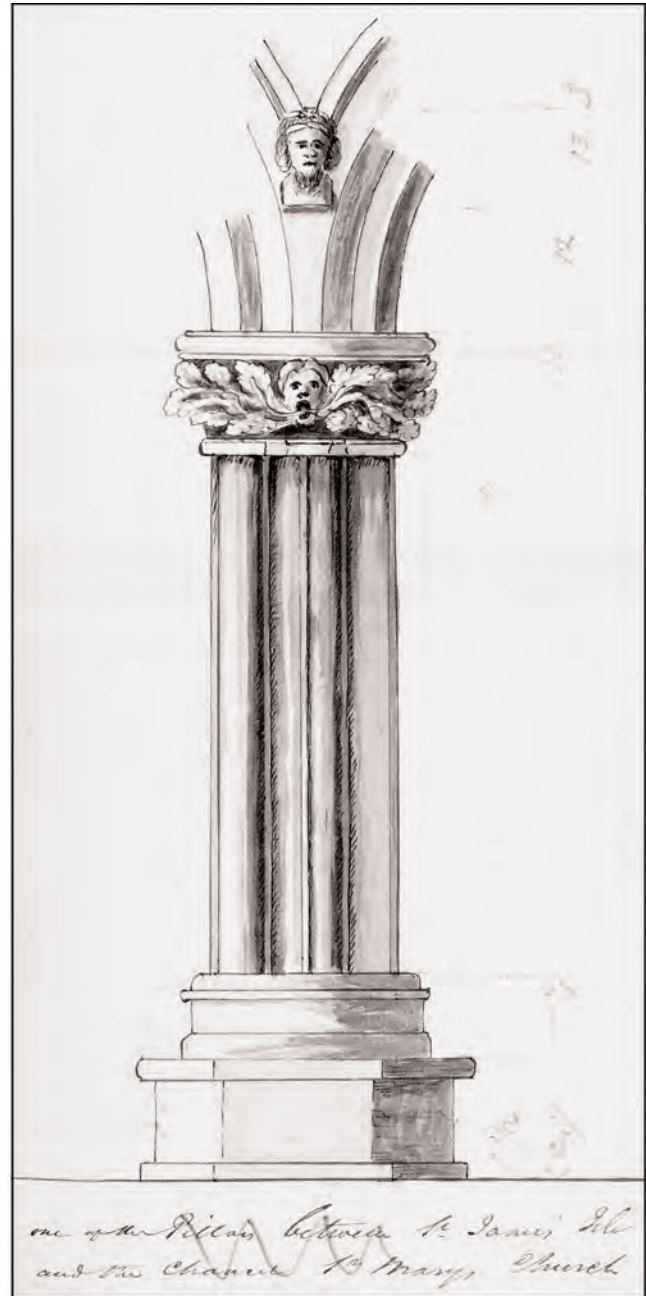


Fig. 62: *St Mary's: chancel arcade. South face of the pier of bay 1/2, showing sculpture nos. 7 and 15 and the octagonal bench around the base (omitting the lateral bench abutments). Drawn by W.S. Hesleden, c. 1833. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: Ms Top. Lincs. b.1, f. 217.*

squared blocks of limestone and chalk, laid to regular courses: it is unlike any other walling in St Mary's. The arcade was built as one with the east wall of the aisle.

The east respond of the arcade seems also to be straight-jointed with the chancel. However, the south wall was evidently repositioned at the same time as the arcade was built: it was moved 38 cm to the south, leaving the east window of the chancel off-centre. The east and west responds consist of three large rolls, with small ones between; the central roll is filleted. The bases are moulded and are carried on chamfered



Fig. 63: St Mary's: chancel arcade. Stone bench angled around the base of the pier between bays 1 and 2, as seen from the aisle. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

sub-bases which in turn rest on a large square plinth at the east end (also chamfered). The height of this plinth indicates that the medieval floor level in the sanctuary must have corresponded approximately to that of the present first step; this is also confirmed by the threshold of the vestry door.

The arcade piers are of quatrefoil plan with fillets on the faces of the main rolls and small rolls in the angles between. Red pigment (probably medieval) survives particularly well on pier 2/3. The moulded bases are *en suite* and have chamfered sub-bases. The broad plinths have flat tops with basal chamfers and form angular seats around the piers, and on the east face of the west respond (Figs. 62–63). In bays 1 and 2 they are linked by continuous benches beneath the arches⁶⁰ (*cf.* the arcade benches at St Peter's, p. 425; Fig. 33, 8). In bay 3 there was a step down from the sanctuary floor to that of the aisle. The foliate capitals of the piers and responds have integral abaci and all are carved with knobbly foliage, similar to that in the arcades of St Peter's church (Figs. 119–122). Significant areas of the carving in St Mary's have been hacked away, or obscured, by the timber screens; consequently, it is impossible to be certain how many 'Green Men' were incorporated in the foliage. Pier 1/2 has human heads or grotesques spewing foliage on all four sides (Fig. 120). Pier 2/3 has similar heads facing south and west (Fig. 121), but none to the north; no evidence is now visible on its east face, or at the centres of the east and west responds (where damage and concealment has been caused by timber screens: Fig. 122, upper).

All three bays are filled with oak screens which have cornices and modest canopies at arcade impost level (Fig. 61). The screenwork is heavily restored in bays 1 and 2, and is wholly modern in bay 3. Two tracery designs are represented in the upper register, while the lower is filled with plain panelling. In bay 1 the lights

have ogival heads with cinquefoil cusping. The tips of the cusps carry diminutive bosses decorated with rosettes or, in a few instances, tiny human faces (Fig. 64, upper). In bay 2 the tracery is more elaborate and the ogival head of each light takes a trefoiled form, with sub-cusping; again, rosettes and human faces are present. Additionally, the ogival form interrupts a pair of trefoil-headed sub-lights (Fig. 64, lower). The use of human faces on cusp-bosses is not common, but a close parallel is found on the canopy work of the fourteenth-century collegiate stalls at Astley (Warks.) (Fig. 65; Tracy 2009, fig. 8).

There was formerly another bay of screenwork, on a north–south axis, dividing the nave aisle from the chancel aisle (Varah 1965, 13). This is now repositioned under the tower arch (pp. 112–13; Fig. 101).

Nave

The nave is tall and crowned by an elegant clerestory of eight bays; this was a late addition and its north and south walls are slightly thinner than those of the arcades below (Figs. 38, 52 and 74; Pl. 14). Consequently, there is a clearly evidenced 'shoulder' in the wallplaster just above the top of the south arcade, and at a similar level on the north (where the arcade is not as tall). A good deal of medieval wallplaster survives above the arches on all four sides of the nave, and when contractors scrubbed the walls prior to redecoration in 1984, extensive traces of polychromy were observed.⁶¹ Nothing is now visible.

The low-pitched roof was entirely renewed in 1817, but followed the form of its predecessor. Constructed in eight bays, it has bridging-beams carrying principal rafters and purlins.⁶² There are wall-posts and curved braces rising from quadrant-shaped stone corbels. On the south clerestory are four fluted, bowl-shaped lead hoppers, two of which are seemingly Georgian. The hopper-heads on the north side are modern.

South arcade

This is of four wide, uniform bays, and has a short nib at the west end; the arches are of two plain-chamfered orders without label-mouldings on either face (Fig. 52). The east and west responds are flat and plain-chamfered. The eastern stands on a roughly formed square plinth which was probably not meant to be visible; it incorporates a reused fragment of incised grave-slab (Fig. 709, no. 2). The arcade springs from waterleaf corbels with beast-heads below: the eastern corbel is a Victorian replacement. The chamfers on the west respond have brooch-stops, and the waterleaf corbel is embellished with upright crosses (Fig. 66).⁶³ The beast-head has pointed ears, large dishd eyes, prominent eyebrows, and rows of bared ferocious teeth; the muzzle is damaged. Built into the face of the respond, as secondary patching, are two pieces of alabaster, one of which is defaced and carries remnants of a moulding:



Fig. 64: St Mary's: chancel arcade. Details of the traceried heads of the timber screens. Upper, bay 1. Lower, bay 2. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

while these could derive from a post-medieval funerary monument, they might equally be from a late medieval reredos (*cf.* the fragment from St Peter's, p. 825).

The three piers are all similar, comprising an octagonal core with eight detached circular shafts with rings at mid-height (Fig. 68). The capitals are decorated with waterleaf and the circular, cavetto-moulded abacus

is separate (Fig. 69); the bases are water-holding with a quirk, and stand on plain circular plinths which served also as seats (Fig. 70). The latter comprise a series of wedge-shaped segments, some of which are chalk. Lead was used for jointing the shafts.⁶⁴ and the masonry is a mixture of cream limestone and Lower Magnesian Limestone. A good deal of dark red paint



Fig. 65: *St Mary, Astley (Warks.): collegiate stalls. Cusp-bosses in the form of human heads, rosettes and arrow-heads. Photo: Warwick Rodwell*



Fig. 66: *St Mary's: south nave arcade. Waterleaf corbel and beast-head on the west respond. Photo: Warwick Rodwell*



Fig. 67: *St Mary's: south nave arcade. Waterleaf corbel and beast-head, drawn by W.S. Hesleden, c. 1833. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: Ms Top. Lincs. b.1, f. 214.*



Fig. 68: St Mary's: south nave arcade, 1984. Clustered pier with basal seat in bay 2/3; view from the south-east. This pier was rebuilt in 1892. Photo: Geoffrey Bryant

survives on the core and other components of the piers, some of it overlain by limewash. The paint is likely to be medieval.

The pier of bay 2/3 was completely dismantled and rebuilt in 1892 (Fig. 71) because it had leaned southwards: the cause of this movement is not recorded, but it was very likely induced by an underlying archaeological feature. Set one above the other (300 mm apart), in the upper section of the north-east shaft of the pier in bay 1/2, is a pair of wrought iron pins with round shanks and large, flat heads; the shanks are horizontal (Fig. 72).⁶⁵ The shaft was drilled and the pins set horizontally in lead. The caulking is so neatly executed as to indicate the likelihood that the fixings were inserted before the shaft was mounted in the pier: that being so, the pins must date from the late twelfth century. It has been suggested that these were the fixings for an hour-glass (or sand-glass), a preaching aid which became popular in the reign of Elizabeth I (Moor 1892, 26; Cox 1923, 184–8). The suggestion was doubtless prompted by the fact that 'one sand glass 8d.' is recorded in the accounts for 1662.⁶⁶ However, the two substantial and very rigid fixings are not only medieval but also unsuited for such an insubstantial item.



Fig. 69: St Mary's: south nave arcade. Waterleaf capital on the pier of bay 1/2; view from the east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 70: St Mary's: south nave arcade. Base of the pier in bay 1/2, with circular bench around; view from the east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

These large-headed pins are more appropriate for hitching the ropes that operated the pulleys for raising and lowering a cloth veil, and as such they constitute a rare and interesting survival (Bond 1916, 101–5). There are two possibilities to consider here. First, this could have been the medieval Lenten veil, which would have hung in front of the principal altar during Lent. If so, this would be important evidence for demonstrating that the body of the church was single-celled in the

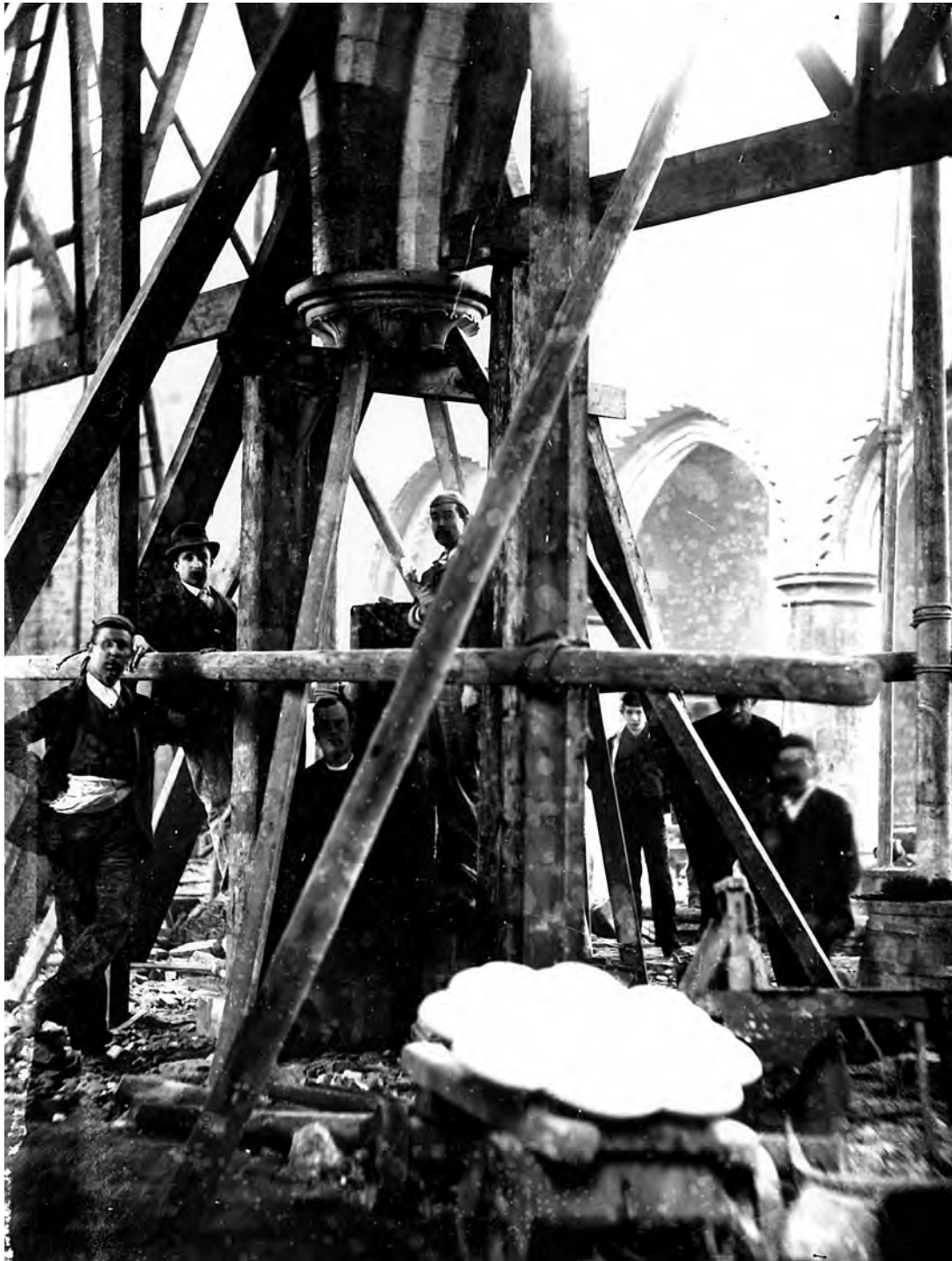


Fig. 71: St Mary's: south nave arcade, 19th January 1892. Shoring in bays 1 and 2, supporting the arches while the pier was entirely removed and rebuilt. Lying on the truck in the foreground appears to be a template for the octofoil base, and sitting under the capital of the removed pier is the vicar, Charles Moor. View north-west. Photo: Arthur Brummitt, courtesy of John French

late twelfth century: *i.e.* the altar stood in what is now the eastern bay of the nave, and there was no architecturally defined chancel. However, since there was a contemporary south aisle, and its easternmost bay was open to the chancel, the veiling of the high altar would not have been entirely effective. There is a second alternative, in that the rood figures were also veiled at Lent, with a 'rood cloth'. This could take the form of

a large sheet which was raised by ropes and pulleys, although in practical terms little is known about these. If the pins were for the operation of a rood veil, which would have hung just in front of the chancel arch, then it certainly implies that by the late twelfth century St Mary's was already provided with a chancel. The latter is the more likely, particularly in view of the aisle arrangements on the south.



Fig. 72: St Mary's: south nave arcade. Two iron pins set in lead in one of the shafts of the pier between bays 1 and 2. The pins were probably for securing the rope that operated the medieval rood veil. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

North arcade

This has generated a great deal of antiquarian interest on account of the irregularities in its construction.⁶⁷ It comprises six unequal bays, and a short nib at the west end. Bay 1 is the widest and highest, with an early thirteenth-century two-centred and stilted arch of two chamfered orders and no label-moulding. There is no respond on the east, and the arch simply springs from a short length of string-course (not original) set into the rubble masonry of the north aisle wall (Fig. 73).

The arcade is carried on five circular piers, with a corresponding half-pier forming the respond at the west end: this is all late Romanesque work (Fig. 74). The shafts are made of medium-sized ashlar of several different stone types, and much dark red paint survives on them, which is almost certainly medieval.⁶⁸ The capitals have hollow mouldings and separate basally chamfered abaci (Fig. 75; *cf.* the north arcade in St Peter's). Both the capitals and the abaci are constructed segmentally. The moulded bases are square and mounted on chamfered plinths of various heights: bay 1/2 stands the highest. Each base is composed of about six separate blocks, mostly limestone. However, pier 5/6 differs from the previous four in several respects: the presence of sandstone in the shaft;⁶⁹ the



Fig. 73: St Mary's: nave. View north-east across the nave, showing bay 1 of the north arcade, and the chapel beyond, c. 1965. Photo: David Lee Photography

use of ironstone for the base and capital; cruder base mouldings; the greater height of the chamfered plinth; and the crudeness of the finish on it.

The same features are present in the west respond of the arcade. Additionally, the half-capital which forms the west impost is square-topped, rather than circular, and the basally chamfered abacus is square too. Interestingly, the moulding of the abacus has the stooling for a return on its south side; this suggests that it was intended to engage with a string-course, which would not be practicable in its present location.

The Romanesque arches of bays 2–5 are slightly pointed, of two moulded orders, and are all similar: the inner order is of yellowish limestone and comprises a soffit roll flanked by hollow chamfers. On the nave side, the outer order in bays 2 and 4 has flat zigzag ornament on the face, while in bays 3 and 5 there are deep lozenges cut on the arris, with pellets on the points and in the recesses (Figs. 75 and 76). All four bays have a flat outer label, with a shallowly carved trefoil-and-pellet motif. The eastern springer-block of the outer order in bay 2 is twin-handed, suggesting that there was originally a matching arch in bay 1. This arch and its eastern respond would have been lost when the present north aisle was built in the early thirteenth century.

On the north face, the outer order in bays 2–5 is plain and square edged, and there is no label-moulding. Bay 6 differs from the others in many respects: it is narrower; the arch is more distinctly pointed; there is a mixture of three stone types, not found elsewhere; the inner order comprises a chevron on the south-facing angle and a plain square arris on the north; the



Fig. 74: St Mary's: north arcade and clerestory. View north-west, 1984. Photo: Geoffrey Bryant

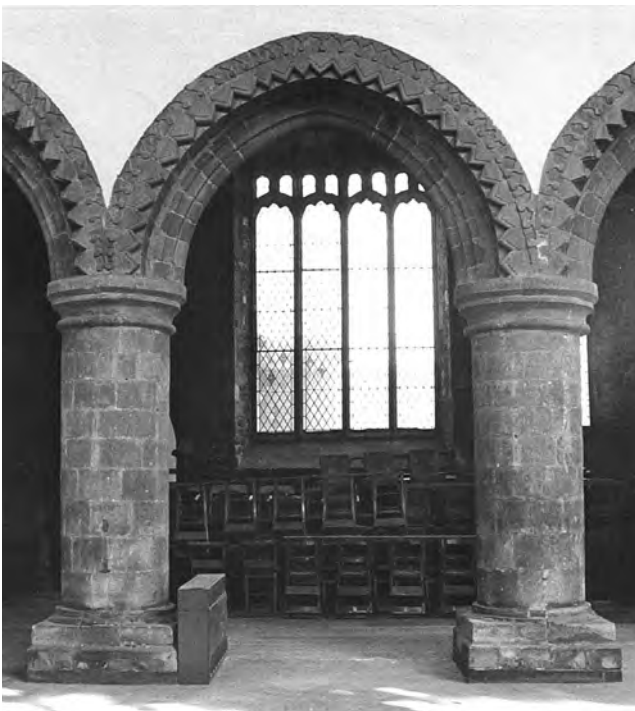


Fig. 75: St Mary's: north arcade, bay 4. View north, 1984. Photo: Geoffrey Bryant

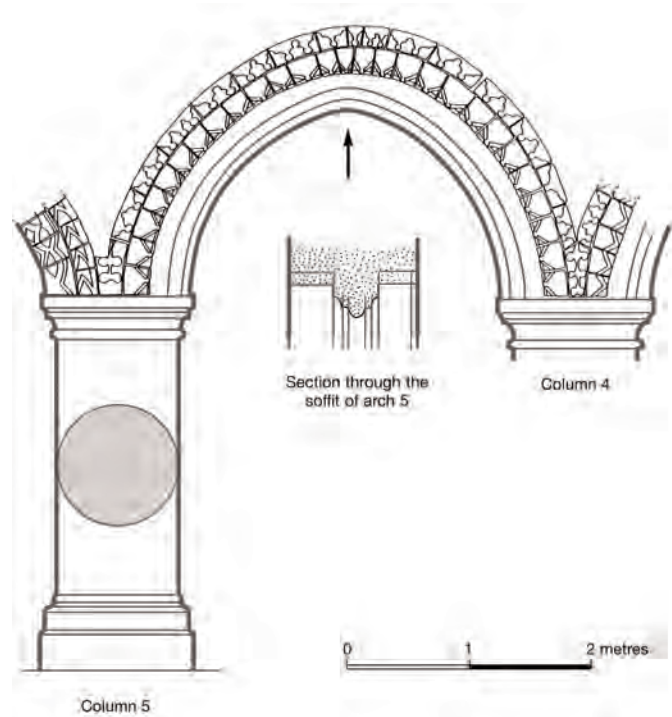


Fig. 76: St Mary's: north arcade. South elevation of bay 5. After Bryant 2003

outer order has the same chevron detail on the south face, and the plain north face is markedly irregular in its construction.⁷⁰

In sum, the evidence points to a Romanesque arcade of five bays, dating from *c.* 1160–70, to which a sixth was subsequently added at the west end; in the early thirteenth century bay 1 was reconstructed and widened. The arch and respond of bay 6, together with pier 5/6, are composed of recycled components, taken from a medium-sized arch of the mid-twelfth century: that arch was meant for viewing principally from one side, and had semicircular responds made of sandstone, and square impost and bases of ironstone. It cannot have been a doorway, but the form and scale would suit a chancel arch which, at this period, could have been decorative on the west side and plain on the east.

There are aspects to the remainder of the arcade (bays 2–5) which also raise questions. First, there is no doubting that it was inserted into the north wall of an unaisled nave, but were the components all new when that was done? It is difficult to appreciate why different types of limestone were used for the inner and outer orders of the arches, as well as the occasional block of ironstone which was slipped in. There are many misfits in the decorated voussoirs of the outer order, and it has often been suggested that the arches were originally of semicircular form, but were dismantled and re-erected with a slight point. No plausible case can be made out for such a visually small, but structurally major, alteration taking place *in situ*. It should also be noted that there is quite a lot of minor damage to the corners of the ashlar of the columns that must have occurred during handling. Joints vary in thickness (up to 20 mm). Given the general propensity for Romanesque arcades to exhibit non-uniform construction details, these irregularities do not supply unequivocal proof that the whole of the St Mary's arcade has been rebuilt.

North nave aisle (Figs. 77 and 78)

The present wide aisle superseded a narrow one, for which evidence is preserved in the form of a roof-line in the west wall. The unbuttressed walls are faced with squared limestone blocks, laid to courses, and there is a chamfered offset just above ground level, on the north and east. This is the top of a near-buried plinth, *c.* 0.8 m high, which was exposed in 1980 when foundation trenches were dug for the link structure to the new church hall.⁷¹ The limestone facing was badly eroded and the lowest course of the plinth was made of chalk. Beneath the plinth was a rough footing of limestone and chalk rubble, offset by 0.3 m. That in turn rested on a chalk rubble foundation which projected by another 0.3 m and extended to a depth of more than 1.2 m. The foundation construction trench was clearly marked, especially where it cut into the natural gravel, and the clay backfilling contained human bone, confirming that the aisle was built over an earlier cemetery.

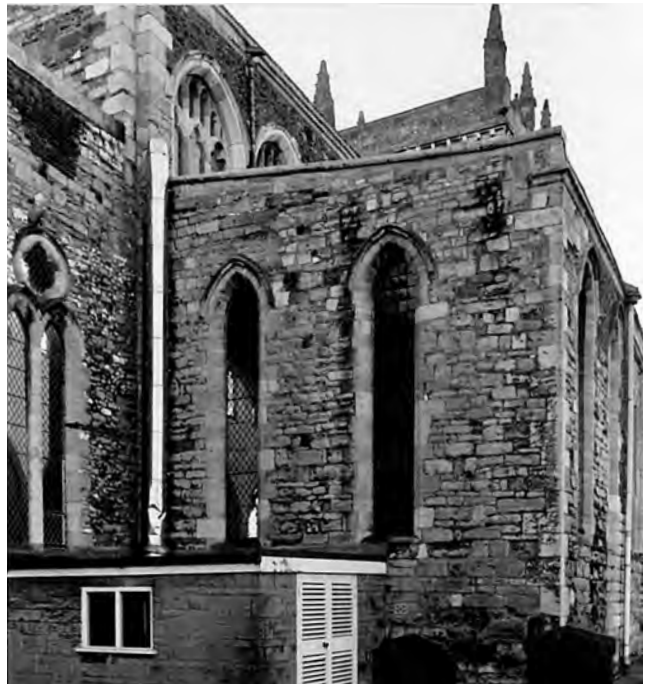


Fig. 77: St Mary's: north aisle. East end, exterior. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

A construction layer of masons' chippings and gravel overlapped the top of the foundation, which was very substantial for an aisle.

The masonry up to window-sill level comprises fairly large blocks of limestone quasi-ashlar; it then changes into smaller and less well finished blocks of squared rubble. Some of this has decayed and been replaced with eighteenth-century brickwork, or new stone in the twentieth century.⁷² Internally, the walls have been stripped of plaster, exposing limestone rubble. The west wall has a double plinth, as a consequence of refacing when the tower was constructed.

The east wall is pierced by a pair of plain, tall lancet windows; the shouldered rear-arches are hollow-chamfered (Fig. 77). Towards the southern end of the wall is a wide, trefoil-headed piscina with chamfered arrises and brooch stops, but no label moulding. The basin is a bell capital with a neck-moulding, set slightly off-centre in the base, flanked by two other flat pieces of stone. The basin appears to be secondary, having been cut into the original basal slab: no trace remains in that slab of the primary basin. While the piscina is wide enough to have contained a double-basin, had this been the case confirmatory evidence should have been preserved in the surviving parts of the basal slab. Under the northern window is a rectangular stone-lined recess without mouldings: it is an original aumbry.

The north wall contains a mixture of windows, three of which are primary (bays 1, 3 and 6), and it is likely that two more have been destroyed by later openings (bays 2 and 4) (Fig. 78). These are plain, tall lancets with hood-mouldings and externally chamfered apertures. Internally, the heads are shouldered, matching the windows in the east wall. Another tall lancet was



Fig. 78: St Mary's: north aisle. Exterior, bays 1 to 3. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

added at an early date: it was narrow and set hard into the north-east corner of the aisle. It had a chamfered internal head (not shouldered) and jambs, all edged with ashlar. Later still, the internal splay was widened and the west jamb, together with half of the head, have been rebuilt in rubble. Tall, plain lancets with simple hood-mouldings of this type are also found in the chancel of nearby Winterton church.

The present window in bay 2 is of four cinquefoil-headed main lights, supporting super-mullions and a series of squat trefoil-headed tracery lights, all under a square head (Fig. 50, 18). This is late Perpendicular. The chamfered rear-arch is of low, segmental form; the reveals are only slightly splayed and are unchamfered. The window in bay 4 is generally similar to that in bay 2, but there are slight differences in the cinquefoil heads, in the sill and, most apparent, the tracery lights are even squatter and have rounded heads.

The history of fenestration in the west wall is complex. The present Perpendicular window is of three cinquefoil-headed main lights under a two-centred head with sub-arcuation formed by the upward continuation of the mullions (Figs. 50, 20 and 79). Above the central light are four trefoil-headed tracery lights arranged in two registers, for which a later fifteenth-century date is suggested. An identical window occurs above the west doorway in the tower at Barrow-upon-Humber.

Earlier than the present window are the mutilated and blocked remains of two primary lancets, with hood-mouldings and externally chamfered openings (Figs. 79 and 80). Unlike their counterparts at the east end, they

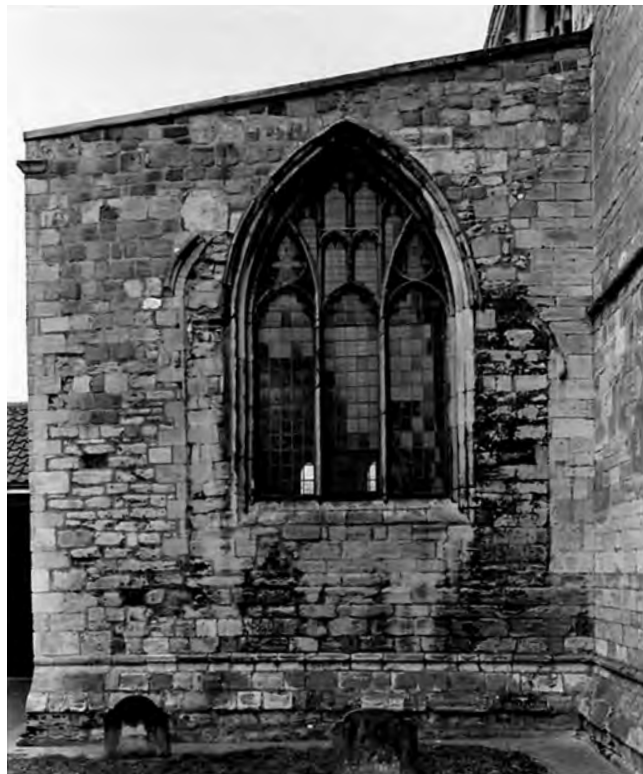


Fig. 79: St Mary's: north aisle. West wall, showing the monopitched roof-line of an earlier narrow aisle and an infilled lancet window below (right); also showing is a taller lancet (left) belonging to the wide aisle. These features are partly cut away by the late Perpendicular window; for a key, see Fig. 80. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

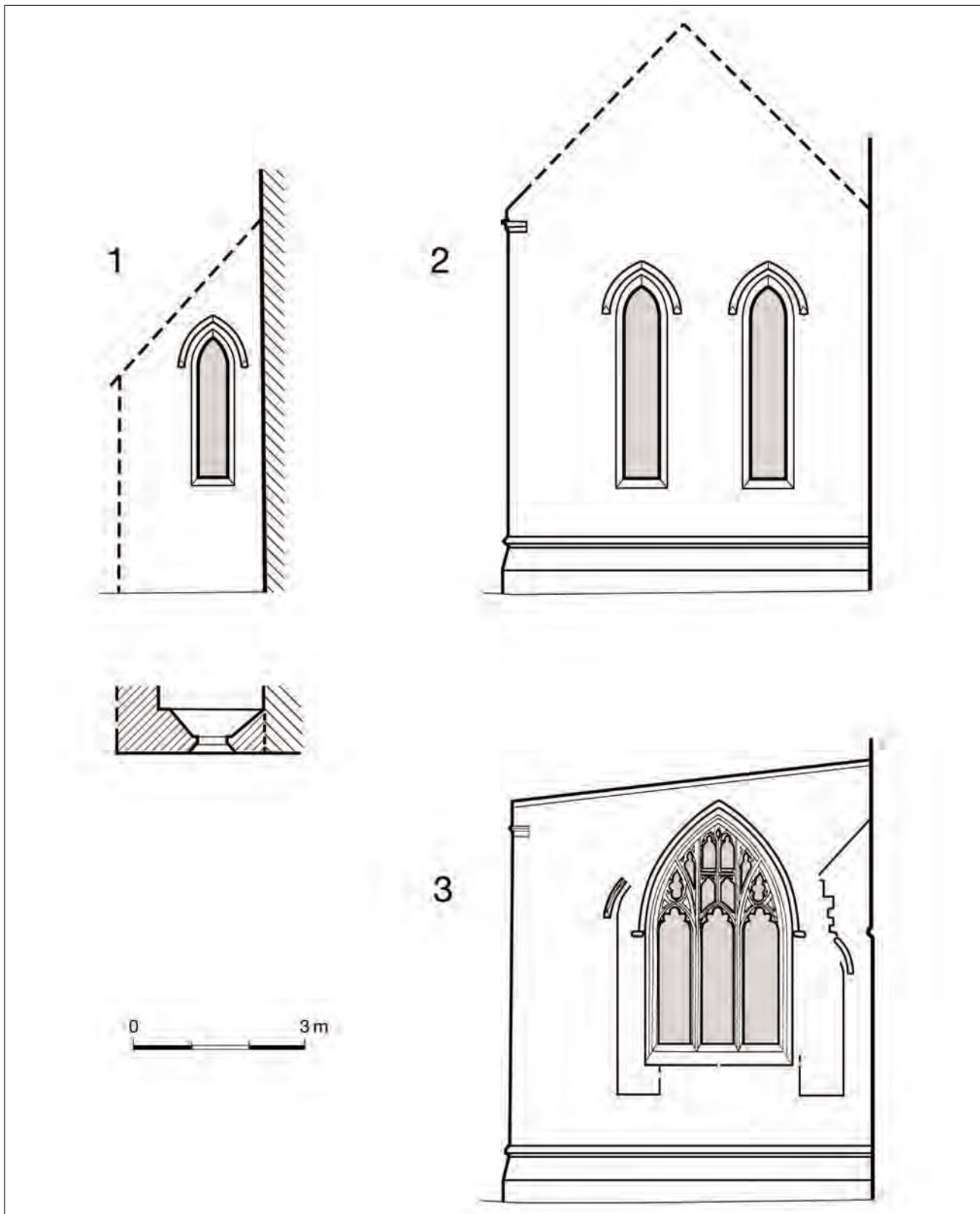


Fig. 80: St Mary's: north aisle, west wall. 1 Reconstructed elevation and plan of the narrow aisle with a single, short lancet window; 2 Reconstruction of the wide aisle with a pair of taller lancets; 3 The present west window and relict evidence for the earlier fenestration. Scale 1:100. After Bryant 2003

are not a matched pair, one being much taller than the other.⁷³ Internally, against the southern angle of the aisle, is the reveal and part of the head of the first lancet, which is markedly shorter than those in the east wall.

However, it is similar in that the rear-arch is shouldered (and chamfered?). To the north of this is a much taller lancet, one side of which remains intact; the rear-arch is neither shouldered nor chamfered.⁷⁴



Fig. 81: St Mary's: north doorway, 1980. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

The north doorway (bay 5) has a rather plain, two-centred head of two modestly chamfered orders and a hood-moulding (Fig. 81). The arch has an outer ring of roughly cut voussoirs. The opening is flanked by detached shafts (secured with lead dowels), with plain bell capitals and renewed bases; the abaci are separate from the capitals and do not support anything. This odd arrangement gives the impression that there ought to be a moulding between the two chamfered orders, but there clearly never was one. Although original, the shafted reveals were not designed to carry such a basic arch. The rear-arch is unadorned, has a pointed head and the splays are ashlar-dressed; there is an outer ring of roughly cut voussoirs; infilled draw-bar sockets are visible in the reveals. The doorway was blocked and obscured by pews until 1891.

The monopitched Tudor roof is divided into eight bays and all nine cambered and moulded bridging-beams survive. These carry the principal rafters and purlins, with short wall-posts at the southern end supporting the upper ends of the principals. The wallplate against the clerestory survives and is lodged on stone corbels. Many of the original moulded purlins are also present. The southern ends of the beams have been strengthened by adding chamfered wall-posts and moulded stone corbels.

South nave aisle (Figs. 12, 38 and 82)

The aisle is of four bays, the westernmost incorporating the entrance and being significantly wider than the others. The divisions are marked externally by shallow



Fig. 82: St Mary's: south nave aisle and porch, and bay 1 of the chancel aisle. View from the south-east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 83: St Mary's: south doorway. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

buttresses, including a clasping pair at the south-west angle. The buttress copings are gabled. The south and west walls are of a single build, and the porch is contemporaneous.

In 1983 a shallow drainage trench was dug beside the west wall of the aisle, returning along the south face of the tower.⁷⁵ This exposed the limestone footing of the wide aisle; beneath that, and projecting from under the northern half of the west wall, was a rough chalk foundation on the same alignment. This may be interpreted as belonging to the previous narrow aisle, for which there is only vestigial evidence above ground; the overall width of the aisle would have been *c.* 2.5 m. Internally, the walls have been stripped of plaster, except over the nave arcade. The masonry comprises a mixture of roughly squared blocks of limestone and chalk, laid to irregular courses; there are occasional inclusions of ironstone, flint and large pebbles.

The doorway is in bay 4 and is remarkably plain: it has a two-centred arch and moulded jambs of the same profile (Fig. 83). The moulding comprises a roll with a deep hollow to either flank. The imposts are unusually thin and flat, and are also moulded;⁷⁶ there are no capitals or bases (Fig. 84). The hood-moulding does not have complementary stops, but two pieces of stone have been roughly built-in at the ends: that on the east is a shapeless lump of limestone which does not appear ever to have been carved. In contrast, on the west, a reused head has been incorporated: it has an elongated face with a flattened nose, almond-shaped eyes, a high



Fig. 84: St Mary's: eastern impost of the south doorway. A shapeless piece of stone occupies the place of the missing label-stop. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 85: St Mary's: decayed western impost of the south doorway, with a reused Romanesque head as the label-stop (sculpture no. 18). Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 86: *St Mary's: south nave aisle. Unrestored window in bay 3. Photo: Warwick Rodwell*

brow and a small mouth (sculpture no. 18; Fig. 85). The face is clean-shaven and has no hair descending on to the forehead. The head is Romanesque in style and has clearly been broken from a sculpture, perhaps another label moulding or a small corbel: it has merely been set here in a bed of mortar.

The low, two-centred rear-arch is un moulded and formed in two types of limestone. The oak door comprises two unequal leaves, with a wicket; it dates from around the beginning of the eighteenth century, and is potentially contemporary with the reseating of 1711. Just west of the doorway is the entrance to the narrow newel stair which gives access to the chamber over the porch. The shouldered lintel and jambs are plain-chamfered. Of identical form is a high-level doorway with a renewed threshold; it opens off the top of the porch stair, and is possibly primary. If so, it implies a medieval gallery in the aisle, perhaps over the entrance.

The windows in bays 1–3, and in the west wall, are each of three lights under a pointed head (Fig. 86). The rear-arches of these windows are dressed with limestone ashlar and have chamfered arrises; the splays are of rubble. The central light in each is cinquefoiled, the others trefoiled. The tracery lights comprise three

circles: a small one at the top containing a trefoil, and two larger ones which are uncusped, except in the case of bay 2. There, the larger circles are cinquefoiled, although the originality of this detail is dubious.⁷⁷ Similar windows with uncusped circles in the traceries are found in other Lincolnshire churches (*e.g.* Sutterton, south transept; see also the transept at Castor, Cambs). The south wall of the chancel at Barrow had a two-light version of the Barton windows, with a small trefoiled circle in the apex; it is evidently from the same workshop (Fig. 87). At Winterton there is another two-light example which is entirely devoid of cusping (Fig. 88). The tracery design at St Mary's is remarkably close to that on the back of the Coronation Chair at Westminster Abbey, commissioned by Edward I in 1297 (RCHME 1924, pl. 23).

Integral with the construction of the window sill in bay 1 is a piscina and triple sedilia, all very plain.⁷⁸ The piscina has a low segmental head without mouldings, and a flat sill of Yorkstone which has replaced the basin. The squat proportions suggest that it may originally have been a double piscina. The sedilia have pointed heads, continuously chamfered with the jambs, but no projecting mouldings. The divisions



Fig. 87: *Holy Trinity, Barrow-upon-Humber (Lincs.): south wall of chancel. A two-light version of the window seen in Fig. 86. Photo: Warwick Rodwell*



Fig. 88: *All Saints, Winterton (Lincs.): south wall of chancel. A two-light window with tracery circle, all uncusped. Photo: Warwick Rodwell*

between the seats are mullion-like and not attached to the back wall. The seats comprise large slabs of limestone which are unfinished on the front edge, indicating that they were either lapped by plaster, or that a projecting moulding has been cut off (unlikely).

At the east end of the wall, a small two-light window with a pointed head and curvilinear tracery was inserted in the early fourteenth century (Figs. 49, 14, 82 and 89). The traceried head appears to be cut from a single block of stone, the rear-arch is crudely chamfered and the soffit is formed in brick.

The wide, pointed arch at the east end of the aisle has two chamfered orders and half-octagonal responds. Interesting graffiti and masons' marks are present on the south respond, and the fabric incorporates several pieces of medieval roof tile and a glazed floor tile. The arch is an insertion of the fifteenth century, straight-jointed against both the rubblework of the south wall, and an earlier chamfered respond on the north.⁷⁹ The bases have bell-shaped mouldings, identical to those of the inserted chancel arch. In the aisle, however, the imposts also precisely replicate the bases (*i.e.* they are simply inverted bases): unlike the imposts of the chancel arch, they have not been given additional mouldings to disguise the fact that they are actually bases. This is a most unusual scenario.



Fig. 89: *St Mary's: south nave aisle. 'Low-side window' in bay 1. Photo: Warwick Rodwell*

The monopitched roof is arranged in eight bays and is similar to that on the north aisle. It has moulded and cambered bridging-beams carrying the principal rafters and purlins. The beams set against the end-walls have not survived. Short wall-posts rise against the clerestory wall to support the upper ends of the rafters, and the wallplate is lodged on a line of plain stone corbels just below the clerestory windows. On the aisle wall, short wall-posts rise off moulded stone corbels, to support the outer ends of the bridging-beams; this is nineteenth-century strengthening. All but two of the beams (replaced) appear to carry Tudor mouldings, and the westernmost one has a small boss at the centre, carved with the *IHC* sacred monogram. The antiquity of the carving is uncertain.⁸⁰

South porch (Figs. 12, 82, 90 and 91)

The two-storied porch is of integral construction with the south aisle, the plinth and string-course being continuous. The junction between the west wall of the porch and the aisle has splayed angles both internally and externally, to accommodate a small newel stair. This is a more sophisticated arrangement than at St Peter's (p. 392). The front wall is buttressed to east and west.

The distinguishing feature is the elaborate entrance: the arch is of four well-moulded orders with both filleted and pointed rolls, and incorporates a single row of

dogtooth ornament (Fig. 92). The plain chamfered innermost order is not concentric with the others, but the whole arrangement is nevertheless contemporaneous. The responds of the innermost order have small engaged angle-shafts which are flanked by three detached shafts, all with stiff-leaf capitals and separate abaci (Fig. 93). The stiff-leaf work was highly accomplished and deeply undercut, seemingly to Lincoln cathedral standards, but is now sadly decayed (Figs. 94 and 95). The arch has a hood-moulding and the terminal on the west displays the remains of a large stiff-leaf; the eastern stop is modern.

The porch was never intended to have doors, there being no rebates in the jambs; however, iron pintles for post-medieval gates are present. The gates, which were framed in imitation of Y-tracery and carried wire bird-mesh, were probably installed in the 1890s. They were removed in the mid-twentieth century.⁸¹

Externally, to either side of the opening is a flat-backed niche with a lancet head and hood-moulding, all made from small blocks of stone; the sills are modern slabs (Figs. 91 and 93). These niches are of uncertain age and even function: they could have been fabricated from the heads of small lancet windows taken from the earlier aisle. A third, generally similar, feature in the wall above the entrance is now a window, lighting the upper chamber, but it too was potentially once a niche.⁸² The remains of one label-stop survive. If these were niches, they presumably all once held

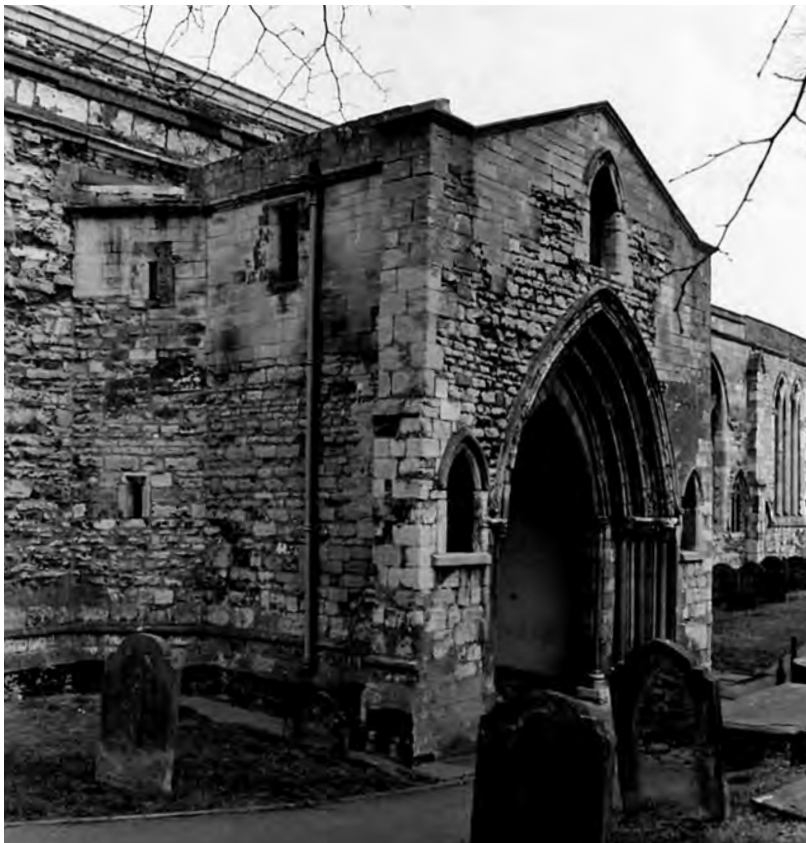


Fig. 90: St Mary's: south porch from the south-west, showing the canted corner containing the staircase leading to the upper chamber. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 91: St Mary's: south porch and entrance from Burgate. The brick walls form a revetment to the elevated churchyard. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 92: St Mary's: outer entrance to the south porch. Note also the large threshold slab (no. 20). Photo: Warwick Rodwell

statuettes, although the proportions of the apertures are not elegant for that purpose. The exterior of the porch was extensively restored in 1938, when Weldon stone was used for the ashlar-work and Clipsham for the parapets and the shafts flanking the entrance (Varah 1984, 14).

The roof is low pitched and slated; the gable and wall tops have been rebuilt. The original steeply pitched roof would have been reduced in the Tudor period, and the floor to the upper chamber was subsequently removed, as at St Peter's. The present floor was installed in 1938. The chamber is lit by three windows, those in the east and west sides being rectangular, but they may once have been lancets.⁸³ The porch has been heavily restored, which has included replacement of the shafts and bases flanking the entrance. The porch is floored with unglazed clay paviours of uncertain date (seventeenth century?); the outer threshold is formed by a large square slab of black stone of a type not otherwise recorded in Barton (Fig. 47).⁸⁴

In 1827 it was reported that there was a stone fixed to the front of the porch, inscribed 'Joshua Gear, Lawrence Earby, Church Wardens ...'.⁸⁵ The stone, which no longer exists, doubtless commemorated work on the fabric. Unfortunately, the names of these



Fig. 93: St Mary's: south porch. West respond of outer entrance, with adjacent niche. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 94: St Mary's: south porch. Decayed stiff-leaf capital and abacus on the east respond of the innermost order of the arch. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 95: St Mary's: south porch. Decayed stiff-leaf capitals and abaci on the outer order of the east respond of the arch. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

churchwardens do not feature as a pair in the surviving (incomplete) list, but Joshua Gear was a churchwarden in 1788 (Appendix 5). Although the work cannot be precisely dated, it is likely to have taken place around the late 1780s.⁸⁶

Tower (Figs. 12, 38, 45, 96 and 97)

Exterior

Standing at the west end of the nave, the massive and elegantly detailed tower was the dominant landmark of Barton's townscape until the nineteenth century. It is of a single build of the mid-thirteenth century in pale limestone ashlar, with a parapet added in yellowish limestone in the fifteenth century. Externally, the tower is of two principal stages with offsets, each stage being further subdivided by a string-course.

The ground stage stands on a substantial moulded plinth and has clasping buttresses on the western angles (Fig. 41); they have no set-backs. In the west face is a fine doorway with a well-moulded arch of four orders with fillets (Fig. 98). The responds have four linked stiff-leaf capitals: the innermost order comprises an attached triplet roll, which is flanked by three detached shafts and capitals, all now heavily eroded. The abaci are integral with the capitals, and the entire set on each side appears to be carved on a single block; the shafts are secured with poured lead. All detail to the bases of the responds has been lost. The hood-moulding terminates with a pair of head-stops, now weathered beyond recognition, and also has a third original head fitted at the apex of the arch; this is male, boldly projecting, and integral with the moulding (sculpture no. 19). The arch and capitals are of yellow Magnesian Limestone, while the hood-moulding, reveals and bases are in white limestone. Internally, the doorway has plain, squarely-cut reveals and an unmoulded, pointed arch composed of two rings of ashlar voussoirs; there is a draw-bar socket.

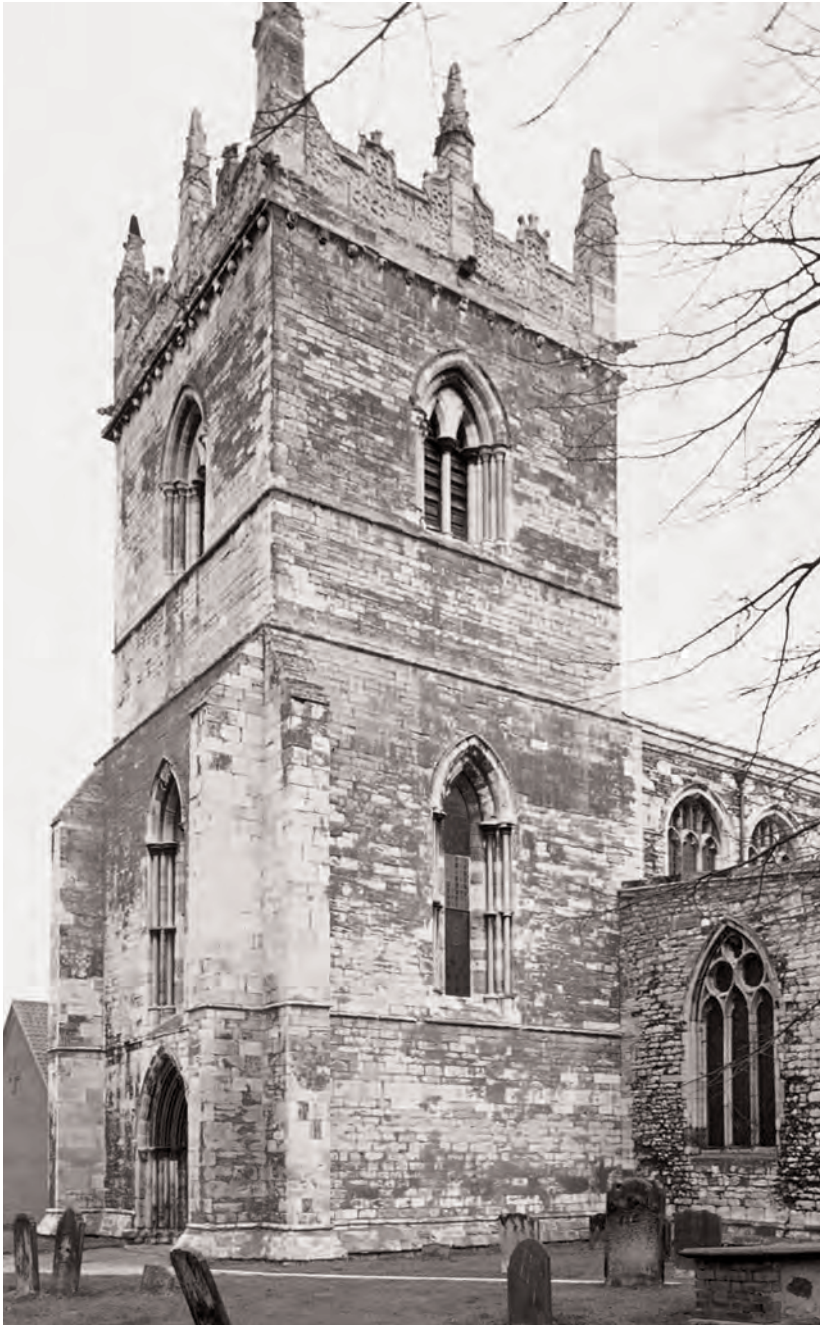


Fig. 96: St Mary's: the tower from the south-west. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

When Hesleden drew the tower in the early 1830s, the west entrance was still filled by a pair of iron-studded doors, almost certainly the originals (Fig. 45). Above the doorway is a thin, continuous string-course which marks the sill-level of the great lancet windows in the north, south and west walls. Their two-centred heads are of two chamfered orders with a hood-moulding, and are flanked by a third order of detached shafts (renewed) with moulded capitals, bases and shaft-rings (Figs. 48, 2 and 99). The tall lancet in the west wall was almost entirely filled with brickwork when Hesleden drew it.⁸⁷

A chamfered offset separates the two stages. The lower part of the upper stage (clock chamber) is featureless, except for the skeleton dial installed on the west face in 1983, when the tower clock was moved

here from St Peter's (p. 569). Another thin string-course defines the sill level of the four belfry openings. These are double-openings housed under a chamfered arch of two orders with a hood-moulding. The reveals are flanked by two detached shafts with bell-capitals, abaci and bases similar to those of the windows below (Fig. 48, 2). The mid-wall shaft has an octagonal capital and strongly projecting abacus which carries a tympanum with two steeply pointed and chamfered heads. The shaft base is circular.

The upper stage is crowned by a corbel-table with thirteen heads on each face of the tower. The original roof – which almost certainly took the form of a timber and lead spire – would have rested directly on the eaves-course, without a parapet (Fig. 100). Internally,



Fig. 97: St Mary's: the tower from the north-west in the 1960s, before the church hall was erected. In the foreground is the site of the Chantry House, now built upon. Photo: David Lee Photography

there are six pockets in the east and west walls, just above the belfry openings, while the north and south walls each have two stone corbels at the same level. In the thirteenth century, these carried beams which would have served both for hanging the bells and to anchor the base of the spire framing.

When the central spire was removed, square stone spirelets with crocketed finials were added to the four corners, and one more finial was placed mid-way along each side, with the possible exception of the east. The parapets are made of large blocks, straight-jointed between the pinnacles; they are ornamented with numerous panels of blind tracery on the exterior – quatrefoils and Catherine wheels – and are plain on the interior. Centrally placed on each length of parapet is an upstanding panel with a crocketed ogival head, and matching half-panels occur at the ends, where they abut the pinnacles.

Every course of stone in the parapet and pinnacles was jointed to its neighbour with dog-cramps of uncer-

tain age, possibly original.⁸⁸ Three areas of reddening are present on the inner face, just above roof level, resulting from localized fires;⁸⁹ none of the burnt patches descends below roof-timber level and they do not relate to a conflagration within the tower. Instead, they are evidence of plumbers setting up braziers on the roof. The present roof is copper covered.

On the east face of the tower, above the nave, a projecting stone weathering is preserved, which related to the steeply pitched, pre-Tudor roof. The weathering re-emerges inside the church just below the present roof, but stops abruptly: it was probably hacked away when a ceiling was erected in the nave in the eighteenth century (Fig. 101).⁹⁰

A shallow drainage trench excavated against the south face of the tower in 1983 exposed either the top of the construction trench for the foundation, or a mason's working level abutting the tower; the feature was in excess of 0.8 m wide, filled with rubble and mortar. In the angle between the tower and the south



Fig. 98: St Mary's: tower, west doorway. Note the small head-sculpture incorporated in the apex of the arch (sculpture no. 19). Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 99: St Mary's: tower. West window and clock dial formerly on St Peter's tower. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 100: St Mary's: tower. Corbel-table and decorated parapet on the south side. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 101: St Mary's: tower arch with inserted gallery and screen, 1984. The wall above carries the scars of the steeply pitched roof of the early medieval nave. Photo: Geoffrey Bryant

aisle two large, flat blocks of limestone were revealed: their purpose is uncertain but they seemed to pre-date the tower and abutted the chalk foundation of the early narrow aisle. The tower plinth was studied: it comprises a chamfered limestone offset at ground level (*i.e.* top of foundation); above is a single ashlar course, and then the main plinth weathering. That comprises two substantial bevelled courses of masonry, the lower projecting as a drip and being finished with a roll. Above the bevelling is a further thin course and a bold filleted roll at the base of the tower wall proper. The sequence occurs all round the exterior of the tower, and continues across the west end of the north aisle, but has only a short return on to the south aisle before the profile is modified.

The ashlar of the main body of the tower returns on to the west walls of both the aisles, clearly defining the heads of the small lancet windows that belong to the primary phases of the aisles. The narrow aisles were certainly earlier than the tower by several decades, and it is most likely that what we see here is simply internal bonding of the angle between the tower and aisles, introduced when the former was built. The fact that the full plinth moulding of the tower extends across the west wall of the north aisle (but does not return along its north face) may indicate that the widening of that aisle was contemporaneous with the tower. Repairs to the tower are evidenced in the masonry; those of 1910–11 are said to have used Portland stone (Varah 1984, 14).

Interior

Internally, the tower is unplastered and of coarse, squared rubble.⁹¹ Originally, the basement was an impressive space, open from ground to clock-chamber level: it contained the lofty tower arch, west door and three tall lancet windows. The floor is brick, *c.* 1892.

The windows have pointed rear-arches with two rings of voussoirs, the outer only roughly dressed; the splays are unmoulded and dressed with limestone. The sills are stepped. The surrounds are internally rebated around the jambs and heads, as though the windows were originally fitted with timber frames. Rebating to receive timber frames was common in the thirteenth century in high-class buildings: the arrangement is still perpetuated at Salisbury Cathedral.

A large, steeply pointed arch communicates between the basement of the tower and the nave (Fig. 101). It is of three plain chamfered orders, with no label-moulding; concentric with it is an outer ring of large, rectangular stones laid voussoir-fashion. Each respond comprises a cluster of five attached shafts with quirks between; the central shaft has a broad fillet, which indicates a date not before the mid-century. Each block bears a mason's mark on the fillet. The capitals carry very bold stiff-leaf foliage and have integral abaci (Fig. 102), and the waterholding bases stand on a plain square plinth.⁹²

The oak screen under the tower arch is largely a modern reconstruction, but contains fourteen Perpendicular traceried panels: they have been heavily



Fig. 102: St Mary's: tower arch responds. Stiff-leaf capitals. Upper, south; lower, north. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

scraped (Fig. 68). The screen was formerly under the arch at the east end of the south nave aisle, and the design is identical to that in the screen in bay 2 of the chancel arcade (Fig. 61).⁹³ All the cusps terminate in five-petalled flowers. Access to the clock chamber is via a fixed iron ladder, similar to that in the western annexe at St Peter's. The ringing-chamber floor (and gallery), together with the beams, corbels and braces that support it, were all inserted in 1891. The floor of the clock chamber is nineteenth century, while the bellframe and the floor beneath it date from 1914. All that survives from an earlier period are two large beams below the belfry floor: they may be medieval.⁹⁴

The clock chamber floor is carried on four beams, running north–south, each with wall-posts and curved brackets rising off stone corbels: all of 1891–92. Exposed in the walls of the chamber are two tiers of putlog holes from the original construction.⁹⁵ The east and west walls also contain two large pockets (now infilled), 1.15 m beneath the beams presently supporting the belfry floor.⁹⁶ These pockets were presumably part of the original belfry floor, although it is not immediately obvious why that should have been set so low; the beams could perhaps also have been associated with anchoring the base of a former timber spire. The chamber contains the clock of 1852 which was transferred from St Peter's church in 1983 (p. 569).

The belfry floor dates from 1914, but rests on two large oak beams (0.4 × 0.3 m), running east–west. These timbers are secondary, but of uncertain date (late medieval?). The belfry floor is now only just below the sill level of the external openings, and the present bellframe is carried on four steel joists, running north–south, all installed in 1914 (p. 569). Putlog holes are preserved in all the walls, again on split levels and exhibiting a fanned arrangement at the corners.

The belfry openings are dressed with plain ashlar and the arches are shouldered. The rubble masonry is laid with thick joints, using a prodigious quantity of lime mortar; numerous small pieces of stone have been pressed into the joints, giving the appearance of galletting. The present near-flat roof is carried on two steel joists (running east–west) which were installed c. 1914. About 0.6 m below these is a set of seven joist-pockets in the east and west walls; these were doubtless for a late medieval roof. Two pockets also occur at this level in the north and south walls, either for secondary beams to sustain an ailing roof, or else to support an added cupola or *flèche*. Circumstantial evidence suggests that the roof carried a cupola which held the clock bell until 1672 (p. 125), and the base-frame for this apparently survived until the 1960s, when the tower was last reroofed.⁹⁷

Lower still, and level with the apices of the belfry openings, is a set of four pockets in the east and west walls, to receive beams c. 0.3 m square in section. The north and south walls each carry two stone corbels which are at the same level as the tops of the pockets. The thirteenth-century roof is likely to have had braced wall-posts rising from these corbels and beams; bells would also have been hung from the latter.

Architectural Development

St Mary's church has not been subjected to detailed archaeological study, and thus the development of the building can only be deduced from superficial indications. The similarities to St Peter's are, however, striking, and it has often been remarked that architecturally the two churches vied with one another (see further, p. 482). Numerous analogues may also be drawn with Barrow church (p. 167). The suggested development of the ground plan of St Mary's is given in Figure 57.

The primary church (Late Saxon?)

Archaeological evidence for the plan of the first church on the site was seen in 1891–92, when the floor of the present building was being renewed. Two contemporary accounts of this discovery have been preserved, fuller details being contained in that written by Charles Moor, the vicar, who 'occupied several half-hours in digging and sounding in many parts of the church, in order to determine what remains of former buildings are still in existence'. He concluded:

Along both lines of pillars in the nave may be traced old foundation walls of rubble stone about 5 feet thick. The pillars are built upon these, but in such a way that while the central pillar on each side stands upon the centre of the wall, the easternmost pillar stands more upon the southern half of the wall and the westernmost pillar upon the northern, so that the present nave is not quite parallel with the original building, but its orientation is a little more southerly.

The only other ancient foundations that can be traced are those of the two cross walls which united the two just described. The eastern of these is to be found along the line of the chancel step, and the western a few feet east of the tower arch. Apparently, therefore, the original building was a simple parallelogram about 66 feet long by 24 feet wide, occupying almost the exact position of the present nave, and without aisles, chancel or tower.⁹⁸

A shorter account, which makes no mention of the divergent orientation, was given by Brown (1906, 100): he noted that the foundation of the original west wall was 'about three feet east of the tower'. Moor's dimensions (20.2 × 7.3 m) were clearly internal, and the walls were unlikely to be as thick as the foundations (1.5 m); hence, allowing for offsets, this suggests the chapel had overall dimensions of c. 22.8 × 9.7 m (75 × 32 ft).

Moor was a careful scholar and there seems no reason to doubt his astute observation concerning the divergent orientation between the foundations and the existing walls. The evidence therefore seems sufficient to assert that the excavated foundations are not merely sleeper-walls, but belonged to a church of earlier date than anything which now stands, and that a slight realignment, or more likely squaring-up of an errant plan, occurred in the Norman period. The fact that both arcades – which are of different dates – are skewed on their foundations rules out the possibility that one side of the nave was taken down to add an aisle, and that the replacement arcade was somehow erected out of alignment. It would, in any case, be unusual for that to happen, because the corners of the nave would not normally be demolished in order to insert an arcade. For the same process to have happened on both sides of the nave, on separate occasions, would be beyond the bounds of coincidence.

The question arises: do the foundations discovered beneath the floor belong to the Norman chapel mentioned in the early twelfth century, or are they the remains of an undocumented Anglo-Saxon predecessor? The earliest standing masonry in St Mary's today is the wall containing the inserted late Romanesque north arcade. Its diagnostic components can hardly be later than c. 1150–60, but it has most likely been reconstructed. Either way, the early Norman chapel was presumably aisle-less and, superficially, it would seem

perverse not to equate the foundations recorded by Moor with the building documented in 1115. The north aisle could have been added to that in the mid-century. However, the skewing of the axis of both this and the slightly later south arcade militates against the suggestion that either was added directly to the primary chapel. Both must belong to the realigned building. That being so, the earlier building must either have had a very short life (half a century, or less), or it must be assigned to the Anglo-Saxon or Saxo-Norman period. It is difficult to find a convincing explanation why a chapel erected around 1100 should have been entirely demolished fifty years later and replaced by another that was of the same width and only 1.5 m longer. Also, why was it fractionally realigned? Norman realignments of major Anglo-Saxon churches with aberrant orientations are well attested, but in the case of All Saints we are dealing with a modest chapel and a reorientation so small that it would have been imperceptible.

While its foundation date remains uncertain, the possibility that this chapel had pre-Conquest origins cannot be ruled out. Indeed, we may possibly glimpse here the reason for the early Norman chapel being dedicated to All Saints: that was sometimes the response adopted when the ancient dedication of a church had been forgotten, or when it was to an Anglo-Saxon saint who was no longer held in honour. Potentially contemporary with this building was the earliest grave-marker from Barton: the discoidal cross-head, in Lower Magnesian Limestone, discovered in 1938 in the east wall of the porch (Fig. 710).⁹⁹

Romanesque

If we accept that the plan of the present nave derives from a rebuilding at around the turn of the twelfth century (mentioned in 1115 as 'in our own days'), a logical sequence for the architectural development of the church follows. The overall dimensions of the nave measured 23.8 × 9.4 m (78 × 31 ft), a common Norman ratio of 2.5:1. Whether there was initially a structurally defined chancel, or even an apsidal sanctuary, cannot be determined, but the reused elements of an arch with columnar responds and square abaci (now in bay 6 of the north aisle), exceptionally employing ironstone and sandstone as the principal materials, point to the former existence of a Romanesque chancel arch. Thus potentially the chancel was an addition of the mid-twelfth century.

Of about the same date, or slightly later, came the erection of a narrow north aisle with an arcade of five bays. Bays 2–4 survive intact, although whether the slightly pointed arches are original or rebuilt is a moot point. However, it was established in 1984 that the arcade had been cut into a previously solid wall. The scarring between the original early Norman wallplaster and the necessary patching around the inserted arches was clearly observable (Bryant 2003, 45). Nothing certainly survives of the first aisle, and neither its length

nor its width is known, but the latter could have been as little as 2.4 m externally.

Nothing survives either at St Mary's or St Peter's of Romanesque windows, but they were presumably of simple semicircular form, with the heads cut from single blocks of stone; examples survive at nearby Thornton Curtis, where the material is ironstone (Pl. 43). It may well have been the same at Barton.

Transitional and Early English

Several phases of Transitional and Early English work are in evidence, but establishing the sequence of events is not easy since some elements have been superseded. The addition of a narrow south aisle came first, and with it a serious architectural conundrum which was first recognized by Bryant (2003, 64–8). The widely spaced piers of the four-bay arcade have detached shafts with rings, set around an octagonal core, and the components are all jointed with lead; the bases are waterholding. Thus far, the design bears a close resemblance to the work in St Hugh's choir at Lincoln Cathedral, which was begun in 1192 and considered to be innovative. Consequently, imitation at Barton would not be expected before the end of the twelfth century, at the earliest. But there is one major difference which impacts on dating.

At Lincoln the capitals are ornamented with stiff-leaf, whereas at Barton they have delicately carved waterleaf, which was long out of fashion by 1200, its *floruit* being in the 1170s.¹⁰⁰ The beast-head on the western respond is also strikingly Romanesque. Nor can the appearance of waterleaf at St Mary's simply be dismissed as the product of a local 'backward' workshop. Barton was in its heyday, and everything about the arcade points to a precise knowledge of late twelfth-century architectural fashion, and a high standard of workmanship. The patronage of Barton belonged to Bardney Abbey, where waterleaf capitals were employed on the piers in the south transept, probably in the third quarter of the twelfth century (Brakspear 1922, 24, fig. 4).

A close analogue for the St Mary's waterleaf occurs on one of the capitals of the blocked south arcade at Reepham, which is only 5 km east of Lincoln (Fig. 103). The work is of similarly high quality, but there the octagonal piers have attached shafts. The capitals at Barton could be by the same sculptor, but the pier design represents a further stage in the development. However, there are other Transitional churches in the vicinity of Lincoln which have detached shafts around an angular core, such as Waddington (Sharpe 1871, pl. 23). Bryant has therefore questioned the design source for the St Mary's arcade and, by implication, the primacy of Lincoln in the development of the multi-shafted pier.¹⁰¹ Also at Reepham is a related springer-corbelle with lotus leaves (Fig. 104).

The only visible evidence of the primary south aisle is the roof-line and the ghost of a lancet window in the



Fig. 103: SS Peter and Paul, Reepham (Lincs.): south arcade (blocked). Waterleaf capital and octagonal clustered shaft. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 104: SS Peter and Paul, Reepham (Lincs.): south arcade. Springer corbel with lotus leaves and separate abacus. Now external (aisle demolished). Photo: Warwick Rodwell

west wall. This, together with the chalk foundation noted in 1983, indicates an aisle no more than 2.5 m wide externally, with a steeply pitched roof that continued the slope of the nave roof. Similar evidence

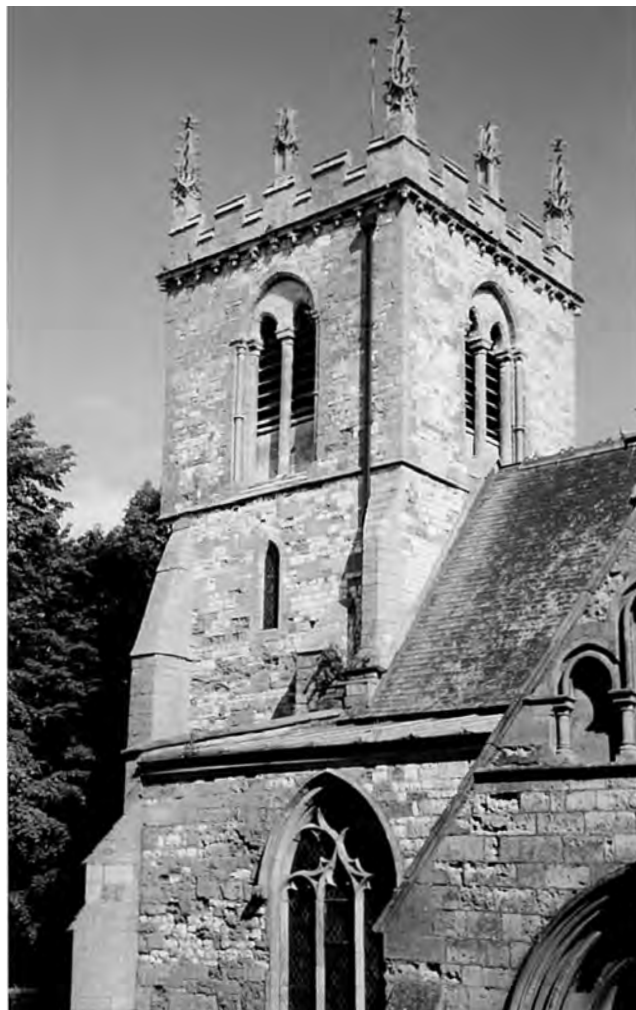


Fig. 105: St Lawrence, Thornton Curtis (Lincs.): west tower. Upper stages, from the south-east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

is present at the west end of the north aisle, suggesting that this was lengthened or otherwise updated at the same time.

Elucidating developments at the east end is more difficult, because the respond to the south arcade was itself a freestanding pier, with openings to its south, north and probably east. Thus the aisle must have continued eastwards, flanking a chancel, but nothing of either element survives above ground. The next development was the replacement of the narrow north aisle with the present wide one. This was furnished with tall lancet windows and a doorway flanked by shafts and plain capitals; a date soon after 1200 would be expected. The aisle would have had a separately gabled roof.

The massive west tower followed next, providing the church with visible *gravitas* and a semi-monumental west entrance. The importance of the western approach was emphasized by continuing the tower plinth northwards, across the end of the aisle; and a return was provided on the south in anticipation of rebuilding and widening that aisle too. Close comparisons may be drawn between this tower and the slightly smaller one



Fig. 106: *All Saints, Winterton (Lincs.): west tower. Upper stages, from the south-east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell*

at Thornton Curtis, which may be the work of the same masons (Fig. 105). Thornton has two-light belfry openings, separated by octagonal shafts, and flanked by circular shafts with plain capitals and shaft-rings; the tower is topped by a corbel-table (as is the chancel too). There is no west door, but the lancet window with its flanking shafts is a reduced version of those in the ground stage at Barton. The added upper belfry on the tower at Winterton is another product of the same workshop (Fig. 106).

Also datable to the first quarter of the thirteenth century at St Mary's is the doorway to the south porch, with its flanking shafts, stiff-leaf capitals and dogtooth ornament on the arch. This doorway is not *en suite* with the present aisle and porch, and must have been reset. Bryant (2003, 67) has suggested that it belonged to a proto-porch attached to the narrow south aisle. If so, it must have been an addition since it is several decades later than the waterleaf capitals of the south arcade. Another alternative is that it did not belong originally to St Mary's, but this would be pure conjecture. The only other occurrences of dogtooth ornament at Barton are on the cross-shaft fragment from this churchyard (p. 139) and on the capitals of the south arcade at St Peter's (Figs. 135 and 442, respectively).

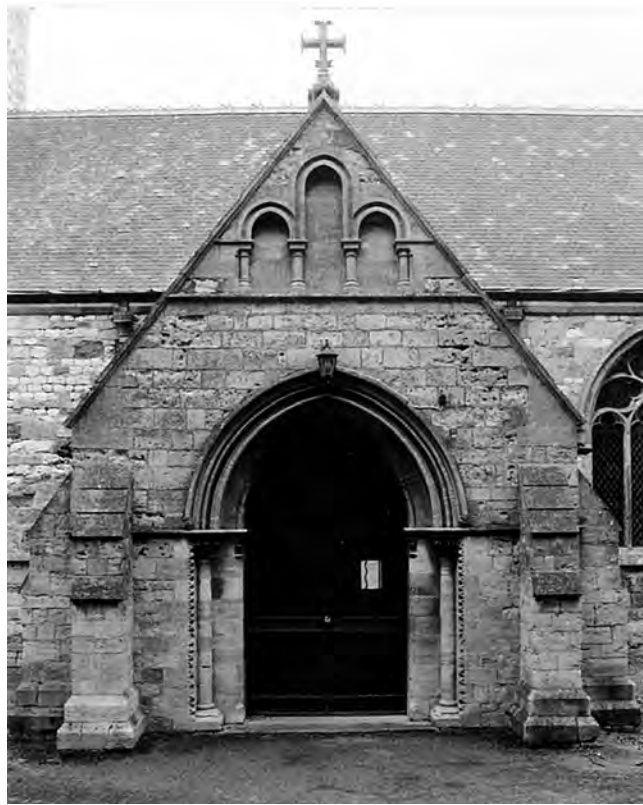


Fig. 107: *St Lawrence, Thornton Curtis (Lincs.): south porch. Photo: Warwick Rodwell*

However, with a width of more than 4 m, the St Mary's doorway was too large to have fitted the early south porch at St Peter's. A porch with dogtooth ornament occurs at Thornton Curtis; interestingly, this was left standing when the south aisle was rebuilt in the fourteenth century (Fig. 107).

The chancel was rebuilt in the middle of the thirteenth century, when paired lancets surmounted by plate-tracery roundels appeared in the north wall. The chancel is likely to have been shorter at this time, but was soon lengthened and lancets with Y-tracery were installed further east, and also in the newly built vestry. The two double windows, now in the south-east chapel, presumably derived from the south wall of the chancel. Whether the east window was initially *en suite* and provided with intersecting Y-tracery, or the existing Geometrical tracery is contemporary with the plainer work to the sides, is uncertain. In its present form, the east window proclaims a date around 1280.

The widening of the south aisle (including the south-east chapel?) took place at about the same time, and it too has Geometrical windows. The two-storied porch is integral but incorporates the earlier outer arch which was salvaged. There are close similarities in the design of the aisle and porch between St Peter's and St Mary's, the former being slightly earlier.

In the case of St Mary's the original east window seems to have survived, having subsequently been moved to the end of the present chancel aisle. A gabled roof is indicated, as on the north aisle at the time.

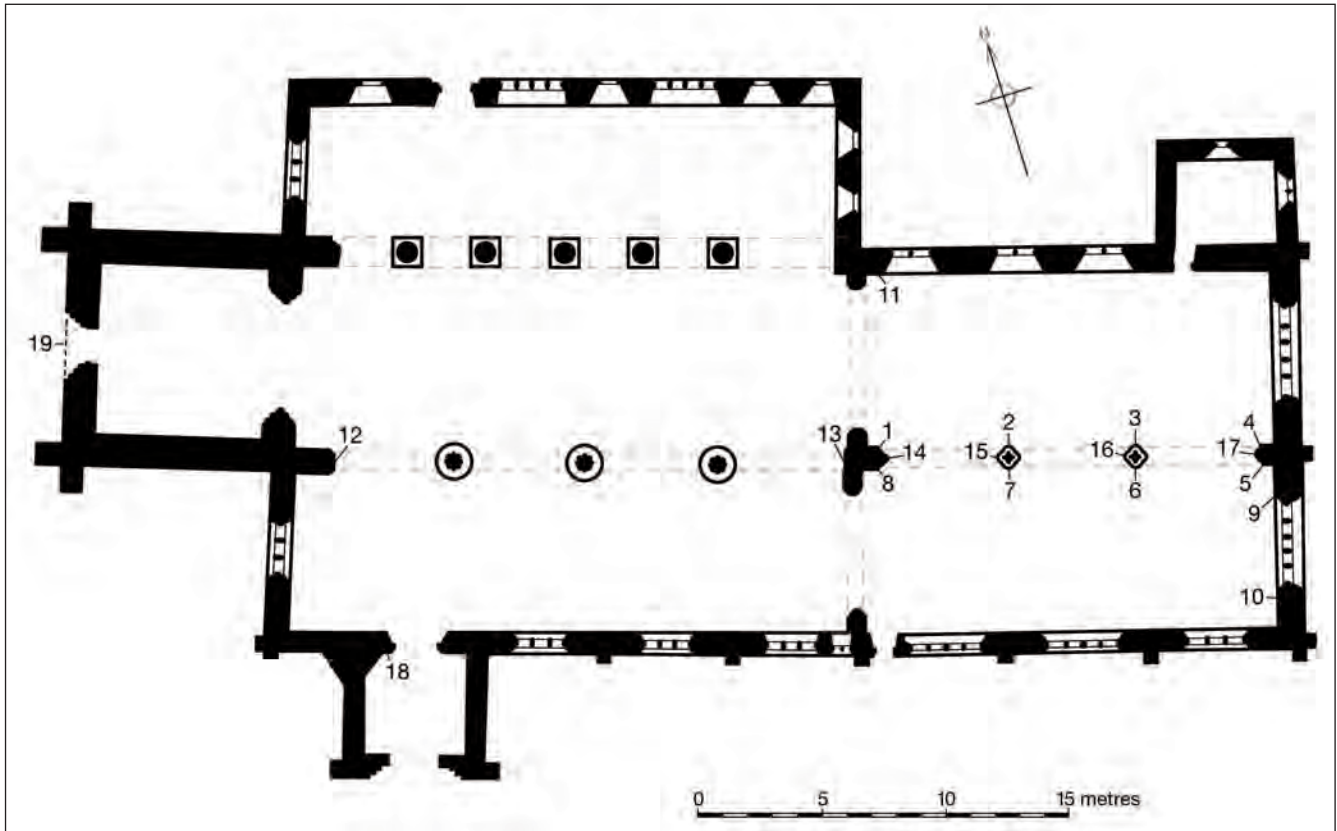


Fig. 108: St Mary's: plan showing the locations and numbering of the medieval architectural sculptures. 1–10 arcade label-stops; 11–13 corbels; 14–17 arcade capitals; 18 label-stop; 19 label-keystone. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

There is no extant evidence for a chancel arch, or for a major arch spanning the south aisle/chapel. Since St Mary's church was not parochial, the junction between nave and chancel never marked a jurisdictional boundary, but the presence of a screen and rood at the division is implied by the pins for securing the veil ropes (p. 95).

Decorated

The only fabric assignable to this period is the south-east chapel, or chancel aisle. It represents the rebuilding and enlargement of an earlier chapel of unknown form. An external doorway was provided, a small low-side window installed next to it, and a new reticulated window was made for bay 3. Both are closely related to windows in the north aisle of St Peter's. The other two windows on the south side of the aisle seemingly came from the chancel, and the east window was repositioned from the earlier south aisle. A new hood-moulding with head-stops was added. The three-bay arcade between the chancel and aisle, with its integral benches, was new and was clearly constructed by the same team as worked on the arcades at St Peter's in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Which came first is uncertain, although Pamela Tudor-Craig suggests that it may have been St Mary's (p. 483). Undoubtedly, the same sculptors were at work on the label-stops and the capitals with knobby foliage and 'Green Men'.



Fig. 109: St Mary's: chancel arcade. Label-stop no. 1. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 110: St Mary's: chancel arcade. Label-stop no. 2. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 111: St Mary's: chancel arcade. Label-stop no. 3. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

Architectural sculpture

It is convenient to list together all the small items of architectural sculpture in St Mary's, which mostly date from the early fourteenth century (nos. 11–13, 18 and 19 are earlier). For a plan showing the locations, see Figure 108, and for general discussion of the sculpture both here and at St Peter's, see pp. 482–91.

Chancel: arcade label-stops

1. Young man with long curly hair and no beard. Angled into the chancel (Fig. 109). Head and brow much repaired with Roman cement.
2. Bearded man (Fig. 110).
3. Bearded man (Fig. 111).
4. Young man with a beard and long, curly hair. The beard has suffered damage (Fig. 112).

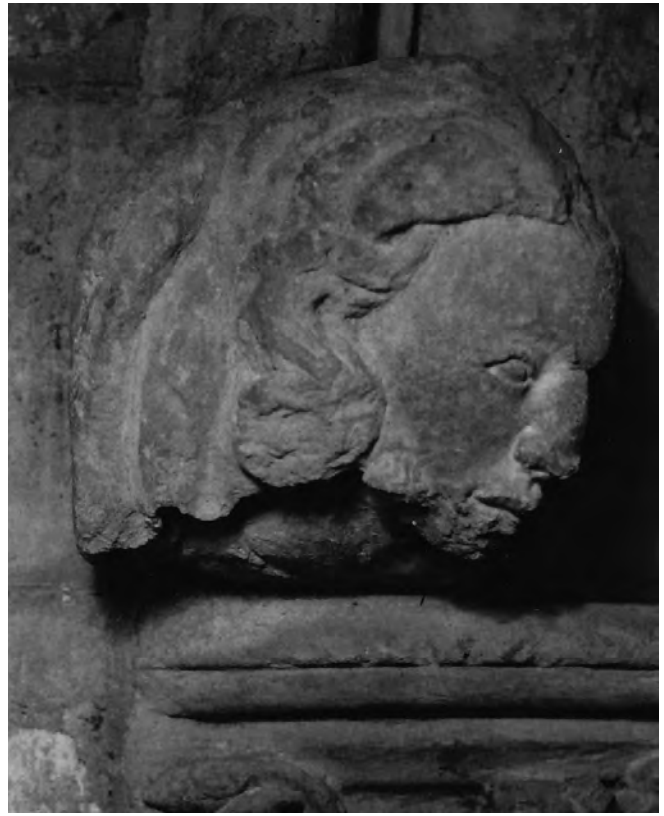


Fig. 112: St Mary's: chancel arcade. Label-stop no. 4. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 113: St Mary's: chancel arcade. Label-stop no. 5. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 114: St Mary's: chancel arcade. Label-stop no. 6.
Photo: Warwick Rodwell

South chancel aisle: arcade label-stops

5. Lady wearing a wimple (Fig. 113).
6. Crowned lady wearing a veil (Fig. 114).
7. Crowned and bearded man (Fig. 115).
8. Grotesque head with open mouth and pointed ears. Angled into the chapel (Fig. 116).

South chancel aisle: east window

9. Lady with flowing hair (Fig. 117, left).
10. Lady with flowing hair (Fig. 117, right).

Chancel: north wall

11. Small corbel. Man with furrowed brow (Fig. 118).

South nave arcade: responds

12. West respond. Beast-head supporting a waterleaf capital (Fig. 66).
13. East respond. Beast-head supporting a waterleaf capital.

Chancel arcade: responds and capitals

14. West respond. Knobbly foliage (Fig. 119).
15. Capital to pier, bay 1/2. Knobbly foliage and four human/grotesque heads (Fig. 120).
16. Capital to pier, bay 2/3. Knobbly foliage and two human/grotesque heads (Fig. 121).
17. East respond. Knobbly foliage (Fig. 122).



Fig. 115: St Mary's: chancel arcade. Label-stop no. 7. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 116: St Mary's: chancel arcade. Label-stop no. 8. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 117: St Mary's: south chancel aisle. Internal label-stops on the east window. Left, northern (label-stop no. 9). Right, southern (label-stop no. 10). Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 118: St Mary's: chancel. Small corbel-head on the north wall (sculpture no. 11). Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 120: St Mary's: chancel arcade. Capital bay 1/2 (sculpture no. 15). Upper, north face. Lower, south face. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 119: St Mary's: chancel arcade. West respond (sculpture no. 14). Upper, south-east view. Lower, north-east view. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 121: St Mary's: chancel arcade. Capital bay 2/3 (sculpture no. 16). Upper, south-west view. Lower, south face. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 122: *St Mary's: chancel arcade. East respond (sculpture no. 17; label-stops nos. 4 and 5). Upper, north-west view. Lower, south-west view. Photos: Warwick Rodwell*

South nave aisle: doorway

18. Male head reused as west label-stop (Fig. 85).

Tower: west doorway

19. Male head set centrally in the external hood-moulding (Fig. 98).

Perpendicular

The major development was the erection of a brick-built clerestory of eight bays over the nave. Associated with this was a low-pitched roof and, apparently crenellations, although they had gone by the end of the eighteenth century. Nattes's views show that in 1796 all the parapets had plain or simply moulded copings, but the gables of the nave and chancel retained more elaborate dressings of medieval date. These were lost during reroofing in 1816–17.

Raising the clerestory necessitated the insertion of a chancel arch for stability; also lateral buttressing was required, and thus a second arch had to be constructed, spanning the south aisle and blocking the low-side window in the process. On the north, the east wall of the pre-existing aisle served the buttressing function. Stylistically, the clerestory windows are later than those

at St Peter's, the tracery having more vertical components. They should probably be assigned to the early Tudor period, at the end of the fifteenth century. Also Perpendicular in style are the parapet to the tower and the west window of the north aisle.¹⁰² The two four-light north windows in the same aisle, and that in the chancel, above the vestry, are the latest and must date from the first half of the sixteenth century. In 1833 there was still a vane on the south-west pinnacle of the tower.¹⁰³

The entire church was reroofed in the Tudor period, when the high gables and steeply pitched roofs on the nave, chancel and aisles were all taken down and a suite of low-pitched ones substituted. This must have occurred when the clerestory was added, an event which could probably be dated more accurately through dendrochronology.

Medieval furnishings

Little is known of the later medieval furnishings and fittings of St Mary's. The most significant survival is the *mensa*, rediscovered in 1883 in the floor: the large size indicates that it belonged to the high altar.¹⁰⁴ The slab has been set into the sanctuary floor, in the same way as that at Thornton Curtis (Bryant 1987, 11). Another medieval *mensa* survives at Holton-le-Clay, near Cleethorpes, where it is now incorporated in the altar, but its worn surface indicates that it too had previously done duty as a paving slab. The edges are basally chamfered, which is most likely to have been the case also at St Mary's, and part of a *mensa* with basally chamfered edges serves as a step at East Halton church (Lincs.) (Bryant and Tyszka 1988, 3). The medieval font appears to have survived down to the mid-nineteenth century, but its fate is not recorded (p. 132).

Only a very small amount of stained glass survives, reset, in the east window, although other items of heraldic glass were lost in the nineteenth century (p. 133; Pl. 15). Numerous fragments of stained glass were found under the vestry floor in 1994, and are described on pp. 133–5.

The rood screen and its loft have entirely disappeared. The rood loft was mentioned in the will of Richard Thomas, 1525, when he bequeathed to it the sum of 20s.¹⁰⁵ The rood beam was still *in situ* on its corbels until 1883, with a boarded tympanum below. The boarding is glimpsed in a watercolour of c. 1820 (Pl. 13). Thomas's will also contains a reference to the 'Guild of Our Lady', while in 1534 John Fownder willed xijd. to 'the Sacrament of St Mary' (Hickman 2001, 386).

The remains of two fourteenth-century oak screens, of different designs, have been reconstructed in bays 1 and 2 of the chancel arcade, but their origin is unknown. The traceried heads in the upper register are mostly original, as are some of the moulded mullions and part of the top rail in bay 1; tiny human and grotesque heads are carved on some of the cusp-bosses

(Fig. 64: Varah 1965, 14).¹⁰⁶ Otherwise, the cusps carry a considerable variety of leaves, rosettes and flowers. The rosette cornice-moulding, cresting and solid panelled lower register are entirely replacements. The present door in bay 2 is recent, but the door-posts are of medieval timber. The tracery patterns differ between the two bays, and the canopy work is all Victorian, as is the whole of the screen in bay 3.

There would doubtless have been some finely carved benches, but these had already gone by 1820, and were probably a casualty of reseating in 1711.¹⁰⁷ As at St Peter's, the medieval floors incorporated memorial brasses and incised slabs, together with plain-glazed Flemish tiles of yellow and dark green colour: examples found during restoration in the 1890s are displayed in a frame on the wall in the chancel aisle (p. 812). No decorated tiles have been recorded from St Mary's.

Post-Medieval History and Restorations

St Mary's church continued to be associated with various secular activities. We have mentioned 'The Chantry', which became the parish workhouse (p. 75). The Barton Jury is said to have met in the parvise above the porch,¹⁰⁸ and in or before the eighteenth century a school was established in the south-east chapel. It was partitioned-off from the rest of the church, subdivided into two chambers, and these were provided with their own entrances in the south wall (pp. 88–91; Figs 58 and 60).

Seventeenth-century vicissitudes

The earlier post-medieval history of St Mary's is marginally better documented than St Peter's, owing to the survival of extracts from its now-lost churchwardens' accounts for the period 1640 to 1760.¹⁰⁹

In 1640, the church was apparently flourishing: wages were paid to the organist and the man who operated the blower, and there were fees for bell-ringers and the clock-keeper; new books and a register were purchased, and windows were repaired. Purchases of bread and wine indicated a healthy number of communicants.¹¹⁰ Payments for a string of works on the clock are recorded, including 1s. 6d. to Henry Harrison 'for mending the clock'. The great bell fell from its housing in 1640, but did not sustain a fracture, and was rehung. However, in the following year another bell was recast, and various repairs were effected in the belfry (Varah 1948, 32–3).¹¹¹

Expenditure dwindled with the onset of the Civil War, and there were apparently no entries in the accounts for 1645–48. From 1649 to 1652 expenditure was recorded on bread and wine, and a good deal was spent on churchyard walls, the leads, the vestry roof, bells, seats and glazing; there was no organist and hence probably no functioning organ.¹¹²

Repairs in 1657 included the porch, as well as glass and lead for windows 'broken by a tempest of wind'.¹¹³

After the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660, the church's fortunes took a turn for the better, and the accounts recorded: setting up the king's arms, purchasing a *sanctus* bell, an hourglass, a church bible and a book of Common Prayer. Even a dog-whipper was paid for his services.¹¹⁴ In 1663–64, lead was sold from the roof, but what replaced it is not recorded; however, 'hie lead' had to be put back after another storm.¹¹⁵ Considerable detail was recorded concerning the recasting of the church bells in 1665–66 by the Oldfield foundry (of Lincoln and Nottingham: Blagg 1998). There may have been six bells at the time, which were reduced in number to four, but this is uncertain.¹¹⁶ Three of the extant bells are dated 1666, while the fourth (undated) has variously been assigned to 1602 or 1641. Bell nos. 5, 7 and 8 (modern numbering) are all dated and bear the stamp of George Oldfield I (North 1882, fig. 157), and the undated no. 6 was stamped in the mould by Henry Oldfield II (*ibid.*, fig. 113), who also made two of the bells at St Peter's (p. 568).

The date of no. 6 bell is likely to be around 1600, but certainly not 1641 (Henry Oldfield II: 1582–1620).¹¹⁷ By good fortune the inscription ends with the initials 'C.W.P.W.', which are almost certainly those of the two churchwardens. The initials are only a match for Christopher Wallis and Peter Williamson, who were wardens in 1602–03. Consequently, the bell must have been cast in one of those years.¹¹⁸

A faculty petition was made in 1672 to sell a redundant bell which was on top of the tower but had been taken down, because it 'was of noe other use but onely for the Clocke to strike upon, and alsoe by its so standing it was a cause of greate dammage to the steeple, because that the raigne did beate in there, and soe wett and consume the timber that the whole rooffe of the steeple was in danger, as we were assured by judicious workmen; we were therefore forced to take it downe and make the clock strike upon the great Bell'.¹¹⁹ The description almost certainly implies that there was a cupola housing the bell on the tower roof, and that in turn provides an explanation for the two cross-timbers, already noted (p. 110). The petition also mentioned that 'the Churchwardens were much out of purse by putting the Church into sufficient repaire' following a Visitation at the previous Easter.

A substantial restoration of the vestry took place in 1668–69: the lead roof was replaced with tiles, and 1500 bricks were purchased to erect a gable,¹²⁰ and perhaps also for the long-since destroyed lean-structure described by Loft in 1827.¹²¹ The following year, lead and glass were purchased, and ale was required when 'ye great stone layd'; this was followed over the next few years by more roofing work, lead spouts, battlements, strengthening the bell-frame, and sundry internal repairs.¹²² Inscriptions show that restoration was carried out in 1674¹²³ and 1678.¹²⁴ Nevertheless,

over the ensuing year work to roofs, windows and bells continued to feature in the accounts, as did periodic repairs to the churchyard walls.¹²⁵ Expenditure continued in the same vein until the end of the century; on several occasions, 500 or 1000 bricks were hauled to the churchyard, for unspecified purposes.¹²⁶ Finally, in 1703–04, a gallery was mentioned, there were repairs to seats, and the ‘great ladder’ was taken down. The last was presumably in the ground stage of the tower. On Nattes’s view of 1796, one of the hopper-heads on the south clerestory appears to be dated ‘1[7]07’.

In 1697, Abraham de la Pryme curiously noted, ‘There are a great many coats of arms, which, being fresh, I did not take down.’¹²⁷ On a long kind of a cornice [cornice] between two pillars is drawn the coats of arms of all the kingdoms in the world which traded with this town, as the tradition says.’ (Jackson 1869, 132). Holles gave further details (below, p. 133). The shields were probably mounted on the top-rail of a screen under one of the arcades.

Eighteenth-century decline

Few records have survived from the eighteenth century, and several of those were generated by disputes over seating. In 1711 it was stated that the church had been ‘lately new pewed in a decent and uniform manner, but without any legal authority ...’. A confirmatory faculty was applied for, accompanied by a complete seating plan of the nave and aisles; this is an exceptionally early document of its kind.¹²⁸ The only marked item of furnishing was the pulpit, which was attached to a pier midway along the north arcade (bay 3/4). The chancel was effectively disused, while the south-east chapel had probably already been appropriated as a schoolroom, a function it served until the late nineteenth century (Fig. 34, 10). Nattes’s views show the doorway which had been cut into the south wall, together with the chimney stack erected by the school on the south-east corner buttress (Figs. 12 and 139).

The origin of the school is unrecorded, but could have been as early as the Elizabethan period. The first mention is in connection with Matthew Barnett, who was curate and schoolmaster under William Uppleby; he left Barton in 1812 (Tyszka 2006, 6). The school ceased to function in 1827, and the following year the churchwardens petitioned the bishop for consent to demolish the (brick?) walls that had been inserted to enclose the easternmost bay, and to recover the space for church use.¹²⁹ However, that did not happen and by 1830 the room had become a Sunday school.¹³⁰ Loft also confirmed this in 1832, and on Hesleden’s plan of 1834 the space is described as ‘late church school’ (Fig. 44). The room continued in use as a Sunday school down to the end of the nineteenth century.

A faculty for introducing an organ and building a chamber was obtained in 1717.¹³¹ Further seating disputes arose in 1718¹³² and 1775: the latter concerned the largest private pew in the church, and cited the 1711

plan in evidence.¹³³ The Broxholm family, to whom the pew originally belonged, were no longer resident in Barton, and a tussle ensued between William Allcock and Martin Robinson for possession of this prestigious place in the church. The former’s claim prevailed.

The almost total lack of evidence for work on the fabric, for new furnishings, and especially for internal memorials, strongly suggests that St Mary’s was less prosperous than its neighbour. Seemingly, the only testimony to work on the fabric was a churchwardens’ inscription of the 1780s on the porch, now lost (pp. 107–8). During the eighteenth century the building evidently fell into serious disrepair, and by the beginning of the following century the burden of maintaining two large churches in a small town was acutely felt: St Mary’s was sliding towards ruin, which may have encouraged vandalism. An inscription on a glass quarry recorded such an act in the early nineteenth century: ‘Some persons broke 100 panes June (...) in this church and lost the tops of the Tombs on the Ground, and was mended by Moses Cotsworth Glazier 1812’.¹³⁴

Altercations over restoration, 1815–34

By 1815, it was evident that the nave roof was in such a parlous state that collapse threatened; this sparked off a series of highly acrimonious clashes between parishioners that lasted for two decades. Details have fortunately been preserved in two documents. First, a personal account of the events down to 1820 was penned by William Hesleden, one of the prominent parishioners of St Mary’s.¹³⁵ Second, the churchwardens of the time compiled and published their own account, in 1834, after being personally sued for monies owed to the contractors who undertook the repairs.¹³⁶ These memoirs provide a remarkably full insight into the vituperative side of parish politics, but can only be summarized here. Hesleden’s plan of the church and its seating was also drawn in 1834, and may have been connected with these events (Fig. 44).¹³⁷

The prospect of renewing the roof (as had been done at St Peter’s in 1805: p. 506) was viewed as a great burden which could not be shouldered by the rates of the poorer ‘parish’ and, ‘after several meetings on the subject, a proposal was made and agreed to at a very large meeting of both Parishes, and with the implied consent of the Ordinary, that ... instead of supporting their own chapel [the parish] should be at the expence of Gallerys in the church of St Peter’, in order to accommodate all the parishioners of Barton in one building. The implication was that St Mary’s would be abandoned altogether, and this is confirmed by Loft who, in 1831, wrote, ‘the inhabitants are sick of paying rates, and wanted liberty to pull down this beautiful church, but the Bishop wiser, would not grant consent to so shameful a demolition’.¹³⁸ Fortunately, the proposal, which evidently allowed for the tower alone to be retained, was dropped (Moor 1892, 25).

Hesleden continued: 'At the instigation of Mr Graburn, the principal rated proprietor, [the parishioners] met in the vestry of their own church and overruled the resolutions that had before been concluded, and resolved to repair their own church of St Mary'. There then ensued an 'altercation between Mr Graburn and the respective churchwardens as to the mode of repairs, he maintaining that some stays of iron here and there might still be sufficient to support the roof in its then state for another half century'. John Fox, a surveyor from Hull was brought in to report on the condition of the church. His report, dated 11 September 1815, could hardly have been more damning: he found that the roofs of the nave, tower and part of the south aisle were 'much decayed and in a very dangerous state', that new roofs were 'absolutely necessary', and that it was 'unsafe to perform service in the church'. Fox also commented on the decayed state of the pulpit and pews.

In 1816 work began on a partial renewal of the nave roof, tackling three or four of the worst bays, but the structure was found to be in even worse condition than supposed. Since new timbers had already been prepared, with a view to replacing like-for-like, the parish had to follow through with this 'mistaken policy' and was 'obliged to make a new roof exactly on the same obsolete construction as the old one'. Wrangling and bad timing meant that the roof was 'entirely off during the winter months' and that 'snow and rain penetrated the old fabric of the pews below so much as entirely to reduce them to a state of rottenness and decay'.

The new roof was finished in 1817 and the lead bore an inscription cast in relief (Fig. 123):¹³⁹

THIS ROOF. WAS RECAST.
An'no Domini, 1818,
REV^D. W^m. UPPLEBY. VICAR
W^m. BURTON: CHURCH
TH^{OS}. WOOD: WARDEN^S
WIDOW. HANDLEY.
PLUMBER.

An unusual embellishment was the inclusion of a small neo-classical figure, standing beside the names of the churchwardens (Fig. 124). The figure is female, draped and holding either a sceptre or a torch; the latter is more likely. With her right hand she appears to be holding her veil back. These attributes point to the goddess *Diana lucifera*.¹⁴⁰ The choice of the allusion is particularly apt since widow Handley was carrying on her late husband's plumbing business (chapter 13, note 93). A neo-classical figure also features on a lead downpipe at St Peter's (p. 504; Fig. 585).

Attention was next turned to the interior and its wrecked furnishings: the pews were 'so miserably bad' that complete rebuilding was deemed inevitable. The scene of devastation wrought by incompetence was graphically described: 'By the falling of timber and by the wet let in during the repairs to the roof, the seats

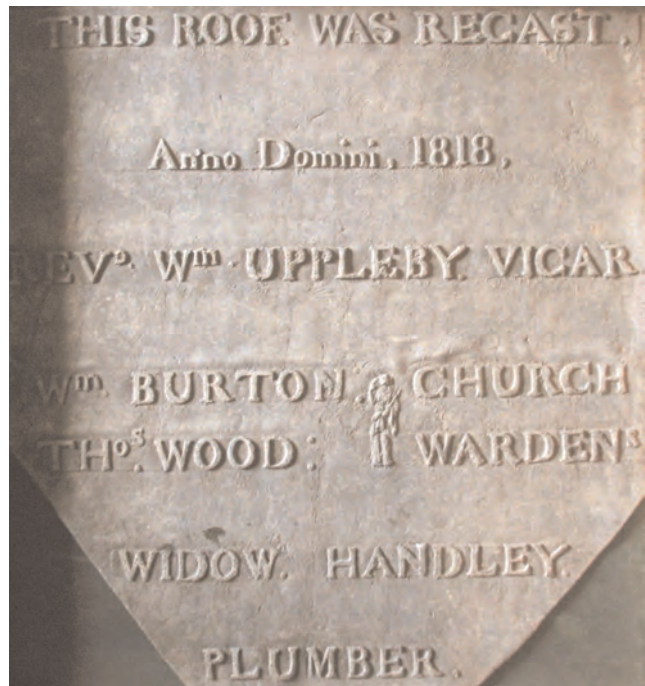


Fig. 123: St Mary's: nave roof (ex situ). Plumber's lead plaque. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 124: St Mary's: roof lead. Detail of the moulded neo-classical figure on the plumber's plaque, probably *Diana lucifera*. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

in part were completely down and others, though standing, were in such a tottering state that it was impossible that the church service could be resumed ...' Wrangling continued all through the year 1818. The archdeacon made a visitation in October and firmly directed the churchwardens to put repairs in hand, advising that complete repewing should be undertaken. Another parish meeting was called, and a repewing committee was convened under Hesleden's chairmanship.

There was still no consensus as to whether the old pews should be repaired, or new ones constructed: a compromise seemed to be favoured. It was proposed that the principal pew holders should have new seats built in the nave, and that additional, free sittings

should be created (using salvaged materials) for the lower classes in the aisles. In the end, a compromise was agreed, and R.E. Johnson, a surveyor from Barton, was asked to cost the proposal before putting it to a rating meeting. Johnson's report (18 November 1818) described the pews as 'so forlorn' that they were beyond sensible repair, and mentioned also that the floor and sleepers were in 'a complete state of decay'. He estimated the cost of repairing the pews and constructing a new pulpit at £300.

Debate and dispute then ensued as to how to levy the necessary rate: 4s. 6d. in the pound was required for the task, but the parishioners would only agree to 2s. 6d. The money would have to be collected in instalments; a grant was also obtained from the Incorporated Church Building Society.¹⁴¹ Eventually, the churchwardens commenced work, under intense scrutiny, on the pewing of the north aisle: this 'would be a guide for their conduct and exhibit their intentions even to the most minute observer, and at the same time give an opportunity to any person to make a remonstrance in case they were acting in any way extravagantly'. Clearly, acrimony and distrust were rife, and 'Mr Johnson employed only one or two men ... so that every part of the work might stand the test of examination. The church doors were always open ... there were constantly ... parishioners watching over the Churchwardens.' Tudor timbers salvaged from the roof were used as joists to carry the new floor under the pews (Moor 1892, 24). The alleys between the pews were floored in brick.

Eventually, by July 1819, the work was complete: then a committee had to be formed to allocate the new seats, and that inevitably gave rise to a fresh round of intense dispute. The churchwardens presented their proposals, and a trial arrangement was put into operation for a few months. In August, St Mary's was finally reopened, the press report giving no hint of the fierce battles that had been fought, and were still raging:

The ruinous and dangerous state of the main roof of St Mary's church ... and the general decay of the pews, with various other dilapidations, having rendered it unfit for public worship, the whole of the Sunday parish duty has been performed in St Peter's church ... for upwards of four years past. In the mean time, the minister, churchwardens and parishioners, with the most creditable and praiseworthy zeal, determined on causing an extensive and complete repair of the church The roof of the nave is entirely new, and the pews having all been taken up and replaced, are now so arranged as to give every possible accommodation to the increased population, and are painted to resemble oak To the great delight of the parishioners, the church was re-opened on Sunday last for divine service¹⁴²

An integral part of the repewing scheme was the provision of a substantial number of free seats, but 'on the opening of the church they were so fully occupied that it created an alarm amongst the leading Dissenters at the Chapels, and from this circumstance another cause of discontent arose ...'. Feuding also continued over appropriated pews and the collection of the parish rate to pay for the work, and at least one parishioner turned up at meetings accompanied by his lawyer. Graburn withheld his rate contributions, acquiesced after another visit from the archdeacon in 1820, and then changed his mind again. Evidently, other parishioners withheld their rate contributions too, 'and thereby all the matters of the parish were thrown into absolute confusion'. Meanwhile, the contractors, who had agreed to payment by instalments, were becoming impatient. By 1821 the prospect of an Ecclesiastical Court hearing loomed and at that point Hesleden's account ends, but the churchwardens' memorandum continues the saga. At a Vestry meeting it was resolved to take Mr Graburn to court for non-payment of rates. In 1822 a faculty was granted, empowering the appointed committee to determine the seating arrangements.¹⁴³ In 1823 a plan and schedule were duly drawn up, but that still did not bring matters to a close.¹⁴⁴

In the same year the churchwardens 'were personally served with process' for the sum outstanding to Johnson, and 'through fear and intimidation' they individually offered securities. Meanwhile, bickering over accounts and attempts to collect rates arrears continued, year after year. Finally, in 1831, Johnson demanded full payment of the monies still owed to him, with interest. The churchwardens capitulated and personally paid off the outstanding debt of £315 8s. 2d. After another interval, in July 1834, the churchwardens finally put themselves at the mercy of the parishioners at large, and begged for the recovery of their losses. The outcome is not recorded. The total cost of the reroofing and repewing, together with interest, amounted to £1,520 2s. 7d.¹⁴⁵ Loft records that the parish received a grant from the Commissioners for Building New Churches towards the repair; this appears in the accounts as £125.

Notwithstanding all the foregoing, in 1825, Glynne wrote eulogistically regarding the church's condition: 'Nothing can exceed the neatness with which it is kept; the pewing is good and tidy, and the whole cleanly. It is highly creditable to the inhabitants that these two spacious Churches should both be kept up in so excellent a condition.' (Glynne 1898, 204). St Mary's had a neat west gallery and a new barrel organ, both presumably installed with the repewing.¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, we may also suspect that, twenty years after their installation, grievances over pews were still smouldering, since a fresh seating plan and schedule were drawn up in 1838.¹⁴⁷ And yet another plan was made in 1847.¹⁴⁸

Victorian restorations

Small-scale works continued: the roof of the north aisle was repaired in 1859, and the interior was colour-washed.¹⁴⁹ However, the parishioners expressed the wish to carry out a thorough restoration, perhaps inspired by the fact that one was currently in progress in St Peter's. The renowned architect S.S. Teulon had visited the church in 1857, but no instruction was given to him (p. 514). In 1862 it was reported that the leads needed attention and that one of the beams in the south aisle roof was bad; new wire gates (presumably on the porch) were installed in 1864.¹⁵⁰ The following year the low-side window in the south aisle was unblocked and glazed. In the 1860s the churchyard was 'not well kept' and work on drains and spouts was required too. Once again, indecision and inaction prevailed.

James Fowler, 1883–84

The next major phase of work came in 1883–84, when restoration of the chancel was finally put in hand.¹⁵¹ James Fowler of Louth was employed as architect,¹⁵² and the cost was estimated at £445, which sum had already been raised at the time of the faculty application. The eventual cost was £750.¹⁵³ A new floor was laid in the chancel and vestry, the former paved with Staffordshire tiles (Moor 1892, 25; Varah 1928, 43). The pews were replaced with stalls of pitch-pine; a new altar-rail, pulpit (dated 1883) and brass lectern were provided, and the existing altar-table was to be repaired. Noted, but not specified, were repairs to defective iron, woodwork and glazing. Although not mentioned in the faculty, the organ was moved from the west gallery to the chancel aisle. Moreover, the medieval *mensa* was rediscovered and set into the chancel floor beneath the altar, where it still remains.

The only Victorian stained glass window in St Mary's was installed in bay 2 of the south aisle, which is when the erroneous cusps were added to the roundels in the tracery (Varah 1928, 37). The glass is a memorial to Ann Tinn (d. 1866), wife of George Tinn, surgeon of Barton (Pl. 17). It was described as having been 'designed by Mr Fowler of Louth' and was installed in 1887;¹⁵⁴ the name of the artist is not recorded.¹⁵⁵

John Oldrid Scott, 1891–92

In 1890 thoughts of restoration turned once again to the nave, and Fowler was invited to make an inspection and report. Fund-raising began at the same time.¹⁵⁶ Reseating was the principal issue, while the proposed removal of the western gallery was considered more contentious, since it had in effect become the private pew associated with Baysgarth House.¹⁵⁷ The owner, while agreeing to the removal of the gallery, wished to have a private pew allocated in substitution. The parish, on the other hand, wanted all seats to be free. The archdeacon was called upon to arbitrate in what

had all the makings of another serious altercation. However, the owner of Baysgarth retracted his claim, and the way was clear to demolish the gallery.

Fowler became ill and died in 1892, and the parish determined to employ J.O. Scott as architect, whose specification and plan have survived (Fig. 125).¹⁵⁸ The deal pews that had caused so much anguish only seventy years previously were removed, and substituted with rows of open benches against the outer aisle walls, and chairs in the centre. The gallery was removed, along with the blocking wall under the tower arch. Floors were taken up and relaid, and one pier of the south arcade was dismantled and rebuilt. A new timber ceiling was constructed over the ground stage of the tower, and windows and stonework were repaired. Scott estimated the cost at £1,200, of which £846 had already been raised by the parishioners. In September 1891 the church was duly closed for six months while restoration took place. The builder was Briggs of Barton.¹⁵⁹

Destruction of the Georgian furnishings was evidently embraced with enthusiasm: anyone visiting the church was greeted with the sight of '... vast heaps of broken wood – joists and flooring and bench-ends, and the ruins of the western gallery ... the greater part will be consumed by the householders of Barton in their fires ... Nothing, however, that is really of value will be destroyed; but the work of 1820, though it may have seemed splendid to persons living in the Georgian era, is not of a kind that offers much interest, even to antiquarians, at the present day.'¹⁶⁰

The restoration included: renewal of the timber floors with wood-blocks in the nave and aisles; reopening the tower arch and restoring the capitals of the responds; creating a ringing-chamber in the tower; stripping the wallplaster from the north and south aisles; resetting two windows in the north wall; scraping and repairing the arches of the arcades; complete reconstruction of the central pier in the south nave arcade (Fig. 71); unblocking the chancel arcade; providing new oak doors for the tower, north aisle and south-east chapel; staining the Georgian pine roof timbers; relaying the south aisle roof; and sundry external repairs to the stonework. Ground level around the walls was also lowered. Various archaeological discoveries were made and features opened up, including the doorway at the base of the stairway in the porch, the low-side window in the south aisle, two piscinae and an aumbry.¹⁶¹ The church, now with about 700 sittings, was reopened in April 1892, and the cost of the works was given as £1,665.¹⁶²

Miscellaneous other works carried out in the late nineteenth century included the renewal of all the doors, except that in the south aisle: a drawing for that door was prepared by Scott, but the task was never executed.¹⁶³ Minor repairs continued, although whether under the supervision of an architect is not recorded. However, Scott made visits to Barton in 1895, 1896 and 1897, as evidenced by entries in his notebooks.¹⁶⁴

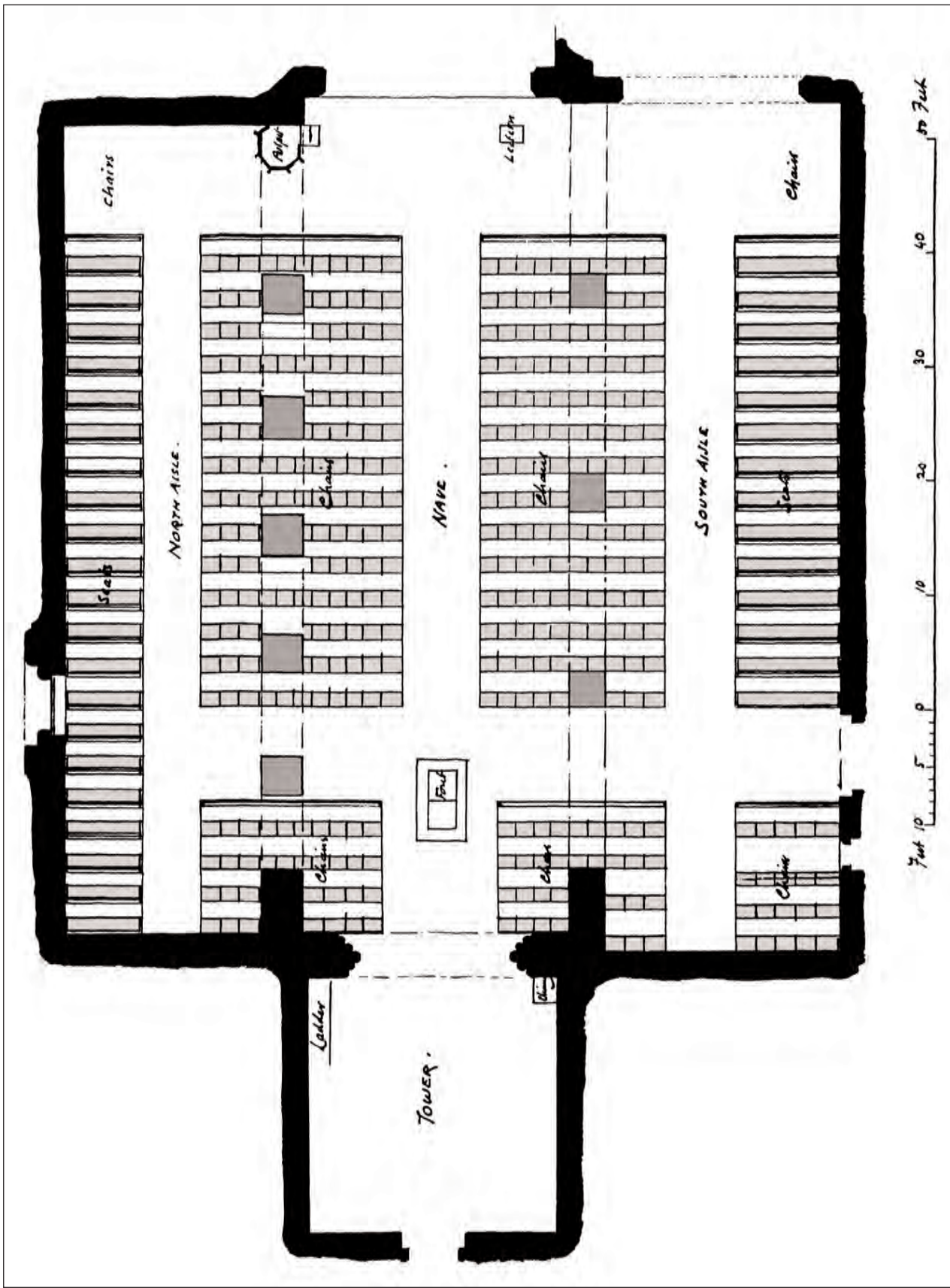


Fig. 125: St Mary's: plan for the restoration and reseating of the church by J.O. Scott, 1891. Lincolnshire Archives

The restoration and refurnishing of the south-east chapel (formerly used as a schoolroom) was begun in 1902, and continued intermittently for eight years; the easternmost bay had been partitioned from the south aisle and provided with its own external entrance. The partitions and brick paving at the east end were removed, and a stove substituted for the schoolroom fireplace.¹⁶⁵ A pavement of black-and-white marble was laid, and a new oak screen was installed under the easternmost bay of the chancel arcade, copying those in the other two bays. The existing holy table was given hangings and a retable was installed. It was thus reinstated as the chapel of St James.

The chancel east window was rerealed in 1907–08.¹⁶⁶ The tower was restored externally in 1911, but work was not completed on the parapet.¹⁶⁷ In 1923–26 Varah undertook the refurbishment of the chapel in the north aisle, reintroducing an altar (as he did at St Peter's).¹⁶⁸ He assigned the dedication to St Thomas. The faculty application also provided for reinstating a rood-beam and rood on the existing corbels. In the 1920s there was frequent hankering to restore the Early English doorway in the tower, but it was mercifully spared.¹⁶⁹ In 1928 attention was diverted to the repair of the church roofs, the cost of which was estimated at £1,300; the chancel roof was rerealed first.¹⁷⁰

The next major work took place in 1938, when the porch was restored and further work carried out to the parapet and pinnacles of the tower.¹⁷¹ The floor to the upper porch chamber had been removed and the windows bricked up, probably in the early nineteenth century.¹⁷² A new floor was installed, the windows reopened, and the east wall refaced.¹⁷³ This last aspect resulted in the discovery of several medieval sculptured stones, including the discoidal head of a tombstone, and a decorated grave-cover (pp. 648 and 652). The restored upper chamber was fitted out to house parish records and books, a purpose for which it was most ill-suited in view of its perpetually damp state. The parvise is now disused.

Recent history

In 1957 a new high altar was installed,¹⁷⁴ and in the 1960s the lead roofs were replaced with sheet copper, an ill-conceived change which has now partly been reversed.¹⁷⁵ Repairs were carried out in 1972–75 under the Grantham-based architect Lawrence Bond, and grant-aided by the Incorporated Church Building Society.¹⁷⁶ The present gallery inside the ground stage of the tower, which provides both a ringing floor and ceiling to the choir vestry, was inserted in 1974.¹⁷⁷

In 1976 a proposal was formulated to build an extension to the church, which evidently proved contentious, and it was not until 1980–81 that a large, rectangular parish room was added in brick on the north side of the churchyard. A link was constructed to the doorway in the aisle.¹⁷⁸ No provision was made for archaeological investigation.¹⁷⁹

In 1984 new drainage was laid, without a faculty, around the west end of the church, involving the destruction of archaeological deposits and medieval masonry at the bases of the walls. At the same time, the interior of the church was redecorated: the walls of the nave were cleaned down and all loose medieval plaster was stripped and renewed. Again, there was no provision for archaeological recording, and all objections to the extent of the destruction were ignored. The wallplaster throughout the nave was not only confirmed as medieval, but was shown to be of three periods: primary Norman; patching following the insertion of the north arcade; and the addition associated with the fifteenth-century clerestory. Extensive remains of pinkish-red paint were observed on the primary plaster, but conditions did not permit investigations to ascertain whether figurative painting was also present.¹⁸⁰

The oil-fired heating system was replaced with gas in 1986, and the faculty provided for archaeological monitoring of the trench for the gas supply.¹⁸¹ The vestry was refurbished and refloored in 1994, yielding a small collection of significant archaeological finds (p. 87).

Finally, one further archaeological find needs to be mentioned, which was recovered from somewhere beneath the floor during work in 1892. It is a squat,



Fig. 126: St Mary's: lathe-turned alabaster jar and cover found under the floor of the church in 1892. It was identified at the time as the receptacle for a heart burial. Diameter 11 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

cylindrical jar and cover, 110 mm in diameter, made of English alabaster (Fig. 126). Both elements are moulded, lathe-turned, and given a polished finish externally; the cover has an acorn-shaped knob.¹⁸² The interior of the jar is quite crudely finished, with pronounced turning lines. Affixed to the side is a small silver plaque recording the discovery, and stating that the function of the vessel was to contain a heart-burial. The jar is of a type made in the eighteenth century for the storage of pipe tobacco, and the astragal moulding around its centre, as well as the acorn knob, point to a date after c. 1780 (Myer 1930). It is difficult to imagine why in the Victorian era, when tobacco jars were commonplace, this one should have been identified so confidently as a heart receptacle. It is certainly not impossible that the vessel was used for this purpose, and perhaps a shrivelled item of organic material was found inside it, giving credence to the claim (Bradford 1933).¹⁸³

Principal Furnishings and Fittings

Some of the furnishings will be referred to in the context of St Peter's church (chapter 10), there having been a good deal of exchange between the two buildings; other items have already been mentioned here *en passant*. See principally: bells (p. 125), screens (pp. 124–5), bench-end (p. 555), chests (p. 559), mensa (p. 124), organ (p. 559) and plate (pp. 547–51). Only additional items of special note are described below.

Font

No less than four fonts are attested at St Mary's by various sources. Nothing substantive is known about the medieval font, but its Queen Anne successor – which preceded the present one – is recorded in a drawing of the 1830s. The earliest plans of the church (from 1823) appear to show a square font with a circular shaft, standing on a square plinth; it lay at the west end of the north aisle. This would have been a Norman or early Gothic font, but was presumably too plain to attract antiquarian interest. It is also marked on the seating plan of 1847, where it is labelled 'old font'. The same plan shows a second font on a square plinth at the west end of the south aisle; this was probably not the present font (although that stands on the same site), but the marble columnar font of 1715, mentioned by Archdeacon Bonney in 1846 as 'circular of ye date of 1715' (Harding 1937, 17). A drawing of this font by Hesleden has survived (Fig. 127), together with a record of the inscription on the bowl:¹⁸⁴

M^R:I:GELDER : VICAR : G:TAYLER W:SERGEANT C:W^RDN^S : 1715

The stem was unusually chunky in appearance, having two heavy rolls around a shaft, rather than a baluster of classical proportions.

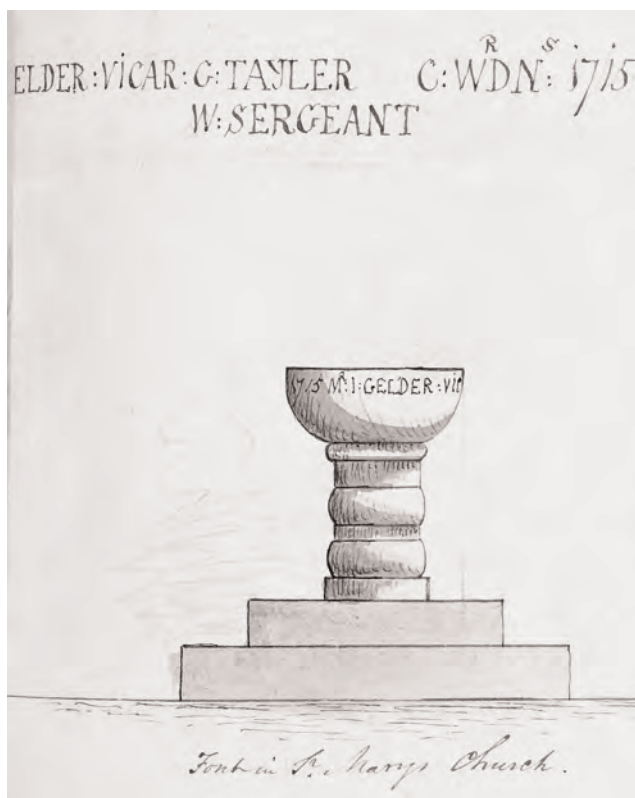


Fig. 127: St Mary's: font, 1715. Drawn by W.S. Hesleden in c. 1833 (part of the inscription is masked by the binding). Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: Ms Top. Lincs. b.1, f. 224

A fragmentary plan of unknown authorship, drawn in the mid- or later nineteenth century, shows only an octagonal font on a square plinth with canted corners at the west end of the south aisle, and this is the current arrangement. It does not, however, correspond with J.O. Scott's seating layout of 1891: he proposed to install a square font at the west end of the nave, raised by two steps on a rectangular plinth (Fig. 125). It would appear that in Scott's reordering the pre-existing arrangement of the font was retained. Thus, the present extremely plain octagonal limestone font dates from the late 1840s, or the early 1850s.¹⁸⁵ The fate of the other two fonts is unrecorded.

Dissatisfaction with the plain font led the parish in 1978 to acquire the very ornate late medieval 'angel' font from Driby church (Lincs.), which was made redundant in 1974 (Pevsner and Harris 1964, 226).¹⁸⁶ The font was brought to St Mary's, where its disassembled components lay in the churchyard for about a year before being moved inside. But the font was never re-assembled in the church, and in 1981 the parish decided to dispose of it: consequently, the font was sold without faculty to an antiques dealer in Fordham (Cambs.), where it was noticed in his yard¹⁸⁷ and was recovered by order of the Diocesan Chancellor in 1982. The font was taken to Lincoln Museum, where it remains.

Notes on the medieval glazing and excavated glass

by Penny Hebgin-Barnes

Medieval glazing

The medieval glazing of St Mary's had unusual and interesting features (Hebgin-Barnes 1996, 23). All that now survives of this glazing is a composite figure in the five-light east window of the chancel, the stonework of which dates from the late thirteenth century (Pl. 15). The fifteenth-century head of the figure faces left and is crowned, nimbed and bearded. Its arms, nailed to a wood-patterned crossbeam with blood gushing from the wrists, are from a Crucifixion dating from the late fourteenth or fifteenth century and the body is replaced by fragments of blue and murrey drapery of a similar date. These fragments are said to have been assembled in their current position in 1662–74, and they were illustrated there in 1833.¹⁸⁸ Nothing is known of the windows from which they originated, although in 1994 numerous fragments of medieval and later window glass were found under the floor of the vestry, and are discussed below.

The antiquarians Lee and Holles noted interesting information concerning the lost heraldic glazing of St Mary's.¹⁸⁹ Holles carefully recorded four shields, which he numbered 1 to 4, in the east window of the chancel. The first was that of the king of Jerusalem quartering Beaumont, and beneath it the Latin inscription: *Rex Hierosolomice cum Bello-Monte locatur*. The second was that of Beaumont quartering Buchan with the inscription: *Bellus etiam cum Bogwan consociatur*. The third was that of Beaumont quartering Lancaster with the inscription: *Bellus-Mons iterum Longo-Castro relegatur*.¹⁹⁰ The fourth shield was defaced, but what little survived of the fragmentary inscription (*Bellus-Mons... Oxoniæ...*) is sufficient to establish that it was of Beaumont quartering Vere, the Earl of Oxford. Lee's description is briefer. He recorded only the first inscription and half of the second. Like Holles, he numbered the shields, describing the fourth as void. However he also added another, that of Beaumont impaling Everingham, which he numbered 5.

These shields celebrated the marriages of successive generations of the Beaumont family. Louis, a younger son of Jean de Brienne, titular King of Jerusalem, married Agnes, daughter and heiress of Raoul, Viscount of Beaumont in Maine. Their son Henry Lord Beaumont married Alice Comyn, who was niece and heiress of the last Earl of Buchan (*Bogwan* in the inscription). Their son John (d. 1342) married Eleanor, daughter of Henry, Earl of Lancaster. Their son Henry (d. 1369) married Maud, daughter of John Vere, Earl of Oxford. Their son John (d. 1396) married Katherine, daughter of Thomas Everingham of Laxton (Notts.) in or before 1380.

It seems likely that this glazing was donated by John Lord Beaumont (d. 1396), whose marriage was the latest to be commemorated in it. By displaying his

distinguished lineage in the large and impressive east window of St Mary's he was emphasizing the Beaumont family's importance at a time when they were less prominent than they had been in the heyday of his great-grandfather Henry (underlined by the fact that John was the first Lord Beaumont in five generations to marry the daughter of a commoner). John is also the most likely donor of a very similar window formerly in St Cornelius's church, Linwood (Lincs.), of which the Beaumonts held the manor and advowson. The same five shields appeared in the Linwood window, albeit without inscriptions.¹⁹¹ This window was considerably smaller than that at St Mary's, but shared its purpose of impressing onlookers with the Beaumont family's illustrious pedigree. It is regrettable that no identifiable glass survives from either of these windows.

Series of shields commemorating the marriages of previous generations of a family became popular during the sixteenth century, when the increased interest in genealogy and heraldry led to heraldic visitations of the English counties. However, they were less common in the late fourteenth century and the rhyming Latin inscriptions commemorating each alliance at St Mary's are not recorded in other glazing of this period. Another unusual feature at St Mary's described by Holles was a series of fourteen shields of European kingdoms and Jerusalem, in two rows of seven 'upon ye woodworke in ye church'.¹⁹² Opposite them, 'on the other side of ye woodworke' was a series of eighteen shields in two rows of nine. The shields in the upper row were borne by important members of the English nobility, including Beaumont, and the lower row by lesser families.¹⁹³ The date of these carved shields is not known. Such displays were sometimes merely decorative,¹⁹⁴ but as this one reinforced the message of the importance of the Beaumonts and their royal connections, it is possible that it was commissioned by the family for the same purpose as the east window glazing.¹⁹⁵

Holles also recorded a shield of Everingham alone in an unspecified window, with no indication of its date. The same shield impaled with two others appeared again in an unspecified medium. Holles's reference to other shields 'over Mr Everinghams seat' demonstrates that the family's interest in St Mary's church was well established in the seventeenth century (Cole 1911, 80).

Excavated glass

In 1994 several hundred fragments of medieval window glass were recovered when the vestry floor of St Mary's church was renewed (p. 87);¹⁹⁶ 148 pieces bear traces of black paint. Twenty-two of the most significant are illustrated on Plate 16 and Figure 128. Table 12 provides a brief *résumé* of the most noteworthy pieces, including all those which are illustrated. Between a quarter and a third of these pieces are of early fourteenth-century date. They are thicker (2.5–3.5 mm) than the later fragments and several bear

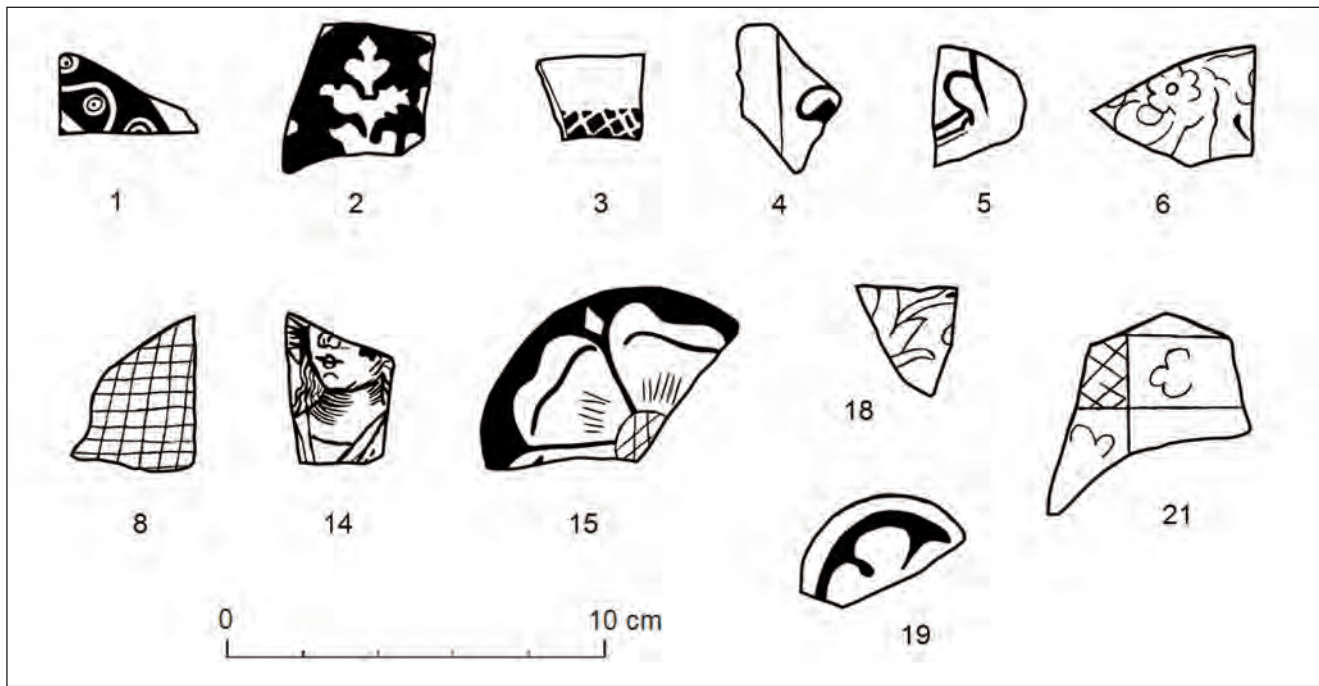


Fig. 128: *St Mary's: excavated medieval window glass from the vestry, 1994. For descriptions, see Table 12. Scale 1:2. Drawing: Penny Hebgin-Barnes*

designs characteristic of the period, such as borders decorated with alternating beads and pairs of annulets (no. 22), or with a crude undulating line set between dots (no. 12).¹⁹⁷ Most are white (*i.e.* uncoloured) glass, but there are a few coloured pieces, such as a flashed ruby square and a pot-metal blue rosette (no. 19). A minority display yellow stain. All the fragments are dirty and several pieces are opaque (*e.g.* sections of straight fillet), making any paint difficult to detect.

The remainder of the medieval painted pieces are of late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century date. These are thinner (1.5–2.0 mm) than the earlier pieces. All are dirty and some are lightly pitted, but most remain translucent. Many are too small for the painted designs to be identified, and most of the subjects that can be recognized consist of drapery or foliage. Nearly all the fragments are white glass, some of them coloured with yellow stain. Occasionally two or more separate pieces fit together, the best example being three fragments (no. 11) which comprise part of a tracery light with decorated border and hatched infill. Noteworthy fragments include an incomplete rosette (no. 15), a border piece depicting a crown (no. 16), chequered flooring composed of tiles alternately decorated with floral motifs and hatching (no. 21), and part of a nimbed female head with flowing hair, facing three-quarters left (no. 14). This head is finely executed with thin lines modelling the face and neck. No yellow stain or back-painting is discernible on the piece. Single figures of saints holding their emblems were popular fillers for Perpendicular tracery lights, and its small size suggests that this head derived from such a figure.¹⁹⁸ The most frequently depicted female saints after the Virgin Mary were Catherine and Margaret, but there were several

others including Barbara, Cecilia, Dorothy, Agnes, Lucy, Sitha and Apollonia. As virgin martyrs, they were represented with long flowing hair and usually held a book or the palm of martyrdom as well as an emblem such as Catherine's wheel or Sitha's bunch of keys. Without an associated emblem this particular head cannot be identified.

Two other pieces of special interest are parts of a scroll bearing a blackletter inscription (nos. 7 and 13). One is adjacent to the drapery of a standing figure, which indicates that the scroll was placed vertically beside the figure. Such scrolls were often quite short and merely displayed the name of the person depicted,¹⁹⁹ but sometimes they bore a line of text associated with him or her. The most frequent example of the latter was the Annunciation, where Gabriel usually bore a scroll inscribed with his salutation (*Ave Maria gracia plena*) while the Virgin held one showing her response (*Ecce ancilla domini*). However, more elaborate examples can be found, such as the early fifteenth-century Apostles bearing articles of the Creed in the east window of Beverley Minster (Challis 1985); in Lincolnshire a late medieval Creed series formerly existed at Brocklesby (Hebgin-Barnes 1996, xlv, 57). The letters of the Barton inscription (*hic...(?), ili:....*) are too fragmentary and illegible to determine whether they formed part of a name or of a text, but if the word *hic* is correct it suggests the latter. The small size of these two fragments suggests that they derived from a figure in a tracery light. As the inscription rules out the possibility of an Annunciation and lone tracery figures bearing scrolls were most unusual, a series of figures accompanied by scrolls can be postulated. If such a series did exist, prophets bearing texts or Apostles with

Table 12: Noteworthy pieces of excavated medieval glass from St Mary's church

<i>Accn. no.</i>	<i>Size (mm)</i>	<i>Brief description</i>	<i>Condition</i>	<i>Paint</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Illus. no.</i>
5737 66	37 x 20 x 1.5	border with reserved undulating design	encrusted with earth	bp	late C14	128,1
5737 67	40 x 39 x 1.5	yellow-stained seaweed rinceau	weathered exterior	bp, ys	late C14	128,2
5737 70	27 x 20 x 2	black border with reserved hatching; grozed edge	exterior pitting	bp	late C14	128,3
5737 71	41 x 21 x 1	foliage with hatching	encrusted with earth, edge flaking	bp, ys	late C14	–
5737 77	39 x 34 x 1.5	seaweed rinceau as 67	coated with cement	bp, ys	late C14	
5737 82	40 x 25 x 2	foliage lobe within plain border(?)	coated with cement	bp	late C14	128,4
5737 87	30 x 23 x 2.5	grisaille frond	opaque, light pitting, surface deposit	bp	C14	128,5
5737 89	42 x 29 x 2	flowery pattern, possibly drapery	heavy dirt deposits on surface	bp, ys	late C14	128,6
5737 92	38 x 24 x 1.5	scroll with blackletter inscription; grozed edge	light exterior pitting, surface dirt	bp, ys	late C14	Pl. 16,7
5737 95	40 x 31 x 2	hatching	opaque, surface coated with cement	bp	late C14	128,8
5737 100	58 x 37 x 1.5	hair(?)	light exterior pitting & paint loss	bp, ys	late C14	Pl. 16,9
5737 102	49 x 25 x 2.5	seaweed foliage(?); grozed edge; back-painting	encrusted with earth; design indistinct	bp, ys	late C14	–
5737 105	34 x 28 x 2.5	oakleaf from grisaille quarry; 2 grozed edges	light exterior pitting, dirty	bp	late C14	Pl. 16,10
5737 110	66 x 28 x 2	border as 66 enclosing hatched ground; grozed edge	encrusted with earth	bp	late C14	Pl. 16,11
5737 111	26 x 16 x 2	border with rough undulating and dot design	dirty	bp, ys	C14	Pl. 16,12
5737 125	40 x 44 x 1.5	scroll as 92 beside smear-shaded drapery	surface deposit	bp, ys	late C14	Pl. 16,13
5737 127	34 x 21 x 1.5	hatching as 95	encrusted with earth	bp	late C14	–
5737 144	39 x 27 x 2	head of female saint	incomplete, exterior pitting, dirty	bp	late C14	128,14
5737 150	77 x 43 x 1.5	rosette; grozed edge; smear shading, needlepoint	incomplete, dirty	bp	C14	128,15
5737 151	39 x 33 x 1.5	crown (border motif); 3 grozed edges	exterior pitting	bp, ys	late C14	Pl. 16,16
5737 156	58 x 43 x 1.5	as 110 to which it joins	dirty	bp	late C14	Pl. 16,11
5737 167	32 x 23 x 1.5	rectangle depicting 4-petalled flower; 3 grozed edges	incomplete, dirty	bp	late C14	Pl. 16,17
5737 168	41 x 16 x 1.5	as 156 to which it joins	dirty	bp	late C14	Pl. 16,11
5737 174	27 x 25 x 2	floral motif from a quarry	corroded, dirty	bp	late C14	128,18
5737 185	44 x 22 x 1.5	blue rosette on black ground; grozed edge	opaque, surface deposit	bp	C14	128,19
5737 189	48 x 29 x 2	seaweed rinceau	lightly pitted, dirty	bp	late C14	Pl. 16,20
5737 191	66 x 48 x 2	chequered flooring; grozed curved edge	exterior pitting, surface deposit, light paint loss	bp	late C14	128,21
5737 200	46 x 41 x 3	beaded border from tracery light; grozed edge	exterior pitting, dirty	bp	C14	Pl. 16,22

bp = black paint; ys = yellow stain

Creed scrolls would be the likeliest subjects. However, given the paucity of the evidence, this interpretation of these two fragments must remain speculative.

The fact that the scroll, figure and background are all painted on the same piece of white glass and executed only in black paint and yellow stain, rather than the white figure and scroll being separately leaded against a ground of more expensive coloured glass, indicates that the glazing scheme of the tracery lights in which this piece originated was not particularly costly.

It is not recorded from which windows or parts of the church the excavated fragments were removed before being dumped in the area of the present vestry. The fact that none of them displays heavy pitting

suggests that they were probably removed from the windows before or during the nineteenth century, thus avoiding exposure to heavy aerial pollution. None of the fragments can be identified as having formed part of the lost inscriptions or armorials relating to the Beaumont family which were formerly in late fourteenth-century glazing of the east window of the chancel, although the majority of them appear to be of a similar date. But it is not surprising that the antiquarians who recorded the elaborate Beaumont window did not mention the smaller, less important window(s) from which the excavated fragments derived: they were interested only in armorials and legible inscriptions commemorating donors, not religious imagery.

Tombs and memorials

St Mary's possesses the heavily worn remnants of a once-fine assemblage of medieval floor slabs, which are listed and briefly discussed together with those at St Peter's in chapter 12. In 1697, Abraham de la Pryme observed, '[there] has formerly been a great many grave stones with brasses upon them, but they were pull'd of[f] in Cromwell's days, when the organs were also pull'd down. There are a few brasses left.' (Jackson 1869, 132). The magnificent brass to Simon Seman is especially notable, since it was visible and survived unscathed in the early seventeenth century (Cole 1911, 78), when so much wanton damage occurred. Several accounts also refer to the medieval slabs which had elements of their design inlaid in white marble.²⁰⁰ Hesleden's plan of 1834 marked the locations of forty-two floor slabs (Fig. 44), but unfortunately the accompanying schedule is incomplete.²⁰¹ Many of the slabs have subsequently been lost or worn to an illegible state, and most have probably been repositioned anyway. Twenty slabs have been identified as certainly or probably medieval, and their locations are recorded on Figure 47 (M.1–20).

The post-medieval monuments in the church are extraordinarily few, and their locations are also marked on Figure 47. The floor slabs are not described here (M.21–55), and there are only four extant wall memorials (M.60–63).

M.60 Figs. 129–130. An interesting pilaster-monument against the north wall of the chancel commemorates Jane Shipsea (d. 1626); it appears in the watercolour of c. 1820, when it was further to the west (Pl. 13). The monument, which was repositioned in 1883–84, when the present choir stalls were erected,²⁰² is constructed mainly of English alabaster; the two inset panels bearing inscriptions appear to be of Belgian marble; the main Doric column may be an English carboniferous limestone (it has the appearance of Blue Lias), as is the upper column. The latter has lost its finial, which was an angel holding a trumpet.²⁰³ The column carries an incised scroll bearing the words: COLVMNA RESVR=GENDI FIDES. Holles described it as 'a pillar of Touch ... wreathed in golden letters (Cole 1911, 78).²⁰⁴ The inscription panels read:

ICVNDISSIMÆ MEMORIÆ
PIE= PRVDENTIS MATRONÆ IANÆ
VXORIS IOHANNIS SHIPSEA REC
TORIS ECCLESIAE DE SAXBY
QVÆ OBIIT IN PVERPERIO MAY
19 1626 ÆTATIS SVÆ 22
FVIT

NATA GENEROSA FIDE DOCTA VIR
GO CASTA, CONIVX FIDELISSIMA
LAVS SEXVS, VIRI GLORIA MODO
CÆLICOLA

*Such mailes doe builde gods house, true liuinge stones
ingrauen as she by God, Gods holy ones*



Fig. 129: St Mary's: chancel. Pilaster monument against the north wall, to Jane Shipsea (d. 1626; M.60). Photo: Warwick Rodwell

SIC MORTVA
EST RAHEL
ET SEPVLTA
GEN. 35
V. 19

M.61 Fig. 131 . An elaborate Baroque cartouche of Carrara marble on the south wall of the chancel aisle (between bays 2 and 3) commemorates William Long (d. 1729). It too has been resited, since the inscription indicates that it was once attached to, or placed above, one of the arcade piers. The inscription reads:



Fig. 130: St Mary's: chancel. Shipsea monument (M.60). Detail of the inscribed upper column. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Near
this Pillar
is interred y^e Body of WILL: LONG of y^s
Town justice of y^e Peace for many years
he married MARY Daughter of IOHN
TRIPP Gent: once Mayor of HULL
by whom he had Issue 5 Sons
& 7 Daughters of which 3
Survived him (viz)
ELIZABETH MARY & FRANCES
by his Will Gave 200^l to be
Laid out in a purchase of Land for y^e
Education of Children
also a Tenement & yard
for better Convenience
of y^e vicarage house
Objt 26 Marty 1729
Ætat: Suae 85

Fixed to the wall directly beneath this cartouche is the head of a *putto* with upswept wings and his head turned to dexter. It is probably made of fine limestone, but is painted pale grey. It is unconnected with this



Fig. 131: St Mary's: chancel aisle. Cartouche monument to William Long (d. 1729; M.61). Photo: Warwick Rodwell

monument. Immediately below the *putto* is fixed a plain plate of Carrara marble which appears to be the apron derived from another monument; it carries an inscription in italic lettering, which has been very poorly set out:

N B
The a=bove named IOHN TRIPP devised
Lands for the Maintenance of the
Blew Coats
and Lady RAND his Daughter
Gave 4^l p Ann^o to the
Minister of this Town to Preach
an Annual Sermon
and forty Shillings
p Ann^o to the Poor

This plate was presumably the apron to a monument to John Tripp, which has been lost; perhaps the *putto* belonged to it. The present arrangement of the three items cannot be earlier than 1902, when the wall which divided the chancel aisle into two spaces was taken down.



A



B

Fig. 132: St Mary's: nave aisle, wall monuments. A (left), Gothick tabernacle (1811; M.63); B (right), Classical (1834; M.62). Photos: Warwick Rodwell

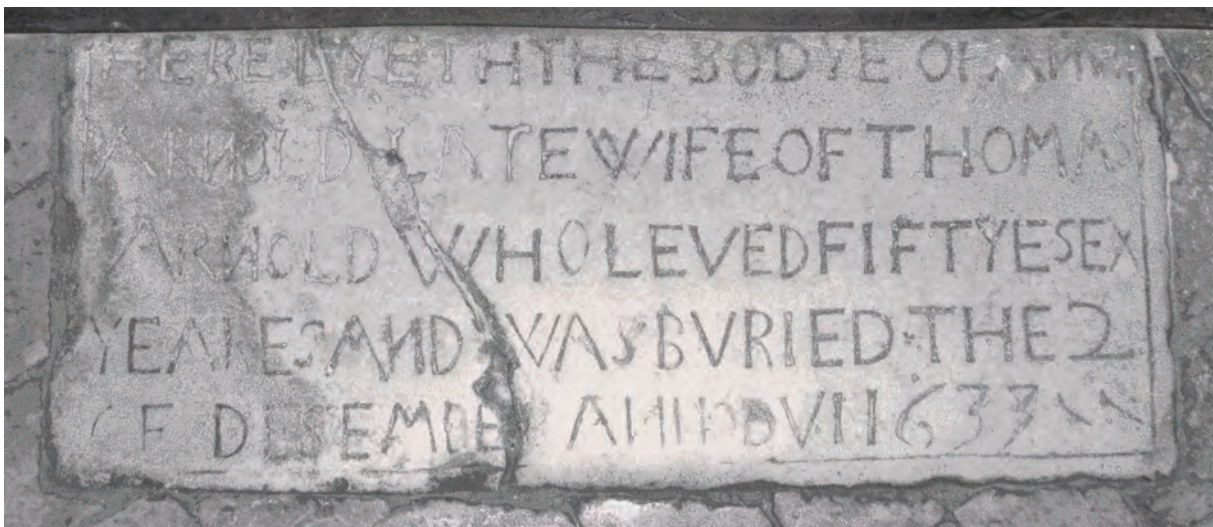


Fig. 133: St Mary's: chancel aisle. Inscribed limestone panel, now set into the floor. From a destroyed monument to Ann Arnold (d. 1633; M.51). Photo: Warwick Rodwell

M.62 Fig. 132B. A monument of Carrara and Belgian marble depicting an urn standing on a Roman-style altar; on the south wall of the nave aisle between bays 1 and 2. It commemorates Elizabeth Johnson (d. 1834), Robert Edward Johnson (d. 1836), William Johnson (d. 1838), and Edward Johnson (d. 1860). The monument, which was probably made in 1836, is signed 'I. EARLE. HULL' (for monuments by Earle, see p. 733).

M.63 Fig. 132A. A damaged gothick tabernacle monument on the west wall of the south aisle, carved in fine cream limestone, commemorates John Wilbar (d. 1811), his wife Jane (d. 1830) and daughter Jane (d. 1848).²⁰⁵

A crudely cut inscription on an *ex situ* ashlar, forming a simple memorial to Faith Low (d. 1706), may have been applied while the stone was in one of the walls of the church (Fig. 768).²⁰⁶ A rectangular limestone panel with a lined border (M.51), now in the floor of the south aisle, commemorates Ann Arnold (d. 1633) and was probably once the side of a tomb chest (Fig. 133).²⁰⁷ It was already in the floor here in 1834 (Hesleden's plan).

The paucity of even mediocre eighteenth-century marble memorials is baffling: surely, there were some parishioners who could have afforded these? The sparseness of memorials on the walls prompts the suggestion that they could have been purged sometime in the nineteenth century, but only one appears (in the chancel) in the watercolour of c. 1820. Possibly some were lost during the reroofing of 1816–17, but that would apply only to the walls of the nave. The post-medieval floor slabs are run-of-the-mill work, mostly in Yorkstone.²⁰⁸ A few date from the later eighteenth century, but the majority belong to the early part of the nineteenth.

Taking everything into consideration, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that St Mary's 'parish' was genuinely poorer than St Peter's throughout the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, and that few memorials of the period were either laid in the floors or affixed to the walls.

Lying loose on the floor is the foundation stone from St Chad's church at Barton Waterside, which was reclaimed when that building was demolished (pp. 67–8). It is inscribed: + *To the Glory of God / this stone was laid / in the Faith of Jesus Christ / on the Festival of St Barnabas / 1902.*

A Fragment of Cross-Shaft from St Mary's Churchyard

The fragment lies loose on a window sill in the south aisle of St Mary's church (Fig. 134). It was found in 1892, near the tower, when workmen were levelling the churchyard.²⁰⁹ Potentially, this might suggest that there was a freestanding cross somewhere to the south-west of the church, as at St Peter's. However, small adherences of lime mortar indicate that the stone may have been reused as building rubble. Moreover, it has clearly been cut down from a once-larger block. Hence, it is likely that after its demise as a cross, the stone was reused in rubble masonry. In 1894 it was reported that

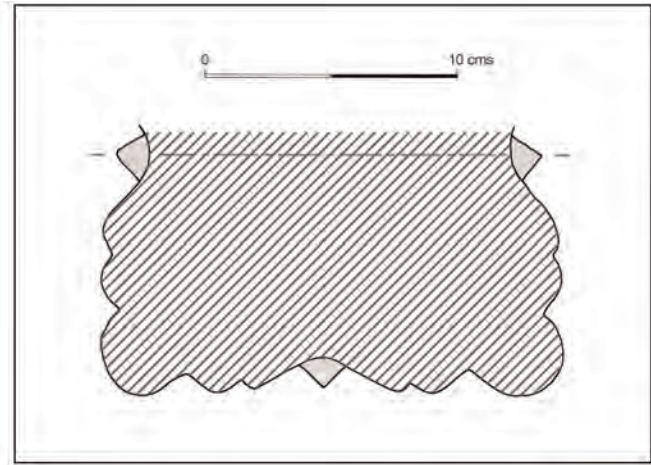


Fig. 134: St Mary's: fragment of a medieval churchyard cross. Half-section through the shaft. Scale 1:3. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

the top of the same cross had recently been discovered, 'bearing a rude carving of Christ crucified'.²¹⁰ This is presumably the fragment now forming part of the head of the restored churchyard cross at St Peter's (p. 606). It was not part of the St Mary's cross.

The overall dimensions of the shaft fragment are: height 530 mm; width across the stumps of the arms 220 mm; shaft 180 mm square. The stone is a fairly soft, fine-grained Lower Magnesian Limestone of pale grey colour, although it is now very dirty; rough handling in modern times has caused the blackened surface to become abraded, and thus to have a blotchy appearance. The mouldings and carvings show evidence of weathering, confirming that the cross was erected in an outdoor environment, but its relatively good condition indicates that it was not exposed to the elements for many centuries.

The fragment is from the uppermost section of the shaft of a freestanding cross. The square shaft has roll-mouldings on the angles, flanked by lesser rolls and quirks on each face (Fig. 135). The centre-line of each face is marked by a broad hollow containing a row of dog-tooth ornament. On the principal face (A) the ornament is interrupted at the top of the shaft by a sunken vesica with a simple frame (140 × 250 mm), containing a *bas-relief* figure of the *Agnus Dei*. Although the lower end of the block has been squared-off, it is clearly not a bed-joint, and there is no evidence of a hole to receive a dowel. Originally, the block may have been twice its present height.

Integral with the stone was the core of the cross-head, now mostly broken away. Two stubs formed the attachments for the lateral arms (faces B and D), which were affixed with metal pins set in lead: the two holes drilled for these are 25 mm in diameter. Also drilled into the block from the front face is a smaller, sloping hole which was the runnel for the lead matrix. The stone is broken through the three holes.

The cross-head was decorated on the front and rear faces with *bas-relief* figures in roundels (c. 200 mm

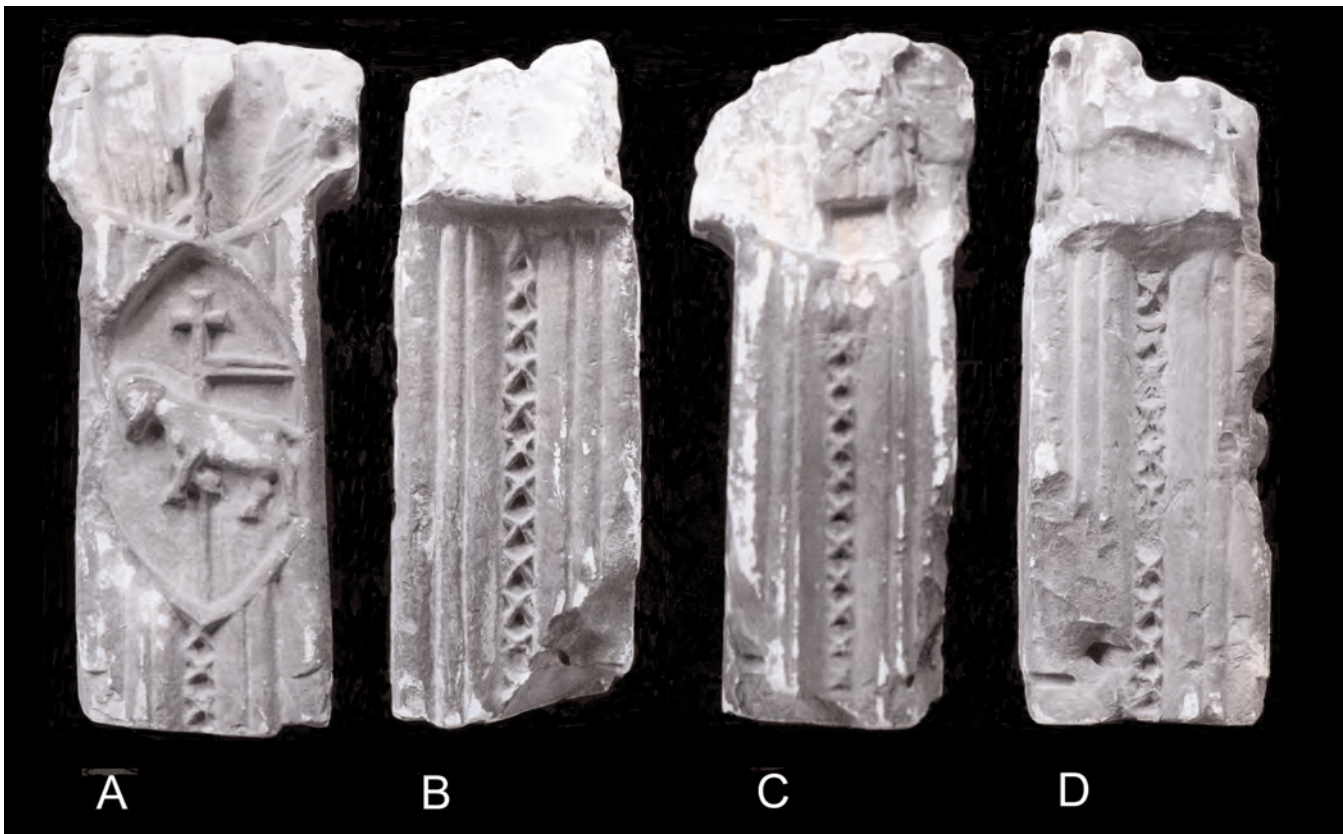


Fig. 135: *St Mary's: fragment of a medieval churchyard cross. Scale approx. 1:6.5. Photos: Warwick Rodwell*

diameter); both are now incomplete and heavily abraded. On the front (A) is the Crucifixion, and on the rear face (C) is Christ seated on a throne. Immediately below that roundel, at the top of the dog-tooth moulding, are three motifs like arrow-heads. The date of the cross is likely to be *c.* 1210–30.

Of unknown purpose are three holes, *c.* 10 mm in diameter, drilled into faces B, C and D, close to the bottom of the block. Rust-stains are apparent in the residual mortar in the hole in face D, and it is just possible that the holes represent clumsy iron cramps, introduced to repair a fractured shaft.

Iconography of the St Mary's churchyard cross

by Pamela Tudor-Craig

St Mary's acquired its churchyard cross in the earlier part of the thirteenth century, the date being established by the trim of dog-tooth carving and by the disposition of the iconographic programme in pointed vesica shapes, such as is seen in manuscripts of the first half of the thirteenth century: *e.g.* the Bible Picture Leaf with scenes from *Genesis* by W. de Brailes in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.²¹¹

Although a relatively small portion of this important and well-carved churchyard cross of a rare date

survives, it is the part where the shaft swells at the junction with the cross-arms, and conveys the iconographic heart of the subject matter. Here, on one side (A), is the base of a Crucifixion, with the lower parts of the flanking figures of Mary and John. Immediately below, at the head of the shaft, is the *Agnus Dei*.

On the opposite face (C) the top of the shaft is too damaged to read, but the roundel at the intersection of the arms is filled with a figure of the seated Christ in Majesty, his right hand raised in blessing, palm outwards; his left arm is upraised and carrying either a book or an orb. An example with the book would be a German missal from Wurzburg of the second quarter of the thirteenth century.²¹² Examples with the orb range from the twelfth-century image of Christ as Wisdom in the Bible from Fleury,²¹³ to the cover of the Gospels of Hugo d'Oignies of *c.* 1228–30, belonging to the Sisters of Notre Dame at Namur (Anon. 1968, cat. 375, pl. 98) and a fourteenth-century enamelled roundel from a knight's amulet of the Haut-Rhénanie of *c.* 1340–50 in the Berlin Staatliche Museum (Anon. 1968, cat. 448, pl. 134). The book is more commonly propped on his knee, as on a reliquary casket of *c.* 1300 from the Haut-Rhin in Coire Cathedral, Switzerland (Anon 1968, cat. 441, pl. 115). Since the knee is clear on the St Mary's churchyard cross, on balance, the orb is the more probable motif.

4. TOPOGRAPHY AND PRE-CHURCH SETTLEMENT

[This is] a place of high antiquity ...
once surrounded by a rampart and foss.
Britton 1807

Physical Environment

Barton is part of a line of settlements lying on the southern terrace of the river Humber at the foot of the Lincolnshire Wolds, straddling the 8 m O.D. contour. The geology is very mixed and principally comprises the chalk of the Wolds, glacial till (boulder clay) in the valley bottoms, and alluvial silts (brickearth) along the Humber foreshore. At frequent intervals, shallow side-valleys descend from the Wolds to the floodplain, and while some carry streams, others are now dry; their condition is subject to seasonal variation. These Wold valleys contain small-scale deposits of sand and gravel.¹ The geographical relief and pattern of minor valleys around Barton is clearly revealed in the first edition (1824) Ordnance Survey map (Fig. 136).²

The town of Barton is built on a plateau of boulder clay which fills an embayment in the north-east side of the Wolds (Fig. 137). Several of the streams descending from the Wold valleys pass through the same area on their way to the shore. The surface geology beneath the town thus comprises a mixture of clays, sands and gravel. A belt of flat marshland, up to 1 km in width, separates the present river bank from the clay plateau, and the streams formerly wended their way across this before the digging of dykes redefined the local topography. Variations in relative sea level, in the prehistoric and historic past, as well as the erection of sea-walls, have governed the habitability of the estuarine belt. Finally, sealed beneath the alluvial silts are waterlogged peat deposits of uncertain extent, but they are broadly datable to the sixth millennium BC (Pethick 1990, 60–1; Bryant 1994, 1–4).

Two geological resources in particular have been extensively exploited in recent centuries. First, alluvium (brickearth) has been dug for the manufacture of bricks and tiles, since the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Second, chalk was quarried for use as a low-grade building material (chalkstone) from pits at two principal locations in Barton. The first lay on the south-west outskirts, alongside Ferriby Road, where quarrying continued until the end of the nineteenth century. This commercial quarry opened *c.* 1790 and yielded 40,000–50,000 tons of chalkstone per annum, for building, export, and the production of whiting.³ The second quarry was on the south side of Barrow Road, just east of Bardney Hall; this lay on the vicarage glebe and its output was used primarily for ecclesiastical work. It was

closed before 1796. There is every likelihood that the quarry was of medieval origin, producing the chalk which is found in the churches (excluding the Victorian work, the chalk for which is known to have come from the commercial pit). The quarry is overgrown and largely infilled, but when inspected in 1982 it was still *c.* 8 m deep. Several other minor quarries lay on the Wolds (Pl. 7).

Blow-wells and springs

Associated with the junction between the chalk Wolds and the boulder clay are numerous artesian springs, known locally as 'blow-wells'. They occur at frequent intervals along the Humber bank and their source is rainwater that falls on the Wolds, percolates through fissures in the chalk, and is arrested by the underlying Upper Jurassic clay, which is impermeable. The water, then under considerable pressure, finds points of weakness just beyond the perimeter of the Wolds, where it erupts on the surface in a multiplicity of small jets. This visually striking phenomenon might well have been a source of wonder and veneration to early peoples. In 1697, de la Pryme observed: 'There is a well in Barton Fields that always rises and falls with the river Ank, now called Ankam, tho' the well is two or three yards perpendicular above the river, it being on the top of the wold.' (Jackson 1869, 142).

It is not surprising that settlements have grown up in close proximity to the blow-wells, since they supplied a more-or-less constant source of clean, fresh water. There is a group at Barrow-upon-Humber, and several in and around Barton (Fig. 138, lettered A–E). At the western extremity of the parish is Broadwell (A) and a little further east, alongside the old lower road to Ferriby, are the Shadwells (B). These emerge at *c.* 4 m O.D., just before the land dips into the marsh.

In the Middle Ages, and later, the natural supply was tapped at various points in Barton, and stone-lined wells were constructed. There was a modest spring within the western part of the town, at Junction Square (F), where the medieval Chapel-on-the-Well once stood (pp. 59–60). In the High Street, a short distance to the east, was another public well, while to the north-east was a spring which fed 'St Catherine's Well' (G; p. 61). There were numerous private wells too: *e.g.* a medieval chalk-lined well was discovered in Newport Street in 1967, and one with a limestone lining was uncovered in Soutergate in 2005.⁴

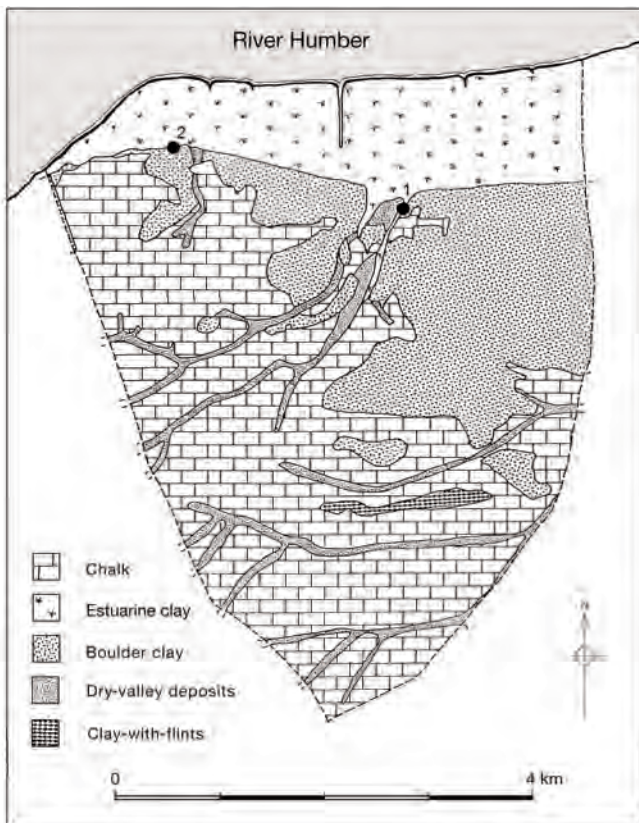


Fig. 137: The drift geology of Barton-upon-Humber parish, marking the two principal blow-wells. 1, The Beck; 2, Shadwells. After Bryant 1994

from the ground as excavation of the ditch proceeded (Fig. 153). It was not therefore surprising to find that a group of three artificial wells or tanks had later been dug into the filling of the ditch, which is at *c.* 6 m O.D. Also, it should be noted that the first bay of the medieval chancel has suffered from serious structural movement which would be consistent with unstable ground resulting from the emergence of springs here.⁷ At the extreme eastern end of the churchyard the soil again became drier, suggesting that the springs were confined to a narrow geological corridor.

Moving east again, two small springs rise in the grounds of Tyrwhitt Hall (H): one feeds a medieval fishpond, and the other lay nearby on the edge of a small copse which was marked on the 1796 Enclosure map ('Quickset Close', Figs. 18 and 151). It was also virtually at the centre of the sub-circular enclosure.⁸ Again, these were blow-wells, and until recent times jets of water could be seen rising in the bottom of the pond. East of Barton, further artesian springs emerge just above the marsh edge, at *c.* 4 m O.D., at South Marsh Farm (D),⁹ and finally, at the same O.D. level, there is the group of blow-wells at Barrow (E, 'Barrow Bogs'), on the south side of The Castles (Fig. 27).

The output of the springs has been adversely affected in modern times by building development, drainage schemes and pumping water for industrial consumption. This process was already well advanced by the

beginning of the twentieth century, and had been steadily growing since the late eighteenth. Early maps reveal that a block of properties had already encroached on the Beck from the south by 1796, and that that further infilling and building took place subsequently (Figs. 18 and 39). Writing at the turn of the twentieth century, Tombleson observed 'the level of water in the parish is much lower than it used to be, the strong springs on the east side of the Beck are almost all gone' (Fig. 141; Tombleson 1905, 26). Their fate had been sealed when the Barton-on-Humber Water Company was formed and a deep borehole sunk in 1897; this supplied a new reservoir, from which water was piped to premises throughout the town.¹⁰ Nevertheless, until the early 1980s, the Beck was regularly part-filled in the winter, and sometimes even overflowed, flooding the adjacent street (Soutergate) and cottages to the north (Pl. 6). It was commonplace to see small fountains of water bubbling up within the pond, but today the Beck is almost invariably dry because the water-table has been further lowered by extraction pumping. Moreover, its character as a shallow pond was destroyed by municipal landscaping in the 1980s, when the present low brick walls and railings were erected. A large quantity of soil and rubble was tipped into the Beck, leaving only a small wet area at the centre.

Streams and drains

In addition to the blow-wells, the many streams descending from the Wolds to the Humber marshes provided further sources of water, albeit seasonally fluctuating, which were less pure but useful for powering mills and strengthening the lines of defence that were established around Barton in the Middle Ages. None of the streams now remains open, and they have all either been culverted or have dried up. Also, the surface-water drainage from Barton is carried to the edge of the marsh, where it is now collected in a post-medieval dyke, known as Butts Drain, which runs east-west, discharging at the latter end into the head of the Haven (Fig. 4).

Six probable stream-lines traversing the town can be identified, two of which drained substantial valleys in the Wolds, while the others were minor watercourses (Fig. 138, nos 1–6). All have been canalized and no longer follow 'natural' courses: they discharge into Butts Drain (7). From east to west, the watercourses are:

1. Fletgate Drain. There appears to have been a streamgate running alongside Fletgate, and feeding into the Haven, but little is known about it. The stream, which entered the town at its south-west corner, may have been diverted to follow the earthwork defences along Castledyke West.
2. Bowmandale Drain (Figs. 18 and 31). This was one of the two substantial watercourses, descending from the Wolds in a north-north-eastwards

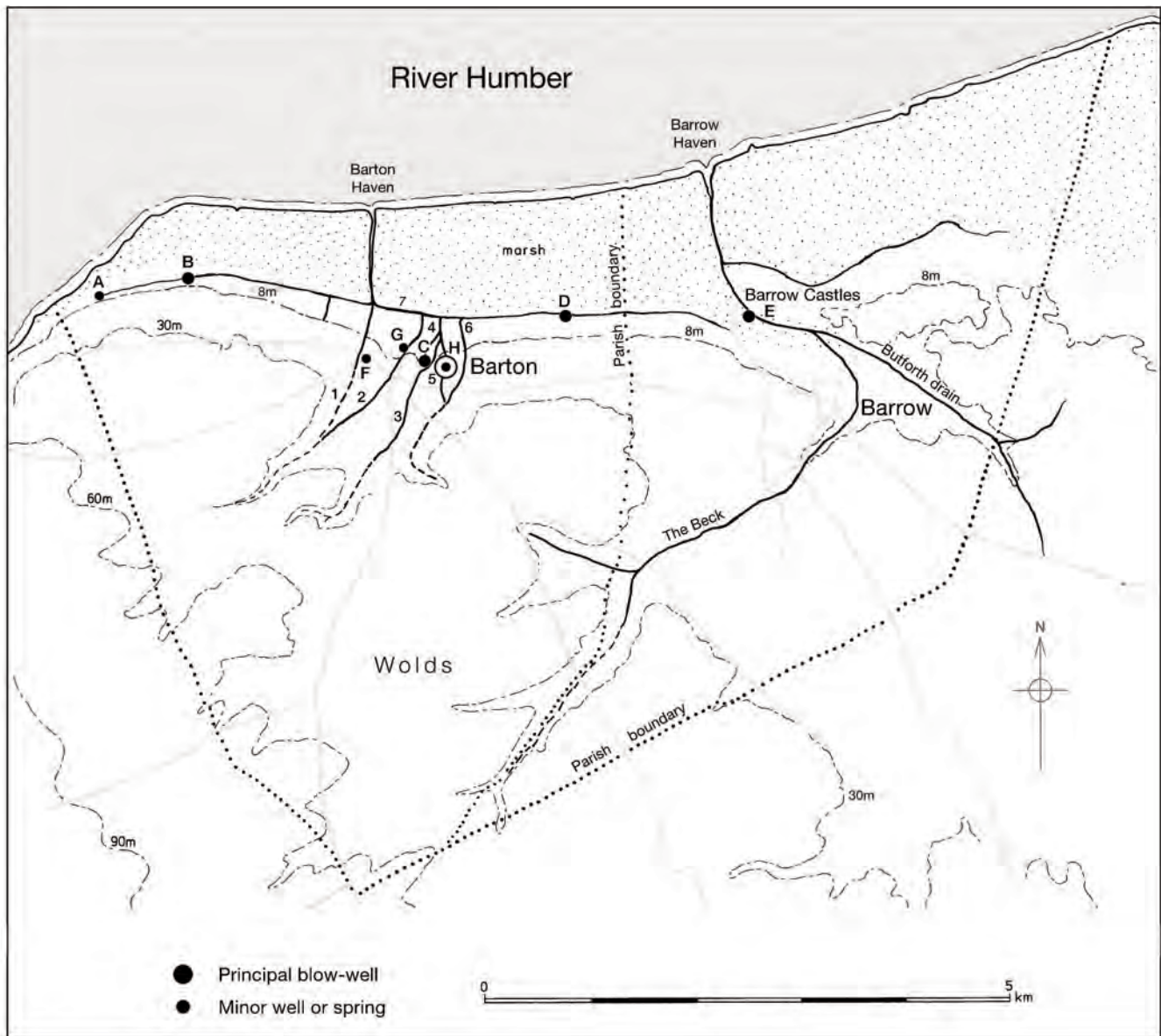


Fig. 138: The physical topography of Barton and Barrow parishes, showing blow-wells and watercourses. A Broadwell; B Shadwells; C The Beck; D South Marsh Farm; E Barrow Bogs; F Chapel-on-the-Well; G St Catherine's Well; H Tyrwhitt Hall springs. 1 Fleetgate Drain; 2 Bowmandale Drain; 3 Whitecross (Waterslacks) Drain; 4 Beck Drain; 5 Tyrwhitt Hall Drain; 6 Castledyke East; 7 Butts Drain. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

direction, and was open until the eighteenth century. Its culverted course is well recorded, entering Barton through the modern housing estate of Bowmandale. It then follows Vestry Lane, Cottage Lane and Marsh Lane, dog-legging across Chapel Lane and High Street *en route*. According to the 1796 Enclosure map, halfway along Marsh Lane the drain diverted sharply towards the west, before continuing to the marsh edge. This was doubtless contrived to circumvent the plot known as Tangarth, the site of a former tannery. In reality, the drain may have forked, with one channel continuing along the full length of Marsh Lane.

The pre-culverted course of the stream has been picked up at several points during archaeological watching briefs. Just north of Elm Tree

House (High Street) an active spring was encountered, suggestive of another small blow-well feeding into it.

3. Waterslacks or Whitecross Drain (Figs. 18 and 31). This was the other principal stream, and it ran roughly parallel to Bowmandale Drain. It is now piped, but was still open in the eighteenth century, and its course was plotted on the 1796 map and, more accurately, on another late eighteenth-century plan¹¹ (Fig. 39). The stream entered the town from the south, passing Baysgarth House and running down the east side of Whitecross Street (where it was labelled 'common sewer'), before crossing Barrow Road in a culvert, and re-emerging on the west side of Whitecross Street. There was a small bridge,

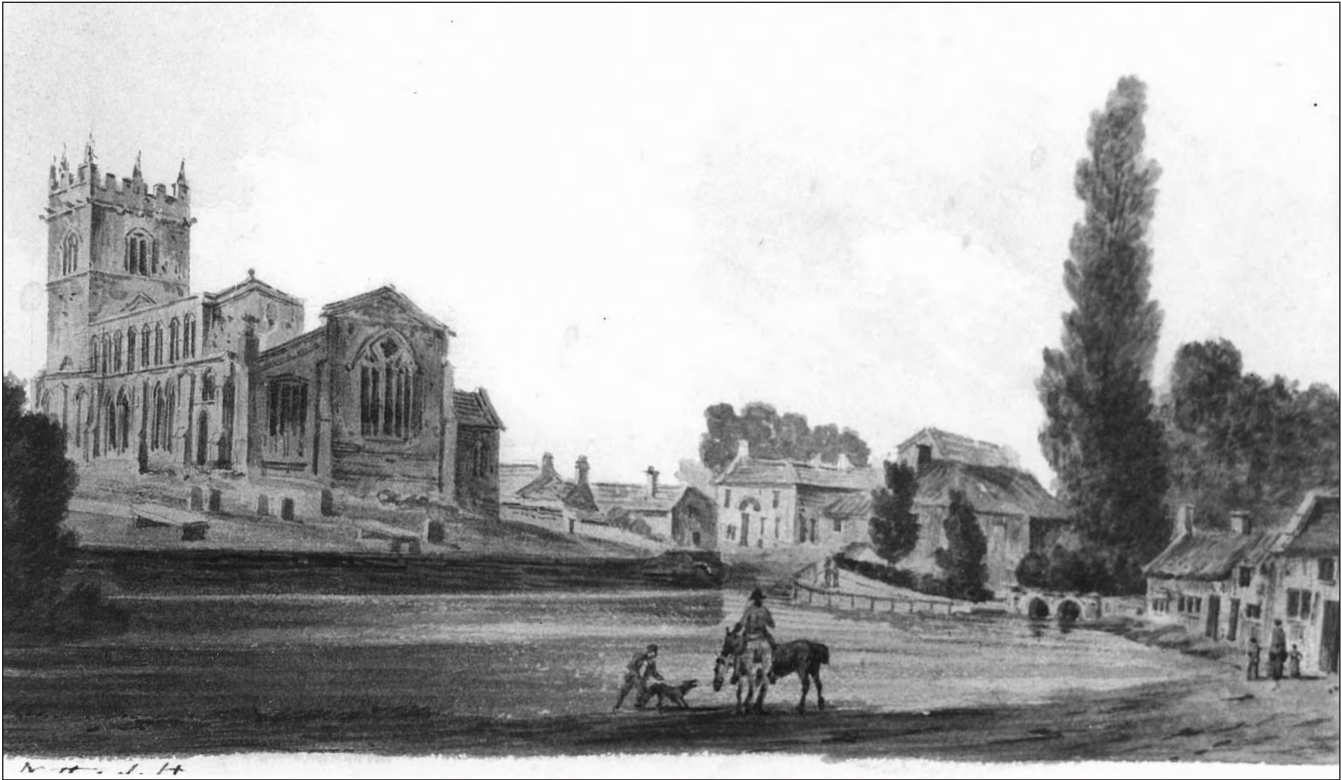


Fig. 139: Watercolour by Claude Nattes of St Mary's church with the Beck in the foreground, c. 1800. Photo: Lincoln Library Services. Reproduced from the Local Studies Collection, Lincoln Central Library, by courtesy of Lincolnshire County Council



Fig. 140: St Mary's church from the east with the Beck in the foreground, c. 1880. The remnants of the limestone ashlar revetting wall to the churchyard are clearly visible. Photo: English Heritage, NMR



Fig. 141: The Beck from the east, with a low water level. St Mary's is beyond, and Pasture Road (now Beck Hill) in the foreground. On the left, cottages and their gardens in Burgate have encroached on the pond. From a photograph of c. 1880(?). Courtesy of North Lincolnshire Museum Service (Ball, scrapbook 2)

known as Bondell or Bow Bridge, where the stream passed the end of Priestgate (Tomblason 1905, 22). At the north end of Whitecross Street the drain was again culverted, where it crossed Burgate and ran into Beck Hill. Anciently, the water would have discharged into the pond formed by the blow-well at the Beck. However, at an unknown date – and doubtless on account of the stream's function as an open sewer – it was diverted into a culvert that carried it around the east side of the Beck, past St Peter's church, and then down the east side of Pasture Road to the marshes.¹²

4. Beck Drain. The Beck had its own outlet on the north side, from whence the overflow ran to the marsh (Fig. 138). A brick footbridge of two arches in Soutergate spanned the outlet from the Beck (Figs. 40 and 139). For half of its length, the drain followed the edge of an orchard, to the site of the former Beck mill, which it powered, and thereafter ran down the west side of Pasture Road. The course of this drain across the marshes is well marked, and possibly represents a second, smaller haven (p. 160). It is said to have been a tidal inlet, up to the mill (Figs. 18, 19 and 136).
5. Tyrwhitt Hall Drain. An unnamed dyke is shown on the 1796 Enclosure map running north in a straight line from the junction between Caistor Road and Winship Lane, to Barrow Road, close to the junction with Green Lane (Fig. 4). On Hesleden's map of 1835 it is labelled 'Castle Dikes' (Fig. 19). The source of the supply was on the Wolds. After crossing Barrow Road in a culvert, the dyke swung eastwards, taking a curving

course past Tyrwhitt Hall, where it still forms the garden boundary. It traversed the Anglo-Saxon sub-circular enclosure, cutting off the western third (Fig. 151). The dyke ran north, along the east flank of Pasture Road. Whether it originally crossed that road, to join Beck Drain, is unclear.

Topographically, this dyke would appear to have been a medieval construction, potentially associated with the Norman defence of Barton on the east side. In part, it may have been a successor to Castledyke East (below).

6. Castledyke East. Topographical evidence points to the likelihood that the previous dyke represents a westward diversion of a stream that ran around the eastern perimeter of Barton. Alternatively, it could have been separately fed. Either way, its origin (south of Barrow Road) is uncertain but its line from Barrow Road to the marshes is well preserved and appears on the maps of 1796 and 1835 (labelled 'Castle Dikes' on the latter; Figs. 18 and 19).

The line may be wholly man-made and related to the earliest phase of eastern defences. That part of the dyke closest to Barrow Road was evidently realigned in the medieval period, and its earlier course, many times recut, was sectioned in 1999 in the garden immediately west of 'Seaforth' (Bradley 2002, 9). For full discussion of the defences, see pp. 31–4.

Barrow parish has a similar, although less complex, system of blow-wells and drains. There, the Wolds drained principally into two streams: Barrow Beck and Butforth Drain, which joined together and flowed into Barrow Haven (Fig. 138).

Early Settlement

Prehistoric (Period 1A)

The river Humber provided one of the primary ancient routes into eastern Britain from the North Sea, facilitating both trade and migration, the latter occurring particularly in prehistoric and Anglo-Saxon times. It is therefore not surprising to find extensive traces of settlement of all periods at frequent intervals along its banks. Five kilometres west of Barton lies the mouth of the river Ancholme, one of the major tributaries of the Humber; 10 km beyond that is the mouth of the Trent, from which access was gained to the Midlands region. The Ancholme was important both as a sheltered anchorage – the first to be arrived at in the Humber estuary, on the south bank – and as an easily accessible highway into north-west Lincolnshire.¹³ The density of settlement along the banks of the Ancholme and on the valley sides is impressive, as is the great number of finds of stone axe-heads and prehistoric metalwork, many of which are likely to represent votive offerings in watery contexts.¹⁴ The silts of the Ancholme valley have been especially conducive to the preservation of ancient timber structures, including trackways and boats, *e.g.* at South Ferriby and Brigg.¹⁵ There were clearly many crossing points, which in turn attracted

settlements that in some cases have lasted for several millennia. A study of the river crossings and their long-term effect on settlement patterns in the Witham valley, south-east of Lincoln, provides a potential model for similar research in the Ancholme valley (Stocker and Everson 2003).

Communication over land was no less important, and several certain and probable prehistoric trackways and Roman roads, covering long distances, are discernible in the topography of Lincolnshire. No less than six routes arriving from the south and south-east converge on the Humber in the vicinity of Winterringham, South Ferriby and Barton (Fig. 142).¹⁶ All were doubtless aiming for crossings at various periods. At least three, and probably four, of these routes are likely to have pre-Roman origins. The westernmost is the Jurassic Way, which hugs the Lincolnshire Limestone Edge from Lincoln to Winterringham, passing the major settlement at Dragonby *en route*. East of the Ancholme, and closer to Barton, is the 'Wolds Low Road' which runs along the foot of the Wolds escarpment, past a string of archaeological sites, ending up at the Iron Age settlement on the foreshore at South Ferriby. Not far to the east is another road potentially of prehistoric origin – Middlegate Lane – which runs along the crest of the Wolds, and also arrives at South Ferriby. Finally, there

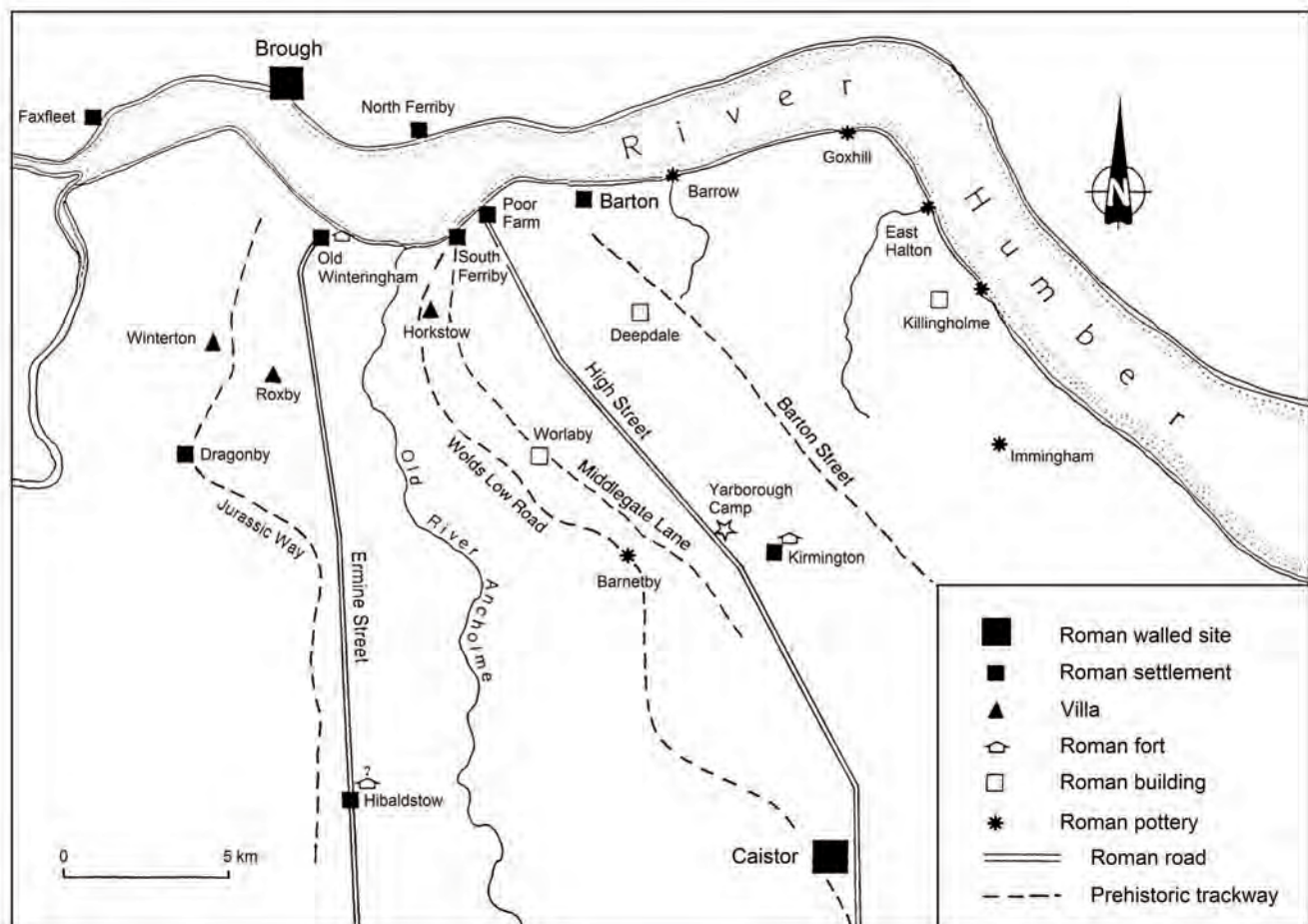


Fig. 142: Map showing prehistoric and Roman routes converging on the Humber bank, and major settlements in the vicinity of Barton. Adapted from Bryant 1994 and 2006

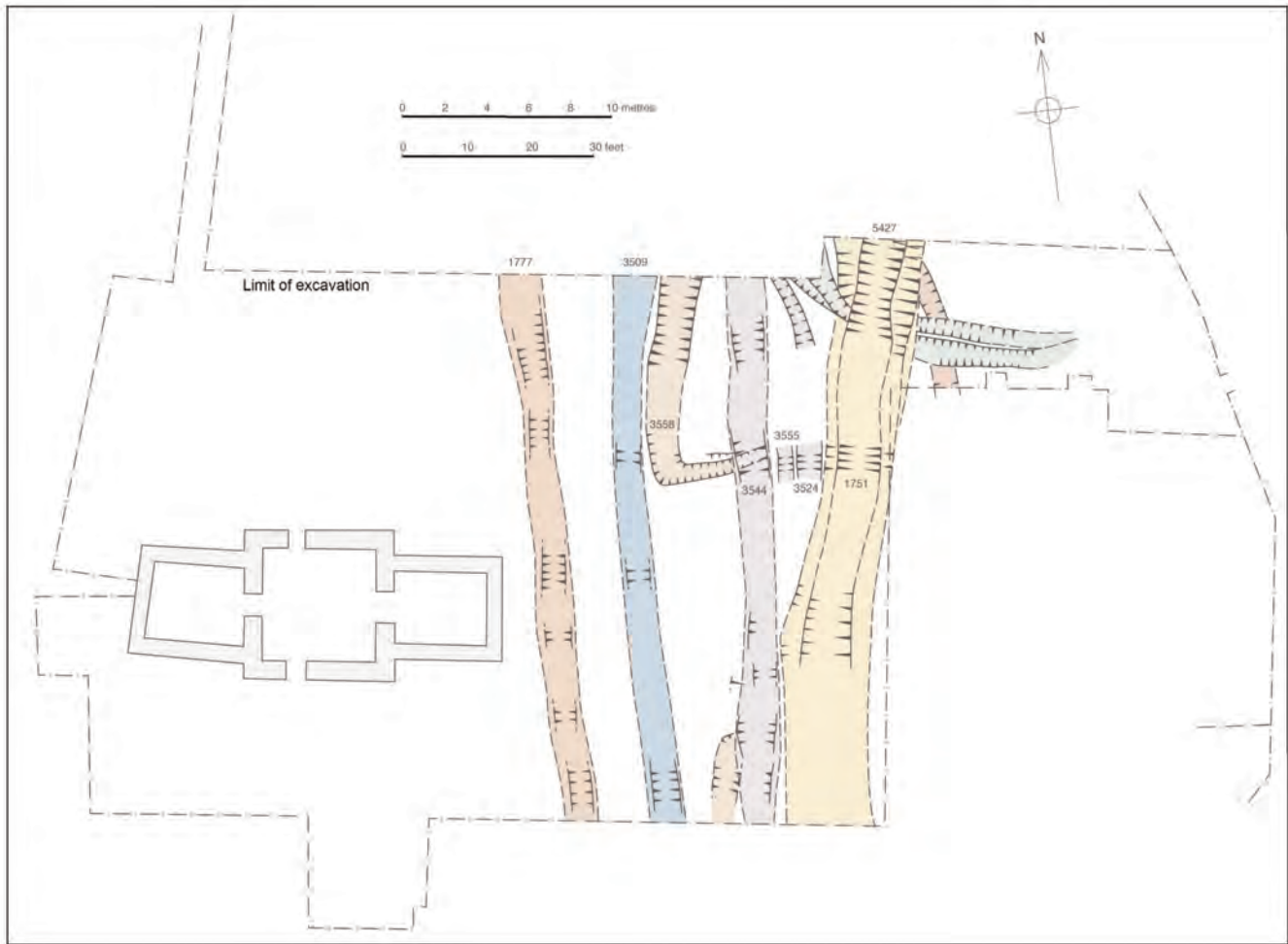


Fig. 143: Plan of ditches (prehistoric to early Anglo-Saxon) recorded in the excavation at St Peter's. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

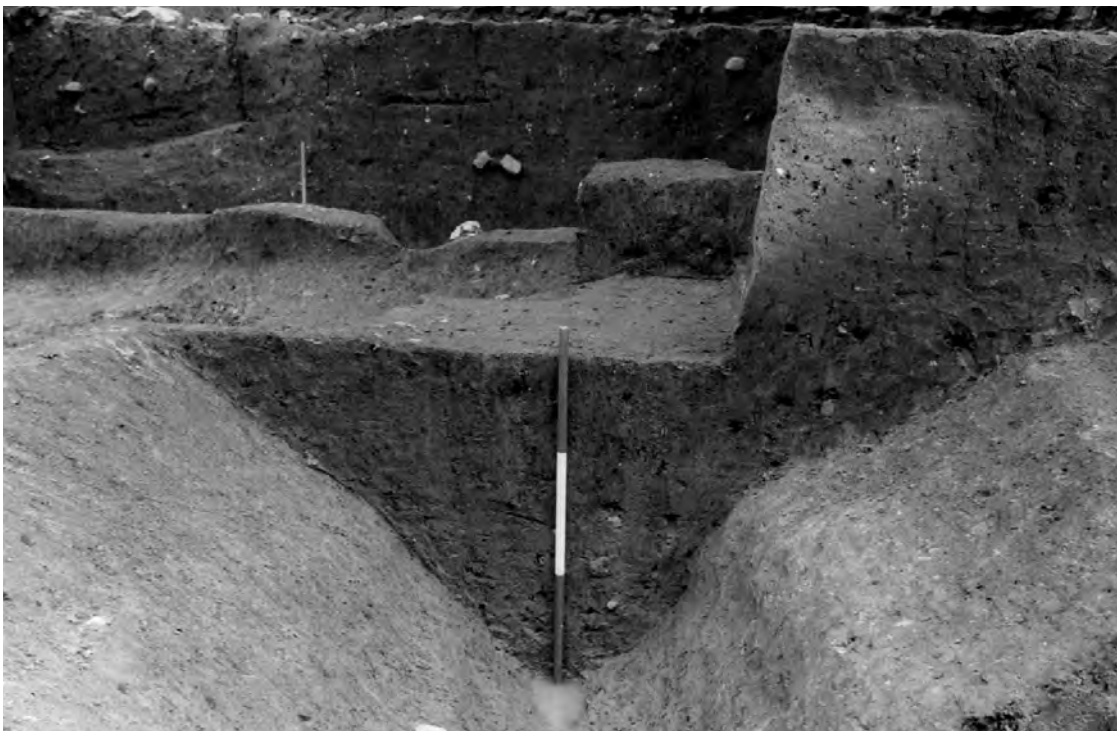


Fig. 144: Excavated section of an early ditch (F1777) in Area 11. View south. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

is Barton Street which carefully follows the eastern edge of the Wolds, from its origin somewhere near the mouth of the Wash, to Barton-upon-Humber.

Although pre-Roman settlement in north Lincolnshire is well attested, and several extensive and important Iron Age sites have been excavated, such as Dragonby (May 1996), nothing comparable has been discovered in the immediate area around Barton and Barrow. Scatters of prehistoric flints and other stone artefacts have been found at several locations in the two parishes, but no significant centre of occupation has yet been pinpointed on the lower ground, although indications of an Iron Age settlement have recently been found south-west of the town. The evidence includes several pits and a round-house.¹⁷ By contrast, the rising ground of the Wolds, including the associated dry valleys descending towards the Humber, have yielded cropmark evidence of multi-period settlements, in addition to many surface finds. Imprecise accounts also mention destroyed barrows on the Wolds, as well as several beside the medieval fortification known as Barrow Castles.¹⁸ An area of high archaeological potential exists on the western boundary of Barton parish, adjacent to South Ferriby, where the chalk Wold extends to the Humber bank. Here, at the end of the High Street trackway, is an important Iron Age settlement; and a late Neolithic Beaker was found nearby in 1973, which was probably associated with a burial under a barrow (Bryant 1994, 8). The catalogue of finds of Iron Age and Roman metalwork from Ferriby Cliff is impressive and points to the likelihood of a late Celtic and Roman temple site on a slight promontory overlooking the Humber.¹⁹

Only two items of prehistoric metalwork have been recorded in Barton parish: a palstave of the Middle Bronze Age was found at Barton Cliff, not far from the South Ferriby site, and the blade of a Late Bronze Age sword was recovered from a clay pit on the west side of the Haven in 1895. Found at a depth of 8 ft (2.4 m), this is likely to have been a votive deposit in marshland (Bryant 1994, 9).

Tantalizing traces of an earthwork with an interrupted ditch were discovered during excavations on rising ground at Castledyke South (Fig. 146): it was possibly a large enclosure (up to *c.* 175 m across) of early prehistoric origin, but further exploration is necessary before firm conclusions can be drawn (Drinkall and Foreman 1998, 23–4). As Bryant (1994, 11) has noted, Barton Street appears to head directly towards that enclosure. Many settlement sites must await discovery, and excavations in advance of industrial development at Glebe Farm, on the river terrace east of Barton, revealed a Roman farmstead that evidently had Iron Age origins since a pit was found containing pre-Roman material (Steedman 1992; Bryant 1994, 11).

The earliest horizon encountered in the excavations at St Peter's was a buried topsoil (F1736) overlying the natural boulder clay: it occurred intermittently on islands surviving between deep features of Anglo-Saxon and

later date. The best-preserved areas were under the nave of the church, where the full soil profile was present in some places. The topsoil was brown silty loam, becoming lighter towards the bottom; it contained few stones, some fragments of animal bone and occasional sherds of Roman and Anglo-Saxon pottery. The topsoil had clearly been cultivated and some of the earliest features on site had fillings that were visually indistinguishable from it; this, together with the fact that in most areas the buried soil horizon was truncated, rendered it difficult to determine whether cultivation occurred before or after the cutting of those features. On balance, the last phase of cultivation appears to have been early Saxon.

However, certain features were unambiguously sealed by the cultivated soil, and these included a pair of modest ditches (1.2 m wide) on a north–south axis across the middle of the site (F1777 and F3509); they ran parallel, with a gap of *c.* 2.7 m between them (Figs. 143 and 144). They probably defined a track or drove-way. Immediately adjacent on the east was an enclosure ditch (F3558), the south-west corner of which fell within the excavation. That in turn was cut by another ditch (F3544) running on a north–south course; there was possibly an entrance through this. These features could all be late prehistoric, but no more can be said in the absence of datable finds from their fills.

A sparse scatter of worked flint (168 pieces) was found during the excavations, and included cores, flakes and implements; all were recovered from residual contexts. Although not particularly diagnostic, a small amount of material is likely to be of later Mesolithic date, while the remainder is attributable to the Neolithic and Bronze Age (chapter 17, 1034–7). Up to five undistinguished potsherds may be prehistoric.

Roman (Period 1B)

North Lincolnshire is rich in structural remains and casual finds of the Roman period.²⁰ Ermine Street, an important military route into north-east Britain (and successor to the Jurassic Way), ran along the limestone ridge between the Trent and the Ancholme, from Lincoln to the Humber, where a ferry operated between Old Winteringham and Brough-on-Humber (Fig. 142). Both places originated as forts and subsequently spawned extensive settlements (Wacher 1969; Stead 1976; Whitwell 1983b). That crossing was not, however, convenient for north-east Lincolnshire on account of the marshy Ancholme valley, which separated the area from Winteringham. As already noted, the chalk Wolds of eastern Lincolnshire extend to the Humber bank, forming cliffs at South Ferriby, and stretching into the western margin of Barton parish; here, at Poor Farm, lay another river crossing which was approached by an under-studied Roman road from the south-south-east, known as High Street.

This road linked the small Roman towns of Caistor and Horncastle – and their hinterland – with a crossing of the Humber. It also passed alongside Yarborough

Camp, an enigmatic earthwork close to Kirmington. Later, the same road formed part of the middle Saxon estate boundary on the west side of Barton, and also served as the boundary between numerous parishes (p. 162; Fig. 157). Clearly, it was a major component in the landscape for two millennia, if not longer.

High Street was not lined with Roman settlements, which may indicate that, like Ermine Street, it was essentially a military road. At its riverside destination, Poor Farm, only a very small amount of archaeological exploration has taken place, locating one masonry building; surface evidence, however, indicates a sizeable settlement.²¹ A Roman cremation urn was found nearby during quarrying in 1828, and was the first reported Roman-period find from Barton; it was illustrated on the title-page of Ball 1856.²² A flexed inhumation of unknown date was also reported. Moving east from Poor Farm, no evidence has yet been found to indicate a major settlement with masonry buildings at either Barton or Barrow in the Roman period, and it is unlikely that there was a significant crossing of the Humber in this vicinity, on account of the wide belt of marshland. Evidence for farmsteads and smaller settlements is not, however, lacking, both on the foreshore and inland.

Fragments of Roman pottery and tile have been recovered from the Humber foreshore at Barton, Barrow, Goxhill, and other parishes further east. These finds potentially indicate that riverside settlements have been inundated, although if this were the case it is curious that very little material has been reported from the vast brickearth pits that have been responsible for the destruction of several square kilometres of the alluvial plain in modern times. More likely, the casual finds from the Humber bank are derived from seasonal activities and salt-winning sites that stretched along the inter-tidal zone, and have now either been washed away, or lie buried beneath post-medieval sea-walls.²³

Stray finds of Roman pottery, coins and other artefacts have been made at various locations in Barton and Barrow, but excavations have taken place only on two minor settlements in the former parish, both probably farmsteads. There was a small settlement immediately to the east and north-east of St Peter's church, beneath Tyrwhitt Hall and the housing estate in East Acridge (Fig. 2). Investigations made when building was in progress in 1967–68 revealed ditches and a trackway 4.5 m wide running south-south-east to north-north-west (*i.e.* pointing towards Pasture Road and the marshes).²⁴ Finds of tile, glass and pottery spanned the Roman centuries. One potsherd is of particular interest, being from a shallow bowl with leaf-stamped decoration in the base; its origin has not been traced, and although it could be imported it is more likely to be a product of one of the British factories that turned out small numbers of unusual stamped wares (Todd 1968). Roman pottery has also been collected from the grounds of Tyrwhitt Hall and other gardens in the vicinity.

The excavations at St Peter's church failed to locate any features that were unequivocally of Roman date,

although some of the ditches and gullies might be. The paucity of stratified finds hinders dating. Nevertheless, the excavations yielded a thin scatter of pottery (representing seventy-five vessels; pp. 1042–3), a third-century coin (a base *antoninianus* of Gallienus, AD 260–68; p. 1002, no. 1) and a small quantity of Roman tile. The last included bonding tile, box-flue tile, tegula and imbrex. The presence of these four main types, together with the fact that Roman mortar was found adhering to a bonding tile, indicates a building in the vicinity that was at least of part-masonry construction, and had heating flues. The evidence is consistent with St Peter's church being just beyond the western limit of the settlement centred on East Acridge and Tyrwhitt Hall. A similar situation applies to the site excavated next to 'Seaforth' in Barrow Road: that lies just east of the Roman settlement and has yielded only a modest scatter of related finds (Bradley 2002). All indications point to a Romano-British farmstead at Tyrwhitt Hall, with the house, or bath-house, of part-masonry construction.

A second Roman settlement in this part of Barton lies only 1 km east of Tyrwhitt Hall, at Glebe Farm. Here, in 1992, a sizeable excavation revealed a rectilinear pattern of enclosure ditches, within which were identified the sites of several timber buildings; there were also trackways present, one pointing towards the settlement at East Acridge (Steedman 1992; Bryant 1994, fig. 3.6).

The occasional Roman-period find has been made within the town, the most impressive being a bronze trumpet brooch in Queen Street (Bryant 1994, fig. 3.7). More prolific finds have, however, turned up in the Wold valleys on the south-west side of the town: there were settlements on the site of Bowmandale School and close to Horkstow Road. In 1983 the latter yielded a hoard of seventy-nine silver coins which had been deposited *c.* AD 260 (Burnett and Williams 1986). Higher up on the Wolds to the south of Barton, and running eastwards into Barrow parish, is a fairly even spread of occupation sites and chance finds of the Roman period. Cropmarks and surface collections indicate prehistoric and Roman settlements at Deepdale and Dudmandale, and in Barrow Vale. There were masonry buildings at Deepdale (Fig. 142), which is potentially a major site (Whitwell 1983a; 1988), and in 1979 a hoard of 238 silver coins, deposited in the early fifth century, was found here (Burnett and Whitwell 1981).

The economy of the Barton area in the Roman period was undoubtedly based mainly on agriculture, and most of the finds to date are compatible with a dispersed settlement of farmsteads, not unlike that of the Middle Ages and later. However, the presence of two silver coin-hoards argues for settlement of a higher social order on the Wolds than that on the littoral. Substantial villas are already known not far away, at Horkstow, Worlaby, Roxby and Winterton. Another may yet await discovery at Deepdale: the aisled building excavated here may be only one component of a complex site.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that although St Peter's church contains recycled Roman building materials in its fabric, this cannot be taken to imply that the church is on, or even close to, the site of a Roman masonry structure. The numerous blocks of Pennine gritstone present in the tower and western annexe are clearly derived from a major Roman structure, and similar reused material has been noted in several other churches along the Humber bank. The primary Roman source of the gritstone blocks in this local group of churches is unresolved: they could have come from a lost structure at Winteringham, or further afield. Either way, they do not shed any light on Barton in the Roman period. For discussion of the recycled Roman building materials, see pp. 321–7.

Anglo-Saxon Settlements and Cemeteries (Period 1C)

In the early Anglo-Saxon period the Humber once again acted as a highway for continental migrants into eastern Britain, and it was also the boundary between two early English kingdoms: Deira to the north and Lindsey to the

south. The pre-Viking era lacks effective documentation, and our understanding of the history of the area has to be assembled from archaeological sources. Viking-period archaeology is equally elusive. Early place-name elements, however, contribute useful pointers. As is so often the case in eastern England, the presence of early Anglo-Saxon settlers is heralded principally through their burials. The coastal and riverine distribution of both cremation and inhumation cemeteries of the pagan period in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire provides ample testimony to the arrival of Germanic folk in the fifth, sixth and early seventh centuries.²⁵ Sometime during this period, northern and central Lincolnshire emerged in the annals of English history as the small and shadowy kingdom of Lindsey (Leahy 2007a). We shall begin by describing relevant sites in the Barton area.

Cemetery at Castledyke South

For the early (pagan) Anglo-Saxon period, the major site on the south bank of the Humber is the Anglian inhumation cemetery at Castledyke South, in the centre of Barton (Figs. 2 and 145, site 9). It lies on the

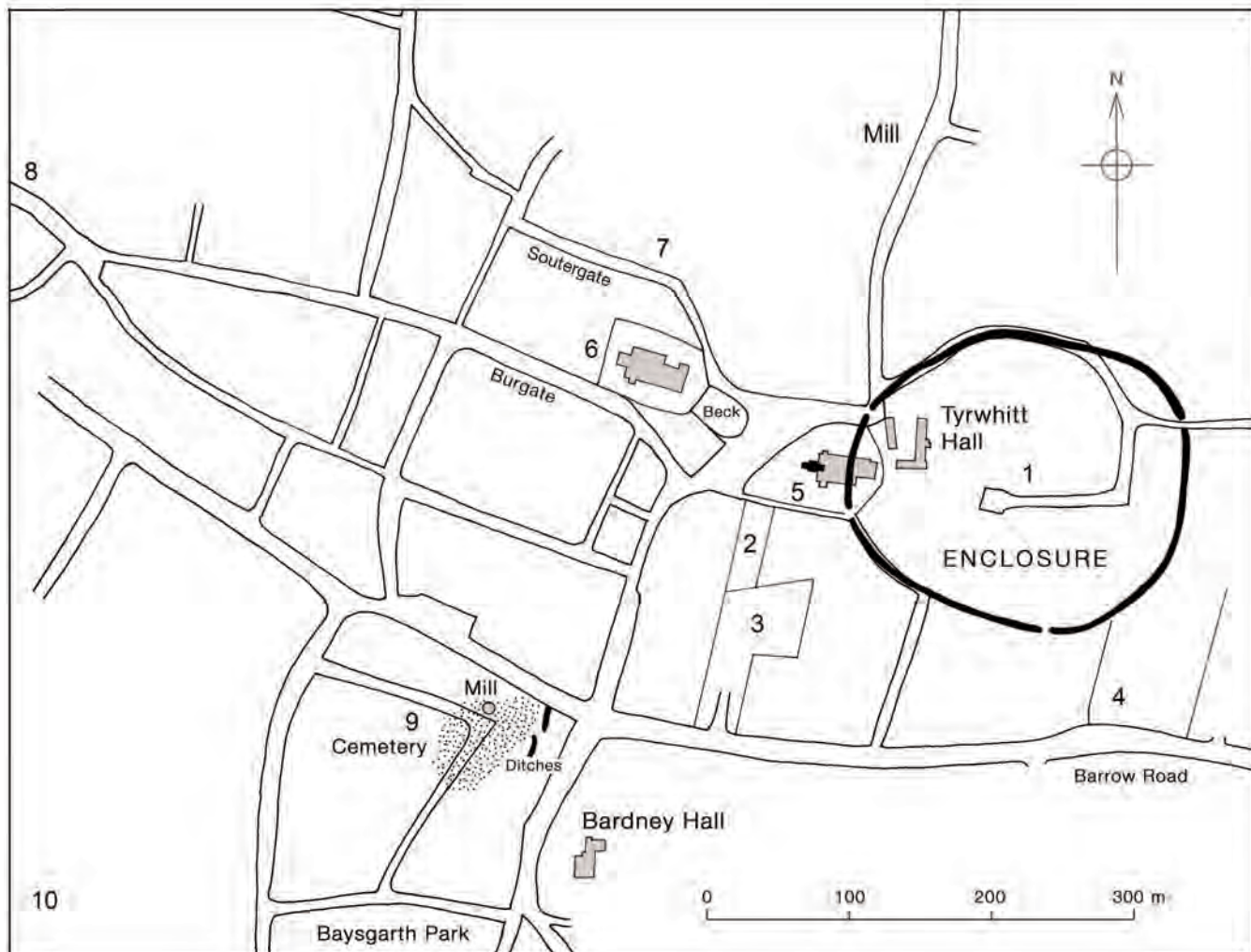


Fig. 145: Map showing sites and finds of the Anglo-Saxon period in Barton. 1. East Acridge housing estate; 2. New Vicarage; 3. Church Close; 4. Barrow Road site (Seaforth); 5. St Peter's churchyard; 6. St Mary's churchyard; 7. St Mary's Works, Soutergate; 8. 80 High Street; 9. Castledyke South cemetery; 10. Bowmandale housing estate. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 146: Castledyke South. Excavation plan of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery. The ditch of the prehistoric earthwork (shown in pink) appears to form the eastern boundary of the cemetery. The four graves with radiocarbon dates are indicated in green (graves 5, 15, 54 and 84). After Drinkall and Foreman 1998

west side of Whitecross Street, only 250 m south-west of St Peter's church. Excavated sporadically between 1939 and 1990, several areas of this cemetery have been sampled and altogether have yielded in excess of 227 burials (Fig. 146; Drinkall and Foreman 1998). These represent an unknown fraction of the total, but it seems likely that at least four hundred interments took place here between the late fifth and the early eighth centuries, and that they were potentially contained within the eastern part of the large prehistoric enclosure mentioned above (p. 149). Disused earthworks seem often to have been chosen for Anglo-Saxon burial grounds (Williams 1997, fig. 6). One urned cremation was also recovered from the enclosure ditch; this is unlikely to have been a singleton, and therefore a phase of cremation burial may yet be discovered.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to chart the development of the Castledyke cemetery spatially: it seems that there were initially several discrete foci, which

developed independently, and then coalesced. Some graves were plainly laid out in rows, while others were distinguished by tight clustering. In three cases, a large and well-appointed grave seems to have been the focus of a cluster, and it has been argued that these 'special' burials were perhaps further distinguished by having earthen mounds erected over them (Drinkall and Foreman 1998, 355). Orientation varied considerably, although many of the later graves tended towards a west-east alignment, with the head always to the west. Equally variable was the provision and nature of grave-goods: many burials were furnished, but others (including some of the latest) had nothing accompanying them. A move towards ordered rows, rather than focal clusters, seems also to be a late feature, and has been interpreted as, potentially, the result of Christianizing influences. Indeed, it is highly plausible that some of the later burials were those of Christians.²⁶

The Castledyke cemetery was associated with a community of considerable affluence, as the quality and diversity of the grave-goods attests: weapons, jewellery, craft implements, vessels of bronze, glass, pottery and wood, and other personal possessions. The inclusion of four exceptionally rare finds marks this out as a high-status cemetery.²⁷ The occurrence of a bronze hanging-bowl in a grave is always noteworthy, the more so at Barton because there were two graves with them (Bruce-Mitford and Raven 2005). At least fifteen of these bowls have been recovered from rich Anglo-Saxon graves in Lincolnshire, including one beneath the church of St Paul-in-the-Bail, Lincoln (Brenan 1991; Bruce-Mitford 1993). It has recently been argued that hanging-bowls were deposited in the 'final phase' of Anglo-Saxon furnished burial, and that the graves containing those at Barton date from the late seventh or early eighth century (Geake 1999; Leahy 2007a, 86–90). New light was shed on this transitional era in 2003, when a royal burial was found at Prittlewell (Essex) containing a large assemblage of grave goods, including a hanging-bowl, an inscribed Byzantine silver spoon, and gold-foil crosses: all these items proclaim Christianity (Hirst 2004; Anon. 2004; I. Blair 2007).

The third exceptional find from the Castledyke South cemetery was a bronze bowl with a tripod base and drop-handles; ultimately of Coptic derivation, this was a Frankish import from the Rhineland (Watkin 1980). Few are known from graves in England, but two were found in royal burials under Cologne Cathedral (Ellis Davidson and Webster 1967). Again, the Prittlewell burial contributes to the picture, since it too included a Coptic bowl with drop-handles and a footring.

The fourth, and in many ways the most remarkable, find was a bronze balance and accompanying weights. These are a rare class of object, with a specialist use, and they are best known from Merovingian Gaul. Apart from Barton, balances with weights have only been found in a group of five graves in east Kent, and one at Watchfield (Oxon.). Additionally, several other finds of balances, whole or incomplete, have been reported (Scull 1990). Accompanying the Barton scales were eight 'weights': these comprised a miscellany of pieces of metal which included two Roman bronze coins and, most remarkably, a circular bronze die which had been made for striking bracteates (*i.e.* medallions, which were usually of gold). Various views have been opined as to the specific uses to which these balances were put, by whom, and why they should occur in burials. The consensus is that they were used by goldsmiths and moneyers who needed to weigh, or compare, small quantities of precious metals. The discovery of the bracteate die with the Barton scales provides strong support for the identification of the burial as that of a goldsmith. Little gold of the period has so far been discovered in the Barton area, but its former presence is attested by items such as the fragment of filigree work, potentially from a belt-plate, found at Alkborough.²⁸

From the nature of the Castledyke South cemetery and the origin of some of its grave goods, there can be little doubt that the people initially buried there were not indigenous to Britain. The objects point to close connections with Frankish Gaul, either directly or via Kent, where the majority of comparable items have been found. A suggestion that the objects of continental origin were imported first to Kent, and subsequently 're-imported' to Barton is difficult to accept. However one interprets the mechanics, the cemetery is truly exceptional and must reflect a high-status community living at Barton in the sixth and seventh centuries.

In the published report, the dating of the Castledyke South burials was entirely based on art-historical and stratigraphic grounds (Drinkall and Foreman 1998). Establishing the temporal relationship between this cemetery and that at St Peter's was deemed vital, and hence an attempt was made in 2001 to assess more precisely the age of some of the latest graves at Castledyke, through radiocarbon dating. Four skeletons were selected for investigation.²⁹

Grave 5 Date: *cal. AD 600–660 (UB-4643)*³⁰
A female supine burial, aligned west–east, with the hands on the stomach and the elbows projecting. This posture is precisely replicated in Christian burials at St Peter's church. A small fragment of an iron ?hook on the chest may have been associated with clothing.

Grave 15 Date: *cal. AD 655–695 (UB-4644)*
A female supine burial, aligned WNW–ESE, with one hand on the stomach and the elbows projecting. A plain copper-alloy pin with a flattened ring-head was found on the rib-cage, and was potentially one of a linked pair (the other was not recovered); also, a pair of copper-alloy lace-tags was found at the ankles.

Grave 54 Date: *cal. AD 600–660 (UB-4645)*
A male supine burial, aligned WNW–ESE, with the arms close to the rib-cage and the hands on the pelvis; potentially coffined (no metal fittings). An iron knife lay on the pelvis and an iron penannular brooch came from an unrecorded position in the grave.

Grave 84 Date: *cal. AD 660–775 (UB-4646)*
A ?female supine burial, aligned west–east, with the arms flexed, one on the chest and the other on the stomach; this could possibly have been coffined. A piece of copper-alloy wire, roughly bent to form a circle (too large for a finger-ring) was found in the grave, but not in contact with the body.

Three of these graves are firmly datable to the seventh century, and one perhaps to the eighth; the posture and paucity of grave goods point to their being 'final phase' burials in this supposedly pagan cemetery.

Cemetery at Poor Farm

There seems to have been a second cemetery on the western boundary of Barton, at Poor Farm, where metal detecting has brought to light finds of bronze

brooches, clasps and a girdle-hanger; these commonly occur in early Saxon graves and have undoubtedly come from disturbed inhumations (Leahy 1993a, 39).

Settlement sites

Locating a nearby settlement to match the status of the Castledyke South cemetery has hitherto proved elusive. The integrity of the cemetery and the distinction of its contents do not support the notion that it was a place of collective burial serving a wide area. Nor does it lie in a topographically remote place, on a parish or estate boundary, where such an interpretation might be plausible. Before looking too far afield, it is well to review the possibilities for an early Saxon settlement within present-day Barton. First, it should be noted that there is a very considerable area of archaeologically unexplored ground to the south of the cemetery, in Baysgarth Park (Fig. 2). Second, an equally large area lies to the east, encompassing Bardney Hall, a school and playing fields. Moreover, some of this land has been subjected to small-scale quarrying in the past, which would have destroyed insubstantial archaeological evidence. Both these areas of potential interest are on rising ground, well suited to settlement, and they exhibit traces of undated earthworks (pp. 51–1).

Various early Anglo-Saxon finds have been made in the parish, but not all have been adequately reported (Loughlin and Miller 1979, 186) (Fig. 145). They include a Merovingian gold *tremissis*.³¹ On the western boundary, a settlement at Poor Farm has yielded a surface scatter, but that has its own associated cemetery and can probably be discounted. South-west of the Castledyke South cemetery lies the extensive Bowmandale housing estate, where hand-made Anglo-Saxon pottery has been found, but no archaeological exploration undertaken. Potentially the most promising area is, however, north of Barrow Road, around St Peter's church and Tyrwhitt Hall, which was later to become the seat of the medieval manor. Small but significant quantities of early Saxon pottery have been found at five locations hereabouts, four of which have yielded vestigial remains of timber buildings. Finally, undated features revealed during development in St Mary's churchyard are likely to be Anglo-Saxon.

The sites may be examined in turn (Fig. 145).

1. East Acridge

Sherds of hand-made Anglo-Saxon pottery and part of a bone comb were found during housing development on the Roman site here in 1967–68.³² The pottery is primarily of middle Saxon date. The fragmentary remains of a fired-clay structure (?oven) were also attributed to the Anglo-Saxon period.

2. New Vicarage, Beck Hill

Two trenches were excavated in 1981 in the vegetable garden of the old vicarage, prior to the construction of a new vicarage on the site.³³ Evidence was found for

large timber buildings in the form of beam-slots and stone-packed postholes. Gravel metalling and a complex of ditches were also present.

3. Church Close, Barrow Road

Trial excavations were carried out in 1990 in advance of the erection of a close of houses on land immediately south of the extended St Peter's churchyard (formerly the grounds of Whitecross House, later Birkett's Garage).³⁴ Only three small trenches were opened at the northern end of this extensive site, but remains of Anglo-Saxon timber buildings, pits and ditches were found, together with other features of much later date. However, the excavations were on too small a scale to reveal the plans of structures, or the general layout.

A particularly interesting find was a large block of Pennine gritstone with axe-dressing and a Lewis hole of Roman type; it was suggested by the excavators that this had been used as a padstone. Almost certainly, the block came from St Peter's church, where it would once have been incorporated in the Anglo-Saxon fabric (pp. 320–2).

4. Barrow Road (west of 'Seaforth')

An excavation was conducted in 1999–2000 on a building plot adjacent to the grounds of 'Seaforth', a property on the north side of Barrow Road (Fig. 151). The investigation revealed fragmentary remains of timber buildings and other features, including evidence for iron smithing (Bradley 2002), but again the work was on too small a scale to yield building plans or a worthwhile understanding of the site layout. The pottery recovered was mainly late Saxon, but middle Saxon wares were also present.

5. St Peter's church

Remains of gravel metalling were encountered in many areas of the excavation within the church, mostly surviving on small islands between later graves (Fig. 147). Few traces were found externally at the west end, but more survived on the north side. The metalling invariably comprised a thin layer of river gravel and small nodules of chalk, 10–20 mm in thickness, with a smooth, flat surface. The evenness and consistency of the surface was everywhere notable, there being no ruts, potholes or other evidence of wheeled or animal traffic. It is therefore concluded that these were the remains of well-laid floors of several timber buildings, and perhaps also scatters of gravel between them. In some areas the gravel overlay, and was pressed into, the buried topsoil (F1736), while elsewhere it formed a layer in the base of a slightly sunken feature cut into the boulder clay. Defined edges to the gravel were few, but in two instances there were emplacements for sill-beams. Several small postholes were also recorded. The principal elements were:

- i) Excavation within the nave of the church (Areas 1, 4 and 5) revealed a more-or-less continuous but patchy floor (F1633) extending eastwards to the

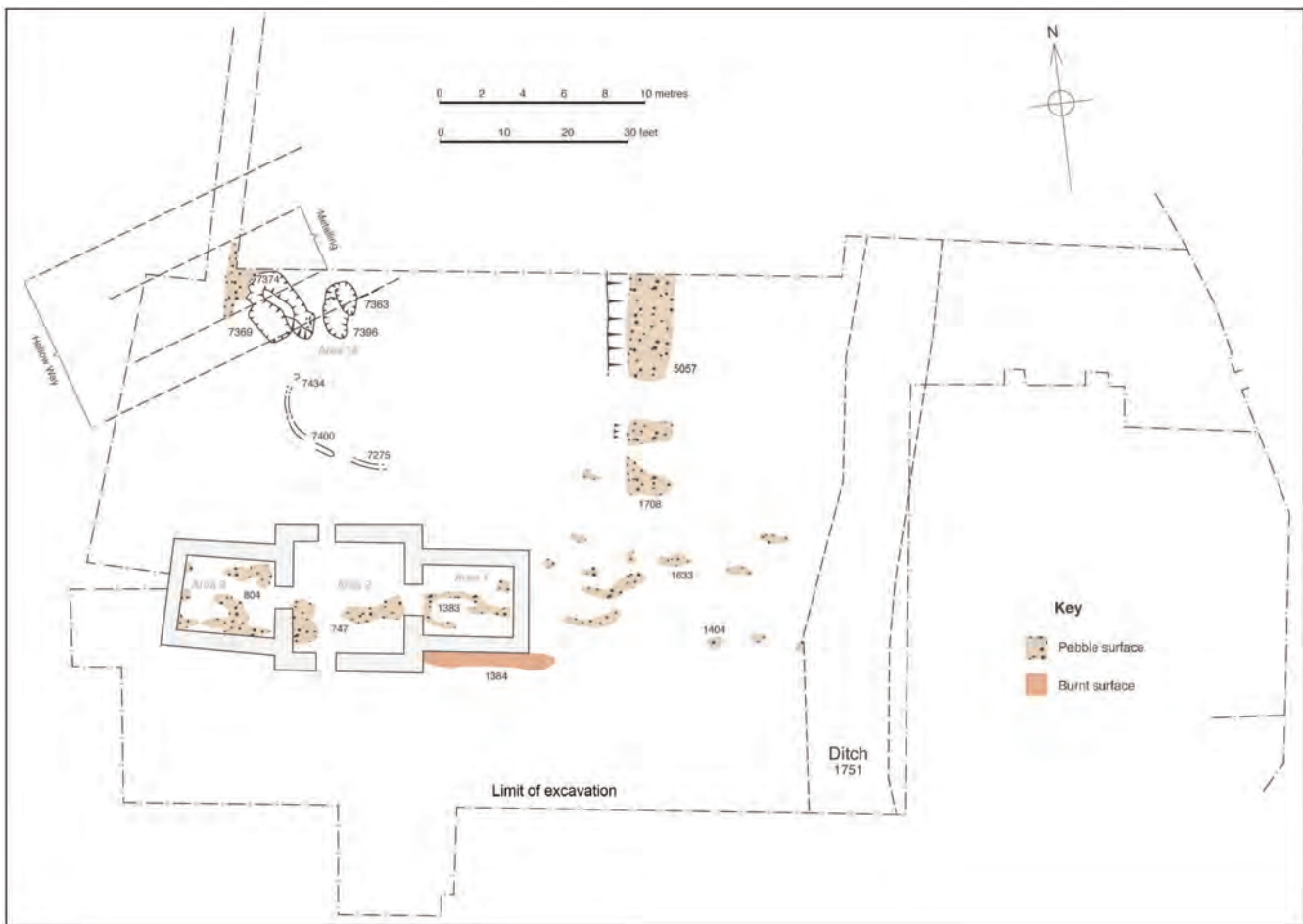


Fig. 147: Plan showing survival of metallated surfaces and related features, all probably of middle Saxon date. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

point where it was truncated by the ditch of the sub-circular enclosure (F1751; see below, p. 159). The maximum thickness of the floor was 30 mm, and in one small area it was overlain by a lens of soil, above which was a second layer of gravel (only one pebble in thickness). This indicates that a secondary floor had been laid down. Trodden into the primary surface were numerous small fragments of animal bone and the occasional sherd of pottery.³⁵ In an area towards the south-west, where no metallating was present, the underlying topsoil was heavily impregnated with charcoal, indicating the site of a hearth. No metallating was recorded during excavation within the south aisle of the church (Areas 4 and 7), although the buried soil was patchily present.

- ii) Excavations within the north aisle (Area 5) revealed another floor which was slightly different from that just described, but again comprising a thin layer of pebbles, the surface of which was well polished through wear (F1708). This floor had a clearly defined western edge, with the seating for a sill-beam (F3546), and outside that was a row of stakeholes (F3563). Overlying the floor was a spread of orange clay, which could represent a

collapsed wattle-and-daub wall. East of and isolated from this floor (by later features which had removed a large part of it) was a concentration of chalk and sandstone cobbles (F3536), possibly a path or even a shallow foundation, and a small patch of burnt clay (F3542); both directly overlay the buried soil, without an intervening gravel layer.

- iii) A band of metallating (F747/804), only one pebble in thickness and pressed into the surface of the underlying boulder clay, was encountered under the church tower and western annexe (Areas 2 and 3). This floor appears to be a continuation of that recorded under the nave (F1633); it was cut away on all sides by later features (Fig. 148). Finds from the surface comprised animal teeth, sherds of early Saxon pottery, and a small horseshoe.³⁶ The metallating became more diffuse as it progressed westwards, and it was not encountered outside the church in Areas 8 and 9, but the intensity of later burial here was so great that no early layers survived over the boulder clay.
- iv) Excavation outside the church revealed further traces of floors and vestigial structures. Just to the north of the aisle (in Area 12) was a layer of charcoal-rich loam containing small fragments of fired



Fig. 148: Band of gravel metalling (F747) running east–west in Area 2, interrupted by the post-medieval bell-pit in the centre. The other features are exhumed late Saxon graves. View east, inside the tower. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

clay (F5392), overlying one of the earliest gullies (F5396); some of the burnt clay was *in situ*. An associated pit also contained burnt material (F5395). On top of these was a spread of small chalk rubble (F5340), which appeared to have a defined edge on the west. There can be little doubt that we see here tantalizing glimpses of another structure of middle or, more likely, later

Saxon date. Either way, it was certainly earlier than the cemetery in this area.

- v) A little further west, in Area 11, a clearly defined band of metalling (F5057) was preserved, 2 m wide, running north–south across the full width of the excavation (Fig. 149). It comprised a thin, very compact layer of rounded pebbles and small pieces of chalk and flint, laid in a flat-bottomed

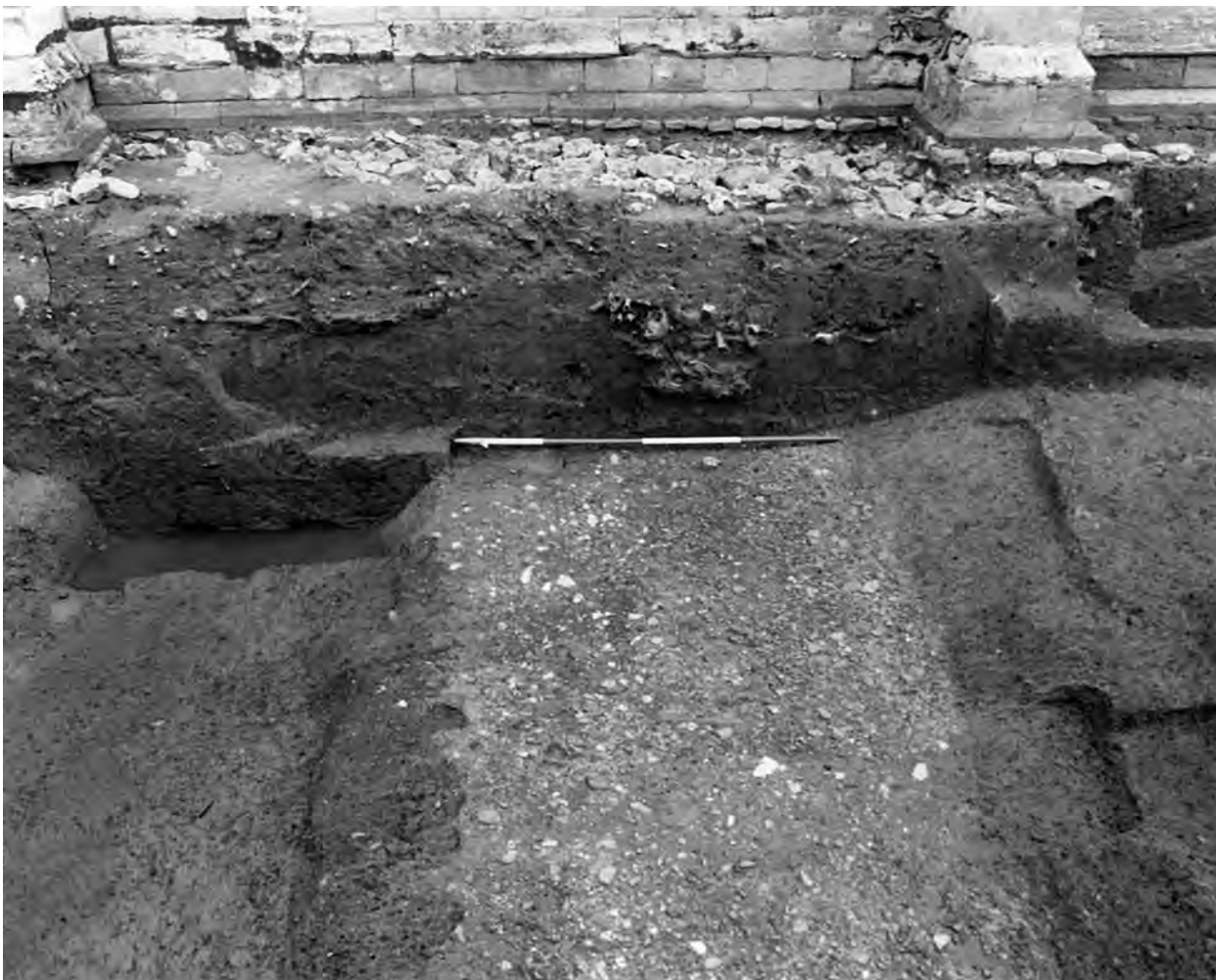


Fig. 149: Band of gravel metalling (F5057) running north–south in Area 11. Upper, view south–west. Lower, detail looking south. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

hollow or terrace that had been cut into the natural clay. Superficially, this feature had the appearance of being a path, but once again the smooth, level and polished surface of the metalling argues strongly against such an interpretation. Indeed, the western edge of the metalling was so sharply defined that there must have been a delimiting feature, such as a turf or timber wall. The eastern edge was more diffuse and it seems likely that the surface once continued further in this direction, but had been scoured away by later activity. The most plausible interpretation is that we have part of the western edge of a large, gravel-floored building which was slightly terraced into the knoll that forms this site. The metalling recorded within the north aisle (above, Area 5) was part of the same structure. Small pieces of animal bone and teeth were again the principal finds on the surface.

- vi) In Area 14 a narrow slot which followed a curving course was excavated, evidently the trench to support a series of upright timbers (F7400). A gap of 1.0 m represented a south-facing entrance. Only part of the course survived between later graves, and it cannot be determined whether the slot defined an oval stockaded enclosure, or the rounded western end of a roofed building. No contemporary floor or ground levels survived. However, the backfilling of the slot contained burnt daub and pottery of early to middle Saxon date.³⁷
- vii) At the north-west corner of the site, in Areas 10 and 13, traces of another spread of gravel metalling were encountered, this time in the base of a wide but shallow linear feature which ran on a south-west to north-east course. The feature was nearly flat-bottomed and was cut 0.5–0.6 m into the boulder clay. Although peppered with graves, at one point the southern edge was well defined; the northern was not as clear. The width was *c.* 9.5 m in oblique section. Roughly in the centre of the feature, pressed into the surface of the clay, was a thin spread of gravel, up to 40 mm thick and 3.6 m wide (F7374). A small patch of similar metalling occurred nearby, in the north-west corner of Area 14. This feature is interpreted as a hollow-way. In a south-westerly direction it pointed towards the junction of Burgate and Whitecross Street, while north-eastwards it aimed for the entrance drive to Tyrwhitt Hall. It has been suggested that this was also the eastern entry into the sub-circular enclosure (p. 30).

After abandonment, the hollow-way filled with silt (F4703) which yielded only one residual sherd of Roman pottery. This route fell out of use sometime in the middle or later Saxon period, to be superseded by another further north (p. 606). Both would appear to be predecessors of Beck Hill, the present road skirting around the north side of the churchyard knoll.

6. *St Mary's churchyard*

In 1980, when foundation trenches were dug for the construction of a new church hall on the north side of St Mary's, a series of shallow features was encountered, cut into the natural gravel.³⁸ These were only observed in section in machine-dug trenches, and were sealed by upwards of one metre of graveyard soil. The trench for the north foundation, in particular, cut through numerous shallow pits and small features (which could have included timber-slots) containing gravelly soil and lenses of charcoal. A U-shaped ditch was intercepted at the north-west corner of the new building: its alignment was approximately north–south, and it was estimated as being 1.5 m wide, cut from a topsoil horizon 0.3 m above the gravel.

Nothing was seen in plan and no finds were recovered. A Norman or later date can be ruled out, since the features clearly ante-dated the creation of the churchyard, and the absence of Romano-British artefacts militates against that period: hence, there can be little doubt that the features were Anglo-Saxon.

7. *St Mary's Works, Soutergate*

Trial excavations in 2006, in advance of the redevelopment of an industrial site in Soutergate, to the north of St Mary's church, revealed evidence of Anglo-Saxon and medieval occupation on the street frontage, dating from the ninth century onwards (Bennet 2007, 62). This discovery demonstrates that the site of St Mary's church lay within the mid-to-late Saxon nucleus of settlement.

8. *80 High Street*

A trial excavation in 2007, in advance of residential development, at the western end of High Street, close to its junction with Fleetgate, revealed evidence for a more-or-less continuous occupation sequence since the ninth century (Bennet 2008, 68). This site has important implications for the origin of settlement at Fleetgate: no evidence for Anglo-Saxon occupation in this area of the town had previously been noted.

Problems of dating

Dating the structures on all of the sites listed above is problematic, since their remains are both insubstantial and not integrated with securely stratified sequences that have associated and intrinsically datable artefacts. While chronological relationships between some features could be defined, they are still floating in a sea of uncertainty. At St Peter's church, the structural remains were securely sealed between a cultivated topsoil horizon and the earthen platform that was laid down over the site prior to its ecclesiastical use (for the platform, see p. 159). Dating evidence was sparse, but was consistently within the early to middle Saxon period.

It is indisputable that Anglo-Saxon timber buildings existed over a sizeable area in the eastern part of Barton. However, opportunity after opportunity has been

missed to explore these on a scale commensurate with their archaeological importance: first the housing estate in East Acridge, then the new vicarage site, followed by Church Close, and finally the Barrow Road development. All the excavations conducted to date have been on far too small a scale to yield sound results. Pottery was not prolifically used in Barton in the Anglo-Saxon period, and the modest numbers of sherds that have been found have manufacturing date-ranges spanning several centuries. Also the quantities recovered have been too modest to ensure reliable dating of individual features. Apart from a few sixth–seventh-century beads, other datable finds are lacking. Consequently, the timber structures can only be broadly assigned to the middle and later Saxon periods. A similarly unsatisfactory situation obtains in the case of the settlement at St Chad's, Barrow: again, middle Saxon timber buildings and other structures were lost, effectively without record, during housing development (p. 165). On the other hand, large-scale excavation on the middle Saxon settlement at Flixborough (Lincs.) has demonstrated that important results can be obtained from these sites (Loveluck 2007; Loveluck and Atkinson 2007).

The Tyrwhitt Hall enclosure

The sub-circular enclosure surrounding Tyrwhitt Hall has already been described (pp. 29–30; Figs. 150, 151 and 152). Although not a massive fortification, it seems likely that the earthwork was constructed to enclose and give limited protection to a settlement nucleus of middle Saxon date, which was in turn successor to Romano-British and early Anglo-Saxon



Fig. 150: Aerial view, looking south-east, of the sub-circular enclosure, as defined by features in the modern landscape in 1985. St Peter's church is middle right and Tyrwhitt Hall is the L-shaped building to its left. Photo: David Lee Photography

habitation. Partial sections through the ditch (F1751) were excavated under the church, and a three-metre length was emptied outside to the north (Area 12; Figs. 153, 154 and 155). Although severely truncated by later features, and distorted by recutting, these sections demonstrated that the ditch was originally *c.* 4.8 m (16 ft) wide by 2.4 m (8 ft) deep, with a gently rounded profile. The filling showed that the bank had been internal, and vestigial remains of this were found on the east side of the ditch. The width and profile of the bank could not be ascertained, and no evidence for a primary entrance was encountered. The ditch had, however, been recut several times and a possible butt-end was noted in one of the later fillings (under the centre of the church). There were two principal fillings: the lower comprised grey silt (F3572) and the upper black peaty material (F3573). Organic remains were prolific in these waterlogged deposits.

Dating evidence for the enclosure ditch was sparse. It was demonstrably earlier than both the Saxo-Norman church and cemetery, but later than the gravel-floored buildings mentioned above. Its origin certainly seems to be pre-tenth century. Finds from the ditch mainly comprised animal bone, indicating that domestic refuse was being deposited in it.³⁹ There were no relevant ceramic finds or metalwork.

The earthen platform

Sealing the gravel-floored structures, but ante-dating the establishment of the late Saxon cemetery, was a blanket of soil deposited across most of the excavated site, seemingly to create a level platform, and to infill the hollow-way that ran across the north-west corner. The full extent of the platform (F1628) is unknown, and no direct stratigraphic relationship to the sub-circular enclosure was present, but the latter was undoubtedly earlier.⁴⁰ At the north-west corner of the excavation, the original thickness of the platform was at least 0.8 m, and possibly as much as 1.0 m, although for the most part it had been greatly reduced by subsequent grave digging. As it spread eastwards, the thickness progressively diminished, apparently tailing out on the edge of the ditch of the sub-circular enclosure. The most plausible explanation is that a level earthen platform was created as an appendage to the enclosure. It probably bore a significant resemblance to the earthwork at Chithurst (W. Sussex), where the eleventh-century church sits on a sub-rectangular platform measuring *c.* 35 m by 25 m, and is an artificial enhancement of a sloping landscape (Fig. 156. Hutchinson 2007, 10, figs. 20–2). The Chithurst earthwork is evidently pre-Norman and, as at Barton, the church's physical presence in the local landscape would have been modestly emphasized, especially when seen from the west. As Richard Morris (1989, 258) has observed, the association between early churches and earthwork platforms is a potential display of lordship.

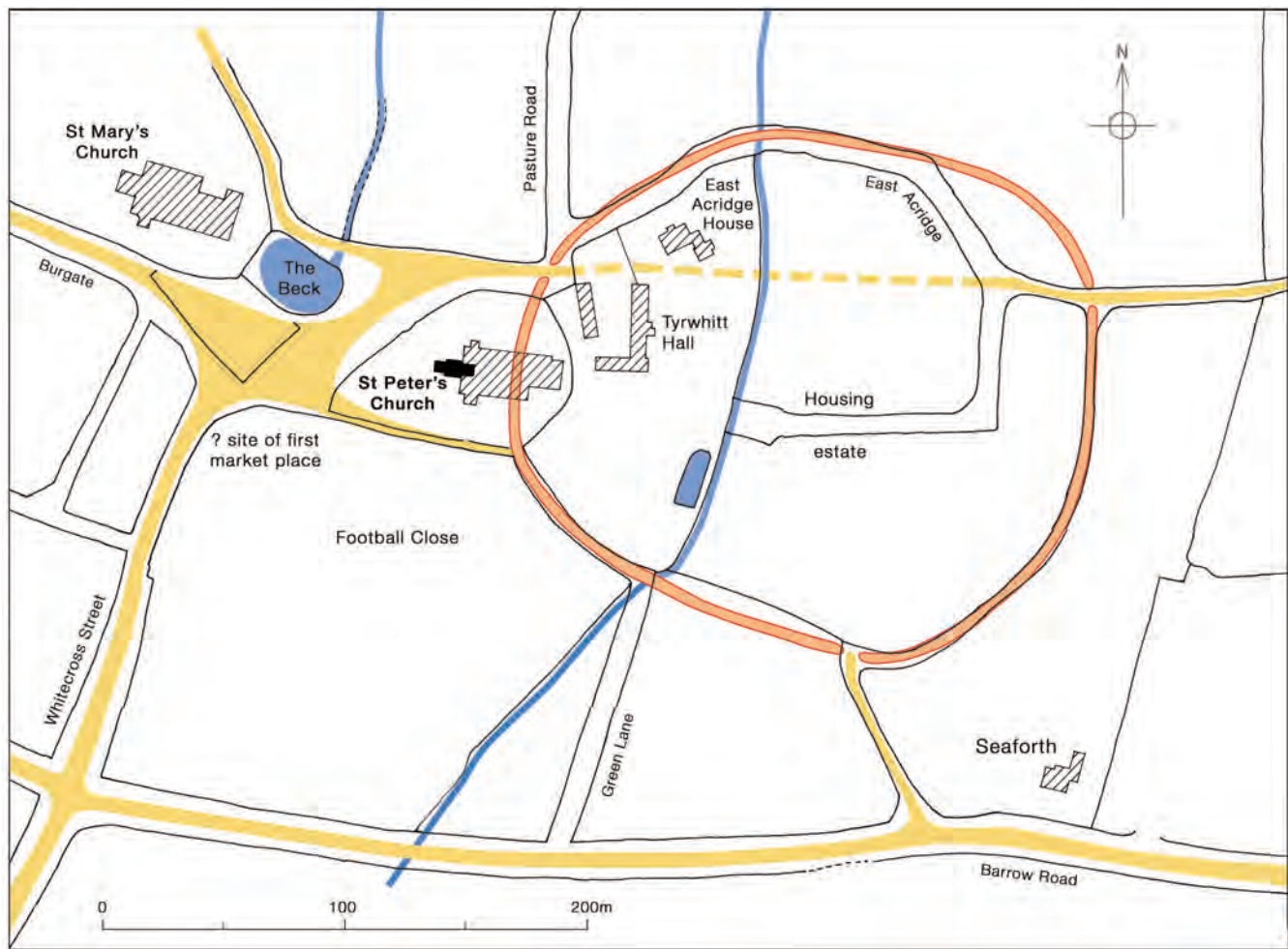


Fig. 151: Plan of the topographical features defining the perimeter of the sub-circular enclosure around Tyrwhitt Hall. A suggested reconstruction of the principal elements of the Anglo-Saxon landscape is overlaid in colour: pink, the ditch of the earthwork; blue, ponds and streams; yellow, early roads and the possible first market place beside the Beck. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

The newly deposited material at St Peter's was fine alluvial silt, which was clearly not the upcast from ditch-digging or other activity on this site. Many tons of soil arising from an operation elsewhere must have been imported, although not necessarily from any great distance. The alluvium could have been derived from the excavation, or recutting, of a dyke on the Humber marshes to the north, but the labour involved in carting the soil inland would have been considerable and required justification. However, another source closer at hand may be suggested: it is not inconceivable that the platform could simply have been the product of excavating the Beck, and dumping the alluvium in the nearest convenient place. Although the Beck originated as a natural spring, the large pond that marked the site was artificially created, or at least enlarged. Thus, at some unrecorded date considerable effort would have been required to form this sizeable pond, and probably to dig the leat which flowed from it. The possibility that the Beck was remodelled to form a small inland dock, linked to the Humber by a canal, should seriously be considered (see also p. 35). Engineering works such as this were more common in the Anglo-Saxon period than has generally been supposed (J. Blair 2007).

A few potsherds recovered from the dumped material dated from the fifth to eighth centuries, but this can only be regarded as providing a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the earthen platform.

***Æt Bearuwe*: reconstructing the topography of the Anglo-Saxon estate**

Barton implicitly enters the annals of English ecclesiastical history in *c.* 669, when King Wulfhere of Mercia appointed a devout cleric named Chad to the bishopric of Mercia and Lindsey, and he established his cathedral at Lichfield. Chad was bishop for only three years, dying in 672: he was buried at Lichfield, where a strong cult developed and survived until the Reformation (Rodwell 2005b; Rodwell *et al.* 2008). However, during his brief episcopate 'King Wulfhere gave him fifty hides of land to build a monastery *æt Bearuwe* – that is, 'at the wood' – in the province of Lindsey'. The name, as with the existence of the monastery, is first recorded by Bede in 731.⁴¹ Despite the short time-scale, the land was certainly used for its designated purpose, as is confirmed by Bede's additional comment, 'and evidences of the regular observance that he [Chad] established



Fig. 152: View eastwards along the sunken footpath leading from the south-east entrance to St Peter's churchyard. Formerly known as Church Lane, this is the only preserved part of the sub-circular enclosure. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

remain to this day'. There is further confirmation, too: Wynfrith, who was Chad's successor as bishop of Mercia, held the see for a few years before being deposed by Archbishop Theodore. 'Wynfrith then retired to his own monastery of Ad Baruae, and lived a most holy life there until his death'.⁴²

At face-value, the place-name, *æt Bearuwe* or, in its Latinized form, *Ad Baruae*, provides no clue as to the precise location or previous significance of the site: it merely tells us that there was, or had been, woodland nearby.⁴³ However, it has been observed that the name could have alluded to a specific grove which previously had pagan religious associations (Brown 1906, 15; Everson and Knowles 1992–93, 19). The modern place-name Barrow(-upon-Humber) is derived from *æt Bearuwe*, and a trickle of references between 731 and Domesday confirms both the survival of the name and continuing settlement at the place (Cameron 1991, 15).

The Barrow charter

The question of the spatial and tenorial relationship between Barton and Barrow has long exercised scholars, with particular reference to a charter of Peterborough Abbey, dated 971. This recorded the gift by King Edgar of an estate *æt Bearuwe* to Bishop Æthelwold for the endowment of the refounded monastery at Peterborough.⁴⁴ The estate is explicitly recorded as having formerly been in the possession of St Chad, 'before the devastation by the heathens'.⁴⁵

The charter had been printed in 1655 by Dugdale in his *Monasticon Anglicanum* (Caley *et al.* 1846, 1, 383–4, no. 15), and listed by others subsequently, but was first discussed in detail by Brown (1906, 16–17), who attempted to relate its bounds to the topography of



Fig. 153: Section through the ditch of the sub-circular enclosure in Area 12 (F1751). View north-east. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

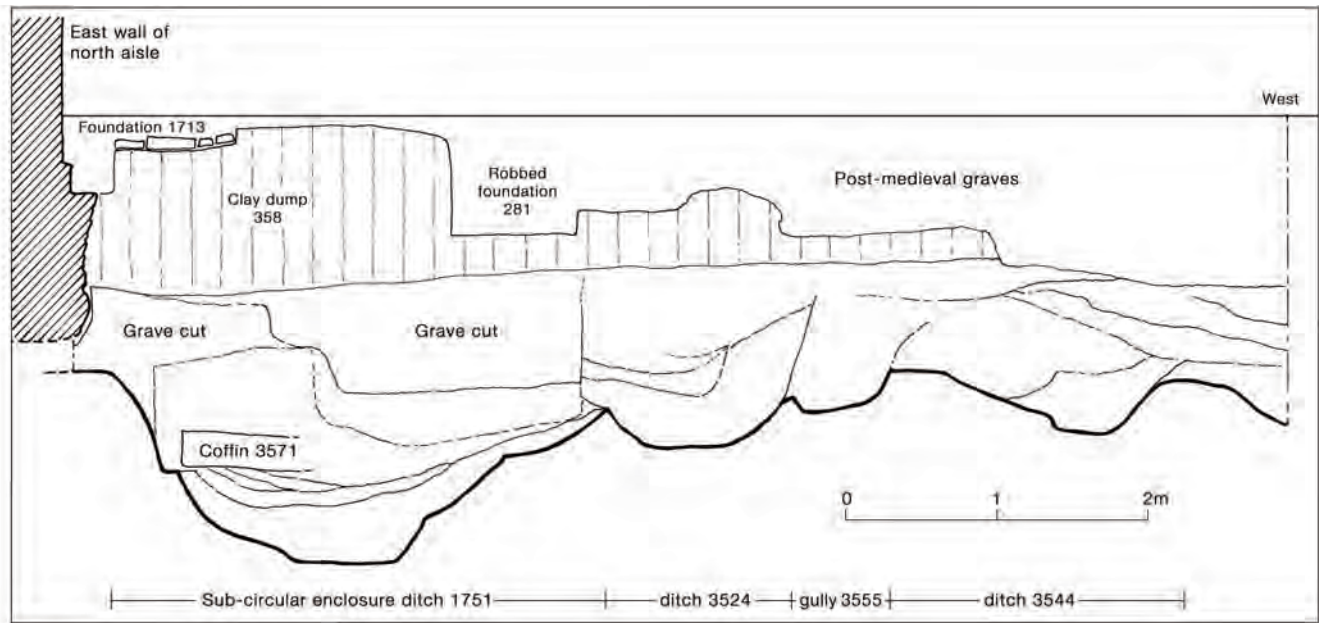


Fig. 154: Section across a series of Anglo-Saxon ditches in Area 5 (north aisle), including the sub-circular enclosure (F1751) with several recuts. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 155: Section of ditch F1751 in Area 5. View south. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Barrow. More recently, the descriptive contents of the charter have been carefully re-examined by Everson, who has convincingly shown that the bounds of Chad's fifty-hide estate were almost certainly coincident with those of the present-day parishes of Barton and Barrow, conjointly (Everson 1984; Everson and Knowles 1993; Cameron 1991, 29–30). The charter has been reconsidered by David Roffe (above, pp. 37–8), but there are several archaeological and topographical issues that merit further discussion. First, the block of land

defined by its bounds is strikingly quadrilateral in plan, with the Humber bank forming the longest side (Fig. 157). The slightly sinuous boundary between Barton and Barrow is plainly secondary and divides the block into two roughly equal areas. The remarkable straightness of the three landward boundaries – still serving today as parish boundaries – confirms that their lines were carefully surveyed and set out on the ground. Only in the western boundary is there a slight deformation, and that is due to its origin as a Roman road (p. 150).

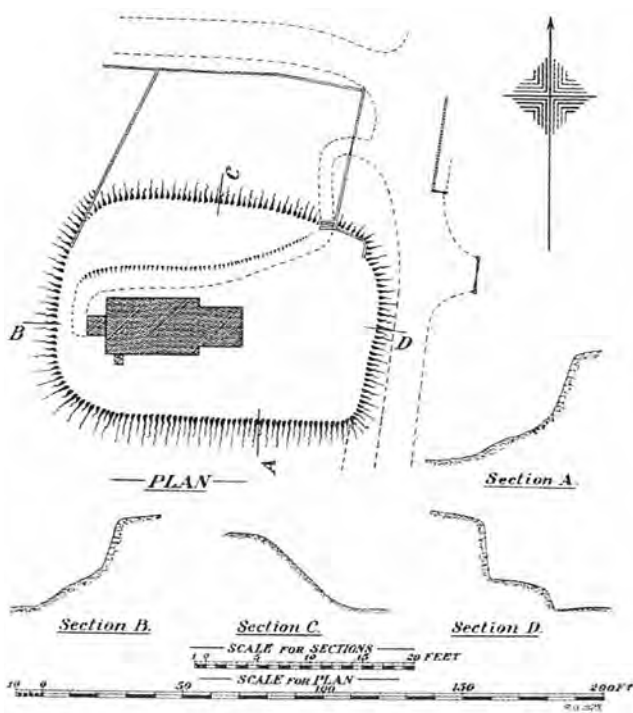


Fig. 156: *St Mary, Chithurst (W. Sussex). Plan and profiles of the sub-rectangular earthen platform upon which the eleventh-century church was built. Drawn by R. Gurd, 1923. Hutchinson 2007*

The charter first describes the eastern boundary (5.2 km long) as beginning at the Humber, and following ‘the old dyke’ to ‘the enclosure’. It then arguably followed a road (presumably of Roman origin), crossing over a bridge (‘where the hips grow’); this has been identified as the bridge across the Butforth Drain. The boundary next continued along the same road, until it reached ‘the meeting of the boundaries’. A change of direction occurred there, turning on to the southern boundary (6.5 km), where the next four points all related to natural topographical features, although the presence of a dyke at ‘middel hille’ (where Barton and Barrow parishes adjoin) may be deduced.⁴⁶ Despite the variable terrain over which it ran, the straightness of the southern boundary is impressive and points to substantive physical demarcation. Its west end met the Roman road running to the Humber at Ferriby Cliff, and that was adopted as the western boundary of the estate (6.3 km). Interestingly, the charter did not refer to it as a road, but as the ‘boundary dyke’, which would seem to imply either that the road was raised on a prominent *agger*, or that there was a linear earthwork alongside. Even into recent times, it has been known as ‘Horkstow Bank’ (Fig. 3).

Whatever the exact physical form, there were 18 km (11.2 miles) of boundary, arranged in three impressively straight sections: this cannot have been the work of Chad’s community. A royal hand must surely have been responsible for the layout and the construction of these boundaries, sometime before the middle of the seventh century. As already observed, the rich ceme-

tery at Castledyke South lends support to the hypothesis that *æt Bearuwe* was a minor royal centre in the seventh century. There is thus no serious doubt that the several Anglo-Saxon sites in present-day Barton were, in the seventh century, within the bounds of Chad’s estate. Equally, there can be little doubt that the estate remained intact until the late tenth or early eleventh century, while the boundaries have never been lost. Precisely where the monastic nucleus lay has been much debated, but the balance of evidence favours a location in Barrow rather than in Barton.

What was the status of Barton?

Since there is no visible evidence of an Anglo-Saxon church at Barrow, some antiquaries have been tempted to suggest an association with St Peter’s, Barton. Varah (1928, 3) entertained not the slightest doubt on the subject, claiming that Chad’s church was of timber and was rebuilt in stone in the eighth century. However, *contra* Varah, there is no fabric in the church that could be seventh or eighth century, and nothing was found in the excavation that points convincingly to a monastic settlement in the immediate era. Two place-names allegedly associated with Chad occur in Barton parish and have been cited as evidence. First, the Beck in the centre of the town was referred to in the nineteenth century as ‘St Chad’s Pond’, but this seems to be a purely antiquarian naming.⁴⁷ More noteworthy is Shadwell, the name given to the blow-wells in the west of the parish: antiquaries have enthusiastically embraced a putative connection with St Chad (Brown 1906, 18). The name can be traced back to the thirteenth century, but Cameron suggests that its etymology should be interpreted as ‘the spring in a shady place’ (Cameron 1991, 31–2). It is thus not certain that any place-name within Barton parish contains an authentic reference to Chad, whereas one at Barrow potentially does (see below, p. 165).

The discovery of the sub-circular earthwork at Barton, based on Tyrwhitt Hall, inevitably raises the possibility that this might have housed Chad’s monastery. Although enclosures of this type are commonly associated with early monasteries, the nature of the Anglo-Saxon settlement within remains wholly unknown. Notwithstanding, some scholars continue to accept uncritically that there was a minster church at Barton (*e.g.* Blair 2005, 360). More plausibly, it has been suggested that Barton was a second centre within the *æt Bearuwe* estate, and was potentially administrative rather than ecclesiastical; by this time it was likely also to have been a port.⁴⁸ Roffe’s detailed analysis of the tenurial history of Barton in the eleventh century reinforces this view (pp. 36–7).

In conclusion, it has to be admitted that there is no hint in the ecclesiastical and tenurial history of Barton, or in the fabric of its churches, to support the minster hypothesis. Consequently, it is to Barrow that attention must now be turned.

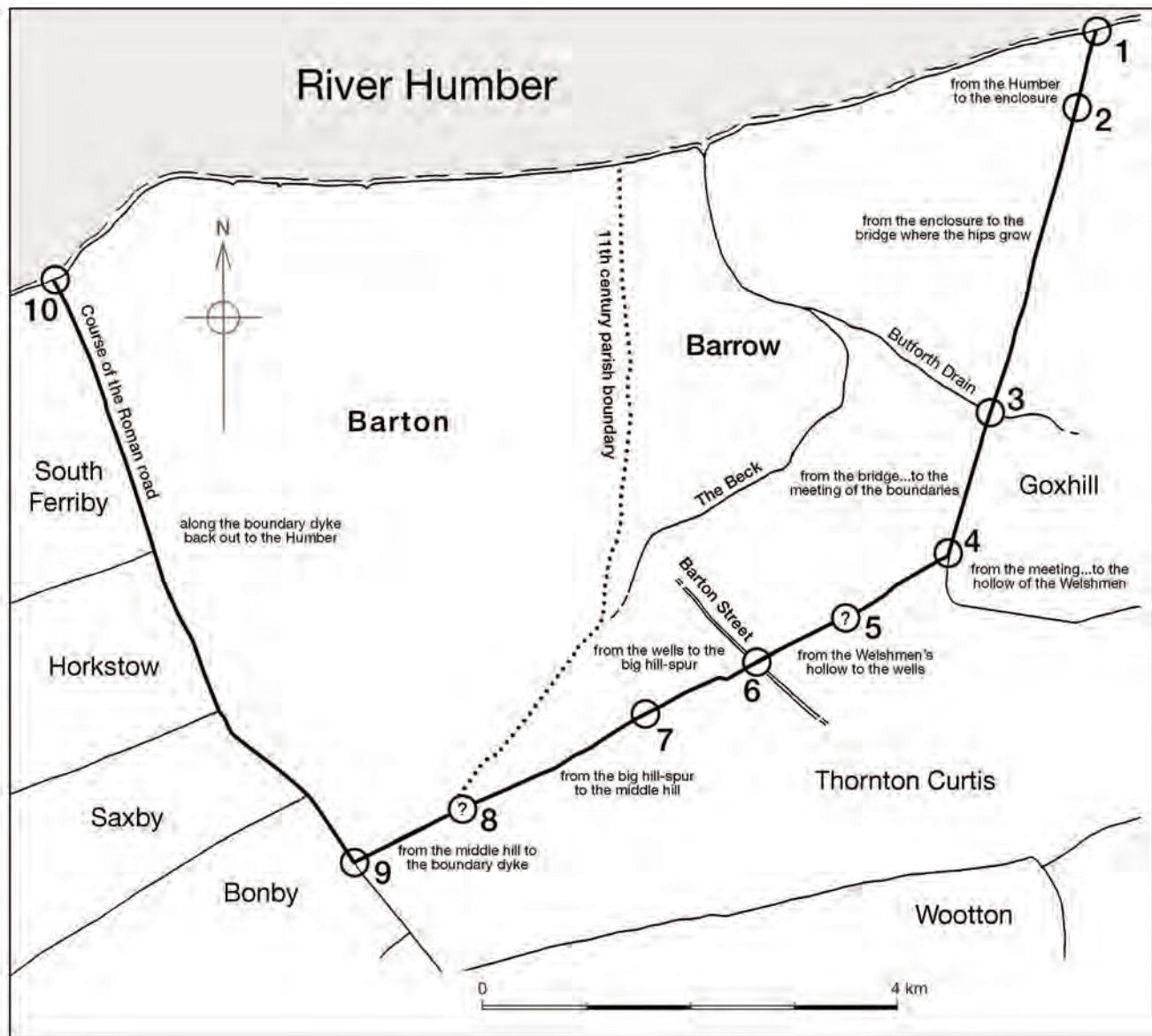


Fig. 157: The estate of æt Bearuwe and the ten named features on its bounds, as described in the charter of AD 971. After Bryant 1994

Ecclesiastical topography of Barrow-upon-Humber (Fig. 158)

The centre of Barrow is dominated by the parish church of Holy Trinity, the visible fabric of which is Norman and later (Fig. 159; p. 167; Bryant 1988): there is no hint of Anglo-Saxon work. The site, however, generates interest, being a well-defined eminence with the ground falling away on the east, north and south. Running into Barrow from the west is the straight road from Barton, which heads directly for the church site (although development has interrupted the line just before it reaches the church): the tower rises dramatically on the skyline. In part, this road dates from the period of enclosure, although one cannot but wonder whether its alignment could be of earlier origin. The history of the church site is likely to be pivotal in understanding the development of Barrow. Other roads focus on the promontory too: High Street

approaches from the south-west, aiming directly for the south door of the church, and North Street displays a similar relationship to the north door. Further sections of street, doubtless of medieval if not earlier origin, follow the south, east and north sides of the promontory, almost certainly ghosting a sub-circular enclosure with the church at its centre. This promontory, overlooking low ground and a stream (the Beck) to the east is a classic location for an early monastery.

Two other sites in Barrow village are potentially relevant to its early religious history: a century ago Brown drew attention to these and published a topographical map, which has been largely overlooked (Brown 1906, 17–18, fig. 3). The first site is a triangular plot, known as 'The Island' which lies on the lower ground to the north-east of Holy Trinity. It was undeveloped until modern times. Topographically, this has the appearance of a former village green, or perhaps a failed market place. Some thirty to forty skeletons were discovered

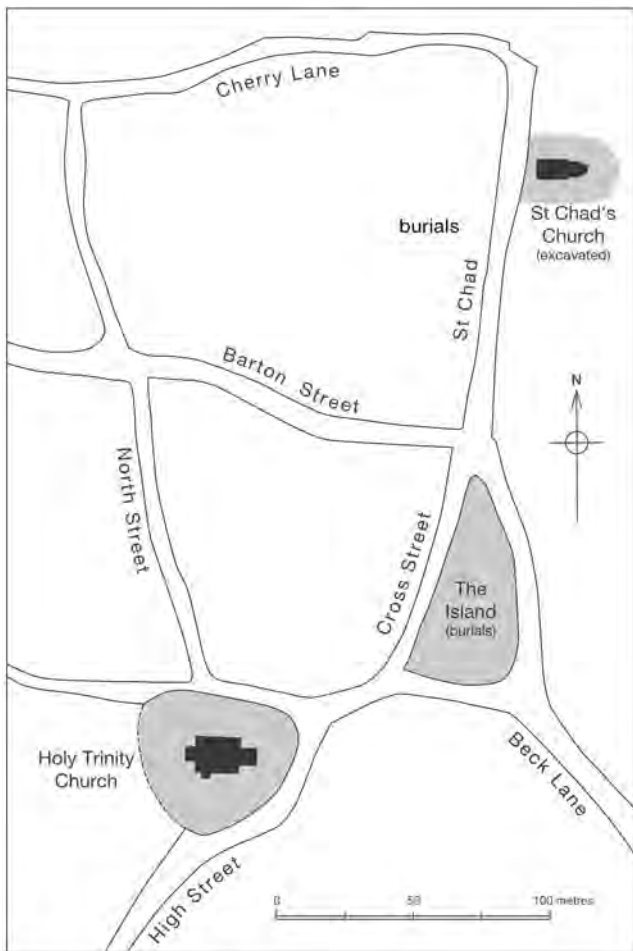


Fig. 158: The ecclesiastical topography of Barrow-upon-Humber. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

here during building work at the south-west corner of the triangle in 1961 and were claimed to be male (Loughlin and Miller 1979, 184).⁴⁹ They were aligned west-east and there were no juveniles, coffin fittings or accompanying grave goods. While these could have been monastic burials, the lack of competent archaeological recording leaves the matter in doubt. A single long-bone was retained and was submitted for radiocarbon dating in 2005. The result was of great interest, returning a date of *cal. AD 650–810 (95% probability; Wk-16953)*.⁵⁰ This places the cemetery firmly within the period of Chad's monastery.⁵¹

Secondly, running north from The Island is a street named 'St Chad', which is not a recent antiquarian appellation since there are documented references to it from the seventeenth century.⁵² It forms one side of a trapezoidal pattern of streets along which straggled a modest number of tenements in the eighteenth century. On the west side of the street, burials were encountered in the nineteenth century, and one was in a stone coffin, accompanied by a gold ring and an iron weapon 'in the form of a two-pronged fork'. Also reported were 'many skeletons without coffins, orientated east-west, and laid head to foot'; and several 'gold rings' were said to have been found (Loughlin and Miller 1979,

184). The description suggests that the burials were potentially of the middle Saxon period, and the rings point more specifically to the Christianizing phase.

It was on the east side of the same street (St Chad), towards its northern end, that a hitherto unsuspected late Saxon cemetery and Saxo-Norman church were discovered during excavations in 1977–78 (Boden and Whitwell 1979). Some seventy-five burials were encountered, many of which ante-dated the construction of the eleventh-century church (Fig. 447).⁵³ Five of the interments took place in stone-lined graves. Five skeletons and one charcoal sample were radiocarbon dated. The calibrated dates (95% probability) are: *cal. AD 680–1030 (HAR-3125)*; *cal. AD 770–1160 (HAR-3126 and HAR-3128)*; *cal. AD 780–1210*; *cal. AD 890–1250 (HAR-3127)* and *cal. AD 990–1290 (HAR-3124)*. These date-brackets are unhelpfully wide at the 2^o range, but at the 1^o range they point to the ninth to twelfth centuries as the most likely period of burial activity. In recent years, as a result of cemetery excavations, there has been a growing realization that coins of the seventh to ninth centuries were frequently deposited with burials,⁵⁴ and two coins found at St Chad's may therefore be significant. They were minted during the reigns of Alfred of Wessex (871–99) and Burgred of Mercia (852–74), respectively. If these were indeed burial offerings, then it confirms that the cemetery had been established by the late ninth century.

The excavations at St Chad's also yielded some middle Saxon finds, but no structures that could be associated with an early monastic site. However, no great significance can be attached to the negative evidence since the site was far more extensive than the excavation.⁵⁵ Interestingly, fragments of crucibles and clay moulds for casting metal objects were recovered, indicating the presence of specialist artisans. The manufacture of jewellery and other luxury metalwork tended to be associated with high-status settlements in the middle Saxon period, and Flixborough provides an outstanding local example. There, a materially rich monastic settlement was established in the late seventh century and continued in occupation for two hundred years (Whitwell 1991a; Loveluck 1998; 2007; Loveluck and Atkinson 2007; Evans and Loveluck 2009).

While the cemetery and church at St Chad's were both too late to be directly associated with the seventh-century monastery, there is every likelihood that they belonged to a subsidiary development close to the nucleus. By the thirteenth century the site had been abandoned. The last piece of topographical information that is potentially of major significance is the name 'Minster Gate', which is recorded twice in documents, in 1649 and 1734 (Cameron 1991, 27), and also appears on a map of 1785, where it referred to one of the lanes leading out of Barrow towards the south-west.⁵⁶

Finally, it should be mentioned that another possible contender for the seventh-century monastic site has been suggested: an island in the marshes, between Barrow Castles and Hann Farm (Stocker 1993, 114).



Fig. 159: Holy Trinity, Barrow-upon-Humber. View from the south-east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

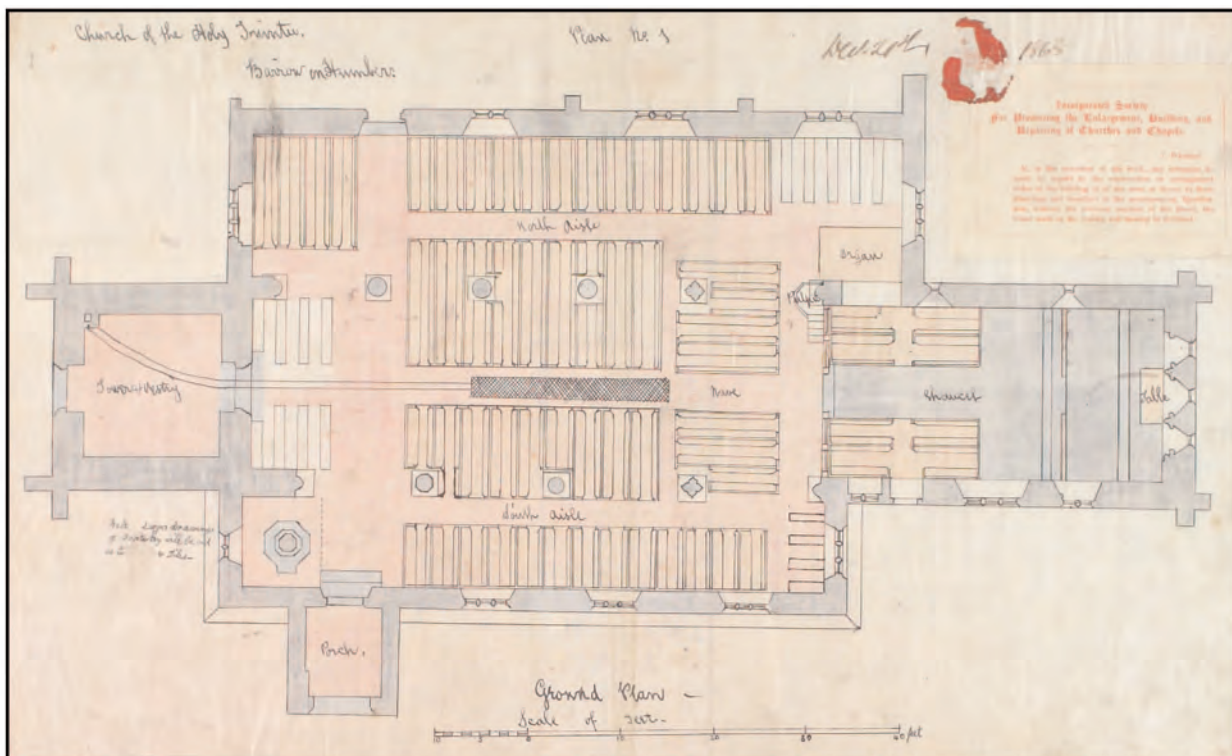


Fig. 160: Holy Trinity, Barrow-upon-Humber. Plan of the church by Charles Kirk, showing reseatings, 1868. The Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library

While this could have provided the kind of secluded location that was often sought for early monasteries – and Roman and Anglo-Saxon pottery has been found in the area – there is no relevant ecclesiastical or place-name evidence linked to this site.

When all considerations are weighed, the eminence on which Holy Trinity church now stands may be regarded as probably the most serious contender for the nucleus of Chad's foundation, *æt Bearuwe*, and that the parish church is likely to be the successor to the Anglo-Saxon minster. Significantly, the manor house lies adjacent. It may further be adumbrated that the trapezoidal layout of streets to the north of the church, together with the triangular green ('The Island'), are the remnants of a small, failed, town of later Saxon date; and the cemetery and church at 'St Chad's' would have formed a secondary focus on the northern periphery of the complex. Topographical comparison with St John's Minster, the triangular market place and St Mary's church, at Beverley, is instructive (Miller *et al.* 1982). In the Middle Ages, settlement at Barrow seems to have shifted south of the church, along High Street, where a new focus emerged, based on another triangular Market Place, in which the Butter Cross now stands.

Holy Trinity church has been neglected by scholars, and a detailed appraisal of its history and architecture is long overdue.⁵⁷ Today, the building comprises an aisled nave and a rectangular chancel; there is a substantial west tower and a south porch (Figs. 159 and 160).⁵⁸ The church is significantly smaller than those at Barton, the nave being 16 m long (St Mary's is 22 m, and St Peter's was originally nearly 24 m). There is no clerestory. The chancel is of the same width as the nave and appears to have been built in the early thirteenth century, succeeding an earlier and narrower structure: similarities with Barton St Mary's are apparent.

The north arcade was constructed in the mid-twelfth century, and was initially of four bays: a fifth bay was later added at the east end. The piers are circular with scalloped capitals and separately formed octagonal abaci; the bases are square, resting on chamfered plinths. The semicircular arches are of two plain orders with no label-mouldings or decoration. Nothing survives of the Norman north aisle, which was rebuilt in the fifteenth century, and again in 1868. The Transitional south aisle is of four bays, but seems initially to have comprised only three: again, the additional bay is to the east. The aisle windows date from the mid-fourteenth century and the doorway has a double-wave moulding (*cf.* St Peter's north door). Its walls contain reused fragments of medieval grave-covers.

The development of the arcades is potentially highly significant in understanding the evolution of Barrow church, particularly the fact that both were extended eastwards by one bay, in close succession. Several explanations are possible, but one which takes all the evidence into account may be offered, namely that the easternmost bay of the Norman nave was flanked by chapels or small transepts, and that the aisles initially

abutted these. The transepts could subsequently have been annexed into the aisles. This process of absorbing lateral chambers into aisles was widespread, but has not been extensively studied: *cf.* Berwick St James and Coombe Bissett (Wilts.) (RCHME 1987, figs. 238 and 286). Although now venturing into the realms of speculation, the possibility should not be overlooked that this small transeptal church was Anglo-Saxon: Holy Trinity could easily have evolved from a building with an almost identical plan and dimensions to that at Stoughton (W. Sussex) (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 581). An alternative model may be Britford (Wilts.) (RCHME 1987, fig. 253).

Whatever the precise evolution of Barrow church, it was clearly complex and, in many respects, its architectural history ran in tandem with that of Barton's two churches.

The Early Phases: Summary and Discussion

Dispersed settlement along the south bank of the Humber has been continuous since the Mesolithic, which occasions no surprise given the diversity of the local resources. Three types of terrain are present. First, adjacent to the river is a wide belt of marshland, which at some periods was drier and more readily habitable than at others. Second, there is the boulder clay terrace which supported a string of settlements both large and small, and which received a plentiful supply of fresh water through its numerous springs and blow-wells. Third, the extensive chalk Wolds rising to the south, with their sheltered and fertile side-valleys, provided attractive conditions for settlement and farming.

While major prehistoric multi-period sites occurred a little further up-river, particularly in the region where the Ancholme debouches into the Humber, the area around Barton and Barrow was characterized by small settlements. Nevertheless, tantalizing evidence has been recorded at Barton for an enclosure with interrupted ditches: it is probably of late Neolithic or Bronze Age date, and religious or ceremonial in function. Three or four well-defined trackways linked the Humber bank with central and eastern Lincolnshire, and one of these (Barton Street) appears to have its northern terminus at Barton.

The pattern is similar, but more clearly defined, in the Roman period. Again, there was a major settlement to the west of Barton, at Old Winteringham, where Ermine Street – the military road approaching from the south – arrived at the principal Humber crossing. Immediately west of Barton, on the cliffs at South Ferriby, overlooking the river, lay an ill-explored but clearly important site, almost certainly a religious complex. Comparison may be made with the Roman temple at Brean Down (Som.), which was sited on the cliffs overlooking the Severn (ApSimon and Boon 1965). Barton and Barrow contained many settlements of small to middling size, but probably included at least

one villa in the Wold valleys (Deepdale). A near-continuous ribbon of occupation sites, enclosures and fields stretched along the edge of the boulder clay, overlooking the marshes. Structures and finds to date do not point to high-status activity, but are consistent with the kind of rural settlement pattern that is found alongside the river terraces in most parts of southern and eastern Britain.

It is noteworthy that all the local sites that have yielded evidence of early and middle Saxon occupation also had a Roman ancestry, either on the same spot or very close at hand. One of those sites was developed in the middle Saxon period into a sub-circular, defended enclosure of 7.5 acres which eventually housed the medieval manor of Tyrwhitt Hall. Potentially this was also the *locus* of an earlier Saxon settlement of high status, with which was associated the remarkable pagan-period cemetery at Castledyke South. This large and well-ordered inhumation cemetery was seemingly established inside the abandoned prehistoric earthwork (see above), a not unfamiliar scenario. The nature and scarcity of some of the items included as grave goods sets this cemetery apart from all others in eastern England: it is only in Kent that analogous sites are found. The possibility that the Tyrwhitt Hall enclosure was a component of the seventh-century 'Lindsey *burh* system' is discussed on pp. 30–1.

No less significant than the exceptional contents of some of the graves is the fact that the cemetery spans the transition from the pagan to the Christian eras (Geake 1997). Moreover, several of the outstanding artefacts accompanying graves find parallels in early Christian burials of high status elsewhere. It may not be too speculative to suggest that in the seventh century Barton was a minor royal centre. Certainly, *æt Bearuwe* was a royal estate in the late 660s, when Wulfhere gave it to Chad, to found a monastery there.

The Castledyke South cemetery lay firmly within the bounds of the monastic estate and it is almost inconceivable that overtly pagan burial practices could still have been taking place there in the 670s. Hence, either the cemetery was Christianized by that date, or its use was discontinued in favour of a new burial ground elsewhere. The presence of west–east orientated graves, many without sepulchral furnishings, is a strong pointer to the former practice. Moreover, the inclusion of certain classes of objects in 'final phase' graves that would conventionally be regarded as 'pagan' raises the question as to whether their religious affiliation has been wrongly diagnosed in the past. These objects may, conversely, be indicators of earliest Christian practice, for which there is undoubted precedent: the hanging-bowl in a grave at St Paul-in-the-Bail,

Lincoln, the Frankish bronze bowls in royal tombs at Cologne Cathedral, and the remarkable contents of the royal burial at Prittlewell. The last graphically demonstrates the fusion between pagan and Christian beliefs, and the grave goods included both a hanging-bowl and a Coptic bowl with drop-handles, alongside objects unambiguously proclaiming Christianity (Hirst 2004).

Settlement in the Barton area in the early and middle Saxon periods was not concentrated on a single site, but was spread across a number of locations, all contained within clearly definable limits. Although the bounds of the 50-hide estate are first recorded in 971, it is reasonable to assume their existence in *c.* 670 when Wulfhere gave the same estate to Chad (but see p. 38). The nature of the boundaries clearly reveals that at least in part they were physically constructed, and did not solely rely on identifying key points in the local topography. Those boundaries are all still marked today by banks, ditches and roads.

The estate contained several settlement foci, two of which would appear, on present knowledge, to have been particularly significant. The first was at Barton, and centred on Tyrwhitt Hall, where traces of timber buildings and occupation debris have been recorded over an area some 300 m across. This represents a settlement of substance – certainly not a farmstead – which is confirmed by the construction, in a secondary phase, of the sub-circular enclosure on part of the site. No contemporary ecclesiastical or sepulchral functions are currently known to have been associated with that enclosure, but the Castledyke South cemetery would have remained relevant until sometime in the eighth century. The second important locality was centred on the northern part of Barrow village. Here, the evidence points to burials, occupation and artisans' workshops. No contemporary church has yet been found, but suitable conditions for one obtain. The earlier burials – from the west side of The Island and St Chad – are assignable to the early Christian era and are contemporaneous with those from Castledyke South. The later Saxon burials and the Saxo-Norman church at the northern end of the village to some extent mirror the arrangements at Barton. Relationships between settlements and cemeteries in the middle Saxon period have recently been reviewed by Hamerow (2010).

We may thus posit that the estate of *æt Bearuwe* encompassed both Barrow and Barton: it comprised a focus of high-status settlement in its western half (later to become Barton), a monastic focus in the eastern (later to become Barrow), substantial middle and late Saxon cemeteries in both areas, and sundry farms and granges scattered throughout the hinterland.

5. THE EARLY CEMETERY: ANGLO-SAXON AND NORMAN PHASES

... names once fam'd, now dubious or forgot,
And buried 'midst the Wreck of Things which were:
There lie interr'd the more illustrious Dead.

Robert Blair, *The Grave*, 1743

Introduction

In the late Saxon period, the gravel floors and the earthen platform that sealed them (p. 159) were punctured by many graves, representing the beginning of a Christian cemetery which was to remain in continuous use for the greater part of a millennium. The graves were dug with a notional west–east alignment, although exhibiting localized variations. The cemetery and the low platform with which it was associated appear to have been created as an adjunct to the west side of the Anglo-Saxon sub-circular enclosure. That the establishment of the cemetery ante-dated the erection of the turri-form church is indicated by the presence of several rows of graves which were cut by its foundations. The contents of those graves were, for the most part, carefully exhumed prior to building (pp. 279–81).

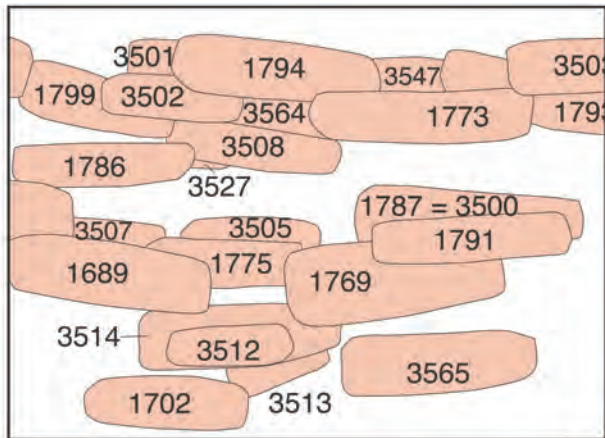
In places, excavation revealed long, stratified burial sequences – of up to a dozen graves – especially in the southern part of the site (Areas 8 and 19), and it was initially supposed that these might stretch well back into the Anglo-Saxon period. A similar age was suspected for a series of timber coffins and linings to graves, preserved in waterlogged conditions on the eastern part of the site (Areas 4, 5, 12 and 15), since these were also among the earliest features in their local stratigraphic sequences (Rodwell and Rodwell 1982, 299–302). However, virtually no other contemporary artefactual evidence was present, and thus dating was only relative, not absolute. The presence of stone supports for the skull ('pillow-stones' and 'ear-muffs') in some graves, the inclusion of long slender sticks (rods or staves) in others, and the general lack of medieval pottery from their fillings, were all taken as pointers to a pre-Conquest date. A light scatter of potsherds spanning the entire Anglo-Saxon period, recovered from graves and pre-cemetery features, tended to confirm the proposed late Saxon dating.

In an attempt to establish the cemetery's period of origin, and to chart its spatial development, a substantial programme of scientific dating was carried out on skeletons (using radiocarbon determinations) and, where available, on surviving coffin timber (using dendrochronology). The individual results were combined, analyzed and interpreted using the 'Bayesian' approach, in an attempt to refine the overall cemetery chronology, as discussed in chapter 15. This process led to the production of 'posterior density estimates'

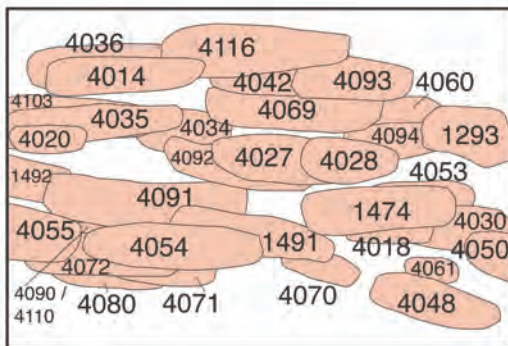
for the age of each sample. The overall results of the dating programme were surprising, and demonstrated that, contrary to expectation, only a small proportion of the excavated burials may be referred to, even loosely, as Anglo-Saxon (for detailed discussion, see pp. 772–86). To some extent this is due to variations in the radiocarbon calibration curve which, during the period in question, have a tendency to produce two- or three-part posterior density estimates: unfortunately, these can be variously interpreted as either pre- or post-Conquest.¹ A future scientific dating programme may lead to further refinement of the calculation of posterior density estimates, when analysis of the results of comparisons between calibrated radiocarbon dates, derived from skeletal material, and the known dates of associated coffin timbers, established by dendrochronology, has been completed. In the meantime, however, analysis of the St Peter's cemetery must largely rely on, and seek to accommodate, the posterior density estimates, even where there appears to be an archaeological conflict.

Whatever the potential for revision of the radiocarbon sample results relating to the earliest burials on the site, our most precise dates, which were supplied by dendrochronology, make it clear that the vast majority of the preserved early timber coffins – previously thought to be of Anglo-Saxon manufacture – actually date from the post-Conquest period. Absolute dates for thirty-two of the early coffined burials (obtained from ninety-four oak boards) indicate that twenty-one of these (65%) were probably interred after the Saxo-Norman church had been constructed, which could have been as late as the 1080s (Period 3; pp. 395–400).

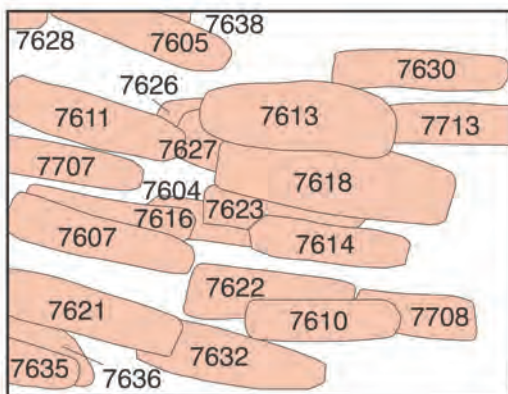
Thus, the preliminary results of dendrochronology and radiocarbon sampling challenged the previously accepted view that the preserved coffins, and many of the other early burials, dated to the late Anglo-Saxon period; it also became clear that the inclusion of rods, pillow-stones, etc., continued beyond the Norman Conquest. Consequently, the temporal boundaries of the burial phases, as first defined, were reviewed and Phase E was redesignated to cover the period from c. 950 to 1150.² As a result of this revision, burial Phase E includes the primary (pre-church) interments, the cemetery layout associated with the Anglo-Saxon turri-form church (Period 2), and also the burials contemporary with the Saxo-Norman church (Period 3) (Figs.



Detail 1



Detail 2



Detail 3

Fig. 162: Enlarged detail plans of three areas of dense burial in Phase E; see Fig. 161. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

161 and 162). Burial Phase D coincides approximately with the construction and enlargement of the twelfth-century church (Period 4) (Fig. 163).

The results of the scientific dating programme currently suggest that a cemetery was developed to the west of the sub-circular enclosure no earlier than *cal. AD*

975–1010 (95% probability). Use of the site for burial before this date has not been ruled out, but it appears unlikely that it served as the principal cemetery for a sizeable community before the last quarter of the tenth century.

Analysis of the excavation records and sample testing of the conclusions by scientific dating methods has resulted in the allocation of 486 graves to burial Phase E.³ Some of these burials may be more precisely allocated to either the pre-church cemetery, the Anglo-Saxon churchyard, or the Saxo-Norman churchyard, but the majority lack sufficient stratigraphic or scientific dating evidence to support their assignment to a particular cemetery phase. A further 482 burials, even less tightly stratified or otherwise datable, have been allocated to the combined burial Phase D/E (*c.* 950–1300) and, although it is probable that at least a proportion of these were Phase E interments, none has been included in the analysis and discussion of that cemetery horizon.

Relatively few burials have an indisputable position within a particular cemetery horizon. Nevertheless, the initial adoption of the site for burial, and the subsequent expansion and re-ordering of the cemetery associated with the construction and development of the church, is well evidenced.

Pre-Church Burials

Evidence for a total of twenty-eight burials was securely stratified beneath deposits associated with the construction of the three-celled church (Fig. 164); ten individuals had been interred on the site of the tower, nine on the site of the western annexe (baptistery), and nine in the small area occupied by the chancel. In reality, the number of burials affected is likely to have been greater, since several graves doubtless coincided with the lines of the north and south wall foundations, and were thus destroyed without leaving any tangible trace. Later disturbances in the centre of the chancel may have destroyed others too. Differences in the alignment and post-interment treatment of these graves appear to indicate that there were at least two phases of burial on the site before the erection of the first stone church. Evidence of intercutting was also noted.

Prior to the construction of the primary church, an attempt was made to exhume all the burials that had taken place within the area which would become its footprint. Most of the graves were probably marked on the surface, but some evidently were not and were consequently overlooked in the initial clearance operation. Beneath the tower and baptistery the large but discrete exhumation cuts clearly reflected the well-ordered rows of a cemetery of cofined burials (Figs. 148 and 165), as well as revealing the slight skewing of some graves relative to the axis of the tower and chancel: the majority of the exhumed graves were aligned a few degrees to the north of west, on a similar axis to that of the baptistery (for discussion of the plan and alignments, see p. 294).

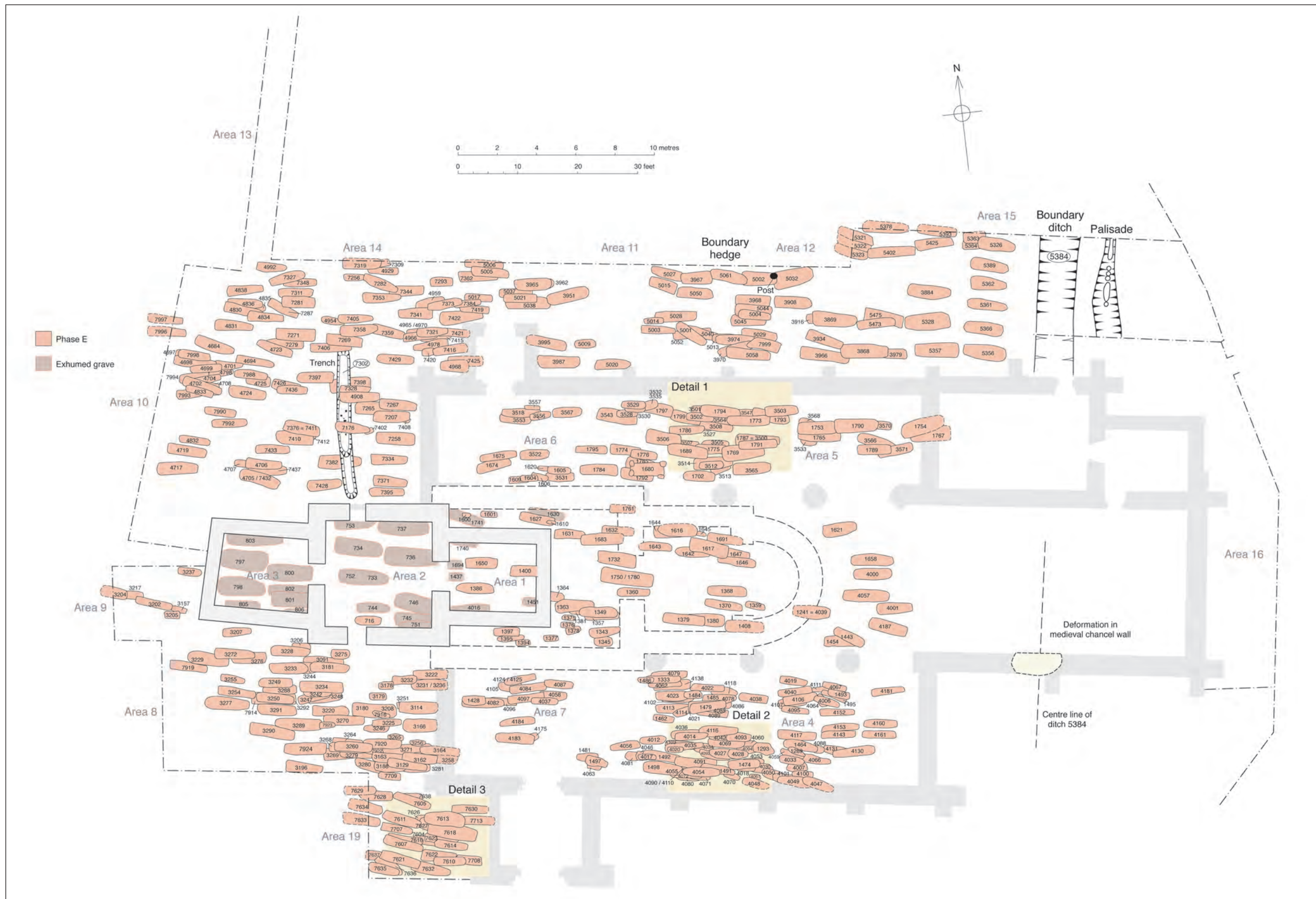


Fig. 161: General plan of excavated graves attributed to burial Phase E. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

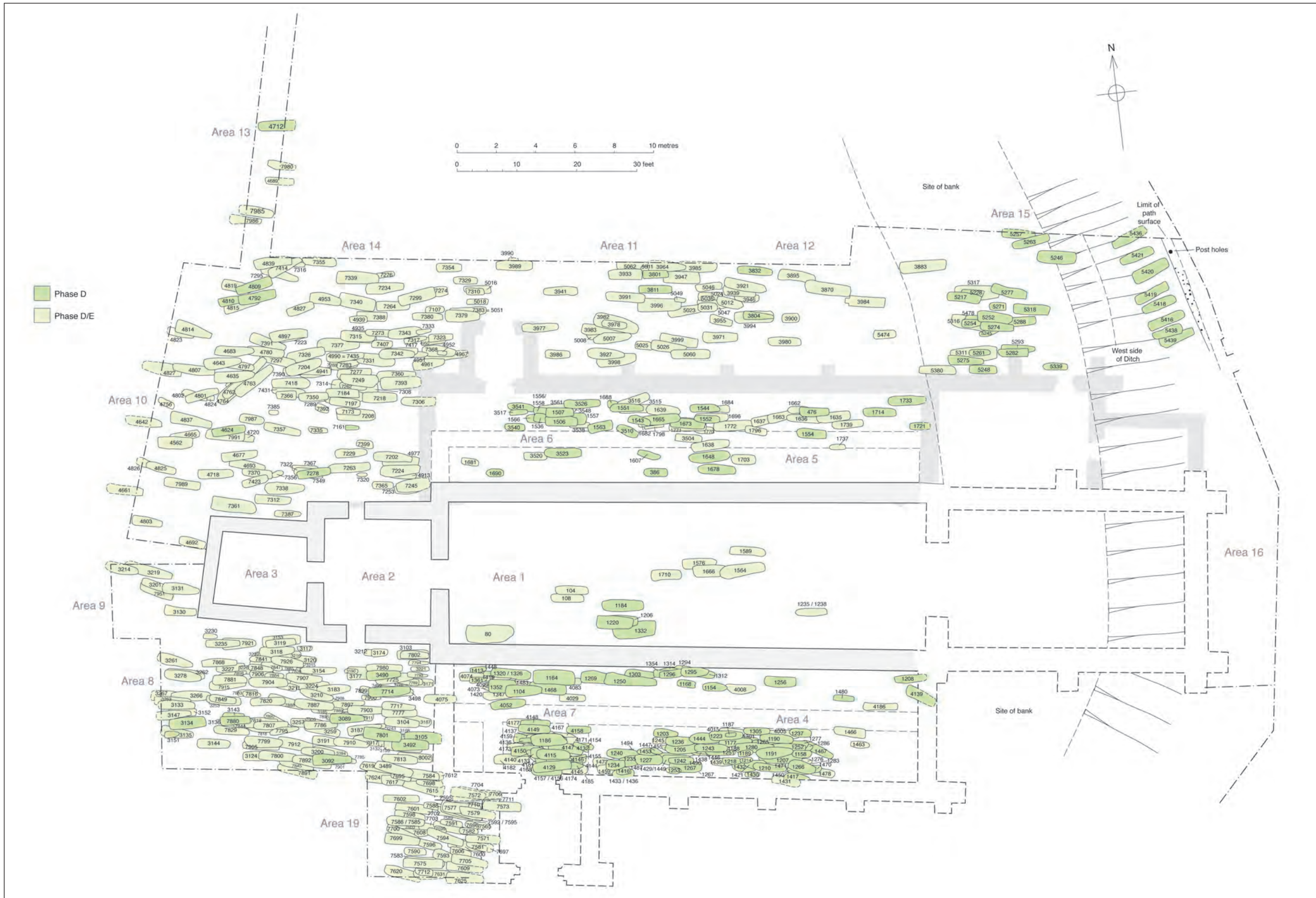


Fig. 163: General plan of excavated graves attributed to burial Phases D and D/E. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

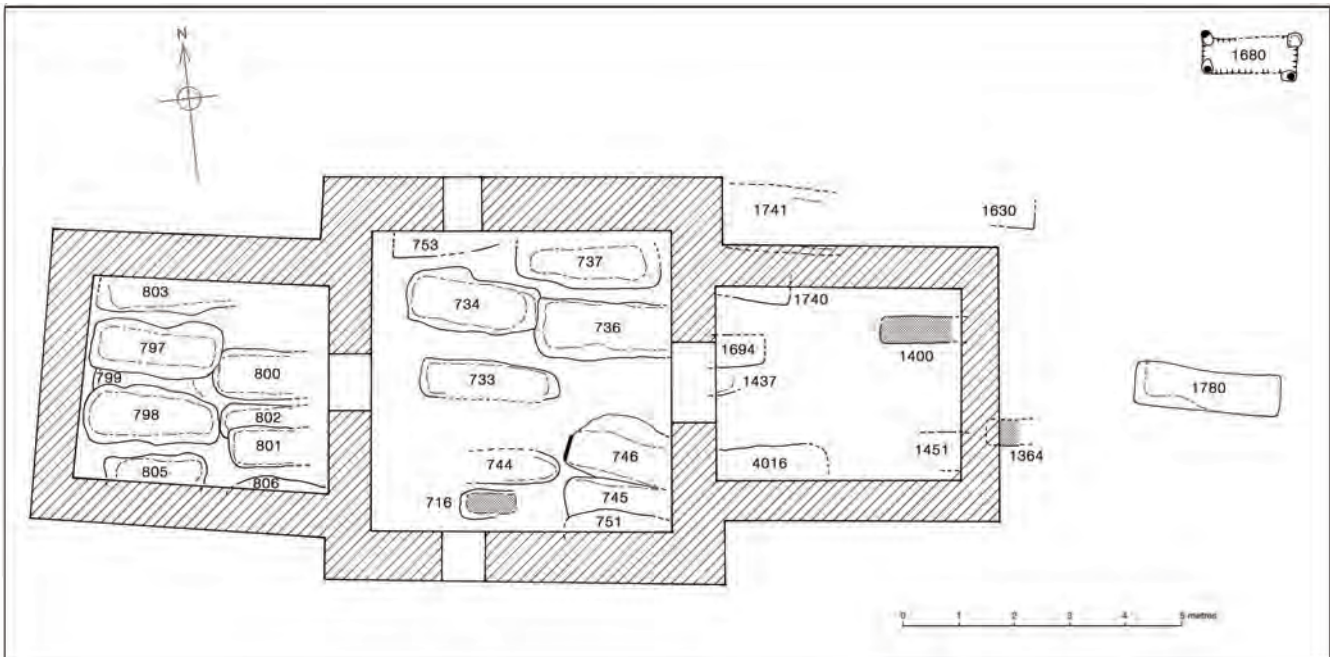


Fig. 164: Plan of graves, mostly exhumed, pre-dating the erection of the first stone church. Only the three shaded graves still contained skeletal remains (F716, F1364 and F1400). Where the original plan of the cut was preserved in the bottom of the grave, this is indicated with a chain line. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 165: Exhumed pre-church graves excavated within the western annexe. View west. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

The discrete exhumation cuts suggest that at the time these were relatively recent interments, whose positions were accurately indicated by grave-markers or earthen mounds. Moreover, the identities of the individuals being exhumed are likely to have been preserved in current memory. Several graves on the site of the intended chancel were also neatly exhumed, together with one just outside its north-east angle (F1630). Once emptied of coffins and skeletal remains, the graves were firmly packed with clay and, in a subsequent operation, the foundation trenches were dug through this backfilling (pp. 279–81). The outlines of the original graves had mostly been masked by the activities of the exhumers, who had significantly enlarged the cuts. In some cases, however, the true plan of the grave was preserved in the bottom of the pit: F797, beneath the baptistery, is a good example.

By contrast, occupants of the earlier, less ordered, cemetery phase are likely to have been forgotten, and their remains not sought prior to construction work. This was especially evidenced on the site of the Anglo-Saxon chancel, where two graves (F1364 and F1400) were disturbed during the excavation of the foundation trench for the east wall: the skeletons were intercepted by the line of the trench and were simply sliced through, leaving parts *in situ* (Fig. 166). A child's burial (F716) on the site of the tower was also overlooked, but this did not impinge on the line of the foundation trenches and thus remained undisturbed. Hardly anything is known about the practice of systematic exhumation prior to building work, and it is clear that this rarely occurred: for discussion, see pp. 346–8.

The contrast between the two approaches to dealing with the human remains is likely to be a product of two discrete stages in the works programme: in the first, cleansing the area of human remains was carried out by a dedicated exhumation team, while in the second stage construction work proceeded without concern for any remaining burials. The possibility that the amount of respect shown for human remains depended



Fig. 166: Remains of the torso of a pre-church burial (F1364), the lower part cut away by the chancel foundations (the skull was removed by a later disturbance in the foreground). View west. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

upon the extent to which the identities or familial ties of the deceased were remembered should not be discounted. This is still a significant factor today in the level of respect shown for burials.

One poorly stratified but otherwise convincing pre-church burial (F1780) was encountered to the east of the Anglo-Saxon chancel, straddling the longitudinal axis of the first church and following the alignment of the well-ordered pre-church cemetery. The substantial grave containing this burial had been emptied of all but a narrow strip of its primary fill, which preserved the impression of a coffin along the southern edge. Unfortunately, later use of the area for burial had divorced grave F1780 (and its exhumation cut F1750) from the local stratigraphic sequence, but the depth and alignment, relative to its more securely stratified Anglo-Saxon neighbours, strongly suggest that F1780 was a particularly significant burial. It may therefore have been exhumed by the cemetery-cleansing team prior to the commencement of construction work on the first church.⁴

Dating

As part of the programme of scientific dating, attempts were made to identify intact burials that might have belonged to one of the pre-church cemetery phases, but with little success. However, the failure to remove all burials from the intended footprint of the chancel meant that human bone from F1364 was available for radiocarbon dating. This sample, taken from an adult male, yielded a posterior density estimate of *cal. AD 985–1035 (95% probability; OxA-12374)* and comparable posterior density estimates (*i.e.* falling within the date-range 985–1045) were yielded by samples of human bone collected from a further eleven intact burials selected from disparate parts of the excavated area. Although all of the twelve dated samples *could* be from pre-church burials, it is likely that at least some were derived from graves associated with the first churchyard phase, since they were not sealed by building construction deposits.

Excavation identified four burials, all in the area to the east of the Anglo-Saxon chancel, which are likely to have lain within the first pre-church cemetery, and there must be others to north and south too. However, in the excavated areas outside the tower and baptistery all possible candidates for inclusion in the same group as the exhumed burials might, with equal justification, be regarded as belonging to the first churchyard. Samples of bone collected from two of these candidates (F3288 and F3247) provided posterior density estimates of *cal. AD 995–1040 (92% probability; UB-4657)* and *cal. AD 995–1040 (81% probability; UB-4443)*, respectively. Unhelpfully, while these results placed both in the category of potential pre-church burials, it is equally possible that they were associated with the first churchyard.

Pre-Church Cemetery Ordering and Boundaries

Burials potentially belonging to the pre-church cemetery were sparsely spread over almost the entire excavated area, from at least as far west as the gable wall of the baptistery to grave F5393, which lay only 12 m inside the present eastern boundary of the churchyard. The northern and southern limits of this cemetery, and of all subsequent re-orderings, were not fully tested by the excavations, but archaeological observations and scientific dating results from Area 13, to the north of the church, suggest that none of the relatively few burials in this vicinity is securely assignable to Phase E, let alone to the pre-church cemetery. It therefore appears that the northern limit of burial in Phase E coincided with the break of slope on this small knoll, which flanked the Beck.

While it is undeniable that many early graves, especially if they were shallow, will have been removed by subsequent activity in the cemetery, and by construction works, from the available evidence it appears unlikely that the pre-church cemetery had a high burial density. Other than in the area beneath the tower and baptistery, there is little evidence for ordered rows of graves and therefore it appears probable that burials were made in discrete family or other social groupings, perhaps widely dispersed over the available area.

The final pre-church ordering of the cemetery was, by contrast, carefully laid out, the burials being positioned in pairs of neat rows with a path between each pair. Although the boundaries of this cemetery were not evidenced, the density of the well-ordered burials beneath the tower and baptistery and the lack of similarly closely positioned graves in the surrounding area suggest that this period of cemetery use had tight spatial as well as temporal limits. Although isolated graves to the north and south of the site occupied by the three-celled church may belong to this phase of burial, there is no potential for any significant extension of the neatly ordered rows seen beneath it. It is thus possible that use of this discrete area on the highest part of the site for burial effectively started for a second time, perhaps under the control of a new authority, only shortly before the first stone church was erected.

The ground beneath the tower and baptistery was so thoroughly cleared of burials before the foundation trenches were dug that only one pre-church skeleton, that of a young child, remained to supply a sample for scientific dating (grave F716). The posterior density estimate of *cal. AD 1025–1165 (93% probability; OxA-12373)*, which was produced by this sample was unexpectedly late and disappointingly vague. It is difficult to assess the archaeological value of this particular result. Consequently, the well-ordered and demonstrably pre-church cemetery cannot be dated with precision.

Although the full spatial and temporal extent of the two identifiable pre-church cemetery phases remains uncertain, the marked contrast between them suggests

that re-ordering may have been prompted by a change in local religious or secular organization. It seems likely that the pre-church cemetery did not initially have any perceptible boundary, but re-ordering shortly prior to the construction of the church may have led to the creation of an eastern boundary (a hedge?), immediately east of grave F5002 (Fig. 161, northern edge of Area 12).

Burials and Boundaries Associated with the Anglo-Saxon Stone Church

The three-celled church stood, apparently unaltered, for a period of *c.* 60–100 years (depending upon the chronology adopted, pp. 354–5), before it was extended eastwards. During this time it is inevitable that, with a population in Barton of around one thousand, many hundreds of people died, but whether they were all buried in St Peter's churchyard is a moot point. In the early part of this period it would appear that the extent of the churchyard remained much as described for the pre-church cemetery, that is bounded on the north and west by gently sloping ground (possibly terraced to carry a track), by a presumed road on the south, and by boggy ground (the ditch of the middle Saxon sub-circular enclosure) on the east.

The extent of the consecrated ground, and the degree to which it physically constrained the spread of burial, cannot be determined, but it is interesting to note that grave F5393, an adult male, was one of what can only have been a very small number of burials of pre-Conquest date in the north-eastern part of the cemetery (Fig. 161, Area 15). It is therefore possible that the occupant of this grave was a wrong-doer in the eyes of the Church, and was interred in what was then unconsecrated ground.⁵ A codified distinction between consecrated and unconsecrated ground is documented as early as the tenth century (Hadley and Buckberry 2005, 123).

During the latter part of this period there is evidence to suggest that either a new eastern cemetery boundary was established, or that the limit of the consecrated area in this direction was more clearly marked: it was at least 10 m *west* of burial F5393. The existence of this eastern boundary was revealed while analyzing the spatial distribution of the tree-ring dates yielded by preserved timber coffins in waterlogged deposits inside and to the north of the present church. Apart from two early burials (F5032 and F5393), whose posterior density estimates suggested that they had been interred before 1066, none of the scientifically dated burials with a known or probable date before 1089 lay to the east of the inter-cutting graves F5002 and F5032. A single post set on the edge of these graves seemed to mark a north–south boundary line (Fig. 161). A posterior density estimate of *cal. AD 1047–1075 (95% probability)*, provided by the application of the Bayesian approach to an imprecise tree-ring date for the coffin from burial F5002, gave a *terminus*

post quem for the posited boundary. The *terminus ante quem* for the boundary was provided by a tree-ring date of winter 1103/04 for the coffin in grave F5475, the earliest dated burial to the east of the boundary.

The evidence suggests that the eastern limit of the late Saxon cemetery – whether newly established, or simply redefined – was marked by a fence or hedge (there being nothing to indicate a bank or other substantial demarcation), after 1075 and probably before ?1079, when the first of two burials was made against its western side (F3968 and F5044).⁶ The positions of potentially contemporaneous burials to the south of this group, and an adjacent narrow strip of ground which was little used for burial during Phase E, suggest that the eastern boundary was straight and lay at right-angles to the axis of the Anglo-Saxon church. The eastern boundary remained in this position until no later than the winter of 1103/04, by which time at least one burial (F5475), and possibly several others (F5326, etc.), had been made to the east of it.

No alterations to the northern, southern and western limits of the churchyard were evidenced, or tested by the scientific dating programme, but a similar contraction or redefinition on one or more sides of the cemetery cannot be discounted. The occurrence of middle-to-late Saxon burials in areas immediately outside churchyard boundaries is a recognized phenomenon, and among the possible explanations is the later

Saxon trend for enclosing sprawling cemeteries, a process that could result in a reduction of the area designated for burial (Gittos 2002, 203–4).

Burials and Boundaries Associated with the Saxo-Norman Church

The putative line of the eastern cemetery boundary in the mid-eleventh century crossed the area that was later occupied by the apse of the Saxo-Norman chancel and it must therefore have been superseded in structural Period 3. The coincidence of the boundary's demise, c. 1080–90, and the probable date of construction of the Saxo-Norman nave and chancel (described in chapter 7) indicate that the enclosed area of the churchyard was increased in order to accommodate the planned extension of the church, rather than simply to provide more ground for burials. However, it would appear that the new 13.5 m-wide strip of ground which was annexed began to be used for burial very soon after it was enclosed. This post-1080 eastern boundary was marked by a ditch, 2 m wide and in excess of 0.7 m deep, with a truncated V-shaped profile (Figs. 161, 167 and 168; F5384). A neatly ordered row of uncoffined burials (F5356, F5366, F5361, F5362, F5389 and F5326) was positioned such that a strip of undisturbed ground, one metre wide, remained between the graves and the ditch, which may indicate that the latter was

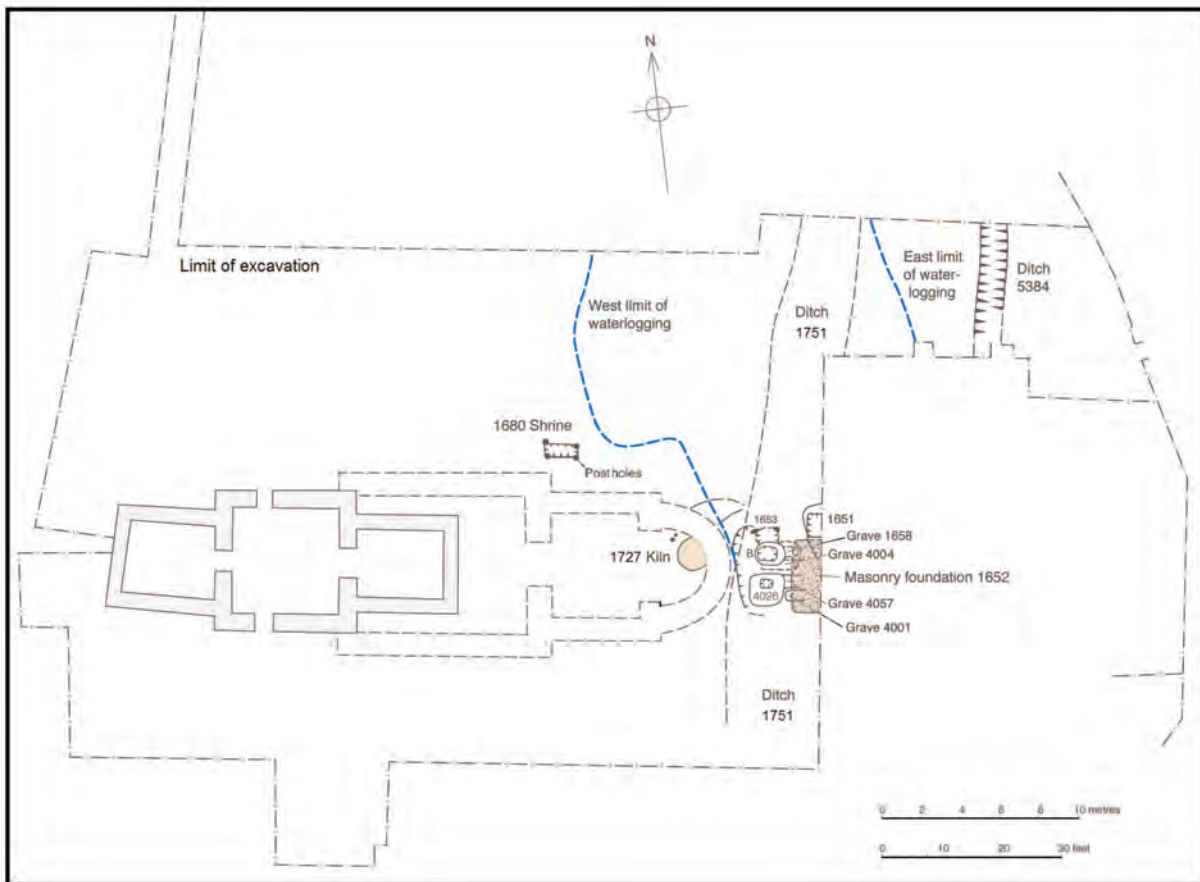


Fig. 167: Plan of features at the east end of the Saxo-Norman church. Drawing: Simon Hayfield



Fig. 168: Eastern boundary ditch of the late Saxon churchyard (F5384). View north. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

flanked on its western side by a bank and hedge. Although none of the burials in the easternmost row has been scientifically dated, it is probable that they were the first to be made in the churchyard extension. Not only did these six graves lie at right-angles to the new boundary, but they also shared an alignment with the earliest dated burial in the extension (F5475; winter 1103/04), suggesting that they were part of the primary ordering of the extended cemetery.⁷

Approximately one metre to the east of ditch F5384 lay another boundary-feature (F5465), consisting of a trench or ditch 1.4 m wide, in the bottom of which was a discontinuous line of slots and postholes. In the absence of dating evidence for the creation of this potential palisade, it is not possible to determine whether it pre-dated ditch F5384, or whether the two were broadly contemporary (*i.e.* the palisade was erected to define the new western boundary of the adjacent property, after the churchyard had been granted additional land). What is clear is that the palisade was removed and its trench backfilled in the mid-twelfth century.⁸ The new eastern boundary (F5384) associated with the Saxo-Norman church is likely to have remained effective until the early or mid-twelfth century.

Other Saxo-Norman and Norman Burials

In the absence of any reliable means of differentiating between the late Saxon and Saxo-Norman burials in the core area of the cemetery, little can be said about its ordering. However, within the extension of *c.* 1080

there were very few earlier burials to confuse the issue. In this area, the majority of the post-Conquest burials belonged to one of two distinct groups: the first comprised uncoffined burials aligned a few degrees off the east–west axis of the church, the second being coffined burials aligned on that axis. Although some blurring of the margins is likely, and can indeed be demonstrated,⁹ all recorded stratigraphic relationships between burials in this part of the cemetery, both with and without coffins, confirm that the earliest were uncoffined.

Within the first ordering of the extension, it is possible to discern four north–south rows of uncoffined burials, although in all but the easternmost row there were seemingly more ‘vacant’ burial plots than occupied ones (Fig. 161, Area 15). To some extent, this is due to the destruction of early burials by later foundations and graves, but to the north and east of the Saxo-Norman church the surviving stratigraphy demonstrated that the uncoffined burials were indeed sparsely scattered over the available area, suggesting a random or elective, rather than a sequential, allocation of grave plots in established rows. The clustering of uncoffined burials in the spacious extension (*e.g.* the tightly aligned group F5321, F5322 and F5323 in the northern part, and the overlapping but not intercutting group topped by F4047 in the southern part) is likely to reflect dedicated family plots.

Constituents of the second identifiable group – coffined burials aligned west–east – appear to have been deliberately placed within the rows set out when the extension was first opened for burial. There were very few instances of disturbance, where a coffined

burial took place partly or wholly over an uncoffined one, perhaps suggesting a desire for proximity rather than displacement; possibly family groupings were still being maintained.

There is little evidence to indicate that the positioning of the many coffined (and tree-ring dated) burials in the north-east corner of the excavated part of the Saxo-Norman churchyard was influenced by a desire to fill vacant burial plots in an organized fashion. In only one row, the second from the eastern boundary, can part of an ordered pattern be detected in the northward progression of interments.

The excavated sequence demonstrated that timber coffins were in regular use down to *c.* 1090; then there was a hiatus until *c.* 1103, after which most burials were encoffined, at least down to the mid-twelfth century. It might be questioned whether the uncoffined burials were made during a period when major construction was in progress in Barton and timber was at a premium. However, given the relatively small numbers of burials in each group, and the lack of comparable data for the remainder of the churchyard, it would be unwise to place any reliance on such a hypothesis.

Cemetery Structures

Masonry foundation for a ?monument

Axially to the east of the Saxo-Norman church lay a mortared masonry foundation (F1652), the full extent of which could not be revealed since it continued eastwards beneath the unexcavated medieval chancel (Figs. 167, 169 and 391). The west side of the foundation, together with the north and south returns, were examined: the width was 3.6 m (12 ft), north–south, and in excess of 1.6 m (*c.* 5 ft), east–west. It seems most unlikely to be part of the wall of a building, and is more plausibly interpreted as a base or raft upon which a discrete structure – square or rectangular in plan – stood. The ground here was not firm, being traversed by backfilled Anglo-Saxon ditches, all water-logged. It is therefore not surprising that the foundation was solid, and comprised boulders and chalk rubble capped with a bed of buff sandy mortar: there can be little doubt that it was intended to support a masonry structure.¹⁰

The foundation could have been a raft to support a small square or rectangular building, such as a chapel or tower, but even if its walls were only 0.8 m thick, and there was no external offset, that would leave the structure with an internal north–south dimension of no more than 2 m. Interpretation as a chapel or a tower does not carry conviction, but the possibility of an important tomb or monument – perhaps that of the founder of this most remarkable church – should not be lightly rejected. Little is known about late Saxon monumental tombs built of masonry, but freestanding rectangular structures, variously described as mausolea and *hypogaea*, are known at Glastonbury Abbey, Winchester Old Minster

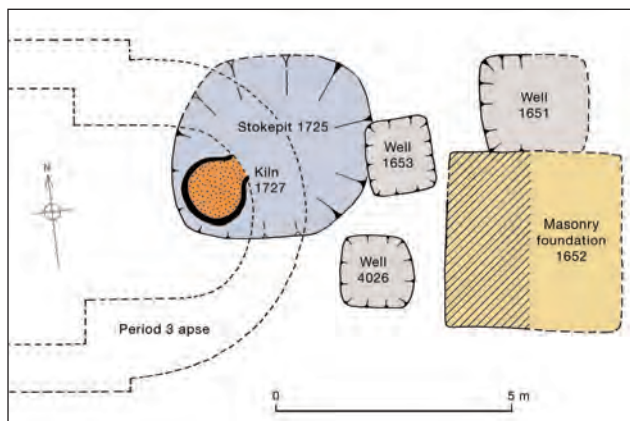


Fig. 169: Plan of the kiln, wells and masonry foundation in Areas 4/5. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

and Wells Cathedral (for a discussion, see Rodwell 2001, 78–9). These structures had sunken chambers which contained one or more interments, but the water-logged ground conditions at Barton would have precluded a subterranean arrangement, although the surrounding level could have been artificially raised to create a comparable effect. Any evidence relating to that would have been lost when the site was levelled to erect the long Norman church (pp. 377–8).

Another suggestion, previously advanced, is that the masonry base was square in plan and supported a standing cross (Rodwell and Rodwell 1982, 300). The scale of the foundation would imply that the cross-shaft was mounted on a substantial podium or stepped base, as commonly seen in the high Middle Ages: *e.g.* the Butter Cross in the Market Place at Barrow-upon-Humber, or the churchyard cross at Thornton Curtis (Fig. 675) but nothing analogous is known in late Saxon England. At Raunds a probable cemetery cross-base had a dimension of only one metre (Boddington 1996, fig. 11). Another major question arises concerning the source of large blocks of good-quality stone to build both the cross and its supporting structure. There was no locally available stone for constructions of this kind, and consequently north Lincolnshire seemingly did not have a tradition of setting up stone cross-shafts (Everson and Stocker 1999, 27–35). The nearest to Barton was at Crowle (35 km to the south-west), after which one has to travel south, 40–50 km, to Bardney and Brattleby (Everson and Stocker 1999, 97–100, 113–15, 147–51). There may have been equivalents in timber, but neither they nor the stone crosses cited would not have required a 12 ft square masonry foundation.¹¹ Apart from the consignment of Gritstone, brought to Barton from an unidentified Roman building, for the dressings of the Anglo-Saxon church, there is no evidence for the importation of large blocks of building stone to the town (pp. 322–6). Interpretation of the foundation as a cross-base now seems unconvincing.

A date-bracket for the structure can be deduced stratigraphically. On the one hand, the western side of the foundation cut through two burials (F4057 and

F4112) that were part of the late Saxon cemetery, and on the other it was sealed by the erection of the long-naved Norman church in the early or mid-twelfth century. Prior to that, however, the foundation was itself cut into by burial F1658, which presupposes that whatever structure it carried had gone. All three stratigraphically related graves contained timber coffins that unfortunately were poorly preserved and undatable. Construction of the raft in the eleventh century seems assured, but whether it was associated with the primary church or with its Saxo-Norman successor is less easy to determine.

The monument lay within the Saxo-Norman extension to the churchyard, which is a strong pointer to its not being associated with the primary church, but with its successor. Also, its location immediately east of the apsidal sanctuary is suggestive of a close relationship, and one which is attested for axial tombs elsewhere.¹² Relatively little is known about the siting of important burials and their monuments in late Saxon graveyards: while more of these perhaps tend to be found to the east or south-east of the church, this is by no means a general rule. The window of opportunity for the monument's construction was narrow, but it could very plausibly have been associated with the builder of the Saxo-Norman church in the closing decades of the eleventh century. The church was then still proprietary and was doubtless firmly under the control of the local lord, whose seat was almost certainly next to the church, at Tyrwhitt Hall (p. 54). The monument was swept away before the middle of the twelfth century.

Kiln

Sealed beneath, and partly destroyed by, the foundation of the apse of the Saxo-Norman church was a kiln or oven (F1727) which had been constructed in a sub-circular pit (F1757). The kiln chamber, which was circular and composed of fired clay, went through four phases (Pl. 38; Fig. 169). The initial structure had an internal diameter of 1.05 m, and had been formed on a carefully prepared base of cobbles and small pieces of limestone (Fig. 170). At the time of the first reconstruction the kiln was enlarged to have an internal diameter of 1.2 m (4 ft). The flue faced north-east, and the stokepit (F1725) contained nothing but fine black ash and some charcoal. Several small postholes in the base of the pit, close to the edge, were evidently associated.

In the absence of any slag or other readily identifiable residues, it was initially concluded that the feature was an oven that performed a function such as baking bread, which would leave no diagnostic evidence. However, the structure is too large for a domestic oven and its situation in the corner of a sizeable stokepit rather implies its association with an industrial process that involved considerable time and labour. It is commensurate with a pottery kiln, but the lack of wasters must cast doubt on such an interpretation. That said, the extent to which later activity had removed the contemporary ground surface from around the pit, and all but a tiny amount of stratification within it, the absence of ceramic evidence cannot be considered definitive.



Fig. 170: Stone foundation of kiln (F1727). View south-east. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

This argument is reinforced by the fact that very few fragments from the superstructure of the kiln were recovered either: the site must have been cleared and the debris carted away.

The kiln cannot be closely dated: a *terminus post quem* in the tenth century is provided by several fragments of Torksey Ware which were found in the clay used to construct it, and the Saxo-Norman apse supplies a *terminus ante quem* of c. 1080. The kiln lay on the eastern side of what has been defined above as the earliest churchyard boundary, and access to it was obviously also from the east (*i.e.* from the adjacent property): its interpretation as a domestic or industrial feature, associated with the Tyrwhitt Hall settlement is therefore more convincing than any suggestion that it was ecclesiastical. Comparison may perhaps be made with the Saxo-Norman kiln at Laughton-en-le-Morthen (S. Yorks.), on the floor of which lay a deposit of carbonized oat grain (Christie 2007, 288–9, fig. 37).

Wells

Between the kiln and the probable tomb or monument foundation two wells or water-holes were found, and there was another alongside to the north (Figs. 167 and 169). They had been dug through the upper filling of the ditch (F1751) associated with the middle Saxon sub-circular enclosure, to tap the water supply in the lower silts.

F1653 The earliest well was 1.0 m square and had postholes at the corners: it had been timber lined, although none of the structure survived except as a dark soil stain. There was an organic layer in the base.

F4026 The second well lay a little further south. It was slightly larger, squarish in plan, and probably once had a timber lining. Later disturbances had taken their toll on the evidence.

No dating evidence of consequence was found but, like the kiln, the wells appeared to be earlier than all the graves in the area. It is therefore likely that the wells were broadly contemporary with the kiln, and perhaps directly associated with the same industrial process. A third well (F1651) was discovered immediately adjacent to the monument foundation, on the north. This had been timber lined, and the stratification suggests that it was not only later than the other wells, but also post-dated the destruction of the monument. It is therefore considered to have been a feature inside the Norman church (Fig. 429; p. 380).

Archaeology of the Early Burials

Many variations in the form and rite of burial were practised by the Barton community during Phase E (c. 950–1150). Items that might be included with a burial were: a timber coffin (several different types of construction); timber grave linings and covers (including fragments of boats); charcoal or riverine mud; head

supports in the form of pillow-stones or ear-muffs; organic pillows; rods or staves of coppice-wood; and possibly quartz pebbles. Many of these potential inclusions were organic and liable to decay, and are therefore unlikely to feature in the archaeological record, except in rare circumstances. In all but permanently waterlogged (or, conversely, arid) conditions insubstantial organic items, such as coppice rods and organic pillows, will have decayed without trace and even the most robust coffin timbers and grave linings may leave little more than a dark organic stain. Over the major part of the excavated area of St Peter's cemetery the potential for preservation of organic artefacts was no better than might be encountered elsewhere on clayland, but in one particular area, beneath and to the north of the easternmost bay of the present nave of the church, the soil conditions were such that even insubstantial organic items were fortuitously preserved.

Mechanics of survival

The lower deposits within the large spring-fed ditch of the sub-circular enclosure were constantly waterlogged; they also served as a conduit through which surplus water could percolate into intercutting and adjacent ditches (F1751, Fig. 153). Furthermore, the earliest graves in this part of the cemetery served to extend the area of waterlogging, by providing soft channels between the wet ditch fills and adjacent deposits that would otherwise have been relatively dry. Within the resulting delta, the degree of waterlogging was consistent in the lowest archaeological levels, permitting the preservation of complete coffins and grave-lining timbers, but at higher levels where the deposits were partially or seasonally waterlogged, the decay of organic materials was only slightly less rapid than elsewhere in the cemetery. Even within the fully waterlogged burials, no textiles, hair or soft tissue survived.

In addition to those which were excavated and removed from the ground, several well-preserved timber coffins were encountered but not lifted because they lay partly beneath the foundations of the present church, or extended beyond the limits of investigation.¹³ Almost certainly, there were many more preserved coffins outside the excavated area, but these, together with all their non-skeletal organic contents, have probably been lost in the very recent past. The extraction of ground water by modern pumping has significantly reduced the flow from the Wolds, even since the excavations took place in the early 1980s (p. 143). Deposits that were formerly waterlogged, either permanently or intermittently, have subsequently been drying out for thirty years.

The exceptional conditions prevailing in this discrete area of the cemetery have yielded a wealth of sepulchral detail and provided the potential for analysis of early burial rites. However, the majority of the excavated early burials, in the non-waterlogged areas, were not well preserved and it was not always possible

even to determine whether a corpse had been encoffined, let alone whether coppice rods or organic pillows had been included with it. Where no soil stain or physical evidence of a coffin survived – and metal fixings were rarely used in the construction of coffins at Barton – the former presence of one could sometimes be deduced from other factors, such as the shape and size of the grave-cut or the displacement of parts of the skeleton: the disposition of bones in a grave often provides a reliable indicator as to whether the corpse decayed in a void, or was surrounded by soil (see further, p. 191).

The varying potential for the preservation of timber and other organic materials across the site made the analysis of burial rites difficult, particularly in those parts of the cemetery where soil conditions were most conducive to decay. Any attempt to plot temporal and spatial variations, or the influence of status, is liable to fail owing to both the inconsistency of the evidence (actual and recorded) and the limited number of scientifically dated burials. Patterns of funerary ritual have been identified in certain parts of the cemetery, and these will be discussed below, but in most areas the majority of Phase E burials remain only locally stratified and circumstantially assigned to either the coffined or uncoffined categories.

Our inability to identify either temporal or social changes in preferences for burial rite is consistent with the results of a recent analysis of the documentary evidence and excavation records (including those from Barton) relating to Anglo-Saxon funerary practices in the tenth and eleventh centuries (Hadley and Buckberry 2005; Buckberry 2006). From their studies, the authors concluded that the Anglo-Saxon Church showed little interest in prescribing the form that burial should take. The documentary sources suggest that a prevailing fear of the grave and of bodily decay might have provided an impetus for enclosing the body in a coffin, or otherwise lining the grave to protect it from physical corruption (Thompson 2002, 234–8), but personal choice and social aspiration were possibly also important influences. Hadley and Buckberry concluded that the archaeological evidence suggests highly localized patterns of burial, presumably influenced by the individual community rather than the Church; this resulted in marked differences in the form of burial practised not only in neighbouring cemeteries but also within a single cemetery.

Uncoffined burials

Positive identification of a burial as uncoffined can be problematic, because the absence of preserved timber, organic stains, detectable differences in the grave fill, or metal fixings, does not necessarily imply that the corpse was uncoffined, but merely that no evidence for a coffin has survived. Several definitive examples of uncoffined burial were encountered in the waterlogged deposits towards the eastern side of the site: *e.g.* grave

F3566 completely lacked evidence for a coffin, but was surrounded by burials in preserved coffins and must therefore have been an interment directly in the earth. However, in most circumstances the only reliable indicator of an uncoffined burial was a clearly defined grave-cut whose shape and size demonstrably allowed no room for a coffin.

Coffin-less graves often had rounded ends, sloping sides and an uneven base, but only one example of a quasi-anthropomorphic grave-cut – *i.e.* having a deliberately shaped head-recess at the west end – was recorded in St Peter's cemetery. This grave (F3984; Fig. 171) lay to the north-east of the Anglo-Saxon church, within the area of the post-1080 graveyard extension, but its stratigraphic relationship to datable burials was uncertain and it was consequently allocated to Phase D/E.¹⁴ That is particularly unfortunate in view of the singular nature of this grave. Grave-cuts deliberately profiled to mimic the body are well known in late Saxon and early medieval cemeteries, and it is very surprising that more were not found at St Peter's (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 132–3). They pre-saged the internally shaped monolithic stone coffin, which became popular from the twelfth century onwards: examples of such coffins occurred at Barton (pp. 647–8).

Only eight of the sixty scientifically dated burials (in fifty-eight graves) attributable to Phase E were demonstrably uncoffined, and all but three of these were potential occupants of the pre-church cemetery. To a large extent, the ratio of dated coffined burials to dated uncoffined burials is a product of both the unusual degree of organic preservation in some parts of the site (and the consequent availability of numerous coffin timbers for tree-ring dating) and of the research questions posed (*e.g.* concerning the inclusion of rods, pillow-stones, clench-bolts, etc.), which influenced the selection of samples for radiocarbon dating. Analysis of the records suggests that coffined burials outnumbered uncoffined ones during this period of cemetery use.

It is also true that the demonstrably coffin-less graves were most commonly encountered at and close to the bottom of stacks of burials, and were therefore likely to belong to the earliest cemetery layout, but the results of the scientific dating programme suggest that coffined burials were also very common in the pre-church cemetery. A sample of human bone from the sole demonstrably uncoffined, pre-church burial (F1364) provided a posterior density estimate of *cal. AD 985–1035 (95% probability; OxA-12374)*, while the sample from a similarly aligned coffined burial (F4096) provided an equally early posterior density estimate of *cal. AD 985–1020 (95% probability; UB-4647)*.

Given that neither the scientific dating programme nor analysis of the site records provided a means of positively differentiating between the two earliest strata of burials in Phase E, it is not possible to determine the extent to which the use of coffins fluctuated through time, either as a response to changing religious views,

or across the social spectrum. The availability of local timber suitable for coffin construction, and the cost of imported timber, are factors which may have restricted the use of coffins by the less wealthy members of society, but again there is no firm evidence to support this. However, the frequent reuse of old timber in both grave-lining and coffin construction is poignant.

For only three short periods is it possible to argue with conviction that one particular form of burial – either coffined, or uncoffined – was the norm. There can be little doubt that the carefully exhumed burials on the site subsequently occupied by the three-celled church were all coffined, since not even the smallest finger and toe bones had been left behind in the graves. Whether coffined burial was preferred by the Church, or timber was readily and cheaply available, or the neatly ordered rows of burials represented members of an élite social group, is impossible to determine. The last would seem the most plausible.

During the latter part of burial Phase E, when the eastern boundary of the churchyard had been moved further east to accommodate the Saxo-Norman rebuilding, uncoffined burial was, for a short time – perhaps only about thirteen years – the norm, possibly

because all available timber was needed for construction work. The evidence suggests that coffined burial once again became prevalent, at least in the eastern extension of the churchyard, from *c.* 1103, by which time the Saxo-Norman reconstruction would have been complete. Much more evidence would, however, be needed to determine whether the last two deductions have real significance, or are merely fortuitous. The evidence is flimsy.

Most of the preserved coffins were of locally grown oak, but the incorporation of reused timbers in some might indicate that there were fluctuations in the availability of suitable boards (Tyers 2001a, 68). The twelfth century was a period of general population and economic growth, and Barton was no exception. Land devoted to agricultural use increased and new settlements were established on formerly marginal ground (*e.g.* at Sawcliffe, near Scunthorpe) with a consequent loss of woodland. The trade in pine, documented from at least as early as the thirteenth century (Salzman 1952, 247–8), was probably a response to the shortage of locally grown timber, and the discovery of a pine coffin for a child (grave F5474; Fig. 218) may provide evidence for an earlier commencement of this trade.

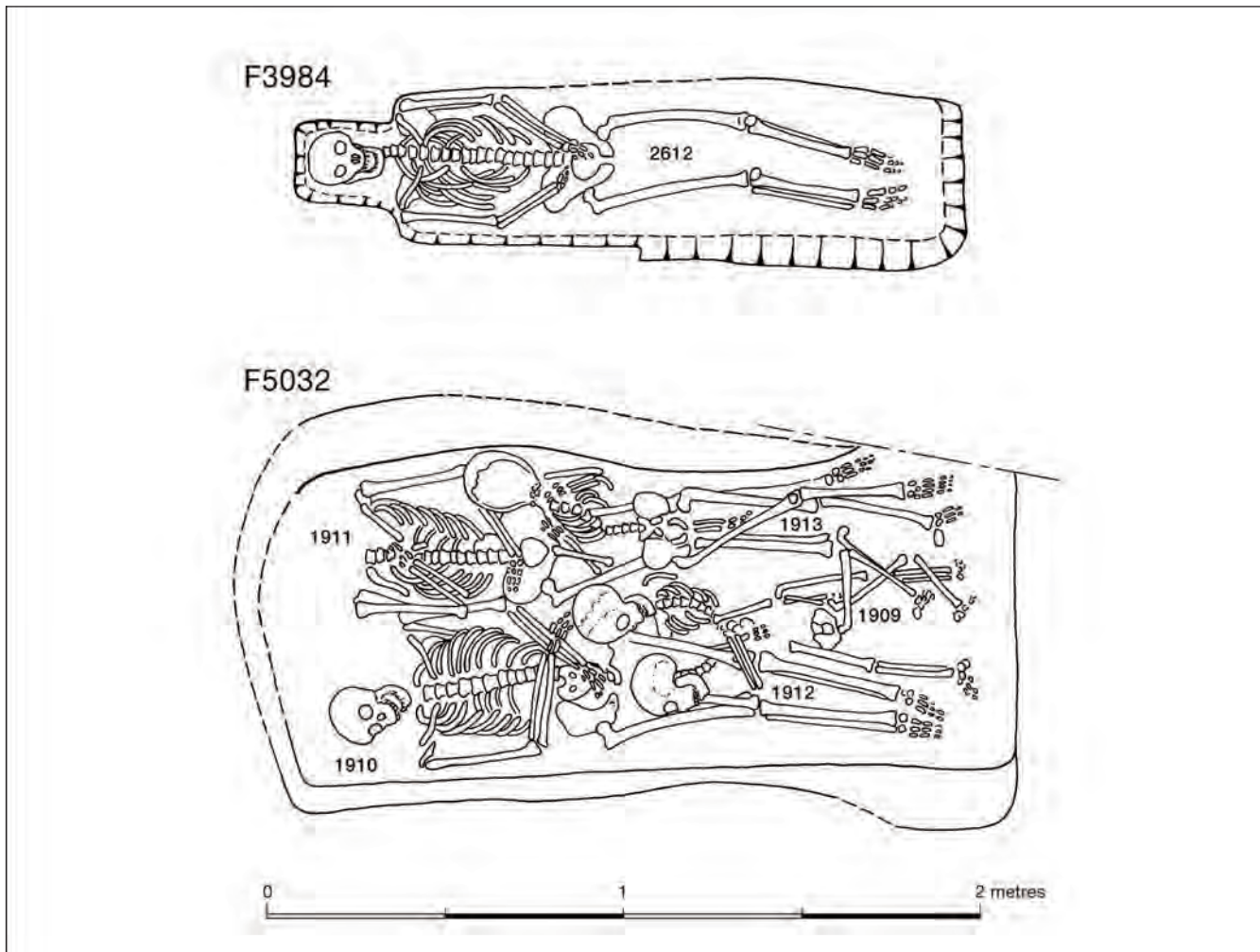


Fig. 171: Plans of graves F3984 and F5032 in Area 12. The latter grave contains five skeletons: 1909–1913. Scale 1:20. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

The radiocarbon date is unfortunately very imprecise: *cal. AD 1025–1290 (95% probability; OxA-2287)*. Stratigraphic evidence is more helpful, but not definitive: the row of burials containing the pine coffin evidently dated to the first half of the twelfth century, but the posterior density estimate put F5474 into Phase D/E.¹⁵ Perhaps dwindling local reserves of mature oak trees, caused by a boom in boat and building construction in the early post-Conquest period, prompted the sourcing of timber from further afield. Archaeologically, the most likely date for the pine coffin would be *c.* 1120–35.

In conclusion, it is probable that both coffined and uncoffined burial was acceptable to the Church, but with a preference for coffined burial, perhaps prompted by fear of disturbance or abhorrence of corporeal decay. However, it appears that there may have been intervals when local trading conditions, as well as individual resources, prompted uncoffined burial. Of the three dated, uncoffined burials subsequent to the construction of the first church, one (F5032) provided a posterior density estimate of *cal. AD 1020–1065 (95% probability; UB-4440)* placing it within the possibly unenclosed Anglo-Saxon churchyard. The other two provided broader posterior density estimates which merely confirmed their allocation to the post-church-construction cemetery of Phase E.

In the absence of preserved organic artefacts the only items found in association with uncoffined burials of Phase E were pillow-stones and ear-muffs, and possibly occasional quartz pebbles. However, very few definite examples of head-supports were found in uncoffined burials. Several interments which had pillow-stones or ear-muffs were thought at the time of excavation to be uncoffined, but the absence of a coffin is by no means certain. Only in burials F7311 and F7405, both of which lay to the north of the tower, were the grave cuts sufficiently well defined, and restricted in size, to permit the suggestion that the head-supports were in a grave that was uncoffined and unlined. No examples of graves with stone, tile or plaster linings were found, which in itself is somewhat surprising, given that they were quite common in the late Saxon period. Only one burial had part of a plain cover-stone over it (F7263, Fig. 232; p. 231).

The multiple burial

Grave F5032 was unique in the cemetery in that it contained five uncoffined individuals: two adult males (sk. 1910 and sk. 1911) and three adolescents aged between 10 and 17 years (sk. 1909, sk. 1912 and sk. 1913). There can be no doubt that all five bodies were placed in the grave during a single burial ceremony: the adults had been laid in first, side by side, with the right arm of sk. 1911 lying over the left arm of sk. 1910, and then the children were placed on top of both (Figs. 171 and 172). They were all in physical contact with one another, and some of the children's limbs were interlocked.

The grave-pit was deep and square-cut, and just penetrated the waterlogged horizon. However, there were no traces of a timber lining to the pit, or of a cover over the corpses, and it is certain that none existed. The corpses had not decayed in a void, and the bones were all firmly held in place by the clay backfilling. The only damage to the grave was at the west end, where the skull of one of the adults had been removed by an adjacent burial in a preserved coffin (F5002).

Samples taken from the two adults for the scientific dating programme disconcertingly produced posterior density estimates that barely overlapped: sk. 1910 delivered *cal. AD 990–1025 (95% probability; UB-4658)*, while sk. 1911 delivered *cal. AD 1020–65 (95% probability; UB-4440)*. The possibility suggested by the posterior density estimates that up to 75 years might have elapsed between the two interments is archaeologically untenable: one would have to posit that sk. 1910 was initially buried alone, beneath a protective cover which could be lifted intact (without disturbing the decayed corpse) when the grave was reopened and enlarged to take the additional burials. Clearly, that did not happen: the five interments in this deep and well-defined pit were unambiguously the result of a single operation. Instead, this casts doubt on the veracity of the dating technique.

Multiple burials are a feature of the early Saxon period, although their *raison d'être* is still not understood (Stoodley 2002). Apart from the few graves which contained both an adult and an infant, grave F5032 was the only multiple interment recorded in St Peter's cemetery. There was a demonstrable tendency in Phase E for burials to be placed in clusters, probably reflecting familial ties, but no indications were present on the skeletons to suggest why five people, who were presumably related, died at the same time and were carefully interred together in a single grave: their deaths were perhaps the result of an accident or a fire, rather than simultaneous disease (*e.g.* plague). A plausible conclusion, if not statistically the most palatable, is that the multiple burial took place in the period *c.* 1020–25, the only date-bracket permitted by the two posterior density estimates.

Burials in timber-lined and covered graves

Several of the early burials contained preserved timbers which had not been firmly joined together to make a coffin, but instead had been used to line the grave pit, or to cover the corpse, or both. Evidence from preserved wood, or the presence of clench-bolts ('roves') in a grave, suggests that this type of burial was commonly associated with the use of wooden boards, reclaimed from either domestic or maritime structures, and therefore with an eye to economy.

The clearest example of a timber-lined grave was F3547, where several loose pieces of board had been placed in the pit, clearly without any form of jointing:

two long planks had been stood on edge against the sides of the grave and four short pieces of board laid in the bottom to form a makeshift base (Fig. 173). These had not been cut to fit, and were partly overlapped. Both ends of the grave were destroyed, but they too were presumably lined with loose pieces of timber, wedged between the two sides. Traces of a cover-board were also noted, but this projected above the water-table and had consequently decayed.

The board forming the south side was of reused timber, having a pair of superfluous holes drilled

through one end; these were not associated with pegged construction. The base-boards had suffered from beetle infestation, possibly indicating that they too were reused timber (but for a cautionary note, see below, p. 223).

In the case of grave F5002, there was no timber lining and the corpse had been completely enveloped in what appeared at the time of excavation to be sticky grey clay; this had been poured into the grave in semi-liquid form. The use of grey riverine mud as an enveloping material, both in confined and unconfined



Fig. 172: Late Saxon grave containing two adult males and three adolescents with their limbs inter-twined (F5032). Photo: Warwick Rodwell

burials, was encountered on numerous occasions, and its function was presumably to contain disease (p. 194). Several boards had been laid over the body before the grave was backfilled (Fig. 174). At least one plank had had a previous use, since there was a rectangular cut-out in it. There was also a short piece of board wedged across the west end of the grave: its dimensions and the presence of three nail-holes (but no nails) along one edge suggest that it had been, or was intended to be, the end-board of a jointed coffin. One of the covering timbers from this grave gave a tree-ring date of 1049–85, from which a posterior density estimate of 1047–75 (95% probability) was calculated.

It is likely that some graves contained no more than a single piece of board laid over the body prior to back-filling, as has been recorded on several British sites (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 182–3), and in Scandinavia: *e.g.* at Lund, Sweden (Blomqvist and Mårtensson 1963, 282). A late Saxon grave at Beverley Minster contained only an oak plank, placed on top of

the corpse (Johnson 2003–05, 140). Finds of characteristic iron fixings (clenches), indicate that sometimes the board was a fragment of a boat. It is remarkable that none of the lined and covered graves included any stone elements, even though chalk blocks were readily available in Barton and could have been used for grave lining. Conversely, some late Saxon graves at Beverley Minster were edged with chalk blocks.

Graves containing boat fragments (‘clench-bolt burials’)

A scattering of the earlier graves throughout the cemetery yielded distinctive artefacts in the form of iron clench-bolts. These have a flat, round head at one end and a flat, lozenge- or square-shaped plate (‘rove’) at the other, the two elements being connected by a round-sectioned shank: they are variously referred to as ‘clench nails’, ‘rove nails’ or simply ‘roves’ in the literature.¹⁶ Clench-bolts were ubiquitously employed in Anglo-Saxon clinker-built boats (*cf.* Sutton Hoo and



Fig. 173: Loose planks forming the base and sides of grave F3547. View west. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 174: Planks laid over an uncoffined burial (F5002). The corpse beneath was encapsulated in liquid mud. View west. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Graveney),¹⁷ and they also occur in both domestic and ecclesiastical woodwork of plank-and-ledge or cross-boarded construction, such as doors and shutters.¹⁸ The medieval cross-boarded north door of St Peter's church exhibits this type of construction (p. 469). Clench-bolts were also commonly used for fixing hinge-straps to doors.

Clenches, as their name implies, were intended to effect a secure joint between two pieces of timber, which were either edge-lapped or laid face-to-face. The shank of the bolt, or nail, was normally inserted into a pre-drilled hole passing through both timber components. The rove, a flat plate with a central hole (effectively a washer) was slipped onto the free end of the bolt, which was then rivetted-over by hammering; at the same time, a second hammer was held motionless against the head of the bolt, to ensure that it remained tightly seated against the face of the timber.

Clench-bolts and their contexts

by *Quita Mould*

At least 256 clench-bolts were found in the excavations, occurring in fifty-six contexts, principally graves dating from the later tenth to the end of the thirteenth century (Phases E and D/E) (Fig. 175). Over half of the clench-bolts (55%) were recovered from twenty-three graves of Phase E, and a further 35% were found in fourteen graves attributed to Phase D/E. Thus, we may reasonably assume that clench-bolts were associated primarily with graves of Phases E and D/E, and that the small number found in other locations occurred residually.

Ten graves contained groups of eight or more clench-bolts, six having upwards of fifteen present, the largest group comprising at least forty-three clenches (F7393). These larger groups may be described as 'clench-bolt burials', the body being placed within a coffin or a timber-lined grave, or covered by a board, constructed of several planks joined with clench-bolts. In undisturbed graves it was noted that the clenches were aligned in rows: single (F3136, F7265 and

F7344), double (Fig. 176, F7256 and F7327) and triple (F1774, F1787 and F7427) rows being recorded in individual graves. A further thirty-one graves contained five or fewer clench-bolts, suggesting that the body may have been covered by reused timber, while in some cases the small numbers of clench-bolts may be derived from disturbed burials nearby. Half of these graves yielded only a single clench-bolt, which was undoubtedly residual.

The diameter of the head, length of the rove plate, and the distance between the two were measured on all the complete clench-bolts recovered (ninety-seven examples). The accuracy of the measurements is affected by the presence of corrosion products, the length of the shank being slightly reduced, while the diameter of the head (range: 15–30 mm) and the length of the rove (range: 18–42 mm) will be slightly increased. Measurements from radiographs were also taken, where appropriate, for comparison and these suggest that the corrosion products may account for as much as 4 mm in heavily encrusted examples. The shank lengths varied between 14 mm and 42 mm (c. ½–1½ ins), with 81% falling within 20–32 mm range, indicating that the combined thickness of the two timbers that the bolts joined measured between ¾ in. and 1¼ in.

Minerally preserved wood was noted on clench-bolts from seven burials (F3965, F3985, F5016, F5026, F5037, F7393 and F7612) but no jointing material was recognized. Study of the minerally preserved organic remains on clench-bolts from a burial at York Minster found that the nails had held two pieces of oak together with a caulking of animal hair between. This suggests that the corpse had been placed on a section of boat of clinker-built construction (Edwards and Watson 1987; Kjølbye-Biddle 1995, 501–5).

At Barton, nails were also occasionally found in graves together with clench-bolts. In Phase E, three graves contained one nail, two had two nails present, and single graves yielded three and five nails, respectively. In graves attributed to Phase D/E, two also contained single nails, one had two nails, one had three, and one had seven. Many graves in Phases E and D/E had just one or two clench-bolts, sometimes associated with a nail or two, and it appears likely that in these cases the roves were residual or the timber which had held them was reused, either in coffin construction (see grave F5013, below), or as a lining or cover for the grave. The same applies to those graves of later date which also contained a few clench-bolts and nails.

Some examples of 'clench-bolt burials'

Grave F1787 (Area 5)

This grave contained residual traces of timber (Fig. 177). It was apparent that the corpse was laid on a timber base comprising two long boards, the edges of which were overlapped and rivetted together with a row of clench-bolts. These ran down the centre of the

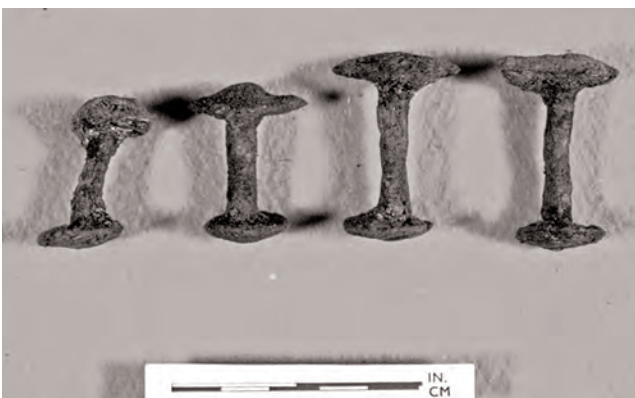


Fig. 175: A selection of clench-bolts from graves. The head is at the lower end and the rove (lozenge-shaped plate) at the upper. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

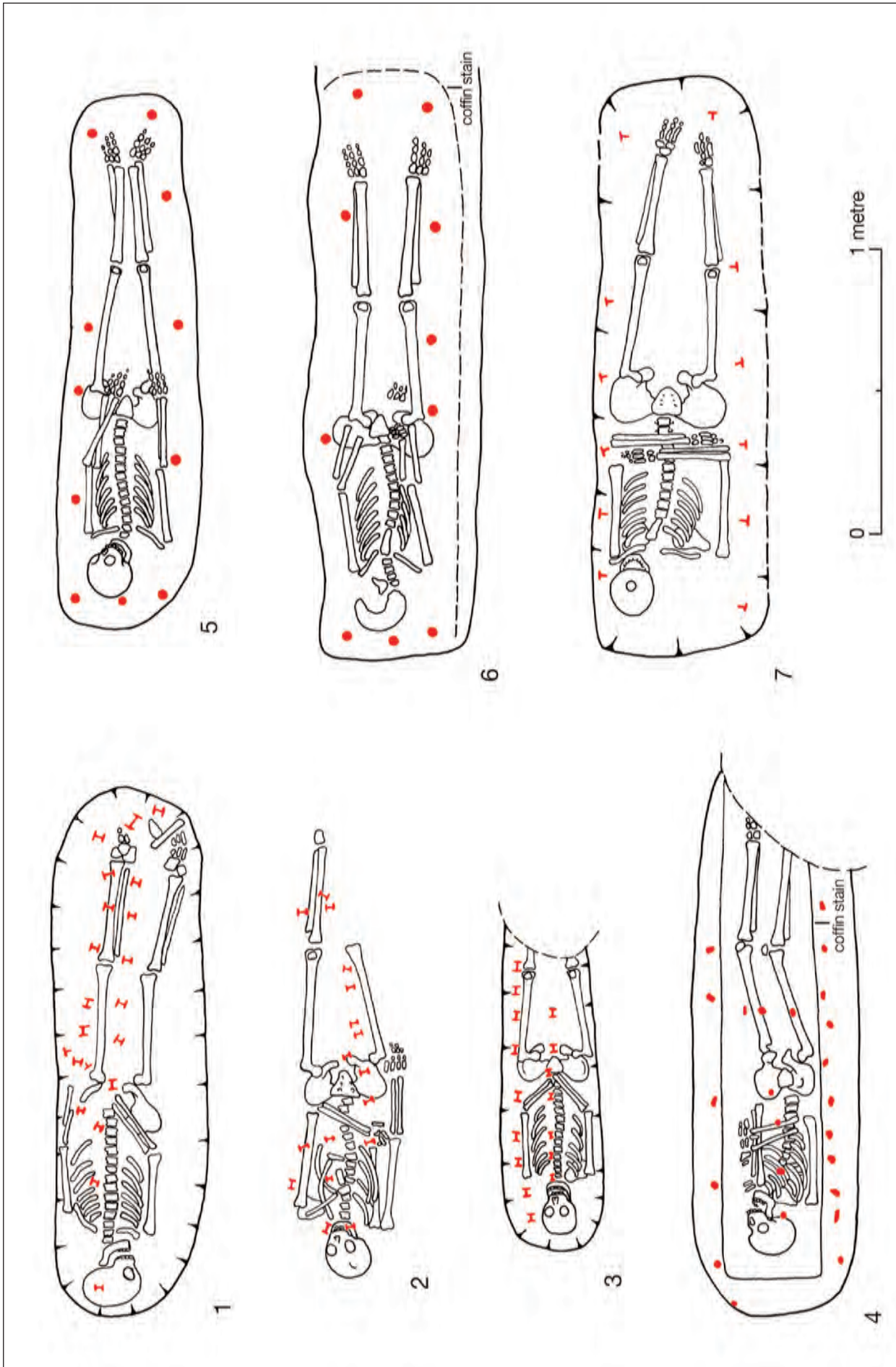


Fig. 176: Plans of graves of Phases D and E, showing the disposition of clench-bolts and nails within them. 1, F7327; 2, F5026; 3, F7256; 4, F1631; 5, F3228; 6, F3234; 7, F7208. Scale 1:20. Drawing: Simon Hayfield



Fig. 177: Grave F1787, lined with fragments of boat timbers containing clench-bolts (arrowed). View south. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

grave, and the roves faced upwards. Extending along the north and south sides of the grave were further rows of clenches, a few centimetres above the floor of the grave. Their shanks were horizontal, with the roves facing inwards (*i.e.* towards the corpse). Thus the sides of the grave had been lined with horizontal boards, each of which was also made of two planks joined together with clenches. The planks were of unequal width, the lower in both instances being only *c.* 50–80 mm wide, indicating that the boards had been cut down when they were reused.

It was not possible to establish whether these three boards were entirely separate – the components of a timber lining to the grave – or were jointed to form a rather crude coffin. There were no nails present, but the sides could have been pegged to the base, and end-boards held in place with tying-dowels. However, a grave lining seems more likely, but either way there can be no doubt that recycled timber, containing many clench-bolts, was used to enclose this burial.

Grave F7353 (Area 14)

This is another example similar to F1787. Although only the western half of the grave was excavated, it had forty-three clenches arranged in three lines: a central row over the body of an adult and one row along each side, at different depths; the body of a child had subsequently been placed on top of the timber. This double burial (adult and child) lay in a grave which had been cut into one, or possibly two, earlier burials.

Grave F5013 (Area 11)

The grave contained the poorly preserved remains of a coffin, the north side of which was made of two long planks that were lapped and secured by clenches. Only

one-third of the side survived, but it incorporated two clench-bolts and a ?nail. No other ironmongery was found in the grave, and it is clear that boards joined with clench-bolts occurred on one side only.

Grave F5026 (Area 11)

Stratigraphically, this was the second burial made on that spot in Area 11; it was in turn also cut by at least one early coffined burial (unexcavated). The grave contained upwards of twenty-one clenches, most of which lay over the body on the central axis of the grave, possibly in two rows, more-or-less one above the other (Fig. 176).¹⁹ There was a clear difference in the lengths of the shanks of the clenches: some were *c.* 15 mm long, and others *c.* 30 mm. This demonstrates that they were from planks with two different joint-thicknesses.

The salient difference between this grave and F1787 was that the clenches, at least in the upper row, all lay with their shanks in the horizontal plane, pointing north–south; the spacing averaged 140 mm. It is thus clear that the boards were not placed horizontally in this grave, serving neither as a base nor as a cover for the burial. The only plausible explanation seems to be that a section of lapped and clench-bolted boarding was erected vertically in the grave filling, and aligned on its central axis. It was thus presumably a longitudinally placed marker, which projected above ground level (*cf.* post-medieval ‘headboard’ memorials).

Distribution and dating

Graves containing clench-bolts were more numerous to the north of the church than to the south: only nine such burials were found south of the Anglo-Saxon building, and one to the east. Likewise, clench-bolt burials were much more frequent in the western half of

the cemetery than in the eastern part. Most of the graves yielding significant numbers of clenched-bolts were among the earlier interments in their particular areas of the cemetery.

Three radiocarbon dates were obtained for burials containing clenched-bolts; these were selected to date both the earliest graves in different parts of the cemetery, and the use of clenches. All three had the potential to belong in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery, but only one (grave F5037) had a sufficiently tight posterior density estimate, of *cal. AD 995–1040 (87% probability; UB-4661)*, to confirm that it was pre-Conquest. The other two dated samples, from graves F1774 and F4131, might also date from the first half of the eleventh century but they have three-part posterior density estimates (a consequence of the variation in the radiocarbon calibration curve at this time), which would allow both burials to have taken place any time between 1015 and 1160 (for chronology, see chapter 15).

A *terminus ante quem* for clenched-bolt burial F1787 was provided by tree-ring dating of the coffin in grave F1791, which directly overlay it. The coffin timbers were dated to 1083–1109.

Discussion

The presence of clenched-bolts in graves indicates that the latter contained coffins, timber linings, or covers composed of boards that had been securely fixed together. The occurrence in the better preserved graves of long lines of clenches at *c.* 140–200 mm intervals reveals a prodigious use of iron fixings which, in the context of burials, was both technically unnecessary and wasteful of an expensive commodity. As can be demonstrated, coffins in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries could be constructed with little or no use of iron (see below, pp. 218–19). Wide coffin-boards could easily be assembled from narrow planks with their edges butt-jointed and dowelled. Very little ironwork was used in the construction of early coffins at Barton, and consequently the excessive numbers of clenches appearing in some graves must have a special explanation. It is most unfortunate that no clenched-bolt burials were found in the fully waterlogged areas of the site, and thus none of the associated timberwork had been preserved. Vestigial traces of decayed wood were recorded in several instances, most notably in the bottom of grave F1787.

The evidence from F1787 and F5013 points firmly to lapped boards, and thus to clinker-built construction. In view of Barton's maritime associations, the most plausible explanation is that the grave lining or coffin of F1787 was made from the hull timbers (strakes) of a dismantled boat, and that another boat fragment was used for one side only of the coffin in F5013. The arrangement of clenches in several other graves points to a similar conclusion. Most of the clenched-bolt graves were, however, incomplete and too damaged to be certain of the original full complement and disposition of the clenches. In the case of F5026,

it is suggested that a section of boat planking was erected as a longitudinal grave-marker.

The possibility cannot be ruled out that an old door or section of panelling was used on occasion in grave-lining, but the likelihood of this being so is greatly reduced both by the widespread distribution in England of graves containing clenched-bolts, and by the evidence of the clenches themselves. As far as we know, eleventh-century doors were either of dowelled construction (without the use of clenched-bolts), as at Westminster Abbey,²⁰ or of plank-and-ledge construction, as at Hadstock church (Essex).²¹ The shanks of the clenches employed in the latter form of construction are necessarily much longer (35–50 mm) than those found at Barton. While the clenches used in cross-boarded construction had shorter shanks, no doors or panelling of this type are currently known at the period under consideration: the technique is later (*cf.* the north door of St Peter's church).²² The variation in the shank length of clenched-bolts is instructive, some being three times as long as others (14–42 mm). This does not merely reflect differences in the thickness of the planks used for strakes, but also represents the need for longer clenched-nails for attaching strakes to stemposts. Further confirmation of this is provided by the fact that the heads and roves of some clenched-bolts are not parallel. When two planks are rivetted together the nail-heads and roves will be parallel, but if a plank is rivetted to the curved or splayed profile of a stempost a different situation obtains. When the rove is threaded onto the shank of the nail, it will inevitably take up a skewed position and the two components will not be at right-angles.²³ Finally, it is noticeable that some of the clenched-bolts with the longer shanks are bent slightly; this can have occurred either during the act of rivetting the nail-shank over a skewed rove, or through subsequent strain on the joint. Either way, the evidence provides confirmation that these clenched-bolts derive from boats.

Clenched-bolts have turned up on many Anglo-Saxon sites, especially on the East Coast littoral and in riverine areas. Some occur in domestic contexts, as at Yeavinger (Northumb.), where the shanks ranged from 38 mm to 95 mm, and indicated three different timber thicknesses (Hope-Taylor 1977, 193, fig. 91). All the clenches were found in association with one complex, multi-phase building (A1 and A3) which was destroyed by fire, but that does not automatically confirm their use in its structural carpentry. Yeavinger is on the river Glen and the possibility that boat timbers were involved cannot be ignored: *e.g.* boats may have been stored there or under construction in the building at the time it was burnt.

Most clenched-bolts have, however, been found in cemeteries. Their occurrence in unambiguous boat-burials, as at Sutton Hoo and Snape (Suff.), needs no explanation (Bruce-Mitford 1975), but the reason for the presence of clenched-bolts in limited numbers in Christian graves of the Viking and later Saxon periods is less obvious. They have been noted at, *inter alia*,

Jarrow (Dur.), York Minster, Thorpe-by-Norwich (Norf.), Caister-by-Yarmouth (Norf.) and Rochester Cathedral. Moreover, their occurrence is not confined to the east coast, and they have been found in church excavations as far afield as Whithorn (Galloway) and Iona (Arg. and Bute, Inner Hebrides).²⁴ Additionally, clenched-bolts have been recorded in considerable numbers in the early and middle Saxon inhumation cemeteries of Kent, where they are present from the fifth century onwards (Brookes 2007). Occasional discoveries of clenched-bolts in early cemeteries have been reported elsewhere. Curiously, no less than fifteen graves at Buckland, Dover, and three graves in the cemetery at Castledyke South, Barton, each contained a single rove (*i.e.* the plate only) among the other grave goods.²⁵ Attached to one of the Barton roves were the remains of a nail shank, while the others were unused.

Cumulatively, the evidence points to sections of reclaimed planking from boats being deployed in graves in several different ways.²⁶ First, a board might simply cover the burial, which may or may not have been placed in a conventional coffin. Second, it could be laid on the floor of the grave, beneath the corpse, as at York Minster (Kjølbye-Biddle 1995, 501–5).²⁷ Third, a carpentered coffin or grave lining could be constructed using several separate sections of pre-joined planking (Barton grave F1787). Fourth, a fragment of boat timber might be used as a grave-marker.

The evidence from Barton and comparable sites potentially indicates that new boards for coffin construction and grave-lining were either difficult to obtain, or too expensive, and that recycling boat planking and boards derived from furniture was considered an acceptable substitute.²⁸ Economic factors, such as a building-boom in eleventh-century Barton, could have contributed to a shortage in the availability of planking. However, the phenomenon seems geographically too widespread for such a hypothesis to be credible. That there was a symbolic significance in incorporating boat timbers in graves – *i.e.* a token ‘boat burial’ – is possible, and the case for this has been argued by Brookes (2007).²⁹ The occurrence of roves alone (*i.e.* without clenches) as grave inclusions adds strength to the argument. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that fragments of clinker-built boats were reused in other contexts with no funerary or symbolic associations: thus at Sizewell (Suff.) they formed the linings of water tanks.³⁰ At King’s Lynn (Norf.) clenched-bolts were found in twelfth-century contexts, indicating that boat timbers were either being recycled in domestic structures or were merely used as firewood (Clarke and Carter 1977, 297–8).

Coffined burials

The majority of graves yielding preserved timbers had clearly contained jointed coffins, of which upwards of forty-six were recorded; in several other instances it was impossible to determine how the timbers had been

deployed, whether as joinery or as linings. In condition, the coffins ranged from complete and perfectly preserved specimens to fragmentary and vestigial remains where the timber was too decayed to enable the lifting of even small pieces from the ground. The best-preserved coffins lay entirely below the water-table. Those that projected partly above it had decayed proportionately: sometimes only the lid was lost, while in others the base-board alone remained. It was not uncommon to find that burials which had been made in the soft fillings of ditches or earlier graves had tilted and sunk, so that one end of the coffin was 50–150 mm lower in the ground than the other, with the result that there was differential preservation. At the lower level, timber could be reasonably well preserved, while at the higher end there might be nothing but a soil stain remaining. Some coffins still had their lids in place and, in the few instances where these had not split or caved in, very little soil had washed into the void. Consequently, the condition and disposition of the bones and any coppice-rods within the coffin could readily be ascertained.

Radiocarbon-dated samples of bone from coffined burials in the western part of the cemetery have provided posterior density estimates which indicate that coffins were potentially a feature of burial from as early as *c.* 985: *e.g.* a sample from grave F7382 has a posterior density estimate of *cal. AD 985–1020 (95% probability; UB-4659)*. However, evidence for the physical form of the earliest coffins on the site is largely conjectural, since these were located where ground conditions were not conducive to the survival of organic matter (*e.g.* F3247, F3288, F5037 and F7382).³¹ The almost complete absence of ironwork from these early graves indicates that the coffins were timber jointed.

The earliest coffined burials lay mainly in the western part of the site, where the higher ground appears to have been preferred to the lower and marshier area over the backfilled ditches further east. For the most part, archaeological evidence for a coffin in the drier areas consisted of little more than a dark organic stain defining part or all of a rectangular outline (sometimes associated with small differences in the grave fill). In the case of the burials beneath the tower and baptistery only the size and form of the exhumation cuts indicated that coffins were a common feature of burial in the immediately pre-church phase of the cemetery (p. 170). No details of their construction were, however, recoverable.

Conversely, much detail was available for the coffins used during the latter part of Phase E in the eastern part of the cemetery. Tree-ring dates obtained from the preserved coffins indicate that they were manufactured during the late eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth. Two of the earliest tree-ring dates were provided by the coffins in graves F3968 (?1079) and F5044 (winter 1088/89), which were located to the north of the church. Each of these was a simple tapered coffin made from boards derived from

a single tree and joined by dowels and pegs. The norm was to construct the complete coffin from six boards, one for each side, end, base and lid. There were exceptions: at least one coffin had a wickerwork base (F3974), and one was of dug-out type (F5044). It would appear that the simple arrangement of boards to form a parallel-sided or tapered box persisted over a long period, but the method of jointing may have changed through time: dowels, pegs and nails were employed in various combinations. Coffin construction is discussed below, pp. 218–23.

A shrine-burial?

An exceptional burial which deserves separate mention occurred 5 m to the north-east of the Anglo-Saxon chancel (Figs. 164 and 167). The interment had

almost certainly been coffined, but was subsequently exhumed, leaving only the grave-pit with its squarely cut edges (F1680), the modest size of which suggests that the occupant was an older child or sub-adult. The corners of the grave had been marked by four timber posts, for which pits had been excavated (Fig. 178). The length was 1.7 m, to the centres of the posts, and the width *c.* 0.8 m at the east end, by *c.* 0.7 m at the west end. No other feature of this kind was encountered in the cemetery, and the singular treatment accorded to the burial points to a timber canopy or shrine structure having been erected over the grave.

After exhumation – and presumably translation of the corporeal remains to a new location – the grave-pit was backfilled with soil, the upstanding timber structure was removed, and a raft of chalk rubble laid down (F388). The rubble, being set in a matrix of sand, was



Fig. 178: Exhumed grave F1680, marked at the corners by four postholes. The backfilling was covered by a layer of rough limestone rubble, F384 (left, in section). View west. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

presumably intended to be more than just a surface marker for the grave, but was perhaps the foundation for a small cross or other monument. The fact that an exhumed grave was marked by a cenotaph underscores the importance of the original interment. The burial and its successor monument must have been associated with the Anglo-Saxon church, or possibly even preceded it. The site was obliterated in the late eleventh century, the masonry raft being partly cut away when the foundations of the Saxo-Norman church were laid.

The arrangement of four posts supporting a rectangular structure is reminiscent of early Anglo-Saxon practice, not least in the Castledyke cemetery. There, several graves had between two and four posts set around their edges. Four-post arrangements occurred in graves 151 and probably 177: both were uncoffined, flexed burials (Drinkall and Foreman 1998).

Burial posture and bone movement

Remarkably little variation in posture was noted: for both sexes and all ages the standard position was supine, with the skull axially aligned with the body. Maintaining the head in this position was sometimes aided by the inclusion of supporting stones (p. 224). In most instances the legs were together, or nearly so, and there were only two notable exceptions. In grave F7634, where only the eastern end was excavated, it was found that the ankles were crossed (Fig. 179). The same phenomenon was also exhibited by two medieval burials, including one of a priest (Fig. 694). This posture, although clearly deliberate, is rarely encountered in cemetery excavations, but is represented in a significant number of thirteenth-century tomb effigies, *e.g.* at the Temple Church, London (RCHME 1929, pl. 182, no. 6). More curious was grave F7933, where the

compactness of the torso and the lack of disturbance of the bones points to the likelihood that the corpse was bound in a shroud (Fig. 180). The upper and lower legs, however, were double-crossed, the left over the right. This would have been physically impossible to achieve with an articulated corpse: the limbs could only have assumed the posture seen here after the decay of the ligaments. Furthermore, it implies that there was a void around the corpse when it decayed.

It was only the arrangement of the arms and hands that varied to any significant extent. The most common positions were: arms extended beside the body, hands together on the pelvis, and arms crossed on the stomach or lower part of the chest. Occasionally, the hands were placed together, high on the chest, as



Fig. 179: Grave F7634. Skeleton with crossed ankles. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 180: Grave F3933. Skeleton with double-crossed legs. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

though in an attitude of prayer: this posture is commonly found in medieval effigies. In contrast, the crossing of hands or arms on the chest is rarely seen in funerary sculpture, but again there is an example at the Temple Church (RCHME 1929, pl. 182, no. 3). The same range of burial postures recorded in the early medieval graves continued throughout the Middle Ages, and they are analogous to those found in many other Christian cemeteries. Extensive analysis and discussion would be superfluous.

Of greater interest is the evidence for two commonly observed phenomena in certain graves: post-depositional movement of some skeletal elements ('tumbling' of the bones), and the 'parallel-sided effect'. These subjects have been studied in depth at Barton, Raunds, Wells and elsewhere (Boddington 1996, 35–8; Rodwell 2001, 542–5). The first can provide substantive

evidence to determine whether or not an interment was encoffined, when no archaeological trace of one is preserved. This has particular relevance in the light of the unequivocal demonstration at Barton that coffins could be, and commonly were, made without the use of any metal fixings or fittings. The second provides a useful pointer to burial in a tightly bound shroud. In the past, it was common when excavators found some of the bones of a skeleton to be out of place to equate this with disturbance by burrowing animals, or subsequent grave-diggers. This myth has been exploded by the examination of numerous burials both in sealed coffins and in earth-cut graves where there has plainly been no external interference since the burial took place.

Bone preservation was variable across the site: by far the best rate of survival occurred in the waterlogged coffins. There, all the bones of an individual skeleton



Fig. 181: Coffin, grave F1790 (upper and lower parts of grave). Skeleton with rotated leg bones and dispersed vertebrae and rib cage. Note the single vertebra perched on top of the distorted upper part of the left-hand (south) side, trapped by the lid as the coffin became compressed. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

tended to be preserved in similar condition (*i.e.* the less dense bones of the torso did not exhibit the kind of excessive decay commonly evidenced in drier circumstances), and they were mostly stained to an even black colour all over. It has been suggested that this 'ebonized' effect is the result of prolonged contact with tannic acid derived from the oak coffins (Rodwell 2001, 545).

Post-depositional movement

There is little opportunity for movement of the limbs, skull or any other major element of a corpse that has been interred directly in the earth. The original burial posture is thereby preserved. Different circumstances obtain when the corpse was placed in a coffin and was thus not physically constrained: there was considerable potential for movement during the process of corporeal decay. To a lesser extent the same was true where the body was laid in an earth-cut grave and covered by a board: again, some movement would be possible before soil was washed into the void. It is not difficult to appreciate how a skull, as it became detached from the vertebral column, and its balance changed, could roll to one side (if there was no lateral support), tilt backwards on to the cranial vault, or fall forwards on to the chest. All of these occurred in burials at Barton.

More intriguing are those instances where a complete arm or leg, or part of one, was found to have rotated axially through 90 or 180 degrees during decomposition, while remaining more-or-less in its original position. Again, this could only occur in a void, as was demonstrated by finding examples inside some of the well-preserved timber coffins of Phase E. A particularly dramatic example occurred in coffin F1790, where the left tibia and both femora had rotated through 180 degrees, while the right tibia had rotated through 90 degrees (Fig. 181). In coffin F1753 the body was hard against the north side: consequently, the bones of the left leg were unable to move during decomposition, but those of the right leg were not constrained and had axially rotated by more than 90 degrees (Fig. 182). Although the rib-cage had completely dispersed, both the left and right arms lay exactly as they were when burial took place (Fig. 183).

It was not uncommon to find considerable displacement of bones within the torso, particularly the rib-cage, as though the body had 'exploded' during decomposition (*e.g.* F3968). There were also instances where not only the ribs but also the vertebrae were found in complete disarray (*e.g.* F1790); this could only have occurred after full decomposition, when there were no longer ligaments tying the vertebrae together. The possibility that ground-water alone was responsible for moving bones was considered and rejected for three reasons. First, some of the graves exhibiting 'bone tumble' lay in areas where waterlogging is unlikely. Second, variations in the local water-table would have occurred slowly, so that seepage into



Fig. 182: Coffin, grave F1753. Skeleton with one rotated leg and dispersed vertebrae and rib cage. View west. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

and out of an intact coffin would have been a gentle process: there could not have been any significant turbulence. Third, the displacement of bones was mostly confined to the torso, leaving the hands and feet completely undisturbed. Such was the case in coffin F3868, where the constituents of the torso were totally churned up, while not only were the bones of the feet *in situ*, but the patellae were still balanced on the knees. Clearly, there was no water turbulence in this grave.

These phenomena were all recorded at Wells Cathedral and have been discussed at length (Rodwell 2001, 542–5), but the processes involved in post-depositional bone movement are still not fully understood. Notwithstanding the foregoing, a few instances were recorded at Barton where low-density bones possibly



Fig. 183: Coffin, grave F1753. Detail of the dispersed rib cage. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

did float to the top of a water-filled coffin. In one instance a single vertebra had become trapped in the joint between the lid and side of a coffin, as the former bowed and collapsed under the weight of the overlying soil. It is difficult to see how a vertebra could have risen to such a level other than by floating in water. In F1753 vertebrae were scattered all over the west end of the coffin, seemingly having settled at random when the water level subsided (or when the bone became fully waterlogged and sank; Fig. 183). The low bone-density of vertebrae, especially of the centrum, gives them greater buoyancy in water than other bones: their movement through this means is thus feasible.

Various negative impressions of bones were found in surviving timbers, having been caused by the coffins collapsing during decay. Thus there were teeth impressions in one instance, where the incisors of the maxilla had been pressed into the underside of the lid, while in the case of the dug-out coffin (F3564) a row of four circular indentations in the base resulted from the distal ends of the femora being forced into the softened timber by the weight of soil on top of a caved-in lid.

Shroud burial and the parallel-sided effect

It was readily observable that in some uncoffined burials the legs were apart and the elbows projected as a result of the hands being placed on the stomach. In such cases, it is clear that although the corpse may have been dressed or covered, it was not tightly wrapped in a shroud. Presumably, the corpse was laid in the grave with the intention that it would be viewed, and should appear both seemly and comfortably at rest.

Conversely, other corpses were tightly wrapped in shrouds, which were then stitched up, or tied up parcel-fashion: there is plenty of archaeological and pictorial evidence for these procedures from the thirteenth century onwards (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 106–10). In the ground, a shroud burial was usually evidenced by the strikingly tight and parallel arrangement of the bones: the legs would be together, the shoulders hunched into the ribs, and the arms pressed against the sides of the torso. In such instances, seldom were any bones displaced.

Encapsulation of the corpse

St Peter's has yielded a significant quantity of evidence to show that some corpses were encapsulated with substances that were introduced into the coffin before burial, and which have left clear archaeological traces. These substances were charcoal and riverine mud. The former is well known from many sites, and is usually claimed to have been associated with burials of high status, although the argument is somewhat circular. Undeniably, the majority of charcoal burials are found on high-status sites, and are rarely encountered in parish church excavations.³² Several examples, however, were recorded at St Mark's, Lincoln (Gilmour and Stocker 1986).

Recognition that there was a distinct class of burial where liquid mud had been poured into the coffin, completely enveloping the corpse, came only in 1980 when several well-defined examples were excavated inside St Peter's church. These were assigned to burial Phases D or E: they were originally outdoor burials, but Norman enlargement of the church quickly afforded them the protection of the building. Without that protection, their true significance might not have been appreciated: the graves in question had been sheltered for centuries from rainwater percolating through the soil, and from the insidious disturbance caused by roots, earthworms and other burrowing creatures.

Although the timber coffins had decayed, their outlines were still readily discernible in the ground, and the grey-brown alluvial mud that was found in them had been sealed by the lids. It cannot therefore have entered the coffins subsequent to burial. The even consistency of the filling, and its total enveloping effect, showed that it had been poured in as liquid mud. The material was not local to the church site, and its source was

presumably the Humber foreshore, or one of the many channels leading to it.³³ Although sticky and tenacious, this material is alluvium, not clay: the popular name 'clay burials' which has become current since their discovery is thus technically inaccurate. They are better termed 'mud burials'.³⁴ The technique was, at least in one instance, used for an uncoffined burial.

Charcoal burial

Although there were many occurrences of charred timbers (coffins or linings) in graves which, when decayed, left behind a multitude of charcoal flecks, only one example of a true 'charcoal burial' was encountered (F3234). This lay in Area 8, 1.8 m south of the tower and immediately west of the approach to the doorway of the Anglo-Saxon church (Fig. 391). The burial was that of an adult male in a supine position with the feet together and hands on the pelvis. The grave was squarely cut, 2.3 m long by 0.54 m wide, and contained charcoal to a depth of 200 mm; this was found under, around and over the skeleton. Although no physical traces of a coffin were detected, in view of the preciseness of the grave-cut and the limits of the charcoal within it there can be little doubt that one had been present; it did not incorporate any iron fixings.

It was also noted that the torso was covered with a thin layer of grey-brown mud, which must have been spread over the corpse after it had been placed in the coffin but before the final layer of charcoal was deposited. This form of double encapsulation seems not to have been recorded hitherto. Although the charcoal burial certainly belonged to Phase E, it was not the earliest interment on this part of the site, but was cut partly through an uncoffined child (F3242), and had totally displaced an adult (F3240). It may therefore belong to structural Period 3, rather than Period 2.

Mud (clay) burials

Six mud burials were encountered beneath the nave and south aisle of the present church, giving rise to the recognition of this distinctive class of interment (F4019, F4040, F4064, F4067, F4100 and F4152) (Pl. 113; Fig. 184). Two of the mud burials were included in the scientific dating programme: F4019 gave a posterior density estimate of *cal. AD 1035–1145* (81% probability; UB-4662) and F4040 a posterior density estimate of *cal. AD 1015–1050* (40% probability), or *cal. AD 1085–1125* (30% probability), or *cal. AD 1135–1160* (25% probability; UB-4663). These dates confirm, first, that the mud burials are assignable to Phase E and, second, that they are not consequent upon a single event, but were deposited over the course of a century or so.

Another mud burial was found in Area 11 (F5002), where loose boards had been used to cover the corpse, but there was no coffin (Fig. 174). An adjacent, earlier coffin formed one end of the grave and a piece of board was placed upright at the other end.



Fig. 184: Grave F4019. Mud burial, excavated to reveal the outline of the coffin, not the grave-cut. The legs have been truncated by a later feature. View west. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Excavation around the western part of the church, in Areas 8, 9, 10 and 14, yielded evidence for tenacious grey-brown mud adhering to the skeleton in some of the earlier burials, a material that was distinct from the general filling of the grave. In a few instances, a precise limit to the mud was noted, within the grave-cut, indicating where the side of the coffin is likely to have lain. The evidence was poorly preserved by comparison with that encountered inside the church, but was nonetheless present.³⁵ Encapsulation in liquid mud may have been more common than it superficially appears.

Assessment

Little attention has hitherto been paid by archaeologists to the envelopment of corpses, the evidence being generally scanty and seldom recorded. Three potential explanations are worth exploring. First, that envelopment was carried out with a view to preserving the

corpse intact for as long as possible: traditionally, this was the rôle of embalming. Evidence for the careful preparation and treatment of high-status corpses before burial may be elusive but is not non-existent (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 108–10): *cf.* medieval archbishops of York (Ramm 1971), and the ‘pickled knight’ of Danbury (Gomme 1893). No evidence has been recorded among high-status burials for filling the coffin with liquid mud, and it is therefore most unlikely that this was regarded as a suitable preservative in these instances.

Second, enveloping may have been seen as a means of containing bodily fluids during decay and suppressing malodours. In this regard, materials such as charcoal, ash and fullers’ earth would be ideal, since they are all desiccating agents. It would hardly be surprising to find that this additional dignity and mark of respect was accorded to high-status burials. Thus, the coffin of a prestigious thirteenth-century canonical burial in Lichfield Cathedral was filled to the top with a mixture of all three materials (Rodwell 2005b).

A third reason for enveloping a corpse would be to contain infectious diseases, and this is surely the *raison d’être* for the mud burial, which is not an elegant process and could never have been associated with prestigious interment. For the lower and middle classes, liquid mud poured into a wooden coffin, completely enveloping the corpse, was the nearest that could be achieved in the Middle Ages to hermetic sealing. For the privileged few, a lead coffin with fully soldered joints would have served the same purpose. While the mud remained damp it would be effective; only when it dried and cracked would the seal be lost. It is therefore concluded that mud burial was a conscious attempt to contain infectious disease in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.³⁶

The hypothesis that charcoal was placed in a grave when death was due to an epidemic disease is not new (*cf.* Blomqvist and Mårtensson 1963, 282), but it is an unsatisfactory explanation in those cases where the corpse was laid on a bed of charcoal, and not fully enveloped by it.



Fig. 185: Preserved timber coffins in the backfilled middle Saxon enclosure ditch (F1751), Area 12. Left, Grave F5475 (oak coffin); right, Grave F5474 (pine coffin). View south-east. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Grave Furnishings

Coffins

Preserved timber coffins

In 1981–83 a large body of data – unparalleled elsewhere in Britain at the time – was recovered concerning the construction of timber coffins, many of which were subsequently dated by dendrochronology (Figs. 185 and 186). A representative selection of the material is discussed here. With the sole exception of a child's coffin, made entirely of pine, the identifiable timber was all locally grown oak (Tyers 2001a).

All substantially complete coffins and intact boards encountered in the excavation were lifted, together with fragmentary timbers which retained meaningful form or detail. For several years these were stored in water in a polythene-lined tank which was specially constructed within the church in 1981, before being taken to the Ancient Monuments Laboratory in London for photography, drawing and conservation trials, which began in 1992. After a further selection process, treatment of the timber with polyethylene glycol was carried out at Portsmouth, followed by freeze-drying in the laboratory of the York Archaeological Trust, in 1993–95.³⁷ Reports were prepared on the condition of the timbers, the conversion and technology of the planks,³⁸ and the conservation programme (Park 1996). Subsequently, sampling for dendrochronology was undertaken (Tyers 2001a),³⁹ and the results are summarized in chapter 15.⁴⁰

The oak coffins were made of good-quality, straight-grained timber, which was slow-grown in woodland conditions: the boards were virtually knot-free, and sapwood (sometimes complete) was present on many edges. The trunks from which the boards were split were calculated as having diameters between 0.7 m and 1.2 m, which is typical of mature oaks growing in woodland. The wider ends of some boards exhibited distinct curvature, which was unintentional, being a characteristic of the felling-cut at the base of the trunk.⁴¹ Since this phenomenon was present on numerous base-boards, it would appear to have been adopted as a decorative feature. The majority of boards were radially split, but some were tangential; no evidence for sawing was noted.⁴² A few coffins contained timber derived from several different trees: to some extent, this may be explained by the reuse of old boards – for which there was unequivocal evidence in several instances – but for the most part it is likely that the joiner simply selected timber as economically as he could from his stock of new planks and retained offcuts. The latter were especially useful for making the end-boards of coffins: sometimes the grain ran horizontally (like that of the side-boards), but more often it was vertical.

The surfaces of planks were generally uneven, having been hewn with axe and adze, some of which left distinctive tool signatures. A broad axe with a straight blade 16 cm wide could be identified as a finishing



Fig. 186: Two oak coffins under excavation: F1790 with the skeleton in situ, and F1753 after removal of the contents. View west. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

tool, and a small axe with a curved blade had been used for cross-cutting. Entirely unexpected was clear evidence for the employment of three different finishing tools on the child's pine coffin (F5474). The use of a narrow chisel was noted in at least one instance, and striations potentially resulting from a broad paring-chisel were preserved on several boards (*e.g.* coffin F3868). Holes for pegs and dowels had been drilled with augers of several different diameters.

As a result of the varying water-table and the decay that that induced, a high proportion of boards did not retain their original surfaces. Where they did, tool-marks and scribed setting-out lines were apparent. Unfortunately, faint surface indications are not anything like as clear today as they were when the coffins were first lifted from the ground.

Coffin F1753

Area 5. Tree-ring dated to after 1094⁴³

An exceptionally well-preserved coffin, intact and undisturbed; the lid was, however, split and distorted by the weight of soil above and exhibited more decay than the remainder of the coffin (Fig. 187). This was made from seven riven oak boards, the surfaces of which still retained clear marks of working with an adze and a broad axe (straight blade 21+ cm long), as well as the joiner's scribed setting-out lines (Fig. 188). The base-board was 1.87 m long, 0.48 m wide at the head (west) end, tapering to 0.40 m at the foot end; it was 28 mm thick. The wider end was gently curved in plan, a feature not reflected in the lid (Figs. 189 and 190).

Both end-boards had their grain running vertically and were mounted on the base, being inset slightly from the extremities; two pegs secured each end to the base-board.⁴⁴ The side planks, 0.34 m in height, were placed outside the base and end-boards, and each was anchored to the base with three skewed pegs (Fig. 191). There was no form of jointing between the sides and the coffin-ends, the whole being tied together, and the ends maintained in an upright position, by long

dowels passing laterally through the coffin, about two-thirds of the way up the sides. There were three of these tying-dowels: two at the narrow end and one at the broad end. In the case of the former, one dowel was set immediately inside and the other outside the end-board, thus preventing it from tilting in either direction (Figs. 192 and 193). The single tying-dowel at the wider end was placed outside the end-board, the only direction in which it needed to be restrained (this board could not have tilted inwards owing to the tapered plan of the coffin).

Finally, the lid was placed on the coffin, and was fixed with four skewed pegs, two on each long side. The lid was slightly wider than the coffin, and oversailed the ends by 30–50 mm; unlike the base, it was made from two planks,⁴⁵ the longitudinal joint being butted and presumably glued. Curiously, no evidence for edge-dowelling could be seen. Instead, the lid appears to have been strengthened simply by gluing battens to the underside. There may have been two or three, but only one batten (50 × 20 mm in cross-section) had survived at the west end of the coffin: it lay outside the end-board and must have been attached to the oversailing part of the lid: no nails, dowels or pegs were involved.⁴⁶ Two holes in the north-east corner of the lid seem not to be the result of decay, and may represent reuse of the plank. Also, the wider plank showed no sign of beetle infestation, but the narrower one had flight-holes of a size commensurate with death-watch beetle; these were in the timber before it was planked (Fig. 194).

The ends of the boards were marked by the joiner, ready for cutting, with shallowly scored lines; each board was then stood on edge and cutting undertaken



Fig. 187: Coffin, grave F1753, as found with compressed and split lid. View west. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 188: Coffin, grave F1753, after excavation and removal of the skeleton. View south-west. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 189: Coffin, grave F1753. (A) lid; (B) north side (exterior); (C) base (interior); (D) south side (exterior); (E) west end (elevation and vertical section); (F) east end. Scale 1:15. Drawing: Judith Dobie

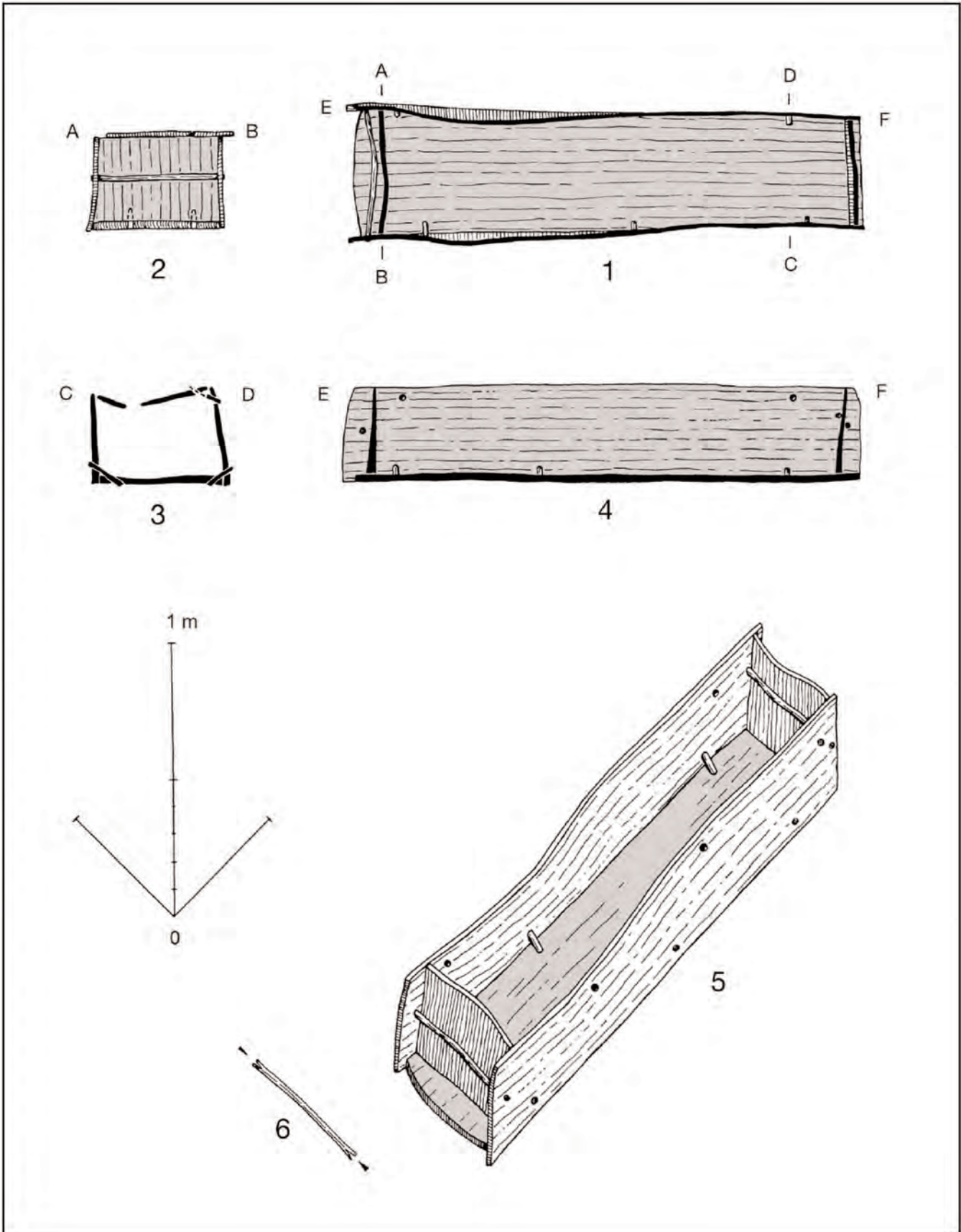


Fig. 190: Coffin, grave F1753, assembled. 1, Plan with the lid removed; 2, west end elevation AB; 3, cross-section CD; 4, longitudinal sectional elevation EF; 5, axonometric view of the complete coffin, omitting the lid; 6, detail of a tying-dowel with wedged ends. Scale 1:20. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

with a sharp axe, skilfully wielded, beginning at the top of the board and working across its width. In the case of the base-board, about forty blows were required to trim the narrower end; although the cut edge is neat, each axe blow is detectable. The joiner was right-handed. Holes 13 mm in diameter were drilled to anchor the ends to the base, and pegs driven into these were 14 mm square. The skewed pegs used to anchor the sides to the base, and the lid to the sides, were slightly tapered and averaged 55 mm long; they had been trimmed with a knife to a roughly circular (but visibly faceted) cross-section. They were driven into drilled holes of 13 mm diameter. Some of the pegs were then split and wedged at the upper ends, presumably to tighten a slack fit. The long dowels, also 13 mm in diameter, used to tie the sides of the coffin together passed through pre-drilled holes in the planks, and were trimmed flush with the sides (Figs. 195 and 196). Again, some of their ends were split and wedged to



Fig. 191: Coffin, grave F1753. Internal view of the west end, showing a skewed peg attaching the side to the base. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 192: Coffin, grave F1753. Vertical view of the west end, showing the external tying-dowel in situ. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

secure a tight fit; the wedges were *c.* 10 mm long. The pegs and dowels used in the construction comprised a mixture of oak, hazel and willow (or poplar).⁴⁷

Inside the base of the coffin was an incised graffito, comprising four strokes executed with a round-nosed gouge (Fig. 197). Although the marks could conceivably be interpreted as Runic letters – possibly representing ‘u’ and ‘n’ – when viewed the other way up, they appear to read ‘XII’ in Roman numerals. No consensus has



Fig. 193: Coffin, grave F1753. Internal view of the north side plank, showing the compression scar where the east end abutted, the stumps of the dowels that held it upright, and two of the skewed peg-holes where the side was attached to the base and lid, respectively. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 194: Coffin, grave F1753. Detail of the lid, showing wood-beetle infestation in the timber before it was used to make the coffin. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

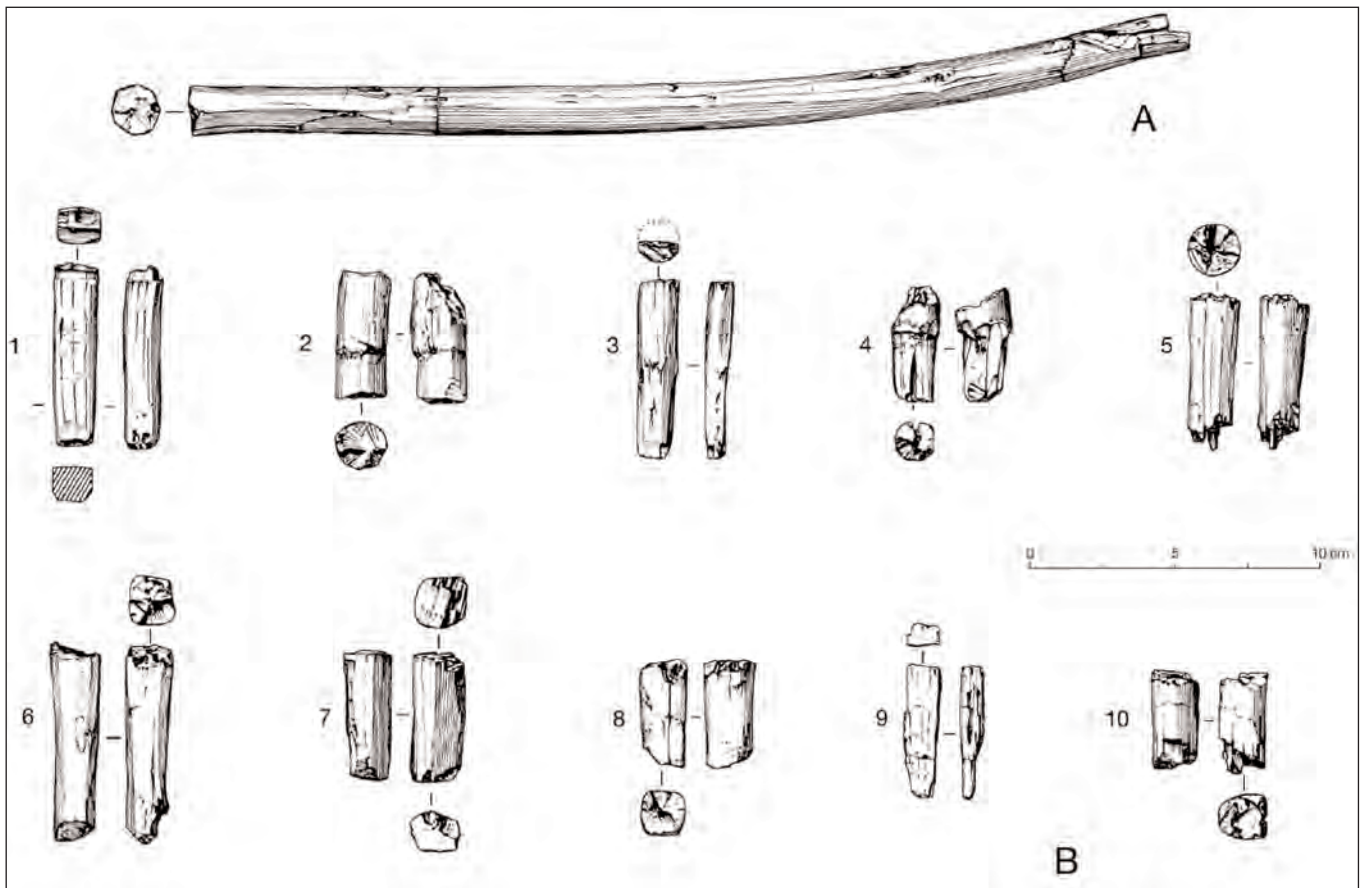


Fig. 195: Coffin, grave F1753. A, oak tying-dowel; B, ten pegs used in the construction. Nos. 1, 7 and 9 are oak; nos. 2 and 5 are willow; nos. 3, 4, 6, 8 and 10 are hazel. Scale 1:2.5. Drawing: Judith Dobie



Fig. 196: Coffin, grave F1753. Examples of a peg and a tying-dowel used in the construction. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

been reached on their interpretation. Whatever it signifies, this graffiti must relate to the construction stage of the coffin, rather than to its use.

Coffin F1790

Area 5. Tree-ring dated to the winter of 1131/32

A well-preserved coffin which was lifted intact; the lid was somewhat bowed, but still pegged to the sides

(Fig. 198). Tool-marks were present from a straight-edged axe with a blade 16 cm wide. The base-board was 1.76 m long and tapered in plan from 36 cm to 27 cm. The sides, 32 cm high, clasped the base to which they were firmly attached by six horizontally driven nails on the south and seven on the north. The end-boards – their grain horizontal in this instance – were inset and secured to the base by two pegs, but not



Fig. 197: Coffin, grave F1753. Detail of the base-board showing the incised graffiti. Photo and drawing: Warwick Rodwell

nailed or pegged to the sides. A single tying-dowel 12 mm in diameter linked the sides, immediately beyond the end-boards. The lid slightly oversailed the sides, to which it was attached by three skewed pegs (two on the north, one on the south).

Coffin F3503

Area 5. Not dated

Only the westernmost one-third of this coffin was exposed in the excavation. While the board forming the north side clasped the base, exceptionally, that on the south rested on top of the base; both were fixed with skewed pegs. The west end-board was set between the sides, but no evidence for pegging it to the base could be found (possibly lost through decay); a single nail (50 mm long) was driven through the very bottom of the south side-board, and angled slightly upwards, into the end-board. This had the appearance of an *ad hoc* repair during manufacture (or subsequent handling): there was no nail in a comparable position on the north side.

Coffin F3508

Area 5. Tree-ring dated to ?1099

Although substantially complete, this coffin had partially decayed and collapsed, the north side and west ends having both folded concertina-like. The planks were thicker than usual, *c.* 30 mm. The broad end of the tapered base was slightly curved in plan (*cf.* F1753), and the plank exhibited traces of beetle infestation. The end-boards were pegged to the base, and all three were clamped between the long sides; skewed pegs secured these, and the lid. There appear to have been two tying-dowels, placed outside both the east and west end-boards, one low down and the other just beneath the

lid: although detached, parts of both dowels survived at the west end, but of only the lower dowel at the east. The upper west dowel was squarish in section (10 × 9 mm), and the lower east one oval (12 × 6 mm).

Coffin F3564 (dug-out)

Area 5. Tree-ring dating not successful⁴⁸

This was the only coffin of dug-out type, produced from a trunk which had been squared externally and measured 2.1 m long by 0.46 m wide; the maximum surviving depth was 0.25 m and, being sited on the water-table, preservation was not good. The lid and upper parts of the coffin had been destroyed by later burials, as had its south-west corner (Fig. 199). Internally the dug-out area tapered slightly towards both ends, and had rounded corners.

Dug-out coffins have occasionally been reported from other sites, such as Glastonbury Abbey. There, a coffin 'made of the trunk of an oak, hollowed', was excavated by the monks in 1191, and was alleged to contain the bones of King Arthur (Warner 1826, xix). A single dug-out was found along with forty-two plank-built coffins at Swinegate, York (Hadley 2002, 220).

Coffin F3868

Area 5. Tree-ring dated to spring 1134

A large, well-preserved coffin: the base-board, curved at the broad end, measured 1.96 m long by 0.45 m wide, tapering to 0.31 m (Fig. 200). Unusually, the west end-board had vertical grain and the east had horizontal. The construction was similar to F3508, with two external tying-dowels at each end (Fig. 201). The lid was secured with three skewed pegs. The south side had the upper west corner cut off at an obtuse angle, which was probably a residual felling-cut rather than a deliberate feature.

Two other anomalies merit mention. First, the east end-board carried an unnecessary shallow rebate across its full width, indicating reuse. Second, the west end-board had a small rectangular cut-out in the middle of its southern edge. This was effectively a slot, made using a chisel angled at 45 degrees to the plane of the board. Inserted into this skewed slot was an oak wedge 25 cm long, which pressed against the south side of the coffin (Fig. 202). Practically, all it could do would be to open up a slight gap between the west end-board and the south side; but that was certainly not desirable, since the two components were held together by tying-dowels. The slot and the long wedge were unquestionably deliberate features of this coffin's construction, but their function remains an enigma.

Faint scratchings on the interior of the base, towards the west end, might be deliberate graffiti, but no certainty obtains.

Coffin F3869

Area 5. Tree-ring dated to winter 1130/31

A relatively well-preserved coffin, although the west end-board had collapsed and the lid was depressed

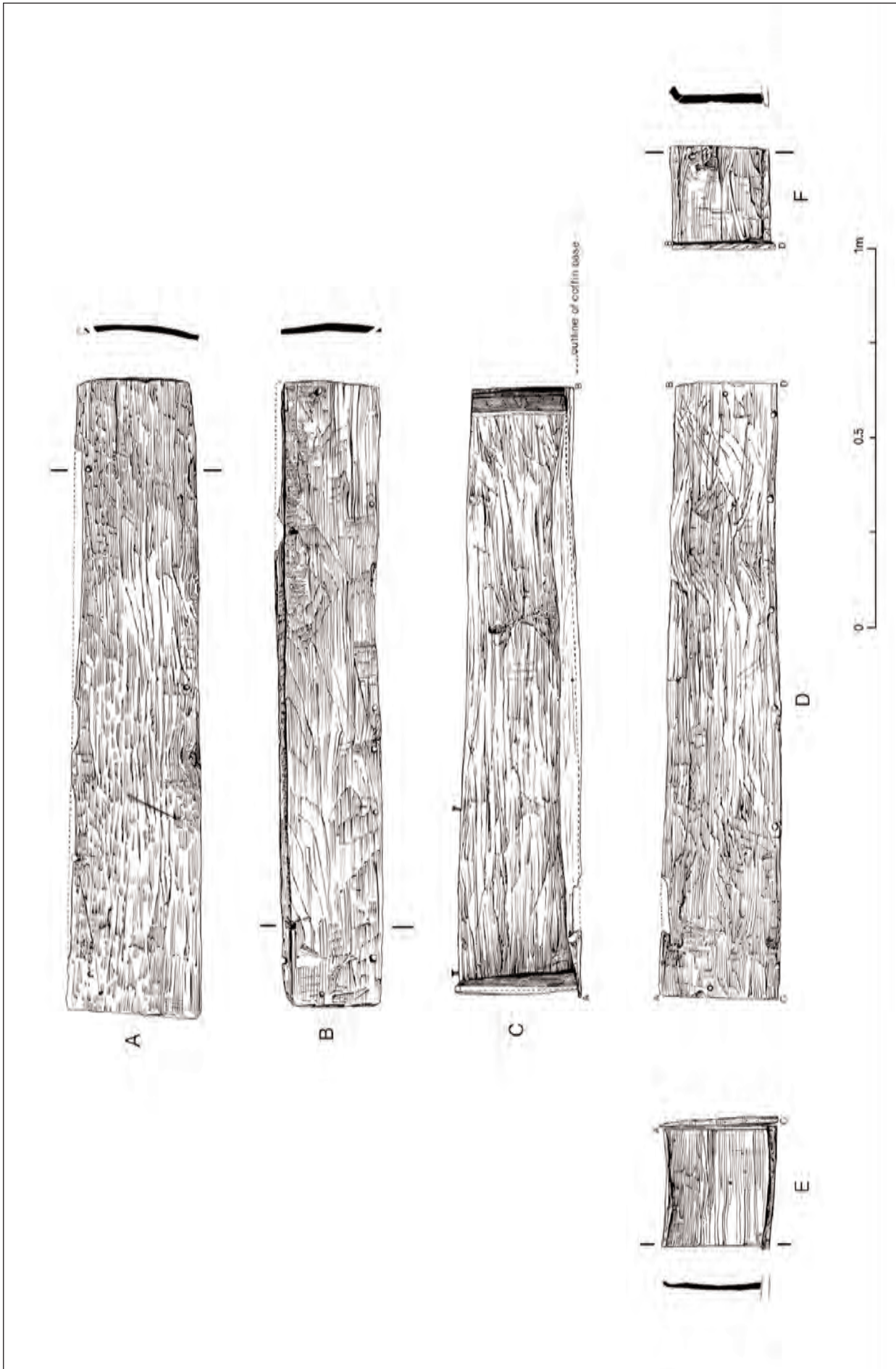


Fig. 198: Coffin, grave F1790. (A) lid; (B) north side (exterior); (C) base (interior); (D) south side (exterior); (E) west end; (F) east end. Scale 1:15. Drawing: Judith Dobie

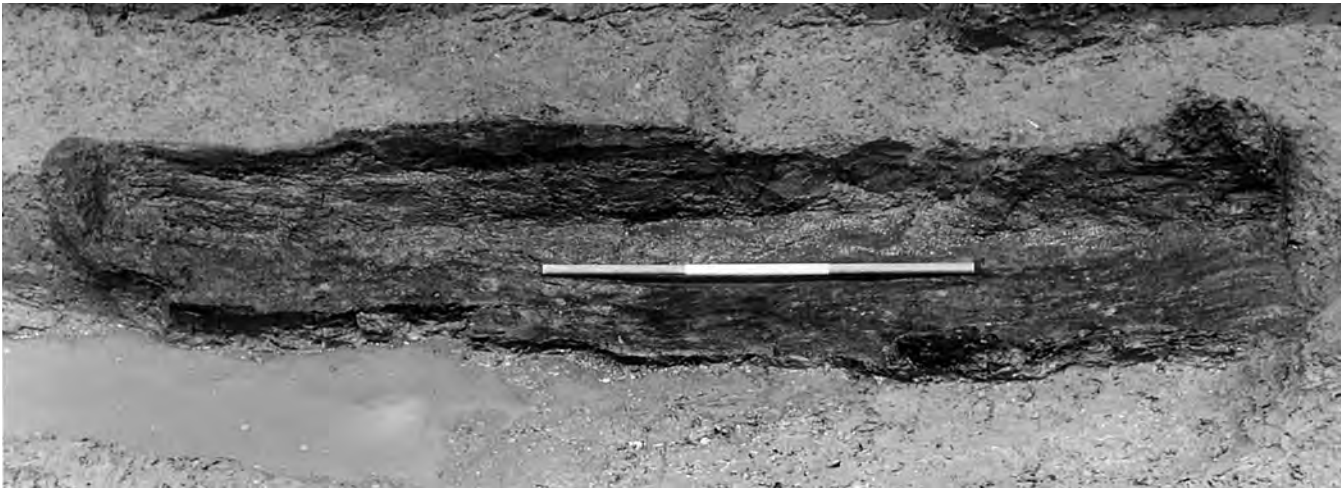


Fig. 199: Dug-out coffin, grave F3564. View north. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

into the interior (Fig. 230). The base exhibited marked curvature on the cross-cut at the wide end, and the drilling positions for three of the five holes containing the skewed pegs which attached the sides had been marked on the interior with scored lines. The reason for this is puzzling, since the base would not have been drilled first, or indeed separately, from the sides, and thus no marking-out was required. Drilling took place from the exterior, while the side-boards were held in register with the base: the drill bit passed first through the side, then broke into the void of the coffin, and finally pierced the base. The peg was driven in, and the excess length trimmed off flush with the underside of the coffin. This was the standard procedure for effecting the union between sides and bases, where skewed pegging was employed. Scored lines on the inside of the base have no relevance to such a procedure.

Another, seemingly deliberate, feature of this coffin was the slight taper on the length of both end-boards, giving them a trapezoidal form; this would have had the effect of inclining the sides of the coffin (*i.e.* they were not at right-angles to the base).⁴⁹ This could be the result of poor joinery technique, or perhaps the board intended for the lid was not quite as wide as the base, and thus the top of the coffin needed to be constricted slightly to achieve a union. The sides were held in place by a single tying-dowel outside each end-board.

Coffin F3908

Area 5. Tree-ring dated to 1103–39

The base-board and fragments of the north side survived, and these had been joined by skewed pegging. The southern edge of the base, however, had no peg-holes for attaching that side; instead there was a narrow groove in the upper face of the board, close to the edge and extending for the full length. Since nothing survived of the south side, it could not be established whether it had a tongue to engage with the groove in the base, nor was any evidence present for the means of fixing.

Coffin F3939

Area 5. Not dated

Poorly preserved, with little more than the base-board surviving. The pegs used in this coffin were slimmer than usual, the diameter of the drill being only *c.* 8 mm. A constructional detail was preserved on the inside of the base-board: here, the west end-board had been fixed with two vertical pegs, as usual, but a hump or slight curvature in the base meant that the end would not seat properly on it. This was overcome by holding the end-board in position and making a series of chisel-cuts along either side of it, then paring away a channel of surplus wood to provide a flat seating. The two lines of chisel-cuts were clearly evidenced: the blade was 12 mm ($\frac{1}{2}$ inch) wide.

Coffin F3946

Area 5. Tree-ring dating not successful

A decayed child's coffin, probably parallel-sided, with a base-board 1.09 m long by *c.* 0.23 m wide. The cross-cut at the east end was slightly curved in plan. Peg-holes for the two ends were present, but there appeared to be none for the attachment of the sides. However, the south board had the remains of a small iron nail in it at the east end, indicating that in this instance the junction between side and end may have been nailed. The remains were too fragmentary to reveal whether there had ever been tying-dowels.

The coffin was made from reused timber, the base-board having both beetle infestation and a pair of rectangular cut-outs (mortices) side-by-side: each measured *c.* 60 × 30 mm, and had been made using an auger 30 mm in diameter. The mortices were angled in a way that suggests this piece of timber had been the top of a bench with splayed legs (a form of construction that has persisted into modern times). The original bench must have been upwards of 1.4 m in length. The redundant mortices were plugged with pieces of oak (Fig. 203). One of the plugs had a hole (6 mm sq.) in it, apparently where a nail had once been driven through (and subsequently extracted). The nail-hole

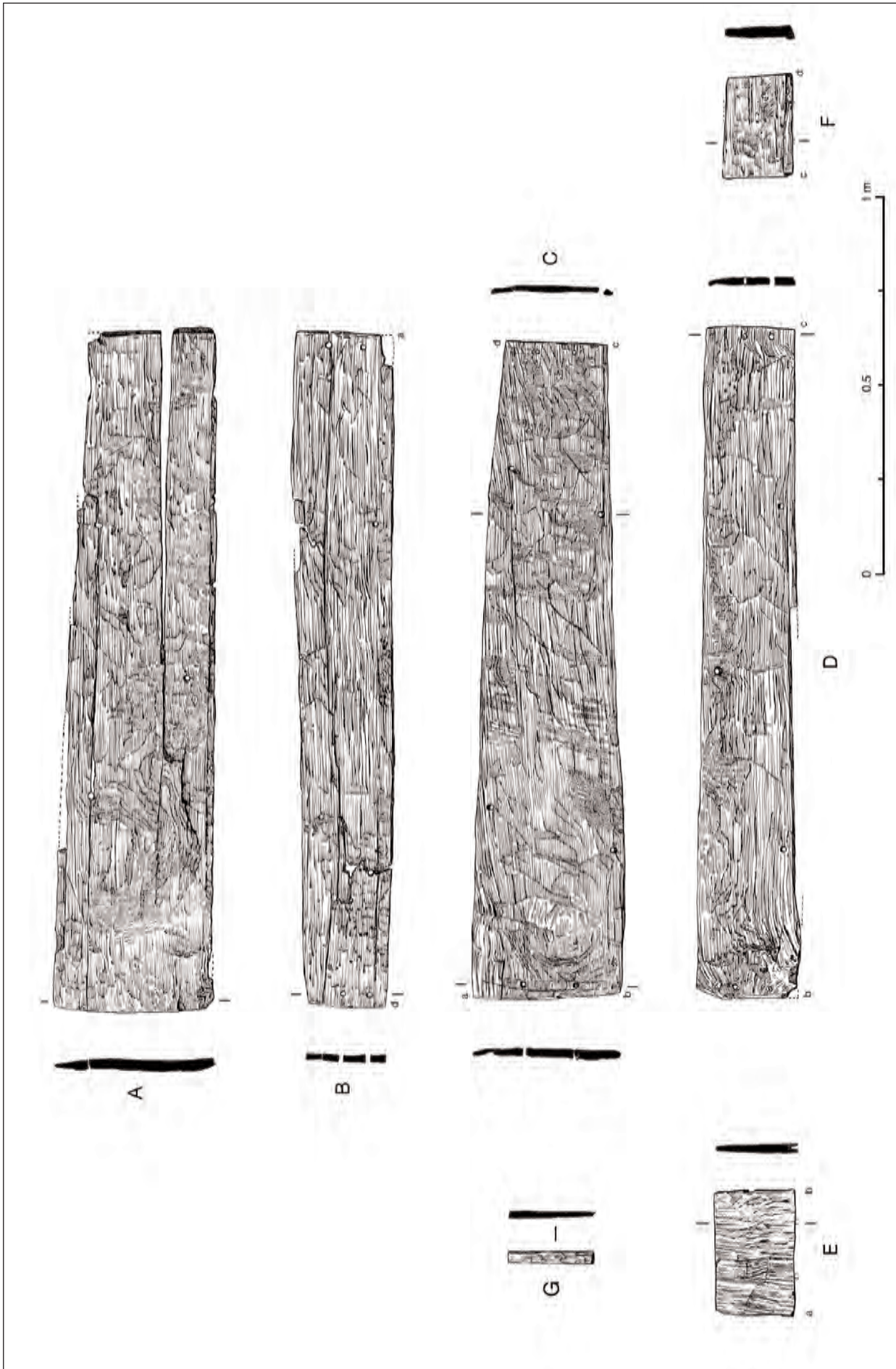


Fig. 200: Coffin, grave F3868. (A) lid; (B) north side (exterior); (C) south side (exterior); (D) west end; (E) east end; (F) east end; (G) wedge from south-west corner. Scale 1:15. Drawing: Judith Dobie



Fig. 201: Coffin, grave F3868. Detail of the east end, showing the twin tying-dowels. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 202: Coffin, grave F3868. Detail of the west end, showing the wedge passing through an angled slot in the edge of the board. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 203: Coffin, grave F3946. Detail of part of the base board, showing peg-holes for the attachment of the east end and a pair of infilled mortices from the timber's previous use as a bench top. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

had no relevance in this position, and the plug was therefore also made from a piece of secondhand timber.

Coffin F3968

Area 5. Tree-ring dated to ?1079

A well-preserved example, directly underlying coffins F3939 and F3946 (Figs. 204–207 and 209). The planks used for the base and sides were exceptionally thick (up to 45 mm); the north-west corner of the base had been cut off at 45 degrees, using an axe (*cf.* F3868) (Fig. 208). The sides were attached to the base by three horizontal pegs in each, providing the only instance of this form of construction. On the exterior of the south board were

several deeply scored diagonal lines. Unusually, the ends were not pegged to the base, or fixed to the side-boards: to retain them in place; they appear to have relied solely on two external tying-dowels at each end of the coffin. The east end-board was made from two pieces of timber, horizontally jointed with a single edge-dowel. The west end-board was reused timber, exhibiting two features that were unconnected with the coffin: there was a drilled hole containing a redundant and broken peg and, running across the centre in a vertical direction, was a slight hollow which had been scooped out with an adze. The lid was secured in the usual manner with three skewed pegs. Like the base, the north-west corner was



Fig. 204: Coffin, grave F3968, as found, with the lid intact. West is at the top. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

also cut off at 45 degrees, suggesting that the two boards had been riven from a single baulk of timber.⁵⁰

A series of slanting lines crudely scored on the south side of the coffin constitute a graffito, possibly an inscription, which has not been deciphered (Fig. 209D; *cf.* coffin F5044).

Coffin F3974

Area 5. Not dated (insufficient timber surviving)

Only vestigial traces of timber survived of this coffin, which was apparently of idiosyncratic construction. It was *c.* 1.85 m long (the west end was incomplete), and tapered in plan. The east end measured 26 cm wide, and the west end at least 38 cm. The lower edges of the oak boards forming the north and south sides were clearly defined, but there was no base-board between them. Instead, the sides were linked by a series of ten evenly spaced cross-pieces (*cf.* F5045). These were



Fig. 205: Coffin, grave F3968. Waterlogged contents, as seen after removal of the lid. Note the mud 'pillow'. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

rectangular-section battens or slats, the ends of which were tenoned into the side-boards. The battens formed a ladder-like framework, through which withes were woven longitudinally (Figs. 210 and 211). The coffin thus had a battened and wickerwork base, instead of a plank. There were presumably east and west end-boards, set between the sides and tying-dowels at the top, but all of this had disappeared. Traces of decayed wood overlying the skeleton may have belonged to the lid, or they could have been from the base of another coffined burial which was superimposed on this one.

Coffin F3980

Area 5. Tree-ring dated to after 1092

The base of the coffin was intact, but the remainder was poorly preserved. The south-west corner of the base was cut off at 45 degrees (*cf.* F3868 and F3968), and there had been considerable beetle infestation in the board.



Fig. 206: Coffin, grave F3968. The skeleton fully exposed, with coppice-rods beside the sinister leg. Note also the chalk-block ear-muffs. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Coffin F5013

Area 12. Not dated

The timber was in poor condition, but this seems to have been a tapered coffin of the same basic construction type as most others, although with some unusual features. First, beneath the base-board were three transverse battens, suggesting that it comprised more than one plank, but the condition of the wood was too poor to identify longitudinal joints. The central batten was the best preserved, measuring 300 × 65 mm, by 8 mm thick, although originally it might have been twice that thickness (Fig. 212). The batten was pierced by three holes (30 mm diam.), in one of which were traces of a peg; the holes had doubtless become much

enlarged through decay. There can be little doubt that the battens were cleats, joining two planks that made up the coffin base.

The second interesting feature was use of two overlapping planks, joined with clenched-bolts, for the north side; it has been argued that this was a reused fragment from a clinker-built boat (p. 186). No other clenched-bolts or nails occurred in the grave.

Coffin F5031

Area 12. Tree-ring dated to after 1126

Poorly preserved remains of a child's coffin; maximum surviving length 0.79 m, which is probably close to the original dimension. The west end was entirely lost but, like the adult coffins, this tapered slightly in plan. The sides clasped the base and the junction on the south was skew-pegged. On the north, there was a straight-through hole close to the bottom edge of the board, but no counterpart in the base to receive a peg. The east end-board (with vertical grain) also abutted the base, instead of resting on it as was the norm. There was a suggestion of an external tying-dowel, which did not survive, but the hole to receive it was preserved in the south side. Moreover, in this hole was a small iron nail, which must have been driven into the end of the dowel, instead of a wedge, in order to expand it and secure a tight fit. Such a hypothesized arrangement is, however, negated by the absence of any corresponding dowel-hole in the north side.

To add to the complications, a hole had been drilled through the east end-board, very close to its bottom edge; a nail 30 mm long had then been driven into the end-grain, from the bottom, its point protruding into the hole. The only purpose of such an arrangement would have been for the nail to secure a dowel that passed through the drilled hole. There was no related dowel-hole in the end of the base-board, and consequently the two components were not simply pegged together. It is possible, albeit unconvincing, that a longitudinal tying-dowel ran the full length of this short coffin, thereby holding the two ends in place.

The incomplete and clearly contradictory nature of the evidence defies satisfactory interpretation. Just conceivably, this was not a fully jointed coffin, but a grave lining made from the disassembled pieces of one or more coffins.

Coffin F5044

Area 11. Tree-ring dated to winter 1088/89

A large and moderately well-preserved coffin, with the lid depressed into the interior (Fig. 213). The markedly tapered base-board was made of two pieces of timber: overall, it measured 1.95 m long by 0.43 m wide at the west end, tapering to 205 mm at the east end. The required width was achieved by adding a triangular sliver to the southern edge, extending along more than half of the coffin's length. It was attached by edge-dowelling. The side-boards clasped the base, to which they were secured by three horizontal pegs on each side (*cf.* F3968), while the ends were mounted on top of it and



Fig. 207: Coffin, grave F3968. (upper) The skull resting on a pillow; (lower) The chalk blocks which supported the pillow. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 208: Coffin, grave F3968. Detail of the base-board, showing adze marks and cut-off corner. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

located with two vertical pegs. External tying-dowels were fitted: two on the west and one on the east end.

The drilled holes for the pegs and dowels were smaller than usual, at *c.* 9 mm. The lid, however, was secured with five skewed pegs of larger diameter (*c.* 13 mm). This may indicate that the fitting of the lid was not carried out in the joiner's workshop. Centrally arranged on the exterior of the south side is a row of slanting marks, evidently constituting a graffito: they are poorly preserved, but are possibly the remnants of an inscription (Fig. 213D).

Coffin F5045

Area 11. Reused timbers: tree-ring dated to 1071–81(?)

The construction of this coffin was curious and complex, and certainly incorporated reused timbers (Fig. 214). The base-board measured 1.97 m long by only 0.26 m wide, and was parallel-sided; it had three redundant peg-holes and a nail-hole in it. The west end-board measured 0.35 m in width, and the east end-board 0.25 m, demonstrating that the coffin ought to have had a tapering base-board to achieve the required plan, but that was not so. The east and west end-boards of the coffin were mounted on the base, each located with one vertical peg. The sides clasped the ends, but not the base. In this instance the base was not physically jointed to the sides, and there were tapering gaps to either flank. Instead, the sides were independently linked by a series of six irregularly spaced tying-dowels which ran across the coffin, immediately under the base-board (Fig. 215). Four of the dowels were concentrated in the western half, the fifth was just past the mid-point, and the sixth lay towards the east end. Clearly, the arrangement was pre-determined by where the principal weight of the corpse lay. Some of the tying-dowels comprised complete sections of thin stems, while others were split and their ends trimmed to a circular cross-section.

Preservation was not good enough to ascertain whether the ends were wedged. The construction of the base was a variant of that seen in coffin F3974.

There were two external tying-dowels at the west end, and probably only one at the east end of the coffin. The lid was made of two planks, 220 mm and 110 mm wide, respectively; they were butt-jointed and held together with three edge-dowels. The wider board had two redundant holes close to one end, and the narrow board had a single hole near the middle. The lid appears to have been secured to the coffin sides with skewed pegs.

The north side-board had three redundant drilled holes (*c.* 30 mm across) in it, while the south board was peppered with relict features: no less than eleven large drilled holes and two nail-holes (Fig. 214D). These formed interesting patterns, relating to two separate former uses. First, there were two matching pairs of holes, one towards each end, which would be consistent with the board's having been a bench-top, originally measuring *c.* 2 m long by 0.35 m wide. The holes, which were drilled at an angle to the plane of the board, were the settings for round timber legs (or square legs trimmed at the top to a circular stub, which would then have been secured by splitting and wedging). Second, the board may have been used as one side of a box-bed, the line of five holes, more-or-less equally spaced along its length, representing the positions where circular rods were inserted to form the base.

The boards from this coffin yielded various tree-ring dates, none of them precise. Since the two sides were both of reused timber and their date-brackets were among the latest in the assemblage, it is most likely that the coffin was made in the twelfth century.

Coffin F5328

Area 12. Tree-ring dated to winter 1134/35

A large and fairly well-preserved coffin, assembled with a mixture of pegs, dowels and nails, but principally the last (Fig. 216). The base was 2.04 m long and markedly radiused at the west end; in width it tapered from 0.44 m to 0.28 m. Even allowing for some loss through decay, the plank was unusually thin, tapering from 20 mm on the northern edge to only 10 mm on the southern. This influenced the method of assembly. The north side was fixed to the edge of the base with four horizontally driven nails; one of these caused a split in the base and a fifth nail was driven in alongside for added strength. The board for the south side was placed on top of the base and fixed with three nails driven vertically from below; this obviated the need to attempt to nail into the thin edge of the base-board, with the consequent risk of splitting it.

The east and west end-boards were also mounted on the base, each being secured by a single nail driven up from below. The sides then appear to have been linked at the top with a single tying-dowel at each end. The west end-board was noticeably trapezoidal in shape, indicating that the sides were not vertical but slightly inclined

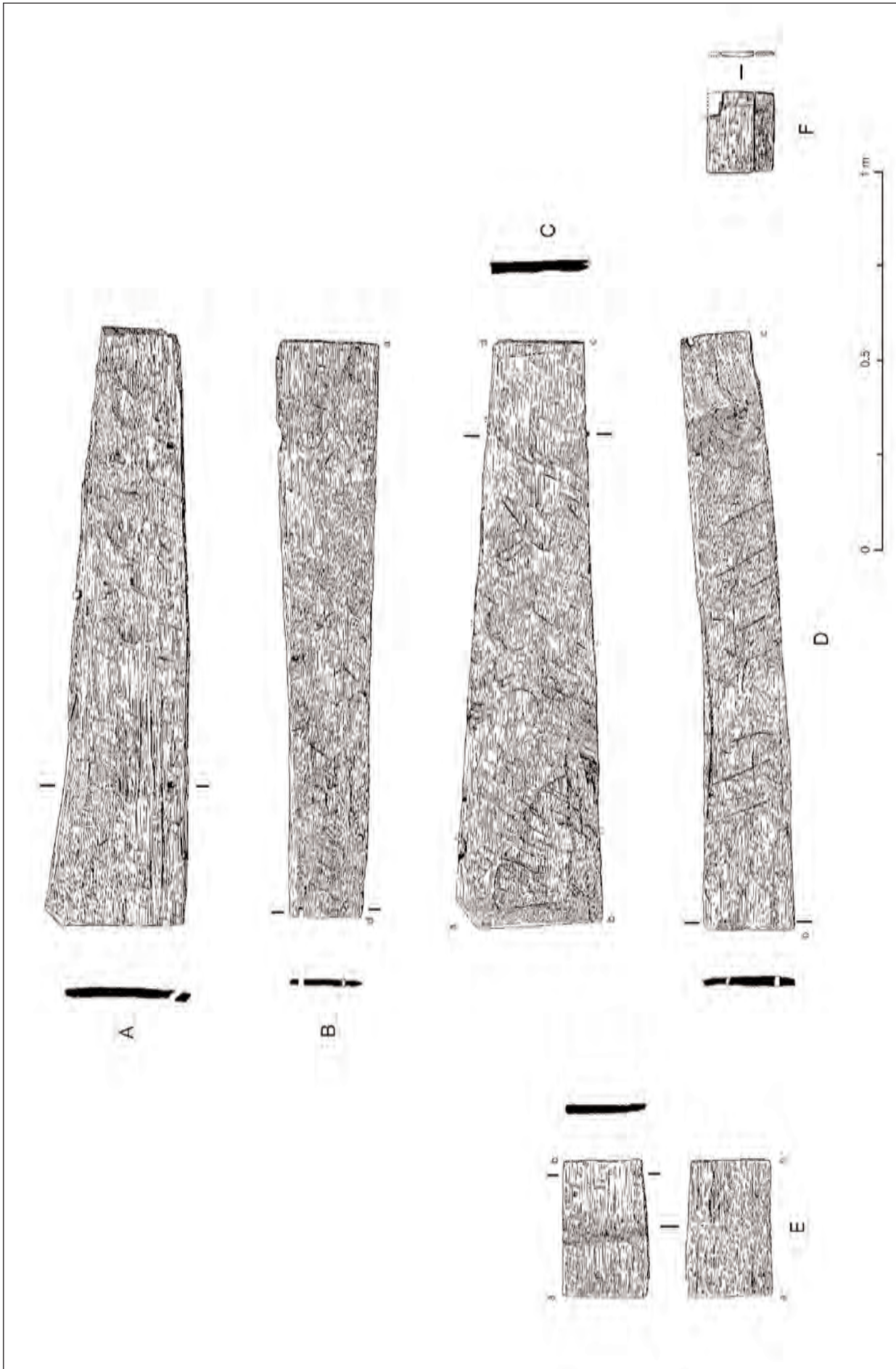


Fig. 209: Coffin, grave F3968. (A) lid (exterior); (B) north side (exterior); (C) base (interior); (D) south side (exterior); (E) west end (internal and external views); (F) east end. Scale 1:15. Drawing: Judith Dobie



Fig. 210: Coffin, grave F3974. Vestigial remains of the batten and wickerwork base, after removal of the skeleton (the visible skull belongs to an underlying burial). View west. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

(cf. F3869); the east end was too decayed to provide any evidence. Little of the lid survived, but it appears to have been secured to the sides with skewed pegs, in the usual way. Beetle infestation was noted in all six boards.

Coffin F5357

Area 12. Tree-ring dated to spring 1134

A poorly preserved coffin of 'standard' pegged construction, but with little if any taper in plan. The end-boards were vertically pegged to the base: the pegs



Fig. 211: Coffin, grave F3974. Detail of the batten and wickerwork base. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

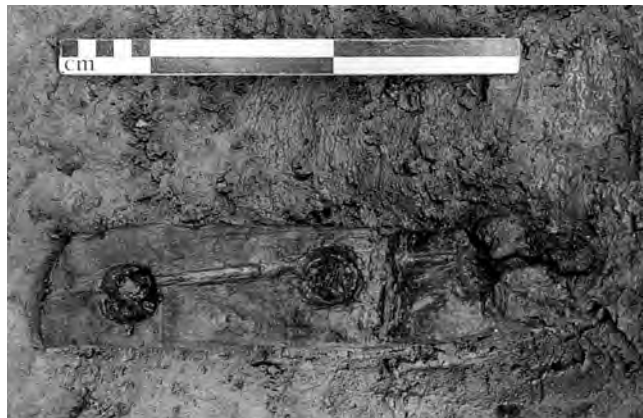


Fig. 212: Coffin, grave F5013. Detail of a batten with three large holes found under the base of the coffin. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

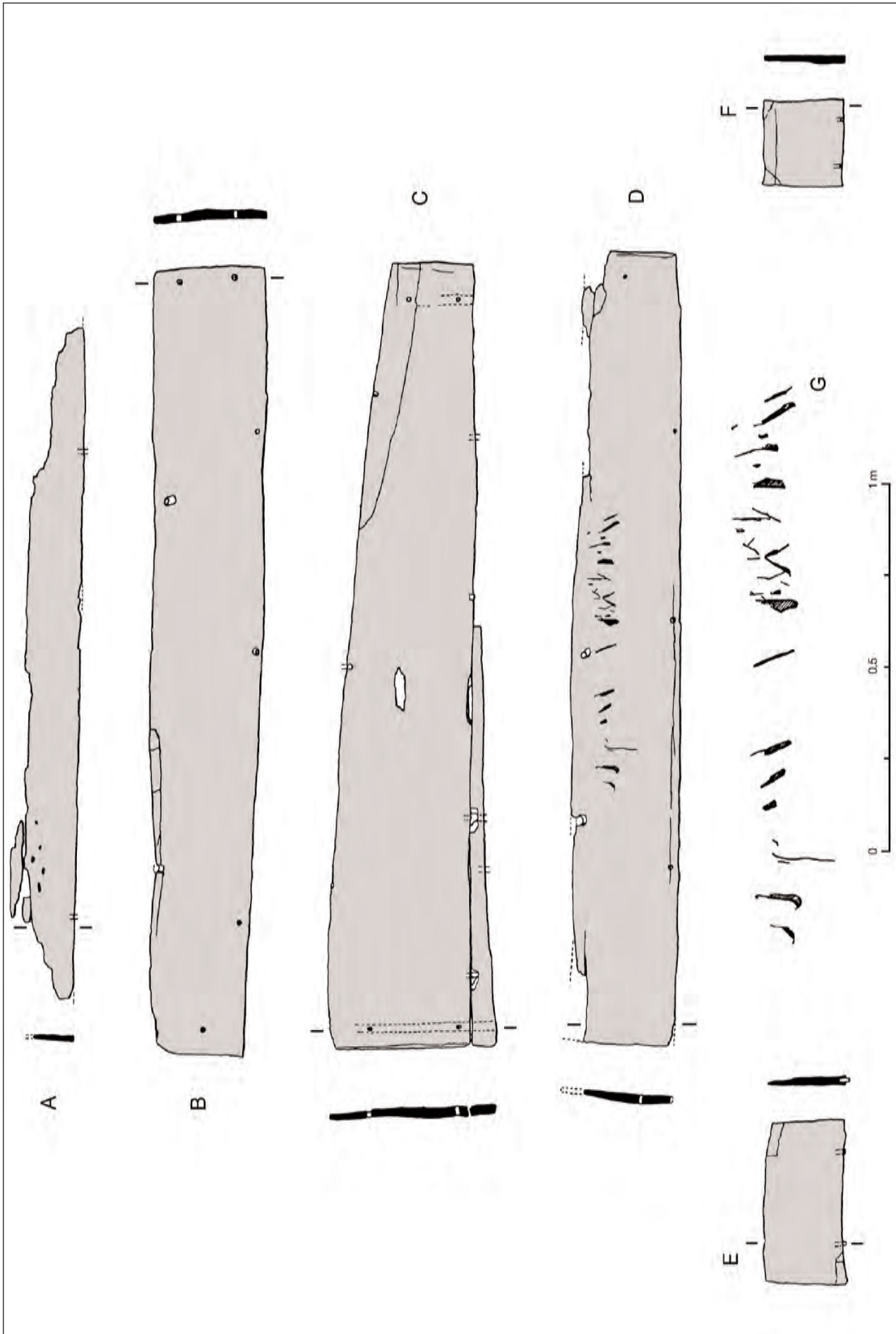


Fig. 213: Coffin, grave F5044, outline drawing. (A) lid; (B) north side (exterior); (C) base (exterior); (D) south side (exterior); (E) south side (interior); (F) east end; (G) inscription(?) on south side. Scale 1:15, except inscription, 1:7.5. Drawing: Judith Dobie

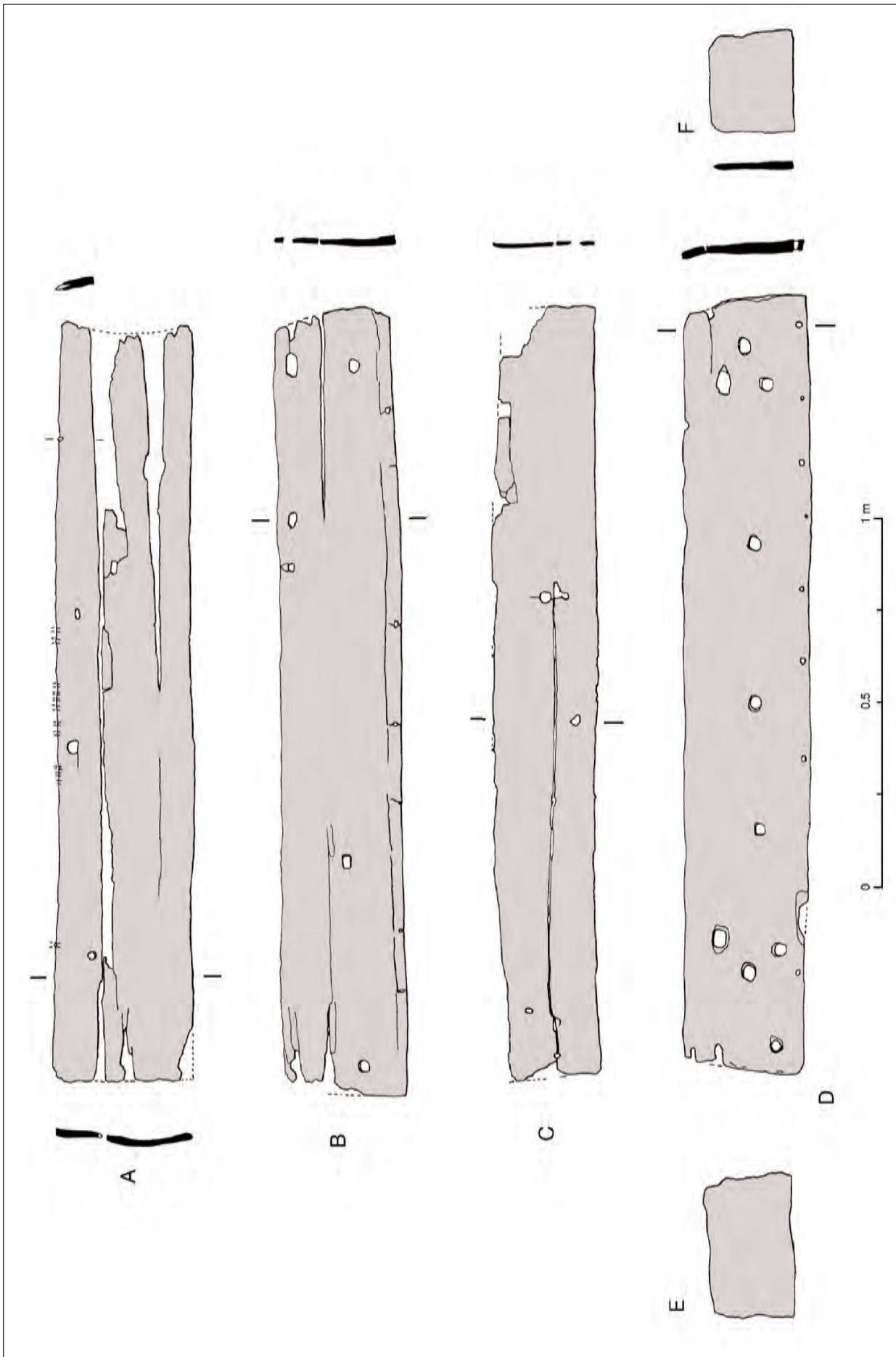


Fig. 214: Coffin, grave F5045, outline drawing. (A) lid (exterior); (B) north side (exterior); (C) base (interior); (D) south side (exterior); (E) west end; (F) east end. Scale 1:15. Drawing: Judith Dobie

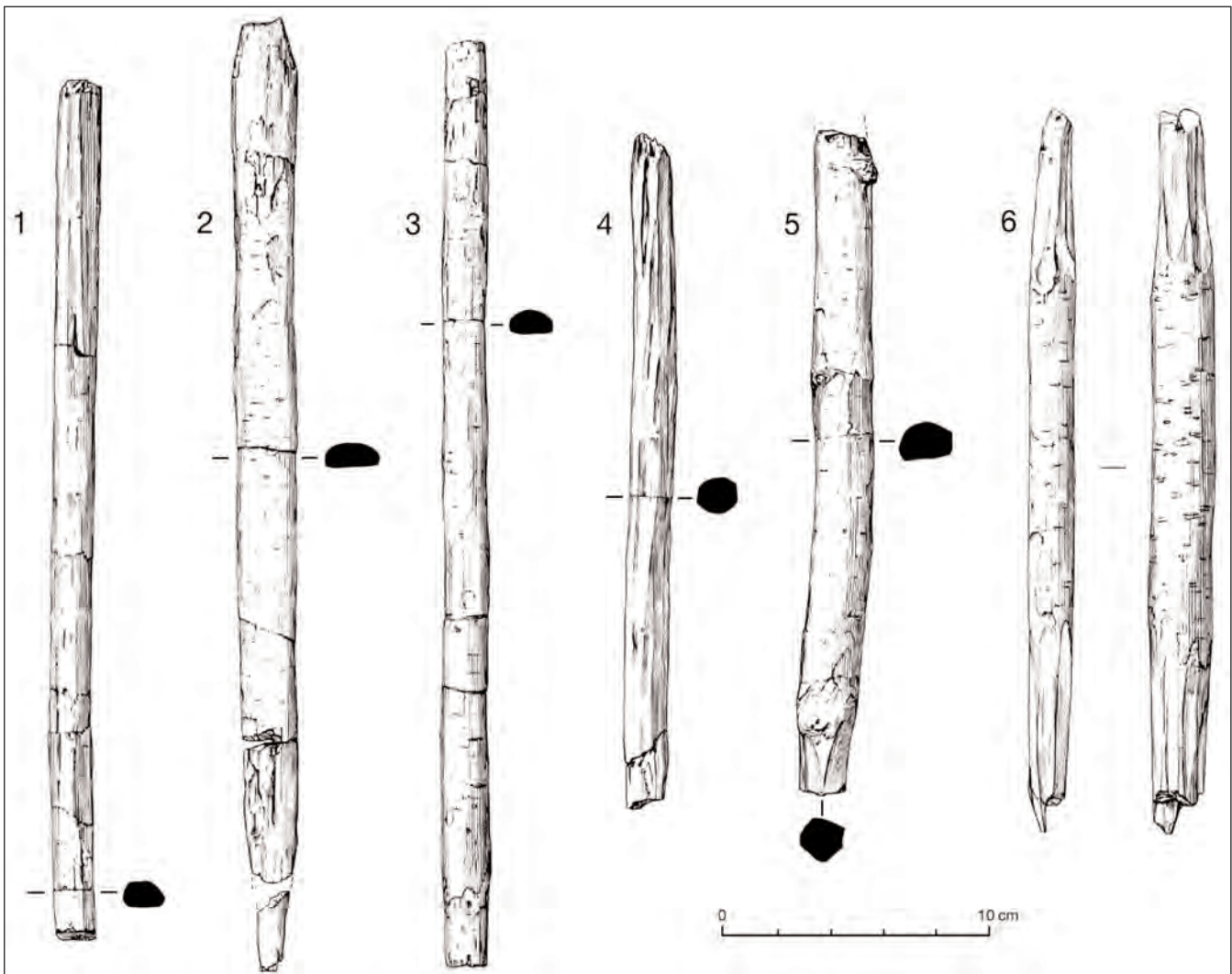


Fig. 215: Coffin, grave F5045. Six tying-dowels. Scale 1:2.5. Drawing Judith Dobie

were only 9 mm in diameter, and their exposed ends were split and wedged. This is a curious refinement to occur in a place where there was no likelihood of the components being physically pulled apart.

Coffin F5474

Area 12. Pine: tree-ring dating not successful

This small, parallel-sided coffin was constructed for the interment of a very young baby (Pl. 39; Figs. 185 and 217–221). Made of pine boards from a single trunk (30–35 cm diam.), it was complete and remarkably well preserved; some of the boards had been tangentially split, others radially. There were clear adze and axe marks on the surfaces and lines of axe-cutting across the ends of the boards. Tool signatures indicate the use of a broad, straight-edged axe with a blade at least 16 cm wide, and an adze with a blade width of 5.6 cm. Curiously, three different finishing tools had been used on this small coffin.

The boards were thick and the construction unusually chunky in relation to the size of the coffin. The fixings were entirely of timber and again comprised pegs and tying-dowels. However, the way in which the cof-

fin was put together differed in almost every detail from that seen in the oak coffins. All components sat on the base-board, the eastern extremity of which not only projected beyond the sides but was also trimmed to a V-section. Probably this was fortuitous, although it might have served to identify the 'head' end. In the event, however, the coffin was placed the wrong way round in the grave, with the skull to the east.

The sides were not joined to the base in any way, but the ends were: each was secured by two vertical pegs, split and wedged. The sides clasped the ends, which were not inset like their counterparts in the oak coffins. Also, the sides were attached to the ends by horizontal pegs: there were two pegs to each joint on the west end, but only one on the east. All were split and wedged. Although structurally superfluous, the sides were then linked together with tying-dowels, one at each end. These were close to the top of the coffin, and each dowel was carefully shaped in the form of a pin with a prominent, faceted cubical head on one end (Fig. 219A). The pins were passed through drilled holes in the sides of the coffin (with the heads on the south side), and the free ends trimmed flush with the

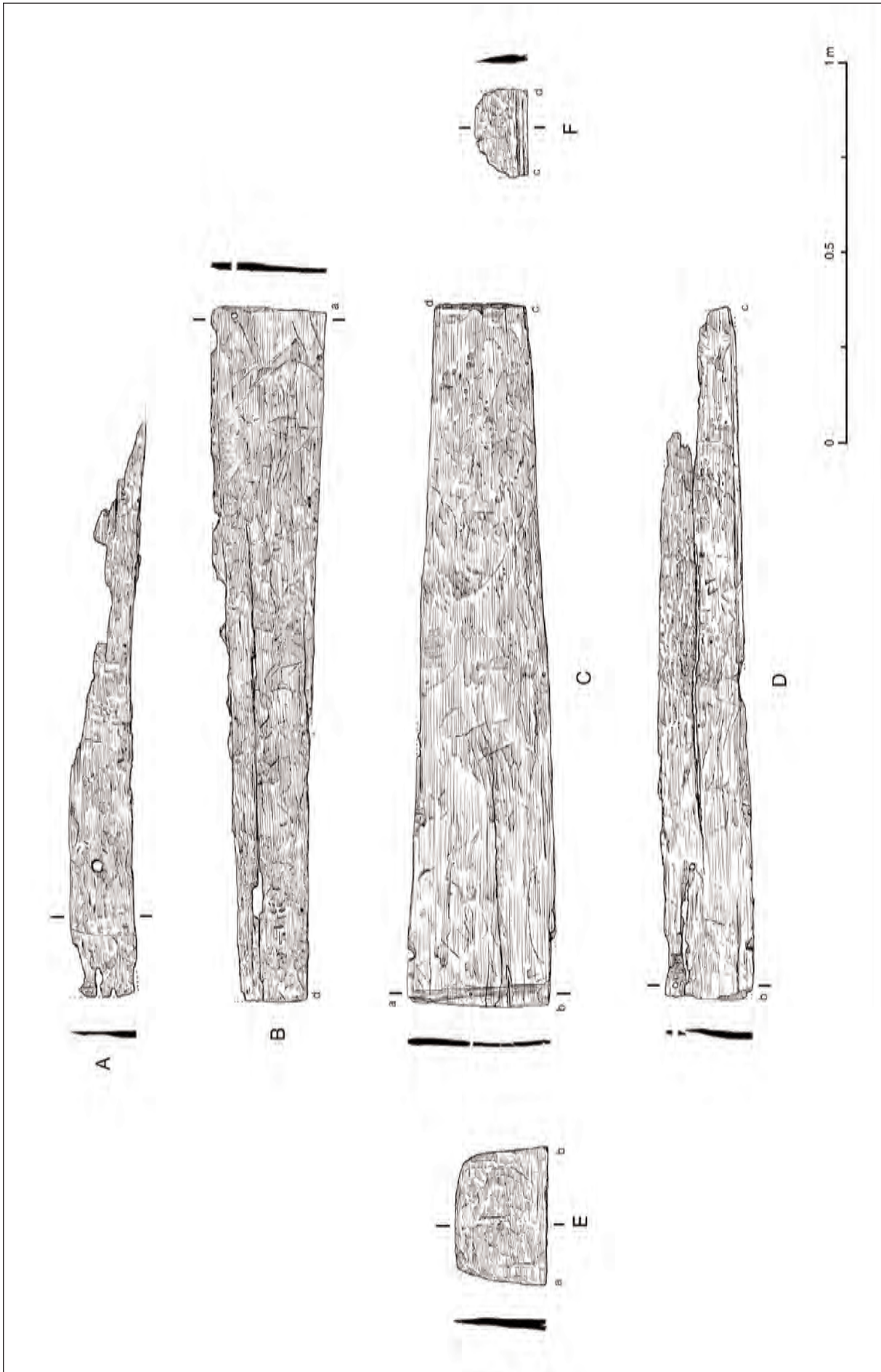


Fig. 216: Coffin, grave F5328. (A) lid; (B) north side (exterior); (C) base (interior); (D) south side (exterior); (E) west end; (F) east end. Scale 1:15. Drawing: Judith Dobie

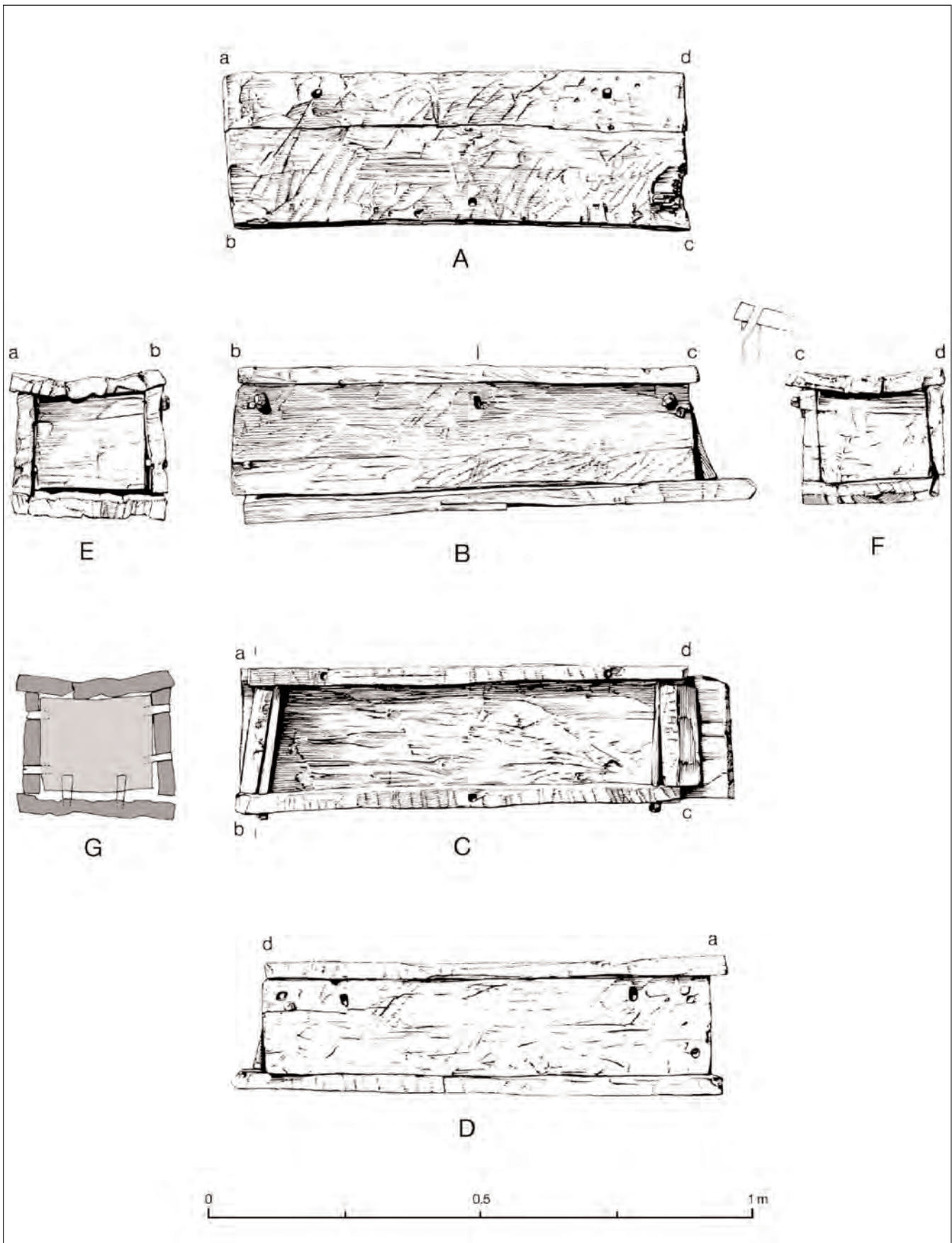


Fig. 217: Coffin, grave F5474. Views of the complete coffin. (A) lid, from above; (B) south side; (C) interior with lid removed; (D) north side; (E) west end; (F) east end; (G) transverse section through west end. Scale 1:10. Drawing: Judith Dobie



Fig. 218: Coffin, grave F5474. North side of the coffin. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 219: Coffin, grave F5474. Details of pegging. A South side, west corner; B North side, west corner. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

face of the board. The ends were split and wedged. The lid was fixed with three pegs which were only slightly skewed from the vertical (*i.e.* not inserted at *c.* 45 degrees, like those in the oak coffins). One, on the north side, was 100 mm long and protruded through the side of the coffin, but was not trimmed off flush (Fig. 219B).

A mishap evidently occurred, potentially during the burial ritual. The coffin must have been picked up by the lid (perhaps to lower it into the grave), and pegs in the base pulled out of the west end, but those on the east seem to have held. Thus the bottom dropped open at the west end, while the east end-board swivelled on the two pegs that anchored it to the sides (Fig. 220). The carcase of the coffin was hastily pushed back down on to the base, but because the east end had tilted out of upright, this displaced the carcase westwards. The

two vertical pegs did not re-engage with the holes in the west end-board, which simply sat down on the base. Consequently, when the coffin was excavated, it was found with the east end skewed, and the basal pegs at the west end performing no function, but simply projecting into the internal void.

Coffins with timber fixings

The 'standard' features of construction noted at Barton involved fitting the long sides to the outer edges of the base-board, and positioning the end-boards on top of the latter, clamped between the sides. The ends were invariably inset a little, to allow tying-dowels to be fitted, but these survived only in the best-preserved coffins (Figs. 195–6). Curiously, there was no evidence for the sides being physically secured to the end-boards,



Fig. 220: Coffin, grave F5474. The coffin from the south-east, showing the tilted east end board. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 221: Coffin, grave F5474. View of the interior from the west, after removing the lid. Unusually, the skull was found at the east end. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

although the latter were invariably pegged to the base. The pine coffin was markedly different from all the others in this respect. The ingenious practice of using oak tying-dowels to hold the sides of a coffin together seems not to have been previously reported: it is no stronger than pegging. Splitting the ends of pegs and tying-dowels and driving in tiny wedges does, however, significantly increase the strength of the joint. This technique of wedging was certainly known in the early twelfth century and is sometimes found in door construction.⁵¹ No instances of concealed wedging ('fox-wedging') have been found in the ends of pegs and dowels driven into blind holes. Although a single tying-dowel immediately outside each end-board was the norm, there were variants: instances of two external dowels, or one internal and one external, were noted.

The similarities in most of the oak coffins at Barton are such as to suggest that, although manufactured over a period of perhaps two hundred years, they were the products of a single, but evolving workshop tradition. The constructional details of the pine child's coffin are, however, sufficiently different to demonstrate that it must have been the product of another workshop tradition.

Although finds of oak coffins preserved in waterlogged conditions have variously been reported by antiquaries, little information about their construction was recorded. Recent excavations at several urban locations have, however, begun to yield fresh examples where evidence for their method of construction has been preserved. Most immediately relevant to Barton is the evidence from small-scale excavations alongside the nave of Beverley Minster in 2003–04 (Johnson 2003–05). The lower levels were waterlogged, preserving Anglo-Saxon timber coffins. One, dated by dendrochronology to AD 992, was constructed in precisely the same way as the standard pegged coffins from Barton (Fig. 222). Although the upper parts of the boards had decayed, and hence no evidence for the tying-dowels at the ends was preserved, their former existence can reasonably be surmised. The Beverley example confirms that this form of coffin construction was not a post-Conquest introduction, but was current in the tenth century.

The vestigial remains of a coffin at Barton with a wickerwork base (F3974) were tantalizing, perhaps pointing to a desire for economy in the use of large planks (Fig. 210). The possibility that the remains in this grave belonged to a bier or bed were considered, but rejected largely on the grounds that the tapered plan and dimensions point firmly to a coffin. Idiosyncratic, *ad absurdum*, was the coffin which had six tying-dowels supporting a base-board which was too narrow (F5045; Fig. 223). These examples serve to remind us of the extraordinary diversity in coffin construction that must have obtained in St Peter's cemetery.

Skewed pegging was the usual form of attachment of the sides to the base, and also for securing coffin lids. Normally only three, but sometimes up to five,

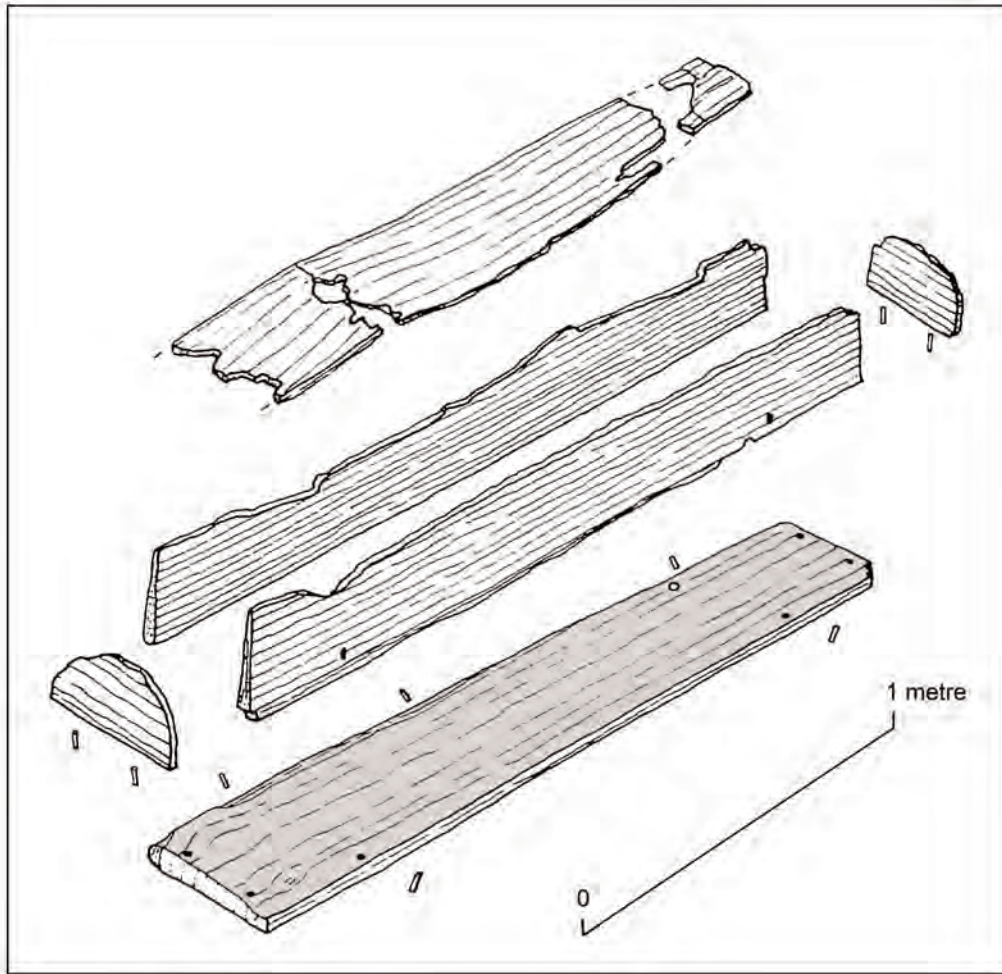


Fig. 222: Beverley Minster (E. Yorks). Exploded view showing the construction of an oak coffin dated by dendrochronology to AD 992. Johnson 2003–05

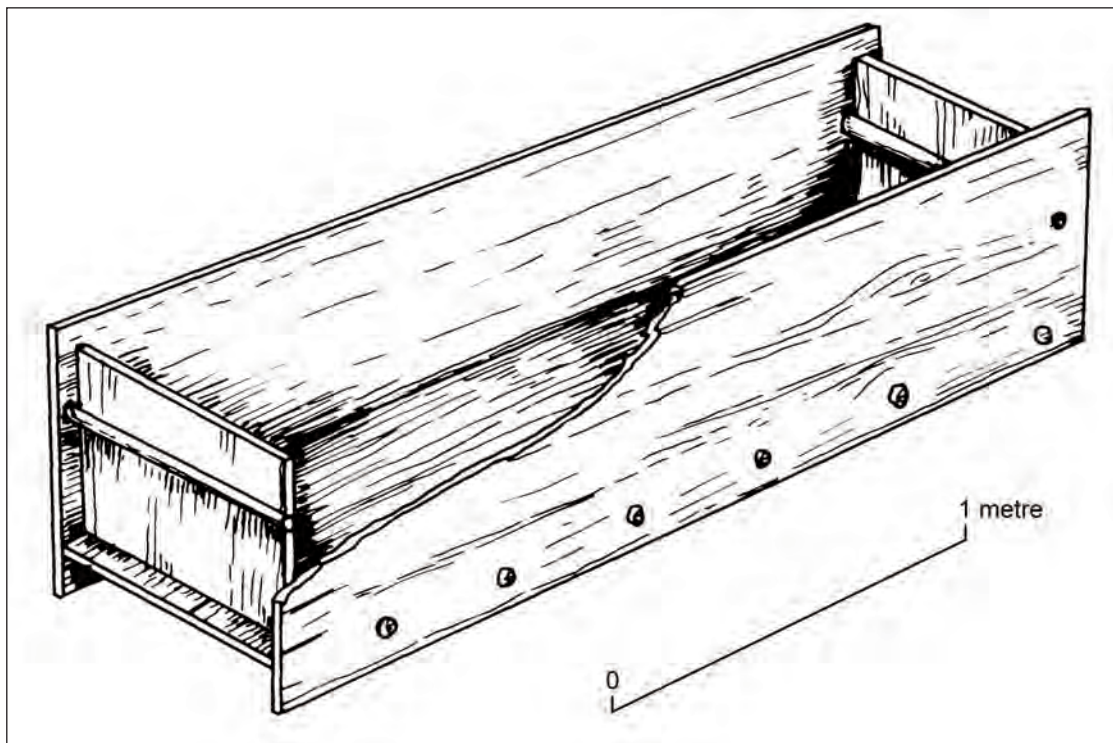


Fig. 223: Coffin, grave F5045. Reconstruction. Panter 1994

pegs were employed to hold the lid in place. This modest fixing would have allowed it to be removed, or reattached, simply and quickly. The combination of an easily removable lid and the provision of supports for the skull might suggest that corpses were displayed to mourners, either before or during deposition in the grave. The inclusion of coppice-rods inside coffins may also have been relevant in this context. The graffito ('XII') inside the base of F1753 is the sole instance of a marking that must have been made by the carpenter during construction (Fig. 197).

The identification of one of the reused boards in coffin F3946 as potentially from the seat of a Norman bench is of particular interest. Likewise, the board from coffin F5045 with numerous holes drilled through it seems to have had two previous uses, probably both as pieces of furniture. First, it was almost certainly the top of a bench with slightly splayed legs, and secondly it may have been the side of a small box-bed, similar to that found in the Oseburg boat burial (Speake 1989). If the suggested identifications are correct, then these are some of the earliest fragments of English furniture to have survived.⁵²

Coffins with metal fixings

Although a few coffins had the occasional nail driven in to strengthen a timber joint, in all other respects they belong to the previous group. Only three coffins could be described as inherently relying on metal fixings, and in each case these comprised a small number of nails (thirteen in F1790; ten in F5328; uncertain in F5061). The nails tended to be up to 50 mm in length and had large, flat heads. The use of nails in these coffins was solely related to providing secure jointing between the base and sides, obviously to prevent accidental collapse while the coffin was being handled. The coffins had tying-dowels to support the ends, and skewed pegs to secure the lids, in exactly the same way as all the others. Two of the three can be dated to the early 1130s, suggesting that nailing was introduced only when iron became more readily or economically available in the Norman period. Also, the possibility should be borne in mind that a decision to provide additional strength by nailing was influenced by the weight of the corpse.

The employment of a modest number of nails, in association with timber fixings, represents a half-way stage in the development of the fully nailed coffin which became widespread in the Middle Ages. Although these are generally represented in the ground only by the nails, preserved examples in waterlogged conditions demonstrate that these were the sole fixings. A fourteenth-century coffin of nailed oak planks from the Carmelite friary at Cowgate, Norwich, demonstrates this unambiguously (Litten 1991, fig. 42).

A variation in the types of coffin construction was noted at Lund, where both iron nails and wooden pegs were used for jointing, but there was no evidence of

tying-dowels. Interesting analogues can however be drawn between grave F3974 at Barton, four graves at Hull Augustinian friary and grave 143 on the Thule site at Lund: in all cases the base of the coffin was not a solid plank but composed of a series of separate slats attached to the side planks (Fig. 224; Blomqvist and Mårtensson 1963, 281, fig. 21). At the last site the slats were made of beech. The slatted base is such an idiosyncratic form of coffin construction that it is unlikely to have been separately invented in two countries, and a cultural connection between the regions must surely be implied.

A related grave type was found at Perth Whitefriars, where three medieval and two post-medieval examples were found, all with slatted bases. It was argued that the Perth structures were not coffins but carefully carpentered grave linings, since no pegs or nails were found joining the various parts. The presence of empty peg-holes was, however, noted and the timbers were assumed to have been reused (Stones 1989; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 141–2).

Coffin construction and fittings

by Quita Mould⁵³

The greatest use of nails in coffin construction occurred in the final phases of the cemetery (Phases A and B). As many features of the nails are common to all phases, full discussion of them is reserved for chapter 13 (p. 679 and see especially Table 18). Here a brief summary of the nails and other possible coffin fittings is presented from burials assigned to Phase E.

Phase E

Iron nails were found in sixty graves, nine of which also contained clench-bolts (*e.g.* F1631; Fig. 176, 4). Minerally preserved wood was present on nails from twenty-two graves (Fig. 176, 5–6), and wood joints were seen on nails from three (F1600, F3234 and F7334), the joint on the last suggesting a timber thickness of 17 mm (almost $\frac{3}{4}$ in.). In addition to the usual range of nail lengths which was 38–64 mm ($1\frac{1}{2}$ – $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins) in all phases, small nails were also noted: 13–23 mm ($\frac{1}{2}$ – $\frac{3}{4}$ in.) with heads of *c.* 9 mm, a size not seen again in burials until the eighteenth century.

Other possible coffin fittings

An iron U-staple was found in grave F1386; another, or possibly a broken oval link, was found in F3114, along with five small nails and at least two clench-bolts. An iron oval link and fragments of two others were found with three nails in burial F3269, and a length of iron nailed binding occurred in grave F3271, along with seventeen nails. These staples, links and binding could come from simple hinges on the lids; however, no complete hinge mechanisms were recovered and these fragments are more likely to have been attached to reused timber in the coffins' construction. F1615 was exceptional in having an angle binding.

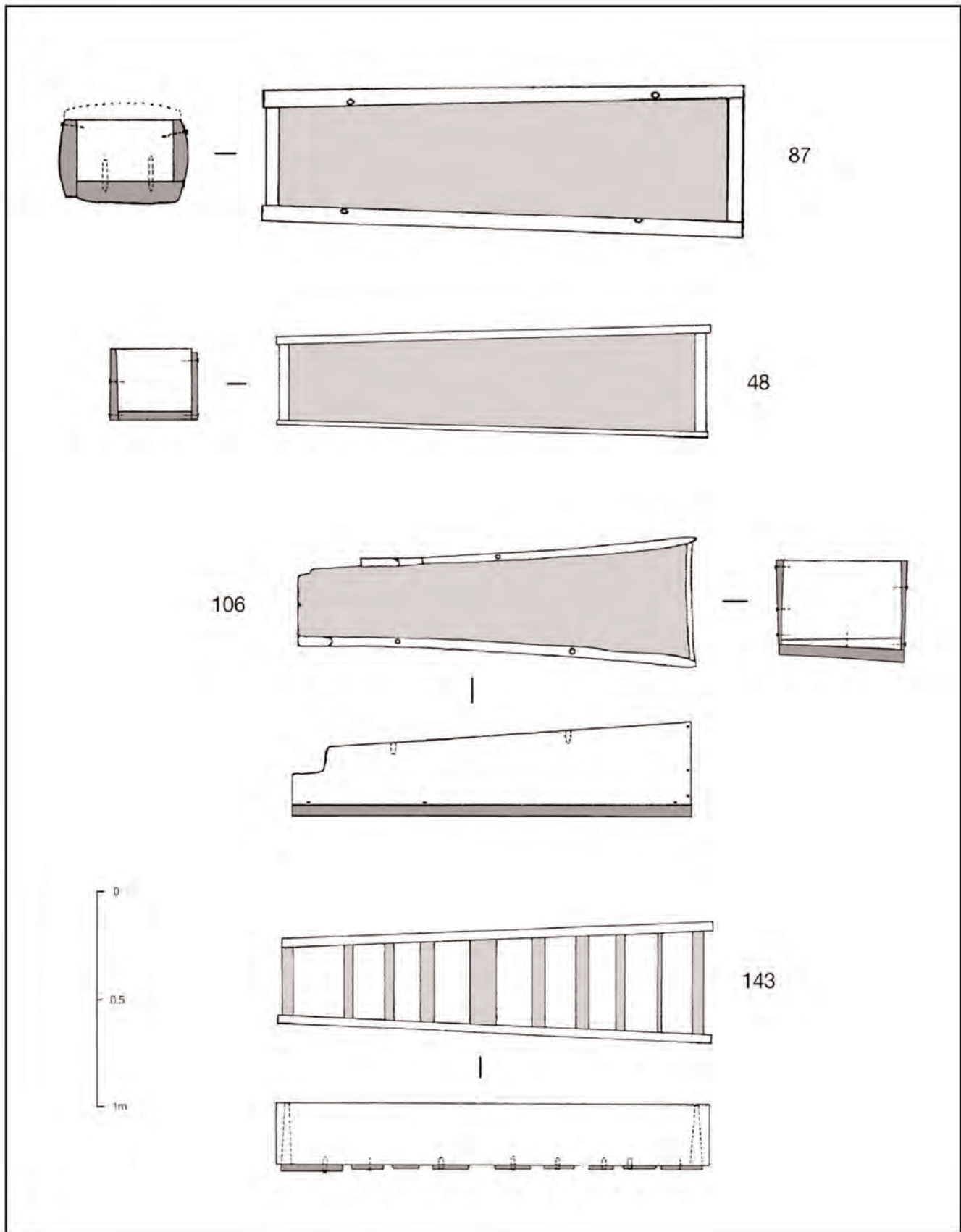


Fig. 224: Lund, Sweden. Details of coffin construction, graves 48, 87, 106 and 143. Scale 1:25. After Blomqvist and Mårtensson 1963

Five copper-alloy tacks with domed heads have been found at St Peter's church. Two came from structural deposits of Anglo-Saxon date (F1583 and F7302) and three from Phase A graves (F3112, F7056 and F7098), where they are thought to be residual. Three have gilding present on the head, apparently of applied foil (Fig. 842, 3). These tacks are comparable to a range of copper-alloy and silver tacks found at Winchester (Groves 1990, 1104; types 9–11), where they occurred predominately in well-dated late Saxon contexts. The tacks were commonly found in the vicinity of the cathedral (thirty-one examples, including five of silver), half being recovered from the cemetery area to the north and west of the Old Minster. Six were recovered from burial contexts (Groves 1990, fig. 360, no. 4216), apparently occurring loose within the fill: none was recorded as having been found in a significant position within the grave. Groves has put forward an attractive suggestion that these tacks may have been used to attach an inscription, perhaps the name of the deceased and a prayer, written on perishable material such as wood or parchment, to the lid of the coffin.

Discussion

The timber employed for coffin construction was all English oak, with the exception of the pine boards used for a baby's coffin (F5474). Although no tree-ring date could be obtained for the latter, and hence the origin of the timber is not established, there must be a strong suspicion that it was Baltic. It could not have been local, since pine was not native to north Lincolnshire in the Middle Ages. The juxtaposition of the coffin to others of oak, which were dated, indicates that it should be assigned to the period around 1120. This is therefore one of the earliest recorded imports of pine to the region.

The oak boards were all riven, mostly by splitting the trunk radially, but some examples of tangential conversion were also noted. There was no evidence for the use of the saw: cross-cutting was carried out using an axe, and surface finishing with both adze and axe. The average thickness of the planks was *c.* 25 mm (*i.e.* nominally one inch), but some measured 30–35 mm, or occasionally more. Radially riven planks would naturally taper in thickness, a feature noted in some of the best-preserved boards. This is not to be confused with tapering brought about through decay in the soil: in many instances the sides and ends of coffins exhibited a noticeable taper in their thickness, from the base upwards. Lids which were once probably as thick as base-boards, could also be reduced to a few millimetres. The effects on preservation of the differential in water-logging, according to absolute depth, were very marked.

Some of the timbers were undoubtedly reused, and thus the coffins were younger than the felling-dates indicated by dendrochronology, but in other instances curiosities of construction can be explained by the joiner's making economical use of offcuts and planks

that happened to be to hand. Although classifiable as works of joinery rather than carpentry, coffins were not constructed to a high specification, and there was much about them that was *ad hoc*. The occurrence of beetle infestation, particularly in sapwood, was noted in several instances, but this does not automatically indicate reused timber, since beetle can attack the bark and sapwood of both living and recently felled trees.

A matter which exercised us considerably during excavation was the question of whether some of the boards were charred to prolong their survival in the ground; this was best studied when the coffins were first uncovered, before drying-out and conservation took place. Some of the finest preserved boards (*e.g.* in F1753) exhibited an intensely black surface and differential marking consistent with light charring. This was normally present on the exterior only, the internal surfaces having their natural colouration, a rich nut-brown. However, there were a few instances of apparent carbonization on the inner faces too. Where surface decay had occurred, obviously no evidence remained. The conclusion reached was that in some instances the evidence was strong enough to assert that charring of at least one face of the boards had taken place before the coffin was assembled. A similar phenomenon has been reported at several other sites, including Pontefract priory (Bellamy 1965) and the Jewbury cemetery at York (Lilley *et al.* 1994; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 127).

Normally, when a coffin has entirely rotted away, evidence for charring is recovered in the form of concentrations of specks of charcoal in the grave filling. Many examples of this were noted. Thus, in the case of F1772, a child's coffin that had been placed on top of the preserved coffin F3508, only slight traces of recognizable timber remained, but charcoal flecks above and below the skeleton defined the lid and base-boards, respectively; the sides were partially defined by charcoal too. For a discussion of the phenomenon of charred coffin timbers, see Rodwell 2001, 541–2. Evidence for charred boards – either coffins or linings – is increasingly being reported, as at Raunds (Boddington 1996, 37).

Coffins were made in the same way for children as for adults, although some of the former seem to have been parallel-sided, while the latter were invariably tapered (some markedly so, others only slightly). The commonest form of construction relied on timber alone, without any iron fixings. The latter were, however, present in a few instances, but without any additional metal fittings such as locks, hinges or corner-plates.

In view of the idiosyncratic forms of construction and the cumbersome jointing arrangements, it is most unlikely that the coffins were covered with fabric, or were decoratively painted as some were at high-status sites. That does not preclude the possibility that a name, a cross, or other religious symbol might have been painted on the lid.⁵⁴ The faint evidence for

inscriptions or other graffiti scored into the timber is tantalizing, and is present on at least three coffins. The graffiti inside the base of F1753 is completely and clearly preserved, but undecipherable, but what appear to be external inscriptions on the sides of F3968 and F5044 are fragmentary and seemingly composed of a series of sloping lines, potentially suggesting that they could be Runic. No plausible reading can be offered.

Head supports: pillow-stones and ear-muffs

Head-supporting stones were recorded in fifty-four of the excavated graves, nearly all of which were certainly coffined. While the evidence for a coffin was slight in five of these burials, grave size and shape provide convincing indications (*e.g.* F1621; Fig. 225). There were only two examples (F7311 and F7405) of stones used to prop the skull in definitely uncoffined burials (although even these may have had timber covers). Two arrangements were noted: 'pillow-stones' (one or more stones placed under or behind the skull to support it) and 'ear-muffs' (a pair of stones flanking the skull to prevent the head from rolling to one side). The materials used for these supports were very varied and clearly not specially selected: they included flint, chalk, sandstone and other erratics, quern fragments and domestic objects of fired clay (*e.g.* loomweights).

Sixteen graves each contained only one stone: *e.g.* in grave F7277 a single river cobble was found in the angle between the cervical vertebrae and the left shoulder, and was presumably placed there as a prop for the head; in grave F4698 a single piece of partially burnt stone supported the upper left-hand side of the skull; and grave F3212, that of a child in a markedly rectangular cut suggesting the presence of a coffin, had a single small piece of chalk resting on the left shoulder.

Twenty-six graves each contained two supporting stones, all but nine of which exhibited explicit evidence for a coffin. One of the exceptions, grave F3966, contained a piece of burnt limestone on the north side of the head and a fired-clay loomweight on the south (both ear-muffs were red in colour, but this was probably fortuitous rather than by choice), and was thought at the time of excavation to lack a coffin, being covered instead by a charred board. However, the grave was large enough to have held a complete coffin or timber lining, and the charred board covering the burial may have been the only surviving evidence for this. In the case of F4124 an indentation in the sandy base of the grave revealed the outline of the coffin, of which nothing survived. Inside, the skull had two supports, one a pebble and the other a triangular clay loomweight (Fig. 226).

Nine disturbed or incomplete burials were recorded as having either one or two ear-muffs. Three graves had ear-muffs comprising more than two stones: *e.g.* burial F7429, which appears to have been coffined, had a piece of water-worn sandstone supporting the right side of the skull, a flint nodule supporting the left



Fig. 225: A large, squarely cut grave (F1621) containing vestigial remains of a timber coffin which was a close fit for the corpse. The skull was supported by two flint nodules. View west. Scale of 75cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

side, and two smaller pieces (one of limestone, the other a fragment of gritstone quern) cradling the top of the head. There were no instances of additional stones laid over the face, as at Raunds (*cf.* Boddington 1996, figs. 46–9 and 54). A single instance of stones at the feet was recorded in a coffined burial: grave F1464 had two flat pieces of chalk serving as ear-muffs, and two more as ankle-props (Fig. 227). Another piece of chalk beside the dexter thigh was probably fortuitous.

Of exceptional interest was burial F3968, which was interred just within the eastern boundary of the Anglo-Saxon churchyard. It contained a timber coffin which was intact and tree-ring dated to ?1079; inside it were two pillow-stones (one chalk, the other flint) over which was laid what appeared to be a rectangular pillow stuffed with grass or straw (Figs. 206 and 207). The pillow presumably had an outer casing of cloth, although nothing of this survived: there was just a bed



Fig. 226: Grave F1424, showing a pebble and a clay loomweight (right) used as skull supports. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

of mud containing clear impressions of chopped organic material. The coffin also contained a clutch of three coppice-rods (see below).

It is highly likely that organic pillows were used in other burials associated with ear-muffs or pillow-stones, not least because the stones chosen were frequently a mismatched pair, and of angular form. At the very least, a piece of cloth is likely to have been placed over the stones to conceal their rough appearance from the mourners. Although evidence is lacking, it is also likely that organic pillows were used to cradle the skull, without the addition of propping stones, in other early coffins. With this in mind, it is interesting to note that pillows of wood shavings were recorded at Glastonbury Abbey in 1825 (p. 228).

It may be argued that head-supporting stones and pillows were essentially a feature of coffined burial, designed to assist with the seemly presentation of the corpse for viewing prior to its interment. This may further imply that the coffin was open at various stages in the burial procession and grave-side ceremony, and that its flat bottom would make rolling of the head more likely, especially when the coffin was being carried between home, church and churchyard. The use of supporting stones in an uncoffined burial was more likely a token than a necessity: a slightly dishd grave bottom, or a pillow, would have reduced the need to support the head.

Two examples of coffined burials with head supports were subjected to radiocarbon dating (F3288 and F5037). In F3288, where a pair of river pebbles held the head in position, the grave has a posterior density estimate of *cal. AD 995–1040* (92% probability; UB-4657). In F5037, a sub-triangular block of tufa and a sub-rectangular block of sandstone served the same purpose, and the grave also contained clenche-bolts. It has a posterior density estimate of *cal. AD*



Fig. 227: Grave F1464. A coffined burial with chalk blocks supporting the skull and feet. View west. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

995–1040 (87% probability; UB-4661). Thus, the results of the scientific dating programme indicate that ear-muffs and pillow-stones were potentially being included in burials from as early as 995.

Coffin F3980, tree-ring dated to 'after 1092', contained one ear-muff of gritstone and one of sandstone. Six tree-ring dated examples of coffined burials have extended the potential period of ear-muff and pillow-stone use into the second quarter of the twelfth century: *e.g.* the latest burial in this group (F3868) has been

dated to 1134. It contained two fragments of a poorly fired clay loomweight, which had served as ear-muffs.

The location of burials associated with ear-muffs and pillow-stones is of potential interest in that less than a quarter of the recorded examples lay to the south of the church. No ready explanation for this is forthcoming, but the distribution mirrors that of clench-bolt burials. Of the fifty-four burials that included one or more head-propping stones, four also contained at least one coppice-rod within the coffin. This is, of course, a function of chance preservation, and not a meaningful statistic.

Notes on selected head-supporting stones

by Geoff Gaunt and H.E.M. Cool

1. Poorly baked clay; two fragments from a pyramidal block (probably a loomweight) with a flat base and rounded corners; upper face missing. Geological identification: till with erratics suggesting a local source. Dimensions (approx.) 120 × 95 mm; height at least 96 mm. Grave F3868.
2. Uncertain; probably chalk or Hibaldstow Limestones but totally concealed by thick granular calcareous tufa (much of it mimicking very finely oolitic texture, but without the concentric internal structure of ooliths). Possibly all tufa, from such as the 'dragon' at Dragonby (Gaunt *et al.* 1992, 125) Sub-triangular pyramidal block. Dimensions 129 × 92 × 70 mm. Grave F5037.
3. Sandstone, pale grey; fine to medium-grained with sub-angular to subrounded grains, fairly well sorted, well compacted, with sparse minute muscovite. Upper Carboniferous of western Yorkshire or Middle Jurassic of north-east Yorkshire. The sub-rectangular shape of the block suggests an erratic. One of the larger faces convex, with traces of wear from rubbing. Dimensions 105 × 73 × 49 mm. Grave F5037.
4. Sandstone, Millstone Grit. Fragment of a quern: see p. 1027. Grave F7429.

Rods (staves) and other grave inclusions

Rods or staves

As a consequence of waterlogging on the eastern part of the site, a number of long, thin sticks of hazel, willow or poplar fortuitously survived in early graves. These rods, staves or wands as they are variously termed, were deliberately and carefully placed in the graves. 'Rod' is a neutral term, without connotations of use, and is to be preferred.⁵⁵ Complete or fragmentary rods were recorded in nine of the well-preserved coffined burials, but relatively few survived lifting from the soil, and even fewer were in a good enough condition for species identification.

The numbers and positions of the recorded rods were as follows:

F1790 (sk. 1053: adult female). Two rods of willow or poplar alongside the right leg: lengths 77 cm and 85 cm (Figs. 228 and 229).

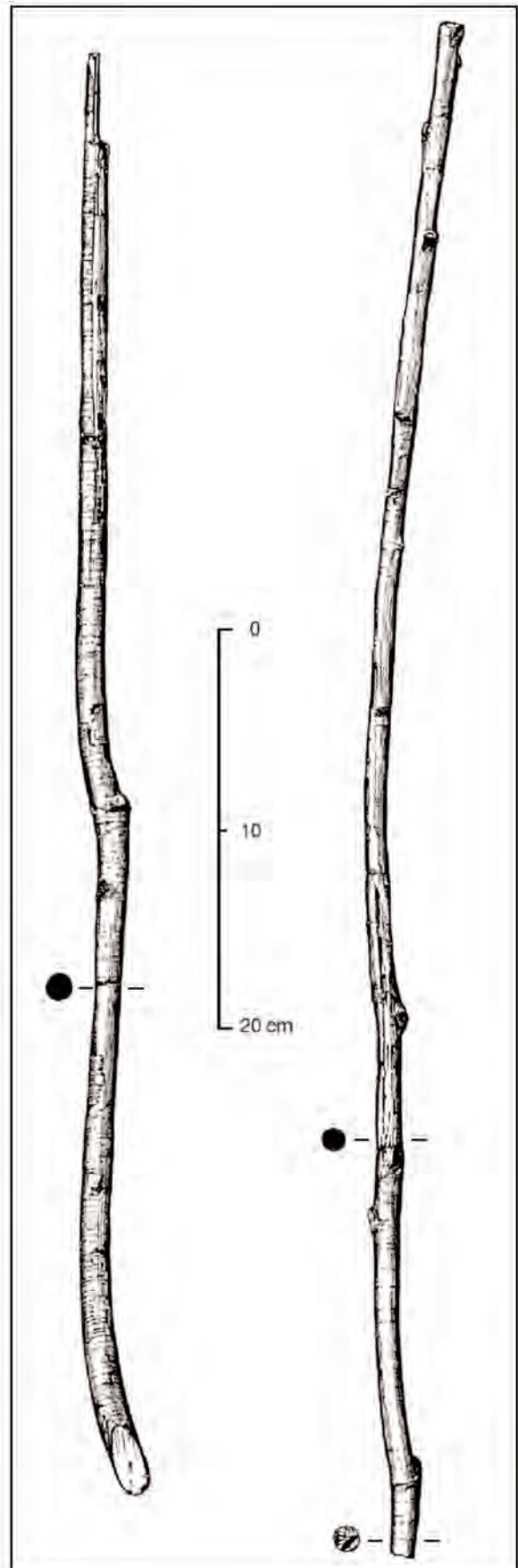
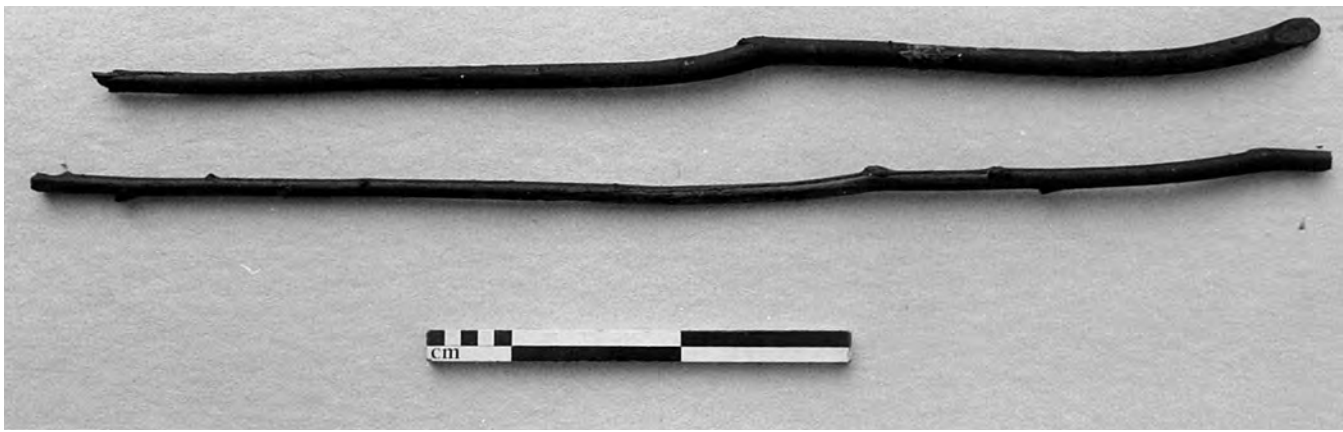


Fig. 228: Grave F1790. Two complete coppice-rods found inside the coffin. Drawing: Judith Dobie



A



B

Fig. 229: Grave F1790. A, The two coppice-rods of willow/poplar; B, Details of one obliquely cut and one snapped end. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

- F3868 (sk. 1784 and 1785: adult female and young child). Two rods beside the left leg of the adult.
- F3869 (sk. 1819: adult male). One rod lay axially over the body from head to foot (Fig. 230).
- F3968 (sk. 1863: adult male). Three rods beside the left leg.
- F3980 (sk. 1867: adult female). One rod lay on the floor of the coffin against the north (left) side.
- F5044 (sk. 1925: adult male). Three rods: one on the north side by the left leg, two together on the south side.
- F5045 (sk. 1926: adult male). Two rods, one by the left leg and the other by the right.
- F5402 (sk. 2471: adult male). One rod beside the right leg.
- F5475 (sk. 2624: adult female). One rod beside the right leg.

All the surviving rods lay inside coffins, and none were noted in the grave fills. The maximum number present was three, of which two occurrences were recorded: it is possible that some rods had been lost

from other surviving or partially surviving coffins through decay or disturbance. However, it is clear that the inclusion of rods was not ubiquitous. Apart from the single example of an exceptionally long rod being laid on top of the body, the others were placed against one side of the coffin, either adjacent to the left or right leg. There was no evidence of rods being laid under the corpse, and they were clearly placed in the coffin after the body.

Each rod consisted of a complete section of untrimmed coppice stem, *c.* 8–12 mm across, the longer specimens being naturally tapered. Both ends were cleanly cut, generally obliquely, indicating that a sharp billhook or similar implement had been used to harvest them. Attempts to determine the species were not entirely successful: several of the better preserved



Fig. 230: Grave F3869. A single rod laid on top of the corpse, but collapsed and broken into numerous pieces. It extended for the full length of the coffin. View west. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

examples were narrowed down to poplar or willow. It was not possible to establish whether hazel was present among the rods, although it was certainly used for some of the pegs in the coffins (p. 201).

Tree-ring dates for the coffins associated with 'rod burials' range from ?1079 (grave F3968) to 1134 (grave F3868). The posterior density estimate for the tree-ring date from the coffin in grave F5402 is *cal. AD 1113–39 (95% probability)*, which extends the potential period of

rod-inclusion by a few years. Nevertheless, this date-range, like the distribution of examples, is artificial since it is the product of localized environmental conditions: all the recorded evidence for rods came from the waterlogged ground to the north of the church.

In the past, the occasional discovery of a stick in a well-preserved burial was sometimes noted in antiquarian literature, the earliest recorded description relating to a discovery in Tallylyn parish (Merioneth) in 1685. Several graves were uncovered, one of which had 'Hazel rods ab't 2 iards and a half long', with attached bark, laid along the sides of the grave (RCAHM 1921, 165). At Glastonbury Abbey, in 1825, against the south wall of the Lady Chapel, nineteen burials were exposed in eighteen heavy timber coffins (one contained the skeletons of two children). The walls of the coffins were described as 'made of oak, two or three inches in thickness', and under the head and shoulders of each corpse was placed a bundle of wood shavings, apparently intended to keep the same in a steady position. Beneath the skeletons, and on the right side of each, was deposited a rod, 'either from the thorn or hazle tree, of the same length as the coffin, trimmed of its lateral twigs, and in general about an inch and half in circumference, at its larger end.' (Warner 1826, lxxviii; Rahtz 1993, 88). No reliable details are recorded concerning date, gender or status.

Several instances of rods included in monastic burials have been reported, but the only modern excavation of a group is at the Augustinian friary in Hull, where they have been found in both coffined and uncoffined burials, inside and outside the church (Evans forthcoming). A single example of a late tenth-century grave containing a willow rod, placed alongside the left leg, was found at Beverley Minster. The burial was uncoffined, but a board had been laid over the corpse which, remarkably, was also accompanied by a single glass bead (Johnson 2003–05, 140). However, the regular occurrence of rods in a parochial cemetery was not suspected until they appeared in the excavations at Barton. Rods have subsequently been reported with increasing frequency in waterlogged burials, and vestigial remains of some have also been recognized on 'dry' sites: *e.g.* Lichfield Cathedral has yielded two examples. The first, a medieval civilian buried in the south quire aisle, was accompanied by a thin stick which had been charred: it was placed on top of the corpse (Rodwell 1993b, 32). Had the stick not been charred, its existence would have eluded discovery. The second was an early fourteenth-century burial of a priest in the nave, who was accompanied by a small cross made of twigs, laid on top of the oak coffin, along with a pewter chalice and paten. Two rods were also present, and these had been placed one to either side of the coffin, in the narrow gap between it and the walls of the stone-built cist (Rodwell 2004, 33; 2005b). It is reported that one or more wands were found in Bishop Mayew's tomb (1516) in Hereford Cathedral, in the nineteenth century (Merewether 1842).

The purpose of placing rods in burials, the number included, and any specific associations with the status of the deceased, are all open to endless speculation. First, it is clear that the ritual was not gender-specific at Barton, the division being effectively equal: five males and four females. Nor did the number of rods appear to have any connotation: although the two cases involving three rods were both males, those accompanied by either one or two rods could be either males and females. No great significance seems to have been attached to the positions of the rod (or rods) in the coffin: they could be either to the left or right, or on top of the body. The evidence from Hull friary is even more varied: rods were found inside and outside coffins, as well as with uncoffined burials. They were also placed beside the body, either to left or right (or both), underneath, and on top (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, fig. 122). Other significant assemblages of graves containing rods, mostly outside the coffins, have been excavated at Hulton Abbey (Staffs.) (Klemperer and Boothroyd 2004) and Sandwell Priory (Staffs.) (Hodder 1991). In both cases they occurred in graves within the body of the monastic church (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, figs. 124 and 125).

Status was obviously not a defining characteristic for inclusion: at one end of the spectrum we have a high-ranking cleric buried in a prominent location in Lichfield Cathedral, and at the other, a woman interred with her baby in a common cemetery on the Humber bank. Gilchrist and Sloane (2005, 126, 171–5) differentiate between rods and other accessories enclosed within the coffin, and those placed in the grave outside it. Potentially, they may be associated with different stages in the burial ritual, depending upon when the final closure of the coffin took place. A possible medieval reference to the inclusion of rods in graves at Glastonbury has been noted by Rahtz (1993, 89). It is contained in a communication written by Abbot Frome, *c.* 1420: speaking of the earliest church on the site, he says, ‘all those buried there ... have with them twigs in their tombs, namely one according to the length of the body, the other in a cross direction under the feet’. The first is surely an allusion to a rod laid full-length on top of or beside the body.

Waterlogged cemeteries in Scandinavia have yielded large numbers of rods in Christian graves. In 1961, a stave church and its associated cemetery were excavated at the Thule site in Lund. Hazel rods were found both inside and beneath timber coffins, in varying dispositions and numbers (between one and five); they were also recorded in uncoffined burials (Blomqvist and Mårtensson 1963, 282–3, figs. 38–40, 69–71). It was suggested that some of the placements represented a cross, and others formed runic letters. They dated from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries.

In sum, it is now emerging that the practice of including one or more coppiced rods of hazel, willow, poplar or birch in Christian graves of men, women and children was widespread. To date, the earliest examples

are late eleventh century and the latest are fourteenth, but the custom may have had a much longer currency. They were neither functional nor indicators of sex, age or status: their significance must have been purely symbolic and related to mortuary ritual. It is inevitable that the act of placing rods in the grave was carried out in full view of the mourners, perhaps as a comfort to the latter. The same may be true where the rods were laid in the coffin, although in those instances where the body lay on top of them, that was most unlikely to have been effected at the grave-side.

It seems possible that freshly cut rods from coppices came to be regarded as a symbol of regeneration and eternal life.⁵⁶ Their association with the miraculous workings of God’s world would have been in the forefront of the medieval mind, rather than earlier associations with paganism or magic: the occurrence of rods in clerical and monastic burials makes that abundantly clear. An express allusion to the support provided by rods in death is found in the Bible:

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me. (*Psalms 23.4*)

Other inclusions

Small white pebbles (10–20 mm across) made of quartz occur naturally in the gravels of Barton, albeit not very frequently. A number of these were found in the fillings of graves, but it is difficult to know whether their occurrence was purely fortuitous, or whether some might have been symbolically placed in graves; this is especially true of those pebbles that were in direct contact with the body. The practice of depositing small white stones in early Christian burials has been noted elsewhere (*e.g.* Kellington, N. Yorks.: Atkins *et al.* 1991, 7),⁵⁷ and may possibly be explained by an oblique reference in the book of *Revelation*:

To him that overcometh will I give ... a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it. (*Rev. 2.17*)

The possibility of organic materials being included in coffins must be acknowledged, although no specific evidence survived except the impressions of chopped grass or straw, apparently filling a pillow, in F3968. In coffin F3994 it was noted that a thin layer of fine, dark grey material enveloped the skeleton. This was not clay or riverine mud, but almost certainly something organic that had decayed to powder: might the coffin have been packed with moss?

Grave F5402 contained the partially preserved remains of a timber coffin, tree-ring dated to 1098–1134. In the fill of the grave, directly on top of the coffin lid, was a mass of charred organic material

which had the appearance of being a fairly thin, flat object (*e.g.* a mattress) which had been rolled or folded and partly burnt before being deposited in the grave. It had been dropped in from the north side. Possibly this was a ritualistic act designed to nullify the supernatural causes of the fatal illness of the person buried here (a male aged 45+) or, more prosaically, an item of bedding from a diseased household, which it was considered advisable to burn and bury with the corpse. However, this suggestion is unlikely to gain widespread acceptance since the concept of domestic hygiene is generally held to be of relatively modern origin, and that illness and death were regarded in the Middle Ages as being wholly controlled by supernatural forces. But if that is so, it is difficult to find a convincing explanation for the mud burials (p. 194).⁵⁸

Small finds from burials

by *Quita Mould*⁵⁹

This section summarizes the small finds recovered from the burials in Phase E. Wherever possible here, and in the similar sections in chapters 12 and 13, items worn on the body or deliberately placed in the grave have been distinguished from those incorporated accidentally in the fill, or occurring residually.⁶⁰

An iron chisel was found in burial F1400, that of a man *c.* 25 years of age, but may not have been deliberately included. The placing of tools in graves is rare in this country. A mason's trowel was found in a priest's grave at Cathedral Green, Winchester, placed between the thighs and either laid on, or wrapped in, cloth (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1990, 791–2). In France, the dead were accompanied by the tools of their trade on occasion (Daniell 1997, 165). A chisel and a ball of lead were found in the twelfth-century burial of a master mason in the Grandmontine priory of Pinel, near Toulouse (Hutchinson 1991, 278).

A tapering stem of vegetable origin with two lobes along its length was found beside the skull in burial F3966. The object, which was a concretion formed around a plant root, might have been deliberately placed there as an amulet, rather than having occurred residually within the grave fill. Natural objects such as stones and fossils were occasionally included in graves in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Castledyke South (Drinkall and Foreman 1998, 290) and this might be another example of the deliberate deposition of *objets trouvés*.

A D-shaped buckle frame for a strap *c.* 20 mm wide was found in the fill above the west end of the coffin in the grave of an adult male (F5328). The buckle may be

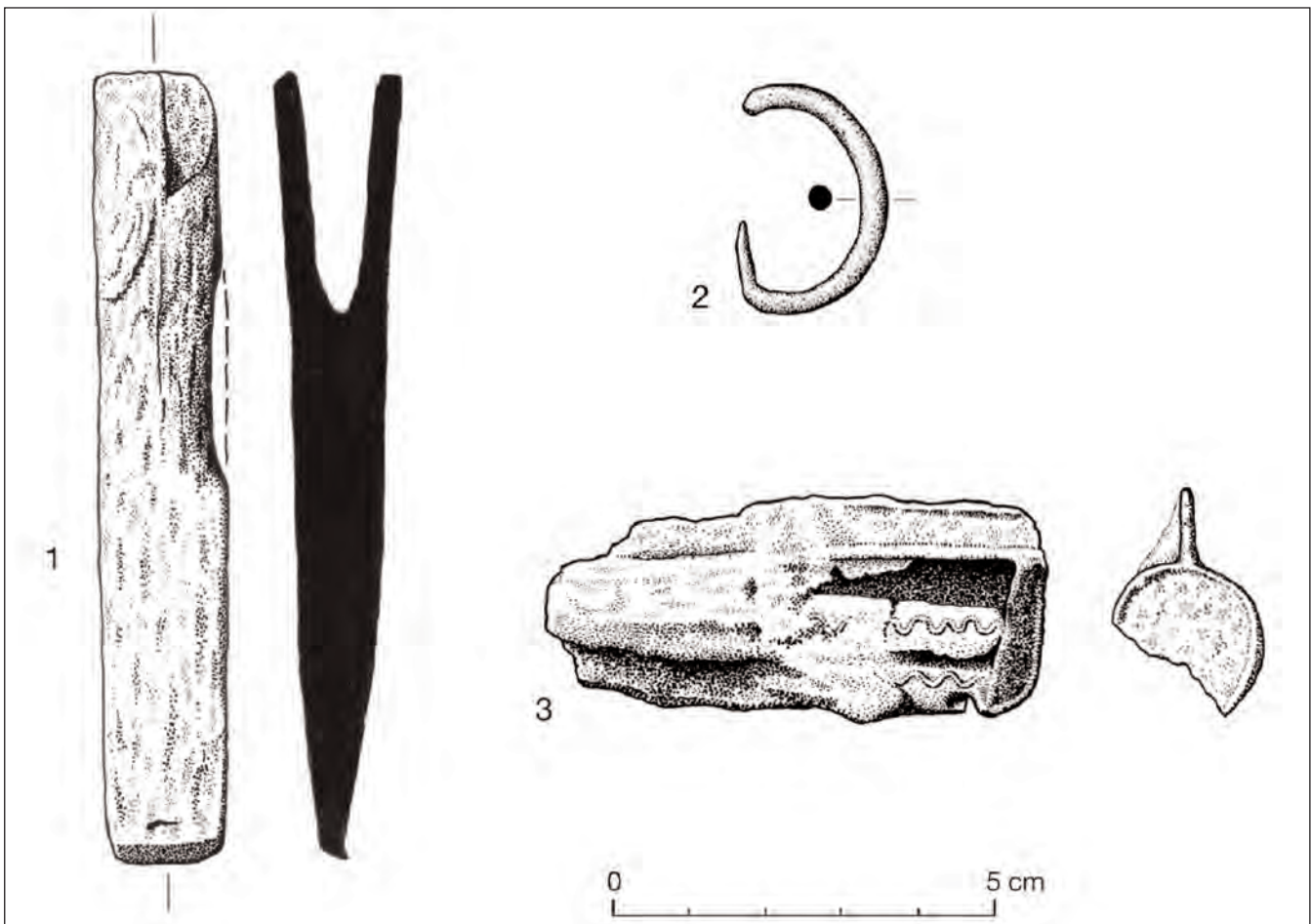


Fig. 231: Small finds from burials of Phase E. 1 Iron socketed chisel; 2 Copper-alloy buckle; 3 Iron cylindrical padlock. Scale 1:1. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

contemporary with the burial (coffin dated to 1134/35 by dendrochronology), but it is not certain that this was an item of burial clothing.

Part of a cylindrical padlock case was found in burial F7293, but again it is uncertain whether it was deliberately associated. Padlocks of this type might have been used to lock a chest, and it is possible that the body, that of a young person, had been buried in a reused piece of domestic furniture. However, to lock a box it is necessary for the padlock to be attached to a staple and hasp, neither of which was recovered. This type of padlock was in use throughout the Middle Ages (Type B: Goodall 1990, 1001) and the Barton example is similar to one from a fourteenth-century context at King's Lynn (Goodall 1977, 291, no. 3, fig. 132). A padlock, thought to have been used on a wooden box, was found by the left hip of an adult woman buried in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Castledyke South and dated to the seventh century (Drinkall and Foreman 1998, 296–7).

A branch broken from a horseshoe of Clark's type 2 was found in grave F7282 (Clark 1995, 86). This item is apparently contemporary with the grave but almost certainly it was accidentally incorporated in the fill. Similarly, a fragment of copper-alloy sheet was found in grave F5357.

Fig. 231

1. Iron chisel with round-sectioned socket tapering slightly at the neck before continuing into a straight-sided blade with a straight edge. The bevelled edge is burred. Incomplete. L 108+ mm, W 19 mm. F1400.
2. Copper-alloy buckle with D-shaped frame of round section with pin-bar formed by two inward-facing pointed arms, one now missing. Incomplete. Ht 30 mm, W 19 mm. F5328.
3. Part of an iron cylindrical padlock case with upstanding fin and applied undulating strips running along the sides. Copper and lead/tin present on the exterior surface, probably from brazing. Incomplete. L 67+ mm, max. W 35 mm. F7293.

Grave-markers

Direct evidence for grave-markers in the cemetery is scarce and consists of only a single timber slot and possibly a few postholes which might, from their close juxtaposition, have been associated with particular graves. Stone grave-markers and flat covers dating from the late Saxon period were entirely absent from the archaeological record, and nor were any slots containing the broken stumps of markers found. It may thus be deduced with confidence that stone grave monuments were rare at Barton. Fragments of one limestone grave-cover were recovered from a grave of the Saxo-Norman period, where it had been reused as a surface marker. The burial (F7263) was potentially of some significance, being axially centred outside the north door of the tower, and intercepting a slightly hollowed path (Fig. 232). The skeleton was that of a woman aged

c. 25–35, who was placed in a long, narrow grave; there was no coffin, but the corpse was probably wrapped in a shroud. The posture was unusual in that the fore-arms were crossed (X-fashion) and the hands rested on the pelvis on the opposing sides (*i.e.* the left hand was on the right pelvis, and *vice versa*).⁶¹ The skull was hard against the west end of the grave, leaving superfluous space at the east end: there, lay a fragment of shelly limestone apparently part of a grave-cover, positioned as though it were a foot-marker.

The grave was shallow and the upper part of the fill contained an assemblage of disarticulated bones which included two skulls (Figs. 233 and 234). The bones had clearly been laid with some care and extended along the full length of the grave, but their origin is unknown: there was no indication that the grave had disturbed any earlier interments. Laid directly over the disarticulated remains at the west end was a large fragment of a tapered limestone grave-cover (F7292) and several small fragments of similar material. The cover was probably at contemporary ground level, but had been slightly disturbed: it was skewed off-axis and tilted. Later features had removed any cover-stones that might have lain over the middle and eastern parts of the grave.

It is reasonable to interpret this as a marked grave, although it was certainly not the primary use of the cover-slab, which had been inverted. The original upper surface was worn and lay face down. Hence, somewhere on the site in the late Saxon period there must have been a burial marked with a tapered slab (Fig. 709, no. 4). This is the sole instance at Barton.

The earliest and most significant example of a timber grave-marker was encountered beneath the tower, associated with F746, which had at the west end a rectangular void where a headboard measuring 58 cm wide by 4 cm thick had been set vertically in the ground, just within the limits of the grave-cut (Fig. 235). The survival of a rectilinear void, partially edged with a dark reddish-brown organic stain, suggests that at least the lower part of the board had remained *in situ* after the exhumation of the burial.

Evidence for marking a grave with a post was very rare at Barton, and it is impossible to be certain whether the occasional posthole or other amorphous feature in the soil was related to this or another function. A potential marker was encountered in the cemetery to the south of the tower, where a posthole (F3218) adjoined the south-west corner of an infant burial (F3212), but it is more likely that the feature was associated with a porch over the entrance to the tower (p. 373).

If wooden headboards and marker posts were inserted into the backfilling of graves, their positions will normally have become indeterminable as decay of the timber and slumping of the grave contents occurred; only in exceptional circumstances (as under the tower) could a posthole or slot remain as a void, and thus be detected. Although very few postholes or slots for markers were recognized during the excavations, the

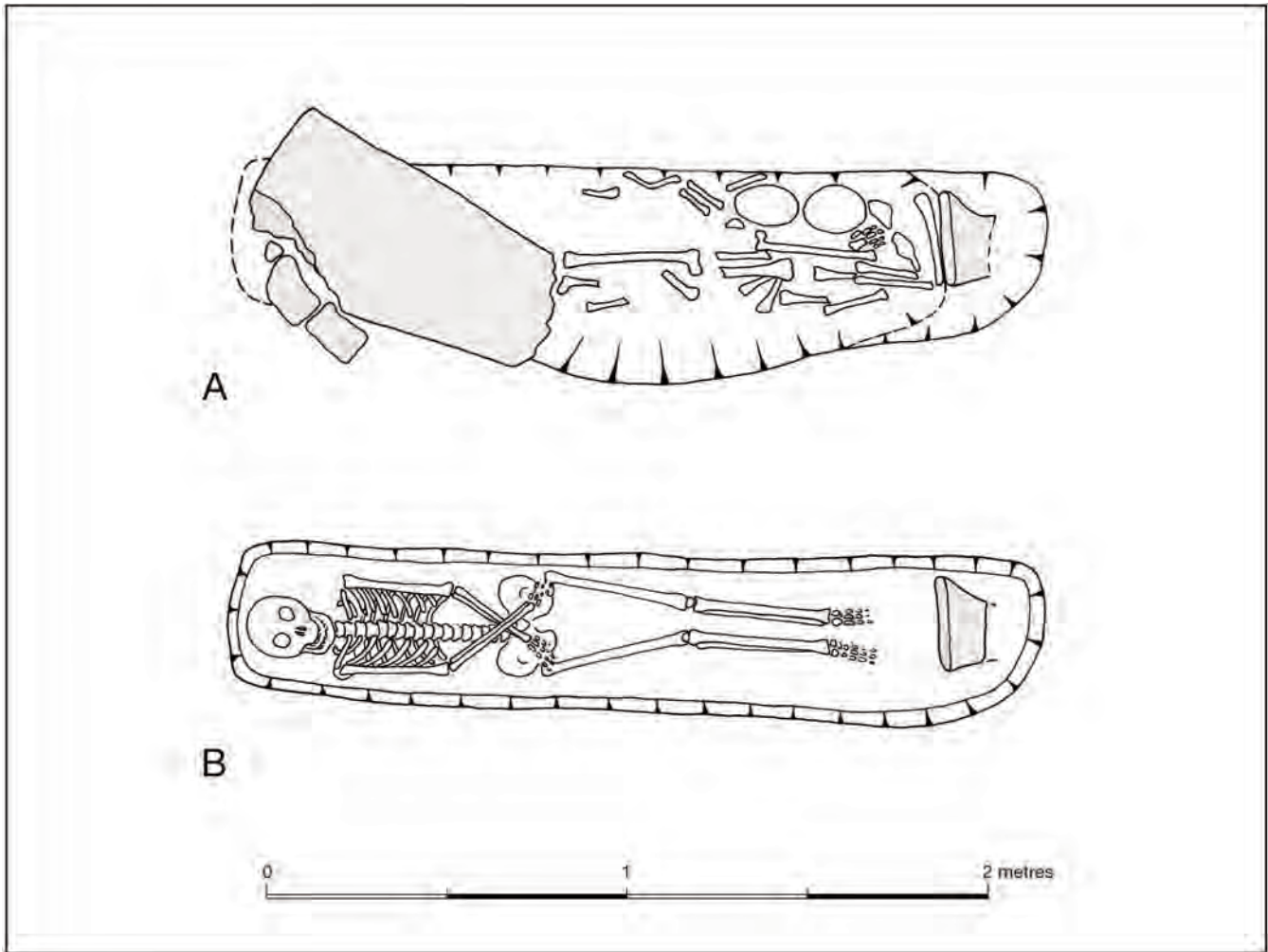


Fig. 232: Plans of grave F7263 in Area 14. A, As found, with fragments of a grave-cover in situ; B, The grave-cut and burial, diagrammatically represented. Scale 1:20. Drawing: Simon Hayfield



Fig. 233: Grave F7263. As found, with the charnel deposit in the upper filling, and the broken and partly displaced grave-cover. View south, showing also the hollow path leading to the (blocked) north door of the tower. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 234: Grave F7263. Detail of the charnel deposit and fragments of limestone grave-cover. View west. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

absence of evidence does not preclude their extensive use throughout the history of the cemetery. The likelihood that a section of boat planking was set upright in the grave fill as a longitudinal marker (grave F5026) has already been discussed (p. 186).

There is a considerable amount of circumstantial evidence, in the form of orderly rows and clusters of burials, to suggest that graves were marked by more than a temporary mound of excess soil. The position of each burial within the neatly ordered rows of graves placed just inside each of the successive eastern cemetery boundaries is likely to have been marked by a mound for some time after interment, thus permitting the rows to be relatively evenly spaced. The marking of family plots might also be deduced from the conspicuous clustering of burials, particularly within the extended Saxo-Norman churchyard.

It is noticeable that, in some areas, spacing between graves seems to have been regular – the post-1100 group of burials beside the new eastern boundary is a good example – suggesting the presence of unsettled grave fills or markers. However, tree-ring dating has shown that burials in the next row were intercut very rapidly: *e.g.* grave F5475 (winter 1103/04) was cut by grave F5473 (spring 1120) after an interval of only

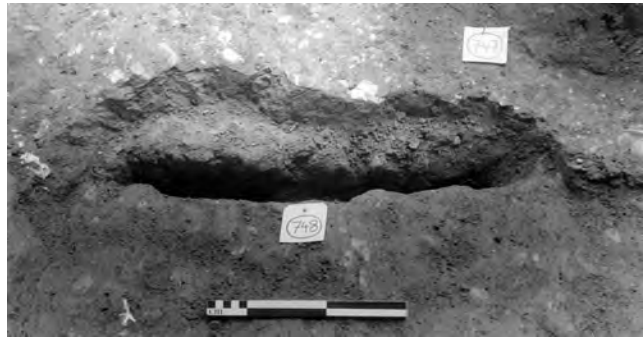


Fig. 235: Grave F746. The slot (F748) where the stump of a timber headboard had rotted in situ was preserved beneath the late Saxon floor in the tower. View west. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

sixteen years. That would have been insufficient for the backfill of the earlier grave to settle beyond recognition, or for a marker to decay. More plausibly, superimposition was deliberate, both persons being members of the same family.⁶² The bottom of the later coffin was 27 cm above that of the earlier, and it would appear that the grave-digger in 1120 struck the lid of the lower (1104) coffin, and at that point ceased digging.

Discussion of Burial Rites, Evolution and Chronology

The fundamental question arises: is the cemetery at St Peter's the direct successor to that at Castledyke South? It is an observed fact that cemeteries of the pagan Saxon period did not, as a rule, develop into Christian burial grounds of the late Saxon and medieval periods. Sometime in the middle Saxon centuries there was a conscious shift away from burial grounds of pre-Christian origin to fresh sites: although much discussed, the imperatives and logistics of this process are ill-known, but the general phenomenon is widespread. Pagan cemeteries commonly lay on the edge of settlements – or at a slight remove – while Christian burial grounds, with their associated churches and liturgical foci, are frequently found at the very heart of a settlement. Thus, *prima facie*, a case may be argued for the Castledyke South cemetery being associated with, and slightly distanced from, a settlement in the vicinity of Tyrwhitt Hall, and being superseded by St Peter's graveyard when a Christian focus was established closer at hand.⁶³

The date at which such a changeover might have occurred will have been dependent upon the progress of Christian conversion in north Lincolnshire. Post-Roman Christianity formally arrived in Lincoln with bishop Paulinus, in *c.* 627, but the political chaos of the ensuing half-century probably militated against the establishment of a solid Christian base throughout the region. Certainly, that is unlikely to have been achieved on the south bank of the Humber until after the mid-century, at the earliest, when Wulfhere granted the estate of *æt Baruae* to Chad. Consequently, it is



Fig. 236: Obverse and reverse of the silver dirham of *al-Mu'tazz*, minted AD 866–67, possibly at *Arminiyyah*. Photo: English Heritage

tempting to suggest that the shift from Castledyke South to St Peter's took place soon after the foundation of Chad's monastery. The evidence does not, however, support that simplistic view, and there is a sizeable, unexplained *lacuna*.

There is no denying that, on present evidence, a chronological gap of not less than 150–200 years exists between the two cemeteries, and that it broadly spans the period from the early/mid eighth century to the mid/late tenth century. But this is not necessarily the obstacle to sepulchral continuity that it might seem, when it is recalled that the physical and chronological limits of neither cemetery have been established by excavation. In an attempt to resolve the chronological issue, four burials from Castledyke South were subjected to radiocarbon dating (p. 153). These were selected as being the latest in their localized series of graves, and for their potential Christianizing traits. Three of the interments were firmly assignable to the seventh century, while the fourth could be well into the eighth century (grave 84: *cal. AD 660–775*). The scientific dating programme carried out at St Peter's on a selection of the earliest identifiable burials suggests a date of *cal. AD 975–1010*. In some cases there were fragmentary remains of interments earlier than those that were dated, but they still need not be older than the mid-tenth century.

Nevertheless, it is highly improbable that both the *latest* graves at Castledyke, and the *earliest* at St Peter's, have been found and scientifically dated. That being so, an apparent chronological *lacuna* is inevitable. Given that the earliest burials at St Peter's were found in the western part of the excavated cemetery, and that development proceeded in an eastwards direction, it is entirely feasible that the primary burial nucleus lay even closer to the Beck (*i.e.* under the present road and

former vicarage). Undated burials have been found in the road. This raises a further question concerning the origin of the graveyard in which St Mary's church stands (pp. 51–2). The possibility must be considered that the Anglo-Saxon cemetery was not confined to the east flank of the Beck, but sprawled around it, or had a second focus on the west flank.

A further *caveat* needs to be entered here. A high proportion of the earliest burials at St Peter's have probably been destroyed by later activity, especially since the graves were not deep. There is, moreover, a possibility that a few of the disturbed early graves may have contained datable artefacts which were subsequently redeposited in later contexts, where they are stratigraphically meaningless. Unlike the graveyards at Barrow-upon-Humber or Wharram Percy, no English coin of the middle Saxon period has been found at St Peter's (p. 1001), the earliest being a halfpenny of Edward the Confessor (minted 1042–44), which was more likely to be a casual loss than a burial offering. However, a silver coin of Arabic origin (*dirham*), dating from the late ninth century, could conceivably have been associated with a burial (p. 1005; Fig. 236), although it was recovered from a late medieval context in Area 16 (F5210). *Dirhams* are rare finds in England, and are usually considered to be a product of Viking trading. Another item which *could* originally have accompanied an early burial is the ninth-century decorated bronze strap-end (recovered from a late eleventh-century construction deposit, F1537; pp. 1024–6; Figs. 237 and 842, 4). These strap-ends are relatively common finds, and the majority were undoubtedly casual losses. They have been found at several sites in the Barton area, including sixteen examples from Flixborough. Finally, a ring-and-dot stamped bone pin



Fig. 237: Copper-alloy strap-end with cast and incised decoration. Ninth century. Length 56 mm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

could well have been interred with a female corpse (p. 1007; Figs. 238 and 839, 1). It dates from the late tenth century and has close parallels in York. Unfortunately, this item was found in a Saxo-Norman context in the western annexe (F767): it must either have been an heirloom, if it was lost inside the church, or it was redeposited from an earlier context. Several other finds of certain or probable tenth-century or earlier date (*e.g.* copper-alloy pins and glass beads), recovered from much later deposits, could also have been derived from burials. Equally, they might have been casual grave-side losses. Whatever the precise circumstances of their loss, these artefacts are not insignificant, although their interpretation is ambivalent.

A review of the documentary and archaeological evidence carried out by Hadley and Buckberry (2005) suggests that there was little ecclesiastical interest in

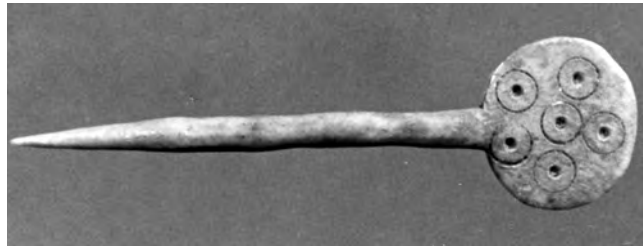


Fig. 238: Bone pin with ring-and-dot ornament. Probably tenth century. Length 66 mm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

burial until the tenth century, when controls first began to be imposed and fees collected by the Church. Even then, it was not unusual for burials to be made in cemeteries that were physically distanced from a church building. Consequently, the absence of ninth- and early tenth-century burials on the site of St Peter's need not be surprising. It is well to recall that at Barrow-upon-Humber there are no less than three medieval and earlier cemeteries and two church sites within the village, and even the possibility that in the middle Saxon period corpses were taken from Barton to Barrow for burial cannot be disregarded (pp. 163–5).

Hadley and Buckberry's (2005) analysis of the form of the grave, the inclusion of additional artefacts placed within it, and the provision of above-ground grave-markers concluded that variations in burial do not appear to be constrained by either the age or the sex of the deceased, although an elaborate burial was more likely for an older person. These results are consistent with the evidence recorded in the St Peter's cemetery. The treatment of infants and young children who died in Barton was also typical, there being a pronounced tendency to bury them close to the church, as if to enjoy the protection of its walls. Stocker and Everson (2006, ch. 3.3) also argue the case for a great elaboration in burial ritual in the eleventh century, involving the construction of impressive towers, formal processions, and the ringing of hand-bells. The deposition of rods or wands in graves, and other burial characteristics that are difficult to explain rationally, are all likely to be part of the same general trend.

The exceptional conditions of preservation of timber through waterlogging in the eastern part of the St Peter's churchyard provided a rare insight into the various forms of interment that took place in the late Saxon and Norman periods, as well as shedding considerable light on coffin construction. Some of the earliest burials were uncoffined and the graves contained no timber components. By contrast, other depositions were clearly made in timber coffins, or in graves that were either lined with separate pieces of timber, or where the corpse was covered with one or more boards before the grave was backfilled. The earliest archaeological evidence for coffined burial comes from the exhumed graves beneath the late Saxon church, but the ground was not waterlogged in this area and no timber survived. Nor could the graves be dated, other than to say that they were pre-eleventh century.

Unfortunately, there is little with which to compare the Barton coffins. Geographically and perhaps temporally the closest is the group of coffins from Hull Augustinian friary, but constructional details have yet to be published (Evans forthcoming). In order to examine the Barton material in its historical and technological context, we need a representative selection of preserved coffins of the late Saxon and Saxo-Norman periods from the Humber region. The most notable early English oak coffin – that which held the body of St Cuthbert at Durham – is not closely analogous: not only does it date from the seventh century, but its construction is altogether more sophisticated (Kitzinger 1956). This represented joinery of a high order, more akin to cabinet-making: the base was rebated into the sides and ends, the vertical joints at the corners were also rebated, and the coffin was provided with two lids. The only points of similarity between Cuthbert's and the Barton coffins are the slight taper along the length, and the fitting of cross-battens between the sides. At Durham, three cross-battens supported the inner lid (which was recessed inside the coffin) whereas in the single occurrence at Barton (F3974) the battens supported the base (Kitzinger 1956, pl. 11).

There is some uncertainty as to how the boards were fixed in Cuthbert's coffin: dowelled or pegged construc-

tion does not appear likely, and a number of holes which are presumed to have held (iron) nails are recorded. However, loose fragments of wooden pegs were also noted in the debris when the tomb was opened in 1827. These most likely belonged to a new outer coffin which was constructed in 1104 to encase the original.

At Barton, attention was given to dating burials which were certainly or potentially earlier than the late Saxon stone church, on account of its relevance to establishing when the building was erected. On grounds of architectural history, it has long been argued that the three-celled church was constructed during the mid- or late tenth century, but the scientific dating programme has provided strong indications that it is slightly later. The earlier end of the probability-range supplied by the twelve samples of human bone would make a date in the late tenth century still possible. In all probability, the cemetery alongside the Beck at Barton emerged as part of the wider and profoundly important phenomenon: the establishment of the parochial system in Lindsey. With that came the proliferation of local churches and churchyards, the archaeological evidence for which has been discussed at length (Everson and Stocker 1999, 76–9; Stocker and Everson 2001). The date of St Peter's church is considered in detail in chapter 6 (pp. 354–5).

6. THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH

... a very singular tower with round and pointed arches alternately,
of old construction.

Gough 1789

Antiquarian Studies

St Peter's church presents an unusual sight, having an unbuttressed western tower that appears rather small in scale and slender in its proportions, relative to the considerable bulk of the adjoining late medieval building (Figs. 9, 239 and 240). It is immediately obvious that the tower belongs to an altogether different era. The earliest dated illustration of the church – showing the tower and western annexe from the south – is Nattes's drawing of 1796 (Fig. 11), and two important but unsigned paintings dating from around the 1820s show the church from the west (Pl. 9; Fig. 14). The earliest known plan dates from 1803 (Fig. 587).

A remarkably early mention of the tower, and its attribution to the Anglo-Saxon period, was by Richard Gough, who saw it sometime before 1789. When describing St Peter's as having 'a very singular tower', he added 'The arch in the south door is Saxon' (Gough 1789, 2, 278). The tower was also illustrated and commented upon in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1816¹ (frontispiece). In 1827, Loft asserted the church was 'the second [most] ancient one in the kingdom', and went on to describe the architectural features of the tower, concluding that 'the lower parts of it ... are more ancient by several centuries than the top story or bellchamber'.²

Nevertheless, recognition of the pre-Norman date of the tower of St Peter's is generally credited to the architect and antiquary, Thomas Rickman (1819, 45), whose logical argument regarding its antiquity has remained virtually unchallenged for the greater part of two centuries. The fifth (1848) and subsequent editions of Rickman's treatise were illustrated with numerous text-figures from the hand of the Oxford artist Orlando Jewitt. Here the Barton tower appears, without the western annexe (Fig. 241). Jewitt was normally a careful artist, but in this instance he did not draw the subject himself, working instead from a careless sketch provided by Rickman. That sketch was in turn plainly derived from a fine drawing made by Augustus C. Pugin in or shortly before 1819. Pugin's drawing had been used, and was probably commissioned, by John Britton, who also drew attention to St Peter's tower in his seminal work on the chronology of English church architecture (Britton 1826/1835, 167, pl. 5)³ (Fig. 242). Another error common to Pugin's and Jewitt's drawings is the representation of a rectangular mid-wall

slab in the triangular openings of the lower belfry, instead of a baluster (Fig. 243): at the time, the true nature of the mid-wall support was evidently nowhere visible. This situation arose because at least two (and almost certainly three) of the openings were completely blocked with masonry until the mid-nineteenth century; in 1823 only the eastern half of the northern opening appears to have functioned as a window (as shown in Pl. 9). The other early view showing the tower and annexe from the north is H.B. Carter's drawing of c. 1830, and that is unhelpful on the subject of the belfry openings (Fig. 13). That drawing also contains a serious error in showing two tiers of triangular-headed arcading on the north wall of the ground stage, instead of a single register of round arcading.

Innumerable publications on architectural history have cited Barton, and many have illustrated either the tower *in toto*, or its distinctive elements.⁴ Several nineteenth-century antiquaries wrote detailed descriptions of the tower, often with dimensions, and Jewitt's view has frequently been reproduced.⁵ In 1820, shortly after Pugin drew the tower, J.C. Buckler visited Barton and prepared a series of meticulously dimensioned sketches and finished drawings, covering all aspects of the Anglo-Saxon construction (Figs. 244 and 245).⁶ They included a plan of the western part of the church, with each pilaster on the tower carefully delineated.⁷

Visually, the tower is striking in its design, particularly the lower stages, and has only one close analogue, namely Earls Barton, in Northamptonshire, although Barnack church, formerly in the same county (now Cambs.), also shares some similarities.⁸ The three have often been compared (Pl. 25). The principal distinguishing feature of the Barton tower is the decoration of the exterior on two opposing faces with tiers of blind arcading, formed with shallowly projecting, unmoulded bands of stone; these details are known as 'pilaster strips'. The heights of the individual stones in the strips normally alternate between tall and short. The same technique is seen outlining window and door openings at Barton, and at numerous other Anglo-Saxon churches. Rickman was the first to identify and name 'long and short work' in the construction of quoins as a characteristic of Anglo-Saxon masonry, concluding, 'I consider this tower the most pure specimen of the long and short work, and particularly deserving a visit from those who wish to see this style exemplified' (Rickman 1836, 34).



Fig. 239: St Peter's tower and annexe from the south-west, 1953. This shows the church prior to re-rendering in 1965 and graveyard clearance in 1966. Photo: English Heritage, NMR

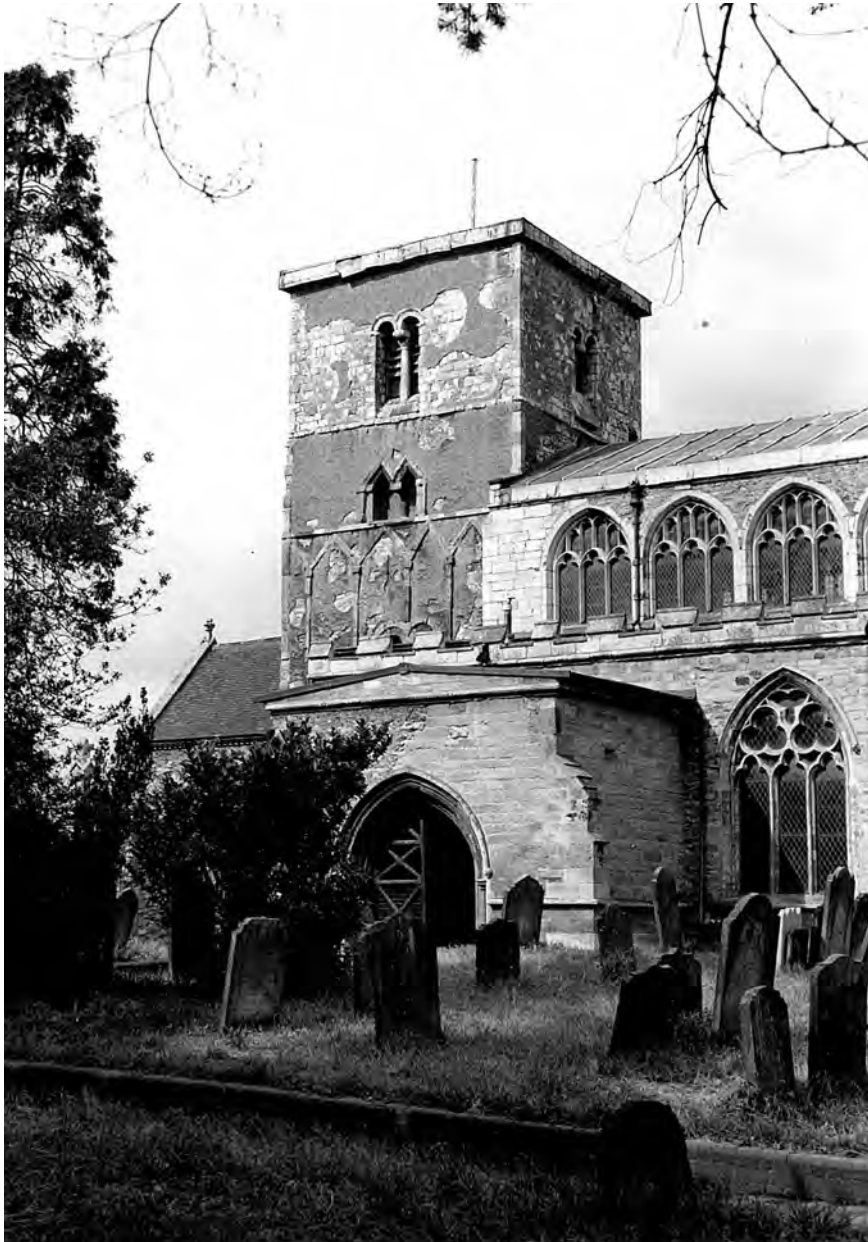


Fig. 240: *St Peter's tower from the south-east, before re-rendering in 1965. Photo: David Lee Photography*

The earliest commentators assumed that the tower was the only surviving element of pre-Conquest date, the western annexe being dismissed as an irrelevant later addition. Consequently, Pugin's fine drawing of *c.* 1819, and Jewitt's derivative sketch of the 1840s, both depicted the tower as the westernmost component of the primary church (Britton 1835, pl. 5; Rickman 1819/1848, appendix, xii). Not only did they omit the annexe altogether, but they represented the large arch in the west wall of the tower as an external doorway of monumental proportions, and inserted a non-existent string-course above it.⁹ A third version displaying the same errors was published by R.W. Billings (Fig. 246).¹⁰ All three drawings embody other identical errors in common: *e.g.* showing high-pitched roofs on the nave and south aisle, and Geometrical tracery in the clerestory window. Billings also incorporates a

unique error in that the south-east quoin of the tower is fully shown, although in reality it is entirely concealed below aisle roof level.

The south elevation of the tower was drawn by Hesleden in the early 1830s, with only a hint of the annexe shown (Fig. 247).¹¹ For the work of a Bartonian, this view embodies some curious errors, most notably the relationship of the pilaster-strips to the south doorway.¹² Hesleden also drew a pair of views of the tower doorways, equally remarkable for their inaccuracy: the south door has the impost at dramatically different levels, and the relationship between the doorway and the pilasters bears no resemblance to reality; the north doorway is shown from the interior. This is one of only two antiquarian views taken from that side (Fig. 248).¹³ Comparison with other contemporary drawings of the doorways is instructive (Fig. 249).

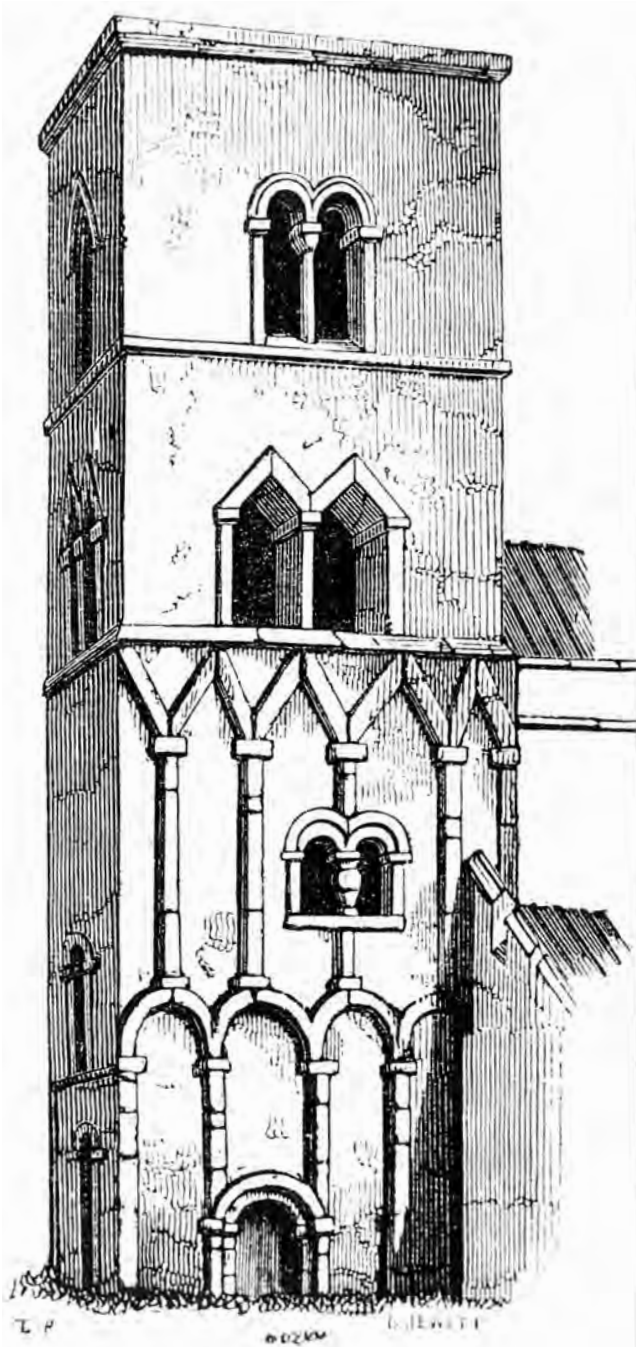


Fig. 241: *St Peter's tower from the south-south-west, omitting the western annexe. Drawn by Orlando Jewitt in the 1840s, after a sketch by Thomas Rickman. Rickman 1848*

A crudely drawn view showing the tower and annexe from the south-west was published in a traveller's guide in the early 1830s and captioned, 'The lower part of the tower of this church is very ancient: supposed to be Saxon, but its date is unknown' (Saunders 1835) (Fig. 15).¹⁴ A pair of measured elevation drawings showing the tower and annexe from both north and south was prepared in 1849 by Dudley Elwes; these were the first full elevations drawn to scale.¹⁵ However, the artist's ground-level perspective caused the triangular-headed arcading to be significantly flattened, and the mouldings of the mid-wall

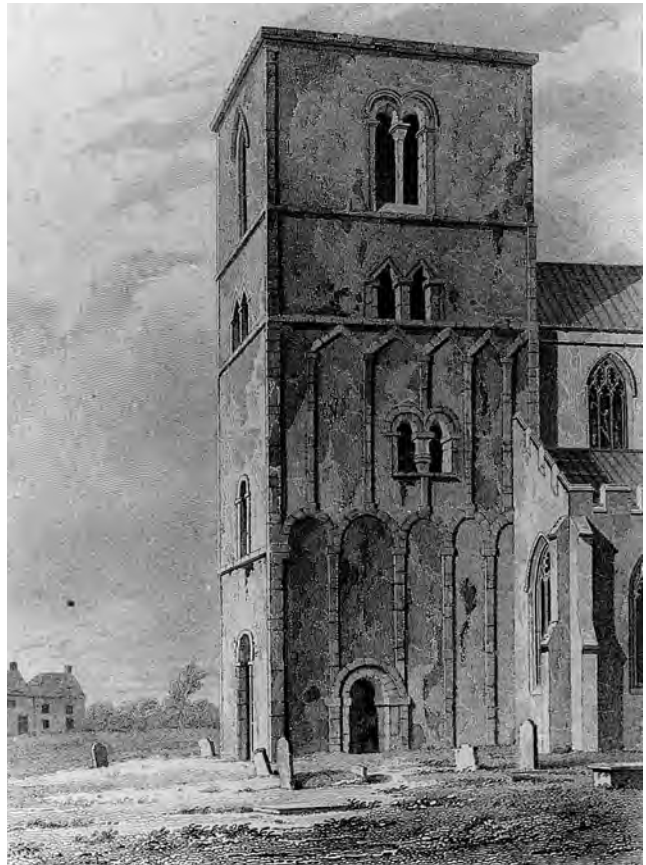


Fig. 242: *St Peter's tower from the south-south-west, omitting the western annexe. Drawn by Augustus Pugin, 1819. Britton 1826*

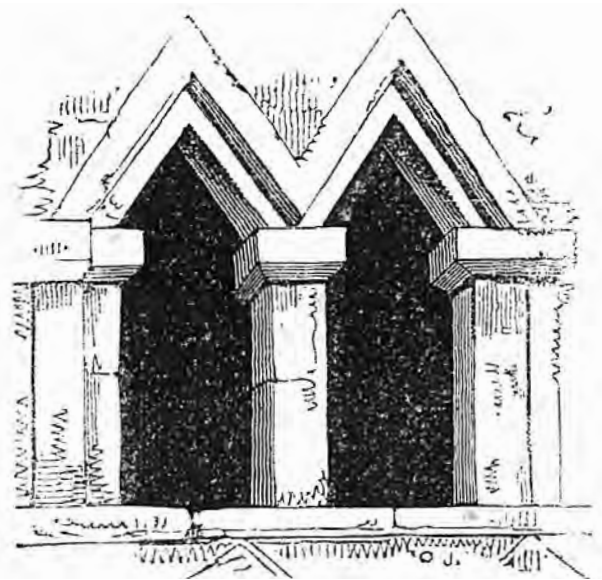


Fig. 243: *Tower. Lower belfry window (south) with assumed rectangular mid-wall slab instead of a baluster. Drawn by Orlando Jewitt, after Pugin. Parker 1840*

shafts greatly exaggerated (Fig. 250). Barton was visited by (Sir) George Gilbert Scott in 1843/44 and, although he doubtless inspected St Peter's, his only surviving record relates to St Mary's (Heseltine 1981, 84, cat. 49). It seems likely that Scott paid a return

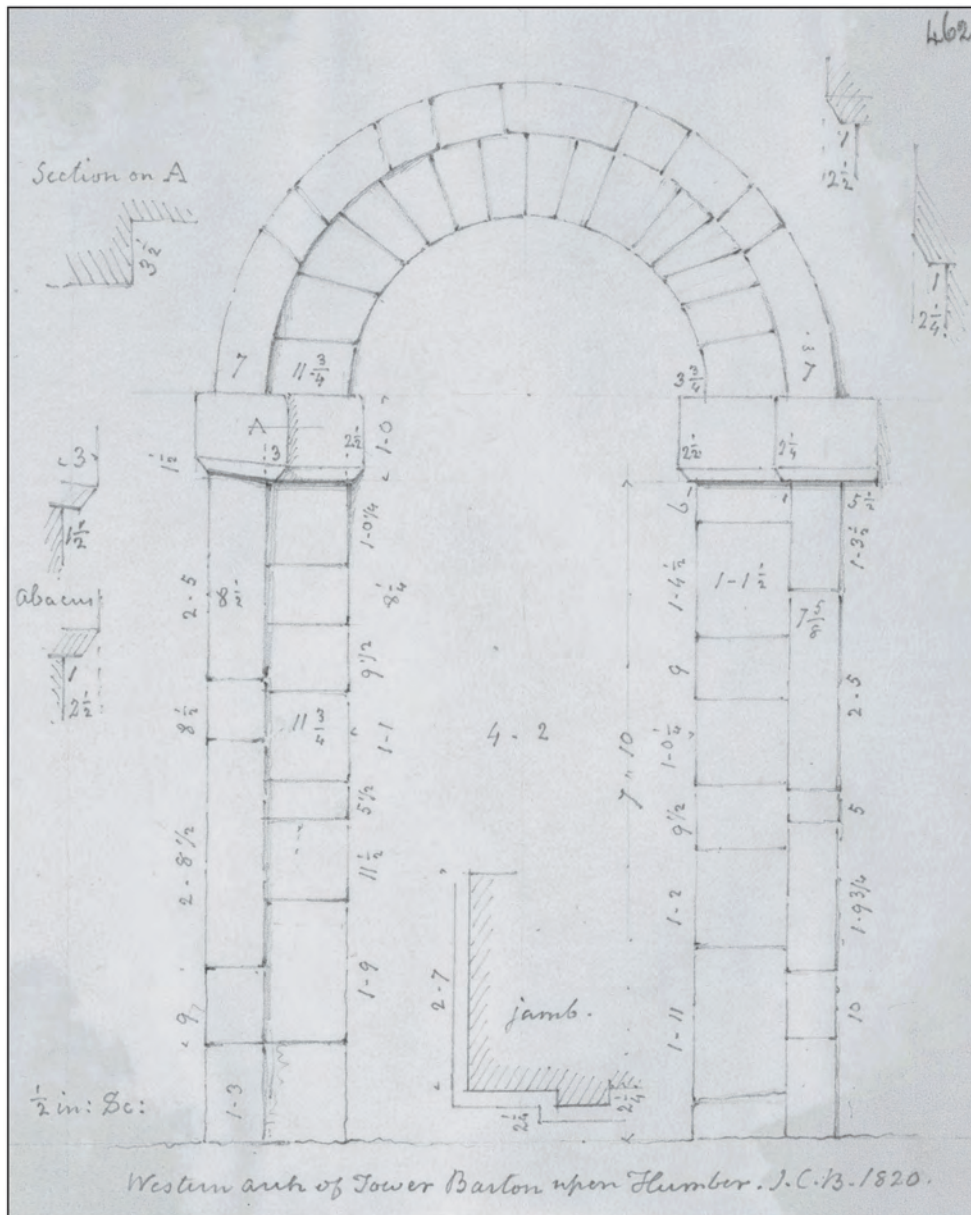


Fig. 244: Tower, western arch. Elevation of the east face, drawn to scale by J.C. Buckler, 1820. © British Library: Ms. Add. 36,438, f. 462

visit sometime in the period 1859–69, when he sketched the western annexe (Fig. 251).

The incorrect representation of the west side of the tower by Pugin and Jewitt marked the beginning of an extraordinary saga of speculation, invention and misinterpretation which dogged the architectural history of the Anglo-Saxon church until the late twentieth century. So many conflicting opinions have appeared in print that a summary of them and of the processes involved in their generation needs to be offered at the outset. The first suggestion that the western annexe was itself of Anglo-Saxon date was published by Ball (1856), who also cited current hypotheses that it was either a baptistery, or an early nave. The originators of these suggestions remain unidentified, but W.S. Hesleden (p. 13) most likely constructed at least one of the hypotheses. Writing of the annexe, H.W. Ball (p. 13) observed:

It has been conjectured that it was the baptistery, but the circumstance of its not having an outer doorway, whilst there are two in the tower, is a strong objection to this supposition; baptism has always been administered in or near the entrance of the church. Another theory is that it was part of a very early church, which was reverently spared when the present tower was erected. The rude style of windows, as we see within, compared with those of the tower, gives support to this conjecture; and if the reins were given to fancy, it might be said that this formed part of the chapel of an aedicula, or cell connected with St Chad's monastery at Barrow, which would readily account for the names of 'St Chad's pond' and 'St Chad's walk', in the immediate vicinity of the churchyard. (Ball 1856, 1, 56, n(a)).

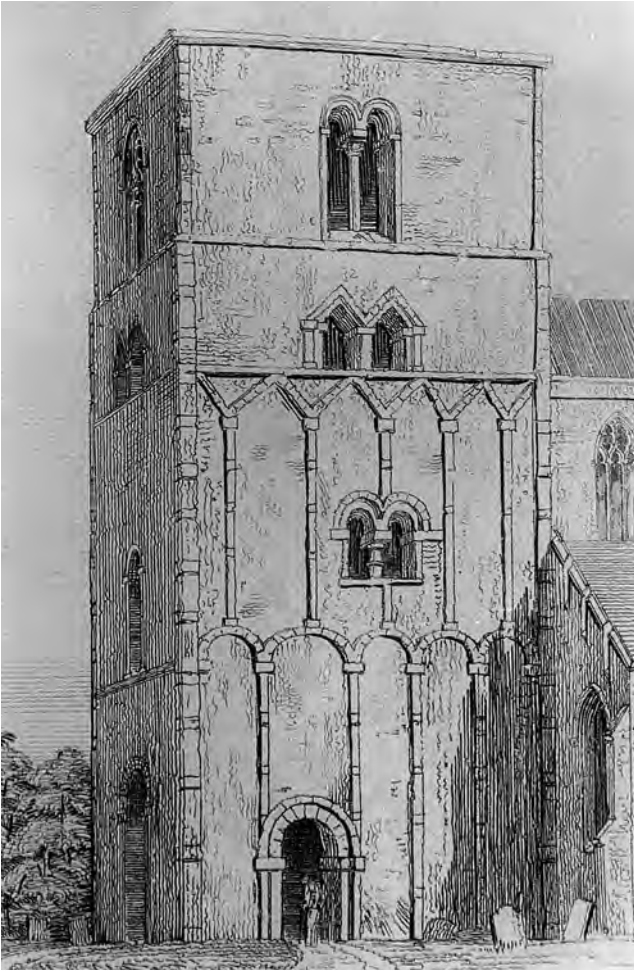


Fig. 246: St Peter's tower from the south-south-west, omitting the western annexe. Drawn by R.W. Billings in the 1840s

in the annexe, which subsequently resulted in its dismantling and the infilling of the opening, in 1869–70. Although short-lived, the alteration was recorded in a drawing by Sir George Gilbert Scott, and subsequently published in 1879 (Scott 1879, 54) (Fig. 251). The doorway was to cause great confusion in the architectural record for a century to come. Even as early as 1867, the modified annexe was accepted as 'a building, forming a kind of porch or galilee, also of rude and early character ... [with] rude round-headed doorways to the Tower and at the west side' (Glynne 1898, 201–2).

In 1886 the vicar, George Hogarth, made a far-sighted observation when he wrote of the church, 'I imagine that only a large apse was all that there was east of the tower, for the altar and the small congregation of worshippers'.²⁰ His intuition was not too far wide of the mark. In 1889, J.T. Micklethwaite studied the church²¹ and propounded the theory – now proved to be correct – that the base of the tower formed the original nave, with a baptistery in the annexe to the west and a small chancel to the east: the latter was subsequently destroyed by the expansion of the medieval church (Micklethwaite 1896, 333–4).²² In the closing

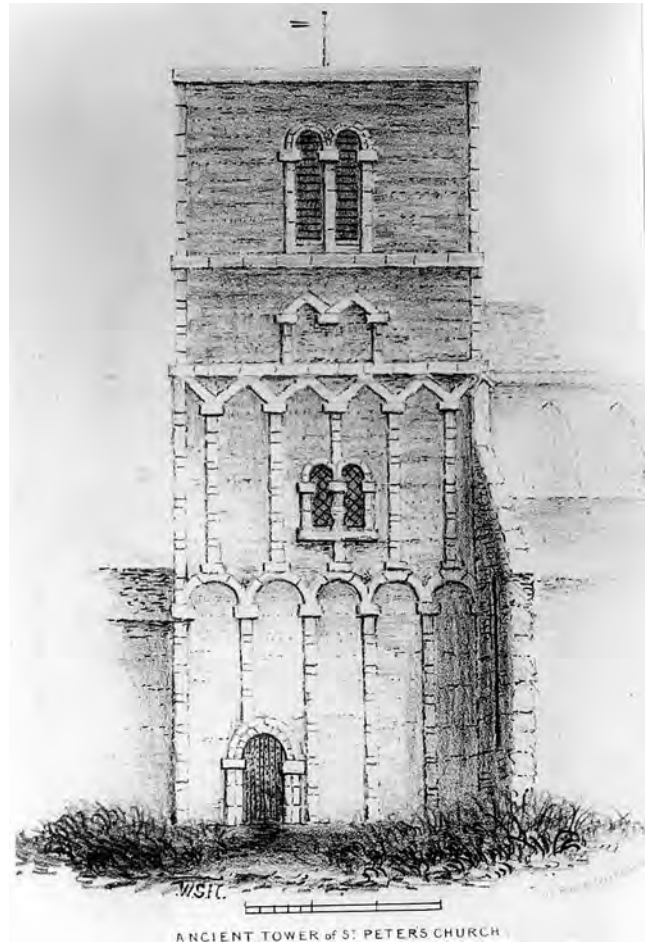


Fig. 247: Tower: south elevation. Drawn by W.S. Hesleden in the early 1830s. Courtesy of North Lincolnshire Museum Service (Ball, scrapbook 2)

decade of the nineteenth century several other architectural historians entered the scene: Professor Gerard Baldwin Brown, at the University of Edinburgh; Charles Clement Hodges, the architect and antiquary of Hexham (Northumb.); John Bilson, another architect-antiquary, who lived on the north bank of the Humber at Hessle (E. Yorks.); and James Thomas Irvine, who was also an antiquary and had been clerk of works on many projects for Sir G.G. Scott.²³

Brown left open the question of the western annexe's function, while Hodges embraced the baptistery theory. Bilson's involvement at Barton continued for another two decades.²⁴ A letter of 1897 refers enigmatically to two 'newly discovered windows' and an 'original roof'. The former are almost certainly to be equated with the *oculi* in the west wall of the annexe, and the latter may relate to timbers in its roof, which seem to have been preserved in the gable wall.²⁵ The *oculi* were visible in 1825, being described then as 'circular openings' (Glynne 1898, 201). Early illustrations are somewhat ambivalent about them, but some hint that the lower one may have been open, while the upper was blocked. On the other hand, the painting of 1823 fails to show them (Pl. 9). Of course, they may have been visible internally, while being masked by

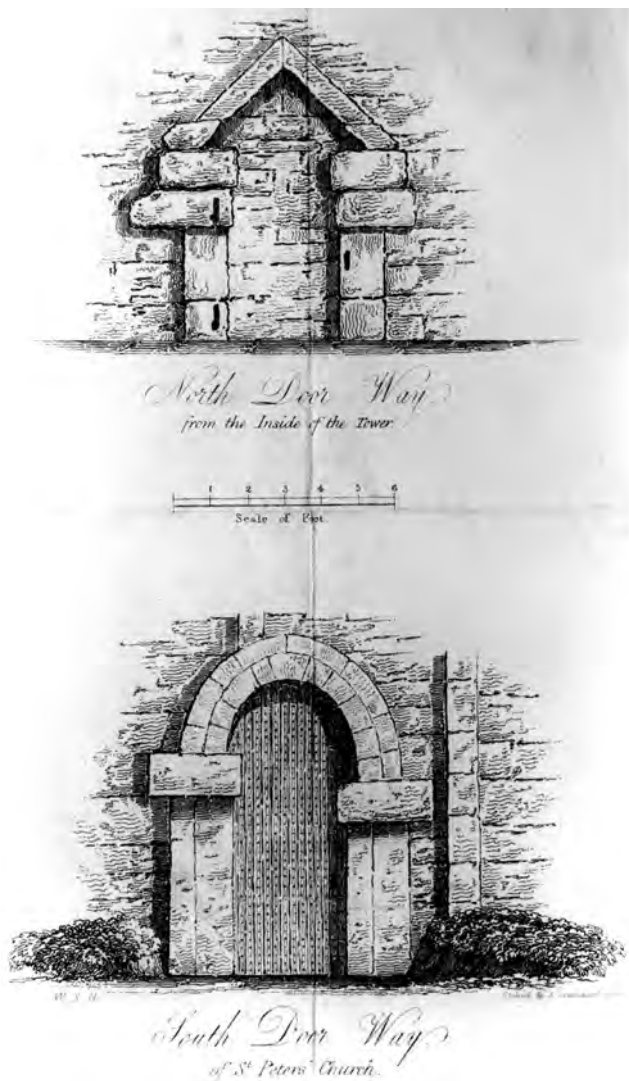
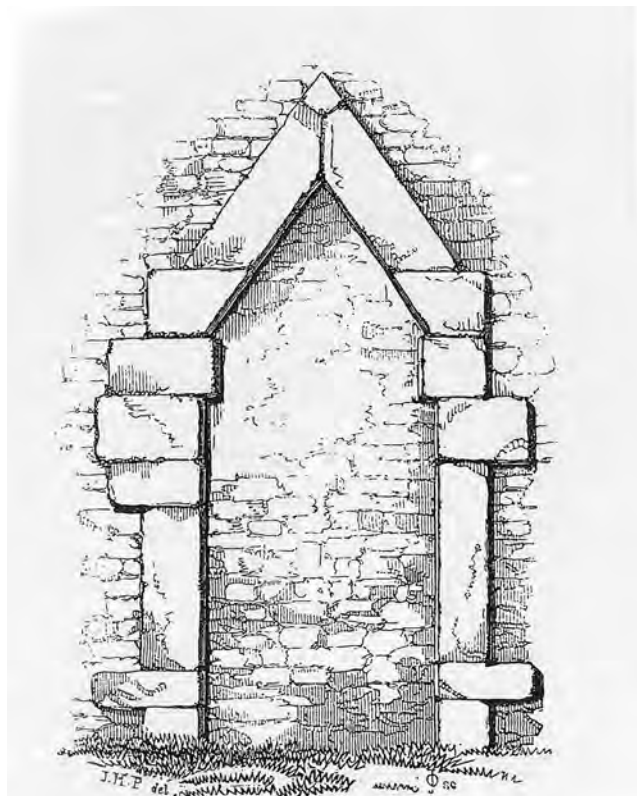


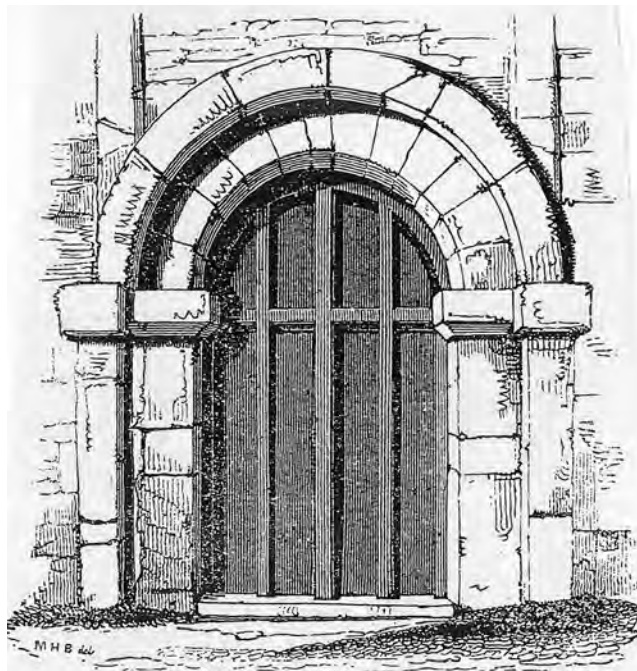
Fig. 248: Tower doorways. Upper, north (interior). Lower, south (exterior); cf. Fig. 249. Drawn by W.S. Hesleden in the early 1830s. Courtesy of North Lincolnshire Museum Service (Ball, scrapbook 2)

rendering on the exterior. The *oculi* were certainly concealed when the annexe was rendered in c. 1870, only to be re-discovered in 1897, when the rendering was cut back, and a rim of rubble-work exposed around the openings.

Although the east face of the tower was plastered, Micklethwaite detected scar-traces in 1889 of what he believed to be the lost chancel. He was proved correct in 1898, when a further restoration of the church was begun under the Durham architect Charles Hodgson Fowler: the east face of the tower, where it formed the end of the medieval nave, was stripped of plaster, revealing two vertical scars where the Saxon chancel had once been attached (Fig. 252). Three trenches were then dug into the floor of the present nave in order to discover the extent of the eastern arm of the Anglo-Saxon church (Fig. 254).²⁶ The excavations were conducted at night, with an air of secrecy.²⁷ A flurry of correspondence ensued, involving both



A



B

Fig. 249: Tower doorways. A (upper), north (interior, despite the grass in the foreground), drawn by J.H. Parker and O. Jewitt in the 1840s (cf. Fig. 321). B (lower), south (exterior), drawn by M.H. Bloxham in the 1830s. Note the Tudor panelled door, which is no longer extant. Both drawings are at the same scale. Rickman 1848; Bloxham 1841

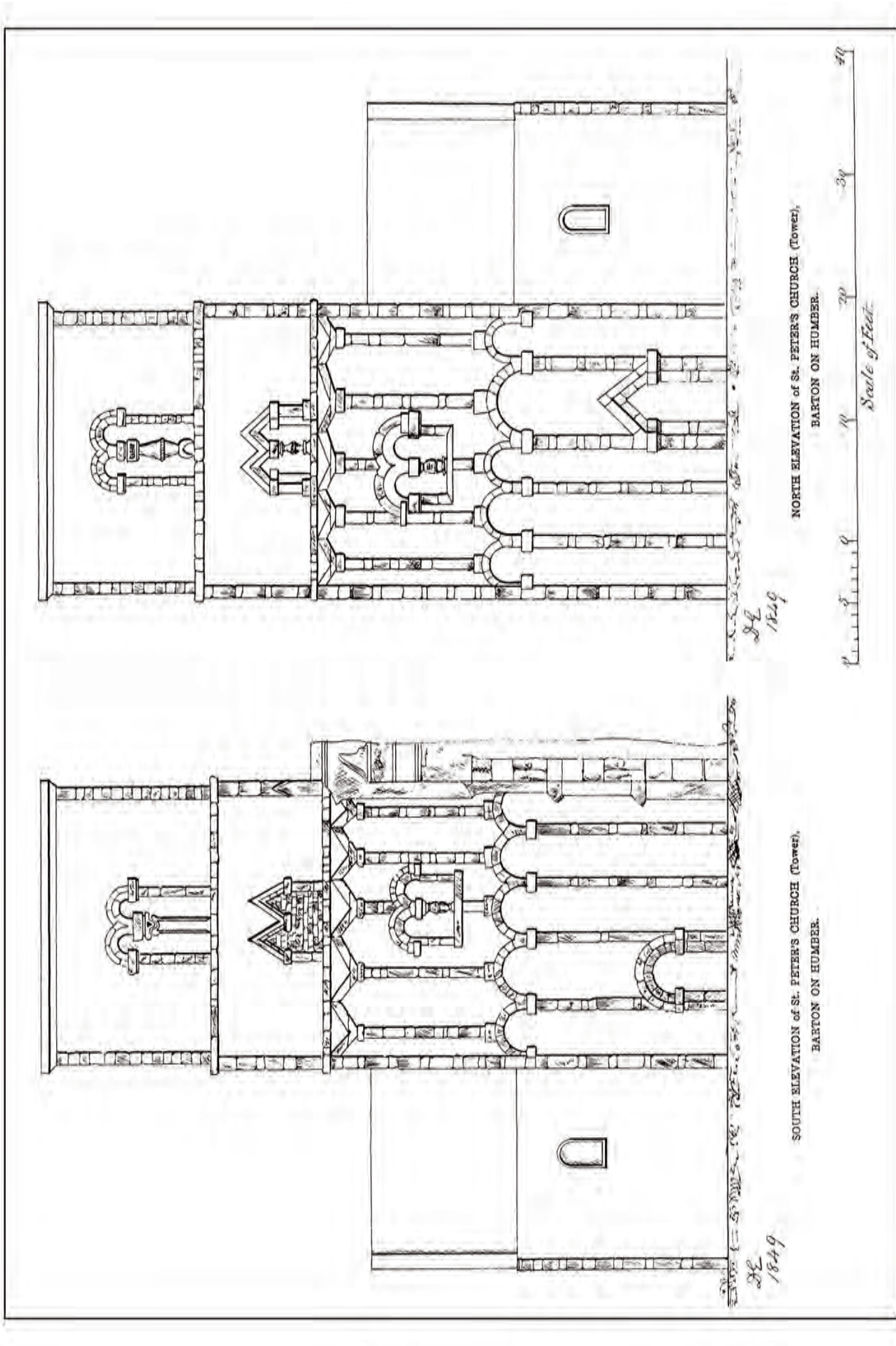


Fig. 250: Tower and western annexe. North and south elevations. Drawn by Dudley Elwes, 1849. Courtesy of North Lincolnshire Museum Service (Ball, scrapbook 2)



Fig. 251: Tower and western annexe. View from the north-west, showing the intruded west doorway and a *flèche* for which there is no other evidence. Drawn for Sir George Gilbert Scott in the 1860s. Scott 1879

national and local figures, and the various theories regarding the development and date of the church were again rehearsed.²⁸

The results of Fowler's investigations were published by Brown in 1900, showing that the earliest church had consisted of a tower-nave, a small, squarish chancel and a western adjunct of similar size (Brown 1900; 1903, 208–16, figs. 124–5). Based on this information, Brown produced an artist's impression of the Anglo-Saxon church, but avoided discussion of the function of the western annexe (Brown 1900, fig. 24; 1903, fig. 126) (Fig. 253).

Meanwhile, in 1891 the vicar, Charles Moor, had published his own conjectures regarding the history of the tower, the building of which he saw as a defence against 'Danish pirates', and dated it loosely to the period 870–1017.²⁹ He regarded the pilaster-strips as an imitation of timber-framing and, interestingly for the time, saw the western annexe as being 'clearly of the same date as the tower itself'. Moor rehearsed the various theories as to its original purpose, without reaching a conclusion, apart from noting that it was currently used as a 'coal cellar'.

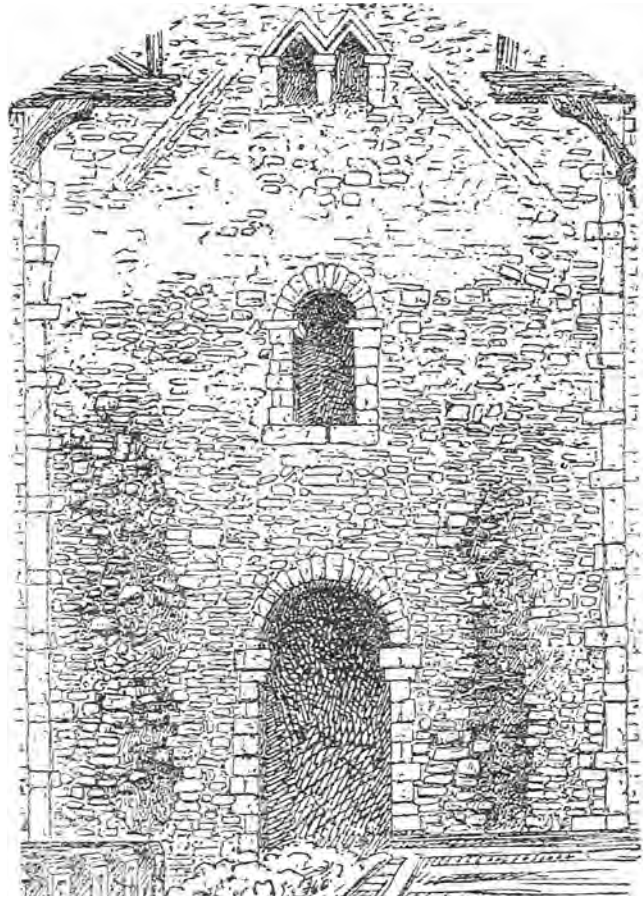


Fig. 252: Tower: east face, showing two scars where the walls of the Anglo-Saxon chancel had been attached. Note the artistic omission of the central section of tie-beam crossing the belfry opening, which was only cut out in 1984. Sketch by G.B. Brown, based on a photograph taken in 1898 (cf. Fig. 347). Brown 1900

In 1906, the local historian and solicitor Robert Brown (p. 13) reviewed all the evidence and theories pertaining to the several parts of the early church, admitting that no firm conclusion was possible: *in dubiis libertas* (Brown 1906, 52–62).³⁰ Nevertheless, he favoured a date of *c.* 1020 for its construction. There the matter might have rested, but in 1911 W.E. Varah became vicar of Barton-upon-Humber (p. 13) and took an active interest in the early history of St Peter's church. The ground stage of the tower was then used as a lumber store, and the annexe served as a coal shed; both were cleared out in 1912–13, the floor levels were lowered by *c.* 50 cm, 'to nearly the original level', and steps at the entrances were removed (Fig. 266).³¹ Four slit trenches were excavated to examine what was then left of the archaeological deposits in the base of the tower (Fig. 254).³² The work was partly overseen by Bilson, whose plan of the excavations and contemporary correspondence have survived.³³ The walls inside the tower and annexe had previously been stripped of plaster, and left exposed.

The trenches revealed areas of compact mortar and rubble, seemingly with defined edges on the north and

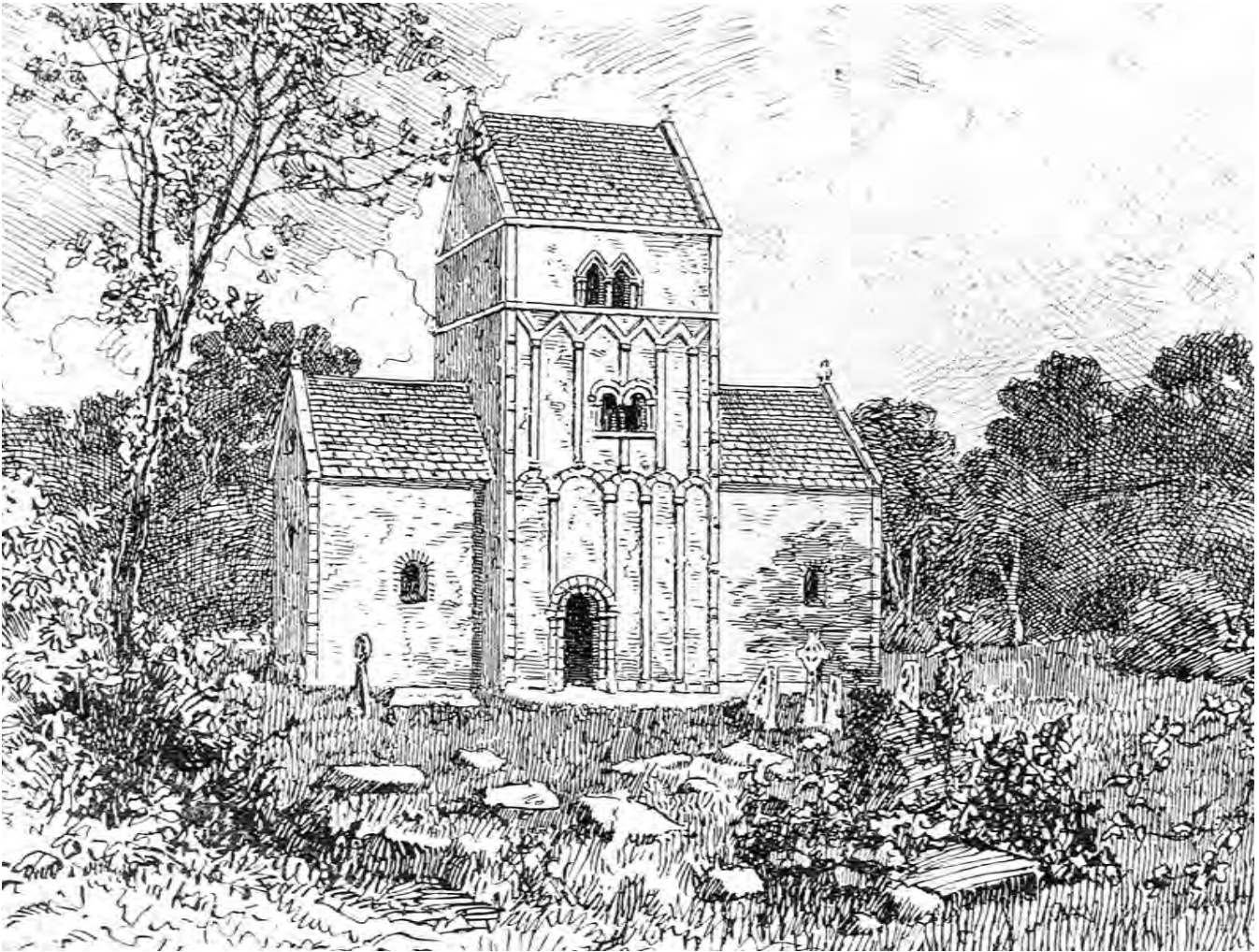


Fig. 253: Reconstruction of the first stone church, viewed from the south-west. Drawn by G. Baldwin Brown, 1903. Brown 1903

south; although the deposits did not exceed 10 cm in thickness, they were nevertheless interpreted as wall foundations, aligned east–west and antedating the construction of the tower. These ‘foundations’ were seen as extending the lines of the north and south walls of the annexe, and an idea – previously mooted but not considered very seriously – was resurrected by Varah, namely that the annexe was the surviving west end of a rectangular nave which preceded the erection of the late Saxon tower. This was interpreted as a two-celled church, with a chancel to the east. Bilson counselled caution, but Varah soon assigned a date in the later eighth century to this supposed early work, although with no supporting evidence.³⁴ Varah prevailed this view upon the British Archaeological Association when it visited Barton in 1921. Moreover, he went on to claim that the church was ‘burned down by the Danes in 867’, and asserted that a late sixteenth-century brick-lined furnace discovered under the floor of the tower was ‘a reliquary made of Roman bricks, for Anglo-Saxon saints’ (Fig. 21).³⁵

Varah’s imagination continued to run riot, inventing an architectural history for St Peter’s beginning with a timber church in *c.* 790 (albeit there was no evidence

for one); that in turn was replaced by a putative second timber church, for which the excavated mortar beds were claimed as the foundations; then Danish incursions were invoked to account for the erection of the first stone church, of which the western annexe was claimed to be the sole surviving part; finally, the tower was added, ‘before 953’, and the upper belfry added ‘soon after 1031’.³⁶ Meanwhile, in 1925, Baldwin Brown soberly reassessed the evidence, concluding that the tower, chancel and annexe were all of one date, in the second half of the tenth century; he saw the upper belfry as Saxo-Norman and belonging to the ‘Lincolnshire towers’ phenomenon.³⁷

Bilson’s plan of the excavations of 1912–13 was not published until 1930, when it was used by Clapham (1930, fig. 31), who did not discuss the supposed earlier structure (Fig. 254, 1). However, the plan clearly revealed that the ‘foundations’ exposed within the tower were not aligned with the walls of the western annexe, and the two were unlikely to be associated. Describing St Peter’s again in 1946, Clapham referred to ‘the massive foundations found under the floor of the tower’, concluding that ‘these would seem to have no bearing on the existing building and must necessarily

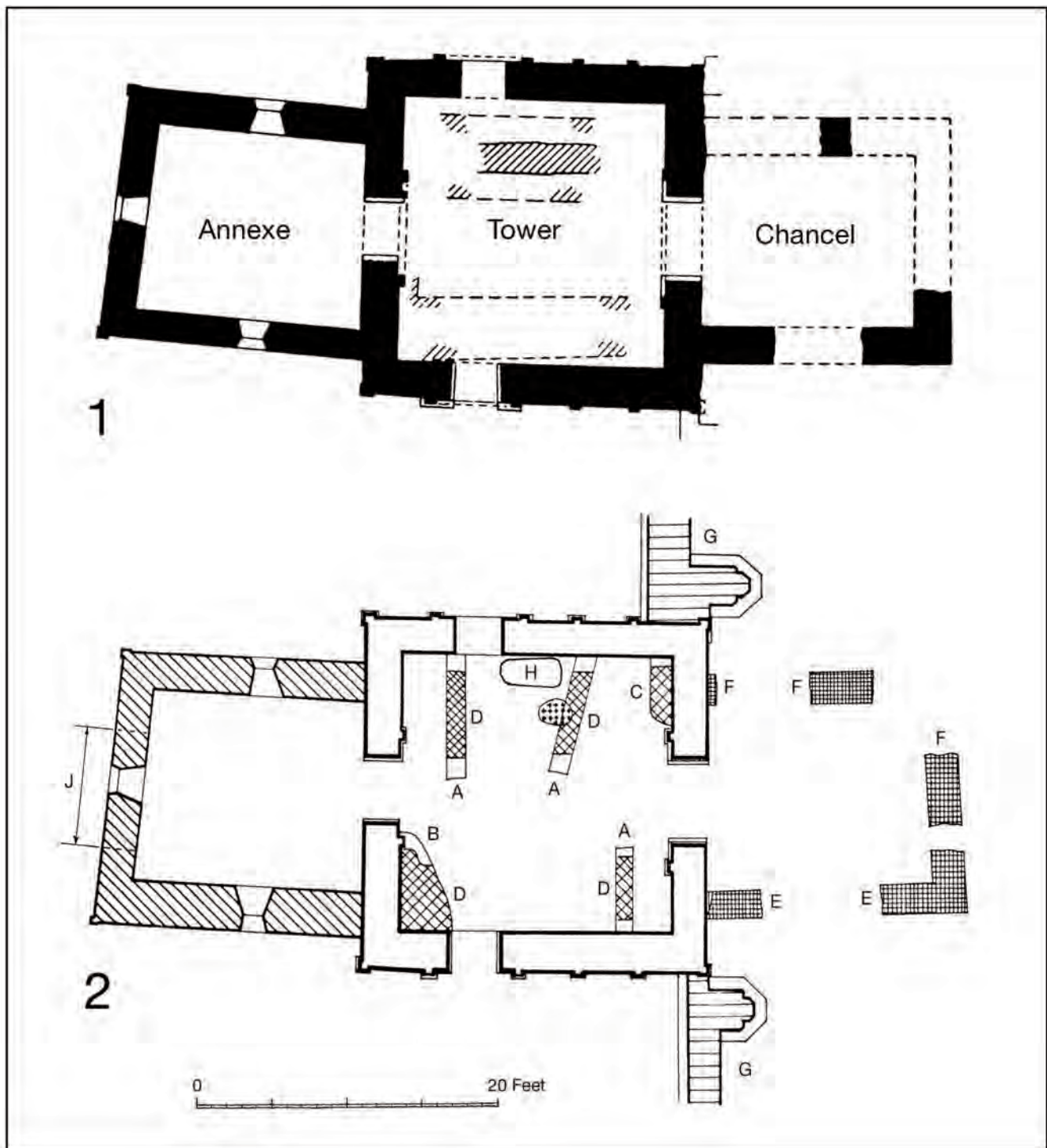


Fig. 254: Archaeological plans of the Anglo-Saxon church. 1, interpretive drawing showing the supposed earlier foundations (hatched) under the floor of the turriform nave, based on Bilson's excavations of 1912–13. Drawn by A.W. Clapham. 2, plan showing archaeological trenches. A, excavated 1913; B, excavated 1913 and 1945; C, excavated 1945; D, mortar 'foundations'; E, foundations of chancel, seen 1898; F, foundations of chancel exposed 1951–54; G, walls of medieval aisles and arcades; H, brick-lined furnace; J, infilled west doorway. Drawn by H.M. Taylor. Clapham 1930; Taylor 1974b

pre-date it. Any suggestion, however, as to their age and purpose must be pure conjecture.' (Clapham 1946, 179–81). Describing mortar beds with a thickness of 10 cm as 'massive foundations' seems somewhat disingenuous. Clapham did not discuss the components of the Anglo-Saxon church, but introduced the misleading designation of 'forebuilding' for the annexe. This

was further considered in a detailed description of the church by E.A. Fisher (1962, 254–61).

Meanwhile, in anticipation of the Royal Archaeological Institute's Summer Meeting in Lincolnshire in 1946, Hugh Varah, a son of the lately deceased vicar of Barton, carried out two further excavations within the tower, on the lines of the supposed



Fig. 255: Tower and western annexe, 1953. By this time the rendering had been stripped from the annexe, revealing the infilled doorway in the west wall. Photo: English Heritage, NMR

early foundations;³⁸ and in 1951, 1953 and 1954 he further investigated the site of the demolished chancel, producing a plan showing all the discoveries in 1965.³⁹

In their study of Anglo-Saxon architecture, Taylor and Taylor (1965, 52–7) were unable to shed further light on the excavated evidence, but wondered whether the foundations under the tower might have belonged to a chancel which, together with the surviving western annexe, constituted a small two-celled church. If so, the tower and its now-demolished chancel to the east would represent a second phase. The Royal Archaeological Institute held another meeting in Lincolnshire in 1974, for which Taylor assembled all the information available to date, and prepared a further plan (Taylor 1974b, fig. 32) (Fig. 254, 2). Still, no certainty could be claimed regarding either the age of the excavated remains within the tower, or their relationship to the walls of the surviving annexe. Nor could it be definitively established whether the tower and annexe were contemporaneous: doubt was cast upon this by the skewed alignment of the latter relative to the former. Taylor concluded with a strong plea that the church – which by then was redundant and closed – should be subjected to ‘a thorough investigation ... both inside and around it, using all the specialized techniques of modern archaeology in an attempt to bring greater certainty both to its date and to the relationship between the present structure and the earlier “mortar beds” which lie within the tower’ (Taylor 1974b, 373).

Taylor also published notes on other ill-known aspects of St Peter's church, including the intrusion in 1858 and subsequent removal, only a decade later, of a pseudo-Saxon doorway in the west wall of the annexe. Writing in 1903, Baldwin Brown alluded to ‘the marks of a wide western doorway now blocked, but this looks comparatively modern, and it is uncertain therefore whether or not a narrower Saxon door once existed in the same position’ (Brown 1903, 208). He was presumably looking at the interior (the exterior then being entirely pebbledashed), where the wallplaster may have been stripped in 1858.⁴⁰ Robert Brown was not convinced: indeed, he was adamant that there had never been a ‘comparatively modern’ doorway here and that the one illustrated by Scott was fictitious.⁴¹

In 1923, Varah caused the Victorian pebbledash to be removed from the exterior of the annexe (Fig. 255; Varah 1928, opp. 4), fully revealing the infilled opening, which gave rise to ‘much comment of varying value. One remark, made by more than one person, that the western door was used within little more than living memory, needs to be mentioned as a certain case of mistaken recollection lest it should gain currency, as it might well do in the absence of any authentic knowledge’.⁴² Nevertheless, the man who had been responsible for dismantling the pseudo-Saxon doorway was still living at the time.⁴³

Varah was, of course, disastrously wrong, but never publicly conceded it.⁴⁴ Instead, he shunned caution and evidently convinced Baldwin Brown of the antiquity of

the door opening, so that the latter subsequently described ‘the unmistakable marks of an original west doorway. From this doorway the cut stones of the jambs and archivolt were at some time removed, and the irregular gaping void filled’ (Brown 1925, 188). Thus, the myth of an ancient doorway in the western annexe was propagated. That apart, Brown's study and analysis of Barton was exemplary, and he illustrated his argument with a series of line drawings that included a plan, elevation, section, reconstruction and various details.⁴⁵

Approaches to Archaeological Investigation

Before investigation began in 1978, it was already known that the archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon church was severely damaged. Since 1912, at least seven trenches had been dug in the tower, and no less than four on the site of the chancel, in the name of archaeological research. There was no record of excavation in the annexe. Moreover, 50 cm or more of accumulated deposits within the tower and annexe had been shovelled out in 1912, and no detailed archaeological record of any of these activities had been kept.

It was therefore agreed in 1978 that further small-scale excavation would be unlikely to resolve the critical issues of sequence and date, and would inevitably result in the removal of additional archaeological deposits. If excavation were to be contemplated, it should only be under optimum conditions for the recovery of the remaining evidence. In practical terms that meant a complete area-excavation of the interior, coupled with detailed study of the standing fabric. It was also determined that external excavation should take place around the tower and annexe, although it was appreciated that little, if anything, in the way of stratified deposits of early date would be likely to survive. Two circumstances gave rise to this belief. First, substantial ground-lowering along the south side had occurred in 1894 and 1912, to expose the base of the tower and to improve drainage. Secondly, older photographs showed a forest of tombstones, running right up to the church walls, indicating that post-medieval burial had been intense (Fig. 672).

Excavation inside took place in 1978 and 1979 in three areas that were physically separated by foundations: chancel (Area 1), tower-nave (Area 2), and western annexe (Area 3). The existing floor, dating from 1913, comprised red brick paving, laid on earth. The internal wall faces had been stripped of their plaster during the various restorations, and the masonry of the annexe left exposed and pointed, but the tower had been replastered in 1926. In its lower region, that plaster was in poor condition, and was consequently stripped to a height of 1.2 m in 1978, thus facilitating archaeological study of the masonry and ground deposits simultaneously. Subsequently, the remainder of the twentieth-century wallplaster in the tower was removed by the DoE.

External excavation around the church was carried out in three stages between 1980 and 1983: south side (Area 8), west end and north-west corner (Areas 9 and 10), and north side (Area 14) (Fig. 24). Immediately adjacent to the walls were various deposits of concrete, brick and tarmac, as well as surface-water drains, all post-dating 1913. The external rendering of the tower and annexe had been stripped and renewed in *c.* 1870, and again in 1965 (Figs. 672 and 625). The cement-based pebbledash applied on the latter occasion is extremely hard and so strongly adhering to the underlying rubble masonry that any attempt to remove it would result in unacceptable damage to the historic fabric. It therefore remains for the time being.

Description of the Surviving Remains (Period 2)

The tower stands at the west end of the aisled medieval nave: it is 18.5 m (60½ ft) high, of three unbuttressed stages, and is capped with a low, pyramidal lead-covered roof (Pls. 4 and 18). There is no parapet, but the roof is edged by a lead skirt which conceals a wall-top gutter, the discharge from which is carried by internal box-channels and a downpipe on to the roof of the nave. The first two stages have dressings almost entirely of Pennine gritstone ('Millstone Grit'; p. 789) but the wall-faces are otherwise cement rendered with a quasi-pebbledash finish. The gritstone varies widely in colour, ranging from

creamish-yellow, through green and brown, to pink and purple. Mixed in with the gritstone are occasional blocks of Lincolnshire limestone, York sandstone and brown ferruginous sandstone. The dressings clearly did not arrive on site direct from a single quarry, and the gritstone, at least, is all recycled Roman building material.

There is an original ground-level doorway on the south and another, now blocked, on the north. Small, double-windows with round arches light the first stage on the north and south, while similar openings with triangular heads occur in all four faces of the second stage. The lights contain inserted glazing in the mid-wall position. The western opening is blocked, and a circular scar in the masonry and rendering reflects the position of a clock dial which was fixed here from 1852 to 1983 (Fig. 322).

The topmost stage of the tower, which is clearly an addition, is mainly of coursed Lower Magnesian Limestone ashlar, and is not currently rendered (Fig. 399). It has a traceried window on the west and double belfry-openings on the other three faces. All the openings are fitted with modern timber louvres.

The tower is abutted on the east, just below the top stage, by the low-pitched lead roof of the medieval nave; its clerestoried arcades clasp the north-east and south-east angles of the tower (Fig. 240). The mode of clasp is not identical on both sides, with the result that more of the primary fabric of the tower is concealed on the north than on the south (plan, Fig. 464).

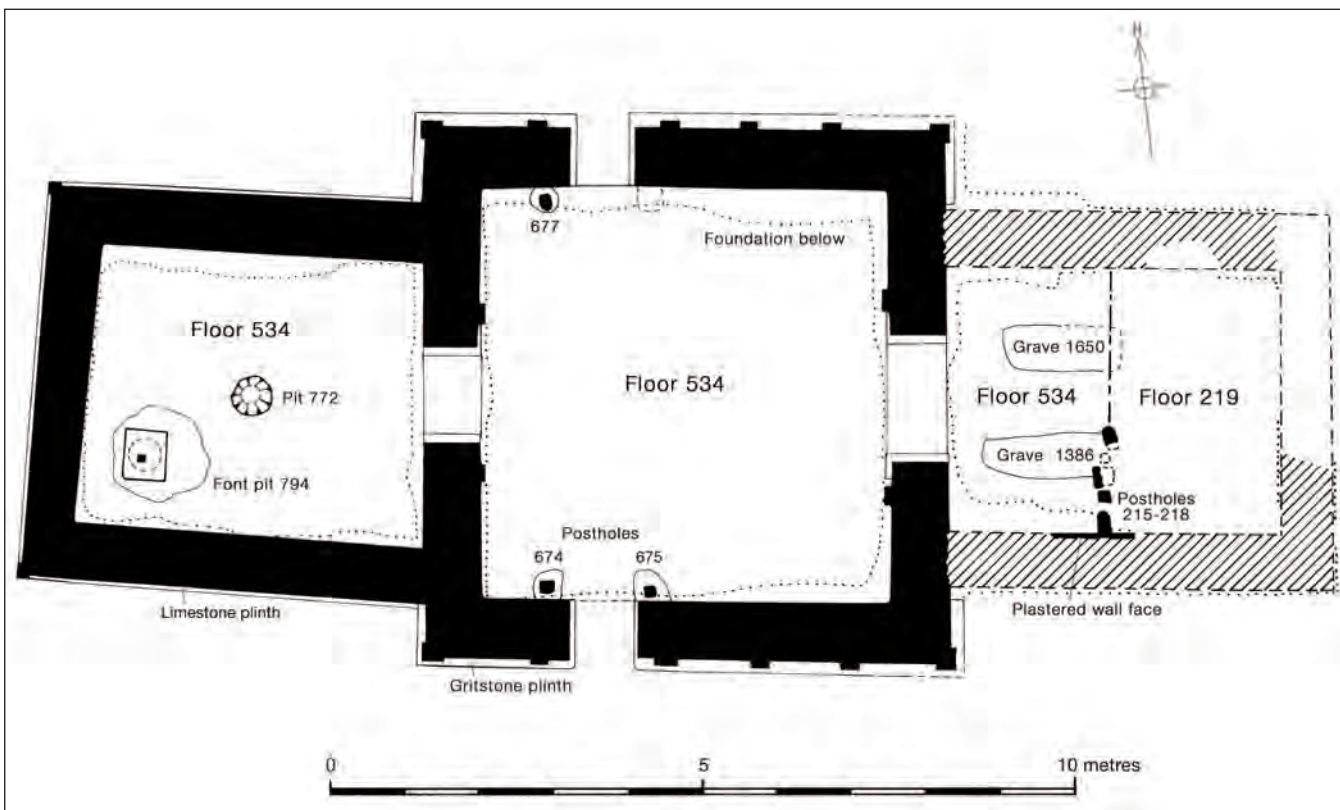


Fig. 256: Excavated foundations and ground plan of the three-celled church, showing evidence for primary structural fixtures and furnishings. A dotted line indicates the edge of the foundation, where this projects beyond the line of the wall. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

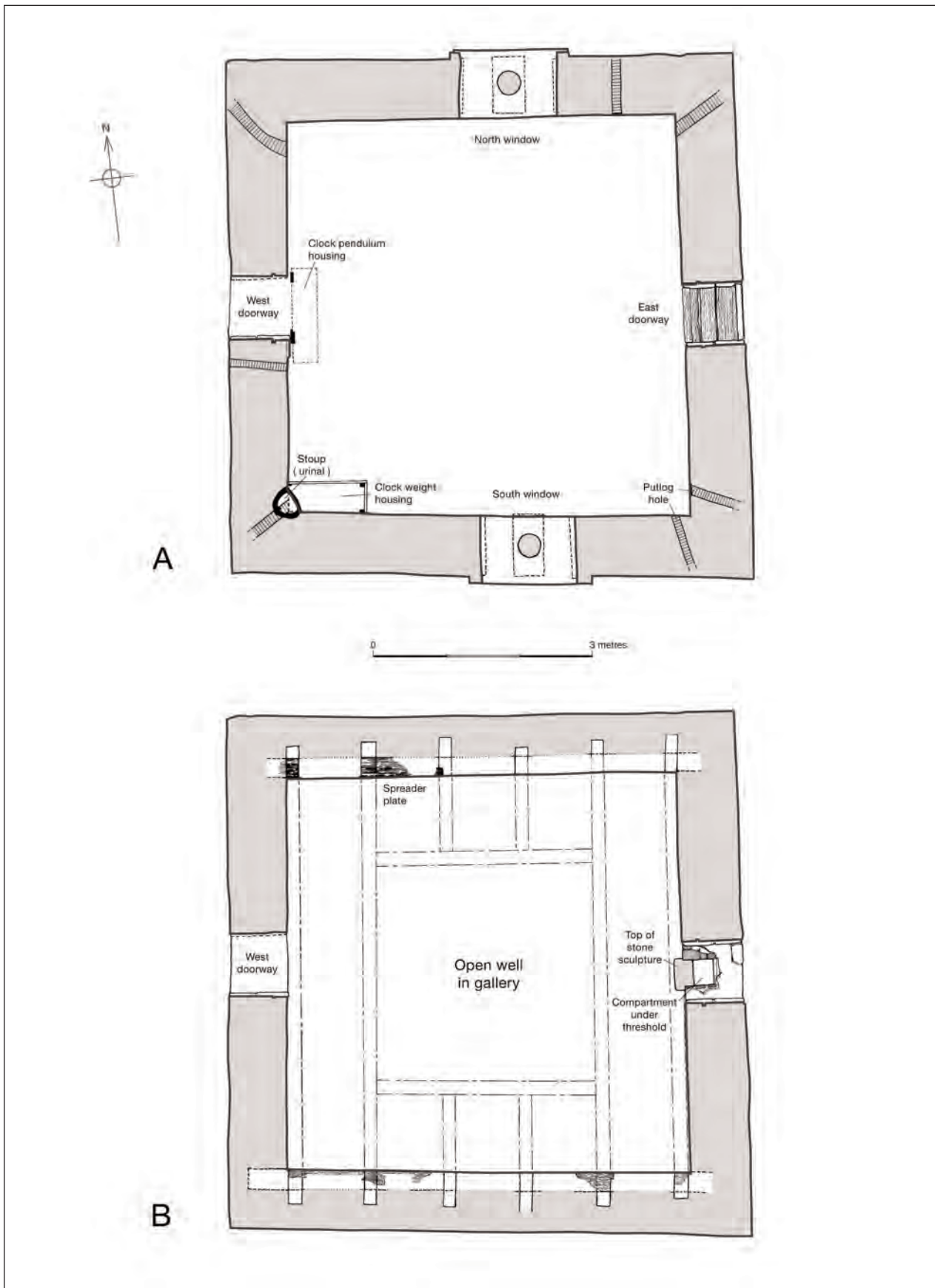


Fig. 257: Tower: plans of Stage 1B, 1980. A, window sill level, showing investigated putlog holes and later features associated with the post-medieval ringing-chamber; B, floor (gallery) level, showing the remains of the spreader-plates in the north and south walls and pockets for the six joists. The floor-frame for the gallery has been reconstructed. The compartment under the timber threshold of the east doorway is post-medieval. Scale 1:75. Drawings: Warwick Rodwell

- Millstone Grit (Roman, reused): Period 2
- Lower Magnesian Limestone: Period 3

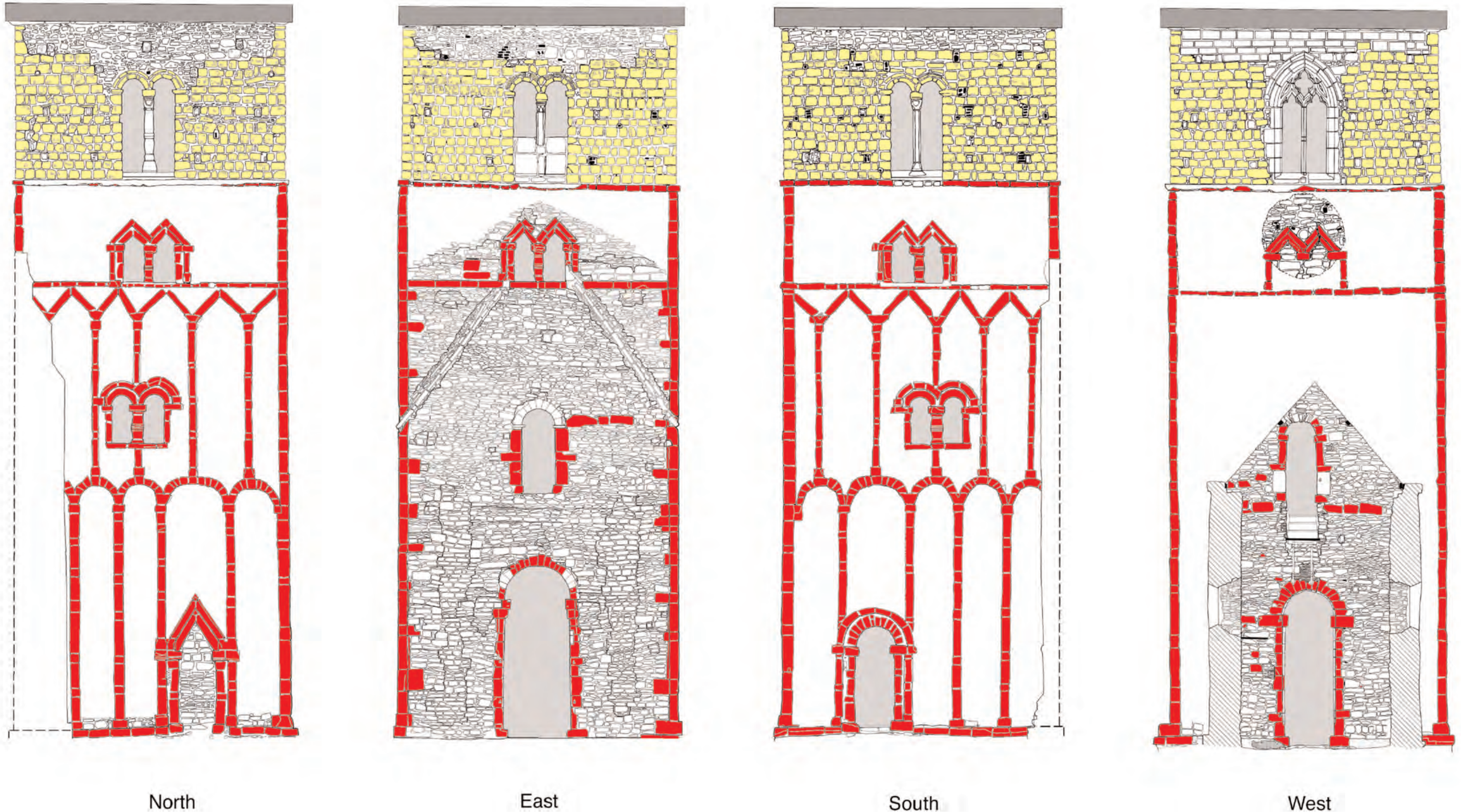
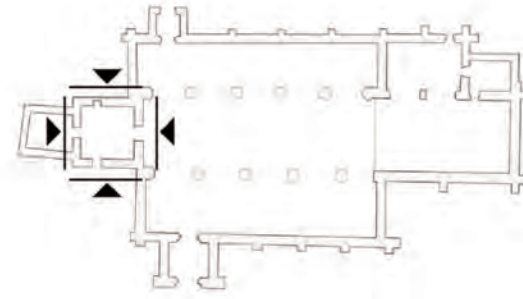


Fig. 258: Tower: external elevations. The reuse of two stone types is highlighted: gritstone in the Period 2 tower, and Magnesian Limestone in the Period 3 belfry. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Stephen Coll, Warwick Rodwell and Simon Hayfield

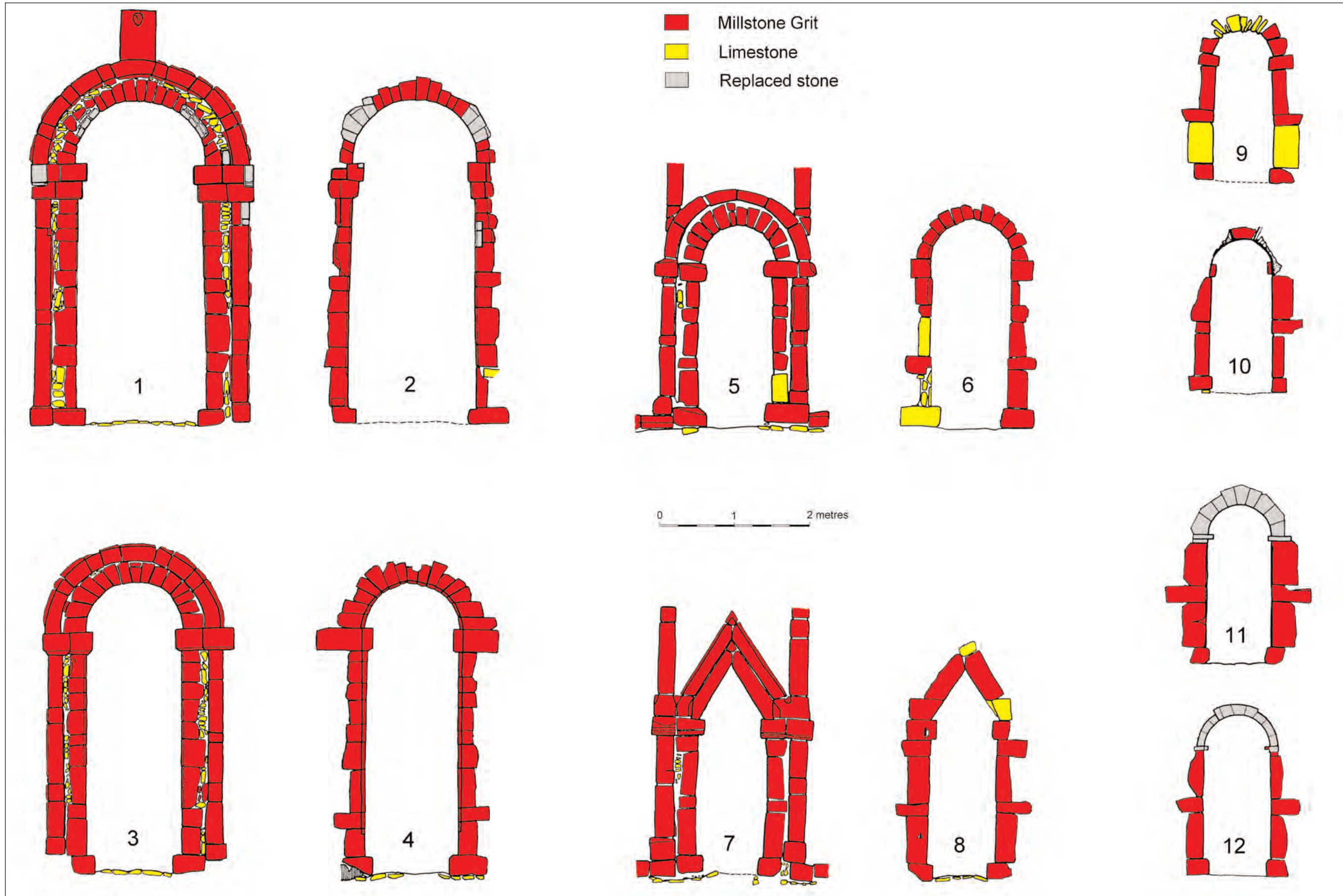


Fig. 259: Tower: great arches and doorways. Elevations of the dressings to the openings. 1, east great arch, west face; 2, east great arch, east face; 3, west great arch, east face; 4, west great arch, west face; 5, south doorway, exterior; 6, south doorway, interior; 7, north doorway, exterior; 8, north doorway, interior; 9, west upper doorway, west face; 10, west upper doorway, east face; 11, east upper doorway, east face; 12, east upper doorway, west face. Scale 1:50. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

To the west, the tower is abutted by the lower and narrower annexe, which has a steeply pitched roof covered with red clay tiles (Fig. 239). The annexe is squarish in plan, but slightly skewed in its abutment to the tower; it is gabled on the west and is entirely cement rendered apart from its gritstone-dressed quoins, gable copings and red brick eaves-courses. The annexe is lit by round-headed windows in the north and south walls, and two *oculi* in the west wall, none of which have stone dressings. The scar of a blocked, round-headed opening for a doorway is outlined in the rendering of the west wall.

The component parts of the primary three-celled Anglo-Saxon church will next be described, and a foundation plan of them is given in Figure 256. Later additions and alterations are discussed elsewhere: chapters 7–9, but plans of the upper levels of the tower are included here, as existing in 1980 (Figs. 257 and 296). Excavation demonstrated that a font had been installed in the western annexe in the Anglo-Saxon period, confirming its original function as a baptistery. It is therefore appropriate to employ this nomenclature when referring to the primary phase.

Tower-Nave (Period 2)

With the exception of its roof, structural carpentry and plaster finish, the central element of the church survives in its entirety. The external elevations are given on

Figure 258 and the internal elevations on Figures 277 and 278. Construction details of a selection of the major openings are shown at a larger scale on Figure 259.

External elevations (Pl. 25B; Fig. 258)

Externally, the tower measures 7.2 m (23½ ft) square in plan, and the walls rise from a ground-level plinth comprising large blocks of gritstone of varying lengths (Fig. 260). The plinth is square-edged, unmoulded and projects by 5–10 cm beyond the wall face. It is interrupted by the doorways and does not continue across the east and west faces, returning only far enough to meet the abutments of the chancel and baptistery, both of which had their own plinths.

Two unmoulded, square string-courses 15–18 cm in depth run around the tower, one delimiting the top of the original structure at 14.2 m (46½ ft) above foundation, the other marking the division between the first and second stages. The projection is slight: no more than 5 cm. On three of the faces, the string-courses interrupt the dressings of the quoins, but on the east the lower string is itself contained by the quoin stones. The strings are heavily weathered and in many places have lost their profile; some lengths have been renewed in sandstone in modern times (probably in 1965), while considerable parts of the badly eroded upper string were then encased in shuttered concrete.



Fig. 260: Tower (Stage 1A) and annexe from the south, after excavation, 1981. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 261: Tower: Stage 1A, north. Wall-arcading, showing trapezoidal double-springers supported by the plain rectangular capitals of the pilasters. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 262: Tower: Stage 1A, south. Plain rectangular capital, now heavily eroded and giving a false impression of being decoratively fluted. This capital supports the only example of a double-springer at this level which was specially shaped to seat the lowest voussoirs of the adjoining arches. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

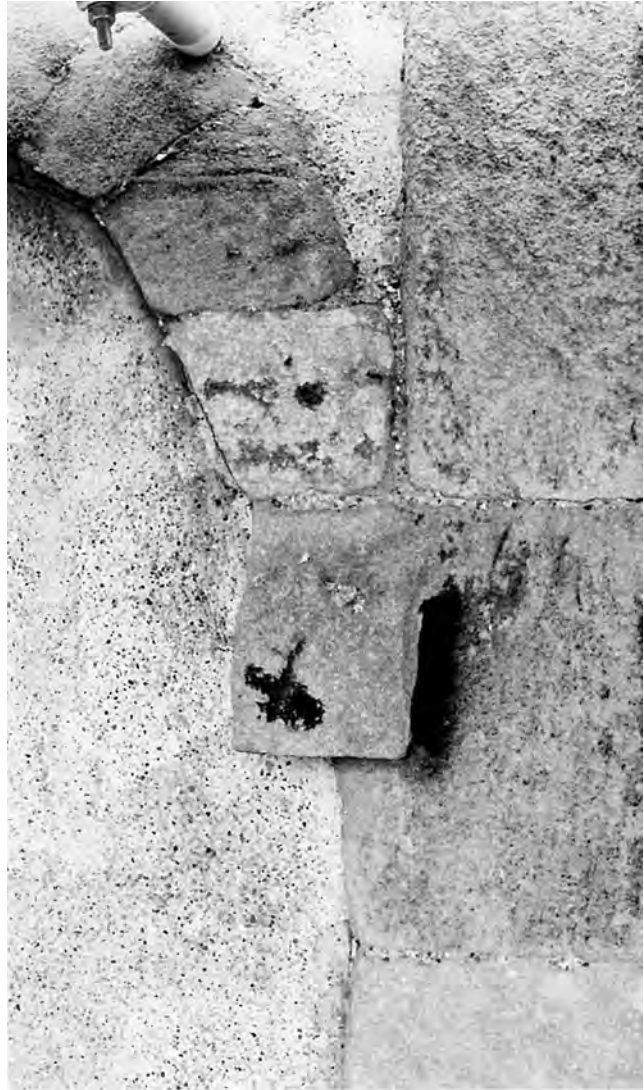


Fig. 263: Tower: Stage 1A, north. Square impost at the west end of the wall arcading. This detail, which is integral with the ashlar of the north-west quoin, projects both laterally and forwards. Note the small, non-radial voussoirs. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Other renewals may date from *c.* 1870, and these include parts of the sills of the belfry and window openings, where local limestone has been used.⁴⁶

The quoins are dressed with gritstone blocks arranged as long-and-short work; again, some are heavily eroded. Each quoin is founded on a slightly larger, projecting basal block, which rests on the plinth. On average, the upright ('long') blocks measure 60–70 cm in length, although the maximum is 1.08 m. The 'short' blocks vary from 20 cm to 50 cm in their vertical dimension, with only a few larger. Complete regularity was not obtained. Integrated with the quoining, on the north and south faces of the first stage only, is a decorative scheme in the form of shallow blind arcading.

The tower is of two structural stages, and the lower is subdivided both externally and internally. Moreover, the junction between the first and second stages on the exterior does not correspond to a floor level inside.

The divisions on the outside are for decorative effect, rather than a reflection of functional stages. The first stage is 11.6 m (38 ft) high, leaving only 2.6 m (8½ ft) for the second.

Stage 1

The decoration on the lower stage comprises two tiers of stripwork arcading, the springing-blocks for the first register being exactly at mid-height, *i.e.* halfway between the top of the plinth and the string-course separating Stages 1 and 2.

The first register (Stage 1A) comprises five bays of tall, narrow arcading with semicircular heads (Fig. 260). The pitch approximates to 1.2 m (4 ft), except in the case of the second bay from the west, where, on both the north and south, it has been expanded to 1.7 m (5½ ft) to accommodate a doorway, and the arch has been commensurately flattened and stretched to fit. Although varying in size, the voussoirs of the arches have been individually shaped, and many are non-radially jointed; between adjacent bays are special voussoirs, acting as double springer-blocks (Fig. 261). The voussoirs are so eroded that many now give the impression of being bevelled on the upper face, which was not originally the case. In each arch the central keystone is larger than the other voussoirs, but does not project beyond them. Being protected from above,

by the second register, the keystones have suffered less weathering and are mostly still square-edged.

The springers rest on plain rectangular capitals which are only slightly wider than the pilaster-strips that support them. Many of the capitals give the appearance of having bevelled upper angles, or fluting on the vertical faces (Fig. 262). Again, these 'decorative' effects are entirely fortuitous, being the result of weathering and variations of hardness within the 'grain' of the gritstone. The effects can be of dramatic appearance and are present throughout the tower. By and large, tall vertical stones were edge-bedded, and many of these have developed pseudo-fluting (*cf.* Potter 2005). By contrast, blocks that have their longer dimension in the horizontal plane were face-bedded and weathering has given them false bevels and semblances of other linear mouldings.

At the western ends of the arcades, the arches spring from plain impost or brackets which are integral with the quoins of the tower; these specially shaped blocks represent a higher level of sophistication in masoncraft than is present at some of the other points of junction (Fig. 263). The eastern terminations of the arcades are doubtless similar, but are concealed by the abutment of the medieval aisles. The pilaster-strips are of regular long-and-short construction, and each has a plain rectangular base-block similar to the capital, resting on the ground-level plinth (Fig. 264).



Fig. 264: Tower: plinth and base-blocks of the pilasters, exposed by excavation. These had been buried by the rising churchyard level by the late thirteenth century, when the south aisle (right) was built. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 265: Tower: Stage 1B, 1965. Triangular-headed arcading and remains of the rendering of c. 1870 on the south side. Photo: David Lee Photography

The second register (Stage 1B) consists of four complete and two half-bays of narrow arcading with triangular heads, all formed in stripwork (Fig. 265). The irregular pitch was determined by the lower arcade, the divisions of the upper bays rising from the keystones of the arches below. Once again, the pilaster-strips comprise fairly regular long-and-short work, with projecting capitals and bases consisting of blocks of more-or-less square form. The base-blocks in particular are now heavily weathered, and some give the impression of being moulded. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that both the capitals and the bases were originally plain cubical blocks of stone, albeit that some faces were out of square. Each capital supports a trapezoidal springer which not only provides a seating for the canted slabs but is also an integral component of the triangular-head.

Throughout Stage 1 (and Stage 2: see below), the quoins and pilaster-strips were constructed from squared blocks of reused gritstone laid in a long-and-

short fashion, their faces projecting up to 5 cm in front of the plane of the rubble walling. Nearly all of these blocks are, however, only squarely cut on the projecting element: the embedded parts of the stones vary considerably in shape. Cutting back to form clean vertical lines took place *in situ*. Some of the upright ('long') stones were not much wider than the required dimension, and thus very little cutting back of their edges was necessitated. In a few instances an existing arris (cut in the Roman period) was used for one edge, and hence only the other edge had to be trimmed. Most of the horizontal ('short') blocks have 'tails' which project laterally into the surrounding rubble masonry. These tails had to be cut back to align with the vertical edges of the upright blocks.

The pilasters are now so heavily eroded that, visually, their dimensions have been reduced, their arrises lost, and most are no longer rectangular in cross-section; evidence for their original square-cut form is only to be seen in the sheltered re-entrant between the



Fig. 266: Tower: south doorway, c. 1900. Taken before internal floor level was lowered and the steps removed. This also shows the pebbledash rendering that was applied c. 1870. Photo: English Heritage, NMR

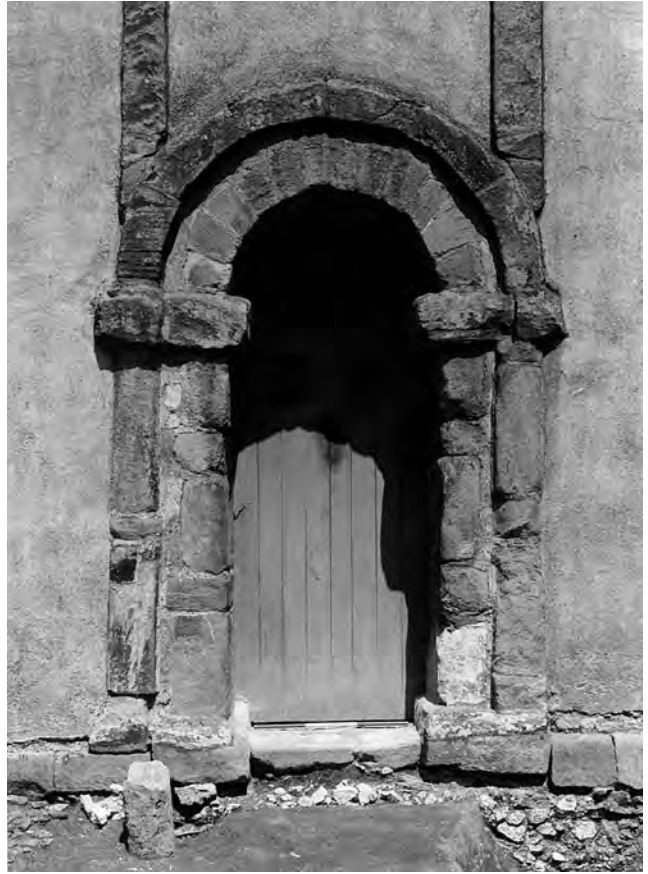


Fig. 267: Tower: south doorway and threshold, fully revealed after excavation, 1981. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

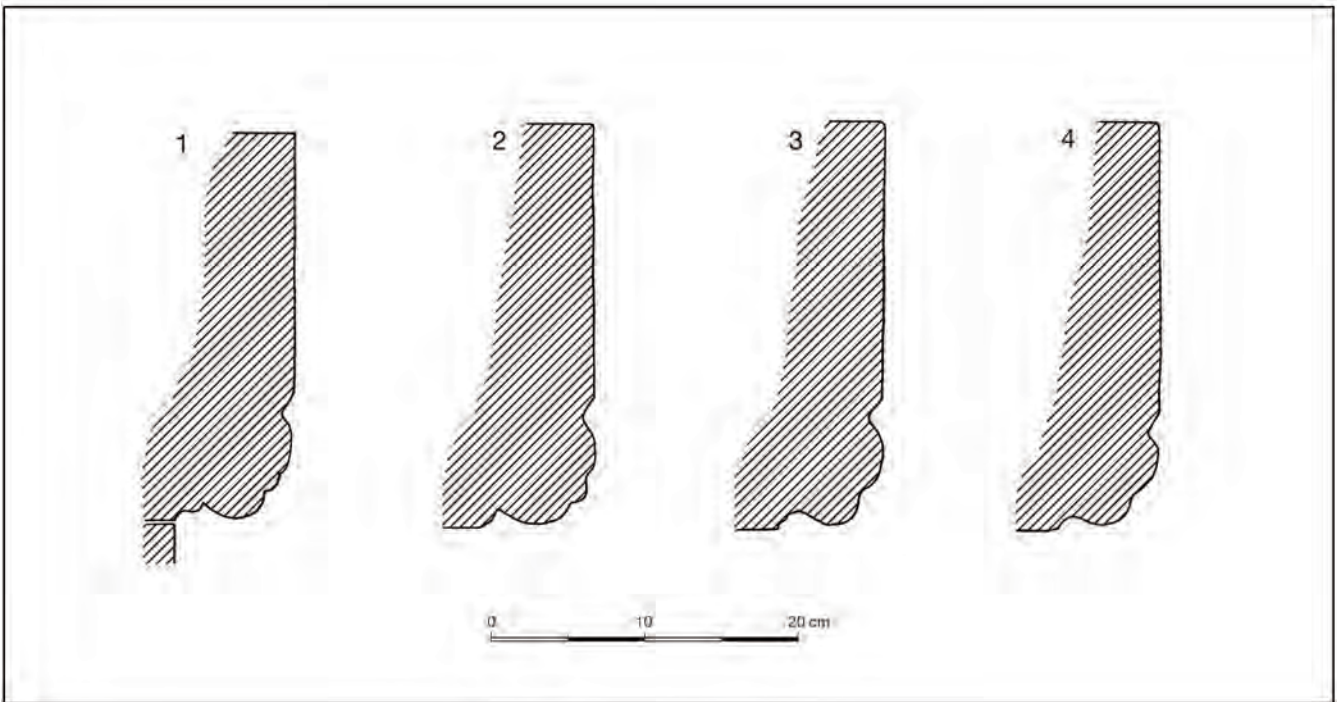


Fig. 268: Tower: Stage 1A, doorways. Moulding profiles of the impost blocks. 1, north-east; 2, north-west; 3, south-east; 4, south-west. Scale 1:5. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell



A (left) and B (below)



Fig. 269: Tower: Stage 1A, north doorway, 1972. A, external, and B, internal views at the same scale and vertically registered, illustrating the difference between ground and floor levels. Photos: English Heritage, NMR

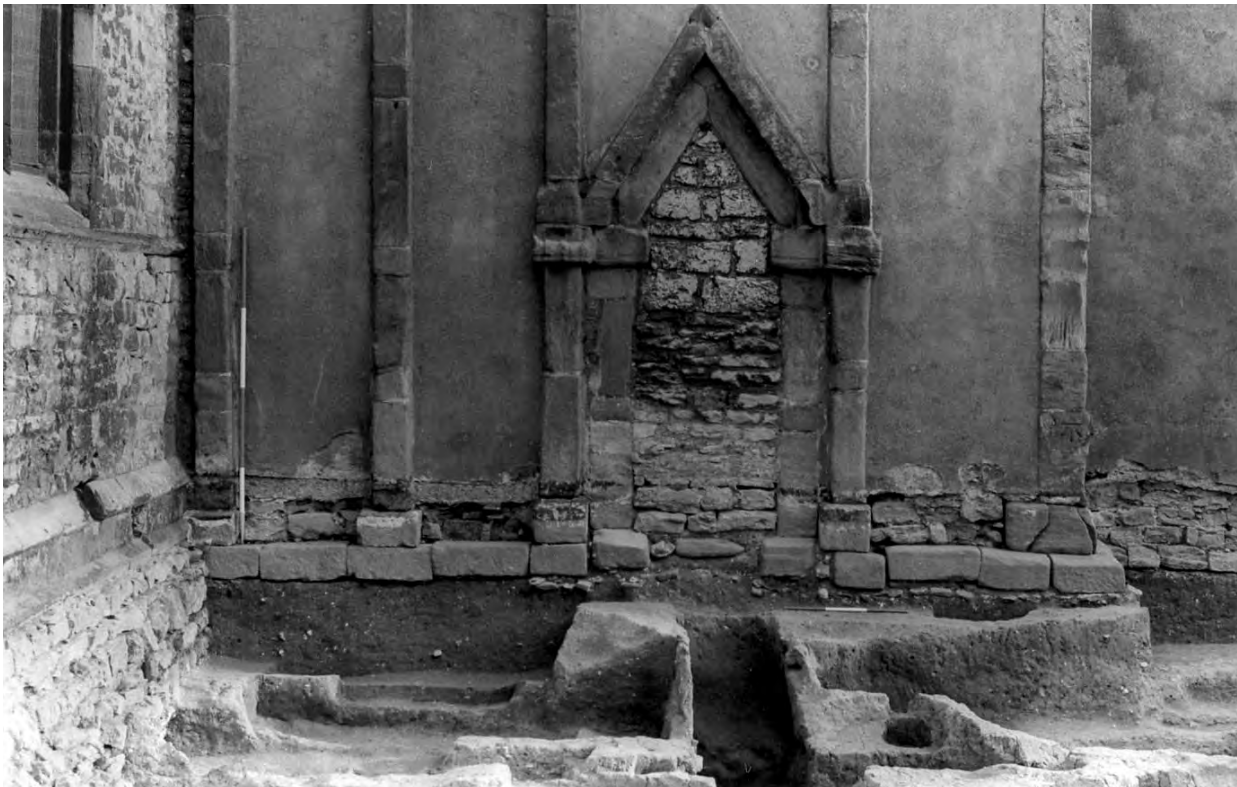


Fig. 270: Tower: plinth and north doorway fully revealed after excavation. Scales of 2 m and 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

tower and the north aisle. For the most part the cut-back faces of both the long and the short blocks cannot be seen today, on account of the modern rendering that covers them. The evidence for the full block sizes is, however, visible on the stripped east face of the tower (seen within the present nave: Fig. 258), and for the other faces it is partly recorded on archive photographs taken when the previous (Victorian) rendering was defective.

Various openings pierce the walls, the dressings of which are again almost exclusively of gritstone. In Stage 1 the surrounds of these openings are integrated with the arcaded framework, and in Stage 2 they float in the rendered finish.

South doorway (Figs. 259, 5, 266 and 267)

The round-headed doorway is set in the second of the five bays of external arcading. The opening is 1.05 m (3½ ft) wide and passes through the full thickness of the south wall without rebate or splay. The jambs are lined with gritstone blocks, alternating between deep and shallow courses, thus giving an external appearance of long-and-short work.⁴⁷ The jambs are founded on base-blocks that project both forwards and laterally (5 cm) into the opening, and are also raised slightly above the general plinth level. Surmounting the jambs are heavy impost blocks, again projecting forwards and laterally, and the lower arris bears a moulding (Fig. 268, nos. 3 and 4). The semicircular arch is composed of twelve unmodelled voussoirs. Outlining the doorway is a plain, square-section label, the ends of which are seated on small blocks projecting from the flanking stripwork of the wall arcading. The label interrupts the stripwork, thereby imparting greater *gravitas* to the doorway.

North doorway (Figs. 259, 7, 269, A, and 270)

Directly opposite the south doorway is another of slightly smaller size, with a triangular head. Up to impost level the construction is identical, but the width is only 92 cm (3 ft). However, instead of carrying a ring of voussoirs, the moulded imposts support a pair of canted slabs forming a steeply pointed head to the opening (Fig. 271, A). The mouldings are similar to those on the south doorway (Fig. 268, nos. 1 and 2). Also, the imposts are extended laterally by additional blocks that break through, and bond with, the vertical lines of the decorative stripwork. Furthermore, the triangular head is flanked by an outer order of stripwork (the equivalent of a label), which projects further and is seated on corbel-like blocks that are integrated with the vertical stripwork (Pl. 23; Fig. 271, B). The north doorway displays the most sophisticated masoncraft in the tower, a fact doubtless observed by Buckler in the 1820s, when he made careful drawings to illustrate its construction (Fig. 245).

Incised in the east reveal is a simple equal-armed Greek cross, measuring 7.5 cm overall, which could be a consecration mark (Fig. 57, 1; cf. St Mary's chancel



Fig. 271: Tower: north doorway. A (upper), the triangular head. B (lower), construction detail of the eastern impost. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

aisle, east window, p. 88). The cross must antedate the infilling of the doorway in the early fourteenth century.

North and south windows (Fig. 272)

There are no windows in Stage 1A, but Stage 1B is lit by round-arched double openings on the north and south: they are positioned a little to the east of centre. It will be argued that they lit a gallery (pp. 268–9). The sills and jambs are square-edged, and the paired openings separated only by a gritstone baluster which stands in the middle of the wall and supports a flat slab (through-stone) carrying the two unmodelled arches.⁴⁸ The imposts and through-stones are all basally chamfered, but have a plain arris on the upper angle. The baluster, which is moulded in imitation of lathe-turning, is aligned with the third pilaster of the stripwork arcade, the window openings thus piercing the third and fourth bays. Since the bays themselves are of unequal width, the window positions are disconcertingly asymmetrical within the tower elevations. Similarly, the level at which the windows are set bears no relation to the architectural frame: they simply float in such a manner as to give the impression to the casual observer



Fig. 272: Tower: Stage 1B. South gallery window, 1965. Photo: David Lee Photography



Fig. 273: Tower: Stage 1B, south. Function of the interrupted pilaster-strip with the head of the gallery window. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

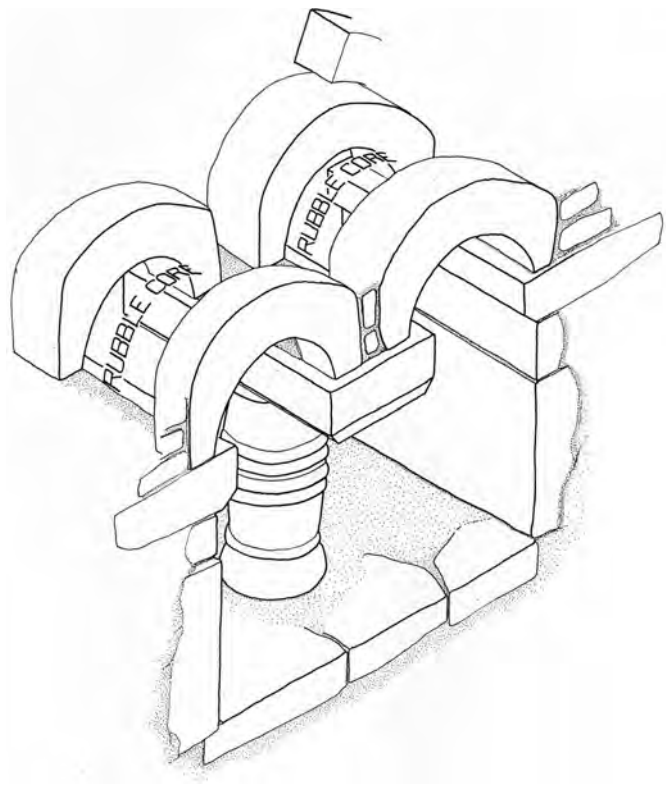


Fig. 274: Tower: Stage 1B. Isometric view illustrating the construction of the southern gallery window (seen from the interior). Drawing: Stephen Coll

that they could be secondary insertions. The windows are, however, unquestionably primary. The junction between the window head and the interrupted pilaster is remarkably clumsy. Instead of cutting a three-way springer-block for the arches and pilaster seating, as the medieval mason would have done, the mouldings are simply stacked one upon another (Fig. 273).

The arched heads are monolithic, each being cut concentrically from a slab of gritstone.⁴⁹ There are separate arch-rings for the inner and outer wall-faces, and the soffits in between are of rendered rubble that must initially have been supported by timber formwork (Fig. 274). The thin layer of rendering, which is flush with the soffit of the arch-rings, is of fine texture, hard and smoothly finished; most striking however is its warm, pinkish-orange colour throughout (Pl. 71D). This has been achieved by adding finely crushed and sieved brick dust to the lime mix. It is unlike any other mortar recorded in the church and might possibly be a relic of the original Anglo-Saxon finish.⁵⁰

Above the window heads are stripwork label-mouldings, each made from several pieces of stone. In the case of the northern window the springing block for the label on the east is integral with the adjoining pilaster-strip.

Stage 2

In contrast to what went below, this short belfry stage exhibited symmetry on all four sides. A centrally placed, triangular-headed double opening occurs on each face, its sill being formed by the string-course that separates Stages 1 and 2.

North and south belfry openings (Fig. 275)

The basic construction of the triangular-headed double openings is generally similar to that of the round-headed windows in the stage below, but with greater elaboration. Again, the openings are separated by a single, central baluster supporting a through-stone which serves as an impost-block for the two triangular heads. The external jambs of the apertures are plain, square-edged and have imposts too. In plan, these imposts are stepped because not only do they carry the slabs forming the heads of the openings, but also the projecting stripwork mouldings (labels) that frame those heads. The jambs too are flanked by stripwork, a detail not found in the double windows in Stage 1B.

The belfry openings on the north and south are heavily weathered, but intact. Nineteenth-century illustrations show that the southern one at least was



Fig. 275: Tower: Stage 2. South double belfry-opening, 1965. Photo: David Lee Photography

fully blocked with brick, being reopened in 1852. A painting of 1823 suggests that the northern opening was half-blocked (Pl. 9), but by 1849 it was certainly open (Fig. 250). The mid-wall baluster on the north must have been accessible in 1820, because Buckler drew its profile.⁵¹

West belfry opening

The openings on the west still contain medieval rubble blocking, which may be contemporary with the heightening of the tower (Period 3; p. 367). All early illustrations show the opening fully blocked. The triangular heads were mutilated when a clock dial was installed on the tower in 1852 (Fig. 322; dial removed 1983). The baluster remains embedded in the blocking, but has been damaged by a hole being broken through the wall for the drive-shaft for the clock hands (Fig. 313).

East belfry opening (Figs. 276 and 289)

This is identical in form to the double openings in the other three faces of the belfry, but its masonry is in a much better state of preservation on account of being protected from weathering since the fifteenth century by the roof of the present nave.

The impost blocks both carry the eroded remains of carved human heads (Fig. 377). It is certain that no similar elaboration existed on the impost blocks of the other belfry openings, and it seems likely that these were the only examples of external sculpture on the Period 2 tower.

Internal elevations (Figs. 277 and 278)

Stage 1A (Nave)

Within the tower, the nave floor measures 5.5 m (18 ft) square, and the height of the space to the underside of the Stage 1B floor joists was 6.0 m (20 ft). There is a single opening in each wall at ground level: doorways on the south and north, and great arches on the east and west. Apart from a small number of putlog holes, no other primary features occur in the walls at this level.

Around the base of the tower is a more-or-less continuous band of original wallplaster, surviving to a height of 15–30 cm. This was exposed during excavation, having been concealed as a result of rising floor levels (Pls. 28 and 29). In all probability, a great deal more early plaster survived until the walls were thoroughly stripped in 1859 (Figs. 424 and 426). In some



Fig. 276: Tower: Stage 2. East double belfry-opening, seen from within the medieval nave. Note the remains of the headstops, particularly on the left. See also Fig. 377. Photo: Derek Craig. © Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture

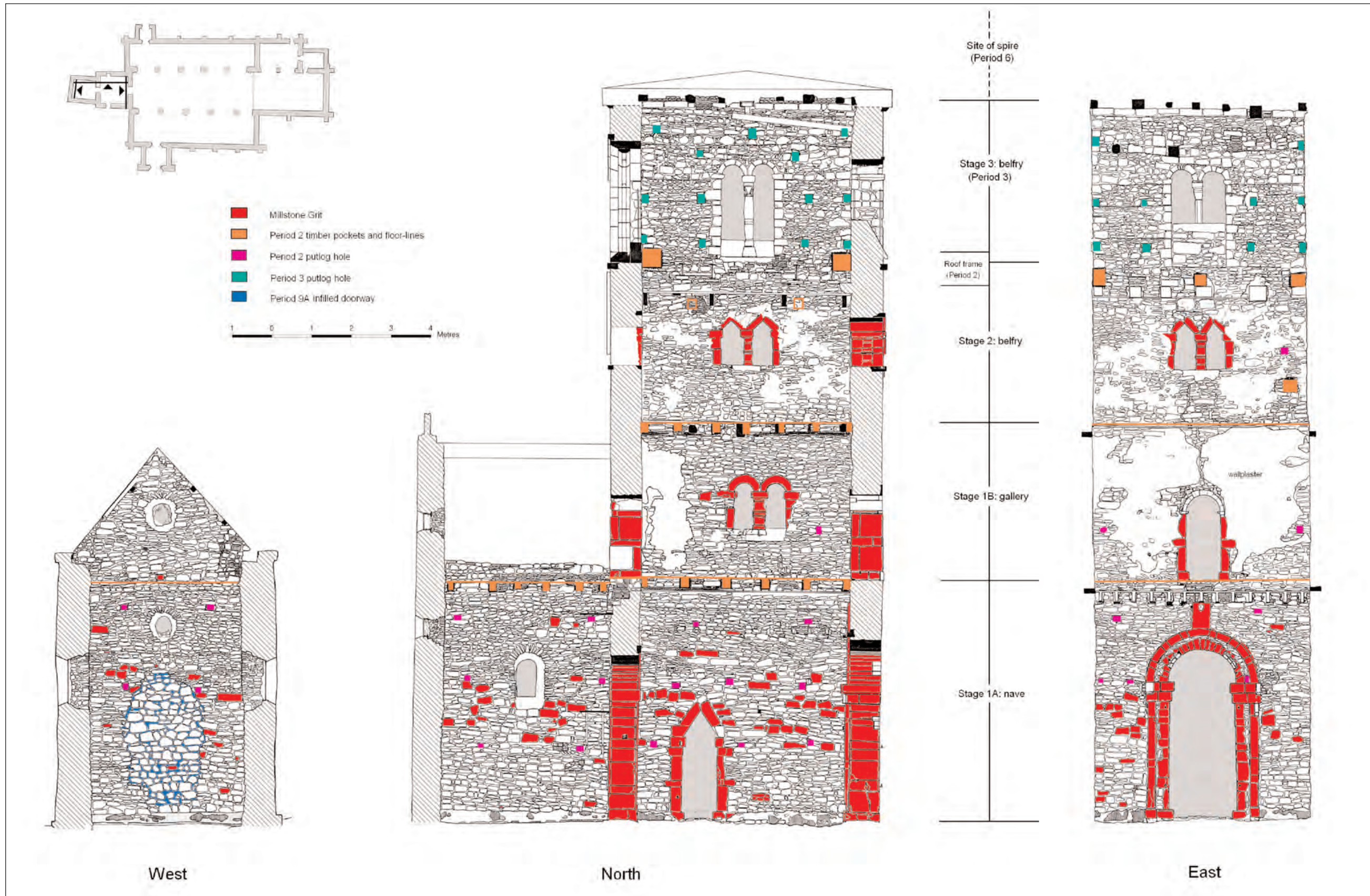


Fig. 277: Internal elevations of the tower (north and east sides) and the western annexe (north and west), highlighting evidence for original structural timberwork. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Stephen Coll and Simon Hayfield

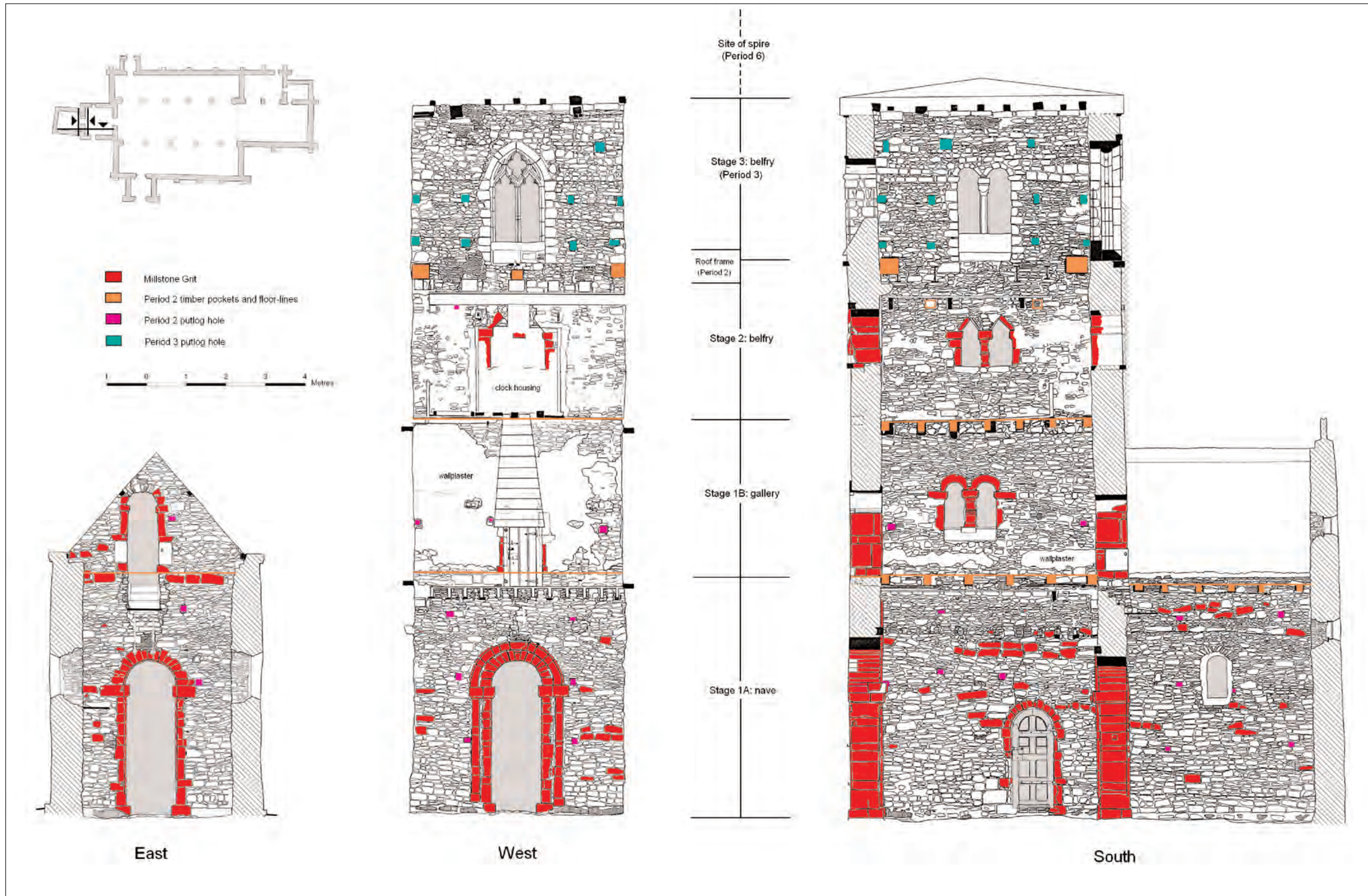


Fig. 278: Internal elevations of the tower (south and west sides) and the western annexe (south and east), highlighting evidence for original structural timberwork. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Stephen Coll and Simon Hayfield

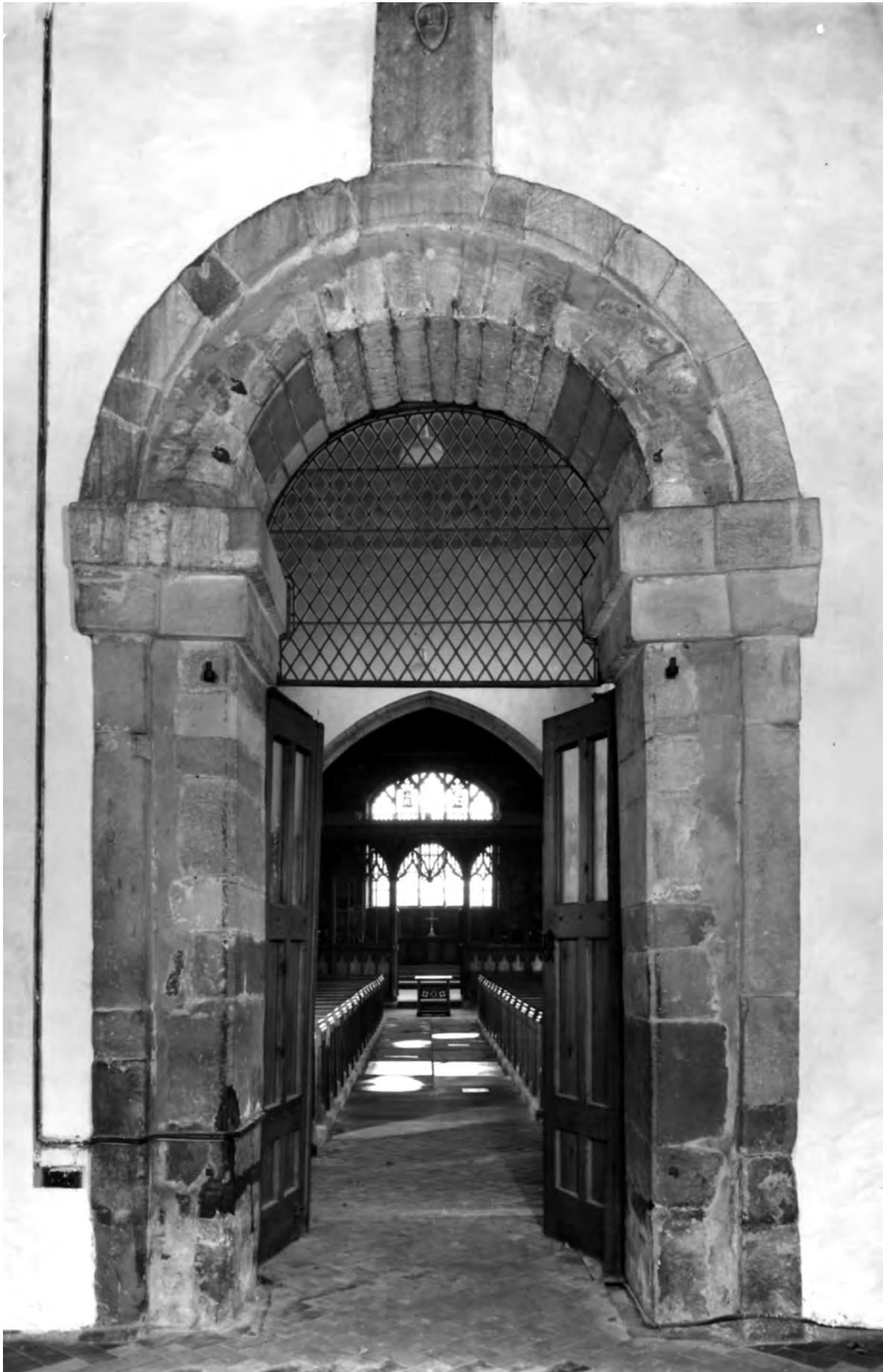


Fig. 279: Tower: Stage 1A, eastern (chancel) arch. View east, 1972. Photo: English Heritage, NMR

areas, the surface of the plaster is present, while elsewhere the outer skin has fallen away, leaving only the basecoat. There is no sign of decoration on the surface, but there is reddening and soot staining as a result of a fire that occurred within the tower in or before the early fourteenth century (p. 387).⁵²

East (chancel) great arch (Figs. 259, 1–2, and 279)

The east wall is dominated by the largest and most elaborate arch in the church. It is tall, round-headed and monumental in stature: the arch passes squarely through the wall without any splay or rebate. Large blocks of gritstone line the aperture, which is 1.68 m (5½ ft) wide, and 3.6 m (12 ft) high, to the springing-line. There is a projecting base-course, and a double impost which is unmoulded: the latter comprises two stepped courses of squared gritstone. The two-tiered imposts of the chancel arch at Kirk Hammerton (W. Yorks.) are identical, although slightly smaller in scale; there, each impost is cut from a single block of gritstone (Fig. 280). Similar imposts appear in other Anglo-Saxon buildings and on the Deerhurst Virgin panel (Fig. 384).



Fig. 280: *St John the Baptist, Kirk Hammerton (W. Yorks.). South respond of the chancel arch, showing the monolithic double impost of gritstone. Photo: Warwick Rodwell*



A

B



Fig. 281: *Tower: Stage 1A, eastern arch. A, north, and B, south responds and bases, showing settlement fractures and Victorian redressing of the masonry (vertical clawing). Scale of 25 cm. Photos: Warwick Rodwell*



Fig. 282: Tower: Stage 1A. Detail of the base of the north-flanking pilaster-strip of the eastern arch. Note the original bolster finish on the base-block and survival of a band of primary wallplaster above floor level. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

The bases and impostes project both into the reveals and forward of the wall-face on the west; they do not project on the east, where all the components of the arch are flush with the rubble wall-face. The bases are somewhat worn, and might originally have had chamfered arrises, although this is very unlikely. The crude, diminutive chamfers on the jambs and impostes were all added in the nineteenth century (p. 522). Both responds are fractured at the bottom as a result of stress induced through foundation settlement (Fig. 281). The arch itself is formed of medium-sized voussoirs, many of which are non-radial, especially the lower stones on either side. The whole of the opening is outlined on the west by a square-edged pilaster-strip which has its own base-blocks and stepped impostes, all structurally linked to those of the arch itself (Figs. 282 and 283).

Resting centrally on the pilaster-strip, or label, outlining the arch is a rectangular block of gritstone, 46 cm wide by 70 cm high (18 × 27½ ins), having the appearance of a false keystone (Fig. 284). The block projects from the wall-face to the same extent as the pilaster-strip (c. 5 cm), and the joint between them is tight. Their surfaces are thus fully contiguous, and the panel has no frame or edge-moulding. Towards the upper edge of the block is a *bas-relief* carving of a small



Fig. 283: Tower: Stage 1A. Detail of the base of the south-flanking pilaster-strip of the eastern arch. Note the horizontal line on the first upright stone of the pilaster, defining the pre-1912 floor level in the tower; the burning and consequent decay of the small block in the arch reveal; and the vertical implement-sharpening marks on the stone above. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

human head, frontally presented. It is of elemental form, and the lightly incised features consist of almond-shaped eyes (the sinister one damaged), a squarish nose, and a short straight mouth. The 'chin' is depicted as being very pointed and out of proportion to the rest of the features: there can be little doubt that it is not just the chin but also a pointed beard which is represented only by its outline (Fig. 285). The remainder of the stone panel is blank, with no hint of any other sculpted detail having been hacked off. Examination of the stone shows that the original tooling (now faint) is present, and leaves no doubt that the sculptured element is as complete today as it ever was.

In 1978, H.M. Taylor carried out an investigation into the pilaster-strip flanking the arch on the south, in order to discover how deeply the stones were embedded in the fabric of the wall and whether they acted as structural ties. Mortar was removed on the west face from the irregular vertical joint between the stones of the reveal and those of the pilaster, to a height of 1.5 m



Fig. 284: Tower: Stage 1A. Sculptured panel above the eastern arch, 1972. Photo: English Heritage, NMR



Fig. 285: Tower: Stage 1A. Detail of the sculptured face on the panel above the eastern arch, 1980. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 286: Tower: Stage 1A. Southern flank of the eastern arch. On the left is seen the west face of two of the blocks lining the reveal, and on the right is the projecting strip-work. Note the in situ bolster dressing on the northern arris of the pilaster-strip. The short scale bridging the gap shows centimetres and inches (below). Photo: Warwick Rodwell

above the plinth. The joint was found to contain small limestone chips, pieces of chalk and mortar. The first (lowest) block of the pilaster was only 20 cm in thickness (of which 5 cm stood proud of the wall face); the second was 34+ cm; the third 30+ cm; and the fourth 20 cm. The northern edge of the fourth stone was very smooth and had clearly been subject to wear in its previous use, as a step or stylobate. The edges of the other blocks were roughly hewn. The dressing *in situ* of the vertical edges of the pilaster, using a bolster, was clearly revealed (Fig. 286).

The backs of four of the gritstone blocks lining the reveal were simultaneously exposed in part. Three displayed rough hewing, but the second stone (counting from the base) was rounded and weathered on the back, and the fourth contained the remains of an oval slot, probably the base of a Lewis hole. It was clear that no systematic attempt had been made by the Anglo-Saxon builders to achieve a strong structural bond between the reveals and the pilasters: on the contrary, the construction was inherently weak.

West (baptistery) great arch

(Pl. 21; Figs. 244, 259, 3–4, and 287)

Opposite the chancel arch is another great arch of similar form, but smaller in scale and slightly less elaborate; constructed from gritstone blocks, the opening measures 1.25 m (4 ft 1 in) by 3.3 m (11 ft) to the springing. The reveal has squared base-blocks and a single course of impost, which project both into the opening and into the tower, but not into the baptistery (Fig. 620). The east face of the arch is outlined by a plain pilaster-strip which has its own base-blocks and imposts. While the latter articulate with the imposts of the arch within, the bases are markedly unsynchronized: the difference in level between those on the north and the south is 8 cm. Again, the small chamfers on the jambs and imposts are secondary.

North and south doorways (Fig. 259, 6–8)

Internally, the door reveals are square-edged, flush with the face of the wall, and the moulded imposts were stopped here too. The masonry forming the rear-arches is mostly gritstone, with the jambs arranged in long-and-short fashion. The arch of the southern opening comprises small voussoirs, while the triangular head of the northern consists of two slabs of gritstone and two trapezoidal-shaped blocks (one of limestone) (Fig. 321). None of this masonry was intended to be visible, but would have been concealed by the lime plastering of the walls.

The doors were face-hung on the interior, without frames. The south doorway is badly damaged and has been modified: a secondary rebate has been formed internally. The original arrangement is fully preserved on the north, complete with the two iron crooks which are leaded into the face of the west jamb (Fig. 288); this is a rare survival. The upper crook is intact and the sharp, right-angled junction between the pintle and the spike reveals highly competent blacksmithing. The lower crook is broken off. No latching device is present, but fracturing of the east jamb indicates where an iron fixing has been lost: Hesleden shows the staple intact in 1835 (Fig. 248, upper).

Repairs to the east jamb of the south doorway (p. 519) doubtless reflect the former fixing of a locking-staple there too. The same arrangement is found on the east jamb of the tower doorway at Barnack, where a masonry repair consequent upon the removal of a latching device or locking-staple can be seen.⁵³

Stage 1B (gallery)

The interior was lime-plastered, with a smooth finish. Very little remains on the north and south walls, but substantial areas survive on the east and west (Fig. 290); this is doubtless on account of the protection afforded to those walls from penetrating dampness by the abutment of the chancel and baptistery, respectively. No evidence of early decoration could be found. Partial replastering had taken place in 1926: this was



Fig. 287: Tower: Stage 1A. Western arch, viewed from the east, 1972. Photo: English Heritage, NMR

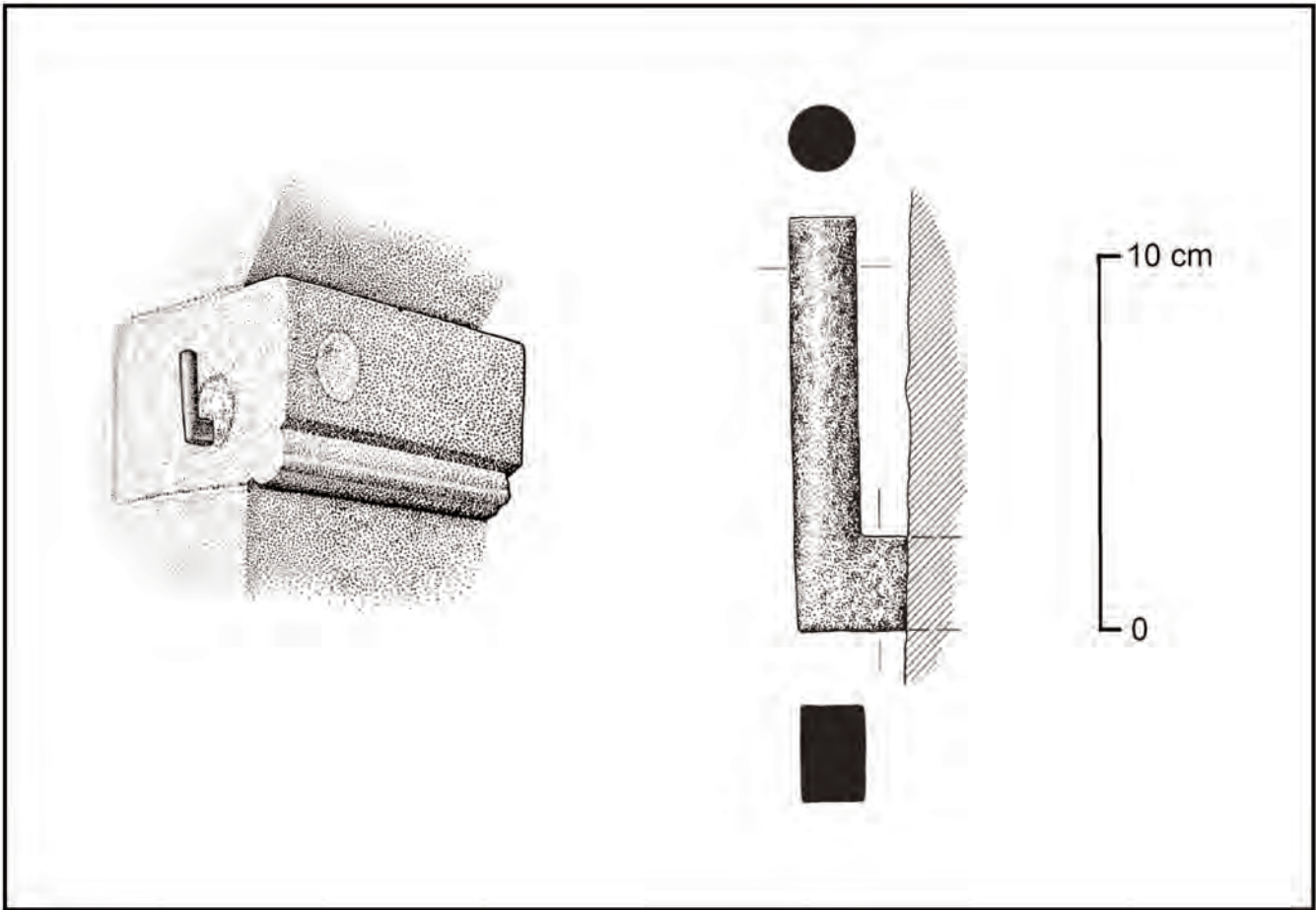


Fig. 288: Tower: Stage 1A, north doorway. Detail of western impost with the original iron hinge-crook leaded into the block. Hinge-crook scale 1:2. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

removed in 1979, in order to permit archaeological study of the walls. All surviving Anglo-Saxon plaster was left as found, but the modern plaster has not yet been replaced.

Access to the higher levels

The means by which upper floors in Anglo-Saxon churches were accessed is a virtually unstudied subject, except in the few buildings which retain spiral stone staircases (Parsons 1978). The options for access to the nave gallery and chambers above the chancel and baptistery at Barton are few: the likelihood is that there was a timber stair in the nave, leading directly up to the gallery, and that from there access was gained to the east and west chambers, as well as upwards (via another ladder) to the belfry. It would have been near-impossible to contrive a stair within the baptistery or chancel since that would need to have risen more-or-less centrally within the space: it could not have been tucked into one corner, because there would have been no headroom at the eaves to emerge from the top of the stair. Anything constructed on the central axis of the baptistery would have constituted a serious obstruction, both at ground level and in the chamber above. The nave was the only practicable place to site the stair.

Unfortunately, archaeological evidence does not provide a solution to the conundrum: various post-holes and indentations in the primary floor were noted, particularly along the north side, but nothing points conclusively to a stair position. A potential newel-post setting for a medieval stair was recorded in the north-west corner, but whatever arrangement previously existed, it is likely to have been destroyed by the fire in the tower (p. 387).

Gallery floor (Figs. 257, B, and 301)

The subdivision within the ground stage of the tower is marked in the north and south walls by a series of primary pockets that formerly held floor joists. The pockets had been severely mutilated by later phases of floor construction, but there is evidence for six in each wall. The dimensions of the pockets and the negative casts preserved in the core-mortar reveal that the joists were 18–22 cm wide by 24–26 cm deep. The ends of the timbers were not only built-in as the masonry was erected, but also rested on oak spreader-plates that extended for the full length of the wall. The plates, which measured 28 × 9 cm in cross-section, were laid flush against the inner wall-faces of the tower on the north and south. Both plates were longer than the internal dimension of the tower, and their ends were embedded in the corners.

The spreader-plate on the south had almost entirely rotted away, and the resultant cavity was filled with masonry. On the north, however, more timber survived, although still in poor condition; it was unsuitable for dendrochronology. The possibility that the pockets represented a series of north-south joists, spanning the full width of the tower and supporting a boarded floor, was considered but rejected for one principal reason. A solid floor at this level would have resulted in the nave being wholly without natural light: there were no windows below this floor, and only a tiny amount of borrowed light could have reached the nave from the chancel and baptistery. In contrast, a chamber at Stage 1B would have been excessively well lit by double windows on two sides.

It is therefore argued that the floor of Stage 1B was not solid, and that only four of the six joists ran right across the tower, the others being much shorter and having their outer ends supported by trimmer-joists. The width of each walk of the gallery would have been

1.25 m, leaving a central 'well' 2.9 m square (Fig. 257, B). The arrangement is compatible with there having been a four-sided gallery in the tower, which would have permitted broad shafts of light to descend into the nave from the high-level windows. Additional support for this hypothesis is provided by the sills of those windows, which have secondary bevelling in order to increase the downward transmission of natural light (Figs. 291 and 294). No useful purpose would have been served by sloping the sills if they were only a short distance above a solid floor.

East doorway (Figs. 259, 11–12, 289 and 290)

The east wall of the gallery stage is pierced at its centre-point by a small round-headed opening, the threshold of which was at floor level, but has since been cut away. The aperture is 90 cm wide and lined with grit-stone blocks, alternately laid upright and flat, so that in elevation the west side of the arch appears to have jambs of long-and-short work. There are no mouldings



Fig. 289: Tower: Stage 1B. High-level doorway in the east wall (east face), 1972. The voussoirs and impost of the arch date from 1858. Photo: English Heritage, NMR



Fig. 290: Tower: Stage 1B, interior. High-level doorway in the east wall (west face), and surviving Anglo-Saxon wall-plaster, 1983. The darker stones comprising the arch date from 1858. Photo: English Heritage Photo Library

or projections on either wall face, but the base-blocks project into the opening. The original height of the arch, to its springing point, was *c.* 1.6 m (5¼ ft), where imposts probably also projected into the opening, but these have been lost. The present thin imposts and neat voussoir arch were entirely fabricated in 1858 (p. 522), replacing the original semicircular head which was of rubble, like that which survives in the west doorway of Stage 1B. The threshold was also replaced with a stone kerb flush with the east face of the arch.

Evidence was particularly well preserved here for the use of two mortar mixes during construction, a detail commonly found in medieval and later buildings. While the basic building mortar contained a large amount of coarse limestone aggregate, this was not suitable for bedding the gritstone ashlar of the door-jambes. The joints between these were very tight, averaging only 2–3 mm: fine cream bedding mortar without any aggregate was used. Doubtless the same situation obtained generally throughout the tower, but many of the joints have subsequently been opened-up

and repointed, which has caused damage to the arrises. No evidence was noted for the attachment of primary doors to this opening, or to the west doorway.

West doorway (Figs. 258 and 259, 9–10)

Opposite the east doorway is another of similar construction, which is largely in its original condition. Again, the threshold has been cut away to accommodate later changes in floor level. The width is slightly less, at 84 cm (2¾ ft). The jambs, including their projecting base-blocks, stand 1.6 m high and carry square imposts which also project laterally. The arch is formed entirely in rubble, and is segmental in outline, rather than semicircular. The resulting appearance is curious and may be the consequence of a setting-out error: the arcature suggests that the intended springing-line should have coincided with the lower faces of the imposts, rather than the upper. There is no discernible reason why the Anglo-Saxon builders could not have set a semicircular arch on the imposts, allowing the crown to rise a little higher in the wall.



Fig. 291: Tower, Stage 1B. North gallery window, with secondary bevelling of the sill. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 292: St Paul, Jarrow (Durham). Monolithic window head formed from a block of Roman masonry. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 293: St Andrew, Bywell (Northumb.). Semicircular heads of the double belfry openings formed from rectangular blocks of Roman masonry, possibly reused window heads. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

North and south windows (Figs. 291 and 294)

The round-arched double openings in the north and south walls were not embellished internally, but were square-edged all round and overlapped by wallplaster. The arched heads were again cut from slabs of gritstone, and while there was good reason for concentricity in the outer openings (which were fitted with label-mouldings), no purpose was served by similarly creating a curved extrados to the heads of the inner openings. It might therefore be argued that these window heads were all cut from Roman column drums, 90 cm (3 ft) in diameter (Fig. 274). However, the presence of a pair of opposing 'flats' on the circumference of each head suggests another alternative: these could all be reused Roman window heads. Many examples may be seen in the Roman forts and Anglo-Saxon churches of Northumbria of monolithic window heads fashioned from rectangular slabs with semicircular cut-outs. They are present, for example, at Chesters Roman fort⁵⁴ and the churches of Jarrow and Bywell (Figs. 292 and 293). Thus the Barton window heads might be of Roman origin, subsequently trimmed down to give them a curved extrados.

As noted above, the sills of the gallery windows were originally flat, but were later bevelled internally (Fig. 294). The balusters, which are not precisely a matched pair (Fig. 312, nos. 5 and 6), were described in 1825 as 'something nearly resembling a barrel'

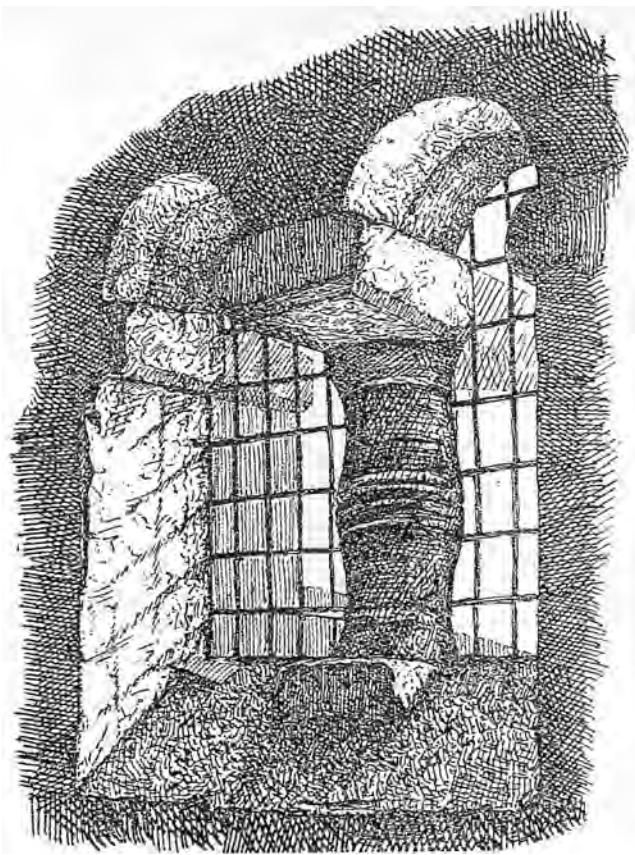


Fig. 294: Tower: Stage 1B. South gallery window, with secondary bevelling of the sill and Georgian glazing. Brown 1925

(Glynne 1898, 202). No hinge pintles or other evidence was found to establish whether the windows were originally fitted with internal shutters, although that would seem inherently likely. If they were shuttered, it was without fixing iron pintles into the masonry in the medieval fashion. At least since the eighteenth century, the windows have been fitted with mid-wall glazing.

Stage 2 (belfry)

The walls were originally fully plastered, but that has been almost entirely lost over time, and there is no evidence that any replacement has occurred subsequently. Small patches of eroded plaster, lacking its original surface, survive intermittently on all four walls (indicated on Figs. 277 and 278).

Floor (Figs. 296 and 301)

A second internal floor marked the division between Stages 1 and 2. As with the gallery below, the floor comprised a series of joists running north-south, although in this case there were seven, rather than six. Again, the ends of the joists rested on spreader-plates that were built into the north and south walls. Decayed sections of the northern plate remained (Fig. 295), but the southern one had entirely disappeared. Although a post-medieval floor occupied the same position, remains of all the pockets carrying the original joists were recorded. Well-defined impressions of some joist-ends were preserved in the core-mortar. The dimensions of the joists were slightly smaller than those of the gallery.



Fig. 295: Tower: floor between Stages 1B and 2. The joists are medieval and later, but the thin spreader-plate in the north wall (right), upon which their ends rest, is primary Anglo-Saxon. Also partly visible on the west side is the casing of the clock pendulum (1852). View north-west, 1983. Photo: English Heritage

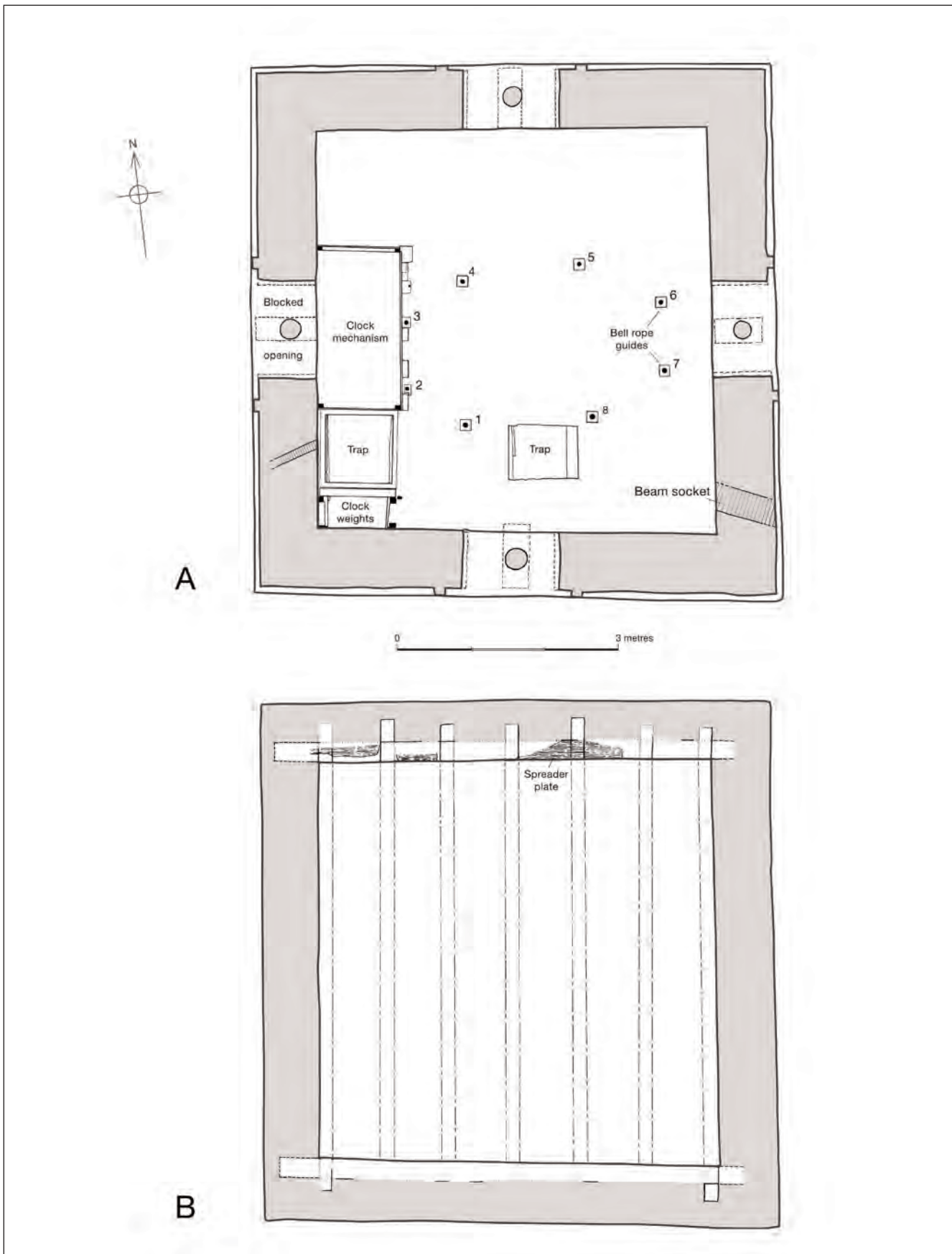


Fig. 296: Tower: plans of Stage 2, 1980. A, Belfry sill-level, including the angled beam socket at the south-east corner. Also shown are the housings for the clock movement and weights, bell-rope guides and other post-medieval features. B, Floor level, showing remains of the spreader-plates in the north and south walls, and the pockets for the seven floor joists. The arrangement of joists is reconstructed. Scale 1:75. Drawings: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 297: Tower: Stage 2. South belfry opening with original wallplaster overlapping the right-hand reveal, 1983. Note the nineteenth-century slabs of Yorkstone, replacing original timbers on the two inner slopes of the gabled heads. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Belfry openings (Figs. 297, 298, 299 and 300, B)

The triangular-headed double belfry-openings are preserved in all four walls, although those on the west remain blocked with medieval masonry. As with the double windows in Stage 1B, the internal reveals are featureless, being formed from stones of various sizes and types, which were intended to be concealed by wallplaster. In part, the original plaster survives on the south opening, overlapping its western jamb (Fig. 297). The sills are all flat and made from a mixture of squared stone and rubble, again plastered. The mid-wall shafts rest on large blocks of gritstone. For the most part, the triangular heads consist of pairs of flat slabs of gritstone, laid on a tilt and touching one another at the apex (Figs. 298 and 299).

In the case of the southern and western openings, however, baulks of timber were employed as substitutes for stone in the two elements rising off the central through-stone. None of the four timbers survives, and when the southern opening was unblocked in 1852 thin slabs of Yorkstone were inserted, more-or-less in the original timber pockets (Figs. 297 and 300). At the same time, the doubtless seriously decayed remains of the timbers were removed from the western belfry opening and the voids infilled with stone rubble. Inspection of the mortar core revealed that there had

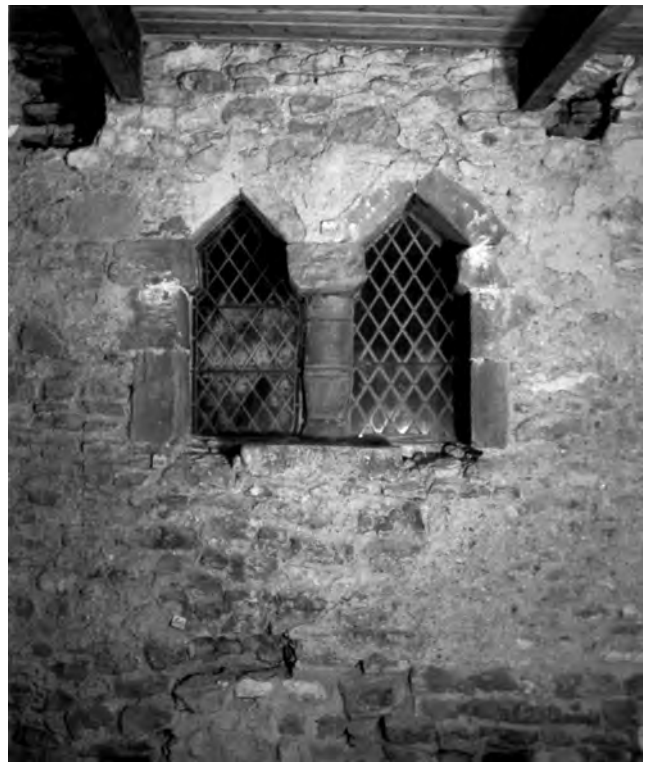


Fig. 298: Tower: Stage 2, interior. North wall and belfry opening, 1983. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 299: Tower: Stage 2, interior. East belfry opening, 1983. Note also the cracks in the masonry above and below. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

never been gritstone blocks in any of these four positions, and that baulks of timber were primary. From the extant impressions in the core mortar, the dimensions of one baulk on the west could be ascertained as $60 \times 23 \times 3.5$ cm. Both the quantity of gritstone used in the tower, and the size of the individual blocks, diminishes with height, and the use of timber as a substitute for the heads of these openings must indicate that the supply of flat slabs had entirely run out. The permanent incorporation of timber boards to form the heads of triangular openings is recorded elsewhere, and was especially suitable where the building material was flint rubble. The high-level triangular-headed doorway at Hales (Norf.) was constructed in this manner and, although the boards have since been lost, they have left clear impressions in the mortar matrix (Goode 1982, 62, pl. 17).

Bell-hanging

Evidence was sought in the belfry (Stage 2) for potential bell-hanging positions. Anglo-Saxon bells were relatively small in size, and were hung from beams. The possibility that they were suspended from the central cross-beams, noted below as part of the roof structure, was considered. However, this seems unlikely because the bells would have been too high in relation to the triangular-headed openings from which their sound had to emanate. Logically, the hanging positions should

have been immediately above the heads of the openings. No potential beam pockets existed in the east or west walls, while at the crucial level on the north and south several areas of masonry had been disturbed in order to insert modern floor joists for the upper (Stage 3) belfry. Nevertheless, both walls exhibit patches of infilling where two north–south beams had been broken out (Fig. 301, AA). The fact that there were only two beams, and that they were widely spaced (in the ratio of 1:2:1 between the walls) confirms that they were not previous floor joists.

The conclusion must surely be that these were the primary bell-hanging beams. Two bells suspended from each would provide a complement of four. There was, however, sufficient space to hang up to eight bells, although such a large number would be unlikely in a small, late Saxon church.

Projecting beam at the south-east corner

One other feature needs individual consideration. In the east wall of the belfry, close to the south-east corner, a channel for a built-in timber was found, passing diagonally through the full thickness of the tower masonry. This was unlike any of the putlog-holes since it had not held branch-wood but a squared beam (40–45 cm sq.); also it was not at the same level as any of the putlog holes, and there was nothing comparable in the other corners. It represented a single, substantial timber projecting from the south-east angle of the tower (Fig. 301, B). At the time of discovery, its interpretation as a crane-beam was suggested (Rodwell 1986, 162). While the majority of cranes recorded in manuscript illustrations of towers show a gallows-like construction rising from beams that traverse the tops of the walls, other arrangements are occasionally found. These include a horizontal hoisting-beam built into and projecting from the wall: the outer end of the beam was fitted with a pulley (Fig. 302).⁵⁵

A hoisting-beam placed in this position would have had only a very short period of usefulness. An alternative function may therefore be considered, namely that the beam was the arm of a bracket designed to carry a *sanctus* bell. That would have served as an external calling-bell and been rung from the churchyard by a long rope.

Roof

The original roof was removed when the tower was heightened by one storey (Stage 3) in the later eleventh century. Externally, this junction – the top of the primary tower – is marked by a continuous string-course around all four sides (Fig. 258). The presence of this, and the results of a careful study of the masonry both outside and inside, yielded no hint that there had ever been stone gables on opposing walls. It is therefore possible to rule out, with some confidence, a saddleback or cross-gabled roof, unless the diagnostic elements were wholly timber-framed, which seems unlikely. Baldwin

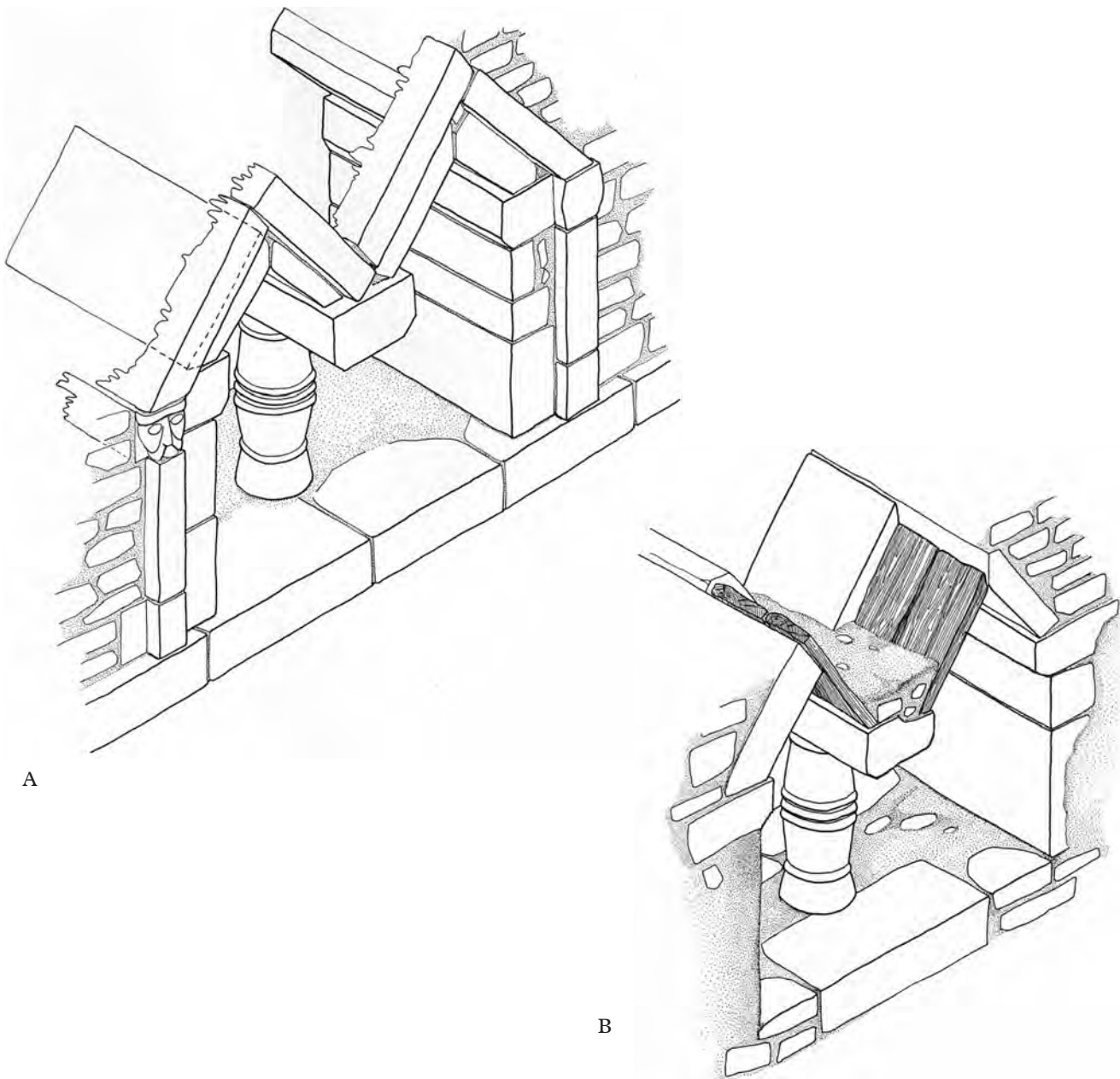


Fig. 300: Tower: Stage 2. Isometric views showing the construction of two of the belfry openings. A, eastern opening, exterior. B, western opening, interior. The latter shows the use of wooden boards instead of stone slabs to form parts of the gabled heads. Scale 1:25. Drawings: Stephen Coll

Brown proposed a saddleback roof in his reconstruction (Fig. 253), but this was not based on any specific evidence at Barton or elsewhere.⁵⁶ The only remaining option would appear to be a pyramidal timber structure, clad with lead, thatch or shingles. This could have been squat, like the present roof, or tall and spire-like. If low-pitched, the roof need not have been physically anchored to the masonry, relying on its own weight to stay in place. On the other hand, if it were high-pitched, anchorage to the walls below would have been essential for its stability.

The internal faces of the tower at the junction between Stages 2 and 3 are all badly damaged by works associated with the present and previous bellframes:

large pockets have been cut into the north and south walls to receive four steel joists, while the east and west walls each have six stone corbels inserted into the fabric. Despite these disturbances, some original masonry survives intact and, remarkably, includes residual evidence of pockets for large timbers. Only vague hints were visible on the surface, but when some of the brick and stone patchings of relatively recent date were removed, substantive evidence was exposed for primary pockets to receive large beams.

The east and west walls had three pockets: one hard against each corner and one at the centre (Fig. 301, CC, C₁). The tops of the two outer timbers were flush with the external string-course, but the central timber,

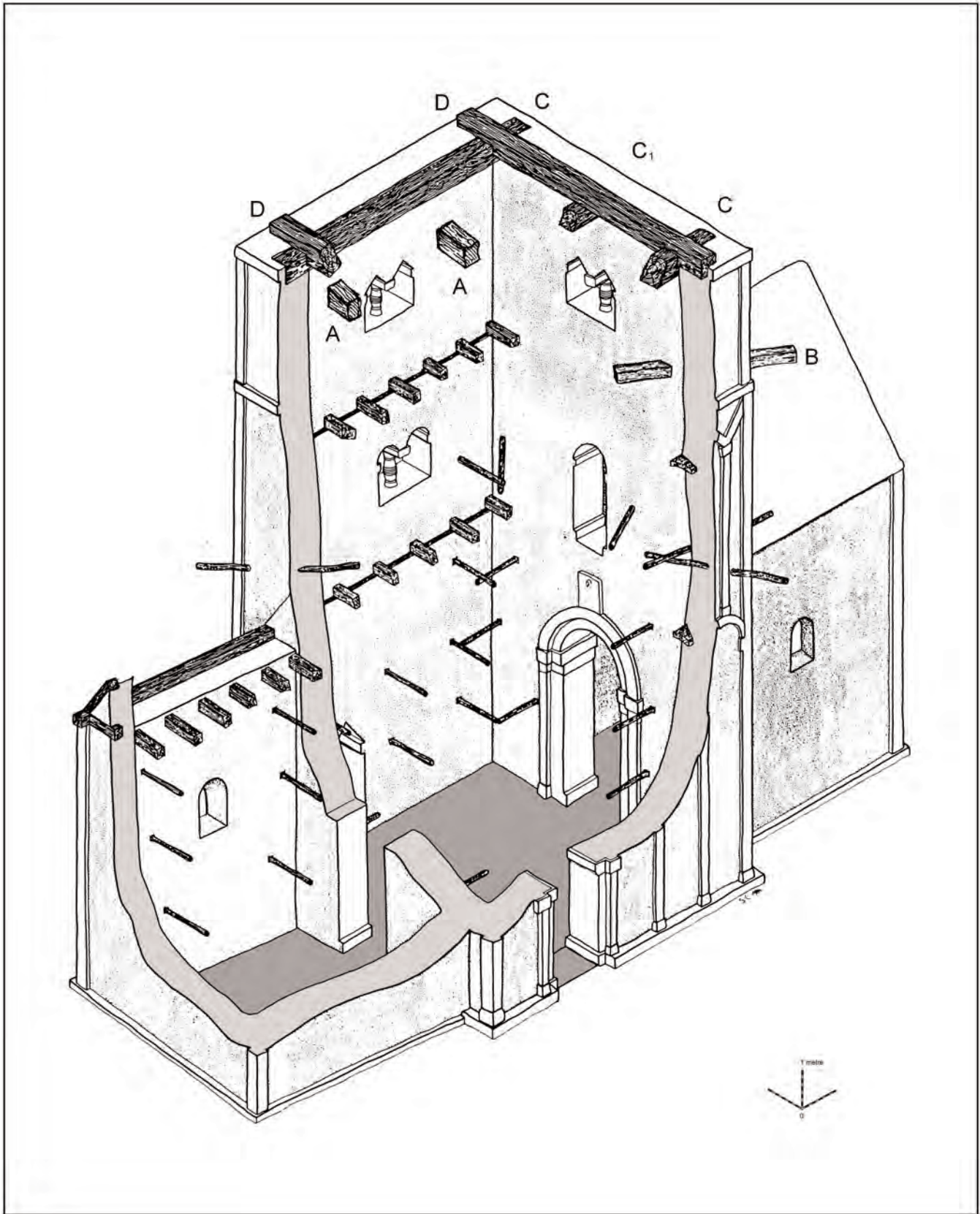


Fig. 301: Cutaway isometric view of the Anglo-Saxon church from the south-west, showing positions of recorded putlogs, floor and roof timbers. Also marked are the possible bell-hanging beams (AA) and sanctus-bell bracket (B). Drawing: Stephen Coll

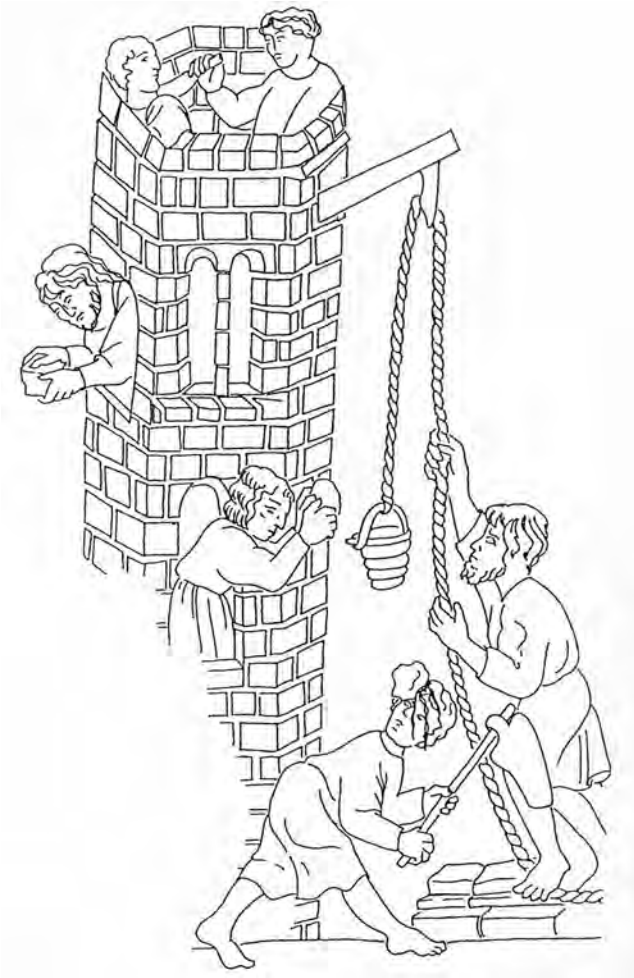


Fig. 302: Hoisting-beam projecting from the side of a medieval tower under construction. Early fourteenth century, northern Spanish. Binding 2004; drawing after British Library Add Ms 27,210, fol. 3

which was of smaller dimensions, was set slightly lower. The north and south walls also had pockets for large timbers at their extremities (Fig. 301, DD). These were set 30 cm higher in their respective walls. Conclusive evidence did not survive to establish whether there was also a central beam at this higher level, but there could well have been.

The only way to explain adjacent pockets in all four corners is by postulating a wall-top frame, with the upper beams ('D', running north-south) trenched into or cross-halved over the lower ones ('C', running east-west) (Fig. 311). It also seems likely that two further beams at the mid-wall positions intersected at the centre of the tower. The presence of a substantial, carpentered frame, recessed inside the top of the tower and secured to the masonry, must surely indicate that the roof structure was lofty. Further, the intersecting medial beams could have supported a central mast for a spire-like construction (*cf.* Sompting, Sussex). Alternatively, the foot of any such mast might have been anchored at a lower level – perhaps in the structure of the belfry floor – to provide greater stability.



Fig. 303: Western annexe. External face of the rubble foundation on the west side, with the severely fractured limestone plinth course above. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Constructional details

Foundations

Excavation revealed that the foundations for the three-celled church were constructed in a single operation. The square foundation for the tower was continuous on all sides, without interruptions where openings were anticipated in the superstructure. The trench was dug into the clay subsoil to a depth of 95 cm (3 ft), but its width varied somewhat, owing to the instability of the ground in places: localized collapses of the sides had occurred before the foundation filling was inserted. The intended trench width seems to have been of the same order as the depth. The filling comprised small chalk fragments embedded in yellow sandy mortar. No evidence of layering was detectable within the fill (Fig. 303).

In part, the trenches were dug through the uncompacted fillings of graves which then slumped, giving rise to characteristic bulges in the sides of the foundation (Figs. 256 and 304). This is well illustrated in the north and south foundations of the tower.⁵⁷ The evidence is consistent with excavation having taken place in wet weather. However, the graves beneath the tower and baptistery were found, with a single exception (F716), not to contain skeletal remains, indicating that



Fig. 304: Tower: interior. Irregular outline of the foundation on the north side (left), resulting from the slumping of the unstable fillings of exhumed graves. View east. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

systematic exhumation of the corpses had taken place prior to commencing work on the construction of the church (p. 172).

The pattern was repeated in the chancel, although there were fewer pre-church graves present, and in two instances the original burials had not been exhumed, with the consequence that the skeletons were severed by the foundation trench for the east wall (F1364 and F1400). Considerable ground settlement has taken place since the tower was constructed, as evidenced by the fractured and undulating nature of the plinth (Figs. 260 and 270) and the splitting of some of the large blocks lining the reveals of the major openings (Fig. 281).

Walls and scaffolding

The walls are 80 cm (2¾ ft) thick and rise vertically without batter or offsets on either the outer or inner faces, apart from the external ground-level plinth. This comprises a series of large gritstone blocks resting on the foundation, forming an offset 10–12 cm in width. The blocks vary in length and thickness, and one has a small mortice in the upper face, relating to its previous use (Fig. 305, B). The plinths were interrupted on the east and



A



B

Fig. 305: Tower: details of the plinth at the north-west corner. A, gritstone plinth and fractured base-block of the quoin. B, a small mortice in one of the plinth blocks on the north. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

west sides, for the abutment of flanking chambers.⁵⁸ The bases for the quoins and pilasters rest on the plinth and are inset by half its width (Fig. 305, A). The walling is constructed mainly of small limestone rubble, with various other materials incorporated, randomly laid in a generous amount of lime mortar.⁵⁹ The dressings are largely of gritstone ashlar which has been recycled from a Roman building, and was imported to Barton for the purpose, possibly from as far afield as York (pp. 325–6).⁶⁰ For the most part, the dressings are not especially well keyed into the structure; this applies particularly to the tall upright blocks, used in both the quoins and the stripwork. The linings and surrounding stripwork of the two major arches in the nave (east and west) are effectively unbonded to the adjacent masonry (p. 265).

The general quality of the masoncraft is, however, very high and many of the horizontal joints between the ashlars are remarkably thin. It has already been noted that a fine, aggregate-free lime mortar was used for bed-jointing to achieve this end (p. 271). Also, trimming of the vertical arrises of the stripwork was carried out *in situ* with considerable precision, as can be appreciated where weathering has not taken place and the edges are still crisp; tool-marks also survive in protected locations

(Fig. 286). Collectively, the evidence points to the dressings being prepared, assembled and finished with a high degree of skill. Moreover, the greatest effort and resources went into the tower: the baptistery, and presumably the chancel, being regarded as appendages of lesser architectural pretension.

It may further be argued that all the imported material for the dressings was assembled on site, sorted and allocated before construction began. There was clearly only a finite quantity of gritstone available, and decisions must have been made at the outset regarding its use, to ensure that blocks of the appropriate dimensions were available for critical positions at a high level in the tower. A small quantity of Roman ashlar of Lower Magnesian Limestone had also been acquired, and this too was expressly allocated. Thus it must have been determined that only the quoins of the chancel and baptistery could be built in gritstone, and that their plinths (unlike that of the tower) would have to be of limestone. Even at a low level, we find that gritstone was being eked out by incorporating the occasional block of limestone in the plain rear-arches of openings. A series of shaped blocks – possibly Roman window heads – were selected for use in the heads of the gallery windows, and while the small east and west doorways at the same level had jambs mainly of gritstone, an economy was effected by turning their arches in rubble, which was then plastered (Fig. 259).

At belfry level, enough gritstone had been reserved to form the reveals of the openings and the outward-facing triangular heads, but the builders were short of four flat slabs (out of a required total of sixteen) to

construct the internal heads. Consequently, they resorted to using baulks of timber, which could be hidden by wallplaster (Fig. 300). The use of scarce materials was undoubtedly planned with care.

Re-dressing of the Roman gritstone took place on site, the soil around the primary church containing masons' waste (virtually all redeposited in later graves). Chips and small fragments were commonly used as wedges and packing material when levelling the plinth blocks for the tower (much evidence survived on the north side), installing the base-blocks for openings (e.g. the south doorway; Fig. 306), and setting up large



Fig. 306: Tower: south doorway, eastern jamb. Detail of the gritstone base, with masons' waste used as packing material for levelling the block. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 307: Tower. Patch of masons' waste resulting from dressing gritstone, lying on the contemporary ground surface outside the south doorway. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

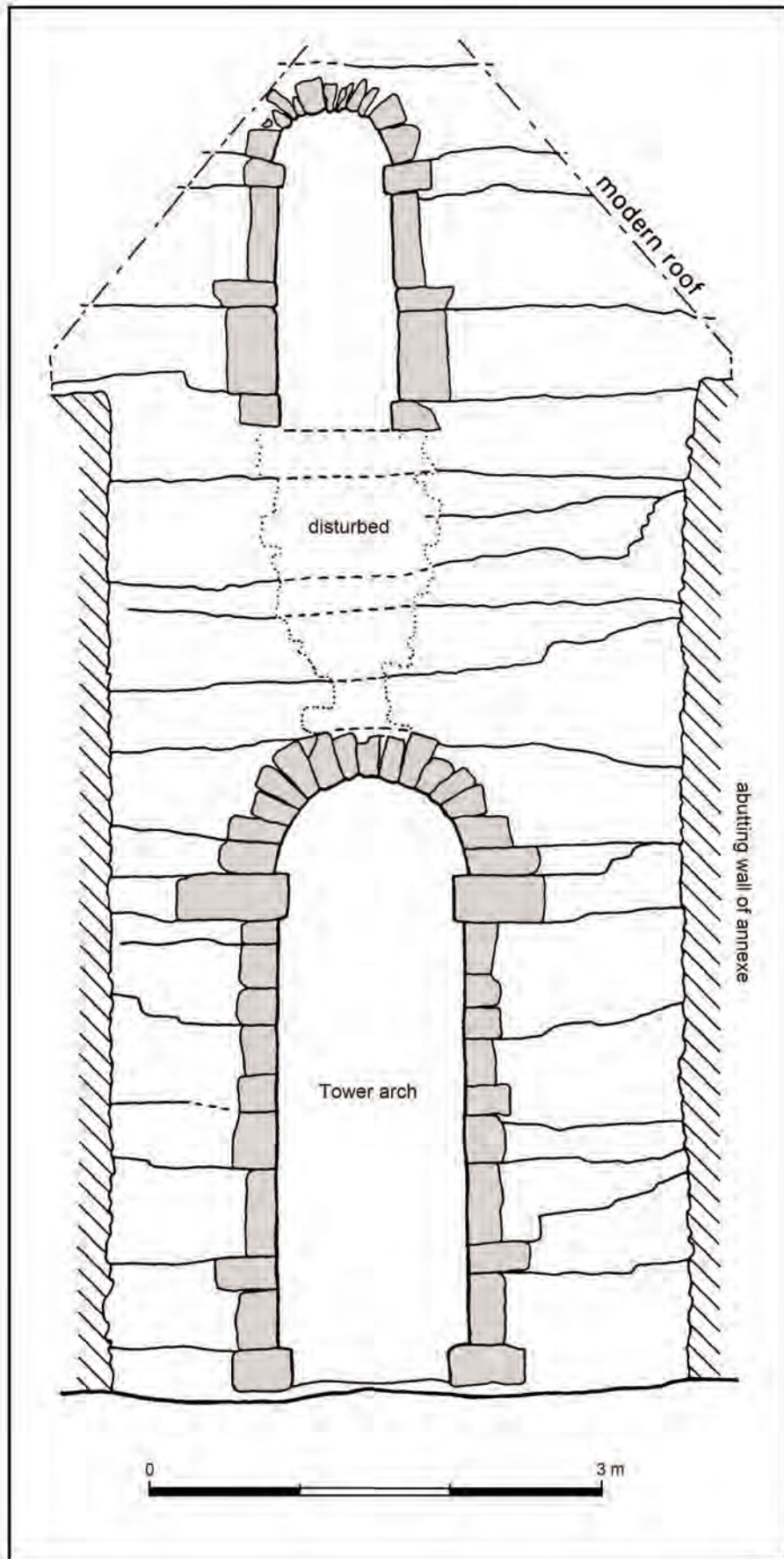


Fig. 308: Tower: west wall. Pattern of building-lifts exposed on the outer face (seen inside the annexe). Drawing: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 309: Tower. 'Humping' of the masonry courses over the eastern arch. View north-east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

jamb-stones. Very few traces survived of the contemporary ground surface from which the church was built, and thus there were effectively no Anglo-Saxon construction levels present. However, a small area of pre-church ground surface, preserved alongside the south wall of the tower, was strewn with small chips of grit-stone, almost certainly being the detritus arising from the masons' final *in situ* dressing of the blocks forming the stripwork (F3101) (Fig. 307). Along the north side of the tower, vestigial remains of a spread of construction mortar (F7303) were found on the surface of the subsoil, and at the north-west corner, traces of a shallow construction trench for setting the plinth blocks were recorded (F7300). Effectively, the builders' horizon for the tower and baptistery had not survived.

The laying technique employed for the rubblework was markedly irregular, and very few building-lifts were detectable as continuous horizontal lines. Instead, the masons first built up the quoins and linings of the openings, supporting the ashlar from behind with stepped rubblework; they then infilled the remaining walling between (Fig. 308). This was executed in a remarkably haphazard fashion, making little attempt to lay stones in courses or to bring the work to a consistent level, even within the length of one wall: they tended rather to build in 'heaps', giving rise to the wild irregularities which characterize not only the masoncraft at Barton

but also many other Anglo-Saxon buildings of rubble construction. Often, one can clearly discern the junction between two men's work, one of whom may have had a reasonable eye for horizontality, while the other laid his stones at rakish angles.

Typical also of this kind of rubble construction is 'humping' of the masonry over the crowns of arches (*i.e.* the courses of stone to either flank display a distinct tilt in sympathy with the curvature of the arch); this effect is especially noticeable over the chancel arch, but is also present over the western arch in the tower (Figs. 308 and 309; Rodwell 1986, fig. 100). When the irregularities of 'heap building' became too marked a levelling operation was undertaken to bring the working top of the wall into a uniform and roughly horizontal plane. The levelling courses tend to be identifiable through the use of thin, flat pieces of stone of varying thicknesses, selected to make up the deficiencies.

Some of the daily building-lifts were nevertheless detectable, and others doubtless remain concealed by surviving wallplaster and modern rendering. Masonry obviously had to be brought to a level where the spreader-plates were incorporated in the walls, to carry the floors, and a clear lift was seen in the north wall close to the top of Stage 1A. The only building-lift which was internally traceable around most of the tower occurred midway up Stage 2, coinciding with the

sills of the belfry openings. That could represent a seasonal break. Elsewhere, short lengths of horizontal building-lift indicated that each raising of the masonry averaged 50 cm, a dimension that is commonly found.

Banding is discernible in the nature of the rubble-work, reflecting the use of different sizes and mixtures of stone; this indicates that at least some of the material was not freshly quarried, but was recycled from elsewhere. Thus, inside the tower concentrations of roughly squared, rectangular blocks of limestone are noticeable in the lowest 3–4 m. Mixed in with these are some battered gritstone ashlar and other broken pieces, probably blocks and offcuts rejected by the masons as being unsuitable for dressings. Higher up the tower, the use of small broken limestone rubble becomes near-ubiquitous.⁶¹

Putlog holes associated with scaffolding for the construction of the tower have been found sporadically in the exposed wall faces. When the scaffolding was struck, most of the holes were blocked with stones set in mortar which was visually almost identical to that of the tower's construction. The holes were not always easy to detect, since they were neither regularly spaced nor formed with squared cheeks and flat caps, as was often the case elsewhere. The absence of neatly formed putlog holes, and the fact that many did not pass right through the walls, shows that short timbers of irregular dimension were used. Some were pulled out when the scaffolding was dismantled, but others were cut off and the stumps left in the walls, where they eventually rotted. Examination of the interior of the holes revealed that branch-wood was used, and in several instances a good cast of the end of the putlog was preserved in the core-mortar. In a single instance, at the north-east corner of the tower (Stage 1B), the decayed end of a sapling of silver birch, 8 cm (3 ins) in diameter, had survived in the putlog hole.⁶² The timber must have been cut off *in situ* as the scaffolding was struck. A thin skim of plaster covered the end of the stump, with no sign of patching or a joint in the surrounding wallplaster. The clear implication is that plastering of the walls took place, from the top down, as the scaffolding was struck.

Although the recorded evidence is unavoidably incomplete, the general form of the scaffolding used to erect the tower can be reconstructed (Fig. 301). Internally, the ground stage (1A) was built from three lifts of scaffolding,⁶³ with three putlogs per lift in the north and south walls, and two in the east and west (flanking the large arches). Putlog positions on the exterior are entirely concealed by the rendering of 1965. Doubtless there was once a series of postholes around the exterior of the church, to receive vertical scaffold poles, but grave-digging had removed all evidence.

The beams supporting the floor between Stages 1A and 1B were installed as the tower was erected, and would consequently have provided a working platform for the masons. A different arrangement of putlog holes was recorded in Stage 1B, where only a single lift, 1.3 m above floor level, was noted. Almost certainly,

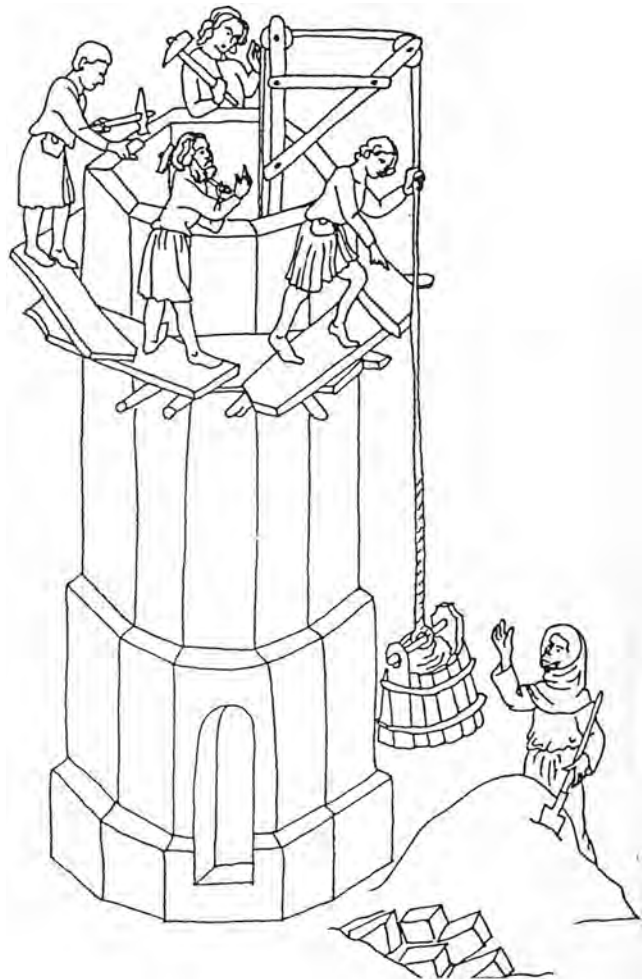


Fig. 310: Cantilevered scaffolding around the uppermost stage of a medieval tower under construction. Late fourteenth century, Bavarian or Austrian. Binding 2004; drawing after Wolfenbüttel, Ms cod. Guelf. 1.5.2. Aug. 2°, fol. 23v

the evidence for a second lift is concealed by surviving wallplaster. There were three putlogs per side, and the holes passed through the full thickness of the walls. Moreover, some were set closer to the corners of the tower than the lower putlogs, and they were skewed in plan. This configuration demonstrates a change in the type of scaffolding employed, from a box-scaffold to a cantilevered one. In the former, the outer ends of short putlogs would be supported by vertical poles (standards) set in the ground, and horizontal members (ledgers) lashed to them. A cantilevered scaffold, on the other hand, relied on long putlogs built into the wall, with equal amounts projecting beyond either face; the structure was more flimsy, deriving no support from vertical members (although medieval illustrations sometimes show the putlogs braced from below).

Little evidence for the scaffolding relating to Stage 2 was recoverable, but it too must have been cantilevered. Two putlog holes were noted, but the survival of Anglo-Saxon wallplaster obscured the remainder. The integral floor between Stages 1B and 2

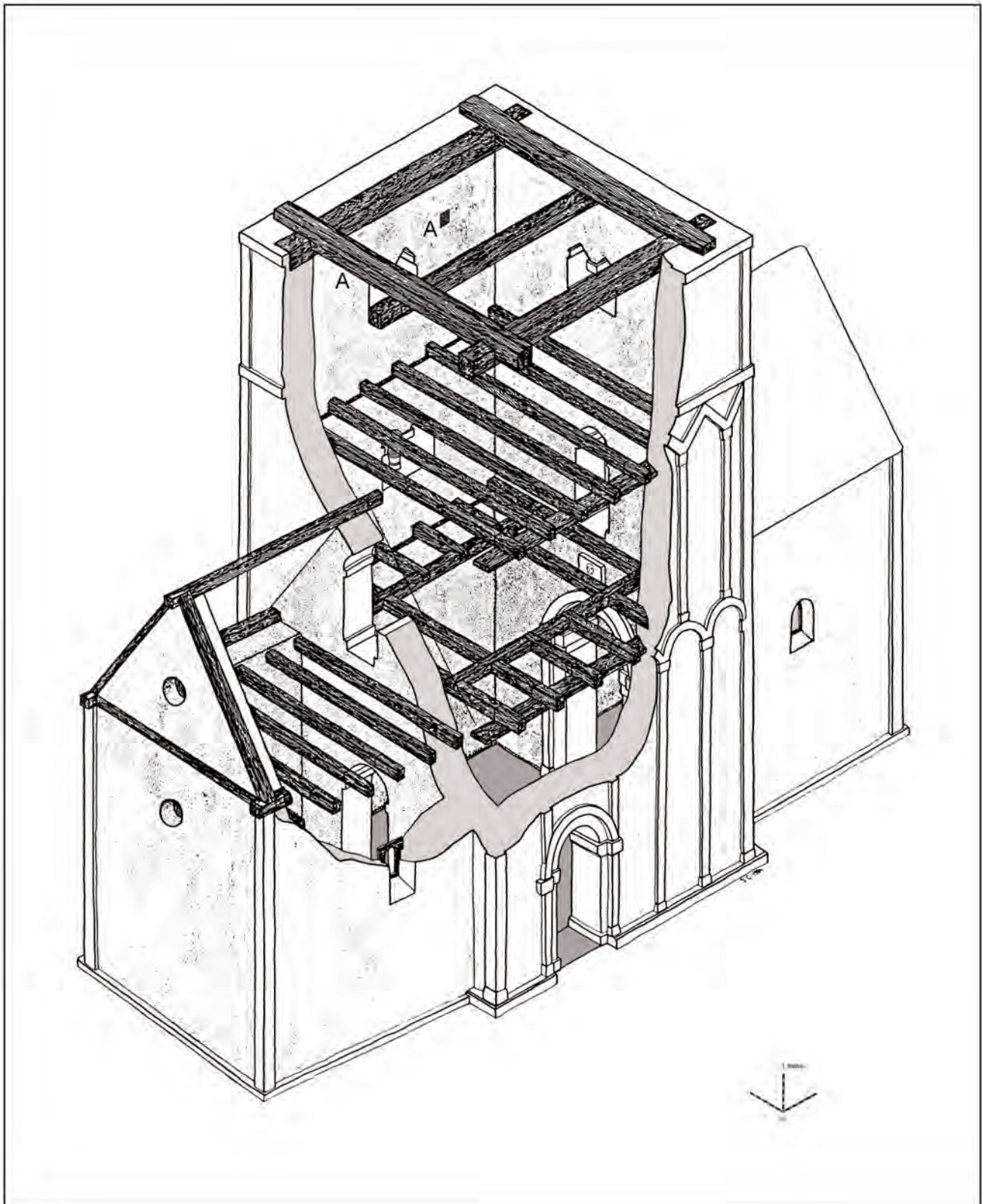


Fig. 311: Cutaway isometric reconstruction of the floor and roof timbers in the tower-nave and baptistery, based on evidence encapsulated in the walls (cf. Fig. 301). Bell-hanging beams (AA) are omitted for clarity. View north-east. Drawing: Stephen Coll

would again have provided a solid working platform for the interior. Numerous medieval manuscripts illustrate building work in progress: some depict box-scaffolds rising to a considerable height, but others show cantilevered scaffolding projecting precariously from the

upper parts of tall buildings (Binding 2004). Sometimes there is a discernible hint of the skewing of putlogs at the corners of a building, but generally the drawing technique does not permit such minute interrogation (Fig. 310).

Structural carpentry

Carpenters worked continuously alongside masons as building progressed, installing scaffolding, formwork and the major timber components. Thus, the jointed frames for the windows in the chancel and baptistry, and the pierced boards for the *oculi* were all firmly secured in their double-splayed openings in the manner that was usual for the period (Rodwell 1986, 165–6).

Likewise, the floor joists and the spreader-plates upon which they rested had to be installed as the masonry shell rose: as already noted in relation to scaffolding, the floors served as working platforms (p. 284). Finally, the heavy timbers forming the base-frame of the tower roof were set as the wall-tops were completed. Although the window frames and structural timbers have been almost entirely lost, the evidence for their presence and dimensions is still encapsulated in the fabric (Fig. 311).

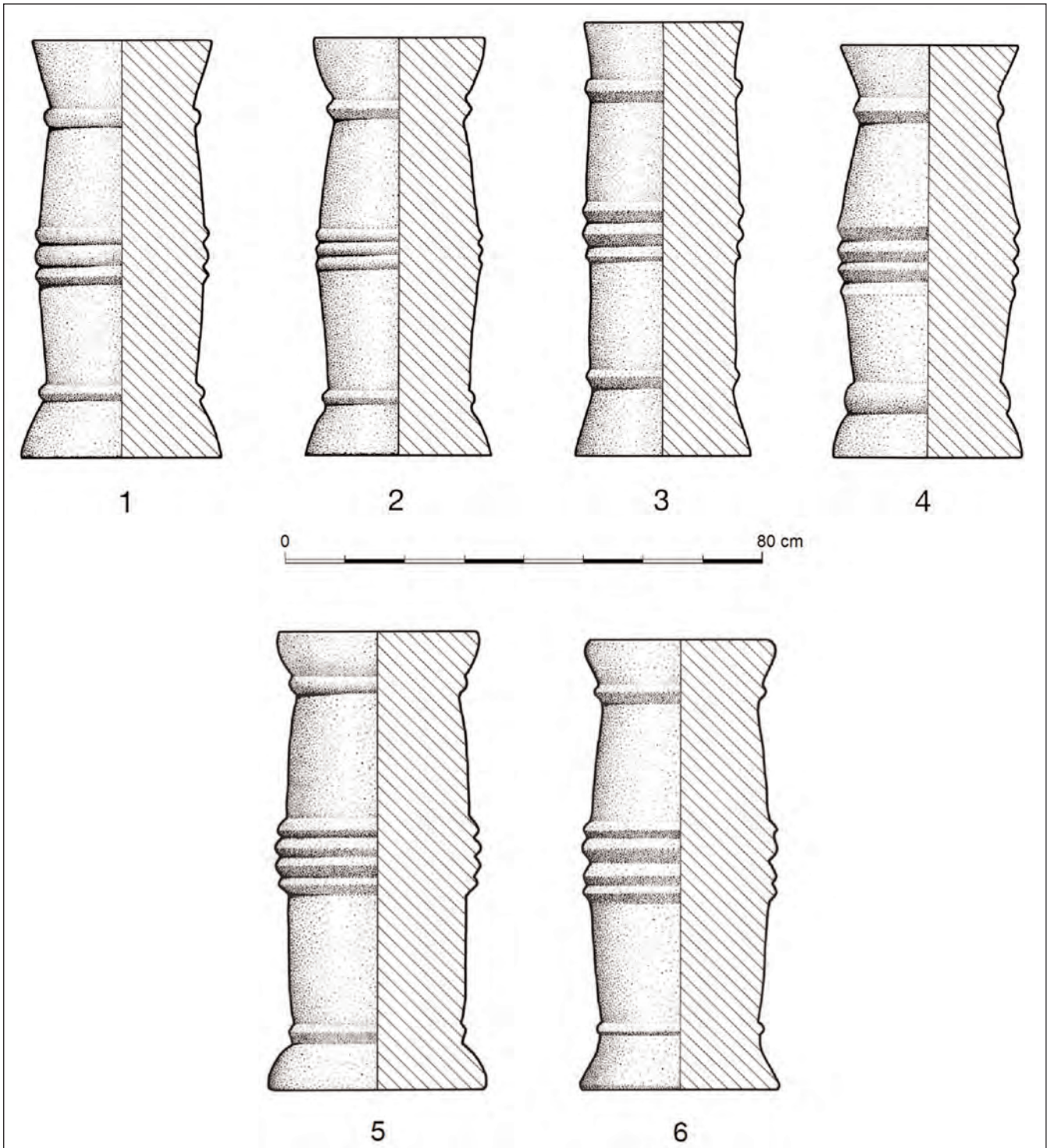


Fig. 312: Tower: Stages 1B and 2. Profiles of the six gritstone baluster-shafts employed in the double openings. Belfry: 1, north; 2, south; 3, east; 4, west. Gallery: 5, north; 6, south. Scale 1:10. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

A hoard of ironwork found at Flixborough in 1994 reveals some of the tools locally available to the Anglo-Saxon carpenter (Ottaway and Cowgill 2009, 252–67).

Architectural ornament

One of the striking features of the tower is the use of heavy stone baluster-shafts, placed in a mid-wall position, to support the central through-stones of the double openings. All six shafts survive, and they imitate lathe-turned wooden balusters (Fig. 312). Their dimensions and profiles vary, confirming that they were not made to a template; nor were they lathe turned. The two balusters at gallery level (Stage 1A) are taller than the rest, while that on the north is also slightly fatter and less biconical in profile. The balusters in the four belfry openings are all closely similar in size, although the eastern one is both the tallest and proportionally the slimmest.

The basic design of all the balusters is similar, and they are double-ended and symmetrical, *i.e.* either end could serve as the top. The shaft is bulbous, or even mildly biconical, and is punctuated with a group of rings at mid-height; there is an integral ‘capital’ and ‘base’, both near-identical and fitted with neck-rings.



Fig. 313: Tower: Stage 2, interior. Damaged baluster in the blocked western belfry opening. Note also the fracture in the gritstone pad upon which the baluster rests.

Differences occur in three areas. First, the bulbousness of the shaft varies: that in the west belfry is firmly biconical, while its counterpart on the east is essentially cylindrical (Figs. 313 and 314). Second, the ‘capitals/bases’ range between cushion and conical forms, even on opposite ends of the same baluster. Third, there is variety in the number and prominence of the shaft-rings. In all but the west belfry opening, the rings stand proud of the shaft: there, however, they are sunk. The gallery-window balusters each have four rings, while those in the belfry have three, except in the case of the west baluster, which has only two but, in that instance, because the rings are sunk into the shaft, they give the impression of being more numerous. For further discussion of the baluster assemblage, see Everson and Stocker 1999, 102–4.

The massive impost blocks of the north and south doorways carry sunk mouldings on their lower arrises: these take the form of pairs of flattened rolls (Fig. 268). The mouldings occur on the outer faces of the blocks, returning through the full depth of the jambs. Externally, they are heavily eroded, but in the protected reveals of the north doorway the mouldings are well preserved. The profiles vary markedly, and it is clear that a template was not used.



Fig. 314: Tower: Stage 2, exterior. Baluster and through-stone in the eastern belfry opening. View south-west. Photos Figs 313 and 314: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 315: Tower: primary lime-concrete floor, pierced by many later features. View east. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Floor and associated features

Although the later medieval and post-medieval deposits in the tower and baptistery were shovelled out in 1912, a remarkable amount of the primary floor had still survived. The principal intrusions comprised a single grave, a bell-casting pit, and its associated furnace. Consequently, evidence relating to incidental fixtures and the pattern of human activity within the church was partially recoverable. The earliest deposit within the tower was a compact blinding-layer of sand and pea-gravel (averaging 3 cm in thickness; F697). This was a builders' construction level, laid down to seal the backfilling of the exhumed graves (p. 170) and to provide an acceptable surface from which to work. Over this was 2 cm of sandy loam, a builders' trample layer (F694). A miscellany of small postholes punctured the sand and loam layers; these must have been associated with construction work.

When the erection of the tower was complete, and the walls had been plastered, the primary floor was laid. First a bed of crushed chalk was spread, to level the hollows: the material was graded, with angular lumps at the base and fine aggregate at the top. Over this was floated a screed of lime concrete, pale cream in colour and finished with a hard, smooth surface

(F534; Fig. 315).⁶⁴ The intention was to lay a monolithic floor slab, and the technique was basically the same as that used in recent centuries.

The floor screed, like the wallplaster, was carefully prepared and well laid, and it was once continuous through the east and west arched openings and into the lateral chambers; the same surface evidently ran into the north and south doorways too. It was preserved on the north, the doorway having been infilled (Fig. 316), but wear and later disturbances had removed nearly all the evidence in the south doorway, although traces had been sealed beneath slightly later threshold blocks (p. 373). Almost certainly, the floor throughout the three cells was near-level when originally laid. As excavated, however, the thresholds of the east and west archways stood slightly proud of the surfaces to either side; they also exhibited distinct 'humping' towards the centre of each opening (Figs. 317 and 318). These effects were caused by settlement as the considerable weight of the tower compressed the foundations: the thresholds were not subjected to any loading. Furthermore, in places where the lime concrete abutted the walls, its surface was distorted and had been dragged down with the subsidence of the foundations (Fig. 319). Subsequent stratigraphy within the tower confirms that these movements occurred early in its history.



Fig. 316: Tower: threshold of the north doorway. The opening was originally edged with flat pieces of stone and finished with lime concrete; small rubble and a layer of grey loam were deposited over the threshold in Period 5, before the doorway was completely infilled with rubble. View north. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 317: Tower: threshold of the western arch, edged with flat stones. Overlying the primary lime-concrete surface is an accumulation of grey silty soil. View west. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 318: Tower: threshold of the eastern arch, with the primary lime-concrete floor intact. View east. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 319: Tower: detail of the threshold in the eastern arch, with the floor and its stone edging depressed through settlement adjacent to the reveal. The section shows the undulating profile of the accumulated grey soil, where it has been worn away by foot-traffic in the centre of the opening. View east. Scale of centimetres and inches. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

It was this lime-concrete floor, glimpsed in narrow trenches in 1912 and later, which gave rise to the myth that beneath the tower were foundations of an earlier structure (Fig. 254, 1; p. 247). The supposed limits of those 'foundations' were merely the edges created where later features had cut through the floor.⁶⁵

The primary floor was intact over approximately half of the interior of the tower, and was best preserved towards the north; survival was poorest in the centre and in the south-west quarter, doubtless as a result of prolonged use of the south door. The floor was pierced by various postholes and other small features, most if not all of which related to post-Saxon phases. Although no stratigraphic relationship with the floor was preserved, it seems clear that postholes flanking the north and south doorways belonged to the primary phase: three of the four survived intact (F674, F675 and F677; Figs. 320 and 321). A later feature had largely removed evidence for the posthole on the east flank of the north doorway. The fillings of all three retained evidence for the rectangular form of the timbers that they once held. The postholes were

45–60 cm in depth, indicating the need for the timbers to be securely groundfast. The evidence points to the provision of portal-frames around the doors,



Fig. 320: Tower: south doorway. Postholes for a portal-frame flanking the opening internally. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 321: Tower: north doorway. The 2 m ranging-poles mark the positions of the postholes for a portal-frame flanking the opening. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

which would do much to explain why the inner faces of these (and other) Anglo-Saxon doorways were utterly plain and devoid of projecting masonry. The possibility that the doors were framed by decoratively carved surrounds – as seen in some early Scandinavian churches – should be seriously considered (Rodwell 1986, 165–7).

Overlying the lime-concrete floor were multiple, thin laminations of sandy loam, representing trampled soil which accumulated during the use of the nave. Like the floor itself, some of these layers extended into the baptistery and chancel, showing that they were common to the entire church.

Western Annexe (Baptistery)

Adjoining the tower on the west is a small rectangular chamber which, apart from the relatively modern roof, survives in its original form (Pls. 3 and 18; Figs. 239, 322, 323 and 324). Excavation demonstrated that it was constructed as a baptistery (pp. 299–300). There was no external doorway, and it was entered from the nave via the tall western arch. In addition to the main chamber, it also had an upper, or attic, room formed within the double-pitched and gabled roof. The upper room was reached through a small high-level doorway leading off the nave gallery.

Externally, the annexe is a plain structure, with rendered rubble walls rising from a plain, un moulded plinth at ground level. The latter is composed of small, flat slabs of Lincolnshire limestone, which were only roughly dressed and butted up to the tower plinth (Fig. 325). They are now frost-shattered and badly decayed; some are missing altogether (Figs. 260 and 326). The two western quoins are formed with blocks of gritstone, arranged as long-and-short work, and these stand slightly proud of the adjacent wall-faces. As with the tower, the 'tails' of the horizontal blocks, which are tied into the rubblework, were dressed back *in situ*, so that they would be concealed by rendering (see further, p. 327). The quoins were thus designed to appear pilaster-like, with sharp arrises. The west end terminates in a gable with an upstanding verge; this has nineteenth-century limestone kneelers and copings, and is crowned by a gable-cross that appears to be fourteenth century (Figs. 324 and 539). The eaves are finished with three projecting courses of eighteenth-century brickwork with dogtooth ornament, and the roof is covered with modern red clay tiles.

The walls are now finished with hard cement pebbledash-rendering, applied in 1965 (Fig. 322). Prior to this the rubble construction of the south and west walls was exposed to view for many years, having been stripped of the pebbledash rendering that had been applied in *c.* 1870. The north wall had not been deliberately stripped, but large areas of rendering had fallen off. Early photographs show all three walls in varying states of exposure (Figs. 255 and 323).⁶⁶



Fig. 322: Western annexe and tower. Viewed from the south-west in the 1970s. Photo: David Lee Photography



Fig. 323: Western annexe. Viewed from the south-west, 1946. Photo: R.H. Linsell, courtesy of the Church Buildings Council

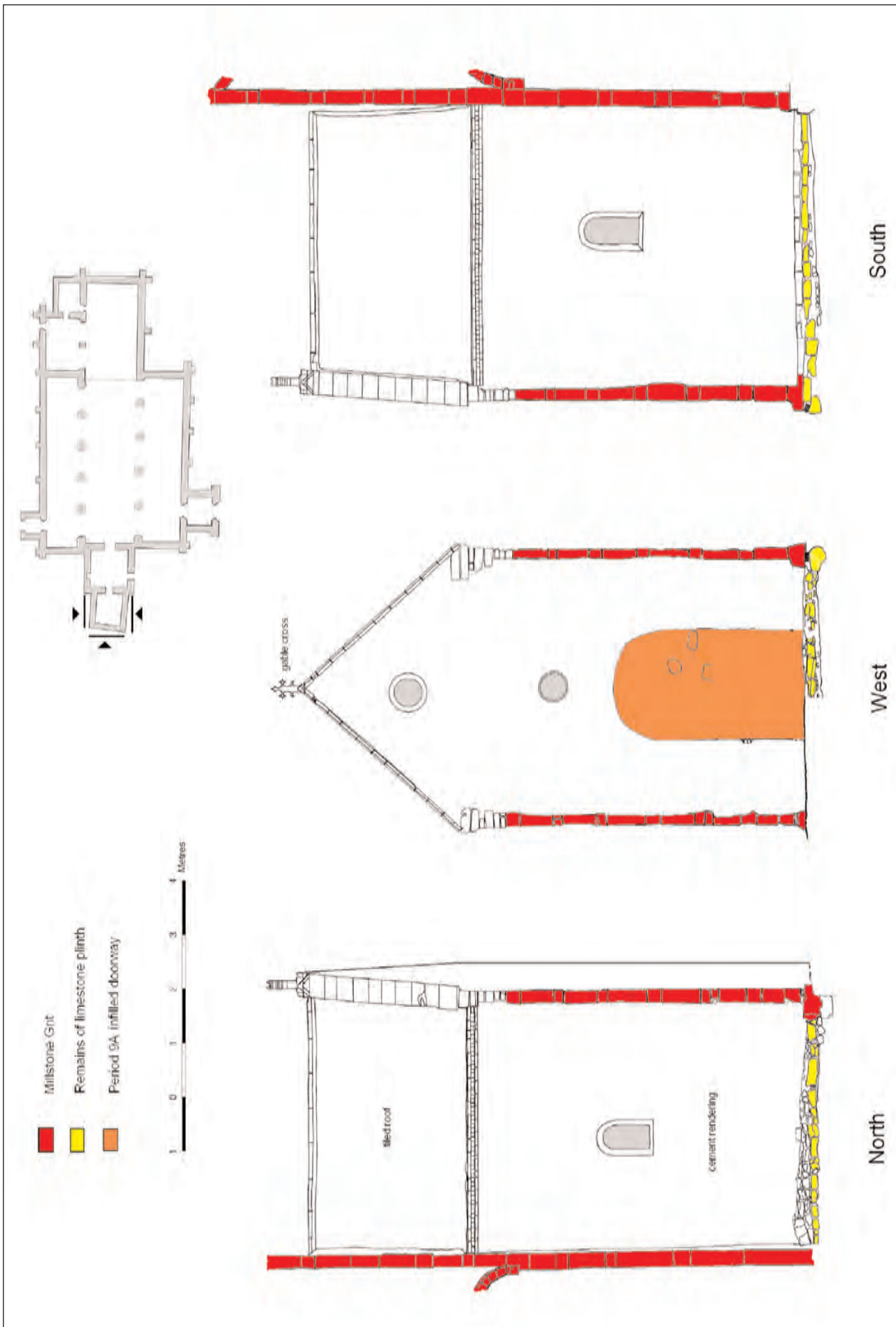


Fig 324: Western annexe: external elevations. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

The plan and construction

Two setting-out errors are apparent in the plan. The axis of the baptistery is slightly skewed in relation to that of the tower, as a result of incorrectly laid-out foundations (Fig. 256). It is thus trapezoidal in plan. Moreover, its abutment to the west face of the tower is not central, but is offset to the south by 30 cm. Externally, the south wall measures 5.5 m, the north wall 4.9 m, the west wall 5.3 m, and the abutment to the tower 5.4 m (all above plinth level). It seems likely that the original intention was for the baptistery to measure 18 ft (5.48 m) square, but that a setting-out error occurred that resulted in the north wall being 2 ft (60 cm) too short. Whether that alone was responsible, or a topographical factor also contributed to the skewing, is uncertain, but the latter is strongly suspected.



Fig. 325: Tower: gritstone plinth at the south-west corner, abutted (left) by the shallower limestone plinth of the western annexe. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Many of the early graves to the west and north-west of the baptistery (see especially those of burial Phases E and D: Figs. 161 and 162) conform to the same skewed alignment, with the suspicion that they were influenced by a boundary or structure lying outside the excavation limits in Areas 9 and 10. It is further noteworthy that the western ends of three of the exhumed, pre-church graves on the site of the baptistery aligned exactly with the west wall (Fig. 164). This is too much of a coincidence to ignore, and points to the likelihood that the west wall of the baptistery was preceded by an earlier structural feature or boundary more-or-less in the same position. The possibility that there was a timber church (with which the exhumed graves were associated) immediately to the west of the present stone structure is a hypothesis worth entertaining.

It is certain that the annexe was constructed at the same time as the tower: their foundations are identical and contiguous (Fig. 303), the masonry is fully bonded, the western openings in the tower are primary, and a slight deformation in the outer face of the tower at a low level – where the north wall of the baptistery adjoins it – confirms that the tower was not raised independently of the annexe. The walls vary somewhat in thickness, the average being 80 cm. Internally, the fabric is fully exposed, having been stripped of plaster and ribbon-pointed with cement (Figs. 277 and 278).⁶⁷

The walls are composed of small mixed rubble, with scattered inclusions of larger pieces of gritstone (Figs. 323 and 327). The rubble comprises limestone, chalk and water-worn boulders. As with the tower, banding is discernible in the construction, reflecting the arrival on site of different loads of rubble. A few building-lifts could be defined, and paired putlog holes



Fig. 326: Western annexe: south-west corner. The limestone plinth running around the base of the walls is present but heavily decayed on the south (right), while on the west (left) it has largely disappeared. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 327: Western annexe: the south wall in the 1950s; it had been stripped of rendering in 1923, exposing the rubble construction. Photo: The Courtauld Institute of Art, London

occur in the north, south and west walls; single putlog holes are found in the tower wall at four levels. Collectively, these define a box-scaffold with four building-lifts.⁶⁸ Nothing is known about the external scaffolding.

The side walls are 75–80 cm in thickness, but the west wall appears to be slightly thinner: 75 cm at the base, tapering to 70 cm in the gable. They were intended for plastering, both externally and internally. A band of primary wallplaster, up to 30 cm high, was found *in situ* around the base of the walls during excavation. Since the plaster continued without interruption across the lowest courses of the west wall, it confirms that there was no original doorway at this end of the building (but for a later insertion, see p. 522). No decoration occurs on the plaster, although very little of its surface survived intact.

The maximum height to which original masonry in the side walls stands is 6.2 m on the south and 6.3 m on

the north, the latter dimension (20½ ft) equating with the threshold of the gallery-level doorway in the tower (Fig. 308). The tops of the walls are much disturbed by works associated with later roofs, but nevertheless they retain evidence of former flooring at eaves level. One complete oak joist remains, with its ends embedded in primary construction mortar, and the sawn-off end of another occurs next to it in the north wall (Figs. 328 and 329). Further joist-ends exist in both walls, but these are set in post-medieval masonry and brickwork, and are unlikely to be primary timbers.⁶⁹

The surviving evidence implies that there were six joists spanning the baptistery, supporting the floor to its upper chamber, which was at the same level as the threshold of the doorway in the west wall of the tower (Fig. 311). No evidence relating to the roof of the baptistery was recovered, although the pockets to receive the ends of the wallplates and ridge-beam probably still remain in the west face of the tower (*cf.* the chancel,



Fig. 328: Western annexe: the upper part of the north wall, showing two existing floor joists (the nearer one being primary) and the sawn-off stump of a third in between. View north-west, 1983. Photo: English Heritage



Fig. 329: Western annexe. The top of the north wall, showing one primary floor joist in situ and the stumps of two others that have been sawn off. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

p. 305), albeit concealed from view by the abutment of the present roof, which has a pitch of 50 degrees. The verge of the west gable has been rebuilt to suit the latter. Some evidence was, however, seen in 1923 that may relate to the primary roof, but not properly recorded. When the Victorian rendering was stripped

from the gable, remains of a horizontal timber, incorporated in the outer face of the masonry, were found at eaves-level, and at the north end was the stump of a gable rafter. The decayed remnants of timber were removed and the channels infilled with masonry.⁷⁰ The implication is that the gable embodied an exposed



Fig. 330: Western annexe. Fragment of oak branch-wood (arrowed) partially embedded in the south wall, close to the west angle and adjacent to a sawn-off primary floor joist, 1983. This was probably a remnant of the Anglo-Saxon scaffolding. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

truss, the purpose of which was potentially to provide an anchor for thatch (which could not be securely tied down to masonry). Hence, on balance, the baptistery and chancel are perhaps more likely to have had thatched roofs, rather than shingles. The annexe has had a stone-coped verge since the fourteenth century, indicating that the timbers must have belonged to an earlier arrangement, potentially primary.

Inside the church, a further primary detail was noted in the south wall, close to the western corner and just below the eaves. Here, a fragment of oak branch-wood with a cleanly sawn-off end formerly projected from the wall-face (Fig. 330). Repairs were needed to the top of the wall, and investigation revealed that the branch was embedded in the masonry to a depth of *c.* 35 cm and, although there was post-medieval brickwork above, there was no doubt that the branch was set in the primary Anglo-Saxon mortar. It was neither large enough in diameter nor straight enough to have been a putlog, but could have been part of a hurdle which was used by builders as decking on the scaffolding. Whatever its use, the end of the branch was firmly trapped in the masonry and when it was no longer wanted it had to be sawn off.⁷¹

Windows

The four original double-splayed windows survive: round-headed ones in the north and south walls, and two circular lights (*oculi*) in the west wall. Of the latter,

one is in the gable, where it lit the upper chamber, while the other is at a high level in the main vessel. All the openings are crudely formed in rubblework, including the jambs, while the sills of the north and south windows have been lowered and bevelled: they were probably once flat. There were no stone dressings to any of the openings, externally or internally, and their reveals were simply plastered along with the walls (Fig. 327). Each opening contained a mid-wall timber window-frame which was built-in as the masonry was erected.

The heads of the north and south windows are not truly semicircular, and the absence of defined ledges for seating timber formwork at the springing-level indicates that the arches were turned on hoods of basketwork. For the most part, the unworked pieces of limestone used as voussoirs in the outer and rear-arches were not laid radially. The distortion exhibited by the rear-arch of the south window is typical of basket formwork sagging under the weight of stone and wet mortar.

Both the outer and rear apertures of the north and south windows, when plastered, were probably intended to measure *c.* 70 cm in width by 1.2 m in overall height (2¼ × 4 ft). The mid-wall aperture was less than 50 cm by 100 cm, and the splays were asymmetrical (probably unintentionally). The timber mid-wall frames have not survived, but the channels that housed them are partially intact, and the arched head-timber of the south window was still *in situ* in the 1950s (Fig. 327). The apertures were doubtless once fitted with



Fig. 331: *St Botolph, Hadstock (Essex)*. Jointed oak frame of a double-splayed window in the north wall of the nave, integrally built with the flint-rubble masonry. Note also remains of the original lime-render in the reveal and on the external wall face (upper left). Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 332: *St Botolph, Hadstock (Essex)*. Semicircular head of a jointed window frame in the nave, showing the arc of small holes used to anchor the basketwork hood which served as a former for the arch of flint rubble. Note the preserved wattle impressions in the soffit. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

carpentered oak frames of the type that still survive at Hadstock (Essex) and elsewhere:⁷² each comprised a sill, a pair of stiles and a shaped head (Fig. 331). The head was a rectangular baulk of timber with a semicircular cut-out to form the window arch. A series of small holes drilled into each face, concentrically around the arch, provided anchoring points for the basketwork hoods that supported the masonry heads of the outer and inner splays while their bedding mortar was setting (Fig. 332). Although no evidence survives at St Peter's, it was usual for the basketwork to be left in place, providing a useful key for the plaster lining to the head of the splay. Impressions left by woven cane-work in the mortar have been recorded in window heads at Hadstock, Hales (Norf.) and elsewhere (Rodwell 1986, 164–6).

The two circular windows in the west wall were constructed on the same principles. The upper was slightly larger (70 cm diam., externally) than the lower (60 cm diam.). The mid-wall apertures, after making allowance for the missing plaster layer, had a diameter of c. 35 cm. Instead of having carpentered frames, these openings were each fitted with a pierced oak board. Parts of both boards remain *in situ* (Fig. 333). The timbers are very fragmentary, but more survives in the upper *oculus*, where it appears that the board was pierced with a series of vertical slots, the ends of which were rounded as a result of being formed with a drill (Fig. 334).⁷³ Also, a semicircle of small drilled holes around the upper half of the board – on both faces – provides confirmation that hoods of basketwork had been attached. Once again, their function was to support the arched heads of the openings while the construction mortar was setting.

In the lower *oculus*, only the bottom of the pierced board survives, and that is in very poor condition (Fig. 335). Nevertheless, rounded indentations are visible, which presumably mark the bottoms of vertical slots (Fig. 333, C).

Oculi containing fragmentary pierced boards survive in very few late Saxon churches, such as South Lopham and possibly Haddiscoe Thorpe and Hales (Norf.), where the diameters of the apertures are c. 30 cm, 23 cm and 23 cm, respectively (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 401, 272, 279). More await discovery, as was shown in 1993 at Ilketshall St Margaret (Suff.), where two infilled *oculi* were exposed in the walls of the round tower. There, the remains of circular discs of oak (23 cm diam.) were discovered mid-wall, pierced with drilled holes 20 mm across.⁷⁴ Window and belfry apertures with pierced stone slabs (*transennae*) are also known in Anglo-Saxon towers, including Earls Barton and Barnack; in the case of the latter, two of the openings have slabs pierced by four vertical slots with rounded ends (Taylor and Taylor 1965, fig. 22). At Earls Barton the apertures are cruciform. Two *transennae* are also preserved in windows in the south wall of the eastern church at Jarrow (Fig. 292).

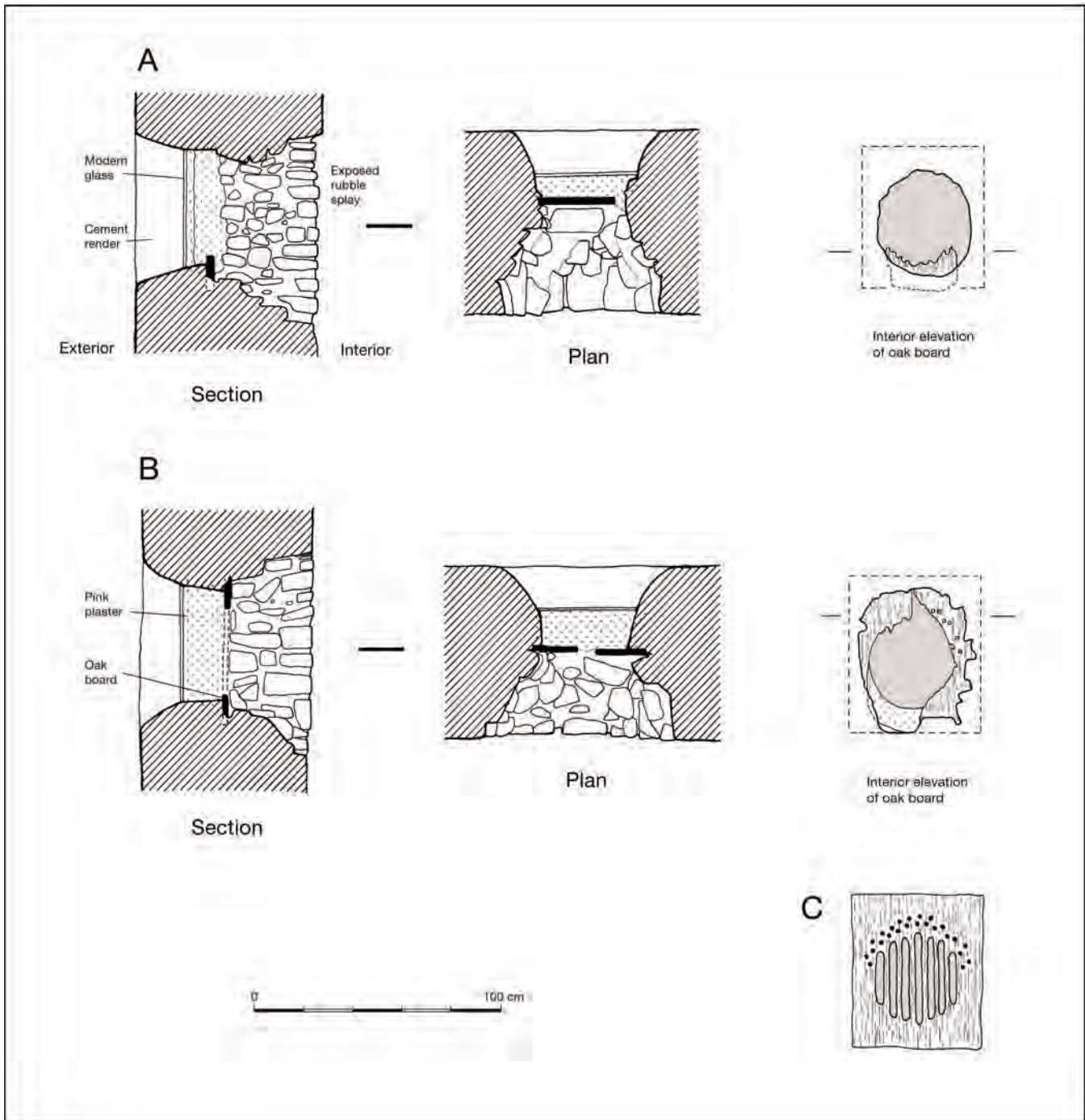


Fig. 333: Western annexe. Plans and sections through the oculi in the west wall, and internal elevations of the surviving fragments of pierced window-boards contained in them. A, lower oculus; B, upper oculus; C, reconstruction of a window-board. Scale 1:25. Drawings: Stephen Coll and Warwick Rodwell

Floor and associated features

As in the tower, the later archaeological levels had all been removed in 1912, leaving the early deposits which were remarkably intact, there being no graves or other substantial features cut into them. Once again, a series of exhumed and backfilled graves was found, antedating the erection of the church (Fig. 165). Eight or nine were identified, the fillings in three of which had slumped, giving rise to bulges in the foundations.⁷⁵ After the baptistery had been erected, a levelling layer of clay (F789)

was spread over the interior, concealing the tops of the foundations and abutting the walls. A lime-concrete floor (as in the tower, F534) was laid on this (Fig. 336). Several postholes cut into the clay, and doubtless associated with scaffolding, were sealed by the floor.

The font

Before the floor was laid, a shallow sub-circular pit (F794) was dug towards the south-west corner, cutting through the clay layer; into this pit was set a rectangular



Fig. 334: Western annexe, interior. Remains of the pierced oak mid-wall board in the upper oculus. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 335: Western annexe, interior. Remains of the pierced oak mid-wall board in the lower oculus. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

block of gritstone, measuring 70 cm by 60 cm, with a mortice in its upper face (F793; Figs. 256 and 337). The latter was roughly level with the top of the clay spread, and the block was supported on a rubble 'footing' comprising small pieces of limestone that had been

thrown into the hole; this was not a constructed foundation, the rubble being loose and voided (Fig. 338). The filling of the pit, around the gritstone block, was in two layers: the lower 10 cm comprised clay, above which was clean chalk and flint gravel. The lime-concrete floor was then laid, lapping over the surface of the block and masking its outline.

However, this floor did not entirely cover the gritstone, but appeared to 'ghost' the outline of a feature *c.* 50 cm in diameter which had rested centrally on the block.⁷⁶ Collectively, the evidence points to this being the base of a font, and since the stratification admits no doubt that the feature was primary, identification of the western annexe as a baptistery naturally follows. The presence of a small soakaway-pit under or around the base is the principal diagnostic element for identifying the location of a font, and such pits are regularly encountered in church excavations. Barton appears to have the earliest font-pit so far discovered. Potentially contemporary with it was a single posthole, tucked into the south-west corner of the baptistery (F787).

In addition to the base, there were presumably two more elements to the font: the stem and the bowl. The likelihood is that both were fashioned from blocks of recycled gritstone: the former was perhaps a length of Roman column drum; the latter either a hollowed-out capital or a portion of a larger drum (*cf.* the columnar sections 90 cm in diameter, used to make window heads in the tower: p. 273).⁷⁷ There was no local stone that could be obtained in large enough blocks to make



Fig. 336: Western annexe. Remains of the primary lime-concrete floor (F534) of the baptistery, after the excavation of all later deposits. View west through the tower arch. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 337: Western annexe. View into the south-west corner, after excavation of all internal deposits, showing the pit containing the gritstone block to support the Anglo-Saxon font. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 338: Western annexe. Gritstone block to support the Anglo-Saxon font, showing the construction pit and soak-away made of limestone fragments. Note also the pattern of wear on the upper face of the block, especially at the near right-hand corner, the side from which the font would principally have been approached. View west. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 339: Western annexe. Close-up view of the gritstone font base, showing the mortice in the upper face and the cut-and-break line along the near edge. View south. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

the stem and bowl. The surviving base exhibits various features which point to its earlier history: first, it has been fashioned from a longer block, as shown by the cut-line on its north end and the different types of tool-marks on its edges (Figs. 339 and 817). Second, the upper surface exhibits considerable signs of wear, and the arrises are rounded: this occurred before use in the church. Third, the mortice is primary. Collectively, these features point to the stone having originated as a stylobate block from a Roman portico or colonnade, the column-bases of which were secured with tenons. When the block was cut down the mortice was retained as a near-central feature, possibly implying that it was reused to locate the font stem in position (although that must be very doubtful, since the stems of fonts were not normally tenoned into their bases).

Exactly at the centre of the baptistery lay a small, circular hearth pit of medieval date (F772; Fig. 256), and during excavation it was suspected that this had been formed in the top of an earlier pit. While it is impossible to be certain about this relationship, the location and depth of the pit would lend support to the notion that there had been a central feature installed in the baptistery at an early date, and when that was removed the resultant hollow in the floor was conveniently reused as a hearth. A central feature in the floor implies significance, and it may be conjectured that the pit was originally the setting for a special focus, perhaps a freestanding cross in stone or timber.

Flanking the tower arch, and hard against its jambs, was a pair of postholes (F619 and F620), which points to the likelihood that an ornamental timber surround was fitted to the opening. The absence of iron crooks in the masonry, for hinges, militates against the presence of doors to close off the annexe from the tower. Moreover, the feature may have been associated with the Saxo-Norman phase, rather than the primary construction (for discussion, see p. 340).

The lime-concrete floor became submerged, probably quite quickly, beneath multiple laminations of sandy soil, representing material trampled underfoot during the earlier part of the church's life. Numerous small features were cut into these accumulating layers, which also included further lenses of lime mortar. The latter were thin and not continuous across the entire floor, suggesting that they were no more than incidental spreads of builders' debris.

Chancel

Structural form

Nothing survives of the chancel above ground level, except the vertical scars where its north and south walls were keyed into the east face of the tower (Figs. 252, 258 and 347). Excavation beneath the floor of the present nave (Area 1) revealed the foundation plan, although much cut about by later features (Figs. 256, 340 and 341). The construction was identical to that



Fig. 340: Foundations of the Anglo-Saxon chancel and the nave of the Saxo-Norman church which encased it. The chancel arch of the tower-nave is on the right. View south. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 341: Fragmentary foundations of the demolished Anglo-Saxon chancel, after the excavation of all later features. Overhead view from the high-level doorway in the tower. East is at the top. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

of the tower, and the two were clearly contemporaneous. It can be deduced that the chancel had a projecting plinth at ground level (*cf.* the baptistery) because the returns of the gritstone plinth on the east face of the tower stop just short of the projected line of the chancel wall-faces. Although the chancel plinth is likely to have been of limestone slabs, as with the baptistery, this cannot be demonstrated; the offset would have been *c.* 10–12 cm.

No trace of the superstructure of the chancel remained, except for a single course of upstanding rubble masonry along part of the south wall: this still retained a 5 cm high band of internal wallplaster. It was possible to establish the chancel's dimensions with confidence, based on the evidence of the foundations, the wallplaster and the vertical scars on the tower. These indicate that the external width (north–south) was 5.1 m (16¾ ft), above plinth level, and that the walls themselves were *c.* 76–80 cm (2¾ ft) in thickness. As with the baptistery, the gable wall may have been slightly thinner than the side walls (p. 295); the foundation indicates a width of 70–75 cm. The chancel abutted centrally the elevation of the tower, and its

eastward projection can be estimated as *c.* 5.1 m. Externally, the chancel was therefore square in plan.

The bonding-scars begin a short distance above ground level, demonstrating that the tower was set out first, and several courses of masonry were laid before work began on the chancel (Figs. 258 and 342). The scars left by the subsequent removal of the chancel are irregular (except on the north side of the north wall) and were thoroughly patched with new stone in 1898, when the medieval wallplaster was stripped from the west end of the nave.⁷⁸ The fact that the scars are irregular and continuous points firmly to the chancel having been erected at the same time as the tower-nave. Had the tower been completed first, projecting toothings, or pockets for block-bonding the chancel walls, would have been left at intervals; in that scenario the extant scars would have exhibited more clearly definable patterns.

The height of the chancel walls can be determined as approximately coinciding with the threshold of the doorway in Stage 1B of the tower, which is 6.25 m (20½ ft) above foundation level (Fig. 347). The scars of both the north and south walls exhibit a step at the



Fig. 342: Chancel: foundation for the south wall, partly sectioned by a later grave. View west. Scales of 2 m and 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

top, which seems to represent a separate pocket designed to receive the end of a timber plate laid on the wall and aligned with its outer face. There is a discrepancy between the levels of the wallplates, that on the south being *c.* 20 cm higher.⁷⁹

A single pocket in the face of the tower, 4.0 m above the threshold of the high-level doorway was clearly intended to receive the end of a horizontal timber; this was not quite axially positioned, but slightly off-centre to the north. It was not a putlog hole, and the most plausible interpretation is that it held the end of the ridge-beam of the chancel roof. The pitch of the roof would have been about 60 degrees.⁸⁰ There was doubtless an eastern masonry gable, matching that of the baptistery. There were no pockets for purlins, and the rafters were presumably secured to the ridge and wallplates by pegging. For the full series of roof-lines abutting the tower, see Figure 398.

Nothing further can be said about the fabric of the chancel, except that it must have been floored at eaves level, and the doorway leading from the east side of the tower gallery would have given access to the upper chamber. There is every likelihood that the chancel was a mirror-image of the baptistery (described above), except that more generous fenestration would be expected in the east wall. There may have been a single round-headed window in each of the north, south and east walls, plus an *oculus* in the gable, to light the upper chamber. It is also possible that the chancel had slightly more elaborate detailing, perhaps including a limestone string-course dividing the walls into two registers. Fragments of a double-chamfered string-course were recycled in the added belfry (p. 370).⁸¹

The chancel was entered from the tower-nave through a monumental arch which, although elaborated on its west face, was entirely plain on the east (Fig. 347).

Floor and associated features

Since the primary chancel had been demolished and its site incorporated within the nave of the Saxo-Norman and subsequent churches, the early archaeological deposits had been severely disturbed: nothing approaching the level of preservation seen in the tower-nave and baptistery obtained here. At least seven pre-church graves had been exhumed, two of which lay immediately outside the chancel on the north (F1630 and F1741); the remaining four were all overlain or truncated by the foundations (F1437, F1451, F1694 and F4016). It is feasible that there were several more – particularly within the chancel – the evidence for which was destroyed by deep nineteenth-century graves.

Of particular interest are two burials that had been overlooked by the exhumation team, and consequently the foundation trench for the east wall was cut through them. One was clearly defined (F1364): only the torso survived, the remainder having been truncated by the foundation (Fig. 166). The second was slightly more equivocal: it was an adult male who had been buried in a timber coffin (F1400). The whole of the body survived down to the knees, which coincided with the line of the east wall. However, the foundation itself had been cut away in this area by the construction trench for a post-medieval vault. Consequently, it was not possible to demonstrate that the lower legs had been cut off by the Anglo-Saxon foundation, although that



Fig. 343: Site of the Anglo-Saxon chancel with primary white lime-concrete floor, much disturbed by later features. The south wall foundation is glimpsed on the left; the north foundation is on the right, but largely dug away. The east wall was removed by the brick vault in the foreground. View west. Scales of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

seems inevitable. An alternative scenario was considered, namely that the burial was contemporary with the chancel, and that the lower end of the coffin had been tucked into a pocket which was gouged out of the foundation. Ultimately, this was rejected, and F1400 is accepted as a pre-church burial.⁸²

Floor

The lime-concrete floor of the tower continued into the chancel, but its survival was very patchy. It appears to have covered only the western half, ending at the line of a timber screen which ran across the chancel at its mid-point (Fig. 256). Evidence for the screen was found abutting the south wall, where several slots and small postholes had survived later disturbances (F215–F218). The existence of a permanent division here is also reinforced by the fact that the primary lime-concrete floor (F534) did not occur in the eastern half of the chancel: instead, a different type of floor was present which appeared to be composed entirely of crushed chalk and small gravel (F219; Figs. 343 and 344). The surface was worn and undulating, but there was no change of level between the two floors.

The surviving strip of wallplaster, mentioned above, was of the same colour and consistency as the floor screed in the western part of the chancel, and there is no doubting that the two were contemporaneous.



Fig. 344: Floors in the Anglo-Saxon chancel. In the foreground is the pale lime-concrete floor of the eastern half. Beyond is the darker floor of the western half, the two separated by a line of small postholes. The site of the southern foundation for the altar is labelled 'A'. The scale (25 cm) lies against the south wall, where a narrow ribbon of primary wallplaster survives on the upstand. View south-west. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Burials

The only contemporaneous burials within the Anglo-Saxon church were found in the chancel. Here, in the western half, lay a pair of adult graves, effectively flanking the chancel arch (Fig. 256). The southern



Fig. 345: Chancel: grave F1386. The filling of the grave subsided, taking the lime-concrete floor with it. View west. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

grave (F1386) had been dug before the lime-concrete floor was laid, and thus the interment presumably took place while the church was in the final stage of construction. The outline of a coffin was partly preserved on account of the timber from which it was made having been charred. After the lime-concrete floor had been laid, the filling of the grave subsided and the floor broke up and sunk (Fig. 345). The burial was unusual for Barton in that the bones of the pelvis and torso had decayed to such an extent that nothing was recoverable: they appeared in the ground as cream-coloured pulp. In contrast, the bones of the skull, right arm (the left was missing) and legs were in average condition (Fig. 346). Such markedly different decay mechanisms, within a single adult grave, raise the possibility that some form of treatment, such as embalming, was applied to the corpse. Although positive evidence for embalming is lacking, this pattern of differential bone decay is regularly encountered on high-status sites.⁸³

A small, rectangular area of rubble foundation (F167) had been constructed partly over the grave. The rubble comprised chalk, ironstone and pebbles, laid in a matrix of clay. This feature was complete and had the appearance of being the support for the southern end of an altar.



Fig. 346: Chancel: grave F1386, view west. Scale of 10 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

The sequence on the north was probably similar: here lay another burial in a charred timber coffin (F1650), but the evidence did not survive to show whether the grave was dug through the chancel floor, or was sealed by it. Nor was there a corresponding foundation for the posited altar *in situ* over the grave, the area having been disturbed in relatively modern times. However, it may be no coincidence that the disturbance contained displaced rubble of similar type to that in the southern foundation. Also, a small circular pit (F211), which had been dug through the chancel floor, encountered and disturbed the west end of the underlying grave. The backfill of the pit contained a

skull and various other bones which gave the appearance of having been carefully placed in it: at the time of excavation, the possibility that this feature was a relic pit was considered.

The two graves may well have been those of the church's founders, one or both of whom died before the primary floor was laid (or their remains were translated here during construction, from an initial burial place elsewhere). Unfortunately, both skeletons were too poorly preserved to identify their sex or age. The altar, which partly overlaid these graves, was placed against the west side of the dividing screen: its dimensions would have been *c.* 1.5 m long by *c.* 95 cm deep. The putative relic pit was at the north-west corner of the altar.

A third grave was encountered in the chancel, sealed beneath the floor in the eastern part, but it is more likely to be a pre-church burial than an intramural one (F1400; p. 172).

Interpretation and Discussion

The emergence of tower-nave churches

St Peter's belongs to a rare group of late Anglo-Saxon turriform churches, the principal characteristic of which is the siting of the nave within the ground stage of the tower. Micklethwaite (1896, 336) coined the term 'tower-churches' for the type. A corollary of this is the inevitably modest size and square (or near-square) plan of the nave. The adjoining chancel and any other appendages were, perforce, even smaller. The church type may once have been commonplace, but architectural analogues for St Peter's are now difficult to find, and it occasions no surprise that these liturgically restricting buildings did not survive long into the Middle Ages.

Equal-armed, centrally planned churches, based on a square – which may or may not have been surmounted by a tower or lantern – were widespread in Byzantine and early medieval Europe, and a few potential examples have been recorded in England (see map, Fig. 350). The earliest evidence relates to Wilfrid's church of St Mary, Hexham (Northumb.), dating from the early eighth century. It is known only from a twelfth-century description, which records that the core of the structure was 'nearly round', was 'built in the manner of a tower', and was abutted by four *porticus* (Raine 1864, 183, 14n; Gem 1983, 10–11). The description points to a turriform nave of polygonal plan. In the second quarter of the ninth century, a poem by Æthelwulf – *De Abbatibus* – variously describes three Northumbrian stone churches (one imaginary), referring to their 'lofty walls', a ground plan 'laid out in the shape of a cross', and the building being 'supported all the way round the wall by large and small *porticus*'. The author commented on the bells and the fact that the interior 'shone with a great light' (Taylor 1974c, 164–5). The interpretation seems clear: Æthelwulf was



Fig. 347: Tower: east face, showing bonding scars (patched with darker coloured rubble), where the Anglo-Saxon chancel walls were formerly attached. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

describing a turriform nave (with bells), abutted by *porticus* on all four sides and having high-level windows that transmitted light into the centre of the building.

Another early example was King Alfred's timber church of *c.* 878 at Athelney (Som.), although it is known only from a twelfth-century account by William of Malmesbury.⁸⁴ He tells us that the church was modest in plan and consisted of four apses abutting the sides of a central structure which was held up by four posts. William does not describe the central component as square, but that seems self-evident; nor does he state that it was turriform. However, his description that the posts 'bore up the whole fabric' must surely imply that there was a significant superstructure at the centre. William of Malmesbury described Athelney as being 'after a new mode of building', which may represent the beginning of the small, centrally planned church in Anglo-Saxon England (for discussion, see Gem 1991, 806–8).

A turriform church built in the 970s by Æthelwold at Thorney (Cambs.) is described in a document of *c.* 1100. It was 'a small church of stone, in the manner of a tower', and was evidently abutted on at least three

sides by *porticus*, which not only contained 'three very small altars', but were also two-storeyed (Gem 1984, 141; 1991, 826–7). Also, Edward the Elder's church at Wilton (Wilts.) appears to have been of timber, and in the 980s was made cruciform in plan by Edith, one of the nuns: 'with a threefold porticus on the scheme of a cross she enlarged it' (Gem 1990, 6–7). Finally, the cruciform foundation trench excavated at South Cadbury (Som.) was designed to support a symmetrical, turriform stone structure of the same type, which can be dated to the early eleventh century (Fig. 351, 1; Alcock 1995, 157–60).

The only excavated example of a small cruciform structure in timber – with a quartet of posts supporting a central tower or lantern – is seen at Potterne (Wilts.). Here, in a field to the south of the medieval parish church, the foundation settings for a timber turriform building, apparently of several structural phases, were excavated by Davey in 1962. It has been assumed, without question, that the building was a church, although there is no supporting documentation for the site, no religious artefacts were recovered, and no burials have been reported. Notwithstanding, interpretation of the

remains as those of a manorial timber church is plausible (Fig. 348; Davey 1964; Taylor 1978, 989–90). The primary plan indicated an almost square nave, 4.8 m by 5.25 m (15¾ × 17¼ ft), externally, with a short chancel, projecting 2.6 m (8½ ft). The width of the chancel is slightly less certain, but its plan was not far off square⁸⁵ (Fig. 349, 1). The positions of the walls were mostly defined by shallow trenches and ledges in the bedrock, into which timber sill-beams were once set, but there were also several groups of postholes, indicative of a different form of construction.⁸⁶ The footprint of the building was increased by at least two further stages of development, and there are also some groups of postholes, most of which are likely to belong to later phases (Fig. 349, 2, 3).

A shallow, 50-cm square socket in the western half of the chancel floor was interpreted as the setting for an altar base, but this seems unconvincingly small for such a purpose. However, the location is comparable to that of the posited altar at Barton. Of no less interest are the four short slots in the floor of the nave, evidently the bedding trenches for timber pads, or sleeper beams. The plan implies that a square, four-post structure with a pitch of 1.7 m (5½ ft) rose centrally in the nave (Fig. 348, B; Gem 1995, 42). There can be little doubt that we see here in the excavation plan, the outer walls and the central quartet of posts for a staged timber tower, strongly reminiscent of the freestanding timber-framed belfries of Essex studied by Hewett (1962). The structure centred above the crossing (8 m square) at Breamore (Hants.) should probably also be seen as related (Rodwell and Rouse 1984, pl. 34). It may be argued that the Essex belfries, ranging in date from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, perpetuate the basic form – and probably to some extent the construction – of small, centrally planned timber churches of the late Saxon period. The earlier belfries are based around a central quartet of posts, which are either abutted by three or four separate chambers (*e.g.* Navestock and West Hanningfield), or surrounded by narrow ‘aisles’, as at Stock (Fig. 349, 4–6).⁸⁷ Surely we see here the Anglo-Saxon centrally planned, turriiform church relegated to a lower position in the architectural hierarchy, and transmuted into a western tower?

Returning to Potterne, in the second structural phase a square chamber, arguably a *porticus*, was added to the south side of the nave, and a near-matching one may have been built to the north, but only a fragment of its plan has been recovered through excavation (Figs. 348, B, and 349, 2). In the southern *porticus*, north of the centre, was a small, square emplacement in the bedrock, interpreted by the excavator as a further altar setting. Again, its size is unconvincingly modest (35 cm square), and the location would be curious for an altar in a side chapel. It is perhaps more likely to be the socket for a freestanding cross or *stèle*. Moreover, it is observable that each of these ‘altar’ sockets sits centrally within a polygonal emplacement in the bedrock, which may be

interpreted as the foundation setting for stones forming an octagonal plinth or step around a freestanding artefact. In the case of the chancel, it seems likely that the principal altar stood not only to the west of this feature, but was also separated from it by a wall or screen, the foundation trench for which was recorded: *i.e.* the altar lay under the chancel arch.

In the third phase a rectangular chamber was added to the west end of the nave, its walls slightly overlapping the north and south *porticus*, and a timber porch was constructed, the whole having the appearance in plan of a vestibule or *narthex*. However, the vestibule could represent a pair of western *porticus*, with altars flanking the entrance to the nave. The church was now cruciform in plan (Fig. 349, 3).

More problematic is another chamber, *c.* 4.6 m (15 ft) square, occupying the angle between the chancel and south *porticus*, and clasping also the south-east corner of the nave. One of the walls was entirely of post-built construction. In the north-west corner of the chamber was yet another socket in the bedrock, 40 cm square. The location militates against its being an altar emplacement. Also in the chamber, north-east of the centre, lay a sub-circular pit, with a smaller, deeper feature in its base. This has been identified as the emplacement and underlying soakaway for a font, and hence the structure has been claimed as a baptistery. It is thus an important analogue for Barton, albeit in a different position relative to the liturgical footprint of the church. The emplacement could have comfortably accommodated a circular artefact *c.* 70 cm in diameter, and that happens to be the dimension of the notable Anglo-Saxon stone tub font preserved in St Mary’s church, Potterne (Cramp 2006b, 224; Blair 2005, 460–1). It has therefore been argued, albeit on purely circumstantial evidence, that the font was originally in the timber baptistery, and was later transferred to the new parish church: the present building was erected in the mid-thirteenth century.

In terms of size, relative to the rest of the church, the putative baptistery at Potterne is over-large: indeed, its dimensions are comparable to those of the primary nave. The awkward way in which it clasps the remainder of the church must cast serious doubt on whether the south-east structure was even roofed: it may simply have been a baptismal enclosure. One of the *porticus* would have constituted a more convincing roofed baptistery. Davey asserted that the baptistery was primary, which is very doubtful: a reappraisal of the excavated evidence is overdue. Unfortunately, no floor levels or secure dating evidence was found anywhere on the site, and the soil immediately overlying the bedrock contained pottery ranging from Romano-British to twelfth century (Davey 1964, 121–2). At best, we can only suggest that the building is eleventh century, or earlier, in date. While it is tempting to associate the extant tub font with this site, its dating too is open to debate: Cramp (2006b, 227) simply assigns it to the tenth or eleventh century.

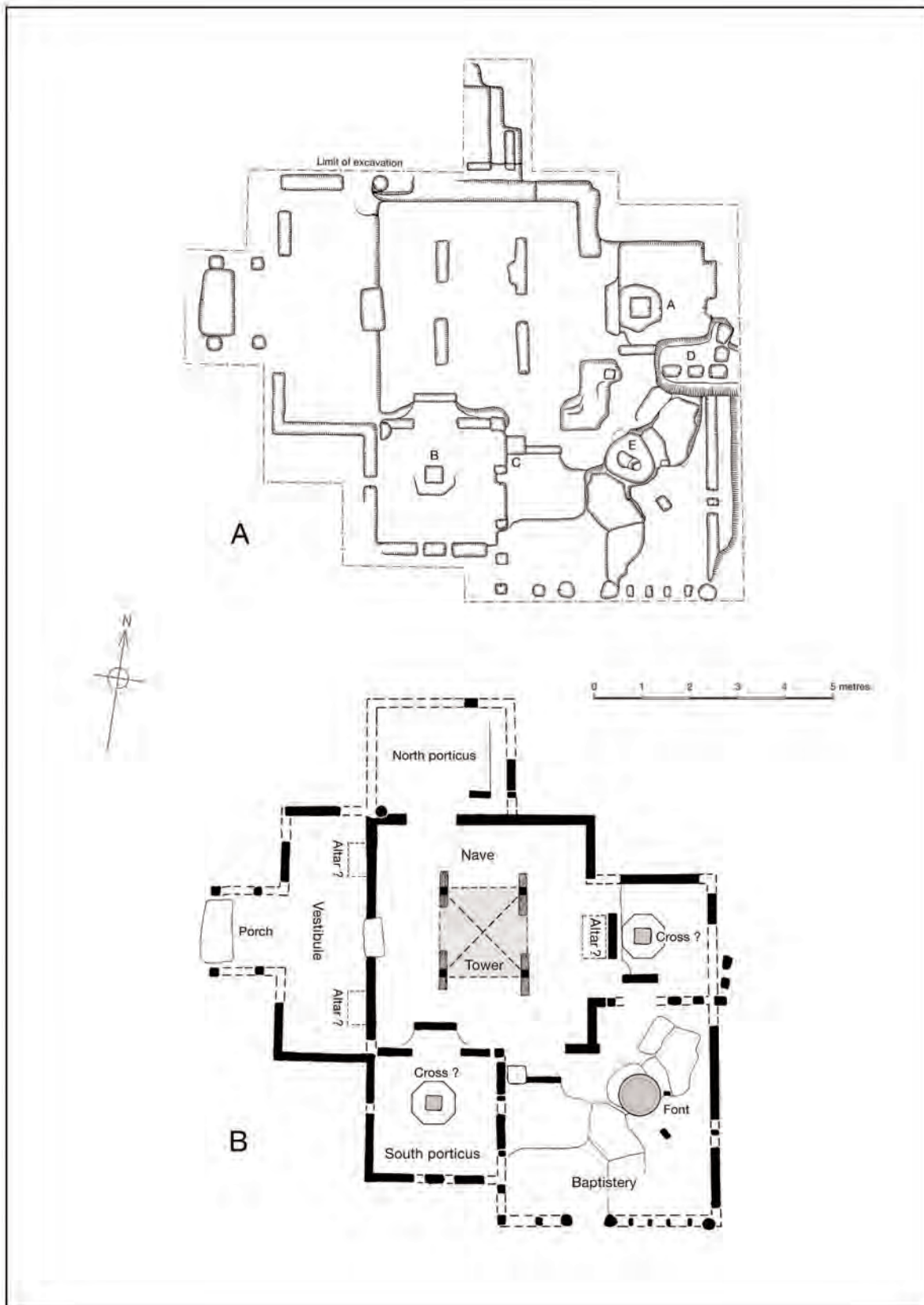


Fig. 348: Potterne (Wilts.). Cruciform timber church found by excavation. A, excavation plan. After Davey 1964. B, interpreted foundation and function plan. Scale 1:125. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

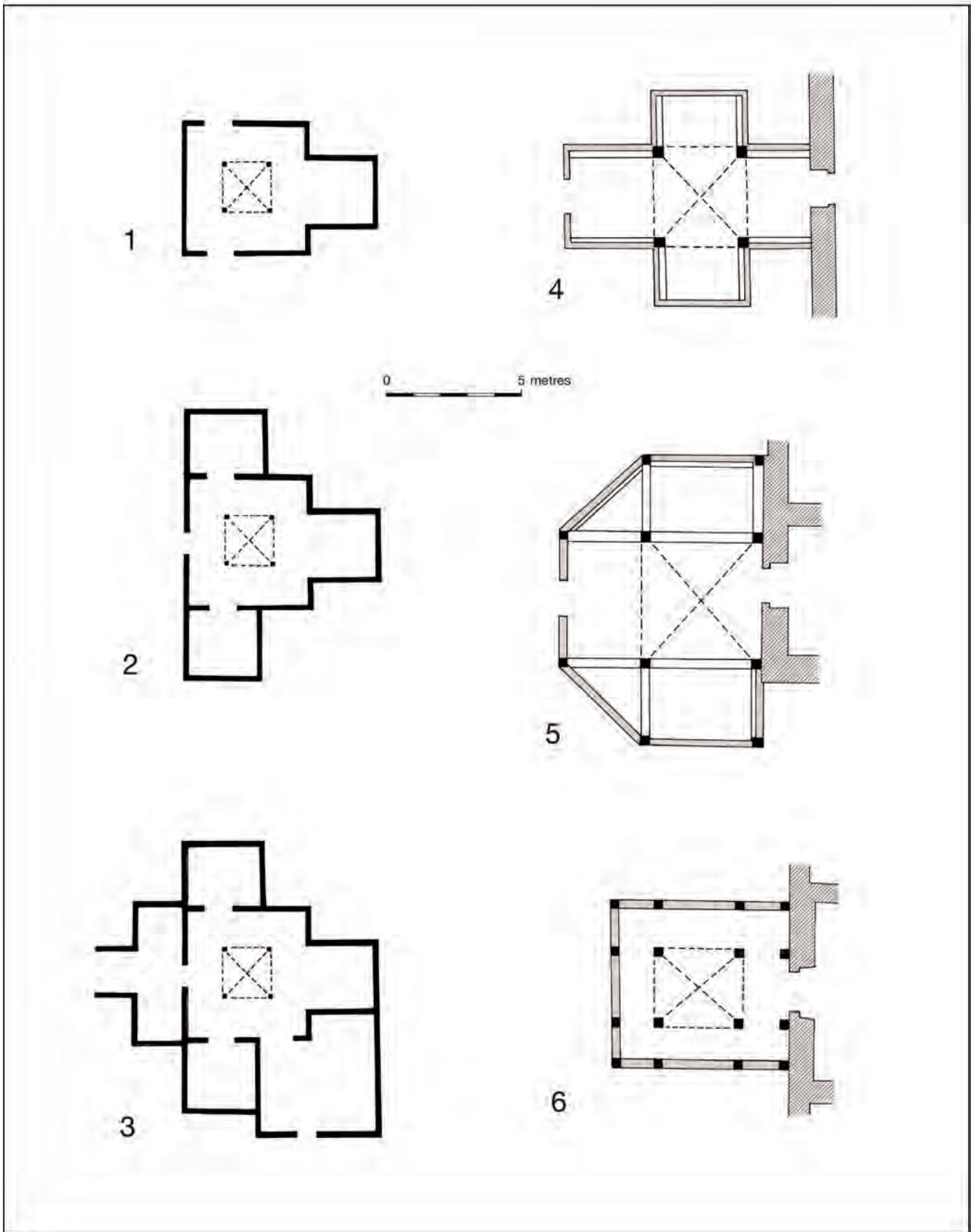


Fig. 349: Comparative plans of turriform timber structures associated with churches of late Saxon and medieval date. 1, Potterne, phase 1; 2, Potterne, phase 2; 3, Potterne, phase 3; 4, West Hanningfield, belfry; 5, Navestock, belfry; 6, Stock, belfry. Scale 1:200. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

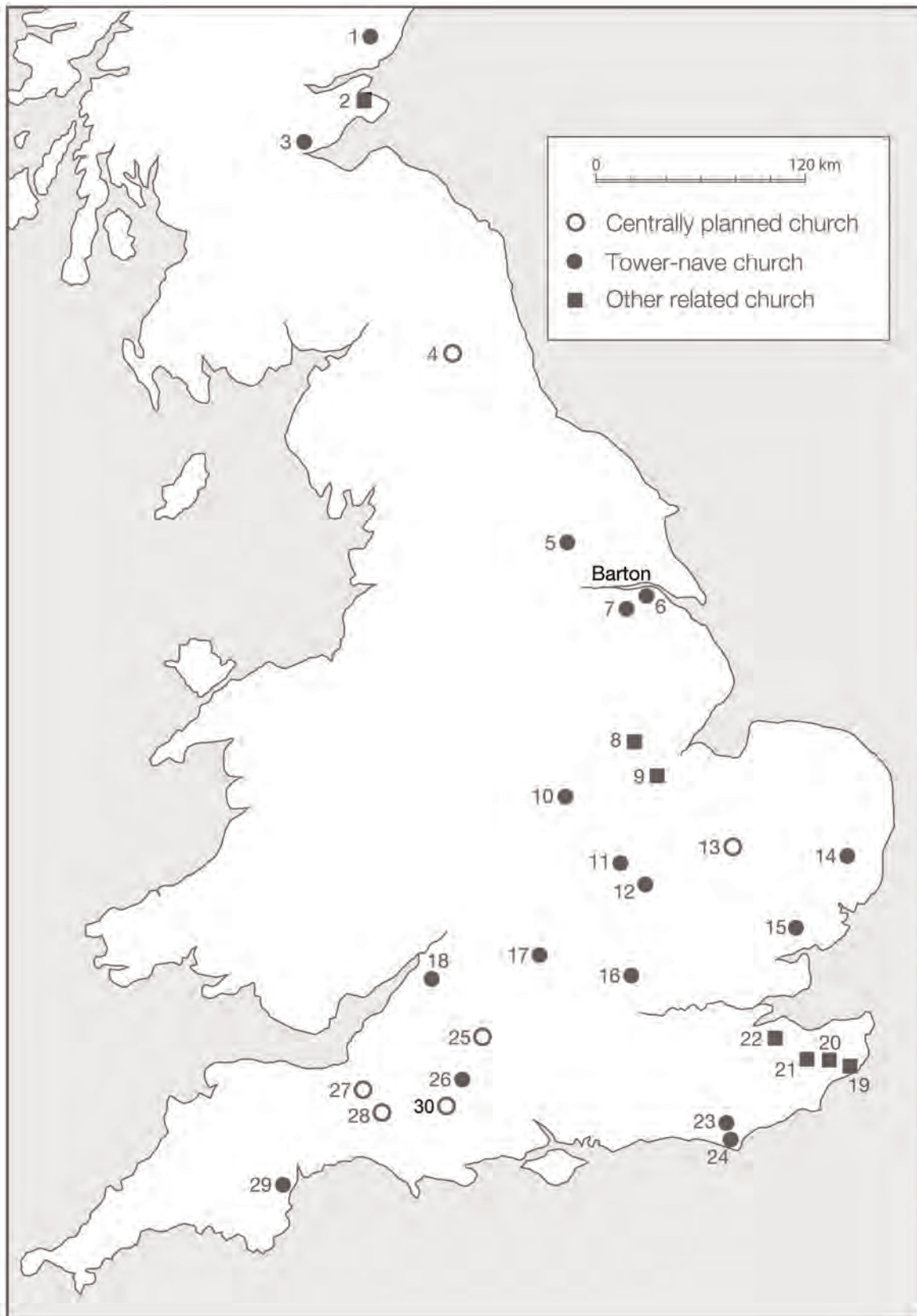


Fig. 350: Distribution map of early centrally planned churches, tower-naves and related churches in England and Scotland. Key: 1, Restenneth; 2, St Andrews; 3, Dunfermline; 4, Hexham; 5, York; 6, Barton-upon-Humber; 7, Broughton; 8, Hough-on-the-Hill; 9, Barnack; 10, Leicester; 11, Earls Barton; 12, Clapham; 13, Thorney; 14, Debenham; 15, Colchester; 16, Fingest; 17, Woodeaton; 18, Ozleworth; 19, Hougham; 20, Brabourne; 21, Brook; 22, Borden; 23, Jevington; 24, Eastdean; 25, Potterne; 26, Netheravon; 27, Athelney; 28, South Cadbury; 29, East Teignmouth; 30, Wilton. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

The architectural form of tower-nave churches: some *comparanda*

Square naves with one or more lateral appendages, or *porticus*, are attested archaeologically at more than a score of locations in England. Most are in the eastern and midland areas, with a few occurrences on the south coast and possible outliers to the west and north (Fig. 350). The last includes a group of three related towers in eastern Scotland. The only archaeologically recorded timber example, at Potterne, has been discussed above. The existence of the tower-nave class of churches was first recognized more than a century ago, and the subject has received general notice by several writers, including Brown (1900; 1903, 205–16; 1925, 277–95), Thompson (1911a, 30–3), Fisher (1962; 1969), Taylor and Taylor (1965, 55–6, 115, 193, 222, 324, 549, 710), Taylor (1978, 1018) and Stocker (1987, 141–6). The architectural histories of two of the best known turriform churches have recently been investigated and discussed – Earls Barton (Audouy *et al.* 1995) and Broughton (Shapland 2008) – and provisional lists of this building type have been drawn up. Shapland has identified twenty-eight possible examples.⁸⁸

The critical requirements for identifying an early tower-nave church are: first, that the ground stage of the tower had a larger floor area than any abutment to east or west; and, second, that a chancel, narrower than the tower, lay to the east.⁸⁹ Whether there was an additional component to the west, such as a stair-turret, baptistery or porch, is immaterial to defining the class *per se*. No original chancel associated with any of the tower-naves survives today, and there are very few instances where specific evidence for its plan has been archaeologically recovered. Hence, attention has turned to the nature of the eastern tower arch which, in a turriform church, would originally have been the chancel arch. There is a marked tendency in Anglo-Saxon and many later churches for the chancel arch to be elaborated only on its west (*i.e.* nave) face; the east side is commonly devoid of decoration and projecting mouldings. A number of late Saxon and early Norman towers have arches in their east walls which are more decorative on the west face than on the east: consequently, these have been regarded as potential tower-nave candidates. The most plausible instances are noticed below, but there are doubtless others to which attention has yet to be drawn.⁹⁰ More equivocal are those instances where the tower arch is equally moulded on both its east and west faces.

A less reliable indicator, when taken on its own, is the presence of a primary doorway in the north or south wall of the tower, as at Stevington (Beds.) (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 571–2). Towers can have lateral doors without necessarily being tower-naves, and for this reason they are not included on that evidence alone in the following list. However, for a structure to qualify as a tower-nave it must have at least one external point of entry to it, and consequently churches

such as Singleton (W. Sussex), which has been claimed as a tower-nave but displays no evidence of ever having a doorway, must be rejected.⁹¹ At present, we have no real idea how common and geographically widespread the tower-nave church was in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

In the following list, the number in parenthesis after the church's dedication refers to the distribution map, Figure 350.

Barnack (Northants./Cambs.), St John the Baptist (9) (Pl. 25A; Fig. 351, 3)

While several writers have wondered whether this was a tower-nave church, the evidence is at best equivocal. The tower arch is, unusually, decorated on both faces (although more emphatically on the east), and the triangular-headed recess in the west wall has the appearance of a ceremonial seat; there is also a doorway in the south wall, west of centre. Hence, the ground stage of the tower may have functioned as a western sanctuary, or a *porticus* serving some other special purpose. Architectural evidence, in the form of the impressive horizontal mouldings to either side of the tower arch, demonstrate that there could not have been a chamber to the east which was narrower than the tower itself. Braun's (1974, 44) contention that there was an adjoining chancel is archaeologically unsupported.

Broughton (Lincs.), St Mary (7) (Figs. 352, 14, and 353)

Only a short distance from Barton-upon-Humber is Broughton, a medieval church with a remarkable western tower, the lower part of which is Saxo-Norman (Fig. 353) (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 115–16; Shapland 2008). In plan it is decidedly rectangular; there is a doorway in the south wall (west of centre), flanked by recessed nook-shafts, and a chancel arch in the east wall with two orders of similar shafts. A small plain doorway in the west wall leads to a spiral stone stair which is housed in an attached circular turret that appears to be secondary. Like Barton, this tower was once a turriform nave, and the foundations of the tiny, long-lost chancel have been recorded beneath the floor of the later nave to the east.⁹² Broughton is certainly later in date than Barton, but there are some similarities, including the use of recycled Roman gritstone blocks. These do not occur in the lowest 2.5 m of the tower and stair, suggesting that, unlike at Barton, this material was not specially acquired at the outset with a view to its use for dressings. Where gritstone does occur in dressings, as in the outer order of the south doorway and in the arch to the stair-turret, its employment is markedly haphazard, and it is mixed with ironstone and other materials. However, the stair-newel is made from reused sections of Roman column-shaft of varying length.

An entirely new interpretation of Broughton has been offered by Shapland (2008), who argues that it began life as a tiny two-celled church, with a

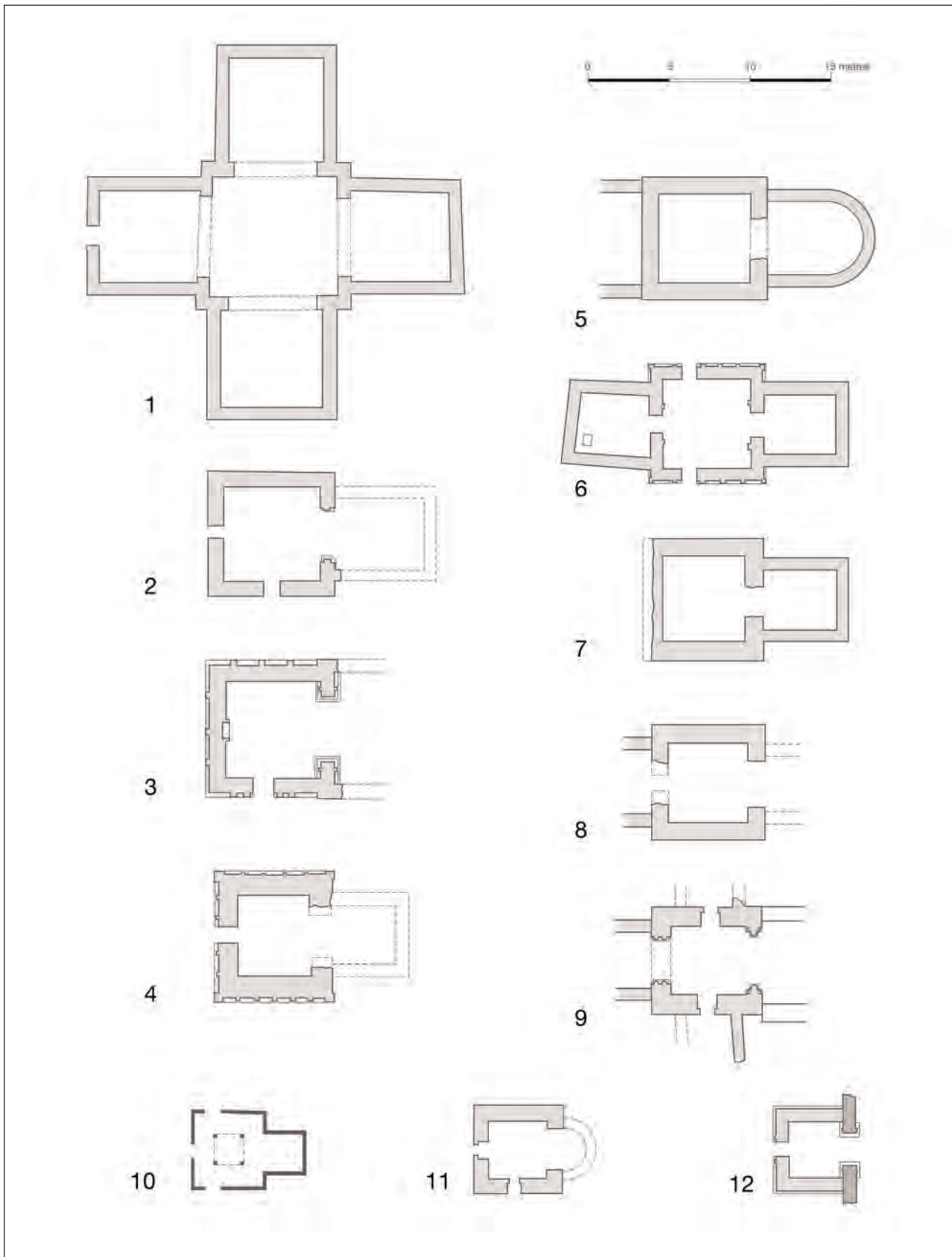


Fig. 351: Comparative plans of late Saxon turriform naves and other potentially related towers. 1, South Cadbury (interpreted from foundation trench); 2, St Mary Bishophill Junior, York; 3, Barnack; 4, Earls Barton; 5, 'St John's', Colchester (interpreted from foundations); 6, Barton-upon-Humber; 7, St Peter, Leicester (interpreted from foundations); 8, Debenham; 9, Netheravon; 10 Potterne, phase 1; 11, Eastdean; 12, Holy Trinity, Colchester. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

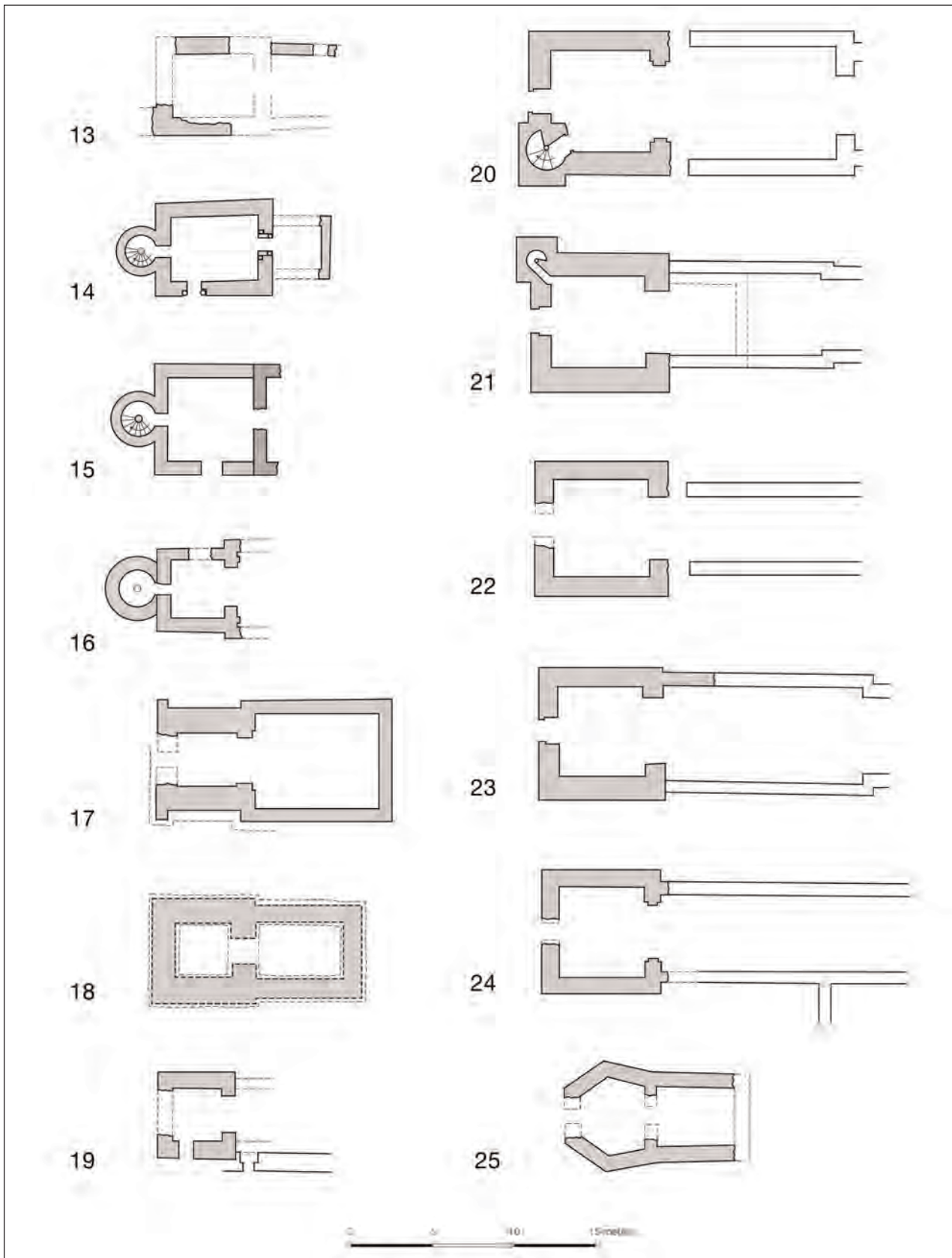


Fig. 352: Comparative plans of late Saxon and Norman turriform naves and other potentially related towers. 13, Woodeaton (interpreted from fragmentary foundations); 14, Broughton; 15, Hough-on-the-Hill; 16, Brigstock; 17, St Andrews; 18, Dunfermline (interpreted from foundations); 19, Restenneth; 20, Brook; 21, Borden; 22, Fingest; 23, Brabourne; 24, Hougham; 25, Ozleworth. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 353: *St Mary, Broughton (Lincs.)*. Turriform nave and western stair-turret. West elevation. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

conventional nave and chancel. In the second phase the walls of the nave were raised to create a turriform structure, with the circular stair-turret being added in a third phase.

Clapham (Beds.), *St Thomas à Becket* (12)

The tower is large in plan, measuring 7.01 m by 7.38 m externally, has thick walls, and is wider than the present nave which adjoins it on the east (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 158). It is therefore a potential turriform church.

Colchester (Essex), [*St John the Evangelist?*] (15) (Fig. 351, 5)

The foundations of another lost tower-nave church were discovered in 1972 through excavation at Colchester. It had a thick-walled, square nave and a chancel with a stilted apse. A rectangular nave was

subsequently added to the west. Nothing survived of the superstructure or even of the walls above foundation level. While this has been identified with the church of *St John the Evangelist*, mentioned in a medieval text, the association is doubtful (Crummy 1981, 40–6; Crummy *et al.* 1993, 213–15). That church was described as being made of ‘wooden planking’, which is not reconcilable with the deep masonry foundations discovered in 1972. The excavated church lay within the precinct of *St John’s Abbey*, which was begun in 1095 and dedicated in 1115. The former date may be taken as a *terminus ante quem* not only for the construction of the turriform building, but also for its western extension. Unfortunately, no archaeological dating evidence was recovered for the construction, enlargement or demolition of the church. The foundations were of layered construction, a technique which is attested locally from the late Saxon period onwards (and is also found at Barton-upon-Humber).⁹³ The most likely scenario is that the tower-nave church was erected in the late Saxon period, the western nave was a Saxo-Norman addition (pre-1095), and demolition occurred in the early twelfth century.

The nave at Colchester was one of the largest, measuring *c.* 7.5 m by 7.75 m (24½ × 25½ ft) externally, and had foundations 0.95 m wide and 1.2 m deep. Proportionately, the apsidal chancel was also large, but its foundations were shallower.

Debenham (Suff.), *St Mary* (14) (Fig. 351, 8)

The tower is the same size in plan as that at Barton, and has an arch in its east wall which is decorated on the west face alone (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 192–3). This is a strong candidate for a tower-nave church. Since there is no doorway in the north or south wall, there would need to have been an original entrance on the west, where there is now a porch.

Dunfermline (Fife), *Holy Trinity* (3) (Fig. 352, 18)

Excavations in 1916 revealed the foundations of a small church, comprising a thick-walled tower with an adjoining rectangular chamber to the east (Brown 1925, 451–2; Cruden 1986, 35–6; Fawcett 2002, 24). Whether the eastern cell is to be regarded as a nave, or a chancel, is open to debate: it was narrower in the north–south dimension than the tower, but greater in floor area. Internally, the tower would have been *c.* 3.5 m square, which is surely too small to have served as a congregational space.

Earls Barton (Northants.), *All Saints* (11) (Pl. 25C; Figs. 351, 4, 354 and 363)

Next to Barton-upon-Humber, this is the most important example, where interpretation of the surviving tower as a turriform nave, with a small but now-lost chancel to the east, is demanded by the architectural evidence (Fig. 354, Audouy *et al.* 1995). It did not have any appendage to the west.



Fig. 354: All Saints, Earls Barton (Northants.). Turriform nave of Saxo-Norman date. View from the south-west. Photo: English Heritage, RCHME

Eastdean (E. Sussex), St Simon and St Jude (24)
Fig. 351, 11)

This substantial Saxo-Norman tower stands adjacent to the north side of the nave of the Norman church. In the east wall is a wide arch, now infilled: it opened into a small apsidal chancel, the outline of which was said to be visible on the ground (Fisher 1970, 101–3). The form and size of the chancel have not been confirmed archaeologically, but there seems no reason to doubt that this was an early Norman tower with an attached sanctuary. The door in the west wall is modern, but whether it is on the site of a primary opening is unknown. There is a blocked original doorway in the south wall, although it is rebated in such a manner as to indicate that it was not an external entrance, but led from the tower into a lateral chamber.

Other examples of laterally positioned Norman towers with adjoining apsidal sanctuaries are known in the South-East, most notably at Godmersham (Kent), where the vaulted apse survives intact (Berg and Jones 2009, 166, fig. 7, pl. 25). The tower has an external door on the north and an arch communicating with the main body of the church on the south. Churches of the Godmersham type demonstrate how the concept of the Anglo-Saxon turriform nave and chancel mutated in the late eleventh century into a lateral appendage

East Teignmouth (Devon), St Michael (29)

A probable turriform church formerly existed at East Teignmouth, but was demolished in 1811, on account of its being too small (Cornelius 1946; Fisher 1962, 387, pl. 221). It would appear to have been Anglo-Saxon,

and was probably the church mentioned in a charter of 1044. Few additional details are recorded, but a rather simplistic engraving survives, from which certain valuable deductions can be made (Fig. 355).⁹⁴ The arrangement of windows indicates that the tower was of three stages, with a later parapet and low-pitched roof carried on a corbel-table. Attached to the south-west corner was a circular stair-turret with an external entrance, the latter most likely secondary. Unusually, the original tiny, square-ended chancel survived, and was slightly narrower than the tower. It had two small round-headed windows in the south wall, but none is shown at a low level in the east wall.⁹⁵ The east gable also had a window, and another in the tower at the same level indicates that there was an upper chamber in the chancel, accessed from the middle storey of the tower. This church clearly invites comparison with Barton. To the west of the tower was a nave – again reported as narrower – and a south porch; the dates of these are unknown. The loss of this remarkably complete survival of a turriform church is deeply regrettable.

Cornelius (1946, 144) further reports that there was a closely similar church not far away at Bishopsteignton. There, the axial tower was demolished in 1815: it had a projecting stair-turret at the south-east corner. He believed that the nave to the west of the tower was secondary, and hence that the original church was turriform.⁹⁶ These two towers are reminiscent of early Norman Weaverthorpe (Yorks.), which has a circular stair-turret attached to the south-east angle (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 642; Gem 1988; Stocker and Everson 2006, fig. 3.17)

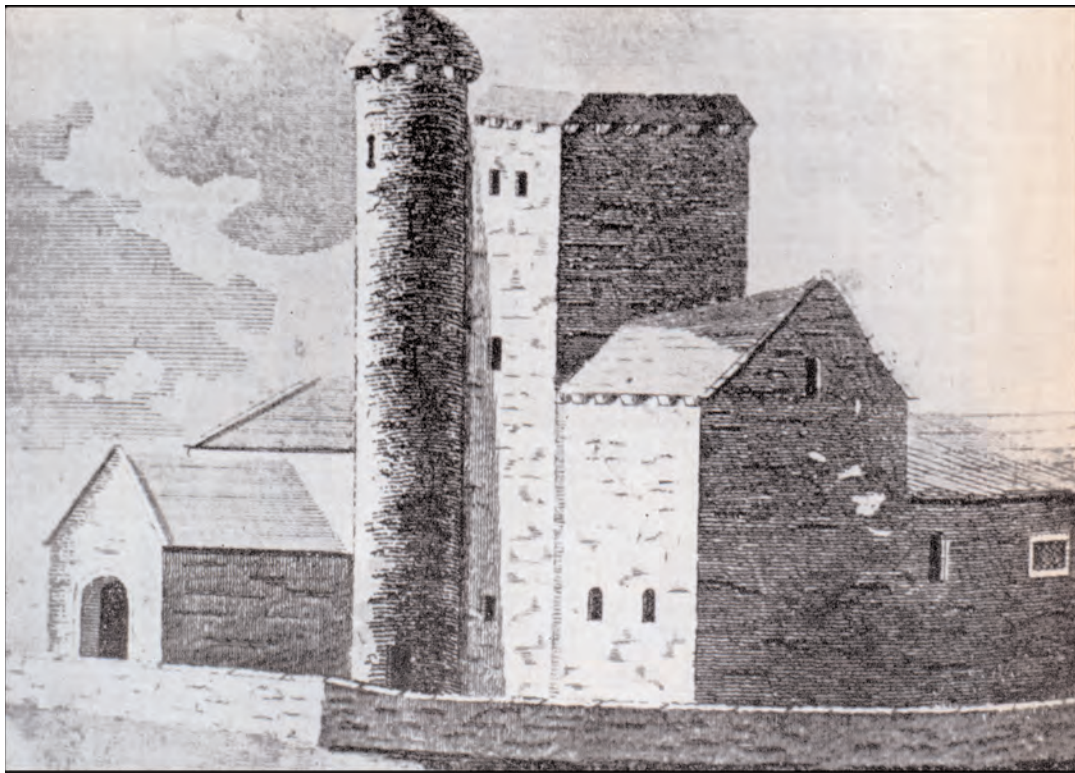


Fig. 355: *St Michael, East Teignmouth (Devon). Engraving of the church demolished in 1811. South-east view. Cornelius 1946*

Fingest (Bucks.), St Bartholomew (16)
(Fig. 352, 22)

A remarkable early Norman church with a disproportionately large west tower, 8.2 m square; the nave is only 5.6 m wide. The likelihood that this was a tower-nave church was recognized a century ago (RCHME 1912, 156–7). There are no lateral doorways in the tower, implying that, if this was indeed a turriform church, there must have been one in the west wall; the position is now occupied by a later window. Lighting in the tower-nave would have been minimal, since there is just one tiny window placed high up in each of the north and south walls. This is but one of a number of examples of small early Norman churches in southern England with towers wider than their naves (see further below).

Hough-on-the-Hill (Lincs.), All Saints (8)
(Figs. 352, 15 and 356)

This has been claimed as the third turriform church in Lincolnshire, although the evidence is equivocal. It has a lofty, unbuttressed tower 6.9 m square externally, which appears to abut the west end of an earlier nave of similar width (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 321). Attached centrally to the west side is a circular stair-tower 3.4 m in diameter (Thurlby 2003, fig. 51).



Fig. 356: *All Saints, Hough-on-the-Hill (Lincs.)*. Tower with attached western stair-turret. South elevation. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Dimensionally, the plan is similar to Broughton, and it is this comparison which seems to have given rise to the suggestion of a tower-nave (Thompson 1907–08, 45; 1911a, 32; Brown 1925, 295; Stocker and Everson 2006, 13). If, however, the structural sequence at Hough was correctly identified by the Taylors, then the tower has always been a western appendage and not a turriform nave. On the other hand, it is curious that there is no tower arch in the east wall, only a small thirteenth-century doorway. Hence, the wall between the tower and the present nave was perhaps rebuilt when the latter was constructed, removing a former chancel arch, the bonding scars of the chancel walls, and possibly a high-level doorway too. Much is uncertain, and a detailed archaeological study of this interesting church is called for.⁹⁷

Jevington (E. Sussex), St Andrew (23)

The tower is 6.8 m square and the arch in its east side is outlined on its west face with stripwork (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 349–50; Fisher 1970, 132–4). This implies that the base of the tower was the principal space, and hence that this was probably a turriform church (Turner 2006, 152).

Leicester, St Peter (10) (Fig. 351, 7)

Excavations on the site of this demolished church have revealed the foundations of what was almost certainly a turriform nave with a small, squarish chancel.⁹⁸

Netheravon (Wilts.), All Saints (26) (Fig. 351, 9)

Although currently considered to be post-Conquest, the tower at Netheravon (Wilts.) was possibly once the nave of a tiny church, an option which appears not to have been considered hitherto. Instead, there has been much dispute as to whether the original nave lay to the east or west of the tower (Ponting 1900–01, 353–7; Brakspear 1935–37; Fisher 1962, 400–2; Taylor and Taylor 1965, 456–9). It has major arches to east and west, the latter once communicating with a small annexe, which Micklethwaite (1896, 312) unhesitatingly described as a baptistery. The plan of the now-lost annexe is unknown, as is its function. The less ornate but taller and slightly wider eastern arch is almost certainly not primary, and may have superseded an original, much smaller chancel arch. The Romanesque mouldings, including the capitals and bases, differ markedly from those of the western arch, and it is most likely that reconstruction occurred when a new nave was added to the east of the tower in the late eleventh century.⁹⁹ The tower also had doorways in its north and south walls, and the scars of small lateral adjuncts remain on both sides.

However, the plan suggests that these narrow, rebated doorways were once external, and were not designed to be arches communicating with closed side-chambers, or *porticus*, as found, for example, at Breamore. The residual scars on the nave walls need not relate to primary chambers, but if they do it is

more likely that these were porches through which the church was entered, as at Bradford-on-Avon (Taylor 1973b, fig. 1). On the north side there is also an upper doorway providing communication with the porch at first-floor level, but this could be secondary. Of greater interest in the Barton context is a small, high-level arch in the east wall that gave access from the first floor of the tower to a room over the chancel. Moreover, as at Barton, that floor cannot have been continuous: otherwise, the ground stage of the tower at Netheravon would have been devoid of windows. By implication, there was surely a gallery. Detailed archaeological study of this interesting tower is long overdue.¹⁰⁰

Ozleworth (Glos.), St Nicholas (18) (Fig. 352, 25)

This Saxo-Norman church is *sui generis*, having a hexagonal tower and a chancel arch outlined with stripwork. There is a Norman chancel to the east, and a later nave to the west, an awkwardly contrived addition (Wilkinson *et al.* 1926). The evidence that this began life as a tower-nave church is strong, and reminiscent of Wilfrid's church at Hexham (p. 307).

Restenneth (Angus), St Peter (1) (Fig. 352, 19)

The Anglo-Saxon character of this eastern Scottish tower has often been noticed. It has a primary door in the south wall, flanked by stripwork (McGibbon and Ross 1896, 1, 178–81; Simpson 1963; Cruden 1986, 6; Fawcett 2002, 72). Openings in the east and west walls connect with the medieval chancel and nave, respectively. The extant eastern arch is primary and likely to be the original chancel arch; the western arch is a later insertion. Although not certain, there is at least a possibility that this structure began life as a tower-nave in the later eleventh century. But, like Dunfermline, the putative congregational space is tiny.

St Andrews (Fife), St Regulus (2) (Fig. 352, 17)

The earliest church consisted of a lofty tower with a rectangular appendage to the east, and is usually dated to the later eleventh century (but see Fawcett 2002, 72). Like Dunfermline, the floor area of the eastern cell is considerably greater than that of the tower, but in this instance the tower is the narrower component (McGibbon and Ross 1896, 1, 185–90; Cruden 1986, 14–19). Internally, the tower measures 3.4 m square. Although clearly related to Anglo-Saxon buildings, this cannot qualify as a tower-nave church.

Woodeaton (Oxon.), Holy Rood (17) (Fig. 352, 13)

Foundations defining what may be another example of the Broughton type of tower-nave with a rectangular plan have been discovered beneath the present church.¹⁰¹

York, St Mary Bishophill Junior (5) (Fig. 351, 2)

Here again, the tower-nave survives in its entirety and the original chancel arch now communicates with a later nave (Wenham *et al.* 1987).

The survival of the turriform naves at Barton-upon-Humber, Earls Barton and Broughton is due to the fact that new naves and chancels were later erected to the east: the old towers thus effectively became western appendages. This was an unusual circumstance, it being more common for centrally planned churches to be enlarged to both east and west, and perhaps laterally too. Further examples will doubtless be recognized. Additionally, it would be instructive to reconsider the archaeology of medieval churches which embody small axial or crossing towers of pre-Conquest or Saxo-Norman date, such as Langford (Oxon.)¹⁰² and Wootton Wawen (Warks.).¹⁰³ Moreover, it is possible that evidence for other Anglo-Saxon turriform naves may be found in the crossing area of Norman and later churches, where an inconveniently small tower may have been demolished and superseded by something more generous in scale. Further discussion of late eleventh-century towers will be found in the next chapter (pp. 397–400).

Finally, we should note that a number of small churches which appear to be wholly of early Norman date have western towers with quoins on all four corners, indicating that whatever lay to the east was narrower: potentially, the turriform tradition continued through the eleventh century and even into the early twelfth.¹⁰⁴ The instance of Fingest, noted above, has been mentioned by several writers, but others have been overlooked. For example, at least four early Norman churches in east Kent exhibit the phenomenon of having four complete quoins. Brabourne, Borden and Hougham all have towers that are wider than the modest Norman naves abutting them: they are clearly oversized for those churches (Fig. 352, 21, 23, 24; Berg and Jones 2009, figs. 5, 6, 17) (see Fig. 350 for location). Additionally, Brook church has a remarkable tower, the footprint of which is more than two-thirds the size of the nave, and it incorporates an original upper-level chapel. Although the nave is Norman and is of the same width as the tower, the two components are straight-jointed, and it might therefore be argued that the tower was originally abutted by a narrower chancel (Fig. 352, 20; Berg and Jones 2009, 72–8, fig. 20). Moreover, all four of these churches have west doors in their towers, so that external access would have been possible if they began their existence as turriform naves. The archaeology of these and similar churches elsewhere needs further investigation.

Sources of building stone

The source of the materials employed in the construction of St Peter's, Barton, presents an interesting conundrum. The rubble for the walls is predominantly Lincolnshire limestone, and may well have been freshly quarried for this building project. Mixed in with it are occasional pieces of chalk, non-local stone and water-worn pebbles. The Pennine gritstone used for

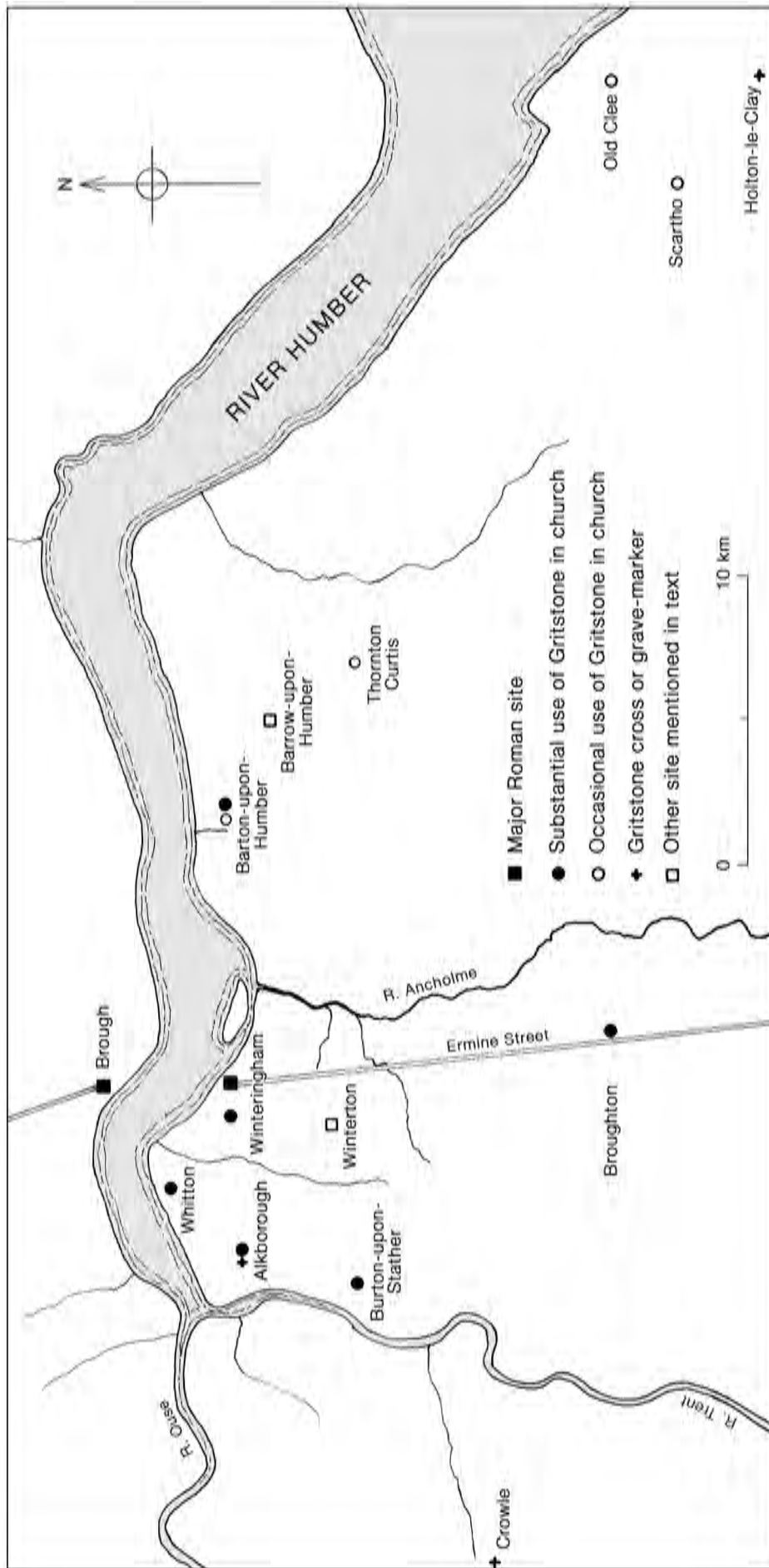


Fig. 357: Map showing the distribution of churches on the south bank of the Humber with structural reuse of Roman gritstone (solid circles), and other occurrences of the material. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

the dressings and mid-wall shafts is, however, clearly all recycled ashlar and columnar sections which have been robbed from a substantial Roman building. Reworking the stone was carried out on site, which is confirmed both by the inclusion of offcuts and unusable lumps in the rubble walling and by the recovery of masons' waste from deposits around the church. But what was the source of the Roman masonry?¹⁰⁵

The substantial medieval trade in Roman *spolia* has been discussed by Eaton (2000), but he did not comment on the material from north Lincolnshire. There is a growing body of evidence to show that organized salvage contractors were operating in midland and eastern England by the late Saxon period, transporting reclaimed Roman building materials over considerable distances. One of the first systematic studies to highlight this was carried out at Brixworth church (Northants.), where the Anglo-Saxon fabric contains a considerable amount of recycled non-local stone from the Leicester area (Sutherland 1990). Richard Morris (1988) has mapped the reuse of Roman masonry in the churches of Yorkshire, concentrating principally on gritstone, which is present, for example, in the tower arch at Seamer, and occurs in profusion at Kirk Hammerton (Morris 1976). At Skipwith, the lowest stage of the tower is constructed entirely from reused gritstone ashlars; in the second stage they were reserved for the quoins and window dressings, and only small pieces occur elsewhere, intermixed with the limestone rubble that comprises the bulk of the walling; and finally in the upper stages of the tower hardly any gritstone appears (Hall *et al.* 2008, illus. 13). As at Barton, we can plainly see the masons reacting to the diminution of their stockpile of gritstone. Also at Skipwith, we find large, weathered blocks of Roman gritstone being used to form the tower plinth, in the same way that they are at Barton.¹⁰⁶ Not surprisingly, the majority of churches containing this stone are found in the vicinity of York and Aldborough and, to a lesser extent, Malton and Castleford: all were substantial Roman towns or military installations. The distribution pattern points to transport via the rivers Ouse and Swale (Morris 1988, fig. 85).¹⁰⁷

The recycling of masonry in Lincolnshire has been studied by David Stocker (1990), and three categories of reuse can be identified.

- i) Functional reuse. This occurs where a complete architectural feature – usually an arch – is dismantled and reassembled at a fresh location.
- ii) Component reuse. Individual components derived from architectural features may be reused for the same or an analogous purpose: *e.g.* capitals, column shafts and single voussoirs. Sometimes the original item has been modified to suit its new position.
- iii) Stone, reused without reference to its original function.



Fig. 358: St John the Baptist, Alkborough (Lincs.). Shaft of the churchyard cross, made of gritstone. Its serpentine profile is the result of prolonged use as a sharpening stone for metal implements. View north-east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Reused Roman gritstone in Lincolnshire churches

The last is by far the most common, and is usually identified by stone type, block size, tooling, or redundant features such as mouldings. St Peter's, Barton, is one of several churches in north Lincolnshire containing reused Roman masonry of categories (ii) and (iii), and most of the material in question is Pennine gritstone, but there are also some blocks of Magnesian Limestone that are almost certainly recycled. Neither material is naturally available within 50 km of Barton. We may begin by listing the sites where gritstone has been recorded in the fabric or furnishings associated with the church (Fig. 357).

*Alkborough, St John the Baptist*¹⁰⁸

The unbuttressed west tower is built of limestone rubble, but contains a good deal of gritstone in its external dressings, including the primary west doorway. Other dressings, most notably the tower arch, are of limestone, the precise source of which has not been identified. The arch represents the functional reuse of a Roman-period feature, and the imposts have classical mouldings.

In the churchyard, a short distance to the south-east of the porch, stands a pillar of gritstone, 1.9 m high (Fig. 358); it was originally squarish in section (34 × 35 cm), but has been heavily mutilated as a consequence of its use as a sharpening stone for large metal blades, presumably swords. There is no visible base, the lower end of the shaft apparently being securely set into the ground;¹⁰⁹ the top is flat and socketed where another section of shaft or a cross-head was once fitted. It seems inescapable that the shaft must be at least 2.5 m in length and was brought here expressly to make a churchyard cross. Although it is now impossible to tell whether the shaft was ever decorated, it is unlike any other medieval churchyard cross in north Lincolnshire, and an Anglo-Saxon date seems highly probable. At Crowle, 12 km south-west of Alkborough, is a decorated cross-shaft of gritstone, 2.04 m in height, dating from the early or mid-tenth century (Everson and Stocker 1999, 147–51).

Barton-upon-Humber, St Peter

A considerable quantity of gritstone was employed for dressings in the tower and baptistery (and presumably the chancel). Several voussoirs in the principal arches appear to be recycled components, partially recut, and

the mid-wall shafts may have been fashioned from Roman columns. Some of the monolithic arched heads of the window openings have been created from sections of large-diameter columns.

The tower also contains a few recycled ashlar of Magnesian Limestone.

Broughton, St Mary¹¹⁰

As a result of a recent detailed study of this church by Michael Shapland, a much clearer understanding of its complex petrological make-up and architectural evolution has emerged. The late eleventh-century turriform nave and attached stair-turret to the west both contain small quantities of gritstone ashlar, the employment of which is markedly different from Barton. In the first place, gritstone does not appear in the fabric until 2.25 m above ground level (Fig. 353). Up to that point the masonry is mainly ironstone. The voussoirs in the moulded inner order of the south door arch are of sandstone, and those of the plain outer order are gritstone: some are clearly reused components from an arch of smaller radius, presumably Roman (Fig. 359).

Internally, gritstone occurs sporadically in the structure, especially in the eastern (*i.e.* original chancel) arch, where the capitals, bases and shafts comprise



A



B

Fig. 359: *St Mary, Broughton (Lincs.)*. A, south doorway to the tower; B, detail of the reused, non-fitting gritstone voussoirs in the outer arch of the doorway. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 360: *St Mary, Broughton (Lincs.)*. Original chancel arch in the east face of the tower. View east. Brown 1903

a mixture of ironstone and gritstone: they are possibly all recycled components (Fig. 360; Shapland 2008, 478–82, illus. 9–15). There is a large chamfered gritstone block incorporated in the base of the stair, and the newel is formed from recycled column drums.

There are major differences between the employment of gritstone at Barton and Broughton. At the latter, it is not present in quantity, it does not occur in the lowest levels, it was not reserved for the major dressings, and there is no evidence of working the blocks *in situ*. Thus, the voussoirs of the outer arch of the door were all prepared individually, so that the extrados and intrados were concentric through the full depth of each block. This represents the expenditure of unnecessary labour: full-depth dressing of the extrados was only necessary when the fitting of a further order or label-moulding was envisaged.

Burton-upon-Stather, St Andrew¹¹¹

Large blocks of gritstone occur in the quoins of the unbuttressed tower, the date of which is very uncertain: the upper part is thirteenth century, as is the tower arch. The shell of the lower stage could, however, be earlier. Dressed gritstone blocks are also found sporadically in the buttresses of the chancel and south aisle, particularly at a low level, where they have clearly been

recycled in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Pl. 24). Their use in the foundation courses probably indicates that the blocks had been salvaged from the quoins of a former nave or chancel.

The eastern boundary wall to the churchyard is of post-medieval date and built from a variety of reused materials: only the west face is accessible, and this contains a great many mouldings and ashlar in several stone-types. These include small blocks of gritstone and the discoidal head of an eleventh-century grave-marker in limestone (of the same diameter as the Barton discoidal head: Fig. 710). Additionally, long rectangular blocks of gritstone were used as plinths for supporting some headstones in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Whether these should be regarded as further survivals from the early medieval assemblage, or as much later arrivals, is uncertain.¹¹²

Old Clew, Holy Trinity

A single dressed block of gritstone and several nondescript lumps occur in the rubble masonry of the eleventh-century west tower.

Scarho, St Giles

A few nondescript lumps of gritstone are to be seen in the eleventh-century west tower (Stocker and Everson 2006, 246). They do not occur as dressings.

Whitton, St John¹¹³

Large gritstone ashlar occur throughout this church, which was almost entirely rebuilt, using the existing materials, in 1892–97. The unbuttressed tower is, however, eleventh century and mostly of limestone rubble with quoins of Lower Magnesian Limestone, up to first-floor level. Higher up, they are of gritstone. Curiously, there are also two courses of gritstone in each external wall-face, marking the positions of the first and second floors (but with no offsets or string-courses present). The only primary window opening, in the south wall, has gritstone jambs.

Winteringham, All Saints¹¹⁴

Again, it is the primary but undated fabric of the tower which contains the majority of the gritstone blocks: they are numerous and mostly large in size. They are mixed with equally large ashlar of cream Lincolnshire limestone and coarse shelly limestone. The courses are of varying heights: Lewis holes and pockets for cramps are present, and there are decorated gritstone blocks in the lower stage of the north, west and south faces. The decoration includes fluting and imbrications (Fig. 361). The tower was originally unbuttressed, but slender, diagonal buttresses in Lower Magnesian Limestone were added in the fifteenth century, when a staircase was also inserted; the west window is of similar date, but there are otherwise no external openings in the lower stages.

Gritstone is also found in other parts of the church, particularly in the western quoins of the nave, which appears to be an earlier structure than the tower; traces



Fig. 361: *All Saints, Winteringham (Lincs.)*. Fragments of Roman monumental sculpture in gritstone reused in the tower. (above) imbricated leaves; (below) fluted pilaster. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

of the eastern quoins are also visible. A few pieces of gritstone occur in the mid-twelfth-century south arcade, and there are large blocks in the nave wall above. They are found sporadically in all the walls of the thirteenth-century chancel, in the north and south aisles, and in the transept. Most of the occurrences are in the lower parts of the walls, suggesting that the gritstone ashlar were recovered from earlier parts of the church that had to be taken down when the various enlargements took place.

Other occurrences of gritstone in north Lincolnshire

Cross-shafts of gritstone have already been noted at Alkborough and Crowle (p. 323), and part of an early tenth-century grave-cover has been found at Holton-le-Clay (Everson and Stocker 1999, 178–80). A few small blocks of gritstone occur in the fourteenth-century south aisle at Thornton Curtis, but the fabric here contains an unusually wide range of stone types and, without archaeological investigation, it is unclear how much post-medieval repair has taken place. One fragment, however, formerly carried interlaced decoration of probable tenth-century date (Everson and Stocker

1999, 265): hence the occurrence of gritstone at Thornton Curtis has an Anglo-Saxon pedigree.

The common factor in six of the churches noted above is the major use of gritstone ashlar in unbuttressed towers. Dating is frustratingly difficult since, with the exception of Broughton, there are hardly any diagnostic features: however, none of these towers is likely to be later than the twelfth century, and they could all belong to the eleventh. At Winteringham, it can also be seen that the nave had gritstone dressings, while in some of the other churches the appearance of recycled blocks in thirteenth-century and later components points to the loss of similar features. In such instances we are today looking at tertiary reuse.

The presence of substantial quantities of large blocks of reused gritstone in a tight cluster of six churches – and minor occurrences in three more – must mean that either there was an immediately local source from which the stone could be plundered, or that a specialist contractor was supplying materials for this group of churches from a distant source. If the latter, it raises the question of whether the shipment of gritstone to the south bank of the Humber was a short-lived phenomenon, or occurred repeatedly over the course of many decades. The churches in which it is found may all be eleventh-century in date, but the time-span involved is probably a century. This reduces the plausibility of the argument for long-distance shipment via a specialist contractor. If we also take into account the crosses and grave-markers, the time-span must be increased by at least fifty per cent.

Undeniably, there was a flourishing trade in gritstone and there were several major Roman sources apart from York (e.g. Aldborough) from which building material could have been derived over a protracted period. It is, however, noticeable that churches along the north bank of the Humber do not contain recycled Roman gritstone, which makes its appearance in at least nine buildings on the south bank all the more remarkable.

Characteristic Roman tooling is present on faces which have not been subjected to secondary re-dressing, and the occasional Lewis hole and cramp-hole has been noted (Figs. 305 and 362). For the most part, the original use of the gritstone blocks is not readily identifiable, but those now in the tower at Winteringham are exceptional. They include fragments of fluted pilasters and imbricated leaves, the kind of detail one might expect to be derived from a Roman temple, monumental arch, or other major public structure. Stones used in the chancel arch at Barton appear to be recut voussoirs from a domical vault, and the morticed block which formed the font base has the appearance of a section of stylobate. Reused Roman voussoirs occur at Broughton, too. Finally, at both Barton and Broughton column drums are present, and at least three different diameters are represented.

So, where did all this material come from? Roman York has been suggested as the source for the gritstone, which could have been transported to Barton and



Fig. 362: *St Peter, Barton-upon-Humber. Tower: south-east quoin. Lewis hole in the east face of the first upright block of gritstone (now visible inside the nave). Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell*

other locations in north Lincolnshire by water (via the Ouse and the Humber). This is favoured by Everson and Stocker, and their reasoning is based largely on the iconography of the cross-shaft from Crowle (Lincs.). They argue that the shaft, and an associated piece from North Frodingham (E. Yorks.), were carved in York, and hence the Roman city must have been the source of the gritstone (Everson and Stocker 1999, 151). Stylistically, they also link the grave-cover from Holton-le-Clay with the Metropolitan school of stone carving at York (Lang 1991, 39–40). These associations are soundly argued, but it must be born in mind that the Crowle and Holton-le-Clay sculptures are not building materials, but individual artefacts. In the Roman period and in the Middle Ages stone artefacts were often produced at quarries or specialist manufacturing centres, and then sent to their intended destinations (which could be several hundred miles away): the manufacture and distribution of Purbeck marble grave-covers is a case in point. Moreover, the Crowle and Holton sculptures both date from the first half of the tenth century, well before any of the churches that we are considering here were built.

The alternative to York is to seek a more local source for the building stone, and the defended Roman town at Brough (*Petuaria*), on the north bank of the Humber, is an obvious place to consider. However, excavations there have revealed no evidence for the use of gritstone in its buildings or town wall. Similarly, there is a lack of this material from the large settlement at Old Winterringham and the extensive villa at Winterton, which would seem to indicate that gritstone was not generally used for buildings around the Humber estuary in the Roman period. That in turn points to the possibility of a one-off contract between the builders of St Peter's and a supplier from further afield, potentially at York.

If Barton stood alone, the argument would be tenable, but it is seriously flawed by the fact that reused blocks of gritstone occur in no fewer than six late Saxon and Saxo-Norman churches along a 17 km stretch of the south bank of the Humber, between Barton and the river Trent, and in a further three churches further to the east (Fig. 357).¹¹⁵ Consequently, the question must be asked: was there a single Roman monument of exceptional quality and importance – perhaps at Brough or Winterringham, rather than at York – which was constructed of gritstone and was progressively robbed over the course of the eleventh century to supply the local churches? That would neatly explain the tight distribution.

On the other hand, if York were the source, and the stone was transported by river, it is odd that very little gritstone turns up in Lincolnshire churches closer to the mouth of the Humber, where some still retain eleventh-century fabric (e.g. Old Clee, Holton-le-Clay, Scartho and Waithe).¹¹⁶ Of these, only Old Clee and Scartho have very small amounts of gritstone in their towers. But the fact that it occurs at all in these buildings is still significant. Equally perplexing is the non-appearance of gritstone in any significant quantity (if at all) in churches along the north bank of the river. We have searched and found none. This absence is further underscored by the paucity of Anglo-Saxon gritstone sculpture in eastern Yorkshire: the only pieces are from North Frodingham and Kirby Grindalythe, both far removed from the Humber (Lang 1991, fig. 1).

Furthermore, if gritstone found in the Barton area emanated from York it is difficult to explain how it came to be so thoroughly intermixed in the churches with equally large blocks of ironstone, coarse limestone and fine limestone, all of Lincolnshire origin. One might have expected other materials of Yorkshire provenance to have arrived in quantity with the gritstone, especially Lower Magnesian Limestone, which was extensively employed in Roman York.¹¹⁷ The recycling of Roman stone in Anglo-Saxon and medieval York has been studied by Paul Buckland (in Wenham *et al.* 1987, 110–18). Given that before the Conquest York had been a thriving Anglo-Scandinavian city, and afterwards it saw the construction of major Norman buildings, it is surely questionable whether, in the late

eleventh century, there was still a ready supply of salvaged materials that could be shipped out on a commercial basis.¹¹⁸ The occurrence of gritstone at Broughton, for example, can hardly be earlier than c. 1080, and it could even be a decade or two later: for a discussion of the date of this church see Stocker and Everson 2006, 47–8.

Apart from being a Roman fort, supply-base, town, river crossing and probable harbour, Old Winteringham holds a particular attraction on account of its position at the northern extremity of Ermine Street.¹¹⁹ During the early years of the conquest of Britain, under Aulus Plautius (AD 43–47), the Fosse Way was quickly established as a frontier, extending from Exeter to Lincoln. Ermine Street continued that frontier northwards from Lincoln to the Humber (Frere 1987, 48–59, fig. 2). The comprehensive nature of the Fosse Way frontier zone suggests that it was intended as a long-term fixture, and that the emperor Claudius was initially minded to bring only south-east Britain within the empire. However, under the governorship of Ostorius Scapula the march of conquest continued far beyond that frontier. Nevertheless, in the mid-first century Winteringham was not just a base on a frontier, but was one of its anchor-points. For a time, it was the most north-westerly post in the Roman Empire. Hitherto, the significance of this fact seems to have been entirely overlooked by archaeologists. But Roman generals, and the emperor in particular, would not have shared in that oversight. It was common practice for the extremities of Imperial frontiers to be marked with major monuments, such as triumphal arches and columns, the purpose of which was to celebrate military conquest in a permanent and highly evocative form. Currently, the only known site of a frontier triumphal arch in Britain is at Richborough (Kent) (Strong 1968), which was celebrated as the gateway into the province of *Britannia*.

There is thus a definable historical context for the possible erection of a Roman monument of singular character on the Humber bank at Old Winteringham, and this could explain the subsequent appearance of monumental ashlar and sculpture of gritstone in the early churches of north-west Lincolnshire. The evidence is tantalizing and, for the time being, we must keep an open mind.

Constructional characteristics

Quoins, pilaster-strips and rendering

All the quoins, pilaster-strips, hood-mouldings and other major defining elements of the tower, both externally and internally, stand proud of the rubble faces by up to 5 cm. The same applies to the western quoins of the baptistery annexe, and doubtless also the eastern quoins of the lost chancel. The volume of work involved in cutting back the edges of the blocks to form clean arrises was truly prodigious. Great importance

must therefore have been attached to the need to make the ‘framing’ components of the structure visually stand out, regardless of the fact that they served no structural purpose: they were purely for aesthetic effect. Even though the amount of projection is slight, the shadow-lines created enhance the architectonic qualities of the building.

The subject of projecting quoins and pilaster-strips, and the associated *in situ* cutting back, has been commented upon by several authorities. As early as 1836 Rickman (1836, 28) described the effect as ‘a peculiar sort of quoining to allow for the thickness of the plaster’, and cut-back masonry was also discussed by Baldwin Brown (1903, 88). An extended study and useful gazetteer of thirty-two occurrences has recently been published by Potter (2006). The cut-back phenomenon has a wide distribution, mainly in eastern England, from Yorkshire to the south coast, but also extending into parts of the Midlands and the West (especially Gloucestershire). The occurrences all date from the late Saxon or early Norman periods.

There has long been a consensus that cut-back masonry served, *inter alia*, as a stop for rendering, but this has been categorically refuted by Potter (2006), who opines that Anglo-Saxon rubble-built churches, and at least some of early Norman date, were not designed to be rendered externally. This is a radical claim, and one which, if true, would profoundly affect the perceived appearance of St Peter’s, Barton. It therefore needs to be assessed carefully. Potter advances arguments concerning the choice of stone for quoining, the direction in which its natural bed was laid, and the permeability or otherwise of the materials used in rubble wall construction but, while all these topics are of interest, they have no bearing on the question of whether or not churches were generally rendered. The simple fact that certain types of masonry *could* survive well without being rendered cannot be used as proof of the negative. Similarly, the paucity of extant Anglo-Saxon rendering provides no evidence that it did not exist. The majority of rubble-built churches, regardless of their age, were formerly rendered, as eighteenth- and nineteenth-century illustrations amply confirm. Huge numbers of buildings were stripped and the masonry pointed during Victorian restorations; others were stripped and re-rendered (usually as a consequence of the poor condition of the underlying rubblework). St Peter’s, Barton was one of the latter: the old lime rendering on the tower was replaced by pebbledash in 1868, which in turn was superseded in 1965 (p. 524).

There is, of course, no means of determining the age of rendering that was stripped long ago. The only glimmer of hope is for the discovery of occasional fragments that were missed in the stripping process, or that became trapped behind later additions to the building. However, a few Anglo-Saxon and Norman rubble-built churches have retained fragments of primary external rendering *in situ*, confirming that this was the

intended finish. Hadstock (Essex) provides the clearest evidence, where considerable patches of what is unambiguously primary lime-render have survived on the north wall of the nave. Much of the surface has been lost, but the substrate remains. The same render runs into the reveals of the double-splayed windows and retains within its matrix the weave-impresions of the basketwork hoods that were erected to support the flint rubble arches during construction (Fig. 331). The evidence from Winterton is conclusive: when the Saxo-Norman tower was added to the west end of a pre-existing nave, limewashed rendering was trapped at the interface¹²⁰ (Stocker and Everson 2006, 287).

The survival of early rendering at Avebury (Wilts.) was noted in the nineteenth century (Ponting 1883–84, 191), some has been found at Deerhurst (Glos.),¹²¹ and it has also been claimed at Barnack.¹²² The situation at Avebury appears slightly confusing, but can be resolved. Primary wallplaster was preserved internally, including on the window reveals and soffits (where there were basketwork formers for the arched heads, as at Hadstock), and was potentially present as external rendering too. Removal of twelfth-century masonry abutting the north-west corner of the Anglo-Saxon nave revealed rendering which wrapped around the quoin. The walls are built of small rubble and the quoin is of dressed stone. The fact that this takes the form of long-and-short work has given rise to the assumption that the quoin must originally have been exposed, and thus the rendering covering it must be secondary. Potter extends this assumption to embrace all the external rendering at Avebury. But there can be no certainty that long-and-short quoining was designed to be exposed to view, especially if it did not stand proud of the wall-face. It is primarily a constructional technique, not a form of ornament.¹²³

Internal plastering of Anglo-Saxon churches is attested in numerous cases, and at Barton we have surviving bands of wallplaster around the base of the tower-nave (Fig. 282) and baptistery, and a fragment adhering to the tiny remnant of the south wall of the chancel. The internal walls of the first-floor chamber in the tower, and the belfry, were both fully plastered.

Potter argues that the pilaster-strips and quoins which stand proud of the wall-face were purely ornamental, a conclusion that was first drawn in the nineteenth century and with which we are fully in agreement (p. 327; Rodwell 1986, 173–4). Vertical stacks of narrow blocks introduce lines of weakness in masonry, most especially in quoins, which will collapse if they are not tied in some way to the wall core. The normal means to effect this was to use blocks of different sizes and to ensure that some have long 'tails' which are securely embedded in the adjacent rubblework. Cut-backs were simply a technical necessity, if the mason wished both to set the stones proud of the wall-face, imparting greater prominence to architectural features such as arches, and to create crisply defined linear patterns on what would otherwise be plain wall

surfaces. Hence cut-backs occur both externally and internally, and there is no difference between them.¹²⁴

While accepting Potter's conclusion that cut-backs were not created primarily as stops for plastering or rendering, the corollary that rubble walls were never rendered externally does not follow. Regrettably, he has introduced unnecessary confusion between 'render-stops', and stopping rendering against a projecting feature. The two are distinctly different, both conceptually and practically. Masonry rebates or 'stops' for external rendering and internal plastering occur sporadically throughout the Middle Ages and subsequently. They were formed either by setting the dressings around openings slightly proud of the wall-face, or by rebating the edges of dressings, or a combination of both. Projection was seldom more than 1 cm in depth, and the plaster finished flush with the stone dressings, which were not generally cut back to create a sharp line of demarcation. Hence the interface between the stone and the plaster/render followed a stepped or even sinuous course: limewashing introduced homogeneity and obscured the junction. Examples of this detailing are found in the medieval windows and doorways at Barton.

By contrast, the projection of Anglo-Saxon and early Romanesque pilaster-strips and other raised detailing is usually much greater. The amount of projection, and hence cutting back, can vary from as little as 1.5 cm to 12 cm, or occasionally more. The average depth of cut-back at Barton is 5 cm, while the thickness of surviving wallplaster is only 2 cm. Evidence accumulated from investigations in many Anglo-Saxon and early Romanesque churches points to wallplaster and rendering being relatively thin (1.0–2.5 cm). At Earls Barton the nature of the cut-backs on the triangular arcades indicates that the walls were rendered to a depth of not less than 2 cm (Audouy *et al.* 1995, 84). Sometimes the application of render/plaster was no more than a skim of a few millimetres in thickness, with the result that the rubblework 'grinned' through in *pierre perdue* fashion. But, again, consistency of appearance was achieved by limewashing. In their study of Lincolnshire towers, Stocker and Everson (2006, 17) conclude that rendering was the intended external finish.

Conclusive evidence that Anglo-Saxon and Norman rubblework was rendered is frequently provided by the condition of the construction mortar itself. When post-medieval rendering is stripped from a wall, it is often found that the soft lime mortar used in the primary construction survives, in an unweathered state, flush with the surface of the masonry. Until very recently, it was usual practice to hack off old rendering and replace it, without raking-out the construction mortar from the joints between the stones. Moreover, one frequently finds remnants of old rendering still adhering to underlying masonry, where hacking-off has been less than thorough. For soft or friable construction mortar to survive for up to a thou-

sand years, at or close to the external face of a wall, it must have been protected by rendering. When a wall is stripped and its matrix is exposed to rain, wind, lichen growth, etc., ordinary lime mortars that are unprotected degrade very quickly and, if left exposed, repointing has to be undertaken within a matter of decades.

Archaeological investigations at Barton and elsewhere point firmly to the conclusion that pilaster-strips and raised quoins were ornamental, and were abutted by lime-render or wallplaster, the thickness of which was almost invariably much less than the amount of projection (*i.e.* cut-back) of the masonry.¹²⁵ Regular limewashing of the exterior of buildings, both religious and secular, has been practised for centuries, if not millennia, and its functions embrace both decoration and protection against water ingress. The notable reference by Raoul Glaber in the early eleventh century to the ‘white mantle of churches’ that was springing up all over Europe is usually interpreted as an allusion to the colour of the buildings.¹²⁶ In Britain, where white stone is not abundant,¹²⁷ lime-plaster and limewash were the obvious means of achieving the desired effect. Morris (1989, 158–9) has discussed contemporary sources of evidence for ‘white’ churches, including placenames, Bede, and archaeological evidence for the external appearance of York Minster in the eleventh century. In the Barton context, it is interesting to note that the tower, along with those of Scartho and Waithe, was raised by a storey in the late eleventh century, and instead of continuing the construction in rendered rubblework each was faced externally with white quasi-ashlar stone. This surely points to the importance of a white appearance (for further discussion, see pp. 397–8).

Finally, *vis-à-vis* the issue of rendering, it is worth stating that structurally ornamenting the external elevations of a church involved a considerable amount of labour. Installing stripwork – especially of the kind seen at Barton, where *in situ* cutting back of virtually every stone was required – called for the greatest amount of effort. Building up stripwork out of salvaged Roman bricks or flint nodules was also a fiddly job; the construction of recessed blind arcading was less so, but it still required timber formwork. If there were contrasting colours in the masonry used, it would have been possible for these embellishments to be ‘read’ from ground level, but that would not be possible if there was no significant colour differential. Thus, the darker components of the gritstone at Barton would have contrasted with un-rendered limestone rubble, but at Earls Barton the uniformly cream limestone employed both for walling and stripwork would have entirely lacked colour contrast. Similarly, the recessed arcading at Tasburgh (Norf.) would have had no visual impact since the tower is an all-flint construction. Hence, the effort and cost lavished on architecturally embellishing these structures would be largely wasted. This provides a powerful argument not only in favour of rendering, but also for decoration. The application

of two tones of limewash – one white and the other tinted with an earth pigment – would immediately produce a dramatic effect, and that would be further enhanced by shadows. However, I strongly suspect that the external decoration of Anglo-Saxon buildings was rather more sophisticated than this, and that polychromy was applied to stripwork. Internally, church walls were plastered, limewashed and decoratively painted; stripwork and mouldings were also coloured, as shown by the evidence from Deerhurst (Gem and Howe 2008). Dark red is the colour most often encountered on Anglo-Saxon and medieval masonry, and is also prolifically found on medieval timber framing. I see no reason why the external stripwork at Barton should not have been painted red, and the rendered panels limewashed. Unfortunately, all physical evidence that could support, or refute, this contention has long ago been lost.

Structural carpentry and its influence on masoncraft

St Peter’s is one of the three notable examples of English towers festooned with stripwork, in the form of multiple pilasters and raised surrounds to openings. The most elaborate of the trio is Earls Barton (Figs. 354 and 363), and the plainest is Barnack (Pl. 25A); several other churches display simpler schemes. The origin and purpose of pilaster-stripwork has been much debated since the mid-nineteenth century. Initially, antiquaries saw it as a skeuomorph for timber framing, but in the twentieth century an idea developed that pilaster-strips somehow contributed to the inherent strength of rubble walling, tying the face-work to the core. This theme was explored by Taylor (1970; 1978, 924–7). Investigations into the fabric of the tower at Barton revealed that the blocks upon which the stripwork is formed are variable in size, and often do not penetrate deeply into the core of the walls (pp. 265–7). Indeed, the upright stones are very shallowly embedded and, far from adding structural strength, they detract from it by introducing multiple vertical lines of weakness in the facing. Also, the presence of stripwork around major arches prevents the jamb-stones of the latter from being bonded into the adjacent walling. Although it might be argued that stripwork surmounting external doorways and windows fulfilled a water-shedding function, like a hood-moulding in a medieval building, this was clearly not its intended purpose either. Also, mouldings which lack undercutting are not very effective for water-shedding.

We have already reached the conclusion on other grounds (see above), that stripwork, in whatever form, was primarily decorative rather than functional, and the most satisfactory explanation for its derivation is that it represents a tradition of timber-framing in early churches which has been wholly lost in Britain, but has survived in Scandinavia. Although popularly known as ‘stave’ churches, these buildings embody huge

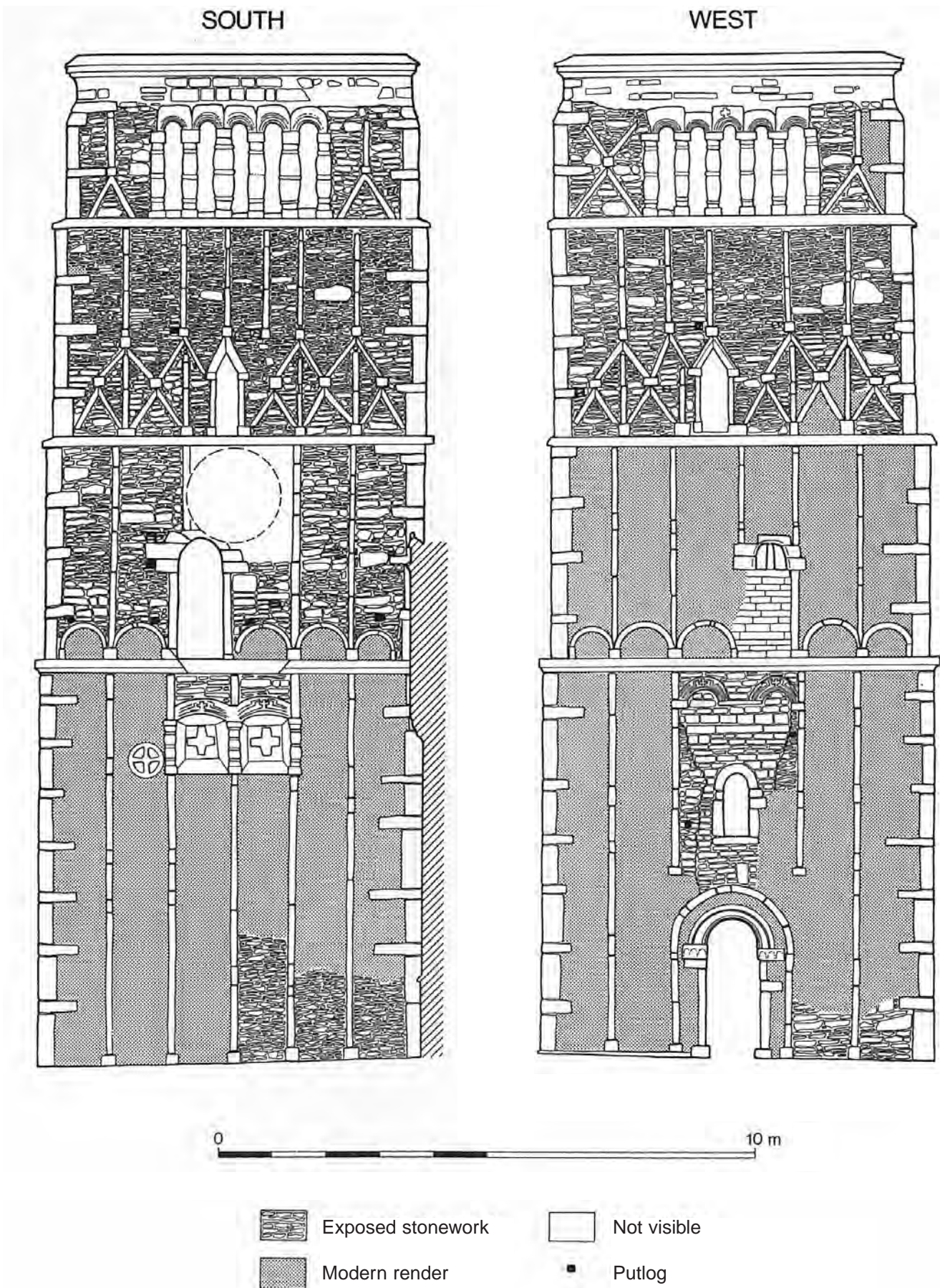


Fig. 363: *All Saints, Earls Barton (Northants.)*. South and west elevations of the tower, showing the stripwork decoration and small rubble construction. Stippled areas are obscured by modern rendering. Audouy et al. 1995

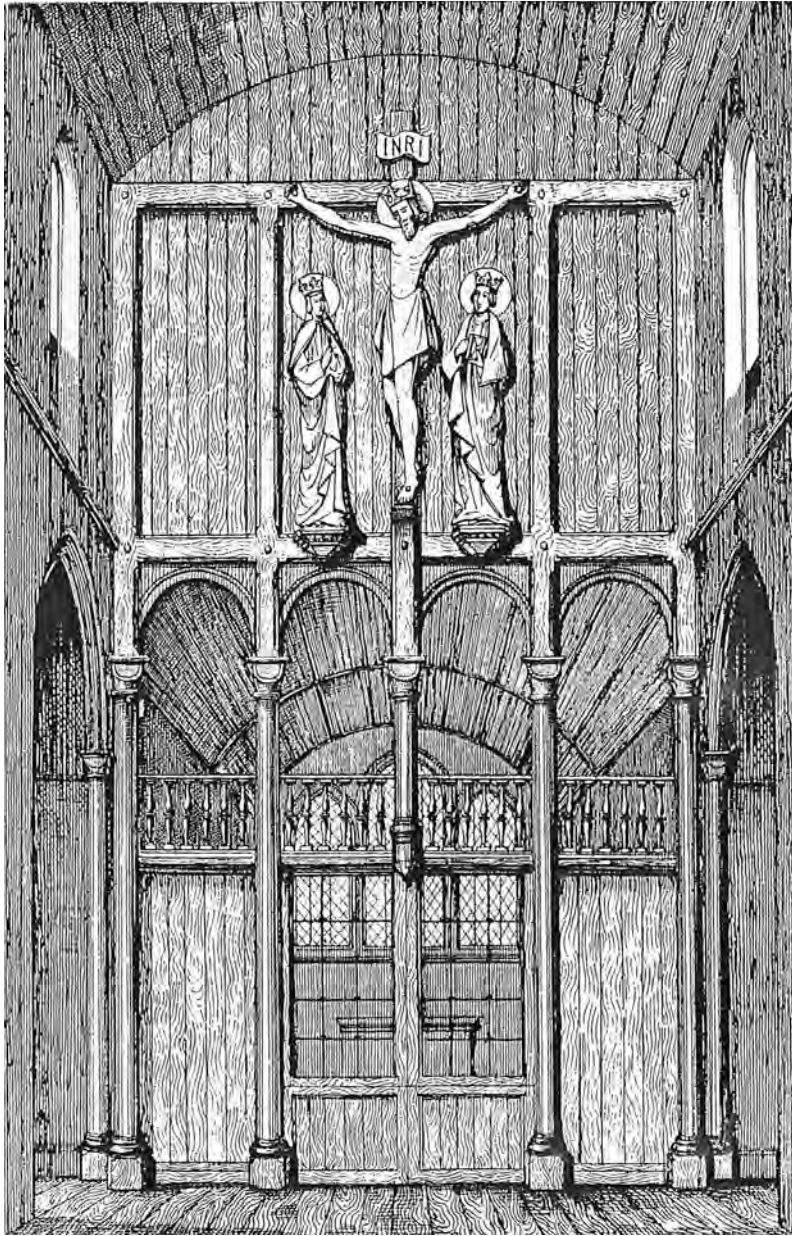


Fig. 364: Urnes, Norway. Romanesque timber chancel screen of attenuated form. Pugin 1851

amounts of complex structural framing, and decorative elements. Particularly evocative is the chancel screen at Urnes, near Bergen, Norway: it is a framed timber construction of two registers, the lower comprising a series of greatly attenuated arches with semicircular heads (Pugin 1851, pl. 14) (Fig. 364). Comparisons with the arcaded stripwork at Barton and Earls Barton are obvious. Although no framed structures have survived from the eleventh century, or earlier, English Romanesque and later belfries constructed in this manner probably provide testimony to a continuing tradition (Hewett 1962). Close inspection of the junctions between the various elements of stripwork, particularly at Barton-upon-Humber and Earls Barton, reveals joints of the types used by carpenters, and the masons working on these towers were undoubtedly influenced by structural carpentry (Rodwell 1986).¹²⁸

Indeed, the term 'stone carpentry' was coined by some earlier writers on the subject.¹²⁹ One of the most commonly seen and evocative examples of a carpenter's joint being copied by a stonemason is the mitre which is found in the apices of many triangular-headed openings and arcades (Figs. 365 and 366).¹³⁰ The construction of the head of the north doorway clearly owes much to carpentry (Fig. 271).

The importance of carpentry in early medieval church design and construction in north-west Europe has generally been underestimated, largely on account of the paucity of material evidence before the twelfth century. Nevertheless, the work of Ahrens, in particular, has demonstrated not only the close stylistic and constructional links between timber and stone architecture, but also that the earliest extant examples of the former display a sophistication and technical expertise



Fig. 365: *St Peter, Barton-upon-Humber. Tower: Stage 1B. Detail of stone jointing from the triangular-headed arcading on the north elevation, showing a carpenter's mitre. Photo: Warwick Rodwell*

that can only have accrued over the course of several centuries (Ahrens 1982). It is entirely reasonable to posit that all-timber versions of churches like St Peter's, Barton, were a feature of the English landscape in the tenth and eleventh centuries. We may note *en passant* that a small number of late Saxon coins, minted in the Chester area, depict churches with rectilinear framing and round-headed wall-arcading (Dolley 1970). Triangular-headed arches, however, do not appear either on the coins, or in the architecture, of the locality where they were minted. Although some masonry buildings were definitely depicted on these coins, whether the rectilinear elements represented timber framing or pilaster-stripwork in stone can only be a matter for speculation.

A long stretch of high-level, round-headed wall-arcading in Bosham church (Sussex) is depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry; doubtless some of the arches were pierced as windows (Stenton 1957, pl. 3).¹³¹ Similarly, a continuous run of wall arcading is shown in Duke William's palace at Rouen (Stenton 1957, pl. 18). A surviving example of this wall treatment is seen on the north side of the nave at Dunham Magna (Norf.),

where eight or nine bays of round-headed arcading ran below window level (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 217–21, figs. 97 and 98). Also, a near-continuous circuit of round-headed blind arcading – in this instance recessed, rather than standing proud – survives externally at Bradford-on-Avon (Wilts.) (Taylor 1973b, figs. 2, 3, 11 and 12). Although we have been considering wall arcading made of dressed masonry, there is no difference in principle – and probably in original appearance – between that and arcading formed out of recycled Roman brick. A fine example of this is seen in the third stage of the late Saxon tower of Holy Trinity, Colchester (Essex) (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 162–4, fig. 430). The arcading is well defined on the south, but has largely been lost on the other faces. The west doorway to the tower is triangular headed, has imposts, and is framed with pilaster-stripwork which also incorporates imposts. The only significant difference between this and the north door at Barton is that the detailing at Colchester was wholly formed in reused Roman brick, rather than reused Roman gritstone. When the brickwork was plastered, mouldings formed in stucco on the imposts, and the whole limewashed or decoratively painted, there would have been no outward indication that the doorway was not constructed in masonry (Fig. 367). The same applies to the arch between the tower and the nave. A hybrid construction is found at Dunham Magna, where the decorated imposts of the wall arcading are carved in Barnack stone, the arches are turned in Roman brick, the stepped bases are likewise, and the pilasters are formed in flint. No clearer demonstration could be found of the requirement for plaster to impart a cohesive appearance.

Forming pilasters and mouldings out of brick, tile and stucco presents no problems, and the tradition continued throughout the Middle Ages, and into modern times. If, however, the only building material available was flint or other small rubble, projecting pilaster-strips constructed from this would tend to fall apart quite quickly, and so it was more effective to recess the arcading, rather than make it stand proud. We find this at Tasburgh (Norf.), Haddiscoe Thorpe (Norf.) and Thorington (Suff.).¹³² Again the emphasis was on applying blind arcading to the upper parts of eleventh-century towers, sometimes in more than one register. At Tasburgh the attenuated arches of the lower tier are round-headed and one wonders whether the second tier (now truncated) was originally finished with triangular heads (Fig. 368). Moreover, like Barton, the two registers are not vertically aligned, but offset by half an arch's width; this phenomenon has not been noted elsewhere. Even at Earls Barton and Barnack there is no offsetting, and the pilaster-strips are in continuous alignment from one register to the next.

East Anglia is particularly well endowed with towers that continue the tradition of ornamenting one or more of the upper stages with blind arcading, and also of intermixing round-headed and triangular-headed features. In many cases there is nothing substantive to

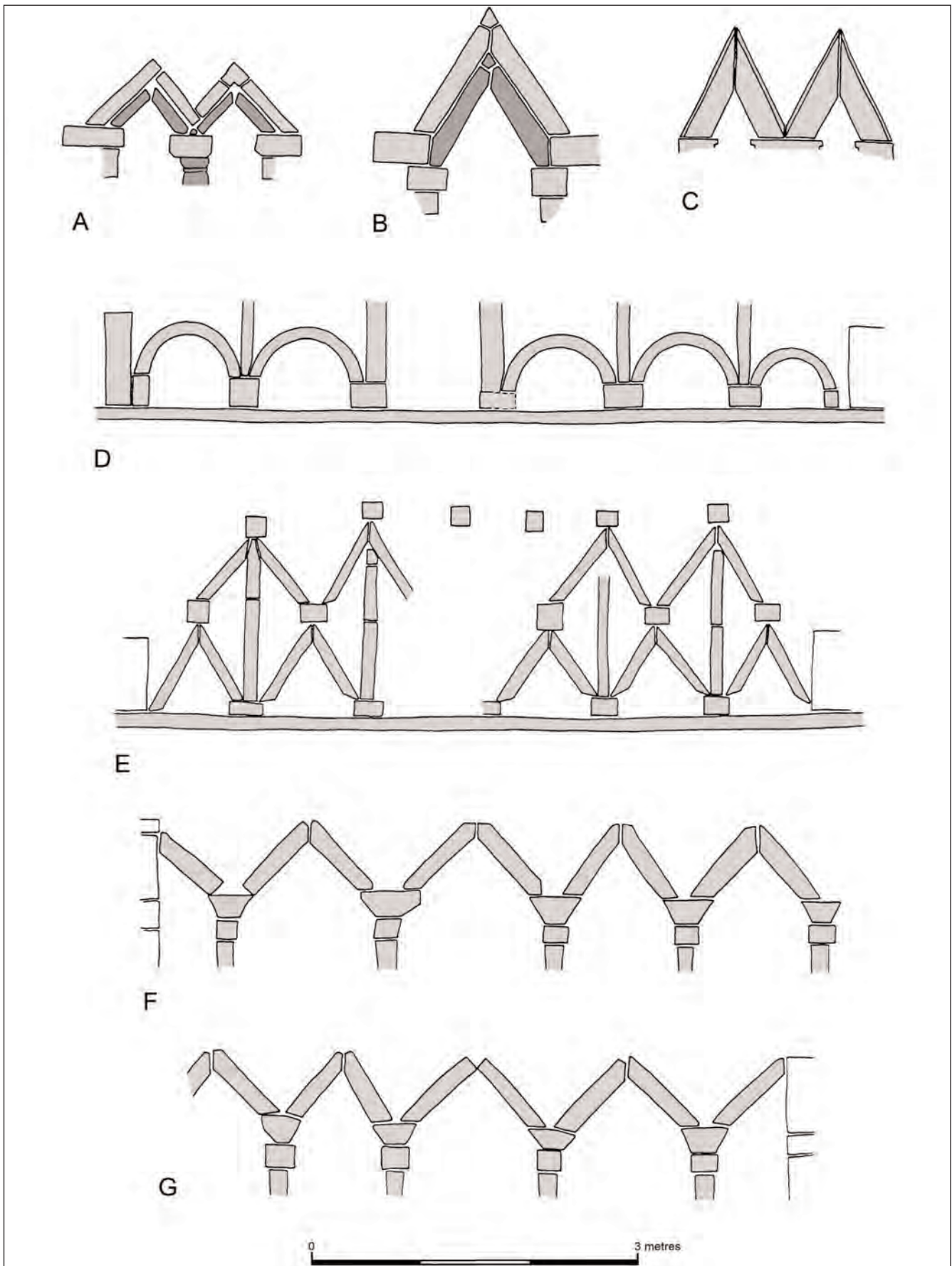


Fig. 366: Examples of jointing employed in pilaster-strips and triangular-headed features. A, Barton: belfry opening, north side. B, Barton: north doorway. C, Deerhurst: tower windows, east side. D, Earls Barton: arcading, south side. E, Earls Barton: gable-headed features, south side. F, Barton: arcading, south side. G, Barton: arcading, north side. Scale 1:50. After Rodwell 1986

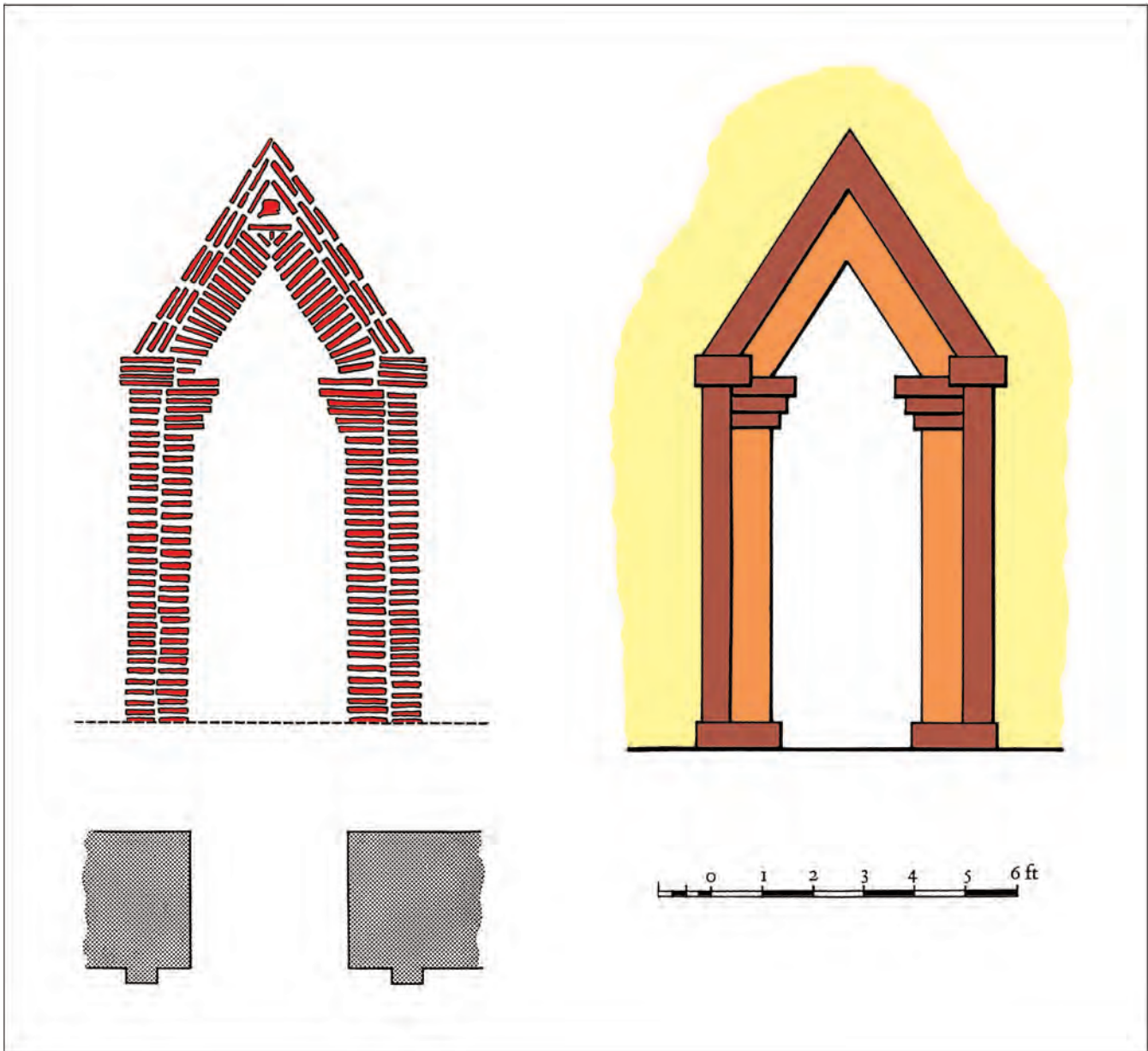


Fig. 367: Holy Trinity, Colchester (Essex). West doorway of tower, constructed entirely from reused Roman bricks. Left, external elevation, drawn by H.M. Taylor (adapted). Right, reconstruction of the intended appearance of the doorway when encased in stucco. Drawings: Taylor and Taylor 1965; Warwick Rodwell

date these features more closely than to the eleventh century: Flicham (Norf.) is a case in point. There, an axial tower of flint rubble with Carstone dressings has the second stage decorated with an arcade of three blind arches on each face (Fig. 369).¹³³ The central bay is segmentally arched and is wider than those that flank it: this is reminiscent of the laterally 'stretched' arches above the north and south doorways at Barton (p. 255). Flicham church has lost its chancel, which evidently had an upper floor that was entered from the tower via a triangular-headed doorway.

There are thus numerous analogues for Barton's semicircular blind arcading on the tower. Triangular-headed arcading is, however, rarer, and the curious arrangement of stripwork triangles at Earls Barton

cannot really be described as arcading (Fig. 363). Those features bear a distinct resemblance to the stripwork on the apse at Deerhurst (Glos.) (Rahtz and Watts 1997, fig. 104). Nevertheless, Barton finds a ready parallel at Geddington (Northants.), where the entire north wall of the Anglo-Saxon nave was decorated externally with a high-level blind arcade of triangular form. The dressings are now in a sadly mutilated state, all the projections having been hacked back, making them flush with the rubble wall, to facilitate later plastering (Fig. 370).¹³⁴

Perhaps less clear is the source of inspiration which might have been available around the turn of the eleventh century for combining round- and triangular-headed openings, and blind arcades, in the almost haphazard manner found in English churches. While

semicircular arcading in western Europe has an unbroken pedigree back to the Roman period, the ancestry of triangular formations is not so obvious. Nevertheless, an immediate source in Germany seems likely, where triangular heads (jointed with carpenters' mitres) are found in blind arcading: *e.g.* at Gernrode, dated *c.* 961 (Taylor 1970, fig. 6). Earlier origins of the style have been discussed, often with reference to Lorsch (*cf.* Brown 1925, 238–44).

Still less comprehensible is the way in which Anglo-Saxon builders combined the semicircular and triangular forms so idiosyncratically. At least at Barton there is discernible logic in the arrangement – a tier of round arcading surmounted by a tier of triangular-headed arcading – but not so at Earls Barton, where

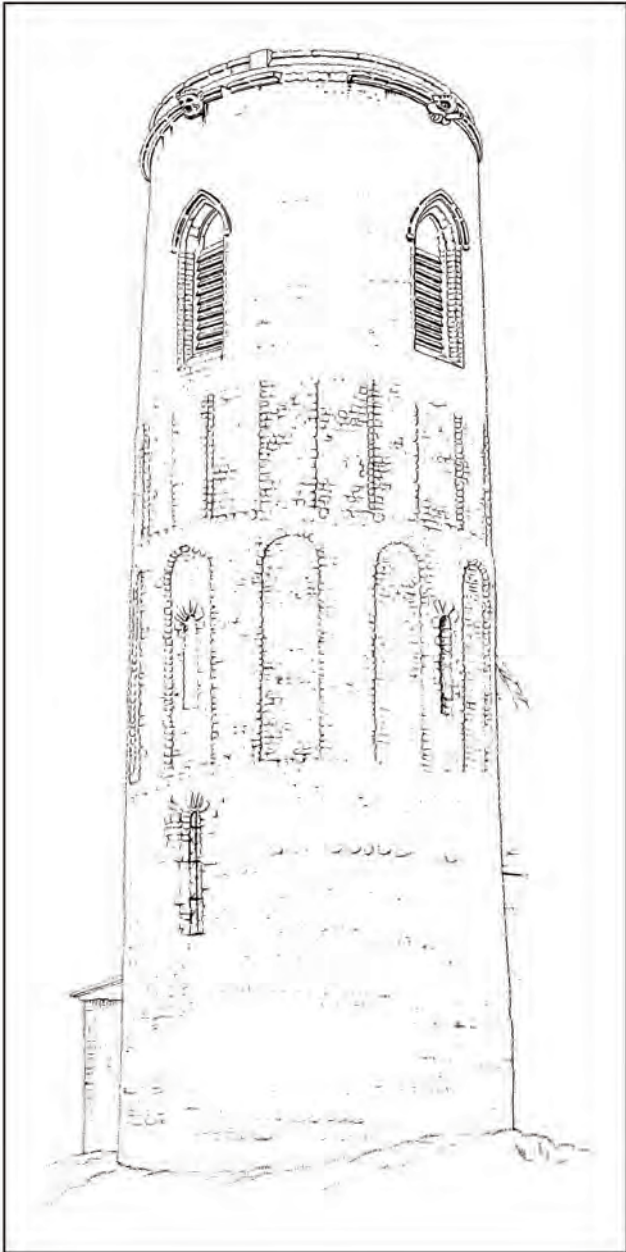


Fig. 368: St Mary, Tasburgh (Norf.). West tower, showing two registers of recessed blind arcading, the upper truncated by a later belfry. Drawn by J.C. Buckler, 1829. Gage 1831

disparate components were simply stacked up on the faces of the tower. Instead of capping the arcades, the string-courses cut across them at springing level.

Although significantly earlier in date, an indication of the mixing of styles is seen in the framing of the throne depicted in a Gospel book of the mid-eighth century, now in St Catherine's church, Maeseeyck,



Fig. 369: St Mary, Flitcham (Norf.). East face of the former axial tower, showing the blind arcade of three bays on the third stage. The chancel has been demolished and the window marks the site of the chancel arch; above is a triangular-headed doorway that probably opened from a gallery into a chamber above the chancel. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 370: *St Mary Magdalene, Geddington (Northants.)*. Triangular-headed arcading (mutilated) on the exterior of the north wall of the nave. Photo: English Heritage, NMR

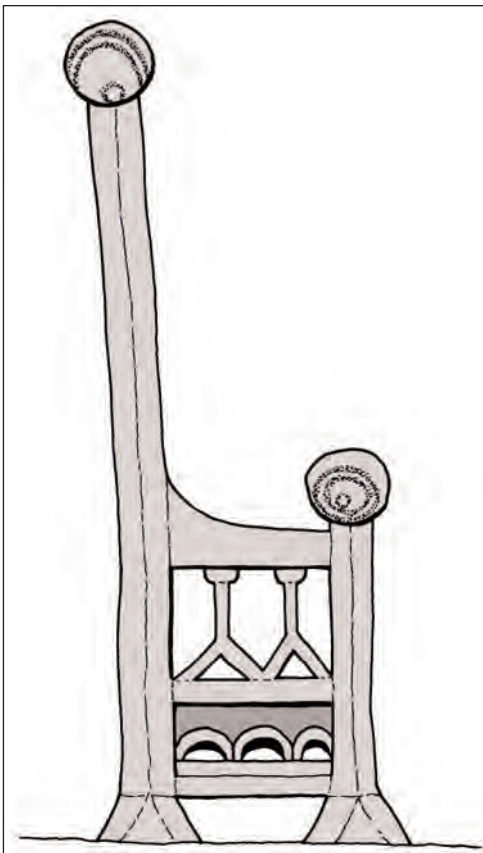


Fig. 371: Diagram to illustrate the construction and architectural detailing of the side of the throne depicted in a Gospel book from *Maesevck, Belgium* (Pl. 26). Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

Belgium.¹³⁵ In the side-view presented, we see three round arches resting directly on the stretcher-rail (*i.e.* without any supporting uprights), while the space between the seat-rail and the arm-rest is occupied by a fret comprising two open triangles (again without supporting uprights), from the apices of which rise pilasters with simple bulbous capitals (Pl. 26; Fig. 371).¹³⁶ This almost appears to presage the topsy-turvy arrangement of architecture seen at Earls Barton. It is not without interest that the *Maesevck* manuscript has been attributed by some scholars to the York School of illumination (Wilson 1984, 131).

Another borrowing from carpentry is seen in the heavy balusters used in the double openings of many eleventh-century English churches: they can be circular, square or polygonal in plan. Although at Barton they are circular and clearly imitate wooden balusters, it seems certain that these gritstone blocks were hand-cut, not lathe turned. Although a turntable may have been employed as an aid, the irregularities in the mouldings are consistent with hand cutting. Moreover, the least heavily weathered baluster – that on the east – displays clear marks of vertical tooling on the plain parts of the shaft and oblique tooling on the conical upper end, and some of the rings are askew (Pl. 22; Fig. 314). It is unlikely that a lathe-turned baluster would have been hand finished in this way.¹³⁷ The work involved in the manufacture of a hand-cut baluster of this type was prodigious: a wooden one could be turned on a lathe in less than two hours, while cutting one by hand in a material as intractable as gritstone would not take less



Fig. 372: *All Saints, Earls Barton. Detail of the double opening in the ground stage of the south wall, showing the visually 'applied' balusters with profiles similar to those of the mid-wall shafts at Barton. Photo: English Heritage, NMR*

than two days. A few examples of Romanesque turned wooden balusters have survived, *e.g.* at Borgund, Norway (Ahrens 1982, 454, Abb. 29). Thin slabs of stone (*transennae*) pierced with either simple slots or more complex designs, and used in window and belfry openings, again have their prototypes in timber.

The majority of Anglo-Saxon belfry openings and windows with two apertures have fairly plain mid-wall shafts, but those imitating lathe-turned timber balusters occur sparsely throughout England. There are no relevant parallels for the Barton type north of the Humber, and the balusters from Jarrow and Monkwearmouth (Durham) are much earlier in date, more cylindrical in profile, profusely embellished with rings and grooves, and were undoubtedly lathe-turned (Cramp 1984, 23–6). The closest analogues for Barton are found in Midland and Eastern counties, and they are but few: several fragments of potentially similar baluster shafts have been excavated at Bury St Edmunds Abbey (Gem and Keen 1981, esp. figs. 8, 11 and 13). Of particular interest is the baluster in the triangular-headed western belfry opening of the round tower at Beechamwell (Norf.); this appears to be identical in form to those at Barton, except that it lacks rings around the mid-point of the shaft.¹³⁸ Comparisons may also be made with shafts at Brixworth; St Bene't, Cambridge; and

St Michael, Oxford.¹³⁹ A variation occurs at Earls Barton, where the balusters are located at the outer wall face and are not freestanding but are frontally attached to thin upright slabs of stone that form solid divisions between the openings.¹⁴⁰ Apart from this, and the fact that they have only one mid-shaft ring, these balusters are visually a close match for those at Barton (Fig. 372). Finally, a fragment of impost from Hough-on-the-Hill (Lincs.) bears not only interlace decoration but also two miniature representations of biconical balusters which are remarkably similar to the shafts at Barton (Everson and Stocker 1999, 180–2, illus. 204). The fragment has been assigned to the later tenth century.

Notwithstanding their differences, certain similarities exhibited in the construction of pilaster-stripwork, wall-arcading and openings at Barton-upon-Humber and Earls Barton are so close that a direct or near-direct link in building terms seems inescapable.¹⁴¹

Roof construction

The close links exhibited in St Peter's and some other late Saxon buildings between stone and timber construction are not wholly surprising, since carpenters and masons worked side-by-side in the raising of these



Fig. 373: Late Saxon bronze censer-cover from Pershore, depicting a shingled helm-like roof: tenth century. Height 9.7 cm. Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum

towers. In addition to the erection of scaffolding, carpenters had to install the framing for the gallery and upper floors, as the masons raised the walls. They also made the frames for the double-splayed windows, complete with basket-formwork for the heads of the openings. Carpenters added the roofs, and these were evidently more sophisticated than might have been supposed, as demonstrated by the evidence for ridge-pieces and wallplates. Finally, they fashioned the fixtures and fittings, such as doors, portal-frames, shutters, balustrades, stairs, ladders, hatches and, of course, portable furnishings.

The nature of the tower roof at St Peter's has given rise to much debate. We know two facts. First, that the roof was square in plan and was not stone-gabled: it must therefore have been pyramidal in some form; and, second, that it was supported by a frame of heavy beams which crossed the tower in both directions. These were not simply ties for a low pyramidal cap, or seatings for timber cross-gabbling, but must have carried vertical loads: in short, they were the base-frame for a spire-like construction.

Although no Anglo-Saxon tower roofs have survived, representations of them are occasionally seen on coins, and three-dimensional 'models' exist in metalwork

in the form of bronze censer-covers found at Pershore, London and Canterbury.¹⁴² The most informative of these is the cover from Pershore (Worcs.) (Fig. 373). This represents the belfry stage of a tower, crowned by a spire of the type loosely referred to as a 'Rhenish helm'. Four shingled gables rise from an eaves-course, with projecting beast-heads both at their apices and at the corners of the tower. The gables support a four-sided spire: the facets are pierced and decoratively embellished, whereas in reality they would have been shingled, like the gables. The 'belfry' stage of the Pershore cover comprises an open arcade of three semicircular arches on each face, with pilaster-like detail at the angles; the shafts are carried on square, chunky bases.

The censer-covers from London and Canterbury take the same basic form, but have less architectural detail; instead, they are heavily embellished with birds and beasts. Projecting heads are again present on the angles, although more stylized. It is worth remarking that in Scandinavia surviving traditions of decorative shingling, coupled with projecting beast-heads, demonstrate that church roofs could be highly ornate. Representations of English and French buildings on the Bayeux Tapestry confirm that decorative shingling and roof ornaments were common there too.¹⁴³ The Pershore censer cover has been used to guide the reconstruction of St Peter's which is offered here (Fig. 374). For a discussion of timber spires of the period, see Gem 1995.

The west tower of Sompting church (Sussex) has a 'Rhenish helm' spire, the facets of which are shingled, but the four gables are taken up in masonry. The tower of St Bene't's church, Cambridge, was also roofed in similar fashion, but only fragmentary evidence now remains (Hewett 1978). The spire at Sompting was claimed by Hewett (1978; 1980) to be Anglo-Saxon, but dendrochronology has established that the carpentry dates to the early fourteenth century (Aldsworth and Harris 1988). However, the top of the tower, with its four-way gabbling, is unquestionably of the eleventh century and there is no timber spire of analogous construction known from medieval England. The most plausible explanation is that the original spire timbers decayed, or suffered damage, and a replacement was made that closely followed the original design. Arguably, what we see at Sompting is an early fourteenth-century copy of an eleventh-century spire. Although chronologically it is at some physical and temporal remove, it is nevertheless relevant to understanding the potential form of the lost spire at Barton.

Moreover, archaeological study of the tower at Sompting in 1984 revealed that it had been heightened in the eleventh century, and that, like Barton, the original tops of the walls were not gabled in stone. The investigators argued for a spire with shingled gables. One of the key characteristics of early timber spires and staged belfries was a central mast, the foot of which had necessarily to be supported on a robust transverse

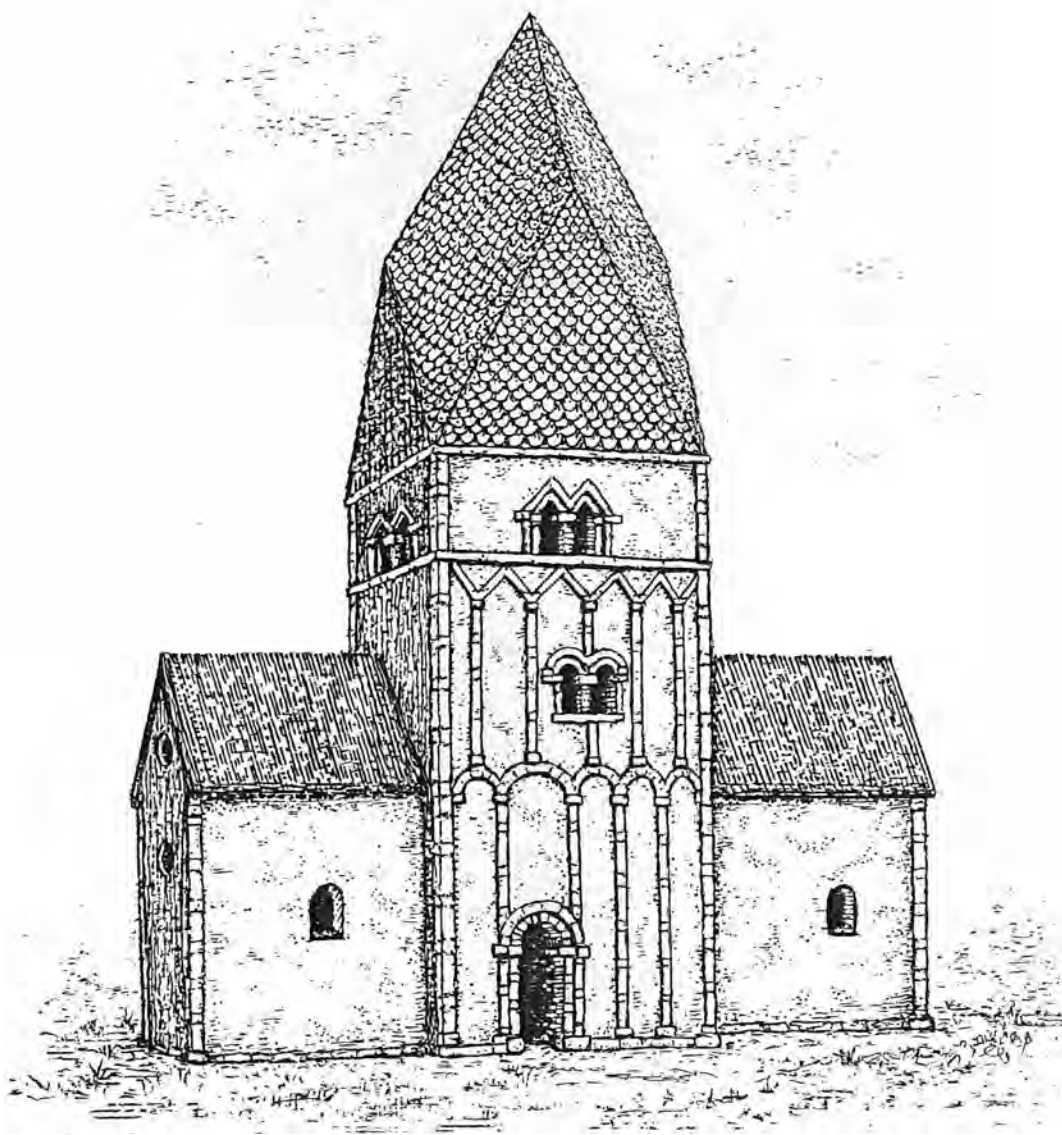


Fig. 374: St Peter, Barton-upon-Humber. Reconstruction of the Anglo-Saxon three-celled church. View from the south. Drawing: Rex Russell

beam (or beams), as evidenced in extant Carolingian belfries (Gem 1995), in Scandinavian spires (Ahrens 1982, 181, Abb. 123; 491, Abb. 11) and in the Sompting 'helm' (Aldsworth and Harris 1988). That essential transverse beam was also present at St Peter's.

Timber fixtures and fittings

In addition to the major structural timberwork, the church would have embodied fixtures and fittings of timber. Most obvious were the two exterior doors: both were internally hung and closed against the stone dressings of the reveals. There were no frames or rebates, and while square-topped doors were often fitted to arched openings, it seems more likely that the doors at Barton had shaped heads. The upper corners of square-headed doors would have overlapped the slightly protruding rubble masonry, and thus would not have closed properly against the linings. The doors hung on

two strap-hinges, with iron pintles leaded into the inner faces of the stone linings. Little can be gleaned about the construction of Anglo-Saxon doors, since only one, dating from the mid-eleventh century, has survived (Rodwell *et al.* 2006). It derives from Edward the Confessor's abbey at Westminster, and its construction is unparalleled in English early Romanesque doors, of which there are a small number of survivors. More likely, Barton would have had doors akin to those at Hadstock and Buttsbury (Essex), or Staplehurst (Kent), which were in current use by *c.* 1070, and probably much earlier (Geddes 1999, 19–22, figs. 2.1–2.3). This door type, comprising counter-rebated boards with narrow, rounded ledges fitted internally, held together with clench-bolts and roves, is also attested on the Bayeux Tapestry (Stenton 1957, pl. 52).

The presence of pairs of postholes internally flanking the north and south door openings has been interpreted as evidence for ornamental surrounds, or portal-frames.

There is nothing to suggest that doors or portal-frames were initially fitted to either of the major openings to east and west. Logically, one would expect doors to have been hung in the two high-level openings in those walls, enabling the chambers above the chancel and baptistery to be closed off from the vessel of the nave. No evidence for iron crooks was noted in the masonry on either the inner or outer faces of the openings, but the possibility that they were lost during repointing or other works cannot be ruled out, albeit unlikely.

The round-headed windows in the north and south walls of the baptistery were fitted with mid-wall timber frames, implying the fixing of some form of protection from the elements. No Anglo-Saxon window glass was found, and it is most unlikely to have been present, but 'glazing' with sheets of horn, skin or oiled cloth was certainly feasible. The same did not apply to the belfry openings or, more particularly, to the gallery windows. It was impossible to fit mid-wall frames to any of these, and no certain evidence for attaching internal shutters has been noted. Nevertheless, it seems most unlikely that there would have been no means of securing these windows against inclement weather. One wonders, for example, whether the walls of the gallery stage might have been lined with planking (and were thus effectively panelled), and that doors and window shutters were attached to this. But the fact that the walls were plastered militates against such a hypothesis.

The provision of stairs for access to higher levels, and balustrading for the gallery, need also to be considered. Stocker and Everson (2006, 32) identified fifteen Lincolnshire Romanesque towers with high-level doorways, all but two of which are in the east wall. They assumed that the ringing and other upper chambers were entered through these doorways, the stair being situated in the body of the church to the east; but they also acknowledged that where no high-level door existed, the stair must perforce have lain within the tower itself. Since the overwhelming weight of evidence for access to the upper floors of towers – Anglo-Saxon and early medieval – is from within the tower (or an attached newel stair, entered from the ground stage of the tower), it seems more logical to suppose that eastern doorways provided access to galleries or other chambers from the tower, and not *vice versa*.¹⁴⁴ Apart from Barton, the only other Lincolnshire tower with a second high-level doorway in the west wall is Corringham, which also had a door at ground level. The originality of the upper opening has been questioned by Stocker and Everson (2006, 139–40), but it could equally be argued that Corringham once had a two-storied western adjunct, or an external gallery (as at Deerhurst: below, p. 348). Another ten towers with high-level external doorways have been listed by Taylor (1978, 826, table 22).

Two questions arise: what form did the stair leading to the gallery at Barton take, and where was it? Since no Anglo-Saxon or early medieval timber staircases are extant, we have nothing definite to go on. There are at least five options: a solidly carpentered staircase, using

baulks of timber for the treads; a fixed ladder-stair, either vertical or slanting; a newel-stair; a vertical pole with projecting pegs for footholds; and a wide vertical board with apertures cut out for inserting the foot. All are attested in later medieval structures, secular or ecclesiastical. The first would be bulky and occupy too much space in the tower; the fourth and fifth require the use of both hands to haul oneself up and are thus unsuitable for situations where a priest might need to ascend to a chamber with vessels or books in his hands. The most practical option would be a ladder-stair with flat treads. A few medieval timber stairs have survived in church towers and may provide the clue to a long-standing tradition: they are indeed of the ladder-stair variety. Perhaps the earliest example is at Brabourne (Kent), which is a steep (61 degrees) and rather flimsy looking stair, dated by dendrochronology to the mid-fourteenth century (Gardiner *et al.* 2003–05). The treads comprise quartered trunks, pegged to a pair of carriage timbers: the latter were made from a single

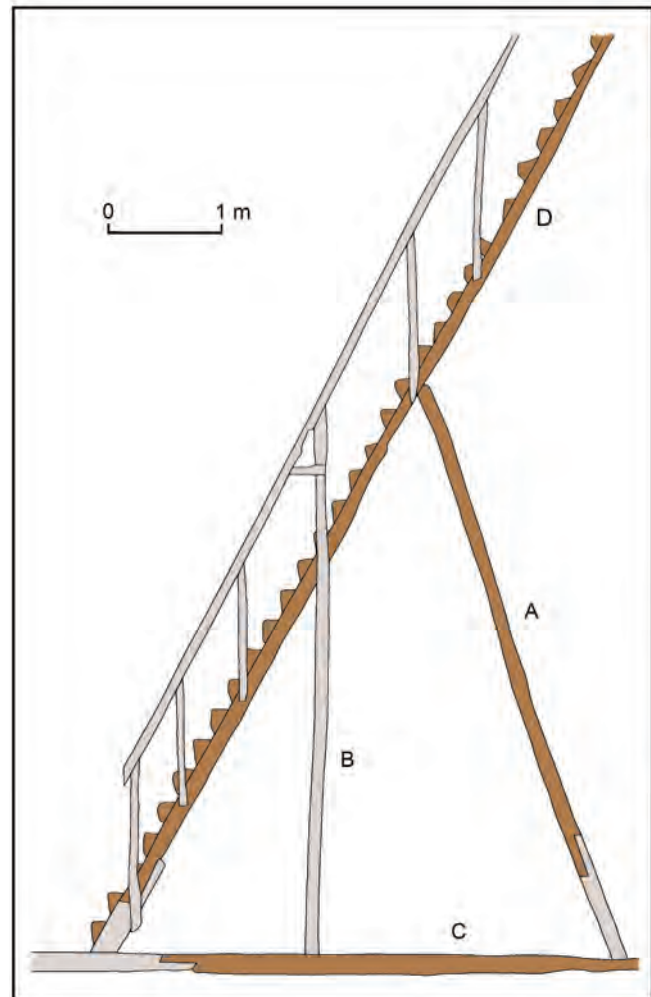


Fig. 375: *St Mary, Brabourne (Kent)*. Fourteenth-century timber ladder-stair in the ground-stage of the tower. Secondary timbers and repairs are shown in light tone. A, strut supporting the carriages. B, added strut and balustrade. C, sill-beam. D, pair of carriage timbers supporting treads. Gardiner *et al.* 2003–05

trunk, 9.4 m (30¾ ft) long, sawn longitudinally (Fig. 375). A similar but slightly heavier staircase, probably dating from the fifteenth century, remains in the north transept at Bishop's Cleeve (Glos.). In both cases the stair rises alongside one of the walls.

At Barton, a ladder-stair with an angle of 60 degrees, rising from east to west, could have been comfortably sited against the north wall; its carriages would have been 6.8 m (22¼ ft) long. The stair width would have been no more than 60–70 cm, as would have been the required aperture in the floor of the gallery at the point of emergence; that would not have obstructed free passage around a gallery 1.25 m in width. The stair may or may not have had a handrail and balustrade, but the gallery almost certainly would have done. Although it can only be supposition, the case for an arcaded balustrade in this architectural setting seems strong, since the semicircular arch is the dominant feature of the tower, both externally and internally. The only surviving Romanesque timber gallery balustrade is at Compton church (Surrey), the form and scale of which would be wholly in keeping for Barton (Fig. 376; Pevsner and Cherry 1971, 166; Blatch 1997, 94).



Fig. 376: *St Nicholas, Compton (Surrey). Romanesque arcaded timber balustrade to the gallery chapel above the chancel. View east. Photo: Mervyn Blatch*

Finally, it should be borne in mind that all the timber fixtures in the church are likely to have been enlivened with carving or painting, or both. The applied timber surrounds to the north and south doorways were not primarily functional, but decorative, since the doors themselves hung on pintles set into the stone jambs. These surrounds were not only common in Scandinavian timber churches, but could also be highly decorated with carving and polychromy (*cf.* Hylestad, Norway: Ahrens 1982, Farbtaf. E). They are just as likely to have been common-place in England, but evidence for them has seldom been sought in excavation: postholes for a portal-frame were noted at Raunds (Boddington 1996, fig. 24), and in the north transept at Hadstock (Rodwell 1976, fig. 2; 1986, 165–7).

Sculpture and decoration

Moulded masonry at St Peter's is limited to the six balusters in the window openings and the four impostes of the north and south doorways. Although modest in its artistic quality, Barton also possesses three interesting items of architectural sculpture, two external and one internal, all of which are difficult to parallel (Everson and Stocker 1999, 101–5).

The two heavily weathered human heads forming the label-stops of the eastern double belfry-opening are seemingly unique (Fig. 377), although there are animal-heads over doorways at St Mary, Deerhurst and Limpley Stoke (Som.) (Taylor and Taylor 1966; Taylor 1978, 1057–8), and at Barnack and Alkborough (the latter 15 km west of Barton) beast-heads were placed centrally over the west window in the tower.¹⁴⁵ However, a single male head, of generally similar appearance to one at Barton, occurs internally on the division between the openings of the northern double window on the first floor at Sompting,¹⁴⁶ and at Great Hale an apparently female figure occupies one complete jamb of a small window in the south face of the tower.¹⁴⁷ Pairs of moustachioed and bearded male heads flanking openings, and door-jambs in particular, are known from Scandinavia in the twelfth century, and it is instructive to compare the Barton heads with those at Timmele, Sweden (Svanberg 1970, pl. 56).

The Barton heads are so badly weathered that their features cannot be described in detail. They were originally external but, considering that they have been protected by the nave roof since the fifteenth century, it is surprising how eroded they are. The northern head is now almost featureless and even the sex cannot be determined with certainty, although it is probably male, but the southern head is better preserved, and it clearly represents a moustachioed male. The eyes are sunken, and now have the appearance of gouged-out pits, but may originally have been drilled; the nose is long and flattened, and the lips are prominent. A horizontal line across the forehead may represent a fringe of hair, or a headdress. The deep hollowing of the eyes



Fig. 377: St Peter, Barton-upon-Humber. Tower: Stage 2, exterior. Southern label-stop on the eastern belfry opening, in the form of a human head. Height c. 15 cm. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 378: St Peter-at-Gowts, Lincoln. Reused Roman sculptured panel above the west window of the tower. Photo: David Stocker

strongly suggests that these were originally filled with a contrasting material – glass or coloured stones – to impart greater vibrancy to the faces. Drilled eyes are a well-known feature of Anglo-Saxon figure sculpture found all over central England. They are crisply

preserved on the Lichfield (Staffs.) angel and are present in a more eroded form on one of the Breedon-on-the-Hill (Leics.) figures, in the ‘Lechmere’ grave-marker from Hanley Castle (Worcs.), and on the Dewsbury (W. Yorks.) figures.¹⁴⁸

Internally, both the form and position of the part-sculpted panel which stands above and is integral with the construction of the chancel arch are also unique, although other, now displaced, panels without edge-mouldings could easily have come from similar situations (*e.g.* the small Crucifixion panel at Marton, Lincs.: Everson and Stocker 1999, 231). The later eleventh-century tower of St Peter-at-Gowts, Lincoln, has a rectangular sculptured panel resting on the hood moulding of an arched window at second-floor level (Fig. 378). It is external and faces towards the west; coincidentally, the slab is almost identical in size to the panel at Barton. The Lincoln panel depicts a seated male figure holding keys in his left hand and a sceptre in his right. It has long been assumed that this was a representation of St Peter, but David Stocker has argued convincingly that it is a recycled Roman sculpture depicting the Mithraic god Arimanius (Stocker 1998). He hypothesizes that the stone was ‘discovered’ on or near the site in the eleventh century, wrongly identified as bearing a primitive carving of St Peter, and prominently built into the tower as a sacred image. That the Saxo-Norman builders at Lincoln may have been mistaken in their iconographic identification is of little consequence: it is the placing of an upright, sculptured panel directly above the hood-moulding of an arch that is of interest in the present context, and adds weight to the suggestion that the arrangement found at Barton at the beginning of the eleventh century was not unique.

Only the head of the figure on the Barton panel was sculpted, the remainder being applied in paint. The face is essentially an outline, which includes the beard (Fig. 379). Details of the beard and the head-hair



Fig. 379: *St Peter, Barton-upon-Humber. Tower: detail of the incised head on the panel above the eastern arch. Photo: Warwick Rodwell*

would have been painted. The panel is both flush and tightly jointed with the stripwork around the chancel arch, hinting at the likelihood that the painted element continued without interruption across more than one stone (Fig. 380).

Closely similar in appearance, scale and execution to the Barton face is one on a slab of granite in St Lawrence's church, Jersey. Although now cut down and presented as an antiquarian exhibit in a nineteenth-century buttress, this slab was clearly once part of an early medieval panel depicting an unidentified figure: again, only the facial outline was lightly incised in the stone, although in this instance two small incisions on the chin indicate the beard; and the remainder of the image must have been executed in paint (Fig. 381). The identity of the figure cannot be determined, and the date is uncertain but is likely to be eleventh or twelfth century. Some idea of the intended appearance of the Barton face may be gained by comparison with the heads of the Apostles carved on the Norman font bowl at North Grimston (Yorks.), which are uncannily similar (Fig. 382; Pevsner and Neave 1995, pl. 14). A small bearded head of late Saxon date,

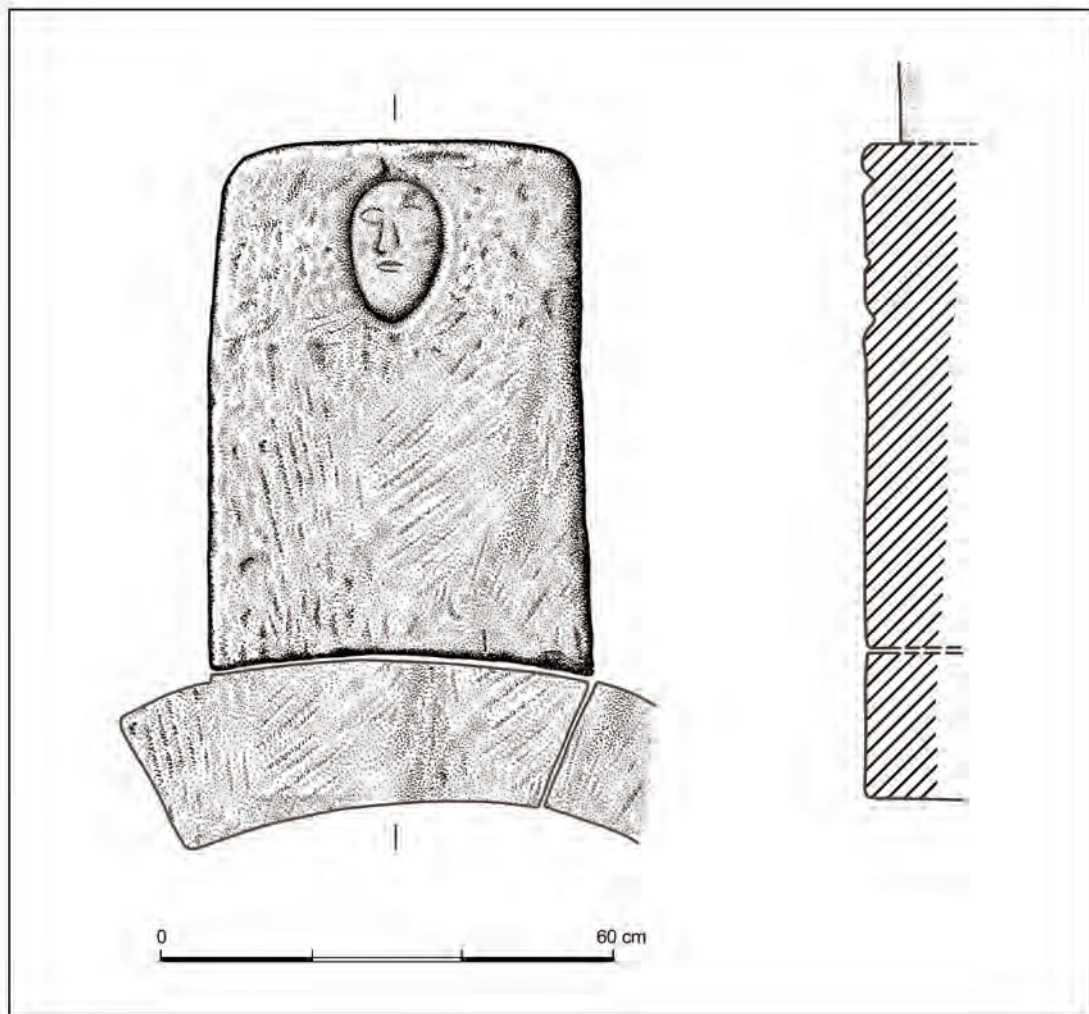


Fig. 380: *St Peter, Barton-upon-Humber. Tower: false keystone and stripwork over the eastern arch. Scale 1:10. Drawing: Simon Hayfield*



Fig. 381: *St Lawrence, Jersey*. Detail from an early medieval granite panel, sculpted with a bearded head; the remainder of the figure would have been executed in paint. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

reset over the Norman west doorway at Stottesdon church (Salop.), also has similar facial features to that at Barton (Fig. 383; Croom 1988, fig. 14).

It is not difficult to find analogues for figures executed partly in sculpture and partly in paint. Flanking the late Saxon arch leading into the former apsidal sanctuary at Deerhurst, is a pair of high-level stone panels with gabled tops, which appear to be plain. However, substantial traces of paint remain on one of these, showing that it formerly carried a depiction of a standing, nimbed figure within an architectural frame (Bagshaw *et al.* 2006). Also at Deerhurst, in the east wall of the tower, is a round-headed panel which stands just above the major arch, and there is no reason to doubt that it is in its original position. The panel is a *bas-relief* of the Virgin Mary, apparently seated, and displaying on her lap an oval shield (Fig. 384). The Virgin is depicted in simple outline, and has no carved facial detail. The shield is also represented by a plain oval area of uncarved stone, with no hint of the Christ Child who would have been portrayed on it. The finer details of the Virgin, and the Child in his entirety, were depicted in paint, and considerable traces of pigment survive, enabling an outline reconstruction¹⁴⁹ (Bailey 2005, 8–9; Gem and Howe 2008, 139–42). The systematic examination, recording and analysis of paint traces at Deerhurst has revealed how vividly the sculpture, mouldings and walls of this church were decorated in the ninth century (Gem and Howe 2008).

Closer to Barton, is the female figure, potentially the Virgin Mary, carved on a block which now serves



Fig. 382: *St Nicholas, North Grimston (E. Yorks)*. Detail of heads portrayed on the font bowl. Photo: English Heritage, NMR



Fig. 383: *St Mary, Stottesdon (Salop.)*. Reset Anglo-Saxon head sculpture in the tympanum over the west tower doorway. Photo: English Heritage, RCHME



Fig. 384: *St Mary, Deerhurst (Glos.)*. Part-sculptured panel of the Virgin and Child, above a high-level arch in the west tower. Photo: Richard Bryant

as a jamb-stone for a window in the tower at Great Hale. The head is deeply carved in *bas-relief*, but the outline of the body is lightly delineated and only just discernible: surely, this is another instance where paint was essential to render the sculpture fully intelligible?¹⁵⁰ On the west face of the tower at Marton are two small sculptures: one is a human head, placed *c.* 1 m above a window lighting the first-floor chamber. Stocker and Everson (2006, 45, figs. 4.129 and 4.130) have suggested that the figure could have been part of a larger composition painted on the rendering. The tower at Old Clee is unique in having eight projecting blocks of stone distributed between the north, west and south faces. They are now shapeless lumps, but were probably once sculptures.¹⁵¹ Two of them flank the western belfry openings, and one is placed centrally above the south window (Stocker and Everson 2006, fig. 4.140).

The part-sculpted, part-painted nature of the Barton figure has long been recognized, and its identification as a Crucifixion was first proposed by Micklethwaite in 1889.¹⁵² Stone rood compositions sited over Anglo-Saxon chancel arches are well attested, as at Bibury and Bitton (Glos.), and probably originally at Breamore (Hants.).¹⁵³ Thus, while the position lends itself to a rood, the proportions of the Barton stone do not. Unless the cross had extremely short arms, and Christ was portrayed with a disproportionately large head, a painted Crucifixion cannot convincingly be accommodated within the space available (even by making use of the label-moulding to accommodate the foot of the cross). While some Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion panels are of squat proportions (*e.g.*



Fig. 385: *St Peter, Barton-upon-Humber. Tower: Suggested reconstruction of the painted features of the Christ in Majesty above the chancel arch. Scale approx. 1:8. Drawing: Kirsty Rodwell*

Daglingworth, Glos.) they cannot be compared with Barton: Christ's head would be out of scale by a factor of two. Nevertheless, some authorities persist in classifying it as a Crucifixion (e.g. Coatsworth 1988, 173, 188).

The proportions plainly argue for a seated figure, and a depiction of Christ in Majesty would be most likely (Rodwell 1990, 165); a possible reconstruction, demonstrating how such a figure could be comfortably accommodated on the stone, is given in Figure 385. It may perhaps be compared with the rectangular panel depicting Christ in Majesty at Barnack, a relief sculpture dating from the early eleventh century (Fig. 386; Dickinson 1968, 13). The panel is *ex situ* and its original function is unknown. Unfortunately, no trace of ancient painting survives on the coarse-grained stone at Barton, which was thoroughly scoured in the restoration of 1858–59, when the surrounding wallplaster was also stripped. It would not be surprising if the panel were once flanked by a pair of angels, painted on the wallplaster. For a fuller discussion of the Barton panel in relation to other representations of the Crucifixion and Christ in Majesty above chancel arches, see Everson and Stocker 1999, 101–2.¹⁵⁴



Fig. 386: *St John the Baptist, Barnack (Northants./ Cambs). Ex situ sculptured panel depicting Christ in Majesty. Photo: Warwick Rodwell*

Architecture and liturgy

Sufficient remains for the architectural form of St Peter's church to be reconstructed in its entirety, and for its liturgical geography to be mapped (Fig. 387). First, the ritual cleansing of the site is noteworthy: an attempt was made to remove all the corporeal remains of previous burials within the footprint of the church. Exhumation did not take place simultaneously with the excavation of the foundation trenches: instead, corpses were removed and the graves backfilled with clay. Although the aim was to remove interments that would be disturbed by the new foundations, in practice a

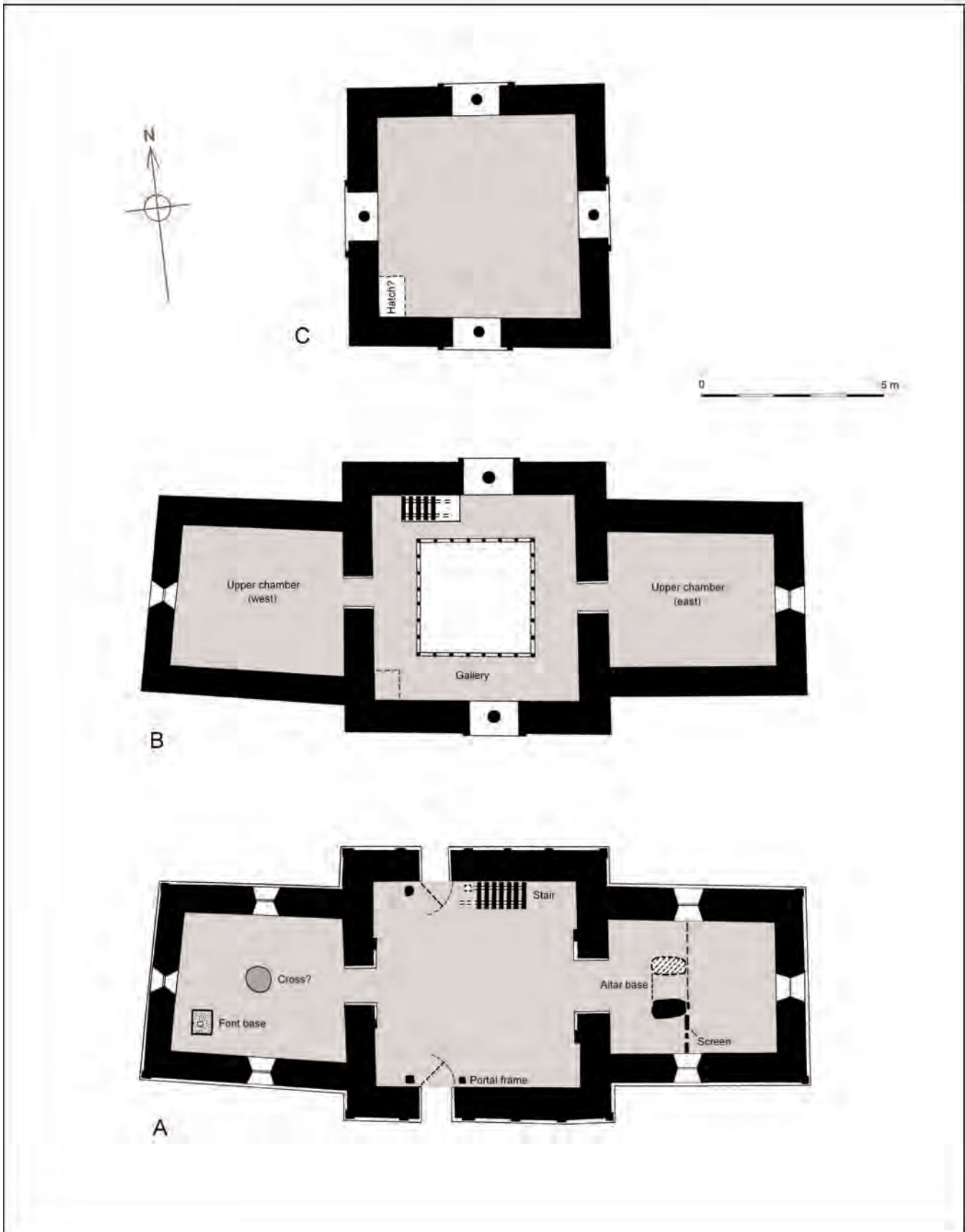


Fig. 387: St Peter, Barton-upon-Humber. Reconstructed plans of the Period 2 Anglo-Saxon church. A, ground level; B, gallery and upper-chamber level; C, belfry level. Scale 1:150. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

rectangular block was cleared within the cemetery, and at least two graves which fell just outside the limits of the church were emptied unnecessarily. Despite these efforts, three burials (two adults and a child) were overlooked, presumably because they were not identifiable from surface indications. After an interval, excavation of the foundation trenches followed.

While individual translations of burials are well attested, very little is known archaeologically about the practice of wholesale exhumation in the Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods. Indeed, for the most part, it is clear that this did not take place as a precursor to building works: foundation trenches for new or extended churches were routinely cut through old graveyards, evidently without any qualms. Sometimes, especially in urban contexts where burial was dense, bones were collected and deposited in a charnel house. There is, however, a notable documented case for the ritual cleansing of a cemetery prior to the erection of an addition to a church, and that was at St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. When Wulfric (abbot, 1047–59) constructed an octagonal tower, linking the churches of SS Peter and Paul with the chapel of St Mary, he cleansed the intervening ground; this was recorded by the chronicler-monk Gocelin (writing *c.* 1097). Wulfric had obtained permission from Pope Leo IX for his octagonal addition, and the prior cleansing of the site to remove potentially corrupt corpses may have been a papal instruction.¹⁵⁵

Multiple exhumation is recorded in the twelfth century in the Lincolnshire parish of Sutton-in-Holland. Sometime before 1180, the lay owner of this church gave it to Castle Acre priory (Norf.), at the same time stipulating that the church should be moved to a new site: 'my wish is that the earlier wooden church in the same vill, in place of which the new church will be built, shall be taken away and the bodies buried in it shall be taken to the new church' (Owen 1971, 5). Evidence for the exhumation of part of a late Saxon cemetery at Barnstaple (Dev.), when the Norman castle was constructed, has been found by excavation (Miles 1986). Similarly, at St Saviour's priory, Bermondsey (London) four graves were exhumed in the twelfth century in preparation for building work (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 197, fig. 144).

The plan of the church at Barton was conceived on the basis of three contiguous squares, with the largest at the centre and smaller ones to east and west. In the execution, however, the western adjunct ended up having a skewed and slightly irregular plan (Figs. 256 and 387). The central element was a tower – one of the most elaborately decorated in Anglo-Saxon England – furnishing accommodation on three levels. The ground floor served as the nave and was provided with off-centre north and south doors, and with large, arched openings communicating with the eastern and western cells. The doors were hinged on their western stiles, so that upon opening one looked directly towards the chancel arch. Surprisingly, the ground stage lacked windows, relying instead on transmitted light. The first

floor comprised a four-sided gallery, lit by windows to north and south, and with small doorways opening into the upper levels of the lateral cells (Fig. 387, B). While the gallery provided access, it is also likely to have functioned liturgically, as a high-level place from which reading and singing were conducted, and the bells may have been rung from there too.

The subject of galleries both within and on the exterior of Anglo-Saxon churches is ill-understood and has been little researched. Nevertheless, there is much evidence in the form of high-level doorways that appear to lead nowhere, as at Barnack, Earls Barton and Tredington (Warks.) (Taylor and Taylor 1965). Furthermore, an inkling of the complexity involved in the upper levels of churches is provided at Deerhurst, where there were internal galleries or upper chambers at both the east and west ends of the nave (Rahtz and Watts 1997; Bagshaw *et al.* 2006). A recent reconstruction of the chambers above the square chancel and apsidal sanctuary at Deerhurst envisaged them as having solid floors, but it is equally feasible that the former was a galleried space, as at Barton (Bagshaw *et al.* 2006, fig. 17). Little is known about gallery-chapels, but they were certainly present above chancels and aisles in some post-Conquest churches, an intact Romanesque example being at Compton (Surrey) (Fig. 376).¹⁵⁶ The early twelfth-century crossing tower at Castor (Cambs.) highlights a complex situation there: it has high-level doorways above the main arches, in all four faces (Fig. 388). The implication must be that there was a timber gallery running around the inside of the tower, providing a means of access to the doorways. There were presumably upper-level chapels or priests' chambers in the roof spaces above the chancel and transepts, but what projected into the east end of the nave: a narrow gallery, or a more substantial gallery chapel? All four doorways are small, round-headed, devoid of mouldings, and cut straight through the walls. In appearance, they are generally similar to the gallery doorways at Barton.

Deerhurst also had an external gallery around the tower. While the presence of a high-level exterior door on the west has long caused comment, and the former existence of a gallery or balcony postulated (Jackson and Fletcher 1961, 73–4; Taylor and Taylor 1965, 195), previous commentators failed to observe crucial evidence confirming that there was a complete gallery around the three exposed sides of the tower. In a signal paper, Michael Hare (2009) has conclusively demonstrated the former existence of this gallery, and discussed its place in a long tradition of gallery construction in churches. The sockets for the beams, all now blocked, indicate timbers with an average height of *c.* 22–25 cm and width of *c.* 16–22 cm; this range is directly comparable to that recorded for the internal gallery at Barton (p. 269). The overall width of the Deerhurst gallery can be established as just under 1.0 m (Hare 2009, 64 and table 1), while at Barton it was 1.25 m. Hare argued that the principal function of



Fig. 388: *St Kyneburgha, Castor (Cambs.)*. High-level doorway at the east end of the nave. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

external galleries was probably for the display of relics to pilgrims on the ground below. While that is also likely to be true to some extent for internal galleries, they must surely have had a major function in the performance of the liturgy, potentially as elevated locations from which singing or reading took place.

It has been posited that access to the gallery at Barton was from the nave below, via a compact stair or fixed ladder (p. 269). From hereon a second ladder would have been required to reach the top floor of the tower, where the bells were hung. Although pictorial evidence for means of access to the upper levels of towers is lacking for England, Hare has drawn attention to a remarkable sectional-elevation drawing of the tower at Tabara, Spain, dating from 970. It depicts a bell tower with five floor levels, each accessed from the one below by an individual ladder (Hare 2009, fig. 19). It also shows the bells being rung from ground level with the aid of very long ropes. Two bells are depicted, one being operated by a pair of ropes. Since the tower is shown in section, the full complement of bells may have numbered four.

It is impossible to say how many the bells numbered at Barton, but it would seem irrational to erect such a fine tower and hang only one or two in it: four could have been comfortably accommodated. Moreover, it is suggested that a *sanctus* bell may have been suspended from a projecting beam at the south-east corner of the tower, and was rung from ground level there. Early English illustrations of bell-ringing are few, but of particular interest is the depiction of a cupola containing two or three bells on the roof of a church at Winchester in the *Benedictional* of St Æthelwold, dating from the 970s.¹⁵⁷ The bells were suspended from a beam and rung from the ground, with the aid of long ropes. A beam in a tower with two bells hanging from it is represented on the Romanesque font at Belton (Lincs.), and an early twelfth-century sculptured shaft at Stoke Dry (Rutl.), depicts a bell which is viewed through a round-arched opening. The method of suspension is not clear, but it must have hung from a beam: a projecting arm attached to the bell-hanging formed a crank, to the outer end of which was attached the ringer's rope.¹⁵⁸

For a reconstruction of the posited arrangement at St Mary Bishophill Junior, York, see Stocker and Everson 2006, fig. 2.52; this is equally applicable to Barton-upon-Humber.

The primary floor throughout the church was of lime concrete, laid to a constant level. Like many others of the Anglo-Saxon period, the chancel was remarkably small in size, square in plan externally, and slightly elongated internally. The interior was divided into two near-equal parts by a timber screen running north-south. The altar appears to have stood in the western portion, against that screen, and directly beneath it lay a pair of primary burials which, plausibly, could have been those of the founder and his wife. There is a growing body of evidence to indicate that in the late Saxon period it was usual to locate the altar in the centre or western part of the chancel.¹⁵⁹ The function of the rectangular space to the east of the altar is open to conjecture: it may have held seats for the clergy, or been screened-off as a sacristy.

No liturgical features were identified in the floor of the nave, but the presence of the part-sculpted and part-painted panel depicting Christ in Majesty as an integral feature of the chancel arch points to the incorporation of devotional images in the fabric. Although very little original wallplaster survived – and none with a painted surface – it seems almost inescapable that polychromy played a part in the decorative finish. The variety of colour in the stone dressings presupposes that they too were limewashed and at least some elements are likely to have borne painted decoration, particularly the strip-work, with which the *Majestas* panel is integral (cf. Deerhurst; Gem and Howe 2008). The timber fixtures are also likely to have received decoration.

Turning to the western annexe, the presence of the stone base and soakaway for a font confirms that it was built as a baptistery, although whether it also served another practical or liturgical function we cannot say. With its relatively narrow arch, it could not have functioned satisfactorily as an extension to the nave. The intact survival of this Anglo-Saxon baptistery is unique and fortuitous. Indeed, no other late Saxon western baptistery has been archaeologically reported: while a number of churches had western chambers attached to the nave (e.g. Breamore, Hants.; Rodwell and Rouse 1984), their function remains unknown. It is highly unlikely that Barton was unique, and possibly some of the eleventh-century towers which have small medieval porches attached on the west preserve the memory – and maybe the footprint – of a lost baptistery. It is also tempting to interpret the ground stage of the polygonal *pharos* at Dover as serving the function of a western baptistery for the adjacent church of St Mary-in-Castro. The posited baptistery at Potterne is markedly different in its location, adjoining the church on the south-east.

The occurrence of prominent western stair-turrets on a few Anglo-Saxon towers is as striking as it is enigmatic. These are conspicuous constructions which

consumed a good deal of effort and expense to erect. What took place in the upper levels of the towers to justify the outlay? One wonders why the more exuberantly designed towers, such as Earls Barton, Barton-upon-Humber and Barnack, had only internal stairs or ladders, when the plainest towers could be provided with stone-built stair-turrets, as at Broughton and Brigstock (Figs. 352, 14, 16, and 353).¹⁶⁰ The latter has the largest-diameter turret, which is even more perplexing because that is attached to the smallest of the towers.¹⁶¹

The chancel and baptistery were ceiled at wallplate level, thus creating two further spaces in the church for which there must have been designated functions. These rooms in the roof were triangular in cross-section, but there was adequate height for a person to stand upright on the central axis. The same arrangement over the chancel is also found at Earls Barton (Audouy *et al.* 1995, pl. 10) and Broughton.

At St Peter's the upper chamber on the west was lit by a single *oculus* in the gable, and doubtless similar provision obtained on the east. The occurrence of *oculi* in the gables of late Saxon and Norman churches is a reasonably sure indicator of the former existence of an upper floor or gallery; they also occur in towers, as at Dunham Magna, where they are found in pairs at the very top.¹⁶² Circular windows are present in some stair-turrets too, including Hough-on-the-Hill, where apertures of various shapes are cut through single, vertically set slabs of limestone.

On average, the mid-wall apertures of *oculi* are only 23–30 cm (9–12 ins) in diameter, although those at St Peter's are fractionally larger. When fitted with a pierced oak board (with slots or drilled holes), the volume of light admitted would be very small indeed: enough to see to move about, but not to undertake any detailed activity. Nor do these tiny apertures have any practical value in lighting tall spaces, and their appearance at the very tops of gables in lofty naves confirms the former existence of upper-level divisions, even when no other physical evidence has survived. A single *oculus* in the west gable of the nave at Haddiscoe Thorpe and a pair in the east gable at Godalming (Surrey) are cases in point (Taylor and Taylor 1965, figs. 113, 470 and 478).

At Barton, one upper chamber may have served as accommodation for the priest¹⁶³ and the other as a chapel. Alternatively, one chamber could have been a repository for church treasures. The occurrence of high-level chapels in towers is attested elsewhere, as at Deerhurst (Glos.), where there were potentially two: one each on the first and second floors (Hare 2009, fig. 3). The presence of a chapel above the chancel at Barton might help to explain why the label-stops on the eastern double belfry-opening were elaborated with human heads: their purpose was perhaps to add architectural emphasis to the chancel which, from the exterior, would otherwise have appeared as a mirror-image of the baptistery (except that there may have been a

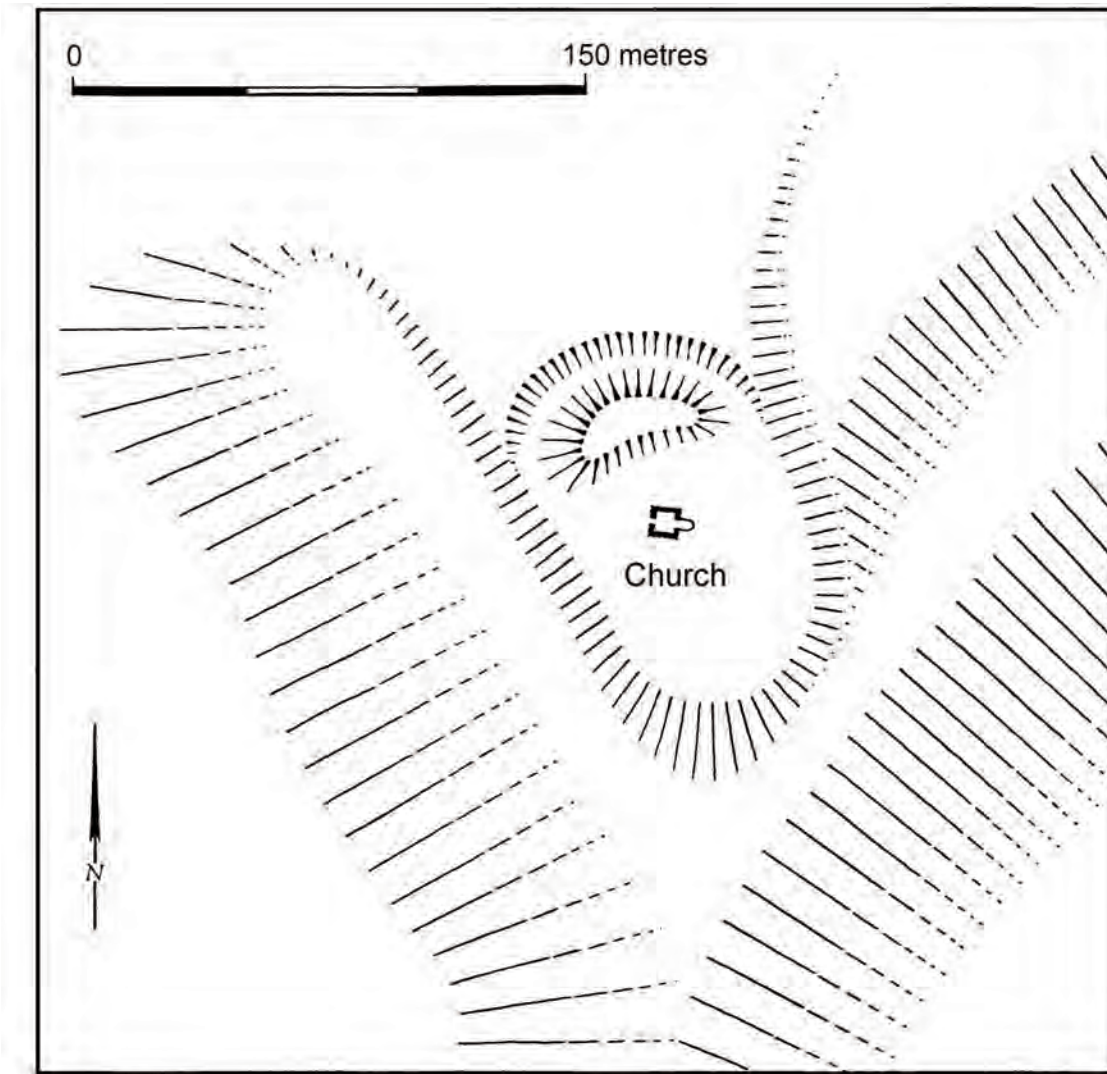


Fig. 389: *All Saints, Earls Barton (Northants.)*. The topographical setting of the tower-nave church amidst the castle earthworks. After Davison 1967

larger east window). The identity of the sculpted heads cannot be guessed, and neither can it be confirmed that they were both male. The options might include a pair of saints, such as SS Peter and Paul, or representations of the church's founders.

The presence of a second *oculus* in the western annexe, not far below the chamber floor, is not easily explained. The baptistery was lit by a pair of round-headed windows of fairly generous size, on the north and south; if more light were needed a third similar window could easily have been provided in the west wall. Instead, placing an *oculus* containing a pierced board at a high level (5 m above the ground floor) would have made negligible difference to ambient light levels in the baptistery: it must have had another purpose. Since this aperture could only have provided a small amount of diffused light at a restricted level, it may be suggested that its function was to give back-illumination to a devotional object: this could have been a crucifix hanging from a ceiling beam in the baptistery, or the head of a tall, standing cross. The possibility of

a cross in the baptistery has already been suggested on the evidence of a pit in the floor (*cf.* also Potterne: p. 309). Viewed from the east (say, at the chancel arch), the head of a cross *c.* 4.0–4.5 m high would have appeared to be enveloped in a halo of diffused light. It has previously been posited that standing crosses occurred inside Anglo-Saxon churches, as well as outside (*cf.* Lang 1991, 17).¹⁶⁴

Externally, the entire church was lime rendered, with the framing of stripwork and arcading standing proud. Although now heavily eroded, the architectural detailing of the tower would have had crisp outlines and sharp arrises when it was new, further emphasized by shadows created by the different planes of the walls and relief decoration. Most of the dressings were of gritstone, which varied greatly in colour, and some blocks of limestone were also incorporated. Consequently, it is highly probable that the whole was unified by the application of limewash, which may have been coloured to add emphasis to the framing. But here we pass entirely into the realms of speculation.

Table 13: Comparative internal floor areas (m²) of tower-naves and some related towers

Grouping	<18	18–24	25–35	35+
Barton-upon-Humber			30	
Barnack			34	
Borden			32	
Brabourne			28	
Brigstock	11.5			
Brook			35	
Broughton		22		
Clapham		23		
Colchester [St John?]			34	
Colchester (Holy Trinity)	11.5			
Debenham		24		
Dunfermline	11			
Earls Barton		22.5		
Eastdean	12.5			
Fingest			33	
Hough-on-the-Hill			27	
Jevington			30	
Leicester (St Peter)			25	
Netheravon		19.5		
Ozleworth	16			
Potterne		19		
Restenneth	9			
South Cadbury				59
St Andrews	11			
Woodeaton		19		
York (St Mary B. Jun.)			34	

While the architectural form of St Peter's was ornate, the footprint of the church was undeniably modest: there was no sizeable congregational space, no processional routes, and no ranks of side-chapels (*porticus*). Nor were any interments made within the completed church. All the indications point to St Peter's being erected as a prestigious proprietary chapel, and not as a minster serving its *parochia*, or as an urban church. Consequently, the town of Barton, with its Domesday population of around one thousand, must have been served by at least one other church of larger capacity. The archaeological and topographical evidence points very strongly to St Peter's being a lordly adjunct to the manorial centre at Tyrwhitt Hall, at least until the late eleventh century (see further, pp. 29–30 and 54).

According to the early eleventh-century 'Promotion Law', the possession of a bell-tower was one of the prerequisites of thegnly status in late Saxon England, a subject discussed by Davison (1967, 204) in relation to Sulgrave Manor and Earls Barton. We learn that 'If a freeman prospered so that he had fully five hides of land of his own, a bell-house and a *burhgeat*, a seat and a special office in the King's Hall, then henceforward he was worthy of the rights of a thegn'. The meaning of the term *burhgeat* has been hotly debated for more than a century, but there is no doubt that it implies some form of defended enclosure with a gate (Williams 1992). Archaeological and topographical evidence at

Barton suggests that the manorial centre at Tyrwhitt Hall possessed several of the requisite conditions for a thegnly residence: it was contained within a defended enclosure, it had a chapel and a bell-tower, and it can hardly have been without a kitchen. That the enclosure was regarded as a *burhgeat* may be argued from the local name 'Burgate' which, today, is applied to the principal street of Barton, the eastern end of which aims directly for the Tyrwhitt Hall enclosure (Fig. 151). The topographical similarities between Barton-upon-Humber and Earls Barton are striking. In the case of the latter, the turriform church stands at the centre of a low promontory, the accessible north side of which is well defended by an earthwork which is still an impressive monument (Fig. 389); the evidence has been discussed in detail by Parsons (Audouy *et al.* 1995, 87–90). Similarly, Shapland (2008, 501–9) has explored the possible *burh* connection and thegnly status of the turriform church at Broughton.

Shapland (2008, 506–7, 511) has further postulated that the towers at Barton, Broughton and elsewhere along the Humber estuary served as watchtowers and beacons, drawing attention to the requirement set out in the *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum* for the late Anglo-Saxon thegn to supply troops and maintain military watch: 'the law of the thegn is that he shall contribute ... armed service ... guarding the coast ... and military watch' (Douglas and Greenaway 1953, 813).

Baptistery and font

When Harold Taylor wrote on 'fonts and baptisteries', very little could safely be said on the subject (Taylor 1978, 1064–5), but there has subsequently been a welcome increase in knowledge, some of it accruing from Barton. Archaeological confirmation that the western annexe was built as a late Saxon baptistery with an integral font carries with it two self-evident but nevertheless important implications: first, that indoor baptism was being conducted by AD 1000 and, second, that the sacrament was being administered from a font. The reasons for the paucity of surviving pre-Conquest fonts have given rise to much speculation and discussion for more than a century, without reaching any firm conclusions. Bede tells us that baptism could be conducted in a church or a baptistery, or in the open,¹⁶⁵ and the evidence relating to these options – such as it is – has been discussed by Richard Morris (1991). More recently, Rosemary Cramp has also thoroughly reviewed the evidence for late Saxon fonts (Cramp 2006b, 38–40). It is scarcely credible that open-air baptism in rivers, streams and wells was the norm, especially towards the end of the Anglo-Saxon era: rather, it is a convenient and unprovable explanation for the shortage of physical evidence. The case of Potterne, discussed above (p. 309), raises the interesting possibility that there were roofless (or only partially roofed) baptismal enclosures attached to churches. Inevitably, these will be hard to identify in the archaeological record.

At Barton, with its copious springs immediately to the west of St Peter's, it is clear that open-air baptism was eschewed in favour of a purpose-built structure which was integrated with the church. A corollary of such a decision would be the need to provide a vessel in which (for immersion), or from which (for aspersion), to administer the sacrament: hence a font was part of the church's pre-Conquest liturgical equipment. Although the vessel itself has not survived, the gritstone base upon which it stood and the drain that carried away the water were both intact. It has been argued that the bowl was probably a reused block of Roman gritstone (p. 300), perhaps a hollowed-out capital or base of a large column, which would have been ideal for such a transmutation. At least ten examples of Roman column parts being reused in font construction have been identified by Stocker (1997, 25, list 3). Thus an inverted and hollowed base from a large column was adapted to create the elegant bowl of the font at St Mary's, Shrewsbury (Stocker 1997, 22, fig. 6).

Next, the question arises as to whether the bowl stood on the floor of the baptistery (with which the stone base-block was flush) or whether it was elevated on a pedestal. At Potterne, the excavator argued that the font bowl was slightly recessed into the ground and was not raised up (Davey 1964). It therefore did not have a base-block. The evidence at Barton suggests the converse: the positioning indicated on the base-block points to the superincumbent component being only 50 cm across, and that is unconvincingly modest for the external diameter of a font bowl. Hence, it is argued that the bowl and the base were separated by a short length of recycled Roman column shaft.

While antiquaries of a century or so ago were anxiously trying to bolster the number of Anglo-Saxon stone fonts in existence (*e.g.* Bond 1908, ch. 10), recent commentators have been more critical, so much so that some have doubted whether this category of artefacts even existed. While at least a score of plain or crudely decorated bowls remain undatable, several can be firmly assigned to the ninth, tenth or early eleventh centuries by diagnostic decoration or inscriptions. Notable amongst these are the fonts at Deerhurst, Wells and Potterne, all of which have been carefully studied and published in recent years.¹⁶⁶

Although Barton provides the clearest English context for a font housed in a roofed annexe to a pre-Conquest church, the paucity of identifiable bowls of the same period remains a conundrum. The possibility that the majority were of timber, or even of metal, has often been adumbrated as an explanation, and the fact that many Norman fonts are tub shaped has been seen as a potential development from the supposed use of wooden tubs or barrels for baptism in the Anglo-Saxon period. The hypothesis is entirely plausible, and has been pursued by Blair (2010). At the same time, there could well have been an industry producing lead fonts. Indeed, when we consider the number of lead tanks or cisterns of late Roman date that have come to

light in recent decades – many of them bearing explicit Christian symbolism – and compare these to extant Romanesque lead font bowls, the likelihood that they represent the opposite ends of a liturgical continuum becomes an increasingly attractive proposition (Rodwell 2009, 22). Indeed, the surviving numbers of Roman and Romanesque lead bowls, respectively, are virtually identical, and geographically their distribution is not dissimilar. Moreover, it appears that the chronological gap may yet be narrowed if not entirely closed by new discoveries of middle and late Saxon date. The early archaeology of English fonts has been reviewed by John Blair (2010).

In recent years there has been a spate of discoveries of post-Roman circular lead tanks, some of which are of the size and proportions that could be considered appropriate for a font or a stoup. Indeed, north Lincolnshire has yielded no less than seven examples. There are two from Flixborough, three from Bottesford, one from Riby, and a fragment from Roxby; north of the Humber, three have been found at Garton (E. Yorks.). Where datable, most are assignable to the middle rather than the late Saxon era, and some have lugs for the attachment of handles, which militates against their interpretation as fonts (Cowgill 2009). Similarly, the presence of more than one tank at any given location may cast doubt on their interpretation as baptismal fonts. However, it should be remembered that holy water stoups could have been located at several different foci within an ecclesiastical precinct. Intriguingly, one of the Flixborough vessels carries decorative markings that are not unlike those found on some Roman lead tanks. The marks, which are integral to the casting, comprise a series of four vertical strokes, followed by a six-armed cross and another two vertical strokes. The cross is akin to a *Chi-Rho*, but lacking the loop of the *Rho*.¹⁶⁷ This is surely an illiterate attempt to replicate a Roman inscription.

The tradition of manufacturing lead tanks continued, and some are datable to the late Saxon period, such as that from Westley Waterless (Cambs.),¹⁶⁸ and the square lead tank from Willingdon (E. Sussex).¹⁶⁹ Lead tanks have also been recovered from Norman deposits at Whithorn (Galloway) (Nicholson and Hill 1997, 390).¹⁷⁰ Although there is no totally convincing evidence to suggest the function of these tanks, Cowgill (2009, 274) concluded, '... their use in Christian rituals, particularly as fonts, seems very doubtful'. While that is probably true for some of the known examples, it would be dangerous to apply such a generalization to all Anglo-Saxon lead tanks.¹⁷¹ Blair (2010, 160) concurs with Cowgill's view, but nevertheless considers that the tanks had a ritual function. The discovery of a copper-alloy bell of oval plan at Flixborough provides additional interest, since this is embellished on opposite sides by a single eight-armed cross (Ottaway and Cowgill 2009).¹⁷² Bells of this type were carried and rung by hand in funeral processions, as evidenced on the Bayeux Tapestry (for discussion, see Stocker and Everson 2006, 79–82).

Dating: the dilemma

The dating of Anglo-Saxon churches is fraught with pitfalls and beset by circular arguments: Barton is no exception. Although there has long been general acceptance that the primary church is pre-Conquest, there has been no objective basis for assigning it to any particular date. Early attempts were either vague or wildly speculative: thus Moor put it in the safe bracket of 870–1017, while Varah insisted that the tower was pre-953 (pp. 246–7). Most subsequent writers have assigned it to the period *c.* 950–1000 (*e.g.* Brown 1925). The arguments employed, if any, were based on intuition or on stylistic comparison with other buildings, which themselves were not intrinsically dated.

Barton, however, possesses one important piece of historical dating, namely that in 971 the ancient monastic estate, *æt Bearuwe*, of which it formed part, was granted by King Edgar to Bishop Æthelwold for the endowment of the monastery at Peterborough (Sawyer 1968, no. 782). This gift was part of Edgar's drive to resuscitate monastic foundations that had been eclipsed by the Viking interlude. We have no idea what occurred at Barrow itself, but it has long seemed plausible that St Peter's at Barton could have been built as a cell of Peterborough, a suggestion which would appear to draw substantive support from its distinctive architectural style (Gem 1991, 827–8; Sawyer 1998, 147). There is nothing with which to compare it in Lincolnshire or Yorkshire, and the only convincing analogues for the style and construction are at Earls Barton, Barnack, Geddington and possibly Cambridge: all of those are quite close to Peterborough. Added to this, we have a description of the church which Æthelwold built in the 970s at Thorney as turriform (p. 308).

Peterborough might therefore be considered an attractive source and vehicle for the export of this distinctive architectural style to north Lincolnshire, and a date in the 970s, or soon after, might logically follow.¹⁷³ Since Peterborough lost *æt Bearuwe* in or soon after 1014,¹⁷⁴ this may be taken as a *terminus ante quem* for the arrival in Barton of what might be dubbed the 'Northamptonshire arcaded style'.

When it was discovered that primary Anglo-Saxon timberwork survived in the fabric of the tower and western annexe, it was hoped that scientific confirmation of the date could be obtained through dendrochronology. It came therefore as a serious disappointment when all of the timbers were deemed to be too decayed or otherwise unsuitable for dating by this method (p. 770). Although not regarded as a truly adequate sample, the complete joist in the baptistery yielded an uncorrected radiocarbon date of AD 990±70 (HAR-3106). The only other potentially datable artefact in the tower was a small piece of twisted basketwork, evidently a handle, which was embedded in the primary mortar of the west wall; this was submitted for radiocarbon dating, the result of which was

cal. AD 960–1280 (95% probability; HAR-6838). Such a wide date-bracket is not helpful.

Consequently, attention turned to another line of enquiry: dating those graves that could be shown to have an explicit stratigraphical relationship to the turriform church. There were very few such relationships, and radiocarbon dating was the only option available: the results are discussed in their scientific context on pp. 783–6. Since the church was constructed within a pre-existing cemetery, dating the burials cut by, and in the immediate vicinity of, the foundations could be expected to provide a *terminus post quem* for the erection of the building. The fact that the burials falling within the footprint of the church had generally been exhumed as part of the site-cleansing ritual severely restricted the options. Only one surviving burial (F1364) was unequivocally cut by the foundations, and the skeleton returned a date of cal. AD 985–1035 (95% probability). A second burial (F1400) which was almost certainly truncated by the foundations of the east wall has not been dated.

An undisturbed burial of a child, just inside the south door of the tower-nave (F716), appeared from its condition and juxtaposition to another exhumed child's grave (F744) to be a pre-church interment that had been overlooked; this was confirmed by the fact that the primary lime-concrete floor of the tower ran over the filling of the grave. The skeleton returned an unexpectedly 'late' date of cal. AD 1025–1165 (93% probability), acceptance of which presents serious problems. Several other burials which did not relate stratigraphically to the church, but which were the earliest in long sequences, were sampled with a view to establishing the date at which the cemetery first came into use, and the direction in which burial spread. Somewhat surprisingly, all pointed to the eleventh century, and four of the earliest returned dates of cal. AD 985–1020 (95% probability; two burials), cal. AD 995–1040 (81% probability) and cal. AD 995–1045 (67% probability), respectively.

Leaving aside burial F744, the combined results from the radiocarbon dating programme point to the initial cemetery phase belonging to the period cal. AD 975–1010, and to the building of the church in the early years of the eleventh century.¹⁷⁵ Given that F744 has been assigned a radiocarbon date-bracket of 140 years, most if not all of which is unquestionably subsequent to the latest possible date that could be attributed to the first church on historical or architectural grounds, we see no alternative but to reject it as erroneous. The possibilities for contamination of the sample are numerous. The grave lay just inside the south door of the tower, the ground floor of which had been used in recent centuries for a vestry, storage, and builders' operations. All of these involved the presence of chemicals with a carbon content.¹⁷⁶

Interestingly, David Roffe's analysis of the tenorial history of Barton introduces another dimension that has a significant bearing on the date of St Peter's

church. He argues for the relatively late creation of the Domesday estate, and suggests a context and patronage for the building of the church in or shortly after 1015 (p. 45). It is thus possible to reconcile nearly all the strands of evidence with a date of *c.* 1010–15, although this would imply that the church is somewhat later than most architectural historians have hitherto supposed.

If the foundations beneath the nave of St Mary's church, recorded by Moor (p. 114), belonged to a pre-1080s building, it raises a fundamental question: which was the Barton church mentioned in the Domesday Survey? What was the status of All Saints (later St Mary's), relative to that of St Peter's? The universal assumption has been that St Peter's was the only church in Barton in 1086. Once the Saxo-Norman nave and apsidal chancel had been added to St Peter's, the church might have served the town, but the notion that the tiny turriform nave alone could have fulfilled that function is plainly untenable. It has already been argued that St Peter's was a proprietary church in the early and mid-eleventh century, and it was not until the later years (perhaps as late as *c.* 1090–1100) that the new nave, chancel and apsidal sanctuary were added (pp. 395–400). Meanwhile, Barton must surely have been served by at least one other church. Nor need there be any conflict with the evidence of Domesday, which notes only one church and priest: proprietary foundations and dependent

chapels would not have featured separately anyway. That church could have been All Saints (or whatever its dedication then was).

Finally, we may turn to *comparanda*. The Barnack tower is undoubtedly the earliest in the group, and may be assignable to *c.* 920 (Gem 1995, 44). The detailing at Barton and Earls Barton is more developed, and both are undoubtedly later. Given their close similarities, it seems unlikely that the latter two towers can be far apart in date: indeed they give the impression that they could have been erected by the same contractors, although that it not likely in reality. Dating the church at Earls Barton depends upon rather tortuous arguments, and is inconclusive, although Parsons is inclined to place it no later than the middle of the tenth century (Audouy *et al.* 1995, 87–90). By contrast, Fernie (1983, 144) sees Earls Barton as the latest church in the group, and points to the roll-mouldings which are found on the doorway as indicative of 'contact with buildings which definitely belong to the eleventh century'. Such mouldings may well be indicative of a mid-century date. In terms of construction history, it is difficult to envisage an interval of more than half a century separating the churches of Barton and Earls Barton. Unfortunately, close dating still remains elusive, but such evidence as we have is best accommodated by placing Barton around the turn of the millennium, and Earls Barton towards the middle of the eleventh century.



Fig. 390: The three-celled Saxo-Norman church revealed during excavation in the nave in 1980. View west. Scales of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

7. THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH: SAXO-NORMAN, NORMAN AND EARLY ENGLISH PHASES

Not raised in nice proportions was the pile,
But large and massy; for duration built;
with pillars crowded, and the roof upheld
By naked rafters intricately cross'd ...
William Wordsworth, *The Excursion*, 1814¹

Only one component of the Saxo-Norman church is readily visible today, namely the added top-stage of the tower, the remainder having been obliterated by subsequent works. Although the nave arcades embody reused components of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the next earliest intact element, dating from the second half of the thirteenth century, is the south aisle and its porch. From the late eleventh century onwards, the physical development of the church was entirely east of the tower, instead of the more usual form of expansion in both directions from the nave-chancel division. The reason for siting the body of the new church east of the tower was undoubtedly topographical: here lay a convenient plateau, while to the west the land fell away gently towards the road and the Beck.

Excavation within the present church revealed several phases of development that could never have been deduced from study of the fabric alone, they provide evidence for gradual enlargement, both in length and laterally. Related to one of these is a roof weathering-line which is visible on the east face of the tower, inside the nave.

Saxo-Norman: the late Eleventh-century Church (Period 3)

Nave, chancel and sanctuary

Foundation plan

The tiny Anglo-Saxon chancel was replaced by a new rectangular nave and a chancel with an apsidal sanctuary (Fig. 390). Only the foundations of these have survived, and even they are fragmentary at the east end (Fig. 391). The foundation trenches were up to 1.3 m deep and taken down to a firm clay bed, cutting through numerous graves in the process: no prior exhumation of skeletal remains took place on this occasion. The lower levels of the trenches were filled with compacted chalk nodules and brown clay, laid in alternating bands (F484). Towards the top, however, the outer faces of the foundation were constructed of larger chalk blocks, roughly squared, coursed and bedded in hard, brown gravelly mortar. Between the facings was a banded core of small chalk rubble and mortar; up to four of these footing courses survived on the north side. On average, the foundation trench was 1.2 m (4 ft) wide, but increased to 1.4 m in the apse, where

the greatest depth also occurred. The increased bulk in foundation material here may have been a precaution induced by the waterlogged and less stable nature of the ground (infilled Anglo-Saxon ditch, wells, etc.), but equally it may have been to facilitate pilaster-buttressing around the apse. The apse was the least well preserved part of the foundation circuit, as a result of later grave digging: for most of its circuit, only the lowest level of chalk rubble survived (Fig. 392). The plan indicates that the walls were *c.* 1.1 m (3½ ft) thick, which probably included an external offset at plinth level, the wall above reducing to 1.0 m, or a little less.

The new nave was constructed so that its north and south walls just clasped the eastern angles of the tower, giving it an internal width of 7.1 m (23¼ ft). It would appear that the nave walls overlapped the tower by little more than the width of the corner pilasters (30 cm), and no attempt was made to bond the new masonry with the old. Presumably the minimal overlap between the tower and nave reflected a desire to avoid impinging too far on to the stripwork arcading.

The nave was of squat proportions, being only 8.65 m (28½ ft) long internally, and was not quite a true rectangle in plan. On average, it measured *c.* 10 m (33 ft) by 9.3 m (30½ ft) externally, and the also-squat chancel was 5.6 m (18½ ft) long by 7.6 m (25 ft) wide, with an unstilted, apsidal sanctuary (Figs. 393 and 394). The offset in plan between the chancel and nave was equivalent to almost a wall's thickness on either side, while the offset between the sanctuary and chancel was half that amount. It is clear that walls were laid out by their centre-lines and a regular system of measurement was employed. There is no hint of separate provision for buttressing, but shallow pilasters could have been accommodated on the foundation.

Demolition of the Anglo-Saxon chancel

The upcast soil from the foundation trenches (F1537, sandy clay with occasional pieces of chalk and mortar) was spread within the walls of the new church, raising its level and forming a sub-floor (F1522). A few small post-holes cut into this layer must have been associated with the construction work (Fig. 395). After the new church was built, the redundant Anglo-Saxon chancel was demolished, down to its foundations, the mortar and small rubble deriving from its walls being spread to form a floor (F187), sealing all previous features and deposits.

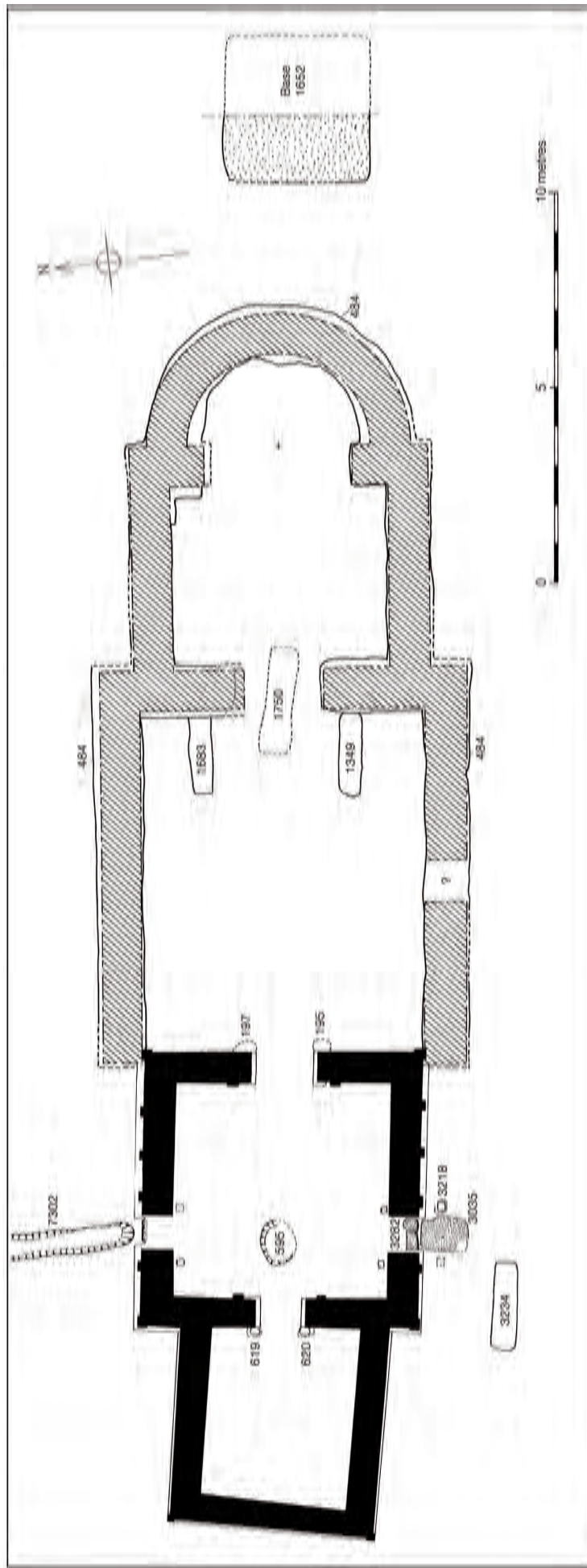


Fig. 391: Foundation plan of the Period 3 Saxo-Norman church and associated features. Standing fabric is shown in black and the reconstructed plan of the demolished walls is hatched. Scale 1:150. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 392: Foundations of the chancel and apsidal sanctuary of the Period 3 church. View south-west. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 393: Foundations of the chancel of the Period 3 church. In the centre is the brick-lined, double-burial shaft of the Scriveners. View west. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 394: Saxo-Norman chancel. Foundation of the north wall, with the Period 4A Norman nave wall alongside (supporting later arcade piers). View north-west. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 395 Saxo-Norman nave. Surface of the construction level in the north-east angle. View north. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 396: Saxo-Norman chancel. Construction level in the north-west corner. Note the spread of mortar and masons' waste rising up alongside the north wall. View north-west. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 397: Saxo-Norman nave. Primary rendering surviving at the base of the north wall. Scale of 10 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

These construction and demolition layers survived in several areas, particularly against the walls; otherwise, no contemporary features were found within the church, owing to extensive grave-digging at later periods.

The masons' working level was well preserved in places, particularly in the chancel, where a characteristic spread of mortar spillage, wedge-shaped in cross-section, lay against the walls (Fig. 396). The same brownish mortar that was used in constructing the walls was also applied as rendering; in the nave a strip of this survived to a height of *c.* 12 cm (Fig. 397). It did not have a decorated surface, and its preservation was due to the fact that the rendering was applied before

the Anglo-Saxon chancel was demolished and its rubble used to raise the floor level within the new church.

The demolition of the old chancel would have released a series of gritstone blocks from the two eastern quoins. Some of these may have gone into the new work, but that required enough ashlar for six quoins (or more, if there were pilasters). Since there is no hint that a second supply of gritstone was brought to Barton, Lincolnshire limestone or ironstone was almost certainly employed for the new work. At least some of the displaced gritstone blocks were put to entirely new uses: *e.g.* two of them were placed in the south doorway of the tower, to form a step (p. 373).

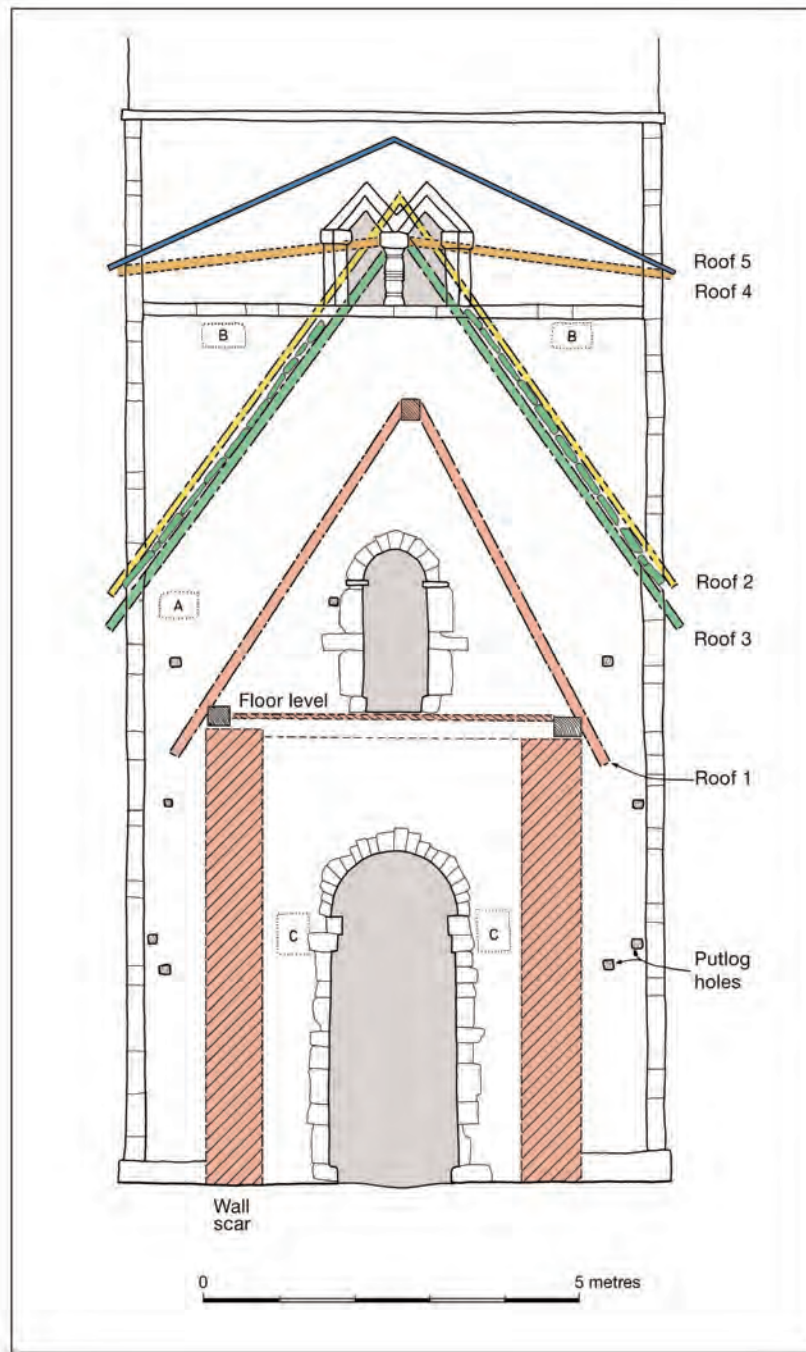


Fig. 398: Tower: east face of stages 1 and 2. Interpretation diagram of the abutment of the walls of the Anglo-Saxon chancel and five successive roofs. 1, Anglo-Saxon; 2, Saxo-Norman; 3, Thirteenth century; 4, Fifteenth century; 5, Early nineteenth century. Other features shown include: A, B, housings for timbers of uncertain purpose; C, sockets for timbers of the Georgian gallery in the nave. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

It is tempting to see a third ending up as a padstone for a timber building on the vicarage garden site: with its Lewis hole and distinctive Roman tooling, there can be little doubt that the block found there in a medieval context during an excavation in 1981 was derived from the Anglo-Saxon church.²

Superstructure and openings

Nothing survives of the superstructure of the Saxo-Norman church, but the positions of the major openings

could be determined from the foundation plan. The opening between the chancel and sanctuary was between 3.7 and 3.8 m (c. 12 ft) wide, and defined by shallow responds. It is highly unlikely that this was spanned by a stone arch, there being relatively little solid masonry on either flank to contain the lateral thrust. Spanning the opening with a roof truss is more plausible.

Owing to later grave-digging, it was impossible to determine conclusively whether the discontinuity in the north-south foundation between the nave and chancel was a feature of the design, or merely the result

of later activity: there were hints that the southern flank might be complete. If it was, an approximate dimension of 2.0 m (6½ ft) for the width of the chancel arch can be established. On the other hand, if the foundation was originally continuous, then no clue survives as to the width of the opening.

There was little to indicate the positions of the doorways, but a dip in the top of the southern foundation of the nave suggested that the entrance was at the mid-point. Perhaps significantly, that would coincide with the position of the entrance in the twelfth-century and later south aisles: the axes of church doorways were commonly perpetuated from one building phase to another. Whether there was a corresponding north entrance is a matter for conjecture, but there was possibly no need for one, given that the tower already had a door on its north side. The various openings presumably all had dressings of limestone or ironstone, but no architectural fragments associated with these can be identified with certainty.

Likewise, the provision of windows can only be conjectured, but analogous buildings indicate the likelihood of there being two in each side of the nave, one per side in the chancel, and three in the apse. They would have been round-headed, single or double-played and their reveals were perhaps formed in plastered rubble (in the Anglo-Saxon manner) rather than dressed stone.

The new nave appears to have had the same eaves height as the old chancel that it succeeded, but, being significantly wider, its steeply pitched roof rose higher and would have dwarfed the Anglo-Saxon tower. It also obstructed the eastern double belfry-opening, which must have been infilled with masonry (Fig. 398, roof-line 2). Externally, eaves level would have been c. 6.3 m (21 ft) above the ground, and a pocket to house the end of the ridge-beam was hacked into the V-shape of the stripwork defining the head of the double belfry-opening; the roof pitch was c. 55 degrees. No evidence survives for a weathering on the face of the tower, although any chases for lead flashings could have been lost in later work. More likely, the new roof simply abutted the tower, and was perhaps sealed with a mortar fillet; a stone weathering was later inserted on the same line (p. 388; Fig. 398, roof-line 3).

The eastern doorway at first-floor level in the tower could still have given access to a chamber in the roof of the new nave, or to a gallery at its west end (p. 348).

Internal features

The paucity of stratified levels inside most of the Saxo-Norman church meant that it was impossible to determine with certainty whether any of the early medieval burials excavated within its walls were contemporaneous with the life of the building. It is very

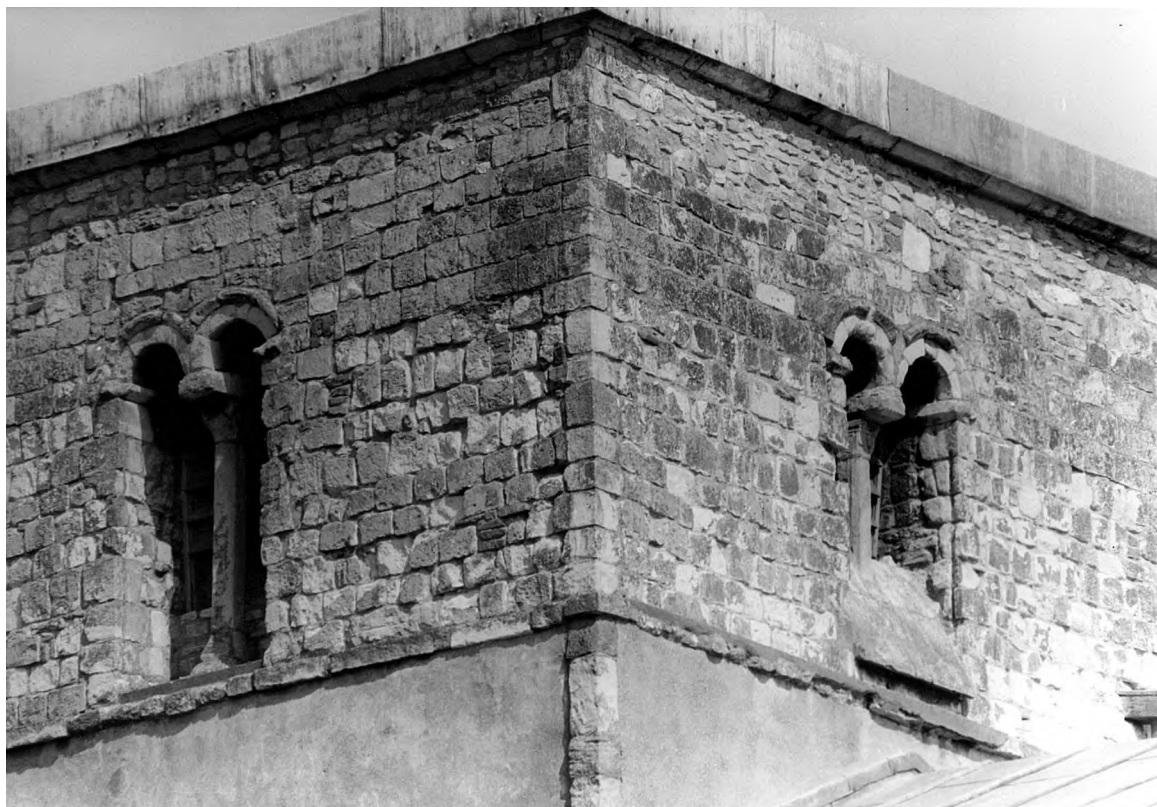


Fig. 399: Tower: Stage 3, belfry. View from the south-east, showing the ashlar masonry construction. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

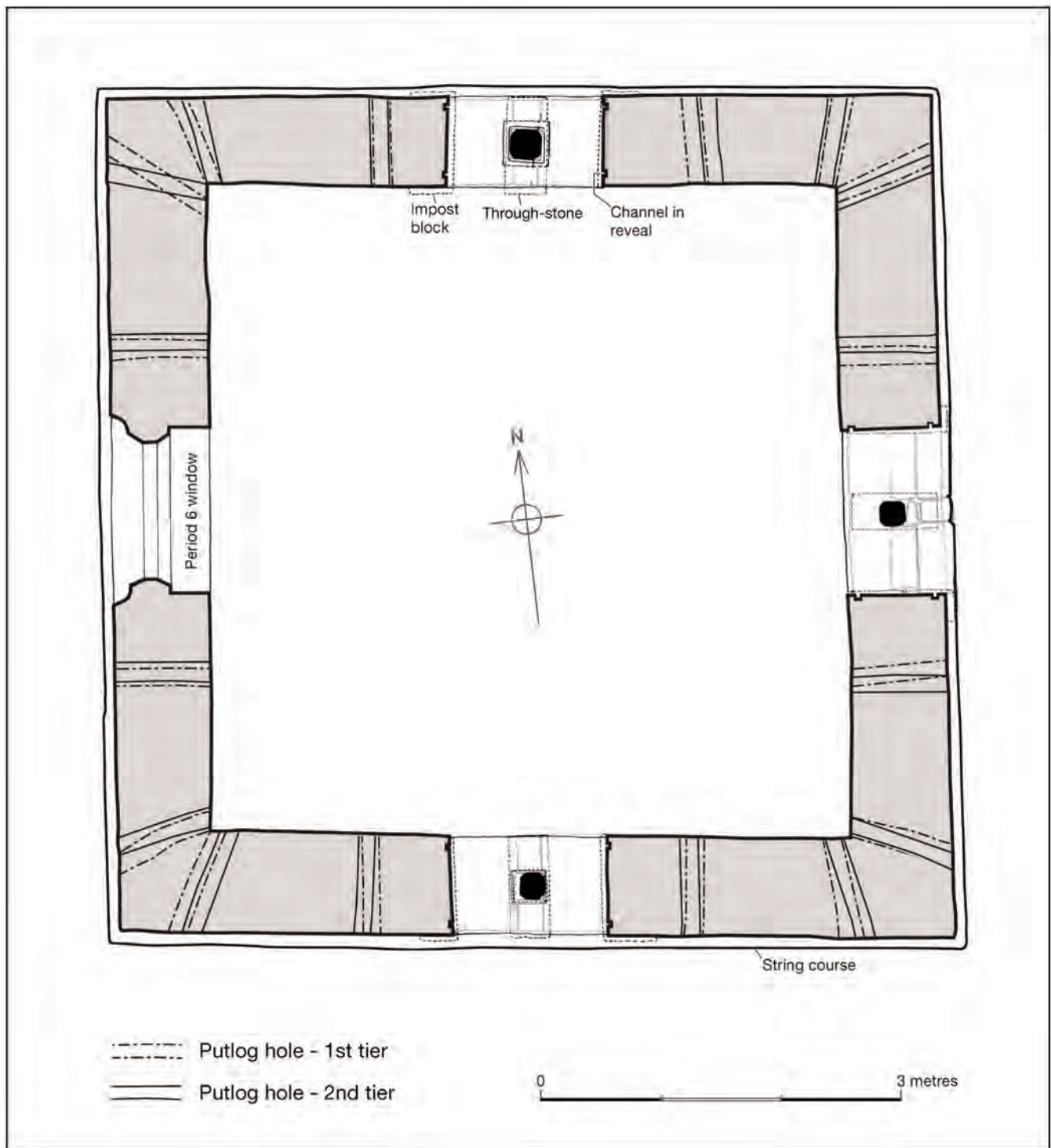


Fig. 400: Tower: Stage 3. Plan of the Period 3 belfry at sill level, showing the locations and angles of the first and second tiers of putlog holes. Also indicated (by broken lines) are the imposts and through-stones of the three surviving original belfry openings. Drawing: Stephen Coll and Warwick Rodwell

likely that some were, and attention may be drawn to three in particular. Centred under the chancel arch was a large grave (F1750), which was empty when found, but had undoubtedly once contained a coffin (Fig. 391). The residue of the filling between the south side of the coffin and the edge of the grave remained *in situ*. The location evokes interest, as does the fact that the burial was exhumed.

The principal argument against its being contemporary with the Saxo-Norman church is its slightly skewed alignment, and the presence of a second grave to the north that was similarly skewed.³ Two other burials (F1349 and F1683) appeared to flank the chancel arch symmetrically and could potentially have been associated with small altars at the east end of the nave.

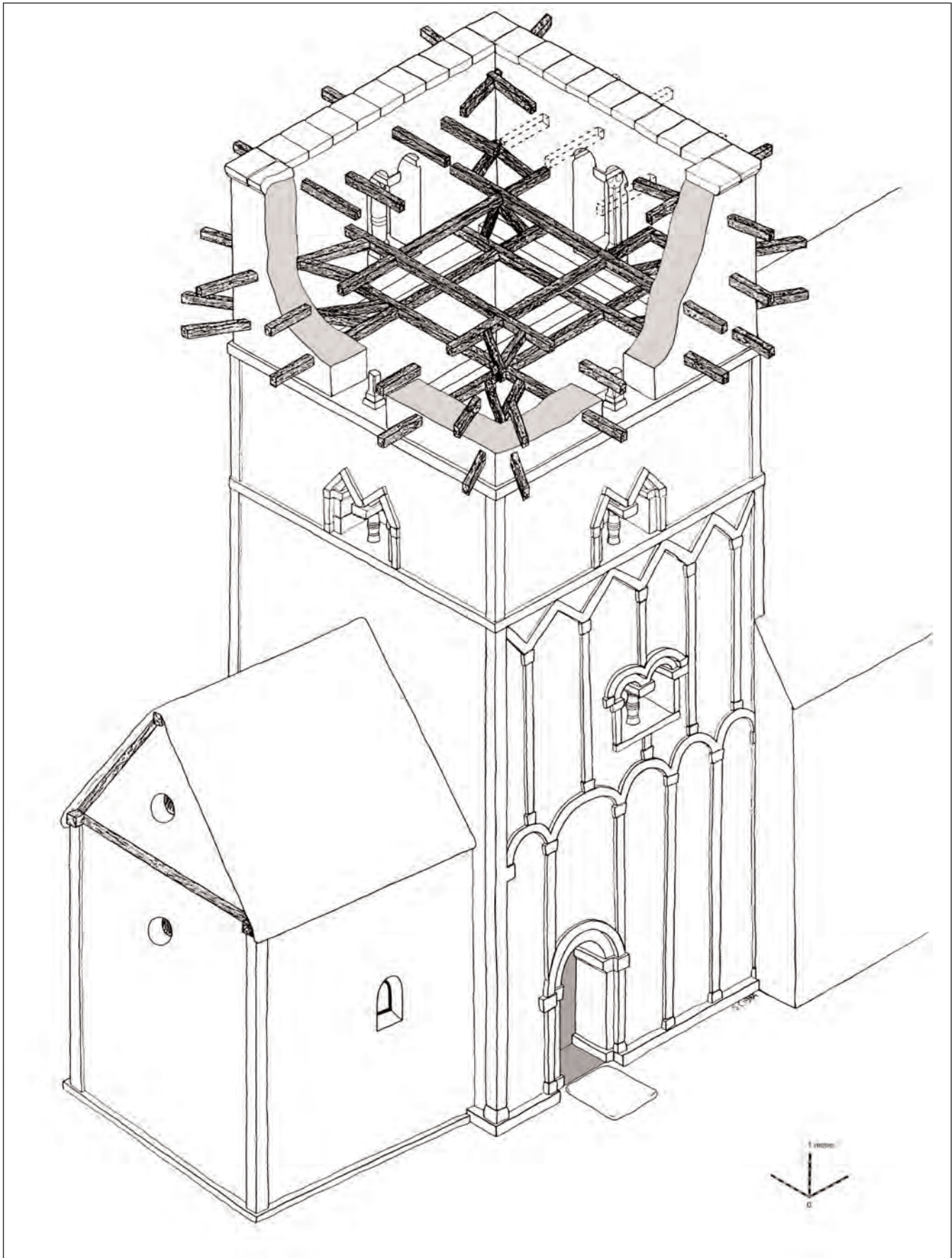


Fig. 401: Tower. Cutaway isometric view, showing a reconstruction of the timber framing erected integrally with the Saxo-Norman belfry. This framing probably acted as an anchor for a roof spire, as well as supporting the bells. Initially, the timbers projected through the walls, to provide cantilevered scaffolding platforms. Drawing: Stephen Coll

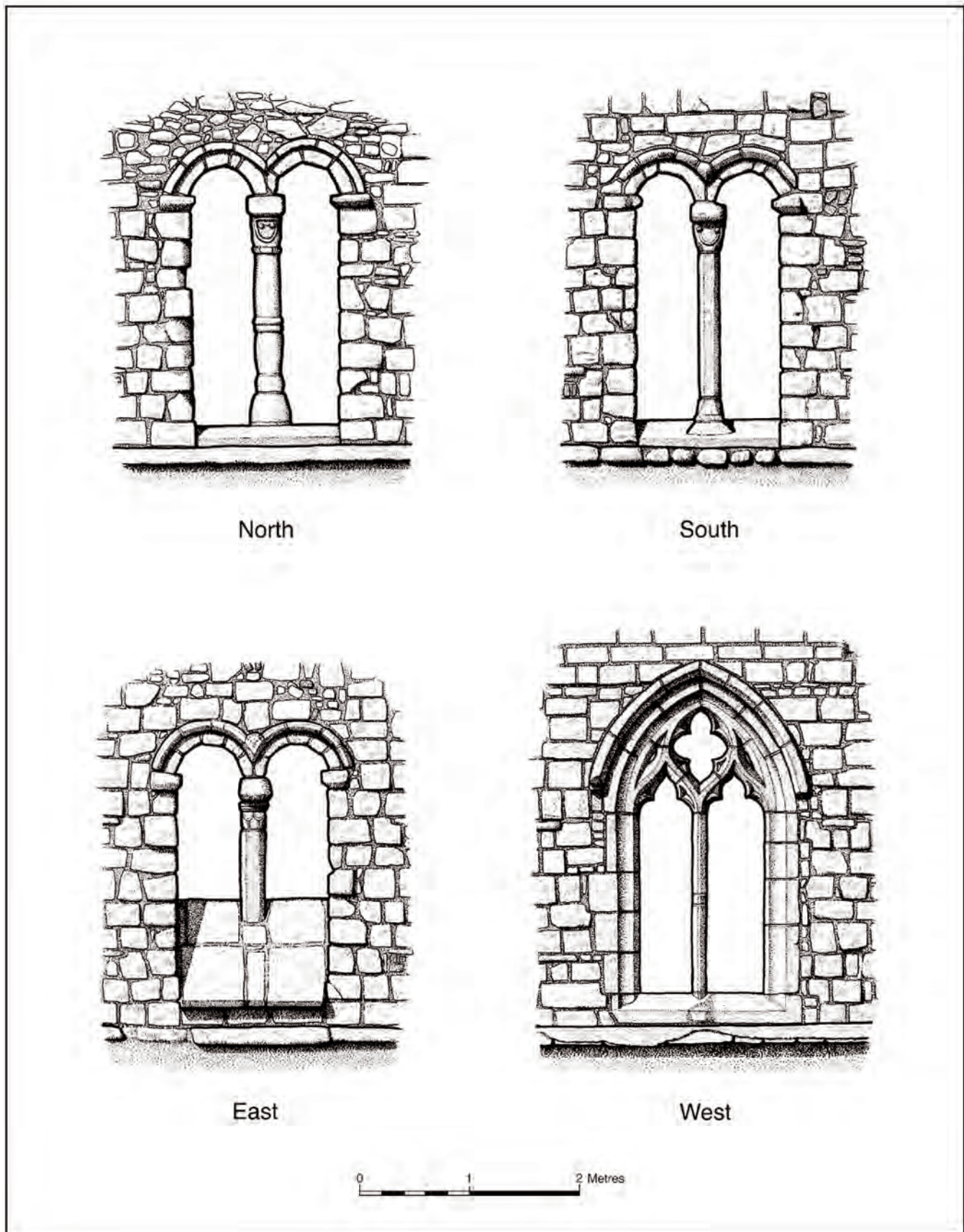


Fig. 402: Tower, Stage 3. External elevations of the belfry openings. Scale 1:50. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Tower and upper belfry

Tower stage 3

The balance of the architectural proportions between the body of the church and the tower was restored, albeit probably unintentionally, by raising the latter by a full storey. A new belfry stage 4.1 m (13½ ft) high was added, constructed of random rubble with an external ashlar facing of Lower Magnesian Limestone (Figs. 322 and 399). This brought the total height of the tower to 18.3 m (60 ft). While the block heights average 20 cm, there are some marked irregularities which include levelling-courses comprising flat pieces of rubble-stone (*cf.* particularly the north face at mid-height). The quoins were not emphasized, but the walls were topped with a basally chamfered eaves-course of limestone. The slabs pass through the full depth of the walls and, while having a constant thickness of 15 cm on the moulded outer face, the inner ends of the blocks, although squared, vary from 12 cm to 20 cm thick. Examination of the inner wall face showed that nearly all the slabs are bedded on mortar which is distinctly different from that of the rubblework below.⁴ It therefore seems certain that the eaves-course has largely been reset, and this is

confirmed by the fact that externally all four wall faces exhibit substantial rebuilding of the uppermost courses.

Three lifts of scaffolding were required to raise the tower, and the blocked putlog holes are visible externally on all sides; internally, many are still open. The dimensions of the squared timbers they housed were 15 × 20 cm, or slightly larger in some instances. The scaffolding was clearly cantilevered and of very solid construction, the putlogs passing directly through the walls; at the corners they were skewed in plan (*i.e.* they fanned out) in order to support a continuous working platform around all four faces (Figs. 400 and 401). This arrangement stands in marked contrast to the cruder and more flimsy scaffolding of the earlier phase of tower building.

Moreover, in the case of the first two scaffolding lifts, at least, the holes in all four faces of the tower are at the same level, demonstrating that the putlogs running in one direction could not have crossed over and been lashed on top of those running at right-angles. Also, each pair of skewed putlogs at the corners on the outer faces converged within the thickness of the masonry, emerging through a single and much larger aperture sited in the internal angle. The only way this



Fig. 403: Tower: Stage 3, southern belfry openings. Details of the double-chamfered string-course blocks reused as imposts. Upper, western aperture. Lower, eastern aperture. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 404: Tower: Stage 3. Interior of the southern belfry opening, showing the plastered soffits to the arches and vertical channels in the jambs. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 405: Tower: Stage 3, south face of belfry. Upper, before restoration in 1965 (note the raised sill and decayed rendering of c. 1870). Lower, in 2000. Photos: David Lee Photography; Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 406: Tower: Stage 3, south side of belfry. Capital and base of the mid-wall shaft. Both viewed from the south-west. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

arrangement could have functioned as a fully jointed frame, the skewed timbers at the angles being cross-halved. There were thus two, or perhaps three, tiers of well-constructed framing in the new tower-top.

It is inconceivable that carpentered frames of this complexity would have been constructed simply as scaffolding: they must also have served another, more permanent purpose, such as supporting a spire, or bell-hanging. Just possibly the surviving early framing (undated) in the belfry at Heapham (Lincs.) provides a clue to the method of hanging bells in the Saxo-Norman tower at Barton (Brooke [1996], pl. 13; Stocker and Everson 2006, 34–5). It thus seems likely that when construction of the third stage of the tower was complete, the projecting ends of the timbers, which had supported the cantilevered scaffolding, were sawn off flush with the external wall face, leaving the internal arrangement in place and ready to serve another function. The timbers have all now gone (perhaps as a consequence of the medieval fire in the tower;

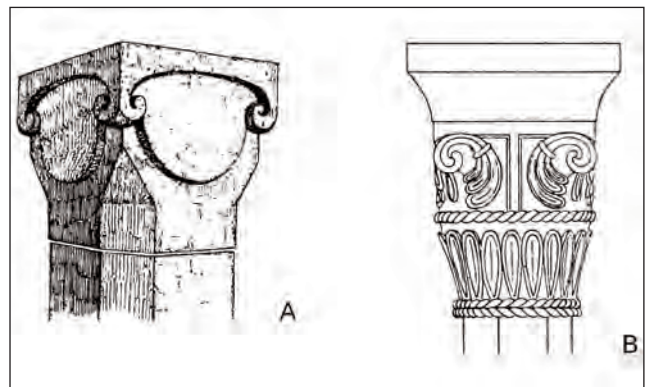


Fig. 407: Belfry capitals in Lincolnshire towers: drawings by Baldwin Brown. A, Capital of the southern mid-wall shaft at Barton; B, Capital of the southern mid-wall shaft at St Peter-at-Gowts, Lincoln. Brown 1925



Fig. 408: Tower: Stage 3, east face. Saxo-Norman belfry in 2000, with St Mary's church beyond. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 409: Tower: Stage 3, east face. Double belfry-opening with later raised sill. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

p. 387), but an indication that they remained *in situ* in the walls long after the belfry was constructed is possibly supported by the late date of the blockings.⁵

Nothing is known about the nature of the roof, which was presumably seated on wall-plates resting on the eaves-course of limestone slabs. Whatever its form, such a roof would have needed anchoring to the masonry, and this is likely to have been another function served by the built-in frames. At its simplest, a pyramidal roof with a pitch of *c.* 50 degrees might have been provided, but the possibility should be entertained that the original Anglo-Saxon roof (?spire; p. 338) was repositioned. No more than a century old, this is still likely to have been serviceable, and might therefore have been dismantled and re-erected, or jacked-up *in situ*.

Belfry openings

The new belfry was provided with four tall, round-headed double openings, of which three survive intact: that on the west was superseded by a traceried light in the fourteenth century, although the primary jambs still survive internally (Fig. 402). The plain, square jambs of the belfry openings are coursed with the ashlar facing on the exterior. Individual ashlars dress the openings in the rubble masonry internally. The sills have all been modified by later activities, but seem to have been flat, or nearly so. Stocker and Everson (2006, 21) attribute the not uncommon phenomenon of raising the sills of early belfries to the introduction of medieval bell-cages for change-ringing. The imposts are thin and basally chamfered, and the through-stone



Fig. 410: Tower: Stage 3, east face. Capital of the mid-wall shaft, 2005. Left, view south-west. Right, view north-west. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

slabs are similar, but deeper. However, the impost on the south face differ by being double chamfered (Fig. 403), and while these have the appearance of being reused string-course mouldings (perhaps deriving from the chancel of the previous church, p. 305), similar double-chamfered impost occur on the belfry openings at St Mary-le-Wigford, Lincoln (Taylor and Taylor 1965, fig. 177).

The unmoulded, arched heads are each composed of inner and outer rings of voussoirs of varying sizes, and the jointing is mostly non-radial. The intervening rubble soffits are plastered (Fig. 404). Most unusually, there are simple hood-mouldings, but these are so heavily weathered that it is difficult to be certain of their original profiles (which, anyway, seem to have differed from one opening to another). All this work is in limestone. The mid-wall shafts and their capitals are of differing designs, and are now so eroded that some details are difficult to describe precisely.⁶

The reveals of the three surviving belfry openings all have vertical channels, set back *c.* 4 cm from both the external and internal faces (Fig. 404). They rise

from the sill to the top of the penultimate ashlar below the impost, and appear to be primary features.⁷ The channels are 2–3 cm wide, and of similar depth: they would be suitable for slotting in loose boards to close the apertures, which was perhaps done when the weather was particularly inclement. However, it is difficult to envisage why each opening should have required two sets of boards, outer and inner. No evidence could be found for the fixing of shutters within or behind the apertures.

The mid-wall balusters comprise an interesting, non-uniform assemblage, and are the only extant architectural sculpture of the Saxo-Norman period at Barton. For a full discussion of the capital-types found in Lincolnshire towers, see Stocker and Everson (2006, 37–44).

South opening (Fig. 405)

The single-piece shaft is square in section, with broad chamfers that convert it into an irregular octagon. It is fitted with a separate capital and base, and all facets of the shaft merge continuously into these, there being no



Fig. 411: Tower: Stage 3, interior. View of the north wall and double belfry-opening (louvres removed), 1980. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

neck-ring. The capital is cubical and faceted. The top is square and unmoulded, and a trilobed leaf curls down from each corner, clasping the body of the capital below.⁸ On all four faces is a slightly raised, pendant semicircle, like an imbrication (Figs. 406 and 407).

The base is square, tapers on all four sides, and is faceted on the angles to connect with all eight sides of the shaft (Fig. 406). At the bottom of the base-block is a shallow, integral step, more like a flange; it survives intact only on the western side, where original diagonal tooling is preserved. This base-block has the appearance of being the upturned rough-out for a cubical capital with an integral abacus.

East opening (Figs. 408 and 409)

Again, the single-piece shaft is an irregular octagon in section and has a separate faceted capital; presumably there is also a separate base, but this has been obscured by later infilling of the lower part of the belfry opening. The capital is square with a moulded abacus, and the facets of the shaft run directly on to it. Three faces of the capital are ornamented with raised imbrications, or shingles, there being two each on the east and north faces, but only one on the south; the west face is undecorated (Fig. 410). The treatment mimics tegulation, as found on some later eleventh-century grave-covers.⁹



Fig. 412: Tower: Stage 3, interior. Detail of the neatly cut voussoirs in the head of the north belfry opening, 1980. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 413: Tower: Stage 3, north. Mid-wall shaft in the double belfry-opening. View from the north-east, 2005. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

North opening (Figs. 411 and 412)

The mid-wall support is distinctly different from the previous two, being a one-piece baluster with integral capital and base (Figs. 413 and 414). It is of soft limestone, and is now too eroded to confirm whether it could have been partially lathe-turned. The double-tapering baluster is decorated with a pair of mid-shaft rings, which now appear to be plain, but close inspection under suitable lighting conditions shows that they were once both decorated with cabling (Fig. 416).¹⁰ There is also a cable-moulded neck-ring (Fig. 415), as occurs at Bracebridge (Lincs.) (Brown 1925, fig. 192), and on the capitals of the columns flanking the chancel arch at Marton (Lincs.) (Brown 1925, fig. 193.3). Stocker and Everson (2006, 44) have compared the Barton baluster with the degraded fragments of one-piece balusters from Grasby and Hagworthingham (Lincs.).¹¹

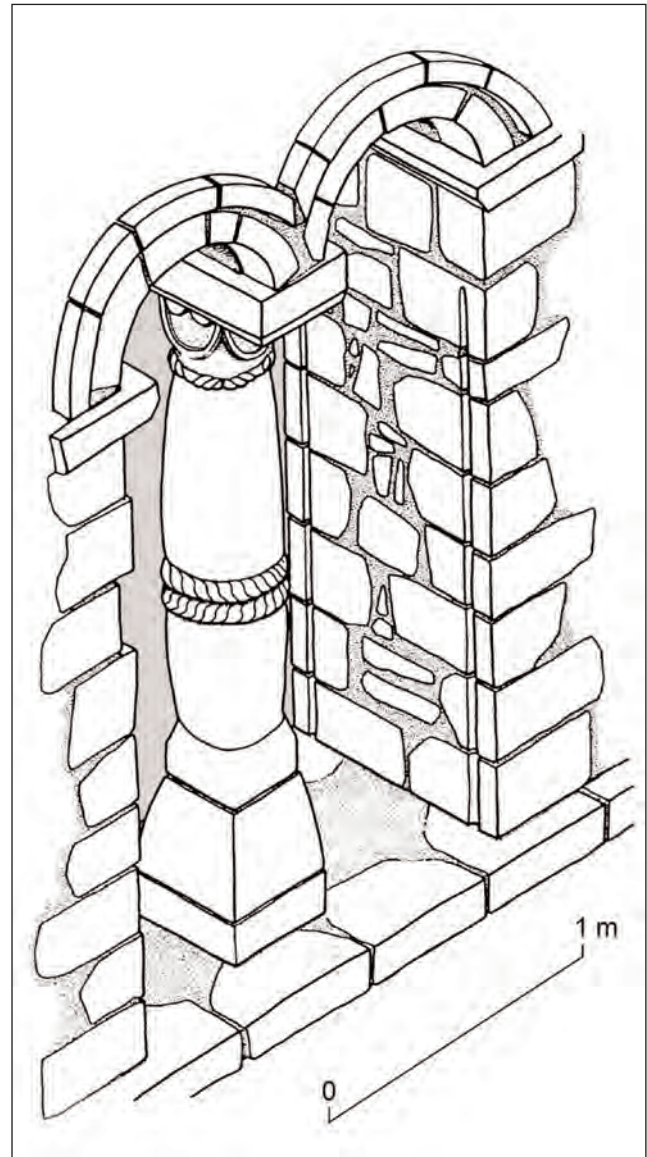


Fig. 414: Tower: Stage 3, north. Mid-wall shaft in the double belfry-opening. Isometric view from the north-east. Scale 1:25. Drawing: Stephen Coll



Fig. 415: Tower: Stage 3, north. Capital and cable-moulded neck-ring of the mid-wall shaft. Left, from the north-east; centre, north face; right, from the north-west. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

The capital is square-topped and difficult to classify: it is a hybrid cubical and cushion. It has three visible faces, each carrying a simple swag sculpted in relief; also, at the top of the swag, are two pellet-like motifs on the north and west, and three on the east (Fig. 415). The south face of the capital is decorated with a large, inverted triangle, the outline of which is formed by a raised rib (Fig. 416). The lower end of the shaft merges into a cubical base.

The baluster stands on a separate sub-base, a plain cubical block with bevelled sides; the marks left by diagonal axing are still preserved (Fig. 417). The sub-base stands in turn on another square block which is embedded in the sill of the belfry opening. However, only the top of this lower block is visible, being surrounded by a modern concrete capping to the sill.

Tower interior

The interior of the belfry exhibits exposed rubble, and has never been plastered. Set into the upper part of its walls were several major timbers, and the stump of one remained on the east side until 1981.¹² These were not connected with the 'putlog' framing described above, and it seems most likely that they were bell-hanging beams, although not necessarily primary.

Having been superseded, it is almost certain that at least two of the four original triangular-headed belfry openings in Stage 2 were infilled with masonry at this

time, namely east and west. It is likely that the purpose of the infilling was, at least in part, to stiffen the fabric of the tower. The blocking still survives in the western opening: the masonry and the mortar used are consistent with a late eleventh-century date (p. 397; Fig. 418).¹³

At an unknown date, but probably not long after the two belfry openings were infilled, the tower walls fractured vertically, the cracks still being apparent today, although long since stabilized. The major rupture is on the east-west axis of the tower, where masonry joints in the lower belfry have opened by 2–3 cm, and the gritstone pad upon which the mid-wall shaft rests in the western opening has fractured. Varah (1984, 15) asserted that the cracks were the result of earthquake damage; this is feasible, but movement in the underlying clay might be another explanation.

Another modification to the tower is attributable to Period 3. The raised floor level of the new church was carried through into the tower, and that required the thresholds of the north and south doorways to be raised. On the south, the step down to the churchyard was made from two blocks of salvaged gritstone, set on a mortar bed (F3282). Outside the door, a rectangular threshold slab of coarse limestone was laid (F3035; Figs. 391, 401 and 419).¹⁴ The slab may have been flanked by a pair of postholes, aligned with the strip-work pilasters of the doorway and sited 50 cm forward of them. Only one posthole was present (F3218), the



Fig. 416: Tower: Stage 3, north. Mid-wall shaft. Upper, capital and rope-moulded neck-ring, from the south-west. Lower, eroded cable moulding on the shaft, from the north-east. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

putative position of the other having been destroyed by a grave. Stratigraphy confirmed that the surviving posthole was early, and potentially this might represent a shallow timber porch or doorcase added in the Norman period, to enhance an outdated doorway.

On the north side of the tower, contemporary churchyard level was preserved in a narrow strip which had escaped destruction by later grave-digging. Here lay a spread of chalk, apparently forming a metallated surface on which the masons engaged in heightening the tower had worked (F7252). Strewn over the metallating was an accumulation of mortar and masons' waste from dressing limestone (Fig. 420). This activity had slightly raised the ground level alongside the



Fig. 417: Tower: Stage 3, north. Base and sub-base of the mid-wall shaft, from the north-east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 418: Tower: Stage 3, west. Infilled double belfry-opening. The three darker rectangular blocks in line near the top are the impost and through-stone. Note also the major vertical crack. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 419: Tower: south doorway. Step (F3282) and threshold slab (F3035) lying on the Period 2 churchyard surface. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 420: Tower: north doorway. Period 3 churchyard surface with masons' debris, alongside the tower plinth. View looking south-east. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 421: Tower: north doorway. Period 3 soil and pebble infill, raising the threshold to the level of the respond bases. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

tower, so that a step was not needed in the north doorway. Instead, several large pebbles were deposited in the threshold in a soil matrix, and the projecting bases to the door jambs now disappeared from view (Fig. 421).

Within the tower, a new lime-concrete floor was laid over the accumulated material on the primary floor (Fig. 422). In the process, this sealed some of the primary plaster around the base of the walls (Fig. 423).

Western annexe

The western annexe ceased to function as the baptistery, and the font was moved into the base of the tower, where it was positioned axially between the north and south doorways. Here a pit was found containing stone rubble, typical of a font drain (Fig. 391, F595). The gritstone block upon which the font had previously stood remained in the floor of the annexe, where it was concealed from view beneath thin layers of silt and sand, as the level rose.

It is not known to what immediate use the annexe was put, but it was probably non-liturgical. It soon became a workshop (p. 387).

Features outside the church

North of the tower, in Area 14, a substantial linear feature was discovered which has defied convincing explanation (F7302). It took the form of a trench 7.4 m long, had an average width of 0.6 m, and had been dug to a depth of *c.* 1.2 m below contemporary ground level (Figs. 391, 424 and 425). The sides were intended to be vertical, but in places the clay had caved. The feature had the appearance of being a foundation trench for a masonry wall. The trench ran north–south and was nearly at right-angles to the axis of the church; it cut through two graves of Phase E (F7382 and



Fig. 422: Tower: interior. Lime concrete floor of Period 3 in the northern half of the tower. View north. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 423: Tower: interior. Lime concrete floor of Period 3 abutting the west wall. Note how the new floor has been joined into the damaged earlier wallplaster, just above the scale of 8 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

F7398). Its southern termination, which was rounded in plan, lay immediately outside the north door of the tower. The northern end, which was squarer, was partly destroyed by a later grave; there was no hint of a return to, or continuation of, the feature, which was plainly unfinished.

The trench was not quite straight, but had a slight deformation towards its southern end: it gave the impression of having been excavated in three lengths, probably by separate gangs working side-by-side. The northernmost one-third was the most precisely cut, with clean vertical sides and an equally neat base. The southern section was generally similar, but not so crisply formed, and the central section was much less precise: it was deeper, the sides had caved, and the floor of the trench was markedly irregular.¹⁵ Toolmarks were plainly visible: there were pick-indentations in the bottom and several good impressions of the tapering blade of a spade, which must have been made of iron. The blade was trapezoidal, and measured 10 cm across at the lower end.

The filling comprised a mixture of orange-brown clay (derived from the site) and grey sticky loam; mixed in with this were sporadic lumps of chalk, limestone and water-worn pebbles, together with small amounts of mortar. At one point in the base of the trench several larger pebbles and pieces of limestone (up to 12 cm across) occurred, but none of this gave the impression of being *in situ* masonry.

The feature was too precisely cut to be a palisade trench for a timber construction, and the evidence does not convincingly suggest that it was a robbed masonry foundation. Nevertheless, the vertical sides, depth and flat bottom strongly suggest that it was intended to be the foundation trench for a substantial wall, but was abandoned at an early stage of construction. We can only speculate as to the nature of the aborted scheme. The southern end of the wall was clearly intended to abut the tower, the north doorway of which would have been obstructed, and its infilling must have been envisaged (incidentally providing the facility for keying the two elements together). No intended termination towards the north can be suggested, and it is likely that at some point within the next five metres or so (*i.e.* before the break of slope), the wall trench would have turned a right-angle, and run eastwards. The intention may have been to enclose a cemetery or possibly even residential structures, if there were ambitious intentions, for example, to raise the church to collegiate status. However, the project was never completed, the trench was backfilled and a large number of burials of Phases D and E masked its site.

The narrow band of chalk metallage, noted above, which survived along the north side of the tower and annexe (F7252), sealed the abandoned and backfilled 'wall trench' (F7302). This sequence is important for demonstrating that the abortive wall trench was dug either in Period 2, or was associated with the beginning



Fig. 424: Area 14: cemetery after complete excavation. The unused Saxo-Norman foundation trench (F7302, seen at the centre), running north from the tower, was earlier than the majority of the graves. West is at the top. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

of Period 3, when a more ambitious rebuilding scheme might have been envisaged. The early date of the trench is also indicated by the fact that it intercepted only two graves of Phase E.

Norman: the Twelfth-century Church (Period 4)

The Saxo-Norman church was replaced, in three stages, by a large, aisled building, but once again retaining the Anglo-Saxon tower and annexe at the west end. Nothing now remains above ground of the Norman structure, except a very narrow, vertical strip of ashlar masonry on the north side of the nave, adjacent to the east respond of the later medieval arcade. There is also some limestone rubble which formed the north-west and south-west angles of the nave embedded in the western ends of the existing medieval arcades.

The nave and aisles have been fully excavated, but fragmentary foundations were all that remained, with no indications of wall-faces or the positions of openings. The Norman chancel lies beneath the floor of the present one and is unexplored. It is worth remarking that very few items of dressed stone were found in excavation that could have belonged to the Norman church. Similarly, nothing has been spotted in the extant building, apart from the late twelfth-century capitals and bases reused in the north arcade. This is a

potential pointer to the plain nature of the church's architecture in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries. It also suggests that locally available materials, such as chalk and ironstone, were principally employed. These do not lend themselves to elaborate decoration, and nor do they weather well. Chalk and ironstone are both present in the earliest phases of St Mary's church (Barton), Barrow, Thornton Curtis (Pl. 43) and elsewhere in the locality.

The three phases of Norman development may next be described (Figs. 33 and 426).

Aisleless nave and chancel (Period 4A)

The chancel and sanctuary of the Saxo-Norman church were demolished, apparently leaving the north and south walls of the nave still standing. Foundations were then constructed to extend those walls eastwards. Alongside the chancel, the old and new foundations ran in parallel (Fig. 394). No sign of the new eastern termination of the nave, or of the chancel itself, was found during excavation, since these lie beyond the present chancel arch (fifteenth century). However, the nave-chancel division in the fourteenth (if not the thirteenth) century is known to have been 1.8 m east of the present arch (p. 463), and it is therefore reasonable to deduce that this probably also marked the division in the Norman church. Reconstruction is based on that assumption.



Fig. 425: Area 14. Saxo-Norman foundation trench (F7302) running up to the north door of the tower. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

The additional foundations laid for the new nave had a constant width of 1.2 m (4 ft) on the north, but were more irregular on the south, as a consequence of being dug through unstable grave earth (F485 and F1111). In construction, the new foundations were generally similar to the Saxo-Norman (F484), although in addition to chalk lumps the core contained flint nodules and fragments of limestone; again, mortar was used to bond the upper courses, which formed a footing for the wall. The latter was less well constructed than in the earlier work, the chalk blocks not being squared.

The foundations of the north and south walls diverge a little as they run eastwards, which is a legacy of the slightly irregular Saxo-Norman layout. Perpetuation of this anomaly confirms that the old

nave walls were retained and incorporated in the new work, and that the ground plan was not laid out afresh, as at St Mary's. Although the extended nave walls were raised on new foundations, there was a slight lateral oversailing on to the foundations of the old chancel where the two ran in parallel.

The unaisled nave measured 27.0 m (89 ft) by 9.3 m (30½ ft) externally. Once again, a levelling operation had to be undertaken to raise the ground to the east of the Saxo-Norman church, before the new nave and chancel were built. A considerable quantity of brown clay (F358) was dumped here, filling the marked hollow over the mid-Saxon enclosure ditch (Fig. 154). This deposit conveniently provided another general stratigraphic horizon, but dating evidence is both sparse and ambiguous.

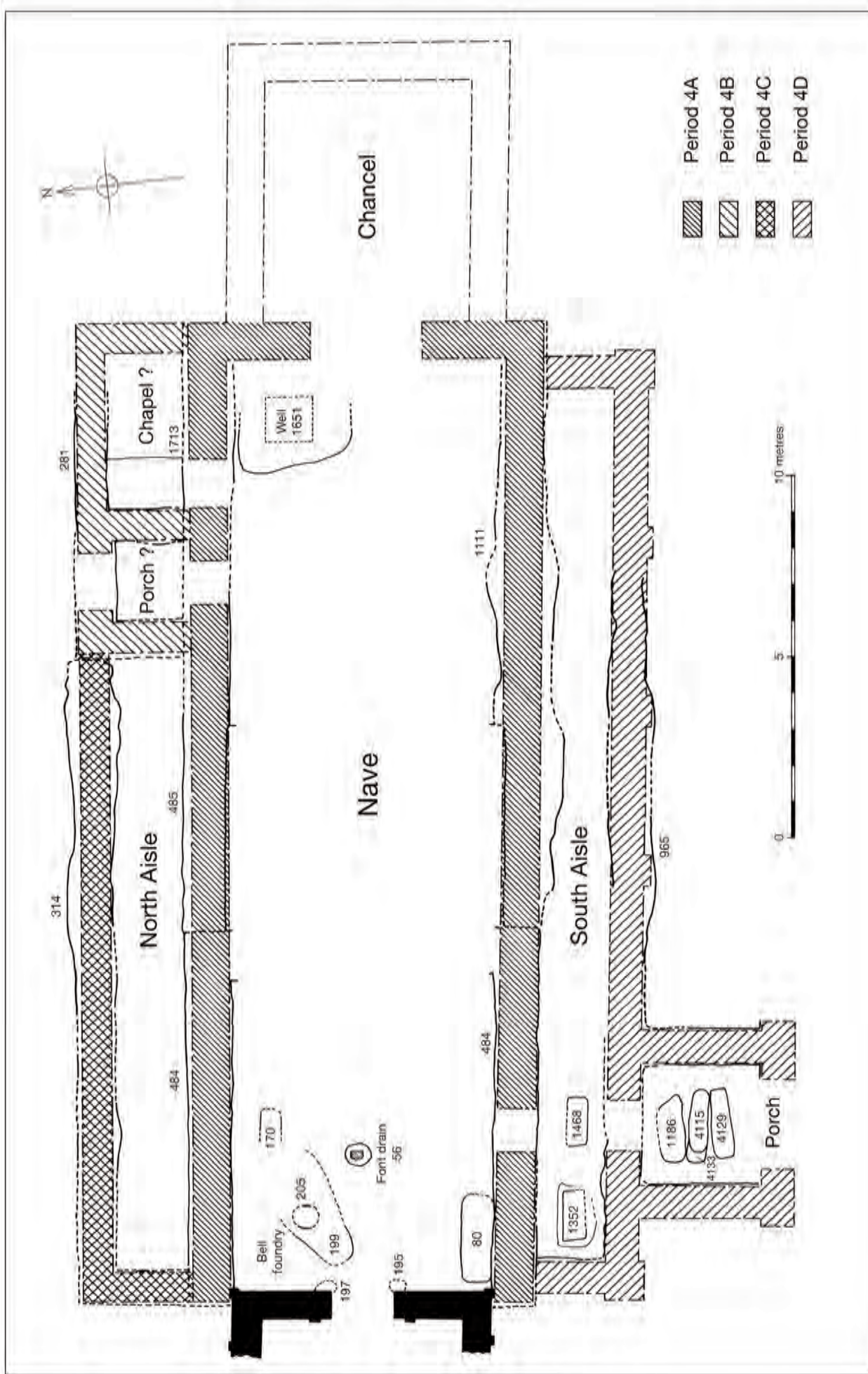


Fig. 426: Foundation plan of the Norman church, Periods 4A–D, based on excavation. Reconstructions of the demolished walls are hatched and openings are schematically shown; the plan of the chancel is entirely hypothetical. Scale 1:150. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 427: Nave. Fragment of rim of the inner (core) mould for a bell, in pit F181. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

It is likely that the south doorway in the nave remained as before, and no evidence was observed regarding a possible north doorway. The absence of any projections along the external faces of the walls – especially the better preserved north wall – confirms that there were no substantial buttresses. However, there may have been pilasters with only a shallow projection, which were accommodated on the wall foundation. Certainly, the presence of pilaster-buttresses at the corners would help to explain why, in the next structural phase (4B), the east and west ends of the new south aisle were both inset (in the case of the east end, by a full wall's thickness). Also, shallow pilasters are a regular feature of local Romanesque churches, as at Thornton Curtis (Pl. 43).

The roof of the new nave evidently followed the profile of its predecessor, although whether any of the eleventh-century timberwork was incorporated can only be conjectured. However, fossilized within the south nave arcade is evidence for the positions of the tie-beam trusses of a pre-fourteenth-century roof which is more readily relatable to the Norman nave than to anything later: for discussion of this evidence, see p. 463.

Contemporary floor level was not identifiable in the nave, and the only features of significance occurred in the north-west corner. Here, fragmentary remains of an oval pit were encountered, containing burnt earth, charcoal and remnants of bell-mould (F181/199; Fig. 427). Set within the pit was also the damaged base of an *in situ* clay mould for casting a small bell (F205); this was the core-mould for a bell with a diameter of 57 cm (22½ ins) produced by the 'lost-wax' process.¹⁶ Adjacent to the casting pit was a small hearth pit of elongated plan, with a rounded base and burnt sides (F170). Although incomplete, this was too small to be a furnace for melting bell-metal in a crucible. While these features are included here, the possibility should be acknowledged that they could have related to the Saxo-Norman church (Period 3).



Fig. 428: Nave. Font drain pit (F56). View west. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 429: Collapsed well shaft (F1651) in the north-east corner of the Norman nave. View north-east. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

A feature encountered at the west end of the nave, on the central axis, was a circular pit with a slab of limestone in the base and a filling of small rubble above (F56). This was clearly a font drain (Fig. 428).

In the north-east corner of the nave a pit of rectilinear plan was encountered which was evidently a tank or shallow well and had once held a timber lining (F1651; Figs. 169 and 429). It was situated on the spring-line which had previously been tapped by wells that lay outside the Saxo-Norman church (p. 178). The section of the collapsed well-pit indicates that the original shaft and its lining had a north-south dimension of *c.* 1.2 m. It is likely to have been square in plan. Only one-third of the pit was available for excavation and, in the absence of secure stratigraphic links, it is difficult to be certain that the well belongs exclusively to this phase, but it was not a pre-church feature and was not overlain by the layer of clay (F358) that was

dumped preparatory to building the Norman nave. Also, on plan, it sits neatly in the corner of the nave, suggesting an intentional relationship.

Although neither the form nor the size of the Norman chancel can be determined, it was doubtless slightly narrower than the nave and was probably quite short: it was seemingly not as long as the present chancel, the foundations of which may date from the thirteenth century. Unfortunately, there are no further clues fossilized in the later medieval structure, but circumstantial evidence of a topographical nature points to the Norman chancel being squarish in plan (p. 395).

North-east annexe (Period 4B?)

The development of a late Norman north aisle was preceded by the erection of a small, two-celled structure alongside the north wall of the nave, at its east end (Fig. 426). Only fragmentary foundations survived of the north, west and internal partition walls; the east side was not located, having either been destroyed by the fourteenth-century north aisle, or else lying beyond it. The layered foundations for the two-celled addition were constructed simultaneously and consisted of alternate bands of loose chalk and brown clay rammed into the trench (F281; for a section, see Fig. 154). The north wall of the eastern cell, and the dividing wall, were both 0.85 m thick, while the west and north walls of the western cell were insufficiently preserved to establish their thicknesses. It is, however, certain that the inside face of the north wall did not align between the two cells, indicating that the western component was thicker walled (1.0 m), or alternatively that there was an offset in plan between the two cells.¹⁷ The former is more likely, since that would be consonant with supporting a continuous north wall, when a full aisle was created in the next structural phase.

Although the point of junction did not survive, it can reasonably be assumed that the two-celled structure was built subsequent to, and abutting, the north wall of the nave (F485): the two were certainly not contemporaneous since their respective foundations were of markedly different construction.

Internally, the floor of the western cell measured *c.* 2.2 m (7¼ ft) square. The eastern cell may have been of similar size, or larger, depending upon where its east wall lay: the north wall was truncated by the east side of the fourteenth-century aisle. If the east wall of the appended structure aligned with the north-east corner of the Norman nave, without leaving a salient angle, then the internal length would have been *c.* 4.3 m (14 ft). That would have given a chamber with the proportions 2:1. No evidence of openings in the walls was found, which further hinders interpretation. The three most plausible options will be considered. First, the modest size of the structure would be consistent with a sacristy, and even smaller examples are known, as at Sturry (Kent), where the thirteenth-century vestry measures only 2.5 m by 1.25 m, internally

(Tatton-Brown 1994, fig. 12). However, Norman sacristies in parish churches are extremely rare, and the location of the Barton structure is not readily consistent with such an interpretation: had either component of this appendage served as a sacristy, it should have lain alongside the chancel, not the nave. The possibility that, initially, the chancel was not structurally separate from the nave in the twelfth century – but was contained within the main rectangular envelope and was defined only by a timber screen – was considered. It was rejected as implausible on several accounts, principally that it would have involved moving the site of the chancel arch within a short space of time.¹⁸

Second, the eastern cell might be interpreted as a chapel, perhaps associated liturgically with the well in the north-east corner of the nave, although it is not known when the latter fell out of use. A somewhat similar structure is found at Stapleford (Wilts.), where a small, thirteenth-century chapel with a plan-ratio of 2:1 abuts the north-east corner of the nave (Fig. 430, 1) (RCHME 1987, 193). An almost identical annexe, although of later date, is found at Bulford (Wilts.) (Fig. 430, 2) (RCHME 1987, 116).

Arguably, the smaller western cell could have been a porch, giving access from the exterior, either to the nave or to the adjoining chapel, or both (the latter arrangement finds analogues at St Gregory's, Sudbury (Suff.), and St John's Cirencester, albeit of later date). Having an entrance to the nave of a non-monastic church located east of its mid-point is very rare, and is usually related to special liturgical or sepulchral circumstances. The *raison d'être* for this at Barton could have been the presence of the manor house immediately north-east of the church. The south door was the town entrance – and had a substantial porch from the early thirteenth century onwards – while the north door with its tiny porch could be seen as an essentially private entrance. The combination of a chapel and porch as a two-celled adjunct to a nave finds an exact analogue, albeit in a Perpendicular context and at the west end of the nave, at Charlton (Wilts.) (Fig. 430, 3; Wall 1912, 64). In that case the porch is surmounted by a tower. Lateral porch-towers were a common phenomenon in the later Middle Ages.

Neither of the chambers at Barton yielded burials or other evidence of contemporary use, except for one feature in the posited chapel: this was a chalk base laid down at the east end (F1713; Fig. 154). The base comprised a single layer of chalk blocks, set in a matrix of dark brown clay. Stratigraphically, it could only have belonged to this phase, or to the subsequent narrow north-aisle phase. While the extent of the chalk base was defined by the walls of the structure on the north and south, and had a clear western edge, its eastward extent remains unknown, having been truncated by the foundation for the fourteenth-century aisle. The function of the base remains indeterminate: since it extended across the full width of the chapel it is unlikely to

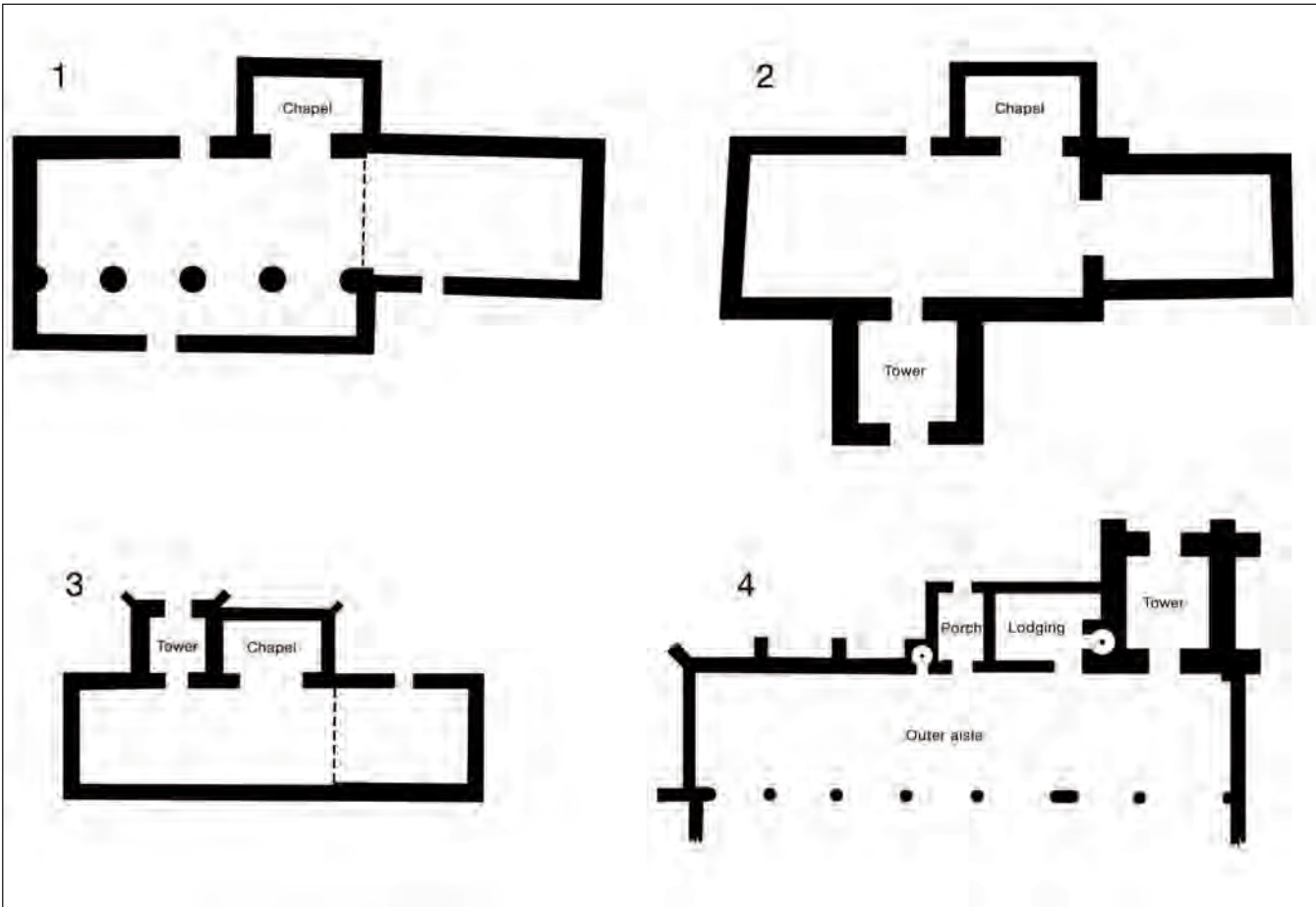


Fig. 430: Simplified, diagrammatic plans of four churches with small chambers annexed to the north side of the nave. 1, *St Mary, Stapleford*; 2, *St Leonard, Bulford*; 3, *St Peter, Charlton*; 4, *St Helen, Abingdon*. Not to scale. Compiled from various sources

have been for a tomb. It could, however, have been the foundation for a dais upon which an altar or tomb was sited. Another possibility would be the foundation for a staircase leading up to a gallery over the east end of the nave, and a chamber above the chancel. There are many Norman churches with high-level doorways in the east wall of the nave, and access had somehow to be gained to these.

The third option worth considering is that the annexe was an anchorhold, a subject about which all too little survives in the archaeological record. Anchorite cells could be single or occasionally double, and might also include accommodation for a servant (Clay 1914; Gilchrist 1995, 183–93). They were mostly on the north side of the church, and they had to be located so that the anchorite or anchoress could see the high altar. A squint was often provided for that purpose. At Barton, it would have been necessary to arrange a squint in the south-east corner of the eastern chamber, but the considerable thickness of masonry involved would have made that difficult (unless the cell overlapped the west end of the chancel). At *St Helen's, Abingdon (Oxon.)*, a rectangular chamber adjoining the small north porch served as a lodging for a priest (Fig. 430, 4).

Narrow north aisle (Period 4C)

A long, narrow aisle flanking the north side of the Norman nave was erected, incorporating the two-celled structure of the previous phase. A foundation at least 1.1 m wide, and somewhat sinuous in plan, was laid for the north wall and its western return (F314). The width of the trench varied on account of the presence of earlier grave fillings, and preservation of the evidence was very slight in some places (Figs. 426 and 431). The maximum width of the construction trench was 1.4 m. The base of the trench became markedly deeper towards the east, where it terminated in a butt-end against the corner of the earlier two-celled structure.¹⁹ The foundation was U-shaped in cross-section and comprised a mixture of both large and small blocks of chalk rubble, in a matrix of brown clay; viewed in long-section, it was apparent that some attempt had been made to lay the uppermost courses in pitched formation.

Although a wall up to 1.0 m thick could have been erected on the new aisle foundation, it seems that the thinner (0.85 m) dimension of the previous porch/chapel was perpetuated. The west return of the new aisle aligned neatly with the existing north-west corner of the nave, but considerable uncertainty obtains



Fig. 431: North aisle, Period 4C. The fragmentary and irregular chalk rubble foundation of the outer wall of the narrow aisle (F314). View east. Scales of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

in the case of the east end. First, it is clear that the existing north wall of the porch/chapel was either retained or replaced to the same thickness, on the same foundation. Most likely the old work was retained and physically incorporated, and that in turn might imply the retention of the posited north doorway. On the evidence of the relatively well-preserved stratigraphy inside the north aisle, it can be argued that the cross-walls of the earlier structure were not initially removed, and that the narrow aisle was simply added to it. The internal width

was 2.2 m (7¼ ft). The surviving foundations were fragmentary and the possibility that they once included shallow pilaster-buttresses cannot be discounted, although none was found. Similarly, evidence was lacking for the position of a north doorway, except as implied by the putative porch of the previous phase.

No evidence was found *in situ* for the north arcade pier-bases, but there are likely to have been not less than six (possibly seven) bays if it was a full-length arcade. On the other hand, if the porch/chapel

complex was retained *in toto*, as suggested above, an arcade of only five bays would have been required. Two pier bases that must have belonged to that arcade remain, albeit no longer in their original positions. They are of plain, circular form with a heavy arris roll and a 'water-holding' moulding; each stands on a chamfered plinth (Fig. 489). The plain circular capitals that belong with these bases are also extant, as is an octagonal capital which was clearly *en suite*. Together, these provide evidence for a four-bay arcade with, alternately, circular and octagonal piers/responds. A date of *c.* 1180–1200 is implied. The existing arcade and its reused components are discussed in detail on pp. 425–30.

The aisle roof is likely to have been monopitched, with low eaves. The porch, on the other hand, would have been transversely gabled. The possibility of a low clerestory, perhaps with *oculi*, should be borne in mind, although obviously no evidence for one survives.

Narrow south aisle and porch (Period 4D)

The next addition to the nave took the form of a south aisle with an integral porch. Four lengths of rubble foundation (F965) are all that survive; these constitute parts of the south wall, west-end return (Figs. 426 and 432), and the east side of the porch (Fig. 433). A ghosted outline was preserved where the west side of the porch had lain. The edges of the aisle foundation were sinuous as a result of their trenches having been cut through unstable grave fillings.²⁰ Nowhere was the top of the foundation extant, but the intended width seems to have been *c.* 1.0 m, which points to the walls having been 3 ft (0.92 m) thick. The foundation was *c.* 0.90 m deep and consisted of chalk rubble, flints and occasional pieces of limestone with mortar adhering, set in a matrix of stiff grey clay.

The west wall of the aisle was slightly inset from the south-west angle of the Saxo-Norman church, and the position of the east wall is unknown. It is, however, likely that when the aisle was rebuilt in the late thirteenth-century the new east wall followed the same line as its predecessor, and may well have incorporated the existing masonry too.²¹ If so, the south-east angle of the nave projected as a salient.

Internally, the width of the aisle measured no more than 2.0 m (6½ ft), and was thus slightly narrower than the north aisle (the width of which was pre-determined by the porch/chapel). The south porch lay towards the west end, and its internal width (east–west) was *c.* 3.3 m (11 ft). The front of the porch was not preserved, but the structure was at least 2.8 m deep internally and the foundation of an east-facing pilaster-buttress is buried under the present aisle wall: whether the angles of the porch had clasp pairs of buttresses, or simply lateral ones, cannot be determined, although the latter is more probable. The overall projection of the early porch must have been not less than 3.6 m, and it may well have been square in



Fig. 432: South aisle, Period 4D. Chalk rubble foundation of part of the south wall (left) and west wall of the narrow aisle (F965). View south-west. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 433: South porch, Period 4D. Section through the chalk rubble foundation (F965) of the east wall of the porch associated with the narrow aisle. View south. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

plan. The scale of the porch was very similar to that of *c.* 1200 at Thornton Curtis, which was vaulted and had lateral buttressing (Fig. 107).²²

The south wall of the Norman nave must have been taken down almost in its entirety and replaced with an arcade, the octagonal piers of which, with dog-tooth capitals, still survive, albeit later rebuilt. The capitals and abaci, which are irregular octagons, have faces that are, alternately, long and short, but the plan converts into a regular octagon at the neck-roll (Fig. 442). Also, a fragment of the south face of the nib-wall at the west end has been recorded (14 cm behind the present fourteenth-century face). Almost certainly, the entrance to the aisle would have been centred on an arcade bay, and if the pitch of this were similar to the width of the porch, an arcade of five bays would be implied, with a



Fig. 434: St Lawrence, Thornton Curtis (Lincs.). Dog-tooth ornament in the west respond of the south aisle. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

pitch of *c.* 4.2 m. Unfortunately, no evidence survived for the locations of the pier bases. The doorways in the aisle and porch were doubtless enriched with moulded arches and at least one order of shafting, and there was perhaps some dog-toothing to complement that on the arcade capitals. The porch doorway at Thornton Curtis, albeit now a reconstruction of 1883, is potentially analogous,²³ as may be the dog-tooth ornament on the arcade responds there (Fig. 434).

There is no certain evidence to determine whether the aisle was provided with pilaster-buttresses, but their presence on the porch is a potential indicator. However, if there were any they would probably have been very shallow, and a potential arrangement is reconstructed in Figure 426. The aisle would almost certainly have had a monopitched roof, continuing that of the south slope of the nave. This was a common arrangement and is seen in relict form in the west end of St Mary's church (p. 116; Fig. 80). If the precise pitch (53 degrees) of the nave were maintained, the eaves of the aisle would have been extremely low, around 2.3 m. This is not credible, and therefore either a slight 'kick' was introduced, raising the eaves height to at least 3 m (a pitch of 45 degrees), or some other form of roof was constructed, such as transverse gabling. That would have permitted the introduction of small clerestory lights, but the position of the porch, which must itself have been gabled, militates against this solution. The eaves height at St Mary's was *c.* 3.75 m.

The aisle, and through it the nave, is likely to have been lit by a series of single-lancet windows in the south wall (possibly three in number), together with one each in the east and west ends. Again, the north aisle at St Mary's provides an analogue (Figs. 77 and 78). However, the east window might have been larger, or of two lights.

Internal burials

Few contemporary graves can be identified within the Norman church – in any of the phases – and it seems reasonable to deduce that the incidence of indoor burial was low before the mid-thirteenth century. Graves would have been shallow, and the extent to which the floors and upper levels were destroyed in later periods means that no reliance can be placed on such negative evidence. The south porch provides an exception, where at least eight adult interments were made during its relatively short lifespan: it seems to have served as a burial porticus, or chapel (Fig. 426). The last four graves inserted here formed a neat row, filling the whole interior of the porch and at the same time cut through previous burials in the same locations (F1186, F4115, F4129 and F4133). Two of the later graves were those of priests (p. 620).

No floor levels survived in the south aisle and the only features that can be associated with it were several graves just inside the entrance. One of those lay at the threshold (F1468), and another which was set into the south-west corner of the aisle (F1352) contained only the indentation in its floor where a stone coffin had sunk slightly into the natural subsoil. The coffin had gone, as had the stone cover that presumably doubled as a floor slab. A second stone coffin, occupying a similar position in the south-west corner of the nave, had also been robbed, leaving a shallow flat-bottomed grave (F80); it may have belonged to this phase, or the next.

Undated features at the west end

Various small features recorded in the tower and western annexe remain undated, save that they fall between the late eleventh century and the thirteenth. Three groups deserve mention.

The first concerns evidence for doors and door-frames in the major arched openings of the tower. The presence of pairs of postholes flanking the north and south doorways has already been noted as a primary feature of the Period 2 church (p. 291), but there is also evidence for similar features adjacent to the east and west arches of the tower. The latter, however, were certainly not primary since they were cut through accumulated floor layers. The clearest evidence was seen in the western annexe, where a pair of postholes was found (F619 and F620), indicating that a portal frame had been constructed against the flat 'back' of the tower arch (Figs. 426 and 435). This might imply that a door was fitted to close off the annexe, perhaps at the same time as a small external doorway was broken through the west wall. Evidence for the threshold of the latter doorway is preserved, but the form of the opening was destroyed in 1858 when a larger breach

was created; that in turn was only short-lived (p. 522). Also broadly contemporary and under the western tower arch was a flat-bottomed slot which had evidently contained a timber (F618), and was potentially the threshold of another doorframe set within the reveal. It lay slightly askew to the axis of the arch, midway through the opening (Fig. 435).

A pair of small postholes (hardly more than scoops, 9 cm deep) had also been dug against the east face of the tower, flanking the arched opening (F195 and F197). The holes were cut through the primary cancel floor and the first overlying layer of soil, confirming that they were secondary: they are probably assignable to the Saxo-Norman period. Neither here nor in the western annexe was any evidence for securing a portal-frame to the wall-face found – and metal fixings would certainly have been required – but post-medieval repointing and other interference with the masonry could well have masked small scars. More critical for the interpretation of the function of these portal-frames are two features: first, the shallowness of the postholes in which the uprights stood meant that they could not have supported doors that were hung from them; and, secondly, the absence of hinge pintles in the



Fig. 435: Western annexe: base of tower arch. Saxo-Norman earth floors punctured by early medieval features, including a pair of postholes (F619 and F620) for a portal frame and a slot for a threshold timber (F618, in front of the scale). View east. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

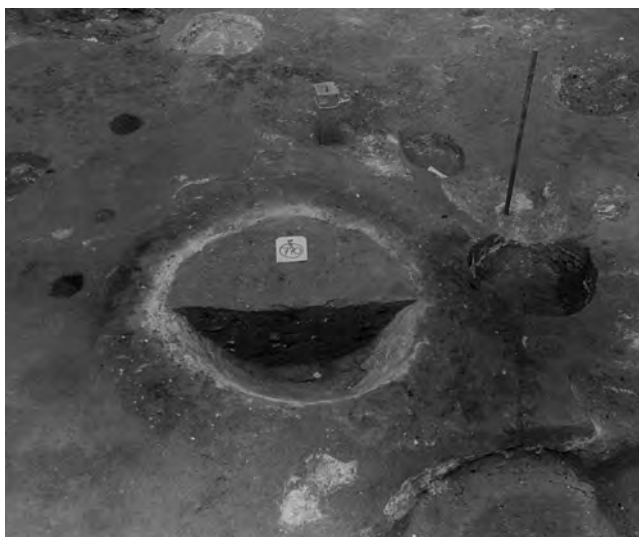


Fig. 436: Western annexe. Features cut into the earth floor, including a circular hearth (F770) lined with lead residue. View west. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

arch responds confirms that doors did not hang from them either. Hence, we can only deduce that the portal-frames were purely decorative embellishments applied to the openings, and that doors were not hung on the plain faces of the east and west arches.

The second group comprises sundry small hearths, spreads of burnt material and pits in both the tower and the western annexe. More than thirty hearths were excavated, together with other related features, such as casting floors of sand (Pls. 33 and 34; Fig. 436). Many of these were connected with lead working. The base of the tower yielded less evidence for the nature of activity there, but it included at least one metalworking hearth for copper alloy. These activities cannot be closely dated, since very few artefacts were recovered from the floors.

The third group of features occurs on the gritstone dressings of the tower, indicating their casual use as sharpening-stones for metal implements. The pilasters flanking the western tower arch, in particular, exhibit several heavily worn areas at a height of around one metre above the primary floor (Pl. 31). The marks are of two types. First, there are concave areas, worn hollow as the result of flat blades being sharpened on the face of the stone, such as knives or swords. Second, there are narrow vertical grooves, scored into the face of the gritstone, the length on average being *c.* 30 cm. The groove is always deepest at its mid-point, shallowing towards either extremity. The latter scars are the result of holding a long, pointed instrument in both hands, and drawing it up and down the stone with a swinging motion: the evidence is typical of the sharpening marks left by iron arrowheads, and one example of such an arrow was even found inside the church (Fig. 842, no. 16). Two scars of this type occur low down on the gritstone south-east quoin at the chancel at Winteringham.

A series of sharpening marks, of both types, is seen externally on the north-west quoin of the tower at St Peter's (Pl. 32). Sharpening marks of similar types occur sporadically in churches with sandstone dressings, usually on the responds of arches, door jambs and buttresses. Locally, heavy wear to one of the sandstone shafts flanking the Saxo-Norman chancel arch, incurred through the repeated sharpening of arrows, is seen at Broughton (Fig. 360; Shapland 2008, fig. 11). In the case of Alkborough, the former churchyard cross exhibits dramatic evidence of large blades (swords?) being sharpened on its faces (Fig. 358; p. 323).

Dating these marks is difficult, and there has been an antiquarian tendency to assign them to the Civil War. In the case of the internal sharpening marks in St Peter's that is not plausible on account of the level at which they occur. In the seventeenth century the medial point of the marks would have been only 50–60 cm above the then-floor level. Swinging motions are involved in sharpening implements and weapons, and these are naturally centred on the hip level of the person carrying out the action. The scars on the western tower arch are therefore likely to belong to the late Saxon or early medieval period. The same may well apply to those on the north-west quoin too, because rising churchyard level in the Middle Ages would have rendered the affected stones too low for comfortable use as sharpening blocks. A *terminus ante quem* for the internal marks is also provided by the fire that occurred in the tower sometime before the early fourteenth century (below): burning debris caused the pilaster-strips to crumble, damaging the sharpening marks. Shapland (2008, 508–9) discussed the marks at Broughton in the context of Anglo-Saxon warfare and its relationship to religion. Arrow-sharpening grooves are found sporadically on church walls in various parts of England, and are generally more likely to be medieval than later.²⁴

A conflagration in the tower

The occurrence of a serious fire in the tower and western annexe is demonstrated by the masonry in the ground stage of the tower. All four walls exhibit marks of burning around their bases: some stones are blackened and deeply ingrained with soot, while others are reddened (often including the bedding mortar too). In severe cases, the surface of the stone has spalled or 'sugared': the gritstone blocks at the base of the original chancel arch (northern jamb) are a case in point, where the arrises and surfaces have been lost (Pl. 29). The western arch was similarly damaged (Pl. 30).

The fire did not occur until floor level in the tower and annexe had risen almost to the top of the projecting basal blocks under the arches: only the uppermost few centimetres of one of those blocks (eastern arch, north respond) was affected by fire. Moreover, a narrow band of primary plaster at the base of the walls – showing no signs of fire damage – was preserved, having been protected by the abutting earth floors (Pl. 28).

It appears that the small west doorway had already been created in the annexe (p. 395). Above the floor-line, evidence of intense burning extended to a height of between 0.40 m and 1.1 m. It should be remembered that the scars we see on the rubble masonry today relate only to damage that occurred after the fire had destroyed 2 cm of wallplaster, thus confirming that the most intense heat was at ground level.²⁵

The evidence is consistent with a major conflagration that consumed the upper floors and roof of the tower and annexe, causing a substantial quantity of burning timber to fall to the ground, where it continued to smoulder for some hours, the heat thoroughly penetrating the walls. The cause of the fire could have been carelessness by artisans working in the base of the tower, plumbers on the roof, a lightning strike, sparks from a bonfire catching the thatched roof of the annexe, etc. It is most likely that, at whatever level the fire originated, the whole of the timberwork in the tower was burnt out.²⁶ The horizon of burnt material that would be expected in the base of the tower was not found: that had doubtless gone with the clearing out in 1912.

A *terminus ante quem* for the fire is provided by the extant base-frame for the timber spire that was erected on the tower in the early fourteenth century (p. 458). Those timbers show no sign of fire damage. The *terminus post quem* is determined by the raised Saxo-Norman floor level, together with whatever now-lost deposits had accumulated on it. When all the evidence is weighed it suggests that the fire is more likely to have occurred in the twelfth century than in the thirteenth. The works carried out to the higher parts of the tower in the early fourteenth century (p. 457) are most unlikely to have been a direct consequence of the conflagration.

Early English: the Thirteenth-century Church (Period 5)

A major rebuilding of St Peter's church was begun soon after the middle of the thirteenth century, although once again the tower and western annexe were retained without significant alteration.

Nave

The nave probably remained more-or-less unchanged, except that the extensions to its roof slopes, covering the narrow aisles, would have been removed when those aisles were rebuilt. It was probably in the early part of the thirteenth century that chases were cut into the east face of the tower and the stone weatherings inserted, which are still visible within the present clerestory (Figs. 289 and 398, roof-line 3). The weatherings comprise short lengths of limestone, chamfered and slightly undercut in section. The pitch of this roof was *c.* 52 degrees and the apex was slightly lower than its Saxo-Norman predecessor. No pockets for a ridge-beam or purlins are present, indicating that the roof comprised rafter-couples. The projecting end of the Anglo-Saxon through-stone and other details were hacked back to accommodate the new roof.

Wide south aisle and porch

The Norman south aisle and porch were demolished and replaced by a wider aisle and larger porch, both of which remain substantially intact today (Fig. 8). At 5.8 m (19 ft) internally, the new aisle was more than double the width of its predecessor and was structurally divided into five bays, the westernmost being the

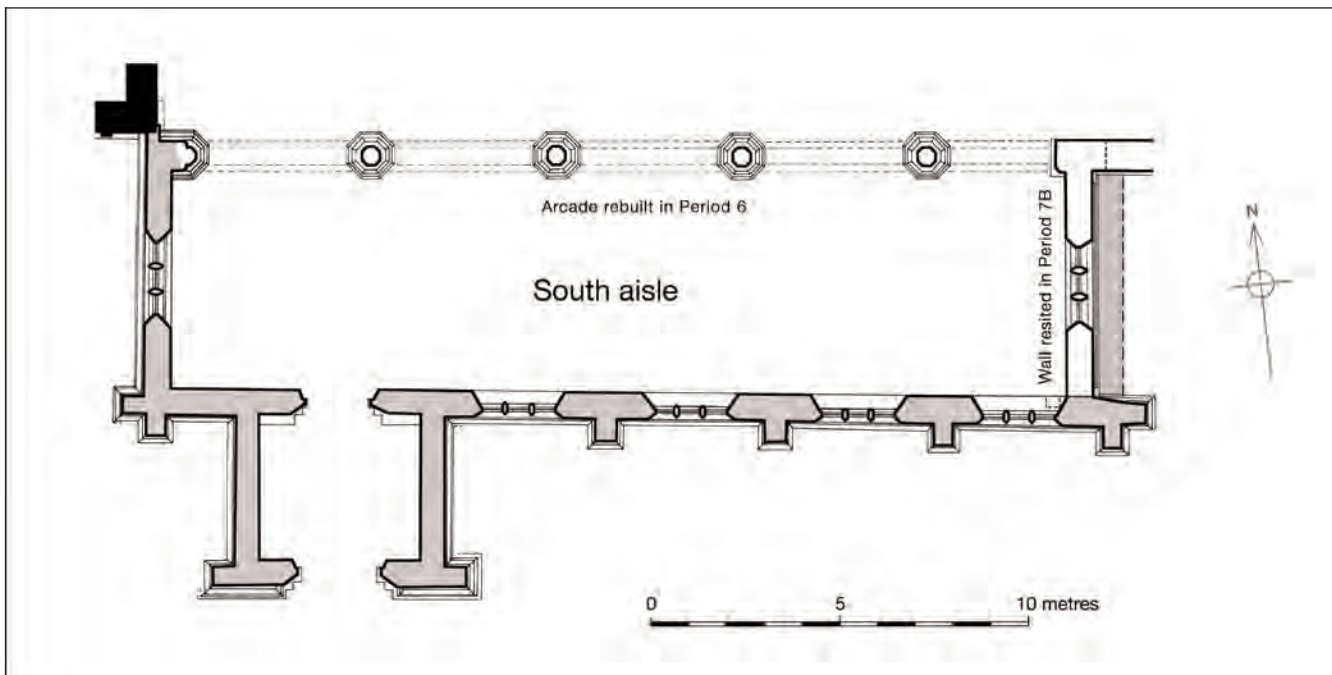


Fig. 437: Plan of the late thirteenth-century south aisle and porch. Scale 1:200. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

largest since it contained the principal doorway and porch. For the plan, see Figure 437; elevation drawings of the aisle and porch are given in Figures 452–454 and 459.

South aisle

The trench-filled foundations are banded and comprise chalk rubble and reddish-brown clay in alternating layers (F1160). The width of the new aisle was seemingly determined by the depth of the Norman porch, the foundations of which were partly incorporated. Also, a new mortared chalk footing was laid across the gap where the old entrance to the porch had been: the new south doorway was built off this. The aisle walls, 0.90 m thick, were built of mixed rubble, roughly coursed and dressed with limestone. However, in the twentieth century much refacing took place externally, using coursed, squared stone of various types, including gritstone.²⁷ There was a deliberate attempt in the 1950s–60s to change the character of the aisle and porch from lime-rendered rubble to quasi-ashlar masonry.²⁸

Almost complete internal refacing of the aisle with squared chalk blocks had been carried out in 1897,

when the plaster was stripped.²⁹ This face was originally composed mainly of chalk (plastered), laid in large irregular blocks at a low level, and a mixture of smaller limestone and chalk rubble in the middle and higher levels. No evidence of keying is present in the small area of surviving internal face to suggest that there was ever a wall-bench in the aisle; nor does the foundation have a sufficient offset to support one. Only about half of the west wall was internally refaced.

The bay divisions are marked by ashlar-faced buttresses which are square in plan, and have three chamfered weatherings. Pairs of buttresses clasp the east and west angles. There is a continuous and substantially projecting plinth with a chamfer and bolection moulding around the base of the wall, and a cavetto-moulded string-course running unbroken around the aisle and porch.

Built into the buttresses, and serving as their dressings, are various sections of stone coffin³⁰ and a fragment of tomb-cover;³¹ also in the south wall adjacent to the buttress of bay 2/3 is a square block of limestone decorated with an incised compass pattern (Fig. 712, no. 16). A large limestone block in the east jamb of the low-side window in Barrow church similarly appears to be the broad end of a coffin.

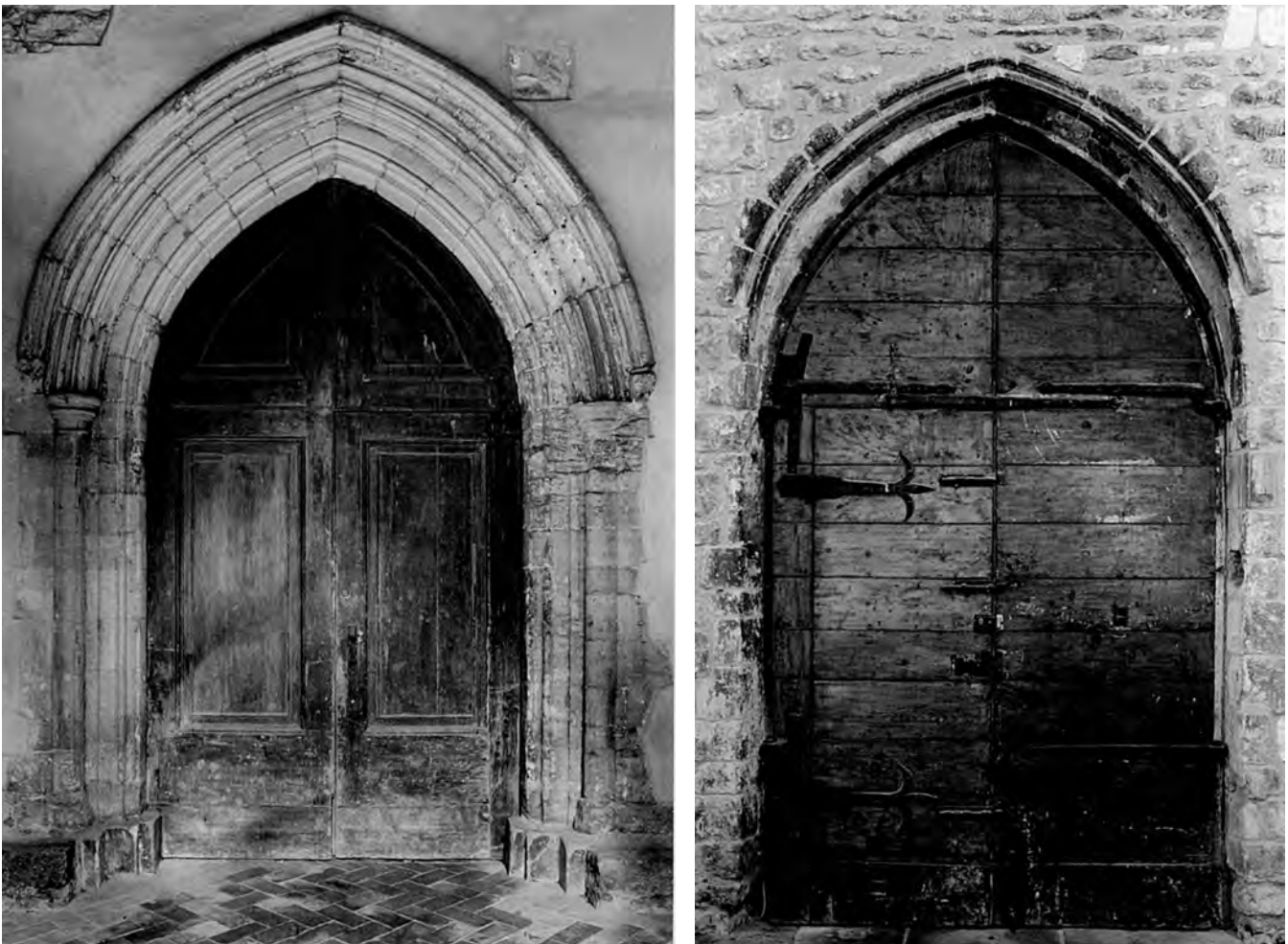


Fig. 438: South aisle doorway, Period 5. Left, exterior. Right, interior. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

The two-centred south doorway opening into the aisle has a well-moulded arch of two orders, with filleted rolls and cavettos; there is also a filleted hood-moulding which terminated in label-stops (Fig. 438). Both stops are now broken and formless.³² The inner order is continuous with the jambs and the outer order descends onto a pair of recessed and filleted angle-shafts coursed with the jambs. Their bases, which are ten-sided, are seriously decayed and have been partly renewed. The moulded capitals of the flanking shafts have integral abaci and neck-rings: they have been heavily scraped with a claw-chisel and the mouldings clumsily recut.³³ Given that the doorway has always been protected by the porch, its masonry is in remarkably poor condition. Part of the outer order of the arch has been lost and was 'restored', probably in the late eighteenth century, by driving nails into the masonry and modelling the missing moulding in stucco; this too is now lost.³⁴ There is a good deal of dark red paint on the damaged masonry of the doorway, also of late date (Pls. 49 and 50).

The opening is large and the door must have comprised two leaves that were secured from the interior by a draw-bar, the sockets for which remain in the walling to either side.³⁵ The two-centred rear-arch has a filleted roll-moulding, which dies into the plain reveals (Fig. 438). It is likely that the original door leaves survived until the beginning of the nineteenth century; and the reused fleur-de-lys terminals on the present hinges of the wicket may have come from the medieval door (Pl. 52A, but see also p. 513).

The four bays of original fenestration remain on the south. The windows are of three trefoil-headed lights under a two-centred head with a hollow-chamfered hood-moulding and label-stops (Figs. 48, 4, and 439). Some of the stops retain original medieval heads (for details of the latter, see p. 450 and Figs. 525–530). The reveals and sills are steeply chamfered (two orders); the mullions and tracery are bevelled and finished with a

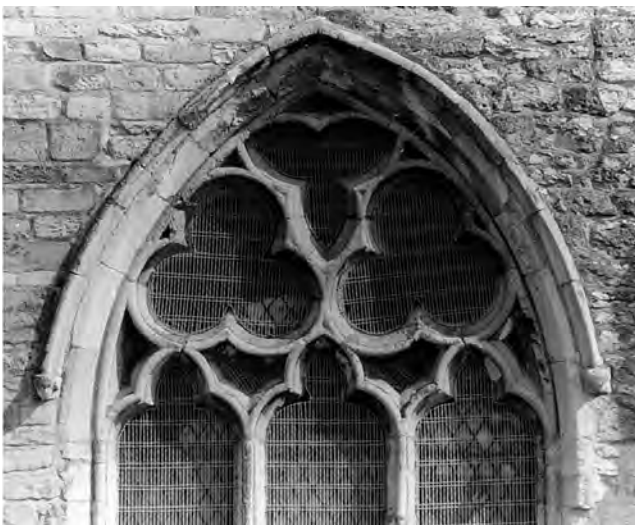


Fig. 439: South aisle, Period 5: bay 1. Window tracery. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

frontal roll externally. The jamb-stones were all cut to suit a splay of 45 degrees, but in the event the window reveals in the south wall were constructed with an angle of 60 degrees, with the result that there is an obvious mismatch. Moreover, in several instances the moulded outer edges of the stones forming the traceried head had to be hacked away in order to effect a union with the blocks of the rear-arch.³⁶

The dressings to the rear-arches, however, conform to the angle of the reveals, as built. Only the west window was constructed with broader splays matching the jamb-stones. The most likely conclusion to be drawn is that the rear-arch dressings of the south windows were recycled from the earlier aisle. The suggestion gains support from the presence elsewhere in the fabric of several reused blocks, each with two splays, separated by 30 cm: they are potentially derived from the divisions between pairs of rear-arches. This hints at the narrow aisle having had multiple lancet windows.

The tracery contains two rounded trefoils and one of pointed form; masons' setting-out lines are well preserved on the inner face. It is noticeable how economically limestone was employed for making the dressings: hardly any 'spare' stone occurs beyond the moulded area. This points to the components being prefabricated at the quarry, the bulk of stone being deliberately kept to a minimum for economy in transport. The discrepancy between the angle of the chamfers on the window surround, and that of the internal splay, noted above, further confirms that the components were prepared off-site.

The rear-arches are pointed, and have chamfers that die into the jambs; they are formed on flattish pieces of limestone which do not extend for the full depth of the soffit (the shortfall being made up with rubble). The splayed reveals were finished with dressed chalk, and plastered. The dressings were mostly renewed in limestone in 1897; original work survives only on the east reveal of bay 1, the west reveal of bay 2 and, fragmentarily, elsewhere. It would have been necessary to erect some simple formwork to support the rear-arches and soffits while they were under construction, and small infilled pockets are visible in the east and west reveals of each window, approximately halfway up the traceries.³⁷ The eastern reveal of the window in bay 4 is deformed.

The east wall of the Early English aisle has been entirely lost, although its position is clearly defined and the clasping buttresses remain (Fig. 562): it was replaced by a later wall immediately alongside. The form of the original east window is unknown, but it was doubtless stylistically related to the side windows and filled with proto-Geometrical tracery. It is likely to have had five lights, rather than three.

The west wall does not embody any of the fabric of the previous Norman aisle, its new position being 45 cm to the west. The reason for this shift seems to have been to allow the new gable wall to clasp the tower more securely. The old aisle foundation was reused in part, but thickened with chalk rubble externally and



Fig. 440: South aisle, Period 5: west wall. Thirteenth-century chalk rubble foundation, encasing and extending the foundation of the Norman narrow aisle. Note the slightly undulating profile of the plinth, resulting from subsidence. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

extended southwards. Slight subsidence in the plinth is visible at the south-west corner of the aisle (Fig. 440). Only the jambs of the three-light Early English west window survive, the traceried head being a later replacement. It is of the same width as the south windows and may well have been *en suite*, although the external mouldings of the jambs are more elaborate,³⁸ and the sill is of two chamfered courses, both internally and externally. The rear-arch is more widely splayed and its present pointed head comprises thin, flat voussoirs of limestone without a chamfer on the arris.

Few masons' marks have survived in the south aisle, owing to the heavily eroded condition of the dressings. Three types of mark are present on the jambs and tracery of the window in bay 1, and two types on the south jamb of the west window; several stones with marks in the rebuilt north jamb are thirteenth century, but there are also later examples present (Fig. 825).

Vestigial evidence for the roof was seen in the form of pockets for five tie-beams in the fourteenth-century arcade wall, matched by seatings on top of the outer aisle wall (p. 452). The bay structure of the roof was not synchronized with that of the masonry below. The latter comprised four equal bays and a wider one to the west (containing the porch), while the roof was divided into five roughly equal bays, with an extra quarter-bay at the west end.

South porch

The porch is integral with the construction of the aisle; its plan is rectangular and there is lateral buttressing to the east and west on the salient angles (Figs. 426 and

441). The buttresses have two chamfered weatherings. The aisle plinth and string-course are continuous around the porch, although now mainly renewed. A square sub-plinth was inserted under the south side in the nineteenth century, when the floor and external ground were reduced to a level 15 cm below that obtaining in the Middle Ages. Like the aisle, the porch was built of mixed rubble, but the whole of the east side, one half of the south face, and the lower parts of the west side, were all refaced in the 1950s–60s; in one restoration campaign smooth ashlar was used, while in another it was artificially distressed.³⁹

The outer doorway has a well-moulded, two-centred arch flanked by filleted shafts with moulded capitals and decagonal bases. The majority of the masonry has been renewed, but it would appear from the surviving detail that the doorway was stylistically identical to that leading into the aisle; the opening is, however, larger. Two medieval head-stops on the hood-moulding survive, but the facial features have been wholly lost: they appear to represent a male on the east, and a female on the west (see further p. 450).⁴⁰ Repairs in Roman cement have been carried out on the hood-moulding. The outer archway is rebated internally, implying that gates were meant to be hung in the opening. However, there is no extant evidence for hinge pintles earlier than the present ones, which date from 1862. It is reasonably safe to conclude that there were no medieval doors or gates on the porch; the same situation obtained at St Mary's (p. 106). Traces of pinkish-red paint of unknown age, but probably late, survive on the soffit of the rear-arch.



Fig. 441: South porch, Period 5. South-east view, 1999, showing the late medieval reduction in height and roof pitch. Note also the modern partial refacing in ashlar. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

The porch was originally of two storeys, but was reduced slightly in height and the timber upper floor was removed: that probably occurred in the fifteenth century, when the original steeply pitched roof was replaced with the present low one. A single timber that was undoubtedly associated with the original roof was subsequently reused as a wallplate on the south side of the truncated porch (Fig. 547; p. 468). The timber would appear to have been a tie-beam at the base of a gable, and various mortices in it may be associated with a floor, or a ceiling to the chamber below. The remains of a tusk-tenon at the west end indicate where a principal rafter was jointed: the roof pitch was *c.* 54 degrees.⁴¹ Also, a single upper-face mortice towards the west end is likely to have held an ashlar-piece.

Establishing the precise level of the original upper floor to the porch is difficult without structural intervention:⁴² there are no matching sets of joist pockets in the east and west walls as might be expected. However, two large and irregular pockets in the south wall, level with the apex of the arched opening, probably held a pair of bridging-beams that in turn supported the common joists. The northern housings for the beams would fall within an area of general refacing.

The upper chamber was lit by three small windows (east, south and west), each of a single light, chamfered externally. They are now truncated and blocked and it

cannot be determined whether they had square or pointed heads, although the former is more likely. The windows were close to floor level. Externally, they have been all but eradicated by refacing.⁴³ Access to the upper chamber was from within the south aisle, although not by a newel stair contained within the wall thickness (as seen in St Mary's), but apparently by a freestanding stair located in the south-west corner of the aisle. It was presumably a timber construction, and led to a small landing or gallery over the south door; from this gallery a door would have opened into the porch chamber (*cf.* Bildeston, Suff.).

There is now an area of small rubble infilling (late medieval?) directly above the arch of the south door, and then a rectangular patch of Victorian refacing in chalk above that. The chalk filling hides the cut-back face of a patch of brickwork which was inserted to block a former opening of about the same width as the aisle doorway below.⁴⁴ Without removing the chalk facing, it was not possible to determine the shape of the original high-level opening, or to establish the nature of its dressings.⁴⁵ The brick blocking is likely to be Tudor. Seen from within the porch, the opening has a width of 1.8 m, and no dressings; it is filled with small rubble.⁴⁶

Internally, the porch walls show evidence of original putlog holes and carry remnants of medieval plaster. Although there has been some rebuilding of the

lowest courses of masonry it seems likely that there were once integral wall-benches along the east and west sides. The ground floor of the porch was lowered to its present level in 1858, which is *c.* 15 cm below the medieval threshold. An ungainly, square offset was then inserted beneath the plinths of the outer and inner doorways. No archaeological excavation has taken place within the porch.

South nave arcade

The present five-bay south arcade essentially dates from the fourteenth century and does not synchronize with the bay divisions in the outer aisle wall (Figs. 23, 460 and 464). Nevertheless it incorporates elements derived from an Early English arcade, notably the capitals of the four piers (Fig. 442).

Assuming that a nib of Norman masonry was retained at the west end of the arcade, the remainder would have subdivided into five equal bays, each of 4.5 m (15 ft), corresponding to the structural divisions in the new aisle. This is confirmed by excavated evidence for the positions of the second, third and fourth piers (counting from the east). The squarish footing for base 2/3 was composed of at least three reused medieval grave-covers, laid side by side. One was subsequently removed, leaving a pocket (F1271), while the other two are still *in situ*, trapped beneath the fourteenth-century arcade pier which partly overlaps the site of its predecessor (Figs. 484 and 711, nos. 8, 9). The footing for pier 3/4 was marked by a squarish pad of buff mortar (F1261), while that for pier 4/5 comprised at

least two reused grave-covers set on a mortar bed (F1306). One remains in place (Figs. 485 and 711, no. 7), and excavation revealed the pocket and mortar bed for another immediately alongside. Next to that in turn



Fig. 442: South arcade. Octagonal shaft and capital with dogtooth ornament (Period 4), reused in the pier, bay 4/5. View west. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 443: South arcade. Remains of a base (F1306), apparently made from three reused grave-covers, which carried the late thirteenth-century pier between bays 4 and 5. In the foreground is the robber pit where one slab has been removed; in the middle is the mortar bed for the second (the scale lying on it); and beyond is the third slab, still *in situ* and largely concealed beneath the later arcade pier. View west. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 444: South aisle, bay 1. Piscina in the south wall. View south-east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

was a robber pit where a third slab had apparently once been (Fig. 443). Together, the three slabs would have constituted a squarish footing to carry an arcade pier.

The three footings just described cannot have been those created for the early thirteenth-century narrow aisle, for two reasons. First, their positions synchronize with the bay divisions of the late thirteenth-century wide aisle and, second, all three decorated grave-slabs that have survived here are themselves datable to that century. It is thus inescapable that there have been two arcades on this site prior to the present fourteenth-century one. Moreover, the dogtooth capitals and other elements must have been salvaged and reused twice.

Apart from burials, there were no preserved floor levels or other features of significance excavated in the south aisle. A small, original piscina survives in the south wall at the east end. It has a pointed trefoil head cut from a single block of limestone, is without a hood or other projecting mouldings, and has chamfered jambs (Fig. 444). The interior was once plastered, and an oak credence shelf was added in the 1920s. The front of the hemispherical basin had been destroyed, and was renewed in a curious fashion in the early twentieth century. Instead of fitting a new curving section to complete the missing one-third, the original stone was cut back well behind the wall-face, and a rectangular kerb-like piece of limestone was inserted. This carries a crude *bas-relief* carving, the iconography of which is unclear: the sun is represented (Fig. 643).⁴⁷



Fig. 445: Chancel, east wall: foundations and construction trench. Note the large projecting blocks in the base of the trench, representing a pre-fourteenth-century phase in the southern half of the wall (left of centre). View south-west. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

The aisle must have had a double-pitched roof, with a valley-gutter set at the former eaves level of the nave wall. The original top of the south aisle wall is preserved just below present roof level.⁴⁸ While it would have been logical to raise the nave in the thirteenth century and install clerestory lights, evidence for the continued existence of the roof at the same level in the fourteenth century proves the contrary. Equally, there is nothing to indicate the presence of a higher roof level abutting the tower until the mid-fifteenth century. We can therefore be certain that there was no thirteenth-century clerestory.

Chancel

The long, rectangular form of the present chancel may owe its origin either to a thirteenth-century rebuild, or to the fourteenth century, but no features earlier than the latter date are present in the fabric. There are two likely scenarios: either the short (and probably narrower) Norman chancel was retained, and perhaps lengthened, or an entirely new chancel was built around the shell of its predecessor, the north and south walls being aligned with the nave arcades. Two pieces of evidence point to the latter. First, the foundation of the east wall exhibits at least two phases of construction (possibly three), the earliest of which must be pre-fourteenth century (Fig. 445). Second, the foundations at the north-east corner were designed to carry clasping buttresses, and not for the abutment of a vestry (Fig. 446). A markedly different foundation was later added for the vestry, which, above ground, is part of a single, fourteenth-century build with the chancel (p. 454). The position of the chancel arch is unlikely to have changed from the previous period.

Since St Mary's – which was only a chapel – was provided with a large new chancel in the thirteenth century, it seems unlikely that the parish church would not also have been equipped with a chancel of suitable size and grandeur for the liturgy of the period (Fig. 33, 7).



Fig. 446: Chancel: north-east corner. Foundation for a thirteenth-century north-facing buttress, oversailed (top right) by the fourteenth-century east wall of the vestry. View west. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Tower and western annexe

By the thirteenth century the font had been removed from the tower to the west end of the nave, and the ground floor of both the tower and the western annexe were given over to church artisans. Sometime in the twelfth, or possibly the thirteenth, century a small doorway was cut into the west wall of the annexe, for external access, and the structure was converted into a plumbery,⁴⁹ and it is likely that the area was used intermittently by church artisans until perhaps the sixteenth (Pl. 33). The summary removal of c. 50 cm of archaeological deposits from the tower and annexe in 1912 destroyed nearly all evidence for later medieval and post-medieval activity (p. 534). The new brick floor of 1912 directly overlay deposits that were no later than the thirteenth century. A few features which had been cut from a higher level, such as the late sixteenth-century bell foundry (p. 497), provided glimpses of what had been lost (Pl. 35).

Discussion of the Early Medieval Phases

The Saxo-Norman transition

The Saxo-Norman rebuild turned St Peter's from a tiny proprietary structure into a church of five cells: it was clearly now a congregational building which could, and doubtless did, function as a parish church, even though it was still of relatively modest size for a town as large as Barton. Setting aside the pre-existing work at the west end, the three-celled apsidal addition is itself a familiar type of small parish church of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which is found across England, albeit mostly concentrated in the south (Fairweather 1933).

Churches with unstilted apses and distinct offsets in plan between each cell occur, for example, at Sutton and Minster (Kent) and Checkendon (Oxon.). More common are the types with stilted apses, as at Kilpeck and Moccas (Herefs.), Old Bewick (Northumb.) and Streetly (Derbys.). The shortness of the nave at Barton is unusual for a church of this type, but if the base of the tower was still regarded as part of the nave, albeit structurally divided, the overall proportions are seen to be more typical. Also, there was an earthwork boundary between the churchyard and the manorial seat, limiting the extent to which the church could expand eastwards.

Nothing closely comparable to eleventh-century St Peter's was known in Lincolnshire until the discovery through excavation, in 1978, of an almost identical church in the adjacent parish of Barrow-upon-Humber (Boden and Whitwell 1979) (Fig. 447, 2). Its foundations were even more incomplete and degraded than those at Barton. Like these two examples, numerous other eleventh-century churches have doubtless been concealed from view by later activity, and await rediscovery. Just such an example was uncovered in York in 2007, and is potentially the 'lost' church of All Saints,

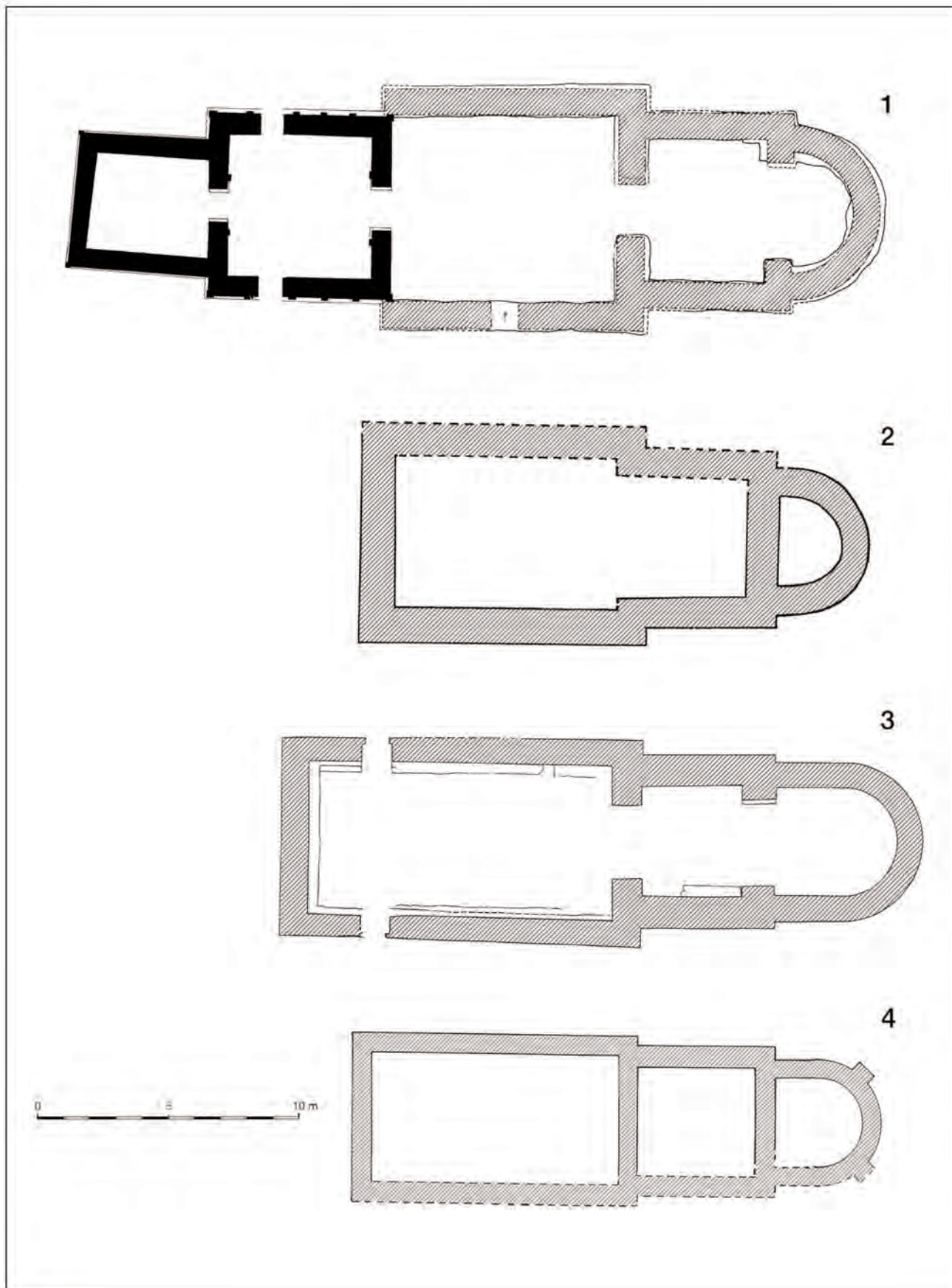


Fig. 447: Comparative plans of Saxo-Norman churches. 1, St Peter, Barton; 2, St Chad, Barrow; 3, Castle Rising (Norf.); 4, All Saints, Fishergate, York. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell, adapting Boden and Whitwell 1979 (no. 2), and Morley and Gurney 1997 (no. 3). No. 4 is reconstructed from a foundation plan supplied by courtesy of On-Site Archaeology

Fishergate (McIntyre and Bruce 2010). It is a three-celled apsidal structure of the late eleventh or early twelfth century, with an overall length of 19 m, of which 10 m comprise the nave. These dimensions correspond quite closely to Barton and Barrow, but the York church is decidedly slimmer and has a slightly stilted apse (Fig. 447, 4). The substantial ruin of a three-celled church buried by the collapsed earthworks of the bailey at Castle Rising (Norf.) conveys something of the simplicity that probably obtained at Barton (Morley and Gurney 1997, ch. 4). It had opposed entrances and a stilted chancel, and the building was unbuttressed (Fig. 447, 3). The excavators' proposed reconstruction includes a tower over the chancel, based on the fact that its walls were slightly thicker than those of the nave and sanctuary. The date of the church at Castle Rising has been controversial, but the second half of the eleventh century seems most likely.

Since the plan-type itself cannot be closely dated, the design elements enshrined in the heightening of the tower at Barton provide the best evidence for dating. Some earlier commentators saw the augmented tower as late pre-Conquest, but modern scholarship favours the period between the 1060s and the 1080s for its construction. Whatever, the precise date, the style and method of building were still heavily influenced by Anglo-Saxon tradition.

The late Saxon turritiform nave at Barton now became a western tower, which was made more harmonious with the Lincolnshire early Romanesque style by the addition of a new upper belfry. Since there was no discernible practical advantage to be gained from this costly exercise, we can only deduce that it was motivated by fashion. If the font was moved into the tower-nave at this stage, as seems most likely, the new baptistery would have been a dimly lit space, for no windows were inserted in the ground stage.⁵⁰ Stocker and Everson (2006, 26–7) have noted that very few of the Lincolnshire Romanesque towers were lit by windows at ground level, and we may wonder whether there was a continuing tradition of galleries within towers (and hence the provision of clerestory lighting); arguing against that proposition is the fact that few post-Conquest towers admitted much natural light to their first-floor chambers either.

The original (lower) belfry at Barton was presumably abandoned, or may have become a ringing-chamber, and at least two of its double openings were infilled with masonry. St Peter's is not alone in having had a second belfry added in the late eleventh century to heighten the tower: the development at Bosham (Sussex) is closely analogous (Aldsworth 1990). Barton may also have inspired the anomalous arrangements found in two other local towers. Winterton church not only possessed a typical Lincolnshire belfry, but was also provided with a short stage above that, and in each face is a single *oculus*, which Stocker and Everson (2006, 290, figs. 4.190 and 4.191) have interpreted as 'sound-holes'. These could not have had any

appreciable effect on the transmission of sound from bells hung at the level of the much larger apertures below. They must have served another purpose, such as openings through which wind instruments were blown, or singing was projected.⁵¹ Finally, a second complete belfry was added to the tower in the thirteenth century (Fig. 106). Another local church with an anomalous tower is Alkborough. The lowest structural stage encompasses the ground and first-floor levels; above these is a typical Lincolnshire belfry, but that in turn carries a second belfry. The openings in its north, west and south sides are early thirteenth century, but the rubble masonry appears to be contemporaneous with the fabric below (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 23–4).⁵² There is no aperture on the east, and evidence is lacking for the original form of any openings in the other faces, although Stocker and Everson posited *oculi*, like those at Winterton.

In conclusion, Stocker and Everson (2006, 20–1) regard Barton, Winterton and Alkborough, with their unusual belfry arrangements, as a local sub-group of the Lincolnshire towers. Similarly, it may be noted that St Michael, Oxford, also has two belfry stages both of which appear to be original (RCHME 1939, 142, pl. 199; Taylor and Taylor 1965, 482).

The masoncraft of the added belfry at Barton is virtually identical to that at Scartho, which is also faced with squared blocks of Lower Magnesian Limestone. The tower at Scartho is undoubtedly of a single build and it is therefore curious that there is such a marked



Fig. 448: St Giles, Scartho (Lincs.). Tower of rubble construction with the belfry faced in Magnesian Limestone. North-west view. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

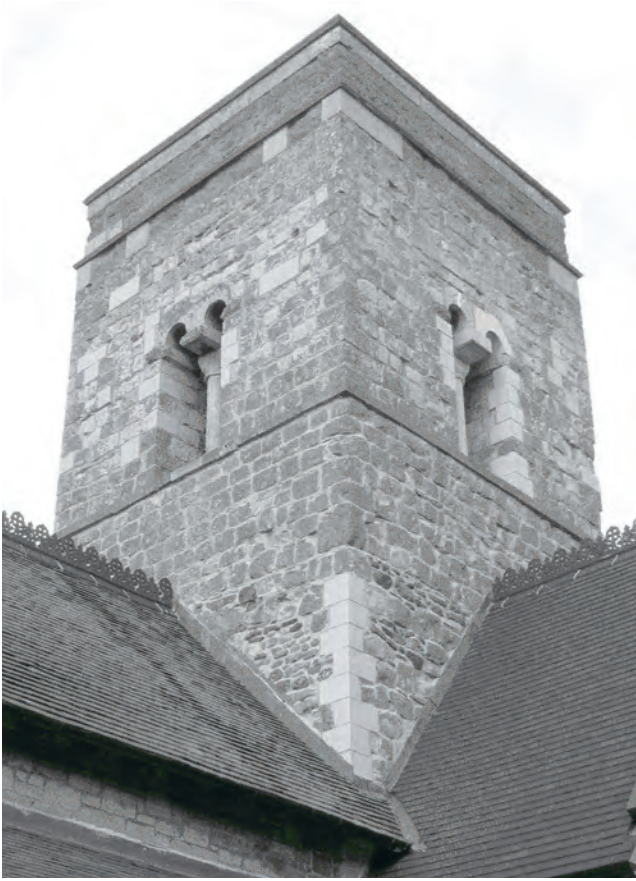


Fig. 449: *St Martin, Waithe (Lincs.)*. Upper part of the crossing tower faced with Magnesian Limestone. South-west view. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

difference in its materials, the lower stage being of rough rubble construction, which would have been rendered (Stocker and Everson 2006, figs. 2.28 and 4.153) (Pl. 27B; Fig. 448). The same occurs at nearby Waithe, although there the use of squared Magnesian Limestone begins a few courses below the belfry stage (Fig. 449) (Stocker and Everson 2006, figs. 4.178 and 4.179). This construction differential is not shared by any of the other Lincolnshire towers, pointing to the strong likelihood that the same masons were engaged at Barton, Scartho and Waithe. Although somewhat different, Brigsley should probably be added to this list, where the ground and first-floor stages of the tower are largely faced with Magnesian Limestone (the original belfry does not survive), and the masoncraft is again similar to that at Barton (Pl. 27B) (Stocker and Everson 2006, 18–19, 118–20, figs. 2.26 and 4.27).

While the choice of white quasi-ashlar for facing the belfries might be seen as expressing a conscious desire visually to emphasize the uppermost stages of these towers, another more practical explanation is possible. The lower stages were all of mixed rubble which would have been rendered, and almost certainly limewashed (pp. 327–9). We have already noted Raoul Glaber's allusion to the widespread predilection for whitening the exteriors of churches in the eleventh century: 'Europe ... is clothing itself everywhere in a white

mantle of churches' (p. 329). However, external lime-wash quickly loses its pristine appearance, and re-coating would have been required every three to five years to maintain a clean aspect. While moveable ladders were practicable up to about 9 m or 10 m (c. 30–33 ft), the eleventh-century towers at Barton and Scartho were twice that height, and Waithe was not much less. Consequently, decorating the exterior of the belfry would involve scaffolding, or working from a boson's chair. However, by facing the highest part of a tower with white limestone, which does not readily discolour, the need to decorate was obviated.

The use of the distinctive squared blocks for facing the upper parts of these towers clearly points both to Roman salvage and to Romanesque influence, but the inability of the masons to prepare and lay the blocks in regular, level courses demonstrates unfamiliarity with this type of construction. The antiquarian argument that the heightening of the Barton tower was carried out by masons schooled in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, although working in an early Romanesque *milieu*, may not currently be popular, but it could still hold elements of truth. It is self-evident that the masons working on Barton, Waithe and Scartho possessed only a vague understanding of contemporary Romanesque architecture, and probably knew nothing of the classical Roman forms from which it was derived: the result is an intriguing hybrid. The immediate source of their inspiration cannot be determined, but almost certainly it was not the great churches of York, Selby or Lincoln, which were under construction from the 1070s onwards. There would have been a long waiting period before local masons could have seen belfry openings under construction in any of these buildings. More likely, small-scale works on high-status houses and modest churches, initiated by newly arrived Norman overlords – some perhaps supervised by French masons, although that is highly doubtful – could have provided models for local builders to emulate within a decade or so of the Conquest. For a different view, emphasizing the evocation of Roman ideals in the construction of Lincolnshire towers, see Stocker and Everson (2006, 55–7), who also argue for the origin of the entire series in Lincoln, c. 1080 (*ibid.*, 76–7).

The source of the Magnesian Limestone blocks used in several churches again raises the issue – already discussed in relation to gritstone (pp. 320–2) – of how the acquisition of this non-local material was achieved: it must have travelled a minimum of fifty miles from its ultimate source to reach Barton, and considerably further for Scartho, Waithe and Brigsley (Stocker and Everson 2006, 18). All the available evidence militates against any suggestion that the stone was freshly quarried and dressed for use in the three belfries under consideration. First, there are marked differences in the care with which the blocks were shaped: some are perfectly square and so cleanly cut that they have the appearance of Roman *opus quadratum*, whereas others are only crudely squared. Second, the dimensions of

the blocks, even in a single course, vary markedly, giving rise to steps and undulations which detract from the aesthetics of building in ashlar. Norman masons would have used a water-level to establish horizontal courses, and that was plainly not so at Barton. Third, the supply of Magnesian Limestone at St Peter's ran out before the belfry was completed, and rubble was substituted (especially on the north face: Figs. 248 and 402).

The attenuated proportions of the new double belfry-openings at Barton, the use of smaller blocks than hitherto, and the slender shafts with moulded capitals, all indicate early Romanesque influence. Nevertheless, the essential form of construction, using a mid-wall shaft supporting a through-stone slab, is resoundingly Anglo-Saxon. Although some characteristic features of the Romanesque style are present, they are not consistently so. First, we would expect the arches to be turned with radially jointed voussoirs of roughly equal size, and that is indeed the case on the east face, but not on the north and south, where the arch construction is more traditionally Anglo-Saxon. Secondly, a shared double-springer, cut on a single block, would be expected between each pair of arches, but instead we find stones jointed in the manner of carpentry (Fig. 405).

Thirdly, we might expect the mid-wall shafts to be circular in cross-section, with separate capitals and bases. On the south and east the shafts are octagonal in section and the separate capitals are crudely sculpted, while on the north is a 'lathe-turned' baluster with an integral, sculpted capital and a plain base (both square in plan); the whole stands on a separate sub-base. There must be a practical explanation as to why the north shaft is so radically different from its counterparts on the south and east. It is readily observable that on those two sides the arched heads of the belfry openings were constructed at the same time as the ashlar face was built, but not so on the north. There, the ashlar was taken up to the impost-level of the openings, at which point the coursing was stepped back towards the quoins. Thus a gap was left in the construction, from which it may be presumed that the arches of the northern opening could not be put in place because the masons had no mid-wall shaft to carry them: a mishap may have resulted in the loss of one shaft.⁵³

The masons constructing the belfry may have had a turned baluster to hand – either because it was already on site and available for reuse, or it was surplus to requirements from another job – and it was used as a convenient substitute. We wonder whether the shaft might have come from the chancel of the turriform church (*e.g.* from a two-light east window). Anyway, by the time it was installed in the tower the supply of ashlar required for facing the belfry had run out, and consequently the area of walling above the northern opening was infilled with rubble.⁵⁴ The baluster, with its integral cubical capital, finds analogues in Saxo-Norman churches in the Midlands and southern England. Unfortunately, the plain balusters in the belfry at North Leigh (Oxon.), which bear serious

comparison, are of uncertain date (Tweddle *et al.* 1995, 244). The appearance of both single and double-rope mouldings on the shaft and neck of the Barton baluster finds a parallel on a belfry capital at St Peter-at-Gowts, Lincoln (Fig. 407).

The rebuilding and enlargement of St Peter's church resulted in the old turriform nave becoming a semi-conventional western tower: its unusual aspects were the north and south doorways and the western annexe. By augmenting it with a new belfry stage, the tower took on some of the distinctive features that define a major group of Saxo-Norman structures known as the 'Lincolnshire Towers'. At least sixty churches in the county possess these, and others are known to have been lost. A brilliant study and catalogue of this group has been published by Stocker and Everson (2006), who argue that the towers were a response to the new Anglo-Norman liturgy, introduced into England by Archbishop Lanfranc (1070–93). The performance of this liturgy was set down in the *Decreta Lanfranci*. They placed emphasis on a ritual for burial which involved the provision of a dedicated funerary chapel that communicated directly with the graveyard. In view of the special role of St Michael in interceding between the living and the dead, Stocker and Everson suggest that the funerary chapel was often dedicated in the archangel's honour, and that it could be contained either within the body of the church – as it was in the south transept at Canterbury Cathedral, or the north transept at Lincoln Cathedral – or housed in a separate structure in the graveyard, as at Worcester Cathedral and York Minster (Everson and Stocker 2006, 82–91).

Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln 1072–91, was responsible for enthusiastically introducing the provisions of the *Decreta Lanfranci* to the diocese, including the architectural innovations to which they gave rise. An integral component of the burial ritual prescribed in the *Decreta* was the ringing of bells, for which physical provision had to be made in the form of bell-towers, or turrets mounted on the roofs of churches. It is argued by Stocker and Everson that this gave rise to the evident spate of tower-building in Lincolnshire in the latter part of the eleventh century; they propose that these towers embodied the twin functions of mortuary chapel and belfry. The ground stage served as the chapel, where the overnight vigil over the coffin, and the accompanying service – the *Placebo* – took place. There was normally a door in the west wall of the tower, communicating with the churchyard, through which the burial procession exited to the graveside. The bells naturally hung in the uppermost stage of the tower, and at an intermediate level was the ringing chamber. This was often ill-lit, with only a single, small window. The siting of that window, according to Everson and Stocker, was critically determined: it needed to overlook the principal part of the graveyard (or at least the area that was currently being used for burial in the late eleventh century), so that ringing could be synchronized with the appropriate parts of the service.

All these arguments and deductions are extremely plausible, and they go a long way towards explaining both the phenomenon and the architectural composition of the Lincolnshire towers. It is posited that the earliest examples associated with parish churches occurred in Lincoln itself, *c.* 1080, and that tower-building progressively spread to other parts of Lincolnshire, first in a northwards direction in the 1080s and 1090s, and then southwards from *c.* 1100 onwards (Stocker and Everson 2006, 76–8, fig. 3.35). They identify a group of towers in the Grimsby area as the first to be constructed outside Lincoln itself, with a suggested date-bracket of *c.* 1080–90. Although Barton is at some remove from Grimsby, the added belfry at St Peter's shares such close similarities with those at Brigsley, Scartho and Waithe that it must be considered as part of the same group. Hence, we arrive at both a context and a putative date for the upper belfry at Barton. Most of the towers were probably commissioned by the local lord, but that still does not shed light on the question of *who* were the actual builders of these structures. Stocker and Everson (2006, 92) roundly dismiss the pre-Norman legacy, which has long been favoured by architectural historians: 'Far from being an indication, then, that Lincolnshire was full of Anglo-Saxon builders who were unable to forget their original training and insisted on working to out-moded designs, using old-fashioned details long after the Conquest, we suggest that the Lincolnshire Towers were the very embodiment of the Anglo-Norman church settlement.'

While we may embrace their explanation for the concept and liturgy behind the erection of the Lincolnshire towers, the execution of the work is undeniably steeped in the local pre-Conquest building tradition. What we see here is Anglo-Saxon masoncraft, clothed with a few of the trappings of Anglo-Norman style. While some of the parish church towers in Lincoln may have been erected by immigrant masons, assisted by locally recruited apprentices whom they trained in Anglo-Norman masoncraft, the same is unlikely to be true of Barton and the towers in the Grimsby area. The Lincoln towers have a precision of execution which is not matched in the rural examples: in the city, the rubble coursing is more even and well ordered, the ashlar of the quoins are regular in size and well bonded, the belfry openings are crisper in outline and detail,⁵⁵ the majority of arches are composed of radially set voussoirs (as opposed to non-radial, or a mixture of both types), and some of the capitals are more sophisticated in design.

Finally, Stocker and Everson also make much of the symbolism of the font not only in birth but also in death, and suggest that it too was intimately associated with burial ritual. But lack of solid evidence for the location of fonts in eleventh-century churches prevents this hypothesis from being pursued. Barton, however, provides an exception in that we have confirmed three successive font positions: in the western annexe, in the

base of the tower, and at the west end of the nave close to the tower arch (Fig. 33, nos. 1–3). The problem is to determine exactly when the font was moved from one location to the next, and whether one of the repositionings was expressly associated with the heightening of the tower. It is interesting to note that when the font was relocated into the tower from the western baptistery, it was not sited centrally in the space: although on the east–west axis, it lay west of centre. If the base of the tower became a mortuary chapel, and was provided with an altar dedicated to St Michael (*pace* Stocker and Everson), that would have lain near the eastern arch. Hence, the tower could simultaneously have housed two important liturgical foci: the altar towards the east and the font towards the west. That left a space at the centre, which could have been the spot where a coffin lay for the overnight vigil.

Expansion and aggrandizement

Successive rebuildings dramatically enlarged the area of the nave of St Peter's, which was, respectively: Anglo-Saxon, 27 m²; Saxo-Norman, 62 m²; and Norman, 183 m². The Norman reconstruction thus increased the congregational area by a factor of three over the previous nave. The floor-area ratios between the three successive naves were 1:2.3:6.7. The long Norman nave was probably erected early in the twelfth century, and had a length-to-width ratio of 3.5:1, which is a common proportion for the period. The addition of the small two-celled northern structure must have occurred around the mid-century, probably soon after the period of the Anarchy (p. 381), followed shortly afterwards by the narrow aisle. Finally, the erection of the narrow south aisle and porch must take us into the early thirteenth century (Pl. 40).

The functions served by the little chambers on the north side cannot be conclusively identified, but a porch and private chapel complex, linked to the manorial seat at Tyrwhitt Hall, is a plausible contender. Although no contemporary grave has been identified in the floor of either cell, the possibility of there having been an associated burial cannot be eliminated. An important interment could have been contained in a stone coffin with a decorated cover, standing on the surface of the floor, and not sunk into it. Interpretation of either chamber as a sacristy can be rejected (p. 382), but an anchorage is another attractive possibility. Anchorages were popular in Lincolnshire in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and at least one local example is recorded, at Winterton. There, the abbot of Thornton installed an anchoress 'shutting her up in a certain house and enclosure ... and securing the door of the same with bars, bolts and keys' (Clay 1914, 142).

The addition of long, narrow aisles, first on one side and then on the other, was a widespread phenomenon in Lincolnshire and the surrounding area, and many examples of Romanesque arcades of four, five or six narrow bays have survived. The evidence for the

retention of the posited chapel and porch when the north aisle was added is equivocal, but on balance it seems more likely that they remained as separate entities within the overall development, until the fourteenth century. Dating of the Romanesque and early Gothic work has perforce to be on the basis of layout and general form, since no diagnostic architectural elements have been identified from the aisleless nave or from the two-celled northern addition. We are on surer ground when we come to the narrow aisles. The two surviving pier bases and three capitals indicate a north arcade of four bays of *c.* 1180–1200, and a date of *c.* 1200–20 is suggested for the narrow south aisle by the octagonal arcade piers with dogtooth capitals.

The addition of the aisles was thus not far separated in time, with that on the north coming first, a pattern which is frequently repeated in north Lincolnshire. It is, for example, the sequence established at St Mary's church (Barton), Barrow-upon-Humber, Broughton, and possibly Thornton Curtis.⁵⁶ Elsewhere, when just one medieval aisle was added to a nave, it was often on the north (*e.g.* Barnetby-le-Wold). The preference for adding to the north side first was probably linked to logistics and convenience: in most churches the main entrance lay on the south and there was a greater intensity of burial on this side too. It made good practical sense to build on the north side, where less disruption would result. Relict evidence for early narrow aisles can often be seen in the west walls of later aisles, as at St Mary's and at Thornton Curtis. Although no such evidence survived at St Peter's the former existence of narrow aisles was deduced by the Yorkshire antiquary J.R. Boyle as long ago as 1904.⁵⁷

The quasi-geometrical tracery pattern of the windows in the wide south aisle points to a date around 1270–80 for this work. Of similar age is the five-light east window in the chancel of St Mary's. The large, two-storeyed porches at St Peter's and St Mary's reflected the equal status for which the churches vied. Most likely, each porch contained a holy water stoup, set in the wall alongside the door leading into the church. Nothing remains today, but the quadrant-shaped stoup, now reset in one corner of the ringing chamber for use as a urinal, could well have come from the porch of St Peter's (Fig. 580).

The reuse of earlier thirteenth-century coffins in the buttresses, and incised grave-covers as footings for the arcade piers, is interesting since it demonstrates that the burials from which these were derived were no longer respected only half a century later.⁵⁸ Recycling of funerary furnishings was commonplace, often within one or two generations of the monuments' being commissioned.⁵⁹ While on this subject, mention must be made of the earliest grave-marker from Barton: it consists of two fragments of a double-sided limestone slab decorated with a *cross pattée* cut in shallow relief (Fig. 710). The fragments were found during repairs to St Mary's porch in 1938, and the cross is thus likely to have stood in its churchyard (although certainty cannot obtain).⁶⁰ *Crosses pattée* are common in Lincolnshire, and the Barton grave-marker cannot be closely dated, save to say that it belonged to the later eleventh or early twelfth century.

The most dramatic event in the early medieval life of St Peter's church was doubtless the fire which burnt out the tower and western annexe, probably in the twelfth century.

8. THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH: DECORATED AND PERPENDICULAR PHASES

Strength and beauty are in his sanctuary.
Psalms, 96:6

The enlargement and aggrandizement of St Peter's church continued down to the close of the Middle Ages. First, the north aisle was rebuilt, together with both nave arcades, then the chancel was reconstructed and a vestry added on its north side, and finally a clerestory was raised over the nave (Figs. 8 and 450). Other minor works included the addition of the north porch, and alterations to the south aisle and belfry.

For ease of reference, the principal elevation drawings of the medieval church, both external and internal, are all assembled here as Figures 451 to 463. These constitute a record of the fabric, compiled piecemeal between 1978 and 1984. The design of the fenestration in St Peter's and St Mary's churches has much in common, between the early thirteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and this has been studied by Geoffrey Bryant, whose window typology for Barton is reproduced in Figures 48, 49 and 50. Both churches also contain remarkable assemblages of small architectural sculptures – the majority are head-stops of the early fourteenth century – which have been numbered serially for each building. The heads in St Mary's church have been described in chapter 3, and those in St Peter's church are described below; the series as a whole is also assessed here.

Decorated: the Fourteenth-Century Church (Period 6)

A great deal of work was undertaken in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, in the Lincolnshire Decorated style. Principally, this involved demolishing the old narrow north aisle, together with the chapel/porch structure at its east end, and replacing all of this with a wide aisle. At the same time, the nave was reconstructed with two new full-length arcades, and shortly afterwards the chancel was probably completely rebuilt too.

Wide north aisle (Figs. 451, 456, 457 and 458)

Plan and foundations (Figs. 464 and 465)

The north aisle was wholly rebuilt, being doubled in width, to 5.5 m (18 ft) overall. Although the superstructure appears superficially to be homogeneous, there are several design anomalies in the westernmost bay (5). Moreover, the aisle was erected on three

sections of foundation, each of markedly different character; one junction occurs in the north wall, a little to the east of the mid-point, and the other in the east wall. The western half of the aisle has a trench-filled foundation consisting of alternating layers of chalk rubble and grey clay, capped by orange clay and layers of orange sandy mortar containing coarse gravel and small chalk nodules (F3569). At the west end, the foundation was laid immediately outside the wall of the previous aisle: *i.e.* the new work clasped the angle of the tower more securely, as had also occurred in the rebuilding of the south aisle in the late thirteenth century (p. 390).

The foundation under the eastern half of the north wall, and around the north-east corner of the aisle, was also of banded construction, but comprised loosely bedded chalk nodules and layers of brown clay (F281). Before the aisle was erected, several holes (robbing?) had been dug into this foundation, and were subsequently backfilled with sand. The third foundation type occurred only in the southern half of the east end (*i.e.* where the wall crossed the site of the former chapel). Here, a trench had been excavated, a chalk foundation laid in the base and then a freestanding footing was built up within the trench using small chalk rubble and soft sandy mortar (F1590).¹

Much effort was expended during the excavation in trying to establish reasons why the foundation circuit for the north aisle was so anomalous; in particular, evidence was sought for a possible north-south wall which could have been related to an early transept or large chapel that had become incorporated in the eastern half of the Decorated aisle. Preservation of deposits within the aisle was good and it is certain that no cross-wall had ever existed. It is therefore posited that there may have been a scheme to replace the earlier porch/chapel with a larger structure, and the construction of its foundations was begun, but the project was aborted at an early stage. The new foundation was subsequently incorporated in the circuit of the present aisle. The interruptions in the foundation circuit, together with the underlying presence of the waterlogged Anglo-Saxon enclosure ditch (p. 159), have led to structural instability in the eastern part of the north aisle.

Walls

The aisle is divided into five bays, which are not in perfect register with the nave arcade, even though they are contemporaneous. The first four bays contain



Fig. 450: St Peter's church and churchyard wall from the north-west, 1972. Photo: English Heritage, RCHME

north-facing windows, while the entrance is located in the westernmost (fifth) bay. The divisions are marked by small square buttresses, with clasping pairs at the angles.² The buttresses are of limestone ashlar and of three stages; the weatherings are hollow moulded. Unlike the south aisle (p. 389), there is no evidence here for the reuse of medieval grave-covers or coffins as building material in the buttresses. A limestone plinth of two chamfered stages, and a moulded string-course at window-sill level, run unbroken (except at the doorway) around the three sides of the aisle (Fig. 468). Both the plinth and the string are stepped on the east and west ends of the aisle, in sympathy with the natural fall of the ground towards the north (Figs. 457 and 475). In a similar vein, the window sills in these walls are at a slightly higher level than those on the north. The string-course is badly decayed and in the east wall it visibly tilts, through subsidence, close to its northern end.

The walls are 90 cm thick at plinth level and are principally constructed of mixed chalk and limestone rubble. This is best seen internally, where three tiers of putlog holes and several building-lifts are clearly defined. A great deal of nineteenth-century refacing in chalk has occurred in bay 5. Externally, a mixture of

building styles is apparent, but it is uncertain to what extent this represents original work; the pointing is all relatively modern. In bays 1–3 of the north wall the masonry beneath the string-course is almost exclusively squared limestone laid in regular courses; in bay 4 it is similar but the lowest course comprises large blocks while the remainder are much smaller. This all appears to be the result of extensive refacing.³ Glimpses of what may represent the original construction are seen on the east and west ends, where the walls are composed entirely of mixed rubble, apart from a single course of limestone ashlar directly above the plinth (Fig. 475).⁴

There are several anomalies in bay 5 for which a fully satisfactory explanation is not forthcoming. It cannot be of the same build as bays 1–4, but the point of junction is not easily defined: it must be adjacent to the east jamb of the doorway, and may possibly include part of the window in bay 4. First, the three tiers of putlog holes are seen internally to be on different levels from those in the other four bays. Second, the stepping of the plinth and string-course does not occur in the same position on the east and west ends of the aisle, respectively. Third, the string-course in bay 5 is of triangular section, whereas it is hollow-moulded in the other bays.

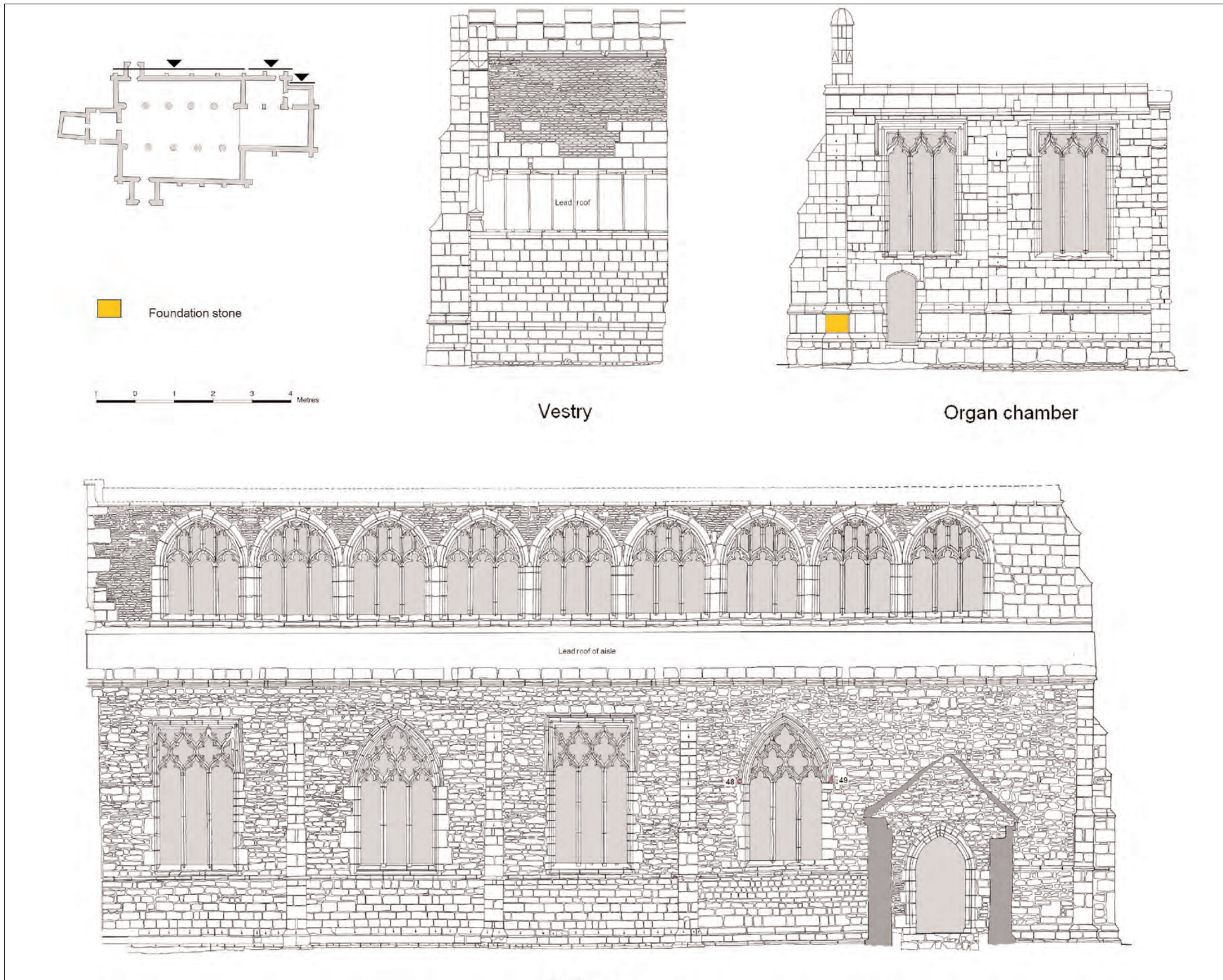


Fig. 451: North aisle (omitting the porch), clerestory, organ chamber and vestry. External elevations (north), 1984. For the tower and annexe, see Figs. 259 and 324. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

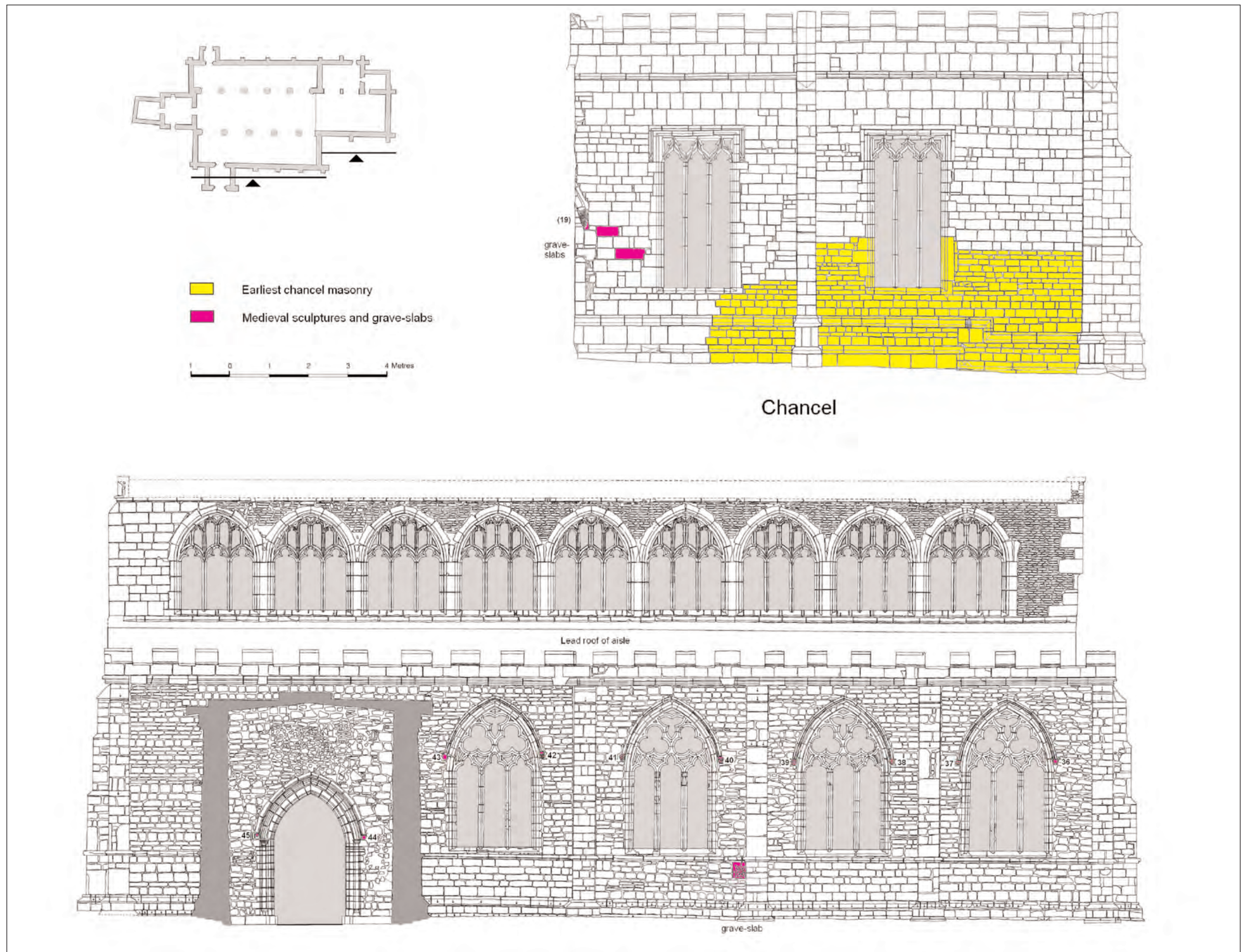


Fig. 452: South aisle (omitting the porch), clerestory and chancel. External elevations (south), 1984. For the tower and annexe, see Figs. 259 and 324. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Fourth, the north-facing buttress at the north-west angle is taller than its counterpart on the north-east. Fifth, the tracery in the west window is arranged in two vertical planes, a detail not repeated in the east or north windows (where the tracery all conforms to a single plane). Sixth, the sill of the west window has a different profile from all the others in the aisle, and the mullions do not rise from block-stoolings. Seventh, the west window, together with the window in bay 4, appear to be the only ones fitted originally with label-stops. Finally, an anomaly has been noted externally in the masonry between the head of the west window and the north-west buttress, but its significance remains unclear.

The original wallplate level has been preserved as a result of the aisle's being slightly heightened when the present clerestory was added. A levelling course of brick and roof tile fragments preserved intermittently along the inner face of the north wall marks the bed for the inner wallplate. This represents the earliest structural appearance of brick and tile in the church.⁵ The primary roof would have been steeply double pitched. Some post-medieval rebuilding of the tops of the east and west walls has occurred, and incorporated in the latter were two fragments of a limestone grave-cover: one bears the remains of an incised cross with a stepped base (Fig. 712, no. 17).⁶

North doorway

The north doorway is remarkably plain and is asymmetrically sited in bay 5. The threshold occurs part-way up the north wall plinth, indicating that there must have been a step *ab initio*. The opening has a two-centred head and two chamfered orders, both with continuous wave mouldings and weak bull-nosed stops; there are no imposts or hood-moulding (Fig. 466). The south doorway at Barrow-upon-Humber is almost identical, but is provided with a hood-moulding. The segmental rear-arch is entirely without mouldings and, unlike St Mary's, there are no pockets in the reveals for a draw-bar (Fig. 467).

It has long been supposed that the medieval door is itself contemporary with the construction of the present aisle. Hence, it was assumed that if the door could be accurately dated by dendrochronology then the architecture of the aisle – and, by extension, the nave arcades – could be dated too. However, it has now been established that the door is secondary (p. 405). The possibility that the masonry of the doorway was not primary, or had been altered, was examined, but it was concluded that the rear-arch certainly, and the outer arch probably, was integral with the masonry to either flank. Nevertheless, the differences already noted between bay 5 and the remainder of the aisle imply that an undetected junction is likely to exist somewhere just east of the doorway.

The only potential mason's mark, a large and crude cross of a type not noted elsewhere in the church, occurs on the west jamb of the doorway (Fig. 825, 5).

A considerable amount of vermilion-coloured paint (medieval?) survives on the outer arch, and appears to have been overlaid by a succession of white, pink and ochre coloured limewashes, respectively (Pl. 47).

Windows

The four north windows each have three lights with reticulated tracery set under, alternately, pointed and square heads with hood-mouldings (Figs. 49, 9–10 and 468). The latter are plain chamfered on the soffit face, and not hollowed; nor do they appear to have been fitted with label-stops, at least in bays 1–3 (including the east window). A pair of head-stops in bay 4 may have been subsequently added to the hood-moulding, and there are indications that the west window once had label-stops (Figs 531 and 532).⁷ In bays 1–4 the surrounds are chamfered and rebated, and the sills are of two chamfered orders. The plain chamfered mullions rise from block-stoolings on a sill of two chamfered orders. In bay 3 the tracery and mullions were renewed in the 1960s, and in bay 4 partial renewal of the tracery occurred in the 1980s (a decayed mullion here had been replaced in timber in the nineteenth century).

The rear-arches correspondingly alternate between pointed and segmental. The heads alone are chamfered, and the plain splays are dressed with a miscellany of small limestone ashlar. In bay 4 the pointed rear-arch is made out of thin, flat blocks and the chamfer dies into the reveals, whereas in bay 2 the arch has a recessed soffit of plastered rubble. The west window has a construction similar to that in bay 4, while the rear-arch of the east window matches that in bay 2. The construction of the heads of the rear-arches in bays 4 and 5 is closely similar to that of the late thirteenth-century windows of the south aisle. Some of this masonry may be reused.

The east and west windows in the aisle have flowing tracery of good quality, but the two are not closely related (Fig. 49, 12 and 13). The four-light east window is of unusual elaboration (Figs. 469 and 470). It has trefoil-headed lights arranged in two pairs under ogival sub-arches with central quatrefoils. Rising from the central mullion is a flowing tracery pattern having the appearance of a five-lobed leaf. Its components are a quatrefoil and four *mouchettes*. Thus far, the design is unexceptional, but is elaborated in a unique fashion by the *en suite* incorporation of a rood composition. The three figures are sculpted on the mullions: St Mary the Virgin on the north and St John on the south occupy the uppermost stones of their respective mullions (Figs. 471, 473 and 474). The figure of the crucified Christ is sculpted on the central springer-mullion, the beginnings of the ogival tracery to either side notionally forming the arms of the cross. The window was clearly a representation in stone of the Tree of the Cross (p. 489).

Little more than the torso of the original figure of Christ remains, together with parts of the upper arms and the legs. The figure was sawn off the face of the

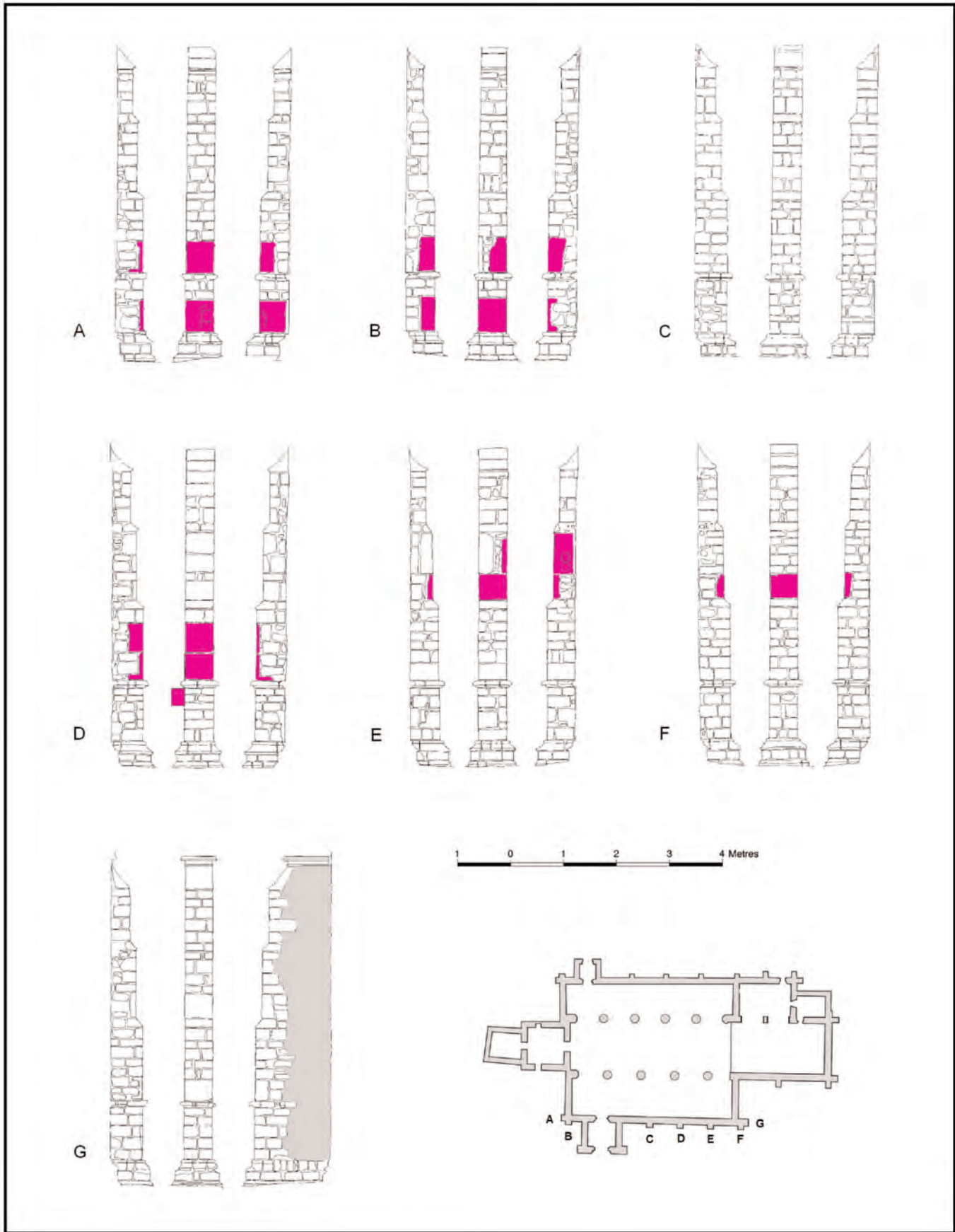


Fig. 453: South aisle. Elevations of the buttresses, 1984. Reused fragments of medieval coffins and grave-covers are indicated in pink tone. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Caroline Atkins

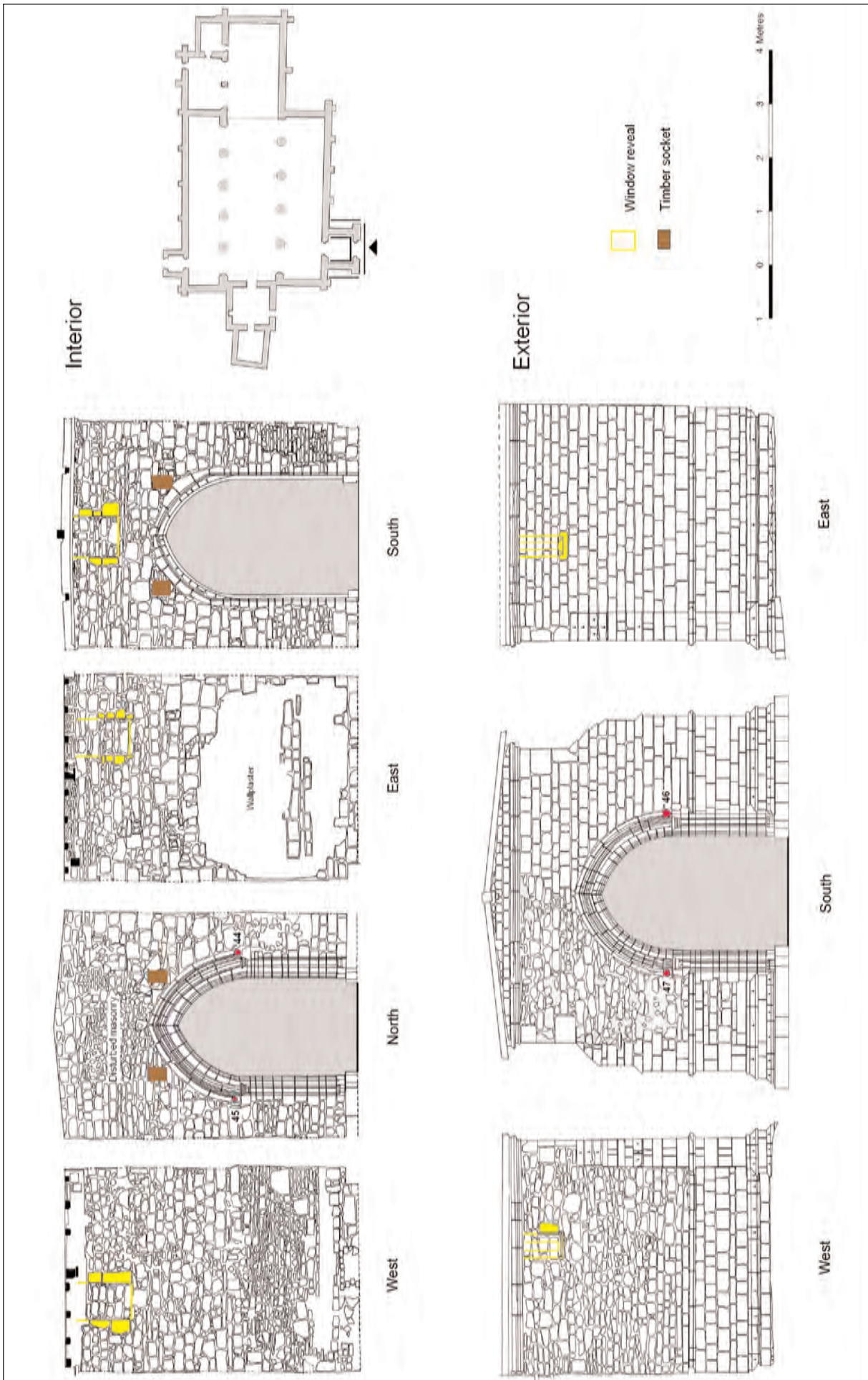


Fig. 454: South porch. External and internal elevations, 1984. The reveals of the east, west and south windows that lit the former upper storey are partially preserved internally. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

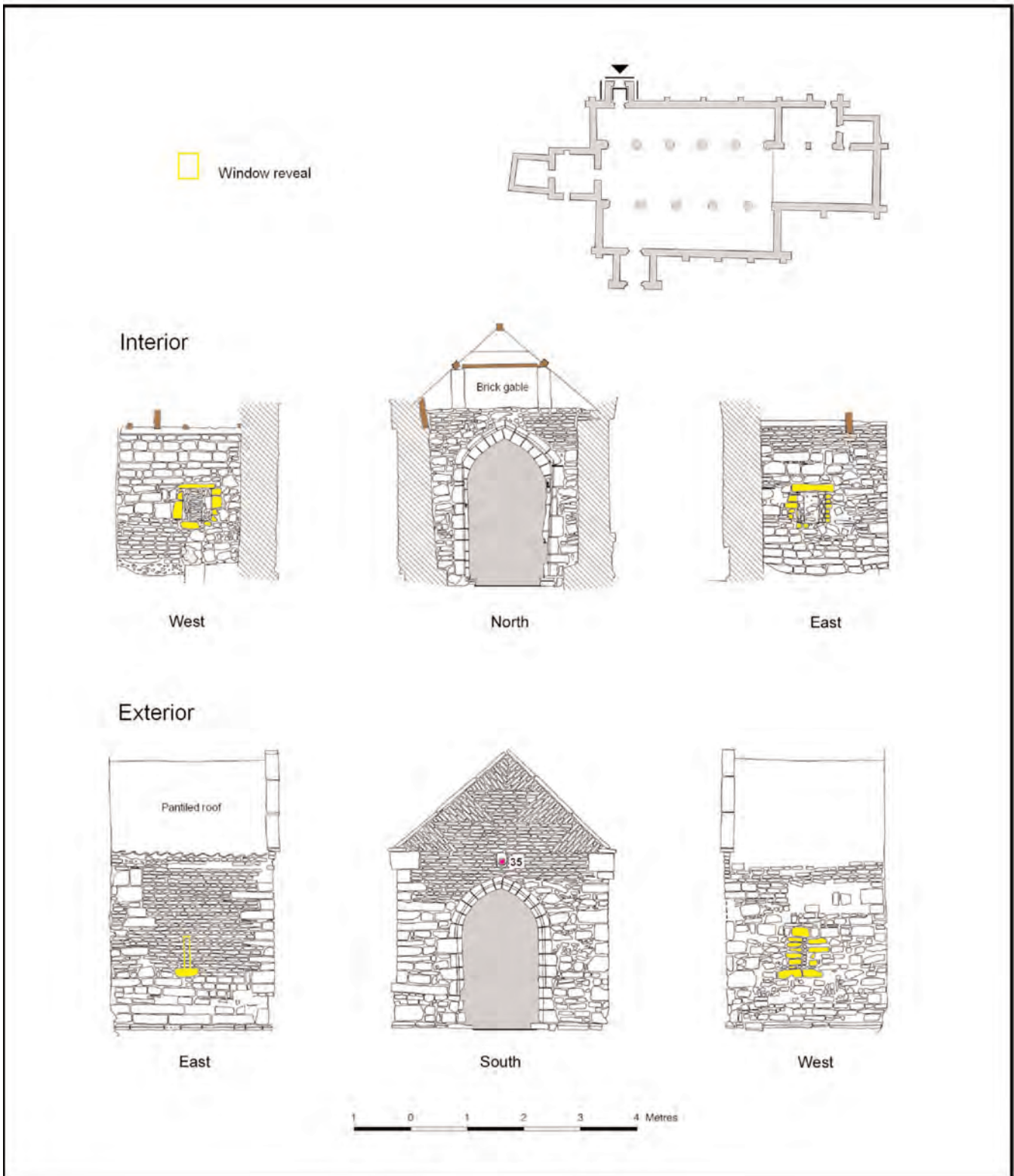


Fig. 455: North porch. External and internal elevations, 1984. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

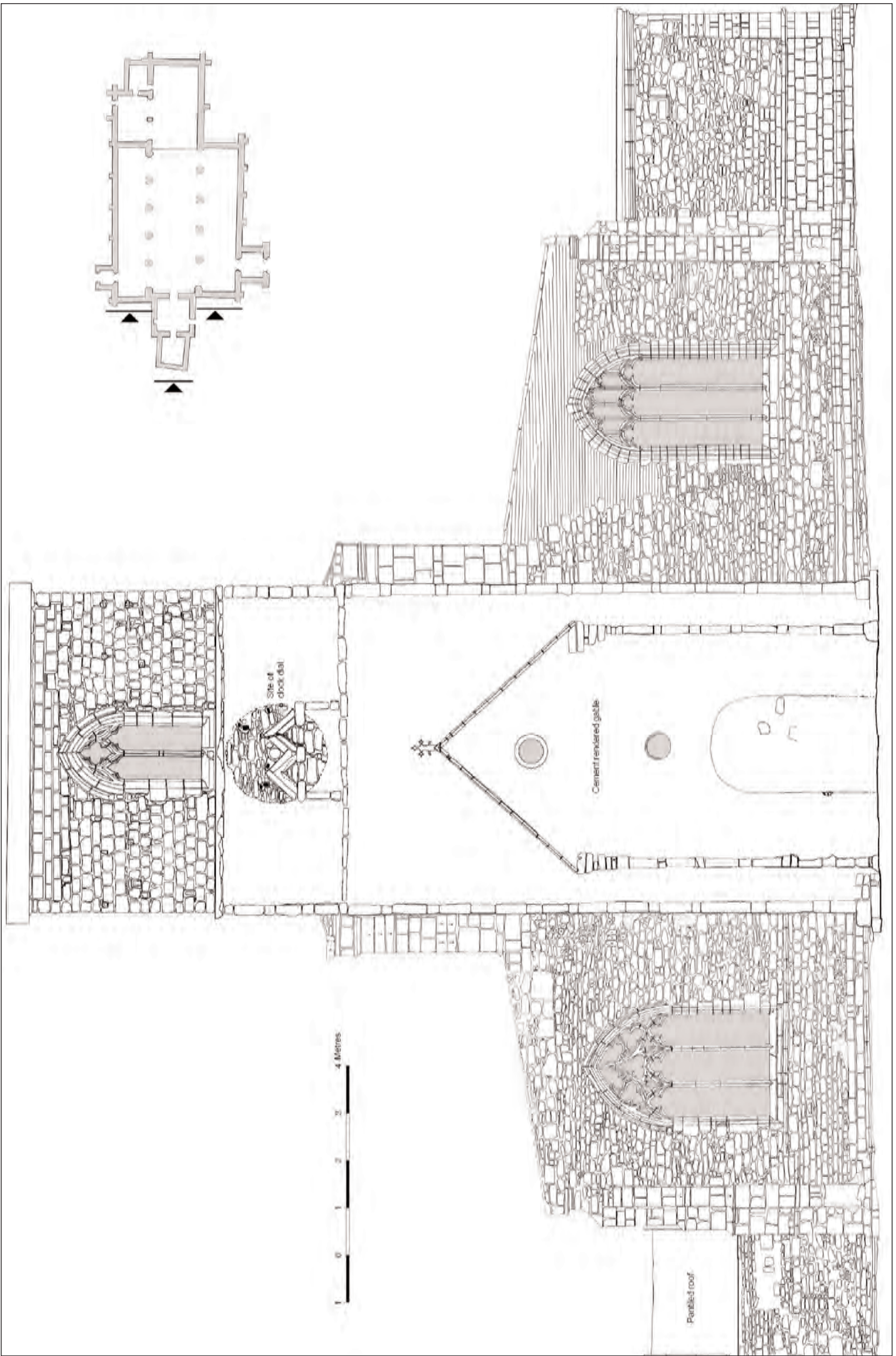


Fig. 456: Tower, western annexe, aises and porches. External elevations (west), 1984. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

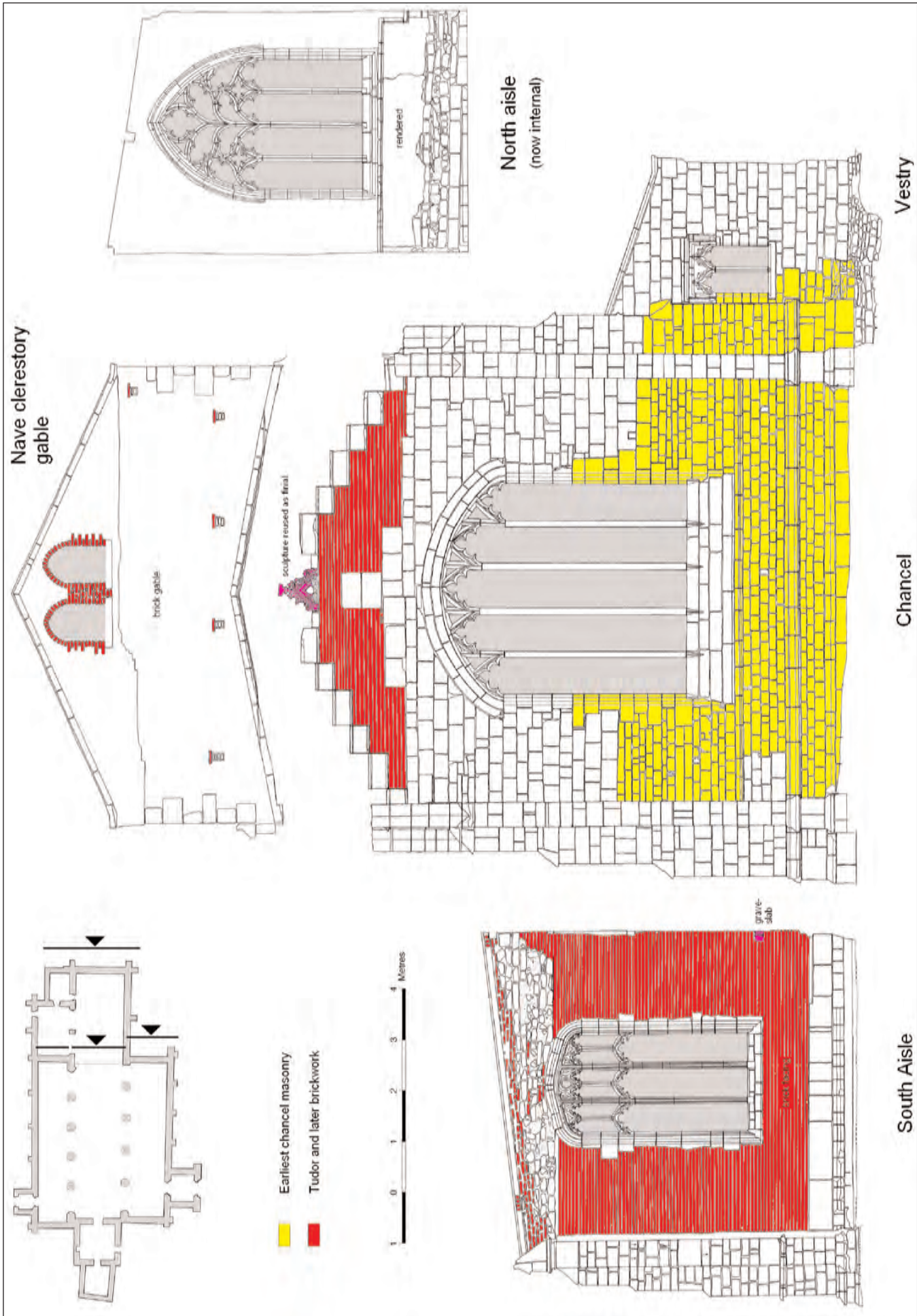


Fig. 457: Chancel, nave clerestory, south aisle, north aisle and vestry. External elevations (east), 1984. Note: the east elevation of the north aisle is now internal to the organ chamber. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

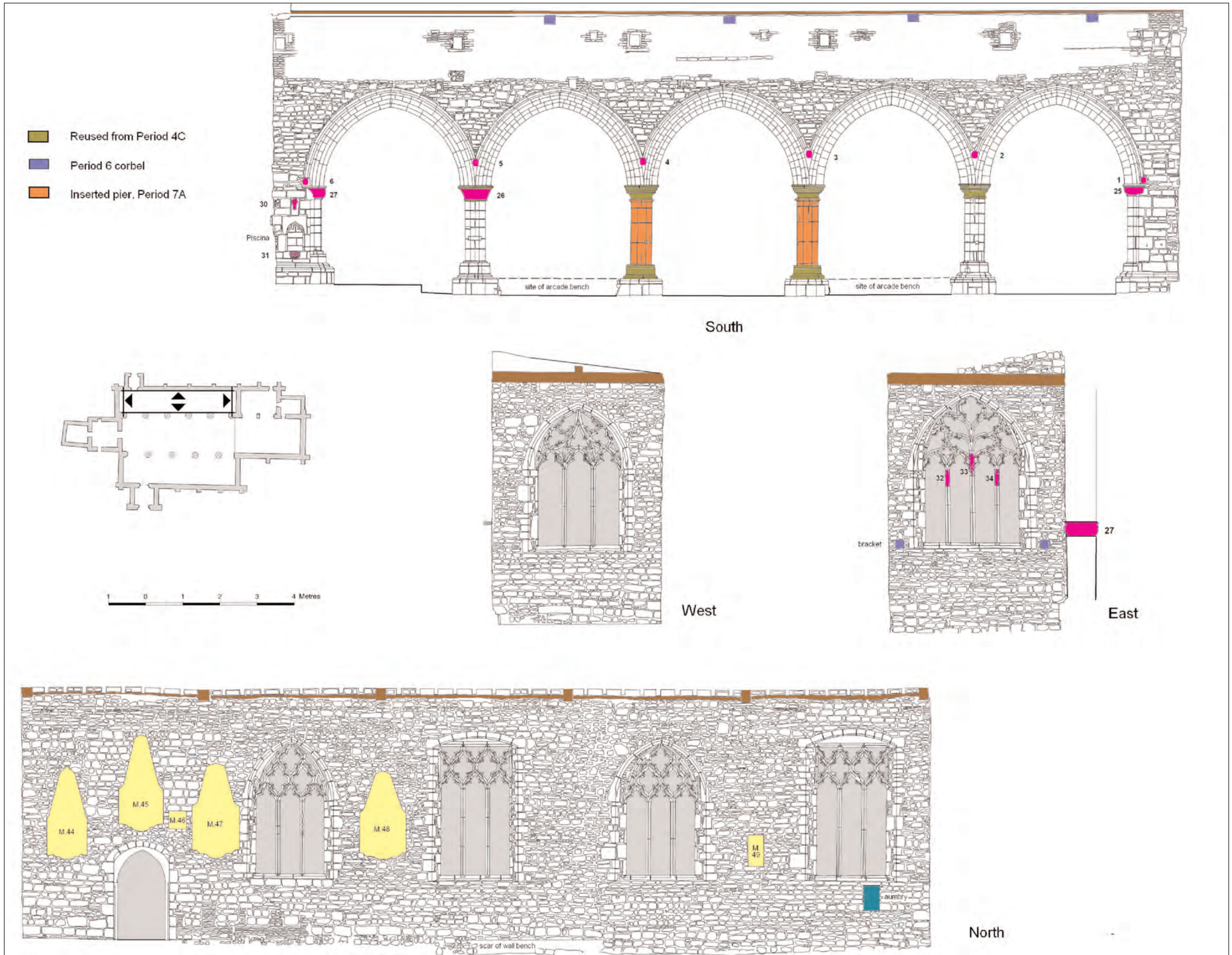


Fig. 458: North aisle and arcade. Internal elevations, 1984. The positions of wall-mounted memorials are also shown (M.44–M.49). Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

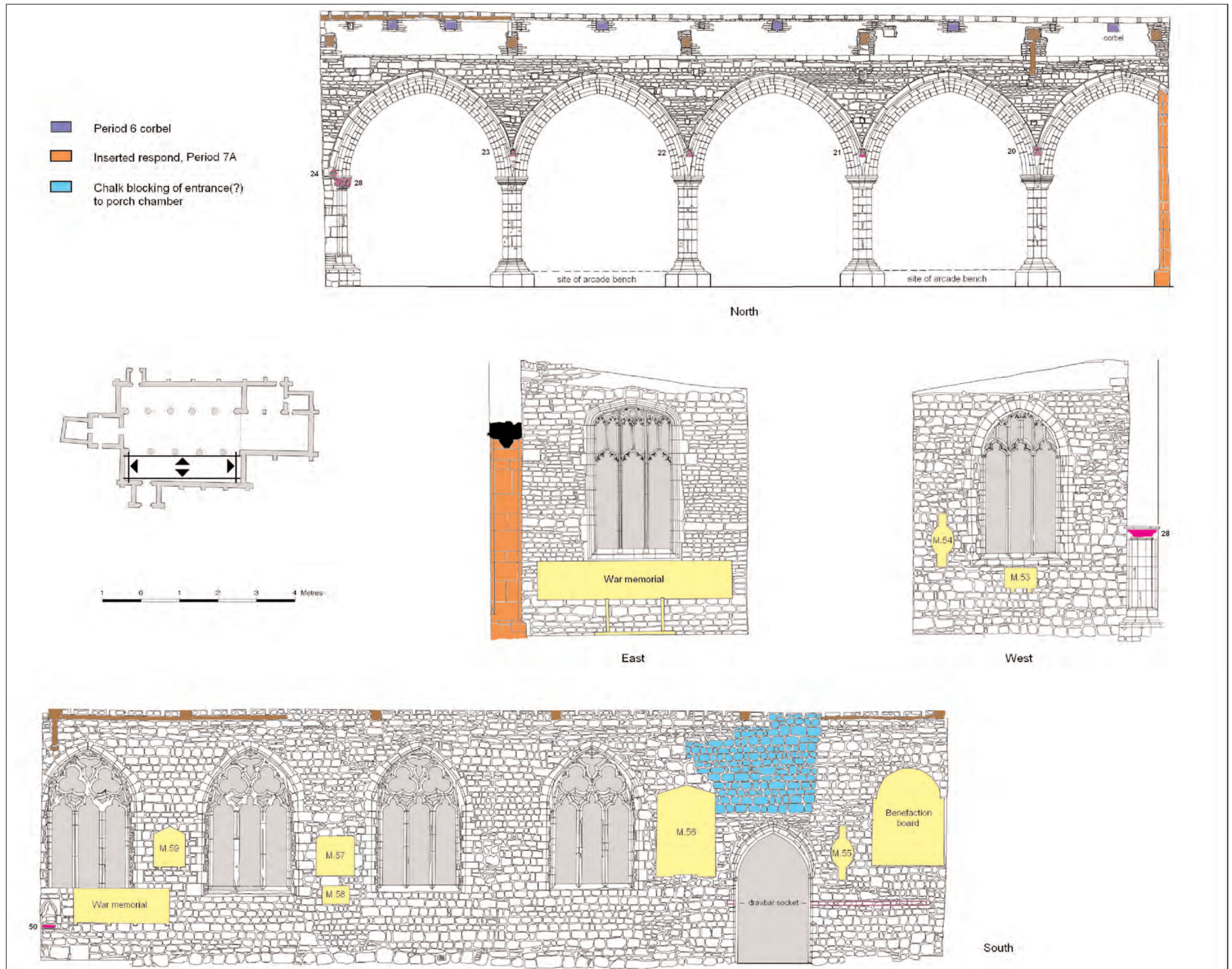


Fig. 459: South aisle and arcade. Internal elevations, 1984. The positions of wall-mounted memorials are also shown (M.53–M.59). Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

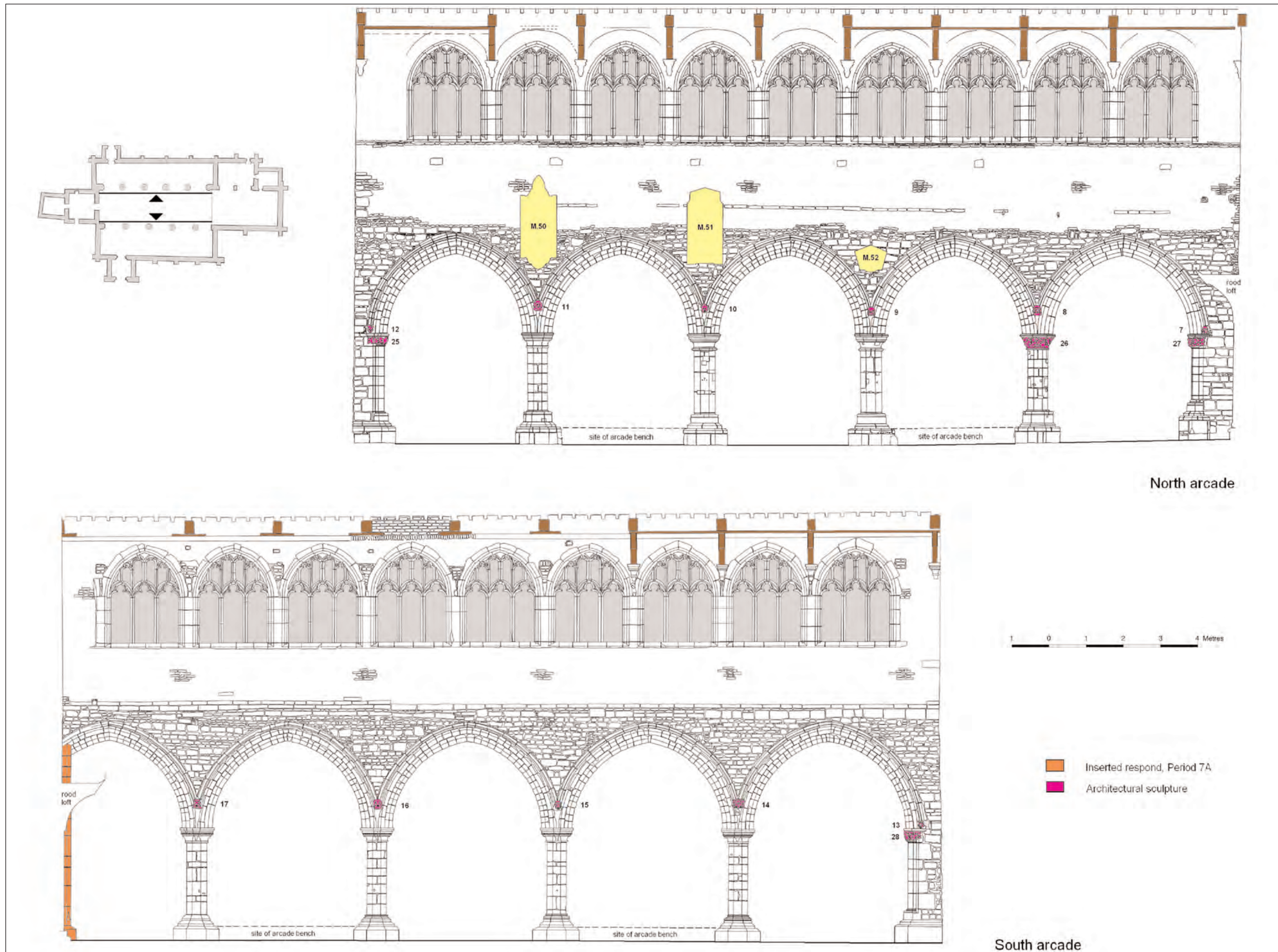


Fig. 460: Nave arcades and clerestories. Internal elevations, 1984. The positions of wall-mounted memorials are also shown (M.50–M.52). Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

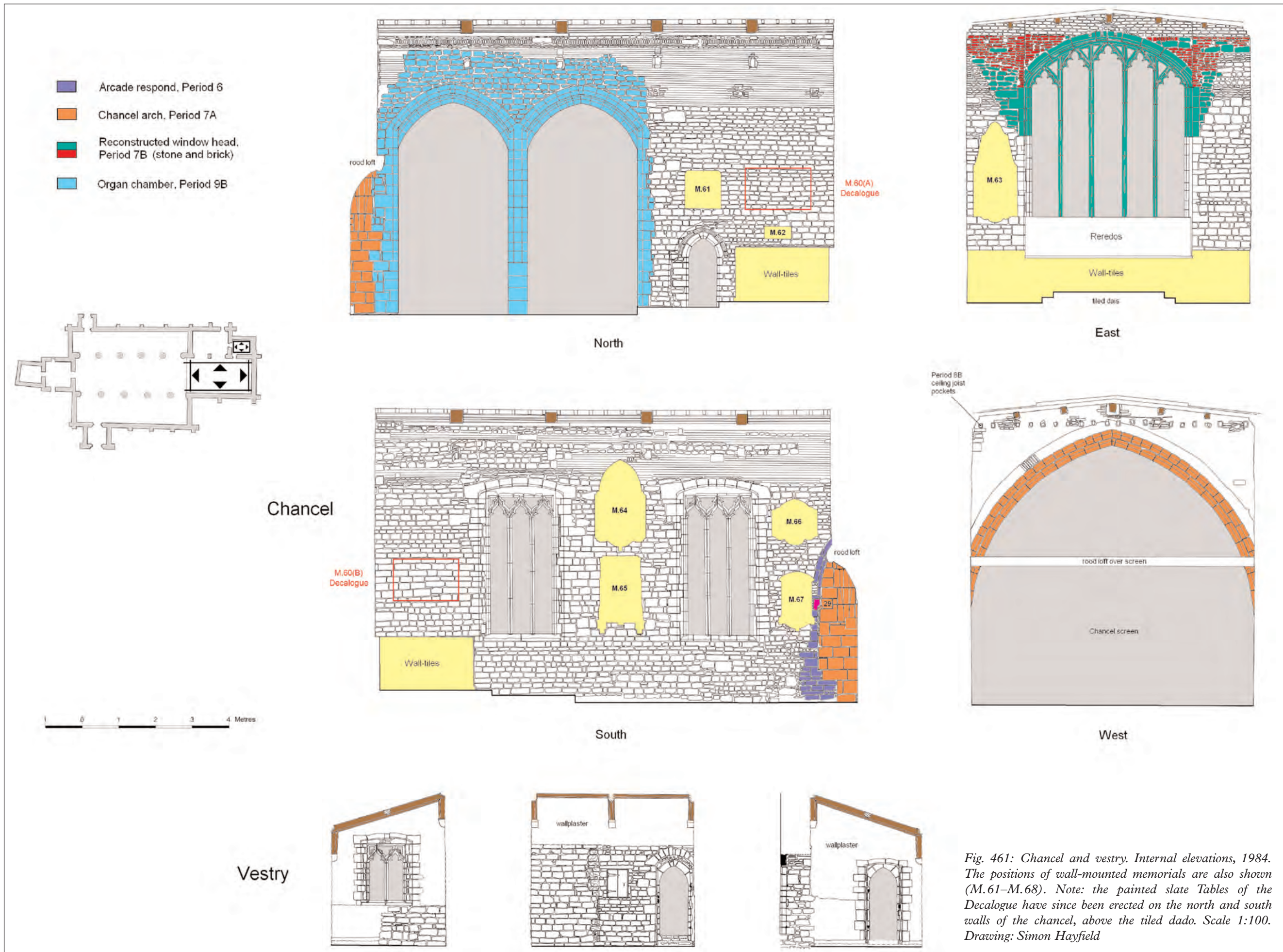


Fig. 461: Chancel and vestry. Internal elevations, 1984. The positions of wall-mounted memorials are also shown (M.61–M.68). Note: the painted slate Tables of the Decalogue have since been erected on the north and south walls of the chancel, above the tiled dado. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield



Fig. 462: Nave and aisles. Internal sectional elevation, looking west, 1984. The external east face of the tower above the nave is also shown. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

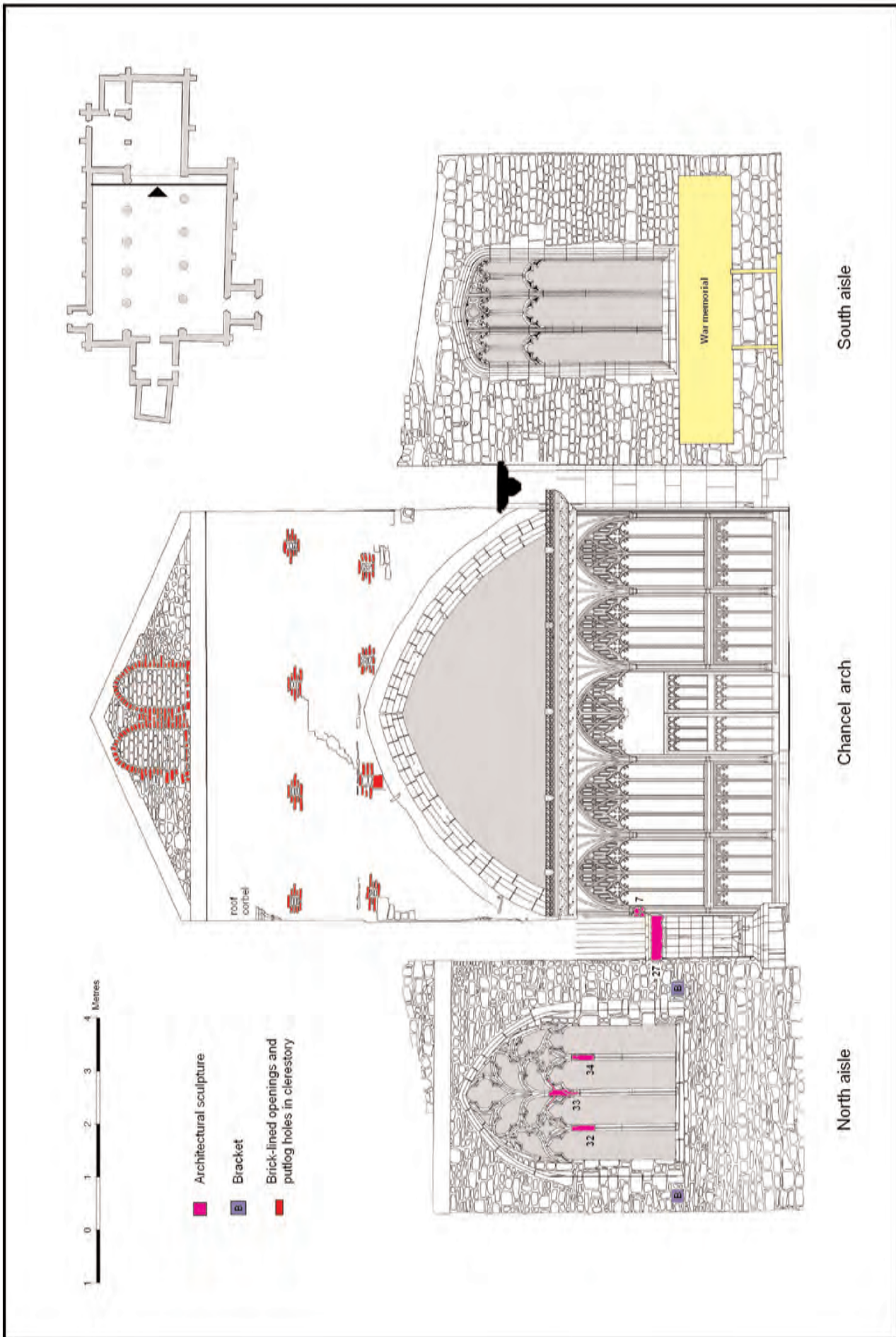


Fig. 463: Nave and aisles. Internal sectional elevation, looking east, 1984. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

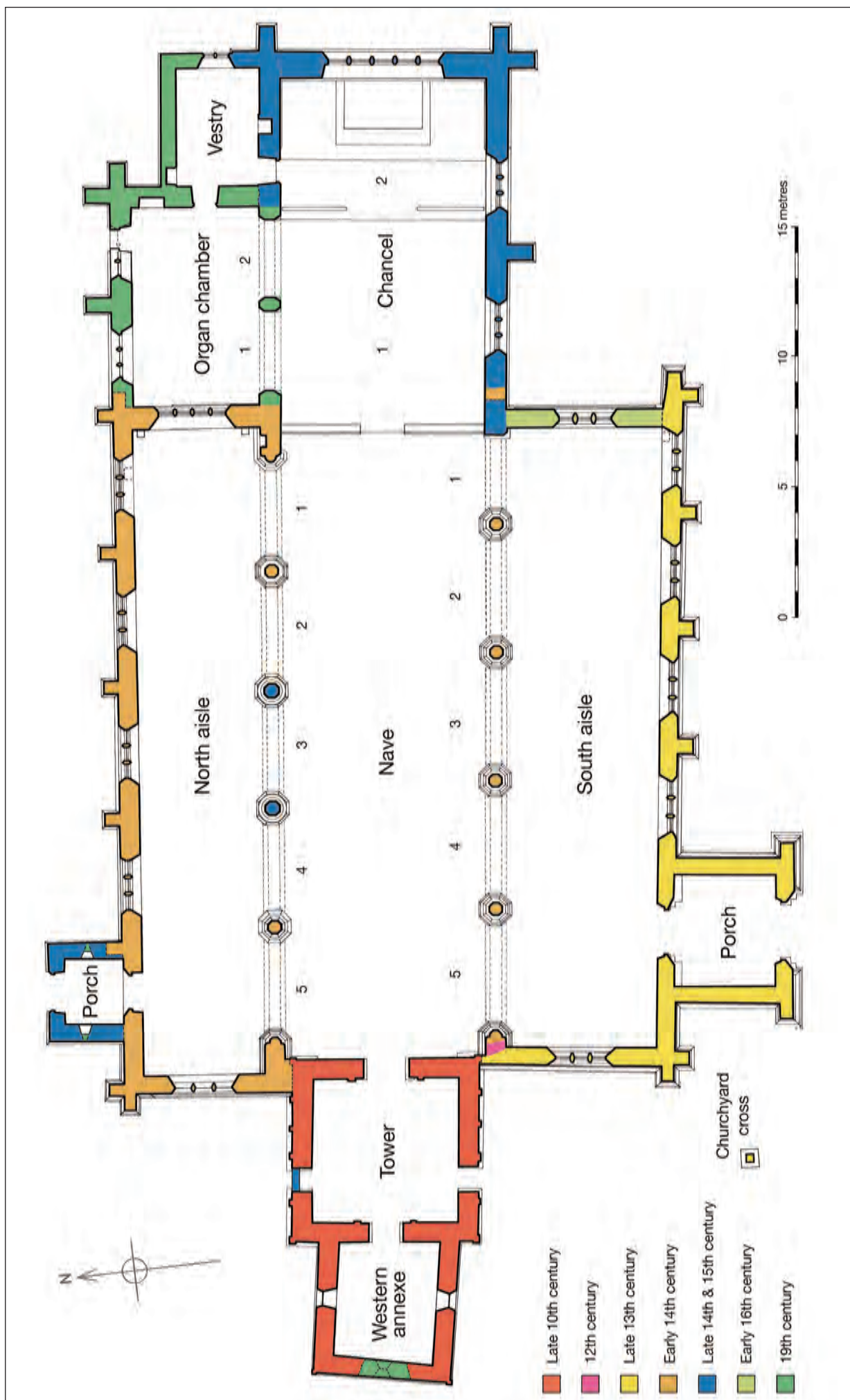


Fig. 464: Phased plan of the upstanding walls of St Peter's church, with the bay numbering indicated. Scale 1:200. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell and Simon Hayfield



Fig. 465: North aisle: view west, after excavation, 1980. The foundation for the wall-bench appears on the right. The 2 m ranging pole rests in the base of the robbed foundation trench for the preceding narrow aisle. At the far end are the Scrivener/Tombleson and Branston burial vaults. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

mullion in c. 1924, and the stumps of tracery bearing the remains of the arms to either side were hacked away. A newly carved section of tracery bearing the figure, conjecturally completed, was then fitted (Fig. 472). The old fragment of torso was mounted as an exhibit on the southern flank of the window (Pl. 48).⁸ Pockets in the mullions, jambs and sill show that the

window was originally fitted with external ferramenta, each light containing a single stanchion and six saddle-bars.

The situation of the east end of the aisle over an infilled and waterlogged Anglo-Saxon ditch has inevitably given rise to structural movement; this is witnessed in the distortion that has occurred to the

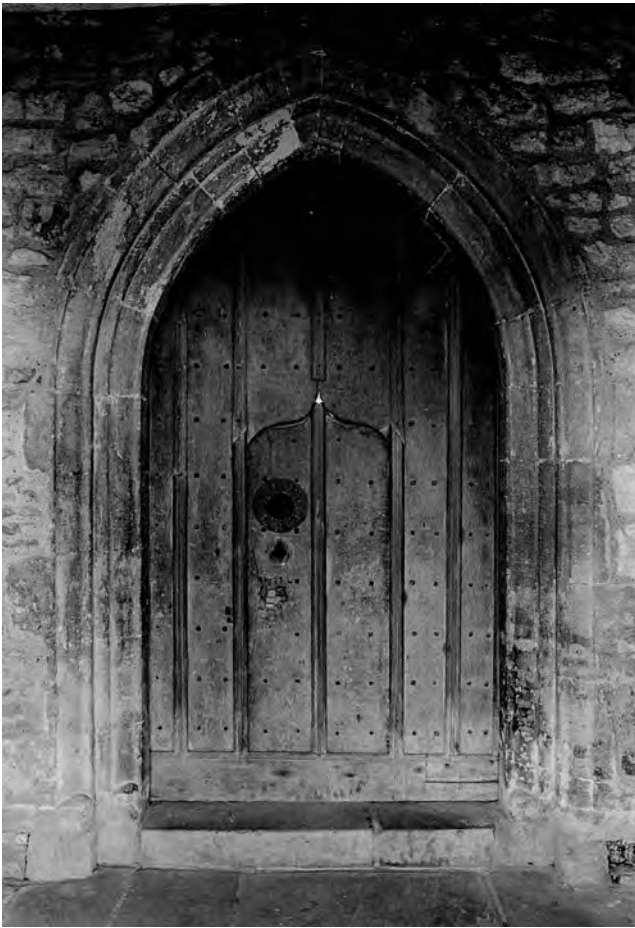


Fig. 466: North doorway: exterior. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 467: North doorway: interior. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 468: North aisle windows, bays 1 and 2. The windows have reticulated tracery, and are alternately square-headed and pointed. Contemporary construction level for the aisle has been exposed by excavation externally, 1982. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 469: North aisle: east window, mid-1960s. The glazing was removed in 1898, the figure of Christ was renewed in c. 1924, and the painted boards were inserted in the main lights soon after. Photo: David Lee Photography

tracery of the east window and the disruption of its sill-line. Movement also occurred in the north windows, particularly those with flattish segmental rear-arches: both have had to be taken down and rebuilt in recent times.

Traces of medieval polychromy, together with post-medieval paint, survive on the figures of St Mary and St John. The rear-arch has plain reveals, a chamfered head and recessed soffit. Flanking the east window at sill level is a pair of limestone brackets, presumably for

small images (Pl. 66; Fig. 491). They are quadrant-shaped with chamfered arrises and retain a considerable amount of post-medieval red paint, as well as multiple layers of limewash.⁹

The west window has three trefoil-headed lights surmounted by flowing tracery incorporating three trefoils and two daggers (Fig. 475). The principal elements of the tracery spring from the jambs and mullions, and are all in the same plane, whereas the infill details (trefoils and daggers) are set back on a dif-

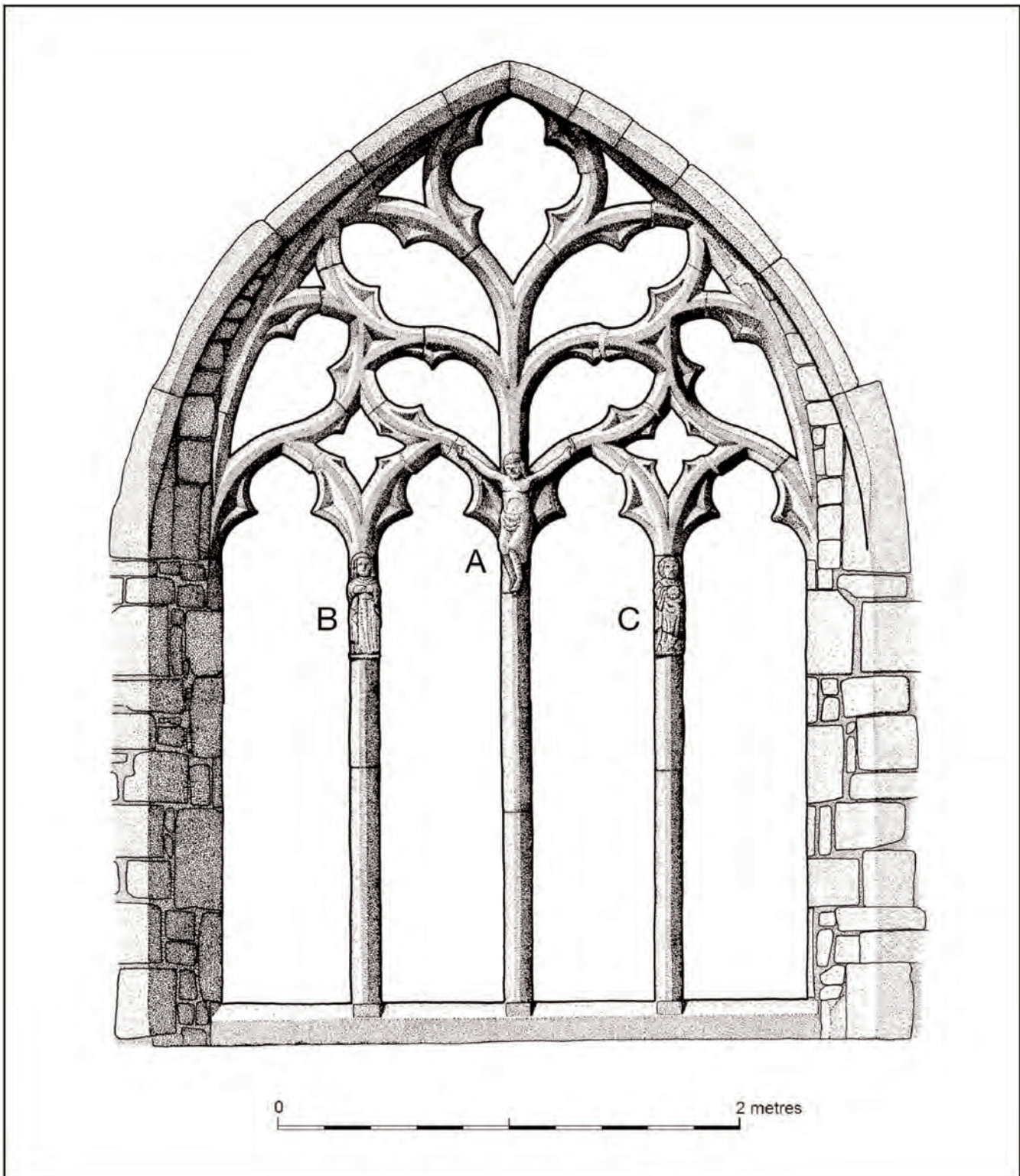


Fig. 470: North aisle: east window. Internal elevation of the masonry. A, Christ (replacement figure); B, St Mary the Virgin; C, St John. Scale 1:25. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

ferent plane; the same applies both internally and externally, and is a detail not seen elsewhere in the church. The rear-arch is similar to that on the north side, in bay 4. The sill is wider and has a lower angle of chamfer than the other windows, there are no block-stoolings for the mullions, and the trefoils in the main lights are more rounded in form.¹⁰ This window is

unlikely to have been a product of the same workshop as the east window.

Few masons' marks have survived, owing to the decayed or heavily scraped condition of many of the limestone dressings (Fig. 825). The springers of the rear-arch of the east window both carry the same mark; there is another on the west reveal in bay 3.



Fig. 471: North aisle: east window. A, Torso of the mutilated medieval figure of Christ (now ex situ); B, Mullion figure of St Mary the Virgin; C, Mullion figure of St John. Scale 1:5. Drawing: Simon Hayfield



Fig. 472: North aisle: east window. Replacement limestone figure of Christ (c. 1924) on the central mullion (sculpture no. 33), 1982. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 474: North aisle: east window. Limestone figure of St John on the southern mullion (sculpture no. 34). Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 473: North aisle: east window. Limestone figure of St Mary the Virgin on the northern mullion (sculpture no. 32). Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Other features

Two liturgical furnishings are present in bay 1. In the north wall, immediately below window-sill level, is a plain rectangular cupboard which is integral with the surrounding masonry: it has no dressings and the reveals are simply formed by the squared rubble of the wall; the top comprises a thin slab. The cupboard was fitted with an oak frame and door in 1924 and served as an aumbry, which was presumably its original function (Pl. 66). The exceptional plainness shows that it was simply a plaster-lined cupboard, 20 cm deep.¹¹ There is a similarly plain, but somewhat larger, aumbry in the east wall of the north aisle of St Mary's church.

The second feature is a piscina, set into the eastern nib of the nave arcade (Figs. 476 and 491). It is a small rectangular opening with chamfered reveals, and the head is formed from a single block of limestone: it is trefoiled with spandrels, under a weak ogee arch.¹² There is now no hood-moulding, but scarring reveals that there was originally an ogee hood-moulding over the arch, which appears to have been foliate and to have terminated in two little finials. All this was chiselled off sometime after the Reformation. Also, set in the wall centrally above the piscina is an upright block



Fig. 475: North aisle. The exterior of the west wall in 1983, then largely unrestored. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

bearing the damaged remains of a poppy-head finial, which seems to have been detached from the hood-moulding (sculpture no. 31; Fig. 477). The original bowl of the piscina had been hacked off nearly flush with the wall face, but a new projecting section was made and fixed in the 1920s (sculpture no. 30; Fig. 478). It is corbel-like and decorated with a head in the form of a 'green man'. Although the face is new, the lower lip and foliage issuing to either side are original. The basin is internally scalloped.

Finally, the aisle had a stone wall-bench along the north and west sides, the footings of which were found. In part, the lowest ashlar course survived and was abutted by floor layers; there were also scars on the walls resulting from the removal of these benches (Figs. 479 and 480).

Nave arcades (Figs. 23, 460 and 481)

The Norman Transitional north arcade must have been completely dismantled, replanned and reconstructed at the same time as the aisle was rebuilt. The nave roof was not taken down, but was supported (see further below). In the case of the north aisle (unlike the south), a building sequence can be established from stratification exhibited in the masonry.

When the east wall of the aisle was erected it was butted against an existing north nave wall. It seems likely that construction then progressed along the aisle from east to west, with the north door acting as a break-point. As the west wall was completed, work proceeded on to the nib at the west end of the arcade: there the two elements are structurally bonded. Finally, the Norman arcade was demolished and



Fig. 476: North aisle. Mutilated piscina in the south-east corner, with sculpture nos. 30 and 31. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 477: North aisle: poppyhead finial of piscina (sculpture no. 31). Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 478: North aisle piscina: restored bowl with 'green man' (sculpture no. 30). Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 479: North aisle. View east along the surviving remains of the masonry bench adjoining the north wall, 1980. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

rebuilt. The replacement arcade wall was made slightly thinner, and a narrow gap resulted between the new eastern nib and the recently built east wall of the aisle; this gap was infilled with small pieces of rubble.¹³ Various components were recycled in both nave arcades, and the resultant composition has bewildered



Fig. 480: North aisle. Lowest ashlar course of the wall bench. View north, 1980. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

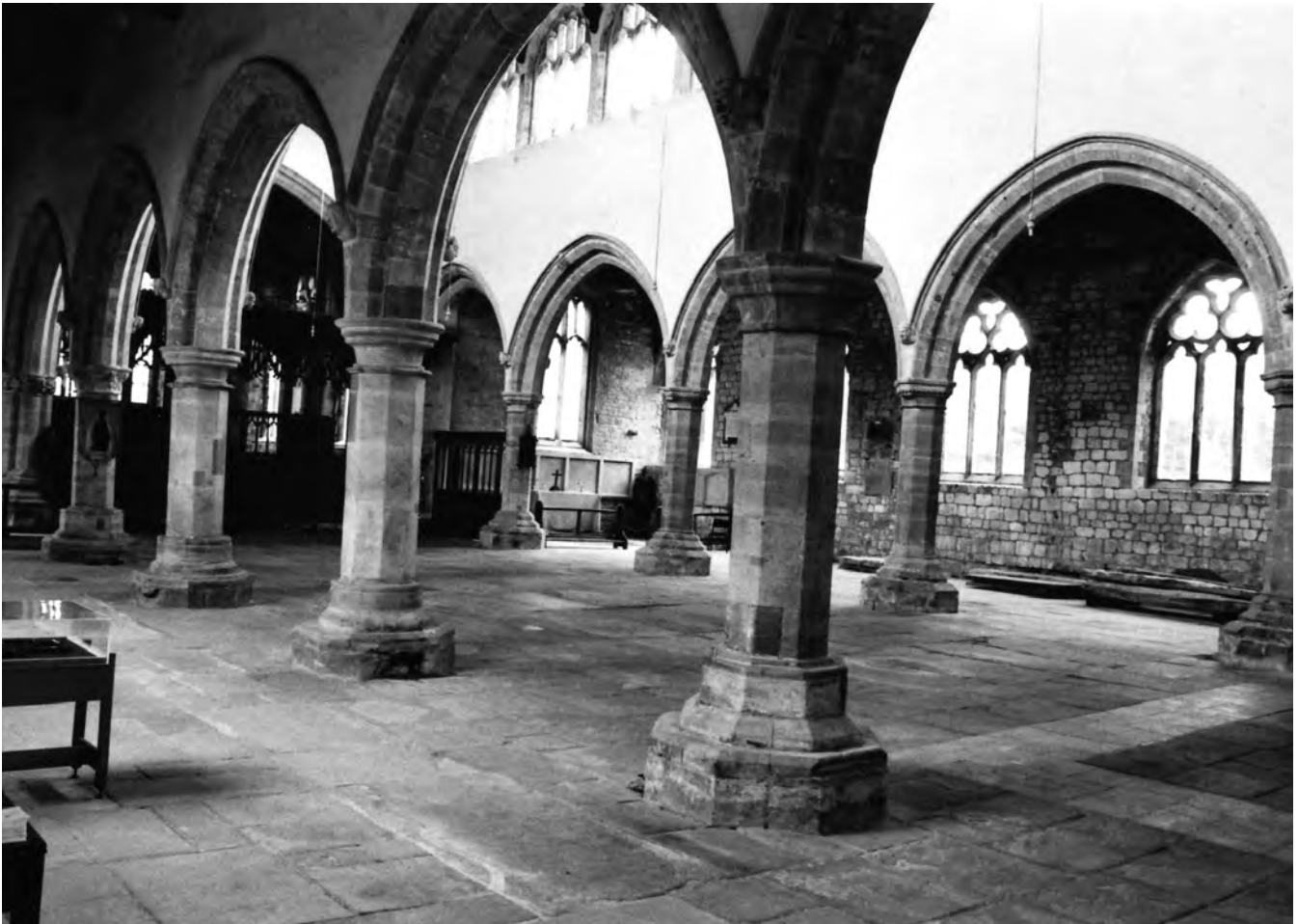


Fig. 481: Nave arcades. View looking south-east, from the west end of the north aisle, 2005. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

generations of architectural historians. It is likely that the north arcade was rebuilt first, followed by the south. Nothing seems to have survived from the earlier arcade walls, except a fragment of facing, now embedded in the nib at the west end of the south aisle (p. 384).

Although there are five bays to each arcade, and the western responds of both are aligned, they are not of the same pitch and the arches are not symmetrically opposed. The south arcade is the longer. No two bays are identical in all respects, but a general impression of uniformity was gained by erecting a full complement of new, pointed arches, each of two plain chamfered orders with moulded labels and head-stops. The four elevations of the two arcades are all treated in the same manner, except that the labels facing into the aisles are not hollow-moulded, whereas those towards the nave are. Originally, there would have been twenty-four human and grotesque heads making up the full complement of label-stops, but several have been lost, or replaced with later carvings. Some of the heads are of fine quality, although undeniably provincial in execution: they have been claimed to include portrait busts of King Edward II and Queen Eleanor of Castile, wife of Edward I (Brown 1908, 133–7; Varah 1928, 23). Such attributions are doubtful.

The two chamfered orders of the arches are mostly constructed from voussoirs which are more-or-less square when viewed side-on; in the south aisle, some conspicuously longer blocks are present in the outer order, and there are just three in the inner order. The clear exception is bay 1 in the north arcade, where all the voussoirs of the inner order, and several of the outer, are much longer and are the equivalent of two,

three, or even four, normal-sized voussoirs (Fig. 460). These are likely to have been reused from a thirteenth-century arch.

In the nave and aisles, the walling above the arcades was formerly plastered, but most of the ancient finish had been lost from the south side; both its faces were therefore stripped of mortar residue and later patching, were cleaned and archaeologically recorded. On the north arcade, however, much of the plaster associated with the fifteenth-century clerestory survived and was initially left *in situ*.¹⁴ Prior to any plaster being removed, trials were conducted to ascertain that there was no decoration on any surface, apart from limewash and distemper.

The spandrels between the arcades are filled with rubble masonry, roughly coursed (Fig. 460). The material is mostly limestone, with some admixture of chalk and also the occasional fragment of clay roof tile and reused stone moulding; four large lumps of grit-stone were noted in the south arcade. Both arcades have a row of small holes for through-putlogs low down in the spandrels.

The piers supporting both arcades were reconstructed using some old materials and some new; in particular, chamfered octagonal plinths were provided under each pier. The Norman nave foundations continued to act as sleeper walls, but the dimensions of the new plinths slightly exceeded their widths. Consequently, foundation pads were laid over the old walls, to provide secure bases for the piers. In the north arcade, these pads comprised flat pieces of rough limestone laid in mortar (Fig. 482). In the south arcade, however, there were two instances where the footings



Fig. 482: North arcade. Pier base 4/5 with its shallow footing resting on the Saxo-Norman nave foundation. View north. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 483: South arcade. Pier base 2/3, showing a reused grave-cover (F4199) laid transversely over the Norman nave foundation, to provide a footing for the new pier. View south-west. Scale of 10 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 484: South arcade. Pier base 2/3, showing the upper end of a grave-cover (F4199) reused in the footing; beyond is glimpsed the lower end of a second grave-cover (F4198). View west. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

incorporated thirteenth-century decorated grave-covers: the slabs were laid side by side, transversely over the old foundations (Fig. 483). Excavation revealed most of an incised slab (F4199), and the extreme ends of a second laid alongside it (F4198), projecting from beneath the eastern edge of pier 2/3 (Figs. 484 and 711, nos. 8 and 9). Similarly revealed, beside pier 4/5, was most of another slab (F4197; Figs. 485 and 711, no. 7). That had, however, been laid originally as part of a pier base for the early thirteenth-century arcade (p. 393).

The bay-pitch of the fourteenth-century arcades was adjusted in order to eliminate awkward spurs of walling at the extremities, and this accounts for the overt discrepancy between the structural geometry of the Early English south aisle wall and the Decorated arcade. The new responds of both arcades were ornamented with foliate capitals. Uncommon features introduced at the same time were the integrally bonded, low stone benches between the piers of alternate bays in both arcades (*i.e.* bays 2 and 4 in each). Similar benches are found between the piers in the chancel arcade of St Mary's (p. 92; Fig. 63). The benches have all been hacked away in St Peter's, to accommodate later pewing, but they remain largely intact in St Mary's.

Masons' setting-out lines are present on many blocks used in the arches, mainly in the form of centre-lines on the soffit of the inner order. They also occur elsewhere in parts of the north arcade: *e.g.* on the tops of the abaci of the east respond and the capital of the pier in bay 1/2. Numerous masons' marks are present, as discussed below (p. 425).

Little evidence for the medieval decoration of the nave survives, but traces of bright red paint occur on the mouldings of bays 1, 2 and 3 in the north arcade. The paint is found on all the facets of the arch and the hood-moulding; it also occurs on the foliate capital of bay 1/2 and on the impost of the west respond. The wall face in the spandrels between the arches was painted white. Hardly any traces of medieval polychromy remain on the head-stops themselves, which is surprising in view of the number of folds and re-entrant angles where pigment might have been



Fig. 485: South arcade, bay 4. Stub of the destroyed arcade bench adjoining pier 4/5. Note the thirteenth-century decorated grave-cover (F4197) reused as a footing for the pier. View west. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

trapped. Red paint occurs on the roll of the circular pier base in bay 3/4 in the north arcade.¹⁵ However, it is clear that at least some of the red paint found at various locations in the church is post-medieval; a technical study is required. In bay 1 of the south aisle remains of red painted rosettes have survived (see below; Pls. 44 and 45).

North arcade (Fig. 481)

The bay pitch is 4.5 m (14¾ ft). The piers and responds comprise a heterogeneous mixture of forms and styles (Fig. 486). The bases all rest on their own chamfered sub-bases (circular or octagonal) which in turn stand on chamfered octagonal plinths. Integrated with these plinths were arcade benches in bays 2 and 4, but only the scars remain where the returns have been cut away (Fig. 487). The tops of the plinths have variously been altered and repaired to eliminate the scar evidence, and are now symmetrically chamfered on all sides (Fig. 488). The base of the east respond stands 32 cm higher than the others in this arcade, indicating that there was a dais at that end of the aisle.¹⁶

Two of the capitals are circular and have matching bases (on piers 2/3 and 3/4), and one capital is octagonal (pier 4/5) with the same moulding profile; these were clearly derived from a late twelfth-century arcade with alternating circular and octagonal piers (p. 384; Fig. 489). The capital of pier 1/2 has also been recycled and, in this instance, reworked as well (Fig. 490). Apart from the two circular bases, the remainder are

octagonal and their mouldings are all related, but subtly different: they were not cut to a template.¹⁷ The date of these bases is problematic: while they ought to be of the period c. 1330–40 – if they are coeval with the present arcade – parallels can also be found at a much earlier date: e.g. the mouldings are identical to those in the Lady Chapel undercroft at Hereford Cathedral, c. 1220–30 (Morris 2000, 208, fig. 57), and occur locally in thirteenth-century arcades, as at Barrow-upon-Humber. Hence, the bases at Barton must have been reused.

Surviving masons' marks are considerably more numerous on this arcade than on the south, the greatest number being found on the chamfer of the hood-moulding on the north face: forty marks were recorded, of six different designs. These and two other designs were found sparingly on the voussoirs and pier sections, and slightly more frequently on the bases and plinths. A small group of other masons' marks helpfully defined stones that had been replaced at a later date (Fig. 825).

East respond (Fig. 491)

The impost is trefoiled in plan and is carved with knobby foliage and 'green men' (see below, p. 447: sculpture no. 27). The abacus is separate from the impost, but the semicircular neck-ring is integral; both are ogival beaked rolls. The respond is chamfered and carries an engaged semicircular shaft with a broad fillet; it is coursed with the masonry of the nib. The base is semi-octagonal.

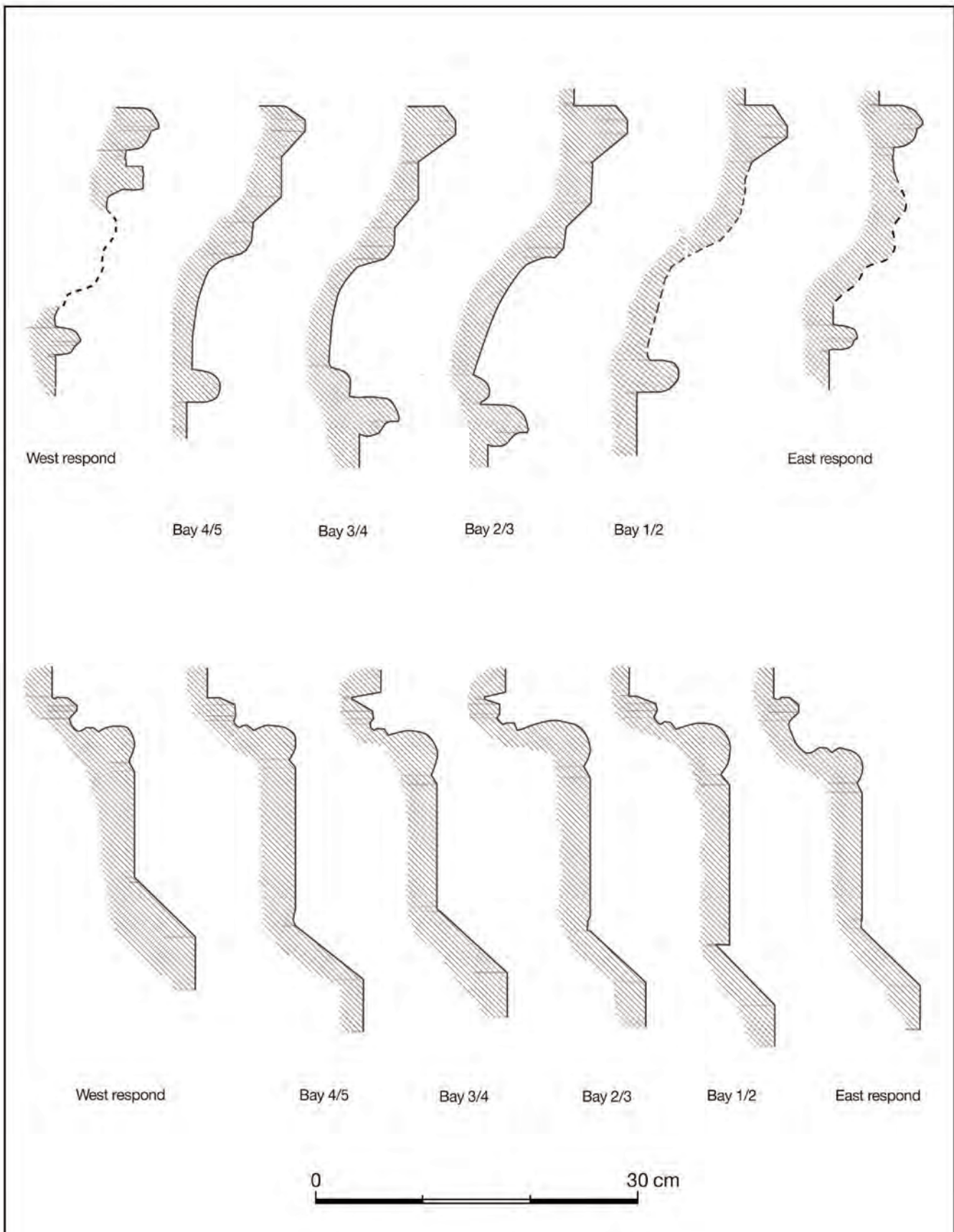


Fig. 486: North arcade, moulding profiles of abaci, capitals and bases. Scale 1:5. Drawing: Simon Hayfield



Fig. 487: North arcade, bay 4. The top of the Norman sleeper-wall upon which an arcade bench had been constructed; the latter now entirely destroyed except for scarring on the faces of the plinths of piers 3/4 and 4/5. View south. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 488: North arcade. Stub of broken ashlar indicating where the arcade bench in bay 2 was bonded to the plinth of pier 1/2. View north-east. Scale of 10 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

The filleted shaft has almost certainly been reused from a thirteenth-century respond, which was potentially associated with the chapel that preceded the present aisle. It is devoid of masons' marks. The chamfered top of the plinth is at least partly made from fragments of incised medieval grave-covers (Fig. 712, nos. 11–14), although it has not been determined whether they were deployed here in the fourteenth century, or represent much later repairs.

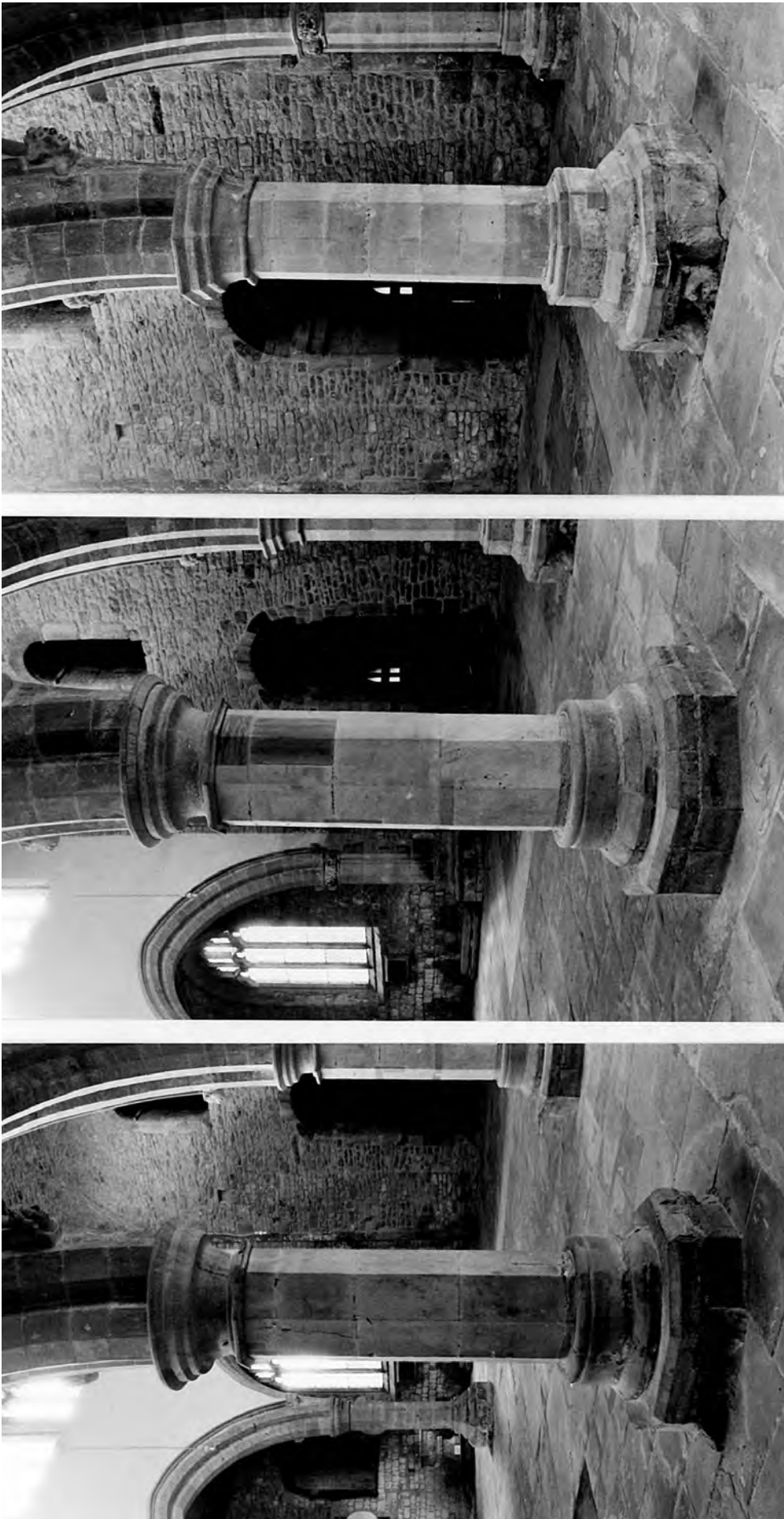
Pier, bay 1/2 (Fig. 490)

The capital and its integral abacus are weakly quatrefoiled in plan at the top, merging into an octagon at the base, where there is a neck-ring. The plan attempted to copy that of the east respond. The abacus is triangular

in section and does not have the beaked moulding seen on the other abaci in the north arcade, but is crudely chamfered. The capital is carved with foliage in low relief (see below, sculpture no. 26), and the unconventional appearance of the whole is almost certainly a result of its having originally been a plain octagonal capital of the late twelfth century, which has been reworked.¹⁸ The shaft and base are octagonal.¹⁹

Pier, bay 2/3 (Fig. 489, A)

The octagonal shaft, which leans slightly to the north, is composed of tall sections which were inserted into an existing pier in the fifteenth century. Most likely, the circular twelfth-century shaft was still in use down to that time, but was replaced with an octagonal one for



C

B

A

Fig. 489: North arcade piers. A, Bay 2/3; B, Bay 3/4; C, Bay 4/5. Viewed from the north-east, 2005. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 490: North arcade pier, bay 1/2. Viewed from the south-east, 1979. Note the Victorian brick floor which conceals the lower part of the plinth. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

visual uniformity (p. 468). The circular capital has its own integral neck-ring, and there is a second ring of octagonal plan immediately beneath it. This is formed on a separate slip of stone, and sits very uneasily with the capital. The deep sections of shaft are each cut from single blocks of stone.²⁰ The base with its heavy arris roll and the chamfered sub-base are both circular and date from the late twelfth century. They too were not designed to be surmounted by an octagonal shaft. The capital, abacus and hood-moulding of the arch are all damaged and have been repaired; this was doubtless caused by the attachment of the three-decker pulpit to this pier before 1806 (p. 502).



Fig. 491: North arcade. East respond, showing also the piscina and stone bracket on the east wall of the aisle. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Pier, bay 314 (Fig. 489, B)

The shaft, capital and base are all similar to the last, and the pier also leans towards the north. Again, the shaft was replaced in the fifteenth century. In both piers, the tall sections of shaft carry four masons' marks that are not found elsewhere on fourteenth-century masonry, but are prolific on work of the following century (Fig. 825).

Pier, bay 415 (Fig. 489, C)

The sections of the octagonal shaft are much shorter than those of the preceding piers; also each section comprises two semi-octagonal blocks, placed side by side. The capital and its separate abacus are octagonal and *en suite* with the two circular ones.

West respond (Fig. 492)

The respond is chamfered and carries an attached semi-octagonal shaft, coursed with the adjoining masonry. One mason's mark (a pentacle) occurs ten times on the shaft, another twice (six-armed cross: Fig. 825).²¹ The impost is carved with knobby foliage and 'green men' (sculpture no. 25). The trefoil-plan abacus



Fig. 492: North arcade. West respond, from the south-east, showing also the abutment of the arcade to the long-and-short quoin of the late Saxon tower. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

is separate from the impost, but the neck-ring is integral; both are ogivally beaked rolls. The base is semi-octagonal and finished with a cavetto and roll moulding.

South arcade (Fig. 23)

The bay pitch is 4.9 m (16 ft) and, as with the north arcade, stone benches were incorporated in bays 2 and 4, but these too have been destroyed. In places, the last course of foundation rubble associated with the bench remained on top of the Norman sleeper wall (Fig. 493), and tell-tale scarring occurs on the sides of the plinths. However, the chamfered tops of the latter have been modified, as in the north arcade, to give the appearance of being complete octagons (*e.g.* Fig. 494).

The capitals and separate abaci of the four piers are identical, and have been reused from the two previous thirteenth-century arcades, along with the octagonal shafts (p. 393; Fig. 442). Many of the reused stones exhibit signs of damage through rough handling: mainly the corners have been broken. Some of the major blocks, including capitals, have been fractured and the pieces reunited using hot-mastic, a repair technique commonly seen in medieval buildings (Pl. 46).²² The bases and sub-bases are all octagonal and set at a constant level, with the exception of the two responds. The plinth of the east respond stands 34 cm higher, and again indicates the presence of an altar dais at the end of the aisle.²³ The base and plinth of the west respond are raised by 12 cm, and there is no obvious explanation for this.

Inexplicably, the six bases do not comprise a matching set of mouldings: the east and west responds seem to have been closely similar, three of the pier bases form a near-set on their own, and the fourth pier has only plain chamfers. The three similar bases each



Fig. 493: South arcade. Remains of the rubble foundation of the arcade bench in bay 4. View north. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

have a faceted roll on the upper arris, behind that a cavetto, and then another much smaller angular moulding at the seating of the shaft.

Surviving masons' marks are almost entirely limited to the chamfer of the hood-moulding on the south face of the arcade: twenty-six examples were recorded, representing seven different marks (Fig. 825). Only four of those were common also to the north arcade. Marks are rare on the voussoirs, and the piers seem to be wholly devoid of them, which stands in clear contrast to the north arcade. There is nothing to indicate that post-medieval scraping and cleaning has been more thorough on the south side of the church, and it seems reasonable to accept that the shafts, bases and plinths here are of a different date and were not visibly marked.

As with the north aisle, considerable damage and patching has occurred to the first two piers, indicating the attachment of screens under the arcade, and other structures in the nave. Further west, the piers display much less damage.

East respond

This is largely inaccessible and was damaged by the reduction of the arch in bay 1 when the chancel was remodelled in the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, the



Fig. 494: South arcade. Pier 3/4 from the south-west, 2005. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

cut-back remains of the abacus, capital, base and plinth are all recognizable on the north face of the wall. Some details can be made out on the south face too (Fig. 544). The respond was built of medium-sized, coursed ashlar. The proportions of all the elements are closely similar to those of the east respond in the north aisle, including the height of the impost, which was presumably decorated with knobbly foliage (cut back and none now visible). The western imposts of the arcades are not as deep.

Pier, bay 1/2

When the thirteenth-century arcade was rebuilt, this capital was damaged and nearly one-quarter was broken off (on what is now the north side). It was a clean break and the two parts were reunited using hot mastic. The abacus was also fractured and repaired. The capital carries traces of red paint, including a six-petalled rosette on the eastern facet (Pls. 44 and 46).

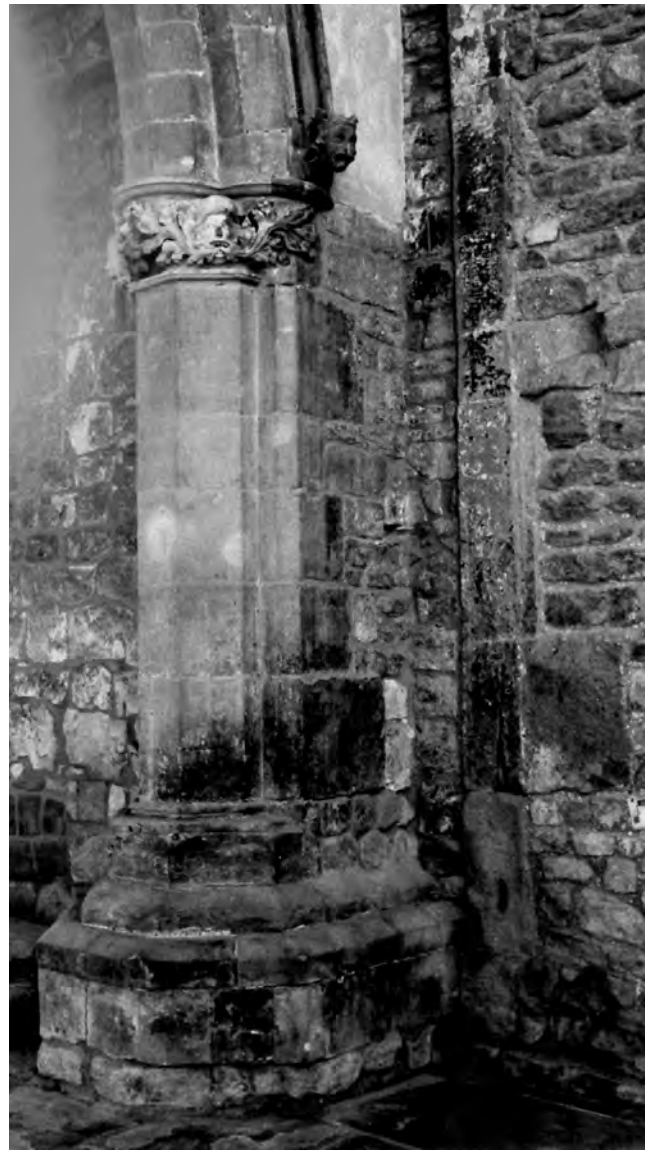


Fig. 495: South arcade. West respond, viewed from the north-east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 496: South arcade. Base of pier 2/3, from the south-east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Sometime before the paint was applied, the raised vertical band on the facet was chiselled away, perhaps to accommodate the head-timber of a screen. A second painted rosette occurs just below the capital, on the uppermost course of the shaft (Pl. 45).²⁴ The rosettes could not have co-existed with a tall screen in bay 1, which is likely to have been present in the initial fourteenth-century arrangement, when the eastern bay of the aisle had a dais. However, in the later fifteenth-century, when the bay was shortened, there may not have been a screen reinstated under the first arcade bay, thus making it possible to decorate the pier and capital with rosettes.²⁵

The octagonal shaft is of coursed ashlar, comprising both deep and shallow blocks. The base is not moulded but is plain chamfered, like the sub-base. This is a very crude arrangement, and although there is no obvious evidence that it represents a post-medieval alteration, the possibility cannot be ruled out.²⁶

Damage to the plinth and neck-roll on the west face of the pier suggests the likelihood of a screen under the arcade in bay 2. There is also damage on the south side of the pier, to the base and neck-roll, hinting that another screen ran across the aisle.

Pier, bay 2/3

The capital bears traces of red paint on the dog-tooth ornament. There is some damage to the dog-tooth and abacus, and the neck-roll on the north-west face has been renewed, using hot mastic to secure the joint. The octagonal shaft is composed of evenly sized ashlar. The second stone of the shaft, below the capital, has also been fractured and repaired with hot mastic.²⁷ The base lacks the horizontal groove beneath the angular

arris-moulding, and the chamfer below is larger and cruder than on the other bases (Fig. 496).

Pier, bay 3/4 (Fig. 494)

Octagonal shaft of coursed ashlar, of both deep and shallow blocks (*cf.* bay 1/2). Exceptionally, the lowest 10 cm of shaft was cut as a stooling on the same block as the base.

Pier, bay 4/5

Octagonal shaft composed of variously sized ashlar.

West respond (Fig. 495)

The impost is carved with knobbly foliage and 'green men' (sculpture no. 28). The coursed masonry of the respond includes the largest blocks found in either arcade, but the moulded base is paired with that at the west end of the north arcade.

In conclusion, even though the record of masons' marks is incomplete, it is clear that the two arcades were constructed contemporaneously, and that at least ten (possibly eleven) masons were engaged in shaping their components. They worked on the arches, responds, piers, bases and plinths for the north aisle, but possibly only on the arches (and perhaps the responds) for the south aisle. The octagonal shafts probably belonged with the thirteenth-century capitals that they support, and maybe the curious bases of the four piers do as well.

The imposts and bases of all four responds were made as a set, which included the attached semi-octagonal shafts at the west end of both arcades, while the north-east respond incorporated an earlier semicircular, filleted shaft. The south-east respond was probably *en suite* with the western ones.

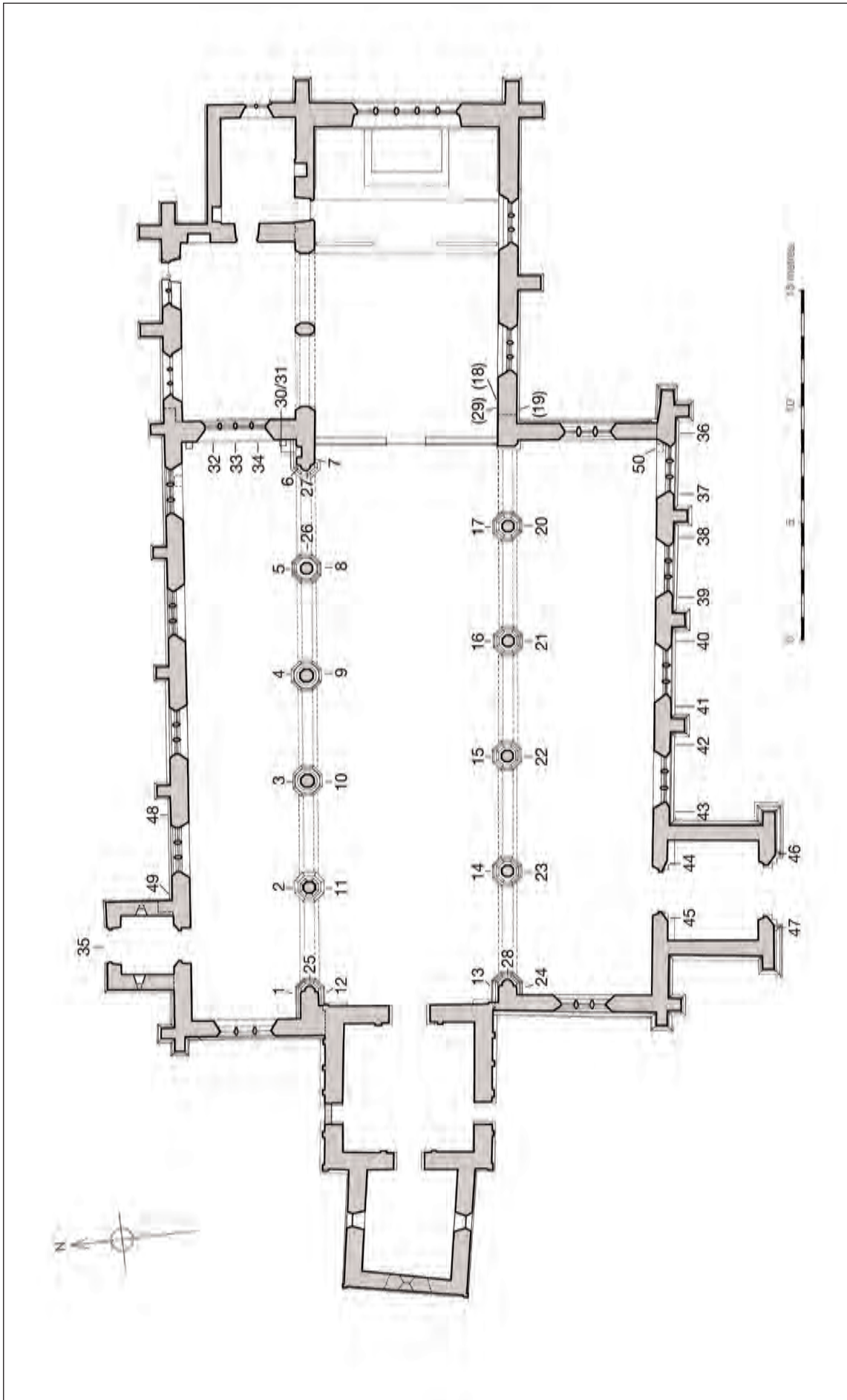


Fig. 497: Plan showing the locations and numbering system of the medieval architectural sculptures in St Peter's church. Nos. 1–24, label-stops; 25–29, capital and responds; 30–31, piscina; 32–34, rood window; 35, gable window; 36–49, label-stops; 50, piscina. Scale 1:250. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Fourteenth-century architectural sculpture

The medieval churches of Barton contain a remarkable assemblage of small-scale architectural sculpture, principally in the form of head-stops and decorated capitals, but also including a rood composition. The nave and aisles in St Peter's were adorned by not less than thirty-four separate pieces of sculpture, not including external label-stops on windows. The latter have mostly been lost through decay, and several of the internal sculptures have disappeared too; one has been reset externally on the north porch. The head-stops were discussed, and some illustrated, by Brown (1908, 133–8).²⁸ St Mary's church also has a related, but smaller, assemblage of head-stops and sculptured capitals in the chancel and its aisle (a total of fifteen); again, there are external label-stops on windows and doorways of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century date (plan, Fig. 108; p. 118).

The label-stops on the arcades form a particularly fine series, each being cut on a block of limestone with stoolings from which the hood-mouldings spring. The locations of the sculptures in St Peter's are listed below, together with brief descriptions (Fig. 497).²⁹

North aisle: arcade label-stops

1. Crowned lion's head (Fig. 498).
Carved on an angled block, reflecting its position at the end of the arcade, facing the north door. The lion wears a simple crown with four points and crudely incised zigzag decoration. The top of the head is rough and unfinished. The mouth is open, with the tongue protruding and curling over the lower lip; the upper lip and palate are broken away, and the animal was probably baring its teeth, but these too have been lost (*cf.* the respond capital immediately below, no. 25).



The sculpture was boldly carved and coarsely rasped subsequently, leaving characteristic striations over most of the surface. Similar evidence of rasping is found on many of the other sculptures, and appears to be associated with Victorian scraping.

The point of the sinister ear is missing, and the nose was renewed in mortar in the eighteenth/nineteenth century; traces of dark grey paint, including on the replaced nose. There is a speck of red paint close to the dexter ear.

2. Head of a negroid male (Fig. 499).
The face is clearly negroid, with a bulbous nose, pronounced brow-ridges and thick lips. The head has, however, been turned into a grotesque by adding angular ears, somewhat akin to bats' wings. The head was finely finished, but the top is rough and unfinished. The tufts of hair on the forehead are partly damaged, and there is an indication of the neck-line of a garment.
The head has been coloured. The irises of the eyes are purplish-black; the lips and possibly the nose are dark grey-black. In the dexter nostril is a hint of brownish-pink, and another trace under the sinister eyebrow. The surviving paint is potentially medieval. Post-medieval white and yellow ochre limewashes on the underside of the shoulders run on to the pointed spandrel below.
3. Head of a ?negroid lady (Fig. 500).
This figure has a furrowed brow and bulbous nose, but the lips are not pronounced (*cf.* no. 2). She wears a garment wrapped around her head and under the chin, and there is a V-shaped neck-line to her dress. Slight traces remain of a rasped finish, presumably associated with Victorian scraping. The irises of the eyes are painted purplish-black, the nose dark grey; again, this may be original colouring. Elsewhere, are remains of yellow ochre, over white limewash.
4. Head of a prince (Fig. 501).
Crowned, with long wavy hair and a low-necked gown. Delicately executed and in fine condition. The defoil points of the crown are in the form of knobbly foliage. A fine rasp has been used on the plainer parts of the



Fig. 498: North aisle, arcade. Label-stop no. 1. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 499: North aisle, arcade. Label-stop no. 2. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 500: North aisle, arcade. Label-stop no. 3. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 501: North aisle, arcade. Label-stop no. 4. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 502: North aisle, arcade. Label-stop no. 5. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 503: North aisle, arcade. Label-stop no. 6. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

bust, particularly the neck. The chin and neck have a polished appearance and there are hints of a thin application of a terracotta-coloured pigment, probably original. A speck of pinkish-red paint was noted on the dexter side of the neck, at the junction with the hair-line; much yellow ochre limewash is in the hair.

5. Head of a young male (Fig. 502).

A powerful head with a beard, moustache and wavy hair; the lips are parted to show the teeth. He wears a low-necked garment, similar to no. 4 (*cf.* also no. 11). Faint traces of rasping and slight hints of a smooth terracotta-coloured finish. The irises are painted purplish-black³⁰ and there is much white and yellow ochre limewash over the neck and shoulders.

6. Head of a youth (Fig. 503).

This has arched eyebrows and wavy hair. The head is turned slightly to sinister, reflecting its position at the end of the arcade. The neck-line of a garment is indicated. Extensive use has been made of a rasp, especially under the chin, and the nose has been renewed in grey cement. The dexter eye has had the iris sharply outlined in black, the sinister eye less clearly so. Tinges of pinkish-buff colour in the hair appear to be late lime-washing, which is also found on the adjoining hood-moulding.

Nave: north arcade label-stops

7. Head of a youth (Fig. 504).

Wearing a cap secured by a strap and bow under the chin. The head is turned very slightly to dexter, as might be expected for this respond position. Marks of a rasped finish present. The joint with the hood-moulding

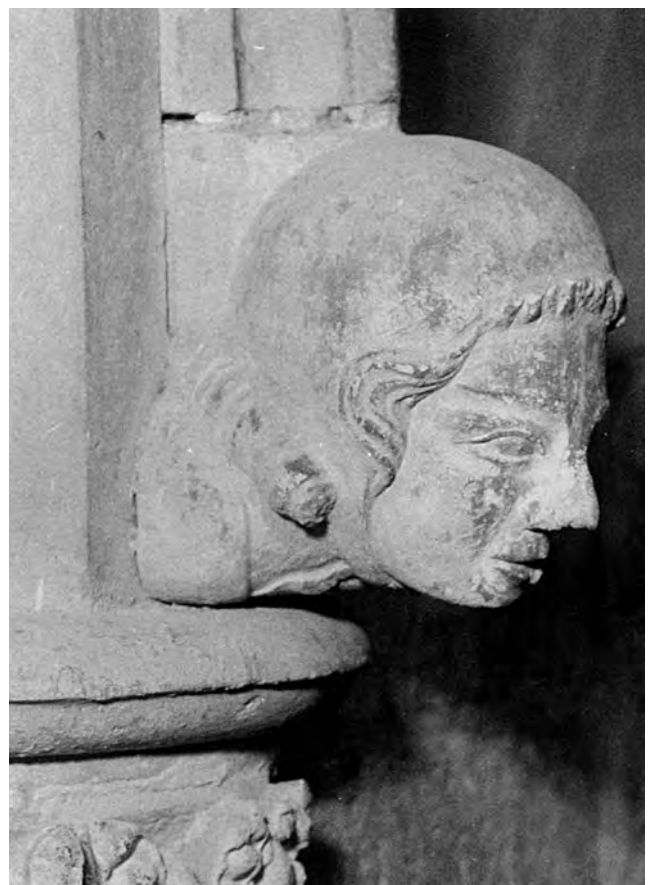


Fig. 504: Nave, north arcade. Label-stop no. 7. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

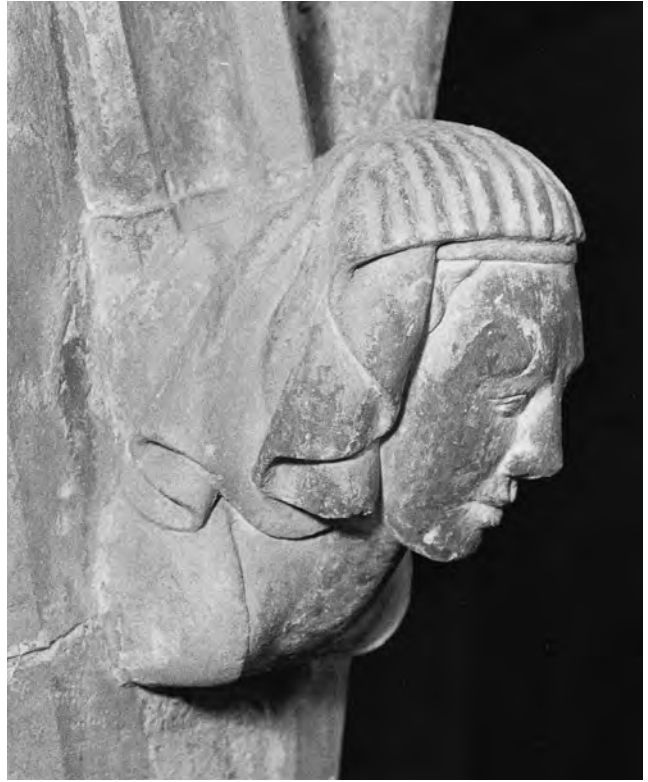


Fig. 505: Nave, north arcade. Label-stop no. 8. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 506: Nave, north arcade. Label-stop no. 9. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

is botched with mortar, and this head-stop was made to engage with a plain chamfered moulding, not with a hollow one; this suggests that it may have been intended for one of the aisles. Nose renewed in cement.

8. Head of a lady (Fig. 505).

Wearing a headdress; finely executed features; low neckline to her garment. The eyes appear to have had the

irises blackened, and there is crimson paint in both nostrils; also remnants of limewash. Bright red paint occurs on the adjacent arches and hood-mouldings of bays 1 and 2.

Identified by Brown (1908, 136) as possibly representing Alice, wife of Henry Beaumont: there is no supporting evidence for this.

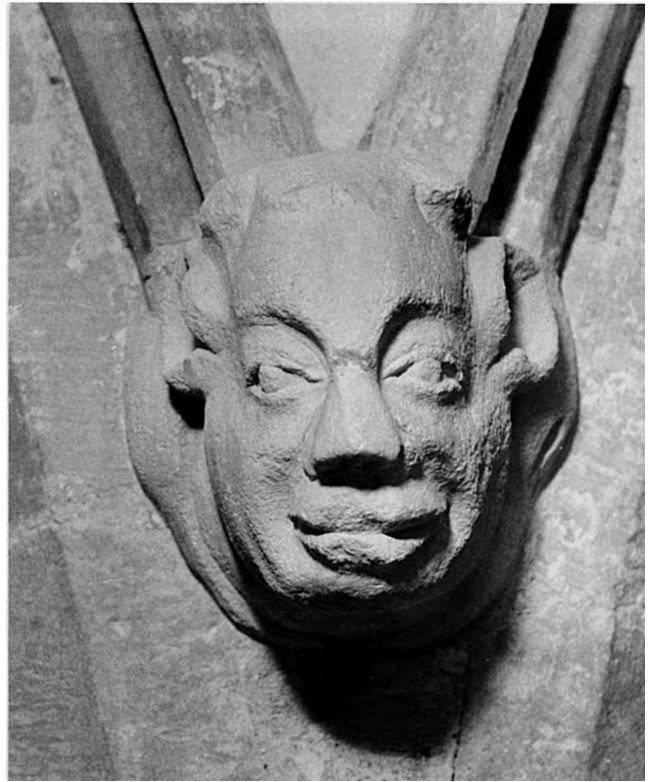


Fig. 507: Nave, north arcade. Label-stop no. 10. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

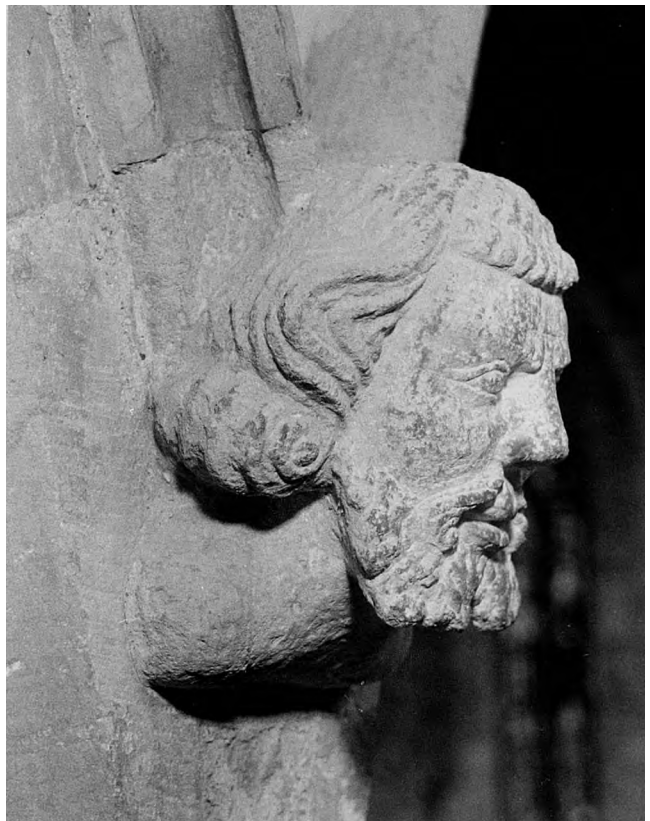


Fig. 508: Nave, north arcade. Label-stop no. 11. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

9. Head of a lady (Fig. 506). Wearing a headdress with a strap under the chin. This is a Victorian replacement for a lost head, probably dating from 1858–59. The features are coarsely executed. The head is set in brown Roman cement, and the limestone is exfoliating badly. The same cement was used to repair *c.* 75 cm of hood-moulding to either side. There is no paint or limewash on the sculpture, although the Roman cement has had ochre-coloured paint applied, to tone it in with the surrounding masonry. The original head was probably removed and the hood-mouldings cut back when the three-decker pulpit was installed during the refurbishment of 1711 (p. 501). It is very likely that the original head-stop is the one now set into the gable of the north porch (male head: see no. 35).
10. Grotesque male head (Fig. 507). This head has thick lips and pointed animal-like ears, and is wearing a cowl. There are no stoolings for the hood-mouldings to engage, the junctions being effected with large lumps of mortar. Marks of rasp finishing are present, especially under the chin. The head is heavily abraded and the surface of the stone is now soft and pitted, seemingly as a result of water running on to it (from a leaking roof?). No traces of paint and little limewash. The nose has been replaced in cement.
11. Male head (Fig. 508). This powerful face of distinguished appearance, has a beard, moustache and curled hair (*cf.* no. 5). Traces of red paint occur on the base of both hood-mouldings, and a speck on the east side of the capital of the pier below. Also there is brown paint on the sinister side of the beard.
12. Royal male head (Fig. 509). With moustache and wearing a hat. A crudely carved, almost comic Victorian figure, in the spirit of Tenniel's illustration of the 'Red King' in Lewis Carroll's, *Alice through the Looking-Glass*.³¹ Head slightly turned to sinister. No traces of colour or limewash. This head, which dates from the period 1858 to 1897 (and is paired with no. 13), is a replacement for one which was lost when the western gallery was constructed in the nave (in 1803, or earlier).³²

Nave: south arcade label-stops

13. Crowned male head (Fig. 510). Moustache and diminutive beard.³³ Another crudely carved, slightly comic Victorian figure, reminiscent of Tenniel's 'White King'. Head turned to dexter. It is a pair with no. 12, and again replaces a head that was lost when the western gallery was erected.
14. Grotesque head (Fig. 511). A large, lion-like head, powerful in appearance and crude in execution. The animal has prominent ears (identical to those on no. 10) and a protruding tongue. There are no stoolings for the hood-mouldings. Some repairs, and one curl is missing from the forehead; part of the upper jaw is broken away on the dexter side.
15. Head of a knight (Fig. 512). A well-carved head with moustache and helmet of chain-mail. The stoolings for the hood-mouldings are plain-chamfered, indicating that this head was intended for fixing in an aisle rather than in the nave. The dexter nostril has been re-formed in cement.



Fig. 509: Nave, north arcade. Label-stop no. 12. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 510: Nave, south arcade. Label-stop no. 13. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 511: Nave, south arcade. Label-stop no. 14. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 512: Nave, south arcade. Label-stop no. 15. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

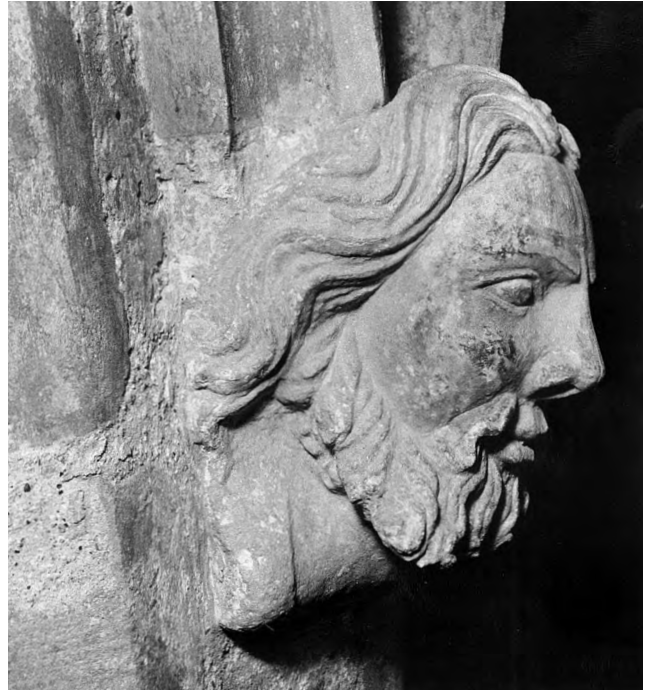


Fig. 513: Nave, south arcade. Label-stop no. 16. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 514: Nave, south arcade. Label-stop no. 17. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

Identified by Brown (1908, 134) as possibly a Knight Templar.

16. Bearded male head (Fig. 513).

A finely executed head in good condition, distinguished in appearance, and probably representing a nobleman. The hair is carefully finished on the top of the head. Black paint in the irises of the eyes.

Identified by Brown (1908, 134) as possibly represent-

ing Henry Beaumont, a noble benefactor of St Peter's (p. 491).

17. Head of a king (Fig. 514).

Moustache, beard and long flowing hair; nose replaced in cement. Two points are broken off the crown, which also exhibits original drill holes.

Identified by Brown (1908, 134) as a portrait bust of Edward II.



Fig. 515: South aisle, arcade. Label-stop no. 20. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

18. Missing, probably removed in the fifteenth century. An infilled pocket at the base of the cut-back hood-moulding proves the former existence of a head-stop here.

South aisle: arcade label-stops

19. Missing, probably removed in the fifteenth century. No evidence visible to prove the existence of a head-stop, but one would be expected.
20. Head of a queen (Fig. 515).
She wears a crown and headdress, and has a high neckline to her garment. The front of the crown is damaged and the nose has been replaced in cement. Prominent traces of red paint on the hair; ochre and pink on the jewels of the crown. The original plaster skim survives on the small spandrel below this head.
Brown (1908, 138) wondered whether this might represent Isabella of France, wife of Edward II, partly on the basis that it is addorsed on the same pier as the head which he confidently identified as that king's (no. 17).
21. Bearded male head (Fig. 516).
A well-carved head, distinguished in appearance, and probably representing a nobleman. The hair is carefully finished on the top of the head in a chevron pattern. Much red paint of doubtful age is present on the hair. The beard is broken away under the chin and has lost some of its length.
22. Head of a lady (Fig. 517).
The lady wears a veil which is drawn back. The nose has been replaced; also there is damage to the sinister eye and cheek, which have been reconstructed in cement.

The hair and veil have also been damaged and partially reconstructed in a clumsy manner. The hair-style is similar to that of no. 20.

23. Head of a youthful male (Fig. 518).
Clean-shaven face with a long, pointed nose; hair with curls on the forehead and neatly finished on top of the head. Spots of blue paint on the eyes are modern. The head is slightly angled to dexter, suggesting that it was intended for a respond. There is a stooling for the hood-moulding on the dexter side, and not on the sinister. In its present position, the stooling carries the hood-moulding of bay 5, while the hood of bay 4 is simply bedded on the hair with a thick mortar joint. This head-stop could have been made for the east respond in the south aisle (*i.e.* position no. 19), with the intention that it would look down upon the altar below; examples of this attitude are well attested.
24. Head of a queen (Fig. 519).
This is not one of the original set of label-stops, but a much later addition. It is sculpted in soft, white limestone and the quality is far superior to that of any of the other replacement work. It was not made as a label-stop, and the head has been attached via the neck (perhaps with a dowel?); the joint was then masked by surrounding it with a ruff, modelled in coarse pinkish-buff mortar of uncertain age.³⁴ The head may originally derive from a different kind of sculpture, possibly a small statue.
The facial features are finely executed, and a delicate curl of hair descends on to each temple. The crown seems to have been less well sculpted, is damaged at the front and has had a new section, carved in chalk, fitted on the sinister side.



Fig. 516: South aisle, arcade. Label-stop no. 21. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 517: South aisle, arcade. Label-stop no. 22. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 518: South aisle, arcade. Label-stop no. 23. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 519: South aisle, arcade. Label-stop no. 24. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

The location of this head is particularly conspicuous, catching the eye as one enters the church by the main door. Determining its age is, however, problematical. Brown (1908, 137) unquestioningly accepted that it was medieval, and sought to identify it with Eleanor of Castile. He explained the appearance of the ruff as an Elizabethan addition. Varah, on the other hand, claimed

that the head itself represented Queen Elizabeth I.³⁵ Most recently, Pamela Tudor-Craig wondered whether it might not be a depiction of the 'young head' of Queen Victoria. However, it bears no resemblance in stone type, style or quality to the other nineteenth-century replacement heads, adding force to the suggestion that it is reused.



Fig. 520: North arcade, west respond. Sculpture no. 25. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

North and south arcades: responds and capital

25. North arcade: west respond (Figs. 492 and 520)

The impost is carved with two grotesque lion-like heads facing south-east and north-east, respectively; the latter is wearing a headdress or crown. Both heads have broad noses and pointed ears, and knobbly foliage issues from their mouths, wrapping round on to the faces of the arcade. The teeth have been broken from the upper jaw of the north-east head. Incorporated among the foliage on the south side, and facing vertically downwards, is a small rose (*cf.* capital, no. 26). Dark red paint survives on the background in many places; this extends on to the abacus and the neck-ring.

The respond sustained a little damage when the west gallery was inserted in the nave. Parts of the abacus and hood-moulding on the south face of the arcade were renewed in 1858–59, when the gallery was removed.

26. North arcade; capital to pier, bay 1/2 (Figs. 490 and 521).

This capital is unusual in several respects, and appears to be a recutting of a late twelfth- or thirteenth-century block, which is likely to have been octagonal. The sides are decorated with knobbly foliage which is executed in low relief and is nowhere near as crisp or elegant as the associated carvings on the arcade responds. The foliage is arranged as four pairs of leaves, each pair springing from one of the diagonal faces and wrapping around to the cardinal faces to either side.³⁶ There are small, four-petalled roses on the west and south facets, but blank areas in the corresponding places on the north and east.³⁷ While the capital has been damaged by the installation of medieval timber screens on the north and east, rosettes do not appear to have been destroyed on these sides.³⁸ Remains of dark red paint are present in many places on the capital (leaves and background), abacus and neck-ring; subsequently, there has been heavy limewashing over this.

27. North arcade: east respond (Figs. 491 and 522).

The impost is carved with two lion-like masks facing south-west and north-west, respectively. The muzzle of the former has been renewed in cement; the latter has pointed ears, a projecting tongue and drilled nostrils. Knobbly foliage issues from the mouths of both, although the stalks which sprang from the north-west head are now missing. The west-facing central section of foliage was also renewed in the mid-nineteenth century, having been destroyed by the insertion of a timber screen in arcade bay 1. The pupils of the eyes in both masks have been painted purplish-black,³⁹ but there is no sign of polychromy on any other features, or on the background areas around the foliage (in contrast to no. 25). Indeed, the background is rough and unsuitable for painting. A few rasp-marks are visible and much yellow ochre limewash is present in the interstices.

28. South arcade: west respond (Figs. 495 and 523).

The trefoiled abacus is separate from the impost, but the semi-octagonal neck-ring is integral. The impost is decorated with two male heads wearing caps and facing north-east and south-east, respectively. Knobbly foliage issues from the mouths of both. The north-east head has prominent teeth; the nose and part of the face have been repaired. The south-east head has a wide-open mouth and no teeth.

Repairs to the foliage have taken place, especially where it runs on to the north face of the arcade; there, the abacus and hood-moulding have also been repaired,



Fig. 521: North arcade, capital pier 1/2. Sculpture no. 26. The four cardinal faces. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

and label-stop no. 13 has been renewed. This damage was all caused by the insertion of a west gallery in the nave.

29. South arcade: east respond

The impost was presumably decorated with knobbly foliage, like nos. 25, 27 and 28, but it was mutilated in the fifteenth century. Only the cut-back north side of this impost is visible (now within the chancel), and no decoration remains.



Fig. 522: North arcade, east respond. Sculpture no. 27. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 523: South arcade, west respond. Sculpture no. 28. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

North aisle: piscina

30. The outermost one-third of the bowl of the piscina was destroyed at an uncertain date, and the sculpture subsequently renewed (Figs. 476 and 478). It is decorated with a crudely carved human head with foliage issuing from the mouth. Part of the foliage is original, but the head is almost entirely secondary, probably renewed in the mid-nineteenth century. Pinkish coloured limestone was used. Although the bowls of piscinae were often mutilated at the Reformation, this one was described by Glynne in 1867 as having 'pretty foliage' (Glynne 1898, 203). Did he see the original carving, or the present restoration?⁴⁰
31. The poppy-head finial that crowned the moulded ogee head of the piscina has survived, while the remainder of the decorated hood-moulding has been cut back, leaving only an indistinct scar (Fig. 477). The loss of the ogee hood-moulding (yet survival of the finial) may have been occasioned by the installation of dado panelling for the box pews of 1803.

North aisle: rood window

32. Figure of St Mary the Virgin sculpted on the northern mullion (Figs. 471 and 473).
33. Figure of the crucified Christ sculpted on the central mullion (Pl. 48; Figs. 471 and 472).
A pendant figure, with the arms outstretched on to the adjoining tracery. The present, complete figure was carved in c. 1924 and fixed as a replacement for the original, which was seriously mutilated, presumably at the Reformation. The torso of the medieval figure is in store.
34. Figure of St John sculpted on the southern mullion (Figs. 471 and 474).

North porch: *ex situ* head-stop

35. Head of a male, wearing a hat (Fig. 524).
Now outdoors and heavily weathered, having been built into the brick gable of the north porch in the eighteenth century. This was formerly a head-stop from an arcade and retains the stoolings for the two hood-mouldings that sprung from it; very likely that it was the original no. 9, in the north arcade.

Label-stops on aisle windows and the south porch

For the sake of completeness, the external label-stops around the church may be listed here. In origin, they date from the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but several have been renewed in recent times and little detail is now discernible on others.

South aisle windows and porch doorway

There are no label-stops to the east and west windows; the following are on the south windows, and date from c. 1280.

36. Bay 1 (E). Young ?male head. Almost lost through weathering.
37. Bay 1 (W). Male bearded head with drilled eyes. Heavily weathered (Fig. 525).
38. Bay 2 (E). Head wearing a hood, meeting under the chin. Almost lost (Fig. 526).
39. Bay 2 (W). Torso of a beast with forepaws and drilled eyes (Fig. 527).
40. Bay 3 (E). Female head, veiled (Fig. 528).
41. Bay 3 (W). Head of young male wearing a turned-up cap (Fig. 529).



Fig. 524: North porch, exterior. Reset head sculpture, no. 35. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 525: South aisle window, bay 1. West label-stop, no. 37. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 526: South aisle window, bay 2. East label-stop, no. 38. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 527: South aisle window, bay 2. West label-stop, no. 39. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 528: South aisle window, bay 3. East label-stop, no. 40. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

- 42. Bay 4 (E). Distressed male head with drilled eyes and open mouth (Fig. 530).
- 43. Bay 4 (W). Head missing, broken off at the neck.
- 44. Bay 5 doorway (E). Destroyed: a formless lump.
- 45. Bay 5 doorway (W). Destroyed: a formless lump.
- 46. Bay 5 porch (E). Male head. Heavily weathered; no features visible except hair.
- 47. Bay 5 porch (W). Female head. Heavily weathered; no features visible except hair and veil.

North aisle windows

Only bay 4 has label-stops, but almost certainly they are not primary. The west window may have been fitted with stops too, but they are lost (p. 405).

- 48. Bay 4 (E). Round smiling face of a fool. Nineteenth or early twentieth century (Fig. 531).
- 49. Bay 4 (W). Head of young woman, turning in towards the window, her veil flying away behind her (*cf.* south porch) (Fig. 532). Thirteenth or fourteenth century, but potentially a secondary insertion.

Roofs of nave and aisles

In the south arcade, it was found that the fourteenth-century masonry filling the spandrels survived up to an irregular line just above the apices of the arches; it was roughly the same on both faces, and also corresponded to the original eaves-level of the late thirteenth-century



Fig. 529: South aisle window, bay 3. West label-stop, no. 41. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 530: South aisle window, bay 4. East label-stop, no. 42. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 531: North aisle window, bay 4. East label-stop, no. 48. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 532: North aisle window, bay 4. West label-stop, no. 49. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

outer aisle wall (p. 395). While there was no hint of a level seating for a wall-plate for the nave roof, there were nevertheless the bases of several pockets that had evidently once held horizontal timbers, and some of these could be matched with vestigial seatings in the top of the outer wall too. There is thus little doubt that we see here the ghosted evidence for five tie-beams spanning the aisle. Logically, the late thirteenth-century

aisle roof would have been retained, with the northern ends of its tie-beams built into the new fourteenth-century arcade. Curiously, the beams were neither equally spaced nor correlated with the bay structure of either the aisle or the arcade.⁴¹ Working from the east, the first four beams defined near-equal bays, while the fifth appears to have marked a quarter-bay beyond the entrance.⁴²

It was further noted that pockets occurred in the same places on both sides of the arcade wall, indicating that a precisely corresponding set of tie-beams spanned the nave too. Unfortunately, the beam spacing could not be confirmed on the north side of the nave by examining the wall above the arcade there, since the height of the extant fourteenth-century masonry was *c.* 50 cm lower than on the south: any seatings for tie-beams had been entirely lost. Before the clerestory was added, the north wall was reduced, like the south wall, almost to the top of the arcade, but since the apices of the arches on the north are 40 cm lower than those on the south, the two walls were not reduced to the same absolute level. Similarly, no evidence survives in the masonry of the north arcade for the attachment of the aisle roof on that side of the church.

The evidence for a pre-fourteenth-century bay structure preserved in the south arcade may provide significant clues to the roofing of the Norman nave. Had the division into $5\frac{1}{4}$ bays been found only in the aisle, it could have been interpreted as a late thirteenth-century response to the unequal bay structure introduced at the west end by the provision of a large south porch. It is, however, inconceivable that such an arrangement would have determined the bay-pitch of any reroofing of the Norman nave. Logically, the converse must obtain. If we consider the beam-pockets in the north face of the arcade as reflecting the roof structure of the Norman nave, a logical pattern is observable. There were three central bays with a pitch of *c.* 4.7–4.8 m, and a longer bay at either end, measuring *c.* 5.5–5.6 m, making a total of five bays in all. However, the evidence at the west end indicates that the long bay there was subdivided, with an additional tie-beam 1.2 m away from the tower wall. No evidence survives to determine whether the same obtained at the east end of the nave, since the fifteenth-century chancel arch has usurped the position where the subdivision would have occurred. It is thus feasible that the Norman nave was roofed in five full bays, plus two quarter-bays, and that it was this arrangement which influenced the positioning of tie-beams when the wide south aisle was constructed in the later thirteenth century.

Narrow end-bays are not an uncommon occurrence in medieval roof construction, and their presence is sometimes readily linkable to activities that took place on the floor below, or to structural functions at a high level. Thus a narrow bay towards the east may emphasize an altar position, or reflect the presence of a rood loft; and those at either the east or west end may relate to galleries or to the support for bell-cotes. A remarkable number of eleventh- and twelfth-century churches, and somewhat fewer in the thirteenth century, still retain high-level doorways in their naves at one end or the other. These can only be comprehended in relation to upper chambers and galleries. At Castor (Cambs.) high-level doorways in all four faces of the Norman crossing tower indicate the former presence of galleries or upper chambers in each arm of the cruciform church (p. 348; Fig. 388).

At St Peter's there was already a high-level doorway at the west end of the nave, communicating with the tower. Since the height of the eaves remained unchanged from the Saxo-Norman period to the fourteenth century, the threshold of the high-level doorway coincided throughout with tie-beam level. It is logical to conclude that the westernmost tie-beam in the nave was positioned so as to support a Norman gallery 1.2 m (4 ft) wide, either accessed from the first-floor level of the tower, or by a stair in the nave. It may be no coincidence that the medieval tile paving in the nave stopped 1.2 m short of the west wall (at a row of small postholes), indicating that there was a timber structure here, potentially a stair-housing (Fig. 540). Whether there was another gallery at the east end of the nave, or perhaps a canopy over one or more altars, can only be conjectured. A comparison may be drawn with Heckington (Lincs.), where a high-level western gallery, *c.* 1.5 m wide, still runs across the full width of the nave. Although the present timber structure is Victorian, it clearly perpetuates an arrangement that was there in the fourteenth century: access is obtained from a doorway in the east face of the tower, and at either end of the gallery is a door in the clerestory wall, leading onto the aisle roofs.

The evidence leaves no room for doubt that in the fourteenth century the nave and aisles were covered by three parallel, steeply pitched roofs and that there were no clerestory windows. The nave was therefore entirely lit through the aisles. The nature of the roof covering has not been determined: at this date clay tiles were readily available and would have been more suitable than thatch for complex roofs with valley-gutters; sheet lead was an expensive commodity and was not well suited for use on steeply pitched roofs, and can therefore probably be ruled out. It would, however, have been necessary for the valleys. There were certainly brick-yards operating on an industrial scale in the Humber basin, in the vicinity of Hull and Beverley, by the early fourteenth century. There is no specific evidence for large-scale production in the Barton area until much later, although a prodigious quantity of bricks was used at Thornton Abbey gatehouse in the late fourteenth century (Bryant and Land 2007, 2–4). Medieval brick-yards would have produced both bricks and plain roof tiles. The presence of the latter in Barton in the early fourteenth century is attested by their casual use as levelling and packing material in the primary masonry of the north aisle of St Peter's (p. 425); roof tile fragments similarly occur in the fabric of St Mary's.

Chancel and vestry (Figs. 451, 452, 457, 461 and 464)

The chancel and vestry were constructed more-or-less in their present form sometime in the fourteenth century, as indicated by the reticulated windows, but close dating is not possible. No evidence survives for the structural relationship between the north aisle and the

chancel, as a result of the organ chamber being built in 1897: its two-bay arcade cut away the junction between the two medieval components. The rectangular chancel is of two bays with buttresses, and the basic footprint seems to have been unchanged from the previous phase (p. 395). The architectural history of the chancel is confused by the fact that the upper parts of its walls, and apparently its buttresses, were rebuilt in the fifteenth century (pp. 471–5).

Externally, the chancel is entirely faced with medium-to-large blocks of Lower Magnesian Limestone ashlar,⁴³ standing above a deep plinth which has a plain chamfer at the base and is topped by a heavy bolection moulding (Fig. 533). On the east wall alone, between the buttresses, is a cavetto-moulded string-course beneath the window sill (Fig. 534). There are clasping buttresses at the eastern angles, and a single medial buttress marking the division between the bays on the south. The bays are of markedly unequal widths and the positioning of the windows is noticeably unbalanced in relation to the south elevation (Fig. 452).⁴⁴ Internally, however, the south wall and its fenestration presents a uniform aspect. The north side, by contrast, was divided into three bays, with a similar buttress between bays one and two (Figs. 556 and 698), and the vestry abutting the third. However, this side was substantially rebuilt when the organ chamber was added (p. 529).

The buttresses are of three weathered stages, uniformly constructed in cream limestone ashlar. The east and south walls, however, exhibit a clear change in

their masoncraft at about mid-height: the ashlars in the upper parts of the walls are notably smaller. The upper parts of the chancel walls, including the parapets, belong to a much later phase (p. 471). Moreover, to add to the complexity, it has already been noted that the foundations of the chancel relate to a yet earlier phase (thirteenth century), when there was no vestry or clasping buttresses at the north-east angle (p. 395).

Nevertheless, the present superstructure of the chancel and vestry were constructed together, as demonstrated by the integration of the east wall of the vestry with the design of the clasping buttresses at the corner of the chancel. The bolection-moulded plinth of the chancel was not continued around the vestry, which had only a simple chamfered offset. The vestry was single-storied with a low-pitched lead roof, the moulded weathering for which is present on the north wall of the chancel. The continuation of this moulding on to the clasping buttress shows that there was no eastern parapet to the vestry.⁴⁵

Internally, the chancel walls were stripped of plaster in the nineteenth century, revealing their construction of coursed limestone and chalk (Fig. 535). No architectural features, such as a piscina, sedilia or tomb-recess, are visible in the walls. Nevertheless, it can hardly be doubted that a piscina and sedilia were present in the south-east corner, where Victorian wall-tiling now obscures the evidence. However, since nothing shows in the masonry above the tiling, it is certain that these features were not on a monumental scale.



Fig. 533: Chancel. South view, 1999. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 534: Chancel. Lower part of the east wall, showing details of the plinth, string-course and raised window sill, 2005. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 535: Chancel. Interior looking east from the screen, 1983. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Nonetheless, the discovery of an ornate head of a niche, with a nodding-ogee arch – potentially belonging to the piscina – suggests that Decorated sculpture of fine quality was present in the chancel (Fig. 820, no. 18).⁴⁶

The entrance to the vestry is from the chancel, via a small doorway with a pointed head and a chamfered surround. The hood-moulding is plain-chamfered and seems to have been fitted with a pair of label-stops; they are now missing, but the infilled pockets that once held them are visible.⁴⁷

Windows

The large east window, now of five wide lights, has been substantially modified. Only the chamfered and rebated jambs, to about three-quarters of their present height, are original: the head and tracery are later (Figs. 50 and 535). Also, the sill once rested directly on the string-course, but has subsequently been raised by three masonry courses (p. 518; Fig. 534). This is the

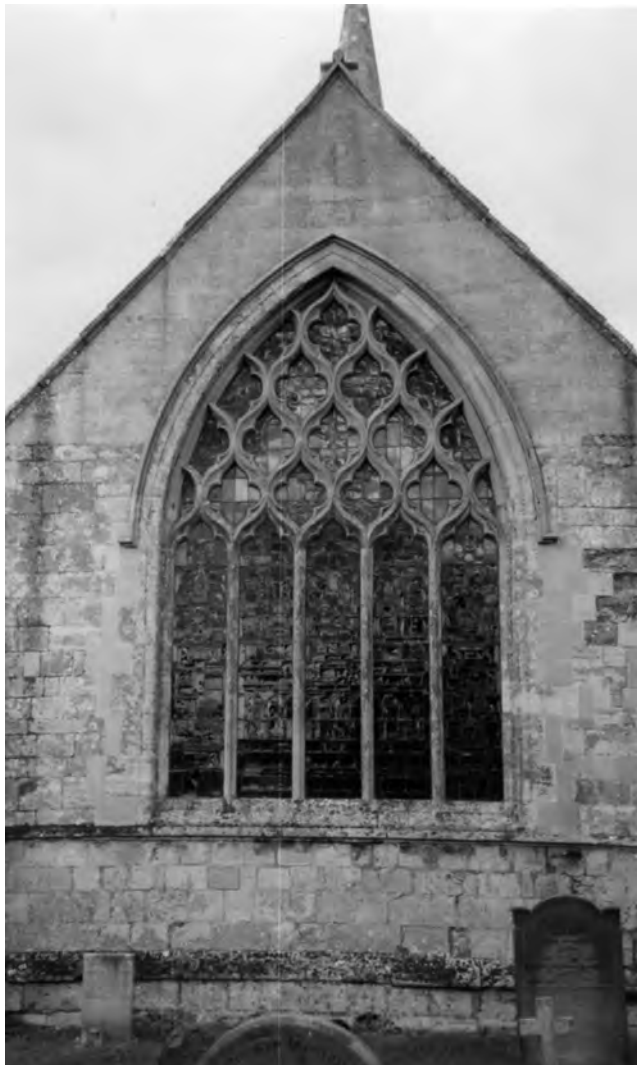


Fig. 536: St Wilfrid, Ottringham (E. Yorks.). Chancel: five-light east window with reticulated tracery. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

largest window in Barton's churches, and it must be doubted whether in the fourteenth century it was of five wide lights, rather than six (or even seven) narrower lights.⁴⁸ Also, it is very likely to have been fitted with an impressive display of reticulated tracery, as, for example, at Ottringham (E. Yorks.; Fig. 536)⁴⁹ and Wansford (Cambs.), although both of those are on a smaller scale. Moreover, a loose fragment of reticulated tracery found in excavation – and which cannot be derived from any known window in Barton – may perhaps have belonged to the lost fourteenth-century east window (Fig. 819, no. 15; p. 798).

The four lateral windows of the chancel are all square-topped, and have three trefoil-headed main lights and half-quatrefoils in the tracery. Superficially, they resemble truncated versions of the reticulated fenestration of the north aisle. However, they are not derived from the same templates: the lights in the chancel are a little narrower and the cusping of their trefoiled heads is slightly different. The window sills (including those now resited in the organ chamber) are broad and have low-angled chamfers, and the mullions are bevelled, with acute angles.⁵⁰ There are hollow-chamfered hood-mouldings with diminutive label-stops in the form of a small pyramid between two horizontal bars.⁵¹ The two-light east window of the vestry is a diminutive version of those in the chancel (Fig. 537).



Fig. 537: Vestry. Interior showing the east wall which was partly rebuilt in brick in 1897. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Internally, the windows have splayed limestone reveals and three-centred heads with chamfers. The north reveal of the east window contains the occasional fragment of clay roofing tile as packing, and has two masons' marks (a six-armed cross) on the jamb. There is a clear change in the character of the masonry towards the top of the jambs, showing where the window has subsequently been heightened (p. 474).

Tower, spire and western annexe (Fig. 456)

In the previous chapter, the fire that gutted the tower and western annexe was discussed, and it was concluded that the date of this occurrence was too early to have been the direct cause of the fourteenth-century alterations (p. 387). These comprised the following.

Tower

The Anglo-Saxon north doorway to the tower was infilled with chalk rubble at this period, flush with both faces (Fig. 269). A new floor of earth or chalk rubble was presumably laid down in the tower and annexe, but this and all subsequent archaeological deposits were removed in 1912. Similarly, the replacement of the two timber upper floors – probably in the thirteenth century – must have occurred, but these were subsequently lost too.

The main alteration which has survived was the replacement of the Saxo-Norman double belfry-opening on the west side of the tower with a traceried window (Figs. 402 and 456). This is of two trefoil-headed ogee lights with a quatrefoil in the tracery. It is essentially a two-light version of the reticulated windows in the north aisle, and the detailing is almost identical.⁵² A hood-moulding is present which was intended to have label-stops, the infilled pockets for which remain. There are no glazing grooves or housings for regular ferramenta, but the mullion has a series of small holes, now plugged, in both its lateral faces; there have also been fixings in the south jamb. The purpose of these fixings is not apparent, and they are not easily reconcilable with the attachment of a *sanctus* bell. They could have held a timber louver in place.

The cracks and open joints already noted in the lower belfry (p. 373) would have been magnified in the upper belfry, and this may explain why, at an uncertain date in the Middle Ages, the masonry over the heads of all the belfry openings was dismantled and rebuilt (p. 349). In particular, we may speculate whether structural failure precipitated the replacement of the western opening with a new traceried window in the fourteenth century. Whatever the precise date and cause of the problem, sometime before the end of the eighteenth century an iron tie-bar was fitted beneath the floor of the lower belfry chamber, running north-south (Fig. 265). Conceivably, this repair could have been medieval.⁵³

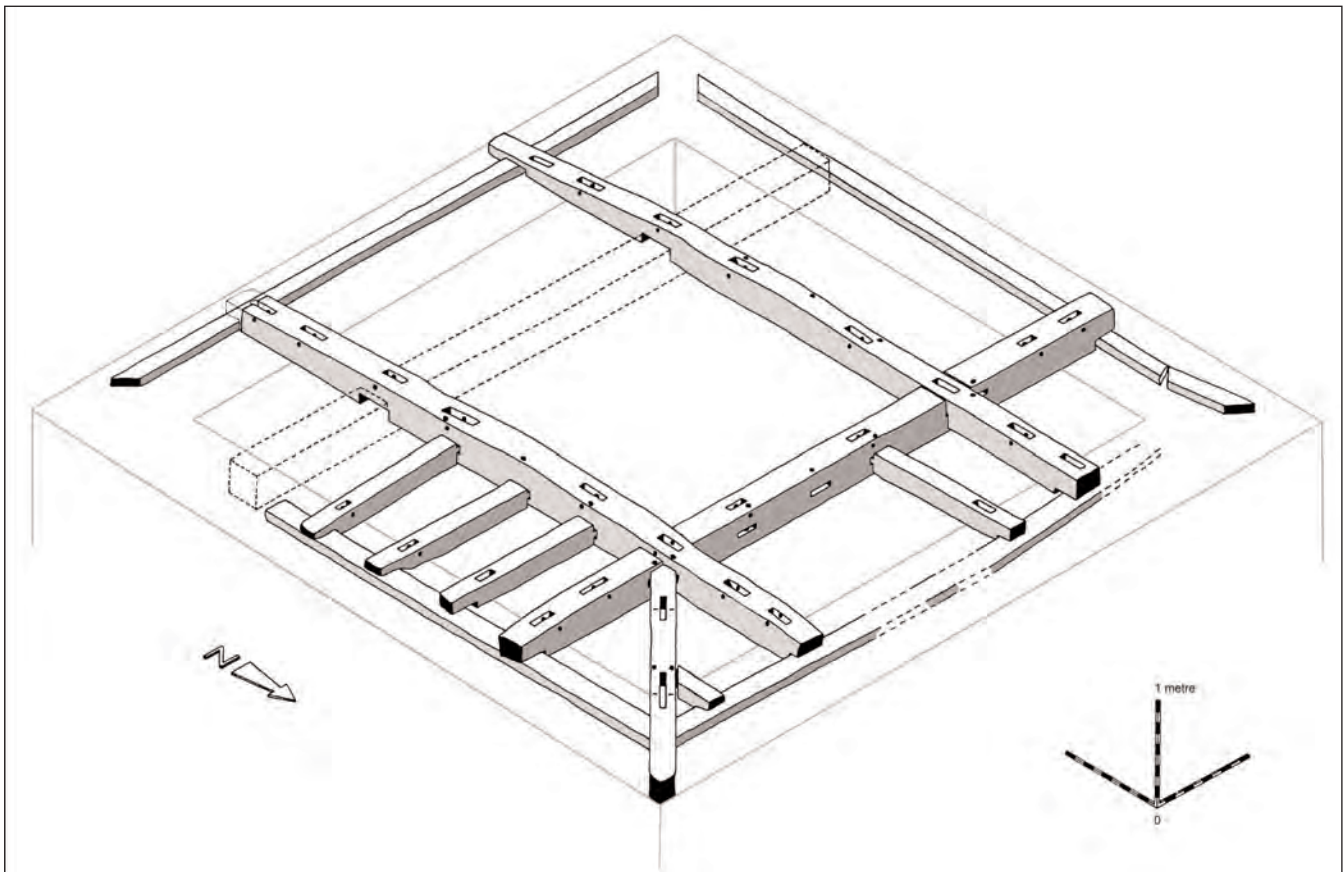


Fig. 538: Tower. Plan of the surviving components of the base-frame of the medieval timber spire. Drawing: Stephen Coll



Fig. 539: Western annexe. Two views of the gable cross. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

Spire

Associated with this phase was the reconstruction of the tower roof, when a new timber-framed spire was erected. Although the spire had disappeared by the early eighteenth century, the principal timbers of its base-frame remain *in situ* (Figs. 538 and 581). These comprise four oak beams – two laid in each direction – cross-halved over one another and defining a central, open square.⁵⁴ Dragon-ties run out from the corners of the square to the four angles of the tower, and a series of short joists, tenoned into the main frame at one end and resting on a wallplate at the other, are fitted around the sides. The main beams each have two aligned mortices in their upper faces, towards the outer end, and the dragon-ties are similarly morticed. These not only form a regular pattern but are also angled, showing that they held raking timbers, which must have been the principal rafters of a modest spire. It is likely to have been lead-covered.

Two of the main beams have been dated by dendrochronology, indicating felling and construction between 1320 and 1353.⁵⁵ The oak was probably of local origin.

Western annexe

It is likely that the western annexe was reroofed at the same time as work was undertaken on the tower. No roof timbers survive, but the chamfered limestone gable-coping and its floriated finial cross are fourteenth century. The latter was mentioned in 1832 by Loft.⁵⁶ The cross, which has fleur-de-lys terminals to the arms, has a square stem and rises from a block with four-way gablets (Fig. 539). The west-facing gablet is integrated with the adjacent chamfered coping, while the other gablets are finished with apex-rolls.

Internal planning, floors and furnishings

Glazed floor tiles first made their appearance in the church in the fourteenth century, although close dating is not possible. Sealed by later deposits, several small areas of tile paving survived *in situ* in various parts of the nave and north aisle, together with patches of mortar bed which retained the impressions where tiles had been lost. Hardly any trace of medieval floor levels survived in the south aisle. Complete tiles and fragments were recovered from graves throughout the nave and

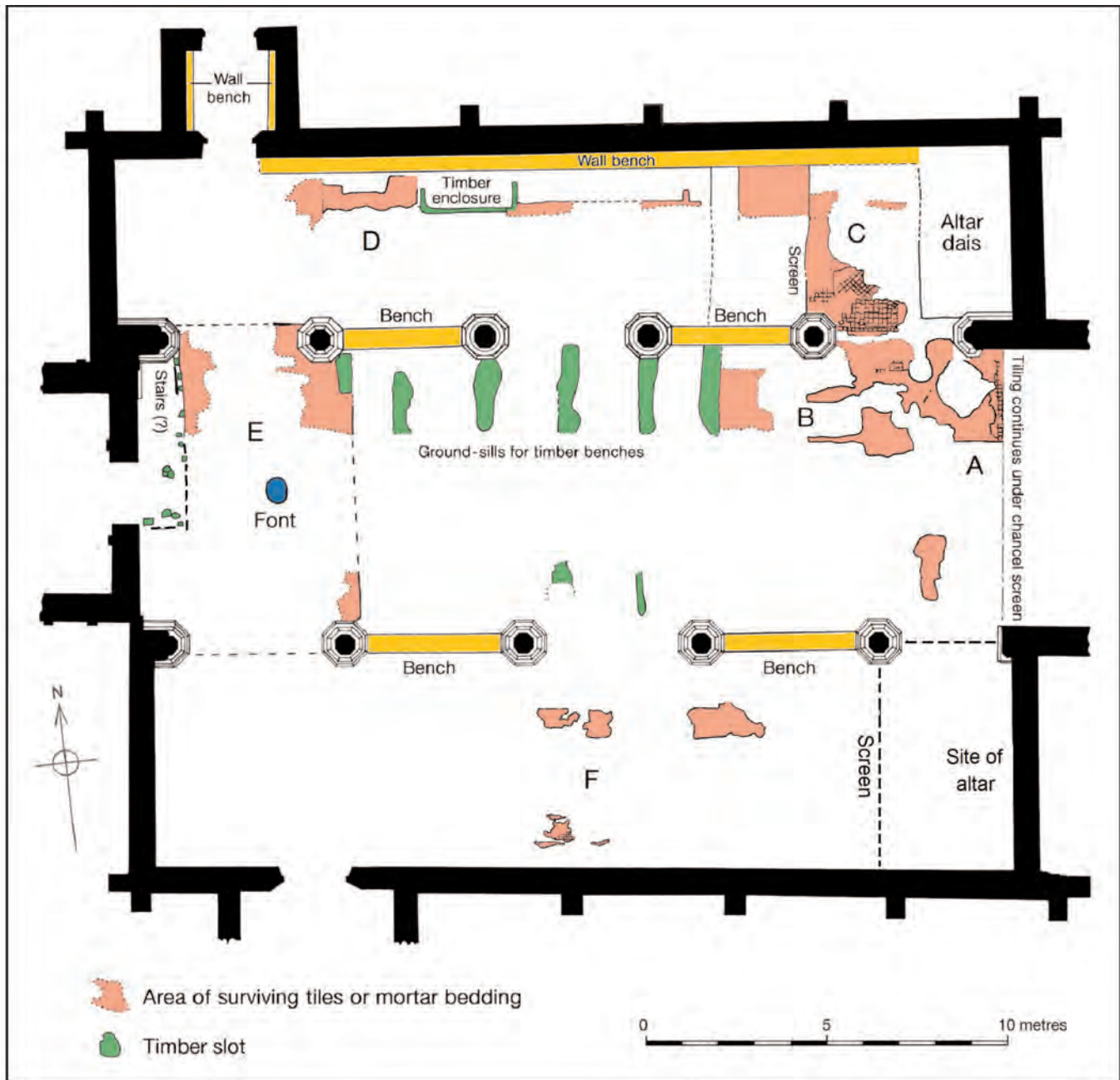


Fig. 540: Nave and aisles. Plan showing surviving patches of floor tiling (lettered A to F), stone and timber bench positions, and other principal features of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Scale 1:175. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

aisles: consequently, the evidence indicates that paving was once widespread in the church, and was not limited to locations of special liturgical or sepulchral significance, such as chapels at the ends of the aisles (Figs. 540 and 831; Pls. 54 and 56–58).

The best-preserved area was at the east end of the nave, where tiling ran under the screen and the present chancel step, doubtless continuing as far as the position occupied by the fourteenth-century chancel arch (Pl. 53). The presence of the mid-fifteenth-century screen here not only prevented the floor from being disturbed by later grave-digging, but also discouraged foot-traffic from wearing away the surface of the tiles (Pl. 53). The tiling was plain, comprising a chequer of

yellow and dark green/black; some areas were laid square-on, others diagonally to the axis of the building. The condition of the tiles varied greatly: a few retained their slip and glaze in pristine condition, while many more were worn down to the clay base. Of Flemish origin, these plain-glazed tiles were widely imported into eastern England in the fourteenth century, and occur in large numbers of churches from the Thames to the Humber, and occasionally beyond (Stopford 2005).

Only one complete patterned floor tile, and fragments of two others – all bearing the same line-impressed design – were recovered (Pl. 60). While these might have been associated with a specially marked grave, or the dais for an altar in one of the

aisles, it seems more likely that they had strayed from the chancel, where there could well have been a decorated pavement, or a panel within a plain tiled floor. Two other fragments of slip-decorated tiles may have come from the chancel too. For discussion of the floor tiles, see pp. 812–14.

Burial within the body of the church increased in popularity as the Middle Ages progressed, and more than fifty excavated graves were assigned to burial Phase C (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; Fig. 698). Given the amount of disturbance caused by later interments, it is likely that the true number of intra-mural burials was much higher: the figure should possibly be doubled. It is nevertheless readily observable that the principal concentrations of burials lay in the eastern-most bays of the nave and aisles. In the case of the latter, at least, interment close to altars was clearly being sought.⁵⁷

The majority of the surviving medieval funerary monuments belong to the fourteenth century, and include the remarkable limestone effigy of a priest (Fig. 708; p. 640), several brasses and various incised slabs, mainly of Flemish origin (pp. 647–60; Figs. 713–718, nos. 21–24, 28–35). Too little is known about the vicars serving Barton around the beginning of the fourteenth century to attempt an identification of the effigy. St Mary's church also possesses an impressive assemblage of contemporary floor memorials (p. 661).

Perpendicular: the Church of the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries (Period 7)

Around the middle of the fifteenth century, St Peter's church underwent a major transformation. In essence, this involved erecting a clerestory over the nave, constructing a new, wide chancel arch and raising the height of the chancel walls. Remarkably, the nave-to-

chancel division was at the same time repositioned, a little to the west of its previous position. Soon afterwards, the east wall of the south aisle had to be rebuilt slightly to the west of its original location; this was structurally necessary, to provide buttressing for the chancel arch and the high gable that it was now required to support.

The principal building material employed was brick, with limestone for the dressings and mixed rubble for corework. No certain evidence for original lime rendering of the brickwork remains, and there are no rebates around the dressings, to act as render-stops. However, the mediocre quality of the brickwork suggests that it was intended to be concealed by a thin skim of lime-render.

Nave clerestory and chancel arch (Period 7A) (Figs. 451, 452, 460 and 463)

The most substantial work, certainly since the building of the Norman nave, was the raising of an elegantly fenestrated clerestory of nine bays (Fig. 541). In order to facilitate this, the nave and aisles were all unroofed, and construction proceeded as a single operation. After the tie-beams and wall-plates had been removed, the tops of the fourteenth-century nave walls were reduced to the apex-levels of their respective arcades: *c.* 50 cm higher on the south than on the north (p. 453). Scaffolding was erected, using rectangular, through-putlogs which were built into the tops of the arcade walls. In the case of the south arcade, the putlogs were laid in the bottoms of the largely destroyed pockets that formerly held the tie-beams.

The walls were then built up nearly to a common level, using, on the south, a mixture of recycled ashlar and medieval brick, and, on the north, mainly brick (Figs. 458 and 460). On that side, the several courses of brick were capped by a discontinuous course of thin



Fig. 541: South clerestory. View from the south-east, 2000. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



A



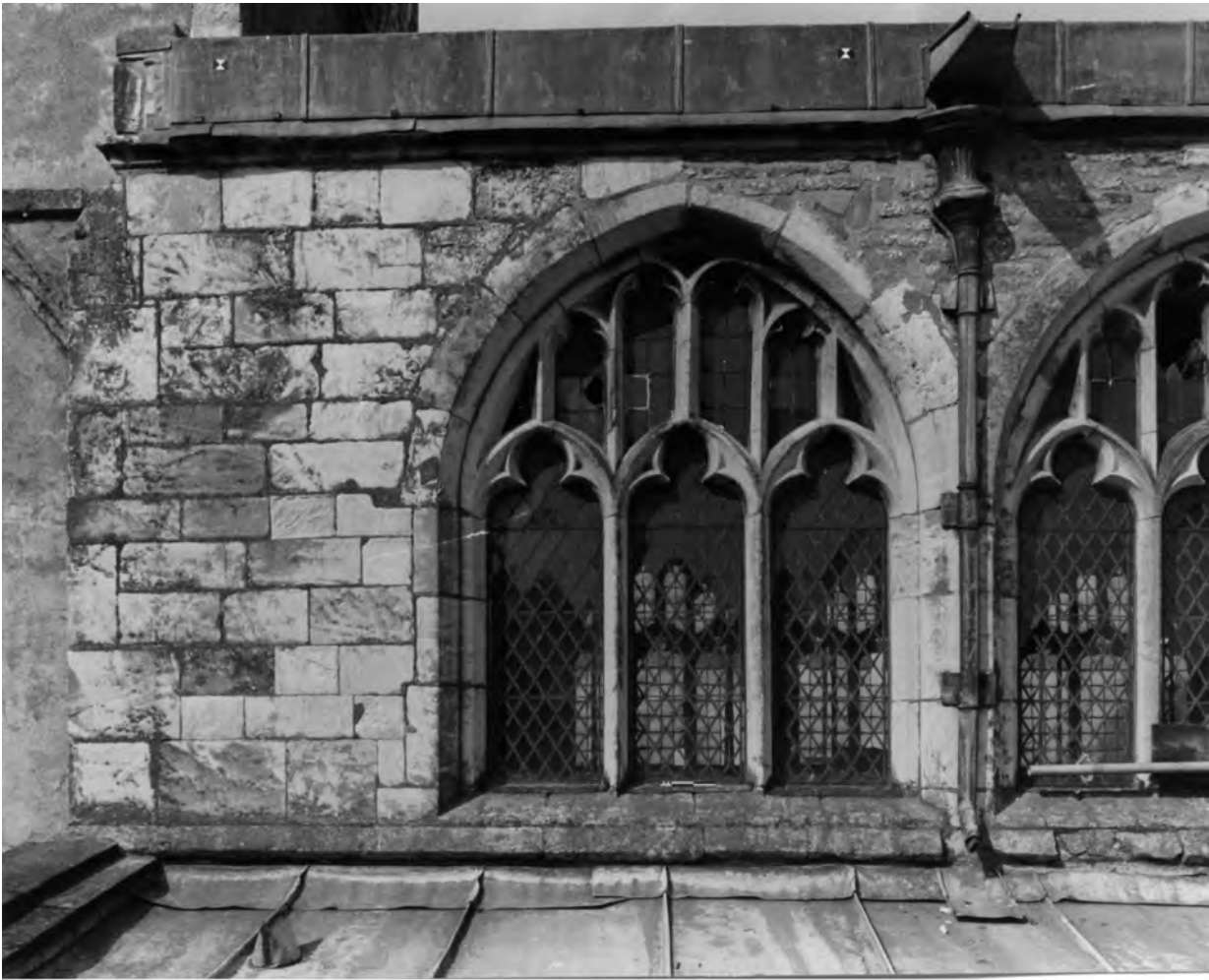
B

Fig. 542: North clerestory. A, Bay 1 (east); B, Bay 9 (west); showing windows and adjoining nibs of brickwork and ashlar masonry, 1983. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

(c. 8 cm) slabs of limestone. Then, another 1.7 m of brickwork was added, taking the wall up to a clerestory sill level.⁵⁸ A single line of putlogs, irregularly spaced, was incorporated just below mid-height in the brickwork. On the south side, a course of limestone slabs was similarly introduced, but they were thicker and formed a continuous bed, upon which a partial second course was also laid (Figs. 459 and 460).

Again, the remainder of the wall up to sill level was raised in brick, and it incorporated a more regularly spaced line of putlogs. Both clerestories have a limestone chamfered weathering-course on the external face, immediately below window-sill level, to house the lead-flashing of the aisle roof (Fig. 541).

Construction of the fenestrated zone began at the west end and progressed eastwards. The western



A



B

Fig. 543: South clerestory. A, Bay 9 (west); B, Bay 1 (east); showing windows and adjoining nibs of brickwork and ashlar masonry, 1980. Note also the springing for an unbuilt tenth bay to the east. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

angles were raised in limestone ashlar to the new clerestory eaves level, 11 m (36 ft) above the floor, and then nine identical window bays were formed, north and south being in register (Figs. 50, 16, 542B and 543A). One or more courses of clay roof tile were used as levelling material under the sills. The windows are of three trefoil-headed lights under a pointed arch, framed by a simple chamfered order without a hood-moulding; the tracery is filled with four small trefoil-headed lights. The bays are punctuated by simple piers upon which are carved the mouldings of the jambs. It might have been expected that the piers would support double springer-blocks, but all are single, and a small putlog was seated on top of each pier, sandwiched between the springers of adjacent windows.⁵⁹

The window components, which are of limestone, were prefabricated by several masons (at least six) who left an array of marks, which also appear on the chancel arch (Fig. 825). Some of these marks are elaborately incised and are potentially indicative of literacy: *e.g.* the Gothic letter 'R' and the Arabic numeral '7', barred (Fig. 827). Numerous setting-out marks are present on the tracery: these include centre-lines, cutting-lines for arrises and chamfers, and compass-drawn circles at the intersections of curves. The evidence is well preserved on the north clerestory, but the surfaces of the stone, both external and internal, have decayed on the south, obliterating most of the ephemeral construction evidence. Oyster shells were used for packing the joints in the window masonry.

The spandrels above and between the windows were entirely filled with brickwork, and the wall-tops were finished with a continuous course of brick-on-edge, upon which moulded oak wall-plates would have been laid. Occasional, partial courses of medieval roof tile were used for levelling in various parts of the clerestory, including beneath the eaves-course.⁶⁰

Unlike at the west end, the nib of wall between the easternmost (ninth) window and the corner was not built of limestone ashlar: brick was used instead, with ashlar reserved for the quoins alone (Figs. 542A and 543B). Even then, brick was employed at a low level in the quoins, where they were abutted and concealed by the parapets of the chancel and aisles.⁶¹ The clerestory is closed on the east by a plain brick gable-wall, which is carried by the chancel arch and rises well above the chancel roof (Figs. 457 and 590).

The chancel arch presents a conundrum: why was it now repositioned a little to the west of the location that it had occupied since the twelfth century? Logically, we should expect the addition of the clerestory simply to have followed the plan of the nave below, rather than to have precipitated the redefinition of the jurisdictional boundary between nave and chancel. The initial intention was undeniably to erect a clerestory of ten bays over the full extent of the existing nave, and that its curtailment to nine bays was a last-minute change of plan, enforced by the decision to reposition the chancel arch.

The evidence is unambiguous: on both the north and south clerestories the easternmost window does not have a conventional jamb on its east flank, but a double-moulded pier of the same kind as would separate two adjacent bays. Although the abutting brickwork has been carefully cut to hide the unwanted jamb mouldings, the toe of the sill remains visible. Also, on the south, the springer for the tenth window had already been set in place, but not on the north (Fig. 543B). Whether the final south window had even been erected, and was taken down, is impossible to determine. Anyway, the moment of change is clearly fossilized in the fabric.

The reason for the curtailment of the clerestory and shortening of the nave was almost certainly not architectural or structural, but liturgical. Moreover, the problem was not with the nave but with the chancel: it was simply too short to accommodate the late medieval liturgical requirements of a moderately large urban parish church. Assuming that, in its old position, there was a conventional chancel arch, occupying about one metre of floor space, the usable internal length of the chancel in the early fifteenth century was *c.* 10.8 m (36 ft). This compared unfavourably with St Mary's church which, by the fifteenth century, had a chancel of nearly 16 m (52 ft). By curtailing the length of the clerestory, shortening the nave slightly and having a timber screen instead of a chancel arch of masonry rising directly from floor level, a further 2.4 m (8 ft) of liturgical space could be achieved. That still did not match up to St Mary's, but it was a distinct improvement. It should be remembered that expansion of the chancel of St Peter's in an eastwards direction was not a viable option, owing to the close proximity of the churchyard boundary. The presence of Tyrwhitt Hall, immediately beyond, precluded the acquisition of additional land to the churchyard.⁶²

Whatever its architectural form in the early fifteenth century, the then-existing chancel arch was demolished and the scar on the side walls made good. No evidence now survives in the north chancel wall since the area in question was removed in 1897 to create the small arcade which opens into the organ chamber, but the scar is visible in the south wall (Figs. 544 and 787). Structurally, it was essential for the new chancel arch, which spanned the full width of the chancel and carried a high gable, to be buttressed on both the north and the south.

The fourteenth-century nave arcade on the north was shorter than its southern counterpart, and the decision was taken to reposition the chancel arch as far to the west as possible, without impinging on the north arcade; at the same time the new arch was aligned with the east wall of the north aisle, which provided the necessary buttressing on that flank. It was a different matter on the south, where any repositioning of the chancel arch had unavoidable consequences for the arcade: one-third of the first bay would be cut off. Evidence of the truncation of the arcade may be seen internally, in the chancel, and externally, in the angle between the chancel and aisle (Figs. 452, 461 and 544).

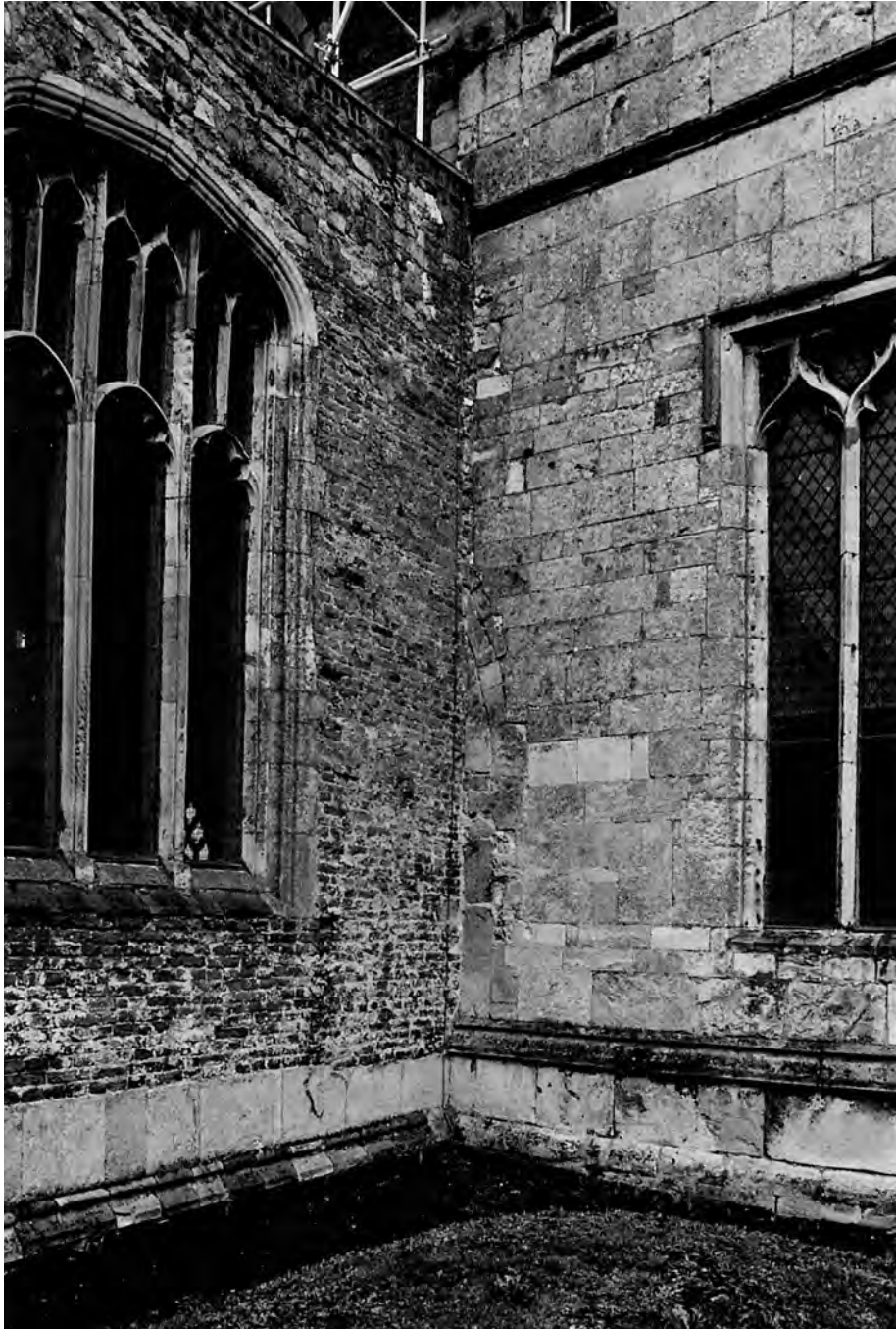


Fig. 544: South aisle. View into the external angle between the aisle (left) and the chancel, showing the cut-back remains of the east respond and hood-moulding of the fourteenth-century arcade, bay 1. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Consequently, a blocking wall of plain limestone ashlar was erected under the eastern part of the arch in bay 1. This formed a new respond to the now-asymmetrical arch: no mouldings, impost or base were provided, but the vertical arrises were chamfered and given brooch stops, just above floor level. The new chancel arch sprang from the blocking wall, but inevitably it did not align with the east wall of the south aisle and thus did not receive the same lateral support on this side as it did on the north. The east end of the aisle lay a wall's thickness to the east; this inadequate buttressing for the chancel arch was later to prove troublesome (pp. 477–8).

The new chancel arch is very plain and its reveals do not descend to floor level (Figs. 461 and 463). The voussoirs of the high, two-centred arch are formed in limestone and are embellished only with stepped chamfers. The arch dies into the north and south walls, the springing not even being defined by imposts. Masons' marks on the arch are similar to those on the clerestory. The walling above the arch is entirely of brick, which was plastered on both faces and may have been painted on the face towards the nave, although no evidence of this was found.⁶³ The stone arch was surrounded by an outer ring of brick headers. Here, we find the largest expanse of medieval brickwork in the church.

No regular bond is detectable and many incomplete bricks were used.⁶⁴ Their colour varies through pink, orange, brown and purple, to greenish-black. Two tiers of putlog holes were incorporated (Fig. 463).

For the sake of completeness, it may be noted here that the upper part of the gable was reconstructed in 1805, using many of the original bricks; also included are some that are generally similar in appearance but larger and thicker.⁶⁵ Contained within this rebuild is a pair of openings with two-centred heads, entirely formed in brick (Figs. 457 and 590).⁶⁶ The brick infill to the openings dates from 1858 (p. 514), and the plain limestone coping to the gable is also nineteenth century.

Nave and aisle roofs (Period 7A)

For a plan showing the layout of the existing roof beams, see Figure 588.

Nave

Slightly shortened, its walls almost doubled in height, and with an entirely new east end, the nave had to be provided with a replacement roof. As was customary in Lincolnshire clerestories, a low-pitched, lead-covered roof was constructed, and this was still *in situ* when Nattes drew the church in 1796 (Fig. 11), but was replaced with the present structure in 1805. The weathering-line for the fifteenth-century roof is preserved on the east face of the tower, the ridge being at the same level as that of the previous steep roof. The new pitch was typically low at *c.* 5 degrees (Fig. 398, roof-line 4). Lapped joints could not be effectively weatherproofed at this angle and the lead was probably cast and laid in sheets *c.* 5 m long (*i.e.* each sheet extending the full length of a slope).

The roof is likely to have been carried on ten beams resting on the wall tops and occupying the same positions as the present trusses. Owing to the very shallow pitch, these would not have been tie-beams supporting trusses, but were probably cambered bridging-beams. They in turn would have carried purlins, a ridge-piece (propped on a stumpy post), rafters and boarding for the lead. This arrangement survives in St Mary's church, albeit in the form of an early nineteenth-century reconstruction. Most likely, there were curved brackets at the ends of the beams, descending on to corbels projecting from the spandrels between the clerestory windows, as in the existing nineteenth-century arrangement. The corbels may have been mutilated or removed in 1805, when a vaulted plaster ceiling was erected beneath the medieval roof (p. 506). One piece of potentially relevant evidence has survived: a semi-octagonal limestone corbel with a moulded profile remains *in situ* on the north wall of the nave between the two easternmost clerestory bays (Fig. 591). Its setting has not been archaeologically investigated, but it seems likely that this is the sole survivor of a set of late medieval corbels which supported

brackets: it was probably concealed by the Georgian plaster vault and thus escaped destruction. In 1858 a full set of oak corbels was made to match this one and fitted to both clerestories, but in the process of fixing them any evidence for previous corbels and their pockets would have been eradicated.⁶⁷

North aisle

The steeply pitched fourteenth-century roof was replaced by a new one of very low pitch (7 degrees), and a few of the timbers still survive. The outer aisle wall was raised by 20 cm, thereby sealing evidence for the bedding of the original wall-plate. Small flat stones were incorporated as pads to receive the ends of six bridging-beams which provided the main support for the new roof, dividing it into five slightly unequal bays.⁶⁸ The southern ends of the beams were housed in purpose-built pockets in the brickwork of the clerestory. The construction of each pocket incorporated a limestone pad, which helped to distribute the load within the wall.⁶⁹

Externally, the eaves have a cavetto-moulded cornice with a small roll beneath, surmounted by a plain ashlar course and a roll-topped coping (Fig. 451).⁷⁰ There are no crenellations to match those on the south aisle, and pictorial evidence does not suggest that there ever were.

Built into the clerestory wall, 90 cm above the level of the pads was a series of five limestone corbels of plain quadrant-shape (Fig. 458).⁷¹ Their function was to support the moulded oak wallplate into which the upper ends of the common rafters were notched. A length of this survives *in situ* in the first bay, with one end embedded in the masonry of the east wall; it also has a mortice in the soffit, indicating that there was a vertical post running down to the bridging-beam below.⁷² The lower ends of the rafters would have been pegged to a plate aligned with the outer face of the aisle wall, and rigid support at the mid-point was provided by a moulded purlin running along the full length of the aisle.⁷³

The mouldings on the original sections of wallplate and purlin indicate a fifteenth-century date; later replacements (in 1833?) had simple chamfers. Only three medieval timbers survive, and they are all moulded: two lengths of purlin and a section of the south wallplate (east end). None could be dated by dendrochronology (Tyers 2001b).

The abutment of the aisle leads to the clerestory was sealed by a continuous limestone weathering-course, immediately below the window sills (Fig. 542).

South aisle

The present roof of the south aisle is carried on six bridging-beams which are canted to achieve the required slope for the leads. Evidence for the late medieval roof suggests that it was identical to that on the north, and that the original bridging-beams were

horizontal.⁷⁴ Six unequally spaced limestone corbels in the clerestory wall supported an oak wallplate, the ends of which were embedded in the east and west walls (Fig. 459). Towards the west, two corbels lie close together, the last of which was placed there solely as a support for a mitred joint in the wallplate. A 3.4 m length of the medieval plate survives here. A seventh limestone corbel occurs over arcade bay 2. It has a different profile from the others and is set 15 cm lower in the wall. It is secondary, and its function was to support a short length of timber which was inserted under the failing wallplate.

A change in the structure of the roof was subsequently effected in bays 1 and 2, as evidenced by the appearance of three small oak corbels, with quadrant-shaped ends; these were inserted to carry short wallposts, directly beneath the bridging-beams. Two of these corbels are set into the spandrels of the arcade wall, above the piers in bays 1/2 and 2/3, respectively, and the third is close to the east wall (the corbel over bay 2/3 is seen in Fig. 23). Vestigial evidence was noted for corresponding corbels in the aisle wall: the original total would thus have been six. The corbels and posts were too insubstantial to have provided physical support for the ends of defective bridging-beams: these were essentially decorative features. Most likely, the first three beams were embellished by the addition of curved brackets to their undersides, or maybe they were removed altogether and more decorative trusses substituted.⁷⁵ Either way, the intention was doubtless to enhance the setting of the chapel that occupied the two eastern bays of the aisle. It is tempting to see this

as the work of the Barnetby family, whose glazing adorned the east window (p. 586).

All the bridging-beams have subsequently been renewed, and only two lengths of medieval purlin are incorporated in the present structure: one has moulded arrises, while the other is plain chamfered. None of the early timbers was susceptible of dating by dendrochronology (Tyers 2001b).

Alterations to the south aisle and porch (Period 7A)

South aisle

The upper part of the west wall was taken down and rebuilt, including the head and one jamb of the three-light window (Figs. 456 and 545). It is not apparent why this rebuilding occurred, except that there was obviously a problem relating to the window. It may simply have been a desire to increase the height of the main lights, and thus provide better proportions for painted figures in the glazing, the thirteenth-century lights being decidedly stumpy.

Externally, medieval brick was used in the rebuild, while internally the new work was of limestone rubble, almost certainly recycling the original masonry (Fig. 462). The double chamfered sill and most of the south jamb remain from the thirteenth-century window, but the jamb and internal reveal on the north were completely reconstructed, although resetting some of the earlier stones (p. 390).⁷⁶ The chamfered outer reveal is continuous and there is now no hood-moulding.



Fig. 545: South aisle. Modified west window, with partial rebuilding of the wall above in brick; unrestored, 1999. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 546: South porch. View of the roof, from the north-east, after stripping the lead and boarding, 1983. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

New mullions and tracery were fitted, together with an unmoulded rear-arch of flat ashlars.⁷⁷ The main and tracery lights are all trefoil-headed and of identical size and design to those in the clerestory: there can be little doubt that components from one of the windows left over from the aborted tenth bay were used here (Fig. 50, 15; p. 463). Stratigraphically, the reworking of the west gable came after the clerestory had been added. The thirteenth-century roll-mouldings on the jambs, both externally and internally, were unable to connect with the replacement tracery, and so new springers were carved to terminate these rolls ingeniously with small, flared capitals with angular abaci. Six different masons' marks are present on the jambs, tracery and splay of the rear-arch (Fig. 825).

The south wall of the aisle was increased slightly in height and an embattled parapet in limestone added, with a moulded eaves-course below (Fig. 441). This doubtless returned along the east and west sides, following the slope of the new roof, but was lost when crow-stepped gables were later constructed (p. 477). Evidence for the returns has been noted at both corners of the aisle.⁷⁸

South porch (Figs. 441 and 454)

The south porch was significantly modified and reroofed, doubtless at the same time as the aisle. The walls were reduced in height, the pitch of the roof lowered, and a moulded limestone eaves-course fitted; there is no evidence for a parapet or gutters, and the lead simply ran to the eaves. Nattes's drawing shows



Fig. 547: South porch roof. Detail of reused timber (with mortice on the upper side) at the south-west corner of the roof; view looking north-east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

the ends of six rafters oversailing the west wall (Fig. 11). The structure was studied when the lead and boarding were stripped in 1983 (Fig. 546).

The low, double-pitched, lead-covered roof is of uncertain age, but is presumably late medieval or Tudor.⁷⁹ Unfortunately, none of the timbers was susceptible of dating by dendrochronology (Tyers 2001b). The roof is of two bays, divided by a cambered tie-beam running east-west: this is dovetail-lapped over the wall-plates and supports the ridge-piece, which is notched over it. The butt-purlins to either side are morticed into the tie-beam in a curious way: the tenons on the purlins are barefaced (upper), and instead of morticing these into the tie-beam they are dropped

into open-sided housings. Loose oak filling-pieces were then placed into the open tops of the housings: the result was a false mortice-and-tenon joint.

There was a second similar tie-beam placed against the aisle wall, but this was superseded in the early twentieth century by a less substantial timber which provides support for the ends of the purlins. A third tie-beam occurs on the inner edge of the south gable and carries the purlins at that end. The timber sits partly on the masonry, like a wallplate: the internally exposed arris is chamfered. The beam is undoubtedly a medieval timber and is likely to be relict from the thirteenth-century porch roof (p. 391; Fig. 547).⁸⁰ On the west, it is dovetail-lapped over the wallplate, but on the east it is halved and face-pegged. The purlins are trenched into the top, and continued to the outer wall-face. Each bay has four rafters per side.⁸¹ All the timbers in the roof have simple stopped chamfers on their lower arrises.

The upper floor was presumably removed from the porch at this time, and the windows blocked; similarly, the high-level access from within the south aisle would

have been discontinued. The internal wall-faces of the porch, which have not been fully studied, were replastered in 1984.

Alterations to the north aisle (Period 7A)

The only visible alteration to the fabric concerns two of the arcade piers. The piers between bays 2/3 and 3/4 have circular capitals and bases, and in the fourteenth century they still retained their original circular shafts, which were subsequently replaced by octagonal ones composed of much taller blocks than appear elsewhere in the arcades (p. 423; Figs. 489A and B). They are also of a yellowish limestone and bear the same masons' marks as are found on the fifteenth-century chancel arch and clerestory.

The three affected arches of the arcade must have been supported with centring, and the capitals retained in place by cradles and props. The old circular shafts were taken out, doubtless one at a time, and the octagonal replacements installed. Each pier was built up and topped by a new octagonal neck-ring with

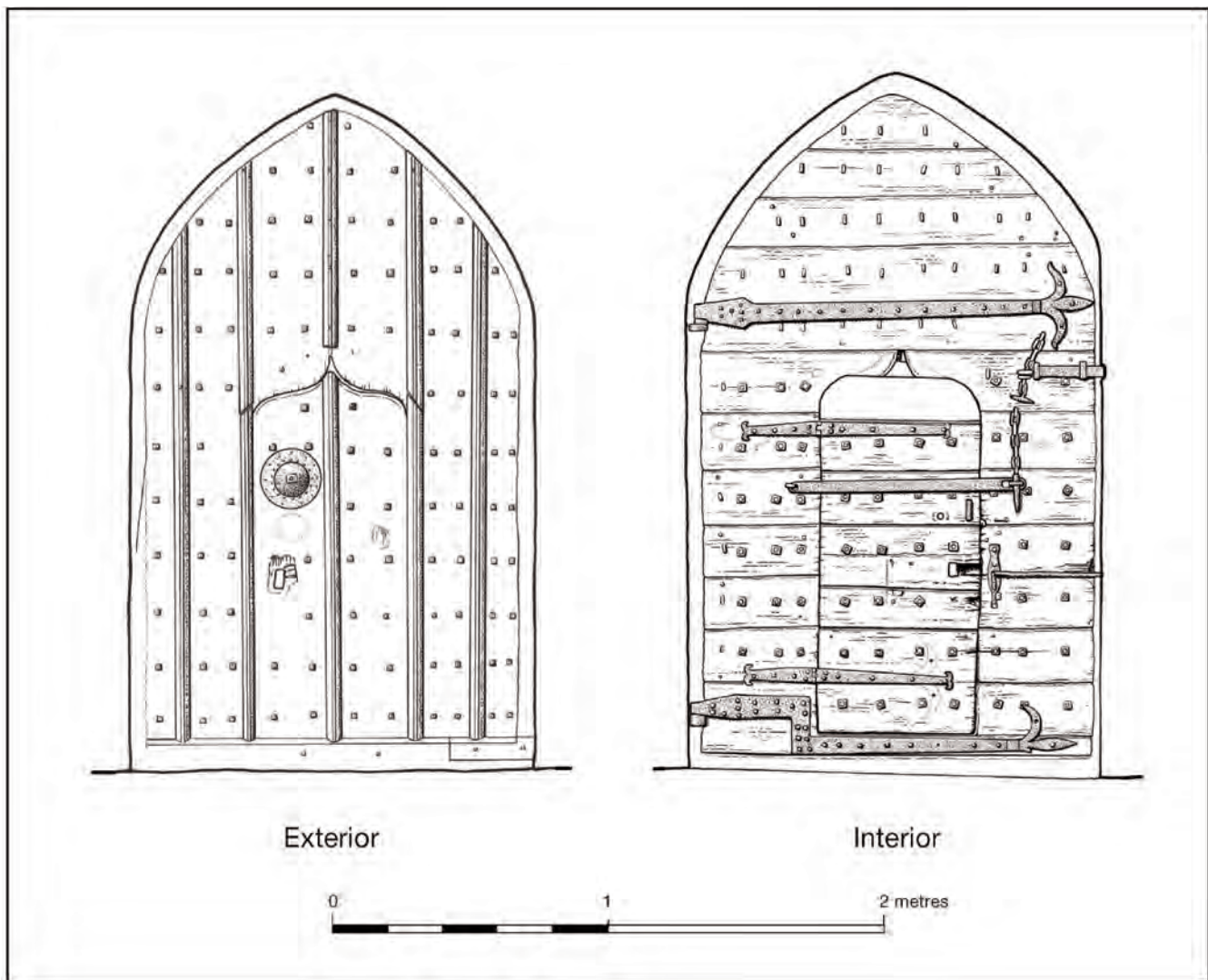


Fig. 548: North door. External and internal elevations. Scale 1:25. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

an ogival profile, which was slipped under the existing capital.⁸² The method of achieving compression within the shaft, to ensure that the arcade did not drop fractionally when the centring was removed, was to drive timber wedges into the joint between the pier base and the first course of the shaft. That forced the entire shaft and its new neck-ring upwards, until they were compressed against the underside of the capital. The timber wedges were finally replaced with slips of stone and mortar. The resultant wide joint (3 cm) and its packing are plainly visible at the base of each shaft.

It is noticeable that considerably more minor damage has occurred to the respond and two piers defining bays 1 and 2 than to the remainder of the arcade. Various pockets have been cut (and subsequently filled with stone or mortar) and the mouldings of the plinths, bases, capitals and abaci have been patched. There is also some damage on the south face in these bays. The evidence points to screens under the arches and pew enclosures in the nave, probably of several (undatable) periods.

North door (Period 6–7A)

The door is constructed from two layers of oak boarding – vertical and horizontal – secured by a mixture of clenched-bolts and clenched nails (Fig. 548). It was clearly made for the present opening, but has had *c.* 15 cm cut off the bottom in response to rising floor level. Two original pintles remain in the west jamb. There are no draw-bar sockets. The arris on the westernmost voussoir of the rear-arch has been hacked away to allow the door to open more fully.⁸³

Externally, the door comprises six vertical boards, and the joints are masked by filleted cover-strips, affixed with square-headed nails; there is also a curved edge-piece around the arched head (Fig. 466).⁸⁴ The centre of the door is pierced by a small ogee-headed wicket, which is an original feature.⁸⁵ Remains of brown paint on the exterior indicate graining, probably in the eighteenth century. Internally, there are thirteen horizontal boards, the edges butted and dowelled (Fig. 467).⁸⁶ The lowest eight are secured to the verticals by regular lines of clenched-bolts: these have square heads externally and their shanks are rivetted over small square roves internally. The final five boards of the back are secured with clenched nails only. Remains of brown paint are in evidence.

A considerable amount of wrought iron door furniture survives. The main hinges have long straps, the lower one cranked to avoid the wicket; both have fleur-de-lys terminals, although the lower is now incomplete. The hinges are attached with square-headed nails 33 mm long. The wicket has strap-hinges with long backplates, fixed with square-headed nails, and the terminals of the straps are finished with small curls. These are not, however, the original hinges for the wicket: scars and redundant nail-holes demonstrate that there were previously hinges with fleur-de-lys terminals, in

the same locations. Bruising on the face of the boards indicates that a crowbar with a blade 18 mm wide was used to lever-off the original hinges.

Trapped behind part of the present upper hinge is a piece of leather, which was only a localized packing material and is not evidence for the internal face of the door being covered with hide.⁸⁷ It is of interest to note that the reused fleur-de-lys hinges on the wicket of the Georgian south aisle door are of the same length and pattern as the scars of the missing hinges on the north door (Fig. 438, right), raising the possibility that a swap has taken place (Pl. 52).

On the exterior of the wicket are the remains of the original iron closing-ring with an umbo-shaped, pierced backplate secured with small nails; the ring itself is missing (Fig. 549). Internally, evidence for the primary securing arrangements for both the door and the wicket are preserved. A box-lock (now missing) was fitted to the wicket and the associated keep, which still survives, was mounted on the door alongside. The main door was secured by a short, square-section bar, one end of which was formed into a ring and was attached to a staple driven into the masonry of the east jamb; the free end of the bar latched into the keep



Fig. 549: North door, detail of wicket. Ornamental studwork on the exterior and the pierced iron backplate of the medieval closing-ring. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 550: *St Mary, West Walton (Norf.)*. Interior of a door of similar construction to that in the north aisle at *St Peter's*. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

beside the wicket. All of this survives. The missing lock must have been fitted with a double bolt, the upper component of which retained the bar just described, while the lower slid into the keep and secured the wicket. Externally, a scar is visible where there was a square iron escutcheon plate to protect the keyhole.⁸⁸

The door is now secured by a flat sliding bolt (made of mild steel) which was fitted in the early twentieth century. At the same time the wicket was secured with a long, hinged bar (effectively a hasp), a staple and a loose pin on a chain.

It has long been supposed that the north door is contemporary with the construction of the present aisle, and we initially assumed that if the door could be accurately dated by dendrochronology then the architecture of the aisle itself – and hence the nave arcades – could be dated. Only two of the horizontal inner boards were susceptible of dating⁸⁹ and on neither was the heartwood/sapwood boundary preserved: thus only a *terminus post quem* of 1385 could be established.⁹⁰ Consequently, the construction of the door must date from the very end of the fourteenth century, or more likely the early fifteenth: it must therefore be a later replacement for a door that had perhaps initially been reused from the narrow aisle.

The timber was identified as imported from the eastern Baltic, and it is common to find that planks from this source were trimmed to remove the heartwood/sapwood boundary. The possibility that this door was originally made for the outer opening of the porch, and was subsequently repositioned, was considered and rejected.

Similar doors may be found in other late medieval Lincolnshire and Fenland churches, *e.g.* Tattershall (Lincs.) and West Walton (Norf.) where, despite the grandeur of these churches, the hinge terminals are plain (Fig. 550). The possibility that the fleur-de-lys hinges at Barton are reused thirteenth-century fittings must be seriously considered.

North porch (Period 7A?)

The small, very plain north porch is secondary to the construction of the aisle, and its east wall incorporates one of the aisle's buttresses (Figs. 455, 464, 551 and 552).⁹¹ The porch has a simple chamfered limestone plinth which rides over the lower chamfer of the aisle plinth. The walls are constructed of mixed rubble, but with some coursed limestone slabs in the lower part of the east side.⁹² Substantial refacing has occurred, especially on the east (which is now mainly eighteenth-century brick), and the north-east quoin was rebuilt at a time when the churchyard level had risen by some 60 cm above the plinth. The north gable has also been rebuilt in brick, replacing timber framing (Fig. 553): the three walls of the medieval porch were all of the same height, and there was never a stone gable.

The outer opening has a pointed arch with a continuous moulding of two orders, and no imposts. The aperture is now somewhat distorted and the east jamb is out of plumb: it appears that the arch may originally have been mildly four-centred. The outer order comprises a weak roll, and the inner is plain, with a rounded arris; red paint occurs on the soffit, but is likely to be post-medieval. The two-centred and chamfered rear-arch is rebated as though to take a door, but there is no specific evidence for the hanging of one, or for damage caused by locks and bolts. The east and west sides of the porch each had a small rectangular window, set in a plain splayed reveal. That on the east was lintelled with a fragment of a medieval grave-cover bearing an incised cross (Fig. 712, no. 10).

The oak roof is of crude construction but is nevertheless medieval, and is undoubtedly original to the porch; unfortunately, the timbers are flimsy, knotty and contain too few rings to permit dating by dendrochronology (Tyers 2001b). The roof is a structure of one bay, but there is a single crown-post truss placed a short distance away from the north wall of the aisle (Fig. 554),⁹³ and there was formerly a complementary gable-truss over the outer entrance, now superseded by the thin brick gable. The crown-post is tenoned directly into the ridge, which is also clasped by the principals. A brace links the crown-post to the ridge on its north side, and there was also a corresponding brace



Fig. 551: North porch. View from the north-west, 1999. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

rising from the gable truss to the ridge (Fig. 555). The plain rectangular crown-post sits awkwardly on the tie-beam (which has a narrow, rectangular cross-section) and is braced by two struts.⁹⁴ Butt-purlins run between the main and gable trusses, and short lengths of purlin span the gap between the main truss and the aisle wall.⁹⁵ There were pairs of wallplates on each side, with sole-pieces connecting them: only the inner plates survive, and short ashlar-pieces rise from these to the undersides of the rafters. The latter are face-pegged to the purlins.⁹⁶ The east end of the tie-beam decayed and an oak knee was inserted to provide support, most likely in the seventeenth century; it has an ogee moulding on its end and is nailed to the tie-beam.

Chancel (Periods 7A and 7B) (Figs. 451, 452, 457, 461 and 533)

At least two phases of late medieval and Tudor work are evidenced in the chancel. The first relates to its slight westward lengthening when the clerestory was constructed (p. 463), followed by the heightening of its fourteenth-century walls (Period 7A). Externally, on the south and east, the latter is marked by an increase in the size of the ashlar, and internally by a change from rubble masonry to brickwork.⁹⁷ On the north, however, the wall was raised externally in brick, and rendered (Figs. 452 and 556). Probably attributable to the same phase of work (or possibly to Period 7B) was the insertion of a priest's doorway in the north wall of

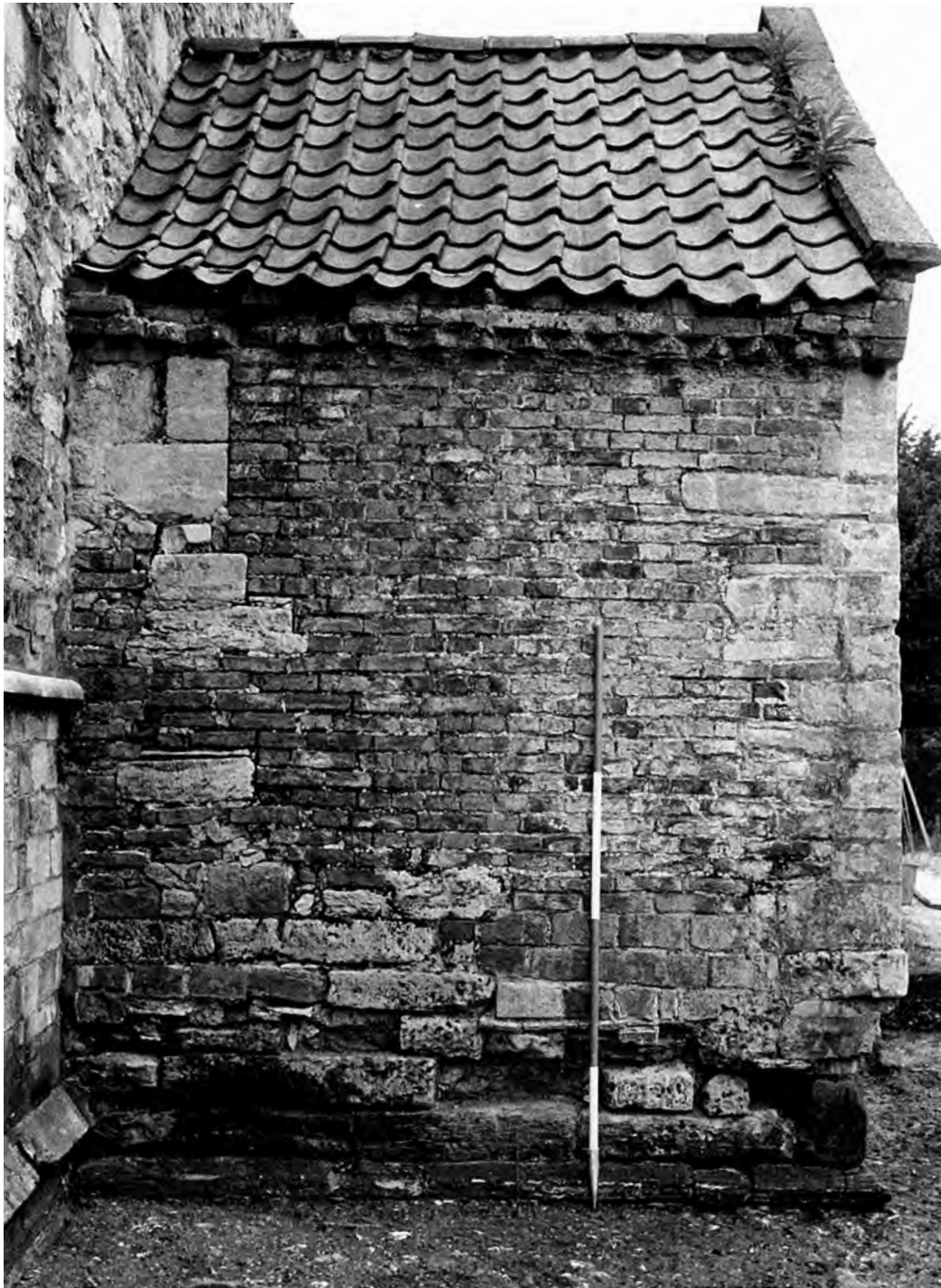


Fig. 552: North porch. East side during excavation, 1982. Note the incorporated remnant (immediately below eaves-level) of a north aisle buttress. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

the chancel; this was convenient for access from the old vicarage which lay a short distance to the north of the church (p. 613). The doorway was repositioned in the new organ chamber in 1897 (p. 530).

The crenellated parapets on the north and south have roll-moulded copings on both the merlons and within the embrasures; a hollow-moulded eaves-course defines the base of the parapet. The west end of the chancel parapet retains evidence where the crenellations and eaves-course formerly returned on to the

south aisle. The same apparently occurred on the north, but the aisle lost its eastern parapet when the Victorian organ chamber was added. The existing crow-stepped east gable to the chancel is a late nineteenth-century reconstruction of an earlier feature, using a mixture of medieval copings and new brick (Fig. 557).

The second Perpendicular phase involved remodeling the east window and carrying out remedial work to the south wall when structural failure threatened; this



Fig. 553: North porch roof. Viewed from the north-west during repair, 1983. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 554: North porch roof. View of the underside, 2000. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

is assignable to the late fifteenth or, more likely, the early sixteenth century (Period 7B). In the south wall, under the easternmost light of the window in bay 1, a downward tilt in the plinth is plainly visible (extending westwards from that point). This coincides with a change in the construction of the plinth band, from two courses of small blocks, to a single course of large

blocks; above is a stepped break in the masonry. Also, the easternmost light of the window exhibits distortion and, internally, the rear-arch has dropped too. Clearly, a structural failure has occurred, leading to the external refacing of much of bay 1. This was carried out at the same time as the east wall of the south aisle was rebuilt (p. 478), the two being structurally linked.



Fig. 555: North porch roof. Detail of the crown-post truss, from the north-east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

The refacing of the chancel entirely obliterated the scar evidence where the former east wall of the thirteenth-century south aisle abutted (Fig. 544). The cause of the failure was doubtless the waterlogged Anglo-Saxon ditch which runs under the western bay of the chancel: almost certainly the fractured window coincides with the eastern lip of the ditch (p. 159). At least one medieval grave-slab was cut up to provide ashlar for the refacing (Figs. 558 and 712, no. 15).

Sometime after the chancel walls had been heightened, the east window was substantially altered: what was presumably an early Decorated window – arguably filled with reticulated tracery – was remodelled into a late Perpendicular one: the sill was raised by three courses, the jambs were heightened, and a new head

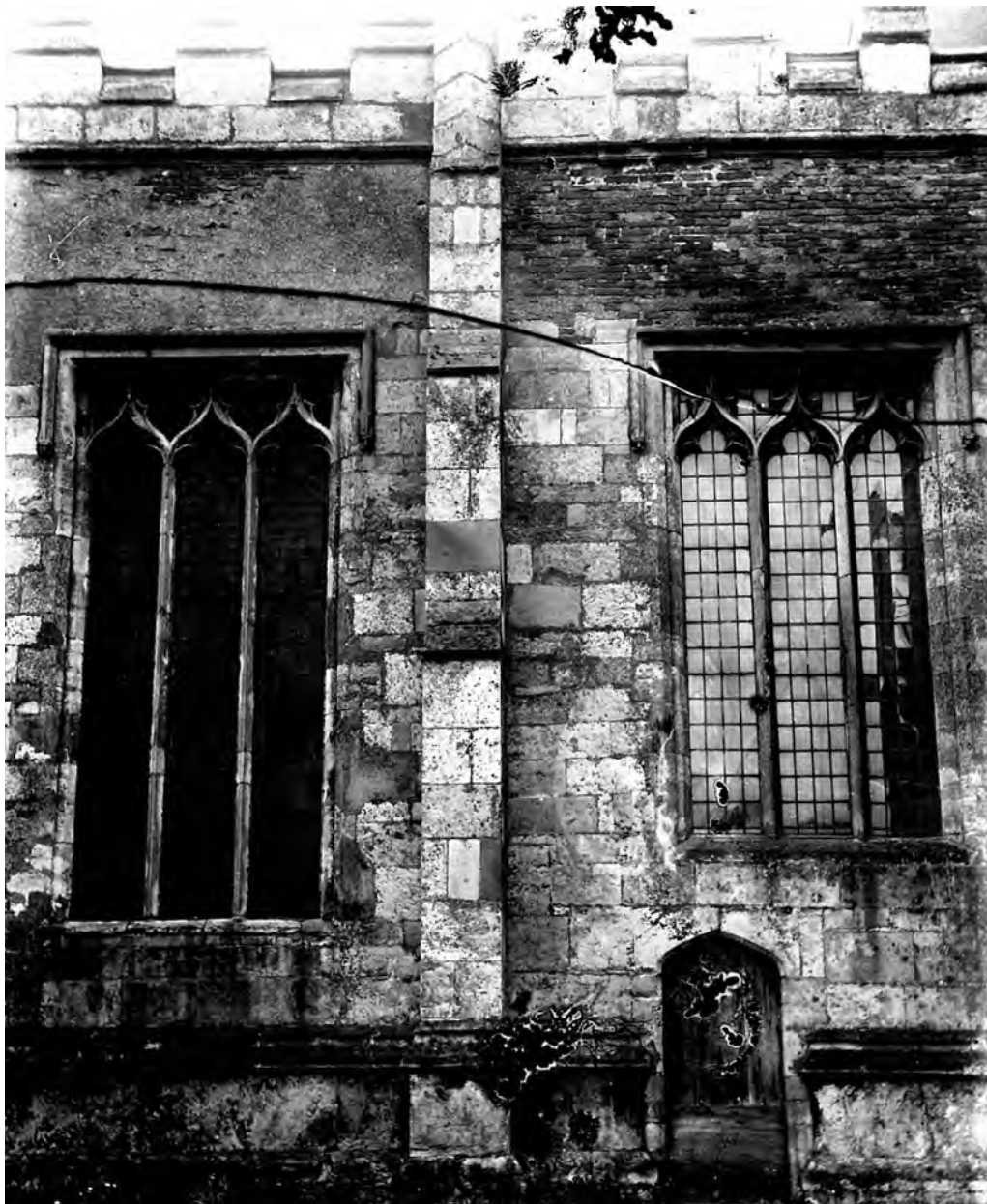


Fig. 556: Chancel, north wall. The masonry of bays 2 and 1 before the organ chamber was built in 1897. Note the Tudor heightening of the wall in rendered brickwork, and the original position of the priest's door in bay 1. Photo: Arthur Brummitt, courtesy of John French

constructed (Figs. 50, 21 and 559). The window has five cinquefoil-headed lights that are wider than all the others in the church, and the chamfered mullions are acutely angled. The original sill has gone, and four bevelled courses of masonry (the uppermost being the new sill) have been inserted in the opening, between the jambs (Fig. 534). The head is three-centred and has a hollowed hood-moulding with short returns, but no label-stops.

Internally, the reveals were heightened by four courses and a new three-centred rear-arch constructed (Fig. 535); its arris has a hollow chamfer. The east wall

is reduced in thickness by 10 cm at the springing level of the rear-arch: the head consequently steps back awkwardly on its own jambs. The line of the jambs was then continued up to the roof by plain brick quoins: visually, the effect has been to set the window in a recess in the east wall. The scar is plainly visible internally where the brickwork of the heightened chancel had to be cut back in order to reconstruct the window head.⁹⁸ The limestone used for the remodelling of the window was softer than the original, and it has decayed to a greater extent: this is plainly seen in the heightened jambs, new mullions and tracery.



Fig. 557: Chancel roof. Back of the crow-stepped east gable, as reconstructed in the nineteenth century. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 558: Chancel, south wall. Two fragments of an incised cross-slab used in the refacing. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 559: Chancel east window. Late Perpendicular head and tracery, replacing Decorated tracery. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

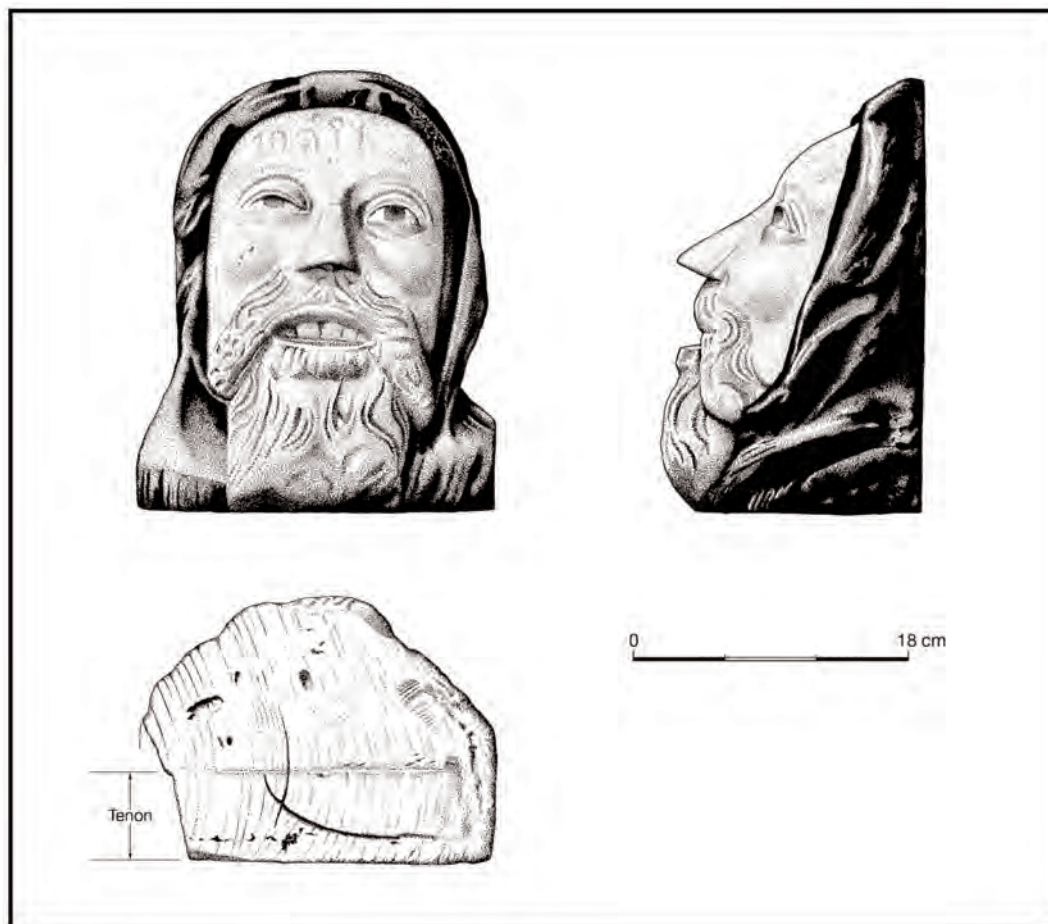


Fig. 560: Oak corbel head, possibly from the chancel roof. Scale 1:5. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

The clasping buttresses on the eastern corners of the chancel were raised by one stage and surmounted by pairs of pinnacles, set diagonally. Only the square bases of these now remain, the crocketed tops that they doubtless carried having already been lost by the eighteenth century. There were single pinnacles on the north and south buttresses marking the bay divisions of the chancel too.

Above roof level, the truncated east gable is treated as a parapet and now has a stepped coping of limestone, surmounting late nineteenth-century brickwork.⁹⁹ At the same time, a portion of fourteenth-century limestone canopy (from a magnificent niche) was fixed on the apex of the gable, merely as an ornamental: it was removed for better preservation in 1983 (Figs. 598 and 820, no. 18). All this work replaced a late medieval gable with crenellations and a finial at the apex, shown in Nattes's drawing of 1796 (Fig. 11). The crenellated gable was confirmed by a sketch in Loft's notebook in 1832; curiously, it was of brick, when the rest of the crenellations on the chancel were of stone.¹⁰⁰ He also observed that the buttresses had lost their pinnacles. The heightened chancel was given a low-pitched, lead-covered roof, the integral, chamfered limestone weathering for which is preserved on the east wall of the nave. The pitch was slightly steeper than that of the present eighteenth-century roof.

No evidence can be seen for a piscina, sedilia or other features in the walls of the chancel: nineteenth-century tiling covers the areas where these are likely to have been. A few small areas of medieval wallplaster have survived behind later monuments, preserving the potential for studying decorative finishes. These occur in the north and south aisles (M.45, M.47, M.56 and M.57), and in the chancel (M.63, M.65 and M.67). In 2000, traces of painting – presumed medieval – were observed on the plaster behind the Nelthorpe monument (M.63) on the east wall; the evidence has not been explored further.

Finally, a male head, somewhat crudely carved in oak in the form of a shallow corbel, has survived, but its origin is unrecorded¹⁰¹ (Pl. 51; Fig. 560). The scale of the object suggests that it is likely to have come from a roof and, since there is the scar of a sawn-off tenon on the base, it was clearly an ornamental attachment rather than a structural component.¹⁰² It could, for example, have been the decorative end of a hammerbeam. It is difficult to see how this could ever have belonged to one of the aisle roofs, and it is too small in scale for the nave. Just possibly it derived from the chancel. The style of the carving suggests a date in the later fifteenth or sixteenth century.

The head was repaired and repainted in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, although whether the present bright colours in any way reflect traces of earlier pigment has not been ascertained, but is highly unlikely.¹⁰³

Alterations to the tower and belfry (Period 7A or 7B)

The installation of a late medieval bellframe is evidenced by a series of six large, limestone corbels set into the east and west walls of the tower (Figs. 277, 278 and 622). The corbels are plain, quadrant-shaped, and at least three bear a mason's mark in the form of the letter 'W'; this is similar to a mark that appears on the north clerestory windows. The corbels carried a pair of north-south beams that in turn supported the joists of a heavy floor, upon which the bellframe rested. It was probably this frame that was destroyed in 1914, along with the floor (p. 535). Nothing is known of the other two floors in the tower, both having been replaced since the Middle Ages, although the middle (clock chamber) floor contained recycled medieval timbers (p. 457).

Associated with the installation of a bellframe was the blocking of the lower parts of the belfry openings with masonry, and the creation of outwardly sloping sills. This phenomenon has been noted in other eleventh-century Lincolnshire towers.¹⁰⁴

Crow-stepped gables and the reduction of the south aisle (Period 7B)

(Figs. 457, 459 and 463)

The thirteenth-century east wall of the south aisle was completely taken down and rebuilt 80 cm to the west of its original position. The south-east corner of the aisle, with its clasping buttresses was, however, left intact (Figs. 561 and 562). The reason for repositioning the



Fig. 561: South aisle. East wall unrestored, 1999. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 562: South aisle. Detail of the south-east clasp buttress, showing how the Tudor east wall was set further west than its predecessor, leaving a rubble scar on the side of the buttress. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

east end of the aisle was to provide support for the lateral thrust of the relatively new chancel arch, which was apparently showing signs of structural failure. Its southern end was sinking into the soft filling of one of the underlying Anglo-Saxon ditches, probably the same one that caused distortion in the east end of the north aisle (p. 474).

Externally, the wall is largely faced with Tudor brick, laid to English bond (Fig. 561),¹⁰⁵ while internally it is mainly constructed of small, roughly squared blocks of limestone with about a ten per cent inclusion of chalk blocks (Fig. 459);¹⁰⁶ three tiers of putlog holes are present. The wall was clearly intended for plastering on both faces. The new east wall rests on the thirteenth-century moulded limestone plinth, which was reclaimed from the old wall; the plinth is surmounted by a single course of large limestone ashlar (Fig. 563). The top of the wall, above the window head, is a later rebuild in mixed rubble and brick, and now has a plain modern parapet, but was previously finished with the same roll-topped stone coping as the south wall of the aisle.¹⁰⁷



Fig. 563: South aisle. Detail of the east window, 1999. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

The thirteenth-century east window was discarded and a new one incorporated in the rebuild; the glazing is set at the mid-point of the wall's thickness, and the complex mouldings extend symmetrically to both faces (Figs. 50, 19, and 563). The same distinctive, fine-grained, yellow limestone was used as occurs in the clerestory and chancel arch. The window has three cinquefoil-headed main lights and six small ones in the tracery. The four-centred arch, jambs and principal mullions are all moulded, but there is no label. The mullions rise from sill to head without interruption; they have thin, filleted frontal rolls. The sill has two chamfered orders and the block-stoolings are very prominent.

Medieval masonry repairs are evidenced: they were presumably occasioned by careless handling of the stones during transport or construction. Parts of the internal roll on the mullion and head of the main north light were damaged and small replacements had to be pieced in. The repairs were attached to the parent blocks in the usual way with hot mastic, and the effects on the stone of applying heat are seen as a thin line of pink discolouration to either side of the joint.

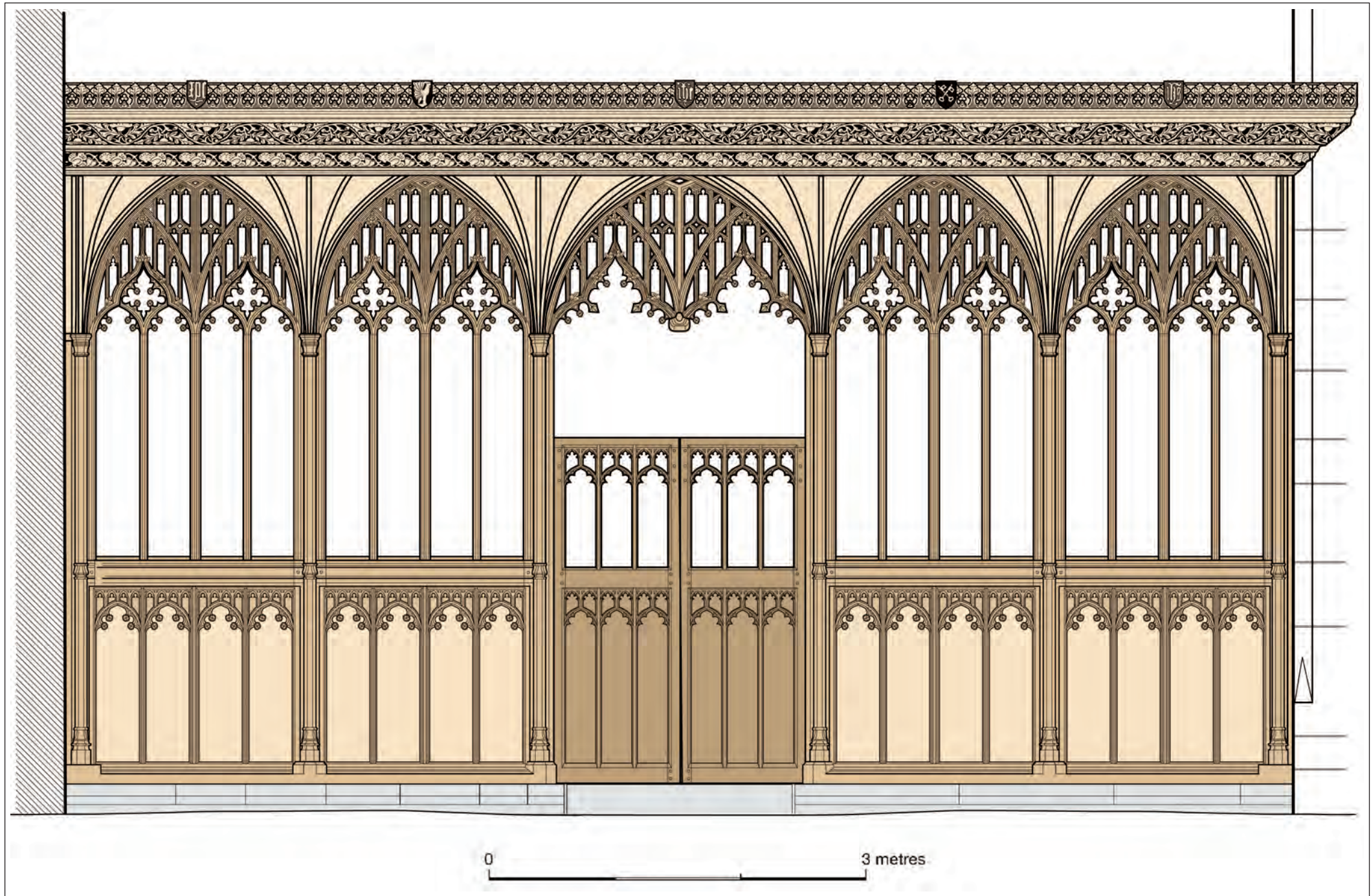


Fig. 564: Chancel screen. Elevation of the west face. Scale 1:40. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Six different masons' marks are preserved internally on the sill, head, jambs and mullions. There is also red paint on the lower parts of both jambs, to a height of *c.* 60 cm, but this appears to be post-medieval. Elements of what is almost certainly the original glazing survive (p. 586; Pls. 90 and 91). The style of the window is strikingly different from anything else in the church: it is Tudor, and a date in the last two decades of the fifteenth century may be implied if the associated heraldic glass was installed by the youngest of the three men bearing the name John Barnaby/Barnetby (p. 586).

A final phase of medieval or early Tudor enhancement was the erection of a suite of crow-stepped gables over the east- and west-facing walls of the nave and aisles, as well as the chancel. These gables have all now gone, but illustrations of them survive. The *raison d'être* for undertaking this substantial piece of work is unclear: one would expect it to have been carried out in conjunction with reroofing, but that seems unlikely since, at the time, the nave and aisle roofs, at least, could hardly have been much more than fifty years old. The crow-stepped gables are likely to be contemporary with the rebuilt head of the east window in the chancel.

A very large gable was raised over the east end of the nave with a tiny arched niche in its apex; the gable continued uninterrupted on to, and across, both aisles. It thus spanned the full width of the church. Nattes's drawing of 1796, and Carter's of *c.* 1830, both show this monumental crow-stepped gable, which entirely concealed the quoins of the clerestory (Figs. 11 and 13; Pl. 10). The lead roof at the east end of the nave kicked up in a curious fashion to the sill level of this niche; no satisfactory explanation for this is forthcoming.

Early nineteenth-century illustrations confirm the presence of corresponding half-gables over the western ends of both aisles (*Frontispiece*; Figs. 13 and 15; Pl. 9). As noted above, the present crow-stepped gable over the east wall of the chancel is late nineteenth century, but perpetuates an earlier arrangement (Fig. 11). From the surviving copings, now reused, it would appear that the gable dressings were limestone, while the walling below was almost certainly of brick.

Late medieval internal planning and furnishings

By the later fifteenth century, the interior of the aggrandized church was rapidly filling up with furniture and funerary monuments. There were at least three altars in the church: St Peter's in the chancel, and two with unrecorded dedications in the aisle-chapels. The south aisle may well have served as a Lady Chapel, and the Holy Rood is likely to have been honoured in the north aisle, on account of the design of the east window (p. 405). Other, minor altars might have flanked the chancel entrance, but of this there is no specific evidence beyond the suggestive way in which two groups of burials lie just west of possible altar positions (Fig. 698).

A potential fragment of a limestone *mensa*, bearing a consecration cross has been found (Fig. 823, no. 29). Several medieval wills contain bequests for repairs to the church, sometimes also mentioning the high altar (but not those in side chapels). Thus, in 1525 Richard Thomas made a gift to the high altar in St Peter's (Foster 1912b, 147), while William Wright left monies in 1532 to the high altars of both St Peter's and St Mary's, and additionally for repairs (Hickman 2001, 142). In the following year Thomas Browne bequeathed money for unspecified repairs to the churches (Hickman 2001, 154).

The eastern parts of the aisles – at least one and possibly two bays per side – were screened from the nave, to create side chapels; the evidence is best preserved on the north. The extent to which these were also enclosed by transverse screens is debatable: while there is some damage to the arcade piers (p. 431), potential screening-lines are interrupted by burials at the first bay-division in both aisles, and also at the second division in the north aisle. In the case of the south chapel we know that it was adopted by the Barnaby/Barnetby family in the late fifteenth century, who placed heraldic glass in the east window (p. 585).

Archaeological evidence was recovered from the floors, particularly on the northern side of the nave, both for burials and for small structures that had been founded on baulks of timber set into the ground (Fig. 540). These may have been the ground-sills for benches, or for screens. Either way, they point to the appropriation of small 'plots' by individual families, potentially heralding the beginnings of the private pew. A single example of a grave being defined by a rectangle of reset tiles occurred under the first bay of the north arcade (F357; Phase B; Pl. 55). From the residual evidence in their fillings, other graves had clearly been dug through tile paving too, and were thereafter marked by floor slabs.

Memorial brasses and incised floor slabs continued to be laid, two of which are precisely datable by their inscriptions: William Garton (d. 1411) and Robert Barnaby/Barnetby (d. 1440) (Fig. 714, nos. 25 and 26).

Chancel screen (Figs. 564, 565, 603, 613 and 647)

The major furnishing to have survived from the Middle Ages is the oak chancel screen, albeit heavily restored in 1898. This was designed to fill the lower part of the plain fifteenth-century chancel arch, and there is every reason to suppose that the two were contemporary. The screen consists of five bays of traceried lights, the central one open to the floor and the others divided into two registers. All the panelling in the lower register had been lost and was renewed, and the entire vaulted loft also dates from 1898. The posts forming the bay-divisions and the mid-rails are well moulded, but the sill and stone plinth on which the screen stands have been renewed. The posts are embellished on the west face with attached clustered shafts, having delicately

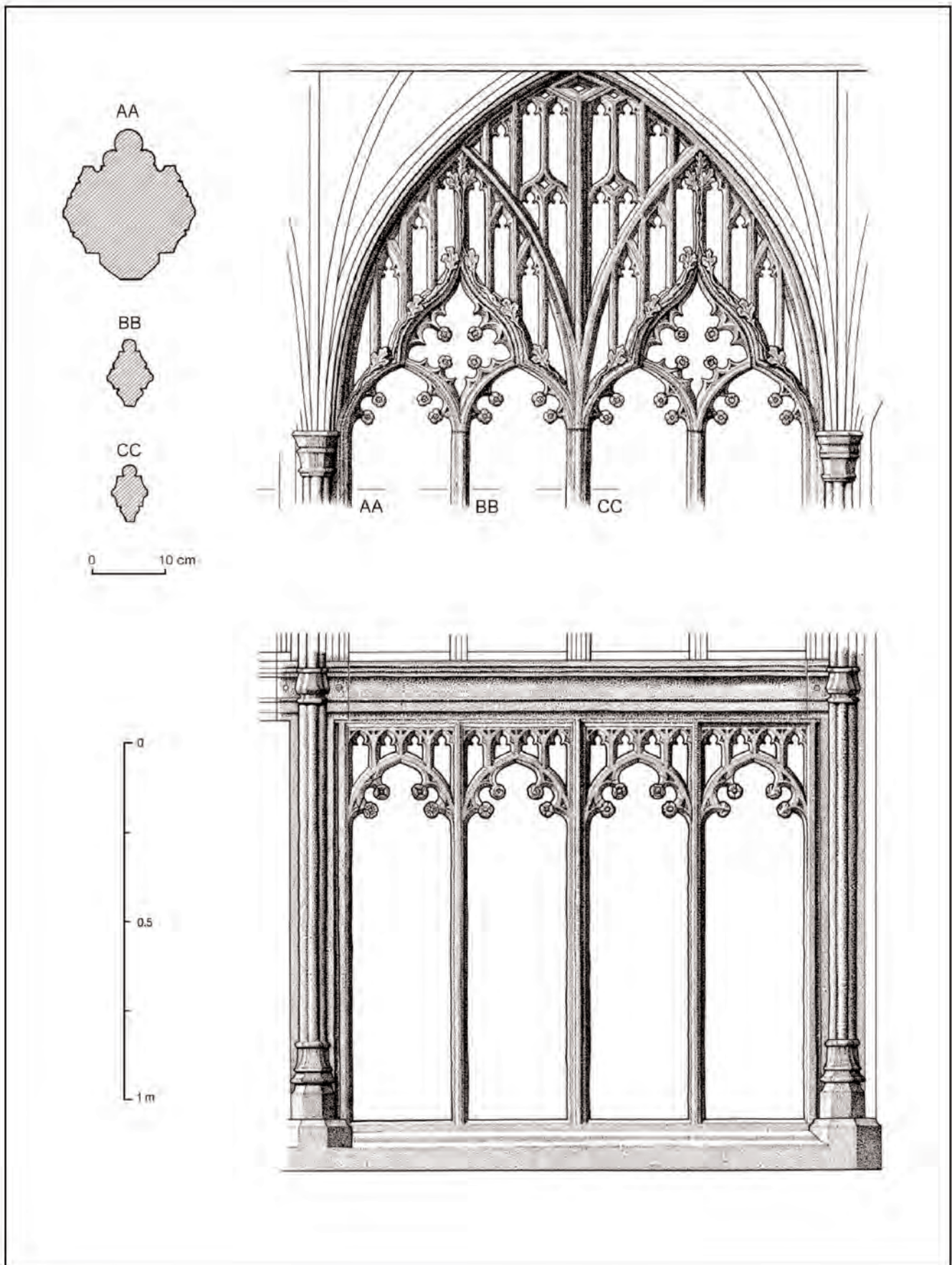


Fig. 565: Chancel screen. Detail of the traceried upper and lower registers of one bay (west face). Scale 1:15; moulding profiles 1:7.5. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

moulded octagonal capitals and bases, and the vaulted canopy springs from these shafts (Figs. 564 and 565). A simplified version of this arrangement is found on the east face, the shafts being half-octagonal in section.

Each bay contains four lights, arranged in two pairs; the mullions are well moulded, and have a frontal roll on the west face. In the upper register, the traceried heads are cinquefoiled with rosette-bosses on each cusp. Surmounting each pair of lights is an ogival element, decorated with oak leaves and enclosing an ornate quatrefoil. The upper part of the tracery is filled with a multitude of slender trefoil-headed lights. In each light the top of the mid-rail has a central hole where a piece of iron has been extracted, or has broken off; it was too small for a stanchion, but could have been the fixing for a fleur-de-lys or other motif.¹⁰⁸ The lower register has blind cinquefoil-headed tracery on the west. The panels are edged with mouldings on that face, but have only plain chamfers towards the east. Exceptionally, the stile at the north end of the screen has the same mouldings in the lower register as in the upper; this was clearly over-elaborated in error.

A pair of gates hangs in the central opening. These are markedly different in their scale and mouldings from the remainder of the screen, and they are not part of the primary composition. The posts flanking the opening have each had a concave channel cut into the

east side, to receive the rounded edge of the hinging-stile of the gate.¹⁰⁹ The iron hinges are largely concealed in the stile (Fig. 566).¹¹⁰ Moreover, the presence of the complex ogival tracery in the central bay militates against the concept of gates, unless they were only as high as the mid-rail. Consequently, it may be asserted with confidence that the present gates came originally from a parclose screen and were installed in here at an unknown date subsequent to the fifteenth century. The gates' closing stiles exhibit multiple scars from bolts and latching devices, all now lost.

Nothing can be said with certainty about the medieval rood loft, or how access was gained to it. There was clearly no rood-loft stair incorporated in the masonry of, or adjoining, the chancel arch: access must have been via a timber stair, probably on the south side.¹¹¹

Seven of the traceried panels in the body of the screen were examined in an attempt to elicit a date by dendrochronology, but in the event only one was datable and that was in the southern door leaf. The planks are of eastern Baltic origin and would not have been seasoned for an appreciable length of time: carving of the intricacy represented here is easier to undertake on green timber. The rings present belong to the years 1287–1450, but no heartwood/sapwood boundary was preserved, which is not unexpected with imported Baltic planking.¹¹² Assuming that no substantial loss of heartwood has occurred, a date for the construction of the door leaves is unlikely before the late 1460s, while the 1470s or even the 1480s would be possible. They might have originated in the Barnaby/Barnetby chapel in the south aisle, the furnishing of which is likely to have dated from the 1480s.

Thus the screen itself remains undated. Although, stylistically, the third quarter of the fifteenth century would be feasible for both the screen and the chancel arch, the complex ogival form of the tracery would better support a date in the first half or middle of the century. Above the screen, the tympanum of the arch was filled with boarding, which may well have carried a doom painting. The fixing-points for the boards are still evident on the arch.

The east face of the screen is peppered with holes left by tacks, particularly on the bevel of the mid-rail. The stile on the south side of the entrance has two sawn-off tenons in its east face, showing where a piece of furniture (a stall?) was attached; it was not primary. Various other fixing scars and repairs are also present on the east face of the lower register.

Benches

In addition to the fixed stone seating, there is tantalizing evidence to indicate that the church also possessed a suite of late medieval oak benches with carved ends. The positions of the ground-sills to which these were affixed were recorded in excavation; most of the surviving evidence lay on the north side of the nave (Fig.

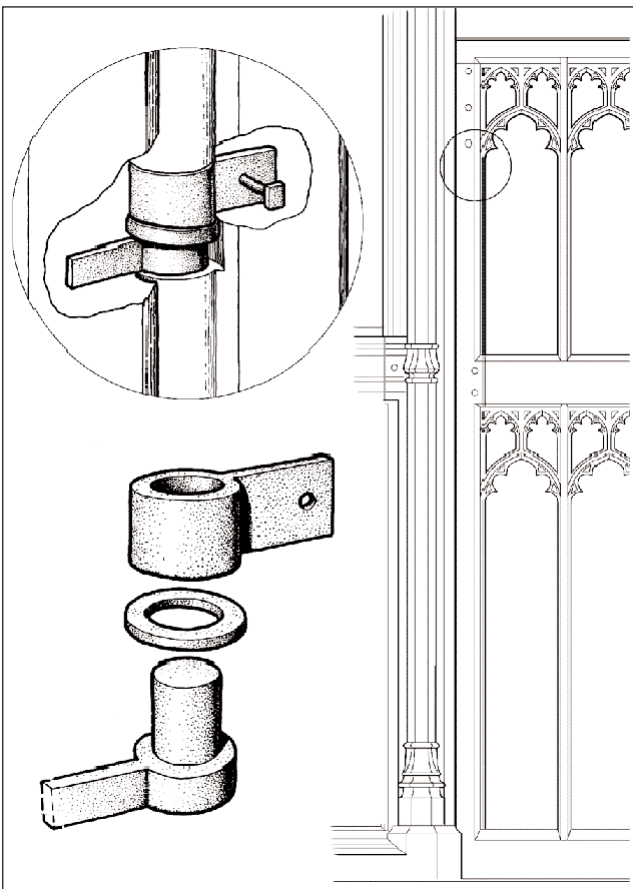


Fig. 566: Chancel screen. Details of one of the secret hinges carrying the secondary gates. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

540). An account, written just before the restoration of 1858–59, noted that ‘Many of the pews are of very ancient construction, the oaken doors having Gothic windows well carved thereon’ (Ball 1856, 1, 58). Although the earliest evidence for an overall pewing arrangement dates only from 1803, it must have embodied late medieval carved rectangular bench-ends: they were either reused as doors to enclose pews, or perhaps they were incorporated in the panelling and Ball mistakenly thought that they had once been doors. Either way, he must have seen panels carved with Gothic tracery reminiscent of windows. Finally, the 1858 specification for the restoration contained provision for repairing and reusing the old ‘carved oak ends’.¹¹³

Regrettably, this was not done. However, one bench-end survived and was kept for a while in St Mary’s vestry; then in the early twentieth century it was incorporated in the end of a new desk (p. 556; Fig. 642). The surviving fragment is fourteenth century and its tracery pattern has close links with the windows of the north aisle in St Peter’s. Prominent traceried designs were a feature of late medieval bench-ends in the East Midlands, as seen, for example, at Stow (Lincs.) (Howard and Crossley 1917, 312, pl.).

Miscellaneous

Various hearths and other small features cut into the floors – certainly medieval, but not closely datable – reflect the continuing activities of construction and repair.

Discussion of the Architectural Sculpture in St Peter’s and St Mary’s Churches

by Pamela Tudor-Craig

It would be foolish to attempt a stylistic classification of the fourteenth-century head and foliage sculpture at St Peter’s without taking into account the parallel structure of the chancel aisle at St Mary’s, which must have been under construction at about the same time, and undoubtedly employed the same craftsmen. The fact that the nave of St Mary’s is more sparsely decorated perhaps underlines the relative importance of the two churches, it being only a chapel-of-ease to St Peter’s. The striking factor, that substantial portions of both large churches were under construction in the early to middle years of the fourteenth century, points to a peak of prosperity here at that time. The most lavish element in the two churches, as finished by the middle of the fourteenth century, would have been the chancel of St Peter’s. It is the more regrettable that this was subsequently rebuilt and its full archaeological investigation has not yet been undertaken. St Mary’s chancel has a south arcade of three bays, giving onto what would traditionally be the Lady Chapel, but

which here is called St James’s chapel. There is nothing to suggest a comparable feature at St Peter’s, although there is some slight indication, described below, that the south nave aisle may have served as a Lady Chapel.

In St Mary’s, a small corbel of a bearded man has been reset on the north wall, just east of the chancel, and on the exterior there were head sculptures on the spandrels of the Y-tracery windows. A gargoyle waterspout survives at the east end. For illustrations and the context of the sculptures at St Mary’s, see chapter 3 (pp. 118–24; Figs. 108–122); for those at St Peter’s, see above (pp. 433–51; Figs. 470–474, 497–524).

Sculptors working at the churches

It is possible to distinguish four types among the Barton heads.

i) Master of the Pointed Oval Heads

Responsible for 4, 6, 7, 15, 21, 22 and 23 at St Peter’s; and for 1, 5, 6 and 7 at St Mary’s.

ii) Master of the Regal Men

Responsible for 5, 16 and 17 at St Peter’s. None apparently at St Mary’s.

iii) Master of the Rectangular Heads

Responsible for 11 at St Peter’s, for 8 at St Mary’s and for a single head at nearby Goxhill church (see below).

iv) Master of Caricatures and Grotesques

Responsible for 1, 2, 3, 10 and the heads in the capitals and probably the piscina (30) at St Peter’s; for 8 and 11 at St Mary’s; and probably for the heads in the foliage capitals and responds at both churches.

According to this grouping, the dominant type is that here called the work of the Master of the Pointed Oval Heads. We may surmise that the chancel of St Peter’s was furnished with further works in this style. On the other hand, the style associated with the Regal Men appears only at St Peter’s. My illustrations of comparisons suggest that this facial type is slightly later than the rest, hinting at the reign of Edward III. This might indicate that the nave of St Peter’s was the last part of the two churches to be built.

It is possible to argue that the different facial types grouped in this way do not represent as many sculptors, but the number of models in the same workshop, on which any of the craftsmen could have worked interchangeably. There is, however, one head that could not be explained in this way: no. 11, the rectangular head blocked out without any understanding of depth: it is different in scale and skill from any of the others in this church. On the other hand, the Goxhill head (Fig. 567) is strikingly similar to it.

Heads facing into the south chancel aisle at St Mary’s appear thus:



Fig. 567: *All Saints, Goxhill (Lincs.)*. Limestone head of a cowled monk, set internally over the north aisle doorway. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

- 5 Lady wearing a wimple
- 6 Crowned lady with a veil
- 7 Crowned and bearded man, well carved. The tip of his nose is replaced
- 8 Grotesque head with open mouth and pointed ears
- 9 Lady with flowing hair
- 10 Lady with flowing hair¹¹⁴

The St Mary's group fills in some of the *lacunae* at St Peter's. The former has more, and better, women's heads. The emphatically curly hair found in men, as seen in St Mary's, reached its peak of fashion in Edward II's reign. As Edward III's reign progressed, less exaggerated wavy hair and beards were favoured, exemplified at St Peter's. It is possible that St Mary's gives us a glimpse of the lost early fourteenth-century chancel at St Peter's. Everything suggests that the same workshop operated in both churches.

If we extend the boundaries in search of this workshop's activities, we find a solitary head, seemingly reset internally over the north aisle door at Goxhill, which reminds us of the dazzling potential of English head sculpture of the first half of the fourteenth century (Fig. 567). This head has preserved its original surface. It shows a monk, cowled and clean-shaven, his mouth slightly open as if surprised, his cheeks smooth and rounded. The pupils of his eyes are slightly dished, a characteristic of the finest realistic sculpture since classical times. Goxhill was a less ambitious church than either of those at Barton, yet this head, and the smaller corbel-head (no. 11) at Barton St Mary's, show that these little villages could command workmen of the skills expected in cathedrals.¹¹⁵ If they had not been scrubbed and repainted and scrubbed again, the heads of St Peter's and St Mary's, Barton, could have given us as much pleasure. It is not fortuitous that the examples in the best condition are no longer part of the official ensembles, but chance discoveries placed out of

reach in obscure and neglected corners, where they did not have to endure periodic refurbishments.

The local school

A tour of churches to the south of Barton with substantial fourteenth-century survivals did not yield any evidence of the activities of the Barton group of sculptors. Their affiliations appear to lie with the churches north of the Humber. South of Barton, there is a band of churches with relatively sparse ornamentation in their fourteenth-century works, until the orbit of the Lincolnshire chancels is reached: Heckington, Hawton and Navenby, with their dazzling liturgical furnishings (Sekules 1983; 1995). However, the south nave arcade at Caistor has a series of head-stops on the label-mouldings; although they are slightly smaller than the Barton examples, several exhibit close similarities.

The possibility that local monastic houses provided a source of inspiration and craftsmen should not be discounted, even though little evidence now survives. Since we are not dealing with the chancel of the parish church, a case cannot be argued for the direct involvement of Bardney Abbey. It should, however, be noted that there was considerable building activity at Thornton Abbey (Augustinian) in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and the work was of very high quality (Clapham and Baillie Reynolds 1956). Several finely carved label-stops in the form of human heads have been found in excavations there.¹¹⁶ In particular, an arcade head-stop of a king (Fig. 568) bears a close resemblance to one of the Regal Men at St Peter's (no. 11), the treatment of the hair being identical. Similarly, another male head, and one of a young woman, could have come from the same workshop as those at Barton (Figs. 569 and 570). It is possible that a sculptor trained at Thornton went on to Barton. The facial characteristics of both the male heads at



Fig. 568: Thornton Abbey (Lincs.). Arcade label-stop: king's head. Photos: English Heritage

Thornton include the pointed and slightly receding chins of the Barton males, and in particular their full and somewhat pouting lips. The more subtle carving at Thornton is exaggerated at Barton into a definite local characteristic.

North of the Humber, there are a few gargoyle water-spouts in the vein of the one at Barton St Mary's, as at Bainton (E. Yorks.), where there are also the worn remains of a contemporary monument. Definitive, however, in terms of a fully ornamented parish church of the first half of the fourteenth century is Patrington (E. Yorks.) (Maddison 1989).¹¹⁷ There is also much contemporary sculpture at Beverley.

St Patrick, Patrington

The level of sophistication of its design and detail are of a more courtly class than Barton, and fully accounted for by the church's close connections with both Beverley Minster and York itself. Patrington was a minor port, but more significant to the church was its ownership by the canons of St John's, Beverley, and the presence in the town throughout the high Middle Ages of a rich manor of the archbishops of York. The design of the south transept windows belongs to a group stemming from the nave of York Minster of 1291+, and stretching across very major churches as far as Southwell (Notts.).

The key lies in the exalted family of master masons who stemmed from Patrington. The first one recorded was William I de Patrington, *fl.* 1351–58, who was carving images and angels for St Stephen's Chapel at Westminster during those years. Robert de Patrington,

fl. 1352–85, was responsible for the presbytery of York Minster, and also for six marble tombs of archbishops in 1368–73, surely a retrospective set since they were all paid for by Archbishop Thoresby. The surviving documents illustrate the involvement of these masters in sculptural work. Though they are all slightly later than activities in Barton, the links between Patrington and York itself go back before the rise of a cathedral master and a royal sculptor from that place (Harvey 1984).

The head carvings at Patrington are numerous and varied, exhibiting examples of the head-types found at Barton, but never so closely as to suggest participation by the same men. We shall return to Patrington in the iconographic section below.

St John, Beverley (Minster)

The nave arcade of Beverley Minster furnishes a sumptuous gallery of head sculptures, each supporting an angel musician. Once more every type found at Barton is represented, without any closer family resemblance. Two bearded males, one below a blessing bishop on column N4 and the other acting as the chief figure opposite him on S4, provide close comparisons for beard and hair types at Barton. They are in the first bay after the break where the late thirteenth-century work stopped. In addition, there are further parallels in the rich arcading of the two aisle walls. The north side is the later and the more restored, though it has some fine heads. The south arcading is among the almost-forgotten wonders of English fourteenth-century sculpture.



Fig. 569: Thornton Abbey (Lincs.). Arcade label-stop: male head. Photos: English Heritage



Fig. 570: Thornton Abbey (Lincs.). Arcade label-stop: female head. Photos: English Heritage

The Percy Tomb, Beverley Minster

Though there is a wealth of carving of the first half of the fourteenth century just north of the Humber to compare with the idiom of Barton, we have not found any churches where the same team was evidently at work. On the other hand, the spread of a language of facial types and headdresses can be mapped over a still larger area. In fact, despite its liveliness and diversity, it seems to belong to a repertoire which was national in coverage

(e.g., see Coldstream 1983). The Percy tomb obviously furnishes the richest single source of decorative range in the neighbourhood. It has been extensively analyzed, most recently by Nicholas Dawton (1983; 1989).

This lavish combination of a monument and Easter Sepulchre, and the accompanying altar screen, represent the high point of Decorated art, but they are themselves in all probability a reflection of the focus of devotion in this part of England: the lost shrine of St John of Beverley.

Shrine of St John of Beverley

Faced with the situation at Barton of a repertoire of motifs with apparently nation-wide currency, found in all the important building works of the period in Humberside, we look for a common source, and this was surely the now lost shrine of St John of Beverley. The miraculous banner of St John of Beverley had served Edward I well in the Scottish Wars, and as a result the commission for a splendid shrine to house the relics of the saint in Beverley Minster was undertaken under royal patronage. The contract of 16 October 1292 survives, and the commission is presumed to have been completed by 1308. The goldsmith employed was Roger de Faringdon. Surety was given by William de Farendon, who gave his name to the Ward of Faringdon in the City of London. At some point, the family, who were all goldsmiths, probably removed from Faringdon in Berkshire, but by 1292 we may assume the artist was based in Faringdon Ward, which his relative had bought in 1281/2, and was sufficiently under the eye of the king to attract this immensely expensive commission: '*y maginibus subtilis et decori, pluribus pro ejusdem capituli voluntate aut paucioribus, maioribus et minoribus ...*' ('... images delicate and elegant, with many details on large and small scale') were specified in the contract, '*et aliis subtilitatibus feretro hujus modi et ejus pulcritudini convenientibus, ad artificium tamen spectantibus aurifabri ...*' ('and other subtleties to make this shrine and its beauty an appropriate and spectacular work of the goldsmith's art ...')

Among beauties for which the craft of the goldsmith is peculiarly suited is the type of foliage found in all groups of sculpture of the early fourteenth century, and variously termed 'undulating' or 'seaweed'. The question of why the sculptors of the 1290s, who in the Southwell chapter house, for example, brought the treatment of naturalistic foliage to an unsurpassed level of perfection, should have been prepared to capitulate in the immediately following years to the coarse and repetitive foliate types we associate with the Decorated style in general and at Barton in particular, has never been addressed. There is no way that 'seaweed' can be interpreted as a short cut. Its arbitrary curves and bulbs must have required as many hours of chisel and gouge as naturalism. The borders of illuminated manuscripts of the early fourteenth century are similarly afflicted, and there the form has been christened without much justification 'cabbage leaf'. It is possible that the patron was specifying acanthus, the only plant which bears some resemblance in the wild to what we see in stone or illumination.

The patrons must have been impressed by some highly prestigious example of the new and unfortunate fashion. When these leaves are depicted in manuscripts, they are mostly painted an unrealistic grey, frequently with beaded central veins. When, in the fifteenth century, their descendants appear in strew borders in manuscripts they are usually painted either

silver or bronze with gold highlights. The one medium in which they would be easy to represent – the medium which would naturally invent them – is metalwork. Their undulating forms would be tormenting to cut out in stone. They ask to be embossed. To beat them out from the back in heated metal would be child's play. The most prestigious, the most expensive, the most revered, objects of the Middle Ages were of metal, usually in some form the casing of relics or altar furniture. To visit them was the destination of travelling royalty. The Beverley shrine was carried through the streets at Rogationtide, and all the trade guilds built wooden castle gateways for the procession to go through. The date of the Beverley shrine puts it firmly at the beginning of the sequence of Decorated buildings in the locality, starting with the nave of Beverley itself, and the complex of Percy tomb and screen which must have been its nearest imitators. So it may be said that Humberside had a prestigious object of national importance springing from London craftsmanship on which to model decorative motifs throughout the first half of the fourteenth century.

The present surface of the Barton carvings suggests that they may not have been among the first works of importance in this school, but, as has been suggested, the survival at Goxhill of a head in relatively good condition points out the gulf between these heads as they survive and their putative original condition. At Barton St Mary's a small corbel of a bearded man has been set in the north wall, just east of the chancel arch. He has shallow-set almond eyes and a faintly furrowed brow (Fig. 118). He is clearly of the early fourteenth century, and must come from a special feature, perhaps a tomb-recess, or a piscina. His nose may be a replacement. This is a very fine head indeed, and many parallels for it could be found further south. Such is the preference at this date for relatively shallow-set eyes that we might suspect among the vicissitudes suffered by the Barton carvings, their eye-sockets may have been deepened in an attempt to make the faces read better. This would be a late Victorian or Edwardian activity. The head of 'Queen Margaret' outside the Judgement Porch at Lincoln can be dated to the later nineteenth century by the deep undercutting of the eye-sockets alone.

Iconography of the Barton heads

'For the period *c.* 1250–1350 the question of studies from life can be divorced from that of portraiture. Representation of real persons for commemorative purposes, such as the effigy of Eleanor of Castile, or with iconic connotations such as the statue of Louis IX at Mainneville, were not made from life studies. The Mainneville figure was made forty years after Louis' death, but both figures were deliberately idealized. At Naumberg Cathedral, however, the figures of secular benefactors in the west choir were certainly modelled on living people, but not on the long-dead people whom the statues represent ...' (Coldstream 1983).

The only exceptions to this sound rule-of-thumb would lie in the direction of royal likenesses, and that is because an official ‘likeness’ of the ruling monarch was stamped on the coinage in each reign. When we take into account, however, that the full-face image with bouffant hair devised for Edward II’s penny remained in circulation until the reign of Henry VII, we realize that we must not lean on this source of royal imagery. Nevertheless, the longer facial type with slightly less exaggerated curls, which I have associated at Barton with the Master of the Regal Heads, whom I have suggested may be the youngest carver and the last to join the team, may distantly reflect the fashions set by the mature Edward III in the middle years of the fourteenth century.

While we are not looking for portraits, other than in the casual sense of asking a friend or colleague to sit still to take a characteristic feature, we are looking for types. It would appear that it was the common object to portray all kinds and conditions of society, and to do so in a hieratic manner. It is also the case that the artists working on head-sculpture in the first half of the fourteenth century – when a peak of general performance was reached (*cf.* not only Beverley and Patrington, but also Ely, Tewkesbury, Bristol, Southwell, Gloucester, Norwich, etc.) – were rejoicing in their new-found power to convey a range of facial expressions.

The appearance of the amused smile on the angels of the west portal of Reims Cathedral was immediately taken up in England. So were the other facial expressions essayed in the minor sculpture at Reims, and reflected in the anguished heads at Clarendon and Winchester, but above all in Westminster Abbey. One of the best places to observe the arrangement of varied facial types in the mid-thirteenth century is St Faith’s chapel at Westminster Abbey, where beautiful heads of both sexes greet our eyes as we look east. They are similarly perceived from the high-level passage which runs across the west end of the chapel, leading to the monks’ dormitory staircase: these heads all encourage us to look east. On the other hand, a range of three life-size heads of varying degrees of anguish terminate vaulting ribs along the north wall of the sanctuary. The deliberate nature of this arrangement encourages us to seek later parallels.

Returning to Barton, let us lay out the subjects of the nave head-stops at St Peter’s and those in the chancel at St Mary’s, from east to west (see below).

At St Mary’s there are two women, both at the east end of the arcade and facing towards the south aisle (Figs. 113 and 114). In addition, two more women’s heads form the internal label-stops on the east window of the aisle (Fig. 117). At St Peter’s there are only three

Table 14: Distribution of head-stops in the two churches

	<i>North aisle</i>	<i>St Peter’s church North nave arcade</i>	<i>South nave arcade</i>	<i>South aisle</i>
E. respond	6 Youth	7 Youth in cap	18 Missing	19 Missing
Bay 1/2	5 Young man	8 Lady	17 King	20 Queen
Bay 2/3	4 Prince	9 C19 replacement for bearded man	16 Nobleman	21 Nobleman
Bay 3/4	3 Negroid lady	10 Grotesque in cowl	15 Knight	22 Lady
Bay 4/5	2 Negroid man Semi-grotesque	11 Gentleman	14 Lion	23 Youth
W. respond	1 Crowned lion	12 C19 replacement	13 C19 replacement	24 C19 replacement
		<i>St Mary’s church</i>		
		<i>South chancel arcade</i>	<i>South chancel aisle</i>	
E. respond		4 Bearded man	5 Lady	
Bay 2/3		3 Bearded man	6 Queen	
Bay 1/2		2 Bearded man	7 King	
W. respond		1 Youth	8 Grotesque	

South chancel aisle, east window label-stops: two heads of ladies

original women's heads in all, two of which are in the south aisle (Figs. 515 and 517). Moreover, if the missing easternmost head was also a woman, the arrangement would replicate that in St Mary's. There is thus some possibility that the south chancel aisle at St Mary's, with its four female heads at the east end, was a Lady Chapel. The south nave aisle at St Peter's may have been one too, but the evidence is too incomplete to press the point. Noticeably, in both churches the grotesques are prominent towards the west end. These features should be read in conjunction with the entrance doors. The arrangement was probably not only hieratic – with 'quality' towards the east end – but also directional: *i.e.* it was intended to guide the congregation to face in the appropriate direction, by offering a nasty or inappropriate image to the eye straying westwards.

The north doorway at neighbouring Goxhill was carved in the fifteenth century with a series of heads alternating with foliage along an uninterrupted hollow chamfer. Reading from the summit downwards on the west side, the heads are:

West side

- a) Bearded king
- b) Queen
- c) Bearded man
- d) Fool with mouth open
- e) Man with tall headdress
- f) Woman with mouth open
- g) Cowled head

East Side

- a) Bearded man
- b) Lady with mouth open
- c) Bishop with mouth open
- d) Head of wild man
- e) Beast's head

Though the intention is not entirely clear (why so many with open mouths?), it is still the case that the more dignified are towards the top and, conversely, the less dignified at the bottom.



Fig. 571: Wells Cathedral (Som.). Label-stop in the chapter house, depicting a male head wearing a mason's cap. Photo: The Courtauld Institute of Art, London

It is striking that in neither of the Barton churches is there a cleric's head. At St Peter's they may have taken their place in the chancel (although there were no arcades), but at St Mary's there is nowhere for them. The specifically lay and relatively humble nature of one of the most prominent head-stops in St Peter's, no. 7, a youth wearing a cap, could suggest that he was the master mason in the early fourteenth century. Such caps were, however, also worn by scholars. In either case his important place in what we might term the procession of the nave head-stops underlines the lay initiative, and surely patronage, of this part of the building. No doubt things were otherwise beyond the chancel arch where the abbot of Bardney paid, and ruled. A close parallel for the Barton head is found in the chapter house at Wells Cathedral, where coincidentally it is the first head-stop one encounters on the north side. It dates from the first decade of the fourteenth century (Fig. 571).

Grotesques and green men

The same spatial juxtapositions of sacred and secular that occur on the Ormesby Psalter are to be found in the English polyphonic music of the same period. Religious motets sometimes even combine Latin top parts with vernacular tenor lines, as in the fourteenth-century three-part motet in a manuscript at Durham Cathedral that combines the sacred narrative of the Massacre of the Innocents, beginning 'Herod in pretorio' in the top line, with a prostitute's call ('Hey Hure Lure') in the bottom part. (Camille 1992, 28).

At both Barton's churches we have grotesques towards the west end, and plenty of 'green men' in the capitals and on the piscina in the north aisle of St Peter's, and in the arcade capitals at St Mary's. The subject of grotesque carvings in churches has been much studied of late, notably by Camille (1992) and by Grossinger (1997). Grossinger illustrates, for example, a head misericord at Winchester of *c.* 1305 (1997, 155, pl. 234). Peterborough, Gloucester, Exeter and Westminster Abbey had thirteenth-century stalls, but the fourteenth century, with Winchester, Wells, Lincoln, Coventry and Chester, was the heyday of misericord carving. The reason why misericords were regarded as a suitable context for frivolous subject matter is self-evident. Equally, anyone who has observed a gargoyle in action in a rainstorm will not need an explanation of why the function is linked with grotesques. Camille (1992, 78) observes the first document of a gargoyle in 1295, and finds classical sources. One gargoyle survives at St Mary's, Barton.

However, the appearance of grotesques on nave arcades alongside, albeit usually to the west of, serious images of dignified people, does beg explanation. My suggestion is that they are meant to rebuke the wandering eye. Such a purpose must lie behind the carvings on the cusps of the fourteenth-century sedilia in Ripon

Cathedral. Seen from the front, they are images of the heads and busts of a venerable king and queen. But if you sit in the sedilia, lean back and look upwards you will discover that the lower bodies of the king and queen are carved into the miniature vaults, and they are revealing their nakedness. In the same way, if you sit in the niches around the Lady Chapel at Ely and crane your head upwards, your eye will meet, in a few of the niches, little grotesque heads putting out their tongues at you.

So our nave grotesques may be intended to teach the discipline of the eye, but what of the marginal grotesque in the pages of early fourteenth-century manuscripts, of which the most outrageous appear in the Luttrell Psalter,¹¹⁸ illuminated *c.* 1325–35 for Sir Geoffrey Luttrell of Irnham in Lincolnshire? The incidental scenes in the *bas de pages* are associated with passages of the Psalms which are written alongside them. But the actual grotesques are prominent, and frequently obscene. If they reflect the taste of the patron, then the crowded and relatively innocuous grotesques found in many Books of Hours painted for ladies may have been meant to while away tedious periods in chapel, especially for those who could not easily read, or at least not in Latin. They served the secondary function, in the days before indexes, of helping people to find special passages. Thirdly, some of the most lavishly embellished Books of Hours were made for little girls upon their absurdly premature arranged marriages. By these means they may have been lured to study their letters and to remain quiet in church. Visually they are the parallel for grotesque carvings, and perhaps some of the functions of those in books may have applied to the sculpted ones too. They show forth one of the struggles inherent in the life of prayer: distractions. It was a well-known technique to combat temptation by belittling and laughing at it. Grotesques may have been intended as an aid to the objectifying and dismissing of fantasies – frequently of a sexual character – that besiege those attempting a chaste life.

Camille (1992, 72) associated corbel-table heads with the western Celtic tradition of worshipping decapitated heads. Without going so far, we may affirm that grotesque masks, and in particular ‘green men’, go back to a classical tradition. Camille interprets the foliage in the mouths of ‘green men’ as their consuming it. I see it the other way: the foliage springs from their mouths. According to the classical legend, when Chloris was ravished by Zephyr, flowers sprang from her mouth and she became Flora. The leaves invariably point away from the mouths of ‘green men’, and only the stalks remain within. If you were going to eat a branch of foliage you would start with the leaves and the stalks would come last, if at all.

There are several telling details ultimately with classical ancestry in the vocabulary of Barton: ‘seaweed foliage’ may be misunderstood acanthus; grotesques and ‘green men’ are of classical origin; and the trick of slightly recessing, but not necessarily drilling, the

pupils of eyes, found several times at Barton, has classical antecedents. It is perhaps relevant that the first English illuminated manuscript to reveal Italianate influence, the lost Douai Psalter, was of *c.* 1320. In the churches of Barton, in the fourteenth century, there was clearly a distinction made between grotesques and ‘green men’: while the former occur only at the western ends of arcades, the latter are evenly distributed throughout their full length (and even occur on the bowl of a piscina).

Crucifixion in the tracery of the north-east window

There are only two known instances of such a feature in fourteenth-century English architecture: this window at Barton, and the Jesse window at Dorchester Abbey (Oxon.) (Fig. 572; Prior and Gardner 1912, 50, fig. 41; Rodwell 2009, figs. 85, 86, pl. 9). These windows demonstrate a critical way in which our perception of the forms of tracery and that of the Middle Ages coincide. Since these windows were designed to be receptacles for stained glass, their shapes might have been read exclusively in terms of the forms they voided for glass design. A lancet, for instance, by the fourteenth century usually framed a saint under a canopied niche, and a mouchette in the traceried head of a window was often the frame for a flying angel. However, during the winter many services were held after dark, when only the ‘negative’ of the stonework could be read, and the mouchette became a leaf springing from a stem.

At Dorchester and at Barton we know that the ‘negative’ of the tracery was indeed read as a tree: the Tree of Jesse at Dorchester and the Tree of the Cross at Barton. In other words, the curvaceous forms of Decorated art were seen by their creators, as they are seen by us, as introducing a living element into the previously formal Geometric vocabulary. The stone tracery, in the daytime reading as a dark framing for the glowing glass, at night becomes a pale shape circumscribing the dark glass. This would be peculiarly appropriate for a Tree of the Cross, as at Barton, since the Passiontide services included a Vigil on Maundy Thursday night. There can be little doubt that this chapel would have been dedicated to the Holy Rood.

Representations of the Crucifixion in which the cross is shown as a living tree are known from the Byzantine period. A twelfth-century bronze processional cross from Saint-Julien des Bois,¹¹⁹ and the walrus-ivory cross associated with Bury St Edmunds, are both studded with the stumps of sawn-off branches. Another cross is seen in full flower in the Robert de Lindsey Psalter of *c.* 1220 from Peterborough.¹²⁰

The full iconographic content of this theme is expounded in the Psalter of Robert de Lisle.¹²¹ The manuscript was begun *c.* 1308, and has later additions. Lord de Lisle bequeathed it in 1339, the year his wife died, to his daughters and afterwards to the nuns of

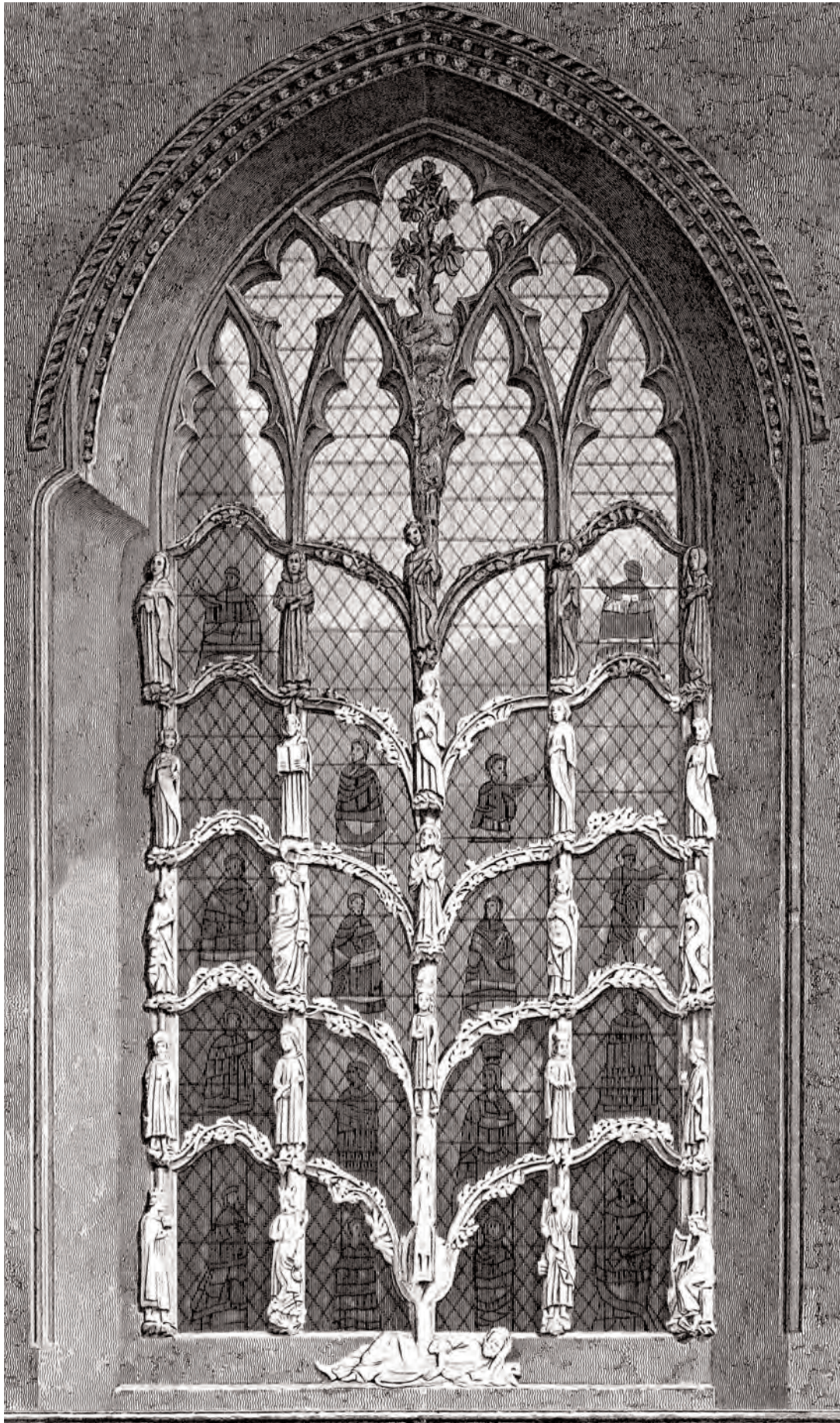


Fig. 572: *Dorchester Abbey (Oxon.). Jesse window on the north side of the sanctuary. Skelton 1823*

Chicksands, the Gilbertine house to which they belonged. Lord de Lisle then retired to the Franciscan Order. He held lands in Yorkshire. The text of the 'Tree of Life' which is magnificently illustrated in this volume by the artist of the Madonna page, is taken from Bonaventura. The whole tenor of the schematic pages is Franciscan. They are based on the *Speculum Theologie* by the Franciscan Johannes Metensis (John of Metz), who was active in Paris in the later thirteenth century. The illumination in the de Lisle Psalter offers a programme of prophets and patriarchs who could have been represented in the stained glass around the central spine of the cross.

Devotion to the Cross, and devotion to Our Lady, were fostered by the Franciscans. It would be interesting to discover whether they had any particular affiliations with Barton, and whether the creation of structural sepulchres for the liturgies of Holy Week also reflected Franciscan influence. They were responsible for the crib, and a vivid re-enactment of Christian drama was central to their teaching and influence. St Peter's had a flowering cross above the altar of the north aisle chapel, which was surely dedicated to the Holy Rood, while its counterpart chapel on the south was probably dedicated to Our Lady. There is evidence from the now-lost glazing that the north aisle was screened off to form a chantry chapel for the Beaumont family, and thus its embellishment may have reflected the proprietorial interests of the gentry (p. 585).

Discussion of the Later Medieval Phases

In the late Middle Ages, St Peter's church underwent a transformation of the kind seen in many small towns and prosperous villages: it expanded both in its footprint and in height, while at the same time opening up the internal spaces with wider arches, and gaining many more windows. By the close of the fifteenth century, the church had essentially reached the form in which we see it today (Pl. 41). There were at least three altars, but no explicit record has survived of chantries associated with those in the aisles. However, on the evidence of glazing, it seems likely that the Beaumont family had a chantry in the north aisle in the mid-fourteenth century (p. 586). Indeed, they were probably responsible for building the present aisle. Similarly, glazing and a sepulchral brass indicate that the Barnetby family appropriated the chapel in the south aisle in the late fifteenth century, although there is again no recorded evidence for a chantry.

The 'highe alter' was mentioned in a will of 1525,¹²² and it is plausible that in the early fourteenth century the south aisle served as a Lady Chapel, although the evidence for this is circumstantial (pp. 487–8). There certainly was an image of Our Lady in St Peter's, because John Ferybe directed in his will, dated 22nd August 1540, that he was to be buried in front of it.¹²³

No less problematic is locating the altar of St Ninian: that there was one in Barton seems certain from George Portyngton's will of 1528. He left money for 'the reparacion off saynt Nynyan chaple, xvjd'. He also willed that, after his wife's death, a priest was to be employed for four years on a salary of £5 per annum to pray for his soul; after the expiry of that period 10s. were to be paid for an annual obit. It is a reasonable deduction that the obit was linked to St Ninian's chapel. But where was the chapel? There is no other recorded mention of it, and we cannot be certain that it was in St Peter's church, although it is most unlikely that such a dedication would have been found in St Mary's.¹²⁴

His wife, Anne Portyngton, left a will which confuses rather than clarifies the issue. In 1558 she directed her body to be buried 'in the church of SS Peter and Paul, within the quire of Saint Nycholas before his image'. No other source suggests that St Peter's church ever enjoyed a joint dedication with St Paul, and nothing is known of an altar or image to St Nicholas. Varah assumed that both were errors, and that Nicholas was a mistake for Ninian.¹²⁵ A third point of interest is the use of the term 'quire', rather than 'chapel', 'altar' or 'aisle'. The implication is that the burial took place in the central vessel of the church, either in the chancel (unlikely), or perhaps in the eastern part of the nave in front of an altar or image that stood before the rood screen. By the time Anne died – a quarter-century after her husband – his pecuniary provision for an obit would have been confiscated, or at least suppressed, by Edward VI's Commissioners. Moreover, Anne may, in the meantime, have lost her uxorial allegiance to George: burial close to her husband cannot therefore be regarded as axiomatic. The possibility that there was a 'quire of St Nicholas' in one of Barton's churches cannot be dismissed out of hand.

Another will, by Edward Cottyngham of Bonby (Lincs.), dated 15 September 1530, mentions an altar of 'the Holy Cross of Barton and the goode roode ther',¹²⁶ without stating to which church it related: the parish church is most likely. This assignment is strengthened by Pamela Tudor-Craig's argument for the north aisle chapel being dedicated to the Holy Rood (p. 489). The 'goode roode' may thus have referred to the sculpture of the east window. In 1532, a bequest of viiij*d.* by John Snarry of South Somercotes (Lincs.) was merely 'to the church of Barton'.¹²⁷

While the enlargement and elaboration of the nave and aisles of St Peter's was funded by the parishioners of Barton, the maintenance and embellishment of the chancel must have been undertaken by Bardney Abbey, to which the church was appropriated down to the time of the former's Suppression in 1538. The monks did not spend lavishly on it: the chancel walls were crenellated and the buttresses capped with pinnacles, but the fenestration was not especially remarkable.

The architecture of the north aisle contains elements that are commonly found in eastern England,

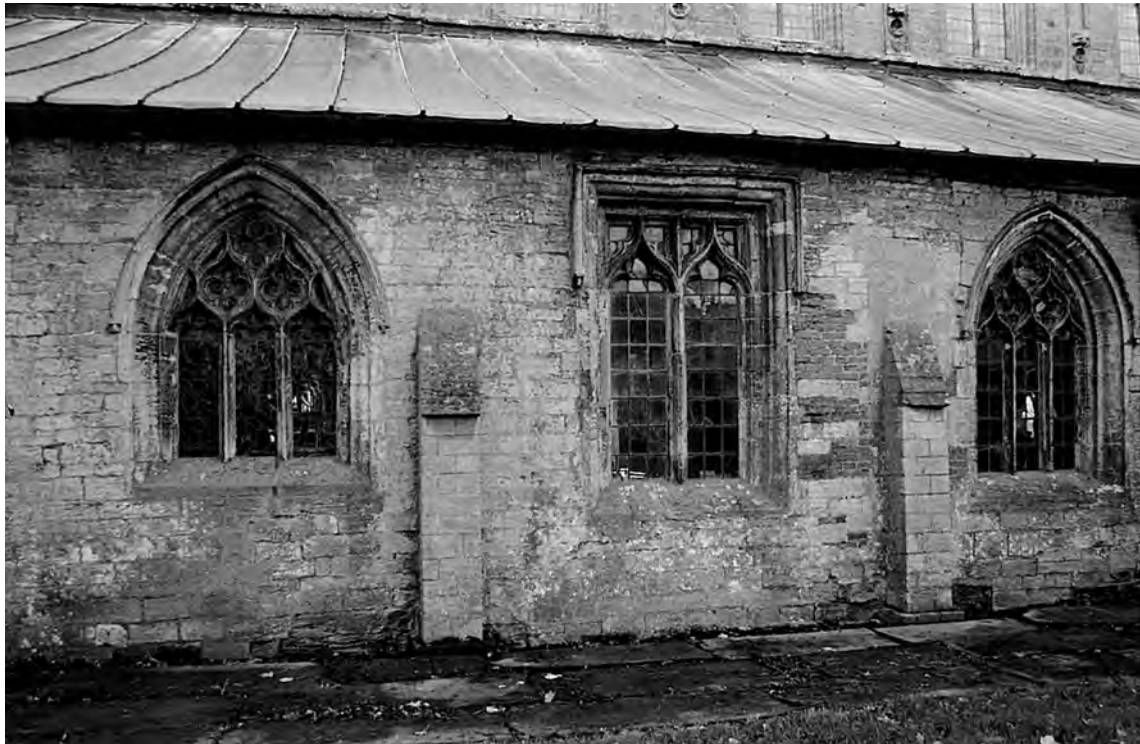


Fig. 573: *St Mary, Old Leake (Lincs.). Alternating pointed and square-headed windows with reticulated tracery in the north aisle. Photo: Geoffrey Bryant*

notably a mixture of curvilinear and reticulated tracery. The latter occurs in windows of widely differing sizes, both square-headed and pointed. The alternation of the two types is not confined to St Peter's but is also found, for example, in the north aisle at Old Leake (Lincs.) (Fig. 573). The curvilinear tracery pattern in the east window of the north aisle is not exceptional, and finds close parallels elsewhere: *e.g.* the central motif is replicated at Patrington (E. Yorks.) and a more flamboyant version occurs in the chancel east window at Haltham-on-Bain (Lincs.), Barton's motif also has much in common with the topmost tracery component in the west window at York Minster.¹²⁸ At the lower end of the scale, there are simpler versions in the south aisle at Thornton Curtis (Bryant 1987, 7). But it is the inclusion of a sculptured Crucifixion on the mullions that is most remarkable, and is believed to be unique. What inspired such a singular work is beyond recall. The only other contemporary examples of sculpted mullions and tracery are in the three windows of the chancel at Dorchester Abbey (Oxon.), the great Jesse window there, which dates from *c.* 1340, being the most notable (Rodwell 2009). It may be no coincidence that Barton and Dorchester were both then in the vast diocese of Lincoln.

Barton is also exceptional among fourteenth-century churches in the region for the number and quality of its small-scale figural sculptures, particularly the numerous head-stops that are found not only in St Peter's but also, in lesser quantity, in St Mary's. In addition to those that survive, there are indications that more than a few have been lost, particularly externally.

A few surviving head-stops from the destroyed abbey at Thornton Curtis, and clearly related to those at Barton, hint at a competent workshop in the locality.

Foliage sculpture was present in both churches too, in the form of imposts to the arcades. At St Peter's, three out of four imposts survive, together with a quatrefoil capital and a piscina, all smothered with large knobby leaves. In the case of the imposts and piscina, the stems bearing these leaves issue from the mouths of creatures, both human and animal. Altogether, there are seven of these heads: three are straightforwardly human, while the other four combine humanoid and animal attributes (some aspects are lion-like). The quatrefoil capital in the north arcade, which bears similar foliage, has no heads. These 'green men' have fascinated generations of writers and stirred much imagination. They are found in many contexts in churches (including imposts, capitals, spandrels, tympana, friezes, bosses and misericords), not only in Britain but also across much of Europe and beyond, and they span a wide date-range.¹²⁹ Comparisons may be made between the lions' masks with bared teeth and foliage issuing from their mouths (especially nos. 25 and 26), and the contemporary lions in the borders of stained glass in St Peter's. Two of these lions have survived: one has bared teeth and both have the stems of fleurs-de-lys issuing from their mouths (Pl. 88).

There are seven more 'green men' in St Mary's church, distributed between the two capitals of the three-bay arcade on the south side of the chancel (p. 118). The two associated responds also have knobby foliage, but incorporate no heads: this is the reverse



Fig. 574: *St Mary, West Walton (Norf.). Tudor east window of the south aisle. Photo: Warwick Rodwell*

of the distribution seen in St Peter's. All are clearly from the same workshop. While Barton has the greatest concentration of 'green men' and knobbly foliage in north Lincolnshire,¹³⁰ other examples occur sporadically across the county: *e.g.* on the arcade capitals at Claypole (Basford 1978, pl. 51b). They are also found on responds at Beverley Minster (Whitwell 1991b, fig. 8; Dawton 2000, 112) and, although there are close similarities with the Barton examples, the execution is of a higher order at Beverley.

It has not been possible to determine whether the head-stop and impost sculptures at St Peter's were originally polychromed, albeit that is very likely. Most of the remnants of colour observed in the church are clearly post-medieval, and only a few traces of potentially earlier polychromy have been noted, such as the rosettes on the south arcade. The rood figures of the east window in the north aisle appear to have remnants of both medieval and later paint on them; and the same may apply to the south doorway (Pls. 49 and 50). A systematic inspection and programme of paint analysis is required to elucidate the situation.

No less impressive than the decorative detail of the fourteenth century is the great Perpendicular clerestory that was raised over the nave: had it not been reduced from ten bays to nine during construction, it would have been even more spectacular. Clerestories of this kind provide one of the benchmarks of prosperity in Lincolnshire and East Anglian churches: Barton, of course, has two such clerestories, St Mary's being the second (Fig. 38). Both are built largely from brick, which must have been a novelty at the time; of similar date is the south porch at Goxhill, which has all its dressings and mouldings of limestone, while the plain

walling is of brick.¹³¹ There is clear evidence that this was concealed by lime rendering, although it was very likely scored or painted in imitation of ashlar, but this cannot now be determined.

Studies in various parts of the country suggest that components for windows and doorways were often produced at quarry workshops in the late thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and evidence for this practice is seen at Barton. The traceried heads and rear-arches of the windows in the north aisle were made of a different limestone from the run-of-the-mill dressings lower down in the jambs. Also, the moulded elements were frequently cut on the smallest blocks of stone that could physically accommodate them, to facilitate transport and handling. A similar situation is seen in the clerestory windows. The contrast between the carefully cut and dressed mouldings of window and door arches, and their jambs below springing level, is often very marked. The latter may contain different stone types, the block sizes may vary considerably, the tooling and surface finish may not be consistent, and any mouldings or chamfers may be of inferior quality.

That the interior of the church presented a colourful aspect is attested by the small quantity, but fine quality, of the stained glass of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which has managed to survive. The chancel screen was exquisitely carved, and was painted and gilded, and the boarded tympanum in the arch above the rood-loft probably bore a great Doom painting. Large parts of the floor in the nave and aisles were paved with glazed tiles in a chequered arrangement, while it seems likely from the few surviving fragments of patterned tiles that the chancel was enriched with a more decorative pavement.

Stone benches in alternate bays were integral to the design of the arcades, and there was also a bench along the north aisle wall. Medieval timber benches with traceried ends filled the nave and there were doubtless ornate stalls in the chancel. There too must have lain a piscina and sedilia of considerable elaboration, although only the carved ogee head of the former has survived (Fig. 820, no. 18). Similarly, a fine alabaster altarpiece, potentially depicting the Resurrection, is now represented only by a tiny fragment (p. 825). Most fortuitous is the survival of the greater part of a rare funerary effigy representing a fourteenth-century priest, holding a chalice, while fragments of incised slabs and the matrices for brasses point to the floors being carpeted with expensive memorials. Curiously, nothing is known of the medieval font, which had already been lost by the early nineteenth century.

The final phase of building at St Peter's was more cosmetic than structural, and involved the addition of crow-stepped gables (Pl. 42). Crow-stepping was widespread throughout the east coast region in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, where it is found in brick, stone, and a combination of both materials. It is commonly seen on the gable-ends of church and domestic porches, gatehouses, etc. Most commonly, the crow-stepping is contemporaneous with the structure below, but not so at Barton or on the thirteenth-century south porch at West Walton (Norf.), which

was given an incongruous crow-stepped gable in Tudor brick. Crow-stepping occurs from the beginning of the fifteenth century: *e.g.* the North Bar at Beverley (E. Yorks.), 1409–10 (Pevsner and Neave 1995, pl. 30). Since the stepping over the chancel arch at Barton was secondary not only to the erection of the clerestory but also to the shortening of the south aisle, it is unlikely to be earlier than the turn of the sixteenth century. Indeed, it could be nearer the middle of the century: it is regrettable that no trace of it now remains.¹³²

Collectively, the surviving disparate and much damaged fragments point to a thriving and moderately affluent community in Barton in the later Middle Ages, which was well able to maintain and embellish two major churches, down to the Reformation. However, an indication that Barton's fortunes were on the decline by the beginning of the sixteenth century is surely provided by the final works on the chancel: the remodelling of the east window could hardly have been executed in a plainer and more economical manner. Other examples may be found in the region, *e.g.* at West Walton (Fig. 574), and St Mary's church also displays economy in its Tudor windows, which are crude in both design and execution (p. 124). In the case of the chancel aisle, no attempt was made to rework the head of the east window when the roof pitch was lowered: the fourteenth-century tracery was simply cut off above the tops of the main lights.

9. THE POST-MEDIEVAL CHURCH

At length a generation more refined
Improved the simple plan ...
And o'er the seat, with plenteous wadding stuff'd,
Induced a splendid cover, green and blue ...
Sweet sleeps the curate at his desk,
The tedious rector drawling o'er his head;
and sweet the clerk below.
William Cowper, *The Task*, 1785

The architectural form of St Peter's church remained unchanged after the close of the Middle Ages, with the exception of the organ chamber which was added to the north side of the chancel in 1897–98. There were major restorations of the fabric in the 1740s, 1803–05, ?1833, 1858–59 and 1897–98, as well as work on the tower and exterior in 1868–70. While significant documentation survives for the works of 1858–59 and 1897–98, hardly anything is on record concerning the others.

A trickle of minor works was carried out between the major events, including partial reflooring of the church in 1911–14. Much fascinating information relating to the nature and vicissitudes of work during the period 1890 to 1944 is recorded in the pages of the *Barton Parish Magazine* (Appendix 4). Without that vehicle, we would be ignorant of dozens of interventions in the fabric and furnishings, since faculties were seldom applied for. Although a good deal of further work was carried out in the 1950s and 1960s, it is poorly documented. Following a declaration of redundancy in 1972, and the subsequent acquisition of St Peter's by the Department of the Environment as a historic monument, a new phase of restoration was begun in 1978 and has continued intermittently ever since.

From c. 1550 to c. 1660 (Period 8A)

There are no surviving records to indicate the condition of the church in the century-and-a-half following the Reformation, or to suggest what structural works, if any, were carried out. However, there is archaeological evidence for activity, and it is relevant to note that during this period the coast of Lincolnshire was ravaged by major storms which are likely to have caused structural damage: there was a particularly disastrous incident in November 1613.¹

In 1566 an inventory was compiled, detailing the recent destruction of 'superstitious' furnishings in 150 Lincolnshire churches: *Inventarium Monumentorum Superstitionis* (Peacock 1866b). Unfortunately, neither Barton nor Barrow was included in the inventory – or else the relevant folios have been lost – but near neighbours such as Alkborough and Winterton were detailed. The general tenor of the destructive purge is clearly portrayed. Roods and their lofts were torn down; stone altars were generally smashed, but examples of their being laid in the floor, unbroken, are recorded (e.g. at Bardney: Peacock 1866b, 37), and

this evidently happened at St Mary's, Barton, and Thornton Curtis too (p. 124). In church after church, we read that mass books, vestments, pyxes, paxes, wooden candlesticks and other items that could be burnt, often were destroyed by this means. Sacring bells, handbells, crosses and metal vessels were generally broken before disposal; holy water stoups were smashed, and Easter Sepulchres were destroyed. Although wallpaintings must have been commonplace, they were rarely mentioned, and were presumably limewashed over without more ado; tables of images and 'idols' were defaced.

While there are vestigial traces of medieval polychromy in both St Peter's and St Mary's, nothing is known of decorative schemes in these churches. The sole evidence for post-Reformation texts is provided by a detached piece of wallplaster bearing a few black painted letters, on two lines: it was found in rubble under the floor of the north porch of St Peter's (F3672; Fig. 575).



Fig. 575: North porch. Fragment of wallplaster with two lines of a painted black-letter inscription; found under the floor (F3672). Max. width 16.5 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

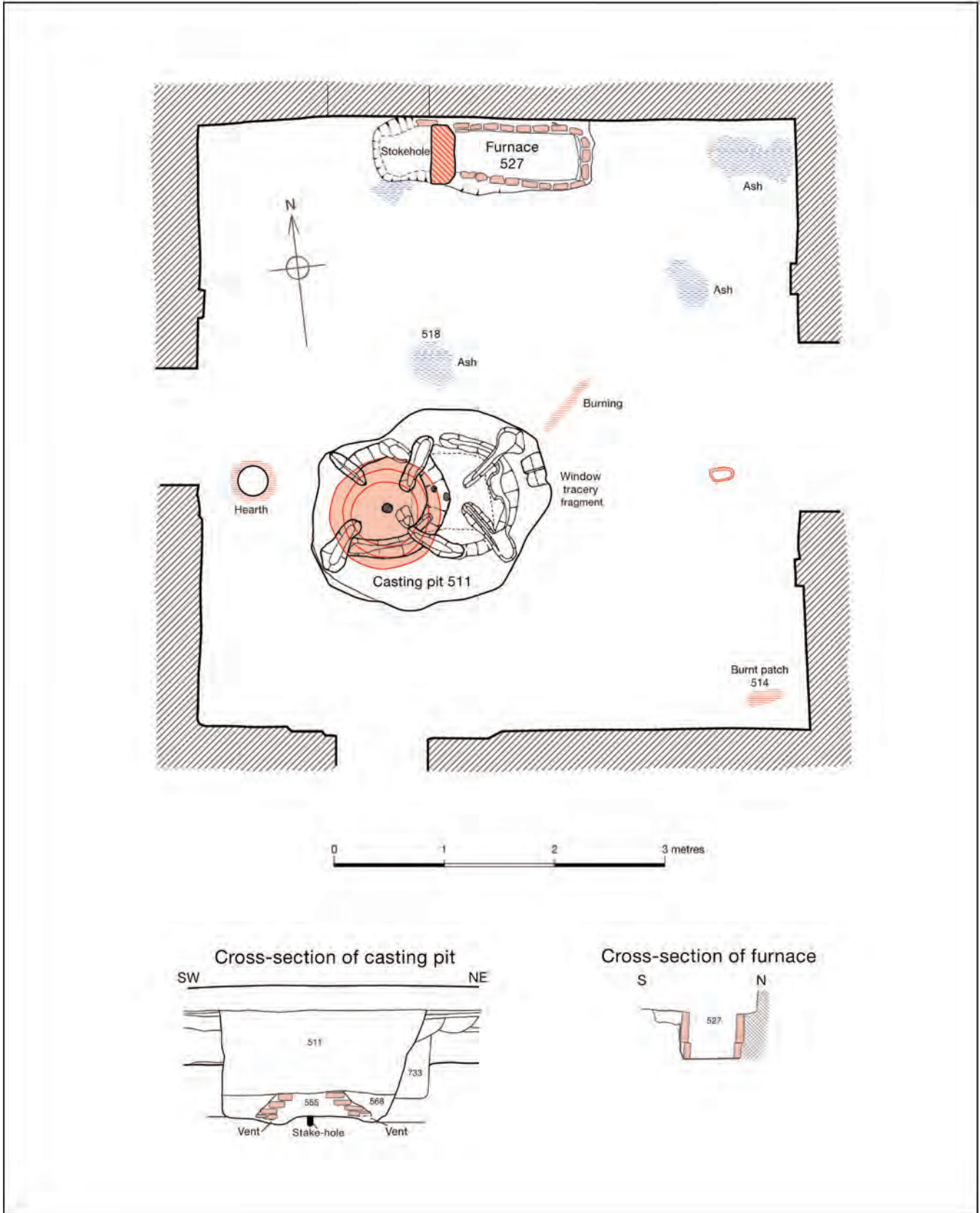


Fig. 576: Tower. Plan and sections of features associated with post-medieval bellfounding and metalworking. Scale 1:50. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell and Simon Hayfield

A great Stuart screen?

Study of the pattern of burials of Phase B in the nave and aisles is instructive (Fig. 737). Nearly all the interments of this phase were concentrated in bays 1 and 2, implying that these areas were not heavily furnished, whereas the remainder of the nave and aisles may well have been inaccessible for burial. The coincidence of the western ends of numerous burials with an unmarked north–south line, across the full width of the church – corresponding to the second pier of the south aisle – indicates the existence of a physical division hereabouts (for the relevant burials, see p. 673).

The evidence points to the likely introduction of a substantial post-medieval timber screen, which effectively created a transeptal plan by cutting off the two eastern bays of both aisles, as well as the nave. Since the screen would have been constructed on a sill-plate, it has left no archaeological evidence in the ground, but there is damage to the second pier in the south arcade resulting from the attachment of timberwork. That the eastern end of the north aisle was screened in the mid-seventeenth century is confirmed by Holles's account, in which he notes the stained glass windows in the 'closett' here (Cole 1911, 80). It is possible that he was referring to a private pew that was integral with the screenwork.

Although it cannot be closely dated, the screen must have been a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century introduction on account of its relationship to burials of that era. Very few Stuart church interiors have survived intact, but it is nevertheless certain that major timber screens were being erected in some parish churches, such as that which dominates the nave at Abbey Dore (Herefs.), and dates from 1634 (Whiffen 1948, pl. 8; Shoemith and Richardson 1997, fig. 102). St John's, Leeds, has a grander version traversing both the nave and equally large aisle, also erected in 1634 (Vallance 1936, pl. 281; Whiffen 1948, pl. 6). On a humbler scale, the church at Mark (Som.) retains a screen that runs across the nave and both aisles and, although late medieval in origin, it embodies a considerable amount of Jacobean joinery, confirming that it was still regarded as a significant division in the seventeenth century.

Bells and bell-founding

Bells are the only aspect of Barton's churches to receive mention in surviving records of the period, and the earliest occurs in an inventory of the commissioners of Edward VI, dated 19 May 1553: 'And [we] also have delivered unto the sayd John Bossall [vicar] and churchwardens & ther successors iij gret belles on[e] sanctus belle saffely to be kept to the kings Maj. use & plesur to remain with the sayd parties & their successors'. It cannot be taken for granted that these four bells were distributed between the two churches: one tower alone may have been re-equipped for ringing, possibly St Mary's. None of the bells survives.

The two earliest bells in St Peter's date from the late sixteenth century: one is inscribed '1598', and the other may be of the same age.² At least one bell was cast in the sixteenth century in a pit excavated in the tower floor: plausibly, the two earliest were both cast there in 1598. That being so, it is curious why bells could not be tolled for funerals at St Peter's church only a few years later (p. 568). A problem with the frame may perhaps be implied.

Excavation in the floor of the tower in 1978 revealed the site of a bell foundry which was hitherto unknown, although one element of it – the crucible furnace – had been discovered in 1912 and displayed ever since (Figs. 21 and 576). Its true age and function were not recognized. The stratigraphy and a few associated artefacts suggested a date for the foundry in the (late?) sixteenth century.

Many modern church excavations have yielded evidence for bell-casting, either in the base of the tower or at the west end of the nave. Down to the late nineteenth century, it was considered safer to cast large bells for rural churches on site, rather than risk damage by transporting them overland from the major urban foundries. The point is well made by the fact that, even with motor transport, the tenor bell of St Mary's was fractured in 1914 while being taken to Croydon for tuning (p. 568).

Excavation revealed a slightly elongated, sub-circular pit, dug into the natural clay close to the centre of the tower floor (F511; Fig. 577). It had near-vertical sides and a flat bottom, and averaged 2.2 m (7¼ ft) in diameter by *c.* 1.0 m (3¼ ft) deep. In the base of the pit (towards the west side) a cone was constructed, reusing broken bricks and fragments of floor tiles, set in a matrix of stiff brown clay (F553) and laid to courses (Fig. 578). Only the lowest five courses of the cone survived intact, and debris from the destruction of the remainder of the feature littered the bottom of the pit. The interior of the cone was hollow and at its centre, in the clay floor of the pit, was a stake-hole 2 cm in diameter by 10 cm deep. Also, dug radially under the base of the cone, from the outside to the hollow interior, were four channels. The tiles, all well worn, were of the fourteenth-century glazed type found in the nave and aisles (p. 459); the bricks were Tudor.

The conical structure was clearly identifiable as the inner core of a clay mould for casting a large bell by the *cire perdue* or 'lost wax' process. There were several different ways of making and handling medieval and later bell-moulds,³ but the relevant particulars in this instance are as follows. The hollow core, which was strengthened by the inclusion of brick and tile rubble, would have been built up to the full internal height of the bell, then coated with a layer of fine clay. The central stake-hole contained an upright stick, acting as an arbor, around which was rotated a wooden template to smooth the clay into the required internal profile of the bell. Next, a thick layer of wax was built up on the core, and another template used to mould and scribe



Fig. 577: Tower. Bell-casting pit (F511) with part of the inner core of the bell-mould remaining in situ. View west. Scales of 2 m and 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

the wax to correspond to the desired external profile of the bell. The wax now comprised a full-size model of the bell, exact in every detail. Inscriptions and decoration were impressed into the wax, using wooden dies. An outer clay envelope, known as the 'cope' or 'mantle', was then built up over the wax model. Finally, combustible material was piled into the pit and packed around the mould, and a fire was lit. This had two functions: first, to melt the wax that was sandwiched between the inner and outer envelopes of the mould and, second, to drive all the moisture out of the clay. The molten wax drained into the four channels under the base of the mould, where it could be retrieved. Once the mould had been thoroughly dried out, it was ready for casting the bell. A pouring cup to receive the molten metal, and vents for the escaping gasses, were formed in the top of the cope. After casting, and when the metal had cooled, the clay mould (which would have become semi-fired in the process) was smashed and the bell hauled directly up into the tower.

The base of the clay and brick cone had a diameter of *c.* 90–95 cm (average, 36 ins), which equated to the dimension of the bell mouth.⁴ This is a remarkably close match for the earliest existing bell in St Peter's, which is dated 1598 and has a mouth diameter of

88.5 cm (34¾ ins). That bell, which was cast by Henry Oldfield of Nottingham, bears both his crest and the arms of Queen Elizabeth I (p. 567).⁵ While lumps of burnt clay from the mould were found in the backfilling of the casting pit, unfortunately none of these bore impressions of decoration or inscriptions. Had such evidence survived, the identity of the last bell cast in this pit might have been securely established.

Following excavation and dismantling of the core, it was discovered that partly underlying it and extending to the east was evidence of another, earlier bell-mould in the base of the pit. It was approximately the same diameter as the later mould, but the evidence does not admit of a precise dimension: all that survived was a circular indentation in the base of the pit, a central stake-hole and four radial channels. Hence, two bells had been cast in the same pit. However, that does not necessarily establish that two bells were successfully produced and hung in the tower. Mishaps in casting were not uncommon, and it could be that the second mould represented the recasting of a bell that failed on the first attempt. On the other hand, it is perhaps no coincidence that St Peter's tower contains a second bell by Henry Oldfield which is only 7.5 cm (3 ins) smaller in diameter. This could have been cast first, in the same pit.



Fig. 578: Tower. Detail of the surviving inner core of the bell-mould, made of reused medieval bricks and floor tiles. Note the radiating channels emerging from beneath the core. View west. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

So much for the casting pit: the bell metal had to be melted in crucibles that were heated in a furnace as close at hand as possible. The furnace lay alongside the north wall of the tower, and was discovered during the reflooring works of 1912. It consisted of a pit 2.0 m long by 0.60 m wide, dug against the foundation of the north wall: it had been excavated to a depth of *c.* 0.50 m below contemporary floor level. At the west end of the pit was a small stokehole, and the remainder was taken up by the substructure of the furnace (firing tunnel), 1.22 m long (F527; Fig. 576; Pl. 36). This comprised a lining of bricks, set in a matrix of clay and all thoroughly burnt (Pl. 37).⁶ Internally, the furnace measured *c.* 1.35 m by 0.40 m, and stood to a height of 0.30–0.40 m. The entrance, from the stokehole, was marked by a lintel of gritstone, which was also heavily burnt and friable.⁷ The bricks were of late medieval type, similar to those used in the nave clerestory.

Above the substructure would have been a chamber, in which the crucibles containing the metal were supported on firebars (probably on further slabs of sandstone). None of this survived, and the contents of the furnace had been entirely dug out in 1912. There is an interesting logistical problem, which cannot be resolved on the evidence available, in determining how this furnace managed to hold sufficient crucibles to melt more than 7 cwt of bell metal in a single firing.

There is nothing to suggest that a second contemporary furnace lay close at hand. Fragments of copper alloy found in the base of the tower were confirmed by analysis to have a composition appropriating to that of bell-metal (p. 837).

The discovery of the furnace was reported by Varah, who noted that it was ‘a brick receptacle originally covered by stone slabs ... one such slab remaining in position’ and that it was ‘found to be full of burnt and unburnt earth and stones, one stone being a piece of tracery from a Gothic window and two others being part of a recumbent figure consisting of a section of the body with hands together in prayer.’ (Varah 1928, 9). The latter was presumably a fragment of a medieval funerary effigy. Despite the conspicuous evidence for intense burning, the idea that this could be a hearth or furnace seems not to have occurred to Varah, who first claimed that it was an ossuary for bones dug up in the churchyard, later elevating it to the status of an Anglo-Saxon relic chamber. He also asserted, incorrectly, that it was made of Roman bricks.⁸ For more than half a century, visitors were regularly regaled with this story, and were shown the furnace, which was made accessible by incorporating a wooden trap-door in the new brick floor of 1912 (Fig. 21).

Medieval bell-casting was often carried out in the base of a church tower, thereby reducing the need to

manhandle the bell: it was simply hauled up from the pit to the required position in the belfry. Many examples have been revealed through excavation: *e.g.* a late medieval casting pit, 1.8 m in diameter, was found in a comparable location in the tower at Skipwith (N. Yorks.) (Hall *et al.* 2008, 436, fig. 23).

From c. 1660 to c. 1740 (Periods 8A–8B)

The churchwardens' accounts for St Mary's, for 1660–61, state that there was no vicar, but expenses indicate that at least one of the churches was being modestly refurbished and services were being held. Payments were made for 'Hanging [a] little bell, leads, deales, for the King's armes seting up, and tow peckes cools [coals]'. Also, six dozen quarries were ordered for windows, doubtless indicating a recent spree of glass-breaking. In the following year there was further expenditure on 'leads, battlements and walls', and an hour-glass was bought for the pulpit. But still there was no vicar.⁹ The accounts reveal a continuous series of works to the fabric and furnishings of St Mary's, running into the early years of the eighteenth century. Had the corresponding accounts for St Peter's also survived, it is likely that they would have contained similar entries. Regrettably, almost nothing is known about works carried out at this period in St Peter's, either from documents or from physical evidence.

Apart from the great storm of 1613 (see above), there was another in 1671, which evidently caused structural damage in Lincolnshire, although it is unknown how Barton was affected.¹⁰ A major disaster of some kind undoubtedly occurred at Barton in 1732

or 1733, as a result of which a 'Brief' was sent to parishes throughout England to raise funds for relief.¹¹ It is likely to have been a natural occurrence such as a great storm or flood; damage to the churches may well have been incurred, but no specific link has been found.¹²

Tower and bells

In the 1660s a bell from George Oldfield's foundry at Nottingham was added to those (at least two) already in the tower of St Peter's. It is undated but is generally similar to three bells dated 1666 in St Mary's church.¹³ This could have been a recasting of a damaged bell, and there may have been a peal of four, as in 1730 (see below). By 1730, there was a *sanctus* bell, and possible evidence for its hanging survives in the western opening of the belfry (p. 457).

At an uncertain date, but probably in the seventeenth century (or possibly earlier), the two upper floors in the tower were renewed. Until it was destroyed in the mid-1980s, the floor of the old lower belfry was composed of seven north–south joists, incorporating a framed manhole through which bells could be lowered to ground level (Fig. 295). The joists, which were of various ages, were more-or-less on the sites of the original Anglo-Saxon timbers, but none was as early as that in date. The joists and framing were mostly of oak,¹⁴ some very decayed, and all were clearly reused: several exhibited redundant mortices and peg-holes. The pattern of decay suggested that some of the timbers had been rafters in a medieval roof, and the possibility that they were derived from the fourteenth-century spire should not be discounted.



Fig. 579: Tower, south wall. A series of pockets cut to receive the joists for a post-medieval ringing-chamber floor which was removed again in 1858. Note the stone corner-bowl at top right (see Fig. 580). View south-west, 1980. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 580: Tower. Two views of the quadrant-shaped limestone bowl, probably originally a stoup, reset in the south-west corner of the ringing-chamber for use as a bellringers' urinal. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

Unfortunately, there was nothing diagnostic in the carpentry, and the timbers were unsuitable for dating by dendrochronology (mainly on account of the high level of beetle infestation).

Until 1858, an old floor existed in the first stage of the tower: it was not at the same level as the former Anglo-Saxon gallery, but lay 90 cm below it. The floor was carried on twelve closely spaced joists, running north–south (Fig. 579); pockets for these had been cut into the Anglo-Saxon masonry. When the floor was inserted, an integral staircase was constructed against the north wall: it rose from the ground at the north-east corner of the tower, to first-floor level at the north-west corner. It seems to have been seventeenth or early eighteenth century.¹⁵ The floor had doubtless been lowered in order to provide more manoeuvring space in the ringing-chamber.

Related to the lowered floor was the installation of a segmentally shaped limestone bowl in the south-west corner of the ringing-chamber (Figs. 579 and 580). The bowl, which is 23 cm deep overall and was designed to fit in a corner, has a curved front with a plain roll-moulded rim. Originally, it is likely to have been a holy water stoup, but is difficult to date: it could be later twelfth or thirteenth century. However, the bowl cannot have been placed in its present position until the post-medieval period, when the floor was lowered. Since the rim of the bowl is only 65 cm above floor level, it is too low to have been used as a lavabo, but was ideal as a urinal for the bellringers. There is a drilled hole in the base of the bowl, which presumably drained to the outside, via a channel in the wall core. The hole must be secondary, since stoups did not have drains. A simple recess with a plastered soffit was formed in the masonry at the corner of the tower, creating a partial hood over the basin.

The tower roof was reconstructed in its present form in the early eighteenth century, replacing a medieval timber spire (p. 457). It is a low-pitched, lead-covered, pyramidal structure with a parapet gut-

ter; the outfall is at the north-east corner. The base-frame of the medieval spire was left *in situ*, and an additional frame was constructed on top; that in turn has a cruciform feature within, probably of still later date (Fig. 581). Felling dates for four of the timbers associated with the pyramidal roof were established by dendrochronology, one precisely to 1713, and the others with compatible date-ranges.¹⁶ It can hardly be a coincidence that there was a great gale recorded on 1 February 1714, which occasioned much damage in Lincolnshire: 'about noon, there arose a tempestuous south-west wind, which continued until about sun sett The same great wind did blow down, betwixt Lincoln and Barton, no less than 11 or 12 windmills or more'.¹⁷ Potentially, that gale heralded the loss of the spire, and its replacement with a simple roof, using timber that had been felled scarcely a year earlier.

Old illustrations show an early eighteenth-century iron *flèche* rising from the centre of the tower roof, surmounted by a weathervane (Figs. 11, 13 and 247).¹⁸ A single illustration of the 1860s shows a tiny spirelet, but this is not corroborated by any other source¹⁹ (Fig. 251). In 1901 the *flèche* was superseded by a flagstaff, on top of which the vane was remounted.²⁰ The damaged remains of a weathercock of twentieth-century date are now in store (p. 532).

Furnishings

Repairs were undertaken on the oak dug-out chest in 1671–72 (Fig. 648, A),²¹ and the earliest surviving church plate was gifted to St Peter's in 1674 (p. 548). The church was evidently reseated in 1711, for which a plan and schedule survive.²² The plan shows ranks of box-pews running east from the north and south doorways: all are numbered and their occupants named. There are no pews at the west end, except one unlabelled row against the tower: these were probably free sittings for the poor. The eastern ends of both the north and south aisles were empty, but there were two

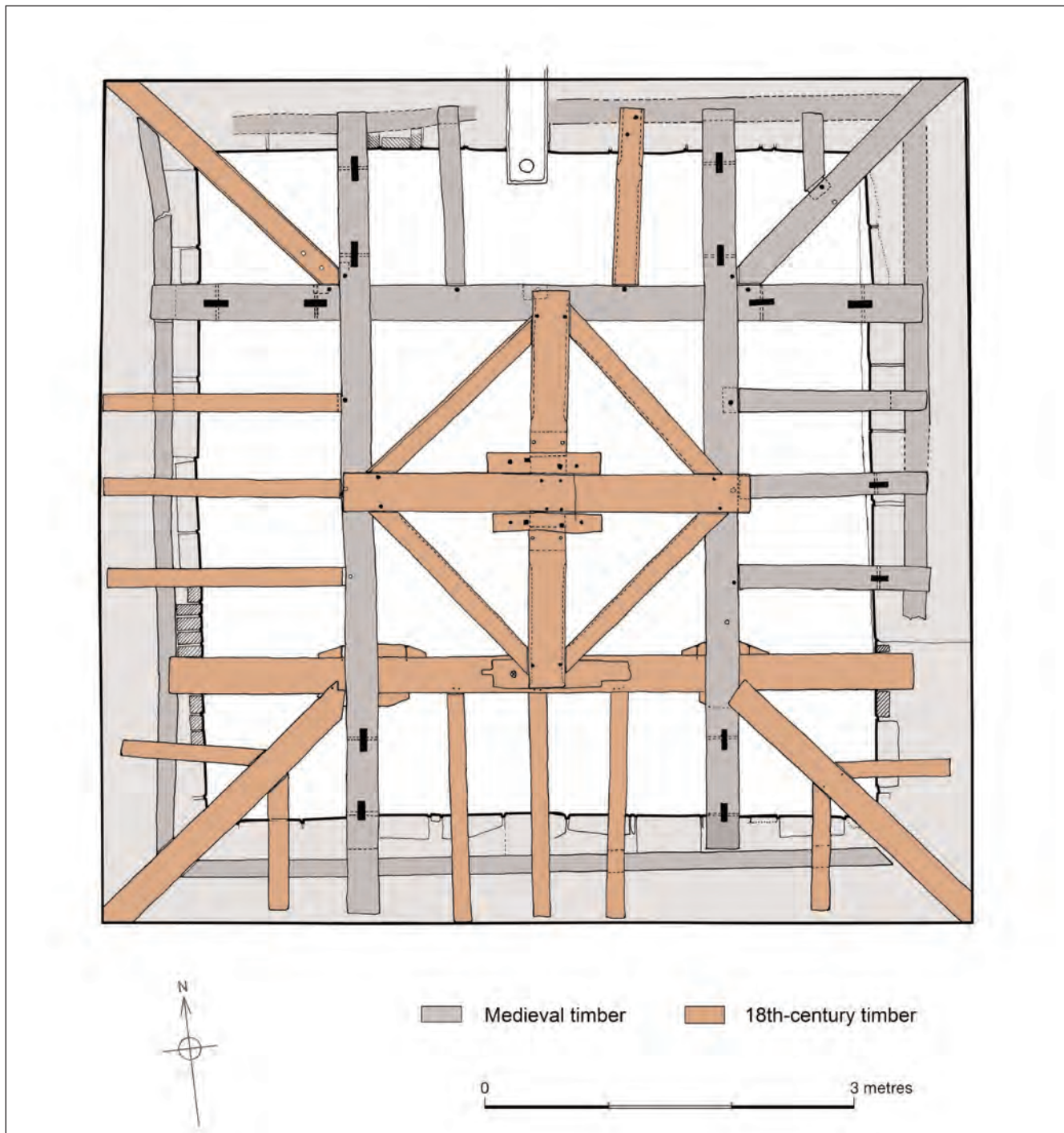


Fig. 581: Tower. Plan of the existing roof structure. Post-medieval timbers are shown in outline. For a detailed drawing of the surviving medieval components (grey-toned), see Fig. 538. Scale 1:50. Drawing: Stephen Coll

small blocks beyond the chancel arch, one on either side. The pulpitt lay against the north arcade pier, bay 2/3. Curiously, there was a wide cross-alley devoid of pews in bay 2, which might indicate that there was still a major screen across the nave and aisles here (p. 497).

A snapshot of the contents of the two churches is provided by the terrier for 1730,²³ albeit not in great detail.

Furniture in each Church, One Surplice, One Cusheon for ye pulpitt (but in that of St Peter's a Cusheon and Cloth of

Velvitt), one Large Bible and Comon prayer book; one alter table covered with green cloth, one Chest, one Silver Cup with a cover, one pewter Flaggon and pewter plate.

Furniture of the Church belonging to both parrishes, one Silver Salver, hangings for the pulpitt, A purple Cloth for the Alter Table on Sacrament Days, a Linnen Cloth and Napkin, Four Bells and one St. [sanctus] bell in St Peter's and four in St Maries.

The Chancel of St Peter's is repaired by the Impropiator.



Fig. 583: South clerestory, central rainwater pipe. Inscribed lead hopper-head and decorated downpipe between window bays 4 and 5. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

East and west pipes:

A pair, generally similar in design, but smaller in size than the last (Fig. 585). Welded onto a modern replacement length of the western downpipe, below the medial collar, is an oval plaque of cast lead depicting a standing figure; this was originally affixed to the medial collar on the central downpipe (Fig. 586). It was relocated when the pipework was largely renewed in 1983. Much of the detail is poorly cast but the figure appears to be male and is wearing a short tunic which stops just above the knees. The feet are together, and the hands are on the chest, apparently holding something; the elbows project laterally and the arms are partly covered by voluminous sleeves. This is a rudimentary neo-classical figure, probably a *Lar* (household god).³²

North clerestory

Central pipe:

Comprises a moulded funnel, fluted body, large moulded collar, plain shank and small basal collar. The last bears the date '1773', cast in relief. There is no additional inscription or applied decoration.

East and west pipes:

Smaller in size and different in style; decorated with godrooning.



Fig. 584: South clerestory, central rainwater pipe. Detail of the dated hopper-head and cast lead plaques on the uppermost collar of the downpipe. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Dates and initials are frequently found on lead rainwater goods, and it is not uncommon for the pipe-collars and their flanges to bear cast decoration, such as rosettes, fleurs-de-lys, lions' heads and human masks. Neo-classical figures appear more rarely, but there is also an example from St Mary's church (p. 127). Winged cherubs sometimes occur, as on the hopper-heads of 1707 at Westminster Abbey. Coronets are generally found on domestic leadwork associated with noble families, and the appearance of a coronet at St Peter's must surely indicate that Lord Nelthorpe paid for the work. The Nelthorpes were the only titled family in Barton in the eighteenth century (p. 50).

The possibility that the hoppers on the clerestory have been repositioned, and came originally from the chancel, might be considered were it not for the fact that Nattes shows the latter roof also as having projecting spouts.³³ Nattes may nevertheless hold the clue to the *impasse*: he shows three outlets from the parapet of the south aisle, two of which have funnel-shaped hopper-heads, while the third is box-shaped. All three discharge into lead downpipes which descend to mid-height on the aisle wall before debouching through long spouts. The aisle must surely be the origin of the



Fig. 585: South clerestory, western rainwater pipe. Fluted lead hopper-head and plain modern downpipe between window bays 8 and 9. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

1773 hopper-heads (see further, p. 503); significantly, the Nelthorpes had their pew and burial place in the aisle (but see further below).

The chancel was completely reroofed around the 1770s – presumably at the expense of the lay rector – and the structure survives intact. It is a low-pitched, lead-covered roof of five bays (Fig. 588). The bridging-beams measure 8.5 m in length and each is made from a single tree; consequently they taper along their length and have been laid alternately, top to bottom, to combat this. A ridge-piece rests on top of the beams, and the two sets of pine purlins on each slope are housed into them; all have simple run-out chamfers that were added in 1858.

The four oak bridging-beams have all been subjected to dendrochronology and have yielded consistent date-brackets, from which it can be established that re-roofing took place between 1766 and 1797.³⁴ The roof structure was not intended to be visible and a flat plaster ceiling was installed just below it: around the walls are numerous pockets for housing the joists; several sawn-off stumps of timber survive in the east wall, and fragments of moulded plaster cornice were found in rubble under the choir stalls in 1983.

The introduction of box-pews and private pew-enclosures for the principal families is likely to have occurred in the first half of the eighteenth century (if not earlier); this was clearly a piecemeal process. As the population of Barton grew, the demand increased for seating in the churches. A faculty was sought in 1758 to expand the pewing in the south aisle into an area previously reserved for burial by the Nelthorpe family:



A



B

Fig. 586: South clerestory. Neo-classical cast lead figure of a Lar. A, in its original location (1980) on the medial collar of the central downpipe; B, in its present location, below the medial collar of the renewed western downpipe. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

... the common seats erected in the said church are not sufficient decently to contain the parishioners ... and whereas there is a large vacant space at the end of the South Isle, containing about the space of 45 square yards ... having been used as a burying place of a family of the Nelthorpes whilst they were formerly at Barton aforesaid ... the family is now removed to Little Grimsby.³⁵

This area represented the first two bays, or one-third of the aisle. In 1818, it was reported: 'This part of the church went by the name of Nelthorpe's Quicie, & was the burial place of the Nelthorpe family previous to the vault being made in the chancel'. The family was also allowed to build a seat in the chancel.³⁶ Despite the reference in 1758 to the family's having moved to Grimsby, a monument to Sir John Nelthorpe was nevertheless erected in the chancel in 1799 (M.63; Fig. 782).

Late Georgian and Early Victorian Improvements, c. 1800–1850

(Period 8D)

A general picture of the appearance and condition of the churches of Barton in the early nineteenth century can be assembled from several contemporary descriptions. Most useful are the notes compiled by Loft during the course of several visits between 1827 and 1832. A full transcript is given in Appendix 3, and his plan of St Peter's is reproduced in Figure 582. Descriptions by Glynne in 1825/1867 and Monson in 1835 add further details (Glynne 1898; Monson 1936).

Loft's descriptions are very detailed, noting materials and giving precise dimensions. He described window tracery, label-mouldings, the numbers of offsets on buttresses, etc. In the case of St Peter's we learn that all the roofs were lead covered, except the north porch, which was pantiled, and the western annexe, which was covered with plain tiles. The porches had brick floors and palisaded gates, and internally they were plastered and painted. The south porch had 'a very good roof',³⁷ while there was no ceiling in the north porch, which was open to the underside of the tiles. Even the different types of stucco on the church walls were noted.

It is only through Loft that we hear of the western annexe being described as a 'Dead House', or mortuary. On a plan of 1803, it is simply labelled as 'The room adjoining the Steeple' (Fig. 587), and in an account of 1822 the annexe was described as 'a square brick, stone and tile Building ... on the west side of the Steeple, with a door leading therefrom in the inside, and used as a place for workmen's tools and other purposes when repairing the church, and at other times to place the church ladders in'.³⁸

Reseating, 1803

The provision of pews – and more especially their allocation to families and individuals – regularly caused

disputes, and the churchwardens attempted to settle the situation in 1803 by carrying out a comprehensive reseating of the nave and aisles. This is recorded on the earliest surviving full plan of the church, which was drawn by the curate, the Rev'd M. Barnett. It is extremely useful, being both detailed and reasonably accurate (Fig. 587).³⁹

We may suspect that there was serious dissent, resulting in the churchwardens' having to apply in 1806 for a confirmatory faculty 'for ratifying their doings and proceedings in ye business of reseating'.⁴⁰ The application was accompanied by the 1803 plan of the church and a full schedule of the allocations.⁴¹ This document provides a comprehensive list of the parishioners (or at least the heads of households) attending St Peter's at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The layout of the chancel is recorded, as is the plan of the singers' gallery with its staircase at the west end. There were eighty-nine numbered pews, many of them subdivided into several sittings. The two most important pews (nos. 42 and 43) – for the impropriator and the Graburn family – were situated just inside the chancel screen. The seating was made of unpainted deal, but in the south aisle some medieval oak bench-ends were incorporated (Harding 1937). We cannot determine to what extent the deal pewing was new, as opposed to reusing what had been installed in 1711. The main blocks were similar at both dates, although with a significant number of additional sittings in 1803. Thus, the east end of the north aisle was pewed, the cross-alley in bay 2 was encroached upon, and the west end of the church was filled with pews and a gallery. The pulpit remained where it was in 1711, although it may have been rebuilt: it was the usual 'three-decker' with sounding board.

In 1818, there was an enquiry into the reseating of parishioners: a concordance was drawn up listing the seats and their occupants in 1711 and 1803, and noting the new seats that had been added since 1711.⁴² Concurrently, a major confrontation on the same subject erupted in St Mary's church (p. 126). The pews were again shown in a plan of the 1830s by Hesleden.⁴³

Roofs

For a complete plan of the surviving structural framing of all periods, see Figure 588.

The nave roof appears to present a conundrum, and the dating evidence is conflicting. The low-pitched pine trusses are plain and uniformly constructed, indicating that they are no earlier than c. 1800, and it has already been argued that the dated hoppers (1773) are misleading. Confirmation of this comes from a newspaper account in 1805 of the 'impressive sermon' that was preached on the occasion of reopening the church, 'after having been six months in repair'.⁴⁴ The report goes on to say 'to the great credit of the parishioners be it spoken, as well as to the persons who executed it, that a good and simply elegant new roof has been

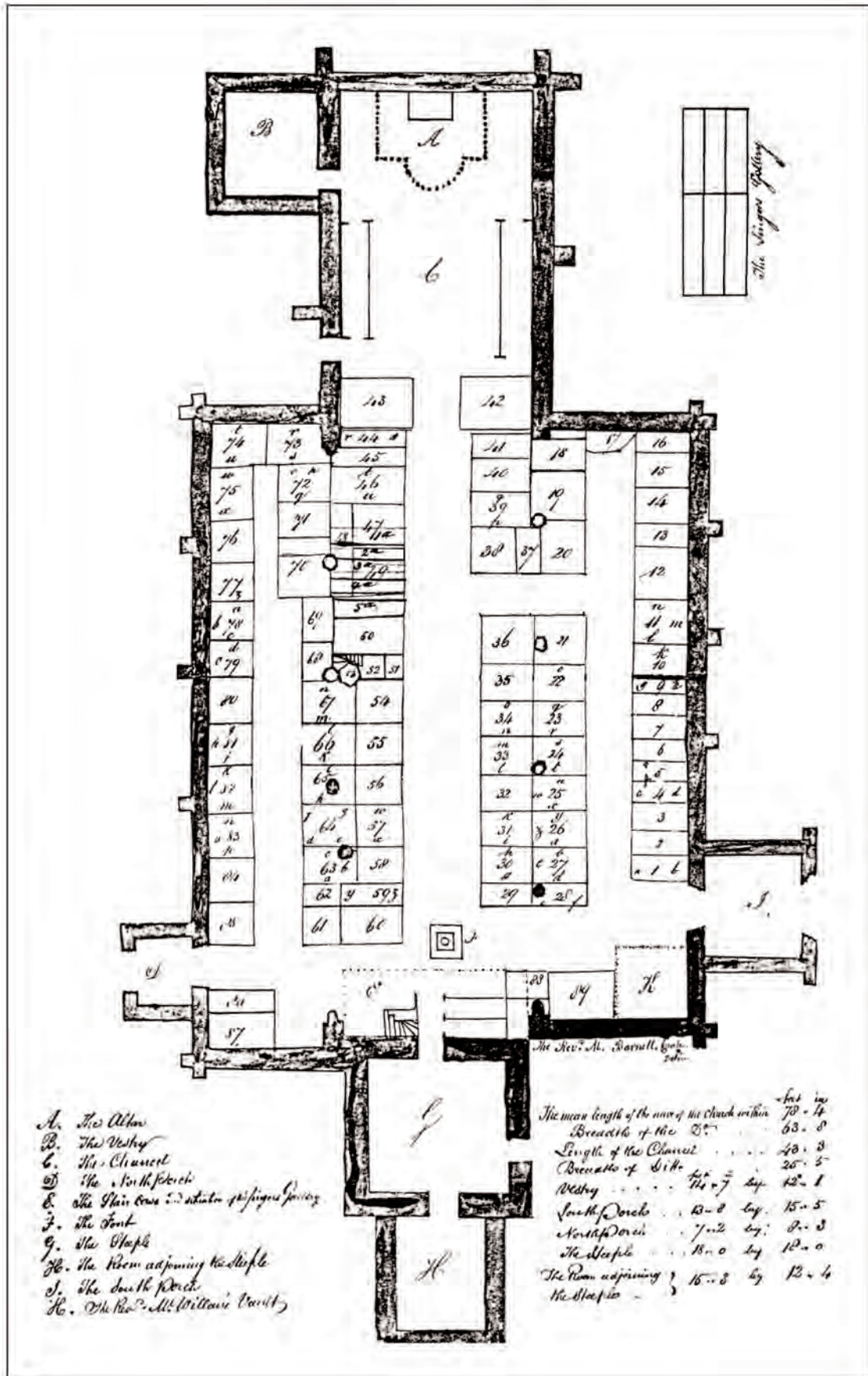


Fig. 587: Plan by M. Barnett of the seating in St Peter's church, 1803. Key to lettered elements: A, Altar; B, Vestry; C, Chancel; D, North porch; E, 'The Stair Case and situation of the Singers Gallery'; F, Font; G, Steeple; H, 'The Room adjoining the Steeple'; J, South porch; K, 'The Rev^d Mr Willan's Vault'. East is at the top. Lincolnshire Archives

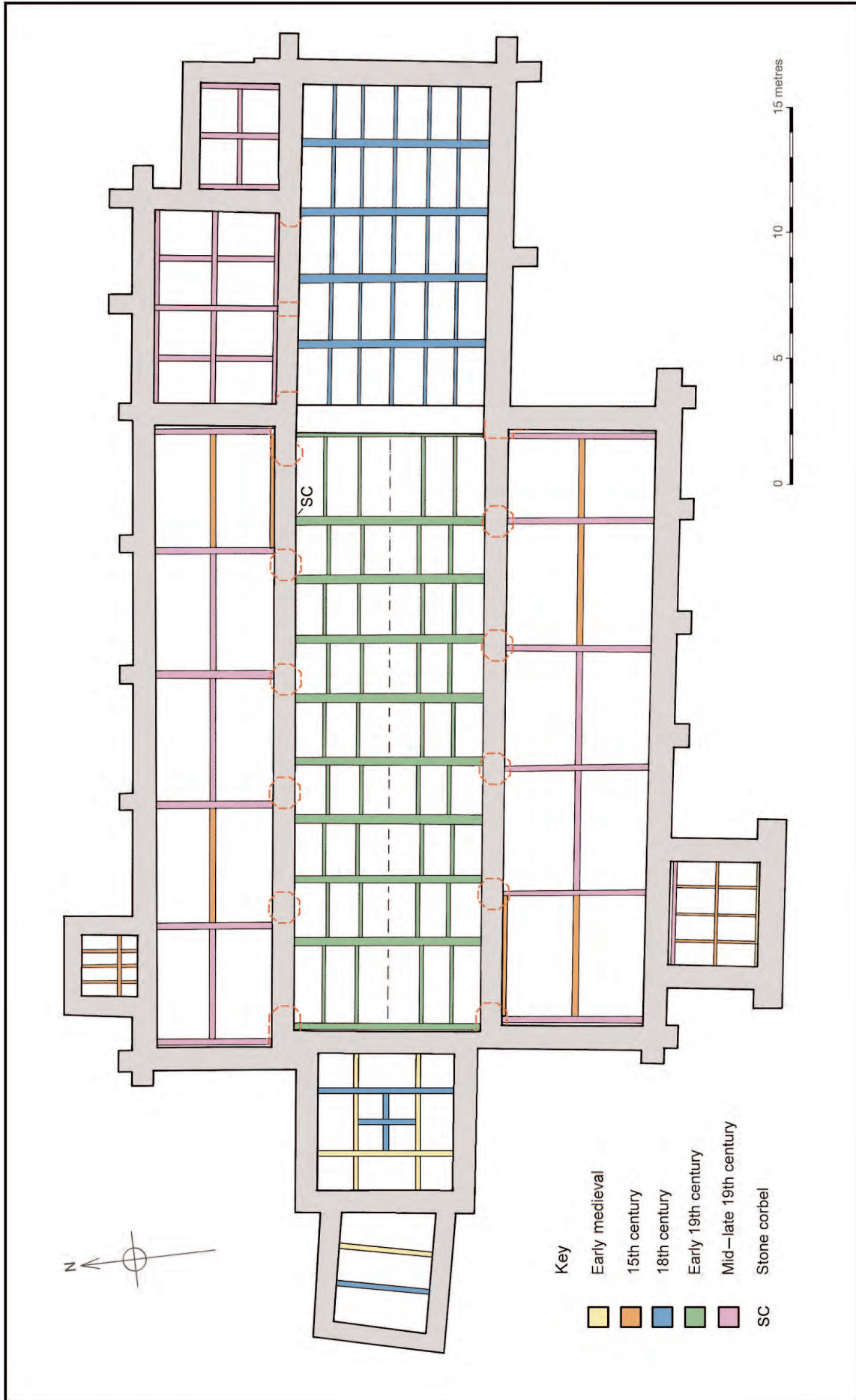


Fig. 588: Schematic plan of the church roofs, differentiated according to the age of the extant timbers in 1980. Drawing: Simon Hayfield



Fig. 589: Nave roof, looking east, 2005. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

erected over the nave of the church, which is under drawn and divided into compartments, forming cross elliptical arches, that spring from neatly executed brackets between each of the upper windows'. The present oak corbels (1858) occupy the sites of those brackets (Figs. 589 and 591).⁴⁵

Semicircular scarring in the wallplaster over the clerestory windows clearly reveals where the plaster arches were attached to the walls (Fig. 460, north arcade). The effect was of a flattened, elliptical, groined vault, a popular feature in Regency gothic decoration. An almost identical ceiling, although somewhat smaller in scale, had been designed by Joseph Potter senior and installed in the nave of Stowe church, Lichfield, in 1790.⁴⁶ Loft described the ceiling in St Peter's in 1832: 'The top of the nave is ceiled & curious like groined arches, formed from the tops of the arches of the upper windows of the nave; it has a very pretty and singular appearance'. He also drew a diagram to illustrate it.⁴⁷ The work was executed by local builders, William and Benjamin Mackrill (Tomblason 1905, 72). They doubtless took the design from one of the eighteenth-century carpentry manuals that were readily available at the time.⁴⁸

There is no evidence for ceiling joists being housed in any of the walls of the clerestory, and since the structure was not self-supporting it must have been suspended from the roof timbers. The importance of



Fig. 590: Nave, exterior of the east gable, 1984. Two blocked openings which formerly ventilated the space between the roof and the ceiling. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

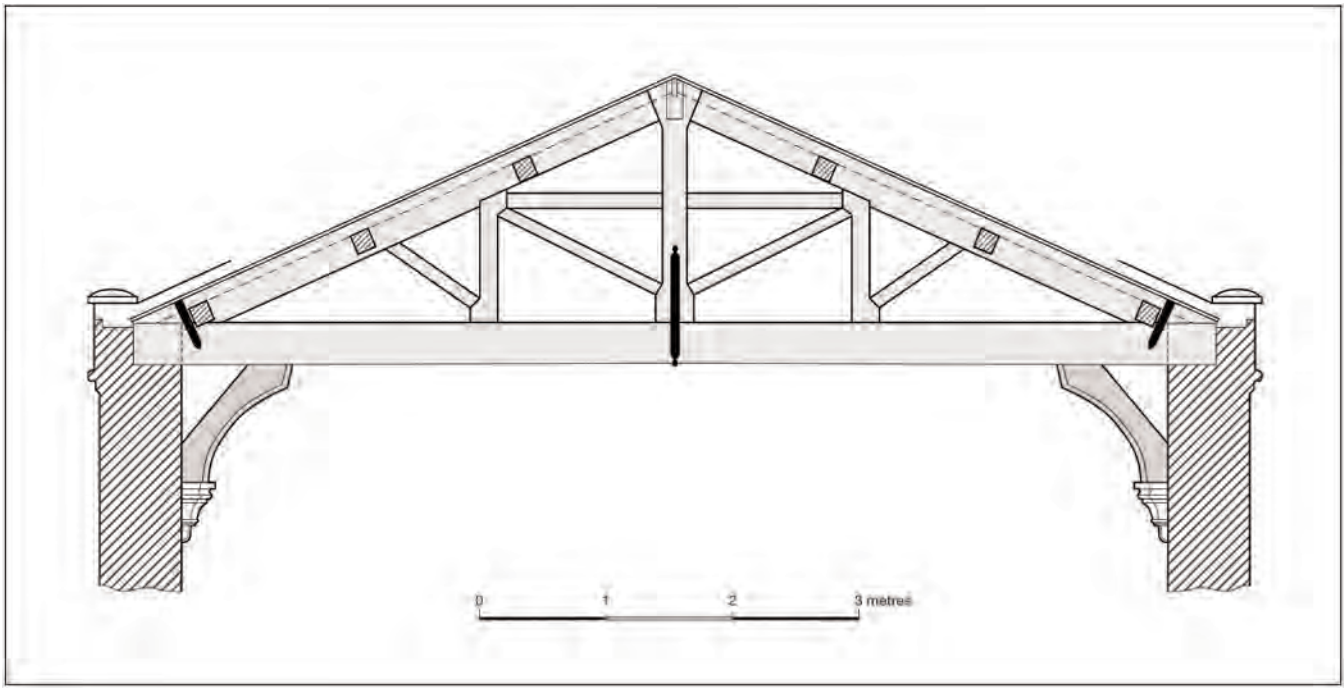


Fig. 591: Nave roof. Elevation of the easternmost king-post truss of 1805, with later wall-brackets below. Scale 1:60. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

adequately ventilating a ceiling of this kind, to prevent condensation on the underside of the lead, and the possible outbreak of dry rot, was appreciated and consequently two arched openings into the roof void were provided at the east end (Fig. 590), and on the west the conveniently situated lower double belfry-opening in the tower was unblocked.⁴⁹ A through-draught was thereby created. Iron railings were installed in the belfry openings, to prevent bellringers and others from gaining access to the void above the nave ceiling (glimpsed in Fig. 289).

While the king-post trusses with their queen struts date from 1805 (Fig. 591), the extant ornamental brackets and timber corbels beneath the tie-beams were clearly designed to be seen from below, and thus cannot be earlier than 1858: they must have been added to the existing structure, after the removal of the ceiling and the brackets that supported it (Fig. 589).

The lead on the nave roof, which was replete with plumbers' graffiti, also told a fascinating story. Tragically, however, this was all stripped in 1978 without adequate archaeological recording. There were twenty-six bays of leading, each with a pitch of 93 cm. Approximately half of the roof had been stripped before we saw it, and sheets with graffiti on them are known to have been lost. A brief survey of the remainder revealed the following (Fig. 592).

Unprovenanced

- Punched outline of a sailing ship, bearing the inscription on the side of the hull, *H. Porter / 18[0]6*⁵⁰
Incised lines below the ship represent the sea (Fig. 592, A).

South slope

- Bay 11 Punched outline of a sailing ship, with the inscription on the sails *R. FORD / 1807 / Aged 14 Years*
Also the initials *R.F.* on the side of the ship (Fig. 593, B).
- Bay 22 Incised rectangular panel with a border and concave ends, containing the inscription *W. Green / 1833*.
The lettering is incised, but infilled with punching to add emphasis (Fig. 594, D).
- Bay 23 Punched outline of a sailing ship containing the inscription *H.P. 1807*.
Presumably this refers to H. Porter (Fig. 593, C).⁵¹
- Bay 25 Three punched inscriptions on one sheet:
 - a) *T. Todd / 1818* (Fig. 594, E).
 - b) Outline of a shoe, inscribed *I Robinsons / 1833*.
The local name is 'Robinson', and the reason for the additional 's' at the end is uncertain, but perhaps indicates the possessive: 'Robinson's' (Fig. 595, F).
 - c) Outline of a hand, inscribed *I R / 1833* (Fig. 595, F).
- Bay 25 Four punched inscriptions on another sheet (Fig. 595, G):
 - a) Outline of a shoe, inscribed *I H F / B / 1831*
 - b) Outline of a hand, inscribed *I H F / B*. No explanation can be offered for the single letter 'B' on the second line of this and the previous inscription.
 - c) Partial outline of a hand (thumb and part of first finger); unfinished graffiti.
 - d) Outline of a shoe, inscribed *I S B / 1831*.

North slope

- Bay 23 Punched outline of a shoe, seemingly inscribed *MM 1853*; the final numeral '3' is reversed (Fig. 595, H).

The graffiti on these sheets were all carefully cut out and retained, but were subsequently stolen before detailed recording took place.⁵² The graffiti representing the three sailing ships were executed with great care



Fig. 592: Nave roof, 1978. Graffiti on lead. A, Sailing ship, inscribed by H. Porter, 1806. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

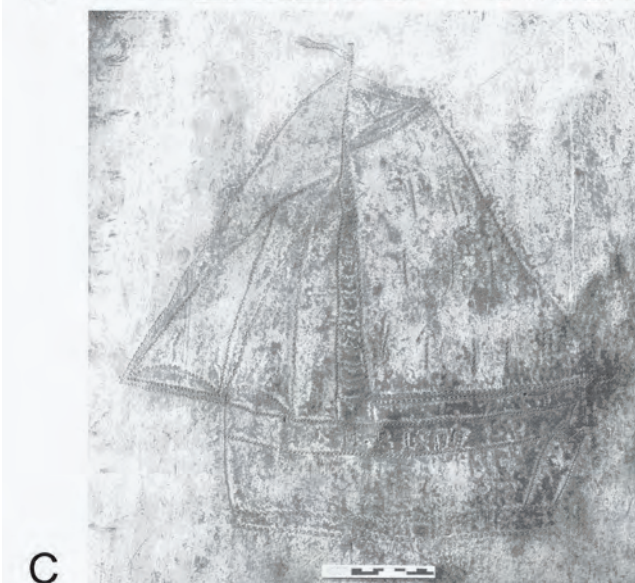


Fig. 593: Nave roof, 1978. Graffiti on lead. B, Sailing ship, inscribed by R. Ford, 1807. C, Sailing ship, inscribed by H. P[orter], 1807. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

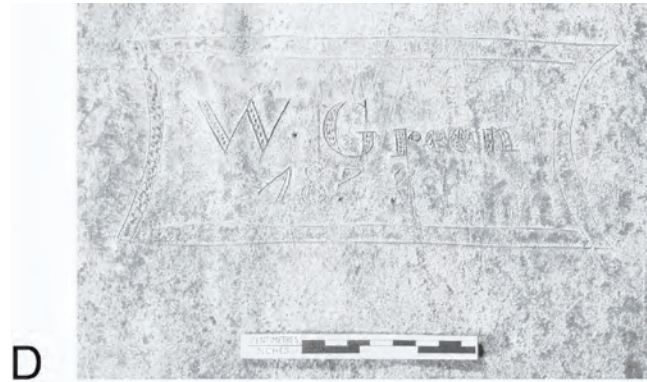


Fig. 594: Nave roof, 1978. Graffiti on lead. D, Panelled inscription, W. Green, 1833. E, Inscription, T. Todd, 1818. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

and precision; some early nineteenth-century headstones in the churchyard bore similar representations, but they too are now lost (Fig. 772).

If the new roof was finished before the winter of 1805, it is difficult to comprehend why the leading was still being carried out in 1806–07 by H. Porter and his 14-year-old apprentice, R. Ford. Repairs followed in 1818 (by T. Todd), 1831 (by I.H.F. and I.S.B.), 1833 (by I. Robinson and W. Green), and in 1853 (by M.M.). Graffiti left by glaziers and a painter attest that repairs to the north clerestory windows were also being carried out in 1853.

Robert Handley / July 19th / 1853 (Fig. 596, A).

William Wilkinson / July 19th / 1853 (Fig. 596, B).

C W To....te / painter / Barton (Fig. 596, C).

Finally, the tower was releaded in 1833, by G. Noble, as evidenced by a plumber's plaque which was salvaged in 1965, when the roof was stripped and recovered. The plaque embodies a substantial inscription, the lettering being cast in relief on the sheet (*i.e.* by impressing individual letters into the sand of the casting-bed) (Fig. 597). The inscription reads:

*W ROBINSON / AND / W MACKRILL JUN^R /
CHURCH WARDENS / 1833 / G NOBLE /
PLUMBER*

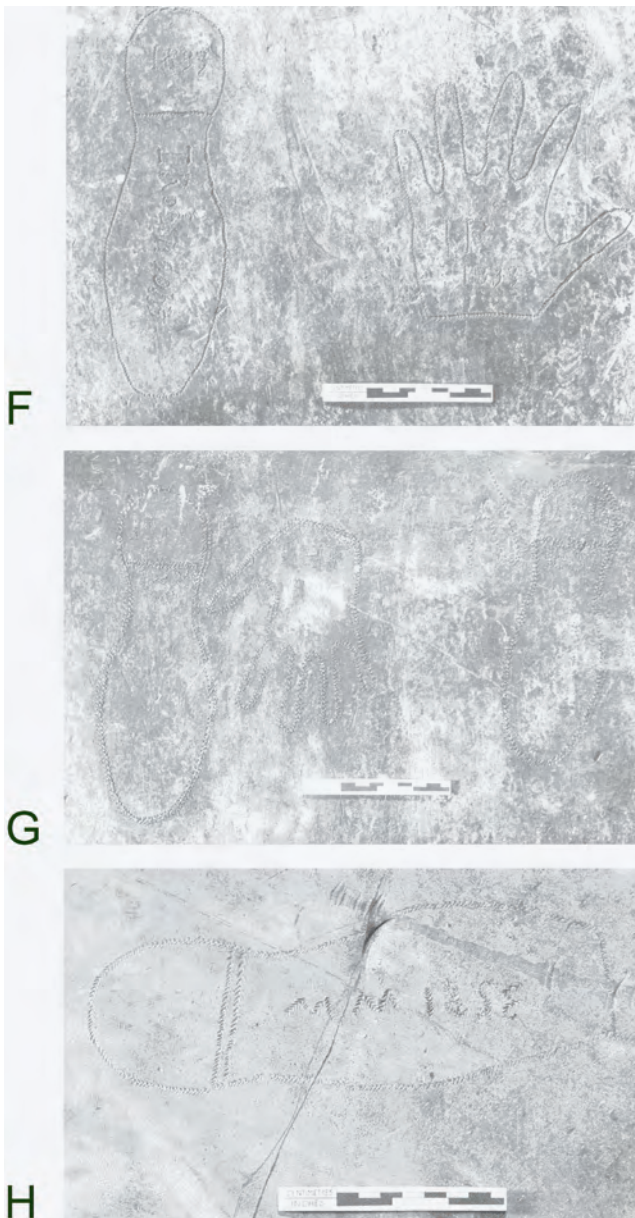


Fig. 595: Nave roof, 1978. Graffiti on lead. F, Inscriptions in a shoe and a hand, I. Robinson, 1833. G, Inscriptions in two shoes and a hand, I.H.F., 1831 and I.S.B., 1831. H, Inscription in a shoe, M.M., 1853. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

Plausibly it was around the same time (1833) that the lead hopper-heads of 1773 were moved from the aisle to the clerestory, and others brought in to join them. The long spouts on the clerestory had evidently not been superseded in 1832, when Loft described them.

It is mildly curious that the nave should have been reseated in 1803, and then suffered major disruption in 1805 for a new roof and ceiling, but even today the order in which work is carried out in church restoration frequently defies logic.

The south aisle roof was probably reconstructed at the time of the releading. The medieval bridging-beams were replaced with new ones in Baltic pine: they were not installed horizontally, but were canted, and

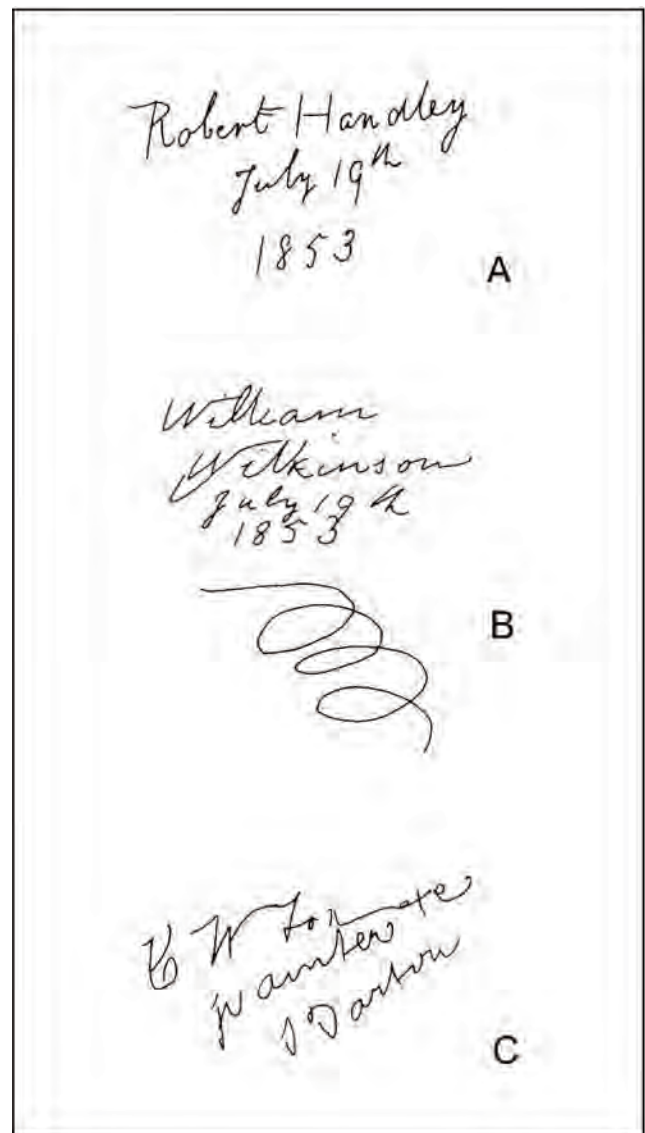


Fig. 596: North clerestory: graffiti scratched on window quarries. A, B, Glaziers' graffiti, 1853; C, Painter's graffiti. Scale 1:2. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

new pockets were cut in the clerestory wall to receive their ends. Two oak purlins were salvaged, and these were propped on top of the new beams in bays 1 and 2, instead of being tenoned into principals, as they would originally have been.⁵³ In the north aisle, a set of six identical bridging-beams was installed; they are of pine and have plain chamfered arrises. A date around the 1830s would be compatible. Apart from the two medieval oak purlins, the remainder are of pine, and all now rest on top of the beams instead of being morticed into the principals.

There remains one significant question: when were the crow-stepped gables to the clerestory and both aisles taken down? Inevitably, that operation must have been linked to roof works, albeit not those of 1805. Although mis-represented as crenellated, the stepped half-gable on the west end of the south aisle was still in place when Pugin drew the tower in 1819 (Fig. 242),

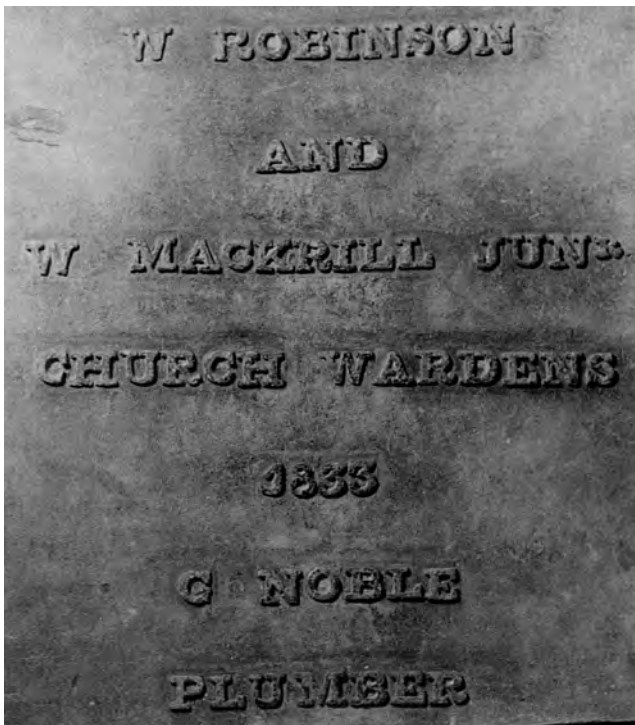


Fig. 597: Tower roof. Plumber's plaque, 1833. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 598: Chancel, east wall. Fourteenth-century ogival canopy, reused as a central ornament to the crow-stepped gable; removed 1984. View west. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

and when a woodcut was made in the early 1830s (Fig. 15). Other evidence confirms that the gables were all intact in *c.* 1830 (Pl. 10), but had gone before the clock was installed in the tower in 1852. The most plausible context for the removal of the stepped gables is the reroofing of the aisles in 1830s. Whether the east gable of the chancel was rebuilt at the same time, with a lower pitch, is uncertain. Nattes shows a moderately high-pitched, crow-stepped gable, but by the early 1860s it was certainly lower and a fragment of fourteenth-century ogival canopywork had been set on the apex as an antiquarian embellishment (p. 798; Fig. 598). The gable was again rebuilt in *c.* 1903.

Doors

The south door is likely to have been renewed as part of the 1803–05 campaign. It is of pine and comprises a pair of leaves that fill the tall, pointed opening (Fig. 438). The eastern leaf, up to arch-springing level, is almost entirely occupied by a wicket,⁵⁴ which serves as the entrance for daily use: the two leaves are held in the closed position by bolts and a hinged iron bar. They hang on strap hinges, the upper being cranked and having spearhead-terminals; they are fixed using a mixture of heavy nails and (later) woodscrews. The wicket has short strap-hinges with bold fleur-de-lys terminals and base-plates; these are out of character with the late Georgian doors and other ironmongery, and the terminals, at least, must have been reused from a medieval context. The upper one is undoubtedly medieval, but the lower has the appearance of a Victorian copy (p. 469; Pl. 52).

Externally, the doors are framed and each has two unbevelled panels, a large rectangular one in the lower part and a small quadrant-shaped one in the arch. The panel-mouldings are of ogee profile and there is an astragal bead fitted to the field: the detailing is late Georgian, *c.* 1790–1820. When the doors were installed, floor level was 25 cm higher than it is today, and consequently an extension piece has since been added to the bottom of each leaf. Internally, the leaves are clad with horizontal boards with beaded edges. The doors were originally painted, but have been stripped on both sides, and a grained effect has been applied in modern times.

The pine door leading from the chancel into the vestry also appears to be late Georgian, its construction being of three layers.⁵⁵ The south face comprises three pine boards with beaded edges; four vertical boards make up the middle layer; and there is horizontal boarding on the back. The door hangs on two plain strap hinges, fixed with coach bolts. It is painted with red lead primer under brown graining, and finished with thick varnish which is now cracked. The keyhole has an oval iron escutcheon.

Restoration of the vestry, including partial rebuilding, is likely to have taken place in 1813, when a wall-safe was installed, and is concealed from view by a cupboard-front (Fig. 651).⁵⁶ In 1827 Loft described the vestry as 'a small building partly of brick on the north side of the chancel and covered with slate, probably a vestry room with a tall chimney'.⁵⁷ In 1832 he mentioned its fireplace and noted that the vestry was furnished with a table, six chairs, shelving, a chest, etc.⁵⁸

General Restoration, 1850s to 1870s (Period 9A)

Moves towards restoration seem to have begun *c.* 1850, although the first post-medieval stained glass window was commissioned as early as 1847 (p. 594; Pl. 99).

In 1852 a striking and chiming clock was installed in the tower, the mechanism being housed in the old lower belfry (Fig. 655). At the time, at least two of its double openings were blocked with masonry: those on the south were now reopened and glazed. Those on the east were already fitted with wrought iron railings because they served as a ventilator for the nave ceiling (p. 510). In 1856 a new organ by Forster and Andrews of Hull was erected on the west gallery, and at the same time a second memorial window – to the late vicar, George Uppleby – was placed in the chancel (Ball 1856, 2, 58–60) (p. 594; Pl. 96). A third window, to Mrs Uppleby, the vicar's widow, was installed in 1858 (p. 594; Pl. 98).⁵⁹

In August 1857 a meeting was called in St Peter's vestry to consider re-pewing the church, and a committee was appointed for the purpose. At this stage, full-scale restoration was clearly not envisaged. However, the vestry minutes for September 1857 record that the fashionable London architect S.S. Teulon chanced to visit both churches in Barton, and as a consequence was immediately invited to prepare plans, a specification and costing for reseating St Peter's. He quoted a fee of £50, but it was rejected as being 'quite beyond the means placed at the disposal of the committee'. Teulon responded by offering to reduce his fee to £15 to £20 if the parish provided a ground plan and other information. He said that he would be 'glad to be engaged on so interesting a church'.⁶⁰ Notwithstanding, the parish opted to employ the Yorkshire architect, Cuthbert Brodrick (1822–1905).⁶¹ He was based in Hull, and St Peter's was one of his early church restoration commissions.

Cuthbert Brodrick, 1858–59

It was under Brodrick that the interior of St Peter's took on the appearance that it retained, in large measure, until 1978 (Fig. 599). The proposal for a major internal restoration and re-seating of the church was launched in December 1857 by a committee charged with overseeing the work. This was in the last months of George Holt's incumbency, and thus it fell to his successor, George Hogarth, to lead the project.⁶²

The seats in this ancient and well-known Church being in a very dilapidated condition, and insufficient for the requirements of the population, and an increase of accommodation, especially of free seats for the poor, having been considered necessary, a Committee has been formed for the purpose of re-seating and restoring the interior.

By the fresh arrangement of seats contemplated by the Committee, one hundred and seventy additional unappropriated sittings will be obtained. The Church will be restored in a plain manner, but care will be taken that the work be well done, and that it be in character with the Architecture of the Building.

Cuthbert Brodrick, Esq., of Leeds and Hull, has been selected as the Architect; and the Committee feel persuaded that his name will be considered a sufficient guarantee for the purity of the design, as well as for the excellency of the work.

The estimated cost is upwards of £700 ...⁶³

A faculty was sought, accompanied by a detailed specification, drawings and a plan (Fig. 600).⁶⁴ Subscriptions to the restoration fund were solicited.⁶⁵ An application made to the Incorporated Church Building Society (ICBS) for financial assistance included a plan of the proposed new layout, which appears to have been largely, if not wholly, implemented.⁶⁶ Some variations, however, occurred.

The specification provided for wide-ranging works, including:

1. Take up the floors in the nave and aisles and dig out 'superfluous soil'; relay ledger-slabs, as directed and infill with stock bricks laid in herringbone pattern. Old materials could be reused under the pew platforms.
2. Floors in the chancel and sanctuary to be laid with 'Messrs Maw's plain tiles to an approved pattern'. Red, black and buff were the specified colours. The steps all to have tile risers, and six blocks of stone to be buried in the floor to take the stanchions of the altar rail.
3. The walls to be 'well scraped and cleaned'. Replastering to take place as necessary; distempered finish.
4. The tower arch to be opened out and restored (implying that it was blocked); three Bradford stone steps to be installed; the floor to be paved with brick, and the walls plastered. Fittings for hanging a door in the western arch to be installed. The 'present door' (south?) in the tower to be repaired.
5. The north arcade: 'Two of the pillars [bays 2/3 and 3/4] ... are too large for the caps and out of perpendicular, to be reduced and brought fair with the caps and bases; the whole of the bases to be repaired and pointed, the projecting part of the lower part to be dressed off.' This last refers to the stubs of the medieval benches, found in alternate bays (*i.e.* bays 2 and 4).
6. The ceilings in the nave and chancel to be removed, and the eaves infilled with brickwork between the rafters. The openings above ceiling level at either end of the nave to be infilled. The exposed roof timbers in the nave and chancel to be dressed, and the iron straps 'to have small pieces attached to them of an ornamental pattern'. The chancel roof to have brackets and corbels added. The exposed timbers in the aisle roofs to be dressed 'where they are not already dressed'.
7. Four windows in the south aisle to be restored, including the removal of solid infilling in the bottom part.
8. The font to be moved from the centre of the west end to the south aisle, and two 'Bradford steps' provided for it.
9. The pulpit to be mounted on a base of Brodsworth stone, and the steps for it and for the reading desk to be of Bradford stone.⁶⁷ Wrought iron handrails to be provided for the pulpit.
10. The roof timbers and all the doors to be painted 'rough grained oak'; the ironwork to the roofs, doors and altar rails to be painted blue.

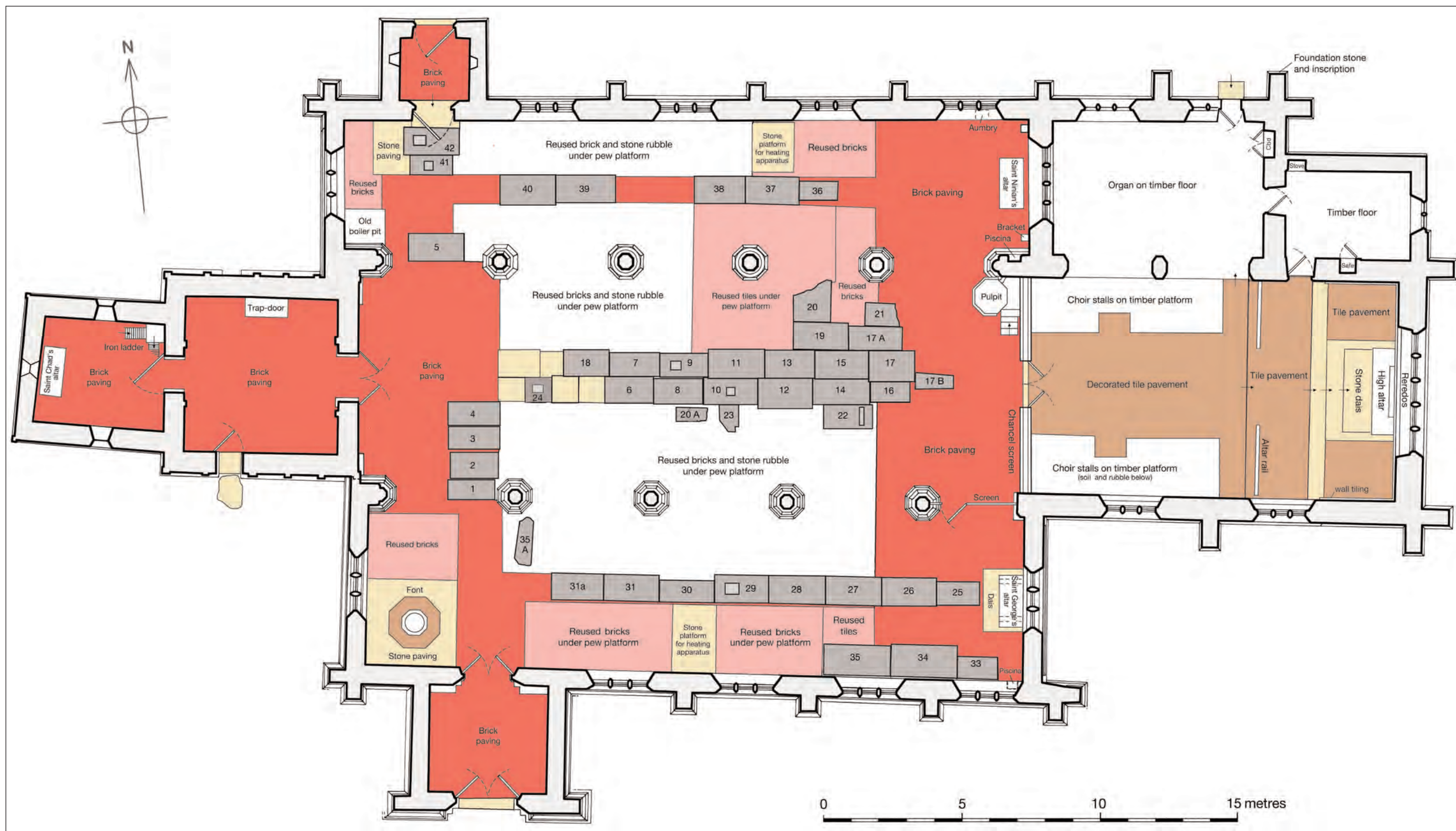


Fig. 599: Plan showing the flooring materials, disposition of memorial slabs and major furnishings in 1978. Timber pew platforms have been omitted for clarity. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

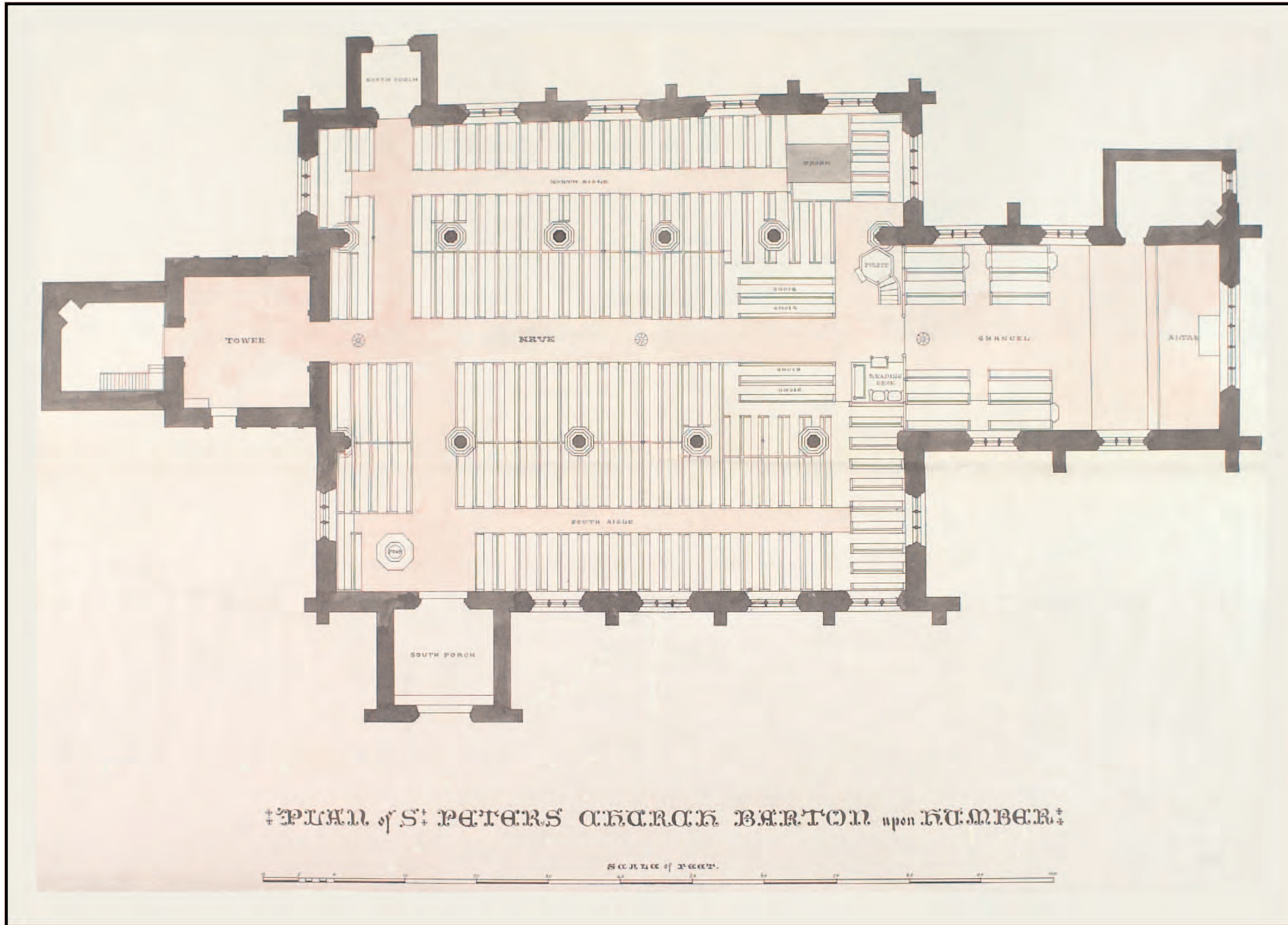


Fig. 600: Proposed reseating plan by Cuthbert Brodrick, 1858. Note: the three gas stoves shown here on the central axis were not installed. The Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library

11. The gallery, altar [rails?], pulpit, reading desk and pews (excepting the carved medieval ends) all to be cleared away. The organ to be taken down and resited in the north aisle on a raised platform. New pews, seats, reading desk and pulpit to be made of pitch pine; the pews to be raised on timber platforms. Medieval bench-ends to be reused as directed. New oak altar rail mounted on wrought iron standards (manufactured by Hart and Sons).
12. Gas lighting to be installed, with standards and brackets. Manufacturers: Hart and Sons, Wych Street, Strand, London.
13. Old stoves to be discarded and new gas heating installed in the form of three 'Kimberley's Patent Church Stoves with cylinders, double chambers, reflectors, &c. – fluted pattern. Price 115/- each'.
14. 'Belfry floor and stairs' to be removed, and a new floor constructed 4 ft higher than the present one. A new stair to be constructed and a door fitted to the opening leading into the ringing chamber.

Existing fabric and fittings, together with old photographs, clarify many aspects of the work, but still leave some unresolved issues. The ICBS was not entirely satisfied with Brodrick's proposals, and correspondence ensued. They considered the new layout 'inconvenient and unsatisfactory', and the detailing 'by no means in keeping with the improved knowledge and

feeling of Gothic Architecture'; with regard to the Georgian ceiling in the nave, they insisted that it 'would be better to leave the modern roof in its undisguised ugliness than to attempt to give it an Architectural and Ecclesiastical character'.⁶⁸ A way forward was in due course agreed.

There was no mention in Brodrick's specification of the stained pine choir stalls (although they appear on the plan), restoration of the chancel screen, wall-tiling in the sanctuary, the reredos, ornamental brackets for the nave roof and other works that must have taken place at this time. Nor is a new font mentioned, or the breaking of a pseudo-Saxon doorway through the west wall of the annexe. Regrettably, only one internal photograph of the church is known, ante-dating the restoration of 1897⁶⁹ (Fig. 601).

The sloping floor of the nave and aisles was dug out and levelled, thereby requiring the leaves of the south door to be lengthened by 25 cm.⁷⁰ The ledger-slabs had all to be lifted and reset, and many appear to have been reinstated close to their original locations; the remainder of the exposed floor surface was finished with brick. The areas concealed beneath timber pew platforms were roughly floored with a mixture of fragments of medieval and later grave-slabs, salvaged tile paviments, and secondhand bricks (Fig. 599).



Fig. 601: View of the nave, chancel and south aisle, c. 1890, showing the internal arrangement created by the restoration of 1858–59. Photo: ex. Varah Coll., Lincolnshire Archives



Fig. 602: Chancel. Interior, looking east, 1972. Photo: English Heritage, RCHME



Fig. 603: Chancel: choir stalls and screen. View west, 1972. Photo: English Heritage, RCHME



Fig. 604: Chancel: choir stalls. Detail of poppy-head carvings, 1972. Photo: English Heritage, RCHME

The chancel was comprehensively refloored with unglazed Staffordshire (Maw's) tiles in subdued colours, laid diagonally and having inset squares forming a simple pattern (Pls. 63 and 67; Fig. 603).⁷¹ Two rows of pine choir stalls were placed against the north and south walls, raised on timber platforms with sub-floor air spaces (Figs. 602 and 603). The ends of the stalls were decorated with poppy-head carvings (Fig. 604). The sixteenth-century chequered floor of tile pavements, and all the ledger-slabs in it, was swept away.

The eastern part of the chancel was raised by one step (17 cm) and given a Staffordshire tile floor similar to the rest.⁷² The sanctuary was raised by a further step (15 cm), placed immediately east of the doorway to the vestry (Fig. 605). This is of cream limestone⁷³ and bears six scars where iron standards supporting the altar rails were formerly fixed. The sanctuary floor was tiled, but with slightly more elaboration than the chancel. The altar stood on a timber dais, and behind was a retable painted on slate: it had a central panel with a sacred monogram, flanked by two pairs of panels inscribed with the Commandments⁷⁴ (p. 551; Pl. 105).

The walls of the sanctuary, up to the sill level of the south window, were covered with highly glazed tiling of rather garish appearance (Pls. 63 and 68).⁷⁵ The tiles are set diagonally, being laid in a generous bed of Portland cement on the north and south walls; but on

the east the tiling stands forward of the wall face by 14 cm, the top forming a continuous shelf (also tile-finished). Two shades of brown comprise the majority of the colour, interspersed at regular intervals by both plain green tiles, and a small number bearing a single decorated motif. The latter carry a four-way fleur-de-lis pattern executed in cream slip on a brown background, and glazed.⁷⁶ There is a black tiled skirting and the whole ensemble is framed by a zigzag border executed in triangular tiles of yellow, brown and black. A centrally placed inscription in the tile border reads: · THIS · DO · IN · REMEMBRANCE · OF · ME · (Luke, 22:19; Fig. 605). The inscription was originally intended to be seen just above the short altar, but was obscured when the dais was raised in 1897 (p. 528).

The sill of the east window was raised at an uncertain date – potentially as part of this restoration – by inserting three sloping courses of ashlar masonry on the exterior, and shortening the mullions; internally, rubble infilling to half the wall's thickness is visible behind the reredos. While the present infill seems to be nineteenth century, and related to the introduction of the reredos, it may have replaced a cruder arrangement of inserted panels (?brick) of eighteenth century or earlier date. East windows were often partially blocked when substantial post-medieval altarpieces were introduced.⁷⁷



Fig. 605: Sanctuary, showing the tile pavement and wall tiling of 1858–59; also the later dais and reredos. View east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

The cosmetic work carried out to the chancel roof, after the ceiling was taken down, is apparent. The bridging-beams were given simple stopped chamfers, and mortices were cut in the soffit face, near to the ends; curved wall-brackets were fitted, descending on to timber corbels enlivened with boldly carved heads. Lengths of moulded timber cornice were fitted on the wall-tops, between the beams. The eight corbels and brackets, which were purely decorative, were partly consumed by dry rot in the mid-twentieth century.⁷⁸ Five of the heads have survived more-or-less complete, and there is a fragment of a sixth; these and the brackets were all taken down in 1981 (Fig. 606). The other two heads were lost at an earlier date. The features are bold and crudely carved, but nevertheless pay homage to the fourteenth century: two of the survivors are female.⁷⁹

The nave and aisles were laid out with regular lines of benches, which were packed into every available space (Figs. 600 and 601).⁸⁰ The singers' gallery was removed from the west end of the nave, the organ was resited in the middle of the first bay of the north aisle, the new pulpit was tucked into the north-east corner of the nave, and the reading desk in the south-east corner.⁸¹ The font was established in a new location beside the south door. The old one was not repositioned, as specified, but a new and very elaborately carved Caen stone font was installed on an octagonal plinth (Fig. 644). The sides and top of the latter are decorated with glazed and brightly coloured ceramic tiles, which most likely derive from the Minton factory at Stoke-on-Trent (Pls. 69 and 70).

Gas lighting was installed, and early photographs show standards with triple burners attached to pews in the nave (Figs. 601 and 607).⁸² Hanging in the centre

of the chancel was a handsome brass and enamel corona, also fitted with gas burners.⁸³ According to the plan, three gas heating stoves were to be installed on the central axis of the church, but it is doubtful whether that transpired. Later in the century, there were certainly coke stoves in the aisles, and the western annexe was used as a fuel store.

The chancel screen, instead of being skilfully restored, was patched up with deal, given a coat of paint and then varnished, to impart uniformity of appearance. Moreover, the solid panels in the lower register were entirely removed⁸⁴ (Fig. 601). The restored church was reopened on 1 June 1859,⁸⁵ the total cost of the work having far exceeded the estimate. A printed report, with a list of subscribers and statement of accounts, was issued in 1861.⁸⁶

Tower, annexe and west doorway

The intervention for which Brodrick is best known is the formation of a pseudo-Saxon doorway in the west wall of the annexe but, perplexingly, neither its arrival nor its demise is expressly documented. There is no mention in the 1858 faculty application of creating a western entrance or of using the annexe as a porch. Nevertheless, within months a new entrance with bold stone dressings, similar to those of the south doorway in the tower, had appeared (Fig. 251). Despite all this effort, the annexe still served no elevated function, and the sexton's fireplace and chimney in the north-west corner were allowed to remain. Brodrick also removed the staircase from the base of the tower, installing it in the western annexe instead (Fig. 600). That allowed him to restore the floor of the ringing-chamber back to



Fig. 606: Chancel roof. The five surviving pine corbel-heads installed, together with curved brackets, beneath the bridging-beams in 1858–59. Photos: English Heritage



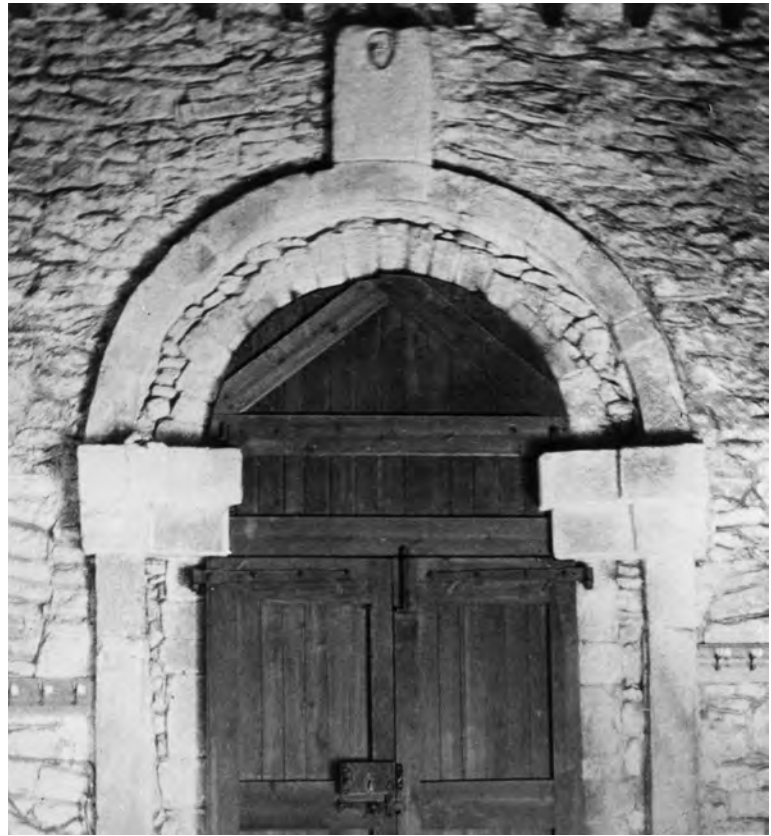
Fig. 607: Nave. View of the west end, showing Brodrick's benches, gasoliers and doors to the tower. Note the over-restored tower arch and small doorway above. Photograph taken between 1898 and 1912. Photo: English Heritage, NMR

its original position. The post-medieval floor had been lowered to the level of the top of the Anglo-Saxon chancel arch, cutting across the base of the incised gritstone panel, which was marooned in the ringing-chamber and obscured by wallplaster (p. 346). The rediscovery of the Anglo-Saxon carving thus dates from 1858. The reason for lowering the floor in the first place is unknown.

It was Brodrick who fitted heavy doors to enclose the base of the tower, which was then sparsely furnished for use as a choir vestry, although it was described as 'very cold and damp' in the winter.⁸⁷ On the east, a pair of plain, vertically boarded door leaves opened into the tower, and the arch above was filled with matching boarding (Figs. 607 and 608, B). Heavy iron crooks were set into the jambs. On the west, a single



A



B

Fig. 608: Tower. Doors inserted in the principal arches. A, West; B, East. Photographs taken c. 1900. Photos: Courtesy of the Church Buildings Council (Florence Coombe Coll.)

round-headed, panelled door was hung to open into the annexe (Fig. 608, A). The iron crooks, latching plate and staples for the lock all remain. In order to fit this door, a rebate was cut into the masonry of the Anglo-Saxon arch, a brutal and unnecessary intervention (Figs. 609 and 620). Chamfers were added too.

The doors on the east and west differed markedly in design and construction, and must represent two phases of work. Those under the eastern arch (including the tympanum) were very plain on the outer face, and crude on the inner, whereas the door in the western arch had ten chamfered panels and an ornamental closing-ring. The south door into the tower was plain boarded externally, framed in eight panels internally, and fitted with a similar closing ring. Four small apertures were cut in the uppermost panels of that door, for glazing, in or soon after 1912.⁸⁸

It is uncertain whether the small doorway in the east face of the tower at first-floor level was used to provide access to the Georgian gallery, which had its own staircase against the west wall of the nave. However, when the gallery was removed Brodrick grossly over-restored the masonry of the first-floor opening: a new sill and imposts were inserted, and the original rubble arch was replaced by voussoirs of grit-stone (Figs. 289 and 607). A plain boarded door, matching those in the large arch below, was inserted in the aperture.

A visit to Barton by the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society early in 1859 was followed by outspoken criticism in the press: 'a new doorway has injudiciously been inserted at the west of the building and has given rise to criticism amongst the antiquaries who visited the town last week'. The Rev'd G. Atkinson, Vicar of Stow, was troubled that 'in future times it may deceive the antiquary, by its having the appearance of being genuine Saxon work'.⁸⁹ In its annual report, the Architectural Society commented favourably on other aspects of 'the extensive and on the whole satisfactory restoration that has been bestowed on this venerable church at a cost of above £1,400. The old organ gallery has been removed. A hideous ceiling formerly above the nave is now no more' (Anon. 1859–60, xix). The same source tells us that the new font – 'a beautiful example of modern carving' – was given by the vicar (Fig. 644).

The report then turns to the church's 'celebrated Saxon tower', observing 'while we congratulate the architect, Mr Brodrick, on his having exposed to view its arch communicating with the nave, and the small doorway above it, we much regret that he has allowed both of these to be too much tampered with by his masons, the features of the former having been scraped pretty deeply, and the arch of the latter having been renewed'. The language of the report then becomes stronger: 'We protest also against the insertion of a new



Fig. 609: Tower, western arch seen from within the annexe, 1972. The iron fixings and rebate for Brodrick's door remain. Photo: English Heritage, RCHME

doorway, made to assimilate with the very ancient works around it; because such a proceeding is very likely to deceive persons hereafter as to what is original and what [are] ingenious – but not judicious – additions of the 19th century in the features of this especially valuable example of Saxon architecture.'

We next hear of the doorway in 1867, when the Royal Archaeological Institute visited, its members expressing equal disapproval (p. 242). Meanwhile, Sir George Gilbert Scott either visited Barton, or sent a pupil, to draw the west end of the church, and in so doing provided the sole visual record of Brodrick's

inserted doorway (Scott 1879, 54) (Fig. 251). According to a note, the offending doorway was dismantled and the opening blocked 'with chalkstone in 1869–70 by Mr Jickels, senior'.⁹⁰ No sign of the two *oculi* in the west wall can be seen in Scott's drawing, which strongly suggests that they were blocked at the time. The latter is confirmed by their absence from the 1823 painting (Pl. 9).

A likely explanation for the creation of the doorway can be offered. When the interior of the annexe was being cleared, evidence for a blocked opening must have been found, triggering the idea in Brodrick's

mind that the structure was once a porch. He may have been aware that some Anglo-Saxon churches had west entrances with porches (*e.g.* Monkwearmouth, Dur.), or perhaps he was mindful of Headbourne Worthy (Hants.), where there is a tall, two-storied and gabled western annexe with a doorway: that is, however, a medieval addition to the Anglo-Saxon nave.⁹¹

Although it has often been asserted that there was no doorway in the west wall of St Peter's prior to 1858,⁹² archaeological and cartographic evidence confirms that there had indeed been one, not the monumental portal imagined and realized by Brodrick, but a small medieval entrance. Vestiges of its threshold were found in excavation in 1978, well above Anglo-Saxon floor level (p. 386), and it is plainly marked on Buckler's plan.⁹³ The medieval opening does not appear in any illustration of the church, but in the painting of 1823 a round-headed window is clearly shown in the west wall: it may have been formed within the upper part of the blocked doorway (Pl. 9). However, two views of *c.* 1830 failed to record any features in the west wall (Figs. 13 and 15).

Notwithstanding the above, it is still difficult to comprehend why, practically, the new west doorway was created at all: significant expense was obviously incurred. That Brodrick did not convert the annexe into a west porch is self-evident from the fact that he allowed the sexton's fireplace to remain *in situ*, and he further cluttered the space by moving the staircase there (from the tower). We can only conclude that, as previously, the space was merely used as a sexton's shed, and that in order to obviate the need for access through the choir vestry (*i.e.* tower), a new external door was provided.

Tower and External Restoration, *c.* 1870

Several antiquaries commented on the external finish of the walls of the church. Loft, in 1832, observed that the tower and annexe were 'roughcast'. The south aisle and porch were 'covered with a composition of mortar and brick dust', and the west wall of the north aisle was 'covered with reddish mortar [*sic*]'.⁹⁴ By the 1850s, the external rendering was in poor condition and, following the completion of the internal restoration of the church, the press reported, 'We hope the committee will not consider their noble undertaking completed until they have renovated the exterior, which is extremely unsightly, being patched up with mortar and other materials in a manner which greatly mars the general effect'.⁹⁵ When making his annual inspection in 1859, the rural dean (Charles J. Barnard) recommended several urgent improvements. Subsequent reports show that their implementation was slow.⁹⁶

In 1862 the stripping and pointing of the south aisle masonry was proposed, but in the following year it was agreed that a new coat of roughcast would be applied. Seemingly, nothing was done. In 1867 it was observed,

'the exterior of much of the church is covered with stucco of old standing, and some of the stone masonry is bad and patched with brick. The south aisle with its battlement is of excellent stone' (Glynne 1898, 202). As a consequence of a visit by the Royal Archaeological Institute, also in 1867 (p. 13), the architect-antiquary, J.H. Parker, recommended that the tower should be covered with pebbledash stucco, rather than the plain limeplaster, which had peeled off patchily. Parker provided directions for mixing the pebbledash, the application of which he claimed would better preserve the stonework of the tower.⁹⁷ This is often stated to have been carried out in 1868,⁹⁸ when it was reported that the roughcast was renewed on the south aisle and west end of the annexe.⁹⁹ The north aisle was to be tackled in the following year. Then, in 1870, a quotation was provided by a local builder for pebbledashing the tower and south porch, for the sum of £50. Shortly afterwards he was paid £20 for 'repairing St Peter's Church steeple, &c.'¹⁰⁰ Hence the rendering process seems to have been protracted, but several early photographs show the effect upon completion (Figs. 610, 672 and 687).

The re-rendering of 1868–70, which may or may not have followed Parker's prescription, did not find favour with Varah who, in 1942, wrote: 'there it remains in all its pebble-dash unsuitability to the present day'. Angered by Parker's insistence that the tower was not pre-Conquest, Varah caustically added, 'It is not suggested that he [Parker] advised this [rendering] in order to hide the evidence',¹⁰¹ but that was indeed Varah's contention. Old photographs confirm that most of the church was rendered in the late nineteenth century, only those areas which were ashlar-faced being excepted (*i.e.* the chancel and vestry) (Figs. 266 and 672).¹⁰²

Parker's new pebbledash rendering no longer survives on the tower or annexe, but vestigial traces of several old renders are present around the church. Dating them presents a problem. The most distinctive and ubiquitous is a roughcast lime mix containing a large amount of crushed brick aggregate, and having an appearance somewhat akin to Roman *opus signinum*. Although it has been systematically stripped, slight traces of this material can still be found on the tower (at all levels), as well as on the clerestory walls, north aisle and elsewhere. Could it be as early as Tudor, or is it a predecessor of 'Roman cement', and assignable to the second half of the eighteenth century, or even slightly later?

Since traces of this rendering survive on the rebuilt upper part of the east gable to the clerestory, this should establish that it post-dates 1805. However, certainty cannot obtain since there are perceptible differences in the mortar mix and there is a strong possibility that the recycled bricks used here already had old mortar adhering.¹⁰³ The fact that so much trouble was taken to produce a render with a strong reddish hue suggests that this was a decorative intention. Logically, one might



Fig. 610: Roughcast rendering on the tower, western annexe and south aisle, applied in 1868–70. View from the south-west, c. 1900. Photo: English Heritage, NMR

expect it to have been associated with the Tudor phase involving crow-stepped gables, which were formed in red brick, but that does not seem to be the case since the best surviving patch of pink render is on the north-east angle of the clerestory, and that was formerly abutted by the crow-stepped gable (Pl. 71, A). Consequently, this render was either pre-Tudor (unlikely) or of *c.* 1833. The likelihood of a ‘late’ date for the coarse render is further suggested by its appearance on the window tracery in the south aisle (Pl. 71, A).

Residual traces of similar rendering are found on other churches in the neighbourhood, including St Mary’s (Barton), Barrow, Goxhill and Thornton Curtis. Where the original surface survives (as on the south chancel buttress at Thornton Curtis: Pl. 71, B), the render-coat is thin, smooth and abuts the ashlar dressings. It is certainly not roughcast: when new, it

would have imparted a warm pink appearance to the walls.¹⁰⁴ Pink rendering of fine texture occurs on the soffits of the double openings in Stage 1 of the tower at Barton (p. 263; Pl. 71, D); it is markedly different from the coarse material seen elsewhere in the church.

Remains of pebbledash were found during excavation around the tower and annexe, where raised ground level had covered the bottoms of the walls, but this is unlikely to have been Parker’s specified render: ground level had been lowered on two occasions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the pebbledash must have been made good each time (Fig. 264). However, a small strip of the rendering of *c.* 1870 survived on the south porch, adjacent to the hood-moulding, and this comprised pale pink lime-mortar to which a pebbledash finish had been applied using flint gravel.¹⁰⁵

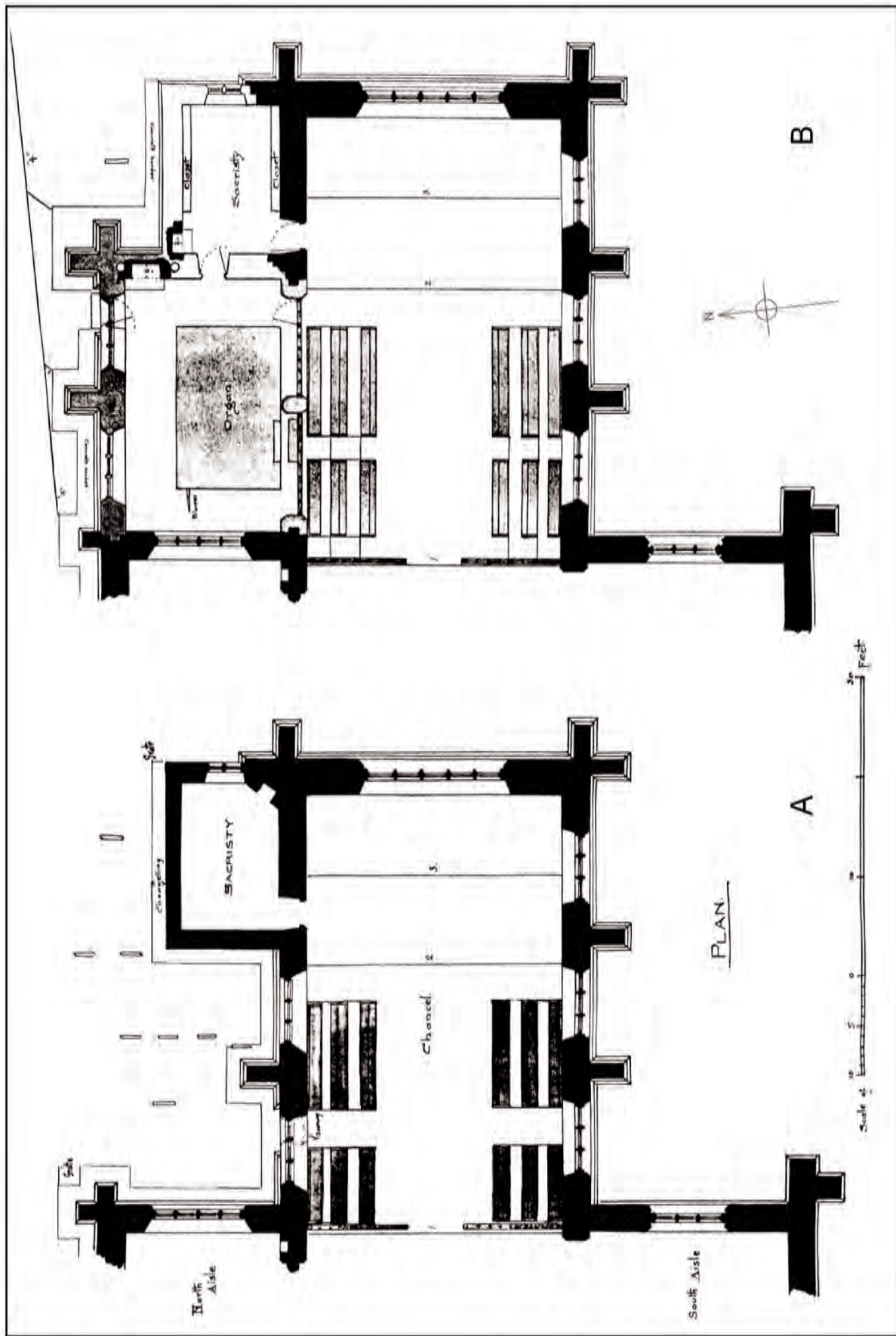


Fig. 611: C.H. Fowler's plans of the chancel, vestry and organ chamber, 1896, showing the existing arrangement (A) and proposed alterations (B). See also Figs. 616 and 617. NB the south side of the chancel is incorrectly shown with three windows and two intermediate buttresses, instead of two windows and a single buttress. *Lincolnshire Archives*

Inspections by the rural dean of Yarborough in the 1850s and 1860s record the need for repairs of the churchyard wall, pointing masonry, clearing choked gutters around the church walls (persistent), cleaning the clerestory windows, and washing the pews. The installation of wire gates on the south porch was proposed in 1859 and accomplished in 1862.¹⁰⁶ They comprise a lightweight oak frame with saltire bracing; the apertures are filled with anti-bird mesh. At an uncertain date, a paled gate was fitted to the north porch (Fig. 350); it has now been replaced with a crude iron grille.

General Restoration, 1890s (Period 9B)

Various minor works were carried out as a prelude to the next significant phase of restoration in the late 1890s. By 1893 the stucco applied to the tower in the previous restoration was beginning to fall off, breaking the tiles on the annexe roof, and consequently some of it was stripped from the west face of the top stage (Figs. 240, 255 and 670).¹⁰⁷ That revealed its quasi-ashlar construction, but with several courses of rubblework at the top. The rubble was removed and replaced with neat ashlar,¹⁰⁸ creating the different character to this face of the tower which is clearly visible today (Fig. 402).

The choir stalls were slightly modified in 1890,¹⁰⁹ and investigations were carried out on the chancel screen in 1894. The vicar and his wife 'having sharpened up a few old pen-knives ... removed four coats of paint from part of the screen'. They reported that, overlying the traces of medieval red paint, were a layer of white, then yellow (ochre?), followed by graining, and finally the paint and varnish of 1859.¹¹⁰ Just before Moor departed from the parish in 1894, high ground level around the tower and annexe was reduced, revealing archaeological evidence associated with their construction.¹¹¹ When Buckler drew an external elevation of the south doorway in 1828, the level of the churchyard had risen to such an extent that the lowest 90 cm of masonry was concealed from view.¹¹² The squat appearance of the doorway in the early nineteenth century is captured in Figures 241, 249 and 250.

In 1894 a new vicar, Herbert North-Cox, was installed at Barton, and he immediately turned his attention to restoration. In the following year the vestry was refurbished and new hangings were obtained for the chancel,¹¹³ and by 1896 he was calling for full-scale action and in particular for a new organ, which he described as being 'in a dreadful condition'.¹¹⁴ Although it was only forty years since the last organ had been installed, North-Cox went back to the same organ builders for a quotation for a new instrument.¹¹⁵ Although his predecessor as vicar had employed Oldrid Scott to work on St Mary's church (p.129), North-Cox was evidently not minded to continue the association, turning instead to C.H. Fowler. Nevertheless, it is certain that Scott visited Barton several times during the period 1895–97, when he made notes and sketches of features at St Peter's.¹¹⁶

Charles Hodgson Fowler, 1896–98

In 1896 North-Cox brought in the Durham-based architect Charles Hodgson Fowler (1840–1910) to advise on the position of the new organ, and he decided on the south aisle as the place to site it (Brodie *et al.* 2001, 1, 678). Some parishioners argued for building an organ chamber, but Fowler wrote 'you certainly do not want an Organ Chamber, it would destroy old work, be costly, box in the sound; and in all ways be a mistake in your church'.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, a few months later he was building one. Drawings of Fowler's scheme for siting the organ in the south aisle, as well as his design for the new organ chamber and rebuilt vestry on the north, have survived (Figs. 611 and 616–17).¹¹⁸

Before the end of 1896, the gift of £1,000 by Mrs Holt, widow of the vicar who had instigated the last great restoration, was used to set up a new fund. She also gave the £250 required to restore the chancel screen in accordance with a scheme prepared by Fowler. It was estimated that £1,800–£2,000 would be required to: rebuild the vestry, construct an organ chamber on the north side of the chancel, restore the screen and renovate the internal walls.¹¹⁹ This restoration is well documented.¹²⁰ Within a few months J.W. Briggs of Barton had been given the contract for the building work, the old organ was sold for £40, and Bowman and Sons of Stamford were entrusted with the restoration of the screen.¹²¹ Services were transferred to St Mary's, to allow work to proceed unhindered. A stone-laying ceremony for the organ chamber took place on 21 July 1897, which was carried out by Canon Moor, the former vicar of Barton. The limestone plaque, now eroded, is built into the north-eastern buttress (Fig. 612).¹²² The inscription reads:

+ / This Stone was laid / in the name and faith of / Jesus Christ / July 21st 1897.



Fig. 612: Organ chamber. Foundation stone in the north-eastern buttress, 1897. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 613: Chancel and screen. View south-east from the nave, through the screen, into the chancel, c. 1900. This shows the pulpit and lectern in their original positions. Photo: English Heritage, NMR

A new three-manual organ costing £800 was commissioned from Forster and Andrews, and a new pulpit, designed by Fowler, was given by Canon and Mrs Moor; the pulpit was placed on the south side of the nave. A string of other gifts to the church was recorded, including altar rails, reredos and dossal, sanctuary hangings, and a brass eagle lectern (Fig. 613).¹²³

The restored church, with 760 sittings, was reopened on St Peter's Day, 29 June 1898 (Fig. 614): the Bishop of Lincoln preached, and there was a public luncheon laid on, with speeches and toasts.¹²⁴ The total expenditure had climbed to £2,038 0s. 4d.¹²⁵

A list of the work accomplished was published, which included:¹²⁶

1. The organ chamber was built and a new organ installed. The glazing was removed from the east window of the north aisle, to allow the organ to be better heard.
2. The vestry was rebuilt as part of the same operation.
3. Wallplaster was removed from the east side of the tower (within the nave), and from the walls of the north and south aisles. The stonework was pointed, and much of the facing in the south aisle had to be renewed. Two windows in the north aisle had timber elements

(probably eighteenth-century repairs), for which stone was substituted.

4. The clerestory walls of the nave were cleaned and recoloured.
5. The chancel screen was restored, placed on a chamfered limestone plinth and raised on a Yorkstone step (18 cm). Alterations were made to the clergy stalls, to create a space between them and the back of the chancel screen.
6. The altar was raised on two limestone steps, in substitution for a timber dais. The steps (15 cm) were returned along the north and south, and the enclosed dais was stone-paved. This structure visibly overlies the earlier tile floor and also abuts the wall-tiling on the east (Fig. 601).
7. The sanctuary was enlarged by removing the altar rail of 1859 and installing a new oak rail on the tiled western step.
8. Seats were removed from the east end of the nave, to create space in front of the screen, and a new pulpit installed.
9. Two new gas standards were placed in the chancel, and all the others re-enamelled and re-lacquered; also the corona in the chancel was re-lacquered.
10. The walls of the north porch were repaired and replastered internally.



Fig. 614: Nave and chancel, looking east. This photograph of c. 1900 shows the chancel as restored in 1898. Photo: Lincolnshire Archives

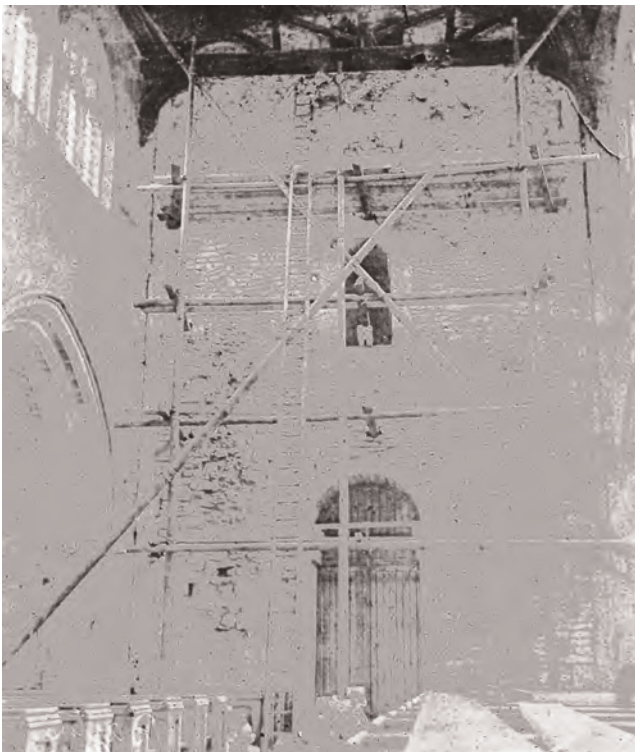


Fig. 615: West wall of the nave being stripped of plaster in 1898. Photograph possibly by J.T. Micklethwaite. Lincolnshire Archives: Taylor/Varah archive

11. The churchyard wall was rebuilt, and the approach to the south porch widened. The doors were repainted.
12. The pebbledash on the west side of the church was repaired, but it is uncertain what is meant by this.

It may have been repairs to the pebbledash on the west gable of the annexe that led to the rediscovery of the two original *oculi*, early in 1897; a disc of plate glass was fixed in the outer splay of each opening, and remains there today.

Stripping the plaster from the west wall of the nave revealed the important archaeological evidence enshrined in the east face of the tower. The masonry was pointed, and the scars where the north and south walls of the Anglo-Saxon chancel had been bonded were patched with rubble of slightly darker colour (Fig. 252). A photograph of the work in progress, with timber scaffolding erected, is extant; it was possibly taken by Micklethwaite¹²⁷ (Fig. 615). The internal walls of the tower may have been stripped of plaster at the same time, and ribbon-pointing inserted (Fig. 608); alternatively, they could have been stripped in 1858–59.

Some pews were evidently cleared at the east end of the nave and red paving bricks were laid in herring-bone fashion.¹²⁸

Organ chamber

The construction of the organ chamber involved demolishing two bays of the medieval north wall of the

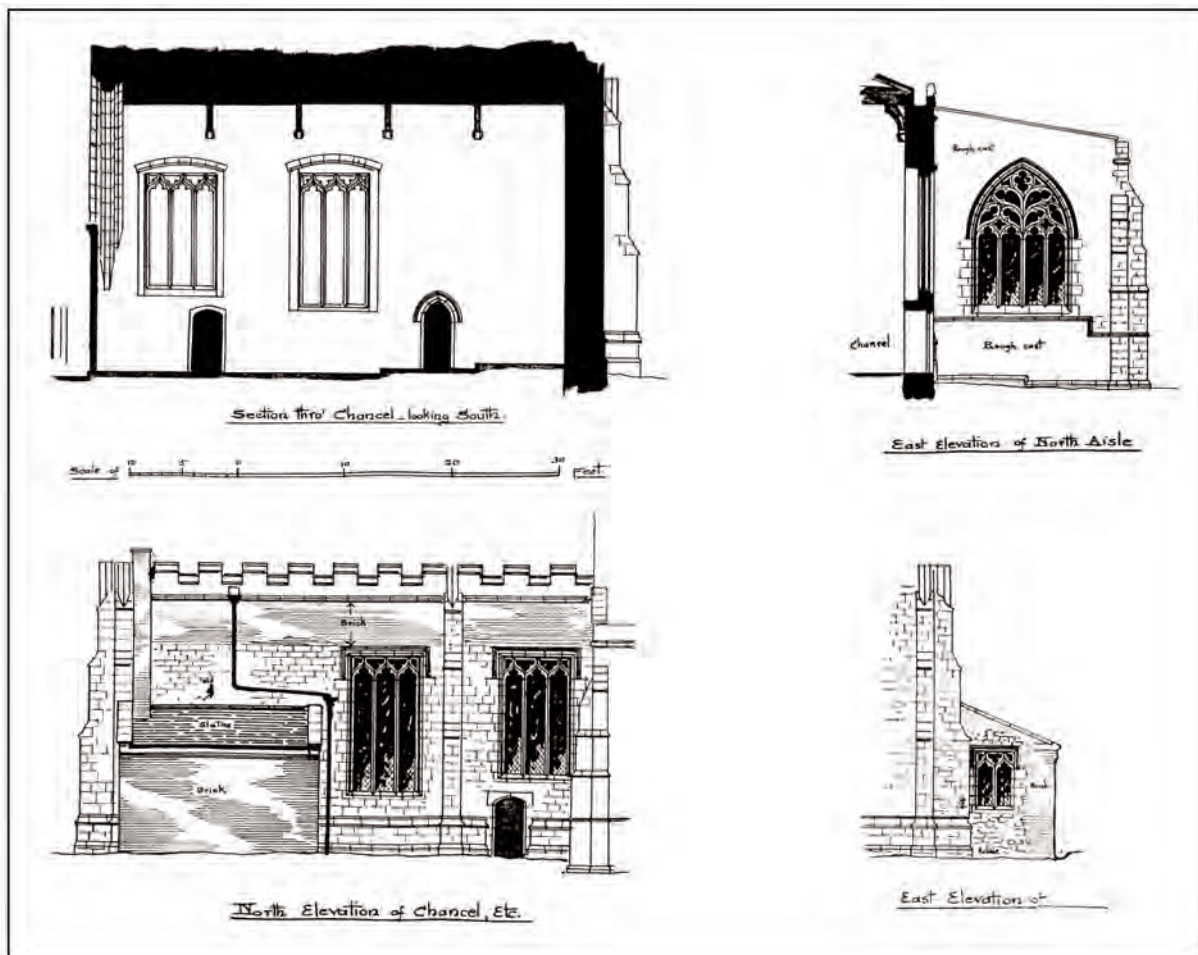


Fig. 616: C.H. Fowler's designs for the new organ chamber and vestry, 1896. Existing structure. See also Fig. 609. *Lincolnshire Archives*

chancel and replacing them with an arcade (Figs. 616–18). The medieval ashlar facing, the dressings of the central buttress, the two windows with their reticulated tracery, and the small doorway were all dismantled and retained, and their materials were reused in the new north wall: visually, that comprised an extension of the aisle (Fig. 451). Remarkably, before the chancel wall was taken down, a photographic record was made (Fig. 556). The organ chamber was also photographed while under construction (Fig. 671).

The rebuilt north wall stands on a brick footing, with a poured concrete foundation (Fig. 619). The wall carries the deep bolection-moulded plinth salvaged from the medieval chancel. The central buttress is of reused masonry, but the clasping buttresses at the north-east angle (including the plinth mouldings) were new in 1897. The plain parapet with a coping-roll, and the chamfered eaves-course supporting it, are of similar date. The east wall, which was partly abutted by the vestry, was completely rebuilt and faced with new limestone ashlar. Internally, the chamber is plastered.

The window reveals have a stepped, chamfered moulding and most of the quatrefoil tracery is original. The hood-moulding is hollowed and has discrete integral label-stops in the form of a small pyramid set between two horizontal bars.¹²⁹

In its original position, the priest's doorway was in the western bay (1), beneath the window, but in the reconstruction it was positioned in the adjoining bay (2). It has a chamfered surround and four-centred head, suggestive of a Tudor origin (Fig. 556). The plain segmental rear-arch and ashlar jambs were all reused; the arch just breaks into the sill of the window above.

Owing to the eaves height of the new north wall being less than that of the chancel, the windows had to be shortened, with the consequence that the stained glass with which bay 2 had been filled in 1858 could no longer be accommodated in its entirety. This obstacle was overcome simply by removing one panel of canopy-work from each light and installing these in the adjacent window (bay 1).¹³⁰ The resulting incongruous arrangement was of little consequence anyway, since it was effectively obscured by the organ. The hollow-chamfered rear-arches are three-centred, with plain jambs, all reused.

The new limestone arcade in the chancel wall was made as lofty as possible, with plain jambs and low, two-centred arches with hollow-chamfered mouldings (Fig. 618). The lower part was meant to be filled with a traceried oak screen, but that was never constructed, and the eventual disposition of the organ differed from

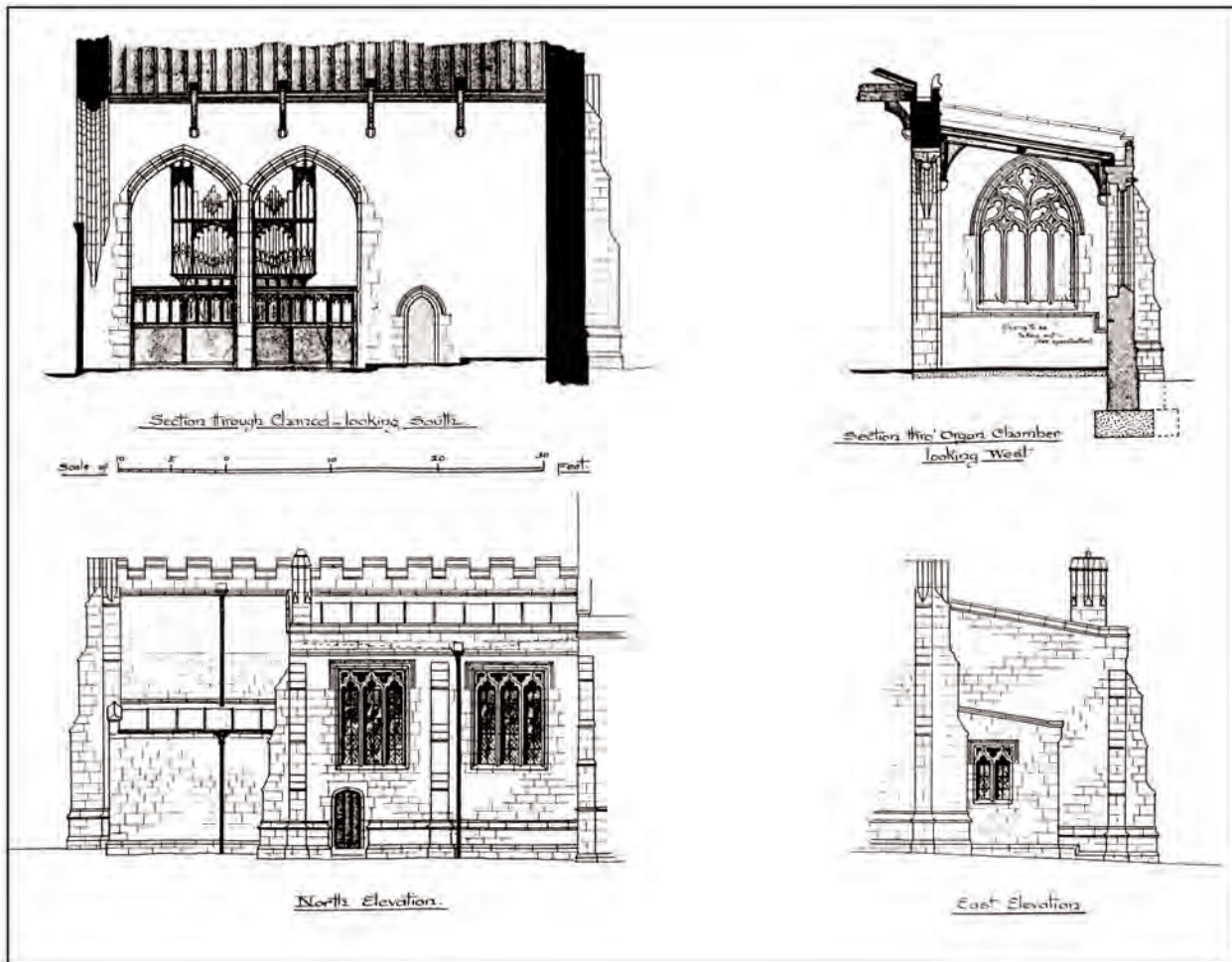


Fig. 617: C.H. Fowler's designs for the new organ chamber and vestry, 1896. Proposed alterations. See also Fig. 609. Lincolnshire Archives

Fowler's design. Also, to assist with the transmission of sound, the glazing was removed from the former east window of the north aisle, which now effectively formed a traceried screen. An alcove to house a stove was formed in the north-east corner of the chamber: its chamfered opening has a segmental arch, dressed with red brick. There is a chimney on the roof above.

Internally, the low-pitched oak roof is of two bays: these are each subdivided by a principal rafter and a purlin, forming eight compartments in all (Fig. 588). There are canted bridging-beams at the centre and against the east wall of the chamber, with wall-posts, brackets and limestone corbels. The timbers all have hollow-chamfered mouldings and the soffit is oak boarded.

Two small doors were newly provided, one external and the other communicating between the organ chamber and the vestry. They are made of vertical oak boards, backed with portcullis framing. Both have oak box-locks and ironmongery of medieval design.¹³¹ The external door has moulded cover-strips over the joints. The floors, of both this chamber and the vestry, were of deal boarding fixed to joists laid on a lime concrete subfloor.¹³²

Vestry

The small, single-storied vestry is attached to the third bay of the chancel on the north side, and was described as having been nearly all rebuilt in brick 'in recent times' (presumably the eighteenth century), which explains the extent to which it had to be reconstructed by Fowler (Figs. 451 and 616–17). The medieval vestry was entered from the chancel alone. However, in the rebuild, a new entrance was provided from the organ chamber, via a pointed doorway with hollow-chamfered mouldings.

The north and west sides were wholly rebuilt on new brick footings, together with more than half of the east wall, which has a simple ridged coping topped with a hollow moulding. Very little medieval ashlar was used, the walls being almost entirely faced with new stone. There is no bolection-moulded plinth, just a small chamfered offset. The fourteenth-century two-light east window was substantially restored (Fig. 457).¹³³ The original label-stops survive and take the form of a small pyramid with a pointed ball below. The ferramenta are Victorian. It cannot now be ascertained whether there was once a window in the north wall too, as there is in the vestry at St Mary's (although that is earlier in date).



Fig. 618: Chancel and organ chamber, 1945. Arcade of two bays in the north wall of the chancel, with the organ beyond. Photo: Courtesy of the Church Buildings Council (F. Huntley Woodcock Coll.)

The old fireplace, presumably Georgian, was stripped out of the south-east corner of the vestry and a brick-edged alcove similar to that in the organ chamber formed in the north-west corner, to hold a stove. Internally, the walls of the vestry were fully plastered, masking the extent of the reconstruction (Figs. 461 and 537).

Subsequent minor works

After the Fowler restoration, minor works continued intermittently for several years. In 1900, ground level was reduced against the south side of the church and a brick gutter removed: pipe-drains were laid and a low wall constructed to retain the soil of the churchyard. Accumulated soil against the wall was said to be up to four feet in depth in places, and that the concealed masonry was in poor condition.¹³⁴

In 1901 a flagstaff was erected on the tower roof, surmounted by the old weathercock that was formerly on the eighteenth-century *flèche*.¹³⁵ In 1902 the reredos was improved, and the following year the masonry of the east window was repaired; the two medieval glass panels, which were apparently untouched by the 1850s restoration, were replaced by Knowles of York in 1877 (Hebgin-Barnes 1996, 25). In 1904 a new high altar was installed,¹³⁶ and this prompted the gift of a cross and candlesticks, as well as a brass memorial tablet to George Hogarth, vicar, 1858–89.¹³⁷ By 1910, the corona was resited, west of its original position, and a new lighting scheme installed in the chancel: the number of gas burners there was reduced from sixty-nine to nine.¹³⁸ With so many burners, it is small



Fig. 619: Organ chamber. Foundations of the north wall (bay 2) during excavation. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

wonder that the masonry of the walls is thoroughly blackened. Also in 1910, two opening casements were installed in the clerestory windows, to improve ventilation.¹³⁹

Electric lighting was installed in 1913, replacing the old gas system, at a cost of £42 7s. 8d.¹⁴⁰ A new stained glass window in memory of Robert Brown, Jun., F.S.A., historian of Barton, was installed in the north aisle in 1914; it was designed by A.K. Nicholson (Pl. 103).¹⁴¹ The pulpit was repositioned on the north side of the nave.¹⁴²

Restoration of the West End, 1911–14 (Period 9C)

The first announcement of the intention ‘to restore the tenth-century church in the tower and western annexe to their original condition’ was made in 1911, and the project was to be funded by Fred Hopper, a local businessman (owner of the Barton Cycle Works Company). Work began late the following year, and its completion was celebrated by the Bishop of Lincoln on 4 March 1913.¹⁴³ The term ‘Old St Peter’s’ was now



Fig. 620 Tower. View east from the western annexe, showing the furnished altar in the base of the tower, 1965. Photo: David Lee Photography



Fig. 621: View west from the nave, through the tower, to the western sanctuary created in the annexe in 1972; dismantled in 1978. Photo: English Heritage, RCHME

coined for the tower and annexe, and subsequently the remainder of the church was dubbed 'Great St Peter's'. These are artificial and confusing, and have given rise to the erroneous impression that there are two adjoining churches.¹⁴⁴ After restoration, the base of the tower was furnished with an altar (Fig. 620).

The annexe had long been used as a fuel store and lumber room, and the ground floor of the tower served as the choir vestry, although described as 'very cold

and damp' in winter.¹⁴⁵ A fuel store was built in the churchyard, on the western boundary (Fig. 24); wooden cupboards and Brodrick's staircase were removed, and a fixed iron ladder provided for access to the upper levels (Fig. 609). The fireplace and chimney were removed too.¹⁴⁶

The floors in the tower and annexe were lowered to approximately their 'original' level, and the three steps that had been installed under the tower arch in 1859

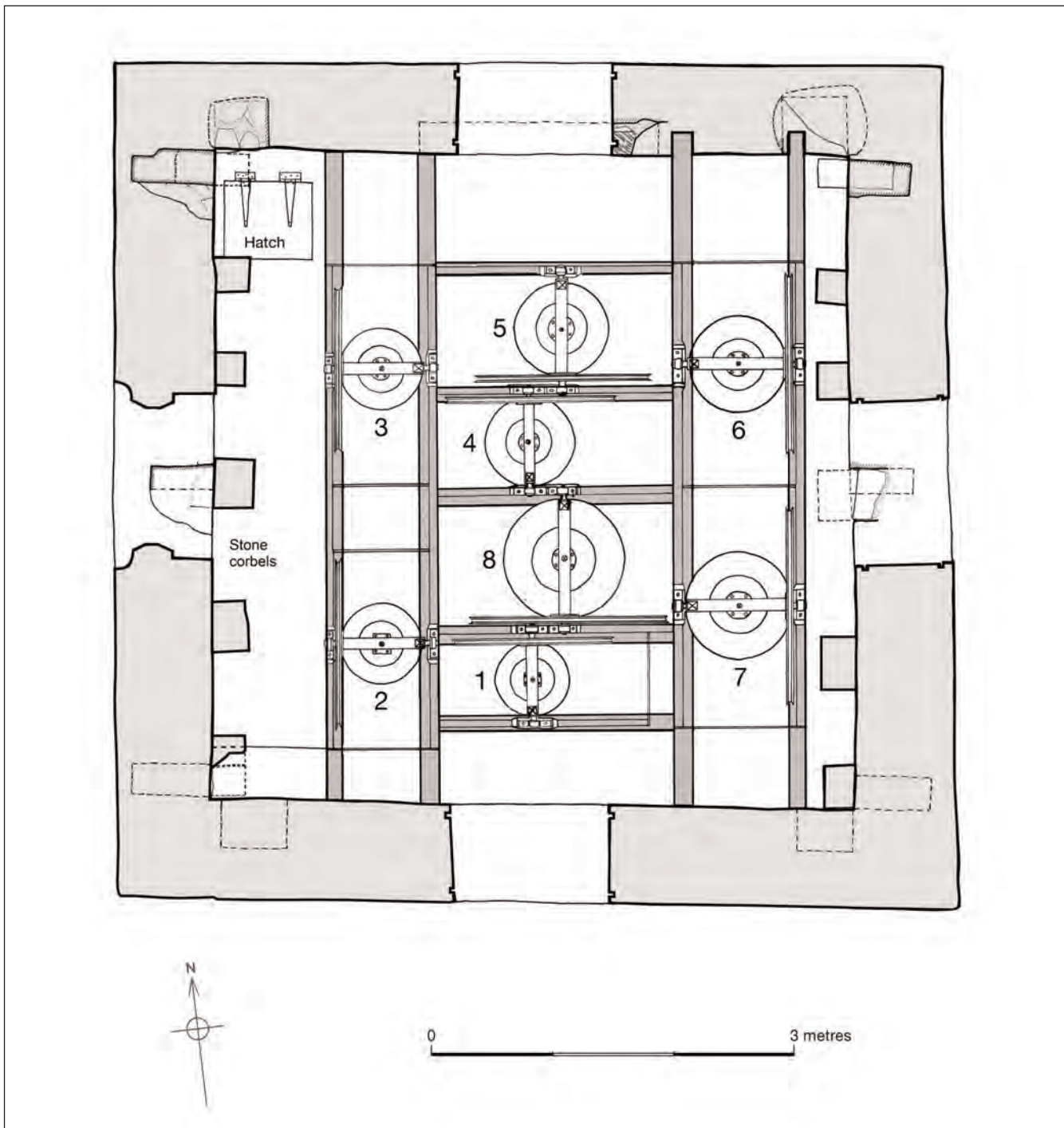


Fig. 622: Tower. Plan of the interior of the belfry, showing the ring of eight bells in the steel frame of 1914. Note the projecting stone corbels along the east and west walls, which supported the medieval timber bellframe. Scale 1:50. Drawing: Stephen Coll

were removed. Trenches were dug to examine the archaeological deposits (Fig. 254). A new floor of red paving bricks was laid in herringbone pattern, and incorporated in this was a hinged timber trap-door giving access to the bell-metal furnace which had been discovered against the north wall of the tower (Figs. 21 and 599).

The plain boarded doors and solid tympanum inserted in the eastern tower arch, flush with its west face, were removed (Fig. 608, B). A new pair of heavy pine doors was substituted, and hung on the eastern

face of the arch: they were partly glazed (Fig. 621).¹⁴⁷ Also, the tympanum was filled with plain leaded glazing of lattice pattern (removed 1979). The nineteenth-century door in the western tower arch was probably discarded at the same time, and the glazed lights installed in the south door.

A major restoration was carried out in the belfry in 1914, when the bells were rehung in a steel frame (pp. 568–9; Fig. 622). A new belfry floor was installed, and the stucco was stripped from the exterior of the east wall (above nave roof level).

Miscellaneous Works, 1920–70 (Period 9C)

Two more bells were added to the ring in 1920, as a memorial to the 1914–18 war. Numerous minor works of repair and refurnishing followed, down to the Second World War.¹⁴⁸

Work was carried out on the roofs in 1922, together with repairs to the east face of the tower belfry.¹⁴⁹ In the following year the Victorian pebbledash was removed from the west and south faces of the western

annexe, and the masonry pointed (Fig. 255); the north side remained stuccoed. Some post-medieval brickwork was cut out and replaced with stone.¹⁵⁰ The blocked opening where the pseudo-Saxon west doorway had been was uncovered and believed at the time to be genuinely historic. This was questioned by some, who recalled its being in use, but Varah was emphatic that they were mistaken.¹⁵¹ The lower double belfry-opening on the east was again blocked with brick in 1924, and the internal walls in the ground stage of the tower were replastered in 1926.¹⁵²



Fig. 623: North aisle chapel (St Ninian), 1972. Photo: English Heritage, RCHME

Unfashionable early Victorian stained glass was removed from one of the chancel windows in 1924 (p. 576).

In 1923 a faculty was obtained to restore the chapels at the eastern ends of the north and south aisles, complete with altars and furnishings; also for the restoration of the rood window in the north aisle, and removal of the medieval recumbent priest's effigy from there to the chancel.¹⁵³ The northern chapel would be dedicated to St Ninian (supposedly equated with St Trunnion locally: p. 60), and the southern to St George. A war memorial had already been erected on the east wall of the latter aisle. The parish believed that it was reviving the medieval dedication of the north aisle chapel, while St George was chosen as a suitably patriotic dedication for the south aisle. Two additional heating stoves were also provided in the nave.¹⁵⁴

The redundant Victorian oak altar of 1858 (originally from the chancel) was placed on a timber dais in the north aisle (Figs. 469 and 623). The existing aumbry in the north wall was restored.¹⁵⁵ The plain, oak-panelled door and frame are set into a rectangular opening in the rubble masonry, without a dressed stone surround. The main lights of the east window (unglazed since 1897) were filled with boards bearing stencilled decoration.¹⁵⁶

St George's chapel was fitted up in 1924, and made into a semi-enclosed chapel in 1927, by inserting a traceried oak screen in the first bay of the nave arcade (p. 558); within the aisle the bay was demarcated by oak sanctuary rails with kneelers (1924).¹⁵⁷ The altar was raised on a shallow (10 cm) limestone step, and comprised a *mensa* of limestone, supported by upright slabs (Fig. 624).

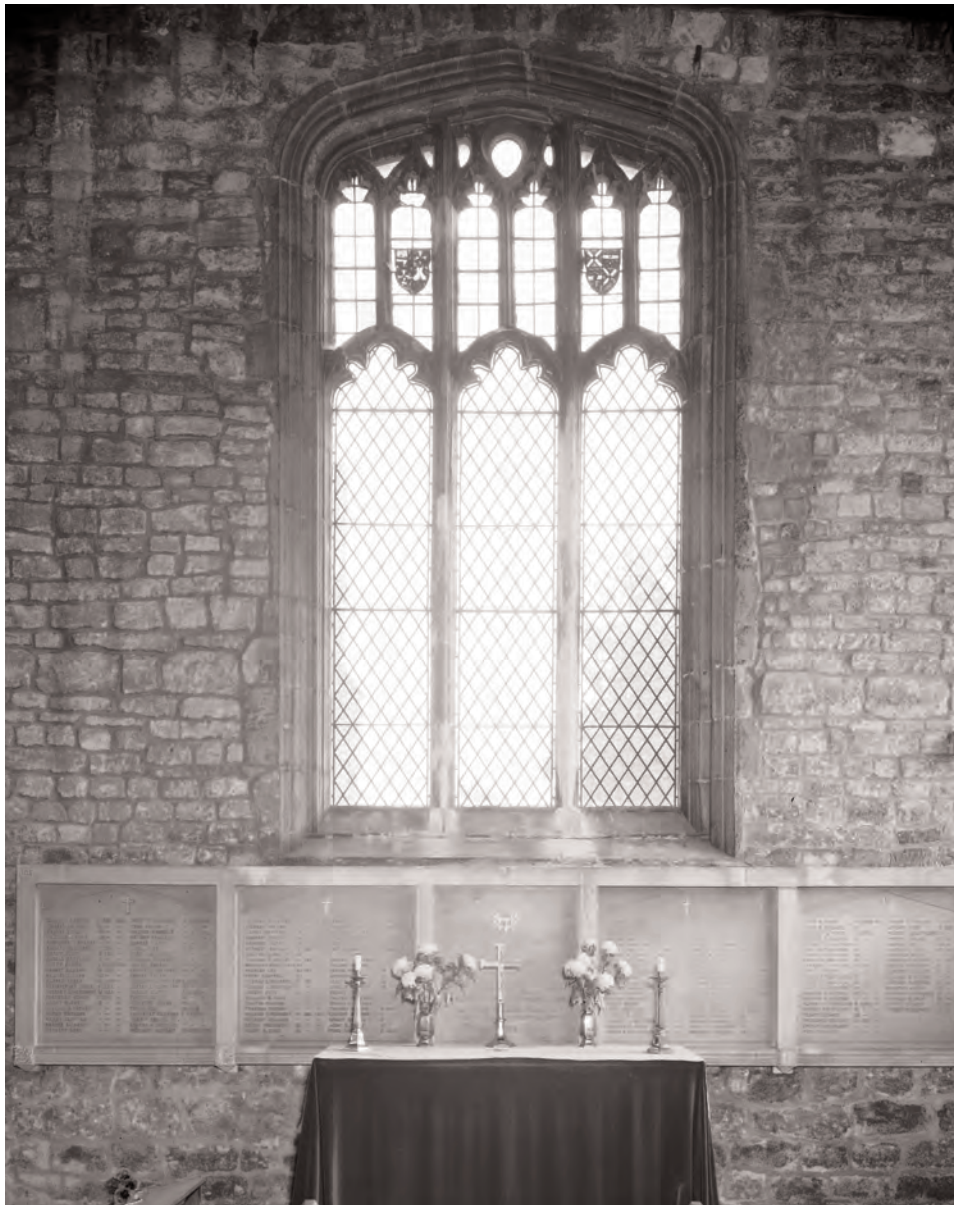


Fig. 624: South aisle chapel (St George), 1972. War memorial, furnishings and medieval heraldic glass. Photo: English Heritage, RCHME

An appeal was launched in 1928 for £1,200 to re-lead the roofs of St Peter's, and £1,300 to do the same at St Mary's.¹⁵⁸ Fundraising does not appear to have been successful, and patching was carried out.¹⁵⁹ The painted reredos in the chancel was removed and replaced with a new one in 1931.¹⁶⁰ The weathercock blew down in 1936, and does not seem to have been refixed when the flagstaff was renewed.¹⁶¹ In 1944 a new restoration fund was opened, to provide for work on both churches. The brown stucco of *c.* 1870 on the tower of St Peter's was mentioned as particularly in need of removal.¹⁶²

A series of works was carried out in the 1950s and 1960s, when the architect was Lawrence H. Bond of Grantham.¹⁶³ Oil-fired heating was introduced in 1963, replacing the Victorian coke stoves which stood in the aisles (plan, Fig. 599).¹⁶⁴ The flagstaff was renewed in 1956, and a new vane in the form of a gilded cockerel was apparently fitted.¹⁶⁵ The tower roof was reroofed in 1965.¹⁶⁶ In that year a report on the general condition of the tower and western annexe was prepared by Bond,¹⁶⁷ who expressed concern about the poor condition of much of the masonry, and recommended that bell-ringing be suspended. A brutal restoration followed: the decayed and fragmentary rendering on the tower was stripped and the present pebbledash finish applied to all but the top stage; the western annexe was entirely re-rendered too, its walls having been exposed since 1923 (Figs. 322 and 625).¹⁶⁸ Bond initially recommended applying 'a fairly smooth lime plaster, as has been done at Earls Barton',

but in the event the new rendering was cement based, extremely hard, and cannot now be removed without inflicting significant damage to the Anglo-Saxon fabric. Hence, it has been left alone for the time being. Sections of string-course were renewed, and *in situ* cast concrete was also used for sills in the belfry openings. Old tie-irons were removed from the middle stage of the tower; they had been inserted pre-1796 (p. 457).

In the late 1940s a second war memorial was installed in St George's chapel, on the south wall (Fig. 631). At an uncertain date in the 1960s, and without a faculty, the roofs of the chancel, aisles and south porch were stripped of lead and re-covered with sheet copper (*cf.* St Mary's). Similarly, piecemeal repairs to external masonry led to fundamental changes in the character of some of the walls, when rubblework was replaced with quasi-ashlar. The introduction of reclaimed gritstone ashlar in the aisles is regrettable from an archaeological point of view; the same occurred at St Mary's. Most of the mouldings in the outer arch of the south porch were renewed, and sundry reglazing was carried out, particularly in the clerestory.

In 1967 the historic churchyard was largely cleared of monuments and levelled: many tombstones were broken up and used as paving, while others were re-erected in a line against the east boundary with Tyrwhitt Hall (Fig. 669). Also in 1967, a grant of £750 was received from the Historic Churches Preservation Trust to carry out repairs, in the hope of averting redundancy.¹⁶⁹

Redundant, Rescued and Restored, 1970–2007 (Period 10)

Despite the not insubstantial works carried out to St Peter's in the mid-1960s, Barton Parochial Church Council soon determined that it could no longer support two large medieval churches: one would have to be declared redundant, and negotiations towards that end were instigated. Although it was acknowledged that St Peter's was the more important building, historically and architecturally, it was decided to relinquish this and to retain St Mary's in use. The decision was primarily influenced by the parish's fear – unthinkable today, but entirely justifiable at the time – that if St Mary's were made redundant it might well be demolished, whereas the Anglo-Saxon components of St Peter's would ensure its long-term preservation. In the 1960s some fine medieval churches were demolished (either in their entirety, or in part), while others were mutilated by unsympathetic conversion to alternative uses: one of these fates would almost certainly have befallen St Mary's. The medieval church at Covenham St Bartholomew (Lincs.) was the subject of a demolition order in 1986, but was eventually reprieved (Rodwell 2005a, 41).

By 1970 St Peter's had been closed for worship, and in 1971 the building was referred to the Church Commissioners and their Advisory Board for Redundant Churches under the provisions of the

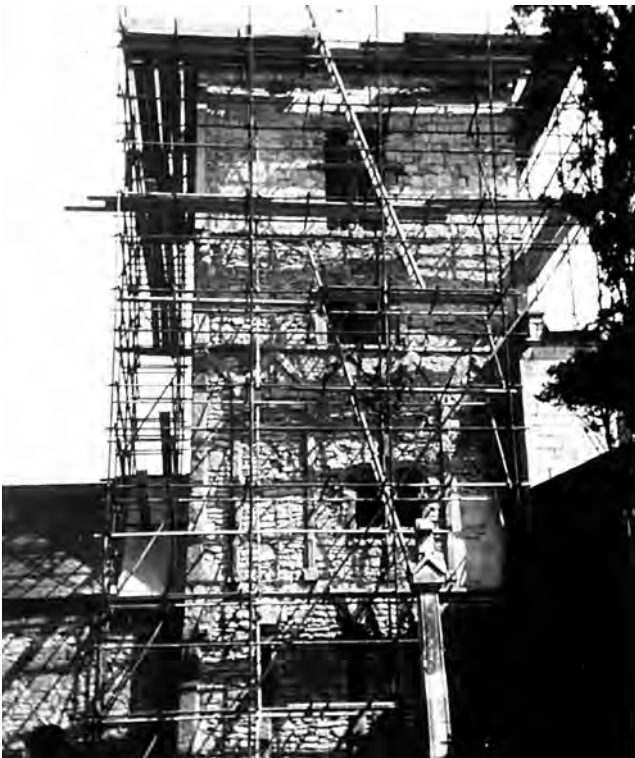


Fig. 625: Tower and western annexe scaffolded and stripped of rendering in 1965. View from the south. Photo: Eleanor Russell

*Pastoral Measure, 1968.*¹⁷⁰ The structural condition was poor, the interior was extremely damp and vandalism was occurring, mainly to the windows. Any scheme for its future use had to recognize that a major repair programme was inevitable. It was locally anticipated that the building would probably be vested in the Redundant Churches Fund.¹⁷¹

Meanwhile, G.H. Varah began to promote his own scheme for the future of St Peter's, backed by Barton Parochial Church Council. He proposed that it should become a 'Special Centre of Christian Faith'.

He envisaged carrying out a 'restoration' in the tower and annexe, turning them into a 'Chapel of Unity', which included reversing the liturgical orientation and placing the altar that was currently under the tower against the west wall of the annexe. It was proposed to clear the main body of the church of pews, refloor and refurnish it. The space would be used 'for many things', and the project would be run by a kind of latter-day Victorian Friendly Society, consisting of an Order of Guardians, Order of Stewards and Order of Companions.¹⁷² There was no viable suggestion as to



Fig. 626: Nave, looking east, 2005. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

how such a scheme might be funded, and it was simply assumed that the backlog of repairs would be shouldered by the Redundant Churches Fund. Despite the failure of the scheme to receive approval, in 1972 the altar under the tower was nevertheless moved into the annexe and a western sanctuary created (Fig. 621).

Varah announced that he intended to refloor the tower and annexe, taking up the bricks and laying a polythene membrane and concrete. He suggested that a local archaeologist might dig some more holes before this work took place. Strong expressions of concern about the church's future were made by the Council for British Archaeology¹⁷³ and by individual scholars. Already, in 1971, Dr Harold Taylor had become involved, and had expressed the wish to see

archaeological excavations conducted during the 'waiting period' (the statutory interval between declaring a church redundant and implementing a redundancy scheme) in an attempt to resolve the long-debated issues concerning the structural development of the Anglo-Saxon church (p. 247). Abortive proposals were discussed for an excavation to take place in 1973.

Redundancy was confirmed by Order in Council on 14 November 1972. This provided for:

- i) St Mary's to become the parish church of Barton-upon-Humber;
- ii) St Peter's to be made redundant;
- iii) The records of St Peter's to be transferred to St Mary's.

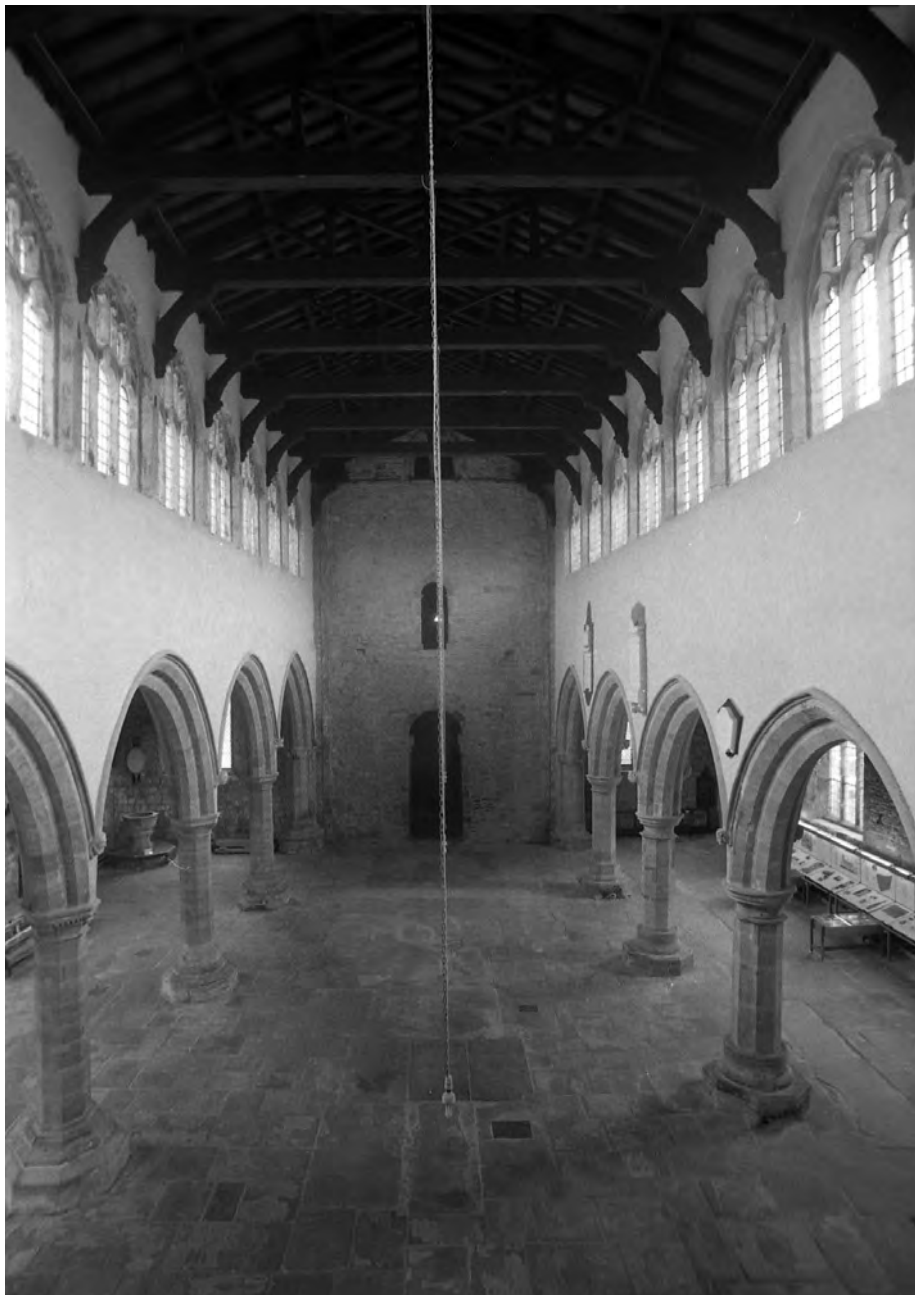


Fig. 627: Nave, looking west, 2005. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Curiously, no provision was made for the future of the church plate (pp. 547–51). A series of record photographs of St Peter's was taken in 1972 by the RCHME. The church duly passed into the control of the Lincoln Diocesan Board of Finance, with the intention that it would be handed over to the Redundant Churches Fund one year later. However, progress slowed and negotiations were initiated for the church's transfer to the Department of the Environment, for which Treasury approval was given in 1974. The hand-over process was long drawn-out, and was not completed until 1978, when St Peter's finally became a DoE Guardianship Monument, passing in 1984 to its successor body, English Heritage. Taylor continued to press for a programme of archaeological excavation and recording, and in 1977 the present writer was asked to formulate proposals to begin that programme in the following summer.

Under the statutory provisions of the *Pastoral Measure, 1968*, at the outset of the redundancy process, a full inventory of the church's contents should have been made by the Diocesan Board of Finance, when St Peter's and all its contents were temporarily vested in the Board.¹⁷⁴ It is now difficult to determine exactly what the contents of St Peter's were, since so much transference of fixtures and fittings between the two churches had occurred over the course of the twentieth century. During the years immediately prior to and following redundancy, the contents of St Peter's were certainly depleted (see also chapter 10, *passim*).¹⁷⁵

Major repair works were commenced in 1978, and ceased in 1985; minor works have continued intermittently ever since. With the exception of the tower, the roofs were all reboarded and released.¹⁷⁶ The lead rain-water pipes on the clerestory were replaced, retaining the six eighteenth-century hopper-heads and two other applied motifs. Both porches were re-roofed in 1983.

In 1984 the nave, aisles and north porch were refloored, using salvaged Yorkstone paving, into which the ledgers were reset, albeit mostly not in their pre-1978 locations (Figs. 599, 626, 627 and 774). The rectangular outline of the Anglo-Saxon chancel has been marked in the floor with cream limestone slabs, and a single, large, inscribed slab marks the site of the primary altar. An oak-framed gallery was constructed at first-floor level in the tower, and an access ladder installed on the north side; this is a hypothetical reconstruction of the original Anglo-Saxon arrangement.¹⁷⁷ A new timber floor was installed in the lower belfry (former clock chamber), the old one having been declared unsafe.

A dais was constructed at the east end of the north aisle, on the site where there had been a medieval one (Fig. 628). Defined on the west and south by sandstone kerbs, it is paved with red bricks,¹⁷⁸ and inset in the centre is a rectangular panel comprising two types of ceramic tiles found during the archaeological investigations.¹⁷⁹ The majority are unglazed, red and grey

paviours, laid as a chequer pattern. These sixteenth-century Flemish tiles were recovered from under the 1858–59 pew platforms and were previously from the chancel (Pl. 62). Inset into the south-west corner of the dais is a small patch of medieval glazed tiles, yellow and black, laid as a chequer pattern (Pl. 61).¹⁸⁰ The chapel in the south aisle remains as a war memorial (Figs. 629, 630 and 631). Herringbone paving in red

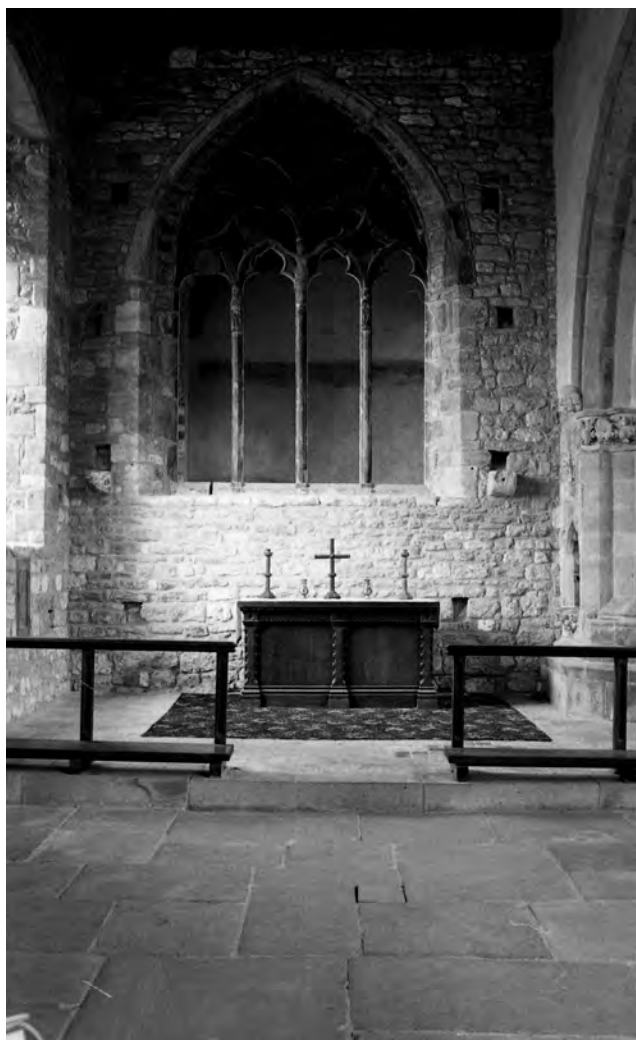


Fig. 628: North aisle chapel, looking east, 2005. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 629: South aisle, looking east, 2005. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 630: South aisle chapel and inscribed memorial to the First World War, 2005. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 631: South aisle chapel. Inscribed memorial to the Second World War on the south wall, 2005. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

brick was laid in the tower and annexe, and the similar floor in the south porch was repaired. The bricks were those originally laid in 1898 and 1913.

The nave arcades, which were dirty and badly stained as a result of leaking roofs and fumes from heating stoves, were washed and the clerestory walls in

the nave were replastered. The west end of the nave, however, was repointed, revealing more clearly the scars of the lost Anglo-Saxon chancel (Fig. 347). The interior of the tower (ground stage), western annexe, north porch and both nave aisles were pointed, leaving archaeological features of many periods exposed in a

thoroughly confusing manner. All should be lime plastered. The interior of the south porch was replastered, although incongruously leaving some features exposed.

Limited stone repairs and repointing have been carried out externally. New cast iron rainwater goods were fitted and surface water drains were laid. Repairs to the paths and churchyard boundaries unfortunately involved the renewal of the entire wall flanking Beck Hill (Fig. 450). All but a handful of tombstones have been removed from the old graveyard: most have been buried in three long earthen mounds to the south of the church; a few have been taken inside the building.

The church was reopened to the public by English Heritage, as an ancient monument, on 8 May 1985 and a semi-permanent exhibition established in the north aisle, to explain the history and archaeology of St Peter's (Rodwell 1985). However, funds dried up and the proposed complementary exhibition of Anglo-Saxon churches in the region was never created in the south aisle. It was intended that the chancel should have its Victorian furnishings fully reinstated, but it remained unrestored and closed to view.

In 1999 the bells were overhauled and made serviceable once again; they were rung on 31 December, to usher in the new millennium. Previously, the bells had lain silent for over thirty years. A new painted bell-ringers' peal board was commissioned to commemorate

the event. The early twentieth-century ringing-chamber having been superseded by the reconstructed Anglo-Saxon gallery, a new position had to be found for the bellringers to perform. A decision to ring the bells from the floor of the tower involved installing a steel framework to hold the guides for the extended ropes. The new ringing-circle is very intrusive and has detracted from the architectonic quality of the Anglo-Saxon tower-nave.¹⁸¹

Cleaning and conservation were carried out on some of the wall monuments in the church in 2000 (see Appendix 6), and a programme of repairs to external masonry begun. In 2006–07 a fresh initiative was taken to complete the restoration of the interior, and to construct a permanent ossuary and other facilities within the redundant organ chamber. This has been a notable achievement (Mays 2007). At last, the unsightly exposed rubblework in the chancel has been replastered, restoring the architectural integrity of the eastern part of the church. The internal walls of the tower and western annexe still cry out for the reinstatement of a plastered finish. The wall monuments have been repaired and reinstated, and the chancel furnishings returned to their correct places (Figs. 602 and 603). Regrettably, all but one of the stained glass windows remains dismantled and in store: their restoration is a major task for the future.

ST PETER'S

Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire

A Parish Church and its Community



VOLUME 1

HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHITECTURE

PART 2

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Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire:

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VOLUME 1

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PART 2

by

Warwick Rodwell

with

Caroline Atkins

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St Peter's church: stained glass panel of St George from the east window. Fourteenth century.
Photo: Gordon Plumb

Back cover:

St Mary's church and the Beck from the east, 1980. Photo: Warwick Rodwelly

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10. CHURCH FURNISHINGS AND FITTINGS, PAST AND PRESENT

Let all things be done decently and in order.

1 *Corinthians*, 14:40

A considerable number of furnishings and fittings are known: some are still in St Peter's church, others have been moved to St Mary's, or are held in store by English Heritage, and yet more – now lost – are known only from antiquarian descriptions. Since no detailed inventory of contents was made either at the time of closure, or when ownership of St Peter's was transferred to the Department of the Environment in 1978, it is difficult to determine exactly what happened to some of the smaller furnishings and ornaments that appear in twentieth-century photographs of the interior.¹

The terrier of 1730 jointly lists the furniture in both churches, but it is imprecise and inaccurate.² More details can be gleaned from partial listings in the nineteenth century.³

Altars

Nothing of substance is known of the medieval altars in St Peter's, although a small fragment of limestone slab, bearing a neatly cut consecration cross, has been found and is perhaps from a *mensa* associated with one of the lesser chapels (Fig. 823, no. 29). The high altar would have embodied a very substantial slab, similar to that still surviving at St Mary's (p. 124). There, a complete *mensa* of yellow limestone, measuring 2.8 × 0.99 m and bearing five consecration crosses, was found in the floor in the nineteenth century and was reset in the sanctuary pavement (Ball 1856, 1, 59). The crosses have tapering arms and an overall dimension of *c.* 4 cm. In 1832 it was noted at Thornton Curtis that, 'In the floor of the chancel near to the rails is a light blue or French grey stone slab without any inscription except 5 crosses, one at each corner at top, same at bottom, & one in the middle' [*diagram appended*].⁴

- i) According to the 1730 terrier, St Peter's had 'one alter [*sic*] table covered with green cloth'. This was probably an Elizabethan oak table.
- ii) The earliest surviving altar, dating from the mid-eighteenth century, comprises a single slab of Carrara marble supported on a mahogany table-frame. The altar was marked on the 1803 church plan and described by Loft in 1832: 'A large handsome ornamented mahogany table covered with a fine slab of polished mixed white marbel'.⁵ The table frame has square, fluted legs and the rails on three sides are decorated with a blind fret of

'Chinese Chippendale' design; the fourth side is plain, and stood against the east wall. Matching fretwork brackets were fitted between the rails and legs, but are now badly broken. There are no stretchers, and the carcass has two transverse members to provide support for the top. The marble slab is plain (25 mm thick), with un moulded edges. This is a fine and rare example of an altar, executed in the domestic style, and dating from *c.* 1750–60.⁶

This altar was displaced by a new one in 1858, and was probably disused until 1902, when it was installed in the south-east chapel of St Mary's church, but was removed again in 1909.⁷ In 1913 it was placed centrally in the base of the tower of St Peter's, just west of the arched opening into the nave. In 1972 the altar was repositioned against the west wall in the annexe, facing east; it was removed in 1978.⁸

- iii) A small oak altar was made for the chancel in 1858, where it stood until 1904, although acknowledged to be too small for the setting (Fig. 614).⁹ It stood on a timber dais, which was rediscovered in 1983, incorporated in the platform under the choir stalls.¹⁰ The inscription in the wall tiling behind was meant to be read in conjunction with the altar (see below, p. 552; Fig. 605). From 1904 the altar served as the vestry table until it was installed in the north aisle chapel in 1923, where it remains today (Pl. 66; Figs. 469 and 628).¹¹ The altar was constructed as a framed table with six square legs, boldly chamfered.¹² In 1924, plain oak panels were fitted between the legs and the whole was raised on a plinth. The two front panels were embellished with the painted letters *alpha* and *omega*, but these were subsequently erased.¹³
- iv) A large new altar for the chancel was acquired in 1904, displacing that of 1858; it was said to have been designed by the Rev'd H.F. Napier.¹⁴ It remains in the chancel (Pls. 63 and 65; Fig. 602). Not only is the altar somewhat oversized for the space that it occupies, but there are curious aspects of its design which lend credence to the supposition that it was actually made by Bowman and Sons of Stamford for a Roman Catholic church, but was not used.¹⁵ It is of heavy, framed construction and the top has a profusely carved edge, with knobbly foliage and bunches of grapes.



Fig. 632: South aisle chapel. Stone altar and war memorials, 2010. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

The front is panelled in five bays, and there is a single panel at each end. The broad chamfers on the framing around the panels are embellished with carved florets.

- v) The stone altar in the south aisle was constructed *de novo* in 1924 against the east wall, and dedicated in honour of St George (Figs. 630 and 632). The altar comprises a limestone slab, basally chamfered, and incised with five consecration crosses; it is supported at the ends by two plain upright slabs of limestone.

Altar Ornaments

Chancel

The existing brass cross and two candlesticks for the high altar were given in 1904.¹⁶ They stood on the gradine shelf at the back of the altar. Other candlesticks have also been used in the chancel. The full complement comprises:

- i) Heavy, cast brass cross (Pl. 65). Well ornamented, including six rock-crystal cabochons in beaded brass mounts (four missing); the arms have fleur-de-lys terminals; three-stepped base; the brass is pitted with corrosion. Height 92 cm; width 52 cm across the arms.

Inscriptions on the base:

Front: *IHS*

Rear: *Presented with the Candlesticks to St. Peter's Church / By Mrs Hogarth in memory of her husband / The Rev^d. George Hogarth / For 31 years Vicar 1904.*¹⁷

- ii) Pair of brass candlesticks (Pl. 65). Twisted stem, engraved decoration, castellated drip-pan; four rock-crystal cabochons in beaded brass mounts on the knop, and three on the conical base; the brass is pitted with corrosion. Height 63.5 cm. These are not *en suite* with the cross, the only details in common being the rock-crystal mounts. However, they were clearly regarded and used as a 'set'.
- iii) Set of four matching brass candlesticks which stood on the gradine shelf. Circular shaft with knop and multiple rings; pierced drip-pan; turned base with a series of pierced quatrefoils.¹⁸ Stamped on candle-holder: *COX SONS / BUCKLEY & Co. / LONDON W.C.* Height 47.5 cm. Uninscribed. Late nineteenth or early twentieth century.
- iv) Pair of brass candlesticks which stood on the reredos in the 1970s.¹⁹ Graduated beaded stem; plain dished base; plain dished drip-pan; all badly pitted. Height 52 cm. Both inscribed around the edge of the base in Gothic letters.²⁰

- v) Pair of brass candlesticks with iron-weighted bases.²¹ Spirally twisted stem with knob; circular base and drip-pan with saw-tooth rim; all badly corroded and pitted. Height 36 cm. Both inscribed around the edge of the base in Gothic letters.²²
- vi) Pair of brass standard candlesticks (or bier lights); plain stem with knob, circular conical base (iron-weighted), plain drip-pan. Height 95 cm. Two separate inscriptions on brass plates fixed under the bases.²³ Notwithstanding the inscription, the candlesticks were probably manufactured in the late nineteenth century.
- vii) Brass candle-snuffer on an oak pole. Early twentieth century.²⁴
- viii) Brass missal rest. No details.²⁵
- ix) A *repoussé*-decorated brass alms-dish was given in 1869 for use in both churches. Diam. 38.5 cm.²⁶
- x) Ornate bronze processional cross (Fig. 613). No details.²⁷
- xi) Two pairs of pear-shaped brass altar flower vases. These were on the altar in *c.* 1900. They were later used elsewhere, and are now in the aisle chapels (*q.v.*).

North aisle chapel

- i) A wooden cross and two candlesticks for St Ninian's altar were made by a parishioner in 1923,²⁸ but were evidently later superseded.
- ii) The present cross and matching candlesticks are of oak; the latter have embattled tops and all three have faceted knobs (Pl. 66; Fig. 469).²⁹ Made from medieval timber taken out of St Mary's tower in 1948.
- iii) Pair of plain brass altar flower vases, *c.* 1900; originally on the chancel altar.³⁰ Height 14 cm.
- iv) Brass missal rest (30.3 × 22.6 cm). Plate pierced with four quatrefoils and centrally engraved with 'IHS'; short stem and cast base. Bears the same maker's name-stamp (Cox, Sons, Buckley & Co.) as the four candlesticks in the chancel (see above). Late nineteenth or early twentieth century.
- v) Brass sacrament light holder, 1920s, which formerly stood on the window sill above the aumbry in the north wall.³¹ Hexagonal base with trefoiled claws holding a plain glass bowl for a candle.³²

South aisle chapel

- i) When St George's chapel was created here in 1924 a cross and a pair of candlesticks were commissioned for the altar, and given as war memorials (Fig. 624). They are of gunmetal which was brought from Flanders.³³ A pair of matching vases was soon afterwards added to the ensemble.³⁴
 - a) The cross is slender, with a hexagonal bell-base bearing a memorial inscription.³⁵ Height *c.* 50 cm.

b) The candlesticks are hexagonal in section and of gilded brass: they have tapering stems and bell-bases. Height 40 cm. One is inscribed inside the base.³⁶

c) The gilded brass vases are heavyweight, hexagonal, and have bell-bases. Height 22.6 cm. One is inscribed inside the base.³⁷

- ii) In recent years the altar has carried a simple wooden cross mounted on a four-stepped chamfered base, made of varnished pine (Fig. 630).³⁸

Tower altar

When an altar was set up in the base of the tower in 1913 it was furnished with a cross, three pairs of brass candlesticks and a pair of brass vases.

- i) The cross is a plain brass plate with rectangular terminals to the arms, and a rosette at the centre; no inscription (Fig. 620). Height 60 cm. Early twentieth century.³⁹
- ii) Pair of heavy cast brass candlesticks in Baroque style; twisted stem mounted on heavy tripod base with *putti*.⁴⁰ Height 61 cm. Probably late nineteenth century, copying early eighteenth-century examples; poor casting suggests that a mould may have been taken from a damaged original. No inscription.⁴¹
- iii) Pair of brass candlesticks used on the credence table. Height *c.* 20 cm. No details.⁴²
- iv) Pair of plain brass altar flower vases, *c.* 1900; originally on the chancel altar.⁴³ Height 18 cm.

Unassigned items

- i) Thin-walled brass flower vase with an ovoid body; embossed decoration, including *IHS*.⁴⁴ *Art Nouveau* design, *c.* 1880–1900. Height 30.5 cm. No details of provenance recorded.
- ii) Pair of Edwardian brass altar flower vases.⁴⁵ Height 23 cm.

Church Plate

The churches of Barton are no longer endowed with any pre-Reformation plate, the fate of which is unrecorded; it is likely to have been lost during the Commonwealth. Indeed, the entire history of plate in Barton is exceptionally muddled. The terrier of 1730 implies that each church had 'one silver cup with a cover, one pewter flaggon and pewter plate'; it then cryptically adds 'furniture of the church belonging to both parrishes, one silver salver'. An inspection made in 1830 listed altar linen, candlesticks and even brooms, but failed to mention plate in either church.⁴⁶ What happened during the intervening century remains a mystery.

In 1846, Archdeacon Bonney made a visitation, when he noted that 'The plate consists of a silver chalice and cover, a flaggon and a paten belonging to St

Mary's', adding that St Peter's had had its plate stolen (Harding 1937, 70–1). This is in striking disagreement with the next reference to plate, which is found in a rural dean's inspection of St Peter's in 1859, when he noted a flagon of 1754, a paten of 1764 and a 'chalice with cover, old, and I think about 1560'. St Mary's was stated as having 'no church plate'.⁴⁷ Since these pieces are all extant, and unquestionably belong to St Peter's, Bonney was mistaken in his attribution of them to St Mary's. Nothing further is known about the cup-and-cover belonging to St Mary's, the jointly owned salver, or the pewter items mentioned in 1730.

St Peter's has several fine pieces of post-Restoration and modern plate:⁴⁸

- i) Chalice and footed cover-paten, undated, but marked by Edward Mangy of Hull (Figs. 633 and 634).⁴⁹ The chalice is inscribed around the rim: *Barton S^t Peters Thomas Willson Curet: Georg Ffry Will. Reynold Churchwardens*. The paten is uninscribed, but bears identical marks to the chalice.⁵⁰ The only year in which Ffry and Reynold held office together was 1674,⁵¹ which therefore provides a firm basis for dating the vessels.

In style, they are Elizabethan, and this, together with the absence of a specific year in the inscription, must explain the rural dean's assumption in 1859 that the chalice and cover dated from 'about 1560'. Chalice: height 17.2 cm; rim diam. 9.4 cm; weight 10½ oz. Paten: diam. 10.4 cm; weight 3 oz.⁵² The bowl of the chalice is decorated at



Fig. 633: St Peter's church plate. Chalice by Edward Mangy, 1674. Photo: David Lee Photography



Fig. 634: St Peter's church plate. Footed cover-paten by Edward Mangy, 1674. Photo: David Lee Photography



Fig. 635: St Maurice, Horkstow (Lincs.). Chalice and cover-paten by Edward Mangy, c. 1670. Photo: Gordon Plumb

mid-height with an incised band. The many-times recurring motif appears to be the tip of a lotus leaf, placed between plain borders defined by pairs of lines. The decoration is arranged in two separate blocks – each extending halfway round the bowl – between which the border-lines cross over (from upper to lower).

The same vessel profile and basic layout of the decoration is found in chalices by the same maker at Horkstow (Fig. 635) and South Ferriby. It appears that Edward Mangy supplied almost identical chalices and cover-patens to a number of churches in the Humber region. These were doubtless replacements for losses incurred during the turmoil of the Commonwealth.⁵³

- ii) Flagon, by Thomas Wright, hallmarked London, 1754 (Fig. 636). Inscribed under the foot: *The Gift of Dame Elizth Nelthorpe to S^t Peter's Barton*

1754. This is a large and elegant flagon with a decorated handle and hinged lid. The body is flamboyantly engraved with the *IHS* monogram. Overall height 29.3 cm; base diam. 18.7 cm; weight 44½ oz.

- iii) Credence paten, by Benjamin Pyne, hallmarked London, 1706⁵⁴ (Fig. 637). It is inscribed on the underside: *The Gift of M^{rs} E. Willan to Barton S^t Peters 20th April 1764. R. Jackson Vicar. W. Tenmyson W. Shaw Church Wardens*. The paten has rope-moulding around the rim and foot. Diam. 19.6 cm.

While this could have been described in 1730 as a 'salver' – and it would not then have had an identifying inscription – it is doubtful whether this can be regarded as the item in question. It seems highly unlikely that Elizabeth Willan, who was, successively, the wife of two vicars (John Gelder and Thomas Willan: p. 664), would have had this donative inscription added to an item of plate that had already been in use in the parish for almost sixty years. Hence, this paten is best regarded as a gift of secondhand plate in 1764; it was made five years after the death of her second husband.

- iv) Chalice of late medieval form with a hemispherical bowl, knopped stem and flared foot (Fig. 638). It has rope mouldings around the stem and foot. The latter bears an incised Latin cross, elaborated with tapering arms and bifid terminals, on the upper side. An inscription in Gothic lettering under the foot records: *To the Glory of God and for the use of the Church of St Peter, Barton on Humber. This Chalice is given by Kate in memory of her husband Elwick Stow & of her children Arthur and Mary Stow*. It is undated, but is presumably early twentieth century.⁵⁵
- v) Chalice and paten. Inscribed: *For use at the high altar of the Parish Church of Saint Peter Barton on Humber. Given by the wife and son of the late Fred Hopper, Christmas 1937*.⁵⁶

St Mary's has a chalice, cover-paten and flagon, presented as a set in an oak case in 1885.⁵⁷ There is also an undated credence paten,⁵⁸ and some more recent plate, including that which belonged to St Chad's mission church.⁵⁹ An inscribed brass alms-dish was given in 1892. Hence there is no ambiguity today as to the plate which belongs to each church.

However, the various antiquarian records fail to agree satisfactorily, and the problem of elucidating the pre-Victorian history of Barton's plate is greatly compounded by a burglary that allegedly occurred in 1798. It was announced in the local press, and a reward of 30 guineas was offered for information.⁶⁰ Also, a handbill was published, which proclaimed:

ROBBERY—Whereas, in the evening of Saturday, the 13th instant, or early in the morning following, some person or persons broke into the vestry of the Parish Church of Saint Peter's in Barton-on-Humber, and stole the following articles, viz.:—



Fig. 636: *St Peter's church plate. Flagon by Thomas Wright, 1754. Photos: David Lee Photography*



Fig. 637: *St Peter's church plate. Credence paten by Benjamin Pyne. Left, upper side, hallmarked 1706. Right, underside with inscription dated 1764. Photos: Warwick Rodwell*

One Silver Flagon, weighing fifty ounces Avoirdupois or thereabouts, marked with the letters I H S, and inscribed at the bottom, 'The gift of Dame Elizabeth Nelthorpe to Saint Peter's, Barton, 1754'—One Silver Cup and Cover—and One Silver Plate or Salver—One large Damask Table Cloth, marked, 'The Gift of Dame Elizabeth Nelthorpe to Saint Peter's, Barton, 1754'—and Two Damask

Napkins. Whoever will give information of the person or persons who committed the above robbery, shall, on conviction of the offender or offenders, receive a Reward of Twenty Guineas from the churchwardens of Barton aforesaid; and also a further Reward of Ten Guineas from the Treasurer of the Association at Barton aforesaid for the Prosecution of Felons.⁶¹



Fig. 638: *St Peter's church plate. Small chalice with undated inscription; early twentieth century. Photo: David Lee Photography*

Thus it would appear that the chalice and paten of 1674 (item i), the flagon of 1754 (item ii), and an unspecified plate – probably the large paten of 1706 (item iii) – were stolen. However, all of these items are still extant. The circumstances are partially explained by Ball (1856, 1, 61), who noted that ‘the same communion plate is now used by both churches’, although formerly ‘each church had its own communion plate, but the parishioners of St Peter’s having sent theirs to a silversmith to be cleaned, borrowed that belonging to St Mary’s, and while in their possession, it was stolen’. However, this only adds to the confusion, since it is clear from the information recorded in the handbill that the stolen plate was the property of St Peter’s church, not St Mary’s. There is no record that the stolen plate was recovered, and it is odd that Ball was apparently unfamiliar with whatever plate was in use in Barton in the 1850s.

Various explanations might be offered: first, that there was no robbery (at least of silver), but only a hasty and mistaken belief that the plate had been stolen because it was found not to be present in St Peter’s vestry, after an apparent break-in; second, that the plate was stolen from St Peter’s and was recovered; third, that it was St Mary’s plate which was stolen from the vestry, not St Peter’s. The last option seems the most plausible, since St Mary’s possesses no plate earlier than 1885; if so, it must have been St Peter’s plate that had been sent away for cleaning. Whatever the

true circumstances, the matter was clearly taken very seriously in 1798, when rewards totalling thirty guineas were offered for information. It is curious that none of Barton’s historians has provided us with a more complete account of the events.⁶² The enigma remains.

Reredoses

Chancel

Nothing is known of the medieval reredos, except that a small fragment of a fifteenth-century alabaster panel has survived which is likely to have been derived from it (Fig. 834; p. 825).

- i) A substantial reredos was installed in the chancel in 1859, presumably designed by Cuthbert Brodrick, and dismantled in 1890, when it was replaced by dossal curtains.⁶³ No illustration of it has been traced, but it probably comprised five panels in a timber frame. Four rectangular slabs of Welsh slate, together forming two panels, have survived from the reredos. They are painted with the table of the Decalogue, and there was evidently also once a panel bearing a sacred monogram (probably *IHS*), which would have been the central component.⁶⁴ The displaced panels were removed to the south porch, where they remained until the early 1980s; they have now been affixed to the north and south walls of the chancel (Pl. 105; Fig. 461). Nothing else from the reredos is believed to have survived.

The reredos was painted in oils: the background is grey-buff, the inscription is black with red initial letters, and the ornamental Gothic borders are in gold, red, blue and green.⁶⁵ That the panels were supported in frames is witnessed by a narrow, unpainted margin around three sides of each, but it is unknown whether the framing was of stone or timber. A quotation from William Binks and Son, Painters and Gilders of Hull, dated 16 April 1859, put the cost of the Commandments and monogram panel at £14 14s. 0d.⁶⁶

- ii) It is uncertain what arrangement obtained between 1890 and 1897, and whether there were dossal curtains only. A new reredos of timber was designed by C.H. Fowler and given in 1897;⁶⁷ a gradine shelf was added in the following year⁶⁸ (Fig. 639). The structure was modified in 1902.⁶⁹ The panel bore a painted representation of a Pelican in her Piety.
- iii) The previous structure was removed in 1931 and replaced by a new plain oak reredos of five bays with blind, pointed arches. It remains *in situ*, and rests on the window sill; the gradine shelf was retained (Pl. 65; Fig. 605). The old reredos, was given to the mission chapel at Killingholme Haven in 1932.⁷⁰

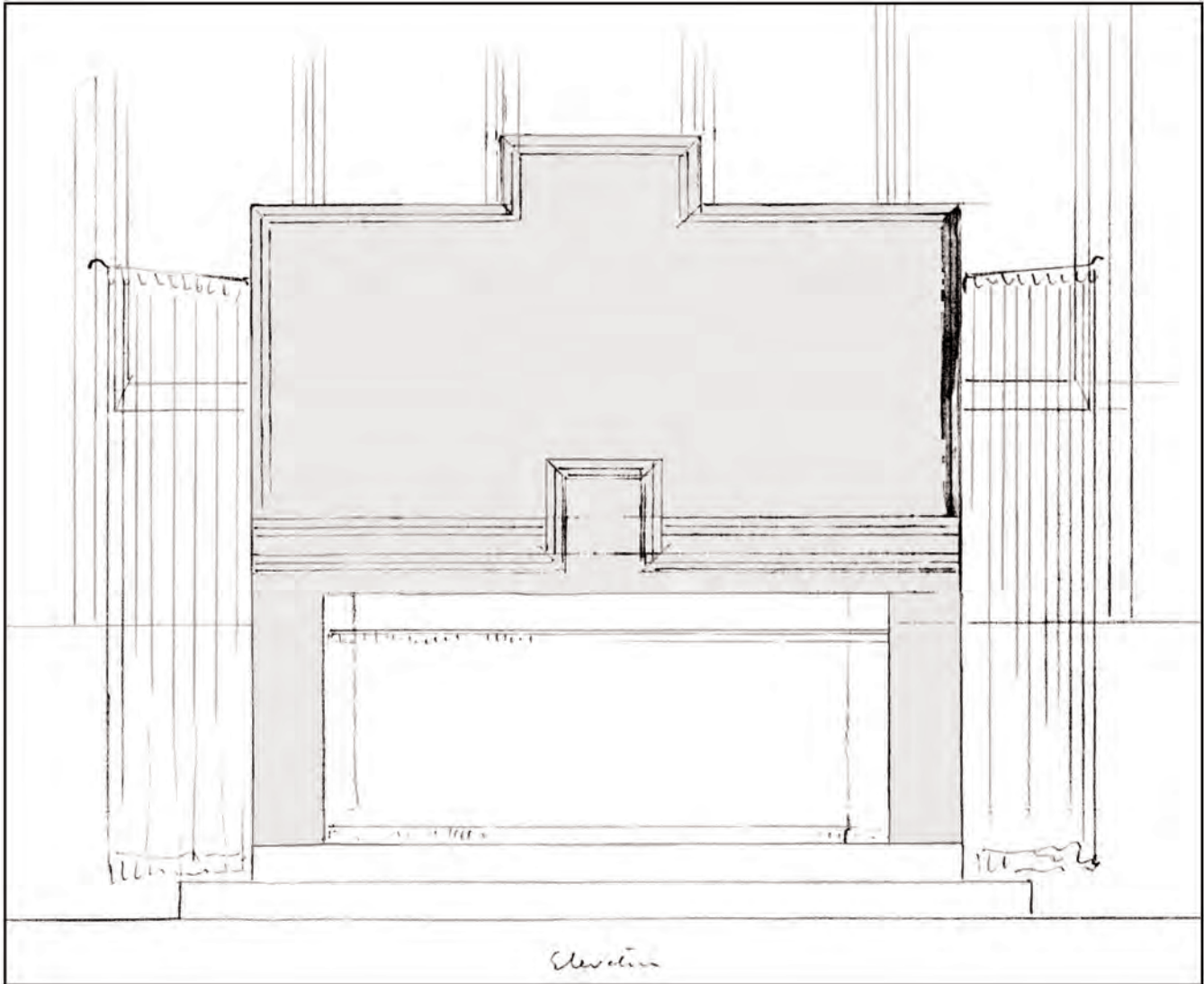


Fig. 639: C.H. Fowler's design sketch for the chancel reredos and dossal, 1896. Drawing digitally cleaned and enhanced. Lincolnshire Archives

Iron hooks remain around the sanctuary walls, indicating where there were, successively, rails for two sets of hangings. The first (on the east wall only) carried the dossal of 1897, and the second was positioned to hide the unpopular wall-tiling on all three sides and probably dates from *c.* 1910–20.⁷¹ Since the polychrome tiles were much maligned during Varah's incumbency, it is surprising that they have even survived. The tiling was of course an integral part of the setting of Brodrick's reredos, especially the inscription (*This do in Remembrance of Me. Luke, 22:19*) on the wall behind the altar (Fig. 605). A somewhat similar, although much more colourful, tiled sanctuary was created three years later at Waithe (Lincs.) by James Fowler of Louth, in 1861 (Pevsner *et al.* 1989, 779). There, the contemporary altar remains in its original setting, and the tile inscription (with a slight variation to the word order) can still be read immediately above it: *Do this in Remembrance of Me* (Pl. 64).

South aisle chapel

The memorial tablet on the east wall, commemorating the men of Barton who were killed in the First World War, was not initially a reredos. It acquired that status when a chapel was created here and an altar installed in 1924 (Figs. 624, 630 and 632).

The inscriptions and decoration on the memorial reredos were gilded in 1942, having previously been gold-painted.⁷² A separate series of panels was later added, on the south wall, to commemorate Bartonians killed in the Second World War (Fig. 631).

Tower

A small carved oak retable with a raised and stepped central section rested on the back of the marble-topped altar when it was in use in the tower (Fig. 620).⁷³ The retable was of the same length as the altar, and was doubtless made to accompany it in the early twentieth century (probably 1902 or 1913). The central section

is embellished with a pierced foliate design of early Gothic style, and is flanked by three open trefoil-headed arches to either side (see also Fig. 623).

Altar Rails

Chancel

- i) The plan of 1803 shows the altar against the east wall, within a rectangular railed enclosure, having a semicircular exedra (*exedra*) on the west; the same appears on Loft's plan of 1831–32 (Figs. 582 and 587). In 1832 Loft described the arrangement as having two steps (1 ft 2 ins) outside the rails, and another step of 8 ins within. This was clearly a Georgian arrangement (*i.e.* a 'Laudian' communion rail), potentially dating from the 1740s. Since the rails were described as being of mahogany, a seventeenth-century date can be discounted.⁷⁴
- ii) A new altar rail was designed by Brodrick and installed in 1859 on the sanctuary step, with its ends fixed to the north and south walls. The rail was oak, supported on three wrought iron standards to either side of the central opening. The fixing scars remain. The rail was removed in 1897

and reused in St Chad's mission church in 1899.⁷⁵ Its subsequent fate is unrecorded.

- iii) An oak altar rail was given in 1898, and was installed further west, on the tiled step.⁷⁶ It is doubtful whether this is the present rail, the appearance of which suggests a date in the 1920s or 1930s. It is a simple arrangement, comprising a moulded top-rail and bottom plate, with quadrant-moulded uprights (of Tudor mullion profile), defining four bays to each side of a wide central opening (Fig. 602). The latter is closed with a lift-out top rail only. The ends of the rails are not attached to the chancel walls.

North aisle chapel

The existing pair of freestanding, plain oak altar kneeling-rails was given in 1929 (Fig. 628).⁷⁷ They are currently in the south aisle chapel (Fig. 632).

South aisle chapel

The existing pair of freestanding plain oak altar kneeling-rails was given in 1924 (Fig. 630).⁷⁸ The ends are decorated with quatrefoils. The rails are currently in the north aisle chapel (Pl. 66).

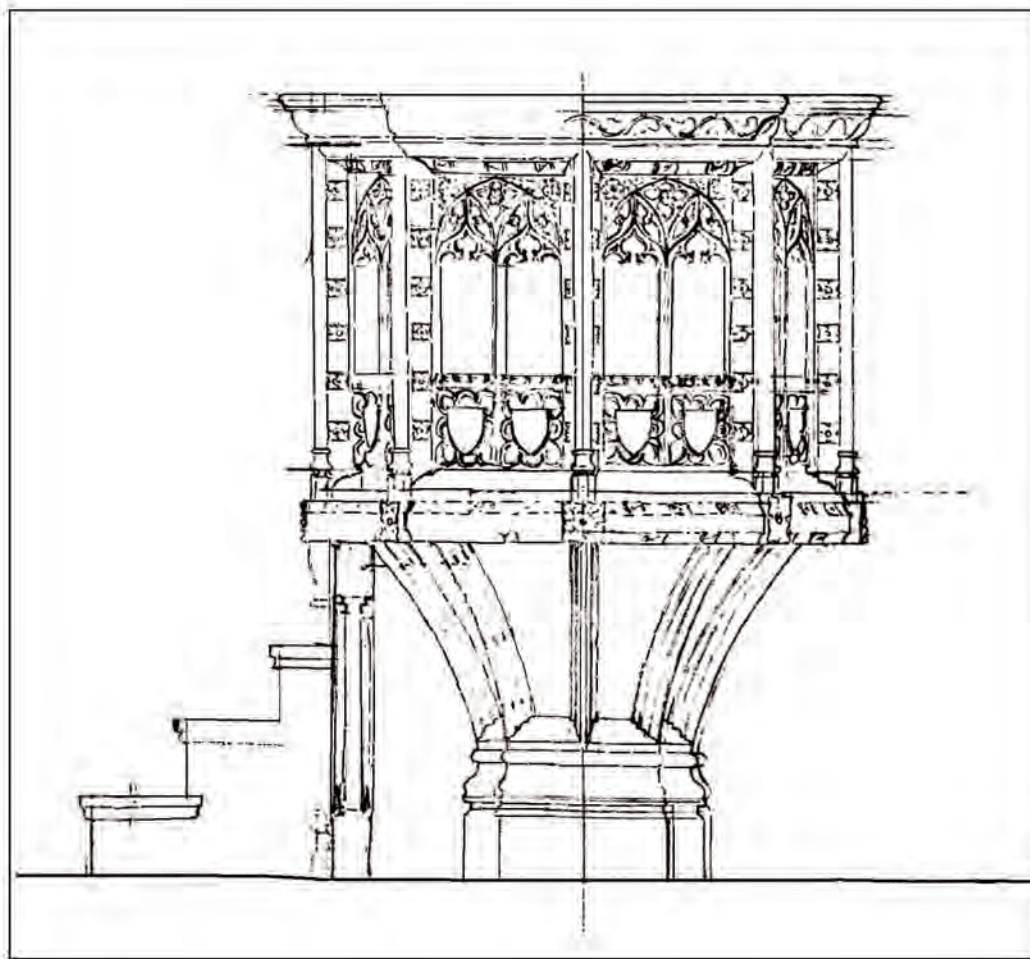


Fig. 640: Pulpit. Design sketch by C.H. Fowler, 1897. Lincolnshire Archives

Tower

A single oak altar kneeling-rail, currently at the west end of the north aisle, was formerly in front of the altar under the tower (Fig. 620). It was placed there in *c.* 1913, and is of unknown origin;⁷⁹ it dates from the early twentieth century.

Pulpits and Reading Desks

The church may well have possessed a pulpit in the later Middle Ages, but nothing is known of it.

- i) A Georgian three-decker pulpit and reading desk stood on the north side of the nave against the second arcade pier (Fig. 587). It was ejected from the church in 1858; no illustration of it is known. St Mary's church had one on the south side (Pl. 13).
- ii) Brodrick designed a new pulpit in 1858. The upper part was octagonal and of timber, and the base was stone, with a quatrefoil band around the top. It was installed in the north-east corner of the nave, against the chancel screen, and is glimpsed



Fig. 641: Pulpit. In the north-east corner of the nave, 2005. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

in the photograph of *c.* 1890 (Fig. 601). Opposite, on the south side, was placed a new reading desk (Fig. 600).

- iii) The present oak pulpit, designed by Fowler, was made in 1898, and was initially located on the south side of the nave, against the arcade respond (Figs. 613, 614 and 640); it was moved to the north side in 1914 (Fig. 641).⁸⁰ The pulpit is octagonal, late medieval in inspiration, and raised on a moulded 'umbrella' base, with an attached flight of timber steps. Each side comprises a pair of trefoil-headed openwork panels, above smaller solid panels with uncarved shields. The whole is ornately decorated with carving, including florets on all the chamfers around the openings. An inscription divided between four of the sides, reads: *LVSTRI / FELICIS / MEMORES DEO / DEDERE DVO.*

This pulpit was clearly designed to be entered via steps placed on its north side, but sometime after 1945 it was crudely altered in order to reposition the steps on the south. The now-awkward placing of the inscription confirms this, and the carving has been vigorously attacked with wire-wool.

Lecterns

- i) In 1895 it was noted that the church had a wooden lectern.⁸¹ Nothing further is known about it: three years later it was superseded.
- ii) The heavy brass eagle lectern was presented in 1898 (Figs. 613 and 614).⁸² It is inscribed on the globe: *To the Glory of God, / And in Memory of the / Reverend G.W. Holt / Some time Vicar of this Parish. / A.D. 1896.*

There is a separate oak plinth, with a step for the reader to stand on; it has quatrefoil piercings in the sides. Initially, the lectern stood on the north side of the nave, but was moved to the south in 1904.

Books

Various individually inscribed books have been presented to the two churches, and others which bear no identification are kept in a chest in St Mary's. The latter include several copies of the Holy Bible and Book of Common Prayer, as well as a book of sermons.⁸³

- i) According to the terrier of 1730, the church had 'one Large Bible and Comon prayer book'.
- ii) In 1830, the books in St Peter's comprised: two prayer books for the communion service (in the chancel); a large bible and a large prayer book (on the reading desk); and a prayer book (on the clerk's desk).⁸⁴
- iii) In 1832, Loft recorded that two quarto service books, bound in 'rough calf', lay on the marble

altar slab: *The Altar Services*.⁸⁵ These were doubtless the two ‘prayer books’ noted above, in the chancel. Their red Morocco covers were inscribed, ‘Saint Peter’s Church, Barton upon Humber’.⁸⁶ Now presumed lost.

- iv) *Select Portions of the New Version of Psalms, together with Suitable Hymns adapted for the Principal Festivals, and designed to be sung with the Organs in St Peter’s and St Mary’s Churches, Barton upon Humber*. Printed by A. Squire, Market Place, Barton. Dedication inscription dated 1825.⁸⁷ Present whereabouts unknown.
- v) *Book of Common Prayer* (Oxford, 1846). Inscribed on the flyleaf: ‘Presented by Miss Tombleson to the Parish Clerk of Saint Peter’s Church in Barton on Humber, April 1849’. This is now in St Mary’s church. The same lady also presented the tower clock (p. 569).
- vi) *The Communion and Other Services* (Oxford, 1856). Black leather, with cover inscription ‘Saint Peter’s Church, / Barton-on-Humber. / 1859.’ A flyleaf inscription records that the book was presented to St Peter’s by John Wilbar Lunn of Baysgarth, on the occasion of the reopening and reseating of the church, 1st June 1859.⁸⁸
- vii) *Holy Bible*. Brown leather with gold tooling. Inscribed on flyleaf: ‘John Horsley book 1829 / Price 24/-’.⁸⁹
- viii) *The Devotional Family Bible, Containing the Old and New Testament, with Aspirations on each Chapter*. Edited and printed by George Wilson (n.d., Leeds).⁹⁰

Stalls and Benches

In the fourteenth century the church was provided with benches in both stone and timber, but nothing substantive now survives of either. The stone benches ran between alternate piers of the nave arcades, and also along the north aisle wall (p. 420; Fig. 540). Elements of the medieval oak benching were still present until 1858, having previously been incorporated in the Georgian furnishings (p. 506). In 1846 they were described as ‘some ends of the Perpendicular open sittings, in the south aisle, now turned into pews’ (Harding 1937, 70). Writing at about the same time, Hesleden added that they were of ‘very ancient construction, the oaken doors having Gothic windows well carved thereon’.⁹¹

The 1803 plan shows box-pews of various dimensions filling the nave and aisles (Fig. 587). Installing these would have necessitated the destruction of the medieval stone benches, if they were then still present. The pews were described by Bonney in 1846 as ‘deal, sound and good and not painted’ (Harding 1937, 70). In the chancel was a single line of stalls placed collegiate-style against the north and south walls which, in 1832, Loft described as ‘neatly seated round pew-fashion, painted stone colour’.⁹²



Fig. 642: Medieval bench-end, now incorporated into a twentieth-century desk in St Mary’s church. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

All of this was swept away in 1859, to be replaced by regimented rows of plain pine benches in the nave and aisles, and choir stalls in the chancel (Brown 1908, 139–40) (Figs. 600, 603 and 614). The choir stalls were retained, but the benches were all removed in 1979; some were taken to St Mary’s church, where they furnish the chancel aisle (Varah 1984, 11); the remainder were disposed of. The choir stalls are arranged in two blocks, each comprising two rows and a front, on either side. They are of dark stained pine and have carved poppyhead finials, all different (Figs. 603 and 604).

One incomplete medieval bench-end was, however, saved, which was later noted in St Mary's vestry. This was incorporated in a new oak desk, probably at the beginning of the twentieth century: that is still in St Mary's church (Fig. 642). It is carved with a fourteenth-century pattern of cusped Y-tracery enclosing four cinquefoil-headed main lights with elongated quatrefoils above. Stylistically, it relates to the window traceries in the north aisle. Only two-thirds of the width of the bench-end survives, the remainder having been restored. The height of the panel (slightly trimmed) is 80 cm and the width 35 cm. A little below mid-height is a line of infilled mortices where the seat was jointed,⁹³ and scribed setting-out lines for the medieval carving are well preserved.

Piscinae, Sedilia and Aumbries

- i) Nothing is known of a piscina or sedilia in the chancel, although they must have been present. There may be surviving evidence behind the Victorian tiling on the south wall. An elaborate, nodding-ogee canopy is most likely from an early fourteenth-century sedilium, which could only have been in the chancel (Fig. 820, no. 18).
- ii) A damaged, but once profusely carved piscina of the early fourteenth century remains in the south-east corner of the north aisle (Fig. 476). Opposite, in the north wall, is a simple rectangular stone cupboard with a modern oak door; it is contemporaneous with the aisle, and served as an aumbry (Pl. 66).
- iii) A small piscina of the late thirteenth century with a trefoil head and damaged bowl survives in the south aisle (Fig. 444). The bowl was restored in an unorthodox fashion in the early twentieth century (Fig. 643).



Fig. 643: Pulpit. South aisle. Replaced piscina bowl with 1920s carving. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

The situation in St Peter's stands in contrast to St Mary's, where three piscinae, two sets of sedilia and one aumbry remain.

Fonts

St Peter's has had a succession of at least four fonts, in as many different locations (Fig. 33). St Mary's similarly had no less than four fonts, again variously positioned

(p. 132). Interestingly, no evidence relating to the disposal of redundant fonts in Barton has been found, and it appears that they were not buried under the church floor, as sometimes happened (Stocker 1997).

- i) The Anglo-Saxon font was sited in the south-west corner of the baptistery; only the gritstone base upon which it stood has survived (p. 299; Fig. 337). The bowl is likely to have been a hollowed block of gritstone, and there was perhaps a separate stem, although that can only be conjectured (for discussion, see pp. 352–3).
- ii) The font, minus the base-block, may have been repositioned in the ground stage of the tower in the Norman period, or a new font may have been commissioned. After the tower, the font was moved to the west end of the nave (p. 380). The Anglo-Saxon font was presumably succeeded by a medieval one at some stage, but nothing is known about this, or its fate.
- iii) When Loft visited in 1832, he found the font to be 'a small modern one, of stone ornamented, the top is a square of 1 f 4 diam'. [*sic*] with a circular opening at top, just sufficient to hold a small pewter bason for sprinkling. Round the circle on outside it is neatly ornamented'.⁹⁴ No illustration is known, but the description suggests a Georgian font, which is presumably what appears on the 1803 plan (Fig. 587). There, we see represented a font with a circular shaft and square base, raised on a square plinth.⁹⁵
- iv) A new, exuberant font of octagonal form was given by George Hogarth in 1858, and placed in the south-west corner of the south aisle (Figs. 644 and 645).⁹⁶ It was described at the time, 'though not in keeping with the character of the building, [it] is an exquisite work of art'.⁹⁷ The font is on top of the Gelder family vault, which was infilled with rubble to provide support. The bowl is carved from a single block of Caen stone, and the pedestal from another. The bowl has a moulded profile with a rolled rim, below which is a frieze of upright, naturalistic leaves and a fillet inscription in counter-relief extending around all eight faces.⁹⁸ The lettering is Gothic:

EXCEPT A MAN / * BE BORN OF * / WATER
AND OF / THE SPIRIT HE / CANNOT
ENTER / * INTO THE * / * KINGDOM *
/ * OF GOD +

Below the inscription band, on four of the faces are the emblems of the Evangelists carved in high relief in roundels. On the intermediate faces are swirls of naturalistic foliage and berries. The octagonal pedestal has a small moulding at the junction with the bowl, below which is a collar of tightly clustered naturalistic foliage and fruits. On the waist stand a series of upright leaves with long



Fig. 644: South aisle. The font (1859) and its tiled plinth from the north-east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 645: Font. Viewed from the north-west, showing details of the decoration and inscription. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

stems intertwined. These are overlaid by a narrow collar of small overlapping leaves, visually acting as a tie-band. The pedestal has a simple moulded base, and at the angle of each facet is a single strawberry leaf, fruit and stem. On one angle is also carved a frog (Fig. 646).

The font stands on an octagonal Yorkstone plinth into the top and sides of which are set Minton polychrome tiles (11 cm square). On the top is a single pattern, cream inlaid on a red ground: it depicts an eight-petalled rosette in a diagonally set square, with stiff-leaf sprigs in the corners. There is a border of rectangular relief-patterned tiles (15 × 7.5 cm), depicting a raised vine scroll in cream against a glazed royal blue background (Pl. 69).

Set into each vertical face of the plinth is a band of four tiles (15 cm square) flanked above and below by narrow border tiles (15 × 3 cm); the latter comprise continuous lines of red, buff and black (Pl. 70). The square tiles are cream-buff, partly relief-decorated, having a flush red inlay and sunken inlays of royal blue, white and apple green. They too are border tiles, which incorporate four-petalled rosettes along two edges, and these are overlapped by a diagonally set square



Fig. 646: Font. Detail of the base, showing a strawberry leaf and fruit, together with a frog (damaged) on the east-north-east angle. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

containing a pointed quatrefoil filled with glazed blue paste. At the centre of each is a cream rosette in a circle, from which four white stems emerge, one to each of the pointed trefoil leaves. On two edges of each tile are also half fleurs-de-lys in cream, set against a green ground.

Screens

No historical references to screens have been found. In addition to the medieval chancel screen, which is still *in situ*, archaeological evidence points to the eastern bays of the aisles being screened in the Middle Ages, and to the former presence of a major post-medieval screen running across the nave and both aisles; it is suggested that this was most likely a feature of the Stuart period (p. 497).

Chancel (rood screen)

The medieval timber screen seems to have remained in its primary location throughout, and was clearly made to fill the lower two-thirds of the plain Perpendicular chancel arch. The screen is shown on the 1803 plan, and described by Loft in 1832 as 'a very handsome open-work wood screen'. He makes it clear that the chancel

arch above the screen was infilled with boarding, which may well have been a medieval painted tympanum; although not specified, it was seemingly removed during the restoration of 1858–59. At the same time, the panels were removed from the lower register, the woodwork was repaired in deal, and the whole repainted.⁹⁹ The screen had been repainted several times since the Reformation, and the medieval decoration has all been lost, apart from tiny amounts of colour here and there.

The screen is made from oak, and the traceried heads of each panel are cut from wide boards of Baltic origin. The panel in the head of the southern door leaf was assigned a *terminus post quem* of 1458 by dendrochronology (p. 481). The doors do not, however, belong and almost certainly came from another screen, presumably in one of the aisles (Fig. 603).

A photograph of *c.* 1890 shows that the rood loft had been destroyed and the panels removed from the lower register; also there was no tracery in the head of the central opening, and the top rail was crenellated (Fig. 601). The restoration of 1897 put back a vaulted canopy with cresting, new panels in the lower register, and intricate tracery in the central opening (Figs. 564, 565 and 647). It is now uncertain how much evidence there was for the tracery and canopy. Several layers of paint were stripped at the same time (p. 527).

Sympson (1891, 206) described the screen as late Perpendicular, *c.* 1500, on the grounds that its decorative motifs included 'Tudor roses' on the cusps. He also mentioned the screen under the chancel arcade in St Mary's as 'better work', earlier in date and showing curvilinear tendencies; however, it too had 'Tudor roses'. The subsequent very thorough reconstruction of the screen in St Mary's has left little original evidence (p. 124).

Another closely related screen survives in Barrow-upon-Humber church, albeit mutilated, painted and lacking its loft; again, various rosettes are present on the cusp bosses. As at St Peter's, it fills an un moulded opening that extends for the full width of the chancel. In this instance there are not, and never were, solid panels in the lower register. The Barrow screen now has no gates, but there are concave channels in the eastern arrises of the posts flanking the central opening, showing where low gates were formerly hinged. The top rail of the gates corresponded to the mid-rail level of the screen, and there are stoolings on the sides of the posts confirming that. By extrapolation from Barrow, it can be demonstrated that St Peter's also originally had low gates, and the stoolings on the posts remain. When the present taller gates were fitted, the hinging channels were extended upwards from mid-rail level to the required height.

South aisle chapel

The first bay of the south nave arcade is filled with an oak screen which incorporates a door. Dating from 1927, it is an uninspired construction of three-and-a-half



Fig. 647: Chancel screen. West side, 1972. Photo: English Heritage, RCHME

bays with cinquefoil traceried openwork in the upper register and plain panels below; the simple cornice is relieved with a few carved motifs.¹⁰⁰ The screen (glimpsed in Fig. 647) was made by J.H. Goddard of Lincoln.¹⁰¹

Organs

Although St Mary's church had an organ in the early seventeenth century, it is not known whether St Peter's was similarly furnished, albeit that is very likely.¹⁰² Organs fell out of favour during the Commonwealth. No organ is shown on the 1803 plan of St Peter's, but there was a small singers' gallery at the west end of the nave.

- i) Both churches were provided with new organs in 1825, at a total cost of £176 10s. 0d. The organ builder was a Mr Ward of York.¹⁰³ The instruments were purchased by voluntary subscription, and were said 'to possess great power and peculiar richness of tone'.¹⁰⁴ The organ in St Peter's was placed on the west gallery, which was painted white.¹⁰⁵
- ii) A new organ was installed on the west end gallery in 1856;¹⁰⁶ built by Forster and Andrews of Hull. This gift 'stimulated St Mary's parishioners to

raise funds for a new instrument for their own church'.¹⁰⁷ During the restoration of 1858–59, the organ in St Peter's was moved to the east end of the north aisle. The organ, which was claimed to be in 'a dreadful condition', was sold at the next restoration in 1897.¹⁰⁸

- iii) Another organ, by the same builder, was installed in 1898 in the specially constructed chamber adjoining the north side of the chancel (Brown 1908, fig. 10) (Figs. 603 and 618).¹⁰⁹ In 1973 the organ was removed to St Mary's church.¹¹⁰

Chests and Safes

Three historic chests are known at Barton, one of which was in St Peter's and is now lost. The two survivors – one of oak, the other of painted pine – are in St Mary's, although it has been alleged that one of these was anciently in St Peter's; that is doubtful. The earliest mention of a chest is in the churchwardens' accounts for St Mary's in 1671–72, when John Winter was paid 4s. 'for cutting the great chist, 2 locks mending, 2 new keys, gimbers [hinges], a stirrup ...'¹¹¹ From this, it can be deduced that he cut the lid into two separately opening sections, added further hinges and hasps, and repaired the existing locks.

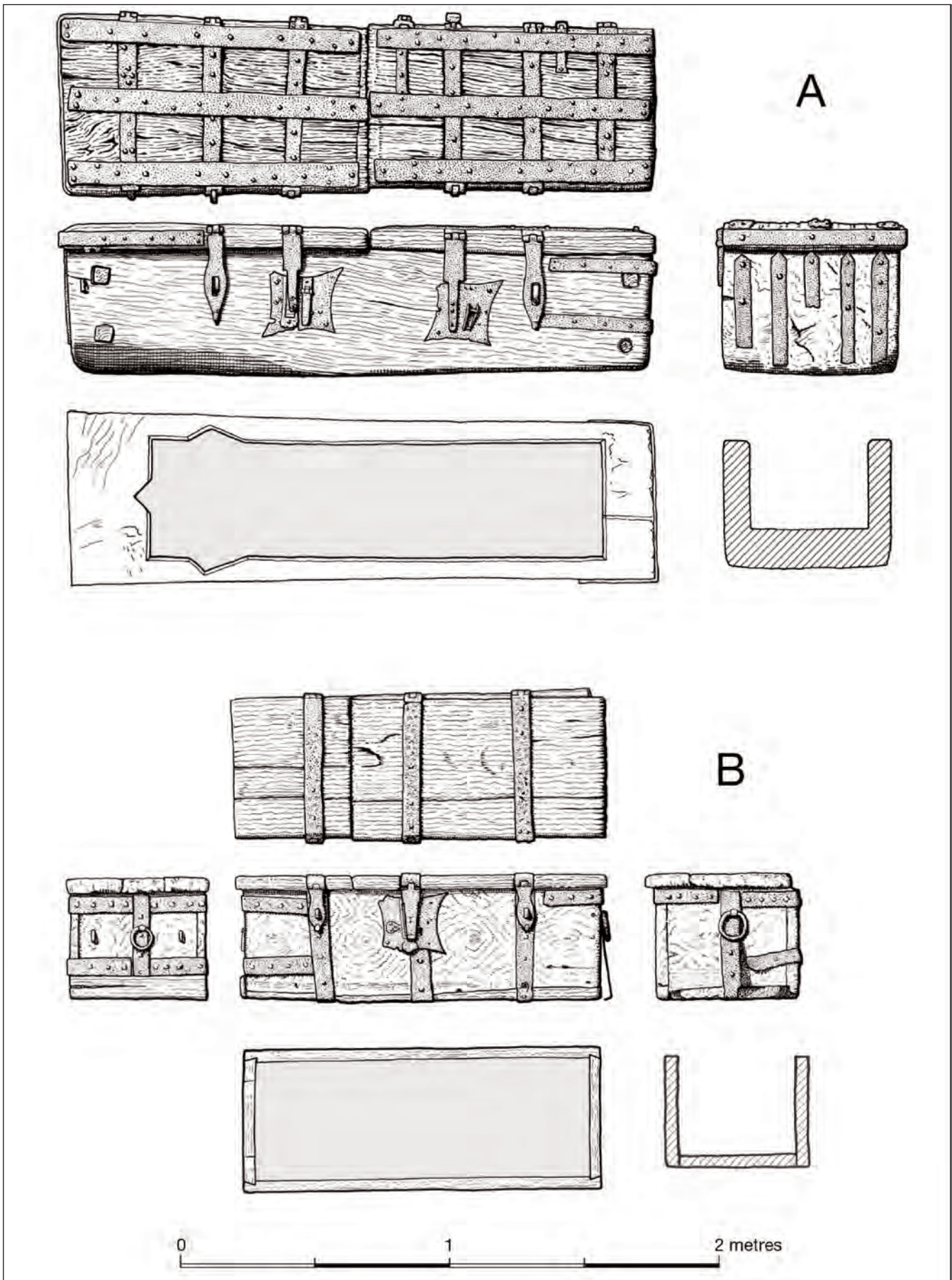


Fig. 648: Medieval chests in St Mary's church. A, Oak dug-out chest; B, Pine standard chest. Scale 1:20. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

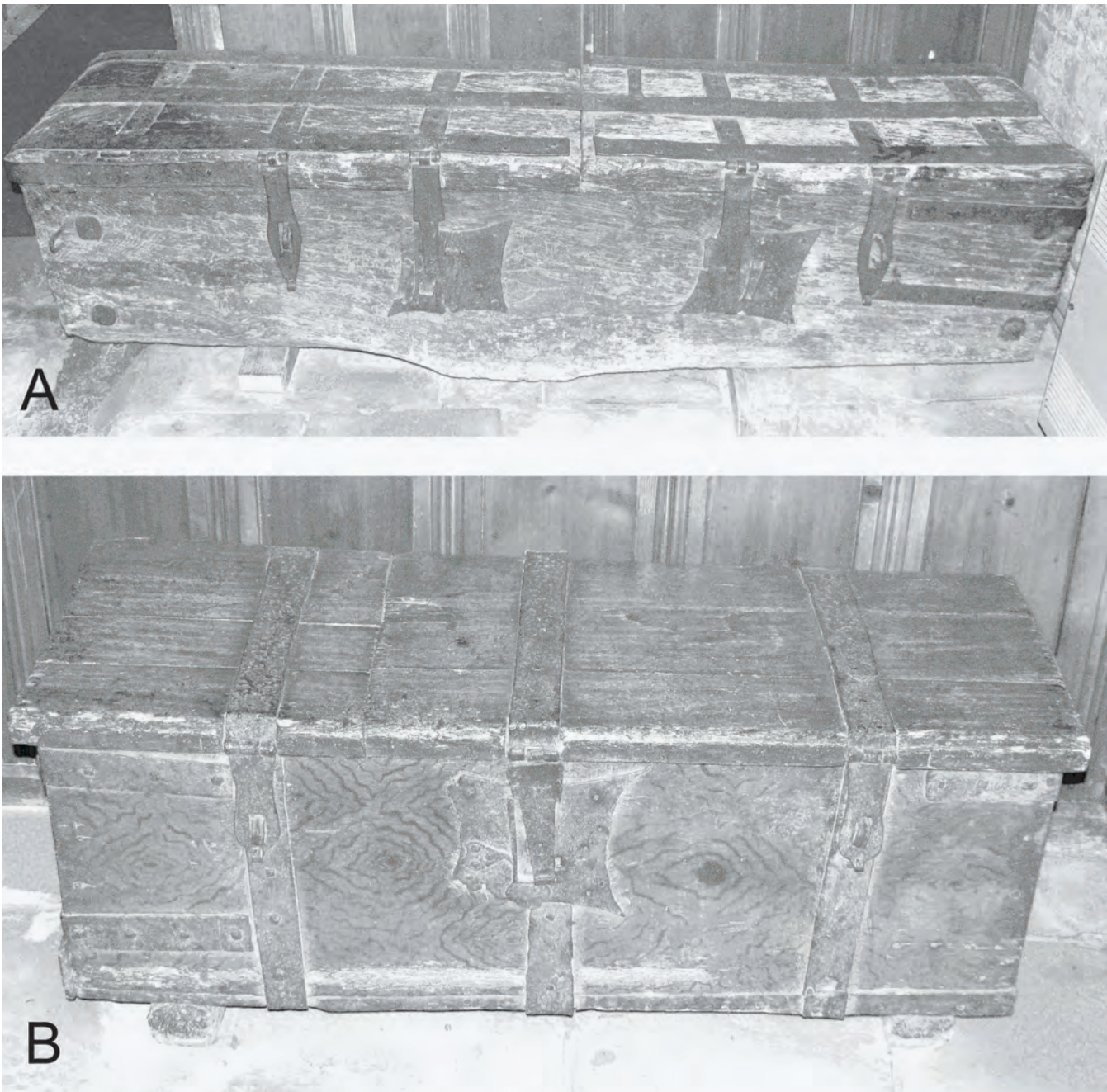


Fig. 649 Medieval chests in St Mary's church. A, Oak dug-out chest; B, Pine standard chest. Photos: Warwick Rodwel

Other references occur in 1730, when each church was described as having one chest;¹¹² in 1830, a rural dean's inspection recorded 'an ancient chest containing some old papers' in St Peter's vestry, but did not mention chests in St Mary's.¹¹³ In 1832 Loft also noted a chest in the vestry of St Peter's. In 1888, it was reported that in the south-east chapel of St Mary's 'is a fine old oak chest' and in the chancel 'is kept a still finer old oak chest bound with iron bands and having two locks'.¹¹⁴ One of the chests was presumably no. (ii), described below, but the identity of the other must remain uncertain. If the description is accurate, it would imply a total of three oak chests between the two churches, in addition to the pine one.

- i) An iron-bound oak chest, believed to be of medieval date, stood in the north aisle of St Peter's until the early 1970s, when it was transferred to St Mary's. It was described by Varah (1928, 26) as 'long past use'.¹¹⁵ In 1977 it was sold by the churchwardens for £185.¹¹⁶ The unlawful sale, together with that of the royal arms (see below), became the subject of a Consistory Court hearing in 1985.¹¹⁷ There is no detailed record of the chest, and its current whereabouts is unknown.
- ii) Oak dug-out chest now in St Mary's church (Figs. 648, A, and 649). This must be the chest upon which work was done in 1671–72, since it has the appropriate number of locks and hasps. If it was

once in St Peter's, no details of its movement have been recorded.¹¹⁸ Dimensions: length 2.18 m; width 65 cm at the left-hand end, tapering to 60 cm at the right-hand end; height *c.* 50 cm.

The chest is made from a single log, hollowed to create a rectangular receptacle (not quite centrally disposed). At the left-hand end of the hollowing are three triangular cut-outs: one in the end itself, and an opposed pair in the sides. These pockets were intended to accommodate the arms of a processional cross with an overall dimension of 50 cm. There are iron bindings on the corners and ends of the chest, but no rings or handles for carrying: it would not have needed these, being a permanent fixture in the church.

The lid, which was made from a single plank, is reinforced with strapwork connected to the six original hinges. Two further hinges have been added. On the front are four locks: two are original, with concave-sided lock-plates, the others being hasps and staples for padlocks. The lid has been cut into two near-equal parts, each secured by two locks. A secondary partition had been nailed inside the chest, but was later removed. The form of the chest is suggestive of the fifteenth century, as are the diagnostic hollow-sided lock-plates. An attempt to date it non-invasively by dendrochronology was unsuccessful.¹¹⁹ After the Reformation, it would no longer have been required to house a processional cross; hence its division into two parts as a receptacle for church treasures.

This is a rare example of a chest displaying a specialist purpose – other than the incorporation of tills to hold money and small items – by virtue of its construction. The chest probably also housed other items of church plate, wrapped in cloth. While references to chests containing plate, vestments and other church ornaments are not uncommon, I have been unable to find another example specifically designed to accommodate a processional cross, or documented references to such a use.¹²⁰

- iii) Small pine 'standard' chest currently in St Mary's church, which is probably where it historically belongs (Figs. 648, B, and 649).

The chest is bound with iron straps and corner-pieces, and has a single lifting-ring at each end. The lid, which is not original, is secured with three hinge straps, and there are three locks on the front. Two of these comprise hasps and staples for padlocks, while in the centre is the original concave-sided lock-plate. The lid has also been sawn through, dividing it into one-third and two-thirds, but the arrangement of locks does not correspond to the 1671–72 account and this cannot be the chest worked upon in that year. There is now no internal partition corresponding to the division of the lid, but the scar of one remains. The exterior

of the chest was painted and grained in the eighteenth century. For discussion of imported pine chests in East Anglia, see Sherlock 2008, 10–12.

The chest was considered unsuitable for dating by dendrochronology (Tyers 2001b).

The pine chest in St Mary's church

by Gavin Simpson

The chest measures 127 × 51 cm (50 × 20 ins) and is 41 cm (16 ins) high (the latter measurement does not take account of a pair of battens cut from a pine sapling, perhaps a scaffolding pole, which are attached to the base, raising it off the floor to protect it from dampness). It is made from five tangentially sawn pine (*pinus sylvestris*) boards which are *c.* 32 mm (1¼ ins) thick. The sides are butt-jointed into shallow recesses cut in the ends of the front and back boards (Fig. 648, B), and each joint is secured by four pegs of *c.* 10 mm diameter. The basal board is similarly secured to the front and back boards with four pegs.

The lid, which is a later adaptation, is also of pine and made of two boards 37 cm and 15 cm wide, by 38 mm thick. There are now no internal features except that at the left-hand end the side, front and back are cut with shallow grooves to take the boards of a till, 10 cm wide at the top, 9 cm at the base and at least 11 cm deep. On the front of the chest there is an iron lock-plate in the form of a hollow-sided square which would measure 25.5 × 20.3 cm across its 'horns', although the horns on the left side have been broken off. The hasp of the lock is protected from forcible leverage by a raised ridge surrounding it. On its left is an applied leaf of globular shape and holes for rivets on the right side, adjacent to the keyhole, suggest that there was once a similar leaf there too; just below the hasp is another applied shape, probably representing a clover leaf.

All the features so far described are entirely characteristic of a type of pine standard chest common in the early-to-middle years of the fifteenth century (Simpson 2008). However, as already mentioned, the top of the chest has been cut down to take a flat lid. Unaltered chests of this type have semicircular tops on each side and bevelled top-edges at the front and back to accommodate a close-fitting, arched lid which was carved from either willow or poplar wood. Clear evidence that the top of the chest has indeed been levelled may be seen at the front where the top pegs securing the joints have been sliced in half on the right-hand side, and on the left have been entirely removed, leaving only the base of the peghole. Moreover, inside the chest at the left end, the holes in each corner to secure the customary lid of the till have been entirely cut away.

All other features of the chest are, with the possible exception of the iron straps and carrying rings, probably post-medieval. Since pine was not a native tree in medieval England, chests of this type were either made here from imported timber, or were imported ready-made. Continental manufacture, quite likely at a single

centre, seems probable on present evidence. Although there is very little variation in the carpentry of standard chests, considerable variety is present in the ironwork, probably because this was usually applied by different English smiths according to the requirements of the owners and the designated purposes of the chests themselves.

Thus a chest in which to keep bullion or plate would be completely covered in iron and have several locks like the example in King's College Chapel, Cambridge (RCHME 1959, 116, pl. 46), while one for the storage of altar linen or vestments like that in Durham Cathedral would have little ironwork apart from attachments for the hinges and lock(s). The chest at Hereford Cathedral is a good parallel for the St Mary's example and illustrates its original appearance (Eames 1977, 174–7, pl. 50). Their lock-plates are very similar, as also is the arrangement of the straps secured with round or rectangular-headed faceted nails. The left and right hasps loop over staples, which also secure the rings on either side.

Other modifications to the chest may have been carried out when the new lid was fitted. It was painted with an all-over pattern of dark brown lines on a yellow-brown background in imitation of wood grain.

The painting is now difficult to see on the ironwork and has mostly worn off the lid. A partition was inserted across the chest along the line of the division in the lid thus replacing the original till with a much larger compartment with its own lock at that end. This work probably dates to the late seventeenth or eighteenth century, when it became fashionable to paint pine 'wainscot' to simulate other woods or marble.¹²¹

It is not surprising that a chest of this type should still be found on the banks of the Humber, where it was no doubt unloaded from a merchant vessel some 550 years ago. Mid-fifteenth-century customs accounts for the port of Kingston-upon-Hull record the arrival of chests from Baltic ports by Hanseatic merchants and it seems very likely that chests of the kind described here were among those thus recorded (Childs 1984, 3–7, 31–2).

iv) A new stained-pine chest to house the altar frontals was given in 1896.¹²² It was said to be of the same design as one in St Mary's, but with the addition of three drawers. The chest with the drawers is now in St Mary's church, where it serves as an altar in the south nave aisle (Fig. 650).¹²³



Fig. 650: Pine frontal chest (1896) from St Peter's; now serving as an altar in St Mary's church. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Vestry safe

Built into the south wall of the vestry is a safe, its front recessed and concealed by a timber door and frame (Fig. 651). The cupboard door is of pine boarding, with T-hinges and an oak box-lock. The steel door of the safe is panelled with astragal mouldings, quadranted at the corners, in the style of Regency furniture (Pl. 107). The steel is even decorated with wood-graining. An inscription on the door dates the safe to 1813;¹²⁴ it has a brass knob and keyhole escutcheon. Inside is a metal shelf with an ogivally moulded front edge. In 1830 the safe was referred to as the 'iron chest' in the vestry. A similar safe in St Mary's church vestry has now lost its door; it is also recorded that an 'iron chest' was purchased for the Vicarage in 1813.

The simultaneous acquisition of three iron safes was doubtless in response to the 1812 Act for 'the better regulating and preserving parish and other registers'. Many churches were provided with small but heavy iron safes at this time, which became known as 'Waterloo chests' (Sherlock 2008, 37). Often these simply stood on the floor of the vestry, but a version was also made for building into masonry, as we find at Barton.



Fig. 651: Vestry. Wall safe (1813) and exposed masonry of the north wall (exterior) of the chancel. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Royal Arms, Hatchments and Benefaction Boards

In 1832 Loft noted 'a large framed board' with an inscription fixed to the infill panel above the chancel screen, but did not further describe it.¹²⁵ This would have been the prime location for the royal arms, but the description sounds more like a benefaction board, or a post-Reformation text (*cf.* St Mary's, Pl. 13).

Royal arms

Royal arms in Lincolnshire churches have been studied by Alexander and Bryant (1990). The now-lost churchwardens' accounts record several entries relating to royal arms in Barton's churches. First, in 1650, the existing arms were destroyed, as required under the Protectorate. There are two references, one presumably relating to each church: 'bestowed on ale for soldiers that came to deface the king's armes, 1s.' and 'to Martin Levitt, for washing out the king's armes, 1s.'. Two more entries record the painting of new royal arms in 1660 and 1740, respectively. It is uncertain to which church the 1660 commission related, but it is likely to have been St Mary's, while the 1740 commission was linked to St Peter's.¹²⁶ A payment of £26 was made for painting the king's arms, Ten Commandments and Lord's Prayer, which would indicate a matching set of three items, either framed canvases or panels.

Since a large canvas with the arms of King George II (inscribed 'G II R') is still extant, there can be little doubt that this is the sole surviving part of the commission of 1740 (Pl. 104). The panels bearing the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer were still hanging in the church in 1830, but the royal arms were not mentioned.¹²⁷

The arms have had a chequered history. They were doubtless commissioned as part of the restoration of the 1740s, and were possibly removed from St Peter's at the time of the 1858–59 refurbishment; the accompanying panels were discarded then, together with the hatchments. Subsequently, the first recorded appearance of the arms in St Mary's church was in 1890, when they hung over the chancel arch.¹²⁸

During the restoration of 1891 the arms were taken down and hung in the tower; in 1948, the frame was discarded and the canvas was rolled up and placed in the parvise over the south porch; later it was hung on the west wall there. In the late 1970s the arms were brought down and briefly hung on the side of the organ case, facing into the south aisle. By this time the canvas was very dirty and in poor condition, and in 1980 it was sold, without faculty, by a churchwarden for £50; it passed through the hands of several dealers, and underwent restoration as a private commission by the conservation department at Gateshead Technical College in 1981–82, before going on sale at Aspreys in Old Bond Street, London, with an asking price of £9,950.¹²⁹ The sale was halted while a Consistory

Court hearing took place in Lincoln: the court found that the arms had been illegally sold, and ordered that they be returned to Barton.¹³⁰ The restored arms were valued in excess of £9,000. Unwanted by St Mary's, the Court directed that the arms were to remain in Barton and could be hung in Baysgarth Museum, with permission for their eventual display once again in St Peter's church, when it was fully restored and environmental conditions were appropriate. The arms were duly installed in Baysgarth Museum in 1986, where they remain.¹³¹

The arms are a large and magnificent example of their type: the overall dimensions of the modern replacement frame are 1.9 × 1.6 m high. Pre-restoration photographs show the canvas as very dirty, having tattered margins and two or three significant tears. It was also covered with a thick layer of discoloured varnish. After cleaning, it was found that upwards of 90 per cent of the original painted surface was intact; damaged areas were made good.

A similar set of framed arms of George II, together with matching panels containing the Ten

Commandments, Creed and Lord's Prayer, formerly hung on the boarded tympanum over the chancel screen in Goxhill church, where they were seen by Loft, but are now lost.¹³²

Hatchments

A suite of four hatchments hung on the north wall of the chancel until 1858, when they were apparently discarded during the restoration. They belonged to the Nelthorpe family, and were associated with their monuments (pp. 725 and 732). The hatchments were described in detail in 1832 by Loft, but no illustrations of them are known to survive.¹³³

Benefaction boards

- i) Fixed to the south aisle wall, at the west end, is a finely painted benefaction board, which was conserved in the early 1990s. It is pine, with a moulded edge (Figs. 652 and 653). The text records a benefaction by William Gildas of Bardney Hall.¹³⁴

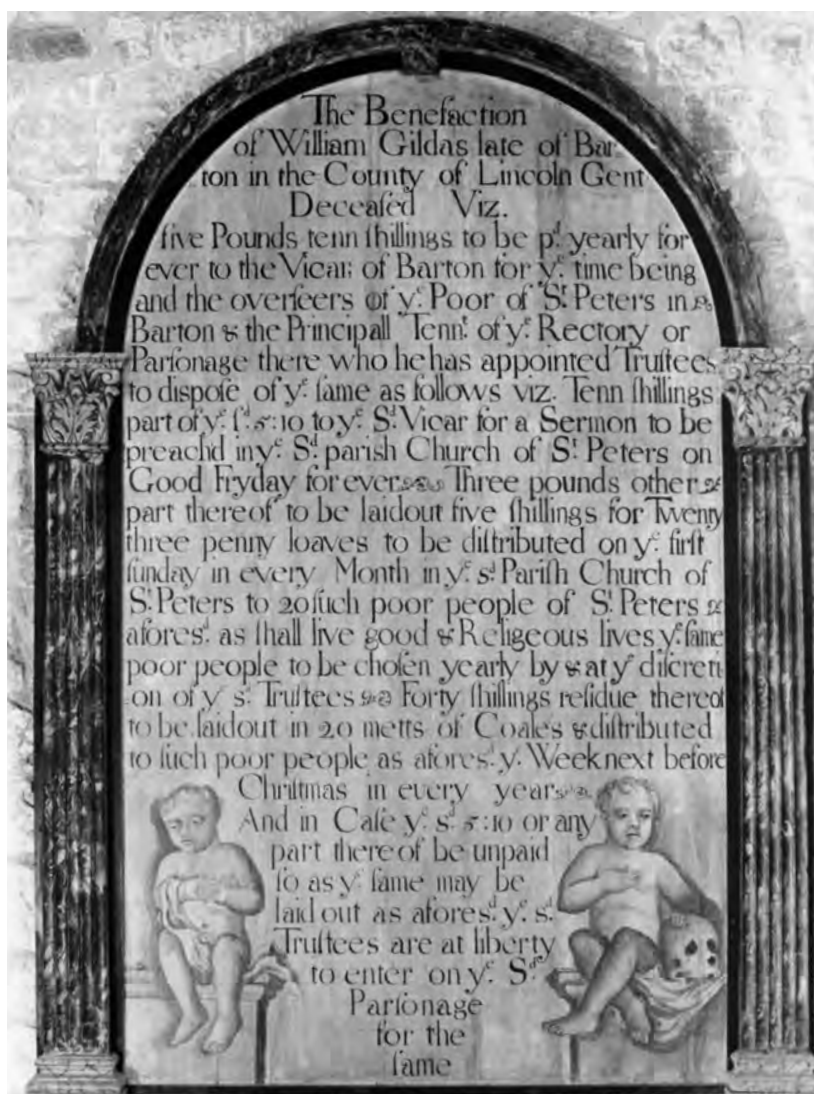


Fig. 652: South aisle. William Gildas's benefaction board of c. 1724. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

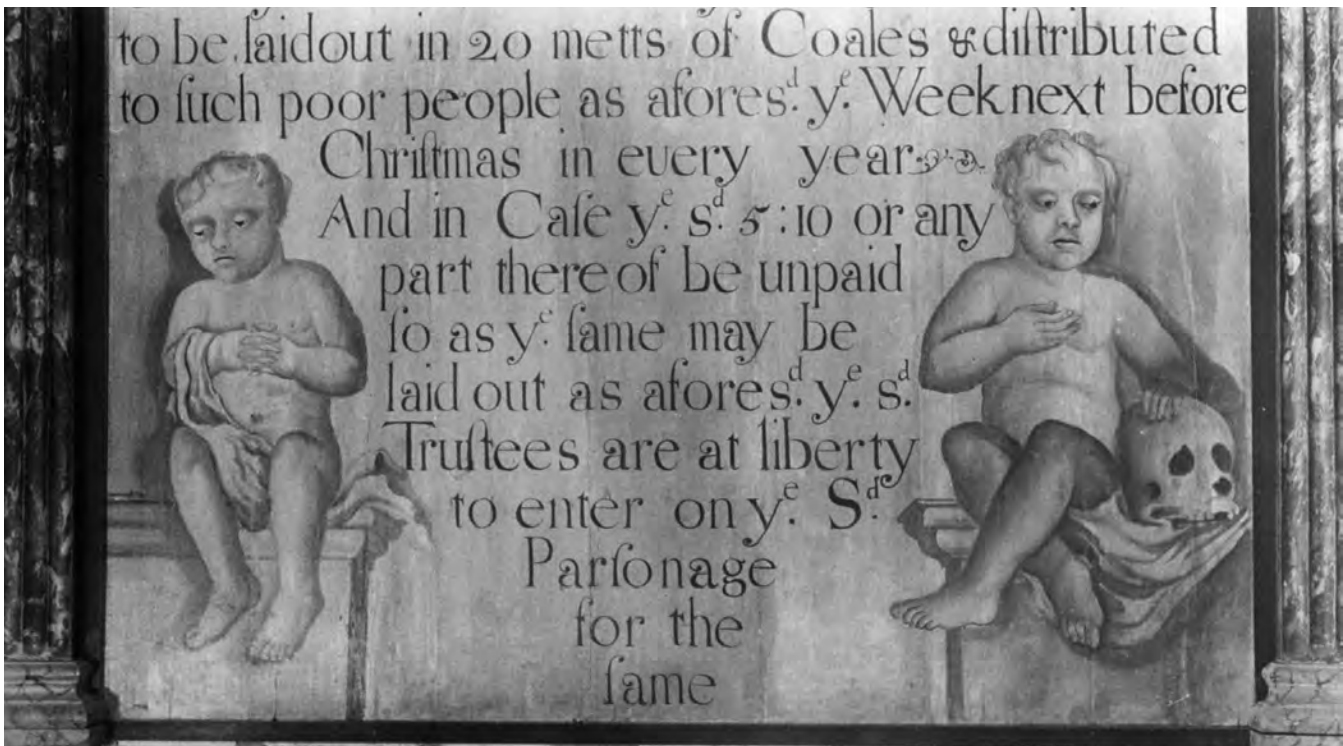


Fig. 653: Detail of the putti on the Gildas benefaction board. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

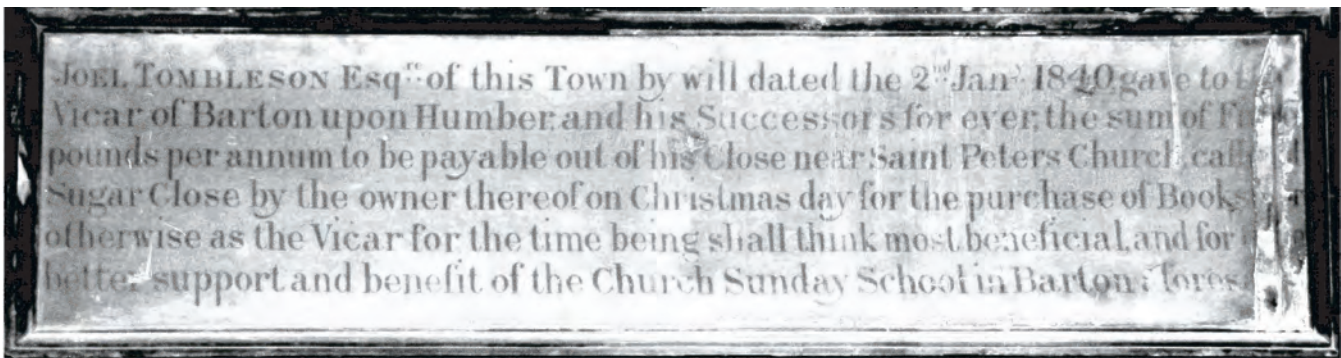
The board is undated, but it was presumably erected shortly after Gildas's death in 1724.¹³⁵ The inscription reads:

The Benefaction
of William Gildas late of Bar=
=ton in the County of Lincoln Gent'
Deceased Viz.
five Pounds tenn shillings to be p^d. yearly for
ever to the Vicar, of Barton for y^e. time being
and the overseers of y^e. Poor of S^t. Peters in [flourish]
Barton & the Principall Tenn^t. of y^e. Rectory or
Parsonage there who he has appointed Trustees
to dispose of y^e. fame as follows viz. Tenn shillings
part of y^e. s^d. 5:10 to ye. S^d. Vicar for a Sermon to be
preach'd in ye S^d. parish Church of S^t. Peters on
Good Fryday for ever [flourish] Three pounds other [flourish]
part thereof to be laidout five shillings for Twenty
three penny loaves to be distributed on y^e. first
sunday in every Month in y^e. s^d. Parish Church of
S^t. Peters to 20 such poor people of S^t. Peters [flourish]
afores^d. as shall live good & Religeous lives y^e. same
poor people to be chosen yearly by & at y^e. discreti=
=on of y^e. s^d. Trustees [flourish] Forty shillings residue thereof
to be laid out in 20 metts of Coales & distributed
to such poor people as afores^d. y^e. Week next before
Christmas in euery year [flourish]
And in Case y^e. s^d. 5:10 or any
part there of be unpaid
so as y^e. same may be
laid out as afores^d. y^e. s^d.
Trustees are at liberty
to enter on y^e. S^d.
Parsonage
for the
same

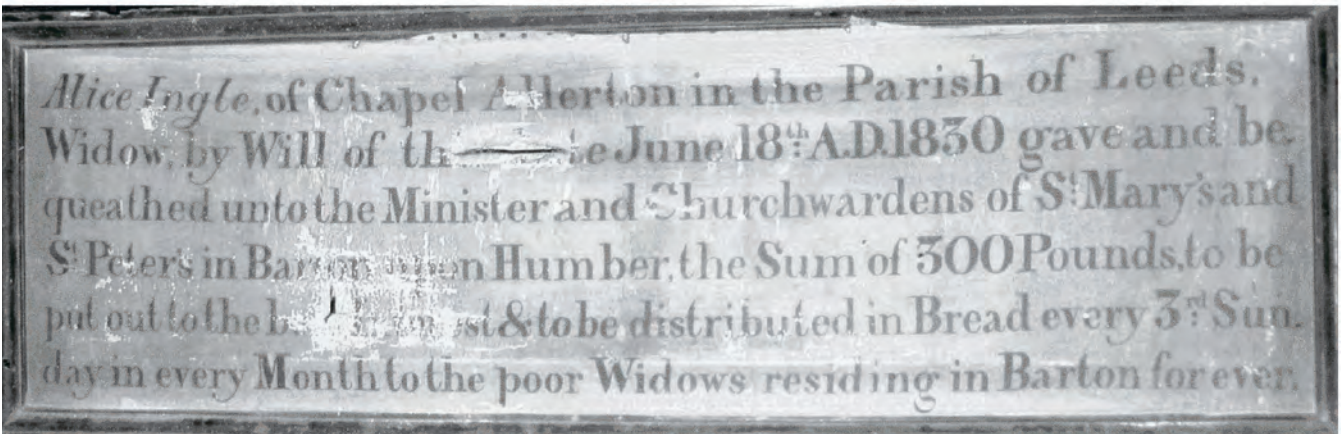
- ii) Fixed to the north wall in the base of the tower of St Mary's church is a rectangular framed canvas in damaged condition. The black-painted pine frame has a heavy quadrant-moulding (2.56 × 0.67 m) (Fig. 654, A). The canvas is painted in oils with the inscription:

JOEL TOMBLESON Esq^{re} of this town by will dated the 2nd Jan^y 1840 gave to the /
Vicar of Barton upon Humber and his successors for
ever, the sum of Five /
pounds per annum to be payable out of his Close near
Saint Peters Church called /
Sugar Close by the owner thereof on Christmas day for
the purchase of Books or /
otherwise as the Vicar for the time being shall think
most beneficial and for the /
better support and benefit of the Church Sunday
School in Barton aforesaid.

Tombleson lived in Hungate and paid rates to St Peter's 'parish'; his family vault lay towards the west end of the north aisle in that church. There can be little doubt that this board was originally installed there, but was moved to St Mary's, perhaps in 1897, when the plaster was stripped from the aisle walls. The present position, just under the ringing-chamber floor at St Mary's, possibly implies that it was repositioned there in 1974 (when the floor was installed). The dimensions and attenuated form of the board suggest that it was originally fixed to the west wall of the north aisle in St Peter's, immediately below the window.



A



B

Fig. 654: Painted canvas panels recording benefactions. A, Joel Tombleson, 1840 (St Mary's church); B, Alice Ingle, 1830 (Baysgarth Museum). Photos: Warwick Rodwell

- iii) Another framed benefaction is of identical form and appearance to the last, but is slightly shorter (2.20 × 0.67 m) (Fig. 654, B). The inscription is painted on canvas and is also damaged. Although it records a benefaction of 1830, the board may have been made at the same time as Tombleson's, and was potentially designed to fit under another window sill. There is no record as to where it was fixed, although it is presumed to have been associated with St Mary's church.¹³⁶ The inscription, painted in oils, reads:

*Alice Ingle, of Chapel Allerton in the Parish of Leeds, /
Widow, by will of this date June 18th: A.D. 1830 gave and be- /
queathed unto the Minister and Churchwardens of S^t:
Mary's and /
S^t: Peter's in Barton upon Humber the Sum of 300
Pounds, to be /
put out to the best Interest & to be distributed in Bread
every 3rd: Sun- /
day in every Month to the poor Widows residing in
Barton for ever.*

Bells and Bellframes

The history of bells in the churches of Barton is as convoluted as that of the altar plate. Today, the uppermost stage of St Peter's church tower houses a ring of eight bells. Six of them were rehung in a steel bellframe in 1914, to which an addition was made to accommodate two more bells in 1920 (Fig. 622). No details of the timber bellframe that was then destroyed have been preserved, but it was potentially late medieval (at least in part). St Mary's also currently has a ring of eight.

A booklet describing the bells of both Barton churches, together with an extended historical discourse, was published by W.O. Varah in 1948.¹³⁷ For a recent listing of all the historic bells of Lincolnshire, and discussion of local bellfounding, see Ketteringham 2009 (esp. 24–6, 297–308).

The earliest mention of bells at Barton is in 1553,¹³⁸ and the oldest dated bell (no. 7) is in St Peter's (1598); it bears the foundry stamp of Henry Oldfield II. A second bell there (no. 6) by the same maker dates from c. 1600, and it too may have been cast in 1598.¹³⁹ There is an 'Order Concerning the Bells' dated 1611

Table 15: Details of St Peter's bells, with their modern numbering

No.	Date	Foundry	Inscription on bell
8	1743	Daniel Hedderly Nottingham	<i>OVR SOVNDING IS EACH MAN TO CALL, TO SARVE THE LORD BOTH GREAT AND SMALL. HENRY NELTHORPE AND WILLIAM GILDAS, CHVRCH WARDINS 1743</i>
7	1598	Henry Oldfield II Nottingham	<i>GOD SAVEOVR CHURCH 1598</i> Arms of Elizabeth I. Monogram of Henry Oldfield (HO)
6	c. 1600	Henry Oldfield II Nottingham	<i>I sweetly toling men do call to taste on meats that feede the soole</i> Initial letter I is enriched. Monogram of Henry Oldfield (HO)
5	1741	Daniel Hedderly Nottingham	<i>GEORGE ADAMSON WILLIAM BYGOTT C:W 1741</i>
4	1741	Daniel Hedderly Nottingham	<i>DANIEL HEDDERLY FOVNDER 1741</i>
3	c. 1660s	George Oldfield(?) Nottingham	<i>IESVS BE MY SPEED</i>
2	1920	Taylor Loughborough	<i>TO THEIR UNCHANGING MEMORY TO RING THE CHANGES THROUGH THE CHANGING TIMES</i>
1	1920	Taylor Loughborough	<i>THESE TWO BELLS WERE CAST IN 1920 IN HONOUR OF THE BARTON MEN WHO FELL IN THE GREAT WAR</i>

which refers to the ringing of St Mary's bells when burial services took place at St Peter's.¹⁴⁰ This would seem to imply that the bells of St Peter's could not be rung, perhaps on account of a defective bell-frame.¹⁴¹ Although unspecified, there were at the same time several bells in St Mary's tower: 'our Hallowe Bell and the rest of our Bells'.

In 1640–41 there were four bells in St Mary's tower that were rehung in the existing frame, which underwent repairs. One bell was recast in Lincoln.¹⁴² Only one of these bells has survived and is undated but bears Henry Oldfield's stamp; three belonging to St Mary's were recast in 1666, by George Oldfield II of Nottingham. This raises the question of the possible depredation of the churches during the Civil War and its aftermath. Varah (1948, 46) also assigned no. 3 bell at St Peter's to the same firm, and to the year 1666, but it is not dated, and differences in the lettering and inscription confirm that it was not cast as part of the same operation.¹⁴³

In 1660–61, payment was made for setting up a *sanctus* bell at St Mary's,¹⁴⁴ and in 1672 what was described as a small clock bell was removed from the roof of the tower (Varah 1948, 50): it was presumably a *sanctus* or 'Hallowe' bell, but can hardly have been the one set up eleven years earlier. Perhaps it was the bell mentioned in 1611. Considerable expenditure on the bellframe in 1696–97 may indicate its complete renewal. The terrier of 1730 states that each church had four bells, and that only St Peter's possessed a *sanctus* bell in addition.

In 1741, St Peter's had one cracked bell recast and another added by Daniel Hedderly (nos. 4 and 5), who

had recently taken over the Oldfield foundry. It is difficult to reconcile the terrier of 1730 with the faculty of 1741: the latter recorded '... there are only five bells ... the largest of those hath been some time crack'd or broke'. Permission was sought to recast it as two bells, making a peal of six.¹⁴⁵ The implication is that a fifth bell had been added since 1730, for which there is no explicit evidence. Nor is there a faculty for the new tenor (no. 8) in 1743, also by Hedderly, which must have been a recasting of an existing bell: otherwise it would have raised the total to seven.

In the late eighteenth century, Barton acquired its own bellfoundry, run by the Harrison family from Barrow. The foundry, which operated from 1770 to 1835, lay just beyond the south-west angle of Market Place, on the corner of Holydyke and Brigg Road (Fig. 2) (Varah 1948, 24–6). It did not supply any bells for either of the town's churches.

In 1893, Taylors of Loughborough were invited to prepare a condition report on the bells in both churches, when it was stated that although the frames and supporting beams were much decayed, their condition was not dangerous; it was estimated that rehung would cost £200 for each tower.¹⁴⁶ Nothing was done until 1913, when the vicar obtained a report on both belfries from an un-named 'expert', who claimed that the bellframe at St Peter's was 'in very bad order; both the frame and all the beams upon which it rests are beyond repair and should be removed and the whole six bells quarter-turned and rehung upon a new iron frame built into the tower walls, as much lower down the tower as possible'. Of St Mary's he reported, 'This bellframe appears to be worse than St Peter's, and also

rests upon two oak beams only, built into the east and west walls of the tower'.¹⁴⁷ This does not appear to have been a professional opinion, and the costs of renewing the frames were only guessed. An appeal was launched,¹⁴⁸ and quotations were obtained from Taylors of Loughborough, and Gillett and Johnston of Croydon. The latter firm was awarded the contract, for £179 per church. In addition, the cost of a mason and carpenter to construct a new belfry floor in St Peter's was estimated at £100.

Both belfries were stripped out, and in June 1914 the four bells from St Mary's and six from St Peter's were all shipped by road to Croydon (Surrey); St Mary's tenor bell (1666) was fractured in the process. In the following month an auction sale was held in the churchyards, when an estimated ten tons of historic oak from the two towers realized the sum of £10 5s. 6d. This must represent a considerable quantity of serviceable timber, which should never have been removed from the towers.

New iron frames were installed in both churches, with provision for increasing the numbers of bells in each to eight. Meanwhile the old bells were rehung. The bishop of Lincoln blessed the bells and dedicated the new work on 5 November 1914. The total cost of the project, for both churches, was £399 17s. 11d.¹⁴⁹

Following the end of the First World War, the vicar raised another appeal for £140 to install two additional bells (nos. 1 and 2) in St Peter's, as a memorial. This was accomplished in 1920, at a final cost of £209 3s. 9d.¹⁵⁰ It brought the peal to eight (Table 15), which was regularly rung until the church was closed in 1970. Apart from some refurbishment in 1999 – in order to ring the bells again to celebrate the new millennium – St Peter's belfry has remained unaltered.

An inscription commemorating the rehung in 1914 is divided between the six headstocks (nos. 3 to 8):

These six bells were re-hung 1914 / W.E. Varah, Vicar / C. Hunt, W.H. Burley, Churchwardens / God keep this Church / God save our Land / Gillett & Johnston, Bellfounders, Croydon

'God save our Land' is an allusion to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. As the inscription makes plain, the two final bells were added as a memorial to the casualties of that conflict. Those bells both have their headstocks inscribed:

J. Taylor Bellfounder / William Edward Varah Vicar

St Mary's church also has a ring of eight bells, four of which were installed in 1946 as a memorial to the fallen of the Second World War. Of the other four, one is probably datable to 1602 or 1603, and three are dated 1666 (p. 125). The tenor was, however, recast in 1914, when all four were rehung in a new steel frame.

Tower Clock

The earliest reference to a church clock at Barton is in 1672, when there was one in St Mary's tower, which apparently did not have an external dial; sundry repairs were recorded (Ball 1856, 2, 8). Hitherto, it struck the hours on a small (*sanctus?*) bell situated on the roof, but in 1672 the bell was dispensed with and the clock thereafter struck on the tenor bell (Varah 1948, 50). The mechanism was removed from St Mary's when the bells were rehung in 1914, but a few parts still remained in the bellchamber until the 1960s. Nothing of the clock now survives.

There is no evidence to suggest that a clock was installed in St Peter's tower until 1852, when a fine tower clock was given by Miss Elizabeth Tombleson, at a cost of £135.¹⁵¹ It had a single, cast iron, skeleton dial mounted on the west face (Figs. 9 and 255). The movement was made by James Harrison and has three trains: going, striking (hours) and quarter-striking ('ting-tang' on two bells) (Fig. 655). It is reputed to be one of only three quarter-chiming turret clocks made by Harrison.¹⁵² He was the great-grandson of James Harrison, brother of the famous John Harrison of Barrow who discovered longitude and made the first marine chronometer.¹⁵³

The clock dial was redecorated in 1909, and a general renovation of the mechanism undertaken in 1941.¹⁵⁴ In 1983 it was decided that the clock constituted an unwarranted intrusion into the Anglo-Saxon tower: the movement and dial obscured, both internally and externally, the western double belfry-opening; the swing of the pendulum was protected by a large wooden case which protruded below the arch of the first-floor gallery doorway; and the weights that provided the motive power descended inside another wooden casing which occupied the south-west corner of the tower at ground and gallery levels (Figs. 257, 295 and 296). Consequently, the clock was removed and installed in the empty clock chamber in St Mary's church; the dial faces west. The movement was overhauled, the frame repainted and a hand-held electric winder acquired.¹⁵⁵

Miscellaneous

The most comprehensive list of sundry contents was made during a rural dean's inspection in 1830. As well as detailing liturgical and other major furnishings, it provides a fascinating insight into contemporary ecclesiastical ephemera.¹⁵⁶ Thus, in St Peter's vestry were noted a large deal table, six chairs, bookshelves, a wall closet (*i.e.* safe), a looking-glass, a fender, a blower and two brooms. In the church were four green sunblinds, presumably fixed to windows on the south side. St Mary's church had an even more disparate collection, which included 'claws to pull walls down in case of fire'.¹⁵⁷ It also had benches and chairs for the Sunday School which was held in the chancel aisle.

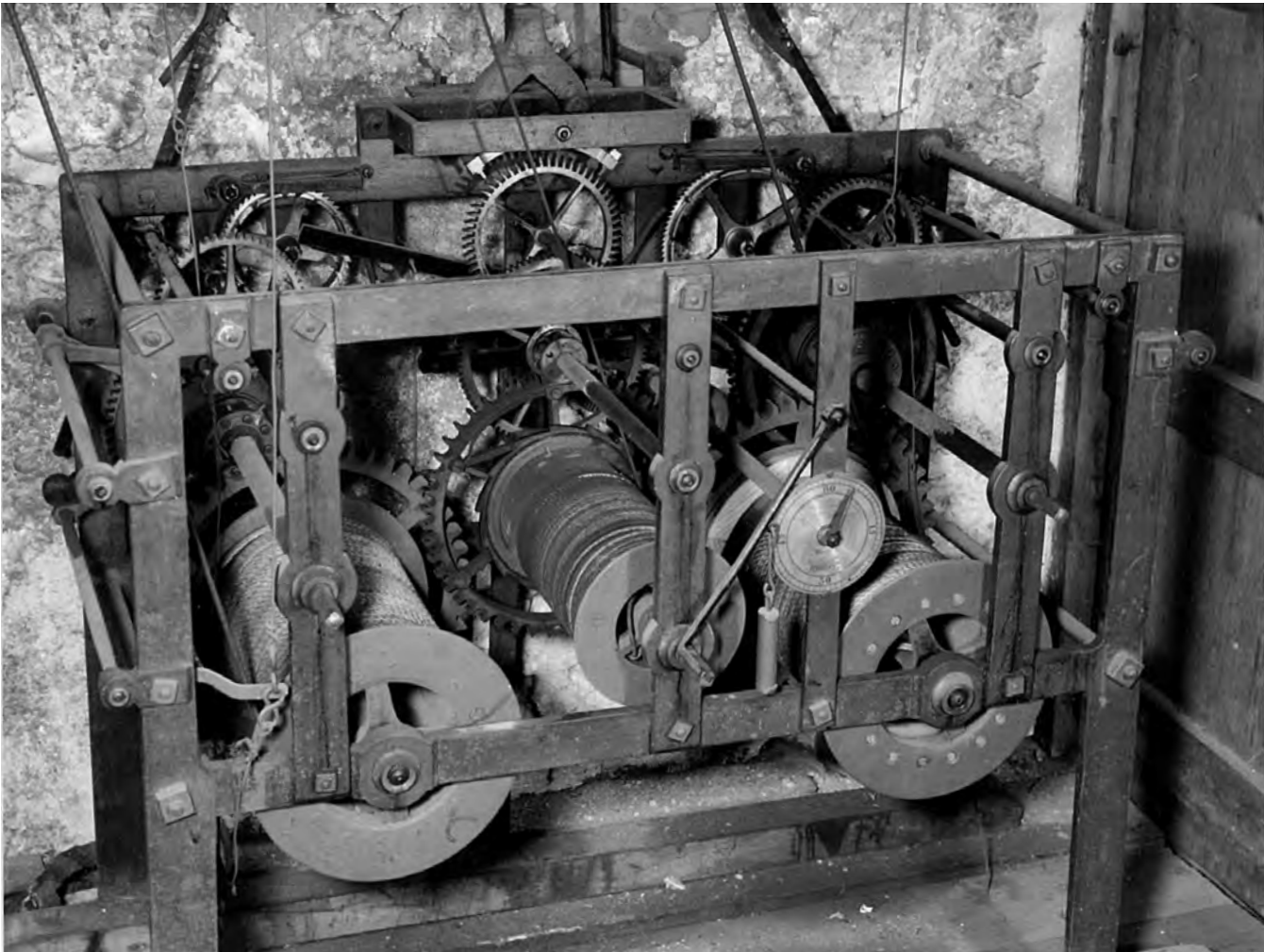


Fig. 655: Tower clock. The movement, by James Harrison (1852), when it was still in St Peter's church, 1965. Photo: David Lee Photography

Armour

According to Hesleden, various items of armour, including two helmets, a breastplate and two backplates were kept in St Peter's vestry, but had formerly been preserved in St Mary's tower.¹⁵⁸ They were of unrecorded origin, although local tradition asserted that the western annexe at St Peter's had served as the parish armoury during the Civil War. Barton was involved in minor skirmishes.¹⁵⁹ We have no knowledge of any sixteenth- or seventeenth-century monuments, with which items of funerary armour might have been associated, and that source can probably be eliminated. Five pieces were mentioned by Varah, who attributed them to the Civil War and claimed that they bore marks 'apparently of blows received in battle' (Varah 1928, 27).

In the mid-twentieth century, armour was displayed on window ledges in the church, but two items were stolen in the 1960s. Subsequently, the three remaining pieces were transferred to St Mary's church and then to Baysgarth Museum, Barton, without obtaining a faculty.¹⁶⁰ The surviving pieces comprise two morions and the backplate for a cuirass;¹⁶¹ they date from the

early seventeenth century. The lost pieces were apparently a breastplate and another backplate.

Banner

A pendant banner (65.5 × 94 cm high) is suspended by brass curtain rings from a plain oak bar. In recent times it has hung on the west face of pier 1/2 in the north arcade.¹⁶² The banner is made of cream silk, backed with cotton; it is edged with silk-seared rope (Pl. 106). In the centre is a figure of St Peter painted in oils on canvas, and sewn on (59.5 cm high). He stands on a rock, holding two keys in his right hand and a scroll in his left. In a band across the top of the banner, woven in gold thread, is 'S. PETER. BARTON'; at the bottom are two pairs of crossed keys and St Cuthbert's pectoral cross, all woven in gold braid.

Silk rope was also used to form a diaper pattern in the surrounding field; each compartment contains a faceted glass bead which is sewn on. There are three colours of bead: red, green and purple. The banner was probably made in the 1920s, but the painted figure of St Peter is likely to date from the middle of the

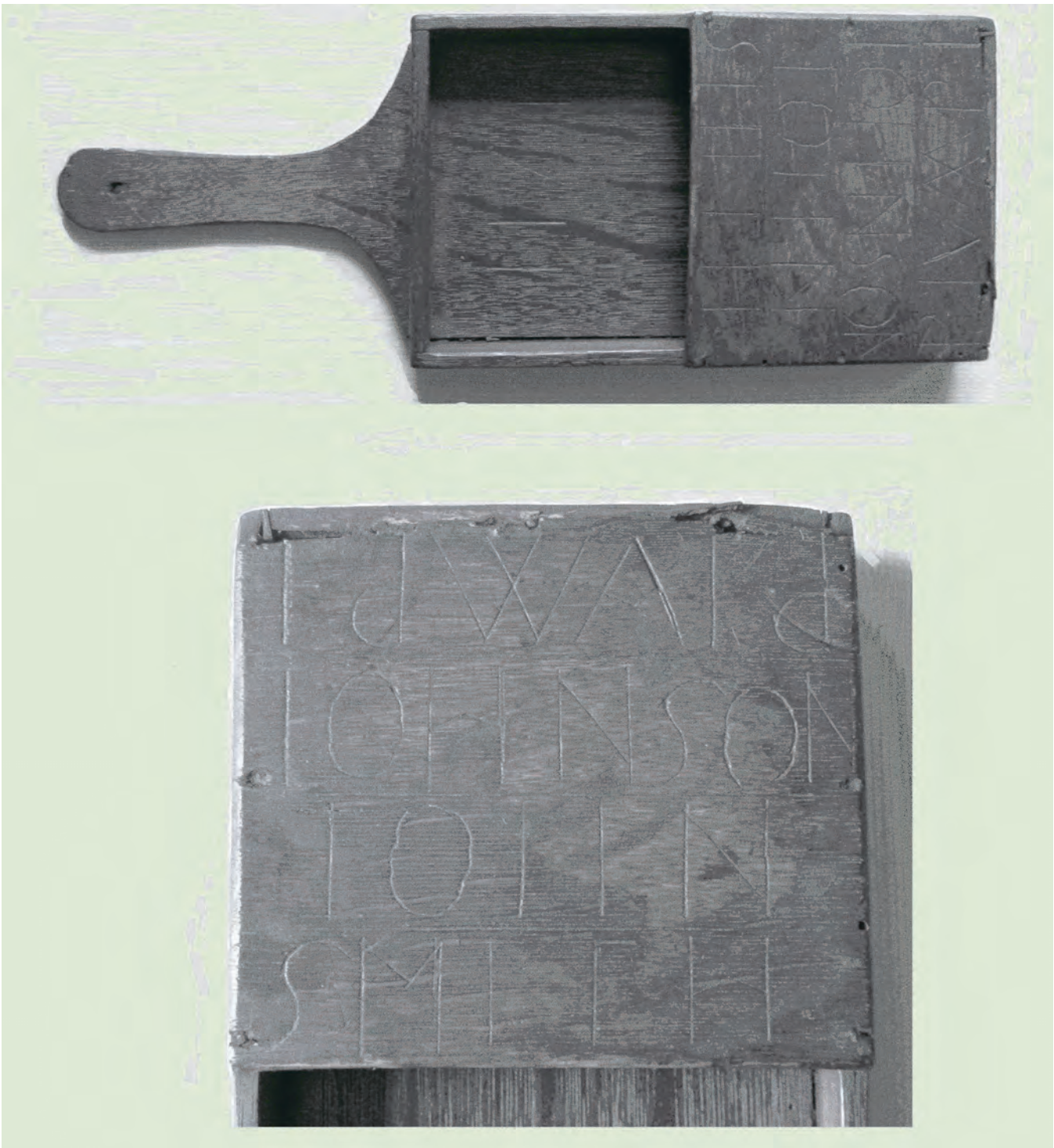


Fig. 656: Oak collecting shoe, 1711 (Baysgarth Museum). Photos: Warwick Rodwell

nineteenth century, probably cut out of a painting. The history of this item has not been established.

Bellringers' peal boards

Two painted boards which formerly hung in the ringing-chamber of the tower are displayed on the west wall of the north aisle. One commemorates two performances in 1920, the other a performance in 1921, being the first after the enlargement of the peal from

six to eight. A third board, painted in similar style, now hangs with these: it was made to commemorate the ringing of the bells at midnight on 31st December 1999, to herald the new millennium.

Coffin trestles

A pair of early twentieth-century softwood trestles, painted dark green; these were formerly kept in the western annexe (Fig. 609).¹⁶³

Collecting shoe

A rectangular oak collecting shoe (41.7 × 15 cm by 4.8 cm deep), bearing the names of Edward Johnson and John Smith, and the date 1711, was deposited in Baysgarth Museum in 1993 by the Vicar and Churchwardens of St Mary's (Fig. 656).¹⁶⁴ The names reveal, however, that the shoe belonged to St Peter's church, since Johnson and Smith were its churchwardens in 1710 (Appendix 5B).

The names are lightly scored on the upper surface of the shoe, and the date is inside:

EdWARD / IOHNSON / IOHN / SMITH / 1711

The rural dean's inventory of 1830 referred to 'two boxes for contributions', only in St Mary's.

Credence tables

- i) In the 1970s there was an oak credence table in the chancel; it is now in St Mary's church.¹⁶⁵
- ii) A small oak table with a shaped and moulded top, standing on three columnar legs rising from a

T-shaped base. It is an unusual side-table of the early twentieth century, presumably designed as a credence; its history appears to be unrecorded. Now in the corner of the south aisle (Fig. 632), but it may formerly have been used in the base of the tower.¹⁶⁶

Litany desks

- i) A litany desk was given in 1897.¹⁶⁷ It was 'temporarily' transferred to St Mary's in the 1970s, where it remains.¹⁶⁸ It is of oak and has a decoratively pierced central rail (Fig. 657). The desk appears in early photographs of the nave, where it stood in front of the chancel screen (Fig. 614).
- ii) Two 'sanctuary prayer desks' were listed in 1984 as having been 'temporarily' transferred to St Mary's, where they remain.¹⁶⁹ They are made of oak and date from the early twentieth century.

Picture

A framed photograph of George Hogarth (vicar, 1858–89) hung in the vestry. The photograph dates from the 1880s.¹⁷⁰



Fig. 657: Oak litany desk (1897) and a Jacobean-style chair (1870) from St Peter's. Now in St Mary's church. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Sanctuary chairs

- i) A Jacobean oak chair was given to the church and placed in the sanctuary in 1870.¹⁷¹ This mid-Victorian chair in the Jacobean style has migrated to St Mary's church (Fig. 657).
- ii) There is a 'Glastonbury-type' X-framed oak chair in the south aisle chapel (Fig. 632). It has a cross carved in the central splat, and the wood is unstained. Twentieth century; origin unknown.¹⁷²
- iii) Three oak sanctuary chairs 'forming a sedilia' were in the chancel in the 1970s. They were 'temporarily' removed to St Mary's, where they remain.¹⁷³ Early twentieth century.
- iv) In the 1970s there was a pine sanctuary chair in the north aisle chapel. Now in St Mary's church.¹⁷⁴

Stoup

A quadrant-shaped limestone stoup of thirteenth-century date, which may originally have been mounted in the corner of the south porch, is now built into the south-west angle of the tower at gallery level (Fig. 580). It was relocated there for use as a urinal by bell-ringers at an uncertain date (?seventeenth century).

Surplice cupboard

A large, stained pine cupboard, formerly in the organ chamber, dates from *c.* 1859.¹⁷⁵ The cupboard has a pair of panelled doors with ogee-headed trefoil tracery, the design being taken from the fourteenth-century reticulated windows in the church. Around the doors is a heavy architrave moulding, and inside are brass pegs for hanging surplices; a small compartment in the lower right-hand corner was designed to hold a chamber-pot.

Textiles and soft furnishings

No attempt has been made to trace the history of textiles and soft furnishings in the churches of Barton.¹⁷⁶ Nothing of historic significance is known to survive, apart from the banner noted above (p. 570).

In 1730, it was stated that each church had one surplice and one cushion for the pulpit, and in the case of St Peter's a note was added: 'cusheon and cloth of velvitt'. Shared between the churches were hangings for the pulpit, a purple cloth for the altar table on Sacrament Days, a linen cloth and a napkin. Many more items were listed in 1830, including a linen table cloth to serve both churches. St Peter's still had its velvet pulpit cloth and cushion (with silk tassels); St Mary's had a crimson velvet cushion too. In addition, both churches had various kneelers, cushions, surplices and napkins.¹⁷⁷

Wooden figures

Ball (1856, 1, 58) records, 'Under the gallery are two rude, and probably very ancient, wooden figures in relief

representing musicians playing on wind instruments of some kind'. They were 'supposed to have commemorated the existence in Barton of a fraternity of minstrels'.¹⁷⁸ The age and significance of these figures is unknown, and their fate is unrecorded. However, the most likely origin for these is the late medieval roof of either the nave or the chancel. The surviving head of a male figure may well have been associated (Fig. 560). The nave roof of St Mary's church had wooden figures of the Apostles, apparently as wall-posts (p. 76).

Stained Glass and Plain Glazing

The glazing history of St Peter's church is complex, and the windows have been subjected to considerable changes over the last two-hundred-and-fifty years. It is therefore easiest to begin by describing the current arrangements and the evolving circumstances that have given rise to them. That will be followed by a detailed study and analysis of the small amount of surviving medieval stained glass, and finally by a succinct description of the Victorian and Edwardian windows.

Introduction and recent history

It is apparent from old illustrations that the church was completely reglazed in the eighteenth century in clear glass, using rectangular quarries (averaging 12 × 18 cm; Fig. 658); the date when this was done is unknown but the 1740s is a strong possibility. Only fragments of this glazing now survive, although much was present down to the 1970s. Four small panels of medieval stained glass (from tracery lights and elsewhere), were incorporated in the east windows of the chancel and the south aisle. Although Nattes appears to show external ferramenta in the south clerestory windows (but not in the aisle) in 1796 (Fig. 11), none survive today. If ferramenta were present, their removal must have occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century, since none are visible in the 1860s photograph (Fig. 687). There are external ferramenta in the east window of the chancel, the organ chamber and the vestry, but these were introduced between 1897 and 1903. Otherwise, all the glazing is tied to slender bars of round or square section. That there were internal medieval ferramenta in at least some windows is apparent from the surviving pockets for saddle-bars (*e.g.* in the north aisle, east window).

In five windows, the eighteenth-century glazing was wholly replaced with stained glass during the Victorian era, and a sixth window was superseded in the early twentieth century. Photographic evidence charts the progressive loss of more of the unified Georgian scheme between 1897 and the present day: diamond glazing of more than one type and size was introduced during piecemeal restorations. The universal identification system for windows, as defined by the Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi (CVMA), has been adopted here, the numbering being indicated in Figure 659.



Fig. 658: North aisle, bay 4. The last surviving window (nIX) with its complete scheme of eighteenth-century clear glazing, 1983. Photo: English Heritage

The Victorian and Edwardian stained and painted glass windows were installed as follows:

- 1847 Chancel, bay 1 south, sIII (Pl. 99)
- 1856 Chancel, bay 2 south, sII (Pl. 96)
- 1858 Chancel, bay 2 north; now in the organ chamber and divided between two windows, nIII and nIV (Pls. 98 and 100)
- 1861+ South aisle, bay 3, sVII (Pl. 101)
- 1886+ South aisle, bay 2, sVI (Pl. 102)
- 1914 North aisle, bay 2, nVII (Pl. 103)

Early twentieth-century attitudes to Victorian glass were not conducive to its preservation: in 1918, the vicar was thoroughly disparaging:

None of the coloured windows in the quire possess any merits that call for notice, and the same may be said of the more westerly of the two in the south aisle. They are all characteristic of early Victorian illustration reproduced in glass. ...

The other window in the south aisle is a good example of later and better nineteenth century work. It is continental in design and character, and if made in England was no doubt a copy of work done abroad. ... The representation of 'the Holy Church throughout all the world' by pope

and cardinal and bishop and abbot shews that the artist was a papist, though it may be doubted whether the character of this illustration was recognized by the donors of the window.¹⁷⁹

By contrast, Varah was positively eulogistic about a new window which had recently been installed in the north aisle (Pl. 103). It was '... an example of purely English design and work... The artist was Mr A.K. Nicholson, whose reputation will be increased by this fine and unconventional piece of work. The artist has brought into use some unusual tones and tints, as to which opinion will vary with the point of view. Some will think they harmonize well with our northern clime, others that warmer tones are needed by way of contrast'.¹⁸⁰ Varah may have been less positive had the window not been introduced during his own incumbency.

In 1924 Varah secured the destruction of the earliest of the Victorian windows (chancel, bay 1), to let more light onto the choir stalls. He wrote: 'The decayed lead and coloured glass ... has been removed under a faculty, and good plain glass lights are being inserted at the cost of the lay rector, the Rev'd G.C. Uppleby'.¹⁸¹ He subtly justified his actions by alleging decay, stressing that his work had legal authority (a faculty), and had propriety because a clergyman was

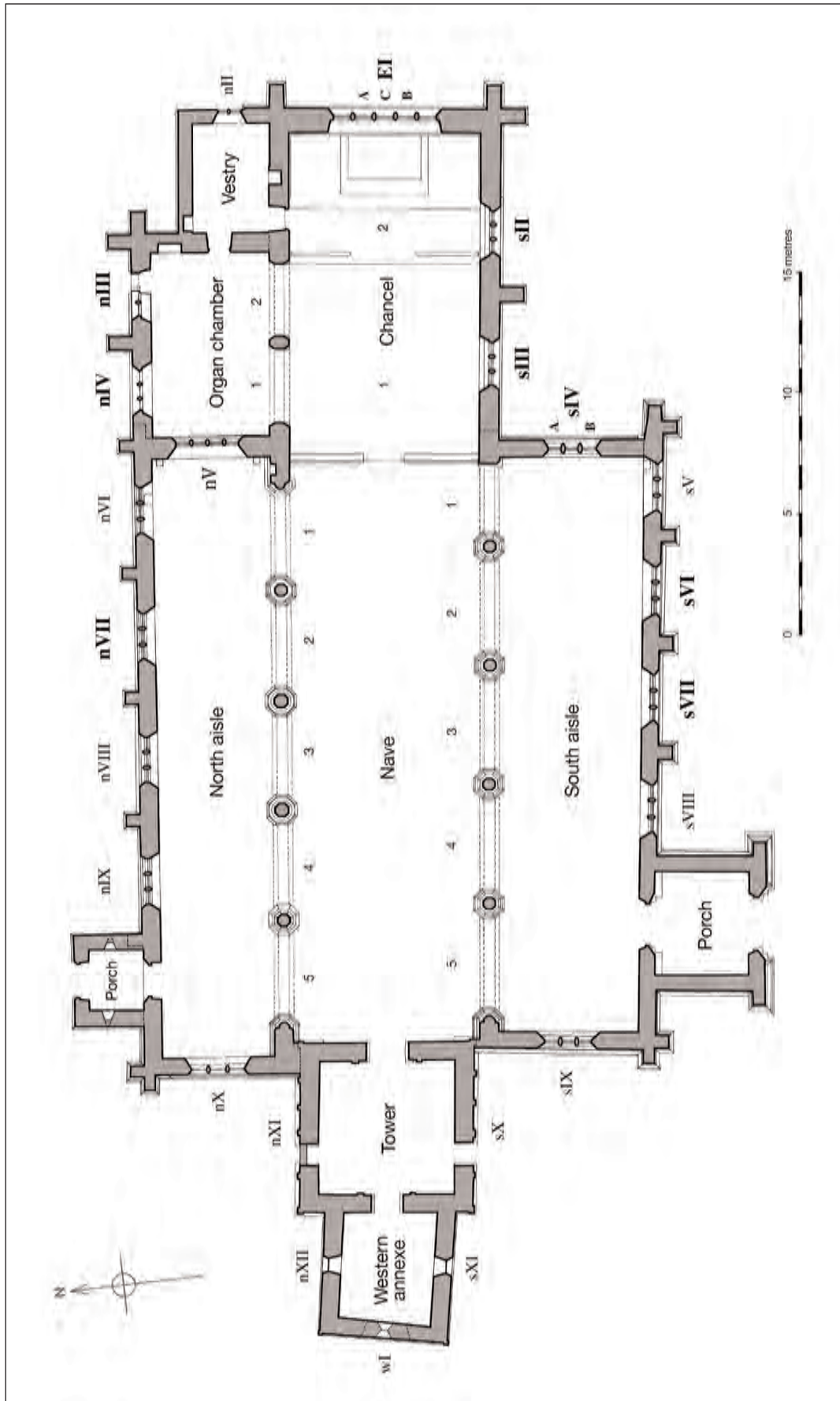


Fig. 659: Plan of St Peter's church, showing the CVMA window numbering system. Windows containing stained glass are numbered in bold type, although most of these panes were removed in 1985 and still await reinstatement. Scale 1:250. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

personally paying for it. That there was local opposition can safely be presumed, and a sop was provided by retaining the Marriott arms.

When the Department of the Environment took over the church in 1978, medieval or later stained glass was *in situ* in nine windows. Much of the glass, both plain and painted, was removed from the south aisle and chancel and put into storage in 1985, following persistent vandalism.¹⁸² Large sheets of float glass, unleaded, were temporarily substituted, and were still in place in 2010. No systematic recording was carried out prior to removal, and the following account is a compilation from various sources.¹⁸³

Windows are described working from east to west along the south side, followed by the north side; the tower and western annexe are dealt with separately at the end.

Chancel

East, bay 2 (EI) (Pl. 72)

Medieval (early fourteenth century). Two panels (A and B) incorporated at the top of the second and fourth main lights, and other medieval fragments; described, pp. 579–84. Removed in 1985 and now in store.

- A. Small figure of St James the Great (Pl. 73).
- B. Small figure of St George (Pl. 74).

Seventeenth century. Six-pointed star (C) in the central tracery light: described, p. 587 (Pl. 77). This is still *in situ*.

Twentieth century. Diamond-leaded clear glazing, with borders. In 1903 the masonry of the east window was described as being 'in an unsafe condition ... much of the stone is so perished as to be beyond repairing'. The glazing was renewed at the same time as the masonry. The two medieval panels were reversed, so that the figures now incorrectly faced north, instead of south. The existing external ferramenta were also introduced at that time; oddly, the three stanchions (rectangular-section) in each light are not placed equidistant.

References. The medieval figures were engraved and published by William Fowler in 1803 and 1806 (Figs 660 and 661).¹⁸⁴ His plates show them both facing south. He incorrectly attributed the figure of St James to Henry Lord Beaumont. Described by Monson in 1835 (Monson 1936, 30). Fowler's engravings were manually copied and reproduced by Ball (1856, 1, opp. 56), where St James is correctly identified;¹⁸⁵ also reprinted together as the frontispiece to Varah 1928. Britton noticed, 'In the window of the chancel are two figures in stained glass; the one habited as a pilgrim, said to be an effigy of the famous warrior, Lord Beaumont' (Britton 1807, 682). Two 'large portions of the old painted glass', presumably referring to the figures, were mentioned by Loft in 1832, who did not

know their identity;¹⁸⁶ nor did he mention the star. Repair of east window reported in 1903.¹⁸⁷ Described by Varah in 1918,¹⁸⁸ and briefly by Woodforde (1936).

South, bay 2 (sII)

Eighteenth century. Nattes shows rectangular clear glazing.

Nineteenth century. Total reglazing of three lights and traceries with stained glass depicting nine scenes from the life of Christ, interwoven with foliate scrolls; see p. 594 (Pl. 96). Removed in 1985; now in store.

This is the window which Ball (1856, 1, 58) records as having been erected in 1856, in memory of the Rev'd George Uppleby (d. 1852). It was the gift of his widow. Opposite, was a memorial window to his wife (see organ chamber, nIII and nIV). There is a continuous three-line inscription running across the lower margin of the lights, which has been partly vandalized.

South, bay 1 (sIII)

Eighteenth century. No evidence, but presumed to have been rectangular clear glazing.

Nineteenth century. This window was formerly filled with Victorian stained glass: see p. 594. A faculty petition by George Crowle Uppleby in 1924 sought to remove '... the poor painted glass inserted many years ago' in memory of a member of his family, 'the painting and inscriptions on which were very much defaced and in parts obliterated ... with the exception of an heraldic device with inscription in the centre light', and to insert plain diamond quarries.¹⁸⁹ Shortly afterwards, it was reported that the 'The decayed lead and coloured glass in the westernmost window of S. Peter's quire has been removed under a faculty, and good plain glass lights are being inserted at the cost of the lay rector, the Rev. G.C. Uppleby.'¹⁹⁰

The salvaged armorial panel was incorporated in the central light, close to the bottom, when the window was reglazed. Beneath it was reset a rectangular panel, in the form of a scroll bearing an inscription, apparently of three lines (Pl. 99). Its wording is unrecorded, and only fragments of the inscription panel now survive, reading:

]the memory / [h]eaven	(the right-hand end of a three-line panel)
saying /]y rest /	(also from the right-hand end of a panel)
]charissi= / [Ma]rriott /]iu[(from the left-hand end of a panel)
/ the [

This was the window that Ball (1856, 1, 58) records as having been installed in 1842, in memory of Mr Marriott (d. 1841); the date of installation was actually 1847 (see further, p. 594). It was Robert Marriott who, in 1823, erected a fine wall monument (M.67;

Fig. 787) to his twelve-year-old daughter immediately west of the window.

Twentieth century. Diamond-leaded clear glazing, with borders, installed in 1924. The heraldic panel was vandalized in *c.* 1977–78, and the inscription panel destroyed (Pl. 99). The remnants of the Victorian window were removed in 1985 and are now in store. No pre-1924 photographs of the complete window are known; nor have any been located that adequately show the heraldic remnant and inscription *in situ*, prior to their being vandalized.¹⁹¹

South aisle

For the eighteenth-century glazing in the south and west walls, see Figures 672 and 687.

East, bay 1 (sIV)

Medieval (late fifteenth century). **A** and **B**: two heraldic shields (Willoughby and Neville, respectively) set into the second and fifth tracery lights: for descriptions, see pp. 592–3 (Pls. 90 and 91). The shields retain much of their medieval leading.

Eighteenth century. Rectangular clear glazing in the tracery lights (Fig. 624). A photograph of *c.* 1920 shows similar glazing in the main lights.

Twentieth century. Diamond-leaded clear glazing, with borders, in the main lights. Installed post-1920. All glazing was removed in the 1985 and is in store.

References. Described by Holles in *c.* 1640, when much more glass survived and which he also noted (Cole 1911, 84–5).¹⁹² Described by Monson in 1835 (Monson 1936), by Varah in 1918,¹⁹³ and briefly by Woodforde (1936).

South, bay 1 (sV)

Eighteenth century. Nattes shows rectangular clear glazing, which also appears in early twentieth-century photographs. There was a hinged opening vent in the central light.

Twentieth century. Diamond-leaded clear glazing, with borders. Lower parts damaged by vandals *c.* 1979. All glazing removed in 1985 and now in store.

South, bay 2 (sVI)

Eighteenth century. Nattes shows rectangular clear glazing.

Nineteenth century. Total reglazing of three lights and traceries with stained glass (Pl. 102): see p. 595. The subject is the first part of the *Te Deum Laudamus*.

There are five scenes, with Christ in Glory filling the central light. The trefoil traceries contain three angels. A single-line inscription runs across the lower margin of the lights.

The lower part of the eastern light was damaged in *c.* 1979. All glazing removed in 1985, apart from that filling the four small piercings between the main and tracery lights; now in store.

Reference. Discussed by Varah (1928, 26).

South, bay 3 (sVII)

Eighteenth century. Nattes shows rectangular clear glazing.

Nineteenth century. Total reglazing of three lights and traceries with stained glass, by Clayton and Bell (Pl. 101): see p. 595. Six scenes fill the main lights and there are two angels and crown in the trefoils of the tracery. A single-line inscription runs across the lower margin of the lights.

The window was slightly damaged in *c.* 1979. All glazing was removed in 1985, apart from that filling the four small piercings between the main and tracery lights; now in store.

South, bay 4 (sVIII)

Eighteenth century. Nattes shows rectangular clear glazing, which also appears in early twentieth-century photographs. There was a hinged opening vent in the central light; the pulley for the controlling rope remains.

Twentieth century. Diamond-leaded clear glazing, with borders. The lower part was vandalized in *c.* 1979; all glazing removed in 1985; in store.

West, bay 5 (sIX)

Eighteenth century. Rectangular clear glazing in the tracery lights. A late nineteenth-century photograph shows similar glazing in the main lights.

Twentieth century. Diamond-leaded clear glazing, with borders. The northern main light has smaller quarries and is later (mid-twentieth century) than the remainder.

Vestry

East (nII)

Eighteenth century. In 1832, Loft recorded ‘a circular piece of coloured glass’ in the centre of the tracery in the vestry window. Although of unknown date, it is likely to have been medieval glass incorporated in an eighteenth-century glazing scheme,¹⁹⁴ unless it was the star in a circle, which is now in the east window of the chancel, but that seems unlikely.

Nineteenth century. Diamond-leaded opaque glazing, with borders. Installed when the vestry was rebuilt in 1897. The external ferramenta (with square-section stanchions) are of similar date.

Organ chamber

North, bay 2 (nIII)

Nineteenth century. Total glazing of the three lights and traceries in 1897, using stained glass made by William Warrington in 1857–58 (Pl. 98); see p. 594. Still *in situ*, but damaged.

The stained glass in nIII and nIV was part of a single window which was originally in bay 2 of the north wall of the chancel, nearly opposite the memorial window to George Uppleby (sII). An inscription on scrolls runs across the lower margin of the lights. The panels were moved to their present positions in 1897 when the organ chamber was built, and an arcaded opening was created on the site of the north chancel windows.¹⁹⁵ In the rebuilding, the window sill in bay 2 was raised, leaving insufficient height for the complete glazing to be installed: a section of canopy-work from the centre of each light was therefore omitted, and was placed separately in bay 1 (nIV). Only the heads of the main lights have borders. The external ferramenta (with square-section stanchions) were installed in 1897.

North, bay 1 (nIV)

Eighteenth century. Resited rectangular clear glazing in the main lights and traceries: quarries average 12 × 18 cm.

Nineteenth century. Three stained glass panels depicting canopy-work were set in the upper parts of the main lights in 1897 (Pl. 100); the remainder is clear glass. Removed in 1985, and now in store. For the origin of these panels, see above (nIII). The external ferramenta (with square-section stanchions) were installed in 1897.

North aisle

East, bay 1 (nV)

Since 1897, when the present organ chamber was erected at the end of the aisle, this window has been internal. The glazing was entirely removed in 1898, leaving the lights open so that the sound from the organ could be better heard.¹⁹⁶

For discussion of the lost medieval glazing, see p. 585.

North, bay 1 (nVI)

Eighteenth century. Rectangular plain glazing in the tracery lights. A photograph of *c.* 1920 shows similar glazing in the main lights. There was an opening vent in the centre light, and the pulley for the rope remains.

Twentieth century. Diamond-leaded plain glazing in all lights, with borders; probably 1950s.

North, bay 2 (nVII)

Twentieth century. Total reglazing of three lights and traceries with stained glass, by A.K. Nicholson, 1913 (Pl. 103); see p. 595. The window is still *in situ*. The main lights do not have borders, but they are present in the traceries where they form an integral part of the decoration. The central subject is St Stephen, with St Luke to the west and St Paul to the east. The inscription is contained on a scroll at the base of the centre light.

The window was given in memory of Barton's noted local historian, Robert Brown, Jnr., by his widow.¹⁹⁷

References. Installation reported in 1914.¹⁹⁸ Mentioned by Varah (1928, 26). Photograph and notes in Varah 1965, 8–9.

North, bay 3 (nVIII)

Twentieth century. Diamond-leaded clear glazing without borders, in all lights; probably dating from the 1950s.

North, bay 4 (nIX)

Eighteenth century. The window was filled with rectangular plain glazing until the mid-1980s (Fig. 658).

Twentieth century. When the window was rebuilt in 1988–89, all the lights were reglazed, following the eighteenth-century pattern.

West, bay 5 (nX)

Eighteenth century. Rectangular clear glazing in the tracery lights.

Twentieth century. Diamond-leaded clear glazing, with borders, in the main lights, installed pre-1953. The leading of the south light is slightly different from the others.

Nave clerestory

North, bays 1–9 (NII–NX)

Eighteenth century. Rectangular clear glazing in all lights. Several graffiti were noted scratched on panes from the outside.

Twentieth century. The glazing was entirely renewed in 1983, following the previous form.

South, bays 1–9 (SII–SX)

Eighteenth century. Curiously, Nattes shows diamond-leaded glazing throughout, but this must surely be

erroneous since there was rectangular clear glazing in all lights in the early nineteenth century (Figs. 672 and 687). He also shows external ferramenta, for which there is no other evidence.

Twentieth century. All the main lights, together with the traceries in the three easternmost bays, were replaced in the mid-twentieth century with diamond-led clear glazing, without borders. The glazing was entirely renewed in 1983, returning to rectangular quarries. In 1910, two lights were provided with iron frames which were made to open, for ventilation.¹⁹⁹

Tower

Gallery, south (sX) and north (nXI)

Eighteenth century. Rectangular glazing is seen in Nattes's drawing of the south side, and in early photographs of both sides (Fig. 687).

Twentieth century. Diamond-led clear glazing, with borders, in both lights. Installed post-1953, but pre-1965.

Second stage, south (SX) and north (NXI)

Eighteenth century. No glazing on south: openings blocked with masonry until 1852.²⁰⁰ Nature of glazing on the north unknown.

Nineteenth century. Diamond-led clear glazing in both lights, possibly dating from 1859.²⁰¹ Shows in the 1860s and subsequent photographs (Fig. 687).

Western annexe

South (sXI) and north (nXII)

Eighteenth century. Nattes shows diamond-leading in the south opening, but this must be erroneous (*cf.* south clerestory). Rectangular clear glazing appears in numerous nineteenth-century photographs, possibly set into the original Anglo-Saxon timber frame (p. 297).

Twentieth century. Diamond-led clear glazing, with borders. Installed in the early twentieth century, probably in *c.* 1912.

References. Loft (1832) described the north and south windows as 'of quarrels; I think without a frame; semi-circular head'.²⁰²

West (lower and upper) (wI and wII)

Nineteenth century. A single sheet of opaque, heavy-duty plate glass cemented into each *oculus*. Probably installed in 1897.²⁰³

Medieval to seventeenth-century glass²⁰⁴

by Penny Hebgin-Barnes

Antiquarian records

No written evidence in the form of glazing contracts, records of payments or bequests for windows survives relating to the medieval glazing in St Peter's church. In this it is typical of the ancient glass remaining in parish churches throughout Lincolnshire and indeed most of England.

After the glass itself, the most important evidence is provided by the descriptions made by antiquaries of the windows when they were more complete. Although the authors were concerned only with heraldry, donors and inscriptions and therefore usually omitted any mention of the subjects depicted, their accounts are valuable enough to be worth recounting in detail because of their bearing on the surviving glass. The earliest occurs in the church notes made by Richard Lee (d. 1597), *Richmond Herald*, during his visitation of Lincolnshire in 1592.²⁰⁵ His brief account of the church begins with two shields drawn in trick, one the shield of Beaumont and the other a variant of it. With the shields were a man wearing chain-mail ('armour male') and girded with a sword who displayed the Beaumont arms on his surcoat and on a banner at his shoulder, and his wife, who displayed the same arms on her garments. Lee then recorded the inscription, *orate pro aibs Johanis Barnaby et Margareta consortis suae qui hanc fenest ...*, followed by these five shields drawn in trick: Barnetby impaling ?Portington, Barnetby impaling a blank sinister side, Barnetby impaling Dawney, ?Kelke impaling Barnetby and Saltmarsh impaling Dawney. Finally came the inscription: *Hic jacet Robert Barnaby de Barton armig / obiit 21 die Septembris ao 1440.* (This inscription, which survived until the 1980s, was engraved on a brass beneath the east window of the south aisle: p. 659.)

The second antiquarian account is that of Gervase Holles, in 1634–42.²⁰⁶ Unlike many of Holles's descriptions of churches, his entry for St Peter's was not copied from the anonymous manuscript of 1602–05 which was his major source,²⁰⁷ and therefore represents a true account of what he actually saw. He began his record of St Peter's by blazoning the shields of Willoughby and Neville followed by that of Barnetby impaling Dawney which was 'in ye same Window below', along with an armed man and his wife kneeling above the inscription: *Orate pro anima Barnabe / Et Margarete consortis suae, qui hanc / Fenestram fieri fecit.* In the next pane Holles noted two of the shields seen by Lee, ?Kelke impaling Barnetby and Saltmarsh impaling Dawney. In another pane of the window was a variant of the Barnetby shield which the description suggests was in a different style, and thus not part of the original window. Below this window Holles noted the brass commemorating Robert Barnetby, who was depicted wearing armour (p. 654; Fig. 714, 26).

In the chancel ('quire') Holles saw four shields: the legendary arms of St Edward the Confessor, the royal arms of England, Gant and Beaumont. The shield of Beaumont also appeared in every pane of the 'closett' (private chapel) windows of the north aisle. Here too Holles noted the man and woman bearing the Beaumont arms and, in the same window, the variant of the Beaumont shield as seen by Lee.

A small quantity of medieval glass was recovered during the excavations, and is described on pp. 827–33.

Thirteenth-century glass

The earliest fragment to have survived in a window is a portion of a square quarry depicting stylized foliage on a hatched ground within a plain border, executed in black paint on white glass with a greenish tinge (Pl. 81). This type of grisaille glazing is typical of the latter part of the thirteenth century, and it may thus have formed part of the original glazing of the present south aisle, or the previous chancel. The piece has suffered a little paint loss, but has less exterior pitting than the fourteenth-century pieces which surround it in the St James panel (see below), where it has been used as a stopgap (Pl. 75; Fig. 662).

Fourteenth-century glass

Origins

Two panels depicting St James the Great and St George standing beneath canopies, and two panels from the heads of trefoil-cusped lights, were in the east window of the chancel of St Peter's until they were removed in 1985, and are now in store (Pls. 72–76, 78 and 79). All four panels are from the same window or series of windows and date from the second quarter of the fourteenth century. These panels also incorporate a number of fourteenth-century stopgaps originating from the same window or series.

The two saints would originally have occupied the central portions of the main lights of a window, with naturalistic foliage grisaille above and below them and with each main light having an outer border of foliage trail on a plain coloured ground. This type of window was extremely popular during the first half of the fourteenth century. The saints' names may have appeared below them in Lombardic script and any inscription would have been placed across the bottom of the main lights. Donors were usually depicted at the bottom of the main lights, although they sometimes occupied alternative positions such as tracery lights. The fact that both saints turn towards their left suggests that they were in a north window, as it was conventional for such figures to face eastwards.

The antiquarian sources suggest strongly that the two saints originated in a window given by Henry Lord Beaumont (d. 1340), Edward II's second cousin.

When Gilbert Lord Gant died childless in 1298, his lands reverted to the crown. On his accession in 1307, Edward II granted to Henry most of Gilbert's Lincolnshire manors, including Barton-upon-Humber, Folkingham, Heckington and Linwood. Henry in turn granted many manors to his widowed and childless sister Isabella Vescy, regaining them on her death in 1334.²⁰⁸ Descriptions of lost glazing show that the Beaumont family gave windows to the churches of the four above-mentioned places. At Heckington, Henry and Isabella were depicted bearing the shields of Beaumont and Vescy in the east window of the chancel. The same shields also appeared in several windows at Folkingham, in south Lincolnshire. The only medieval glass to survive at Folkingham²⁰⁹ consists of three apostles' heads (Pl. 92) executed in the same style as that of St James at Barton, which must have originated from the same workshop, raising the likelihood of a common donor.

The north aisle of St Peter's has been dated on architectural style to the 1330s (pp. 425 and 489) which makes it probable that it was built and glazed by Henry Beaumont. It was common practice in the later Middle Ages for a donor who financed the building of an aisle to found a chantry chapel in it, usually at the east end. Hence the 'closett' mentioned by Holles would have originated as the Beaumont chapel, as its lost glazing implied.²¹⁰ The absence of Isabella Vescy's shield suggests that the glass was commissioned after her death. The man and woman depicted would thus have been Henry Beaumont and his wife Alice Comyn (d. 1349), who like Isabella Vescy was represented bearing her husband's shield of arms rather than her father's. Lee's mention of the male donor's chain-mail, which is also worn by the figure of St George and which was being superseded by plate armour during the 1330s, provides another dating factor.

Further clues suggesting that the panels originated in one of the north windows of the aisle are provided by their present form and measurements, although the complete loss of the chancel that existed when they were created in the fourteenth century makes it impossible to state categorically that they cannot have originated there. It is evident that the lights which they originally occupied were narrower than, and had smaller, differently shaped heads from, the two main lights in the east window from which they were removed in 1985. Given that their original widths are unlikely to have differed significantly from their present ones (47 cm and 45 cm, respectively), and allowing for the plain glass fillet 3–4 cm in width which conventionally formed the outermost border of main lights at this period, they would have fitted neatly into one of the north windows of the north aisle, which are 54 cm wide. The two original panels surviving from the heads of the lights above them are of a shape which would have fitted into these north windows. The fragments excavated in the north aisle prove that it formerly contained windows of the same date as the two saints

(p. 832). However, the east window of the aisle can be discounted as their possible original location on the grounds of its fuller shaped heads, and the west window because its lights are significantly wider (64 cm minimum).

It is impossible to be certain whether or not the four shields (of England, Gant, Beaumont and Edward the Confessor) seen by Holles in the chancel originated in that part of the church. They cannot have been designed for the present chancel, which is substantially of fifteenth-century date, but they may have been removed from its predecessor and reinstalled. A number of medieval examples of the reuse of glass are known and the fact that the Beaumont family continued to hold the manor of Barton throughout the fifteenth century increased the likelihood that their ancestors' benefactions would be preserved. The four shields are unlikely to have post-dated 1340, as that of England depicted the three leopards alone, whereas from 1340 Edward III, seeking to establish his claim to the French throne, quartered the royal arms of France with those of England. The arms of Gant obviously alluded to Gilbert Lord Gant, Henry Beaumont's predecessor as lord of the manor of Barton. Thus Henry is the obvious candidate to have donated three of the shields. The fourth may have accompanied an image of St Edward the Confessor, as it does in a window of *c.* 1360 remaining at Heydour (Lincs.), and does not suggest a particular date.

The above-mentioned factors combine to suggest that the glass seen by the antiquarians in the north aisle and chancel at Barton was given by Henry Beaumont and his wife Alice between 1334 and 1340.

Such a date is supported by the style of the armour worn by St George (Pls. 76, 84 and 85). At the beginning of the fourteenth century, armour consisted almost entirely of chain-mail, demonstrated for example by the knights depicted in the Mauley window of *c.* 1312–17 in York Minster, the figure of Sir John Newmarch of *c.* 1307 which survives in the east window at Carlton Scroop (Lincs.) and the St George in a window at Aldwinckle St Peter (Northants.), which dates from between 1310 and 1330. As the century progressed, more plate elements were introduced. The Barton St George's leg-harness consists of mail chausses over which are placed schynbalds and poleyns (Pl. 86), which first appeared in illustrations around 1310, and sabatons of the same form as those shown on the brass of Sir William Fitzralph at Pebmarsh (Essex), which dates from *c.* 1330 and provides one of the earliest surviving examples of their depiction. Similar circular ailettes appear in the Milemete Treatise of 1326–27.²¹¹ The Barton saint's armour can be compared with that worn by the St George of *c.* 1342 in the north choir clerestory at Wells Cathedral (Som.) and by Sir Robert Fitzhamon in the north choir clerestory of Tewkesbury Abbey (Glos.) of 1340–44, although the presence in the latter window of Sir Hugh Despenser wearing full plate armour demonstrates that

different stages of the transition from mail to plate could be depicted simultaneously.²¹²

Typical canopies of this period consisted of side-shafting, sometimes alternating with masonry blocks and windows with Decorated tracery, topped by a triangular gable ornamented by rows of crockets culminating in a finial. The underside of the arch sometimes had decorative cusping, and a masonry superstructure embattled and pierced by windows was often placed behind the gable. The few surviving fragments of the Barton saints' canopies, comprising rows of leaf crockets, cusps pierced by tracery and side-shafting angled outwards in a rudimentary attempt at perspective (Pl. 80), demonstrate that they were standard examples from the second quarter of the fourteenth century.

The style of the glass, particularly the head of St James, is another dating factor (Pl. 82). It is very similar to that of the west windows of the nave and aisles of York Minster of *c.* 1339, which were produced by the workshop of Master Robert, probably the glazier Robert Ketelbarn (French and O'Connor 1987). The careful drawing and execution and the richness and variety of surface pattern in the Barton panels demonstrate their high quality. A wealthy patron such as Henry Beaumont could easily have afforded to employ skilled and expensive glaziers from York, the major centre of glass-painting in the north of England, rather than humbler craftsmen from a local workshop. The similarity in style of the previously mentioned apostles' heads at Folkingham (Pl. 92) suggests that the Beaumonts may have commissioned all the windows they donated from the same workshop.

Later history

The first reference to the panels themselves as opposed to the heraldic glass associated with them occurred in Abraham de la Pryme's history of Winterton, a manuscript written *c.* 1700.²¹³ According to this source, '...Hen. Lord Beaumont, ye greatest soldier of his age, who for ye many great services that he had done ye Nation Obtained from ye King a grant of ye Manour of Barton upon Humber, Repair'd ye great Church there, and made New Windows in ye Chancel, in which he is yet to this day in effigie in ye Glass Work, with his Armes by him, in a Pilgrim's habit, because that he took upon him a Pilgrimage to Jerusalem. One of his posterity to wit William Lord Beaumont, had some estate at this town of Winterton'. This establishes that by 1700 the figure of St James was in the chancel with a shield of Beaumont placed near it, and was identified by local tradition as Henry Beaumont. Such an identification increases the probability that Henry donated the window in which the figure originated. It may also have been a factor in the two panels' survival intact while the remainder of the fourteenth-century glass vanished completely. After the Reformation iconoclasm was encouraged, but the destruction of memorial images was prohibited.

In this context it is probably significant that the hat and helmet worn by the two saints precluded the representation of the nimbus which would have identified them as holy figures and therefore as targets. In Protestant England their true identities were forgotten, but the prestige they conferred on Barton by proclaiming its association with a distinguished historical figure would have provided the townspeople with a good reason to preserve them.²¹⁴ Indeed, the decline of the town into a backwater in the post-medieval period may well have rendered such reminders of its past importance more valuable than they would have been in a more thriving conurbation.

The rearrangement to which the panels have been subjected and their movements within the church are undocumented. De la Pryme did not specify in which window of the chancel he saw the St James panel. Its present width of 47 cm (including the fifteenth-century outer border) is exactly the same as that of the main lights of the north windows of the chancel (now in the north wall of the organ chamber), which raises the possibility that when first assembled in its present form it may have been placed there. It was probably during the eighteenth century, when old illustrations show that the church was completely reglazed with plain rectangular quarries, that both panels were arranged and installed

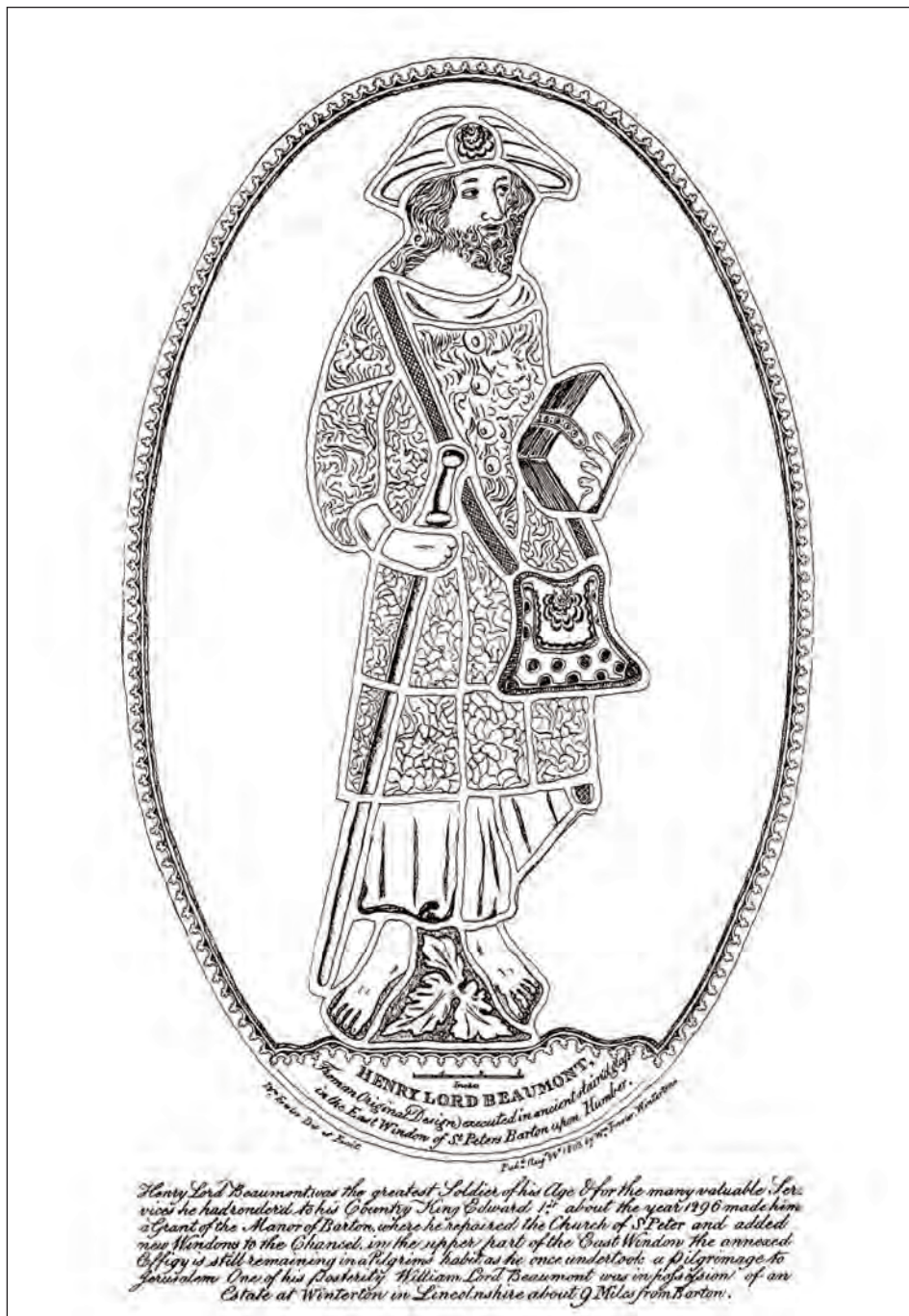


Fig. 660: Stained glass: chancel, east window. Figure of St James the Great, engraved by William Fowler, 1803

in the positions in the east window which they occupied until 1985. The use of a motley jumble of fragments to plug gaps (particularly apparent in the two panels from the heads of lights), instead of attempting to restore missing pieces or to find appropriate stopgaps, is characteristic of pre-Victorian restorations. The composition of the kaleidoscopic star of seventeenth-century fragments remaining in the east window is also typical of this period. The glass does not appear to have been touched during the major restoration of St Peter's in 1858, but both panels were re-leaded in 1877 by the firm of Knowles of York at the instigation of the vicar and churchwardens. By this date, St James's leading

was so decayed that the panel nearly fell to pieces when it was taken out.²¹⁵ Knowles probably replaced the more decayed fragments in the two panels in the heads of the lights with the present nineteenth-century stopgaps, which cannot have existed when they were originally assembled in the east window. Until their removal in the mid-1980s both panels were reversed (inside out) so that the saints faced northwards (Pl. 72). When this occurred is not recorded, although it was most likely to have been in 1903, when both the masonry and the plain glazing of the east window were renewed.²¹⁶ The reversal evidently post-dated Fowler's engravings, which show both figures facing southwards.

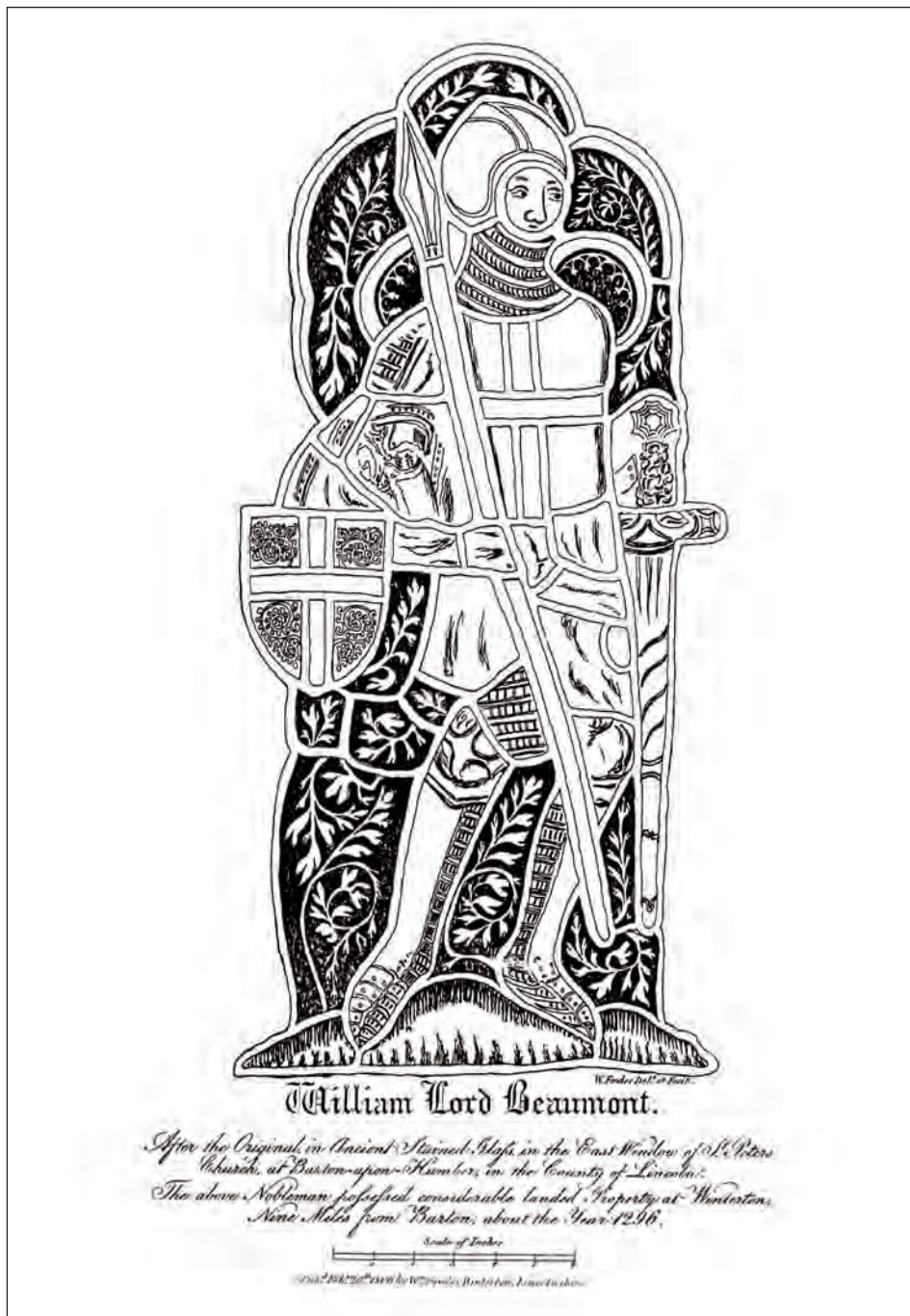


Fig. 661: Stained glass: chancel, east window. Figure of St George, engraved by William Fowler, 1806

William Fowler of Winterton engraved both figures, St James in 1803 and St George in 1806 (p. 576; Figs. 660 and 661, respectively). Fowler described St James as Henry Lord Beaumont and St George as William Beaumont.²¹⁷ Presumably these identifications drew on the tradition recorded by de la Pryme in his history of Winterton, although that work's mention of William Lord Beaumont (d. 1507) immediately after the description of the St James panel raises the possibility that Fowler derived them directly from it. At any rate, the popularity of Fowler's published engravings brought the figures to the attention of a large audience outside their immediate locality and ensured general acceptance of their Beaumont identities.²¹⁸ Monson recognized St George when he visited the town in 1835, and in 1856 Ball correctly identified both saints, but the belief that they represented the Beaumonts lingered on.²¹⁹

Many nineteenth- and twentieth-century authors briefly mentioned the figures.²²⁰ The first detailed description of the glass itself was published by Woodforde (1936, 346–7). He proposed that the fourteenth-century glass surviving at St Peter's and in the churches of Carlton Scroop, Heydour and Long Sutton (all in Lincs.) was of a similar date and originated from the same workshop. This theory is not tenable, as there are no particular stylistic similarities and the glass ranges in date from *c.* 1307 (Carlton Scroop) to *c.* 1380–90 (Long Sutton). In 1983 Mary Ann Smith produced a full description of the Barton glass.²²¹ By the time the present author began to catalogue the medieval glass of Lincolnshire in 1986, it had been removed into storage and therefore the description published in 1996 (Hebgin-Barnes 1996, 24–6) was heavily indebted to Smith.

Medieval fragments inserted into the fourteenth-century panels

The four fourteenth-century panels are patched and bordered with a number of fragments, mainly of fourteenth-century date, some of which are worthy of comment. It is impossible to tell whether they all originated in St Peter's church, since glaziers sometimes removed surplus pieces from one site and reused them at another.²²²

The inserted fragments can be divided into the following groups.

Border pieces

A number of fourteenth-century rectangular pieces originating from the vertical borders of main lights have been used to border the panels depicting the two saints. Each when complete measured approximately 16 × 3.5 cm. They are predominantly heraldic motifs: ochre fleurs-de-lys, yellow-stain lions' masks jessant white fleurs-de-lys (Pl. 88), and white and yellow-stain fish hauriant (rising vertically to the surface) with hooks in their mouths (Pl. 87). A range of heraldic charges were frequently used as border elements, particularly at the end of the thirteenth and during the

first half of the fourteenth century, when a typical border would alternate one particular type of charge with plain blue, ruby or green rectangles. The fish were the least common of the three types appearing at Barton.²²³

Two other border types are the white and yellow-stain crowns, the most complete of which is by St James's left foot, and the grotesque below his scrip, which has a child's head, the body of a furred worm and wings (Pl. 80). Grotesques often appeared as the subjects of roundels, but the elongation of this one shows that it was designed as a vertical border piece. During the first half of the fourteenth century, they were as popular as decorations in the borders of windows as they were in the margins of manuscripts, offering the glass-painter scope for imagination in the combination of human and animal components. Other examples of border grotesques survive in Lincolnshire at Heydour, Brocklesby, Ingoldsby, South Witham and Walcot. Many other examples are found outside the county, *e.g.* at Sandiacre and Dronfield (Derbys.) and Stanford-on-Avon (Northants).²²⁴ However, the Barton grotesque is unique in its design.

Quarries and grisaille

A number of incomplete diamond quarries are used as stopgaps. Two bearing the same stylized foliage design in the panel above St James are of fifteenth-century date. These are in a good condition, with no pitting. Quarries of a very similar design remain in Grimoldby church (Lincs.). A late fourteenth-century quarry bearing a yellow pansy-like flower is closely paralleled by one surviving at North Rauceby (Lincs.).²²⁵ There are several fragments of fourteenth-century grisaille displaying oak or other plant trail foliage, some with trellised borders. The earliest surviving example of grisaille is the thirteenth-century fragment previously described (Pl. 81).

Other noteworthy fragments

Apart from misplaced pieces of the saints' original canopies, the panels now contain a number of fourteenth-century architectural fragments, notably windows with Geometric or Decorated tracery (Pl. 81) and a row of comma crockets from a gable. Other fragments include two types of stylized plant *rinceaux* from the same series as those used as the background to the two saints (Pl. 86), which probably came from the backgrounds of other figures in the same window or series, and various pieces of vine foliage, with some large leaves (Pl. 81). Vine leaves of this date and appearance which survive elsewhere form part of the Tree of Jesse, so their presence here indicates the existence of a lost window depicting this subject. The St James panel is now surrounded on three sides by a late fifteenth-century outer border consisting of a white scroll wound around a yellow-stain plant stem (Pl. 81). Other fragments of the same border are scattered throughout the panels.

A note on the lost glazing of the rood window

It has been established that the Beaumont chantry chapel was almost certainly situated at the east end of the north aisle. Even without this factor, its very position made the east window the most important in the aisle. The window is further distinguished by having a rood carved on its mullions (see also Tudor-Craig, p. 409). While it is fairly certain that the glazing of the north windows of the aisle depicted individual figures of saints, including James and George, the presence of this stone tableau depicting the central image in Christian iconography suggests that such figures probably did not occupy the east window.

The only other windows with stonework bearing carved figures to have survived, those of the chancel of Dorchester Abbey (Oxon.), are contemporary with the Barton example (Rodwell 2009, pl. 9). The north chancel window at Dorchester takes the form of a Jesse Tree, with the central vertical mullion springing from the loins of the recumbent Jesse who is carved on the sill. Five offspringing branches radiate outwards across the main lights and figures are carved on the jambs and sides of the window. Although little of the original glazing survives, it is obvious that the tree was depicted in glass as well as in stonework. The Dorchester east window mullions also bear sculpted figures, with the central register containing tableaux from the Passion of Christ, while the uppermost level has scenes from the life of St Eustace. These themes must have been continued in the now-lost glazing (Ayers 2002).²²⁶

The Dorchester sculpted groups, which depict some important scenes from Christ's Passion while omitting others such as the Crucifixion, make it easy to tell what must have appeared in the glazing. At Barton this is not so obvious, since the carved rood, although spread across separate mullions, is a self-contained composition. Unlike the flexible Jesse Tree, whose only essential components were Jesse, Christ and the Virgin and whose design could thus be adapted to accommodate however many ancestors and prophets best fitted the space available, the rood could not easily be expanded to include extra figures. It is possible that the panels to either side of the crucified Christ could have depicted figures who sometimes featured in crucifixion scenes, such as the centurion or Joseph of Arimathea, but such a composition could not have been extended to fill the whole window or even the whole of the lower register of panels. This being the case, several possible subjects for the glazing of the rood window suggest themselves. It may have depicted individual scenes from the life and Passion of Christ and/or the life of the Virgin, which would link thematically with the Crucifixion. Alternatively, a major composition central to the Christian religion such as a Doom, a Jesse Tree or a combination of the two²²⁷ may have occupied the whole window.

It is also likely that whatever the rest of the window contained, the panels on either side of the crucified

Christ depicted the kneeling donors Henry Beaumont and his wife Alice Comyn with their shields, which were noted by antiquaries in the north aisle. This position at the heart of the scene, in close proximity to Christ, the Virgin and the Evangelist, was the most prominent and propitious a donor could occupy.

The most noteworthy fragments excavated in the vicinity of the window comprise naturalistic oak and trellised vine grisaille, *rinceaux*, architectural pieces and parts of borders.²²⁸ Some if not all of these pieces must have originated in this window, confirming that it was glazed during the first half of the fourteenth century. However, all are staple elements of glazing of this period and none of them provides any indication of its subject matter. The only excavated fragment capable of suggesting the subject matter of part or all of a window rather than just the presence of a component such as canopywork, grisaille or *rinceaux* is the foot of Christ displaying his wounds (Fig. 835, no. 26), but this was found in bay 2 and it is not possible to link it with any particular window.

Fifteenth-century glass

Two shields from a fifteenth-century series survive in St Peter's. One was borne by the Willoughby family and the other by the Neville Lords Bergavenny (Pls. 91 and 90, respectively). A border consisting of a scroll curled tightly around a stem which now encloses three sides of the St James panel is also of fifteenth-century date (Pl. 81).

Holles's statement that Robert Barnetby's brass lay below the window in which he saw the Barnetby armoriais confirms that these were in the Perpendicular east window of the south aisle (sIV). This window has three main lights and six major traceries, the second and fifth of which contained the shields of Willoughby and Neville respectively until their removal in 1985. Further evidence that they may have originated there is provided by the shields themselves. Their width fits neatly within these upright, straight-sided tracery panels, which are the right height to accommodate the now-vanished angel supporters who originally held them, whose presence is indicated by the concave indentations at each side of the shield where their hands would once have been. The problem is that the shields are likely to pre-date the east wall of the south aisle by several decades (see below). There are, however, instances in the late medieval period of existing glazing being removed during rebuilding campaigns and re-sited in new windows. If the Barton shields originated in the previous east window of the south aisle, the fact that they had been installed within living memory would have increased their chances of being salvaged and reused when this part of the church was rebuilt.

It is also worth noting that Lee did not draw either shield,²²⁹ although he included two Barnetby impalements which Holles omitted. These may have been moved or destroyed before Holles's visit; indeed, Lee's

drawing showed one with a blank sinister side, implying that it was damaged already. The omission of the two surviving shields does not prove that they were not in window sIV in 1592, as Lee may have overlooked the tracery light glazing, but it does at least suggest the possibility that at that time they may have been in another part of the church where he did not see them.

The fact that neither Lee nor Holles mentioned a shield of Ros of Helmsley in glass either in St Peter's or in the neighbouring St Mary's is also surprising, given the presence of a white bouget on a red ground which now replaces the fourth quarter of the Willoughby shield. It is in the same style as the two surviving shields and from its size formed part of an unquartered shield, almost certainly that of Ros (*Gules 3 bougets argent*). This strongly suggests that it was originally part of the same series as those of Willoughby and Neville and thus it should logically have been in another of the sIV traceries. The likeliest explanation is that the Ros shield had been partly destroyed before the antiquarians' visits. Evidence that the window had suffered some damage before 1592 has already been mentioned, and more is implied by Lee's rendering of the Barnetby donor's Christian name as John, whereas the more painstaking Holles has only a row of dots.

Lee's record of this inscription (*orate pro aibs Johannis Barnaby et Margareta consortis suae qui hanc fenest ...*) removes the basis for the terminal date of 1440 which has been assigned to the stonework and glazing of sIV by some authors on the assumption that the Robert Barnetby (d. 1440) buried beneath it was the donor (*e.g.* Pevsner *et al.* 1989, 123). The ascription to 1440 does not tally with the late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century date assigned by the excavation to the east wall of the south aisle, which was rebuilt to the west of its original position in order to receive the lateral thrust of the new chancel arch and clerestory (p. 478). However, there are three candidates for the John Barnaby who donated the window. Between 1402 and 1438 official records refer on numerous occasions to two men named John Barnetby, described as the elder and the younger. A deed of 1406–07 whereby John Barnetby the younger of Barton settled land there on himself with the remainder to his brother (*sic*) John Barnetby the elder explains their relationship. Both were parliamentary electors during the 1420s and they also served as commissioners and collectors of pavage. In 1431 John Barnetby of Barton, esquire, held land in Barton, Barnetby-le-Wold and Immingham (Lincs.). The elder John was still living in 1438, after which date neither of them is mentioned. The younger John was probably the father of the John Barnaby of Barton, esquire, who was an elector in 1467 and dead by 1483. This man was probably identical with the John Barnaby, gentleman, mentioned in 1481 as late of Fishlake (S. Yorks.).²³⁰ No evidence remains to show which of the three John Barnetbys donated the window, but since the east wall of the south aisle is no earlier than the late fifteenth century, the youngest is the most likely candidate.

All the other shields previously recorded in the window but now lost were of local families evidently connected to John Barnaby/Barnetby. His wife Margaret was probably a member of the Dawney family of Cowick (S. Yorks.). Robert Saltmarsh was vicar of St Peter's from 1424 until 1435 and was buried in the chancel. In 1424 he was accused together with the John Barnetby brothers of harassing the abbot and convent of Bardney (Lincs.), who held the advowson of St Peter's. The Saltmarsh/Dawney impalement presumably commemorated the marriage of Margaret daughter of Thomas Dawney (*fl.* 1388) to a Saltmarsh. Various other links between the Portingtons, Dawneys, Kelkes, Saltmarshes and the John Barnetby brothers are recorded, all in the first half of the fifteenth century (Hebgin-Barnes 1996, 25).²³¹

It was common practice for families of only local importance such as the Barnetbys to display the shields of greater families to whom they were connected by tenure or service in the windows they donated. The advertisement of such connections enhanced the donors' prestige. This may have been the reason for the display in John Barnetby's window of the shields of the Willoughby family, the Neville Lords Bergavenny and quite possibly the Ros family too. However, no connection between the Barnetbys and these nobles has been traced, which supports the theory that the shields originated in an earlier window and were reused here. The Willoughbys had extensive landholdings throughout Lincolnshire, including an eighth of a fee in Barton which they held of the Beaumonts.²³² This may have provided some connection. The Ros family of Helmsley (N. Yorks.) also held lands throughout the county, although none were recorded in Barton.²³³ The armorial bearings of both the Willoughby and the Ros families were formerly displayed in numerous churches throughout Lincolnshire, in glass, stone, woodwork and other media.²³⁴ The Neville Lords Bergavenny also held lands near Barton, although their shield was not recorded anywhere else in the county.²³⁵

The two surviving shields cannot be precisely dated. However, Edward Neville (d. 1476), youngest son of Ralph Neville Earl of Westmoreland by Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, provides a *terminus a quo* of 1424 for them. By October of that year he had married the heiress Elizabeth Beauchamp (1415–48), in whose right he assumed the title Lord Bergavenny and whose arms he quartered with his own.²³⁶ It is this shield that appears at Barton. The Willoughbys had assumed the quartered arms of the Ufford and Bek families (whose heiresses they had married) in the fourteenth century. Robert, sixth Lord Willoughby (d. 1452) was the last male of the line.²³⁷ After his death the barony passed to his daughter, whose husband Lord Welles was summoned to Parliament as Lord Willoughby. However, there is no evidence that Lord Welles assumed his wife's paternal arms, and it seems more likely that the Barton shield commemorates Robert Lord Willoughby. Their style shows that the two shields at Barton were

produced by the workshop responsible for four shields surviving in the east window of St Mary's church, Hull, which appear to be contemporary with them (Pls. 93–95). These shields cannot pre-date 1428 and are likely to have been produced before *c.* 1450 (see below).

The later history of the two shields is less well documented than that of the fourteenth-century figures. They retain their original medieval lead comes and do not appear to have been moved at all. In the eighteenth century they were set on a ground of thin unpainted rectangular quarries and held in place by thick leads which overlapped the outer edge of the original medieval comes. Similar thick leads in the Willoughby shield show that it was clumsily patched at the same time. This restoration is undocumented but its date can be deduced from the width of the lead and the quarry setting. The shields have attracted less attention than the two saints, although a few authors, including Brown (1908, 132, 149, 151), have mentioned them in passing.

Seventeenth-century glass

The only ancient glass remaining in any of the windows is in the head of the central light of the east window. It consists of a six-pointed star set within a circle of plain glass (Pl. 77). The star comprises seven fragments which have been cut from a single panel depicting a seventeenth-century achievement of arms. From these it appears that the shield was probably *Or a fess lozengy azure*,²³⁸ with a helm above it, set on pinkish mantling with a white lining. There would have been a crest above the helm and quite possibly a motto below the shield, but no trace of these remains. The conventional shape of such a panel would have been rectangular or oval and it would probably have measured 35–50 cm high, and 25–40 cm wide.

After the Reformation banished religious imagery, heraldry became the main subject matter for glazing and from the late sixteenth century until the nineteenth, such small armorials were the most popular form of glazing in both ecclesiastical and domestic settings. Large-scale commissions were very rare, but it was not uncommon for a donor to remove a portion of an earlier window and replace it with a small armorial panel.²³⁹

This armorial is not mentioned in any surviving description of the church. Holles's omission of it can be taken as confirmation that it post-dated his visit (between 1634 and 1642).

Catalogue of the surviving medieval glass

St James the Great

(Pls. 73, 75, 78 and 80–83; Fig. 662)

Until it was removed in 1985, this panel was in the top of the second main light of the east window of the chancel (EI 3b). This was not its original position.

Description

The full-length figure stands facing three-quarters right. He is barefoot, with flowing hair and beard. The flesh and hair are pink. He wears a blue tunic with tight-fitting sleeves reaching the wrist, a white-collared hairy over-garment with wide three-quarter length sleeves and fastened with four yellow-stain buttons, and a blue pilgrim's hat with a yellow scallop shell badge (Pl. 82). At his left hip hangs a yellow scrip decorated with large white spots (Pl. 83). Another yellow scallop shell badge is set upon its white flap. The scrip is suspended from the saint's right shoulder by a green strap. In his left hand he holds a pink book fastened with a clasp and in his right a yellow pilgrim's staff with a white pommel. He is set against a ruby *rinceau* ground of oak leaves springing from coiled stems and sprouting corkscrew tendrils, and the occasional spade-shaped leaf. Above him is a white and yellow-stain canopy of conventional leaf crocket and gable type. A little of its side-shafting survives, flanking the bottom part of the saint.

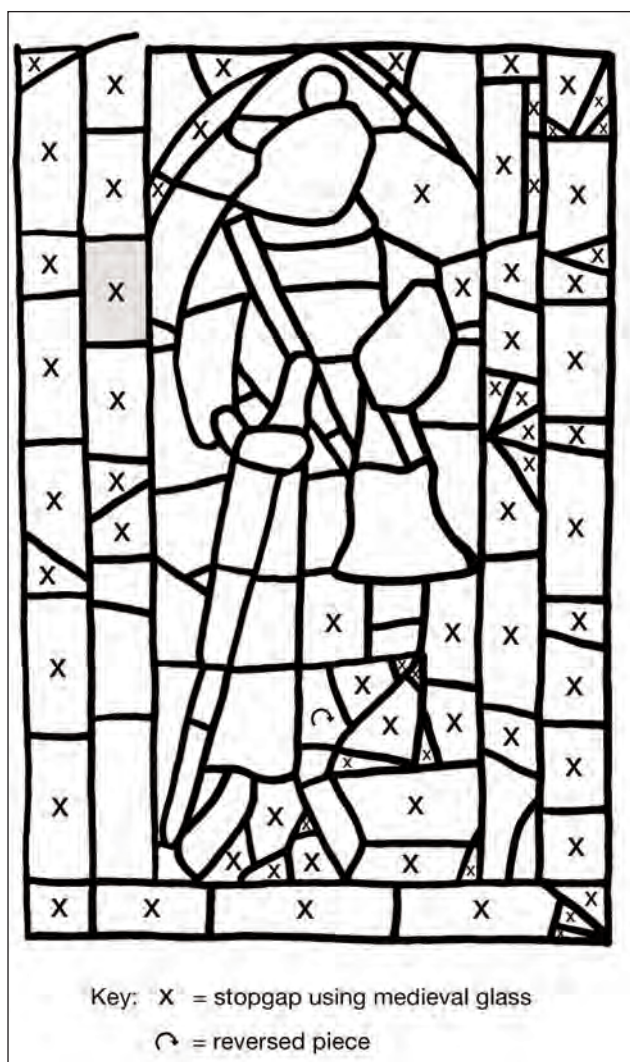


Fig. 662: Stained glass. Restoration diagram of the *St James* panel. The reused thirteenth-century fragment is indicated (grey tone). Drawing: Penny Hebgin-Barnes

Style and design

The saint's body sways in a slight S-curve. The head (Pl. 82) has large eyes with black irises and no separate pupils, lids indicated by thin lines and eyebrows denoted by a thick black line, the left brow sweeping downwards to become the bridge of the nose. The mouth is another thick black line flanked by thinner lines denoting the lips. The hair sweeps down in long elegant curling locks terminating in tight corkscrews. The short beard is similar, but the tufts are shorter and less elegant. The tufts of hair on the garment echo the beard. The fingers and toes are thin and elongated, the toes unnaturally so. The nails are outlined and the joints are indicated by pairs of short horizontal lines. Depth is added by the use of shading to model folds. The canopy side-shafting is angled forward and shaded in a rudimentary attempt at perspective. The arch below the gable has a cusp pierced by Decorated tracery to the right of St James's hat.

The panel emphasizes decorative elements. Apart from the flesh, collar, tunic and hat, all the surfaces are ornamented. The spotted scrip has stitching along its edges and a scalloped flap (Pl. 83). Even lines and indentations on the surface of the scallop shell badges are depicted. The attention to detail demonstrates the high quality of the work. The style of the head may be compared with a series of three apostles' heads of the same date remaining at Folkingham (Pl. 92),²⁴⁰ which are so similar that they must have originated from the same workshop. This style is very like that of the west windows of York Minster of *c.* 1339, which were produced by the workshop of Master Robert (French and O'Connor 1987).

Colour and technique

White glass is used along with pot metal blue, green and pink. The red is flashed ruby. All the yellow of the original panel consists of yellow stain applied to the outer surface of the white glass, with no pot metal yellow glass being used. Reddish-brown paint (conventionally described as black) applied to the inner surface of the glass is used for all outlines and detail. Smear shading is used extensively throughout the panel, most noticeably to model the folds of the garments. The exterior retains traces of back-painting which has been used for the same purpose. The scrip strap is decorated with green hatching reserved by stickwork against a matt black ground. The book clasp is black with a row of reserved white annulets. The oak *rinceau* is reserved against a matt black ground. Several undulating pieces of glass are used, particularly the head and a misplaced piece of the blue tunic.

Condition

Fowler's engraving of the figure (Fig. 660) shows that it was whole in 1803, and losses since then have been minimal. Only a portion of the tunic above the left foot and a piece of the over-garment above it are missing, being replaced by fourteenth-century fragments.

Another portion of blue tunic has been moved slightly from its original position and is reversed. The setting has fared less well. Several pieces of *rinceau* to the right of the figure have been replaced by inserted fourteenth-century fragments. The green ground on which he must originally have stood has disappeared completely and is replaced by fragments including a white vine leaf in the triangle between the feet, which is shown in Fowler's engraving. Small portions of the lower canopy shafting and the lower leaf crockets of the gable above the figure remain *in situ*, and a misplaced offset and fragment of shafting to the figure's right have survived, but the remainder of the canopy has been replaced by insertions (see restoration diagram, Fig. 662).

The pink glass has suffered more than the other colours. Most of its inner surface is covered with a whitish deposit which turns the pink to brown-grey with the light behind it. Portions of the white glass have a similar but less noticeable deposit. Comparatively little paint loss has occurred apart from the right eye and eyebrow and the scrip strap. Two flakes of flashed ruby glass are missing, revealing the white glass below, the larger one below the right wrist and the smaller near the right elbow.

The panel has heavy exterior pitting, with the pink and white glass being particularly badly affected. Areas of yellow stain are more lightly pitted. The interior surface exhibits smaller, shallower pits than the exterior. These have formed during the period prior to 1985 when the panel was reversed, exposing its inner surface to the weather. The lead lines of the figure remain largely as shown by Fowler although a few extra mending leads have been inserted. All the leading is of a uniform thickness and appearance, having been replaced by Knowles of York in 1877. It survives in a reasonable condition. A horizontal row of dabs of reddish paint across the inner surface of the panel at the level of the ankles and on part of the canopy at shoulder level was obviously caused by the careless painting of the saddle bar and stanchion to which it was formerly affixed, which remain on the outer side of the east window.

Iconography

St James is depicted dressed as a pilgrim, his conventional attire during the later Middle Ages. His broad-brimmed hat and his scrip both bear the traditional emblem of a scallop shell and his staff and book are conventional attributes. Figures of the saint thus attired dating from the first half of the fourteenth century survive at a number of sites in England, including Acaster Malbis (N. Yorks.), Bere Ferrers (Devon) Grappenhall (Ches.), the nave clerestory of York Minster and the churches of St Mary Castlegate and St Michael-le-Belfrey in York, to name but a few. The hairy animal-skin robe is not as common an attribute for St James as the scallop, scrip and staff, but other examples survive, *e.g.* at Combe (Oxon.) and All Saints, North Street, York (both fifteenth century).²⁴¹

The large yellow buttons of the Barton example and the yellow spots which decorate the scrip are also unusual features although purely ornamental rather than iconographically significant. The bare feet denote that he is an apostle. While bareheaded saints are almost invariably shown as nimbed, St James's nimbus is sometimes omitted on account of his hat, as in this example.

No other fourteenth-century figures of St James survive in Lincolnshire glazing, but Holles gave a detailed description of a now completely vanished figure identical to the Barton St James which he saw in a window at Searby (Lincs.),²⁴² 13 km south of Barton. The only difference was that the Searby figure had yellow hair, which implies that the head was white rather than pink glass. Holles's description of the 'flames of fire' depicted in several places upon his outer garment shows that he even wore the same hairy coat (the tufts of which appear flame-like), which was the least common iconographical feature of the Barton example. This detail raises the possibility that the Searby figure, which was probably contemporary with that at Barton, may have been produced by the same workshop.

Dimensions

Figure alone: H 0.65 m, W 0.31 m.

Figure including original side borders: H 0.65 m, W 0.36 m.

Figure within fifteenth-century outer border: H 0.70 m, W 0.47 m.

Entire panel: H 0.89 m, W 0.725 m.

Insertions in the St James panel

The panel has been given a late fifteenth-century scroll-and-stem outer border. All other insertions apart from the previously mentioned thirteenth-century grisaille are of the same date as the panel itself and include border pieces consisting of a grotesque (Pl. 80), two fleurs-de-lys, a lion's mask jessant-de-lys and a crown, also vine foliage, foliage trail grisaille, architectural fragments from canopies and ruby and blue *rinceaux* of various designs.

St George (Pls. 74, 76, 79 and 84–87; Fig. 663)

Until it was removed in 1985, this panel was in the top of the fourth main light of the east window of the chancel (EI 3d). This was not its original position.

Description

The full-length figure stands facing three-quarters right. In his left hand he holds the hilt of a sword in a sheath suspended from his belt and in his right a spear. A small heater-shaped shield bearing his arms, *Argent a cross gules*, is suspended from his right arm by a yellow strap (Pl. 85). He wears a combination of plate and chain-mail comprising a long-sleeved mail hauberik and mail chausses, and yellow plate vambraces, gauntlets, poleyns, schynbalds and sabatons. His bascinet has no visor and green semicircular ailettes

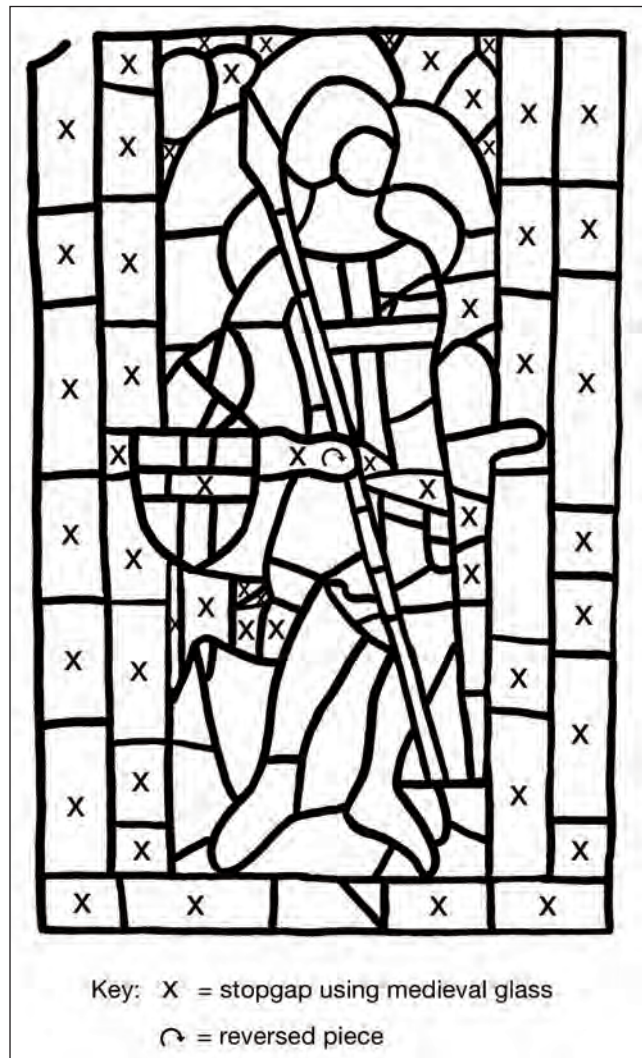


Fig. 663: Stained glass. Restoration diagram of the St George panel. Drawing: Penny Hebgin-Barnes

appear behind his shoulders. His jupon bears his shield of arms and has a badge or clasp of a sexfoil within a circle on the upper left breast. The face is pink. He stands on a green mound against a ground of blue fern-like *rinceaux* beneath a cusped arch which survives only in outline. Originally he was placed under a canopy identical to that above St James, but very little of this has survived.

Style and design

As with St James, the slight S-curve is apparent, the knees being bent. The face is executed in the same style as that of St James but no hair is visible under the bascinet, there is no moustache and the chin is hidden by the aventail (Pl. 84).

The panel pays the same attention to ornamented surfaces as its fellow. The chain-mail is represented by horizontal lines which are alternately yellow and white. The yellow lines are plain but rows of small black commas represent the mail links. The rivets in the gauntlets, sabatons and spear head are shown as tiny black circles. The field of the shield is decorated with

rinceaux. The ailettes, shield strap and sword pommel are patterned. The scabbard has a metal chape and horizontal metal bands.

Colour and technique

The same range of colours, paint and yellow stain is used for this panel as for its companion, except that the spear haft is ochre, not yellow-stain. The colour of the background *rinceau* varies greatly in tone from pale to deep blue. The yellow stain is pale in tone apart from the vambraces, which are browner than the other yellow areas. The green of the mound is much darker than that of the ailettes, due to a wash of black paint over the glass. Smear-shading is used to model the face, bascinet, vambraces and the folds of the jupon. A smaller amount of back-painting survives than on the St George panel. The field of the shield bears a stylized white-coiled foliage *rinceau* reserved against a matt black ground and the saint's blue *rinceau* ground is executed in the same manner, with the addition of tendrils picked out in needlepoint between each individual leaf (Pl. 85). The ailettes are decorated with a scalloped pattern reserved against a black ground.

Condition

The figure is virtually complete apart from the right gauntlet, the sword belt and the adjoining section of scabbard which are replaced by fifteenth-century stop-gaps of white and yellow-stained glass. Fowler's engraving (Fig. 661) appears to show the original pieces. The larger part of the horizontal cross member on the shield, which Fowler showed as unbroken, is replaced by a fourteenth-century ruby patch with heavy white deposit on its interior surface. The blue *rinceau* ground is patched with several fourteenth-century blue fragments which are so severely corroded on both surfaces that no paint remains on them (see restoration diagram, Fig. 663).

The only parts of the canopy to survive *in situ* are one leaf crocket on the gable and the side-shafting adjoining the sword, the handle of which overlaps it. Apart from this the canopy to left and right of the figure has been replaced by a double row of insertions (see below). There is slight paint loss, and exterior pitting has removed a little of the yellow stain. As with the companion panel, pitting is heavier on the exterior surface than on the interior.

The lead lines of the figure are largely as shown by Fowler, with a few extra mending leads added. As with the companion panel, all the leading is of 1877 and a daubed line of black and reddish paint from the exterior saddle bar is splashed across the lower portion.

Iconography

St George is depicted as an armed knight, without the dragon who frequently accompanied him. Images of the saint were common throughout the fourteenth century. In Lincolnshire alone, other examples survive at Heydour (c. 1360), Long Sutton (c. 1380–90), and in

a tracery light at St John's Stamford (c. 1451). Lost figures of the saint were also recorded at Riby, Branston (mid-fourteenth century), Surfleet (early fifteenth century) and St George's Stamford, where the seven windows in the chancel were filled c. 1450 with twenty-one scenes from his legend. Outside the county, well-preserved examples roughly contemporary with the Barton figure survive at a number of sites including Aldwinckle St Peter (Northants.), Brinsop (Herefs.), Wells (Som.) and Wimbleton (London).²⁴³ These images and those at Barton and Heydour show St George as the patron and protector of England, his accepted position by the time Edward III founded the Order of the Garter with St George as its patron in 1348.²⁴⁴

Dimensions

Figure alone: H 0.64 m, W 0.285 m.

Figure including original side borders: H 0.64 m, W 0.345 m.

Entire medieval panel: H 0.695 m, W 0.445m.

Entire panel: H 0.89 m, W 0.725 m.

Insertions in the St George panel

The panel is flanked by two rows of rectangular fragments, many of them vertical border pieces, some of which may have comprised part of the original border. They include several border pieces: an ochre fleur-de-lys, two lions' masks jessant-de-lys (Pl. 88), three fish hauriant with hooks issuing from their mouths (Pl. 87), one incomplete and the other two composite) and two pieces of plain ruby glass. Other insertions include architectural fragments from canopies, vine foliage, foliage trail grisaille, plain ruby and white glass and several heavily corroded blue pieces. Apart from a few pieces of fifteenth-century scroll and stem border and a canopy fragment, the insertions are of the same date as the panel itself.

Panels above St James and St George

(Pls. 78 and 79; Figs. 664 and 665)

Until these panels were removed in 1985, they were in the heads of the second and fourth main lights of the east window, respectively, above the figures of St James and St George.

The central three foils of the cinquefoiled heads of the lights were filled with medieval fragments. Each of these two upper panels incorporated the virtually complete glazing from the head of a smaller trefoil-cusped light. The two smaller panels have a border of plain flashed ruby glass upon which is set a snaking white stem with offspringing yellow-stain vine leaves. This border encloses a symmetrical pattern of vine grisaille. These panels are contemporary with the figures and are likely to have originated either from the heads of the same lights or from those of other main lights in the same window or series. Despite slight variations in the drawing of individual leaves they are clearly both taken from the same cartoon.

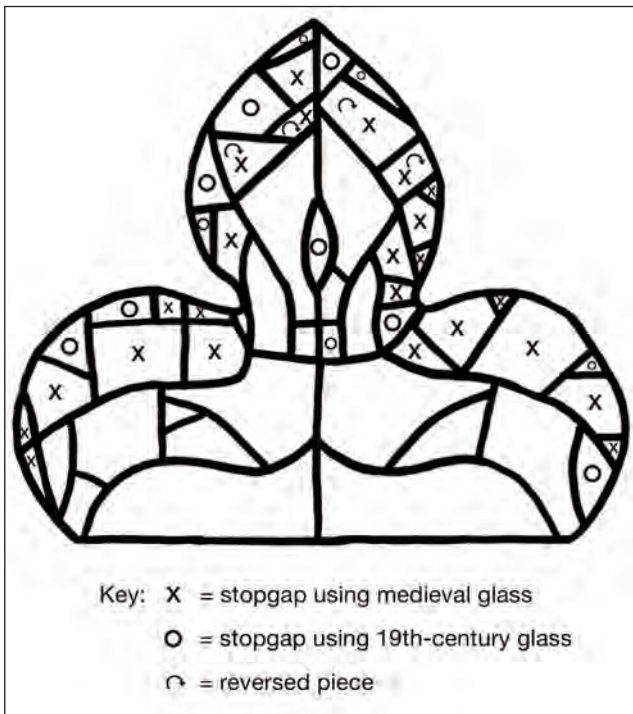


Fig. 664: Stained glass. Restoration diagram of the panel above St James. Drawing: Penny Hebgin-Barnes

Condition

Each panel has several breaks both leaded and unlead-ed. The ruby glass has shallow pitting on the interior and larger, fewer pits on the exterior. The inner surface of the border vine and grisaille are also pitted. In the panel above St George, a small part of the stem in the central cusp and the ruby pieces at the outer edges of the two other cusps are replaced by stopgaps and the leading has sprung apart at the apex. The leading of this panel is more decayed than that of the panel above St James, in which the ruby pieces at the edge of the right cusp and in the oval formed by the outward curve of the vine stems are replaced by stopgaps.

When they were moved to the east window the two panels were set in the larger cusped heads of the second and fourth lights, which they did not fill. A medley of medieval and later fragments have been set above and around them to glaze the gap, creating the present extended versions of the original panels.

Dimensions

Panel above St James:

Whole panel: H 0.425 m, W 0.48 m.

Fourteenth-century panel: H 0.34 m, W 0.46 m.

Panel above St George:

Whole panel: H 0.42 m, W 0.48 m.

Fourteenth-century panel: H 0.335 m, W 0.42 m.

Insertions

Both panels incorporate a number of nineteenth-century architectural, drapery and plain fragments in addition to medieval pieces varying from tiny corroded scraps to three incomplete quarries, grisaille, part of a flowing

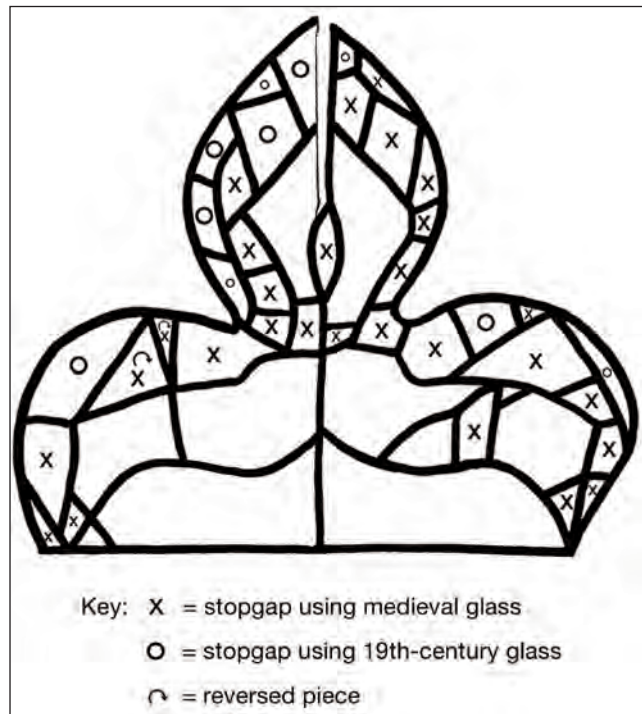


Fig. 665: Stained glass. Restoration diagram of the panel above St George. Drawing: Penny Hebgin-Barnes

beard or mane, and architectural fragments including windows and stonework pierced by quatrefoils.

Fragments remaining in the east window (Pl. 77)

Seven fragments, six triangular and one circular, have been cut from a single panel depicting a seventeenth-century achievement of arms and leaded into the form of a star. Six of these fragments formed part of a shield, probably *Or a fess lozengy azure, a helm and pinkish, white-lined mantling with tassels*. The seventh fragment depicts yellow stylized foliage which was not part of the armorial but may have formed part of the decorative panel surrounding it. The armorial's original position is not recorded.

Colour and technique

The armorial is executed on white glass in black, grey and sanguine paint, deep yellow stain and blue enamel. The foliage on the seventh fragment is a paler yellow stain.

Condition

All the fragments are in quite good condition with no pitting apparent. The mantling may have been intended to be red, but appears as a washed-out pink, which is typical of sanguine paint. The width of the comes and the way the original armorial has been cut into purely decorative pieces with no regard for subject matter dates the creation of the star to the eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions

Diameter 0.28 m approx.

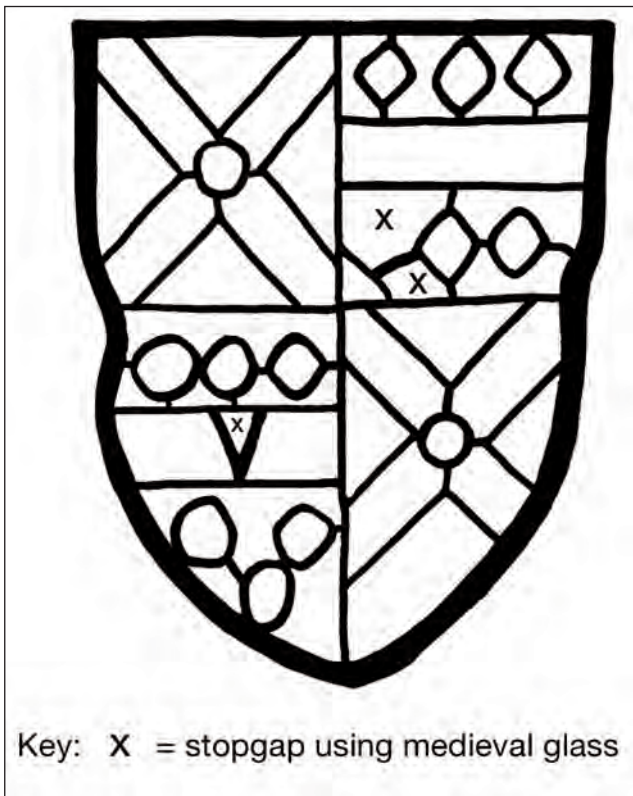


Fig. 666: Stained glass. Restoration diagram of the shield of Neville. Drawing: Penny Hebgin-Barnes

Shield of Neville, Lord Bergavenny
(Pl. 90; Fig. 666)

Until it was removed in 1985, this panel was in the fifth tracery light of the three-light east window of the south aisle (sIV A5). This was probably its original position.

Blazon

Gules on a saltire argent a rose of the field (Neville) quartering Gules on a fess between 6 cross crosslets or a crescent sable (Beauchamp).

Colour and technique

White and flashed ruby glass is used. The fess and crosslets are of white glass stained yellow. The crosslets comprise yellow-stained lozenges individually leaded into the field with each crosslet reserved against a black-painted ground. The roses are painted in outline on ruby roundels. The crescent is painted in black. There is no back-painting. The fifteenth-century glass is a slightly greenish hue compared to the surrounding eighteenth-century quarries. There are several stray splashes of yellow stain on the arms of both saltires.

Style and design

The ground to all ruby quarters is diapered with a regular pattern of flowers within contiguous circles outlined in brown-black paint, with small circles outlined in the gaps between the large contiguous ones. The fess is diapered with a single plain-bordered row of flowers

of the same pattern. The saltire is diapered with a row of contiguous annulets within a plain border. The same contiguous circle diaper is found on the shields of Kingston-upon-Hull, the royal arms of England, and de la Pole quartering Wingfield which remain in the tracery lights of the east window of St Mary's church, Hull (Pls. 93–95). A fourth shield in the series is that of Montagu quartering Neville.²⁴⁵ These shields also have the concave indentations for the hands of angel supporters found on the Barton pair. They appear to be contemporary with them and were produced by the same workshop; unfortunately, no other examples of its output are known. Given the proximity of Barton to Hull it is not surprising that one workshop served both towns, and it is more likely to have been based in Hull which, as the more populous and important centre, would have been in a better position to support a glazing workshop. However, this can only be conjectural, and both sets of shields may have been commissioned from a workshop in York, the centre of glass-painting in the north of England. The Hull shields may be tentatively assigned to the period 1428–c. 1450.²⁴⁶

Condition

The shield is fairly complete with very little restoration (Fig. 666). Its original medieval leading survives intact and eighteenth-century leading is placed over the medieval came around the perimeter. There are unleaded hairline cracks in all quarters. The shield buckles inwards slightly apart from the fourth quarter which buckles outwards. There is a dark encrustation on the inner surface of the ruby glass and crosslets, and small white pits on the exterior surface of the ruby glass, but none on the white or yellow-stained glass.

In the second quarter, the lower left crosslet and surrounding field are missing and replaced by two plain fifteenth-century pitted ruby pieces held in with the original leads. In the third quarter, a small missing triangular portion of fess including part of the crescent is replaced by a fifteenth-century ruby piece, held with eighteenth-century leads. Around the edges of nearly all the came on the inner surface of the glass is a white deposit caused by a putty or waterproofing agent probably applied during the eighteenth century. This shield is in better condition than its fellow, with fewer insertions, and the eighteenth-century panel in which it is set is more complete.

Setting

A slight concave indentation in the outline of both shields around the junction of the upper and lower quarters indicates the position of the hands of the angel supporters who originally held them, of whom no traces remain. Both shields are still leaded onto the ground of plain, thin rectangular quarries, measuring c. 11 × 10 cm apiece with thick (1 cm) came, upon which they were set in sIV during the eighteenth century. The mending leads within the shields also date from the eighteenth century, their thickness being

typical of this period. There is no indication of any restoration having occurred between the eighteenth century and the present day.

Dimensions

Shield in medieval leading: H 0.245 m, W 0.19 m.
Whole panel: H 0.37 m, W 0.235 m.

Shield of Willoughby

(Pl. 91; Fig. 667)

Until it was removed in 1985, this panel was in the second tracery light of the three-light east window of the south aisle (sIV A2). This was probably its original position.

Blazon

Sable a cross engrailed or (Ufford) quartering Gules a cross scarcely argent (Bek).

The fourth quarter is replaced by a single bouget which almost certainly derives from a shield of Ros, *Gules 3 bougets argent*.

Colour and technique

As with the Neville shield, flashed ruby and white glass is used. In the first quarter the sable field is painted in black onto a yellow-stained square. Back-painting darkens the field. In the second and third quarters the cross, outlined in black paint on white glass, is leded onto a ruby ground. No back-painting is used. The ruby field is diapered in the same manner as the Neville shield. The fourth quarter is executed in the same manner as the second and third quarters, with the bouget outlined in black paint on white glass and leded onto a ruby ground. There is no back-painting. This fragment is from the same series as the other two shields. The size of the single bouget suggests that it formed part of a complete shield of Ros, which had three such charges.

Condition

As with its fellow, the shield's original medieval leading survives intact and eighteenth-century leading is placed over it around the perimeter. There are unlead-ed hairline cracks in all quarters and the inner surface suffers from the same white deposit. The remaining part of the first quarter is encrusted on the inner surface and has a break which has apparently been lead-ed in the last two hundred years, since the comes are neither original nor eighteenth century, their width falling between the two. The upper part of the first quarter is patched with a fifteenth-century blue fragment on which a seaweed *rinseau* is executed in black paint (Fig. 667). This patch is held in place with thick eighteenth-century comes which presumably date its installation and itself has a similarly lead-ed break.²⁴⁷ The blue glass has a naturally occurring regular distribution of small air bubbles just beneath the outer surface and no exterior pitting. Seaweed *rinseau* was a common type of fifteenth-century background, particularly

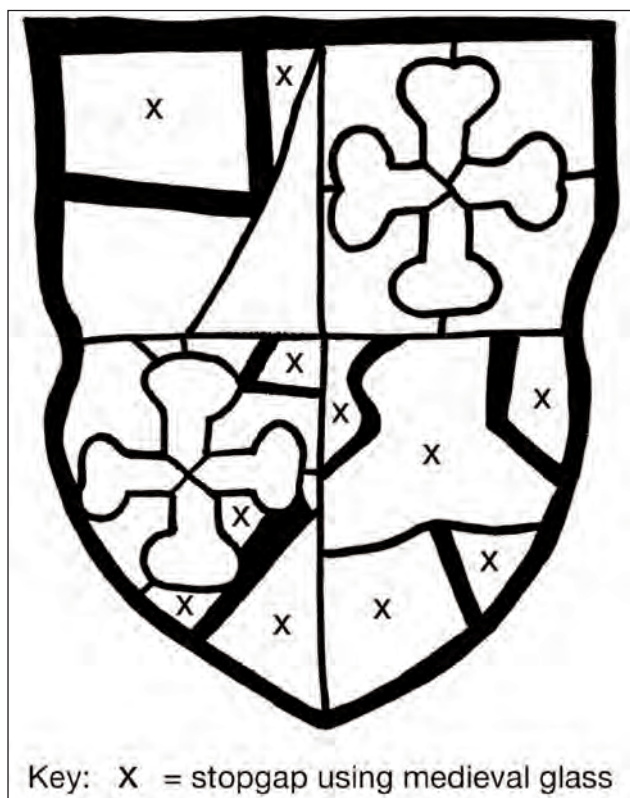


Fig. 667: Stained glass. Restoration diagram of the shield of Willoughby. Drawing: Penny Hebgin-Barnes

in tracery lights. The second quarter is complete, but both ruby and white glass have a dark encrustation. The third quarter has two fourteenth-century unpainted ruby stopgaps, the larger at the bottom and the smaller at top right (Fig. 667). These are leded in with eighteenth-century comes. The larger is badly pitted on both surfaces and the smaller is badly pitted on the exterior and encrusted on the interior surface. There is also an unpainted and encrusted dark blue stopgap inserted between the right and bottom arms of the cross. Some original medieval leading survives in this quarter. The fourth quarter now comprises the bouget leded with thick eighteenth-century comes onto a ruby field made up of various fifteenth-century pieces with a little exterior pitting and encrustation on their inner surfaces. The bouget's black ground has suffered a little paint loss. All the leading is very decayed and many gaps are visible between comes and glass.

Setting

The remarks above concerning the setting of its fellow apply equally to this shield, but it is less complete, with the lower right eighteenth-century quarry and much of the eighteenth-century lead lost.

Dimensions

Shield in medieval leading: H 0.25 m, W 0.19 m.
Whole panel: H 0.325 m, W 0.245 m.

Nineteenth- and twentieth-century stained glass

by Michael Kerney

The church formerly contained six post-medieval stained glass windows, installed as memorials between 1847 and 1913. These are described below, in the present tense, from photographs taken in 1985 and from some descriptions made prior to that date. In 1985 they were removed and placed in storage, apart from the Nicholson window of 1913 which remains *in situ*.

The windows are described chronologically, as follows.

Chancel, south side, bay 1 (sIII) (Pl. 99)

A three-light window with tracery lights, consisting largely of clear diamond quarries installed in 1924.²⁴⁸ These replaced a stained glass window to the memory of Mr Robert Marriott, who died in 1841.²⁴⁹ Two elements from the earlier window were retained in 1924: an inscription on a scroll at the base of the centre light, and an armorial placed immediately above. The inscription, apart from a few unilluminating fragments, has been lost through vandalism, and the armorial is also considerably damaged (p. 576).

The original window was designed in 1847 by Thomas Willement (1786–1871), heraldic artist and pioneering medievalist glass painter. His own description is as follows: '1847 ... Burton [*sic*] upon Humber Ch: Co Lincoln. A window with full armorial bearings, diagonal inscriptions and texts of scripture. The tracery with col^d ornaments.'²⁵⁰

The corresponding entry in Willement's business ledger, dated April 1847, records the name of the client as Mrs Marriott. She was charged £80 for the window, including a 'Drawing in colours'. A 'strong packing-case, Van to Railway, &c' cost an additional 14s. 10d.²⁵¹ In 1851 Willement effected a minor repair to the window at a cost of 10s. 4d., paid for by William Bury, Esq.²⁵²

Diagonal texts, painted in black letter and set against a background of patterned quarries, often feature in windows by Willement and his contemporaries. It is a motif characteristic of the 1830s and 1840s. The idea was borrowed from English late medieval exemplars, secular rather than ecclesiastical (*e.g.* Ockwells Manor, Berks). The armorial at Barton furthermore represents a revival of true medieval construction, employing lead and potmetal rather than the coloured enamels used in Georgian heraldic work.

This is a relatively early example of a memorial window. The fashion spread very rapidly in the 1840s, prompted by the writings of the lawyer and antiquary James Heywood Markland (1788–1864).²⁵³ The desire for such memorials quickly became the principal factor responsible for the installation of stained glass in churches.

Chancel, south side, bay 2 (sII) (Pls. 96 and 97)

A three-light window with tracery lights (p. 576). The principal lights contain nine medallions depicting scenes from the life of Christ, framed by colourful decoration consisting of stylized interweaving foliage and flowers. The nine subjects are arranged in chronological order, reading (from top left to bottom right) as follows: the Marriage Feast at Cana, the Feeding of the Five Thousand, the Last Supper, the Agony in the Garden, the Crucifixion, the Entombment, *Noli Me Tangere*, the Angel and the Women at the Tomb, and the Ascension. In the tracery lights appear the letters alpha and omega.

The three-line inscription at the base (now partly vandalized) reads as follows:

- i) DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE / REV^d G. UPPLEBY LATE VICAR OF THIS PARISH / BY HIS WIDOW MARY UPPLEBY
- ii) I HEARD A VOICE FROM HEAVEN SAYING UNTO ME / WRITE BLESSED ARE THE DEAD WHICH DIE IN THE / LORD FROM HENCEFORTH YEA SAITH
- iii) THE SPIRIT THAT THEY MAY REST FROM / THEIR LABOURS AND THEIR WORKS DO / FOLLOW THEM. REV. XIV. 13.

The window is documented as the work of William Warrington (1797–1869). It was installed in 1856.²⁵⁴ Warrington was an important figure in the revival of English glass painting. The son of a Deptford glazier, he worked as an assistant to Thomas Willement. He set up independently in the late 1830s and came to prominence when he executed, with outstanding success, the windows designed by A.W.N. Pugin for the apse of Oscott College chapel, near Birmingham. Thereafter he was responsible for some hundreds of windows, mainly memorial, in Britain and abroad. In 1848 he published his monumental *History of Stained Glass*, in which he illustrates many of his own designs in colour.

Organ chamber, north side, bay 2 (nIII) (Pl. 98)

A three-light window with tracery lights (p. 578). At the bottom are three scenes from the life of Christ: Jesus Wept, *Noli Me Tangere*, and the Raising of Jairus's Daughter. Above are three standing angels with scrolls bearing Biblical texts, under elaborate canopies of late Gothic type. The heads of the main lights are filled with fluently designed vine foliage. Two monograms (*IHC*; *alpha* and *omega*) appear in the tracery.

The memorial inscription at the base reads:

To · Mary · Widow · of · the Rev^d. George Uppleby / · By · her + children + A · D · 1858 · / · Died · Aug^t. 16 A · D · 1857 · Aged · 60 · Years ·

It is also signed in the centre panel: W^m. Warrington × London × AD × 1857

This window, like the earlier George Uppleby memorial on the south side the chancel (sII), is by William Warrington. It is signed, and is well documented in contemporary journals;²⁵⁵ it was installed in December 1858.²⁵⁶ The subject matter – Christ associated with women in Scripture – is of a type commonly found in memorials to women in the Victorian era. The Uppleby windows at Barton are characteristic examples of Warrington's vigorous, rather coarse style. Though nominally 'Gothic', his figures depend much on Renaissance and especially Italian Quattrocento sources, accessed from engravings.

When the organ chamber was built in 1897 this window was moved from its original position in the north wall of the chancel. The stonework was shortened, necessitating the removal of three sections of painted canopy work from the centre of the main lights immediately above the figurative panels. These were transferred to the adjacent window (nIV) of the organ chamber, set against pre-existing plain glazing (see below).

Organ chamber, north side, bay 1 (nIV) (Pl. 100)

A three-light window, the main lights containing three rectangular panels of painted canopy work, set against plain glazing. Prior to 1897 these panels were part of the Warrington window in memory of Mary Uppleby, described above (nIII).

South aisle, bay 3 (sVII) (Pl. 101)

A three-light window with tracery lights (p. 577). The window contains six figurative scenes, the three above illustrating the text 'I the Bread of Life' (the Parable of the Sower, the Last Supper, the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes); and the three below 'I am the True Vine' (Go and bring forth Fruit, Christ as the True Vine, the Marriage Feast at Cana). The tracery lights contain two demi-angels, and a crown.

The memorial inscription reads:

+ IN · MEMORY · OF · JOHN / WILBAR · LUNN ·
DIED · MARCH / 18 · 1861 · AGED · 60 · YEARS +

This window is undocumented but on stylistic grounds is evidently by Clayton and Bell.²⁵⁷ It most probably dates from a little after the memorial date of 1861.²⁵⁸ John Richard Clayton (1827–1913) and Alfred Bell (1832–1895) formed their partnership in 1856, encouraged by the architect George Gilbert Scott who gave them some of their first commissions, notably at Westminster Abbey. Their work immediately attracted critical acclaim and the firm became one of the largest and most prestigious of the nineteenth century. This window is an example of their early style, characterized by deep but harmonious colouring, simple linear draughtsmanship and a strong sense of abstract design, based, very loosely, on early medieval precedents. A critic remarked of their work in 1862 that 'a certain

quasi-classical elegance, mingling with the severe simplicity which distinguishes the style of that epoch, has been well caught'.²⁵⁹

South aisle, bay 2 (sVI) (Pl. 102)

A three-light window with tracery lights (p. 577). The subject is the *Tè Deum*. The central figure of Christ, seated in Majesty within a rayed mandorla, is surrounded by groups of apostles, princes of the Church, prophets, angels and martyrs. The tracery lights contain two multi-winged seraphim and (above) an angel displaying the symbol of the Trinity.

The memorial inscription is as follows:

TO · THE · GLORY · OF · GOD · AND · IN · MEM-
ORY / OF · MARY · BURNISTON · LUNN · BORN
/ APRIL · 1ST · 1804 · DIED · MARCH · 19TH · 1886

The face of Christ has been vandalized, and part of the memorial inscription has also been lost. Like that immediately adjacent, this finely painted window is a product of the Clayton and Bell studio. The cartoonist was almost certainly George Daniels (1854–1940). Daniels was a talented artist with some academic training who was apprenticed to Clayton and Bell in 1870 and worked for the firm until the 1920s. This window exhibits well his distinctive, essentially classical style, apparent in many of Clayton and Bell's later windows. The figures are excellently composed and the heads and faces modelled with great assurance. Daniels also worked for other firms and individuals, notably cartooning windows for the architect John Francis Bentley.

North aisle, bay 2 (nVII) (Pl. 103)

A three-light window and tracery lights (p. 578). The main lights contain figures of St Luke, St Stephen and St Paul standing under elaborate late Gothic canopies. Below are three smaller illustrative scenes: St Paul with St Luke in Prison, the Trial of St Stephen, and the Stoning of St Stephen. In the tracery lights are two angels holding, respectively, a crown and a palm of martyrdom. The emblem of the Trinity appears in a smaller top light above.

The inscription at the base of the centre light reads:

To the Glory of GOD and in loving memory of – /
Robert Brown F.S.A, who passed to his rest in Paradise
/ Oct: 16, 1912. "He that overcometh shall inherit all
things / and I will be his GOD and he shall be My son."

The window is unsigned but is recorded as a work of Archibald Keightley Nicholson (1871–1937), brother of the well-known Edwardian church architect Sir Charles Nicholson (1867–1949).²⁶⁰ Nicholson ran a large and successful London studio with a national reach. His windows are not infrequent in the diocese of

Lincoln, perhaps because his brother was consulting architect to the cathedral. His stained glass is stylistically rather conservative and little influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement, but the best of his work, especially before 1914, has considerable merit and attests to the continuing vigour of the Gothic Revival well into the twentieth century.

Floor and Wall Finishes

At the end of the Middle Ages the floors comprised a mixture of glazed tiles, sepulchral slabs, mortar and earth. A chequered floor of unglazed red and grey tile paviments was laid in the chancel in the sixteenth century, punctuated by monuments.²⁶¹ In the seventeenth century, more floor slabs began to appear, especially in the chancel and the central alley of the nave. Pre-Victorian floor tiling is described in chapter 16.

Many more ledger-slabs were introduced in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, almost filling the alleys between the box-pews in the nave and aisles. The restoration of 1858–59 saw a complete repaving of the chancel with Staffordshire tiles, and a partial rearrangement of the nave and aisles. At the same time, glazed tiling was affixed to the walls of the sanctuary, up to the sill level of the east window. All this tiling remains, despite past calls to have it removed. The Victorian tiling is described in chapter 9 (p. 518).

The remainder of the walls throughout the church were covered with medieval lime plaster,

virtually all of which was lost during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Nothing substantive can therefore be said about decorative finishes, and only the slightest traces of polychromy and black-letter texts have survived. Coloured limewashes and distempers were employed in the Georgian and earlier Victorian decorations but, again, little evidence has survived the wholesale stripping of walls to expose rubble masonry. Replastering has begun in some areas, notably the chancel.

Funerary Monuments

A full schedule of funerary monuments inside the church is given in Appendix 6. The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century wall monuments are mostly connected with prominent families in Barton, brief notes on whom were assembled by Tomblason (1905, 33–73). Medieval and post-medieval monuments are discussed in chapters 12 and 13, respectively.

The medieval monuments, in particular, have been listed and described by antiquaries, with varying accuracy and completeness, on several occasions. The two major lists are those compiled by Loft, between 1827 and 1832 (unfortunately incomplete for the interior), and Monson in 1835 (Monson 1936). A few were noted by Glynne in 1825 (Glynne 1898). Loft's unpublished manuscript is printed *verbatim* in Appendix 3. A plan made by Hesleden in 1834 shows the locations of thirty-nine floor slabs, but the key to their identifications is now lost (Fig. 44).²⁶²

11. ST PETER'S CHURCHYARD AND VICARAGE

I like that ancient Saxon phrase,
which calls the burial-ground God's acre!
Henry Longfellow, *God's Acre*, 1842

St Peter's churchyard is in two parts, separated by an east-west thoroughfare, now a footpath, which is effectively a continuation of Burgate, one of the main streets of the town. The enclosure containing the church lies to the north of the path, with a Victorian graveyard extension to the south (Figs. 668 and 669). In its present form, the old churchyard has an irregular, multi-angular boundary and encloses approximately 0.86 acre (0.35 ha). Before the southern boundary was repositioned in 1850, the circuit was even more markedly angular, enclosing a slightly greater area, c. 0.90 acre.¹ When the vicarage was built around the beginning of the eighteenth century, a strip was cut off the western edge of the churchyard which hitherto would have been at least 0.96 acre (0.38 ha) in extent, and probably more. The area was thus a close approximation to the traditional 'God's Acre'. Coincidentally, at 0.84 acre (0.34 ha), St Mary's churchyard is almost

identical in size to the reduced St Peter's. The southern extension to the latter is roughly quadrangular and covers an area of 0.65 acre (0.26 ha).

The ground to the south and east of the church is fairly level, but falls away towards the low-lying Pasture Road on the north, and also slopes gently towards the Beck on the west. In 1827 Loft described the old churchyard as 'considerably elevated' and 'fenced all round with brick walls'.² The churchyards of Barton are both traversed by rights of way and footpaths, which has prevented their being securely enclosed in modern times, although it is reported that St Mary's was formerly railed and gated. A painting of St Peter's of 1823, shows a pair of high, elaborate Georgian timber gates at the south-west entrance, potentially indicating that the churchyard was securely enclosed in the eighteenth century (Pl. 9). The similar but slightly later view also shows the gates, which had by then been painted white (Fig. 14).

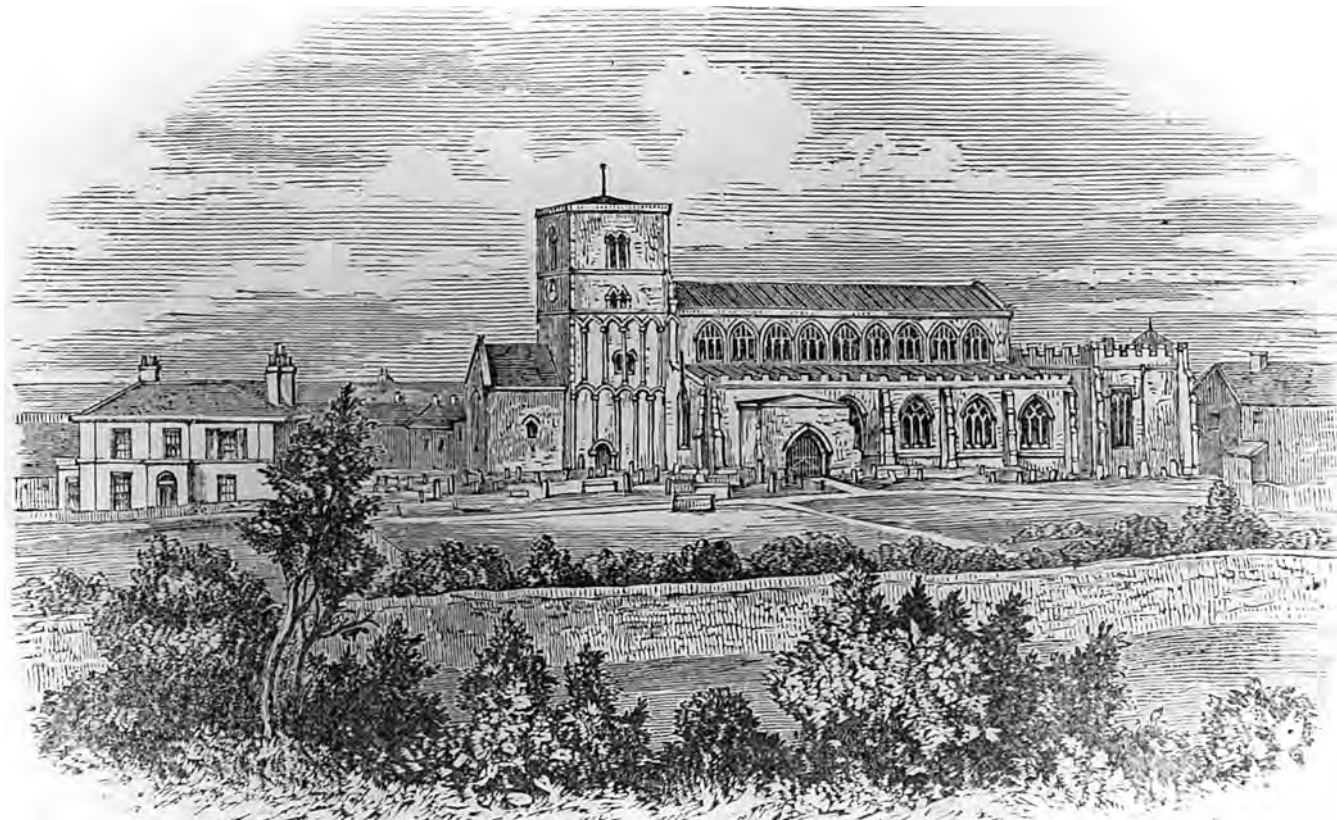


Fig. 668: View of St Peter's church and vicarage from the south in 1856. Tyrwhitt Hall is glimpsed on the far right. In the middle ground is the graveyard extension of 1850, separated from the old churchyard by the path running east-west. Based on a photograph taken in the 1850s. Ball 1856

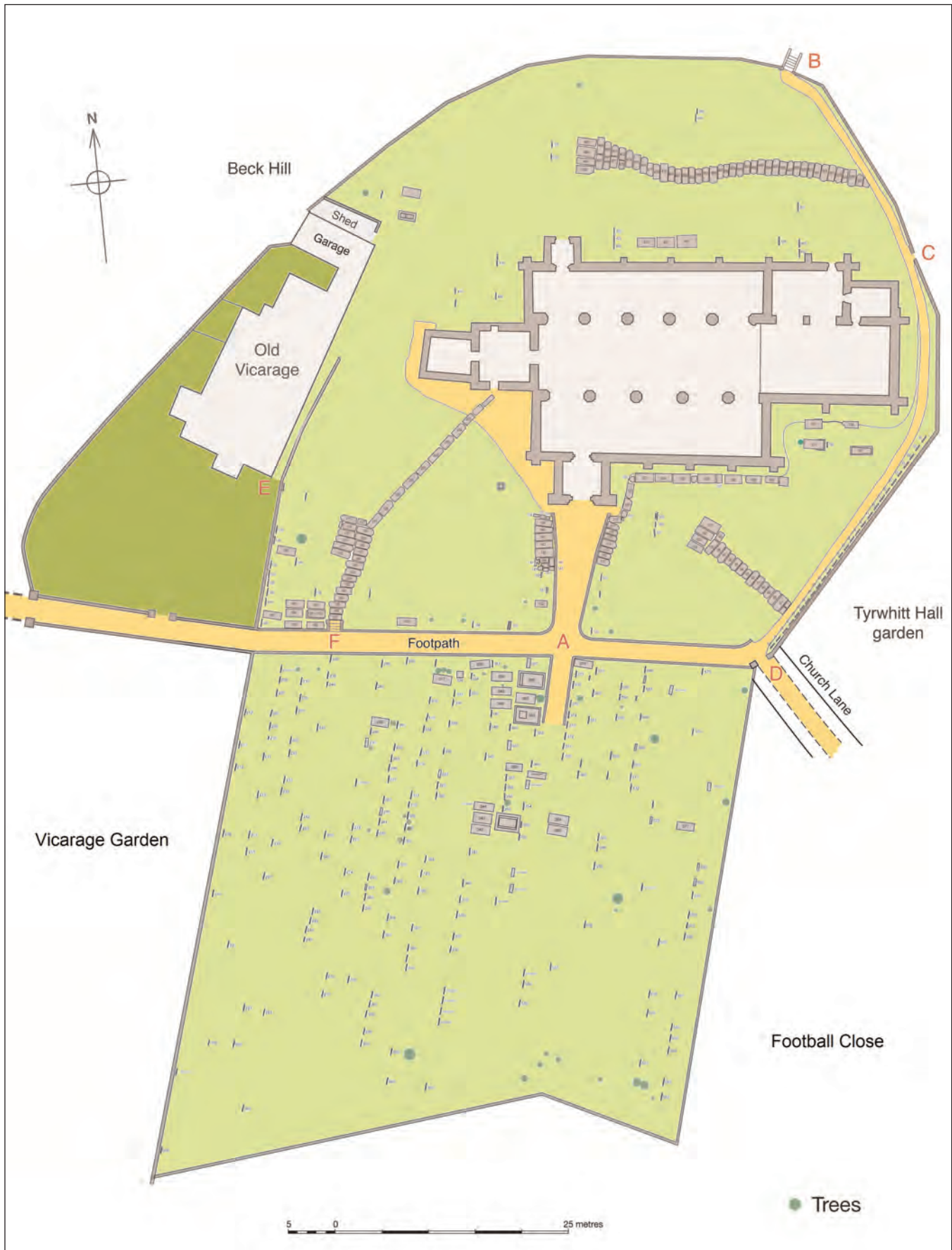


Fig. 669: Plan of St Peter's churchyard and its southern extension, as existing in 1984. Entrances are labelled A to F. The landscaped arrangement of tombstones in the northern churchyard, which dated from 1967, was dismantled in 1984–85. Drawing: Caroline Atkins and Simon Hayfield

Archaeology of the Churchyard

Boundaries and entrances (Fig. 669)

Relative to the size of the church, the churchyard is a modest enclosure, although there are no less than six points of entry into it. The straight boundary on the south is not of great antiquity in its present form: it runs between entrances at the south-west and south-east corners of the churchyard. The former is approached from Beck Hill and Burgate, and the latter gives access to a path that follows the perimeter of the Anglo-Saxon sub-circular enclosure. That path was known as Church Lane in 1831 (Fig. 152).³

This main thoroughfare through St Peter's had become so encroached upon by burials that it had to be redefined in 1859. The present wide pathway was then cut through, and in the process disturbed a great many burials. A contemporary account records: 'the lowering of the path across the yard has revealed so many of the horrors of the grave that workpeople have had to pursue their dreadful occupation at an early hour to obviate shocking the feelings of chance passengers across the yard. When finished, it may be truthfully said that those who attend church will pass through the valley of the shadow of death'.⁴ The footpath is now

flanked on both sides by low brick walls, erected in 1898 (p. 600). A short path leading off at right-angles runs to the south porch, the principal point of entry (A) to the church.

The curving northern boundary comprises a brick wall which revets the churchyard alongside Beck Hill, where there is a marked change of level (Figs. 450 and 671). At the north-east corner is an entrance (B) and a short flight of brick steps with Yorkstone treads, leading down to East Acridge and Pasture Road (Fig. 670). Photographs taken pre-1900 show an eighteenth-century brick wall with numerous shallow pilasters on the external face, similar to local garden walls of the period (Fig. 671). The wall was partly reconstructed in the early twentieth century, but the boundary itself and the steps are certainly older, and associated with a medieval footpath along the eastern boundary of the churchyard.⁵

The boundary on the east takes a markedly angular course and comprises a red brick wall of eighteenth-century date. Beyond it is Tyrwhitt Hall, and a small gate in the wall formerly facilitated private access (C) (Fig. 685). The angling of the wall provides a classic demonstration of the eastward encroachment of the graveyard into the neighbouring property, as the church expanded in size during the Middle Ages (Fig. 669). A footpath follows the entire length of the wall,

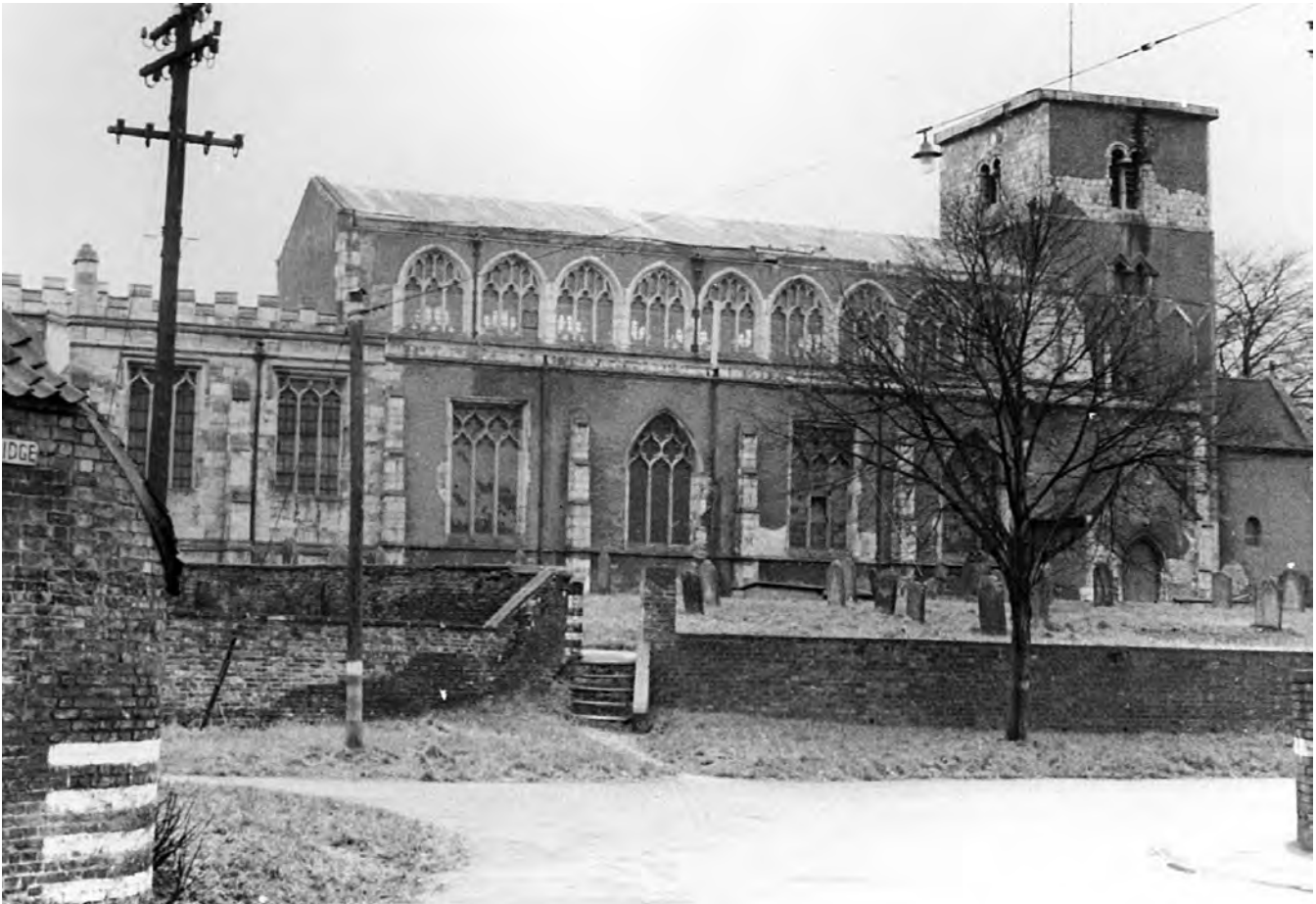


Fig. 670: St Peter's church and churchyard from Pasture Road, 1946. The steps mark the north-east entrance to the churchyard. Tyrwhitt Hall is behind the wall to the left. Photo: R.H. Linsell, courtesy of the Church Buildings Council

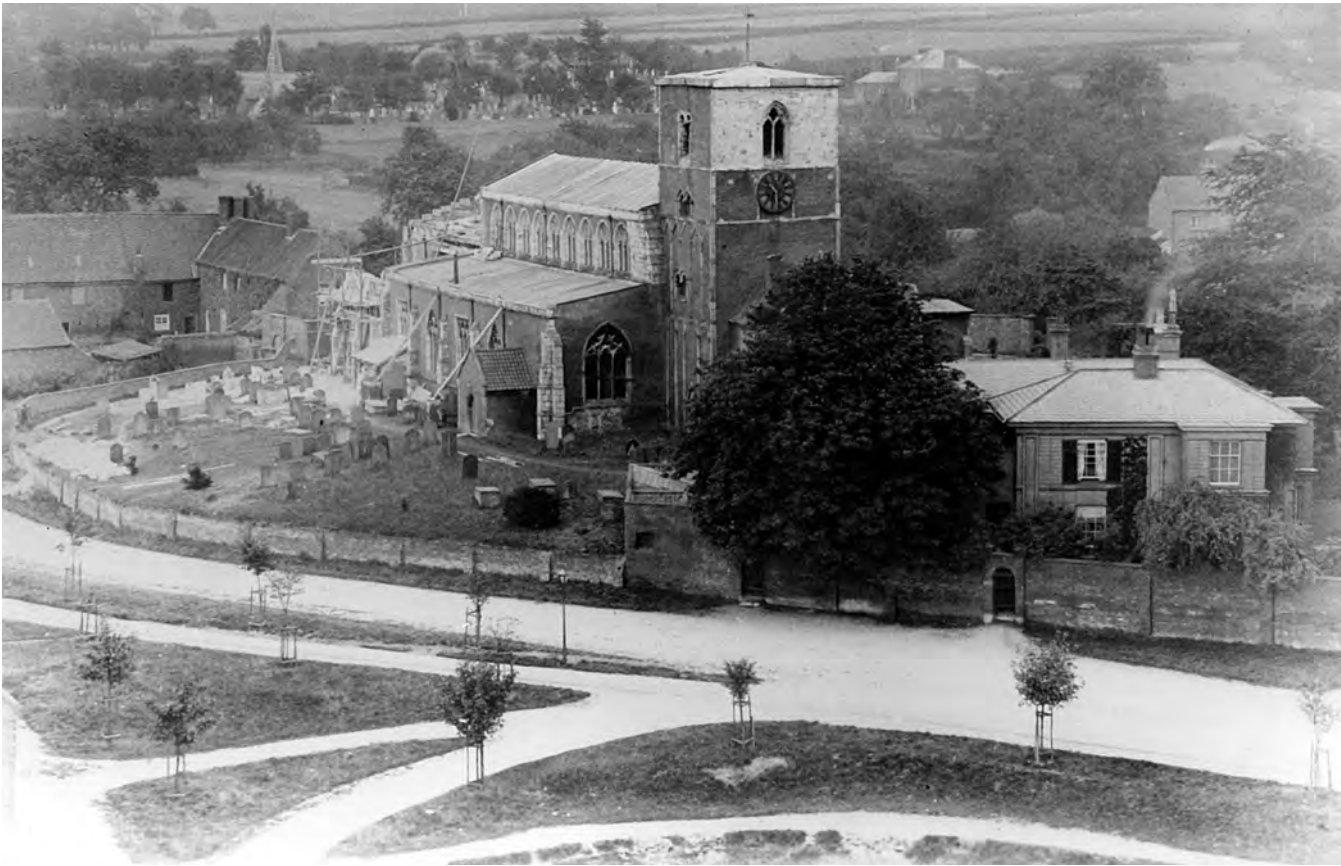


Fig. 671: St Peter's church and vicarage in 1897, with the organ chamber under construction. This view, from St Mary's tower, shows the buttressed churchyard wall fronting onto Beck Hill, and the distribution of tombstones north of the church. Tyrwhitt Hall is on the left; behind it, in the distance, is glimpsed the spire of the cemetery chapel in Barrow Road. Courtesy of North Lincolnshire Museum Service (Ball, scrapbook 2)

from an entrance (D) at the south-east corner of the churchyard, skirting round the east end of the chancel, to the north-east entrance (B).

The western boundary is likely to be the most recent, being related to the erection of a vicarage house here in the early eighteenth century. In part, the house wall forms the churchyard boundary, along with nineteenth-century yard and garden walls. A narrow gateway at the south-east corner of the house provided a private entrance (E) to the churchyard for the vicar. Prior to the erection of the vicarage, the northern boundary swept round towards the south-west, where it evidently enclosed a further area of churchyard.

The final point of entry to the churchyard is on the south side, close to the western corner, where there are a few steps (F). From these a modern path composed of displaced gravestones (now removed) formerly ran to the south door of the tower, and a further ill-defined grass path followed around the west end of the church, to the north side, and thence to join the eastern boundary path.

Throughout burial Phases B and B/C (but not earlier, or later) the south door in the tower appears to have been a common point of access to a generous path which led through Area 8 (Fig. 737). This is too early to have been associated with the vicarage on the

western edge of the churchyard, and thus presumably related to access from Burgate. The path was re-established in 1967 (Fig. 669).

Churchyard layout and density of burial

Apart from the churchyard cross (see below), the approach to the south porch and the footpath alongside the eastern boundary, nothing is known of historic features within the graveyard. This stands in marked contrast to some other churchyards, which have been found to contain evidence for numerous medieval and later structures, *e.g.* Rivenhall (Essex) (Rodwell and Rodwell 1985, ch. 4). Photographs taken at Barton in the second half of the nineteenth century reveal a forest of post-medieval tombstones particularly in the south-west quarter (Fig. 672), and to the south of the church (Fig. 687).⁶ There were somewhat fewer on the north side of the church (Figs. 670 and 671).

Soil level had risen around the church to the extent that it was necessary to descend three steps to reach the floor of the south porch. Plinths all round the church had disappeared below ground and brick gutters were laid around the walls at various times, some later replaced with tarmac. It was possibly in 1858 that the sunken path flanked by brick retaining walls, leading to



Fig. 672: St Peter's churchyard from the south-west, in the early 1870s, showing a profusion of tombstones of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Note the new rendering on the tower and south porch (1868–70). Photo: ex. Vārah coll., Lincolnshire Archives

the south door was created, accompanied by a lowering of the porch floor and threshold to the doorway. However, the path was widened and the present funnel-shaped approach created in 1898.

In 1900 a trench was cut alongside the south aisle, drain-pipes were laid, and a retaining wall was constructed. Ground level around the south side of the tower was reduced in 1911 and an apron of tarmac laid. A brick-built fuel store with a pantiled roof was erected in 1913 in the north-west corner of the churchyard, adjoining the vicarage yard (Fig. 669). In the 1980s it was repaired and converted into a lavatory.

In 1966 the Parochial Church Council decided to level the churchyard in order to facilitate grass mowing. A crude sketch plan was made, indicating very approximately the positions of the marked burials, and an inventory of 244 inscriptions was drawn up.⁷ A small number of headstones and tomb-chests were identified as being worthy of retention *in situ*, while the remainder were uprooted.⁸ The character of the churchyard was entirely destroyed by being landscaped and municipalized. Many headstones were re-erected against the eastern boundary wall, and a few against the vicarage garden wall on the west. Two groups of stones were laid flat alongside the retaining walls flanking the approach to the south door; these included the earliest identifiable inscriptions. A few slabs from the tops of table-tombs were placed on the ground surface at the south-west corner of the churchyard. The remaining whole slabs were laid to form three paths: these were on the north side and in the south-east and south-west quadrants, respectively (Fig. 669). At the end of each of these paths was an emplacement for a seat.⁹ A curving apron of fragments was formed in the angle between the western annexe, tower and south aisle. Finally, the uninscribed components of chest-tombs, kerbs and sundry other elements were broken up and carted away.

After less than two decades, some of the slabs that had been laid flat had delaminated as a result of frost action, and as part of the proposed re-landscaping of the churchyard it was decided in 1985 to take up the paths, and attempt to re-erect at least some of the headstones close to their original positions.¹⁰ The churchyard (including the southern extension) was surveyed between 1978 and 1984, and the surviving inscriptions were recorded; those in the old churchyard were correlated as far as possible with the 1966 list.¹¹ The earliest inscribed stones dated from the first quarter of the eighteenth century (p. 717).

Meanwhile, vandalism continued apace and it was evident that it was not only impracticable to re-erect headstones, but also that those which had been previously positioned alongside the boundaries would also have to be removed, if they were to be saved from destruction. Today, scarcely a handful of tombstones remains visible in the old churchyard; a few have been taken inside the church, but the majority have been buried for protection under three long earthen mounds in the south-east and south-west quadrants.¹²

The bare, municipal character of the churchyard still subsists.

Finally, we must consider the density of churchyard usage for burial. Although there are too many imponderables to enable a confident determination of the total number of interments that took place, it is possible to offer some reasoned deductions. At its greatest extent, the churchyard occupied not less than *c.* 3,800 m², and the total area excavated in 1978–84 amounted to 1,245 m², or 33%. Within that, there were substantial areas that could not be excavated, where there were standing walls or the foundations of demolished walls.¹³

The density of burial varied considerably, both within the church and outside it. The area available for excavation within the present walls of the church was just under 500 m². If a deduction is made for medieval foundations and later vaults, which destroyed many early graves and inhibited the digging of later ones, the 487 excavated burials¹⁴ came from an area of around 400 m². In very rough terms, this means that 1.2 interments per square metre were either placed within, or sealed under, the late medieval church. The majority fell within the latter category, and the calculated density is probably well below that which actually obtained, so many early graves having been destroyed by later activity.

Outdoor burial was almost invariably more dense on the south and east sides of a church than on the north, and Barton was no exception.¹⁵ Excavation along the whole of the north side revealed a moderate burial density, but on the south investigation has only taken place around the south-west corner of the present building (Fig. 24). Hence a direct comparison between opposing sides cannot be made. However, it is abundantly clear that burial to the south-west of the church, at all periods, was intense. Moreover, excavation within the present south aisle demonstrated that early medieval graves were densely packed against the outside of the previous, unaisled building.

Excluding Area 16 (basically the footpath between the east end of the church and the boundary wall), the total extent of external excavation was *c.* 570 m². This yielded 2,340 burials of all periods, an average of 4.1 per square metre. In the excavation south-west of the tower and annexe (Areas 8, 9 and 19), some 910 burials were recovered from 136 m², which gives a density of 6.7 burials per square metre. Even this is likely to be an underestimate of the true number of interments, since babies and young children were poorly represented in the overall skeletal assemblage. In the ground, their remains were relatively short-lived, and were easily dispersed through intercutting burial, animal disturbance and bone decay. Given the known rates of infant mortality prior to the twentieth century, it is apparent that no more than ten per cent of the actual deaths that must have occurred are represented in the archaeological record.

While acknowledging the dangers of extrapolating from these figures to arrive at an overall burial population for St Peter's churchyard, the exercise is

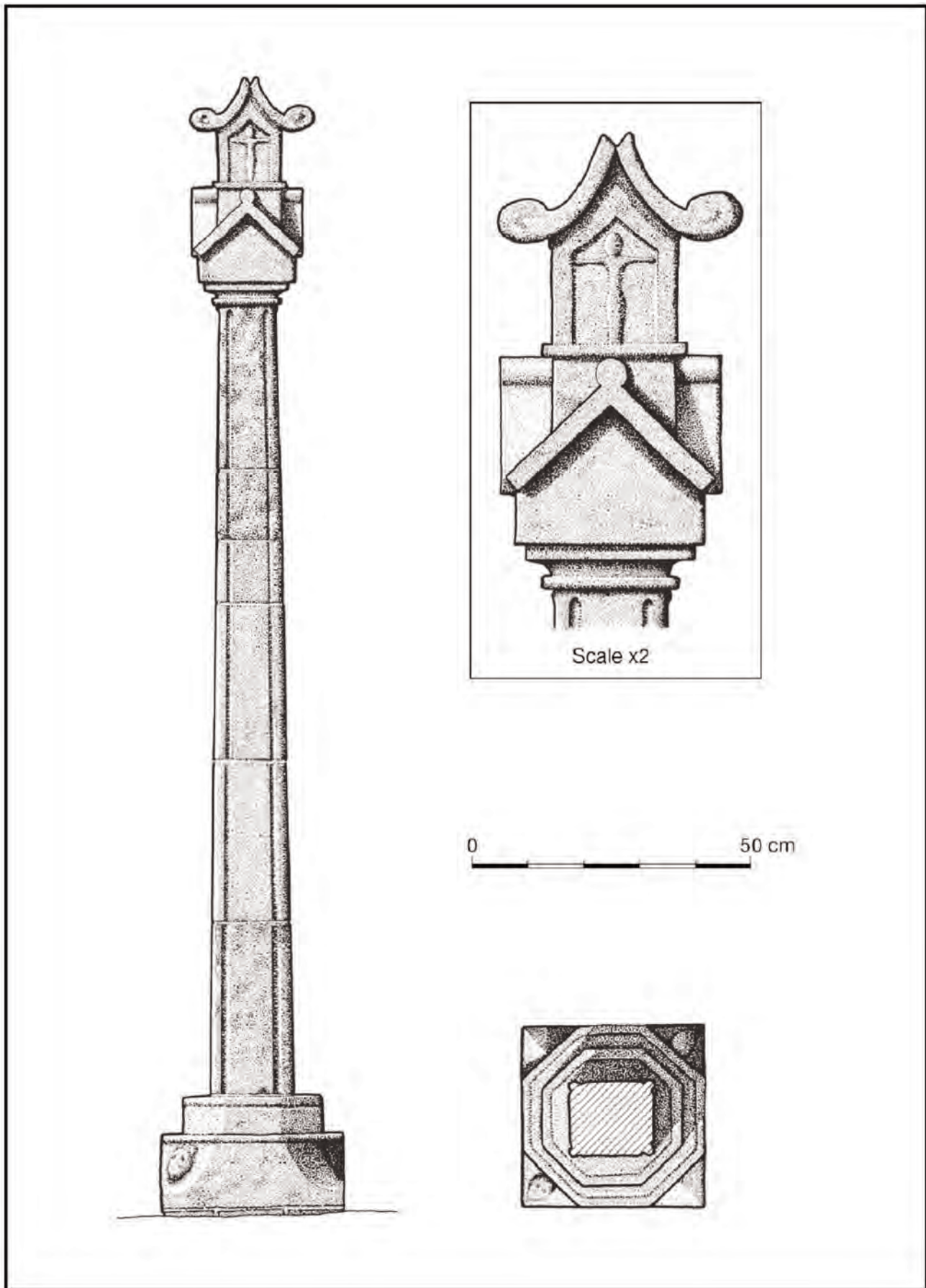


Fig. 673: Churchyard cross. Plan and east elevation, together with a detail of the gabled head and Crucifixion scene. Scale 1:10. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

worthwhile, if only to provide a very approximate order of magnitude. If we take the average burial density throughout the churchyard to have been four persons per square metre, the number of interments within the present boundaries is likely to have been in the order of 14,000. The full extent of the medieval churchyard (before the vicarage was intruded on the west) potentially contained *c.* 18,000 burials. Since St Peter's cemetery was in use for almost a millennium, this would imply an average of only eighteen burials per annum, a reasonably modest number for a small town. Allowing for losses, it is likely that St Peter's church and graveyard received some 20,000 burials altogether.

It must, of course, be remembered that for a substantial part of the period in question interments were also being made in St Mary's church and churchyard, but there are no excavated data to compare. The numbers will undoubtedly have been lower than for St Peter's: the latter is likely to have commanded two-thirds of the burials that have taken place in Barton. It is instructive to compare the foregoing rough calculations with the earliest recorded burial statistics for the town. In the fifteen-year period 1566–80, the combined burial registers for the two churches record 357 deaths, an average of twenty-four per annum. This accords with the estimated order of magnitude suggested by the archaeological record for burial at St Peter's.

Churchyard cross

The medieval churchyard cross stands on slightly elevated ground just west of the south porch (Pl. 112), and was adjacent to the former path leading to the principal entrance. The stump of the shaft, with no base visible, is first recorded on Nattes's drawing of 1796. In 1827 Loft noted, 'The pedestal and part of a square shaft with groin'd or rib'd angles of a stone Calvary, altogether about 4 feet high'.¹⁶ It remained in this condition until 1904 when full restoration took place, evidently amidst criticism.¹⁷ The cross now stands just over 4 m high (Fig. 673).

Excavation alongside the cross in 1984 (Area 19) showed that the base rests on a considerable accumulation of churchyard soil and that burials pass under it; there appears to be only one course of Victorian brick as a foundation, with no metalled surface adjacent. Clearly, the whole cross has been raised in sympathy with post-medieval ground level, and this presumably occurred in 1904. Whether the location has also been changed cannot be ascertained. Curiously, there is no plinth, step or paving around the cross, which is a strong pointer to its having been repositioned. Plinths and steps were the norm in north Lincolnshire. Both the churchyard and market crosses at Barrow are raised on a single stone step, square in plan (Fig. 676, A). The churchyard cross at Thornton Curtis is raised on three steps, also of square plan (Fig. 675).

The two-stage base of the cross at St Peter's comprises a block of limestone, 66 cm square, and is

stepped at a height of 26 cm (Figs. 673 and 674). The corners of the lower stage are cut away so that the top is octagonal in plan, and has a simple roll and water-holding moulding around its arris; the upper stage is octagonal and is similarly moulded. Two of the corner facets of the lower stage are sculpted in relief with human masks (south-east and north-west; Fig. 674), but these are now so eroded that their facial features cannot be readily distinguished. The other two facets carry what appear to be vestigial brooch-stops, but again these are very worn. The square cross base at Thornton Curtis also has faceted corners, each of which bears a human head (Fig. 675); the two-stage base at Winterton is almost identical to that at Barton, except that none of the faceted corners carries a mask (Fig. 676, B). They were arguably products of the same workshop.

The base at Thornton Curtis is raised on a separate, chamfered sub-base, as are several others in the region. The proportions of the base at Barton call for its elevation on a similar sub-base, but this was probably lost when the cross was reset on its present brick foundation, if not earlier.



Fig. 674: Churchyard cross: base and surviving stump of the medieval shaft. A, The setting, axially in front of the tower doorway. From the south. B, Base, showing the eroded mask on the south-east facet. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

The cross-shaft is rectangular in section, tapering as it rises, and has a roll flanked by bold hollows on each arris. It is evidently tenoned into the base, and there is a thick lead flange visible in the joint. The original cross-shaft was composed of several sections of Lower



Fig. 675: Thornton Curtis (Lincs.). Stump of the medieval churchyard cross, reused as a sundial pillar (with original sub-base and three-stepped plinth). Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Magnesian Limestone of which only the lowest (no. 1; 65 cm high) is medieval and *in situ* (Fig. 673). Above this are now five further sections of shaft of varying lengths, together with the cross-head which is itself composed of two stones. Two of the shaft sections (nos. 5 and 6) are ancient and were incorporated in the reconstruction of 1904: their mouldings are similar to no. 1. All three medieval pieces are of yellowish stone, while the three modern sections (nos. 2, 3 and 4) are pale cream in colour (Pl. 112). They also have a slightly different profile from the others, there being a quirk adjacent to the hollow moulding on each face. Hence, the mouldings do not continue smoothly from one stone to the next. No explanation can be offered for the introduction of this anomaly in 1904. Nevertheless, it was presumably the survival of so many fragments of medieval cross that prompted restoration in the first place. A further three fragments of the medieval cross-shaft are in the lapidary collection (Fig. 822, 24; p. 803). The largest piece is a short section, *c.* 25 cm square, complete at the upper end and broken at the lower. The complete end contains a square mortice to receive a dowel for jointing to the next section of shaft (or the cross-head) above.

The lower part of the cross-head is a plain, modern block of pale limestone, with four-way gablets (Fig. 673); mounted on it is a thinner and much older stone with decorated faces to east and west and an integral, concave-sided coping which has lost its apex roll.¹⁸ Both faces contain sunk panels with gabled tops: on the east, in *bas-relief*, is a tiny figure of the Crucified Christ, while



Fig. 676: Stumps of medieval churchyard crosses, reused as sundial pillars. A (left), Barrow-upon-Humber (shaft modified and base probably reset on blocks reclaimed from the original plinth); B (right), Winterton (base reset, without plinth). Photos: Warwick Rodwell

on the west the panel appears to be blank.¹⁹ This seems to be the fragment found in a garden in Barton in 1894 and initially attributed (incorrectly) to the head of the St Mary's churchyard cross (p. 139).²⁰

Whether the medieval sections of shaft and head all originally belonged to one cross, or some were derived from another that was closely similar, is uncertain: on the one hand it seems implausible that there were two similar crosses in Barton, especially since it is known that the churchyard cross at St Mary's was of a different pattern (p. 140), while on the other hand the discrepancies in the shaft mouldings are not reconcilable with a single artefact.

Dating the St Peter's cross is not easy: while the majority of simple churchyard crosses date from the fifteenth century, this one is clearly much earlier.²¹ The octagonal base with water-holding mouldings points to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century (*cf.* the arcade bases in St Peter's), and the shaft with arris-rolls and flanking hollows is no later. Indeed, it could be slightly earlier since it finds parallels in shafts datable to the late eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century: *cf.* the undecorated faces of the cross-shaft at Aunsby (Everson and Stocker 1999, 319–20, figs. 435, 437) and the 'St Guthlac' shaft from Crowland, both in south Lincolnshire (Everson and Stocker 1999, 323–5, fig. 456). Closer at hand, the Winterton shaft is similar to that at St Peter's (Fig. 676, B). It may be noted *en passant* that the fragment of churchyard cross from St Mary's, with dogtooth decoration dates from the early part of the thirteenth century and is markedly different in style (Fig. 135). Everson and Stocker (1999, 89–91) argue persuasively for regarding early medieval standing crosses in Lincolnshire as a continuation of the Anglo-Saxon tradition. We therefore conclude that the St Peter's cross should probably be dated to the late twelfth century.

While the destruction of churchyard crosses as religious foci regularly occurred in the mid-sixteenth century, stumps of shaft were frequently retained *in situ* for centuries thereafter. Although eminently reusable as building material, these stumps and bases were so often left alone that the phenomenon cannot be dismissed as pure coincidence; nor is continuing veneration of a long-defunct feature a wholly convincing explanation. Many of the stumps stand 1.0–1.25 m. high, and their position, usually on the south side of the church, made them ideal candidates for sundial pillars. This is most likely the function to which the St Peter's cross, and many others like it, were put after the Reformation. At Barrow, the stump of the medieval churchyard cross still carries the remains of a sundial-head (Fig. 676, A),²² and at Thornton Curtis the top of the surviving shaft fragment retains the leaded fixings for a brass sundial (Fig. 675); the same occurs at Winterton (Fig. 676, B); and the conversion of the churchyard cross at Goxhill to a sundial was noted by Loft.²³ Further local examples could be cited, as well as cross-stumps which do not now display evidence of fixings, as at Heckington.

In sum, it is most likely that the base and some other fragments at St Peter's date from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, and the cross possibly stood elsewhere on the south side of the church.²⁴ Stripped of its presumed plinth and steps, the base and stump of the cross-shaft were reset in their present location, to carry a post-medieval sundial. Other surviving fragments were incorporated in the full-scale restoration of 1904.

Excavated boundary features in the churchyard

As part of the churchyard excavation, a section was taken to the boundary wall at the north-west corner (Area 13; Fig. 24). The wall stands 1.8 m high, is made of brick and, prior to the modern rebuild, was visibly of two phases. The south face had two offsets, and construction trenches for both phases were found (F4580a/b). The wall serves as a revetment to retain the churchyard, which stands almost 2 m above road level. The first phase of construction may be late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, and related to the improvement of the vicarage, while the second phase is datable to 1938.²⁵ A third cut in the subsoil suggests the existence of an even earlier wall, slightly to the south of the present one.

Prior to the erection of the wall, there was a path or track defining the northern perimeter of the churchyard. It comprised a metalled surface at least 2.8 m wide, resting directly on a terrace in the boulder clay (F4620). A posthole or slot recorded in section against its southern edge marked a fence-line or revetment to retain the churchyard. The path material was mixed chalk rubble, with a few large river cobbles; also included were fragments of brick, tile and oyster shells. A late medieval date seems likely. Overlying this were layers of silt and a little more metalling, all certainly post-medieval. One of these layers (F4616) sealed a grave which cut through the track, while other graves were even later.

The road skirting the north side of the churchyard (now Beck Hill, but previously known as Pasture Road)²⁶ is somewhat lower than the chalk path and was formerly liable to flooding. It is therefore likely that the path was terraced into the side of the churchyard, to provide a dry footway to Tyrwhitt Hall. The road and path were presumably successors to the Anglo-Saxon hollow-way sectioned in Area 10 (p. 173).

Not only is the present north-east entrance to the churchyard on the line of the path just described, but the modern footpath alongside the boundary wall with Tyrwhitt Hall also runs southward from that entrance. Excavation in Areas 15 and 16 revealed a series of metalled footpaths here extending back at least to the fourteenth century. The earliest metalling was cut by the foundation trench for the chancel (Fig. 677). A later surface, probably sixteenth century, contained a large quantity of medieval ceramic roof tile (F5209; Figs. 678 and 679).



Fig. 677: Medieval path around the east end of the church, cut by the foundation trench for the present chancel. View north. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 678 Late medieval path curving around the north-east corner of the church. In the foreground is the branch of the path which continues to the north-east entrance of the churchyard. View south. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 679 Detail of the late medieval patch in the path (F5209) at the east end of the church, showing a layer of broken medieval roof tile. View north. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

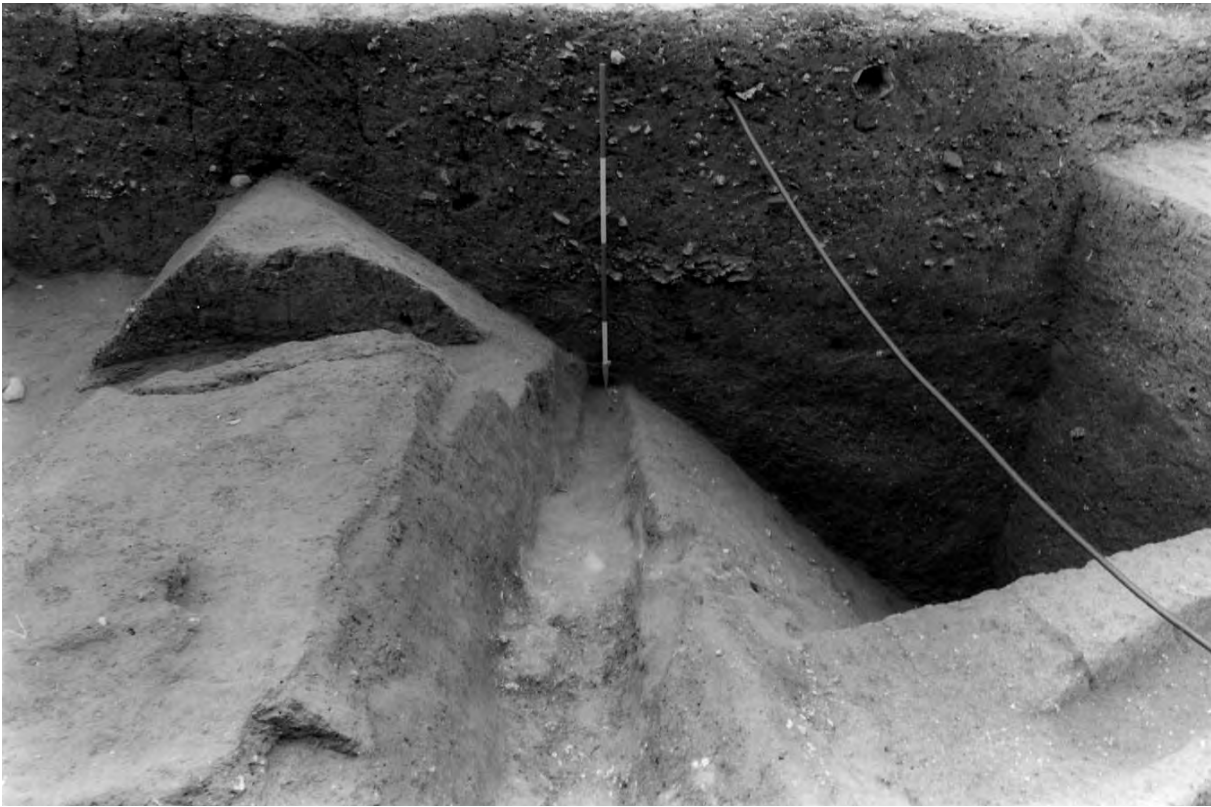


Fig. 680: Part-section of the defensive ditch (F5458) underlying the eastern boundary of the churchyard. The 2 m ranging-pole stands in the remains of the earlier palisade trench (F5456). Extreme left is the Saxo-Norman churchyard boundary (F5384). View north. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 681: Part section of the defensive ditch F5458, showing the steep inner slope (left). View north. Scales of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

The eastern boundary and the Norman earthwork defences

Excavation of Area 15 in 1983 revealed that the eastern boundary of the churchyard has had an unexpectedly complex history. In the Saxo-Norman period the limit was marked by a flat-bottomed ditch aligned north-south (F5384; Figs. 161, 167 and 168). That boundary was overrun in the early twelfth century by the rebuilding and eastward extension of the church (p. 174). This led to a further encroachment into the interior of the now-obliterated sub-circular enclosure (p. 611), and a new boundary in the form of a timber palisade (F5456) was established 2 m beyond the eastern lip of the previous ditch. If the line of the palisade is projected southwards it would meet the north wall of the Norman chancel close to the posited east end. Alternatively, the line could have veered slightly, to meet the presumed north-east corner (p. 381).

The palisade was not merely a fence, but a substantial construction, the posts being set into a trench *c.* 1.5 m deep. This almost certainly implies the establishment of a quasi-defensive line, incorporating the east wall of the church. The palisade was short-lived and when it was removed the material that fell back into its trench included much charcoal and burnt clay.

The palisade was superseded by an earthwork of such large proportions that its purpose could only have been defensive. In part, the ditch was dug just outside (east of) the palisade, but also sliced obliquely across its line; the two were clearly not contemporaneous (Fig. 680). The western lip of the ditch and less than half of its width fell within the excavation, the remainder lying beyond the present churchyard wall, in the garden of Tyrwhitt Hall. The ditch (F5458) had a steep V-shaped profile (Fig. 681): the bottom was not found, but the minimum depth was 4.8 m (16 ft) and, assuming symmetry, the width must have been at least 9 m (30 ft). The intention may have been to excavate a ditch 30 ft wide by 15 ft deep, or even larger (Fig. 682).

The ditch did not closely follow any of the previous boundaries and a small change of alignment in the western lip suggests that it was canted to pass around the end of the Norman chancel (Figs. 163 and 426). Since the centre of the ditch did not fall within the excavation, the primary silt was not found; however, the western slope showed little sign of weathering and the majority of the backfilling was clean clay, so closely similar to the undisturbed natural that in places it was difficult to locate the cut-line. The ditch was not open for long, and much of the material that filled it was almost certainly derived from its digging, having in the interim been piled up as a bank. The natural subsoil at this point was not the chalky boulder clay which was found over most of the site, but a seam of blue-grey clay.

The rampart had lain on the west side of the ditch, *i.e.* within the churchyard, but the dimensions of the bank could not be established since it did not survive

in the excavated area. When the earthwork was destroyed, the bank was completely cleared down to the ground level that previously obtained, thus reinstating a level churchyard. The bank must have been piled against the north and south walls of the Norman chancel, so that the east end of the church was firmly clasped in the structure of the earthwork. Although the bank did not survive, the stratification within the ditch demonstrated unequivocally that refilling occurred from the west.

The earthwork was very substantial and of defensive proportions, the more so if it was crowned by a palisade. It was unambiguously a military work, imposed on the fringe of the churchyard, and it has been argued that this comprised part of the eastern defences of Barton in the mid-twelfth century (p. 51). Advantage was also gained by the fact that there is a natural fall of at least one metre in the land immediately to the east. Moreover, the church, and in particular its tower, would have provided an elevated observation post and potential platform for archers on the defensive circuit.

The present eastern churchyard boundary post-dates the levelling of the earthwork and, north of the chancel, cuts across its line. The length of boundary wall parallel to and immediately east of the church lies within the defensive ditch but may not be far from its eastern lip.²⁷ Projected northwards, the excavated western lip aims for the properties on the corner of Beck Hill and Pasture Road. However, with only a very slight change of angle, it would align with the west side of Pasture Road.²⁸

A narrow strip of land separates the north-eastern perimeter of the churchyard from the courtyard of Tyrwhitt Hall, and a modern house has been built on it (Fig. 20).²⁹ The eastern boundary of this strip runs parallel to the excavated lip of the ditch and, when projected, aligns with the east side of Pasture Road. There can thus be little doubt that the course of the defensive ditch, north of the church, is fossilized in the modern landscape, and it is suggested that Pasture Road has developed from a track in the hollow of the backfilled ditch. Potentially, the ditch runs all the way to the marshes (Fig. 29).

The course of the defensive ditch due east of the church is marked by a gap between the south range of Tyrwhitt Hall and the chancel: in that gap, directly over the backfilled ditch, runs the present boundary wall. To the south of the church the defensive line has not been established archaeologically, but nineteenth-century plans show a track-like feature following the entire boundary between church and hall, on the east side of the present wall. One plan, datable to *c.* 1831, shows the feature as a pencilled addition.³⁰ Another plan, which must have been drawn in the 1840s, marks it as a landscape feature, evocatively labelled 'Waste Lane'.³¹ The canted line of the present wall between the churchyard and Tyrwhitt Hall echoes what seems to have been a modest excrescence in the eastern

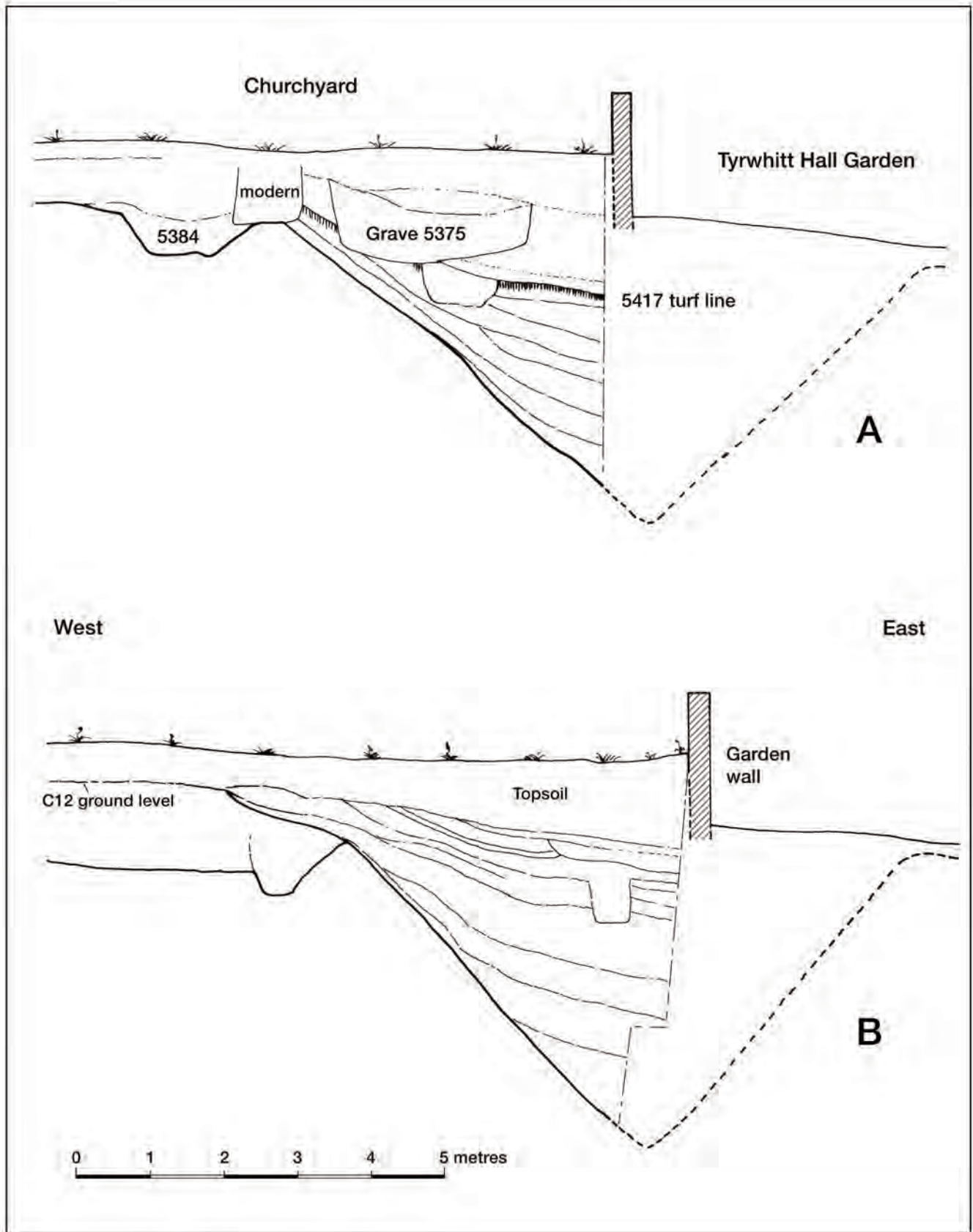


Fig. 682: Drawn sections through the defensive ditch (F5458), forming the eastern boundary of the Norman town. Section A is mildly oblique and therefore the ditch profile is slightly distorted. Suggested reconstructions of the profile (minimum dimensions) are indicated with broken lines. Scale 1:75. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 683: Thirteenth-century palisade trench (F5348) defining the boundary between the churchyard and Tyrwhitt Hall. This was succeeded by a late medieval wall, the foundation trench for which appears on the left, beneath the eighteenth-century wall which forms the present boundary. View south. Scale of 75 cm (on baulk). Photo: Warwick Rodwell

defences of Barton in the twelfth century, designed to incorporate the parish church. For discussion of the defences, see chapter 2 (pp. 47–51).

Excavation shed further light on the history of the boundary between the churchyard and Tyrwhitt Hall. The life of the defensive ditch was short, and the earthworks were probably levelled by about the end of the twelfth century. It has been argued that the chancel was extended to its present length in the thirteenth century, and that could only have taken place after the ditch had been backfilled (p. 395). A new boundary, which appears to date from the later thirteenth century, was established between church and hall, and it lay just west of the present brick wall. The boundary took the form of a timber palisade, set in a 1.0 m wide trench (F5348; Figs. 163, 683 and 684). The reason for the apparent strength of this boundary is not connected to the church, but to the security of the manor house: it was at least semi-fortified.

The palisade did not have a long life, and disappeared in or by the fourteenth century, after which



Fig. 684: Detail of post impressions in the palisade trench, F5348. View south. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 685: East boundary wall of the churchyard, with the private entrance (C) from Tyrwhitt Hall. View east. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 686: Detail of a late medieval brick drain (F5255) running under the east boundary of the churchyard. View east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

began the succession of metalled paths to which reference has already been made. While the present red brick wall and most of its mortared rubble foundation belong to the early or mid-eighteenth century (Figs. 677 and 683), there were sufficient residual traces to confirm that it had a predecessor, more-or-less on the same line. A considerable amount of medieval brick was reused in the foundation and footing courses, suggesting that the previous boundary was perhaps a fifteenth-century brick wall. The site of an early entrance to Tyrwhitt Hall was preserved in the foundations, and is still marked by a small gateway (Fig. 685). A medieval surface-water drain, made of brick, was encountered passing under the eighteenth-century wall (F5255; Fig. 686).

Churchyard Extension, 1850

By the middle of the nineteenth century the churchyard was considered to be full, and an extension was necessary. A scheme was drawn up in the 1840s, showing a proposed new enclosure taking in part of the large field to the south, known as Football Close (Fig. 19). The new cemetery was to be laid out with a central oval feature, apparently containing a sculpture or cenotaph; and there were tree-lined walks.³² While attractive in concept, the arrangement was too complex for the size of the plot and would not have provided much space for burials. Instead, a simpler design was adopted, with the burials merely laid out in rows. Consequently, in 1850 the northern part of Football Close was purchased, levelled, walled in and consecrated for use as an additional burial ground (Ball 1856, 1, 61).³³ An entrance to it was created directly opposite the south porch. Subsequently, the present straight path across the churchyard was established, and a long narrow strip on the western edge was separately enclosed as a vegetable garden for the vicarage (Fig. 669).

Some of the earlier interments clustered around the entrance, but it is clear that plots were allocated in rows, laid out parallel to the east and west boundaries.

Surviving headstones indicate that there were between eighteen and twenty rows: some still retain long runs of headstones *in situ*, while in others there are only a few remaining. Although there have been losses, it seems certain that many graves lacked a permanent marker of a substantial nature. An Order in Council to close St Peter's original churchyard was made in 1855, although burial had already been transferred into the southern extension, which was consecrated in 1851 (Ball 1856, 1, 61). That continued in regular use until 1867, when the new town cemetery on Barrow Road was opened (see further p. 67; Fig. 2). With a few exceptions, burial ceased in 1878, following an Order in Council to close the cemetery extension at St Peter's.³⁴

The Victorian churchyard extension was not affected by the clearance operation of 1967, but many stones have been lost subsequently through vandalism and neglect; rapid depletion continues, and destruction will be complete within a decade or two. No record of the stones here was made in 1966, but a plan and schedule of the surviving inscriptions was compiled in 1978–84 (see above). The oldest known photograph of St Peter's was taken from the extended graveyard in the early 1860s, and shows some of its headstones and iron-railed tombs (Fig. 687).

St Peter's churchyard has suffered incessantly from vandalism, which has resulted in the destruction of many memorial stones, tomb railings and other features. In 1890 the vicar inveighed against the damage inflicted by local boys, and carried out various 'improvements' which included levelling grave mounds and introducing flower-beds.³⁵ Following the building works of 1897–98, another attempt was made to control vandalism and improve the condition of the churchyard, and over the ensuing years innumerable requests were voiced for donations towards its upkeep.³⁶ The problem became acute in the 1920s and consideration was given to railing-in the churchyard and removing the tombstones to the boundary wall; even the reintroduction of grazing was mentioned as a possibility to combat neglect.³⁷

Barton Vicarage

Remarkably, Barton vicarage has occupied at least four successive sites. The first lay a little to the north-east of St Peter's church, on the corner of East Acridge; the second was briefly in King Street, in the middle of the town; the third was erected on the western margin of the churchyard; and the fourth (current) lies just to the south of its predecessor.

The earliest mention of ecclesiastical land near St Peter's church is found in the Bardney Cartulary, where it is recorded that sometime before 1139 an exchange of property took place. The abbot of Bardney (the impropriator of the living) exchanged with Gilbert de Gant 'dwellings near the church' for a block of land at the south-east corner of the town,



Fig. 687: The earliest known photograph of St Peter's church, taken from the middle of the churchyard extension in the early 1860s (probably taken between 1862 and 1865). The gas lamp is on the east-west path, and the iron-railed tombs are just within the extension. Note the lumpy rendering on the tower and western annexe, the old tiles on the roof of the latter, and the absence of trees and shrubs. The stained glass windows (memorials of 1861 and 1886) had not been installed in the aisle, but that in bay 2 of the chancel (1856) is visible. Also, the gates were fitted on the porch in 1862. Courtesy of North Lincolnshire Museum Service (Ball, scrapbook 2)

where the abbey established a grange, later to become Bardney Hall (p. 47). It is therefore legitimate to ask whether the small site in East Acridge occupied by the old vicarage until the seventeenth century may have been a remnant of the abbot's holding in this area, which was exempted from the exchange and retained for the convenience of housing the vicar close to the churches.

The first express mention of Barton vicarage is incidental and is found in the will of John Ferybe, dated 22nd August 1540: he had a field known as 'fowre nokyed crosse that lyeth behynd the vycarrayge'.³⁸ A detailed description of the property occurs in the glebe terrier for 1578.³⁹

There belongeth to the vicarage of Barton-upon-Humber no glebe land, meadow or pasture, common nor hay; but there belongeth to the said vicarage one mansion house called the vicarage house, one little barn and stable, and another house of easements, and [a] little close and an orchard adjoining to the said vicarage and also commons in the fields and common pastures for cattle.

In the next terrier, of 1622,⁴⁰ the vicarage was described as:

Imprimis	One Mansion House consisting of 4 Rooms chambered above and covered with thatch or straw
Item	2 Barns
Item	One little Stable
Item	One little Close containing by estimation halfe an acre of Ground wherein is planted an Orchard and a little Garden
Item	2 Churchyards together with Commons due for a Toft in the Marches & Territories of Barton upon Humber

According to an entry in a terrier of 1671, the house was destroyed by fire during the Civil War:⁴¹

'The vicarage house was burnt downe in (or about) the yearse of our Lord (God) 1642 (& was never since rebuilt).'

This vicarage, its outbuildings and close occupied a trapezoidal plot lying in the angle between what is now Pasture Road and East Acridge, just north of Tyrwhitt Hall; it was immediately outside the sub-circular earthwork (Fig. 20, plot 486). It is likely that the parsonage house lay here throughout the Middle Ages, thus explaining the location of the priest's door on the north side of the chancel in St Peter's.

Whether the destruction of the old vicarage was accidental or a casualty of the Civil War is unrecorded, but the failure to rebuild it for some time is not entirely

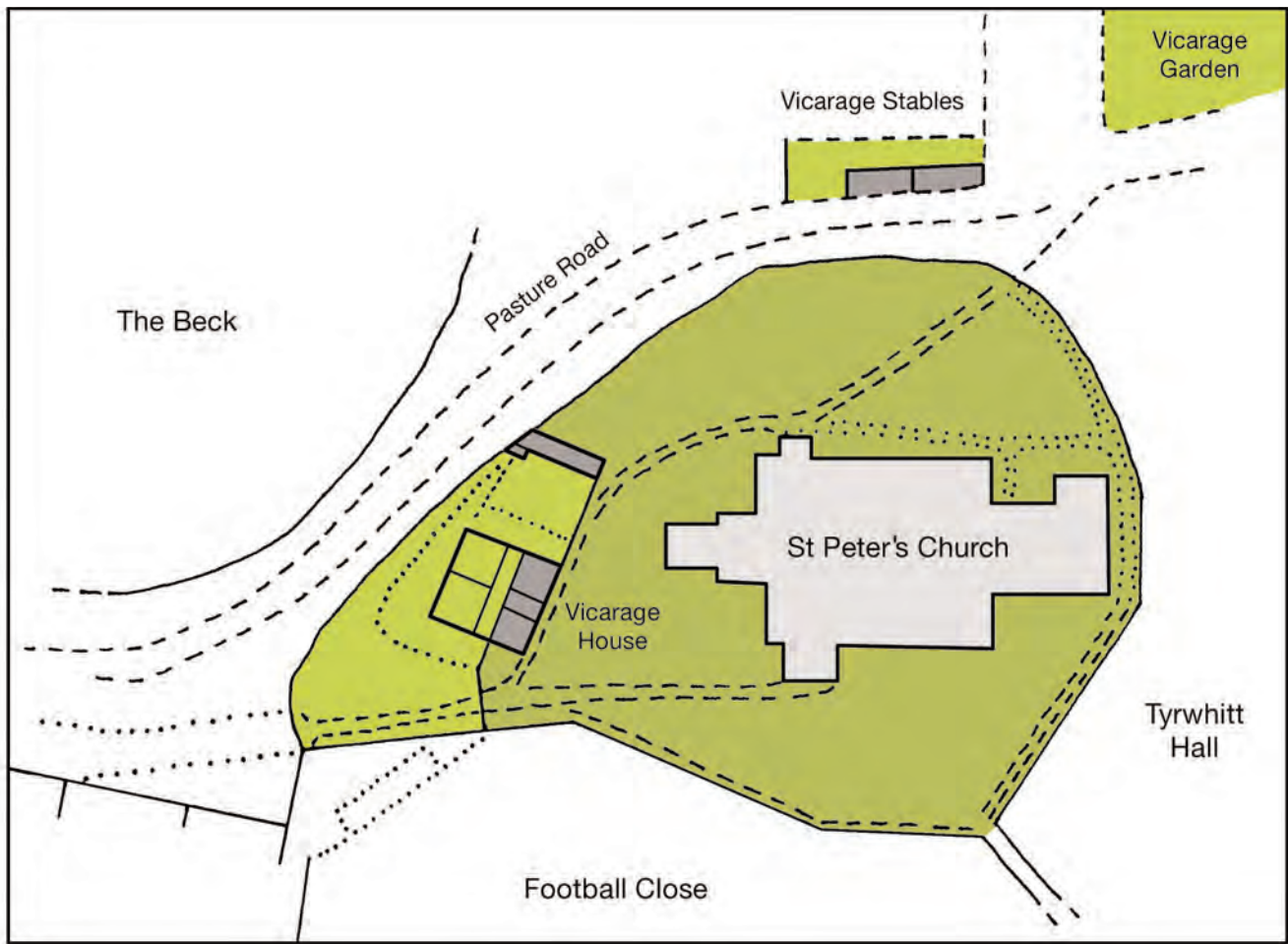


Fig. 688: Plan of St Peter's churchyard, vicarage and environs, c. 1840. After Tyszka 2006

surprising. More interesting is the fact that it was never rebuilt on the old site. The plot is shown as vacant on the Enclosure map of 1796 (Fig. 18), and on several nineteenth-century plans it was marked as 'Vicarage garden' (Fig. 688), a function that it continued to fulfil until c. 1850. Additionally, there was another detached piece of vicarage property occupying a narrow strip on the west corner of Beck Hill and Pasture Road, immediately opposite the church. Stables were shown here on a plan of 1831 (Fig. 688).⁴²

In his will dated 28th July 1679, John Trippe bequeathed £40 towards the cost of building a new vicarage.⁴³ This does not necessarily mean that construction took place imminently, and the funds may have lain dormant for many years before being called upon. The history of the vicarage in Barton in the second half of the seventeenth century was not smooth, until Ralph Tonstall held the office from 1694 until his death in 1711, and he is unlikely to have spent seventeen years in temporary or otherwise unsatisfactory accommodation. It is not recorded why rebuilding did not take place on the existing site, although this remained Church property. However, it is not difficult to appreciate that, although convenient for access to both churches, the old vicarage was isolated and at a short remove from the centre of activity in Barton.

Consequently, a new site was purchased in the middle of the town, on the corner of King Street and Chapel Lane (Fig. 20), and this became known as the 'Vicarage House'. The present building here is a substantial house seven bays in length, with a hipped pantile roof and boldly moulded cornice made of timber and plaster (Fig. 689).⁴⁴ There are traces of a stone plinth on the southern end; the first-floor windows survive, and five of them still retain sliding sashes. The openings have closely jointed, flat-headed, rubbed-brick arches typical of the Queen Anne period. The structure may date from the late seventeenth century (Neave 1991, fig. 4), or the early eighteenth. If the former, it was presumably built with Trippe's bequest. The house was described as having four rooms, with chambers above, and outbuildings including a stable and barn.⁴⁵ However, the property was not retained by the Church for very long, before it was sold again. Consequently, it is just possible that a pre-existing house on the King Street site might have served as a temporary residence for the vicar, with the present building being erected by the next lay owner. It was presumably the King Street property that was referred to as 'the Parsonage Hall' in 1700 and 'the Parsonage House' in 1713 (Cameron 1991, 46). But there is room for doubt.⁴⁶



Fig. 689: King Street, Barton, 2006. The late seventeenth-century vicarage house on the west side of the street. The lower rooms were converted into shops in the nineteenth century. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

The replacement vicarage – the third in the succession – was constructed in Pasture Road (now Beck Hill), on the western edge of St Peter's churchyard, at an unrecorded date around the beginning of the eighteenth century (Fig. 688); it was mentioned in the terrier for 1724 as 'A new built Viccaridge House' (Cameron 1991, 48). This does not necessarily provide a close date for the building, since the description was repeated *verbatim* in subsequent terriers, *e.g.* in 1730: 'A New built Vicarage House adjoining to the Churchyard, built with brick and covered with tile.' Whether Ralph Tonstall instigated the new building before his death in 1711, or whether it was delayed until after John Gelder's arrival in 1713 is not known. The latter was vicar for thirty-seven years and a significant benefactor.⁴⁷ He was most likely the builder. If so, the date of construction can probably be attributed to *c.* 1715.

Relevant to the development of the new vicarage site is a benefaction by William Long in 1729.⁴⁸ He gave 'a tenement and yard for [the] better convenience of y^e Vicarage House', a fact recorded on his tombstone in St Mary's church.⁴⁹ This was not merely a property donated as a source of income for the church, but a gift which physically augmented the vicarage.⁵⁰ The new vicarage had already been erected by 1729, when Long's bequest of an adjacent cottage and yard became effective: they were then incorporated in the property. Significantly, the earliest site plan (1731) shows that there was a squarish yard flanked by two narrow ranges of buildings, adjoining the vicarage on

the north; the same situation obtained down to the mid-nineteenth century (Fig. 688).

The new vicarage was a rectangular brick and tiled structure, erected on the angular western edge of the churchyard, facing on to Beck Hill.⁵¹ A description, with dimensions, was given in a terrier of 1822. This also mentioned two cottages occupied by tenants, as well as outbuildings. The house had a central entrance and cross-passage, symmetrically flanked by sash windows, and with chimney stacks rising from the north and south gables; there was an enclosed garden in front. The vicarage is marked on the Enclosure map of 1796 (Fig. 18), is shown in paintings from the west of the 1820s (Pl. 9; Figs. 14 and 690), and is glimpsed from the south-east in another view of the same era (Pl. 10). The appearance of the house is typical of the early eighteenth century, effectively confirming that Gelder was indeed its builder. However, the house was small in scale, modest in appearance, and lacked the gardens and other amenities that accompanied most early Georgian parsonage houses. It is unlikely that Gelder himself lived there, and the vicarage was probably occupied by his curate. Did Gelder perhaps reside at Bardney Hall, the fine Queen Anne residence in Whitecross Street built and occupied by his relation, William Gildas (p. 65)?

The vicarage cottages certainly pre-dated the erection of the early Georgian vicarage, indicating that the western edge of the churchyard had already been encroached upon: the cottages may well have originated as dwellings for the curate and sexton, but there is



Fig. 690: Vicarage, ?1823. View from the west: detail from Pl. 9. Photo: David Lambert, courtesy of Andrew King

no recorded information on the matter. The northernmost cottage is glimpsed on a drawing of the early nineteenth century, taken from the north-west. Although shrouded in vegetation, this shows a steeply pitched roof, a window in the north-facing gable, and a chimney stack rising from the ridge but set back from the gable-end (Fig. 13). The appearance of the building suggests a date not later than the seventeenth century.

In 1789, William Uppleby became vicar, but was an absentee for much of his time in office; he lived in Hull, and relied on a curate to officiate in Barton. It was probably the curate's laundry, hung out to dry in the churchyard, that appears in the engraving of 1810 (*frontispiece*). From 1818, that post was filled by Uppleby's nephew, George, who in turn became vicar

when William died in 1834. William was buried in the nave of St Peter's, where his ledger-slab has survived (M.9), although the burial itself could not be identified with certainty during excavation. George Uppleby did not live in the vicarage, preferring instead to occupy the much grander Bardney Hall in Whitecross Street, which was a family seat (Fig. 29). He remained there until he died in 1852.⁵²

Although George Uppleby's parents lived at Barrow Hall, his mother Sarah rented Barton vicarage, from some time in the 1820s, to store furniture and books. She employed a resident couple to keep the house habitable. By 1830, Mrs Uppleby had remodelled and greatly improved the property, fully incorporating the earlier building.⁵³ The remodelling can be dated to



Fig. 691: Barton (old) vicarage, 2000. South side, with entrance porch of c. 1850. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 692: Barton (old) vicarage, 2000. West side, including the service wing, built in the former yard. Compare the reworked façade here with the original seen in the view of ?1823 (Fig. 690). Photo: Warwick Rodwell

c. 1826. She did this in return for a life tenancy which she did not enjoy for long, dying in January 1832. Mrs Uppleby also undertook to 'make an ornamental approach to the Church Gates'. Whether she was responsible for the pair of impressive timber gates shown in the paintings of c. 1823, and later, is uncertain, but it seems unlikely.

The curate, John Boyle, did not occupy the vicarage after Mrs Uppleby's death, and a new tenant was immediately sought by advertisement:⁵⁴

THE VICARAGE OF BARTON. It is a small elegant residence, pleasantly situated in a shrubbery, adjoining St Peter's churchyard, having St

Mary's Church and a piece of water in front. It consists of a dining-room and drawing room 18 feet by 15, study, butler's pantry, water-closet, kitchen, back kitchen, larder, with two very good-sized bedrooms, three small ones and two attics. It was considerably added to five years since, the whole modernized and put into thorough repair. There is a two-stalled Stable, Coach House and Garden attached to the premises, which may be taken with it or not. For further particulars apply to the Rev. Geo. Uppleby.

Boyle left Barton in 1836. Michael Simpson, curate 1848–51, resided at the vicarage, departing at the same time as George Uppleby resigned as vicar. It was presumably in 1850, when the churchyard extension was created, that the long, narrow garden to the south of the vicarage was also acquired. Uppleby's successor was George Holt, his son-in-law, but he too preferred to occupy Bardney Hall rather than the vicarage. The latter was presumably let. However, in 1858, when George Hogarth was appointed vicar of Barton, the vicarage was once again occupied full-time by the incumbent, a situation that had not obtained for sixty or seventy years. All subsequent vicars lived there, until 1980.

The vicarage now presents a late Regency aspect, with a stuccoed exterior and low-pitched slate roofs (Pls. 2 and 4; Figs. 691 and 692). Several additions have been made to the Georgian house, and it was probably to give it a 'facelift' and rebuild the service wing on the north that a mortgage was taken out in 1851.⁵⁵ There is a walled yard, now mostly built over, on that side, and a small garden on the south. Further improvements were carried out in the 1920s.⁵⁶ No archaeological survey of the vicarage has been conducted.

The house and yard are both cut into the sloping western edge of the churchyard and must have destroyed a considerable amount of archaeological evidence (up to 2 m in depth), although nothing was recorded. However, when the vicarage garage was built at the north-west corner burials were encountered under it and in the public road adjoining.⁵⁷ Similarly, skeletons were reported under the road adjacent to the north-west boundary of the churchyard when the wall was being rebuilt.⁵⁸

The vicarage was occupied by the incumbent until 1980, when it was sold into private ownership and a new residence built. This sale was part of a wave of disposals of historic clergy houses that swept the Diocese of Lincoln in the second half of the twentieth century. Interestingly, the incipient trend towards disposing of old parsonage houses began even earlier: it is recorded that in 1943 the clergy of Yarborough Deanery opposed the concept, having presumably been asked to consider the matter.⁵⁹

The new vicarage, the fourth, was built in 1980 on a rectangular plot of land on the south side of the footpath leading from Beck Hill to St Peter's. This plot, which in the eighteenth century had been part of Football Close, was acquired for use as a detached garden for the previous vicarage (probably in 1850: Fig. 20). Excavations of very limited extent, carried out prior to the new house being built, revealed evidence for Anglo-Saxon domestic timber buildings (p. 154).⁶⁰ Since this land had been in lay ownership, and was not historic churchyard, it is interesting that a single burial of unknown date was encountered during excavation: it was aligned north–south and seemed to have been placed in a ditch that formerly marked the rear boundary of properties in Whitecross Street. While it may represent foul play, it could equally have been a suicide or execution: burials of persons who died by such means were often excluded from consecrated ground.

12. BURIAL PRACTICE AND COMMEMORATION: MEDIEVAL

On the floor beneath
Sepulchral stones appear'd, with emblems graven
And footworn epitaphs, and some with small
And shining effigies of brass inlaid.

William Wordsworth, *The Excursion*, 1814.

Medieval Interment, c. 1150–1500

Very little information can be culled from historical sources concerning burial at Barton in the Middle Ages. There was a small number of inscribed tomb-covers and funerary brasses, but the information recorded on them is now almost entirely lost. Moreover, the present locations of most if not all of the slabs are not primary, and a mere handful of surviving late medieval wills provide glimpses into funerary practice. The earliest will, by William Corton, 1401, speaks only of his wish to be buried in St Peter's church.¹ Others of 1458, 1525 and 1531 provide instructions for burial in St Mary's (Bryant 2003, 26). In no case can a historically recorded name be attributed to an identifiable grave.

Burials assigned to the late Saxon and Norman periods, down to c. 1150 (Phase E), have been discussed in chapter 5. For the remainder of the Middle Ages (c. 1150–1500), excavated burials have been assigned as summarised in Table 16.

From this total of 1,129 burials, 1,063 graves contained articulated skeletal material. The vast majority were churchyard interments, although some had subsequently been overlaid during the enlargement of the church's footprint.

Evidence for the use of timber coffins was circumstantial and fragmentary: as with Phase E, small numbers of nails occurred in some graves, but never enough for the construction of a fully nailed coffin. A handful of examples of what appeared to be empty graves of squarely cut form suggest the loss of stone coffins. That such coffins were once present at St Peter's, and were robbed for use as building materials, is demonstrated by the inclusion of fragments in the buttresses of the late thirteenth-century south aisle (p. 389).

Table 16: Numbers of graves per burial phase

Phase D/E	c. 950–1300	482 graves
Phase D	c. 1150–1300	180 graves
Phase C/D	c. 1150–1500	381 graves
Phase C	c. 1300–1500	86 graves

Internal burials: Phase D (c. 1150–1300)

(Fig. 163)

Very little evidence was found for contemporaneous burial in the nave of the Norman church: there were several graves of uncertain phasing (D/E) in the centre, and a group of four against the south side of the nave, close to the doorway.² The few scattered graves found within the footprint of the narrow north aisle were probably all external originally. A different situation obtained, however, in the narrow south aisle and its contemporary porch, where many of the Phase D burials occurred. There was a concentration in the western half of the aisle, and four inside the porch.

At least two of the burials appear to have been in stone coffins, both later robbed out. One, in the extreme south-west angle of the nave, was of adult size (F80); the other, near the end of the aisle, was for a child (F1352; Fig. 426). Six of the remaining burials were in two intercutting groups of three, lying in the nave and aisle, respectively.

Just inside the porch lay the burial of an adult female (F1164; sk. 204), with two infants (sk. 202 and 203) subsequently inserted in the upper filling of the grave. Although no physical trace of a coffin survived in the loose fill of the grave, the woman had clearly been



Fig. 693: Grave F1164 (sk. 204), buried inside the church. The head and shoulders were covered with lime, the crisp edges of which define the outline of the timber coffin. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

placed in one. The evidence was provided by the square-cut outline preserved by the substance that had partially filled the coffin at its western end: this was lime (Fig. 693). It surrounded and overlay the bones, but did not occur beneath the skull and vertebrae. Hence, the lime was poured into the coffin, over the corpse, as either powder or liquid. This is clearly not an example of a coffin with a shallow bed of lime (or mortar), on top of which the corpse was laid (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 123–4), but an attempt to cover or encapsulate at least part of the body.

At the south-west corner of the coffin the lime survived to a maximum depth of 6 cm, thinning out rapidly towards the east and north. Presumably the entire body was originally covered, but if so localized ground conditions have militated against the survival of the lime except in this one corner. Lime is a sterilizing and desiccating agent, and has been traditionally used for enveloping diseased farm animals, particularly in cases of anthrax. Its use in this coffin most likely points to the woman's having died of a contagious disease (see further discussion on this subject, p. 193).

Priests' burials

The most significant burials within the narrow aisled church comprised a group of four graves, each containing a male, of *c.* 25–30 years of age at death. They were all placed side-by-side within the south porch (Fig. 426). Two of these men (in graves F1186 and F4115) had been buried with base-metal chalices and patens (Figs. 701 and 702), indicating that they were priests. The other two (graves F4129 and F4133) lacked diagnostic evidence of this type, but the apparently deliberate association of the four men is striking and the possibility should be entertained that the two slightly earlier burials, without accompaniments, might also have been those of priests.

There was only sufficient space in the porch for three interments, side-by-side, and the priest in F4115, who was probably the last to be buried, was carefully placed over an earlier grave (F4133), the prior existence of which was almost certainly known.³

Grave F1186 (Fig. 694). An uncoffined supine burial of a male, *c.* 25 years of age, in an irregularly shaped grave (sk. 228). Both hands lay on the pelvis, where the left one appeared to be clasping the chalice, which had been placed upright on the lower abdomen, with the paten on top (Fig. 695). The projecting elbows touched the sides of the grave-cut. An iron buckle lying centrally over the pelvis indicates that the deceased was wearing a belt. The legs were crossed at the ankles, a position noted in only two other burials at St Peter's (F7246; p. 188).

Grave F4115 (Fig. 696). An uncoffined supine burial of a male, *c.* 25 years of age, in a grave with rounded ends (sk. 1157). This was the shallowest of the four graves,



Fig. 694: Uncoffined burial (F1186) of a priest inside the early thirteenth-century south porch. On his stomach he holds a pewter chalice and paten. Note also the crossed ankles. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

and directly overlay F4133. Both hands rested on the pelvis, and the right elbow projected, while the left was pressed against the side of the grave-cut; flint nodules were placed on the shoulders (Fig. 697). A chalice covered with a paten stood on the upper abdomen.

Grave F4133. Burial of a male, *c.* 30 years of age (sk. 1217). There was also a flint nodule in this grave. The hands rested on the pelvis. Although this lay under grave F4115, little disturbance had occurred.

Grave F4129. Burial of a male, *c.* 25 years of age (sk. 1201). The hands were placed at the sides of the body.

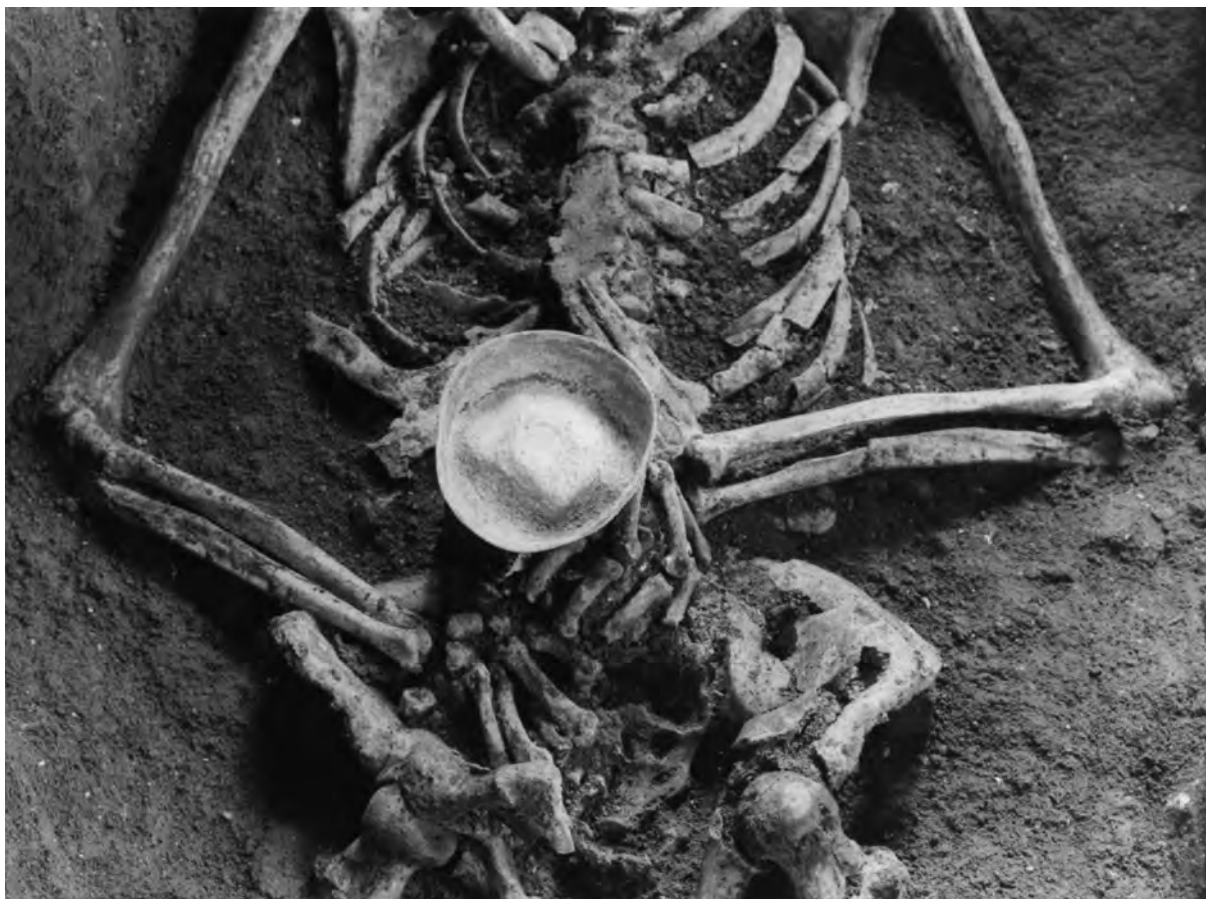


Fig. 695: Grave F1186. Detail showing the positioning of the arms, hands and pewter mortuary chalice (paten removed). Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Internal burials: Phase C (c. 1300–1500)

(Fig. 698)

As in almost all periods, save the most recent (Phases B and A), burial in the interior of the church was concentrated in the two easternmost bays of the nave and aisles, although small groups and isolated burials did occur further west. The eastward concentration reflects the presence of chapels and altars at the ends of the aisles. Disturbance of the upper parts of Phase C grave fills by later burials had in most cases removed any evidence that there might have been at floor level for commemorative slabs or other forms of demarcation.

A group of three graves, containing four interments, lay in a row, neatly aligned and spaced, close to the east end of the south aisle, where they would have been in front of the altar. The occupants of the graves were, from north to south, a c. 25-year-old woman who had died in childbirth (foetus still in the pelvis); she had been placed in the same grave as a male of similar age; a c. 40-year-old female; and a male again of similar age (F1489 over F4128; F4010 and F4065). All three grave-cuts were large and sub-rectangular in plan (70–85 cm wide by 2.1–2.2 m long), and were clearly intended to receive coffins. The surviving physical evidence for coffins in these graves was, however, very

slight: at least two nails were associated with F4065, but none with the other burials.

In the north aisle, half the floor of the easternmost bay was raised by a single step, immediately to the west of which lay a group of at least nine graves, some intercutting. Further west, and separate from these, an exceptionally interesting burial was found in bay 2/3: it was of a female c. 20 years old, in a nailed coffin (F325). The backfill above the coffin contained what appeared at the time of excavation to be a hat made of felt or similar material, with remnants of gold thread. However, this turned out upon investigation to be a fragment of ‘cloth of gold’, which is discussed below (p. 638; Fig. 705; Pl. 114). The object had been placed on the coffin lid, at the east end.

Alongside on the north, and almost certainly associated with this interment, was an infant burial in its own tiny grave (F457). Both F325 and F457 were cut through floor F328, a white flecked, pinkish-buff mortar surface, which was a primary feature of the wide north aisle (Period 6). F457 was neatly aligned on grave F325 and both were sealed by earth floor F308. Given the rarity of infant burials inside churches at this period, this child is likely to have been of significant status, and the woman beside whom it was buried was perhaps its mother.⁴ The putative mother’s elevated social status is suggested by the ‘cloth of gold’.



Fig. 696: Uncoffined burial (F4115) of a priest inside the early thirteenth-century south porch, with a pewter mortuary chalice and paten placed on the chest. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Between the north arcade piers in bay 3 of the nave lay the burial of another young woman, aged *c.* 17 years (F449). She was accompanied by a silver crucifix on her chest and a silver-alloy finger-ring on her left hand (see p. 633 and Figs. 703 and 704).

External burials: Phase D (*c.* 1150–1300) (Fig. 163)

Phasing and dating

A total of ten burials, excavated to the north and south of the tower and annexe (Areas 8, 10, 13 and 14), were scientifically dated to Phase D. All were selected for radiocarbon dating because they were integral to long



Fig. 697: Grave F4115. Detail of the torso, showing the chalice and paten, and the stones placed on both shoulders. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

burial sequences, but lay in areas of deeply disturbed graveyard soils that lacked any stratigraphic relationship to the church or other datable features. In many cases it was not possible to define a grave-cut and consequently the sole relatively reliable means of identifying an uncoffined burial (*i.e.* an irregular or restricted grave outline) was often not available. Only two of the scientifically dated burials are known to have been coffined: six nails were found in F3089, and the tapering outline of a coffin was defined in F3092. Skeletal material from these burials provided posterior density estimates of *cal. AD 1180–1300* (93% probability; GU-5870) and *cal. AD 1185–1305* (95% probability; GU-5869), respectively. The remainder of the scientifically dated Phase D burials provided useful chronological horizons within ‘stacks’ of graves, but were otherwise unremarkable.

Perhaps the most useful of the ten dated burials was F4712 (potentially uncoffined). Skeletal material from this burial, the second earliest and the second most northerly burial excavated in the north-west part of the churchyard (Area 13), provided a posterior density estimate of *cal. AD 1185–1305* (95% probability; GU-5828);

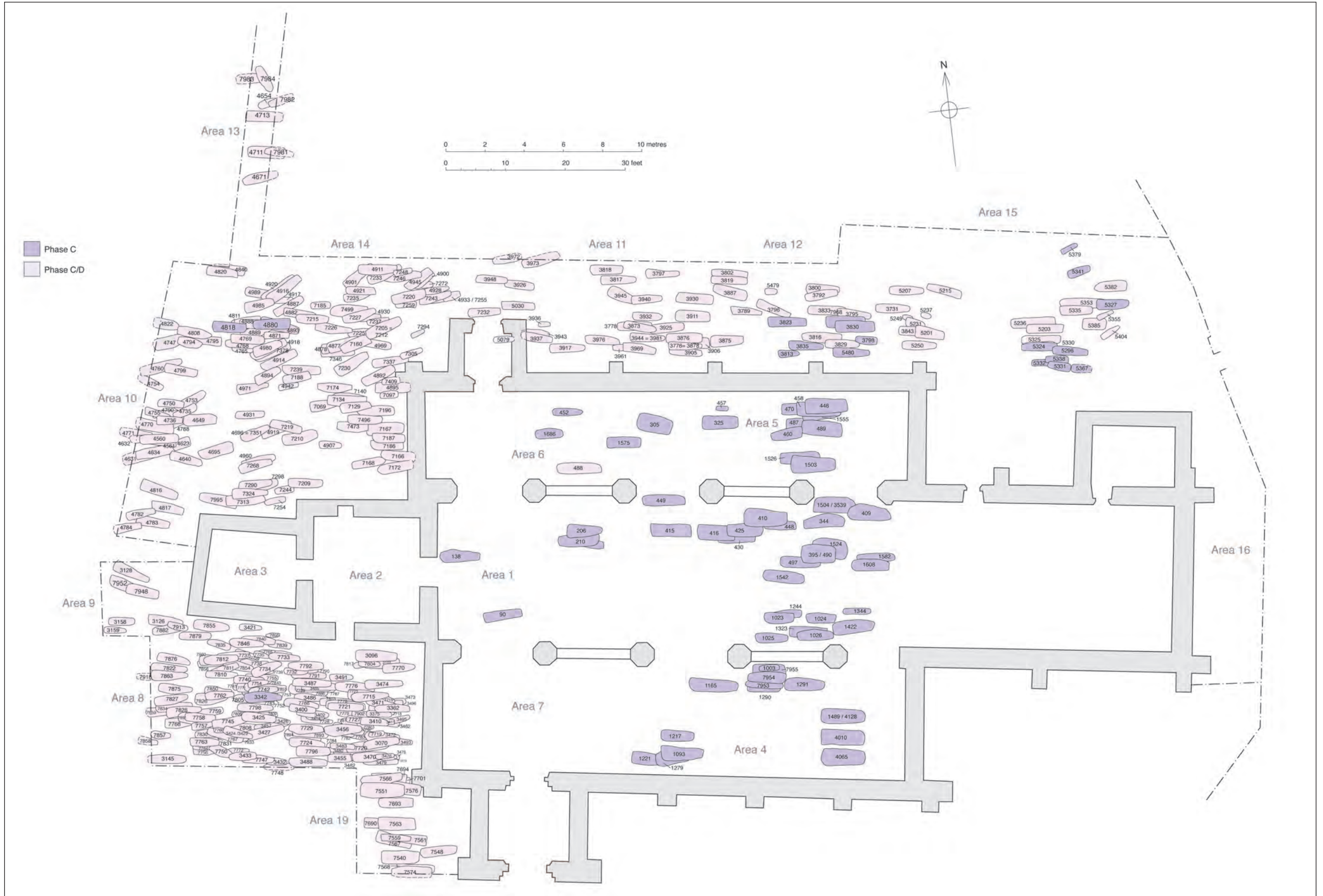


Fig. 698: General plan of burials of Phases C and C/D. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

this indicates that by Phase D the cemetery had expanded to fill the area bounded to the north by the terraced track F4620 (p. 606). Both F4712 and the track appear to have become sealed beneath a buried turf-line, through which later graves were cut.

One or more nails were recorded in only thirty-three burials attributed to Phase D, and in all but four of these there were six or fewer nails present; in fifteen burials only one nail was recorded. Given the very small number of burials in which nails were recorded, it might be argued that coffins were rarely used during this burial phase, particularly since native timber may have been at a premium and large quantities of pine boards were being imported into England from at least as early as the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, the evidence provided by the preserved early coffins (Phase E; p. 219) makes it clear that there was an established tradition of constructing essentially nail-less coffins, and that a single nail found in a grave should not be automatically dismissed as inconsequential or residual.

The deposition, prior to the construction of the long-naved church (Period 4A), of a substantial layer of clay over the area of the waterlogged ditch fills – thus raising the whole area – removed the potential for preservation of timber in graves that were cut into this higher level. Consequently, tangible evidence for nail-less coffin construction during burial Phase D, and later, is not available.

Notes on some external burials

In the north-eastern corner of the churchyard (Area 15), in the locality previously occupied by the Norman town ditch, a relatively isolated group of eight burials lay in an orderly row, parallel to the new boundary fence (Fig. 163).⁵ Unlike the vast majority of broadly contemporary burials in the cemetery, which were closely aligned on the church, the graves in this row lay at an angle of 45 degrees to the building. The only other significantly skewed grave alignments in this burial phase lay in the north-west corner of the excavation, where they appeared to flank a path, and in the south-west corner where they may have been aligned on a continuation of the same feature, if it followed an elliptical route around the narrow-aisled church.

In the middle of the row of skewed graves in Area 15 lay burial F5419, in which the bones were noticeably displaced and the skeleton was surrounded by fourteen nails; this was indisputably a coffined burial. It contained a 12-year-old child. Although none of the other burials in this row yielded more than one nail (three instances), at least two more of them (F5438 and F5418) exhibited bone displacement indicative of coffined burial. One was a 7-year-old child. Only F5421 and possibly F5439 (much damaged and no grave-cut recorded) were potentially uncoffined burials.

It is perhaps worth noting that all the individuals interred in this row (except one decayed and unidentifiable adult) were females, or children aged 7–12 years.

One wonders whether these might relate in some way to the occupants of Tyrwhitt Hall, given their proximity to the boundary between church and hall, especially in view of the relatively lavish nature of these burials, including the provision of coffins for children. Perhaps related adult males were buried inside the church on account of their locally elevated status?

In the south-west corner of the excavation (Area 8), lay a small group of burials within a clearly defined rectangular plot: F3135, an adult female; F3147, with a possible coffin, a *c.* 45-year-old male; F3133, coffined (6+ nails),⁶ a 17-year-old male; and F3134, an adult female (Fig. 163). Skeletal material from burial F3135, stratigraphically the earliest in the group, provided a posterior density estimate of *cal. AD 1035–1100 (17% probability)* or *cal. AD 1110–1145 (9% probability)* or *cal. AD 1150–1280 (69% probability; GU-5822)*. Both the scientific dating and its stratigraphic relationship to a Norman deposit of clay over Area 8 suggest that F3135 was probably an interment of Phase D, rather than earlier. In view of the scarcity of ironmongery in coffin construction, the provision of this generously nailed coffin for a 17-year-old male might point to a degree of wealth and status.

External burials: Phases C and C/D (*c.* 1150–1500) (Fig. 698)

Very few of the excavated burials in the churchyard could confidently be assigned to Phase C, owing to the poor survival of church-related stratigraphy. Moreover, posterior density estimates resolutely straddled the boundary between burial Phases C and D. Skeletal material from only two scientifically dated burials (F3342 and F4880) provided results wholly appropriate for Phase C: *cal. AD 1300–1350 (95% probability; GU-5823)* and *cal. AD 1320–1480 (95% confidence; GU-7878)*, respectively. Burial F4818 produced a posterior density estimate of *cal. AD 1295–1355 (95% probability; GU-5829)*, and therefore this grave was also included in Phase C, but the posterior density estimates yielded by samples from a further sixteen burials straddled the phase boundary.

Although the selection of, and the results obtained from, samples submitted for scientific dating unfortunately did little to facilitate the allocation of burials to a single phase, they nevertheless helped to highlight and broadly to date a reordering of the churchyard. As noted above, the majority of the burials allocated to Phase D were aligned on the church, but a small number of them, particularly to the north of the tower and western annexe, were apparently aligned on a path that followed an elliptical route around the church. Burial F4792 (*cal. AD 1185–1305 (95% probability; GU-5873)*) was one of the small number aligned south-west to north-east in Phase D. A total of eight dated burials in Phase C/D shared this alignment.

All of the results produced by samples collected from burials aligned south-west to north-east in Phases

D and C/D fell within the range AD 1160–1360, and the majority within the range AD 1215–1360. In this part of the cemetery the earliest of the dated Phase C interments closely aligned on the church was F4818 (AD 1295–1355). On the basis of the available evidence, it appears that the cemetery may have been reordered at some time after the construction of the narrow north aisle, and that the elliptical route of the path to the north of the tower became obliterated when the wider aisle was constructed in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. This was probably followed by a new, slightly more northerly, version of the path.

It has been noted that in Phase D a row of burials (females and children only) followed the boundary alignment on the eastern extremity of the churchyard (p. 623). During Phases C and C/D a similarly aligned row of four graves was made just to the west of the previous one; however, this occurred long after additional soil had been spread across the site, to fill the sinkage over the Norman town ditch, and thus the two rows cannot be claimed as part of the same cemetery layout. Nevertheless, it may be argued that the alignment of Phase D burials was influenced by a path which had persisted (on the line of the present path). Interestingly, all four graves contained young children (Fig. 698: from north to south, F5379, F5341, F5355 and F5404: a 2-year-old, a 6-year-old, under 10 years, and under one year, respectively).

Against the northern edge of the excavation, in Area 14, the uncoffined burial of an adult male was found (F7246). The hands were placed on the hips, and the elbows thrust out, the legs were crossed at the ankles, and there was a copper-alloy buckle of annular form lying on each femur (Fig. 700). The unusual posture paralleled that of one of the priests in the south porch (F1186; p. 620), and a Phase E burial in Area 19 (F7634; Fig. 179).

Belt buckles of copper alloy were also found in graves F3128 (Area 9) and F3835 (Area 12).

Coffined burial

Decisive evidence for the presence or absence of a coffin was more than usually hard to find in burials of Phases C and C/D, since the vast majority of them were interred in ground that was not only heavily disturbed by earlier burials, but which was subsequently subjected to disturbance by Phase B and, most destructively, by the deep Phase A interments. The losses incurred through the stratigraphic position of Phase C burials left sizeable *lacunae* in the archaeological record, and also resulted in the formation of homogeneous graveyard soils within which it was frequently impossible to define grave-cuts. Consequently, in the majority of cases, the size of a grave, the position of the skeleton within it, and its coffin-related status were unknown.

However, there were exceptions, even in the much favoured and therefore heavily disturbed area to the

south of the tower where some solid evidence for coffined burial was recorded. A particularly interesting group of demonstrably coffined burials was encountered in Area 19, immediately to the west of the porch. Here, four graves (Fig. 698; F7540, F7548, F7551 and F7563) were sub-rectangular in plan and unusually large (60–80 cm wide by 2.0–2.2 m long) and each contained evidence for a substantial nailed coffin.⁷ Surviving timber stains suggested that all save F7548 were rectangular coffins: that one appears to have been tapered. The location of these burials, and the relationships between two of them and the footings of the late thirteenth-century south aisle, indicate that they post-dated it. Burial F7551 was that of a woman aged *c.* 25 years who had died in childbirth; she was interred in a deep coffin, the base-board of which was charred. The north side of the coffin also appeared to have been charred, but the south showed no signs of similar treatment. The coffin was almost certainly of oak, since it is highly unlikely that an attempt would have been made to char pine, on account of its high resin content. This coffin was dated: *cal. AD 1260–1360 (95% probability; GU-5839)*.

The other burials in the group comprised a male aged *c.* 50, an adult female, and a 15-year-old adolescent. One grave (F7540) contained part of a brick of the type found in the clerestory, which was seemingly used to prop the coffin; this points to a date in the fourteenth or early fifteenth century.

That so much evidence for coffined burial – timber stains, differential fills, and nails – chanced to survive in this small area, might be taken to indicate that nailed coffins became more common during the high Middle Ages.⁸ Notwithstanding, there were many coffined burials, both in the church and outside, with a low nail-count (for which, see p. 219). It is an incontrovertible fact that the vast majority of graves in Phases E to B yielded too few nails for the construction of a coffin. A rectangular or tapering coffin required not less than six boards (or seven, if it had a gabled lid) to be securely fixed together. If of adult size, the minimum number of nails required would have been fourteen (three for each side and end; two for the lid), and even then it would have resulted in a dangerously weak construction, liable to collapse when being manhandled with a corpse inside. In practice, the minimum viable number of nails for a robust coffin is likely to have been around twenty-four (six for each side, four for each end, and the same for the lid).⁹ Where medieval coffins of fully nailed construction have been excavated with complete recovery of the evidence, it is not uncommon to find thirty or more nails (Rodwell 2001, fig. 524).

Consequently, it can be asserted with some confidence that any adult grave yielding less than, say, twenty nails (all at least 1½ ins in length) did not contain a coffin that was essentially of nailed construction. The corollary of this is that the overwhelming majority of coffins at St Peter's, ante-dating the mid-eighteenth

century, were constructed with a mixture of iron nails and wooden fixings, or with the latter alone.

Coffin construction and fittings

by *Quita Mould*

As noted when discussing the occurrence of metal fittings in coffin construction during Phase E, the greatest use of nails occurred in the final phases of the cemetery (Phases A and B) and full discussion of them is reserved for chapter 13 (p. 679, and see especially Table 18). Here a brief summary of the nails and other possible coffin fittings is presented of those from burials assigned to Phases D, C/D and C. A small number of other items of constructional ironwork were also found in the graves belonging to these phases. As there are grounds for thinking that these may not relate directly to coffin construction, they too are discussed in chapter 13 as a part of the consideration of all such fragments (p. 681).

Phase D

Nails occurred in thirty-three graves. Mineraally preserved wood was present on nails in eleven graves, and jointing was noted in five (F1164, F1206, F1252 (Fig. 699, 1), F1433 and F3089). Wood joints were found on four of the fourteen nails from one grave (F1164), and on one of the six nails from another (F3089). The joints suggested a board thickness of 19–20 mm ($\frac{3}{4}$ in.). Wood joints were preserved on two complete nails in grave F1206, one suggesting a timber thickness of 9 mm, and the other 12 mm.

Phase C/D

Nails were found in forty-two graves and in a charnel pit. Mineraally preserved wood occurred on nails from eleven graves but no jointing was present. A single split-spiked loop or broken chain link was found with two nails in grave F7568.

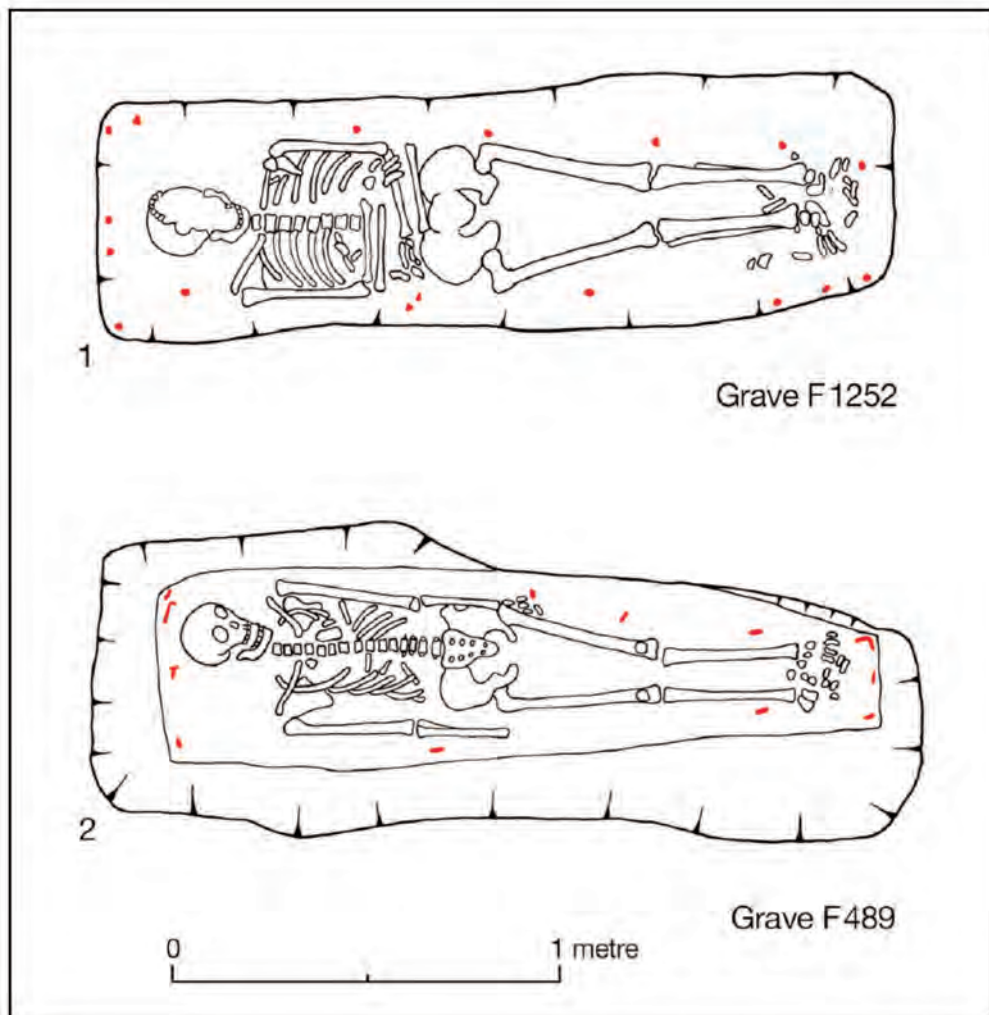


Fig. 699: Plans of graves of Phases C and D, showing locations of iron coffin fittings. 1, Grave F1252, containing nails only (diagrammatically shown, since most were too decayed to determine orientation). 2, Grave F489, containing both nails and iron plates. Note the grave-cut is much larger than the coffin. Scale 1:20. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

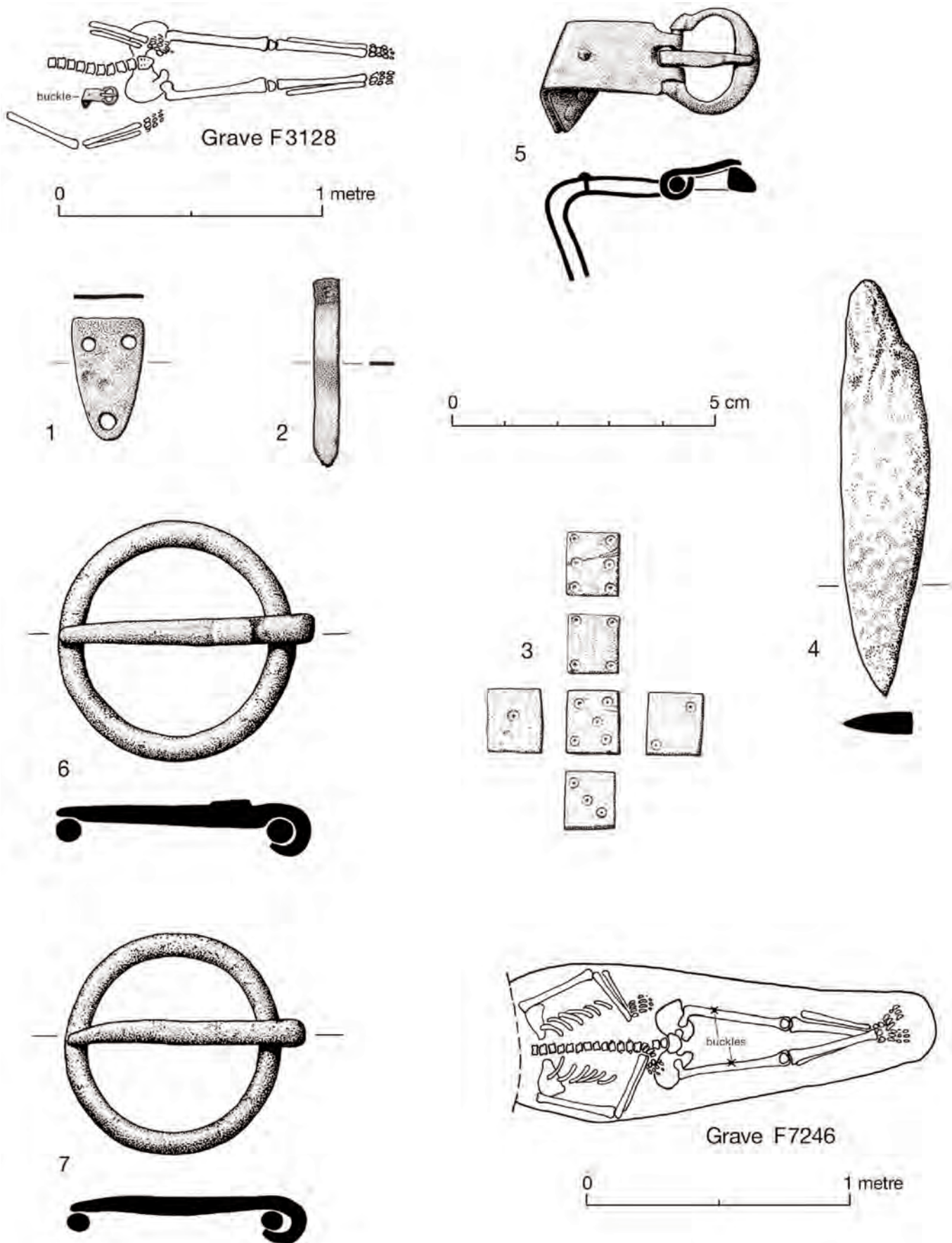


Fig. 700: Finds from burials of Phase C and D. 1, Copper-alloy strap-end (F7338); 2, Copper-alloy strip (F5252); 3, Bone die (F1154); 4, Iron knife (F1544); 5, Copper-alloy buckle and buckle-plate (F3128); 6, 7, Copper-alloy annular buckles (F7246). Scale 1:1, Grave context, scale 1:20. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Phase C

Nails occurred in twenty-seven graves. Mineraally preserved wood was found on nails in fifteen of the graves and jointing was noted in seven. Four measurable joints indicated timber thicknesses of 8–13 mm (½ in. and below). One grave (F1159) had a wood joint preserved that suggested a thicker timber, 17 mm (¾ in.). The coffin was also exceptional in having a pair of iron butterfly hinges on the lid. This burial lay in the south aisle. Two graves (F416 and F489; Fig. 699, 2) contained fragments of an iron strap from a hinge or binding that may have been part of the coffin's construction, or derived from reused timber.

A single burial (F1159), within the church, had a pair of iron butterfly hinges with white metal plating used on the coffin. Only their slightly smaller size distinguishes them from those found in burials of Phase A (p. 687).

Phase B/C

Nails were found in thirty-eight graves. Mineraally preserved wood was found on nails from seven graves, and jointing was preserved on three nails from one burial (F3938), indicating that the timber used was 24 mm (1 in.) thick.

Small Finds from Medieval Burials

by *Quita Mould*¹⁰

This section summarizes the small finds recovered from the burials of Phases D/E, D, C/D and C. A small number of items from graves of Phase B/C are also included as typologically they can be dated to the medieval rather than early post-medieval period. The conventions followed in assigning them to different roles in the graves are outlined on p. 230. For convenience, pins of all periods are discussed in a separate section (pp. 1017–1012). This section also includes a note on a papal *bull*a found residually in a Phase A grave because these items appear to have been regularly placed in fourteenth-century burials.

Phase D/E: c. 950–1300

A dress pin of copper alloy that might have been used to pin a shroud was found in grave F7224, although the exact location within the grave was not recorded. It is discussed with the other dress pins from the site on p. 1012 (Fig. 839, no. 4). Pin stems were found in graves F7202 and F7229, which also contained nails suggesting the presence of coffins. The pin stems, particularly those in F7229, have the appearance of 'dress-making' pins and may have intruded from later burials.

The backplate of a copper-alloy, double sheet strap-end was found beside the right ilium, in the burial of a mature male, in grave F7338. The recorded position is

compatible with its having been attached to the end of a belt. However, since only the backplate was recovered it is possible that the object may have been an accidental inclusion.

A rectangular plate of antler, apparently a tooth-plate blank from the construction of a comb, was found in grave F3154, and is thought to be residual. However, a coffined burial within a slab-lined grave at Buckfastleigh (Dev.) had a piece of sawn antler-tine beside the left knee (Reynolds and Turner 2003, 5), and it is thus possible that the antler plate was deliberately placed in the grave.

A worn animal tooth, identified as a pig's canine, was found next to the right tibia of burial F3946. The tooth may have been deliberately deposited in the grave as an amulet, but it had not been pierced for suspension as was usually the case with tooth amulets in Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon burials.

A circular washer of copper alloy, likely to be a shoulder or end-plate for a knife, was found in grave F7598 but is unlikely to have been deliberately deposited. A shield-shaped hilt-guard or shoulder plate of copper alloy was found in grave soil F7550.

Fig. 700

- 1 Copper-alloy triangular sheet with rounded tip pierced by three round rivet holes. Backplate of a strap-end (*cf.* Egan and Pritchard 1991, fig. 82). L 23 mm, W 14 mm. Grave F7338.

Phase D: c. 1150–1300

The priests' burials

Two uncoffined burials (F1186 and F4115) of mature men lying alongside each other in the early Gothic south porch were of priests (p. 620). They conformed to the normal orientation, and each had a pewter chalice and paten placed on the body. The paten lay, face up, on the rim of the chalice.

The vessels were fractured and distorted by the weight of the soil above, but their original form is preserved. The chalices have wide, shallow, circular bowls, round-sectioned knopped stems and round feet. No decoration is visible. The chalices both fall into Oman's Group 3 classification for Mass plate of precious metals, which he dates to c. 1180–1280 (Oman 1957, 41). While pewter mortuary chalices do not exhibit the same stylistic changes undergone by those of precious metal, which were used in the liturgy, the date suggested by the style of these vessels accords well with the stratigraphical dating of the graves. Burial chalices were generally plain and simple in design, and appear to have varied little stylistically over time.

Burial F1186 (Figs. 694, 695 and 701)

The chalice had a wide, shallow bowl with an unthickened rim, a round-sectioned stem with a simple collar knob of stepped section, and a round foot with a slightly

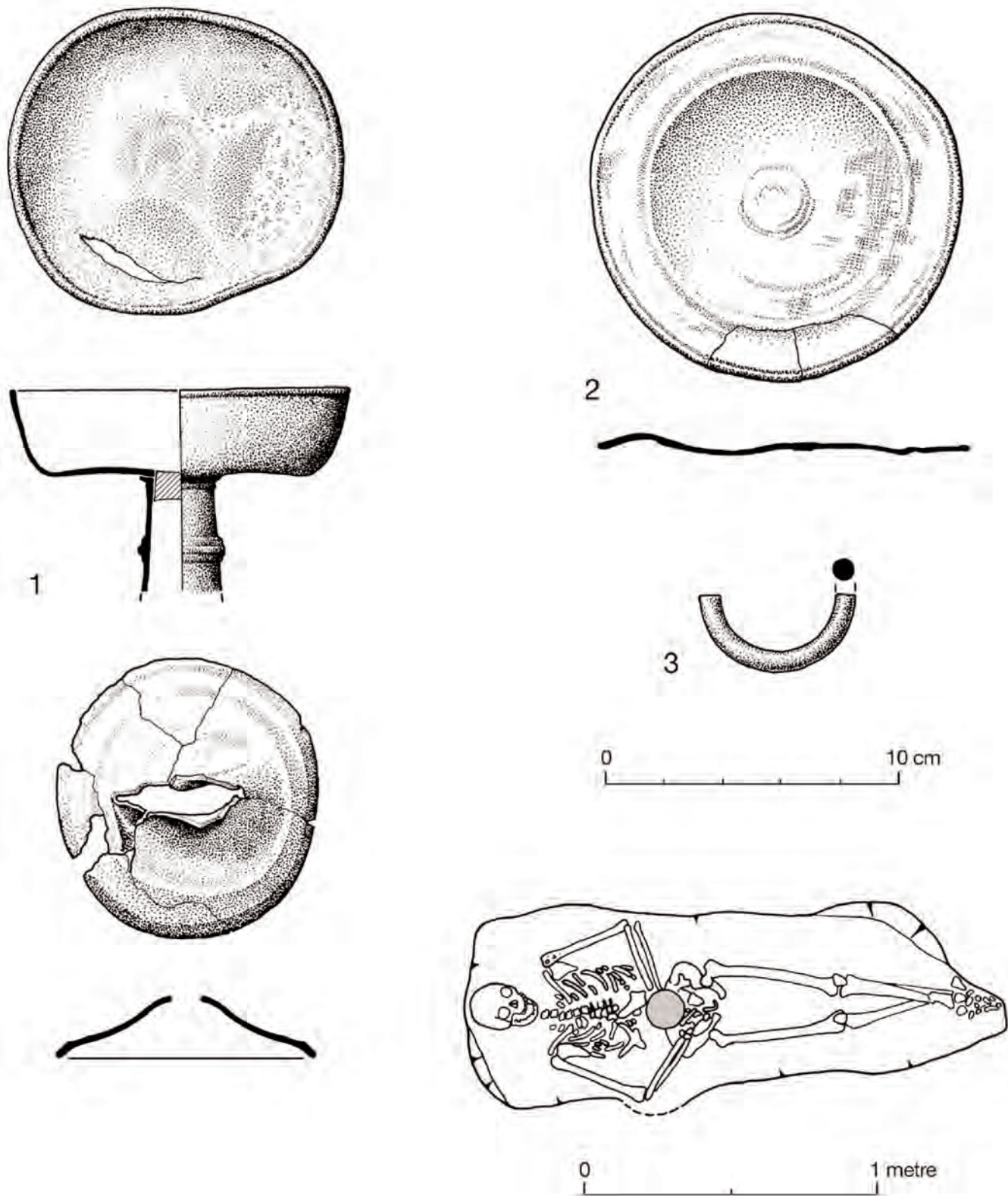


Fig. 701: Finds from priest's burial F1186. 1, Pewter chalice; 2, Pewter paten; 3, Iron buckle; Grave context. Scale 1:2. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

thickened lip and two turning-lines visible. The simple style of the knob is comparable with three pewter chalices from medieval priests' graves at Cathedral Green, Winchester (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1990, fig. 231, no. 2456; fig. 232, nos. 2461, 2470). Two of these chalices (nos. 2456 and 2461) were recovered from contexts dating from the fourteenth century (*ibid.*, 794); the third (no. 2470), which bears the greatest similarity to the Barton chalice, came from an early to mid-fifteenth-century context (*ibid.*, 796–7). This simple design is unlike any found on chalices made of precious metals; the same profile and knob moulding is found in a chalice from Wells Cathedral (Rodwell 2001, fig. 516.7). The accompanying paten takes the form of a simple, shallow dish with a slightly thickened rim and a broad flange, *c.* 19 mm wide.

Preserved textile remains were present on the exterior of the bowl and foot of the chalice, and over the majority of the upper face of the paten. The textile on both items was a Z-spun tabby weave, with a count of *c.* 19/16–18 threads per cm on the clearest area of the chalice and *c.* 20/20 threads per cm on the paten. 'Although the textile is not replaced, but has remains of threads, the fibres are too brittle and deteriorated for identification, though from their appearance they were almost certainly flax. The remains suggest a fine linen cloth, either a purificator, or a larger piece of cloth used to wrap the vessels for interment. Similar flax tabby weave, Z-spun, slightly finer and less even, count 12/9 threads per 5 mm, was preserved inside the bowl of a pewter chalice from Cathedral Green, Winchester.' (Crowfoot 1980; 1990, 483, no. 1027). The Winchester chalice was found in a burial dated to the mid-fifteenth to early sixteenth century (Biddle 1990, 796, no. 2475, fig. 233). A folded linen cloth (potentially a 'corporal') was found draped over the paten in an early fourteenth-century priest's burial in Lichfield Cathedral (Rodwell 2005b, 4–5).

Half of an iron annular buckle (with a fragment of the pin present) was found in the area of the groin, suggesting that a belt had been worn around the waist or hips. This implies that the priest had been buried in his vestments. Similar annular buckles, thought to date from the fourteenth century, were found at the hip in two burials in the cloister passage of the Austin Friars, Leicester (Clay 1981, 22). Buckled belts appear to have been worn by both sexes. An annular buckle of iron was found on the left hip of a man aged 35–45 (*ibid.*, 137: grave 11, fig. 50, no. 65), while an example of copper alloy was found at the hip of a burial described as 'probably a female' (*ibid.*, 133: grave 6, fig. 48, no. 24). Buckles of different styles were found in three priests' burials with chalices at Cathedral Green, Winchester, two dated to the fourteenth century, and the third to the mid-fifteenth or early sixteenth century (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1990, 791). At Wells Cathedral, a priest wearing a belt with an iron buckle was found in a fifteenth-century stone coffin (Rodwell 2001, 185, fig. 171).

Penelope Walton Rogers contributes the following note on the textile associated with the buckle.

'Close against the buckle hoop and pierced by the buckle pin, lie the mineralized remains of a woven strap. The strap is approximately 25 mm wide, but the edges have rolled inwards so that the present width is 20 mm. The square end of the strap is visible at the outside edge of the hoop, where the raw edge has been neatly folded inwards. This is probably the hinge end of the pin and marks where the strap was fastened to the buckle. The strap itself is woven in a close tabby weave, 20/Z × 20–24/Z threads per cm. No fibre identification was possible because of mineralization, although linen seems likely from the general appearance. Textile belts in silk, linen and worsted wool were relatively common in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but this is a simple example which contrasts with the tablet weaves seen elsewhere (Egan and Pritchard 1991, 35; and unpublished data).'

Fig. 701

1. Pewter chalice with foot broken from the bowl and stem. Circular, steep-sided bowl with plain, unthickened rim, round stem with simple triangular-sectioned collar knob and large round foot, shallow with slightly thickened rim with two faint turning lines visible. Bowl now 119 × 108 mm across; foot diameter 85 mm. Grave F1186.
2. Pewter paten. Shallow dish with no distinct rim and broad flange *c.* 19 mm wide, fragmentary. Tabby weave textile impression in corrosion products on upper face of paten. Soil present on underside of the flange but the central area is clean, where the paten was placed on the chalice. Diameter 125 mm. Grave F1186.
3. Iron buckle. Half of annular ring of round section retaining mineralized remains of a textile belt. Diameter 53 mm, section 7 mm. Grave F1186.

Burial F4115 (Figs. 696, 697 and 702; Pl. 117)

This contained a chalice of more elaborate design. The shallow bowl has a slightly thickened rim, and turning-lines on the interior; it is now distorted. The round, flaring foot is broken but can be seen to have risen steeply from the plain, beaded lip to join the round-sectioned stem. The round, hollow stem has a decorative knob with eight vertical fins or lobes, each between a pair of small vertical mouldings. The fins and the area of stem between have lattice decoration. It is unusual to find a pewter chalice with such a decorative knob. This chalice also belongs stylistically to Oman's (1957) Group 3, but is likely to date towards the end of the period, that is to the second half of the thirteenth century, or possibly the early fourteenth.¹¹

The associated paten is of extremely simple design. Although now distorted, it appears to have been virtually flat and comprised a circular sheet with no discernible rim or shaping. A paten from Winchester, found in a context dating from the mid-fifteenth to

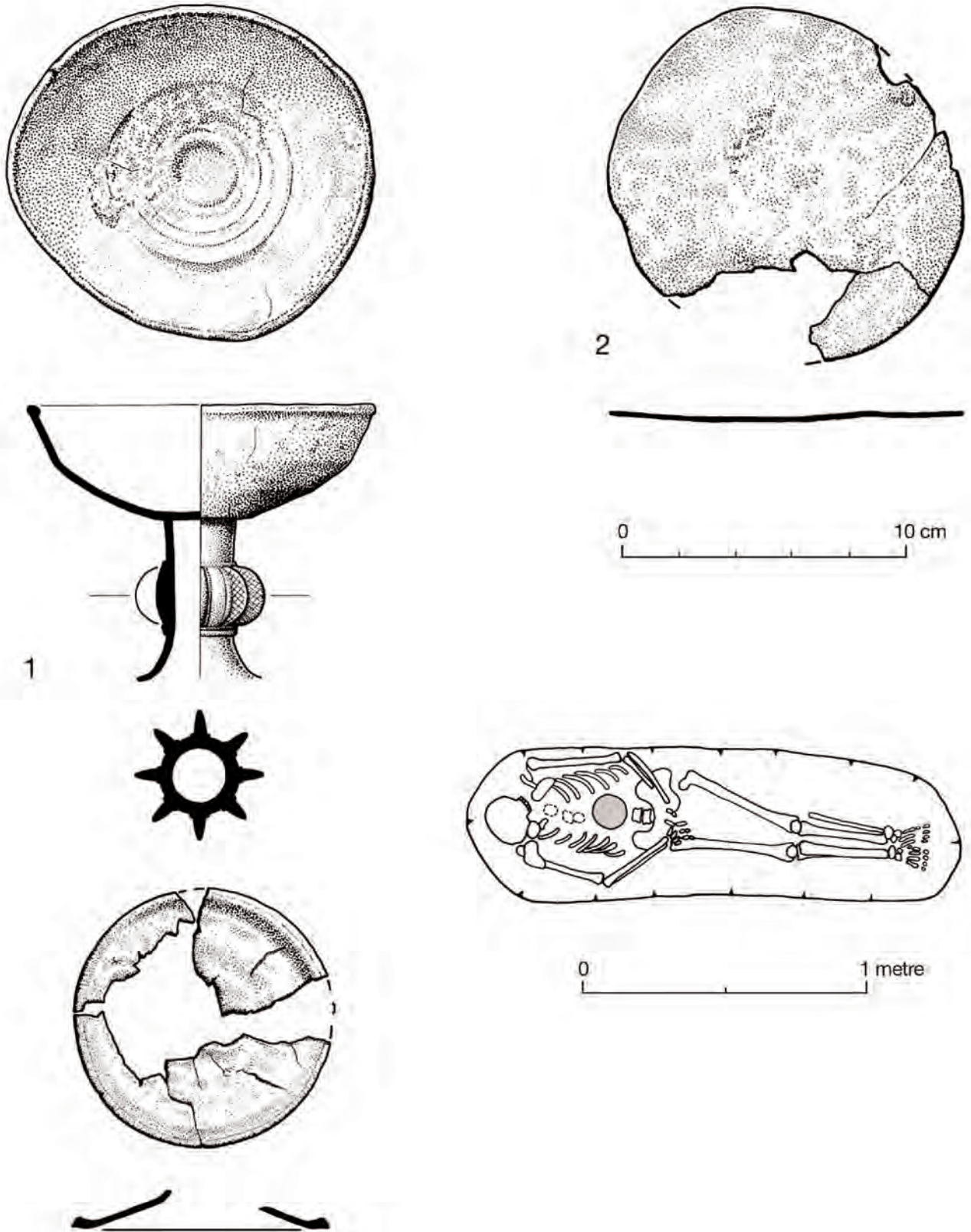


Fig. 702: Finds from priest's burial F4115. 1, Pewter chalice; 2, Pewter paten; Grave context. Scale 1:2. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

early sixteenth century, is similarly plain although distinctly dished in profile (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1990, fig. 232, no. 2478).

Fig. 702

1. Pewter chalice with fragmentary foot broken from the stem. Bowl with plain, slightly thickened rim with turning lines on the interior, round stem with large decorative knob comprising eight large vertical flanges with vertical mouldings at junction with the stem. The flanges are decorated with a raised lattice motif. Hollow stem flares into the foot, now broken. Bowl diameter (distorted 130 × 117 mm). Surviving height 90+ mm. Grave F4115.
2. Paten of circular sheet with no rim, shaping or dishing present. On the underside a large area remains with no soil or staining resulting from the paten being placed on top of the chalice in the burial. Diameter 123 mm. Grave F4115.

Dress accessories

A copper-alloy riveted strip, broken from a tongue-shaped strap-end, was found in the burial of a mature female (F5252). The occurrence of a 'bronze band' is mentioned but no location within the burial is recorded. A tongue-shaped strap-end was found in a deposit dating to *c.* 1350–1400 at Billingsgate, London (Egan and Pritchard 1991, 130, fig. 85, no. 604), slightly later than the Barton strap-end.

Fragments of pin stem of fine copper-alloy wire found in grave F1507 appear to be intrusive from a later burial. Similarly, a small bone button of a type usually associated with Phase A burials was found in grave F7568.

Other items

A bone die of cubic form was recovered from the grave of a mature woman (F1154), where it lay in the rib-cage not far from the left elbow. The burial appears to have been disturbed. The values depicted by ring-and-dot motifs are not arranged in the conventional manner on the faces of the die, *i.e.* with 1 and 6 on opposite faces, and with opposing numbers adding up to 7: instead, the faces read 6/5, 4/3 and 2/1. In this case a 'non-regular' layout has been used, a feature commonly found on dice dating between the thirteenth and sixteenth century (Brown 1990, 693; MacGregor 1985, 131–2).

The recovery of a die in this context is of interest in the light of the suggestion that the clergy may occasionally have used the throwing of dice to guide their decision-making (Brown 1990, 698; Egan 1997, 1). A second bone die of non-regular layout, also likely to be of medieval date, was recovered from the fill of grave F7014 (Phase A; Fig. 763, 10).

A small iron knife was found in grave F1544, but it is uncertain whether this was deliberately included in the burial. A fragment of iron strap, possibly the heel from a horseshoe, was found in the fill of grave F5420.

Fig. 700

2. Copper-alloy sheet strip with a rounded end and a straight end with a rivet. L 35 mm, W 5 mm. Grave F5252.
3. Bone die of cubic form with values indicated by ring-and-dot. The faces read 6/5, 4/3, 2/1. Complete. L 12 mm, W 11 mm. Grave F1154.
4. Iron knife with a straight back, dropping to meet the edge at a pointed tip. The small whittle tang continues along the line of the edge, being separated from the back by a distinct shoulder. Complete. L 80 mm, blade L 70 mm, W 13 mm. Grave F1544.

Phase C/D: *c.* 1150–1500

A small buckle and buckle-plate with remains of the leather strap within were found beside the spine of an adult male at about waist level in grave F3128. The buckle had been worn on a narrow leather belt, no more than 13 mm wide. A similar buckle and plate have been found at Billingsgate, London, in a context dated to *c.* 1230–60 (Egan and Pritchard 1991, 74, fig. 45, no. 304).

Two annular buckles of copper alloy with shouldered pins were found in grave F7246 (an adult male), one resting on each femur. One buckle was slightly higher up the thigh than the other. The position of the large buckles suggests two belts were worn slung around the hips. Another buckle was found in grave soil in Area 9. Pairs of annular buckles were found in a similar position close to the pelvis on burials associated with the battle of Wisby (1361), the larger examples being comparable to the pair from St Peter's (Thordeman 2001, 117–20, fig. 120.11–13). Thordeman considered most of the buckles from the warrior graves to come from civilian dress, rather than from fighting equipment. This type of buckle appears to have been in use from the later thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth century in London (Egan and Pritchard 1991, 22, fig. 11). A similar buckle has been found at Billingsgate (Egan and Pritchard 1991, fig. 36, no. 36) in a deposit dated to *c.* 1350–1400. Another was found at Cathedral Green, Winchester (Hinton 1990, 511, 524, fig. 134, no. 1245) in a context dating to the late fourteenth or fifteenth century.

A copper-alloy pin and a small bar-mount were found with fragmentary iron nails, along with a residual iron fiddlekey horseshoe nail in burial F7134. The pin may have been used as a shroud pin. The tip of another pin stem of copper alloy was found with a residual clench-bolt in grave F3796. A folded rivet of copper-alloy sheet, used to repair sheet metal vessels (Egan 1998, 176), was found in grave F7140, and an iron ferrule in grave F4755, both incorporated accidentally into the fill.

Fig. 700

5. Copper-alloy buckle and buckle-plate. Oval buckle frame thickened at the outer edge with a pin notch and an offset narrowed pin bar. Pin of round section, flattened where it wraps around the pin bar. Long,

rectangular folded buckle-plate held by a central rivet and with two rivets at the straight terminal. The plate is undecorated and now bent. Complete. Buckle Ht 21 mm, L 17 mm; plate 50 mm, W 13 mm. Grave F3128.

6. Copper-alloy annular buckle of round section with shouldered pin. Complete. D 45 mm, arm D 5 mm. Grave F7246.
7. Copper-alloy annular buckle, as above. D 43 mm, arm D 5 mm. Grave F7246.

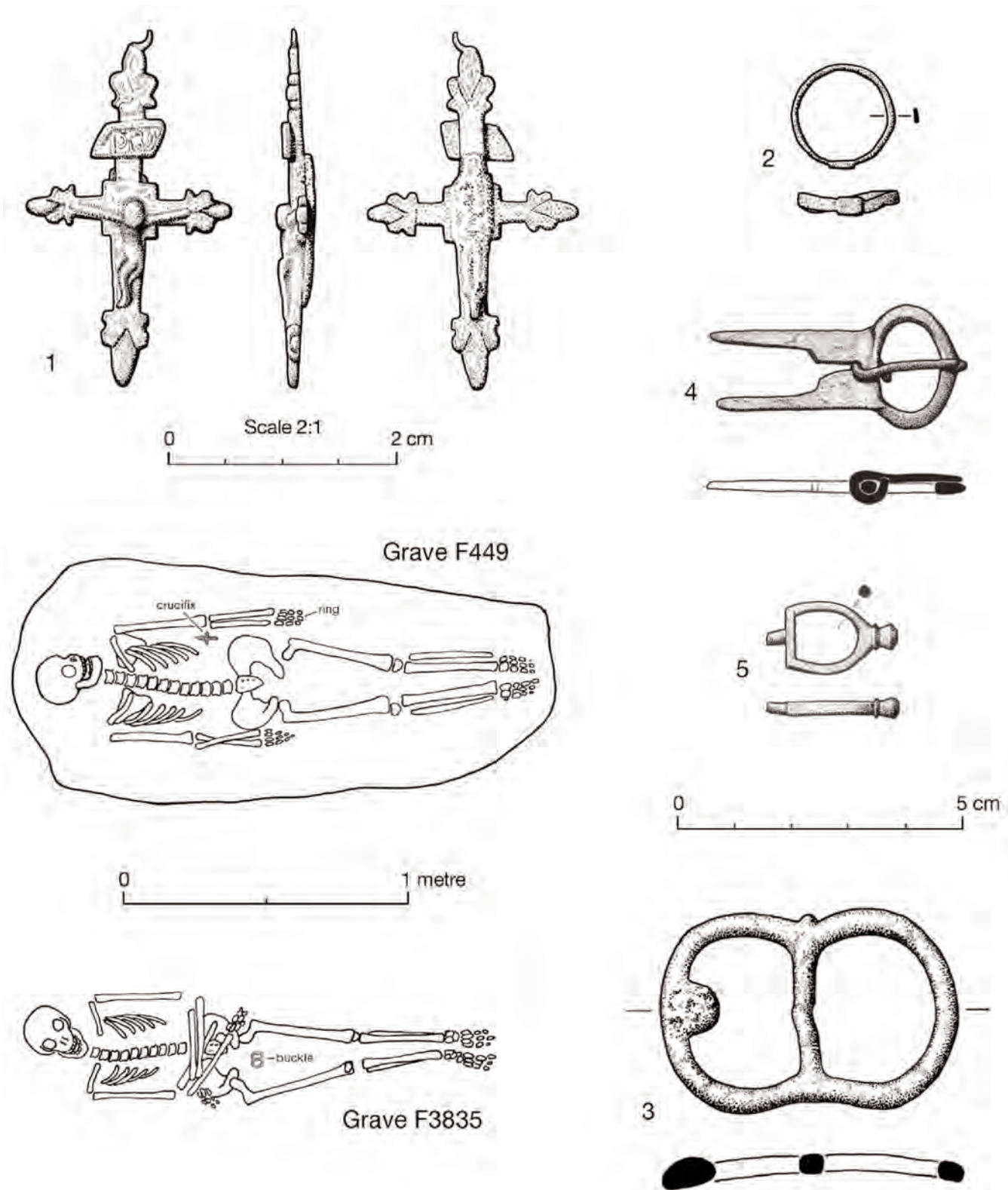


Fig. 703: Finds from burials of Phases C and B/C. 1, Silver crucifix (F499); 2, Silver-alloy finger-ring (F499); 3, 4, Copper-alloy buckles (F3835, F3752); 5, Copper-alloy strap loop (F3078). Scales 2:1 (no. 1) and 1:1 (nos. 2-5). Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Phase C: c. 1300–1500

Burial F449

Burial F449, a young woman of c. 17 years of age, was located under the north arcade (bay 3) of the nave. In addition to coffin nails, at the bottom of the grave, close to the left hand, lay a finger-ring of silver alloy. The ring has a hoop of plano-convex section with triple mouldings at each shoulder and a central, rectangular bezel between. A solid silver pendant crucifix was found between the rib cage and the left arm at elbow level (Figs. 703 and 704).¹² John Cherry contributes the following note on this piece.

‘There are the remains of a broken suspension ring at the top, and traces of mercury gilding on both front and back. The arms of the cross are trefoil-ended, and there is a central square projection. On the front is the figure of Christ, with outstretched arms; above the head is the *titulus*. On the back of the cross is a standing figure on a corbel, probably representing the Virgin and Child. Both the figures of Christ and the Virgin are very worn. In life, the crucifix was presumably suspended so that the figure of Christ faced outwards and the Virgin towards the body. It was suspended from a

ring, and the position in which it was found suggests that it was attached to a cord around the neck. Had it been suspended from a metal chain, evidence of this would undoubtedly have survived in the grave.

This may be compared with the small crucifix found in the Scunthorpe area in 1984;¹³ that has a silver crucifix soldered to a T-shaped cross of diamond section. It may also be compared with two others reported under the Treasure Act:¹⁴ one is much smaller, with arms that expand towards the ends. There is no Virgin on the back; it has a suspension ring at the top. The front is gilded and the back is plain.

The second is a silver-gilt crucifix, found at Nettlestead (Suff.); this has a figure of Christ on the front, who has a curved body and raised hands. The top and side of the cross are missing, and on the right-hand terminal there is a blue stone. On the back of the cross is the letter ‘V’ and, at the centre, the Roman numeral ‘II’.

A number of lead crosses of similar size to the Barton crucifix have been found, including some with trefoil ends (Spencer 1998, 165, 169, fig. 190b). Also similar is the rood of Grace at Boxley Abbey (Kent), which has its own distinctive design. While Spencer refers to these as being related to the roods at Windsor



Fig. 704: Silver crucifix from grave F499: front and rear views. Ht 32 mm. Photo: British Museum

or Bermondsey, it may be that the Barton crucifix – if it has to be derived from a rood at all – was copied from or inspired by something from further north. In 1399, Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, bequeathed her 'gold cross hanging by a chain with an image of the Crucifix, and four pearls about it ... as the thing of mine that I most love' (Nichols 1780, 181–2).

Fig. 703

1. Pendant solid silver crucifix. Ht 32 mm, width 19 mm.¹⁵ Grave F449.
2. Silver-alloy finger-ring. The strip band has triple mouldings at the shoulder with a rectangular bezel between. Complete. D internal 15 mm, external 19 mm. Grave F449.

Other graves

A large double buckle of copper alloy was found lying between the legs near to the pelvis of an adult male in grave F3835. The belt to which it had been attached was *c.* 25 mm wide. A large double buckle frame with remains of the leather belt attached was found in an early to mid-fourteenth-century burial at Winchester (Hinton 1990, 517, fig. 131, no. 1152).

A fragment of copper-alloy riveted sheet broken from a buckle-plate, or other sheet metal mount, was found in the grave of a mature female (F470), incorporated accidentally within the fill.

Fig. 703

3. Copper-alloy double oval-framed buckle of plano-convex section. Central pin bar with small knobs at either end. Frame notched for the tip of the pin. Iron mineralized material present on the pin bar, insufficient structure remains for identification. Complete. Ht 35 mm, L 54 mm. Grave F3835.

Phase B/C: *c.* 1300–1700

A copper-alloy buckle with a forked spacer was found in the filling of grave F3752, an infant. The buckle is of common type, popular from the mid-fourteenth to the early fifteenth century (Egan and Pritchard 1991, 78, figs. 48 and 49, nos. 322–30). A buckle of this form, complete with its buckle-plates with leather from the belt within, was found at the waist of a male interred during the fourteenth century at the Austin friary, Leicester (Clay 1981, 133, 135, no. 25).

A small D-shaped strap loop with a collared knob was found on the pelvis of a child aged *c.* 9 years (F3078). The strap loop is likely to have been worn with a matching buckle on a very narrow belt. However, the grave was only partly excavated and no buckle was recovered. The loop is comparable to a buckle of the same design with a buckle-plate found in a deposit of *c.* 1340–1400 at Billingsgate (Egan and Pritchard 1991, 94, fig. 59, no. 421). Egan cites strap loops of this style from Meols (Ches.) (*cf.* Hume 1863, pl. X, nos. 11 and 14).

Possible shroud pins found in graves in the churchyard

Two 'stick' pins and a number of smaller 'dressmaking' pins were found in graves in the churchyard attributed to Phase B/C and may have been used as shroud pins. A copper-alloy pin with an apparently solid head, though now broken, and a double-clenched stem was found in burial F7564. This may have been used to secure a shroud. At least three iron nails were also recovered from the grave, and so the body may have been in a coffin. A pin with a flat-topped head divided vertically into five segments was found along with a pin with a wound-wire head in burial F7154 (Fig. 839, no. 11); there were no coffin nails in this grave. A long pin stem, possibly from another shroud pin, was found in grave F7217. Small brass dressmaking pins were also recovered from a further five grave fills (F3744, F3748, F3768, F4582 and F7131), the pins in the last two exhibiting traces of fibres and woven textile, respectively: they may have been used to pin shrouds. A copper-alloy aiglet was found in burial F5222.

Fig. 703

4. Copper-alloy buckle, oval frame with central lip on the outer edge and integrally cast forked spacer. A wire pin is wrapped around the small pin bar. Complete. L 45 mm, Ht 22 mm. Grave F3752.
5. Copper-alloy small D-shaped strap loop of rectangular section with a central collared knob on the outside edge, and a small shank projecting from the frame in the opposite direction. Complete. Ht 23 mm, W 18 mm. Grave F3078.

Silk and gold textiles from grave F325 (Phase C)

by *Penelope Walton Rogers*¹⁶

Some poorly preserved remains of textile were found immediately above the coffin in grave F325, at the foot end. Notes made at the time (1980) describe the material as 'an organic stain, dished, 25 cm in diameter ... brown felty material ... fabric impressions on the earth and remains of gold braid ... ?remains of hat'. Very little has survived of this original textile complex, although particularly clear imprints are preserved in some lumps of hardened grey earth. The grave-fill contained a certain amount of lime-rich mortar and it seems likely that this dissolved and was then redeposited on the textile, to form casts (Pl. 114; Fig. 705). Some small tufts of the real textile still adhere to the casts, although no single piece is more than a few millimetres square.

By investigation of the remains trapped in the casts, it has been possible to identify four different elements:

- i) a gold-brocaded silk-and-linen textile, probably velvet;
- ii) a tabby-weave textile, probably a lining or backing;

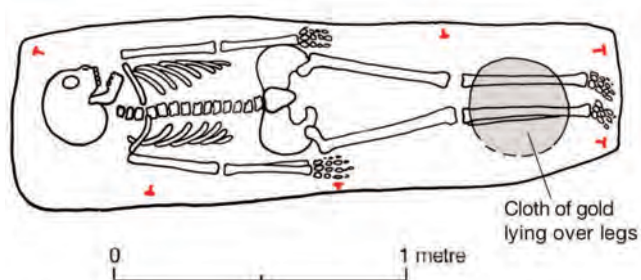


Fig. 705: Plan of grave F325, showing the location of the fragment of 'cloth of gold' and coffin nails. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

- iii) some gold thread arranged in a manner that suggests embroidery; and
- iv) a silk-and-gold narrow trimming.

Brocaded silk-and-linen textile, probably velvet

Large areas of the earth cast have a grooved appearance (10 grooves per cm), resembling the back of certain types of velvet. In places, linen fibres lie in the grooves, with fine silk threads, Z-twist, *c.* 30 per cm, running across them. This, then, is probably a velvet with a silk warp and linen weft. Above the silk, parallel to the linen threads, lie parallel rows of metal thread which must represent brocading (the term 'brocade' is used when an extra weft thread has been woven into the surface of the fabric for a decorative effect). Tufts of broken silk fibre, possibly the velvet pile, are visible in places. This decayed velvet is probably what the excavators interpreted as 'felt' when it first appeared.

In the medieval period, there were several different ways of making metal thread and the construction of the brocading thread was therefore investigated with care, using a high-power microscope fitted with incident light ($\times 40$ and $\times 100$ magnification) and transmitted light ($\times 100$ and $\times 400$ magnification). The thread proved to be made from a strip of animal gut, 250–300 microns (0.25–0.30 mm) wide, which had had metal applied to one face. The strip had been spun in the S direction around a core thread which was S-twist flax or hemp, to give a thread roughly 200 microns in diameter. In some areas, the gilding seems to be absent, leaving a dull silver colour. Samples from the gold (sample 1) and the silver (sample 2) areas were sent to Philip Clogg, Department of Archaeology, University of Durham, for further analysis. He reported as follows:

Analysis was carried out using a Links System XR300 Energy Dispersive X-Ray Spectrometer employing a Rhodium target X-ray tube. The analysis was undertaken at 35 kV, with a rhodium filter, and at 50 kV with a copper filter to reduce background 'noise'. The results of the analysis at 35 kV and 50kV are presented in graphical format, with the element energy peaks identified and labelled (Figs. 706 and 707).

Sample 1

The main peaks present at 35 kV are those of copper (K_{∞} at 8.04 keV), gold (L_{∞} and L_{β} at 9.71 keV and 11.44 keV, respectively) and bromine (K_{∞} at 11.92 keV). In addition, the presence of iron was noted. The analysis at 50 kV clearly identified the presence of silver (K_{∞} and K_{β} at 22.16 keV and 24.94 keV, respectively) and, as expected from the analysis at 35 kV, the presence of copper, gold and lead was detected. It should be noted that the difference in peak size between the two analyses is due to differing sensitivities of the elements. No mercury was detected in either analysis.

The analysis suggests that the gut had been treated with a silver-gold alloy. The presence of bromine is probably due to the corrosion of the silver (*i.e.* silver bromide) which suggests that the main component is silver. It is not possible to say from the analysis whether the silver had been gilded. The presence of copper and lead suggests that the silver/gold was not of the highest purity.

Sample 2

The main peaks at 35 kV are those of copper (K_{∞} at 8.04 keV), lead (L_{∞} and L_{β} at 10.5 keV and 12.6 keV, respectively) and bromine (K_{∞} at 11.92 keV). Gold (L_{∞} and L_{β} at 9.71 and 11.44 keV, respectively) was also detected, although in very low concentration. In addition, the presence of iron was noted. The analysis at 50 kV showed the major element peaks to be those of silver (K_{∞} and K_{β} at 22.16 keV and 24.94 keV, respectively). The copper and lead peaks were also detected.

Although visually similar to sample 1, the analyses show significantly higher concentrations of copper and lead, and much lower concentrations of gold. The presence of the gold is probably the significant factor in this sample. The possibilities exist that either this material was originally gilded and that it is simply a more 'worn' specimen than sample 1, or that the gold existed as an impurity within the silver. The first suggestion seems the more likely.

This form of metal-on-gut strip, S-twisted on a linen core, is typical of Italian and German workshops of the late medieval period (Járó 1990, 55). The narrowest gut strips, less than 500 microns wide, are usually found in fourteenth-century threads, the later ones being broader (Járó and Gondár 1988, 258). If it is correct to see the ground weave as velvet, then this would imply an Italian origin for the textile, because the velvet-weaving centres in countries such as Spain mainly used other types of gold thread. The most likely identification of these remains, therefore, is a gold-brocaded Italian velvet of the fourteenth century.

Plain velvets were first produced in Italy in the later thirteenth century and patterned velvets, including those with gold brocading, developed through the course of the fourteenth century, until they had become a major product of cities such as Venice and Lucca (Monnas 1986). Some velvets were already reaching England by the 1280s and 1290s and appear in royal and church inventories of the fourteenth century (Crowfoot *et al.* 1992, 127). They were heavy fabrics, mostly used for bed furnishings and the larger types of church vestments but, being valuable textiles, offcut pieces might also be used for small items such as purses and garment trimmings. There are four examples

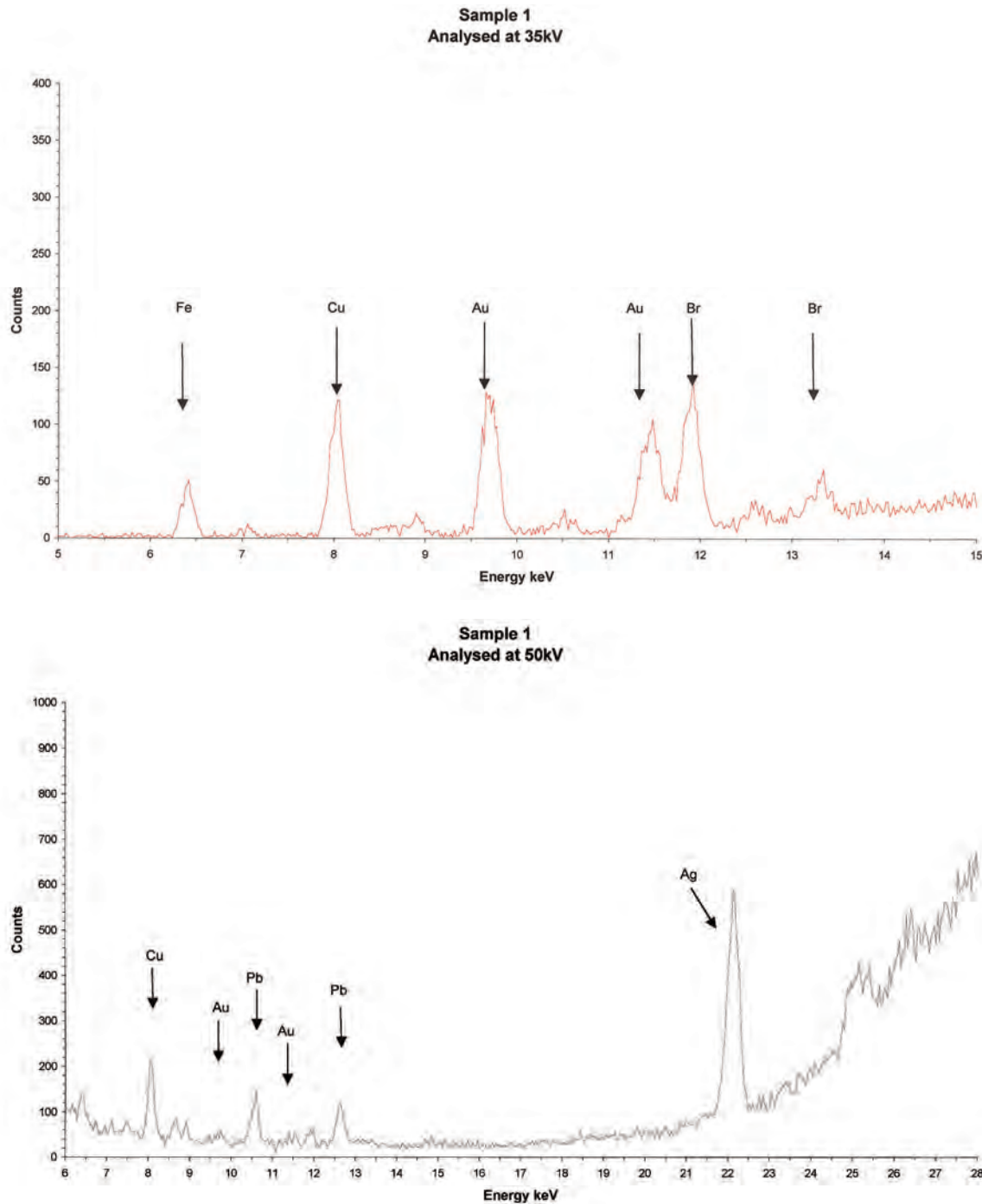


Fig. 706: EDXRF spectra of the gold-on-gut thread from grave F325, sample 1

of half-silk velvets – two pouches and two narrow stitched strips – from a deposit dated to the late fourteenth century at Baynard's Castle, London, near the site of the Royal Wardrobe (Crowfoot *et al.* 1992, 127–8). Other late medieval velvets, made into embroidered copes, have survived in church treasuries (see below: 'embroidery').

Tabby-weave lining

In one area of the textile imprints, a relatively coarse tabby-weave textile, 14 × 12 threads per cm (spin not

clear), can be seen emerging from behind the supposed velvet. No fibres have been preserved in this imprint, but the textile has the general quality and appearance of linen and can be assumed to be a backing or lining of some sort.

Embroidery

Some further areas of imprint show parallel curving lines, and inside these lines are some lengths of gold thread which is different from the gold-on-gut on the velvet. Some loose fragments of the same gold thread,

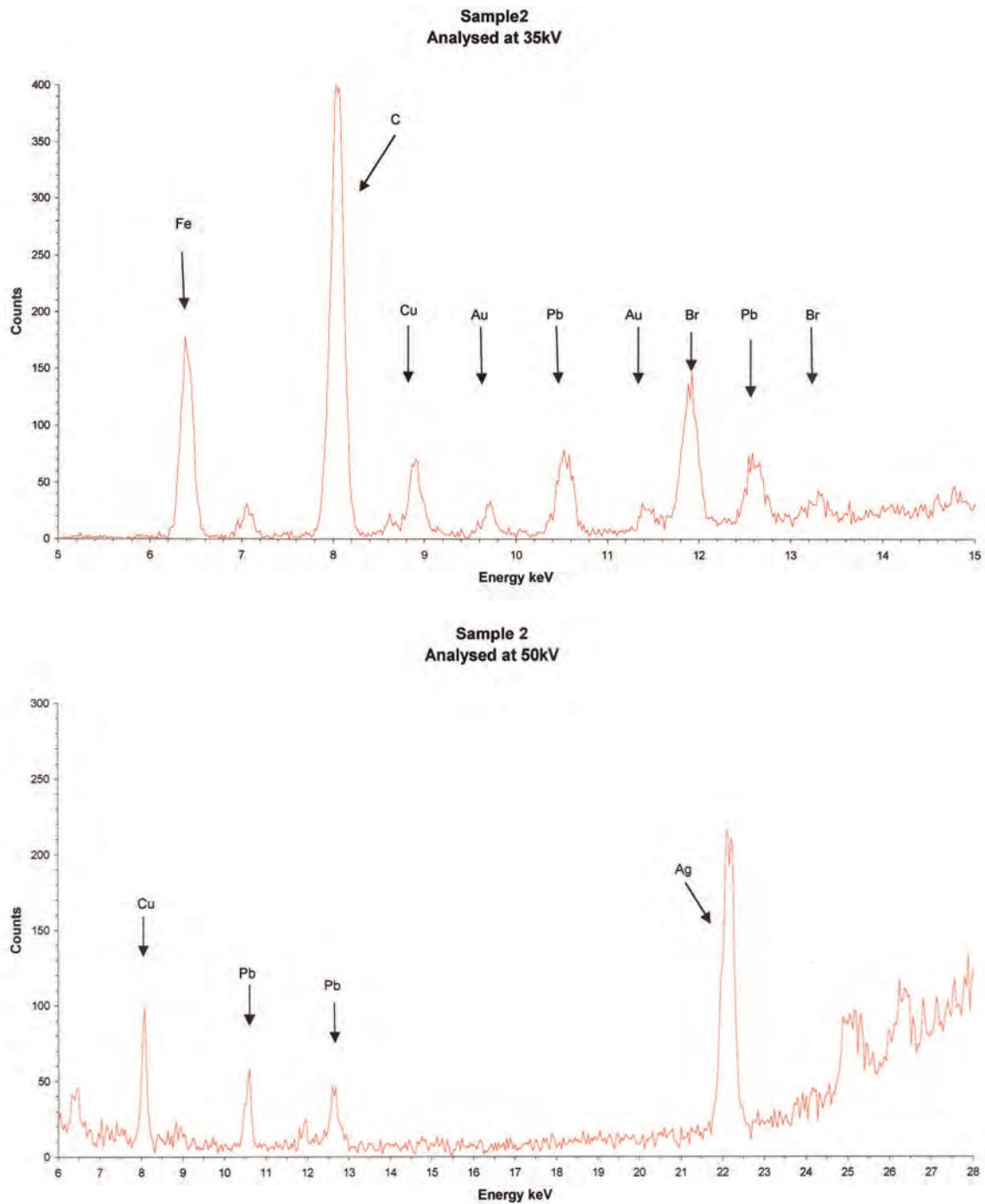


Fig. 707: EDXRF spectra of the gold-on-gut thread from grave F325, sample 2

preserved separately from the imprints, form quite tight curls and spirals. These are probably the remains of embroidery, perhaps a foliate design with the curls representing tendrils. The thread appears to have been deliberately flattened. The absence of any kinks along its length, suggests that it has been applied by 'surface couching', where the gold is laid flat on the fabric and a yarn is brought up from below and looped over the metal thread (Staniland 1991, 40–5). The alternative, 'underside couching', tends to leave marks where the metal thread has been pulled back into the fabric by the holding thread.

The metal thread is in this case a strip of gold-coloured metal, *c.* 300 microns wide, twisted tightly in the S-direction around a core of S-twist silk yarn. Analysis by Philip Clogg has shown the following (not illustrated):

Sample 3

The main peaks present at 35 kV are those of gold (L_{∞} and $L\beta$ at 9.71 and 11.44 keV, respectively) and bromine (K_{∞} at 11.92 keV). In addition, the presence of copper and iron was noted. The analysis undertaken at 50 kV identified the presence of silver (K_{∞} and $K\beta$ at 22.16 keV and 24.94 keV, respectively).

The analysis suggests that the thread is composed of a silver-gold alloy. The presence of bromine is probably due to the corrosion of the silver (*i.e.* silver bromide), which suggests that the alloy was silver-rich.

Most 'gold' threads in medieval embroideries are in fact strips of gilded silver spun on a silk core. Alloys of the sort identified here are rare, but there is another example of a silver-rich gold alloy from a tablet-woven band in a fourteenth-century burial at Winchester Cathedral Paradise cemetery (Hughes 1990, 80–1), and a third in a fourteenth-century Italian silk (Indictor *et al.* 1988, 12, no. CMA 19.29). The type of textile from which the Italian sample was taken is not mentioned, but the analysts of the metal describe the thread as 'silvery gold'. It is probable that these fourteenth-century alloys were used to produce a paler shade of gold than is usual with the traditional silver-gilt threads.

The kind of gold thread that is made from a metal strip spun on a silk core was produced in monastic centres in Europe as early as the twelfth century, and by the fourteenth century was probably also being made in private workshops. Medieval England was famous for the embroideries known as *opus anglicanum*, which incorporate gold thread with coloured silks. The early examples of English products were mostly worked on linen, or sometimes wool or silk twill, but short-pile velvet was used as a ground from the 1320s or 1330s onwards. The gold was mainly applied by underside couching until the fifteenth century (Staniland 1991, 45), but there are a few fourteenth-century examples which incorporate surface-couching, such as a horse-covering made for Edward III (Staniland 1991, 29) or the Butler-Bowdon cope at the Victoria and Albert Museum,¹⁷ which is worked in both surface and underside couching on red velvet (King 1963, 38–9).

Gold-brocaded tablet weave

Among the loose fragments of textile, found separately from the earth imprints, are some cords of silk, twisted both S and Z, with gold thread intertwined in a manner that is typical of gold-brocaded tablet-woven bands. Tablet-weaving was a technique used for solidly made bands which were employed as trimmings at cuffs, hems and collars, or as girdles, stoles and maniples. The gold thread was similar in construction to the thread in the supposed embroidery (S-twist strip on a silk core), but the metal strip seemed to be gold on the outer face and silver on the back, implying the use of gilded silver. In fact, analysis shows that there is little difference between the front and back of the metal strip and the golden appearance of the outer face is probably due to the leaching out of silver from a silver-gold alloy. Philip Clogg explained this in his report:

Sample 4

The main peaks present at 35 kV are those of copper (K_{∞} at 8.04 keV) and gold (L_{∞} and L_{β} at 9.71 and 11.44 keV,

respectively). The presence of a small concentration of lead was noted. The analysis at 50 kV showed the major element peaks to be those of silver (K_{∞} and K_{β} at 22.16 keV and 24.94 keV, respectively). The copper and gold peaks were also detected.

It was noted that the thread existed as a double layer of 'metal foil' and that the back was noticeably more 'silver' in colour than the front. Both sides of the foil were therefore analyzed. However, there was no discernible difference in the analytical spectra produced. The similarities within the spectra, the size of the silver peaks, and the lack of mercury suggest that the material is a silver-rich alloy rather than gilded silver plate. The difference in colour between the front and the back could be due to the conditions within the burial environment and the lack of exposure received by the back of the foil.

The textile complex

The question remains as to what sort of object this textile complex represents. It was clearly a valuable item, seemingly made from 'cloth-of-gold velvet', backed with linen, embroidered and trimmed with gold-brocaded tablet-woven bands. The technical evidence suggests that it was made in the fourteenth century, and the archaeological evidence places it in the middle or later decades of the century, following the construction of the wide north aisle in the 1330s (p. 403).

When first excavated the object was thought to be a hat, because of its size and shape. There are indeed two examples of civic hats made from velvet, one from York, trimmed with gold (Landi 1986), and another from Waterford,¹⁸ but these are dated to 1580 and 1536, respectively. It is hard to find evidence for such a hat as early as the fourteenth century and it seems more likely that the velvet was connected with St Peter's church itself. Apart from the royal court, the medieval church was the largest consumer of expensive textiles. These were used for hangings, vestments, liturgical cloths, even drapes for statues, and some of them, such as liturgical copes, would incorporate all the elements described here. Examples have survived in church treasuries throughout Europe and remains have been discovered on opening archbishops' and bishops' graves. The Barton example was on top of, not a priest's burial, but that of a young woman. How it came to be there and whether it had any direct association with the woman beneath remains to be explained.

Internal textile from grave F425 (Phase C)

by Penelope Walton Rogers¹⁹

Linen

Nearly all of the textiles found in the burials at Barton belonged to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (p. 711; Table 22) but the earliest textile from inside a grave is a fragment of linen from the burial of a man, F425 (Phase C). This tabby-weave textile is typical of the

coarser types of household linen of the medieval period (Walton 1991, 342–3; Crowfoot *et al.* 1992, 80), and examples from burials at St Bees priory (Cumb.)²⁰ and St Mary's Abbey, Winchester,²¹ indicate that the same fabric type could be used for shrouds. Litten (1991, 57–62) has suggested that the medieval winding sheet was often just a large sheet taken from the family's linen closet. The sheet was gathered around the body and then stitched, pinned, knotted or bound in place.

The Papal *bull*

by Tim Pestell²²

Bulla of Innocent VI (1352–62). Weight: 43.34 g. Found in the filling of a Phase A grave, F1440, where it was obviously residual.

The context from which this *bull*a derives is of some interest. An emerging number of medieval *bullae* have been recovered from churchyards and several have been found stratified in graves, including examples from Hulton Abbey (Staffs.) and the London churches of St Mary Spital and St Clement Dane's. More particularly, a number from such contexts have proven to be *bullae* of Pope Clement VI (1342–52) or, as here, his successor Innocent VI. The sequential dates of these popes coincides with the Black Death and its aftermath and it has been suggested that the presence of these *bullae* in graves may reflect entire papal documents, to which these lead seals were attached, being buried with the dead. The argument has been advanced that such documents are likely to have been papal indulgences, which granted the recipient remission of time spent in Purgatory (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 94–6). However, it is equally true to say that a number of papal *bullae* have been discovered in recent years that appear to have been kept or used as amulets. It is therefore unclear whether this *bull*a was a stray loss, or was originally buried attached to its papal document, or reused as a charm and subsequently lost.

Medieval Funerary Monuments

Surviving fragments confirm that St Peter's and St Mary's churches were once embellished with an impressive range of funerary monuments, dating principally from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These comprised: a recumbent stone effigy of a priest, brasses, tapered grave-slabs, plain coffin-covers, and rectangular slabs bearing incised decoration and/or inscriptions. A variety of stone types is represented, including local limestones and ironstone, Lower Magnesian Limestone, Purbeck marble, Tournai marble and Namur stone. Monolithic coffins made of local limestone and ironstone were also used.²³

While antiquarian sources variously mention slabs in both churches, none had been fully described or illustrated with the exception of the Seman brass in St Mary's.²⁴ Furthermore, the excavations at St Peter's added materially to the assemblage of slabs and

fragments, according to Barton the status of having the second largest and most important collection in Lincolnshire. Consequently, a full appraisal of the material in both churches is given here.

Geological aspects of the stone used for monuments and coffins

by Geoff Gaunt and Jackie Hall²⁵

To an appreciable extent, the stone types employed for coffins, grave-covers and monuments were locally sourced and mirror those used for building, a full description of which will be found in chapter 16 (pp. 789–93). However, there were additional stone types employed for grave-slabs and some of these were brought from much farther afield.

The first of the building stones also used for monuments was Permian Lower Magnesian Limestone (also known as the Cadeby Formation). It was used for at least five cross-slabs dating from the late thirteenth century, for the priest's effigy, and for at least one plain grave-cover. Oolitic Lincolnshire Limestone was used for an incised slab of mid-fourteenth-century date, and fragments of possibly three other tombs and grave-covers made from the same type of limestone survive. The date agrees with the first known architectural use of this oolitic limestone at St Peter's. In addition, coffin and lid fragments and one cross-slab fragment survive that are made of a fossiliferous, loosely compacted and poorly sorted oolitic limestone containing scattered pisoliths and oncoliths. The two latter features occur in places in the Hibaldstow Limestones in the Winterton–Appleby area (and in the lithostratigraphically equivalent Cave Oolite north of the Humber), but they are better documented in the Hibaldstow area (Gaunt *et al.* 1992, 51–2). Lithologically, this stone is very similar to that found in the Barnack quarries of Northamptonshire (for a description, see Hudson and Sutherland 1990) and it is possible that the Barton coffins were brought from there, although if so it would make these coffins one of the farthest exports of Barnack products (Butler 1964). See Figure 816, p. 790, for an explanation of the above-mentioned stratigraphical and regional variations within the Middle Jurassic Lincolnshire Limestone. There are also a few fragments of a dark yellow ferruginous limestone, possibly from the Lower Jurassic Frodingham Ironstone or Pecten Ironstone, which crop out from the Whitton–Winteringham area southwards to beyond Scunthorpe. Alternatively, they may be from the Lower Cretaceous Claxby Ironstone, as with the examples found in the walls and arcades.

In the medieval period three new stone types were brought to St Peter's: Triassic alabaster, Lower Cretaceous Purbeck 'Marble' and black Carboniferous limestone. The alabaster, represented by a single fragment from a late fourteenth- or fifteenth-century altarpiece, comes from the East Midlands, probably from the Castle Hayes–Fauld–Tutbury area of Staffordshire or the Chellaston area of Derbyshire (Firman 1984).

The Purbeck 'Marble' from Dorset is a richly fossiliferous limestone (not a marble in the metamorphic sense of that word) with a highly ornamental finish when cut and polished. It was popular from the late twelfth century for architectural purposes and relief effigies, from the mid-thirteenth century for cross-slabs, and from the late thirteenth century for incised slabs and brasses (Leach 1978; Blair 1991). Its use at St Peter's was restricted to a few grave-covers, the earliest being a cross-slab of the late thirteenth or fourteenth century.

The black Carboniferous limestone, very fine grained and prone to post-usage splitting on some bedding planes, was also polished to give a 'marble' finish. From the late thirteenth century Flemish workshops produced large numbers of high-quality black Carboniferous limestone monuments, including incised slabs, brasses and composite slabs, in which part of the design was incised and part was inlaid in latten, white marble, or composition. These products were exported throughout Europe, from Scandinavia to the Iberian Peninsula. A visual inspection of the slabs and fragments by Professor John Prentice suggested two principal sources in the Lower Carboniferous of Belgium, one at Tournai and the other in the Meuse valley. That from Tournai, the well-documented Tournai marble (Drake 1993; Nys 1993), also not a marble in the metamorphic sense, is distinctive in being free of visible fossils except for burrowing trace forms.

The limestone imported from the Meuse valley, by contrast, lacks burrowing structures but contains scattered fossils such as crinoid ossicles and corals; it is generally thicker bedded and is known variously as Namur stone, *pietre de Meuse* and *Namense steen*. The sources are confirmed by the Flemish workmanship of surviving inscriptions, but Meuse valley imports, from workshops in Namur, Huy, Liege or Dinant, have only rarely been identified in Britain. This may, however, be partly due to lack of geological examination. Certainly, Varah (1987, 11–12) describes several of the slabs in Lincoln Cathedral as revealing 'upon close examination ... they have shells and other fossil remains trapped within them'. As with the work at Barton, this raises the possibility that a true assessment of imports of incised slabs will only be achieved after a thorough geological examination of the whole corpus, as has begun to happen on the Continent (Tummers 1983; 1992).

Black limestone (sometimes called 'blue-stone', or 'touch') slabs continued to be used in the post-medieval period, as witnessed by the extant late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century examples in the church floor. A few other stone types were also brought in; most notable is the yellowish-brown to greyish-brown fine-grained sandstone, well sorted and well compacted, commonly referred to as 'Yorkshire Stone'. This sandstone is probably derived from the Upper Carboniferous Coal Measures, which crop out from the Leeds area southwards via Sheffield to Derby.

Two gravestones may precisely date the first introduction of this sandstone to St Peter's. Both stones commemorate children of William and Susanna Gildas. The earlier is dated 1718 and is made of Lower Magnesian Limestone, while the later one is dated 1723 and is of fine-grained sandstone. It should, however, be noted that the earlier grave stone is for a child (two years old) and children's graves frequently received different treatment. Lower Magnesian Limestone continued to be used for memorials, at least in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the nineteenth century, when gravestones were increasingly being made off-site by specialist masons, the fine-grained sandstone was the most popular stone for such purposes, although by mid-century at the latest both slate and finely oolitic Lincolnshire Limestone had been introduced, as also had imported true (*i.e.* metamorphic) marbles for wall monuments.

Sculpted memorial effigy of a priest

by Philip J. Lankester²⁶

Description and history

The recumbent figure, sculpted in Lower Magnesian Limestone, represents a priest in mass vestments holding a chalice (Fig. 708). The head, shoulders, upper arms and part of the top of the chalice bowl are missing. The chalice, in the centre of the chest, is supported by the figure's left hand with the fingers under the base and the thumb gripping the top of the foot. The extended right hand lies, palm downwards, immediately below. The alb reaches to the ankles and the chasuble to just below knee-level. It is uncertain whether the maniple (the strip of cloth which would be suspended from the left forearm, just above the wrist) is represented by the line that extends from under the wrist diagonally to the nearest edge of the slab, or whether this line just represents a fold in the chasuble. There is a fairly short incised line on the top of the wrist which may indicate one edge of the maniple: two other, shorter lines on the wrist, nearer the hand, may be the surviving ends of a line that defined the end of the sleeve of the alb. The ends of the stole, which would appear as two vertical strips extending beyond the lower hem of the chasuble, are not shown, nor are any apparels (woven or embroidered coloured textile panels) shown at the cuffs or lower hem of the alb; but stoles and apparels are not always indicated in sculpture and could have been added in paint or gesso and paint, as could possibly also the maniple. The feet rest on a plain chamfered block. The sculpture of the top surfaces of the figure is in very low relief, suggesting the sculptor was constrained by the depth of the stone.

Apart from the losses already mentioned, there are chips to the surface, mainly near the edges. The figure, which tapers slightly in plan towards the feet, extends right up to the edge of the stone. It may have been cut away at the sides because it is usual on sculpted effigies

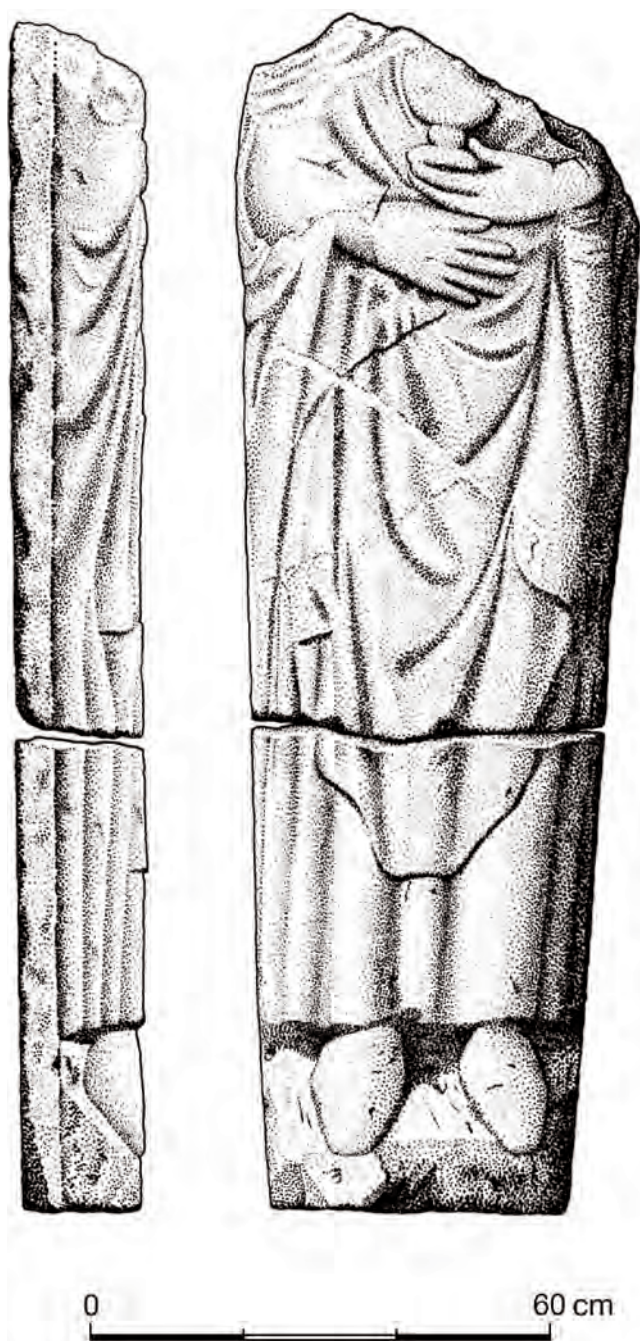


Fig. 708: Limestone memorial effigy of a priest. Scale 1:10. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

for the integral slab to project at least a little beyond the edge of the figure. A portion of the original edge has certainly been lost on the upper half of the figure's left side as the present edge interrupts the drapery: the maximum surviving width is 52 cm, and length 1.60 m; the block is 18 cm thick.

The stone is very dirty, which partially hides multiple mended breaks that have been stuck together with Portland cement: though the number of pieces cannot be certainly known until the figure is properly cleaned and conserved, it may be in as many as eight.²⁷ The underside of the figure is smooth, which is compatible with its reuse as paving, a common fate for effigies after the Reformation, if not before.

The effigy was apparently found in the floor of the north aisle during the restoration of 1858–59, and has been displayed in the church ever since: first, in the base of the tower, then from 1898 at the east end of the north aisle, beneath the window, and finally from 1923 in the sanctuary. Nevertheless, the effigy seems to have escaped notice in most publications.²⁸ It was briefly mentioned by Varah, who identified it as commemorating John Cole, vicar, who died in 1521 (Varah 1928, 21).²⁹

It is not presently known when the effigy was defaced and reused as paving. It could have happened during the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, but there are recorded instances of effigies being destroyed or buried later. Three examples of effigies that were probably buried in the late eighteenth century are at Sparsholt (Berks.) (Lankester 1993a), Thornton (Bucks.) (Parkhouse and Chevenix Trench 1995), and Gonalston (Notts.) (Westmacott 1849).

Discussion and dating

Priests' effigies in mass vestments (the most commonly represented form of dress on medieval monuments to the clergy) are very difficult to date because the costume was basically the same throughout the Middle Ages. It is regrettable that the head has been lost as this can sometimes offer clues to dating through style. The possibility for comparative analysis with other Lincolnshire effigies is limited because, until very recently, little had been published on them. This has now been partly corrected by a very thorough survey of the military effigies (Downing 2010). However, comparison of military effigies with ecclesiastical effigies is very difficult because of the marked differences in costume.

In the absence of other evidence it could be expected that the products of some effigy 'workshops' would have crossed the Humber estuary and the boundaries of other adjacent counties where significant numbers of effigies survive, especially Nottinghamshire, but only the pre-Black Death military effigies in the latter county have been completely surveyed in print (Lawrance and Routh 1924). Yorkshire effigies have been the subject of several publications, most recently by Brian and Moira Gittos and Sally Badham (late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: Gittos and Gittos 1980; 1989; 1992; 1994; Badham *et al.* 1996) and by the late Pauline Routh and Richard Knowles (alabaster effigies, mainly fifteenth century: Routh 1976; Routh and Knowles 1983). It was suggested some time ago that two military effigies in Lincolnshire relate stylistically to others in Yorkshire: Burton-upon-Stather (Gittos and Gittos 1980, 55; 1994, 25; part of their Yorkshire series C); and Rippingale (Tummers 1980, 99–100; see also Gittos and Gittos 2002, 163), which is stylistically very similar to another at West Tanfield, Yorks. Recently Mark Downing has added the military effigy at Harrington (Lincs.) to the Rippingale and West Tanfield group, which he sees as all coming from the same workshop (Downing 2010, 14). He also sees a

relationship between the effigy at Threkingham (Lincs.) with those at Flintham and Gonalston (Notts.) and Hornsea and Womersley (Yorks.) (*ibid.*). Downing's survey shows that other Lincolnshire effigies are definitely from outside the county, such as those made of Purbeck marble and alabaster, and he concluded that of the '62 effigies within [his] catalogue, 36 appear stylistically to have been carved in Lincolnshire, with a number of others less certain' (Downing 2010, 14).

There are about twenty-five pre-1550 ecclesiastical effigies in Lincolnshire, including that at Barton.³⁰ The total includes three in Lincoln Cathedral (two of them bishops). About half of these have been seen by the writer personally or in photographs and so far none has been found which is similar enough to the Barton effigy to merit comment. The county has some ecclesiastical effigies of good or moderately good quality: examples in the northern half of the county are at Roxby and Harpswell (fourteenth century) and Blyborough (fifteenth century).

The general quality of the Barton effigy, however, is not of the highest and, as already noted, the low relief of the sculpture of the top surfaces, including the chalice and hands, probably indicates that the sculptor was constrained by the depth of the stone. This would point to a relatively local product by a moderately competent but not top-quality sculptor. The relatively distant source of the Lower Magnesian Limestone might argue against a local product if it were not for the fact the same stone was used fairly extensively for architectural details in the south Humber region, and in the fabric of St Peter's around 1200, and again from the late thirteenth century (p. 791).

Several different approaches to the dating of the effigy have been considered with little result: (a) the identity of the person commemorated; (b) the inclusion of a chalice; (c) the shape of the chalice; (d) the sculptural style of the drapery; (e) the form of the foot-rest; and (f) the most likely date in the context of English monumental effigies and other medieval monuments generally.

a) Identity of the person commemorated

No identification can presently be suggested for the effigy.³¹

b) The inclusion of a chalice

The chalice was a symbol of the priestly office and its inclusion on monuments reflects the deposition of actual chalices (and sometimes patens as well) in the graves of bishops and priests, examples of which have been found in many excavations (Hope and Fallow 1886, 142–4, 374ff; Daniell 1997, 169–70). Those found in the graves of bishops tend to be of precious metal (*cf.* Oman 1957, 299ff, pls. 2, 3, 6, 8a; also Ramm *et al.* 1971, esp. 126–7, 137, pls. 53, 54a, b, 65a), whereas those found with the bodies of priests tend to be of base metal, most often of lead alloy (*cf.* Bruce-Mitford 1976, esp. pl. 5) but sometimes of

copper-gilt (*cf.* Oman 1962, 197, pl. 11B). Two examples of base-metal funerary chalices have been excavated at Barton (p. 620; Figs. 701 and 702).

Representations of chalices on medieval memorial effigies in England and Wales in any medium seem not to be very numerous. Examples on English brasses and incised slabs are probably more numerous than those on sculpted effigies but those on brasses and slabs tend to be later than those on effigies. So far, I have identified only thirteen other examples of sculpted effigies with chalices, and brief details of these are given below:

Ancaster (Lincs.). Upper half of figure only is shown, with feet in recess at base of slab; first half of the fourteenth century; base of chalice hidden by hands (Pevsner *et al.* 1989, 100 (chalice not mentioned); personal visit).

Barnard Castle church (Co. Durham). Mid-fourteenth century; inscription to Robert of Mortham, Vicar of Gaynsford (c. 1313–49); effigy somewhat worn, face especially; chalice has long stem and domed foot (Blair 1925, 89–90; Blair 1929, 49, pl. XX, fig. 1; Lilley 2003, 11; personal visit).

Corwen (Merioneth, N. Wales). c. 1340–50 according to Gresham (1968, 170–1, fig. 164); lower part, except for toes, covered, as it were, by a rectangular frame with border inscription, but chasuble visible within; chalice stem and foot hidden by hands; inscription to Iorwerth Sulien, vicar of Corwen.

Eastwell (Leics.). Fourteenth century; chalice rests on chasuble below hands in prayer (Weatherley 1911, 248; Pevsner 1984, 148 (chalice not mentioned); Matthews and Trubshaw 2002 (illus.); Terence Cocks, pers. comm. Feb. 2000).

Holywell (Flints., N. Wales). Weathered, headless and has other losses; chalice has domed foot and very long stem (hidden by hands); late 13th century according to Gresham (1968, 159–61, fig. 68) but possibly later?

Middle Rasen (Lincs.). First half of the fourteenth century?; base of chalice hidden by hands (Pevsner *et al.* 1989, 563; personal visit).

Newborough (Anglesey, N. Wales). Head and shoulders in high relief, remainder in low relief; inscription to Matheus ap Elye, chaplain of St Mary, Newborough; chalice has hemispherical bowl, long narrow stem with knob and shallow domed foot; late fourteenth century (Gresham 1968, 222–4, fig. 90, pl. XV).

North Rauceby (Lincs.). Upper half of figure in sunken relief; lower half in very low relief on slightly coped slab; first half of the fourteenth century? (personal visit). The chalice is mentioned by Trollope (1872, 286). It is not now visible, presumably due to damage through weathering while the effigy was in the churchyard before 1958 (Clarke 1989, 4; Pevsner *et al.* 1989, 586 (chalice not mentioned); personal visit).

Rudby-in-Cleveland (N. Yorks.). Effigy in sunken relief, head against foliate cross-head (Pevsner 1966, 314 (chalice not mentioned); personal visit).

Scorborough (E. Yorks.). Early sixteenth century (Crossley 1921, 192, lower illus.) or late fourteenth century (Pevsner and Neave 1995, 672); chalice with concave-sided base and curiously parallel-sided bowl.

Scraptoft (Leics.). Date uncertain; 'much defaced'; chalice rests on chasuble below hands in prayer (Pevsner 1984, 369 (chalice not mentioned); Weatherley 1911, 265; Matthews and Trubshaw 2002 (illus.); Terence Cocks, pers. comm. Feb. 2000).

Wellow (Som.). Chalice incised on chasuble below hands in prayer; about 1400? (Fryer 1923, 25–6, pl. IV, figs. 1, 2; Brian and Moira Gittos, pers. comm.). Shape of chalice not visible in available illustrations.

Wingerworth (Derbys.). Chalice rests on chasuble below hands in prayer; somewhat crude; late thirteenth (more likely?) or early fourteenth century; effigy somewhat worn, face especially; chalice has domed foot with small, squat, bulbous knob (Pevsner 1978, 356; personal visit).

Chalices on their own may have appeared on cross-slabs in or before the early thirteenth century. An example at Gainford (Co. Durham) was dated by Ryder to *c.* 1200–20, or possibly a little earlier (Ryder 1985, 84–5, pl. 28, Gainford, no. 1) and several in Cumbria have more recently been dated to the twelfth century with varying degrees of confidence (Ryder 2005, 90 (St Bees, Cumb., no. 3), 196–7 (Cartmel priory, nos. 2 and 4): all illus.). It is not known for certain when the motif of the chalice first appeared on sculpted effigial monuments. None of the examples above, with the possible exception of Holywell, seems likely to date to before 1300 and in view of the location of the latter and, to judge by Gresham's illustration, the relatively mediocre quality of the sculpture, a date of after 1300 seems possible. Evidence from the Gaignières collection of drawings of French monuments suggests that chalices appeared on French effigial incised slabs in Paris at least by the late thirteenth century (Adhémar and Dordor 1974–77, nos. 378, 487). For an example from the abbey of Valmont to Abbot Vincent (*ibid.*, no. 110) Adhémar gives a possible date of death of 1213 but the style of the slab suggests it could be later. Greenhill mentions an effigial slab with a chalice at Alpirsbach, Germany, which he dates to '*c.* 1250?' (Greenhill 1976, 1, 87, not illus.). The continental evidence thus provides a context for the possible appearance of chalice-holding sculpted effigies in England from at least the late thirteenth century.

In fact there is earlier evidence from England. Greenhill illustrates a very crude incised slab of a figure holding a chalice at Selston (Notts.), for which he suggests a date of *c.* 1100 (Greenhill 1976, 1, 85–6; 2, pl. 16b). The slab certainly appears to be early so the chalice could have been used on sculpted effigies in England from their first appearance in the second half of the twelfth century. However, no other slabs of a similarly early date have yet been noted and it would be unwarranted to take the single example at Selston as evidence for the wider appearance in England of effigies with chalices.

None of the brasses to priests that have been identified as having been produced in London in the earliest period (*c.* 1275–1350) have chalices, nor do any of the stylistically related incised slabs.³² Although there is no similarly comprehensive study of sculpted effigies produced in London, it looks as if the inclusion of a chalice on priests' effigies generally did not find favour in the tomb-making workshops of the capital. A Lincoln source has been suggested for an incised slab

at Buslingthorpe (Lincs.), showing a priest holding a chalice, which has been dated on stylistic grounds to *c.* 1300 (Greenhill 1986, 32, pl. 19; Badham and Norris 1999, 19).

Because of its coastal location Barton, like other ports, may have been more susceptible to direct influences from the Continent through imports. The earliest brasses in England with effigies with chalices are Flemish imports: at North Mimms (Herts.), to William de Kestevene, of *c.* 1360 (Norris 1978, fig. 141; 1988, no. 39); and at Wensley (Yorks.), to Simon de Wenslagh, dated to *c.* 1360 by Cameron (1979, 207, fig. 2 fac.) and to *c.* 1375 by Norris (1977, 2, 314, fig. 42). The earliest reasonably firm date I have so far found for the appearance of effigies with chalices on Flemish brasses is 1345, the date of the contract for the lost brass to two canons of Tournai, Jean and Simon de Portail. The brass, formerly in the Chartreux in Paris, was ordered from Lotars Hanette (or Hanaite) of Tournai (Cameron 1979, esp. 204–6, fig. 1 fac. 206; see also Nys 1993, 241–3, 376). However, it is probable that the chalice had appeared earlier in England on Flemish imports, either on incised slabs or on hybrid incised slabs with brass and composition inlays which, to judge by published examples, seem to have been imported into England in significantly larger numbers than the brasses. Of the 23 imported slabs at Boston (Lincs.) three showing priests with chalices have been dated on stylistic grounds: two to *c.* 1325 and one to *c.* 1360 (Greenhill 1986, 21–8, nos. 8, 10, 21). Another, dated to *c.* 1330, is at Ashby Puerorum (Lincs.) (Greenhill 1986, 4, pl. 21). The two churches at Barton also contain many imported Flemish incised slabs, or fragments of them, the earliest of which have been dated on stylistic grounds to the early fourteenth century (pp. 657–62), though none of them have effigies of priests.

The present picture is inconclusive and a more thorough survey of both British and continental monuments is needed, but the inclusion of a chalice on the Barton effigy would not rule out a date before 1300 though a date at least a little after 1300 is, in my view, more probable.

c) The form of the chalice

Consideration was also given as to whether the form of the chalice held by the Barton effigy offered any dating clue. The chalice has a large, almost hemispherical bowl, an extremely squat stem with bulbous sides and a low domed foot of considerably smaller diameter than the bowl. Oman classified English medieval chalices into ten groups (Oman 1957, 39–47). The extremely short, wide stem of the Barton chalice fits none of these groups but is closest to Oman's group 2. However, its convex-sided (flattened domed) foot (which at Barton is lower than the bowl) seems equally important to its classification. Oman's classification does not satisfactorily address the convex (or domed) *versus* the concave-sided foot shape, mentioning only

the former in defining his group 1 but ignoring the change to convex-sided foot in the single example of his group 2 (from Archbishop Walter's tomb at Canterbury: see below). He concentrates on the difference in stem forms. There is early evidence for both shapes of foot (see below) but the domed shape, which in the early centuries appears to have been favoured in Britain, gave way to the concave-sided form, which was already established on the Continent.

Oman offers no precise dating for his group 1, very few English examples of which survive, but it begins at least as early as the middle of the ninth century on the evidence of the Trehiddle chalice, deposited about 868 (Oman 1957, 39, pl. 1; Webster and Backhouse 1991, 270–2, no. 246a (illus.)), though the stem of the latter is narrow and of baluster form, a key feature of Oman's group 1 (although he reads it as a stem with a single knot (or knob)). Another early example with a domed foot but with a simple bulbous stem (a feature of Oman's group 2), of gilt bronze and found at Hexham, was dated by Oman to the tenth or eleventh century, but all the elements are proportionally taller (Oman 1962, 196, pl. XI A). The proportions of the height of the bowl-to-stem-to-foot of the Barton chalice and the shape and proportion of width to depth of the bowl are closer to those of the Irish decorated chalices found at Ardagh and Derrynaflan. These are usually dated respectively to the eighth and early ninth centuries. In contrast to the Barton chalice the stems of the Irish chalices are narrow and their bases have straight, or almost straight, sides and with flat, projecting flanges at their bottoms, increasing the overall width of the bases (Ryan 1985, esp. 10–19; Youngs 1989, 130–1, 160–1 (illus.), no. 124). A smaller plain chalice from the Ardagh hoard has a small, slightly concave-sided foot without a flange (Ryan 1985, 15 (illus.)). On the Continent, chalices with simple domed feet are harder to find though one at Santo Domingo de Silos with a slightly ogee-sided domed foot is datable to between 1041 and 1073 (Braun 1932, 73–4, Bild 4 (pl. A, fac. 128)).

Oman dated his single example of his next group (2), that found in the tomb of Archbishop Hubert Walter at Canterbury (Oman 1957, 40–1, pl. 2), to *c.* 1160 and Stratford also dates it 'near the middle of the twelfth century' (Stratford *et al.* 1982, 88–90). Oman's third group spans the period *c.* 1180–1280 (Oman 1957, 41, 299). Even allowing for some overlap, it is most unlikely that Oman's group 1 (with the domed base) extended beyond about 1200 and it almost certainly finished very much earlier. Oman's published analysis of chalices was based on examples in precious metals, though he discussed gilt metal examples in a later article (Oman 1962). The evidence of lead-alloy chalices found in burials should also be mentioned.³³

In discussing chalices appearing on cross-slabs in County Durham, Ryder found that at least six were of shapes most similar to Oman's group 1 (Ryder 1985,

27). He identified one example at Gainford of *c.* 1200–20 as of Oman's group 2 and another possible example of the early fourteenth century at Aycliffe (Ryder 1985, 27–8). Yet the attribution of these latter two examples to group 2 depends entirely on the stem form and ignores the domed or convex-sided bases of both chalices, which I have suggested are an equally important dating feature. It appears that all English chalice bases from Oman's group 2 onwards have concave sides, the beginnings of which on the Continent can be traced at least as far back as the ninth century, on the Anglo-Carolingian Tassilo chalice of 777–88 (Webster and Backhouse 1991, 168, no. 131, illus.). In his survey of Durham cross-slabs, Ryder's suggested dates for those which include chalices with domed feet range from the late twelfth century to the early fourteenth century (Ryder 1985, 28 and entries by place), which is improbably late for the form on actual examples, and Ryder has dated another slab at Methley (W. Yorks.) to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century (Ryder 1991, 36–7, no. 2). Ryder's work in County Durham and West Yorkshire (as well as more recently in Cumbria: Ryder 2005) clearly demonstrates that chalice shapes on many cross-slabs are liable to be of archaic form and therefore of little help with dating.

I am not aware of any similar published study of the shapes of chalices on monumental brasses or effigies. Those found on brasses are more varied and seem to fit more easily into Oman's typology but I have so far found none with a domed foot. The form of the chalice at Barton is almost certainly of extremely archaic form and is therefore of no assistance in closely dating the effigy. If Ryder's dating of the Methley slab is correct, the shape of the Barton chalice could be very late indeed, but all the other presently available evidence suggests that the depiction of a chalice of the very archaic form seen at Barton is unlikely after the middle of the fourteenth century.

d) The style of the drapery

The drapery of the Barton figure is difficult to assess because on a sculpture of this mediocre quality certain features, such as the form and spacing of folds, may be governed by economy at least as much as by current fashion. Taken at face value, however, the drapery forms at Barton would not be out of place in a late thirteenth-century context. The widely spaced, interlocking folds on the front of the chasuble and the V-folds visible under the figure's right arm presuppose a knowledge of the broader fold drapery that had appeared in France in the 1230s, for example in the Virgin and Child of the Presentation in the Temple on the right jamb of the right doorway at Amiens Cathedral (Sauerländer 1972, pl. 167; Williamson 1995, 143, fig. 214). The earliest evidence for the appearance of this drapery style on stone sculpture in England seems to be on the Purbeck marble effigy of Bishop Aymer de Valence (d. 1260) at Winchester

Cathedral, and on the angel supporters of the effigy, in the same material, of Bishop Giles de Bridport (d. 1262) in Salisbury Cathedral (Roberts 1983, esp. 568–9, 572–3, figs. 26, 28–9, 31). It was employed extensively on the angels of the Angel Choir at Lincoln Cathedral, probably of *c.* 1270–80 (Williamson 1995, 209, figs 312–13). However, the Barton effigy displays none of the sharp double changes of angle in the individual folds, often seen with the new style and which are just discernible on the Amiens Presentation Virgin and are seen in more developed form on the figures of apostles carved for the Ste Chapelle in Paris between 1241 and 1248 (Sauerländer 1972, pls 184–5; Williamson 1995, 149, fig. 222).

e) The form of the foot-rest

Most British medieval sculpted effigies show the feet resting on or against an animal, and this became the established norm during the second half of the thirteenth century. The various types of foot-rest encountered on English thirteenth-century secular effigies have been discussed by Tummers (1980, 40–4; for the symbolism of lions and dragons as foot-rests, see also Meara 1990). The feet of the Barton effigy rest on a simple chamfered plinth, quite similar to those on the earlier group of five effigies of the Saxon bishops at Wells Cathedral, usually dated to *c.* 1200 or just after (*e.g.* Williamson 1995, 105–6; Sampson 1998, 77, 80; but see also Reeve 1999, where the whole series is illustrated at pp. 248–51).

At Barton this simple foot-rest might, on its own, be taken as an indication of an early date but it could simply be another indication of the mediocre quality of the figure. There are effigies lacking beasts as foot-supports which can be dated as late as the first half of the fourteenth century. A local example is the effigy of William de Harrington, Rector of Harpswell (Lincs.). He is shown in academic dress and his feet rest on a corbel, on the underside of which is a large foliate mask. Harrington died between 1335 and 1349 (Emden 1957, 2, 874). More comparable, and probably closer in date to the plain plinth at Barton, is the Purbeck marble effigy of a civilian in St Andrew's church, Plymouth (Devon), the feet of which rest on two separate truncated pyramids. There has been a tendency to date the broad stylistic group to which this effigy probably belongs to the thirteenth century, but it now seems more probable that most if not the whole of the group dates to the early decades of the fourteenth century (Blair *et al.* 2000, 5–14). Mention should also be made of the priest's effigy at Little Steeping (Lincs.) the feet of which are supported on a thin block standing on edge. The incised inscription on the chamfered edge of the slab identifies the effigy as Thomas de Reading, who was rector 1318–53, but it has recently been argued that the inscription was added to an appropriated thirteenth-century effigy (Badham 2004).

f) The Barton effigy in the context of the corpus of effigies in England and Wales

Although no complete survey of English medieval sculpted effigies is yet available, relevant published studies suggest that the majority probably date to the fourteenth century: this is certainly so in the East Riding of Yorkshire (Gittos and Gittos 1989, 103, fig. 7, 105, fig. 8). After 1400, and probably after about 1350, ordinary parish priests would have been more likely to have chosen to be commemorated by a brass than by an effigy of mediocre quality.

g) Petrology

The stone has been identified as Lower Magnesian Limestone, which was being used at St Peter's around 1200 and from the late thirteenth century (p. 639). Around 1200 is too early a date for the effigy so, if it was made locally, the stone type might indicate a date of no earlier than the late thirteenth century. However, Lower Magnesian Limestone was used for architectural details at several other sites in the south Humber region,³⁴ and it would need to be established that it was not in use in the region between *c.* 1200 and the late thirteenth century before the stone type could be used, even tentatively, as dating evidence for the Barton effigy.

Summary

The memorial effigy represents a priest in mass vestments holding a chalice. The head, shoulders and upper arms are lost and there are several mended breaks; the flat underside suggests that the figure was turned over and reused as paving. The original position and context of the figure in the building are unknown and no good evidence has been found for the identity of the person commemorated. Ecclesiastical effigies are difficult to date because the costume, especially the mass vestments, remained unchanged in England down to the Reformation. It is not yet possible to say with any precision when the chalice first appeared on ecclesiastical effigies, but evidence gathered so far renders a date much before 1300 unlikely for its occurrence at Barton, and I would incline towards a date at least a little after 1300. The form of the chalice is clearly very archaic and of no help in determining an earliest possible date for the effigy but, on the evidence of other effigial monuments, such an archaic form presently seems unlikely after *c.* 1350. Changes in the preferred choices of monument type among the lower clergy over time also argue in favour of the same *terminus ante quem*. The simple foot-support might argue for a date before 1300, though counter-arguments can be posited. Overall, the evidence in favour of a date before and after 1300 for the Barton effigy is finely balanced and it would presently therefore be unwise to date it more precisely than to *c.* 1300 (± 25 years?). Future researches may enable this dating to be refined.

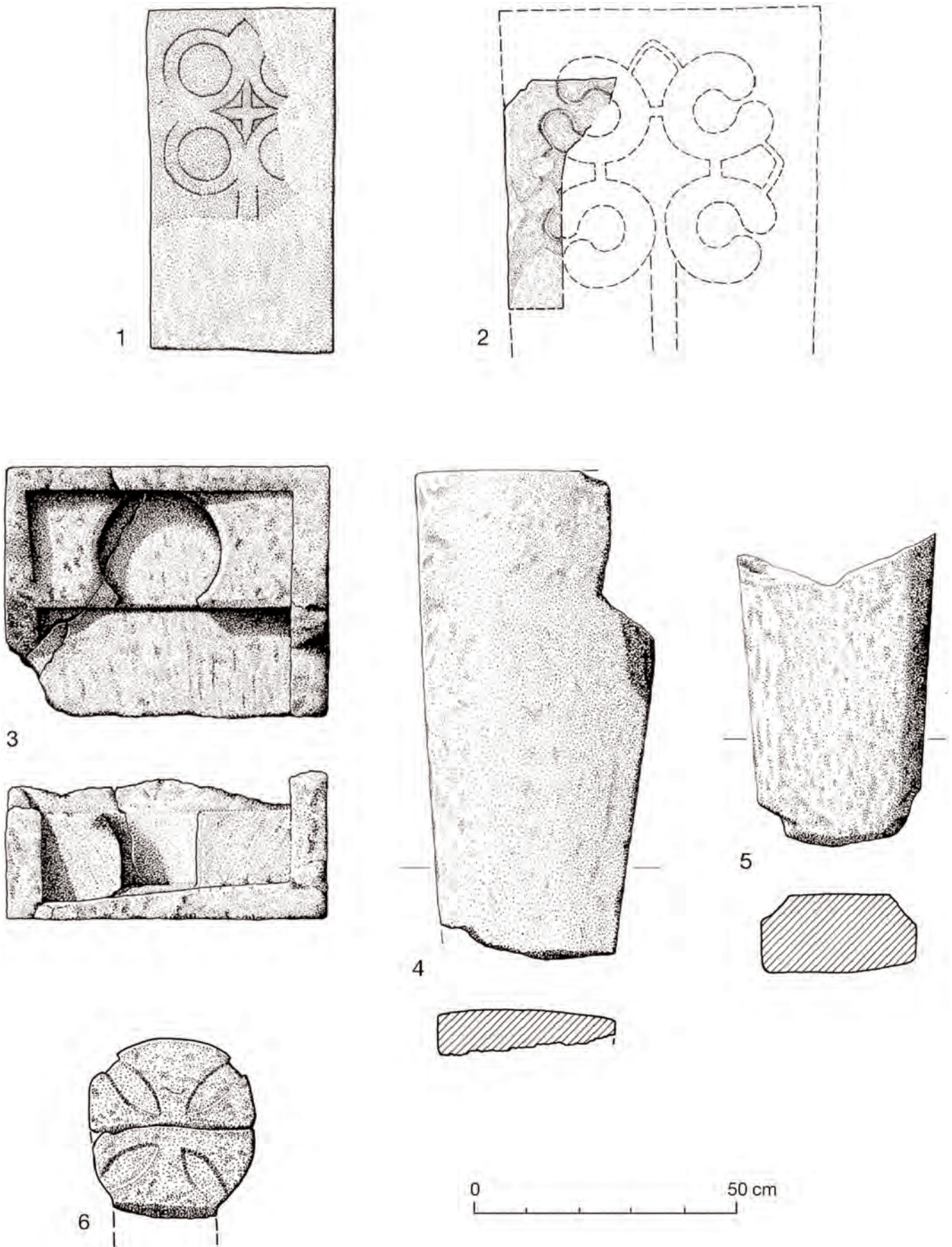


Fig. 709: Medieval grave-covers, grave-marker and coffin fragments of limestone and ironstone, nos. 1 to 6. Scale 1:10. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Sepulchral monuments and related fragments

by Jackie Hall, with contributions by Sally Badham, Warwick Rodwell and Peter Ryder

Forty-six loose fragments of medieval coffins and grave-covers were identified, along with another seventeen built into the walls and buttresses of the church. It was not possible to group these fragments chronologically owing, on the one hand, to a general lack of contextual information and, on the other, to the very long time-spans during which many of the pieces might have been produced. As with the architectural collection (pp. 796–803), however, the majority of the assemblage dates to the fourteenth century, clearly a time of prosperity at Barton.

It was decided to group the fragments by geological type, thus leaving questions of function and date to the discussion of the individual items. For discussion of the lithologies represented, see pp. 639–40. The choice of stone has chronological and functional implications: importation of Purbeck marble, Tournai marble and Namur stone began at Barton no earlier than the late thirteenth century, and these stones were generally employed for incised monuments, brasses and composite slabs. By contrast, the use of Lower Magnesian Limestone, Lincolnshire Limestone and ironstone may have begun much earlier, and Lower Magnesian Limestone in particular continued to be employed for monuments beyond the medieval period. Use of the oolith-poor Lincolnshire Limestone in grave-covers and monuments appears to date to the first half of the fourteenth century, as it does in the building.

Of the four most local stones, oolitic Lincolnshire Limestone and ironstone survive mainly in coffins and undecorated slabs, together with a single cross-slab fragment. Lower Magnesian Limestone is found in both plain and decorated grave-covers (reflecting the availability and quality of this stone), and oolith-poor Lincolnshire Limestone occurs predominantly in decorated grave-covers. This last use is probably indicative of the ‘imported’ nature of the oolith-poor variety, albeit only from further south in Lincolnshire. As with the imported ‘marbles’, those who were prepared to go to the expense of obtaining materials from a distance were also inclined to have them carved or incised.

Sepulchral fragments of coarsely Oolitic Lincolnshire Limestone, and of ironstone

Only four loose fragments survived in this group, all distinctive lithologically, along with twelve fragments reused in the buttresses of the south aisle, and the decorated material discussed below.

Grave-covers

by Peter Ryder

Fig. 709, 1. This fragment, very worn and incorporated in one of the buttresses of the south aisle of St

Peter’s, is part of a standard four-circle cross. The example is slightly unusual in that the four circles are unbroken: slabs of this type are identified by Butler only in the Derbyshire Peak, where he dates them to *c.* 1120–1160 (Butler 1964, 115–17). The design also relates to the later types with broken circles in the form of ‘bracelets’ with round-leaf terminals. Butler dates these to *c.* 1180–1250, although Gittos and Gittos believe that they might have continued throughout the thirteenth century (Butler 1964, 128–31; Gittos and Gittos 1989, 93–4). The small cross at the centre of the head is very common on Lower Magnesian Limestone crosses in South Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire and also on slabs in the East Riding. This grave-cover may have been associated with one of the coffins discussed below, since they have the same lithology and have been reused in similar locations.

Fig. 709, 2. An incised slab, 16 cm thick, has been roughly cut down to form a rectangular block 40 cm wide, and reused in the plinth beneath the east respond of the south nave arcade in St Mary’s church. The decoration, which faces upwards, is both damaged and largely concealed by the masonry of the respond. The fragment is from the upper end of a square-edged slab embellished with a cross with rounded terminals. It is a standard ‘bracelet’ design of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

The respond into which it is built is no later than the beginning of the thirteenth century, and might possibly be as early as *c.* 1180 (pp. 115–16). The grave-cover must therefore date from the twelfth century, and cannot have been more than a few decades old when it was cut down and reused.

Undecorated grave-covers and coffin fragments of oolitic limestone

Fig. 709, 3. The truncated head-end of a monolithic stone coffin, 60 cm wide, subsequently used as an ashlar, but removed in the 1960s. It is carved from a highly fossiliferous, loosely compacted and poorly sorted oolitic limestone, probably from the Hibaldstow Limestones (the upper member of the Lincolnshire Limestone; see p. 639), although it might possibly have been imported from the Barnack quarries in Northamptonshire. The coffin has a head-recess sunk *c.* 7 cm below the top, with small chamfers at the neck. It is not tapered externally, although the left-hand internal face begins to taper.

The reason for the very neat lower end to this fragment is apparent in the buttresses of the south aisle, where it is clear that ten sections of coffins or covers, including five end-sections, of similar dimensions and identical lithology were reused (Fig. 453). Of the end-sections one was clearly the foot-end (42 cm wide); one clearly a head-end (part of the head-recess is visible, and it is 61 cm wide); one probably a foot-end (36 cm wide) and two probably head-ends (60 cm and

66 cm wide, respectively). Drainage holes are visible in three of the fragments, and two of the others may have been either lids or trimmed-down side-sections, as they have neither returns nor drainage holes.

From the number of surviving head-sections, it is apparent that at least four coffins are represented, all of which were out of use by the late thirteenth century, when the buttresses were built. The different widths of the pieces show that the coffins were originally tapered, but the sides were subsequently recut to make rectangular blocks (the recutting is clearly visible on the loose stone), and thus they belong to the most common type of medieval coffin (Willmore 1939): tapered, with straight ends and a circular head-recess raised above the level of the coffin floor.

Post-Roman sarcophagi of any variety are rare before the Norman Conquest, although many surviving Anglo-Saxon grave-covers are tapered, as if to imitate the shape of coffins (*cf.* Lang 1991; Everson and Stocker 1999). At St Mark's, Lincoln, some thirty-five grave-covers of the tenth and eleventh centuries were represented, but fragments from only three coffins, two undatable and one pre-1250 (Stocker 1986). A possible tenth-century sarcophagus has been excavated, however, at Kirkdale (N. Yorks.) (Rahtz and Watts 1998–99, 10–11). It is roughly tapered, has no head-niche and the sides are bowed; it has a very slightly coped lid. The Barton coffins are more redolent of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when such forms were common (Bruce-Mitford 1976, figs. 2–3; Greene 1989, 12; Kemp and Graves 1996, 266), suggesting that they belong in burial Phase D, rather than Phase E.

However, a very similar coffin excavated at Raunds Furnells (Northants.) was believed by the excavator to have a pre-Conquest origin (interestingly, it is also of Barnack-type limestone); Cramp accepted this attribution in her discussion of the coffin, pointing out the 'great chronological importance' of the example (Boddington 1996, 43, 102, 108–9), even though the Raunds coffin was 'stratigraphically isolated'. There is not yet enough evidence to conclude that tapered stone coffins with head-niches had a pre-Conquest origin, and the St Peter's material seems more likely to have come from a later period.

A section of undecorated grave-cover was found in the excavation which has an identical lithology to the coffins described above (F7292; Fig. 709, 4). Like the coffins, it is tapered, narrowing from *c.* 52 cm at the roughly worked or broken head-end to 34 cm at the broken-off bottom-end. The top surface of the stone is curved but, because of its poor condition, it is not clear whether this is the result of a deliberately coped effect or long exposure to the elements. This cover is markedly smaller than the head-ends of the coffins reused in the buttresses. It was found, inverted, above a burial of disarticulated remains of Phase D/E (F7263), to the north of the tower, and was clearly not *in situ* (Figs. 233 and 234).³⁵

Plain grave-covers and coffins of ironstone

Fig. 709, 5. There is one loose fragment of an ironstone grave-cover and two probable sections of coffin in the buttresses of the south aisle. The loose piece is undecorated, worn, damaged and broken at both ends. It is tapered and narrow (30 cm at the foot-end), and the edges are chamfered: it might have been associated with the putative coffin represented in the buttresses.

Sepulchral fragments of Lower Magnesian Limestone

The fragments of Lower Magnesian Limestone range from a sculptural effigy (already discussed) to incised grave-slabs and a plain grave-cover. The pieces are not of the highest quality, which suggests that it was the slightly less wealthy middle classes who were using this relatively local resource.

Discoidal headstone from St Mary's church

by Warwick Rodwell

Figs. 709, 6, and 710. Two poorly joining fragments of the upper part of a discoidal headstone were found in 1938 when the east side of the porch was being refaced.³⁶ It is not clear whether they were incorporated in the original late thirteenth-century fabric, or in a subsequent alteration. The circular head (*c.* 35 cm diam; 8 cm thick) with a cross *pattée* in relief (15 mm) on either side is virtually complete, although one face has been roughly hacked. A line of axing also occurs where the head was severed from the shaft, which was 20.5 cm wide. The head is not truly circular because a

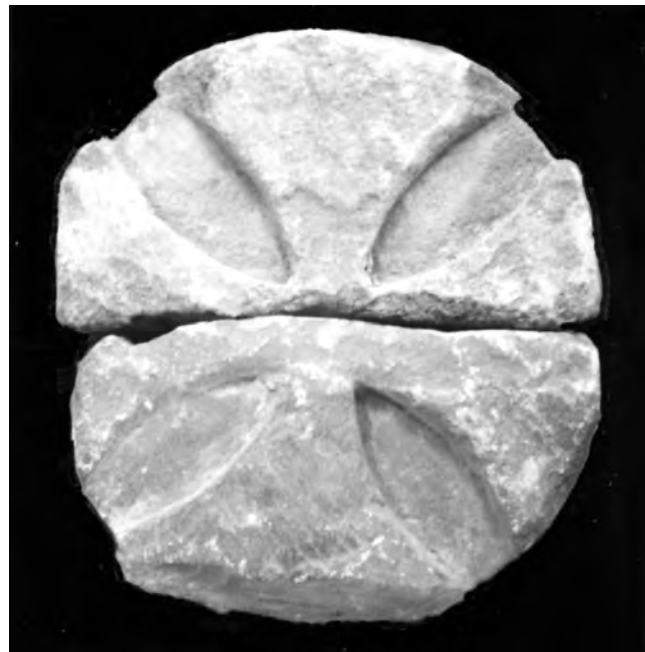


Fig. 710: St Mary's church. Early medieval discoidal head of a grave-marker in limestone. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

parallel-sided slab 31 cm wide was used; hence the lateral arms are flattened at the ends. Almost certainly, this was a salvaged block from a Roman building. The cause of the stone being broken into two parts is the line of weakness introduced by a hole, 25 mm in diameter, which was drilled transversely through the centre of the cross, from one edge of the slab to the other. The purpose of the hole is unknown, but it was clearly related to the arms of the cross.

This is a common headstone type: eleventh or twelfth century: *cf.* Rothwell (W. Yorks.) (Ryder 1991, 40, no. 3). There are numerous examples from Lincolnshire (Everson and Stocker 1999, appendix F), including one from Thornton Abbey,³⁷ and another which is built into the churchyard wall at Burton-upon-Stather.

Grave-slabs

by Peter Ryder and Jackie Hall

Fragments of up to four cross-slab grave-covers were recorded during the excavation, three of them (F4197–99; Fig. 711, 7–9) having been reused in the footings of the piers of the mid-fourteenth-century south arcade, exactly as similar slabs were reused in the early fourteenth-century north arcade at nearby Thornton Abbey (Clapham and Baillie Reynolds 1956, 16). A fourth slab lies at the west end of the south aisle, but this is made of Purbeck marble and is discussed below. A fifth was reused as the lintel of a small recess in the west wall of the north porch (Fig. 712, 10). Four further fragments are incorporated in the above-ground bases of the nave arcade piers (Fig. 712, 11–14), and three pieces of another slab in the sixteenth-century east wall of the south aisle and south wall of the chancel (Fig. 712, 15).

Grave-covers such as these are the most common type of medieval monument to survive; they constitute an overwhelming percentage of the known monuments of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although in the later medieval period the use of effigies and brasses becomes more widespread for the most prestigious burials. The primary source for a typology of slab designs in this area is Butler 1964 (see also Ryder 1991). Where there was a readily available freestone of reasonable quality, the vast majority of grave-covers were produced locally, as is evident here.

Reused slabs supporting two of the south arcade piers were revealed by excavation, but are now covered again by the floor paving. F4197 occurred under pier 2/3: it is a tapering slab 17 cm thick with chamfered edges and an incised design, but its base is broken away (Figs. 485 and Fig. 711, 7). The design is of bracelet-derivative type – *i.e.* the cross-head is made up of four broken circles – but they are more open than in the common round-leaf bracelet form. There is no motif at the head centre, but there is a pair of unusual drop-shaped panels in the centre of the upper and lower terminals and, just below the lower terminal, is a

round leaf on either side of the cross-shaft, which is relatively broad. The whole design is rather crudely laid out and inelegant: it is probably twelfth century.³⁸

The next two examples (F4198 and F4199; Figs. 483, 484 and 711, 8–9) are also embedded in the arcade foundations under pier 2/3 (and are now similarly covered up). Of F4198, only the extremities of the slab were exposed, showing the upper terminal of the cross-head and the lower part of the base. It is a tapering slab (16 cm thick) with a narrow chamfer at the base and a secondary chamfer at the head, which has been slightly cut back. The sides were not chamfered and their finish was rough. The design is incised and the head seems to have had straight arms and terminals with a knop below: a rather peculiar variant on the fleur-de-lys with very short up-turned leaves. The base is a trefoiled arch. The cross-head is difficult to date: although it has some similarities to later (fourteenth- or fifteenth-century) types, the base form makes it difficult to put the slab any later than *c.* 1300. It thus seems unlikely that the slab was of any great age when it was reused in its present context.

More was revealed of F4199, which was reused alongside F4918, the two tapering slabs being set head-to-foot so as to produce between them a roughly rectangular block. This slab (17 cm thick) has a marginal chamfer, diagonally tooled edges, and an incised design. The cross-head has fleur-de-lys terminals, each with a knop below, within a circle and a disc or knop at the head of the cross-shaft, which has a trefoiled ogee-arch base. The surface of the stone shows little sign of wear: the centre-point for the head-circle and the transverse setting-out line within are clearly apparent. The slab probably dates to *c.* 1300, or even later, suggesting that, like the previous example, it was not very old when it was reused. The implication must be that these two slabs, unlike F4197, did not form part of the thirteenth-century arcade foundation, but were placed here when the arcade was reconstructed in *c.* 1330.

The next example is the centre portion of a slab that was reused as the lintel to the east window of the north porch, where it remains (Fig. 712, 10). Like F4199, it is a tapering slab with a narrow edge-chamfer and an incised design of which only the cross-shaft with a pair of round-leaf shoots springing from it survives. It is probably thirteenth century, reused here in the fifteenth.

The fragments set in the south wall of the chancel and east end of the south aisle represent an incised cross with fleur-de-lys terminals, with the leaf tips out-turned (Fig. 712, 15). This is not easy to date, but the form is usually late medieval: *cf.* the slab of 1506 to Roger and Anne Hopton at Ackworth (W. Yorks.) (Ryder 1991, 7), and a closely similar design has been identified over a wide area in the second half of the fourteenth century (Butler 1964, 148–51). Given the provenance of the fragments in late fifteenth- or sixteenth-century walls, a late fourteenth-century date is highly likely.

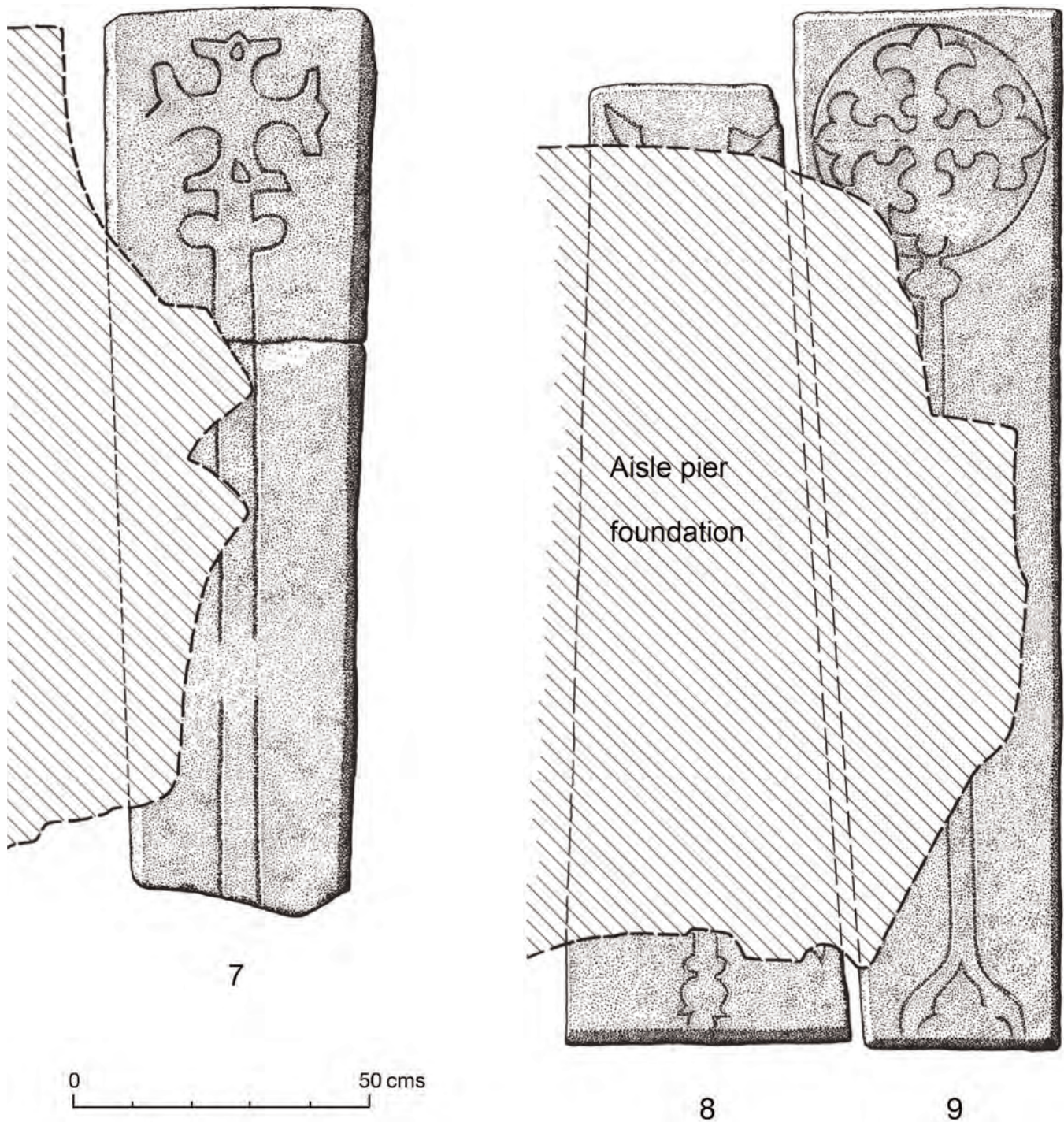


Fig. 711: Three limestone grave-covers incorporated in the foundations of the south arcade, nos. 7 to 9. Shading indicates areas covered by masonry. Scale 1:10. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Also reused in the south aisle abutting the west side of the bay 2/3 buttress, below the window, is an incised compass design of an interlaced cross and three radial circles (Fig. 712, 16). Between the points of the cross are three further points; one edge of the design is missing, and would have had the shaft of the cross. The design is unusual. Interlace crosses were a popular motif in the late twelfth century, but occur less commonly on grave-slabs, and then they tend to be carved in relief, with only a single radial circle or lozenge (Butler 1964, 127, pl. XXIB; Ryder 1991, 16, 26, 41).

The design also bears a close relationship to some of the more elaborate consecration crosses, but the obvious reuse of this piece and the lack of such crosses elsewhere on the building renders this attribution unconvincing. The origin of the piece thus remains uncertain, but a grave-cover is more likely. Just conceivably, the presence of the design influenced the reuse of this stone as a pseudo-consecration cross. Recycled grave-covers appear to have been used in a similar fashion at Winteringham (Lincs.), where two are placed, correctly orientated but cut off just below

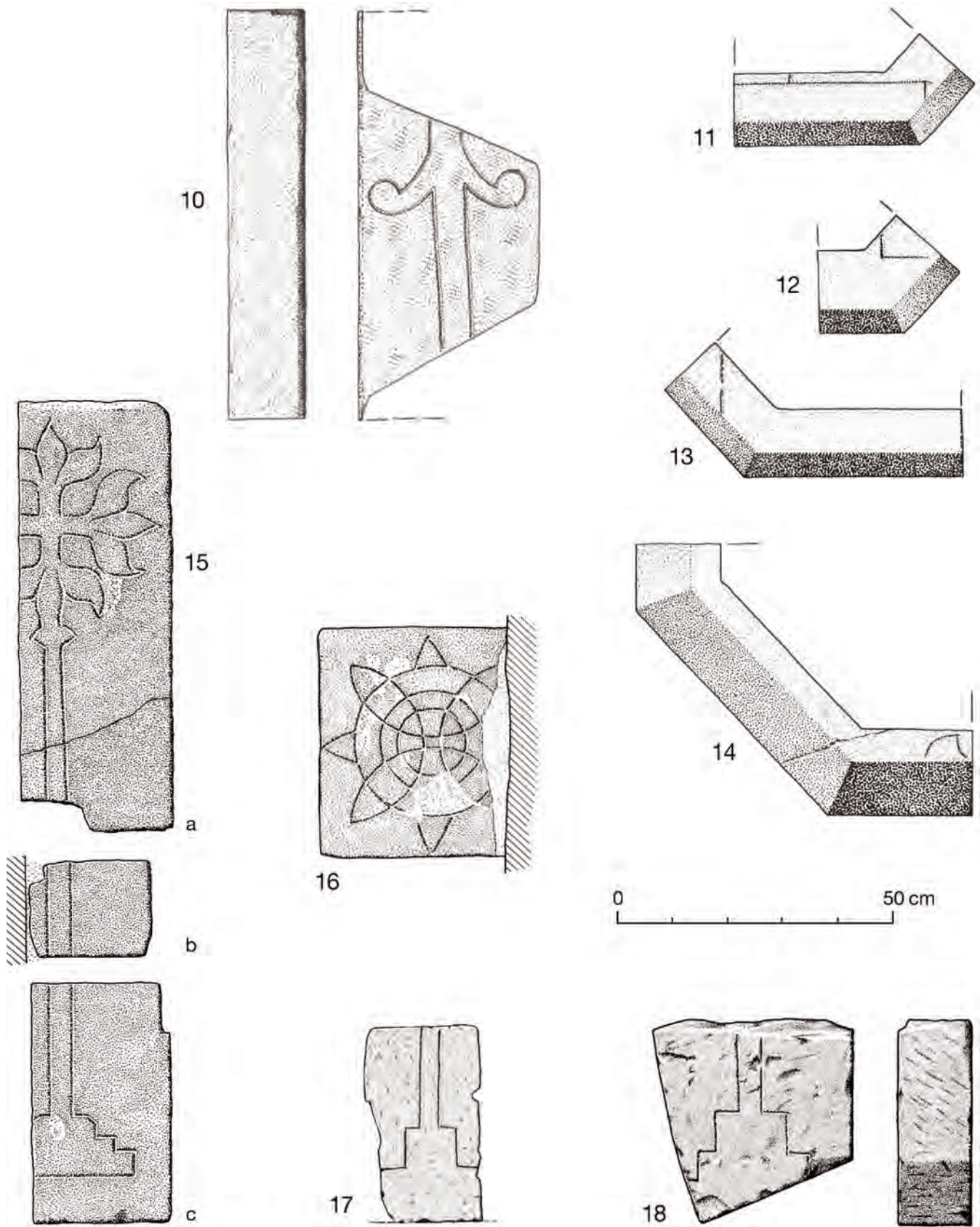


Fig. 712: Medieval limestone grave-cover fragments, nos. 10 to 18. Scale 1:10. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

their bracelet-design cross-heads, in the south wall of the south transept. These examples have secondary inscriptions added at the top.

The remaining pieces of grave-covers at Barton are very fragmentary. Four can be seen reused in the plinths of the north and south arcades, each with traces of an incised design: one retains part of the cross-shaft and a stepped base; another only the stepped base; the third apparently has part of a round-leaf bracelet cross-head; the fourth merely retains a line (Fig. 712, nos. 11, 12, 14 and 13, respectively). Only the third is datable, to the late twelfth or thirteenth century. A fragment of a slab which is built into the west wall of the north aisle (just under the roof; Fig. 712, 17) and another fragment which was found loose in the churchyard (Fig. 712, 18), are both the lower parts of incised slabs, each bearing a cross-shaft and a conventional base, apparently of three steps. Stepped bases (sometimes termed 'mounts' or 'calvaries') were standard form in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; arched bases of several types become more frequent in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but never displaced the stepped form. The original edge of the loose stone exhibits diagonal striated tooling, possibly indicating a twelfth-century date; the broken edges show claw tooling, suggesting that this slab was also broken up and recycled as building material in the medieval period.

By comparison with St Peter's, St Mary's church has a more modest collection of cross-slabs, despite its wide range of other monuments, with only two true cross-slabs, an incised grave-cover and a discoidal headstone (above, p. 648). One cross-slab is rather more ornate than the St Peter's examples, with the original design partly incised and partly carved in low relief (Fig. 713, 19). The cross-shaft rises from a stepped base and is flanked on either side by a series of naturalistic ivy stems. The elaboration of the design marks it out as a monument of some status and the form of the leaves springing from the shaft (which Victorian antiquaries would have termed 'a fruited stem') suggests a fourteenth-century date; a link with the 'tree of life' motif may have been intended. A number of slabs of this type have been recorded, mostly of fourteenth-century date; there is a series of elaborate examples in North Yorkshire (Ryder 1986). This piece lacks its head, and the right-hand side has been cut back with a double hollow-chamfer for reuse as an eaves moulding. The stone was found in 1938 when the east side of the porch was refaced: it had been used in the cornice associated with the Tudor roof.³⁹

Other grave-covers

Fig. 713, 20. Two pieces of the head-end of a plain tapered grave-cover: this has a small marginal chamfer, now almost worn away, and the badly damaged surface may once have been polished. It might belong any time in the medieval period after the first appearance of Lower Magnesian Limestone, although the more common use of incised and decorated stones in the

fourteenth century, and the increasing number of larger rectangular slabs, may point to a twelfth- or thirteenth-century date.

Sepulchral fragments of oolith-poor Lincolnshire Limestone

Incised grave-cover

by Sally Badham

Fig. 713, 21. Fragment of a grave-cover, in three conjoining pieces: maximum length 93 cm, maximum width 72 cm (likely original width *c.* 1.55 m). It was formerly used as rough paving under the pews on the south side of the nave (Fig. 599, M.23; see also Appendix 6). Centrally placed, and running down the length of the slab, is an incised inscription in Lombardic letters 70 mm high, with the words separated by triple diamond stops. The lettering is crisp in outline and deeply cut. Below the surface, the cutting is very rough and clearly intended as a matrix for a mastic filling. Traces of brown/black mastic remain in a few letters. The axial positioning of the inscription is very unusual. It reads, '+ P : STEPH'S : DE : KELE[?]', the word 'Stephs' being a contraction of Stephanus.

No precise parallel for this slab is known in Lincolnshire, though the high quality of the lettering is reminiscent of later fourteenth- and fifteenth-century slabs excavated from the ruins of Thornton Abbey (Clapham and Baillie Reynolds 1956, 17–18). The full name of the person commemorated may well have been Stephen de Keleby, indicative of an origin in the nearby village of Keelby. The use of Latin for the inscription suggests that he was more likely to have been a cleric rather than a layman, Norman-French being commonly used for English-made monuments to civilians at this date.⁴⁰ The well-developed form of the Lombardics and the apparently rectangular shape of the slab probably indicate a date towards the mid-fourteenth century.⁴¹

Plain ?grave-covers

Not illustrated. Another fragment has a very similar polished surface to the incised slab just described, although with moderate rather than sparse ooliths, and may have originated in the same monument. It was found in a Period 7 posthole (F1066) inside the church, a location consistent with the apparently brief life of this slab.

A larger fragment is similar (max. 60.5 × 53.5 × 12.5 cm) but the lack of any lettering suggests that it was not part of the 'Stephanus' memorial. The thickness of the slab, along with its lithology and polished surface, indicate a monumental origin for this piece. The chips at the top of one edge show where efforts were made to remove the stone, while the bottom surface survives intact, showing the heavy punch-marks from the quarry.

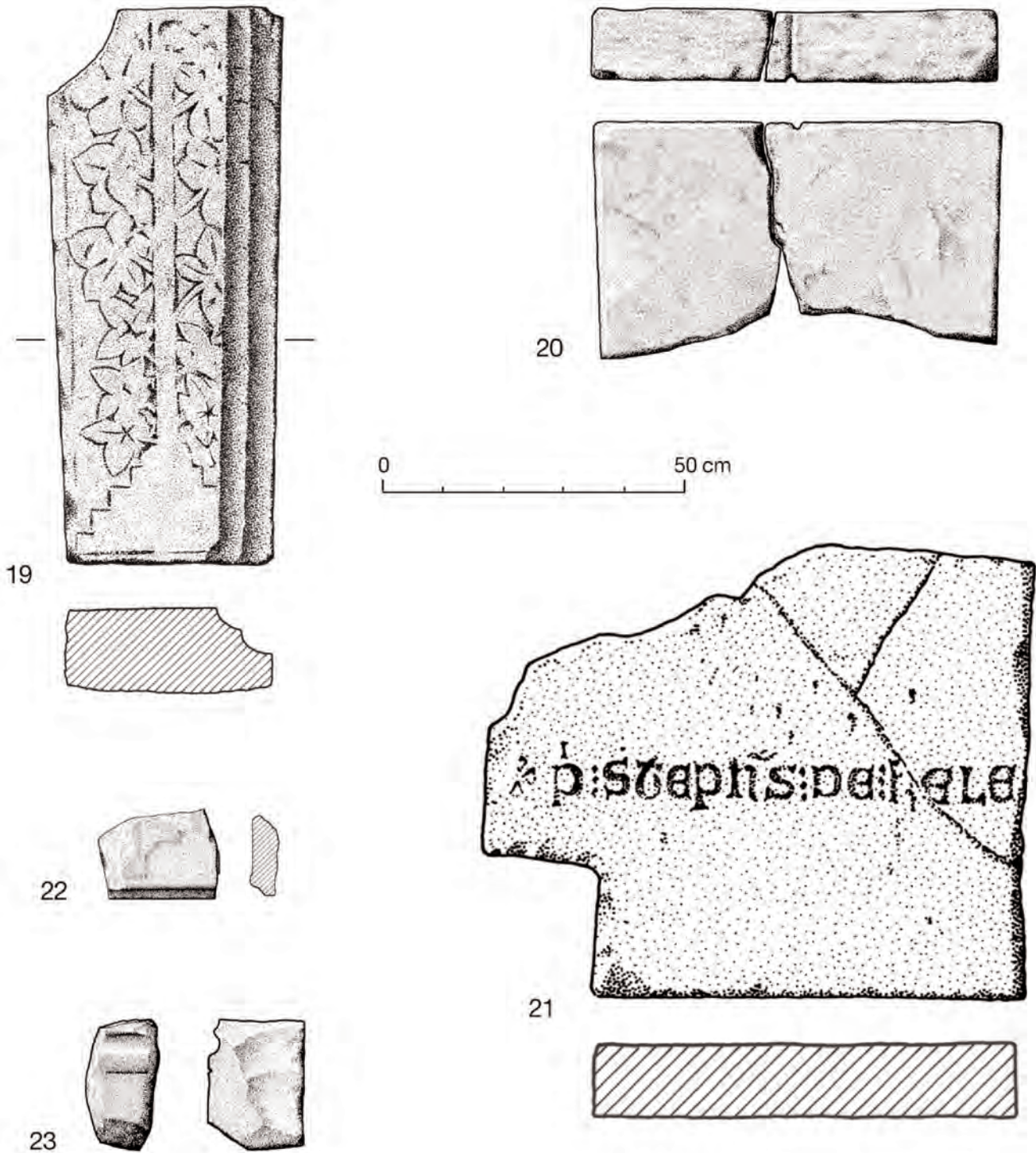


Fig. 713: Medieval limestone grave-cover fragments, nos. 19 to 23. Scale 1:10. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Moulded fragments

Fig. 713, 22. A fragment with moderate ooliths has only one side and one main face surviving. The side has a double moulding, with a small chamfer and a quarter-roll above, while the face retains the 10 mm deep impression of a quadrant with two projecting arms at right-angles. There is striated tooling on the chamfer, but the upper surface appears to have been polished. There is mortar on one broken edge and on the surface, indicative of its reuse as rubble in a fourteenth-century

wall-bench under the south arcade (F1213). The function of this piece is not clear but it is likely to have originated in a monument or perhaps the base for a screen. The use of this lithology in the architecture at St Peter's in the fourteenth century only suggests that it may not have lasted long prior to its reuse.

Fig. 713, 23. A straight moulding fragment with a quirk, a hollow and a fillet and it is likely to have originated in the base of a tomb, a screen or reredos.

The sides are now so worn that it resembles a pebble, indicating prolonged exposure after it was broken and before it was reused in putlog F6417, in the west wall of the south aisle.

Sepulchral fragments of Purbeck marble

Grave-cover with cross

by Peter Ryder

Fig. 714, 24. This is the only example of a Purbeck marble cross-slab at Barton. It is almost complete, tapered, with a marginal double hollow-chamfer moulding and a design carved in shallow relief. The design is a cross *botonée* with round-leaf trefoil terminals, and the cross-shaft rising from a stepped base, partly broken away. This is a standard Purbeck type of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, carved in Corfe (Dorset) and shipped in large numbers to churches in southern and eastern England (Badham and Norris 1999). It was found inverted and used as rough paving under a Victorian pew platform in the south aisle (Fig. 599, M.35A; see also Appendix 6).

Grave-covers with brasses and indents

by Sally Badham

Fig. 714, 25. A nearly complete rectangular slab of Purbeck marble (1.80 m × 0.9 m), broken into five pieces. It was formerly used as rough paving under the pews on the south side of the nave (Fig. 599, M.22; see also Appendix 6). At the four corners of the slabs are the indents of quatrefoils, *c.* 11 cm in diameter, which probably displayed evangelists' symbols. Channels for the lead to fix the rivets can be seen in three of the indents and the outer edge of the whole slab is canted to fit into the floor. The matrix (72 × 9 cm) for a rectangular inscription plate is 39 cm from the top. The brass was originally fixed by three rivets and by bitumen, some of which survives in the indent. The brass plate was lost in the mid-1980s, but it had a Latin text in two lines of Gothic script. The inscription had been recorded by several antiquaries.

Ball (1856, 1, 58) noted: 'Near the railing of the chancel is another stone, on which is a brass plate recording in Latin: "Here lies William Garton, who died 3rd day of July, 1505. May God be merciful to his soul."'

A nineteenth-century rubbing, in Ball's collection,⁴² has been studied by Fr. Jerome Bertram, who has corrected the reading of the inscription as follows:

hic iacet Will(ell) m(u)s garton de barton qui obiit tercio die / Julij An(n)o d(omi)ni M^o CCCC^o xj^o cuius a(n)i(m)e p(ro)picie(tur) deus amen:

Here lies William Garton of Barton, who died 3rd July 1411, on whose soul may God have mercy. Amen.

Compositions such as this were common in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The use of

Purbeck marble points to a London workshop origin, the York workshops which also produced such compositions preferring Egglestone marble during this period (Badham and Blacker 2009). There are few letters in the inscription that are particularly useful for distinguishing between the lettering styles of the various workshops, but the majuscules point to this brass being a product of the London B workshop.

Fig. 714, 26. Also from London and set in the floor at the east end of the south aisle, though probably not *in situ*, is a decayed Purbeck marble slab with its top trimmed off (remaining length 1.47 m; width 81 cm), with indents for brass inlay (Fig. 599, M.33; see also Appendix 6). The main feature of the composition was a figure in armour with a foot inscription beneath. At the four corners of the slab were quatrefoils, probably engraved with symbols of the evangelists; only two indents now remain. The slab was also powdered with scrolls, originally reading 'Mercy' and 'Grace'; there were eleven scrolls, but indents of only eight survive.

The monument appears to have been substantially complete in the mid-seventeenth century, when it was described by Holles (Cole 1911, 80); now the only surviving brass inlay is the bottom part of the figure, showing a pair of plate-clad feet on a flowery mound (Figs. 714, 26A and 715). Below was a rectangular, two-line inscription panel (46 × 6 cm), fixed with three brass rivets (Fig. 716). The inscription plate had become detached in the 1970s, and was subsequently stolen.⁴³

Ball (1856, 1, 58) noted the brass and recorded its text in translation: '... the figure of a man in armour, but only the feet remain. The inscription was in Latin, but Ball gave it in translation: "Here lies Robert Barnetby, of Barton, Esq., who died 21st day of the month of September, 1440. May God be merciful to his soul"'. Monson (1936, 30) recorded the Latin inscription.⁴⁴

Rubbings of the inscription have survived,⁴⁵ which Fr. Jerome Bertram reads as follows:

Hic iacet Rob(er)tus Burnetby de Barton Armig(er) qui obiit xxi^o die / Mens(is) Septembr(is) A^o d(omi)ni Mill(esim)o CCCC^o xl^o cuius a(n)i(m)e p(ro)piciet(ur) de(us) ame(n).

Here lies Robert Barnaby of Barton, Esquire, who died 21 September 1440, on whose soul may God have mercy. Amen.

The brass is London work from the Series D workshop (Kent 1949; Emmerson 1978).

Finally, the discovery of a single cast brass letter 'T', 33 mm high, in a rubble deposit outside the church (F5281) indicates that there was at least one medieval indent with the inscription formed by individually inlaid letters (Fig. 714, 27). The lower face of the letter is rough, not having received any finishing after it emerged from the mould. Most early brasses had individual-inlay

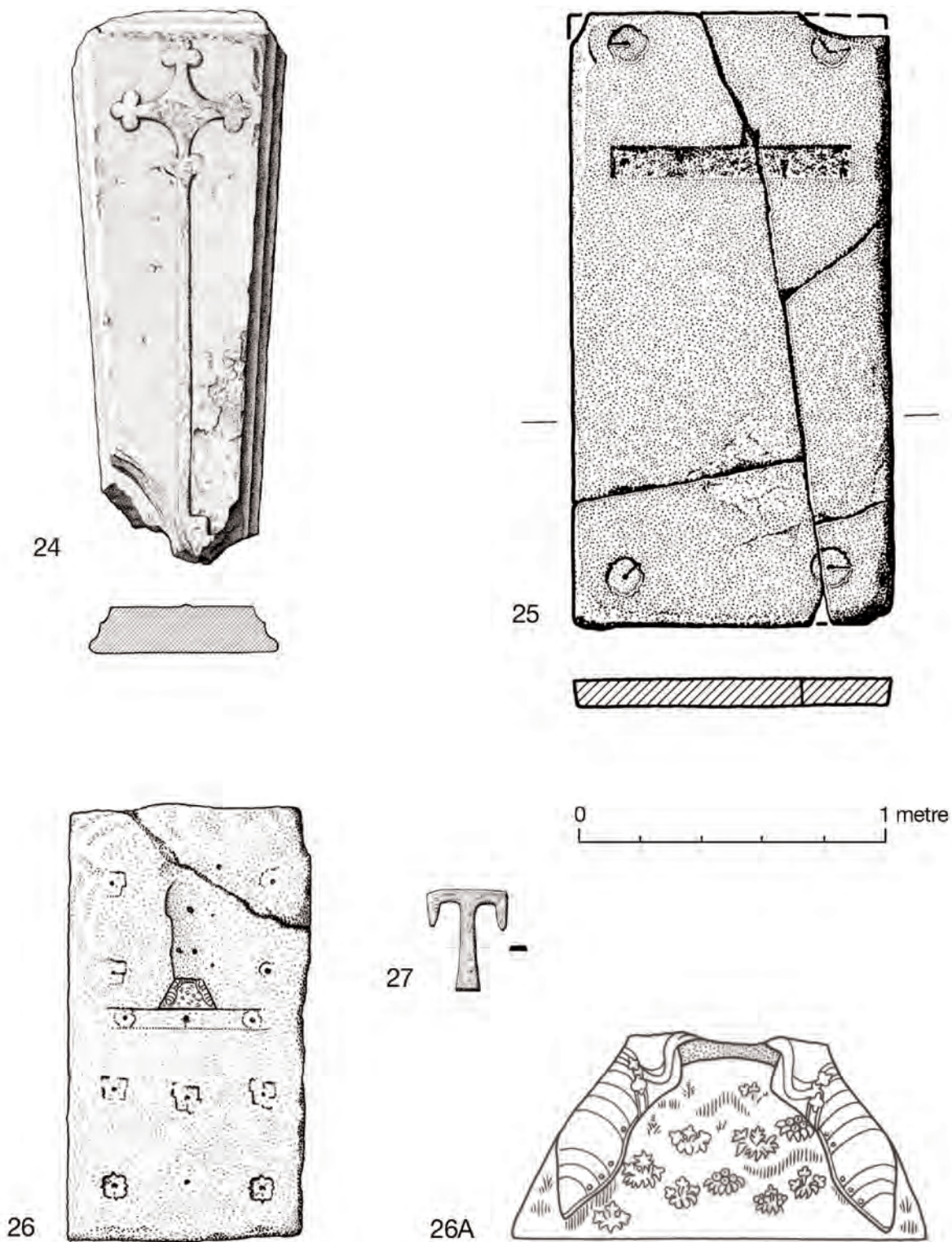


Fig. 714: Medieval grave-covers of Purbeck marble, nos. 24 to 26. Scale 1:20. No. 27, detail of brass remaining in no. 26A. Scale 1:5. No. 27, cast brass letter. Scale 1:2. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

lettering in an alphabet known as 'Main Group'; the letters are thought to have been cast centrally and sold to a variety of marblers' workshops for setting in slabs based both in London and in major towns in the regions. However, the T in the 'Main Group' alphabet is of a rounded form. Two workshops using different styles of alphabet were based in Lincolnshire, perhaps in Lincoln

itself: Lincolnshire A indents were produced between c. 1270 and c. 1300 and Lincolnshire B between c. 1320 and c. 1325 (Blair 1987, 142-4 and 154-5). There are only seven extant letters, all from the A series alphabet; these do not include a 'T' but indents of letters T have been recorded in both alphabets. Although the letter shapes in the two alphabets differ slightly, both comprise



Fig. 715: Grave-cover no. 26. Surviving feet of the memorial brass. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 716: Grave-cover no. 26. Rubbing of the remains of the brass figure and inscription (now lost). Scale 1:3. Photo: Jerome Bertram, courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries

letters 33 mm high and the T is of Roman-based form similar to the letter 'T' found at Barton, albeit apparently without the downwards extensions at either end of the horizontal top bar. This indicates that the Barton 'T' was produced locally, but it cannot be determined whether it was a Lincolnshire A or B product. No fragments of grave-covers with matrices for individual letters have been found at Barton.

Plain fragments

Not illustrated. A massive fragment of two fitting pieces sheared at an angle to the original monument. It retains much of its polished surface, suggesting that it was never incised or inlaid with brass plates. With dimensions of 90 × 45+ cm, it was probably a monument to a single person. Mortar on the long broken edges may represent an attempt to repair the monument.

Two other fragments were found in the excavations: one in a Phase A grave inside the church (F229) and the other in a Period 7 context (F169) close to the tower. The former piece had a canted edge showing that it was intended to lie flush with the floor. Both these pieces might have originated from the same monument as the last.

Sepulchral fragments of Tournai marble and Namur stone⁴⁶

by Sally Badham

Fragments probably from Tournai

Only small fragments of this lithology survive, possibly a result of the thin beds available in Tournai marble in the later medieval period, as opposed to the much thicker and presumably more robust slabs of Namur stone (see below).

Incised pieces and related fragments

Twelve incised and twelve undecorated fragments of Tournai marble were found in the excavations, deriving from at least two monuments, each with one or more figures standing under a canopy. Fig. 717, 28, comprised five small fragments of Tournai marble from an early fourteenth-century monument, with well-preserved incised detail, as follows:

Fig. 717, 28a. Fragment of Tournai marble, 13.5 × 8 cm, by 3–10 mm thick, with incised detail from the sinister side of a canopy where the arch springs from the side shaft and with a near-complete cusp which decorated the inner edge of the arch. The relatively thin canopy shaft and the absence of sub-cusping point to an early fourteenth-century date. These details are of a similar design to Flemish slabs in Lincolnshire, of 1325 at Wyberton to Adam and Sibile de Franton, and of c. 1330 at Ashby Puerorum to an unknown priest.

Fig. 717, 28b. Fragment of Tournai marble, 13.5 × 10 cm, by c. 13 mm thick, with incised detail. It shows a gently curving line with a short, broadly vertical line

on the sinister side. Above this is a smaller semicircle and some other wavy lines; the latter may be damage rather than incising. This could show the top of a head, perhaps of a female civilian, though the interpretation of the smaller semicircle is problematic in this context. It may, however, show the chin and neck area of a male or female civilian, or an ecclesiastical figure like those on the Wyberton and Ashby Puerorum slabs or the Flemish incised slab of 1340 at Boston to Wessel called Smalenburgh (Greenhill 1986, no. 18).

Fig. 717, 28c. Fragment of Tournai marble, 10.5 × 7.2 cm, by 8 mm thick, with incised detail. It shows the bottom of a pair of hands held together in prayer, with tight sleeves covering the forearms and a line of drapery falling from the dexter arm. Probably from a figure of a male or female civilian, like those at Wyberton or Boston.

Not illus. Triangular fragment of Tournai marble, 3.6 × 3 cm, by 3–5 mm thick, with two indeterminate incised lines.

Not illus. Irregular fragment of Tournai marble, 12.5 × 11.5 cm, by c. 10 mm thick, with two parallel straight lines and two curved lines. Interpretation uncertain, but possibly drapery or part of a canopy.

Three similar tiny fragments of Tournai marble from a monument no earlier than the mid-fourteenth century, with well-preserved incised detail, as follows:

Fig. 717, 29a. Fragment of Tournai marble, 6.1 × 4.0 cm by 6–8 mm thick, showing two parallel lines 10 mm apart, with cusping and a globular shape. This may be part of a canopy with large trefoil crockets, such as the c. 1360 Flemish slab to an unknown civilian and wife at Boston (Greenhill 1986, no. 22).

Fig. 717, 29b. Fragment of Tournai marble, 7.5 × 6.8 cm by 6–8 mm thick, with incised detail from a canopy, probably with simple cusping, showing the section where the arch springs from the side shaft.

Fig. 717, 29c. Triangular fragment of Tournai marble, 4.1 × 2.8 cm by 5 mm thick, showing two cusped lines converging. Possibly drapery lines from the inner elbow of a lady, civilian or priest.

Fig. 717, 30. The last fragment with any significant incised detail, 11 × 11.3 cm by 12 mm thick, is from the edge of a grave-cover with one of a pair of incised fillets, 5.2 cm in from the edge of the slab, bordering an incised inscription in Lombardic lettering. The lettering reads 'N+', undoubtedly part of 'Amen', followed by the cross which denotes the beginning of the inscription that would have run clockwise round the perimeter of the entire slab. The form of 'N' points to a date in the early fourteenth century. This fragment may possibly be from the same monument as no. 28.

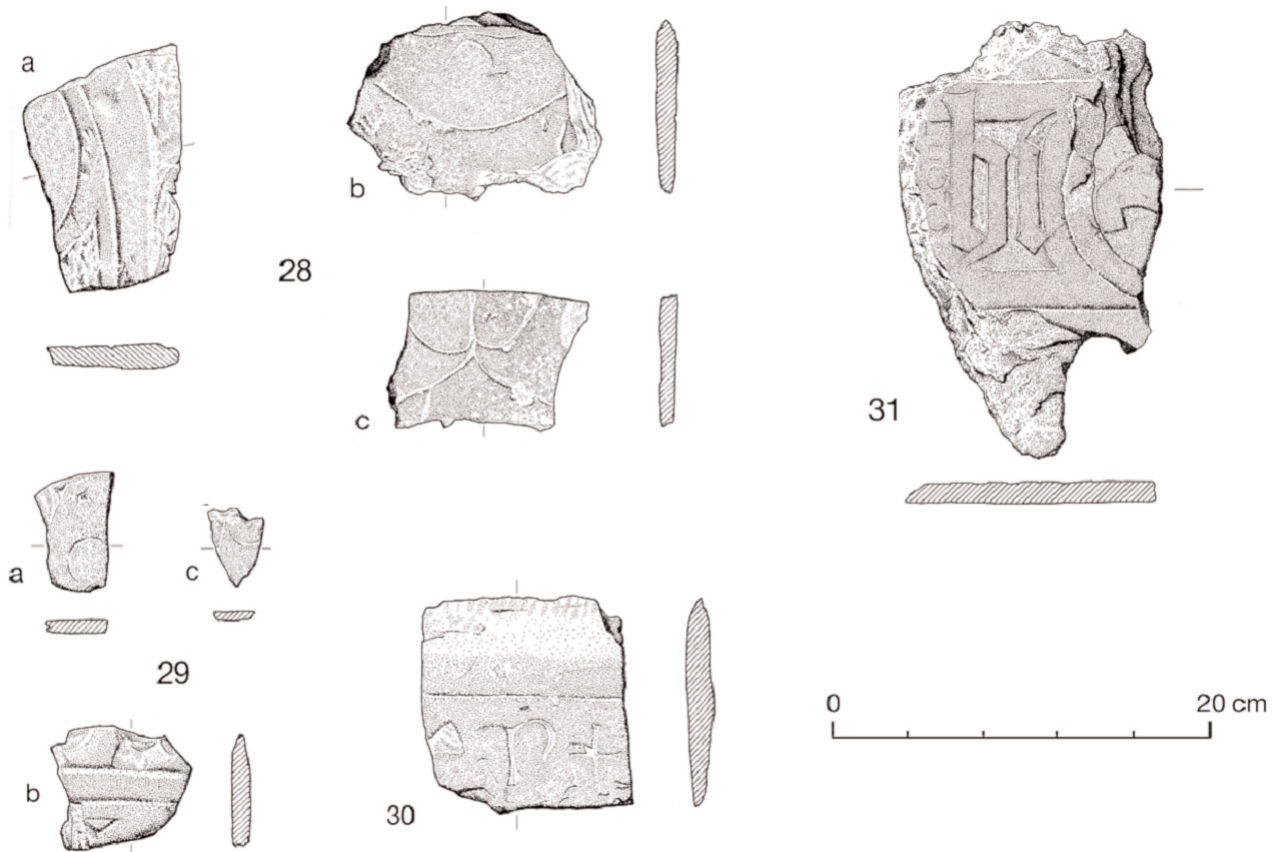


Fig. 717: Fragments of incised grave-covers of Tournai marble, nos. 28 to 31. Scale 1:4. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

In addition, there are three other incised but undatable fragments of the same lithology, and quite possibly from the same monument(s). Several of the fragments were found in stratified contexts, layers of Periods 7 and 8, and in the fills of Phase B graves; also part of slab no. 28 was recovered from a Phase C grave (F3539), suggesting minor damage when the slab was first laid. Twelve other undecorated fragments (not illustrated), probably all of Tournai marble were found in stratified contexts, some in Phase C. The context information is consistent with damage or disuse in the sixteenth century or later, and with occasional slight damage when a slab was first laid.

Piece carved in relief, and related fragments

Fig. 717, 31. Small fragment of a grave-cover, maximum size 23.2 × 14.5 cm by 3–10 mm thick, with well-preserved flat-relief carving. It shows part of a marginal Latin inscription in black-letter or Gothic minuscule script reading 'hi' (abbreviated form of 'hic') and part of a corner quatrefoil in which would have been one of the symbols of the four evangelists holding a scroll, part of which remains on the fragment. The words of the inscription are separated by double round stops. This would have formed part of a large effigial slab from the Tournai workshop.

The Tournai marblers produced flat-relief and incised slabs to the same designs. Flemish products of fifteenth-century date are very rare in England, the

only other examples being effigial slabs at Hastings (Sussex) and Kirk Newton (Northumb.), both dated 1458, and an heraldic inscription slab at North Stonham (Hants.) dated 1491. The Barton fragment is paralleled by slabs at Abbaye d'Orval, Luxembourg, to Abbot Jacques de Barenzie, c. 1380; Douai Museum, France, to Simon de Thiennes, c. 1440; and Limburg, Belgium, to Ghisbert Van Heere, d. 1441. The lack of elaboration of the lettering on the Barton fragment points to an early fifteenth-century date.

This fragment was found in an exterior posthole of Period 8 (F3863), close to the north porch, along with many other flakes which were clearly once part of it; a further undecorated fragment of remarkably similar lithology was also found in a Period 8 context (F45), but inside the church.

Slabs and fragments probably from the Meuse valley (Namur stone)

Three slabs within the church remain complete, or almost so, though no longer *in situ*, as well as the substantial remnants of a fourth slab. Additionally, four tiny fragments of the same lithology were found in the excavations.

Fig. 718, 32. Complete slab, 2.37 × 1.17 m by c. 12 cm thick, was formerly in the south aisle against the south wall (Fig. 599, M.34; see also Appendix 6). It was probably not *in situ* in its primary position but was almost

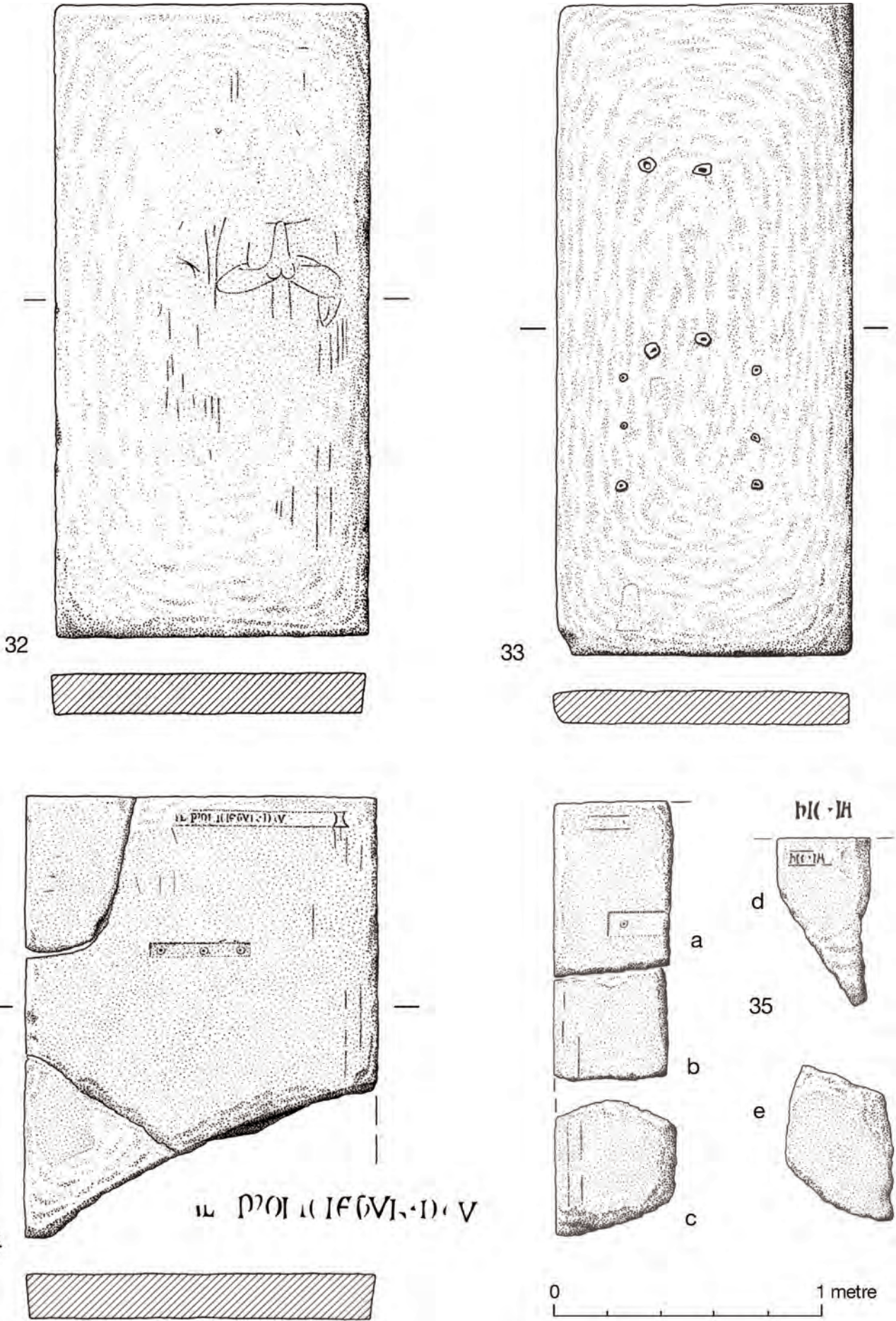


Fig. 718: Grave-covers of Namur stone, nos. 32 to 35. Scale 1:20, except inscriptions, 1:5. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

certainly removed from the chancel during the restoration of 1858, since Ball (1856, 1, 58) noted in the chancel, near the altar rails '... an old slab ... to the memory of a civilian and his wife'. The monument was not reported by Monson, although it was presumably visible and may be what he described as '... another'. It now retains just a few lines of incised detail. On a visit in 1933, Greenhill recorded this slab as being in a rather better state of preservation than it is now. It was then in the south aisle, but in 1982 was loose in a stack of slabs in the south porch (Greenhill 1986, 17–18, no. 6). Though much of the surface has shaled off, such elements of the incised design as survive confirm Greenhill's description of it as showing the figures of a civilian and wife under a canopy. The Namur stone slab is of Flemish workmanship, and Greenhill dated it to *c.* 1325.

It might possibly be thought that the incised fragments described above (nos 28–30) should belong to this monument, but their lithology tells a different story (Tournai). The thickness of many of the fragments (up to 13 mm) also argues against their coming from this monument, since, although the surface of no. 22 is badly worn and damaged, considerable depth has only been lost close to the edge.

Fig. 718, 33. This is the last complete slab, 2.44 × 1.10 m by 13 cm thick, but like those just discussed its surface is almost entirely lost. It lay in the south aisle, towards the east end (Fig. 599, M.35; see also Appendix 6). Three phases of use are apparent. Close to the foot of the slab is an indent, very similar in shape to indents in the canopy of the slab at Ashby Puerorum, which probably held inlays with small figures of saints. There is no rivet in the indent, so the inlay was more likely to have been of white marble or composition than brass. This suggests that the original form of the monument was an elaborate effigial composite slab of the fourteenth century. Towards the middle of the slab the remains of six rivets indicate the outline of a brass plate; the shape suggests that this appropriation probably took place in the second half of the sixteenth century, or later. Farther up the slab again are four leaded sockets for iron bars, arranged in a trapezoidal fashion; the stump of one bar remains *in situ*, bent over. The bars would appear to have been stanchions, perhaps for a pricket stand, or a 'cage' that supported funerary armour. The left-hand side of the slab is markedly chamfered, though this would not have been visible when it was set in the floor.

Fig. 718, 34. Portion of a massive rectangular slab, probably the upper part, now broken into three pieces, 1.29 × 1.60 m (likely original length 2.0–2.3 m) by 15 cm thick. Along part of the top edge of the slab are the worn remains of an incised Latin inscription in Lombardic letters 35 mm high, between a pair of incised fillets 53 mm apart. This section reads '[ANI]MA × PROPICIETVR DEV[S]' ('may God have mercy on his/her soul'); this formula normally comes at the end of the inscription, suggesting that it began at the upper dexter corner of the

slab and ran clockwise round all four sides. Faint incised lines show there had been an effigial representation of a single figure in the middle of the slab, which has worn away almost without trace; this is not uncommon in the case of black slabs that have remained *in situ*, and probably indicates that the slab remained in a heavily used pathway in the church until relatively recently, perhaps being displaced by eighteenth- or nineteenth-century burials or re-flooring. The fragment was found reused as rough paving under pews on the north side of the nave (Fig. 599, M.20; see also Appendix 6).

The style of lettering, particularly the cursive 'R', closely resembles the 1325 slab at Wyberton. The Barton slab also has, placed 55.5 cm from the top of the slab, the indent of a rectangular brass inscription, 38 × 4.5 cm, originally held by three rivets set in lead. This is unlikely to have formed part of the original design. Some Flemish products have part of the design inlaid in brass, white marble or composition, including, on a slab of *c.* 1360 at Gressenhall (Norf.) (Greenhill 1965), a rectangular inscription, but none are in the position shown on the Barton slab. A more likely explanation is that the slab was appropriated for a later burial, the inscription being added then. The brass inscription was most likely of fifteenth- or sixteenth-century date.

Fig. 718, 35. In addition, five further fragments possibly all from a fourth slab survive: four of them are incised and two conjoin. All were found reused as rough paving under pews in the south side of the nave (Fig. 599, M.20A; see also Appendix 6). The conjoining fragments together make a piece 100 × 45 cm by 13 cm thick (35a, b). There are traces of a pair of incised fillets 50 mm and 102 mm in from the edges of the slab, which would have bordered an incised inscription, and the curve of a corner quatrefoil, which probably had an evangelist's symbol within it. Set 42.8 cm from the edge of the slab is part of an indent of a rectangular brass inscription, with one brass rivet set in lead remaining, probably representing an appropriation of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Part of the original inscription survives on another fragment, between incised fillets (35d). It is incised in Lombardic lettering and reads 'HIC × IA[CET]', one of the standard openings of Latin inscriptions. The style of lettering is very like that on grave-cover no. 34 (though it is most unlikely to be part of the same memorial) and also the slab of 1325 at Wyberton, suggesting an early fourteenth-century date. The remaining two fragments, one with a pair of incised fillets from the edge of a grave-cover, and the other with no surviving decoration (35c, e), could theoretically have originated from either this or slab no. 34. As with no. 34, the centre of the slab may have contained an effigial representation, but no traces remain. Again, the amount of wear suggests that the slab remained *in situ* until the eighteenth or nineteenth century.

In addition, four tiny fragments, one with part of a straight incised line, were found in a Period 8 context (F1299).

Grave-slabs in St Mary's church

by Sally Badham

For comparison, the surviving medieval floor-slabs in St Mary's church may be listed (not illustrated); these are for the most part complete and are set in the paved alleys. It is not known to what extent they are *in situ*, but most are still positioned where they were shown in 1834 (Fig. 44); others may have been lost during earlier restorations.⁴⁷ The present locations of the slabs are shown in Figure 47, and for a discussion of these monuments in their historical context, see Saul 2008.

Slabs of Lincolnshire Limestone

With only a polished surface visible, it was not possible to identify the geology of these three slabs further (*i.e.* whether or not they are oolitic). Two further limestone slabs are worn smooth, and a third is almost totally concealed from view (nos. 16–18).

1. Chancel (south side).⁴⁸ Rectangular slab (2.23 × 1.12 m) with an incised marginal inscription in black-letter or Gothic script, with elaborate circular designs at the corners. The inscription is to Richard Hawood, parochial chaplain, who died in 1471.⁴⁹ The design of this slab is similar to many excavated at Thornton Abbey.⁵⁰ Local work. Monson (1936, 23) published a transcript: 'Hic iacet Ricardus Haubord quondam / capellanus parochialis istius loci q. / obiit [primo] die mensis aprilis anno domini MCCCC septuag : I. cuius anime propicietur deus'. A slightly different version was recorded by Varah, together with the translation 'Here lies Richard Harwood sometime parochial chaplain of this place who died on the [...] day of the month of April in the year of the Lord 1471...'.⁵¹ Glynn (1898, 204) published a garbled transcript, reading the surname as 'Baivod'; and Ball (1859, 1, 60) gave a less than accurate translation, misreading the date as 10 May 1470. Greenhill (1986, 17, no. 9) also provides a transcript.
2. North aisle. Rectangular slab (1.81 × 0.85 m) with a partly worn incised marginal inscription to Sir James Wymerke, chaplain of John de Lyndewod, merchant (Foster 1931).⁵² The date is illegible.⁵³ Local work of the fifteenth century. Ball 1856, 1, 59. Varah: *BPM*, ii.1935. Not noted by Monson. Greenhill (1986, 17, no. 10) gives a transcript.
3. Nave (east end). Rectangular slab with very faint traces of an inscription (1.98 × 0.85 m). Probably local work. Greenhill 1986, 17, no. 11.

Slabs of Purbeck marble

The church has three slabs of Purbeck marble.

4. Nave (west end). Rectangular Purbeck marble slab with a brass to an unknown lady, incomplete and with the corners broken off (1.92+ × 1.07+ m). Only the demi-effigy of a lady holding a heart remains, though it originally also had an inscription. York Series 1a work of c. 1380. Unpublished.⁵⁴ This was probably the monument described in 1867 as a 'bust brass much worn and without inscription' (Glynn 1898, 204).⁵⁵

5. Chancel (north side). Rectangular Purbeck marble slab (2.72 × 1.16 m) with the brass of a civilian standing on two wine casks, a marginal inscription in black-letter script and two merchant's marks, another two being lost.⁵⁶ The inscription records that it commemorates Simon Seman, citizen, vintner and alderman of London (d. 1433). London Series B work of the early 1430s.

Holles copied the inscription and described the arms, which are now gone: 'Hic iacet Simon Seman quondam civis et vinitarius ac Aldermanus London qui obiit xi die mensis Augusti anno domini millesimo CCCC trigesimo tercio cuius anime et omnium fidelium defunctorum propitiatur deus Amen amen' (Cole 1911, 78). It was repeated by Monson (1936, 23), Bonney (Harding 1937, 71) and, less accurately, by Varah.⁵⁷ This brass has been illustrated on several occasions: Hesleden drew it in the 1830s;⁵⁸ Ball (1856, 1, 60) published a poor engraving of the monument with the inscription incorrectly represented; he also gave a translation. In 1889 Grange published a drawing based on a rubbing made in c. 1873, noting that part of one foot and two of the escutcheons had been lost since that date.⁵⁹ The slab was moved from the centre of the chancel to its present position in 1884 (Brown 1908, 145). See also Freeman, forthcoming.

6. North aisle (centre). Rectangular slab (2.47+ × 1.17 m; east end concealed, but length apparently 2.60+ m) with faint traces of two incised figures, probably a civilian and lady. The heads, hands, marginal inscription with corner quatrefoils and two tiny figures, presumably of saints, at the top of the slab were once inlaid with brass, now lost; all indents filled with cement.⁶⁰ Flemish work of the fourteenth century.

Noted by Monson (1936, 25); a suggested identification with Richard Adinot and his wife, who founded a chantry at the altar of St Thomas in 1276, is too early. Another contender might be John de Ouresby, who founded a chantry in this chapel in 1392 (p. 75). Greenhill 1986, 16, no. 6.⁶¹

Slabs of black Carboniferous limestone

There are eight rectangular, incised and composite slabs of black Carboniferous limestone and a blank slab of tapering plan. The workmanship of all the slabs with surviving detail (listed below) is undoubtedly Flemish. The stone type has traditionally been identified as Tournai marble, but in the absence of burrowing structures and diagnostic body-fossils, it is equally possible that they are of Namur stone.

7. Sanctuary (south side). Rectangular slab (1.98+ × 1.25 m; one end concealed) with the partly effaced incised figures of a civilian and two wives under a canopy. The heads, hands, heads of animals at their feet, and shapes that might have formed censuring angels were inlaid with brass, now lost. Flemish work of the early fourteenth century. Greenhill 1986, 16, no. 1.
8. Sanctuary (north side). Rectangular slab (2.03+ × 1.03 m; both ends concealed) with the partly effaced incised figures of a civilian and his wife, under a canopy. Flemish work of the early fourteenth century. Greenhill 1986, 16, no. 2.
9. Chancel (south side). Rectangular slab (c. 1.95 × 1.03 m; edges lost) with indents for the veiled head of a lady, hands, marginal inscription and two tiny figures each

side of the head. A single rivet remains in the head; the margins on three sides now filled with cement. The remainder of the composition was undoubtedly incised, but all traces have now worn away. Flemish work of the first half of the fourteenth century. Noted by Monson (1936, 25); Greenhill 1986, 16, no. 3.

10. Sanctuary (north side). Rectangular slab (2.03+ × 1.01+ m; one end concealed and width trimmed; probably originally 1.05 × 2.10 m) with the indent of a large straight-armed cross with round-leaf terminals, probably originally inlaid in white marble or composition. Around the perimeter of the slab is a largely illegible incised inscription in Lombardic lettering, with the words separated by crosses. Flemish work of the first half of the fourteenth century. Noted by Monson (1936, 25); Greenhill 1986, 16, no. 8.
11. North aisle (north-east corner). Rectangular slab (2.77 × 1.45 m) with faint traces of incised figures of two civilians under a canopy. The heads, hands, marginal inscription and six tiny figures (presumably of saints), at the top of the slab, were once inlaid with brass, now lost. Flemish work of the fourteenth century. Greenhill 1986, 16, no. 5.
12. South-east chapel. Rectangular slab (2.89 × 1.42 m) with the indents of a civilian's head and hands and a marginal inscription with corner quatrefoils. The remainder of the composition was undoubtedly incised, but no traces remain. Flemish work of the fourteenth century.
Noted by Monson (1936, 25); the proposed identification with William Lorymer (d. 1458) is implausible on grounds of date. Greenhill 1986, 16, no. 7.
13. Nave (west end). Rectangular slab (2.04 × 0.66 m; evidently cut down in width) with the indents of a lady's head and hands, now filled with cement. The indents would once have been inlaid with brass, white marble or composition. The remainder of the composition would have been incised, but no traces remain. Flemish work of the fourteenth century. Greenhill 1986, 16, no. 4.
14. Nave (west end). Rectangular slab (2.13 × 0.80 m; may have been cut down). Patches of cement appear to infill badly damaged indents, possibly including an inscription panel at the centre.
15. South-east chapel. Tapering slab (2.90 × 0.83 reducing to 0.55 m), worn smooth all over. No trace of decoration remains, but it was undoubtedly a grave-cover.

Uncertain

Ball (1856, 1, 60) referred to a slab with an inscription commemorating William Cannon (d. 1401). The same was also mentioned in White's *Directory* of 1842, but was stated to be the only brass surviving in St Peter's church (Brown 1908, 140). Clearly, one source is erroneous, probably the latter.

Blank slabs, presumed medieval

16. Chancel (north side). Limestone slab, worn smooth (2.10 × 0.97 m).
17. Nave (east end). Limestone slab, worn smooth, lying north-south and having the pulpit set upon it (2.52 × 0.80 m).

18. South-east chapel. Limestone slab of unknown dimensions and condition: only the south-east corner projects from under the pew platform.
19. South-east chapel. Blue Lias limestone slab, worn smooth (2.23 × 1.08 m).
20. South porch (outer entrance). Black slab having the appearance of Cannel coal, with a heavily worn, undulating surface (1.74 × 1.50 m). This may have been a massive 'double-width' slab which has been cut down in length.

Late medieval monument types at Barton-upon-Humber: conclusions

by Sally Badham

Prior to the excavation, the fragmentary remains of only one monumental brass (no. 26, above) and one incised slab (no. 32, above) were all that were known to survive of the medieval effigial floor-slabs of St Peter's. During the excavations portions of at least nine additional monuments were found, some very fragmentary; three of these appear to have been reused later to form separate monuments. Six probably date from the fourteenth century, though one incised slab and the four brasses and indents are of fifteenth- or sixteenth-century date. The one surviving brass is from London, and it is likely that the lost brasses were also. One incised slab appears to be a local product, two were probably imported from London, but the remainder are imports from the prestigious Flemish *ateliers*.

This, together with Peter Ryder's observations on the cross-slabs and Philip Lankester's report on the priest's effigy,⁶² indicates that the types and date-span of the medieval floor memorials of St Peter's are relatively unusual for Lincolnshire, being paralleled only at St Mary's church, Barton, and at Boston; the medieval floor of the latter church remains largely intact (Badham and Cockerham 2011). All three churches have a few minor monuments produced locally, with a preponderance of more prestigious floor slabs from further afield. Boston had nearly one hundred domestically produced brasses (including inscription brasses), from workshops based at London, Norwich and Boston itself, of which only twelve examples retain any brass inlay; in contrast only three survive in Barton, while indents of three more have been discovered by excavation.

Significant numbers of Flemish brasses and incised slabs are found close to the southern and eastern English coast, but nowhere are they found in such heavy concentrations as in Lincolnshire (Greenhill 1986). Particularly large numbers occur at Boston, which has twenty-three such slabs, and Barton, which had at least seventeen. All but one of these slabs dates from the fourteenth century and the majority appear to have commemorated merchants, a reflection of the commercial strength of these two important ports in the medieval period.

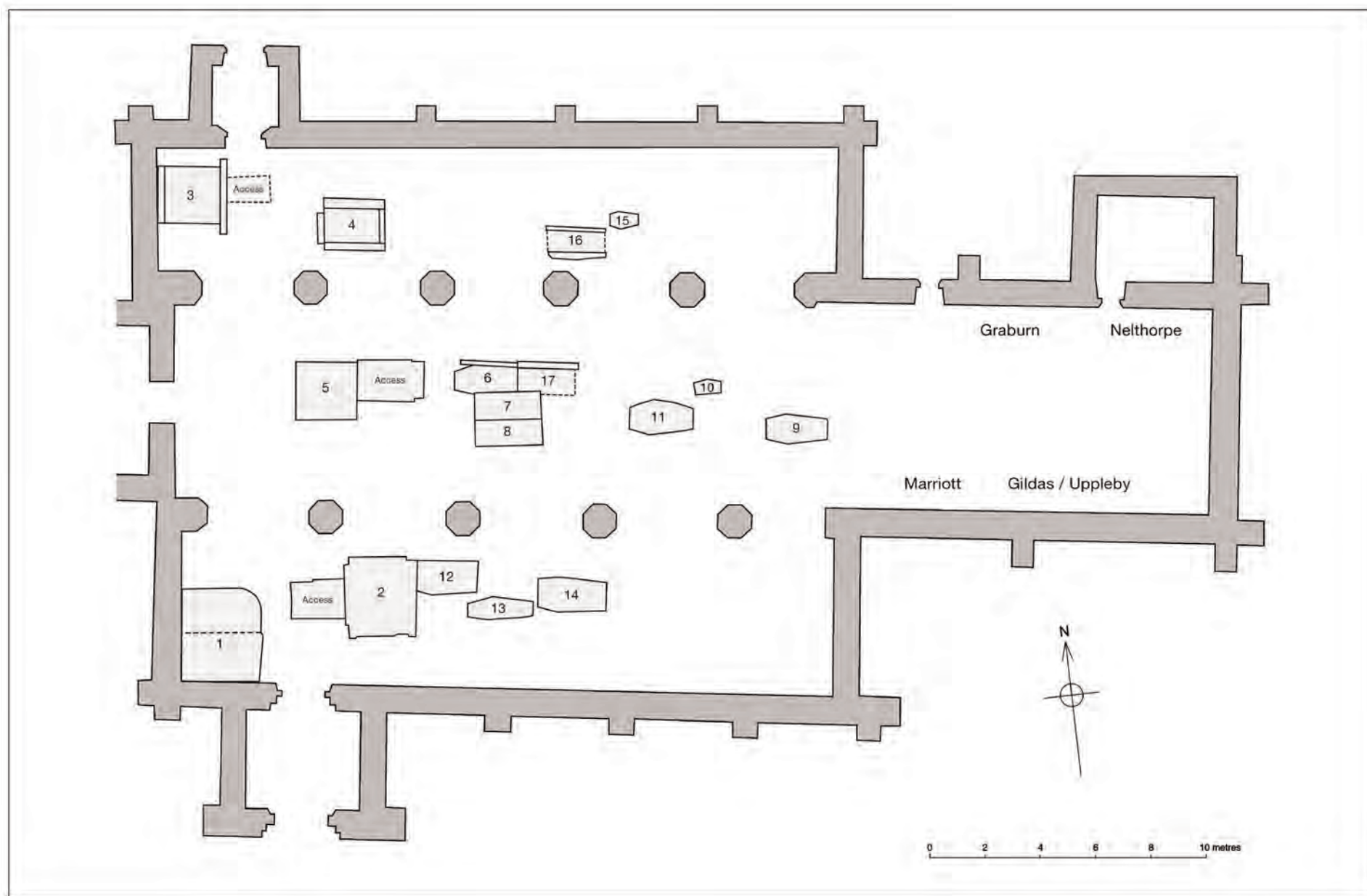


Fig. 719: Plan showing the locations of post-medieval brick burial vaults and shafts in the nave and aisles, c. 1850. Locations of potential vaults in the chancel are also indicated. 1–5, Vaulted chambers; 6–15, Brick-lined shafts; 16–17, Graves with partial brick lining. Scale 1:200. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell and Simon Hayfield

13. BURIAL PRACTICE AND COMMEMORATION: POST-MEDIEVAL

Beneath this stone a faithful friend is laid,
Who has the common debt of Nature paid.
Epitaph, 1777: St Peter's churchyard

Post-Medieval Interment, c. 1500–1855

Burial in the churches of Barton

After the Reformation, there was a steady increase in the number of burials of the middle classes in churches, often accompanied by floor slabs or, in the case of richer families, by substantial freestanding or wall-mounted monuments. At Barton, however, there is an almost total lack of monuments prior to the eighteenth century. In St Peter's church, the earliest post-medieval floor slab is to Edward Tripp (d. 1619), and after a long interval, that was followed by one to Anthony Empringham (d. 1698).¹ The eighteenth century saw a rapid rise in the popularity of burial inside churches, a trend that continued until almost the middle of the following century. It was accompanied by the laying down of ledger-slabs, of which there are a goodly number at St Peter's. By contrast, wall monuments were surprisingly scarce, the eighteenth century being represented by only six. There is a similar complement of memorials in St Mary's church, the earliest in each category being a wall monument to Jane Shipsea (d. 1626; Fig. 129) and a floor slab of 1757. The panel commemorating Ann Arnold (d. 1633), now in the floor, was once part of an upstanding monument (Fig. 133).

Post-medieval wills often stated in which church or churchyard the deceased wished to be buried, but more detailed descriptions are rarely given; former chapels and their dedications are not mentioned. John Turner, a London tradesman who came into possession of the inappropriate rectory and Bardney Hall estate, was sufficiently influential to be able to direct in 1621 that his burial take place in the chancel of St Peter's church.² An exceptionally detailed instruction is contained in a vicar's will of 1710: Ralph Tonstall directed that he be 'buried at the west end of St Maries Quire in Barton, close to the grave of my deceased wife Sarah'.³ It is curious that this vicar and his wife should have chosen to be interred in St Mary's, rather than the parish church.

The fees payable to the churchwardens for all categories of burial were prescribed in the church terriers for 1730 and 1788 (Table 17).

The numbers of vaulted chambers and brick-lined shafts constructed in churches rose rapidly in the eighteenth century, but their appearance at Barton was,

comparatively speaking, modest. St Peter's has scarcely more than a handful of each type in the church, constructed between 1735 and 1837. The vaulted chambers remain intact and were not investigated archaeologically, but some of the lined shafts were dismantled. All are shown on plan, Fig. 719. Nothing is known about the vaults in St Mary's.

Although both churches retain significant numbers of post-medieval floor memorials, it is readily apparent that nothing like the full complement has survived. There are no slabs in the chancel of St Peter's, the whole area having been cleared in 1858: it is inconceivable that burials associated with the prominent families of Nelthorpe, Graburn, Marriott and Uppleby were unmarked in the floor.⁴ John Turner's burial, mentioned above, would surely have been marked. Similarly, the chancel floor in St Mary's was renewed in 1883–84, when only a handful of medieval slabs were reset (Fig. 47). Previously, the grave of Ralph Tonstall, *inter alia*, was doubtless marked by a ledger stone. The concept of perpetuating the memory of prominent Bartonians and clergy, by relocating their ledgers when the chancels were refloored, simply did not exist. Instead, their memorials were destroyed, just like so many were in the Middle Ages after a relatively short period (p. 649).

Between the Reformation and the mid-nineteenth century, no less than twenty vicars and curates of Barton died in office, or continued to live in the town after retirement, and were certainly or probably buried in one of the churches; records are deficient and the actual number is likely to have exceeded twenty-five.⁵

Table 17: Burial fees in 1730 and 1788

	1730	1788
Adult, buried in church	6s. 8d.	6s. 8d.
Child, buried in church	3s. 4d.	3s. 4d.
Any person under a large stone	10s. 0d.	10s. 0d.
In addition, there were 'surplice fees' for:		
Burying in the church	1s. 0d.	5s. 0d.
Burying in the churchyard	4d.	8d.
Mortuaries, according to the statutes		
and the clerk's fees for:		
Burying in the church	1s. 0d.	1s. 0d.
Burying in the churchyard	10d.	2d.

Most of the burial entries are contained in the registers for St Peter's church. Yet only one of those persons is commemorated today by a floor slab (William Uppleby, 1834: M.9). The lack of surviving memorials, especially to some of the later and more affluent vicars, such as George Uppleby (d. 1852), is difficult to explain. On the other hand, the slab to William Emperingham (d. 1752), who was a clergyman, but not vicar of Barton, survives in the nave of St Peter's (M.18). For details of the extant memorials, see Appendix 6.

Vaulted chambers

Five brick-built chambers with arched roofs were found, all in the western part of the church; they were of double-width and intended to accommodate two or more coffins.

1. Gelder and Willan vault

The earliest recorded vault was constructed in 1735 for the Rev'd John Gelder and his family, although he lived until 1751. It is at the west end of the south aisle



Fig. 720: South aisle. Post-medieval burial vaults and shafts; view east. In the foreground the font overlies the Gelder/Willan vault (F1013), the crown of which was first demolished. In the middle is the vault F939, with F957, F958 and F927 beyond. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

(F1013). The faculty for its construction described the site as ‘a spare and vacant piece of ground’, measuring 9 ft by 10 ft.⁶ A vaulted brick chamber was built and the floor above was enclosed, apparently with railings; the outline is indicated on the 1803 plan, where it is marked as ‘The Rev^d Mr Willan’s Vault’ (Fig. 587). Willan’s presence here can be explained by the fact that he married Gelder’s widow, Elizabeth. Mrs Willan buried both her husbands in the Gelder vault, joining them herself in 1779. There were presumably inscribed floor slabs, but all were swept away in 1858, when the crown of the brick vault was demolished and the chamber infilled with rubble, to support the base for a new font (p. 556; Figs. 720 and 721). Only the northern edge of the vault was exposed during excavation, when it was found to have a rounded north-east corner. It is unclear how access was obtained, and whether the construction might comprise two chambers, side by side. There was no separate entrance chamber. The overall dimensions of the structure (2.9 m by 3.2 m) correspond reasonably well with those quoted in 1735.

Two associated wall plaques remain (M.54 and M.55; Fig. 778).

2. *Brown(?) vault*

Also in the south aisle, just east of the Gelder vault, is another large brick vault of the early nineteenth century (F939), the occupants of which have not been identified with certainty (Fig. 720). There were no ledgers overlying the vault or its entrance chamber, but there are two ledgers in the aisle nearby commemorating the Brown family (M.30 and M.31), and on the wall is the large monument (M.56; Fig. 788) to Robert Brown, grandfather of Barton’s historian of the same name.⁷ The brick-lined entrance chamber to the vault was on the west, slabbed with Yorkstone.

3. *Scrivener/Tombleson vault*

The Scrivener family may have built this brick tomb (F239) in bay 5 of the north aisle, against the west wall, in 1774 (*cf.* M.44). Alternatively, it could possibly have been constructed by the Tomblesons in 1778 (*cf.* M.46). The chamber was barrel-vaulted, but the



Fig. 721: South aisle. View west after the excavation of the central corridor of post-medieval burials, but with the brick-lined shafts and vaults remaining: F927 is in the foreground, with F958, F957 and F939 beyond. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 722: North aisle. View east after the excavation of the central corridor of post-medieval burials, but with the Branston vault remaining (F227). Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

arch had been removed and replaced with Yorkstone slabs, probably in order to facilitate lowering more coffins into the chamber than it was designed to hold.⁸ There was an earth-cut entrance ramp on the east, over which lay Scrivener and Tombleson ledgers, side by side (M.41 and M.42). Above, on the north wall is a clutch of Scrivener and Tombleson memorials (M.44–M.48); the two families were related.

4. Branston vault

The vault (F227) in bay 4 of the north aisle was probably constructed by the Branston family 1775. It is likely to contain the three burials recorded on the slab that directly overlay the chamber (M.40). There was no access-chamber for this vault, and it is likely that the brick arch was only turned after the burials had been inserted.⁹ The crown of the arch had subsequently been reduced in thickness (to accommodate the Victorian floor level) by removing the outer of two rings of brickwork (Fig. 722).

5. Preston vault

In the middle of the nave, in bay 4/5, is the Preston vault (F53), which was constructed in or by 1837 (Figs. 723, 724 and 725); it also contains the last recorded burial to take place inside St Peter's church, of John Preston in 1844.¹⁰ Of barrel-vaulted construction, the

tomb was found to be internally rendered with Roman cement, and limewashed. Entry was from the east, where a brick-lined access-chamber had been constructed and internally limewashed. After Henrietta Preston had been interred in 1837, a spine wall was constructed down the centre of the access-chamber, and there were separate blockings to the vault, relating to the two interments.

The tomb, which was inspected internally in 1980, contained two trapezoidal coffins, laid side by side: John Preston was on the north, and Henrietta on the south, both raised off the brick floor on timber bearers. The coffins were of elm with a soldered lead shell, cloth covered. They each had eight iron grips with pressed iron backplates, one had a Britannia metal and one a pressed iron *depositum* plate; there were two additional pressed iron plates on the lids, and coffin lace around the edges (Figs. 755 and 756; p. 692). John's coffin had a slightly coped lid (c. 10 degrees), made of two boards, which were supported off the lead shell by triangular wooden packing-pieces. There were also small spandrels of pressed iron at the corners of the lid.

Under the lids, the tops of the lead shells were found to be inscribed and decorated. On one was 'H♦J♦Preston / 1837', executed with a graver rocked between guidelines; the remainder of the top was covered with a lozenge pattern, formed with double engraved lines.



Fig. 723: Nave. View west after the excavation of the central corridor of post-medieval burials (and other features), but with the brick-lined shafts and vaults remaining: F284 and F940 are in the foreground, with F929, F1667 and F53 beyond). Scales of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

The other coffin was engraved 'John Preston / Died 16th May / (((1844))) / Aged 66 Years'. The inscription was added, using a single punch, after the whole of the top of the lead shell had been decorated with a lozenge pattern of three engraved lines (Fig. 726).

Brick-lined shafts

In addition to the five substantial vaults, there were ten examples of brick-lined shafts, capped with flat slabs, and designed each to receive a single coffin.

6. Unidentified (possibly William Benton; d. 1800)

A double-tapered shaft, capped at a low level with Yorkstone slabs, was found in bay 3 of the nave (F1667). Inside was a lead-lined coffin with pressed iron plates on the lid of the outer elm casing (Fig. 727).¹¹ The inscription on the *depositum* plate had been painted, but nothing legible survived. As found, the tomb was largely overlain by ledger-slab M.9 (Rev'd William Uppleby, d. 1834), but it seems very unlikely that the two were connected since the tomb was structurally earlier than the adjoining pair of brick shafts



Fig. 724: Nave. A vertical view showing the pattern of post-medieval burial in bays 4 and 5. East is at the top. In the centre is the Preston vault (F53). Many of the graves forming a north-south row across bay 5 belonged to the Marris family: monuments M.1-5 and M.50 are related to these. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 725: Nave: Preston vault (F53). The slab-covered entrance chamber on the right gave access to the barrel vault. View north. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

(nos. 7 and 8, below). The capping of the shaft at a low level suggests the likelihood that another interment was anticipated on top of this one, although that did not take place. A potential candidate for the primary burial would be William Benton, the surgeon from Laurel House (d. 1800; p. 65), whose ledger-slab (M.13) lies a little to the east of the tomb. His widow, Mary, was not buried in the same grave, but seems to have left Barton after her husband's death.¹²

7, 8. *John and William Scrivener(?) (d. 1800/1801)*

In bay 3 of the nave is a double tomb (F929A and F929B) which is believed to have been created for the Scrivener family (Figs. 393 and 723).¹³ The two brick-lined shafts lie side-by-side and are separately capped with Yorkstone slabs. The most likely interments are the brothers John and William Scrivener, who died within two months of one another (d. 1800/1801),¹⁴ and ledger M.10 almost certainly relates to these burials, although it has been shunted eastwards. Alongside is another ledger, M.11, to Ann and Robert Scrivener (d. 1744/1788), *et al.*

9. *Ann Latham (d. 1831)*

Ann Latham was interred at the extreme eastern end of the nave, on the central axis (F1341). The grave was marked by the Yorkstone ledger-slab M.16, which had been moved north-westwards during the reflooring of 1858-59. The coffin had a lead shell which bore the deceased's initials: 'A.L. 1831'.

10. *Mary Margaretta Frideswide Worthington (d. 1823)*

Close to the last was a tiny shaft, roughly constructed, and capped with two blocks of limestone (F284) (Fig. 728). Inside was a double-tapered elm coffin for an infant, resting on two bricks. The base had decayed,

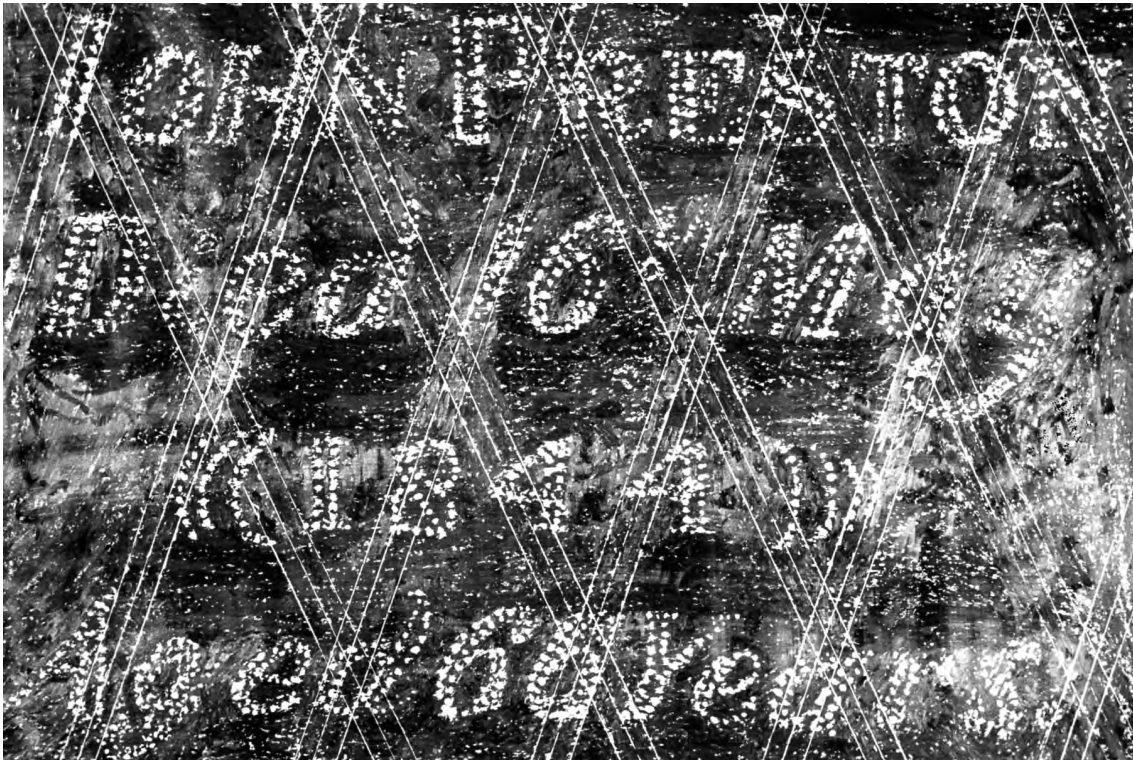


Fig. 726: Preston vault (F53). Rubbing of the incised decoration and punched inscription on the lead coffin-shell of John Preston. Scale 1:3. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 727: Nave. Brick-lined shaft with lead coffin-shell in situ (F1667; with F929 behind). View south. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 728: Nave. Brick tomb of Mary Wörthington (d. 1823), capped with limestone blocks (F284). View south. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

the north side fallen away, and the remainder of the coffin slumped onto its side, with the lid facing towards the north (Figs. 729, 730 and 731). The pressed iron *depositum* plate had mostly disappeared, but a fragment of the painted inscription survived: it bore part of the child's name.¹⁵ The burial was formerly marked in the floor by a small, double-tapered Yorkstone ledger-slab (M.17C), which had been broken up and used as paving under a nearby pew platform in 1858–59.

11. Mary Thorley (d. 1833)

Her burial lay in bay 1/2 of the nave, in a double-tapered brick shaft, the interior of which was lime-washed (F940; Fig. 732). The shaft was capped, well below floor level, with a redundant ledger-slab (M.43). The coffin had a lead shell with an attached cartouche bearing a cursive inscription (p. 677; Fig. 733). Associated with the burial was ledger-slab M.14, at floor level. The slab was still *in situ* above the grave.

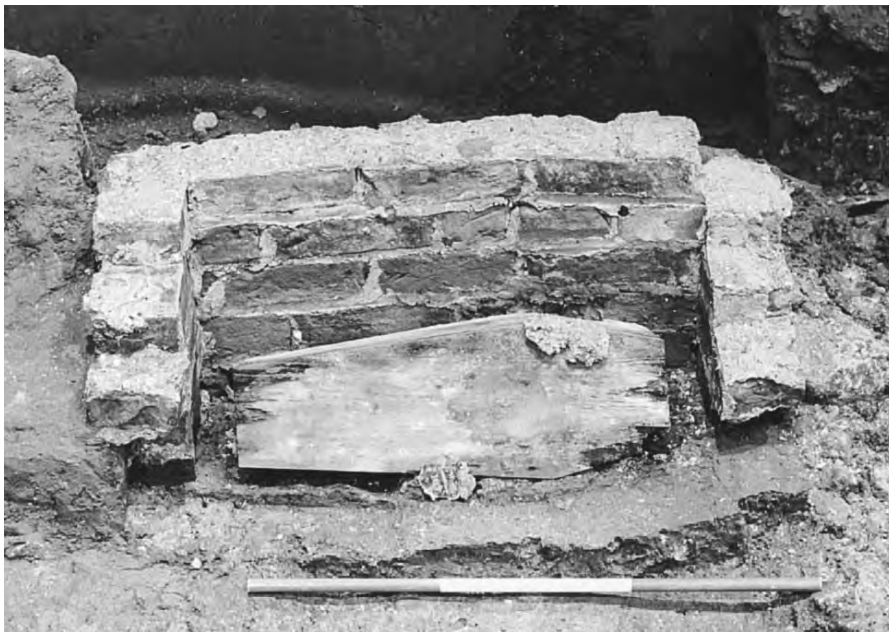


Fig. 729: Nave. Brick tomb F284 sectioned longitudinally, with the north flank removed to reveal the coffin lying on its side, and the remaining fragment of the depositum plate. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 730: Nave. Detail of the remaining fragment of the depositum plate in tomb F284. The full outline of the plate is discernible as a shadow on the lid. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 731: Nave. Tomb F284, with the coffin lid removed to reveal the collapsed remains of the coffin and the bricks upon which it stood. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 732: Nave. Brick-lined shaft of double-tapered plan (F940), containing an elm coffin with a lead shell and decorative embellishments: Mary Thorley (d. 1833). View east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 733: Nave. Tomb F940, after the removal of the outer timber casing, revealing a shield-shaped identification plate affixed to the lead coffin-shell. The inscription records that it was the burial of Mary Thorley (d. 1833). Photo: Warwick Rodwell

12. John Watt Brown (d. 1820)?

In bay 3/4 of the south aisle, adjoining the presumed Brown family vault on the east was a double-tapered shaft, capped with Yorkstone slabs (F957; Fig. 720). Alongside, to the south was ledger-slab M.31 with a fragmentary inscription, apparently commemorating John Watt Brown.¹⁶ It is not unlikely that the slab was associated with the burial shaft, but was displaced southwards when the aisle was replanned in 1858.

13. Joseph Brown (d. 1829)?

A brick shaft capped with Yorkstone slabs occurred in bay 3 of the south aisle (F958; Fig. 720), where it was directly overlain by ledger-slab M.30. Almost certainly they were associated, and the fragmentary inscription on the slab commemorated several members of the Brown family, beginning with Joseph.

14. Richard Beachcroft 'of London' (d. 1813)

Also in bay 3 of the south aisle was a brick chamber, capped by Yorkstone slabs (F927; Fig. 721). Partly overlying this was a ledger-slab containing an inset brass plate engraved with the deceased's arms (M.29; Fig. 777).

15. William Hesleden Graburn (d. 1828)

In the second bay of the north aisle lay an infant, in a brick shaft of double-tapered plan, capped by a slab of Yorkstone (F300) (Fig. 734). Directly overlying the tomb was ledger-slab M.36, still in its original location. Inside the chamber was a lead coffin-shell with the remains of an elm casing (Fig. 735).¹⁷ The name was punched into the top of the lead shell: 'W. H. Graburn / 1828' (Fig. 736).



Fig. 734: North aisle. Brick tomb of William Graburn (d. 1828), capped with a slab of Yorkstone (F300). View from the south-west. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 735: North aisle. Tomb F300 during dismantling, showing the lead shell and remains of the outer timber casing of the coffin. View north. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 736: North aisle. Tomb F300: detail of the incised and punched inscription on the top of the lead coffin-shell: W.H. Graburn, 1828. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Graves with a partial lining of brick

In addition to the shafts, two instances were recorded of a grave having a partial lining of brick, the purpose of which was to retain the soil along one or both of the principal sides, and to form a secure seating for a ledger-slab. The ends were not walled, and there were no capping slabs.

16. William Hesleden (d. 1823)

In the north aisle, grave F279 had brick retaining walls on both flanks; inside was the skeleton of an

adult male in a double-tapered coffin. Surviving fragments of timber showed this to have been of mahogany. This burial was doubtless associated with the ledger-slab that partially overlay it (M.37),¹⁸ and must therefore have been William Hesleden's. Alongside on the north was a second grave which was evidently paired with it (F352) and contained the skeleton of an adult female, who is identifiable as Elizabeth, his wife. They died within a year of one another, and both had large pressed iron breastplates on the coffins, but their painted inscriptions had not survived. The shaft containing the infant, William Hesleden Graburn (above, no. 15; F300) was placed adjacent to these two graves, to the east.

17. Unidentified

In the middle of the nave lay two superimposed graves, F229 and F1565, with a brick wall forming the northern flank. The west end abutted shaft F1667, and much of the south side was formed by the brickwork of shaft F929A. The earlier burial was of an adult (sk. 426; aged 45+) of undetermined sex; it was encoffined and had the remains of an iron breastplate. Above this lay an adult male (sk. 28; aged 45+), also in a coffin with iron fittings. Several possibilities may be advanced for the identification of these burials, based on ledger-slabs in the vicinity.

As noted above, nothing is specifically known regarding vaults or shafts in the chancel, although several doubtless existed. The Nelthorpes would almost certainly have had a well-built vault with an access-chamber (p. 674). Potentially, other prominent families with expensive memorials on the chancel walls would at least have had brick-lined shafts, notably the Graburn, Marriott, Gildas and Uppleby families.

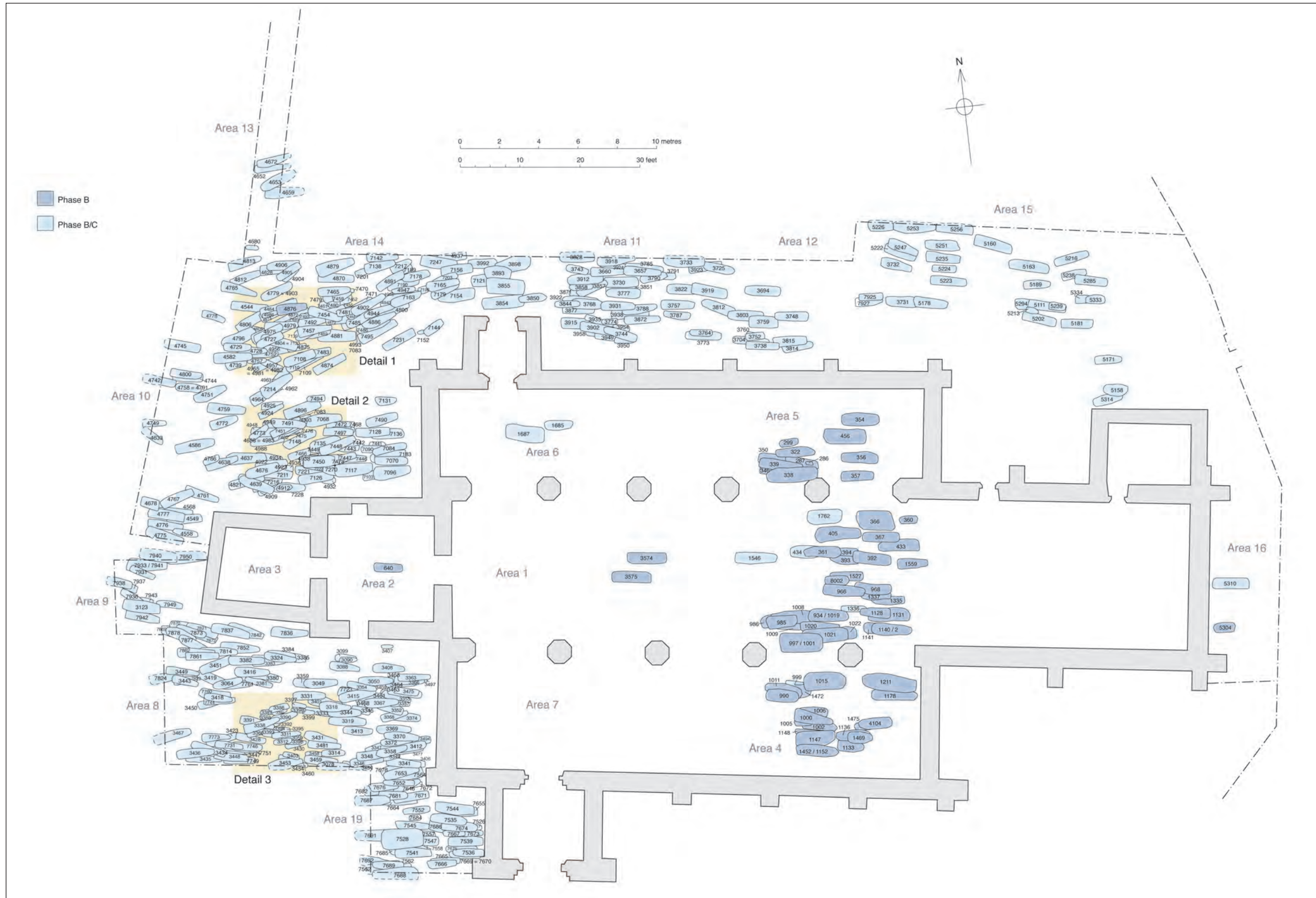


Fig. 737: General plan of burials of Phases B and B/C. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Internal burials: Phase B (c. 1500–1700)

During Phases B/C, B and A/B only the two eastern bays of the church were effectively used for burials, their distribution clearly defining the position of the lost early seventeenth-century screen that ran right across the church (p. 497). More than sixty graves were recorded (Fig. 737). With less than a handful of exceptions, colonization for burial west of this line came only in Phase A, after the screen had gone. The principal exceptions were two graves in the middle of the nave (F3574 and F3575), and one in the base of the tower.

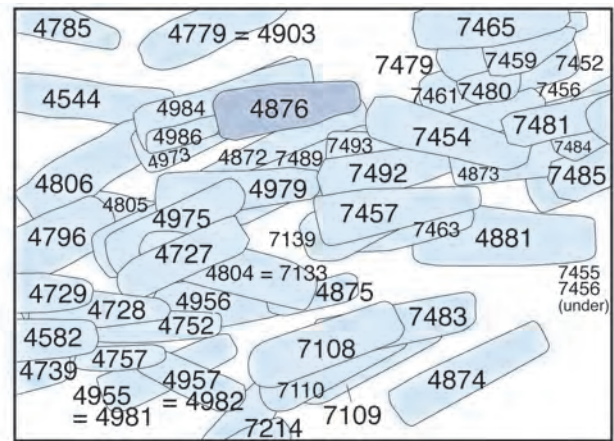
The lone burial in the tower was a male, c. 25 years old (F640), and was the only interment to take place here since its construction. The grave was noticeably off-centre to the north and was also on a slightly skewed alignment, suggesting that its position was influenced by existing features in the tower. The late sixteenth-century bell-casting pit (F511; p. 497) impinged on the central axis, and digging a grave through the loose backfilling of this would have been hazardous. That is surely the reason for the grave's displacement to the north. The choice of location for the burial may have reflected an association of the deceased with the tower, perhaps as a bellringer or a local bell-founder.

During burial Phases B/C and B the separate interment of infants and children inside the church was still rare. However, in view of the propensity for their bones to decay rapidly, it is possible that infants who were shallowly buried in the tops of adult graves have disappeared from the archaeological record. Also, it has been noted that periodically certain areas of the churchyard were effectively set aside for the burial of young children. One such area lay to the south-east of the path that led from the corner of the churchyard to the south door of the tower (Fig. 738, detail 3), where a large number of individual and paired child burials were placed. Young children were buried in other parts of the churchyard but usually either with or over a potentially related adult, or close enough to an adult to suggest an association.

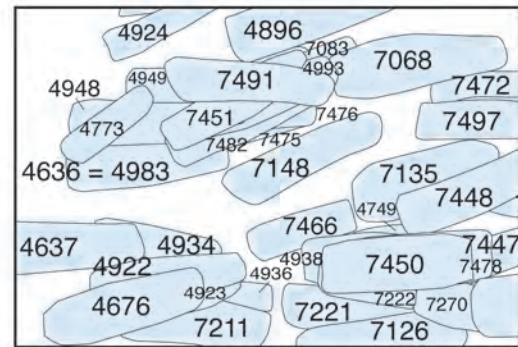
There were no floor slabs *in situ* which would be related to burials of this phase, and very rarely was there any surviving evidence for contemporary flooring over graves. The notable exception was grave F357, under the first bay of the north arcade, where a rectangular patch of floor tiling had survived on account of its having sunk into the soft filling beneath, after the timber coffin had collapsed. The grave had been dug through an intact area of chequered fourteenth-century paving; the displaced tiles were roughly reset (p. 479; Pl. 55).

Internal burials: Phase A (c. 1700–1855)

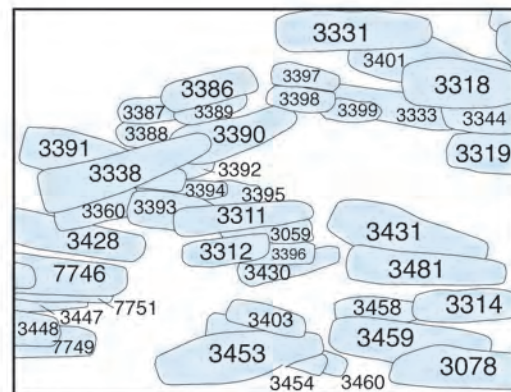
During Phase A, burials seem to have been permitted anywhere in the church, although in practice large blocks of pews restricted access to parts of the nave and aisles. There were many individual burials in



Detail 1



Detail 2



Detail 3

Fig. 738: Enlarged detail of three areas shown in Fig. 737. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

earth-cut graves, together with a few in brick-lined shafts, and several multiple burials in brick vaults, as already described (Fig. 719). Several prominent families clearly laid claim to plots, both for the erection of their private pews and for their burials; these plots were demarcated. The Nelthorpes acquired the largest such

plot, at the east end of the south aisle (p. 505); the Browns were in the middle part of the same aisle, and the Gelders claimed the west end. Curiously, in view of the local pre-eminence of the Nelthorpe family, they did not construct a brick vault, or lined shafts, and all their burials in this part of the church were in earth. Inscribed floor slabs show that these had begun by 1734.¹⁹ However, there is good reason to believe that senior members of the family were interred in a vault in the more prestigious surroundings of the chancel. In 1747 a lease for 99 years was granted by William Gildas, the lay impropriator, for a vault where Sir Henry Nelthorpe (d. 1746), Lady Joan his first wife, and his sons Henry and Richard were already buried.²⁰ The lease was granted to Dame Elizabeth,²¹ who was presumably also interred there when she died in 1767. Most likely, the unmarked vault is in the north-east corner of the chancel, sealed by the tile pavement.

Although the family had left Barton before the end of the eighteenth century, there is on the east wall a fine monument to Sir John Nelthorpe (d. 1799) (M.63; Fig. 782)²² and, adjacent to this on the north wall, were four hatchments relating to the family, which Loft described in detail in 1832 and Monson in 1835. The hatchments have all subsequently been lost, doubtless discarded during reordering in 1858 (p. 514). The parish registers show that many members of the Nelthorpe family were buried at St Peter's between 1657 and 1783, including one baronet, Sir Henry (d. 1746), father of Sir John. Although some of the lower-ranking Nelthorpes were interred in the south aisle, it is evident that Sir Henry, his two wives and principal children were not: they were in the vault in the chancel.²³ It is indeed curious that no monument to the baronet survived to receive mention in the early nineteenth century.

The majority of graves occurred in three lines running east–west down the nave and aisles, where they lay in the alleys between the blocks of pews (Fig. 739). There was also a transverse row across the west end of the church, conforming to the route between the north and south doors. Many of the interments were marked by inscribed floor slabs, few of which could be archaeologically related to the underlying corporeal remains. Several memorials had evidently been lost, but it is uncertain how many of those that were still extant in 1978 were close to their original locations (Fig. 599). When the church was re-pewed in 1858–59, floor levels were lowered and the ledgers must all have been reset. Moreover, they were arranged to fit neatly in the central alleys between the new blocks of pews in the nave and aisles. Consequently, it was impossible to identify positively most of the ledger-slabs with the corporeal remains excavated beneath them.²⁴

It was also readily apparent that, in the central alley of the nave, in particular, there had been considerable jostling for burial space, with the result that intercutting, destruction and superimposition had occurred in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Among



Fig. 740: South aisle. Remains of the painted iron depositum plate identifying the burial of Margaret Roberts (d. 1822; F973). The timber coffin was represented only by a dark stain in the soil. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

those that were positively identifiable were Richard and Mary Thorley. He died in 1807 and was buried in the second bay of the nave, beneath an inscribed slab (M.43). When Mary died in 1833 she was interred alongside her husband, whose slab was then used to cap her brick-lined shaft, and was thereby buried out of sight. A new memorial was placed in the floor, inscribed to both of the deceased (M.14).

In the south aisle the burial of Margaret Roberts (d. 1822) was fortuitously identified by her painted *depositum* plate (F973), the survival of which in a soil-filled grave was exceptional (Fig. 740). At the east end of the nave lay Ann Latham (d. 1831) in a lead-lined coffin which was inscribed (F1341).

Surprisingly little is known about post-medieval burials in the chancel, although there certainly were some, and the situation regarding the Nelthorpes has been considered above. Extant monuments suggest that there may have been a vault for the influential Graburn family on the north side: a tablet (M.64, now moved) recorded that the remains of William Graburn (d. 1826) were deposited 'below'; a lost floor slab with a brass inset commemorated his son George (d. 1822),²⁵ and there is a wall plaque to his widow and two daughters (M.61; Fig. 789). There is also a cenotaph monument to his daughter, Mary Gatty, who was buried in London (M.66; Fig. 787). Finally, an elegant Sienna marble monument to a 12-year-old girl, Maria Lucy Marriott, implies that she was buried in the chancel in 1823 (M.67), probably in a family vault (Pl. 109; Fig. 787).

There may have been a vault for the Uppleby family in the chancel, since a lavish marble monument was erected on the south wall, commemorating Sarah Uppleby (d. 1832) (M.65).²⁶ However, it is curious that the Rev'd William Uppleby (d. 1834) was not interred in the chancel but in the middle of the nave, under a

plain slab with an inset brass plate (M.34). Moreover, excavation failed to identify his remains, since he was not accorded burial in a lead-lined coffin or brick chamber. Given the prominence and means of the Uppleby family, this circumstance seems inexplicable.

Loft expressly stated that in 1832 there were no further ‘mementos’ in the chancel, and Monson’s list of three years later confirms this. In 1847 a memorial window was installed to Robert Marriott (d. 1841) next to his daughter’s monument, and he was presumably buried close by (p. 594).

Loft possibly did not notice a floor tile bearing a graffito that commemorated the Rev’d Tracy Lely (vicar, 1760–62), and was taken up from the chancel in 1858 (Fig. 830). This was an exceptionally trivial memorial to a vicar,²⁷ but was perhaps a replacement for a more substantive floor monument that was lost during reordering; or there may have been a wall plaque. Anyway, the evidence points to his being buried there, and it is highly likely that several other vicars were interred in the chancel, in addition to the two commemorated by lost medieval slabs: Robert Saltmarsh (d. c. 1430) and John Cole (d. 1521) (Appendix 6). The Rev’d George Uppleby (d. 1852) and his wife (d. 1857) were commemorated by separate stained glass windows in the chancel, pointing to the likelihood that they were both interred in that part of the church.

Returning to the excavated graves, the deposition of infants and young children inside the church was far more common in Phase A than at any previous time. Some neonates and infants were buried in the same grave as an adult, as previously: their deaths may have been coincident, or nearly so (e.g. as a result of contagious disease or problems in childbirth), and in any event there was doubtless a desire to locate the child with a family member. However, a significant number of very young children had their own, sometimes lavish, burials.

At the upper end of the social spectrum was the lone burial of an infant in a brick-lined and stone-capped burial shaft in the north aisle (bay 2; F300; Fig. 735). The tiny coffin (55 cm long) comprised a fully soldered lead shell with a timber lining and an outer casing of elm which was covered with a layer of cloth; that was embellished with tin coffin-lace attached by iron pins and a moulded *depositum* plate decorated with winged cherubs. The painted inscription on this had been lost, but engraved on the top of the lead shell was ‘W.H. Graburn / 1828’ (Fig. 736). In the floor above was a diminutive slab, recording that William Hesleden Graburn lived for 3 weeks and 3 days (M.36). This was a miniature version of a typical middle-class burial of the late Georgian era. As a symbol of the bereaved family’s status, it is surely analogous to the Norman pine child’s coffin (F5474; p. 213). The Graburns were one of Barton’s leading families at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and owners of a principal pew in St Peter’s church.

At the other end of the spectrum were uncoffined infant burials, and those in plain coffins: two groups were apparent. Around of the westernmost bay of the north arcade were several graves in which little or sometimes no bone survived (e.g. F26, F27, F244 and F248). Some may have been coffined, but there were no fittings, except in the case of F244, which had iron grips. Another grouping of similarly poorly preserved children’s graves occurred in the first bay of the north aisle: at least ten burials were made here, seemingly all in wooden coffins without fittings.²⁸ This was emphatically a children’s corner, there being no adults interred in the bay.

External burials: Phase B (c. 1500–1700)

Burial to the south-west of the church was intensive, but left an empty swathe where a path approached the doorway to the tower; the orientation of some graves was affected by the path’s diagonal course across the churchyard (Fig. 737). North-west of the church, the line of another path was clearly ghosted by the distribution of burials, and even more clearly by its effect on their alignment. Several small gaps in the distribution – especially just west of the corner buttresses to the aisle – potentially indicate the positions of trees or shrubs. Along the north side of the church, burial thinned out markedly, ceasing altogether well short of the perimeter path and boundary. The exceptions to this were two graves hard against the east wall of the chancel (F5304 and F5310). These were the only graves, of any phase, found to the east of the chancel.

External burials: Phase A (c. 1700–1855)

The distribution of graves was broadly similar to that of the previous phase, but more intensive. The path to the tower door was evidently abandoned to burial, but that around the north-west side seems to have been maintained, although not on a rigidly fixed course (Fig.



Fig. 741: Churchyard, Area 11. Remains of three brick-built table-tombs, demolished in 1967. Dating from the 1820s and 1830s, each contained a member of the Goy family. View west. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

739). Defined rows of burials were readily apparent, especially to the north of the tower and annexe. The testimony of tombstones (seen in photographs) amply confirmed the excavated evidence. The latest graves (*i.e.* those dating to the first half of the nineteenth century) were invariably the deepest (up to 1.8 m), and they also yielded the vast majority of all the coffin metalwork that was recovered from the excavation.

The removal of headstones in 1967 had divorced virtually all the inscribed evidence from the corporeal. Exceptions were three members of the Goy family, buried together under separate brick table-tombs outside the north aisle, in Area 11 (Fig. 741). Mary (d. 1820, while pregnant) (F3641); Ann (d. 1825) (F3638) and William (d. 1836), who was buried in a brick-lined shaft capped with slabs (F3640). The interior of the shaft was limewashed. Just to the west of the Goys lay the burial of Margaret Swallow (d. 1845) (F3697); she was interred wearing a gold wedding-ring (Pl. 118). Alongside her was Joseph Swallow (d. 1842), a victim of poliomyelitis (F3683).



Fig. 742: Churchyard, Area 8. Coffined burial F3033 (skeleton 219) which had been subjected to a post mortem investigation. Note the charred stake inserted in the torso as a substitute for the vertebral column. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 743: Grave F3033. Detail of the skull, showing the saw-cut which had removed the cranial vault. The two parts had been reunited, and glued, for burial. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 744: Grave F3033. Detail of the torso, showing the cuts in the pelvis and clavicles, and the charred stake which was inserted to stiffen the body. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

An autopsy (Fig. 742)

The sole example of a burial that showed unmistakable evidence of being subjected to a *post mortem* investigation was found in Area 8 (F3033; sk. 219). It was part of the second orderly row of burials west of the aisle. The grave was relatively shallow and the corpse was contained in a coffin that had tin-plate fixtures; there was no identifying evidence, but the date is probably early nineteenth century.²⁹ The vault of the cranium had been sawn off, doubtless in order to remove the brain (Fig. 743). The two parts of the skull had then been reunited and the cut secured with animal or fish glue, evidence of which was still visible. The joint would have been concealed by hair. The entire spinal column, rib-cage and, inevitably, all the organs had been removed: everything between the scapulae and the pelvis was missing, while the arms and legs were intact. The pelvis and clavicles had been cut (Fig. 744).

The spine had been replaced with a timber stake, which largely survived because it had been charred (although that was probably fortuitous and not intentional in this context). It must be presumed that, after the autopsy, the torso was no more than a skin bag which was stuffed with material such as wood shavings or vegetation, and sewn up. This would have restored a seemly appearance to the body, for burial. The stake, which was of the same length as the torso, had partly slipped down between the legs, presumably when the coffin was being manhandled during burial.

Coffins and other artefacts associated with burials of Phases A and B

Setting aside those objects which were clearly residual in the fillings of graves, the great majority of artefacts recovered during excavation were related to coffin construction. As with the earlier periods, it is readily apparent from grave-shapes and soil indications that a high proportion of burials were encoffined. Prior to the eighteenth century these were either parallel-sided or slightly tapered, although from the vestigial evidence in the grave it was seldom possible to ascertain which. The double-tapered (also known as shouldered or single-break) coffin made its appearance at Barton in the Georgian era, and its characteristic shape was often mirrored in the grave-cut or, occasionally, in a brick-lined shaft (Fig. 732).³⁰

Where evidence survives, post-medieval coffins appear mostly to have been made of elm, although some may have been of pine. Those commissioned by the richer families in the Georgian era were lined with lead: the corpse was placed inside a lead shell with a timber lining. The shell was made from a flat sheet which was cut and folded to create a coffin-shaped receptacle (including the lid), and the joints were soldered. When finished, the shell was airtight. It was then fitted with an outer casing of timber, to which coffin furniture was attached. Several of the unexplored

vaults inside the church contained lead-lined coffins: none were found outside. Two lead-lined coffins were examined. One was that of an infant who died in 1828 (F300), already noted (p. 671). The other was a 79-year-old woman who died in 1833 (F940). Her coffin neatly fitted in a brick-lined shaft of double-tapered plan (Fig. 732). Her identity was revealed not by a *depositum* plate on the elm casing, but by an engraved, shield-shaped cartouche soldered to the top of the lead shell (Fig. 733). Although the cartouche was only roughly formed, the inscription was very finely engraved and included an epitaph which was not repeated on the ledger-slab (M.14, p. 1156).³¹ It was usual to label the lead shell with the name of the deceased, although this was quickly concealed from view by the timber casing.³²

Coffin nails and fittings are described in detail on pp. 679–700, but a summary of the evidence and its implications may be considered here. Again, the problem of very small numbers of nails rears its head, and it is inescapable that six-board coffins were still being constructed with pegged or dowelled joints in Phase B. Double-tapered coffins, often made from eight boards, are inherently a weaker form of construction, and more difficult to fabricate without employing a substantial number of nails.³³ It is therefore no coincidence that graves potentially containing eight-board coffins tended to yield the largest numbers of nails. In the latest burial phase, woodscrews also appeared in small numbers in a few graves, as well as nails. It is clear that these early or mid-nineteenth-century coffins were constructed with nails, while the lids were secured with woodscrews.

Other constructional metalwork was very scarce: only three iron angle-brackets (for strengthening corners of coffins) and one obtuse-angled bracket (for supporting a gabled lid) were found (Fig. 745). Several graves yielded one or two pieces of iron strap, and some copper-alloy plates were attached to one coffin: these items were variously associated with joining pieces of timber together, to make up boards of adequate size.

Coffin furniture was not found in the quantities that might have been expected and, moreover, a curious assortment was present. While some of the latest graves yielded a 'standard' set of four or six iron grips (handles), a *depositum* (breast) plate and other lid decorations, these were mostly of iron, with some tin-plate. Names and other details were painted on the plates and thus, with only two or three exceptions, the information was lost through decay. No brass handles and no engraved brass or copper plates were discovered in earth-cut graves, or in the several brick-lined shafts that were excavated. The more substantial vaults were not archaeologically investigated and may have contained coffins with fittings of higher quality. A cursory inspection of the Preston vault (F929) in the nave revealed an engraved Britannia-metal *depositum* plate and one of tin-dipped pressed iron with a painted inscription (Fig. 756).



Fig. 745: Churchyard. Grave F7106, showing the obtuse-angled iron bracket which supported a low-gabled lid to the coffin. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Iron fittings in the form of drop-handles (grips), strap-hinges, butterfly-hinges, H-hinges and hinged hasps were recovered from an appreciable number of graves dating from the early eighteenth century, and were also found residually in later contexts. The condition of these items was generally very poor: some were recovered as shapeless, corroded lumps, and others disintegrated while in store. Details of form and decoration were mostly revealed by X-radiography. These fittings, which were the stock-in-trade of Stuart and Georgian joiners and cabinet-makers, were not designed expressly for funerary use. The larger handles, which could serve well as coffin grips, are also found on chests-of-drawers and travelling trunks of the period. Small drop-handles, which were commonly used on cabinets, side-tables, etc., were designed as



Fig. 746: North aisle. Coffined burial F365, with the feet resting on a cream china plate. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

drawer-pulls; while they could have been attached to coffins, they would have functioned awkwardly as carrying handles. Hinges, of any type, are not coffin furniture; nor are hinged hasps and latching devices. There was an exception in the case of 'parish coffins', which were used by the poor as a temporary receptacle for the corpse: they had hinges and closing devices (Litten 1991, pl. 11). Otherwise, these all belong to chests, travelling trunks and cupboards. Hinged hasps were simply secured by operating a turn-button attached to the hasp-plate.

There can be no serious doubt that trunks were sometimes used as burial containers instead of coffins, for adults as well as for children. Trunk burials occurred both inside the church and in the graveyard. In the case of small children, it is feasible that deep drawers (from discarded chests of drawers) were used as containers, which would explain those instances where one, or two, handles were found on one side of the grave only.

Apart from coffin fittings, a small number of post-medieval burials yielded artefacts which had certainly, or probably, been placed in the grave at the time of interment. Thus, in F365, in the north aisle, an intact cream china plate (a 'seconds' with bubbly glaze) had been placed inside the coffin, under the feet of an adult

male (Fig. 746). Outside the church, in Area 8, an incomplete small china bowl with blue-and-white transfer decoration was placed at the south-west corner of the grave, immediately under a coffin containing an adult female (F3027; Pl. 115). Although many small metal pins were recovered, few were in close contact with skeletons, and are thus admissible as evidence for shroud burial. Likewise, many of the buttons, buckles, aiglets and other indicators of clothing were not recovered in close juxtaposition with the skeleton, and must be regarded as casual losses or residual items from disturbed graves of earlier date. Some items, such as the early nineteenth-century 'Pinchbeck' brooch, were doubtless lost by worshippers attending church, or relatives visiting graves (Fig. 844, no. 23; Pl. 119).

Post-medieval coins occurred in ten burials, the majority of which are likely to have been made in the early nineteenth century:³⁴

- F365. Two George III cartwheel pennies (1797) placed inside the coffin.
- F463. George III cartwheel penny (1797).
- F973. Illegible farthing (1760–1901).
- F3022. George III halfpenny (1760–1820) placed on the upper left arm (Fig. 747).
- F3650. Two George III cartwheel pennies (1797).
- F3707. George III halfpenny (1806).
- F3723. Three illegible halfpennies (1672–1820 and 1820–1901) found behind the skull and under the front of the mandible.
- F3742. Illegible halfpenny (1714–1970) inside coffin.
- F4646. Illegible halfpenny (1672–1820).
- F5102. George III penny (1760–1820).
- F5192. William IV farthing (1830–37).
- F7509. Charles I royal farthing token (1625–34).



Fig. 747: Churchyard, Area 8. Coffined burial F3022, with a halfpenny of George III placed on the left upper arm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Coffin construction and fittings

by Quita Mould³⁵

Occurrence of nails in graves

Nails deriving from the construction of coffins were examined from a total of 515 graves; more were noted during excavation, but some nails were insufficiently robust to allow lifting or to survive subsequent storage. Coffin nails were also found in grave soils and charnel pits, but are not included here in the quantification. The number of nails present in each grave was recorded, but because of the problems of survival the quantity noted is likely to be an under-representation of the true figure. Table 18 gives a minimum number of nails for each grave.

The lengths of complete examples were measured and the presence of minerally preserved wood and any jointing (wood grain lying in two directions) noted. The majority of the nails were encrusted, many heavily so. The extent of encrustation affects the accuracy of the measurement taken, but all will suffer from the same bias.

The majority of the nails had flat heads of square shape and square- or rectangular-sectioned shanks; the few significant variations are described separately below. The majority of coffin nails in every phase measured 38–64 mm (1½–2½ ins.) long.

The minimum number of nails recovered from individual graves varied from one to forty-five, but more than twenty nails in a grave was rare. Nearly a third (31%) of all the graves examined contained only a single nail: even allowing for under-representation, this still seems a significant percentage. It is tempting to regard single nails as occurring residually in the grave fill. While this may be the case for some, in only one instance (F7274) did the nail's curved shank show that it had been deliberately removed from a timber and that it was certainly residual within the grave. It is possible that some of the single nails in graves may be all that remains of a wooden coffin of pegged and doweled construction, in which a nail had been used to secure a weak joint (*cf.* p. 221).

Table 18: Minimum numbers of nails found in graves of Phases E to A

Burial phase	Minimum number of nails in grave				
	1	2–6	7–12	13–20	21+
E	23	27	8	2	0
D/E	27	34	6	0	0
D	15	14	2	2	0
C/D	11	26	5	0	0
C	10	12	2	2	1
B/C	15	21	1	1	0
B	6	10	3	0	2
A/B	10	7	2	1	0
A	43	101	37	16	10

A small number of nails with clenched shanks were found in burials. These may be the result of joining two boards together with battens, strengthening a weak joint, employing reused timber in coffin construction, or simply residual nails in the grave fill. In two instances a nail with a clenched shank was found in a grave that also contained clench-bolts (F5037 and F7276): here, the nails may have supplemented the clench-bolts. Half of the graves contained between two and six nails, an insufficient number to construct a coffin (Daniell 1997, 162). Again, while recognizing the possibility of under-representation, this seems a significant percentage.

It was noted during excavation that very few of the Barton coffins ante-dating the seventeenth century were truly of nailed construction, and that a small number of nails was sometimes used to strengthen the attachment of the sides to the base (Rodwell and Rodwell 1982, 301). This precaution would ensure that the base-board did not drop out when the coffin was being lifted by the grips, or carried. Furthermore, the high percentage of even later graves containing less than a dozen nails is perhaps surprising, when one

might expect most to have been of nailed construction. The recovery of well-preserved coffins elsewhere suggests that the number of nails used is a reflection of the style of coffin. Study of burials dating between the late seventeenth and the early nineteenth century (latest dated burial, 1825) at Llangar church (Clwyd) has shown that straight-sided coffins, both with and without coffin furniture, had few nails, while complete shouldered coffins used more than twenty nails in their construction (Shoemith 1980b, 91). A straight-sided coffin dated 1687 had only three nails fixing the lid; nails were also used to attach the furniture, but were not integral to the coffin's construction. If this was also the case at St Peter's church it would seem that the majority of eighteenth- to mid-nineteenth-century burials must also have been in straight-sided coffins.

Phase B (c. 1500-1700)

Nails occurred in twenty-one graves. Mineraally preserved wood was found on nails from fourteen graves, and jointing in nine, indicating a timber thickness of

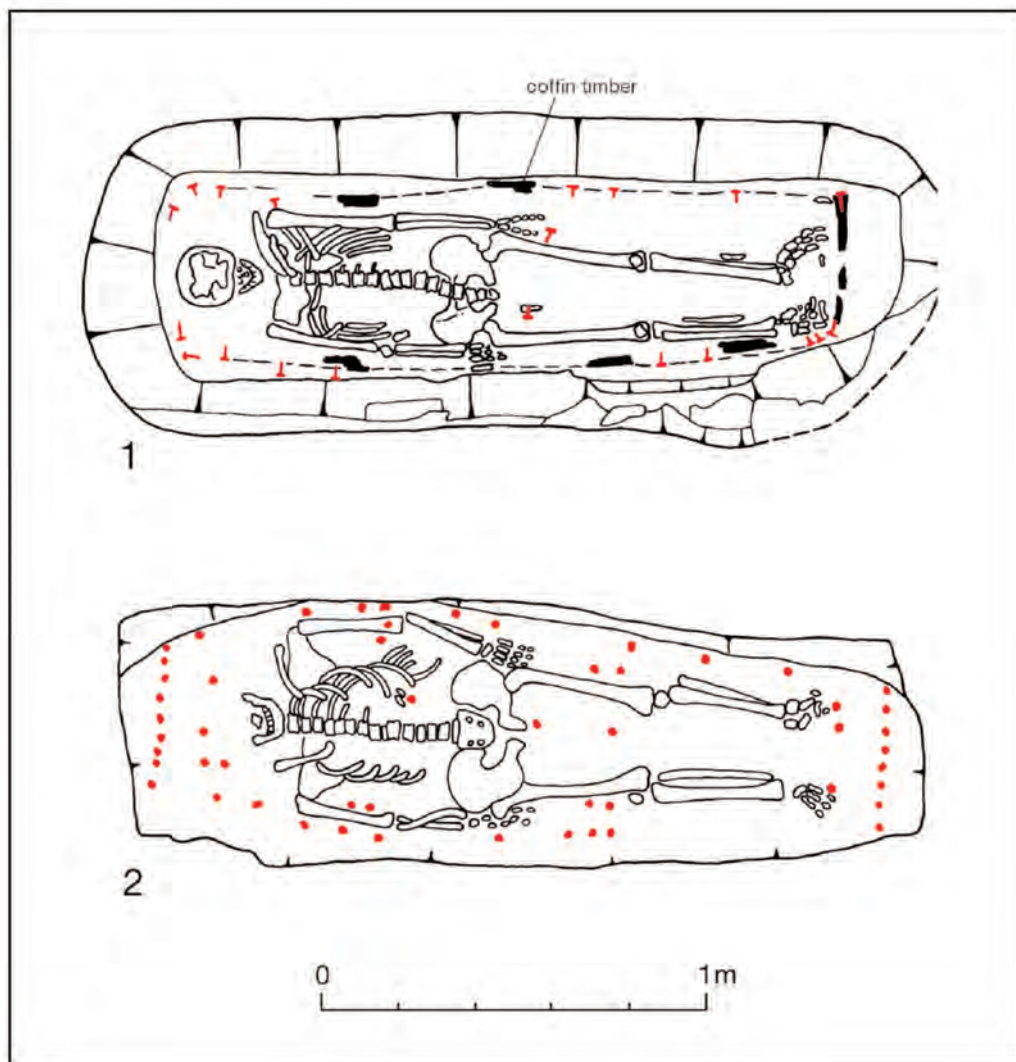


Fig. 748: Plans of graves of Phases B and A, showing locations of nails. 1, F357 (Phase B); 2, F1340 (Phase A). Scale 1:20. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

9–15 mm (c. ½ in.). One nail from grave F354 indicated a board 24 mm (1 in.) thick, perhaps suggesting the base-board. Twenty-two joints were preserved on nails from grave F357 (Fig. 748, 1), the coffin boards of which appear to have been only 6 mm (¼ in.) thick. This grave lay under the north arcade (bay 1).

A simple iron handle and four coffin nails were found in grave F990 in the south aisle (bay 2), and would appear to be the earliest grip recovered at St Peter's (Fig. 760, 1). A fragment of iron hinge strap was found with coffin nails in grave F1178.

Phase A/B

Nails were found in twenty graves. Mineraally preserved wood occurred on nails from eight graves, with joints in five. While joints preserved on nails from three graves (F237, F368 and F4108) suggest timber 11–17 mm (½–¾ in.) thick, those in another (F901) were between 20 mm and 22 mm thick (over ¾–1 in.).

Phase A (c. 1700–1855)

Coffin nails were present in 207 graves, and more than half (131, or 63%) had large amounts of wood preserved; some were found *in situ* attached to pieces of coffin board. Jointing was present on nails from forty-two graves. While the sixty measurable joints varied from 8–30 mm, 75% came from timbers 13–19 mm (½–¾ in.) in thickness. Pairs of coffin nails corroded to one another at right-angles from butt-joints were noted in three graves (F229, F352 and F5110). A fragment of coffin board with four nail shanks *in situ* preserved a spacing of c. 30 mm. Woodscrews now became a feature of coffin construction, occurring in at least forty graves: as many as six screws were found in any one grave.

In addition, small, flat-headed nails used to attach decorative grip-plates and lace were present in a proportion of the graves. A different type of nail with a small rectangular head was found in eight graves (F59, F61, F1340, F1615, F4617, F5117, F7053 and F7511). These 'lost-headed' nails become inconspicuous when sunk below the surface of the wood using a nail punch, a feature consistent with french-polished coffins. However, in grave F1340 (Fig. 748, 2), which contained more than fifty nails, principally of this type, much of the woollen fabric cover of the coffin had survived, thereby contradicting the assumption in this instance; the other graves yielding 'lost-head' nails had no surviving remains of a coffin-cover.

French-polished coffins were first introduced in the second quarter of the nineteenth century (Litten 2002, 90), and these graves may represent some of the latest burials at St Peter's. A french-polished coffin would be a fashionable and expensive choice at this time. Three of the graves were located inside the church; two were aligned together at the west end of the nave (F61 and F1340) and may have been members of the Marris family; the third was further east in the south aisle.

Three graves containing 'lost-head' nails were found north of the church (F4617, F5117 and F7053), and another lay to the west of the south porch.

Woodscrews

Iron screws occurred in forty graves attributed to Phase A, as well as in grave soils. The screws were found in small numbers in each grave, and six was the greatest number (in graves F3045 and F4545), suggesting that the lid had been attached with three screws on each side.

Other constructional metalwork

The vast majority of the graves contained nails and standard coffin furniture but no other metalwork. Two graves (F293 and F900) were exceptional in that each contained iron angled bindings. The only other coffin in the cemetery with this feature was the Phase E coffin, F1615. Textile remains in grave F900 showed that the angled binding had lain directly below the baize cloth coffin-cover and had been used on the exterior of the coffin. At least four eighteenth- to mid-nineteenth-century burials (F23, F66, F352 and F7021) had pieces of nailed iron strap present, along with other items of coffin furniture. The larger portions of strap – e.g. in F23 (144 mm long, 27–28 mm wide) and in F66 (282 mm long, 36–40 mm wide) – could represent substantial strap-hinges or bindings. None was complete, so that their function is uncertain.

Copper-alloy repair plates

Grave F368 (Phase A/B), in bay 2 of the nave, contained a series of plates of copper alloy which suggest that the coffin maker had used a number of small pieces of wood to form the coffin (Table 19). A single, curved handle and at least four nails were also present. The four complete plates, and a fragmentary one, were rectangular in shape with cropped corners, with a nail or rivet hole at each end. Two sizes were noted, and they were plain with no inscription or decoration visible. The two larger plates had pointed ends and right-angled bends, suggesting that they had been nailed to the corners of the coffin. One can only assume that these copper-alloy plates had been used in the coffin

Table 19: Grave F368: copper-alloy plate dimensions

Length (mm)	Width (mm)	Comments
79	22	Complete
70	24	Complete
49	18	Complete
49	20	Complete
96	55	Angled, incomplete
68	53	Angled, incomplete

construction as a result of recycling timber. The use of inferior timber, rather than boards of the correct width, would have been disguised by the textile coffin-cover. An occasion when this practice came to light is illustrated by Litten (2002, 103–4; fig. 52): the black velvet cover of the coffin of Colonel William Poulett (d. 1805) at Hinton St George (Som.) has deteriorated, exposing the use of ½ in. board bonded together with iron straps to make up the coffin sides.

Gable-lidded coffins

Gable-lidded coffins were in use in the Middle Ages, but this form of lid cannot easily be detected in excavated graves. The use of gabled, or coped, lids declined and was replaced by flat lids *c.* 1660–75 (Litten 2002, 99). Two examples of gable-lidded coffins were noted at St Peter's, occurring in burials attributed to Phase A. In Area 14, a grave (F7106) was found with an obtuse-angled iron bracket which was set centrally on the underside of the lid, showing this to have been a ridged coffin (Fig. 745). Nails were also present in the grave.

The coffin of John Preston (d. 1844), which was interred in a brick vault (F929) in the nave, was observed also to have a low-angled gable-lid (p. 666; Fig. 755). The *depositum* plate and lid motifs from this coffin are described below (p. 692). The coffin was not disturbed further, so that no details of its construction could be noted.

Three further burials (F293, F900 and F1615) contained right-angled iron brackets, all of which had probably been used to reinforce corners. The remains of the textile coffin-cover preserved on one (F900) showed that the bracket had been attached to the outside of the coffin.

Coffin furniture³⁶

by Quita Mould

Coffin fittings from burials of Phase A (*c.* 1700–1855)

The furniture found on coffins of burial Phase A falls into two distinct categories: fittings of iron, and those of pressed metal, either of tin-dipped iron or white metal.³⁷ Both types were used on coffins with textile coffin-covers (p. 701) and were associated with upholstery studs. The studs, principally of copper alloy, were used to decorative effect along the edges of the coffin, and probably to create panels on the lid and sides. These two general types of fitting first occur in graves attributed to Phase A/B but were occasionally found intrusively in earlier burials.

Upholstery studs

Upholstery studs were used to decorate coffins and also to secure textile coffin-covers: they were known as 'nails' in the funeral trade. They occurred in the majority of

burials attributed to Phase A that contained fittings, occasionally being the only coffin furniture found in the graves (*e.g.* F992, F3030, F3682 and F7182). Most had domed heads and were made of copper alloy, probably of brass, but exceptions were noted. Three dome-headed upholstery studs in a large piece of coffin wood from burial F3702 were shown to be of tinned iron when analyzed. Iron studs were also found in other burials (F3665, F3682, F7182 and F7517), those in F7182 being in a row spaced *c.* 10 mm apart. A line of flat-headed copper-alloy studs was used as a continuous border around the edge of a coffin in the filling (F944) over a vault, along with a range of iron box fittings and a moulded handle of the 'cherubs' head' type (type 4, see below).

Two well-preserved coffins dating to 1687 and 1688 from Llangar (Clwyd) had similar studs not only decorating the edges of the coffin, but also forming the initials of the deceased and the date of death upon the lid (Shoemith 1980b, 91). Similarly, 'dated' arrangements of studs have been excavated at other parish churches and at Lichfield Cathedral. It is perhaps curious, in view of the large number of burials investigated, that this phenomenon was not encountered at St Peter's church.

Iron coffin furniture

Strap-like grip-plates with angular grips, hinged strap hasps with decorative lobed and pointed terminals, and square hasp-plates appear to represent a distinct group of coffin furniture. These individual fittings are described below (pp. 683–7). The ironwork was encrusted, often very heavily, and much of the detail of the fittings was seen only in X-radiographic image. A small number of these graves also had butterfly hinges present and other decorative strapwork. No grave had all the coffin furniture preserved intact and the majority of the fittings are fractured so that it is difficult to be sure what constituted a full set. From the evidence here, the fittings appear comparable with those found on domestic boxes with a set of carrying handles ('grips').

X-radiographic images of many of the iron fittings, of all types, suggest that they had been plated. XRF analysis was conducted on a limited number of samples (from graves F1150 and F1163) which showed that, while not always visible upon cleaning the objects, low levels of tin, lead and copper were detected, indicating that they had a white metal coating. It is probable that all these iron fittings had been plated. This suggests that the fittings were not the product of the local blacksmith but had been bought from suppliers to the funerary trade.

Iron grips and grip-plates have been found as coffin furniture elsewhere, occurring in burials as far apart as Chester Cathedral and Whitefriars, Norwich. The iron box fittings are less common but can be paralleled in burials from Wharram Percy (Yorks.). They differ only in that those at Wharram Percy were interpreted as being

hinges and a lock (Bell and Beresford 1987, 151, burials G, U, BB and DD; fig. 167.21, 22) while those at Barton are strap hasps with hasp-plates, some with a swivelling tab closure. There is evidence that these coffins had textile covers. Iron fittings were found with textile preserved on their lower faces in two burials (F4098 and F4108) and in a charnel pit (F1156). Copper-alloy upholstery studs, some with textile present, were associated with fittings of this type in eight graves (F23, F95, F431, F463, F1157, F1162, F1476, F3125 and F4108), and in a further two that contained fittings both of iron and of pressed metal plate (F464 and F3125).

The outlines of two small coffins were observed in grave F1476, a double infant burial at the east end of the south aisle.³⁸ The iron fittings were relatively well preserved and illustrative of coffins of this type. The burial contained eight small grip-plates with angular handles, plated with non-ferrous metal and attached with dome-headed nails (also with plated heads). Five square hasp-plates were present, three long hinge arms and six slotted lobed terminals suggesting that six hinged hasps and corresponding hasp-plates were used, presumably three on each coffin. The hinged straps served to decorate the coffins as they were not needed in such quantity simply to secure the lids; nor did they act as hinges for the lids. At least 248 copper-alloy upholstery studs were found with heads 8 mm in diameter; those which were still attached to wood showed that they were arranged in rows along each edge, spaced 3 mm apart, with a double row at the corners. The coffin boards had coffin-covers of black baize, and a second (woven) textile was observed lying between the board and the coffin-cover along one edge (p. 711).

Provenance and dating

Coffin furniture of this general type was recovered from seventy-nine contexts at St Peter's, including forty graves, principally of Phase A. In addition, angular iron handles, like those found on these distinctive handle-plates, were the only items recovered from a further five graves. These coffin fittings are likely to date from the middle years of the eighteenth century. A single grave (F4108) in the south aisle, and two charnel pits (F1155 and F1156) containing the fittings are attributed to Phase A/B; the rest belong to Phase A, and most (70%) were found inside the church.

Comparison with iron coffin fittings found elsewhere

Iron grips and grip-plates of the same style have been found in the nave of Chester Cathedral. Many of the grips and plates were recovered from general grave soils and later service trench fills, but at least one was found in the backfill of an eighteenth-century brick burial vault (XV 223) and is considered likely to pre-date the burial.³⁹ During the early post-medieval period the 'gentile' poor, the local widows and poor clergy

seem to have been buried in the cathedral at Chester, while the wealthy preferred burial in their local parish churches. Only during the mid-eighteenth century did it become fashionable to be buried in the cathedral and it is therefore probable that the burials date to this period. At Wharrah Percy, a group of burials (A–W) with similar iron fittings was located at the west end of the nave. Harding (1987, 151) did not consider this group to be necessarily earlier in date or representative of any lower socio-economic group than the other burials in the church, which can only be dated as pre-1850.

Catalogue of iron fittings

Discrepancies may be noted between the scaled drawings of a small number of coffin fittings and the dimensions given. Illustrations of heavily encrusted objects were prepared with the help of 1:1 tracings taken from X-radiographs, and some distortion may have resulted, adding to the general difficulties encountered when illustrating and measuring heavily encrusted and sometimes fractured objects.

Grips and grip-plates

The grip-plates are of iron strap with lobed terminals. They vary in shape from the strap-like to those that are wider in the middle, the more extreme examples being lozenge-shaped. All have decorative paired chevron cut-outs at the centre, and many have small W-shaped nicks at the centre of each side and occasionally at the centre of the lobed terminals. A single exception with pointed terminals was unstratified. Iron grip-plates occur principally with angular iron grips; while many examples of angular grips attached to iron plates were noted, curved grips were less common (*e.g.* in grave F464). At Llangar, a curved grip was used on the iron strap plate in a child's grave, while angular grips were used on the plates on adults' coffins (Shoesmith 1980b, fig. 14). The grip-plates ranged in length between 171 mm and 200 mm; the double infant burial (F1476) had plates half this size. In radiograph, many of the plates and grips can be seen to have a non-ferrous metal plating, and it is likely that they were all plated.

Fig. 749

1. Iron grip-plate with lozenge-shaped strap and large lobed terminals having two nail-holes in each. Strap has paired, opposed chevron cut-outs in the centre. Articulates with an angular grip. Plated. Plate L 182 mm, W 56 mm, terminal W 64 mm. Grip L 122 mm, max. D 9 mm. Phase A grave; F3053.
2. Iron grip-plate with lobed terminals having a small peak at centre and two nail-holes in each. Strap has paired opposed chevron cut-outs at the centre and W-shaped nicked edges in the sides. Articulates with an angular grip with decorative groove at the centre held by a split-spiked loop at each end. Fractured, much wood adhering. Plate L 168 mm, W 43 mm, terminal W 56 mm. Grip L 138 mm, max. D 10 mm. Period 8 grave earth; F278.

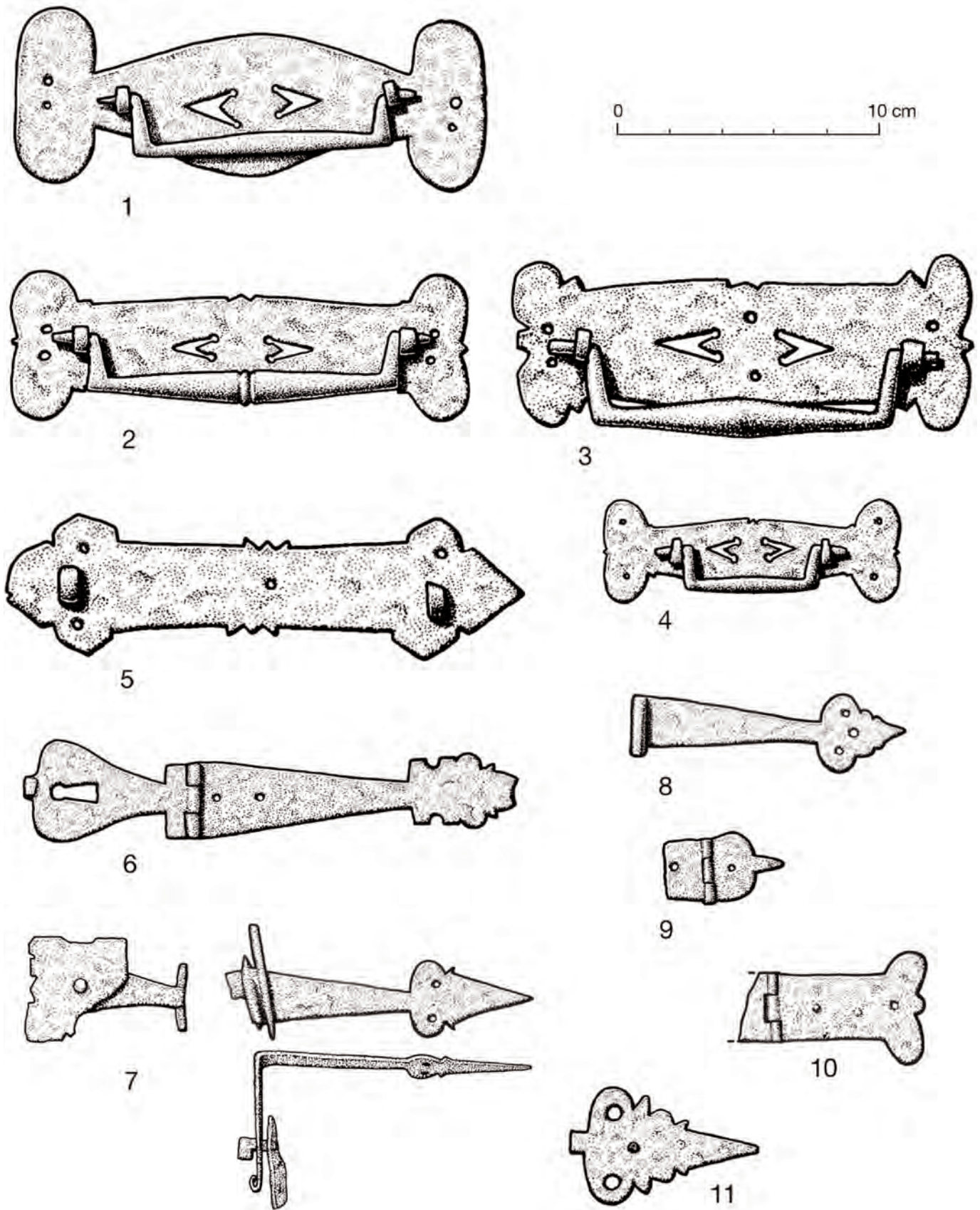


Fig. 749: Iron coffin fittings. 1–5, Grip-plates; 6–11, Hinged hasps. Scale 1:2. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

3. Iron grip-plate with lobed terminals having a small peak at the centre and at the base of each lobe. Decorative W-shaped nicked edges at the centre, with opposed chevron cut-outs. Paired nail-holes at the terminals and at the centre. Angular grip thickened at the centre, plated, held to the grip-plate with two staples. Plate L 178 mm, W 50 mm, terminal W 68 mm. Grip L 150 mm, max. D 14 mm. Phase A grave; F4098.
4. Iron small grip-plate as above, but lacking peaks at base of the lobes. Dome-headed nails present in the nail-holes. Angular grip, plated. Textile and wood present. Plate L 115 mm, W 34 mm, terminal W 38 mm. Grip L 89 mm, max. D 7 mm. Phase A grave; F1476.
5. Iron grip-plate with W-shaped nicked edges in the centre and lobed and pointed terminals each with two nail-holes present. Articulates with an angular grip terminal. Plate L 200 mm, W 32 mm, terminal W 51 mm. Period 8 disturbance; F1017.
8. Iron hinged arm, tapering to a narrow neck before the trefoil terminal with pointed tip. Terminal has three nail-holes present. L c. 103 mm, strap W 18 mm, terminal W 30mm. Phase A grave; F272.
9. Remains of an iron pinned hinge with a broken, nailed arm and a short arm with a pointed terminal, also nailed. Surviving L c. 46 mm, W 31 mm. Phase A grave; F1157.
10. Iron-pinned hinge with a broken arm; the other has three nail-holes along its length and ends in a lobed terminal with a small centre node. Surviving L 70 mm, terminal W 42 mm. Phase A grave; F463.
11. Iron hinge arm with very narrow neck and terminal with decorative lobes and long pointed tip. Central nail-hole between two circular cut-outs. L c. 73 mm, W 45 mm. Phase A grave; F1163.

Hasp-plates

Hinged hasps

Complete examples of hinged hasps were found in burials F1547 and F3031; others were fragmentary but it is clear that these fittings comprised a hinge arm with a decorative terminal, and a shouldered arm ending in a lobed terminal with a central slot to pass over a swivelling lug. The slotted arm component was found in twenty-four graves and other layers. Many were found in association with the corresponding square hasp-plate, and encrusted to it; the central slots were rectangular. A variant type is represented by those hasps which had a keyhole-shaped slot.

Rarely, a short arm was recovered, rather than the long tapering arm with a lobed and pointed terminal. A short arm with a pointed terminal was found in F1157, a burial which also contained a butterfly hinge. Another (F463) had a hinge arm with a lobed terminal similar to some of the grip-plates.

The decorative terminals found on the long tapering arm of these hinged hasps were ornamented with a series of lobes and peaks, some had small circular cut-outs present, a feature repeated on the corresponding hasp-plates. A long, tapering arm with a lobed and pointed terminal and a shouldered arm from a hinged hasp, directly comparable with the Barton examples, was found at Wharram Percy (Harding 1987, fig. 167.22).

Fig. 749

6. Iron hinged hasp with tapering arm with narrow neck ending in a terminal with lobed and peaked sides. Sides broken and tip missing. Shouldered, lobed hasp with central keyhole-shaped slot and small scrolled finial. Arm L 126 mm, W 30 mm; hasp L 85 mm, W 36 mm. Phase A grave; F1547.
7. Iron hinged hasp with tapering arm with lobed and pointed terminal and shouldered arm with lobed terminal and central slot. An L-shaped lug, attached to the remains of a square hasp-plate, passes through the slot. Much wood adhering, the grain parallel to the length of the longer arm and at right-angles to the shorter. Arm L 104 mm, 60 mm. Strap W 20 mm, terminal W 28 mm. Phase A grave; F3031.

Square plates, nailed at each corner, accompanied the hinged hasps. The sides are decorated with W-shaped nicks, comparable with the grip-plates. Some plates have small circular cut-outs that also occur on the terminals of a number of strap hasps. In all, five variations occurred on the same basic design (Fig. 750). A small number of examples have a projecting L-shaped lug or tab in the centre to pass through the slot in the hasp arm. A pair with projecting lugs was present in burial F272. This feature was not seen in the majority of the plates, potentially suggesting that in these instances the hasp-plates were not functional, but purely decorative. The closing mechanism could be observed in the radiographic image of the fittings in seven burials (F26, F85, F431, F1157, F3031, F7048 and F7111). Here, a projecting lug in the hasp-plate was observed passing through the slot in the centre of the lobed terminal of the hasp hinge, and aligned at right-angles to the slot, indicating that it had been rotated to lock the hasp arm into position. An example from grave F3053, and another in grave soil F3080 could be seen in radiograph to have a small lug present within the slot, but it had not been turned at right-angles into the 'closed' position.

At Wharram Percy a similar hasp-plate appears to have a keyhole-shaped projection at its centre, while it is suggested that comparable fittings may have been used as grip-plates (Harding 1987, fig. 167.21 and 167.20, respectively). This was not the case at St Peter's, where keyhole-shaped slots were found in hasp arms but not the small plates. Slotted and hinged hasp arms were found encrusted in position directly above the hasp-plates and preserving their original relationship. No examples were observed directly associated with a grip. Hasp-plates apparently lacking a central projection are more likely to have been for decoration only, probably placed on the coffin in the same position as if they had been functional. It is interesting to note that what appears to be a single hasp-plate with a projecting staple, though lacking its hinged hasp, is present on the parish coffin at Easingwold (W. Yorks.) believed to date to c. 1645 (Litten 2002, col. pl. 11).

Fig. 750

12. Iron rectangular hasp-plate with central L-shaped lug and with large W-shaped nicks in each side. Nailed at each corner and in the centre of each side. Much wood remaining. One of a pair. L 45 mm, W 40 mm (L39 mm, W 38 mm after cleaning). Phase A grave; F272.
13. Iron square hasp-plate with W-shaped nicks and three nail-holes in each side, and one in the centre. Plated. L 43 mm, W 42 mm. Phase A/B charnel; F1155.
14. Iron square hasp-plate with large W-shaped nicks in each side producing leaf-shaped corners, and a large circular cut-out at the middle of each side (one of three). Phase A grave; F4098.
15. Iron rectangular hasp-plate with W-shaped nicks in each side and small dome-headed nail at each corner. In the centre is an L-shaped lug passing through the slot in the hasp arm with scrolled terminal lying directly above (the latter omitted from illustration for clarity). L 50 mm, W 44 mm (L 50 mm, W 42 mm, after cleaning). Phase A grave; F26.
16. Iron large rectangular hasp-plate with sides with lobed and nicked decoration in the centre with circular cut-out beneath. Nailed at each corner, two corners are cropped. L 60 mm, W 54 mm. Phase A grave; F1163.

Other coffin fittings*i) Decorative iron strap-work*

Three internal graves (F272, F1149 and F4098) contained short strap fittings with decoratively scrolled terminals and triangular cut-outs, associated with other iron strap coffin furniture. Two found in grave F272 were held by a pair of nails at the head; eight examples from F4098 had a single nail-hole below the cut-out. Broken parts from other possible examples occurred in graves F1299 and F4009.

A run of fourteen similar fittings can be seen along the lower edge of the deteriorated outer wooden case of a lead-lined coffin in the Sackville vault at Withyham (Sussex) (Litten (2001, fig. 15, lower coffin). A pair of small strap fittings found in vault fill F229 were also used for this purpose. A series of decorative, lobed strap terminals of similar design can be seen running around the edge of the coffin lid depicted on the advertising bill of coffin-maker William Grinly, dating to the early years of the eighteenth century (Litten 2002, fig. 7). Both types of decorative

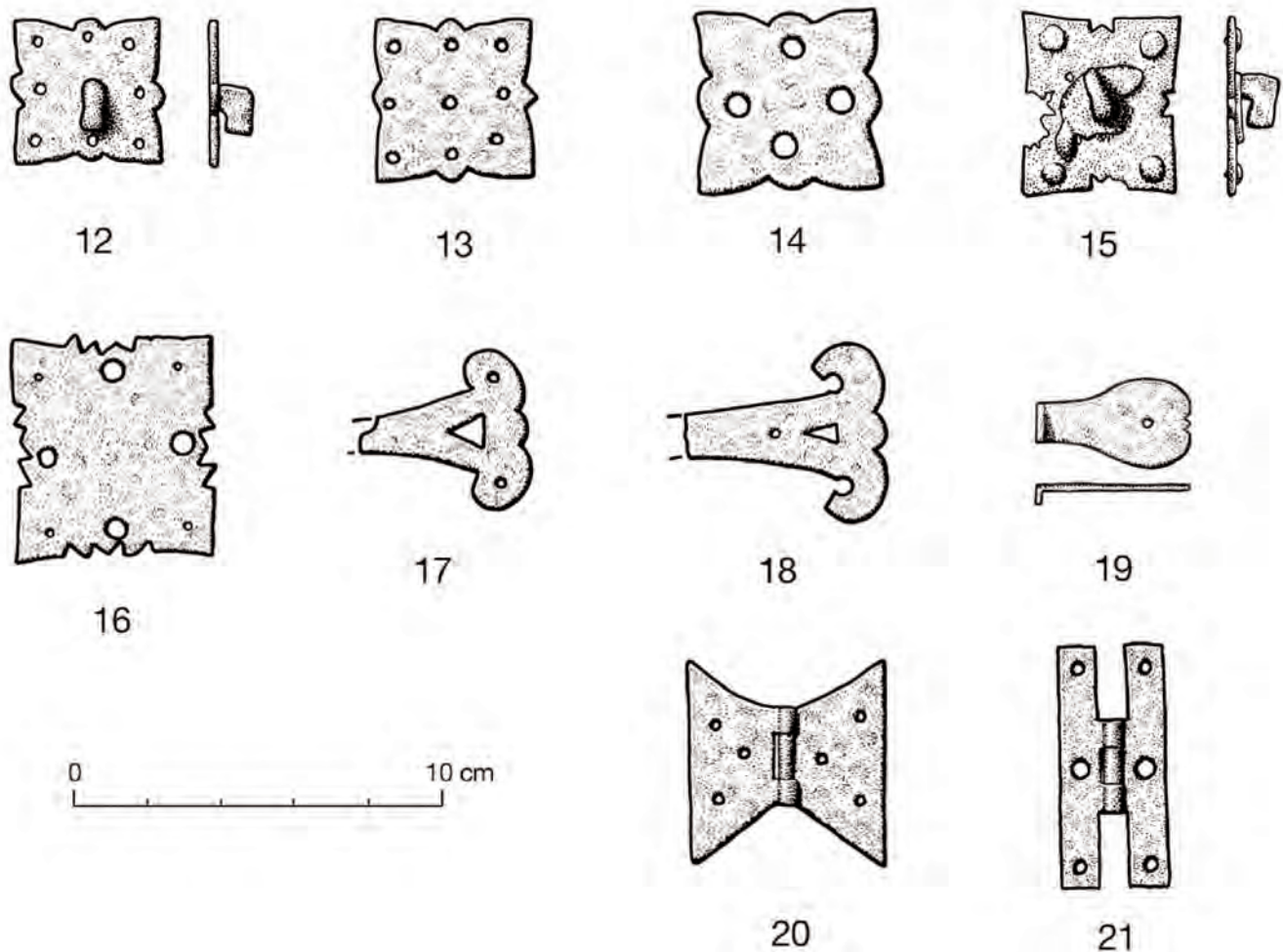


Fig. 750: Coffin fittings. 12–16, Hasp-plates; 17–19, Decorative iron strap-work; 20–21, Hinges. Scale 1:2. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

strapwork were also seen on coffins from Wharram Percy (Harding 1987, fig. 167.23, 24), again associated with other iron fittings.

Fig. 750

17. Iron strap terminal with triple-lobed terminal with triangular-shaped cut out, with a pair of dome-headed nails, strap broken. Terminal W 48 mm. Phase A grave; F272.
18. Iron small strap fitting with triple-lobed terminal with scrolls and triangular cut-out with small nail-hole below, strap broken. Terminal W 47 mm. Phase A grave; F4098.
19. Iron small strap with round, centrally pierced terminal with W-shaped nicked edge, opposite end bent at right-angle. L 42 mm, strap W 10 mm, terminal W 24 mm. Phase A grave; F229.

ii) Hinges

Butterfly hinges were found in several Phase A burials in the church (*e.g.* F272, F1028, F1149, F1150, F1157 and F4098), all associated with other coffin fittings of iron. The hinges varied in height between 47 mm and 54 mm, and had three nail-holes in each arm. Two examples were larger (F1157), at 60 mm, with five nail-holes, and there were two 40 mm high examples from a Phase C burial, already discussed (p. 627).

A pair of small copper-alloy H-hinges was found in the grave of an adult female (F7520), beside the south porch. The grave also contained iron coffin furniture and broken fittings of pressed metal: the presence of the brass hinges points to the inclusion of a piece of good quality domestic furniture in the burial, or reused wood.

Fig. 750

20. Iron butterfly-hinge with three nail-holes in each arm. Complete. Arm length 54 mm, width (open) 52 mm. Phase A grave: F1150.
21. Copper-alloy H-hinge with three nail-holes in each arm (one of a pair). Wood present. Arm L 64 mm, W (open) 29 mm. Phase A grave; F7520.

Coffin fittings of pressed metal

One hundred and forty-seven burials of Phase A, and eight others of uncertain date, contained coffin fittings of pressed metal. A further ten contexts, including grave soils and a charnel deposit, also contained fittings of this sort. They comprised pressed metal grip-plates with iron grips, lid motifs and coffin lace. They were made of tin or tin-dipped iron, that is a thin iron sheet with a white metal coating on each face. XRF analysis was undertaken on a sample of the fittings and the identifications of tin (tin/lead alloy) and tin-dipped iron were confirmed.⁴⁰ It could not be conclusively demonstrated that fittings of the same design had been produced exclusively in tin or tin-dipped iron, or were made in both materials. Grip-plates of similar design found in two separate graves (F3054 and F7030) were, however, made of tin and tin-dipped iron, respectively.

Areas of black paint could be seen decorating some grip-plates, grips and coffin lace, either highlighting particular areas of the design or covering the entire surface. When sample areas of both grip-plates and lace were cleaned to allow for XRF analysis a number of other painted examples came to light that had not been recognized previously. It is likely that many more black-painted examples are present than have been recorded in the database, this feature having been masked by soil deposits and corrosion. It did not prove possible to identify the pigment used.

No burial was investigated at St Peter's with a completely intact set of pressed metal coffin furniture (although complete sets doubtless survive inside the unexplored vaults). From the fittings recovered, it would seem that six or eight pressed metal grip-plates with iron grips were commonly used, together with a *depositum* plate and one or more motifs on the lid (Fig. 751). Additional small motifs (escutcheons or 'drops') as further ornaments were seldom used; a single example, an oval plate of tin-dipped iron with a cable border, being found (F901). A small number of graves contained the remains of ten or twelve handles. While this may suggest that additional handles were used to elaborate the coffin furnishing on occasion, we cannot be certain that some were not derived from another, earlier burial. Two child burials clearly had a set of four grips and grip-plates on each (F1476, noted above). Recent excavations of the burial ground of St Pancras church, London, have recovered complete sets of exceptionally well-preserved fittings of this general type that will greatly enhance the information gained from study of the often incomplete fittings found at Barton.

Some of the pressed metal coffin fittings from St Peter's can be paralleled by examples from London, Bristol and elsewhere. All of the grips, and some of the grip-plates and lid motifs, have also been paralleled at Christ Church, Spitalfields, London (Reeve and Adams 1993), where the burials dated between 1729 and 1852. Spitalfields provides a useful typology of fittings. Coffin fittings were first made in stamped or pressed metal around 1760 (Thompson and Ross 1973, 75, quoting Timmins 1866). The styles of this general range of coffin fittings appear to have been long lived. The Castle Museum at York has a collection of coffin furniture which was part of the stock of an ironmonger's shop that was trading during the 1880s. Four types of grip-plate and four styles of coffin lace found at St Peter's were also represented among this stock. Although St Peter's churchyard was closed in 1855, these styles were still being offered for sale towards the end of the Victorian period.

Grip-plates

Most of the grip-plates were broken, many being represented by small fragments only; however, sixteen designs could be recognized and are shown in Figures 752–754. They backed curved iron grips or, less commonly, grips with moulded decoration (see below).

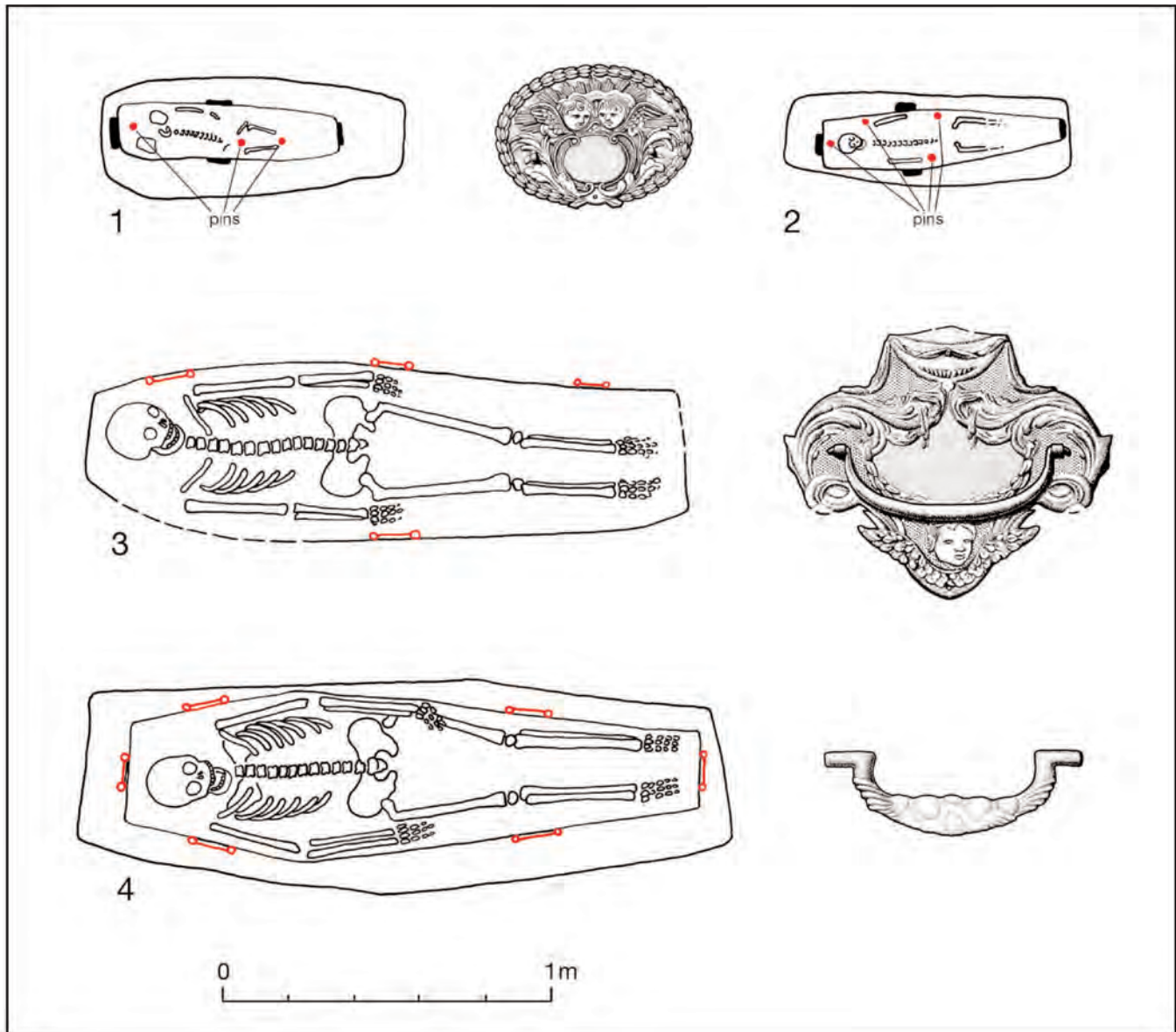


Fig. 751: Plans of Phase A graves, showing the numbers and locations of coffin grips. 1, F5183; 2, F5179; 3, F4589; 4, F4545. Scale 1:20. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

The grip-plates may be broadly divided into those of oval shape (Fig. 752), those of shield shape (Fig. 753), and those with a more florid outline (Fig. 754). Recurring motifs include single or paired cherubs' heads, urns, a winged skull (death's head), drapery, scrolls, flowers and wheat-ear borders. Small floral motifs used on one style appear to be forget-me-nots (F3034, F4587, F4685 and F7114).

Oval grip-plates with paired cherubs' heads above an oval cartouche were the most frequently found design at St Peter's (Fig. 752), occurring in at least fifteen graves (F3716, F4518, F4567, F4676, F5153, F5166, F5179 (Fig. 751, 2), F5182, F5183 (Fig. 751, 1), F5185, F5258, F7003, F7509 and F7511) and a charnel deposit (F3640). They were made in three sizes: small, 90–100 mm in length; medium, 110–140 mm; large, 160–190 mm. Examples in York Castle Museum are of a still larger size, and appear to

have been used as a purely decorative motif since they have no attachment for a grip. Several of the plates had black paint decorating the central cartouche. Plates of this general style have been found on many coffins of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century date throughout the country: *e.g.* St Augustine-the-Less, Bristol (Boore 1998, fig. 6.8a, b). This style was popular for many years and was illustrated in a trade catalogue of 1826.⁴¹ The plates were made by several coffin furniture manufacturers, located principally in Birmingham (Blair in Butler 1978, 185). Gilt plates of this style were present on the coffins of Charles, 17th Lord Stourton and his daughter Constantia at Allerton Mauleverer (Yorks.), dated 1816 and 1826, respectively (Blair in Butler 1978, 184–7, fig. 5). Two oval grip-plates of medium size with moulded cherubs' head handles and lace were found in the grave of a child at Healing (Lincs.) (Bishop 1978, 31, pl. V).

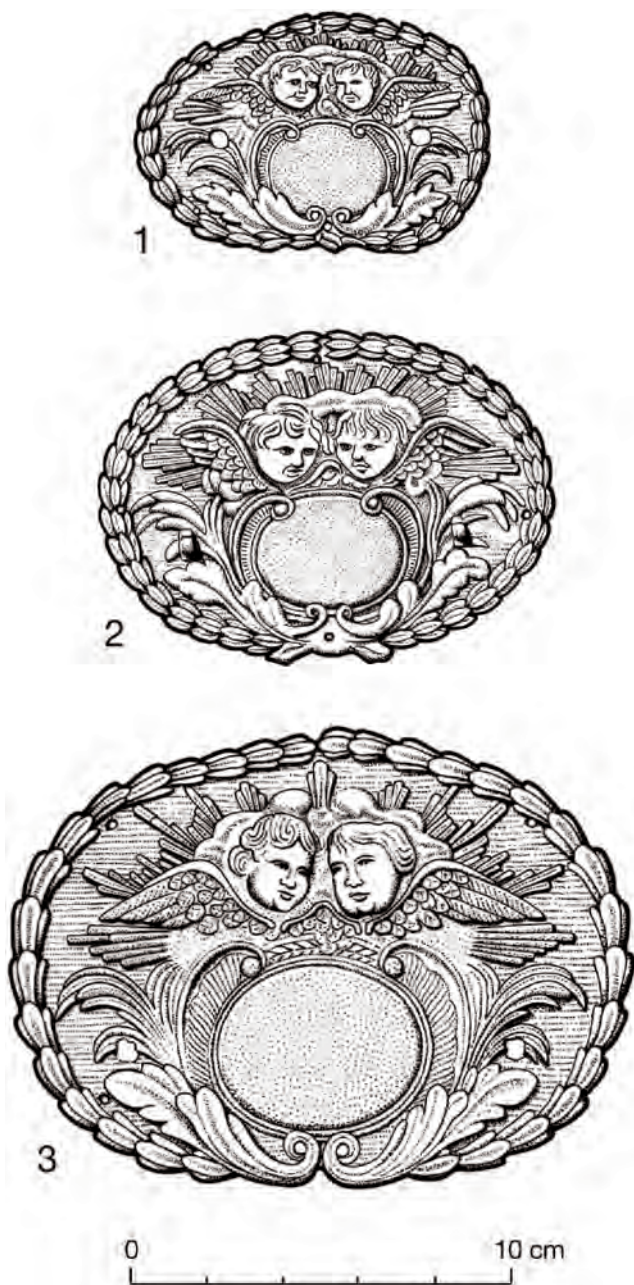


Fig. 752: Coffin grip-plates of pressed metal. 1–3, Oval. Scale 1:2. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Shield-shaped grip-plates with scrolls and foliate decoration, often with a winged cherub's head below the central cartouche, were also popular (Fig. 753). Examples were found at Barton with a shield-shaped cartouche (F3044, F3636, F3707 and F7003), and others with a winged cherub's head at the upper corners and a winged skull below an oval cartouche (F3640 and F4525). Grip-plates of comparable design, differing by being further ornamented with an urn prominently positioned at the top of the plate, were found in a single grave (F4589; Fig. 751, 3). A grip-plate of this same general design, though with the addition of a wheat-ear border and linear rather than pelleted infilling, was found at Spitalfields.⁴²

Shield-shaped grip-plates with paired, rectangular cut-outs and an inscription below were found in three graves (F3054, F7030 and F7048), and in grave soil. One example was of black-painted, tin-dipped iron (F7030), another (F3054) was of tin with the central cartouche painted black. This style, offered in the Tuesby and Cooper catalogue of 1783, was also found at Spitalfields, two examples coming from a burial dated 1794–1806.⁴³ Black-painted plates were also found in the burial ground of St Pancras, London. Plates with a twining, ribbon-like border with elliptical cut-outs occurred in burial F3736. Decorative cut-outs around the perimeter were found on plates of 1 mm thick tin in a differing style with black-painted cartouches in burial F244.

At least four sets of grip-plates had a series of decorative motifs that included forget-me-nots against a pelleted background (F3034, F4587, F4685 and F7114). Similar designs were offered in a pattern book of coffin furniture of 1783.⁴⁴ Grip-plates with a representation of fringed mourning drapery gathered into a knot to either side of a central cherub's head were found in three graves (F3156, F4564 and F5102). When analyzed, one was found to be of tin/lead alloy, with possible black paint detected (F4564). Better preserved examples from St Pancras, London, had been black painted over the entire surface. A single example of a grip-plate with scroll and foliate decoration in grave F3027 was of black-painted tin/lead alloy; the grip was unpainted.

The remains of two plain grip-plates with a central peak in the top edge were found in a single burial (F7119). These are of a style used on domestic furniture in the eighteenth century, and were also found on a coffin from the Quaker burial ground at Bathford (Som.) (Stock 1998, 145, fig. 11.8 upper). Others with pronounced lobes, possibly of similar style, were found in F61, F352 and F973. Those with paired cut-out crescents were found in burial F61; others had a straight top edge, and a more complete example (F352) has the grip attached through each lobe in the manner of a furniture fitting.

A single grip-plate of tin-dipped iron was more rectangular in shape, with scalloped edges (F5206), and remains of another scalloped example were noted in F7120. Burial F5117 contained fragments from plates apparently having a peaked top edge with a central winged cherub's head motif, and an angel with a trumpet.

Fig. 752

1. Pressed metal grip-plate of tin-alloy, oval with paired, winged cherubs' heads, scrolls and foliate decoration in a wheat-ear border with horizontal linear infilling; central cartouche painted black. Held to coffin board by four small iron nails. A small example, complete. L 92 mm, W 62 mm. Grave F5153.
2. Similar, medium sized, with white metal nails and curved iron grip (not shown). L 115 mm, W 86 mm, grip L 82 mm. Grave F5179.
3. Similar, large sized, with remains of curved grip (not shown). L 162 mm, W 118 mm. Grave F3716.

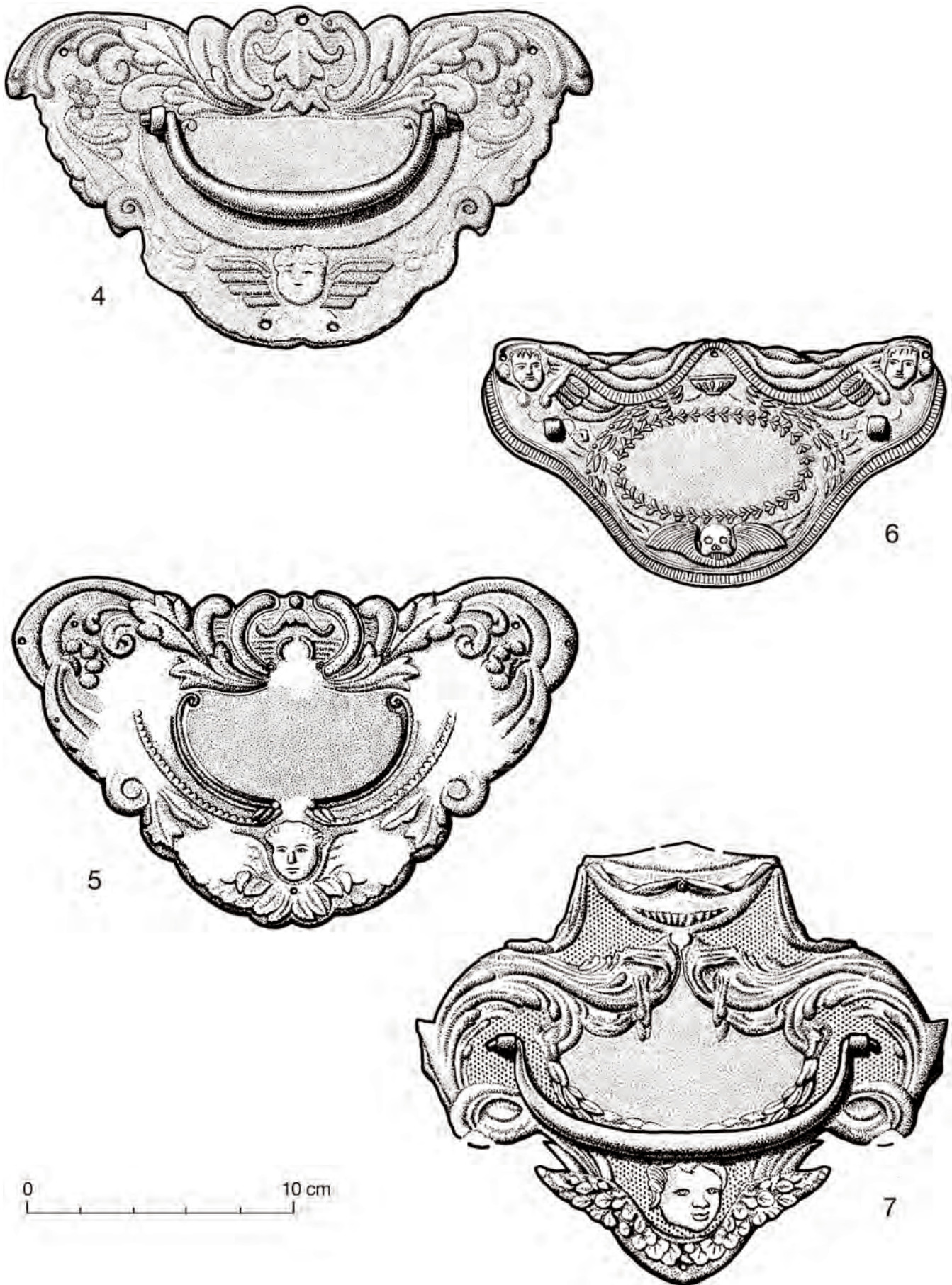


Fig. 753: Coffin grip-plates of pressed metal. 4-7, Shield shaped. Scale 1:2. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

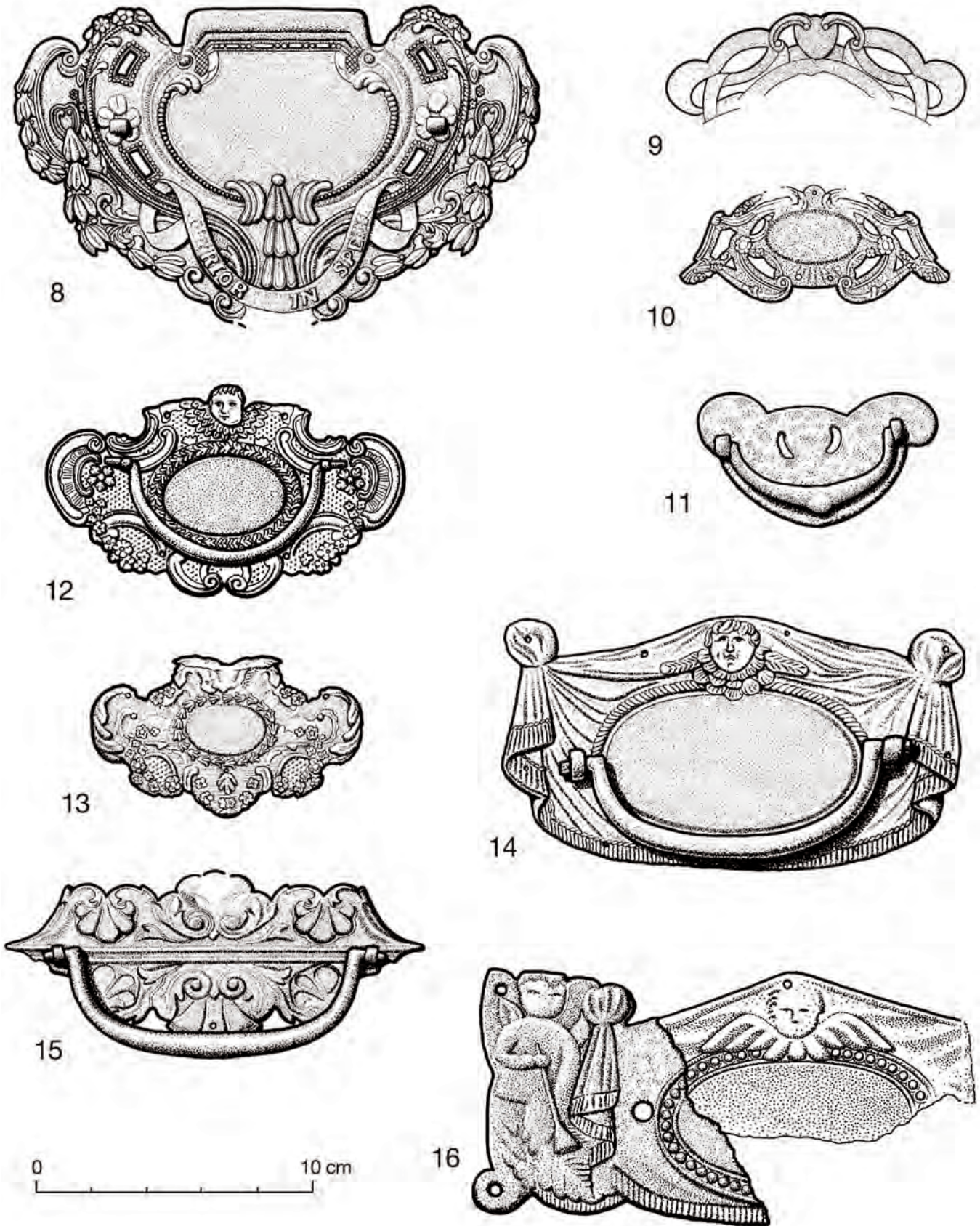


Fig. 754: Coffin grip-plates of pressed metal. 8–11, Plates with cut-out decoration; 12–16, Fluted designs. Scale 1:2. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Fig. 753

4. Pressed metal grip-plate of tin-dipped iron, shield-shaped with scalloped edges, foliate and scrolled motifs with central semicircular cartouche with a winged cherub's head below. Black paint present. Curved iron handle. Near complete. L 200 mm, W 120 mm, grip L 121 mm. Grave F3044.
5. Pressed metal grip-plate probably tin-alloy similar to the above; black painted. L 213 mm, W 110 mm. Grave F3636.
6. Pressed metal grip-plate, shield-shaped with winged cherubs' heads in the two upper corners and a winged skull below the oval cartouche with wheat-ear border. Curved grip (not shown). L 163 mm, W 92 mm, grip L 130 mm. Period 8; F4525.
7. Pressed metal grip-plate with central, draped urn above and winged cherub's head below a central cartouche with foliate decoration and pelleted infilling. Curved grip. Complete. L 190 mm, W 165 mm, grip L 153 mm. Grave F4589.

Fig. 754

8. Pressed metal grip-plate of tin-alloy, shield-shaped with wheat-ear border, rectangular cut-outs and ribbon inscription; central cartouche painted black. L 192 mm, W 123 mm. Grave F3054.
9. Fragment of pressed metal grip-plate, top edge with central shield and ribbon borders with oval cut-outs. Surviving L 110 mm. Grave F3736.
10. Pressed metal grip-plate of tin-alloy, with cut-outs along the upper edge, scroll and floral motifs and central, black-painted cartouche. Small size. Surviving L 96 mm. Grave F244.
11. Pressed metal grip-plate of small size; plain with lobed terminals and paired crescent-shaped cut-outs. Small curved iron handle. L 84 mm, W 40 mm, grip L 70 mm. Grave F61 (child).
12. Pressed metal grip-plate with winged cherub's head, scrolled sides, central cartouche with wheat-ear border, floral motifs and pelleted infilling. Curved iron grip. Complete. L 128 mm, W 73 mm, grip L 84 mm. Grave F4587.
13. Pressed metal grip-plate, with scrolled sides, central oval cartouche with wheat-ear border, foliate and floral motifs with pelleted infilling. Curved iron grip (not shown). Almost complete. L 97 mm, W 60 mm, grip L 78 mm. Grave soil F3034.
14. Pressed metal grip-plate of tin-alloy with central winged cherub's head and imitation gathered drapery with fringed border, and central oval cartouche with roped border. Possibly painted black. Curved iron grip. Complete. L 165 mm, W 90 mm, grip L 128 mm. Grave F4564.
15. Pressed metal grip-plate of tin-alloy, with foliate decoration to each side of a central linear band, covered in black paint. Curved iron grip. Complete. L 145 mm, W 52 mm, grip L 121 mm. Grave F3027.
16. Pressed metal grip-plate fragment with peaked top edge with central winged cherub's head above an oval cartouche with beaded border; flanked by imitation drapery and an angel with a trumpet; painted black. Surviving L 101 mm, W 87 mm. Grave F5117.

Depositum plates (breast plates)

Only four *depositum* or breast plates, recording biographical information were recovered, two from the Preston



Fig. 755: Nave: Preston vault (F53). Coffin of John Preston (F1700) with its lid fittings. View west. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

burial vault (Fig. 755). A shield-shaped plate made of Britannia metal (Baldi 1998, 61) from the coffin of John Preston (d. 1844) was spattered with wax from dripping candles, perhaps those illuminating the burial service. A large *depositum* plate of pressed, tin-dipped iron, with black baize textile from the coffin-cover remaining, was retrieved from the same vault, and records the burial of Henrietta Jane Preston (d. 1837), wife of John. The inscription, in gold paint in a trapezoidal panel, is flanked by two angels each holding a lowered palm frond.

A fragment from a *depositum* plate of black-painted, tin-dipped iron from grave F973, with an open cable border, had the remains of an inscription in either gold or silver paint: Margaret Roberts (d. 1822) (Fig. 740). A fragment from another of black-painted tin plate with the name written in silver paint was found with an infant's coffin in vault F284: Mary Worthington (d. 1823) (Fig. 730).

Fig. 756

1. Shield-shaped depositum plate of Britannia metal, engraved: John Preston, 1844. L 280 mm, W 245 mm. Coffin F1700, in vault F53.



0 20 cm

Fig. 756: Coffin fittings. 1–2, Depositum plates; 3–6, Lid motifs. Scale 1:4. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

2. *Depositum* plate of pressed, tin-dipped iron. Painted inscription: Henrietta Jane Preston, 1837. L 558 mm, W 360 mm. Coffin F1701, in vault F53.

Lid motifs

Complete lid motifs were recovered from the two coffins in the Preston vault (F1700 and F1701). Fragmentary remains of others could be recognized in a further thirteen burials. All appear to have been of tin-dipped iron, which was confirmed for the four that were subjected to XRF analysis (Jones 2003). The Britannia metal *depositum* plate on coffin F1700 was accompanied by two tin-dipped pressed iron lid motifs of differing designs (Spitalfields lid motifs 7 and 9), and two designs of coffin lace, all datable to 1844. Lid motifs of these designs were also used on a coffin at Spitalfields (burial 2369), dated 1849 (Reeve and Adams 1993, 88–9, fig. 5.6), along with heavily moulded grips (of St Peter's type 5: see below). Coffin F1701, dated to 1837, had a 'flaming urn' and an 'angels-and-crown' lid motif of tin-dipped iron, a combination known as 'Glory and Urn' in the trade catalogues of the time. These motifs were common and have been found at Spitalfields (Reeve and Adams 1993, 88, 91, fig. 5.8), where four different versions of the flaming urn are represented. The coffin of Charles Whitworth, Viscount of Adbaston (d. 1825), at Sevenoaks (Kent) had these two motifs decorating the lid, the angels-and-crown above the plain, rectangular *depositum* plate and the flaming urn below (Boyle and Keevill 1998, 92, fig. 7.3). The flaming urn lid motif was also found in burial F3640 at St Peter's.

Pieces broken from plates of pressed metal found in a number of graves may come from lid motifs or large grip-plates. While the larger pieces such as that depicting an angel holding an open book (F7003) clearly come from lid motifs, others are less certain. The angel and book lid motif was black painted, as was the lace, the grips and central oval of the grip-plates with which it was associated. Other recognizable motifs were a five-pointed crown and an angel holding a torch, found in burial F3623. The corners from large motifs from two graves (F352 and F3623), a cabled border (F7030) and a straight, raised border (F5109) in others, provide evidence for rectangular lid motifs. Fragments with a sunburst from two burials (F7002 and F7014) may come from lid motifs similar to that found at Spitalfields (Reeve and Adams 1993, breast plate 27). The lid motifs that can be recognized are comparable with others found at Spitalfields and St Pancras, and appear to have been used all over the country.

Fig. 756

3. Pressed tin-dipped iron lid motif with T-shaped central panel surrounded by scrolled motifs. Wax-spattered textile present. Near complete; from the upper end of the coffin. Dated by inscription to 1844. Surviving L 236 mm, W 146 mm. Coffin F1700, in vault F53.

4. Pressed tin-dipped iron lid motif of pedestal urn with central cross in a shield-shaped panel. Textile present. Complete; from the lower end of the coffin. Found with the last. L 242 mm, W 170 mm.
5. Pressed tin-dipped iron lid motif with two angels supporting a seven-pointed crown with central cut-out. Painted black, with textile from coffin-cover on the back. Near complete; from the upper end of the coffin. Dated by inscription to 1837. Surviving L 265 mm, W 200 mm. Coffin F1701, in vault F53.
6. Pressed tin-dipped iron lid motif of flaming pedestal urn, much textile from coffin-cover on the back. Complete; from the lower end of the coffin. Found with the last. L 252 mm, W 150 mm.

Fig. 757

7. Fragment of a pressed tin-dipped iron lid motif with an angel holding an open book. Black painted. Incomplete. Surviving L 240 mm, W 110 mm. Grave F7003.
8. Corner fragments of a pressed tin-dipped iron lid motif with a plain border and scrolled motifs. Textile present on the back. Largest fragment L 166 mm, W 122 mm. Grave F352.
9. Fragments (one illustrated) of a pressed tin-dipped iron lid motif with sunburst decoration. Incomplete. Surviving L 210 mm, W 145 mm; L 173 mm, W 85 mm. Grave F7014.

Coffin lace

Coffin lace comprised a strip of pressed white metal, which was used as a decorative edging around the sides and lid of the coffin, probably hiding pins or tacks holding the coffin-cover in place. Coffin lace was found in thirty-five graves and other disturbed contexts. Twenty-three different designs were recorded and have been grouped broadly into two categories: narrow and wide lace.

The lace was usually held in place by small iron nails, but in at least one instance (F5206) a small nail of tinned leaded-brass secured it to the board beneath. Coffin lace was made principally of a tin/lead alloy (Jones 2003), but a few examples were found to be principally of tin (*e.g.* from F244 and F4641). Only the distinctive wide lace decorated with crosses and scrolls was of tin-dipped iron (*e.g.* from F3883, analyzed). Several of the designs were painted black, either over the entire surface (*e.g.* from F900, F3045, F5150 and F7003) or highlighting particular areas only (*e.g.* from F3034, F3044, F3057 and F7012). Although common at Barton, coffin lace has rarely been found decorating the coffins of similar date recovered from excavations of churches and churchyards in London.⁴⁵ It was offered in Tuesby and Cooper's trade catalogue of funeral furnishings of 1783 (Litten 2002, 109), but does not seem to have been a popular choice in the capital.

Narrow lace

Most of the narrow lace had straight sides, usually with beaded or cabled borders, commonly with central, raised ovals against a linear or pelleted background, sometimes with additional foliate motifs. Others were

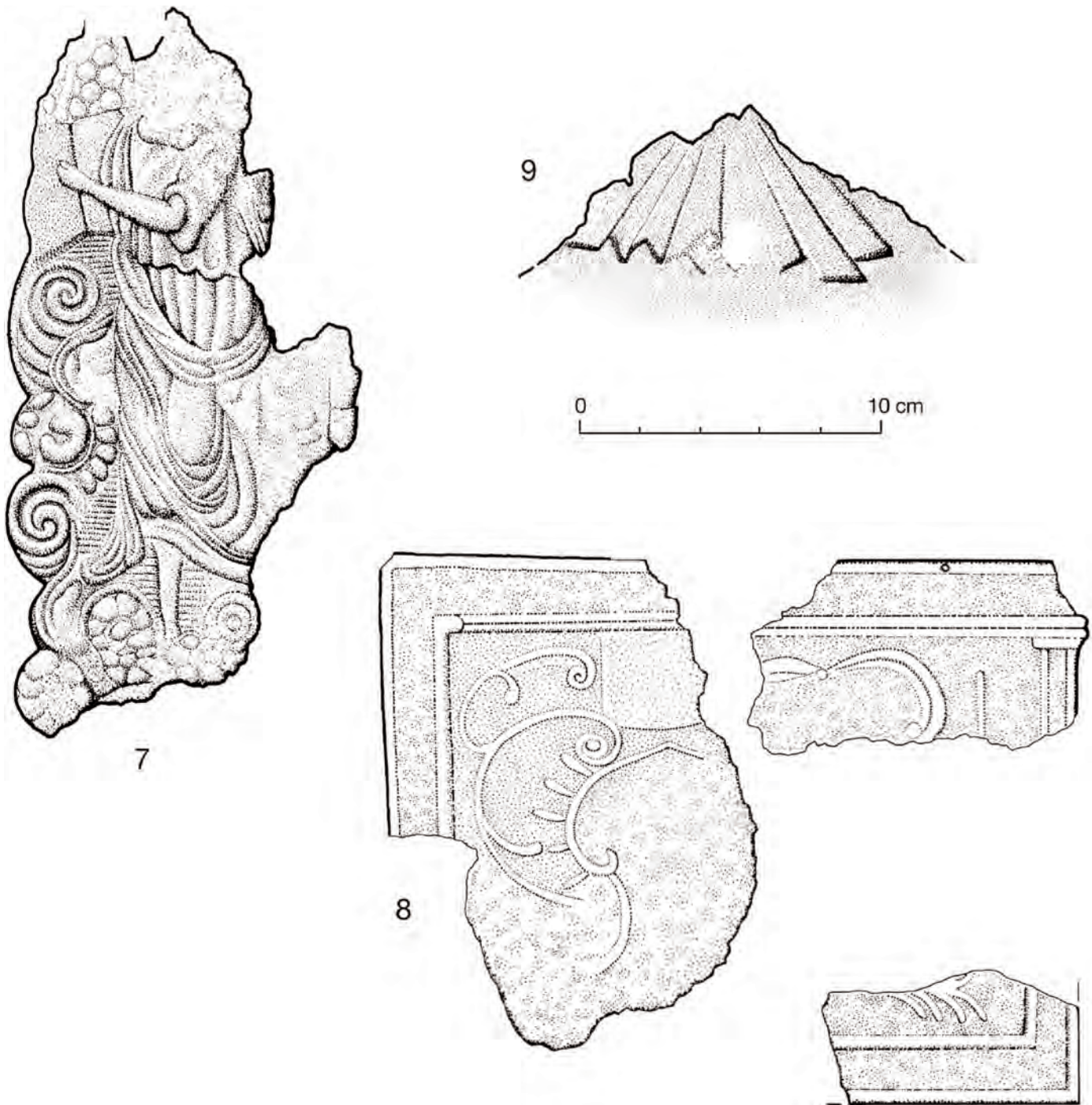


Fig. 757: Coffin fittings. 7-9, Lid motifs. Scale 1:2. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

decorated with floral and foliate designs (F3618 and F7058). In three graves short lengths (82 mm) of this narrow lace had T-shaped terminals (F3045, F5111 and F7002). A double band of narrow lace with central ovals was often used (F973, F3034, F3057, F3646, F5109, 5225 and 7003); narrow lace with a lattice motif of twisted cable was similarly used in a double band (F900). A single style of lace had a scalloped edge (F5150 and F5182); a double band of this lace was used in one grave (F3618). A double band was also found in the grave of a child at Healing (Bishop 1978, 31, pl. V).

Wide lace

Wide lace can be grouped into two types: straight sides with cabled borders, and decoratively shaped sides. The straight-sided lace was decorated with stylized flowers, leaves and scrolls (F3636, F1700, F5117 and F7030). A single example had a small cartouche with a cherub's head below (F3034). Two burials (F3045 and F7002) contained a double border of black-painted lace with deeply scrolled edges 66 mm wide, along with pieces of narrow lace with T-shaped ends. A further two graves (F1700 and F3683) contained wide lace (58 mm) of tin-dipped iron with scrolled edges and crosses in panels.

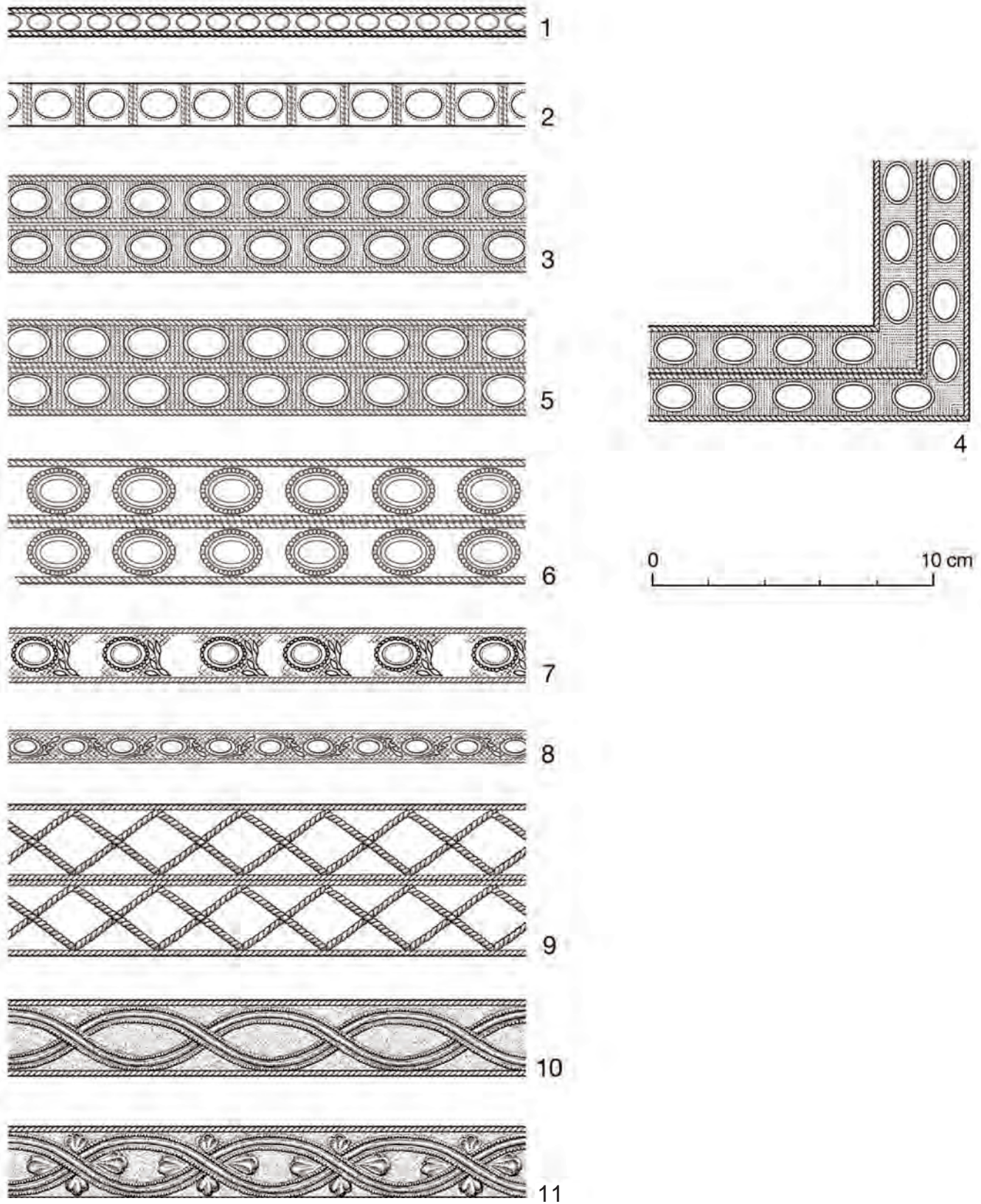


Fig. 758: Coffin lace, 1-11. Scale 1:2. Drawing: Simon Hayfield



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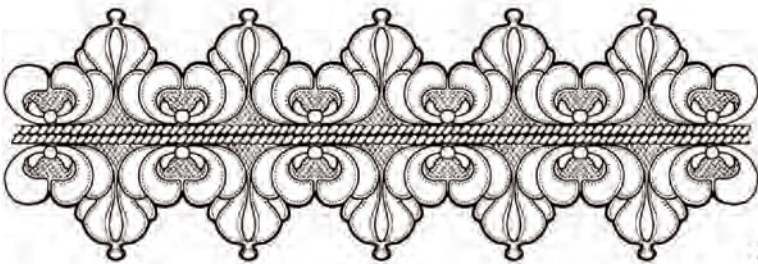
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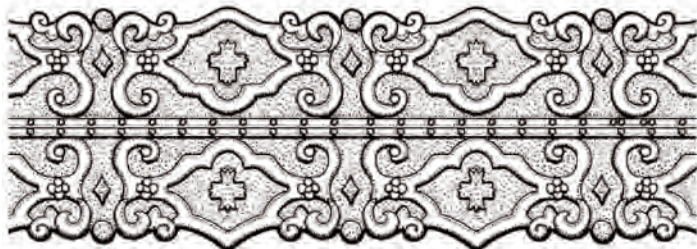
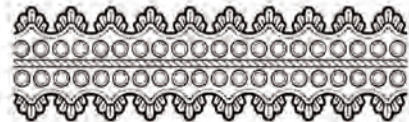
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23



Fig. 759: Coffin lace, 12–23. Scale 1:2. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Fig. 758*i) Coffin lace with raised oval boss decoration and cabled borders:*

1. Pressed metal lace of tin with plain bosses. W 10 mm. Grave F244.
2. Pressed metal lace of tin/lead alloy with bosses separated by double, vertical, cabled borders. W 16 mm. F5206.
3. Pressed metal lace with vertical linear infilling. Double band with black painted bosses. W 30 mm. Grave soil F3034.
4. Pressed metal lace, as above, with mitred corner. W 34 mm. Grave F3646.
5. Pressed metal lace of tin/lead alloy with pelleted infilling. Double band cast in one piece; black painted. W 36 mm. Grave F7003.
6. Pressed metal lace, bosses with beaded borders. Double band, black painted. W 36 mm. Grave F5109.
7. Pressed metal lace of tin/lead alloy, bosses with double beaded borders with foliate motifs and pelleted infilling. Centre of bosses painted black. W 18 mm. Grave F3044.
8. Pressed metal lace of tin/lead alloy, as above without beaded borders. W 10 mm. Grave F7012.

ii) Coffin lace with cabled borders and lattice decoration:

9. Pressed metal lace of tin/lead alloy, with cabled lattice decoration. Double band, painted black. W 34 mm. Grave F900.

iii) Coffin lace with cabled borders and ribbon decoration:

10. Pressed metal lace with two crossing bands with beaded borders. Black paint present. W 19 mm. Grave F26.
11. Pressed metal lace of tin, as above with triple lobed motifs at the interstices of the crossing bands. Unpainted. W 19 mm. Grave F4641.

Fig. 759

12. Pressed metal lace with cabled borders, scrolled cartouche with winged cherub's head below and foliate motifs. W 36 mm. Grave soil F3034.
13. Pressed metal lace with floral and foliate motifs with vertical linear infilling. W 38 mm. Grave F3636.
14. Pressed metal lace, as the above, hatched infilling; black painted. W 38 mm. Grave F4504.
15. Pressed metal lace, as above, with differing floral motif, black painted. W 40 mm. Grave F5117.
16. Pressed metal lace of lead/tin alloy, as above. W 42 mm. Grave F7030.

iv) Coffin lace with beaded borders:

17. Pressed metal lace of tin/lead alloy with beaded foliate motifs. W 6 mm. Grave F5150.
18. Pressed metal lace with foliate motifs. W 13 mm. Grave F3618.
19. Pressed metal lace with T-shaped terminals and circular floral motif with foliate motifs to either side. L 82 mm, terminal W 23 mm. Grave F7002.
- Not illus. Pressed metal lace, as above; narrow, plain example with milled border. L 24 mm, W 4 mm. Grave F5111.

v) Straight-edged lace:

20. Pressed metal lace with scrolled foliate motifs separated by floral motifs. W 11 mm. Grave F7058.

vi) Coffin lace with shaped edges:

21. Pressed metal lace with decorative scrolled edges and double central cabled border. W 67 mm. Grave F7002.
22. Pressed metal lace of tin/lead alloy with small circular bosses and palmate, scalloped edge. Black paint present. W 14 mm. Double band also illustrated. Grave F5150.
23. Pressed metal lace of tin-dipped iron with decorative scrolling and crosses within shaped panels. Double band, nailed along the middle; painted black. W 58 mm. Grave F3683.

Grips (coffin handles) (Table 20)

All coffin handles, known as grips in the funeral trade, at St Peter's were of iron. No brass handles were used, though one handle with moulded decoration from grave F66 (in the nave) was found to have a copper/zinc-alloy plating, to give it the appearance of brass. Many of the handles could be seen to have a non-ferrous metal plating in radiograph, which was found to be tin plating in an analyzed sample. The handles of at least two sets of coffin fittings (F7003 and F7509) were painted black to match their grip-plates of pressed metal. The handles were held to the grip-plates and coffin boards by a pair of split pins. Five principal handle designs were used at St Peter's: D-shaped loop, curved, angular, and two examples with cast decorative designs. In ten instances, handles of differing styles were found in the same grave, which is most likely the result of coffin furniture being displaced from an earlier grave

Grip Type 1

Several D-shaped loop handles with inward-facing arms were found, all located within the church. One was in grave F990 (Phase B) which contained four skeletons. Another three were recovered from post-medieval layers. The handles occurred in two sizes: the smaller measured 110–120 mm in length, and the larger 142 mm. One, found in the fill (F944) above a vault, had remains of an iron grip-plate present.

Fig. 760

1. Iron D-shaped handle with inward-pointing arms and round/oval section. Complete. L 120 mm, arm width 15 mm. Phase B; grave F990.

Table 20: Grip (handle) types occurring in graves and other burial contexts

	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5
Grave Phase A	148	24	5	2
Grave Phase A/B	1	1	0	0
Grave soil	10	9	1	0
Charnel pit	3	1	0	0
Total	162	35	6	2

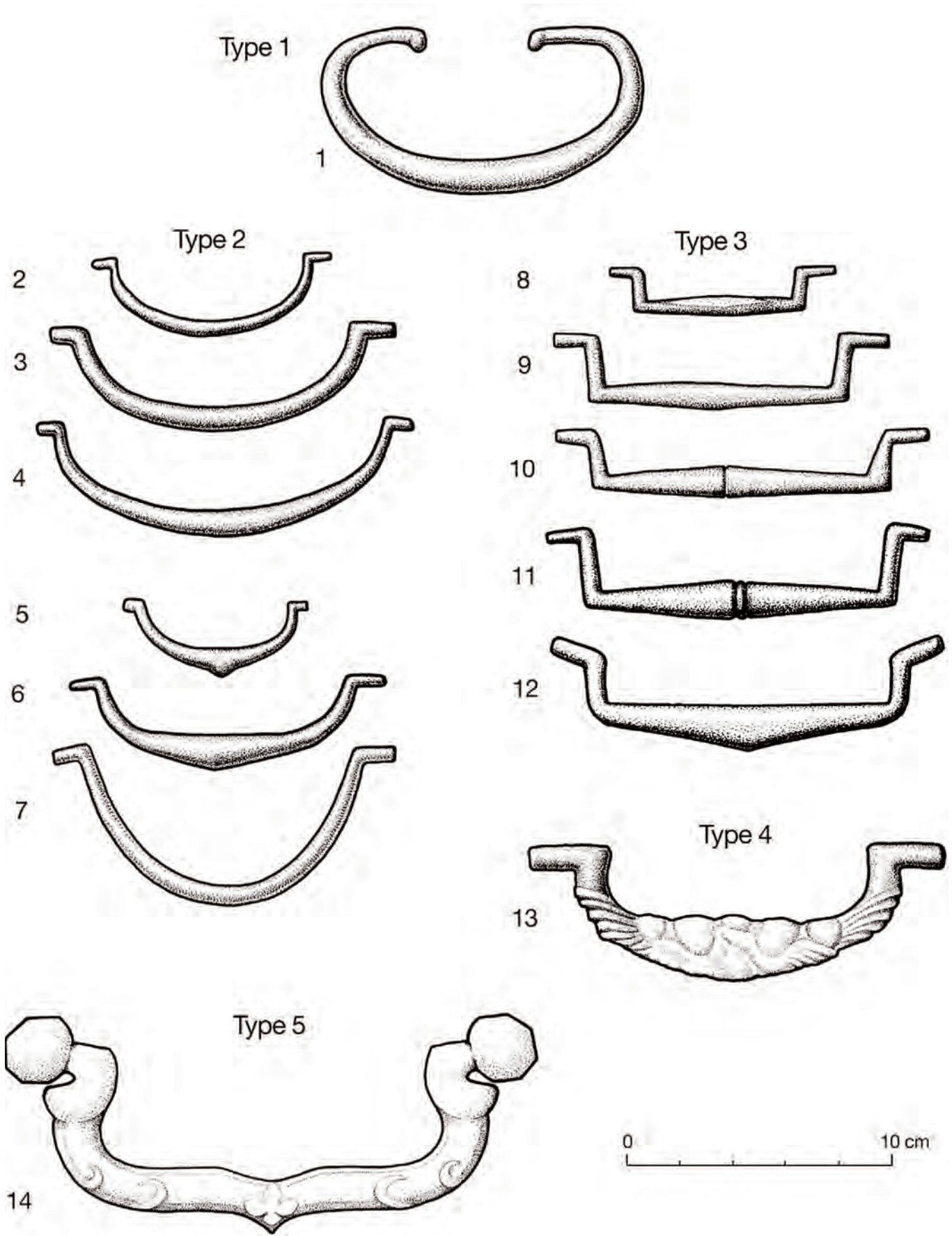


Fig. 760: Iron coffin grips, 1–14. Scale 1:2. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Grip Type 2

Curved handles with small outward-pointing arms were the most commonly used, occurring in 148 graves dating to Phase A. Curved handles were present in 80% of these graves, as well as in other layers. A small variation in the depth of the curve was present, both shallow and more deeply curved examples being noted (F232). Some had a slightly swollen central section to the handle and a distinct group had a pointed lower edge (Type 2b). Three sizes were present in the plain examples, and two in those with a central peak. Handles of differing sizes occurred in the same grave, but still appear to have been part of a set of furniture. The number of grips and grip-plates may have varied according to choice. Exceptionally, a set of twelve curved handles was found in grave F352. Eight were found in F7003, and six in F7509; both sets were painted black.

Four from a set of six, associated with large pressed-metal grip-plates, were found in grave F4589 (Figs. 751, 3, and 753, 7). At St Peter's, curved handles were used principally with grip-plates of pressed, tin-dipped iron or white metal, although at least two examples were found attached to iron strap-plates (F464 and F912). This common handle type corresponds to Spitalfields grip Type 2, the shallowly curved examples being their Type 2b, with a date-range of 1763–1837 (Reeve and Adams 1993, 144).

Fig. 760

2. Small curved handle, plated. Complete. L 85 mm, max. D 6 mm. Grave F7114.
3. Iron curved handle, plated. Complete. L 127 mm, max. D 9 mm. Grave F82.
4. Iron large, shallow, curved handle, plated. L 138 mm, max. D 10 mm. Grave F66.
5. Iron small handle with a central point in the lower edge. Complete. L 70 mm, max. D 10 mm. Grave F61.
6. As above, plated. Complete. L 70 mm, max. D 10 mm. Grave F3742.
7. Iron, deeply curved handle. Complete. Period 8; deposit F232.

Grip Type 3

Angular handles with small outward-facing arms were found in twenty-five graves of Phase A, and in various other contexts. The straight grip has a slight swelling in the centre, some with a decorative groove (Type 3b) or moulding in the centre (Type 3c). Occasional examples of these angular handles have a peak at the centre of the lower edge (Type 3d). This type was found at Spitalfields, where it was dated to 1729–1827 (Reeve and Adams 1993, 144, appendix 2). Like the curved handles, the angular handles were made in different sizes. At Barton, the angular handles were always associated with iron grip-plates. This handle type was also found at Wharram Percy, similarly associated with strap iron plates (Harding 1987, fig. 167.19). Nine graves at Barton contained both angular and curved handles, but it is unlikely that they were used on the same coffin.

Fig. 760

8. Iron small angular handle. Complete. L 82 mm, max. D 6 mm. Grave F1476.
9. Iron angular handle. Complete. L 126 mm, max. D 10 mm. Grave F95.
10. Iron angular handle with central decorative groove, plated. Complete. L 138 mm, max. D 10 mm. Period 8; grave earth F278.
11. Iron large angular handle with central moulding. Complete. L 146 mm, max. D 16 mm. Grave F1163.
12. Iron angular handle, pointed at centre of the lower edge. Near complete. L 136 mm, max. D 16 mm. Period 8; F50, fill over vault.

Grip Type 4

A small number of graves (3%) had curved handles with outward-facing arms and moulded decoration in the form of a pair of winged cherubs' heads. These handles were associated with pressed-metal grip-plates. Handles in grave F66 had been plated in copper alloy to resemble brass; those in F7014 had been painted black to match the grip-plates. Ten cherubs'-head handles were found in grave F4545 (Fig. 751, 4), and nine in F5109, suggesting that they may have been used in sets of ten. Graves containing Type 4 handles (F66, F4545, F5109, F5185 and F7014) were among the latest at St Peter's.

This style of handle was found at Wharram Percy (Harding 1987, fig. 166.9), at St Augustine-the-Less, Bristol (Boore 1998, 80, fig. 6.8C), and was the most common type at Spitalfields (Reeve and Adams 1993, 144, Type 4).

Fig. 760

13. Iron handle with moulded, paired, winged cherubs' heads. Complete. L 156 mm, max. W 26 mm. Grave F5109.

Grip Type 5

Two burials (F3683 and F3697), lying side-by-side in the northern part of the graveyard, contained large handles with moulded scrolls and a central floral motif. The handles have outward-facing scrolled terminals with shanks that articulate with large, facet-headed fittings with collared necks attached to the coffin board with split pins. These handles were found attached to fragments of pressed-metal grip-plates. Grave F3697 was that of Margaret Swallow (d. 1845), and was among the last interments in the churchyard. Handles of this design were also found at Spitalfields, where two examples could be dated to 1821–49 (Reeve and Adams 1993, 144, Type 7).

Fig. 760

14. Heavy cast-iron handle with central peak, scrolled decoration and a floral motif of four petals. Complete; dated 1845. L 175 mm, max. W 18 mm. Grave F3697.

Coffin-covers

by *Penelope Walton Rogers*⁴⁶

Many of the outer coffin fittings from the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century burials have fragments of textile adhering to the back of the metal. Some also have pieces of coffin board attached to the opposite face of the cloth, or tacks (coffin nails) piercing the fabric. The textile always lies flat against the surface of the wood or metal and is shaped and fitted to the corners. All of these textiles are made from wool and where colour has survived it is always black. They have been woven in different weaves (Table 21), but almost all have a felt-like nap which obscures the weave structure. An exception is a fine twill from F95, which is a 'worsted', a combed-wool textile made from smooth, firmly spun yarn, in which the weave structure remains visible.

The napped textiles represent the fabric covers which were a standard feature of coffins from the later seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century (Litten 1991, 99–102). When the coffin was being made, the black cloth was stretched over the outer surface of the boards, and the fittings, including metal lace, motifs, escutcheons and grips (handles), were nailed on top, so that the textile was sandwiched between the metal and the wood. Coloured silks were sometimes applied to the coffins of the aristocracy, but the middle classes seem to have regarded black wool as the correct material for the purpose. Fabric covers continued in use until the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when they began to give way to french-polished coffins. Some late wool covers were identified on three, or possibly four, coffins dated to 1850–1864 at St Martin's, Birmingham, but it is obvious from this and other sites that the fashion was already receding in the 1840s (Litten 1991, 90; Janaway 1993, 118; Walton Rogers 2006, 165). Most of the examples in Table 21 are likely to be no later than the mid-nineteenth century.

To the mourners at the funeral, the black, napped textiles on the St Peter's coffins probably looked all the same, although the local draper might have recognized the different qualities of fabric. Technical analysis has shown how variable the covers are under the napped surface (Table 21). They have been woven in four different weaves, tabby (plain weave), tabby repp (a plain weave where one system of threads dominates over the other), 2/2 twill and 2/1 twill. The thread-counts (the number of threads per centimetre) vary from a coarse 8 × 9, to a fine 30 × 30. The yarn in warp and weft can be Z × Z, Z × S or S × S, or even spin-patterned S × S+Z (Z and S indicate the direction in which the yarn has been spun). Analysis of the dyes in ten of the covers has shown that six were a deep blue dyeing with indigo (or woad) darkened by a tannin-based dye such as oak galls, but in one case a third red dye had been added, in two instances only the tannin-based dye was detectable and in one cover

there was a dye of uncertain origin present. Analysis of the quality of the wool in six of the covers has shown a range of the finer fleece types, including Semi-Fine, Fine and Fine/Generalized Medium (Table 23). Some of the particularly fine wools, especially those in the twill from F944, almost certainly represent 'noils', which are the short, fine fibres left over after wool has been combed for worsteds. Finally, in one textile, from F5109, a wool warp had been combined with a cotton weft, although this last was not conclusively proved to be part of a coffin-cover.

Technical features such as these would be important to the clothier and tailor because they have an effect on the drape, handle and wear properties of the cloth, but they would have little relevance to the coffin-maker. It would appear that, for the earliest coffins, almost any black napped textile could be pressed into service, since the textiles on the coffin fittings which have been identified on stylistic grounds as earlier than the others, are the most variable (Table 21). In the later group, the covers seem a little more standardized. The same technical variability of the napped fabrics used for coffin-covers can be seen at other churches, such as St Mary-the-Less, Durham,⁴⁷ Wharram Percy (Yorks.) (Crowfoot 1987), St Mark's and St Paul-in-the-Bail, Lincoln (Walton Rogers 1993), St Martin-at-Palace, Norwich,⁴⁸ Little Ilford (Essex),⁴⁹ and Spitalfields, London (Janaway 1993). At present there is no discernible chronological or regional trend in the use of the different technical types.

These fabrics are often referred to as 'baize'. The meaning of this term has changed since its first introduction, but by the eighteenth century it meant much the same as it does today, *i.e.* a lightweight fabric made from fine wool, woven in tabby, with a dense nap raised by teaselling (Pilgrim 1972, 258–60). Essex was the traditional centre for baize manufacture, and towns such as Colchester produced several different grades of the fabric, although some types of baize were also made in other regions (Baines 1875/1970, 83, 87). The funeral trade must have been a large consumer of baize, as the undertaker might also provide black drapes of this material for the house of the bereaved (Litten 1998, 8). The twill-weave textiles with a dense nap were probably known by another name.

The single small piece of fine worsted twill from F95 is probably not from a cover but from an upholstery tape used to trim the edge of the coffin. Larger pieces of similar appearance and structure have been found on the coffins of Elizabeth and Jane Bowes (d. 1759 and 1770, respectively), in a vault at St Mary-the-Less, Durham.⁵⁰ The Durham worsted tapes were 24 mm wide and woven in 2/2 chevron twill. They were nailed around the upper edge of the open coffin, so that they provided a seating for the lid when it was closed. Further examples of fine worsted textiles in tabby weave were found in association with coffin nails in F1149 (Phase B), and may represent early examples of coffin trims.

Table 21: Coffin-covers

<i>Context</i>	<i>Textile</i>	<i>Comment</i>
<i>Associated with early coffin fittings</i>		
95*	wool 2/2 twill, 22Z × 18Z, worsted	pierced by coffin nail
463/int	wool tabby, 16Z × 16S, xxxx, indigotin+tannins, SF × F/GM	nap brushed to one side
501*	wool 2/2 twill, 16Z × 16Z, ?	in blockage of N. Tower door
944*	wool 2/2 twill, 30Z × 28Z, xxxx, tannins only, F × F	found in fill over Period 8 vault
973/int	wool 2/2 twill, 30Z × 30Z, xxxx, tannins only, F × F	nap brushed to one side
1149*	wool tabby, 20Z x16Z, worsted	Period B
	wool tabby 36Z x18Z, worsted, undyed	loose with coffin nails
1156*	wool tabby, 8Z × 9S, ?	found in Period 5 charnel pit
1157/int	wool ?tabby, ?Z × S, xxxx	
1476/int	wool tabby, 18Z × 18S, xxxx, indigotin+tannins	
4098/int	wool spin-patterned tabby, 9S × 9S+Z	
4108/int	wool tabby, 9Z × 9S, ?	Period A/B
<i>Associated with other coffin fittings</i>		
66/int	wool tabby, 14S × 14S, ?	
294/int	wool tabby, 18Z × 20-24Z, ?	?cover
352/int	wool tabby repp, 20S × 10S, xxxx	
365/int	wool textile, Z × S	?cover
	wool tabby, 12S × 20S, xxx	
900/int	wool tabby, 12S × 12S, xxx	
	wool tabby, 14S × 13S, xxxx	
1340/int	wool tabby, 14S × 14S, xxxx	
1565/int	wool 2/1 twill, 16/Z × 16/Z, ?	
1667/int	wool tabby, 14/Z × 14/S, xxxx, indigotin + tannins	
1700/int	wool tabby, 13/Z × 13/S, xxxx, indigotin + tannins	
1701/int	wool tabby, 14/Z × 14/S, xxxx, indigotin + tannins	
1704/int	wool tabby, 20Z × 14S, xxx	Period A/B
3640/ext	wool tabby, 12S × 14-20Z, xxx	
3646/ext	wool tabby, 11S × 20-24S, xx, unidentified dye, SF × SF	
3652*	wool ?tabby, S × ?, xxxx, brushed	found in Period 8 layer
3679/ext	wool tabby, 14Z × 10S, ?	
3683/ext	wool tabby, 18Z × 12S, xxxx, indigotin + tannins + red dye, F × F	
3701/ext	wool tabby, 10Z × 10S, xxx	
4518/ext	wool tabby, 14S × 13S, xxxx	
5109/ext	wool tabby, 10Z × 12S, xxxx	
	wool-cotton tabby, 14Z × 12S, ?, indigotin + yellow-brown dye	wool-cotton union (cotton = Z); found loose with fittings
<i>Miscellaneous</i>		
3696	?wool tabby, 16-20Z × 16-20Z	in earth behind grip
3742	weave not identified	imprints of ribbons on grips

Notes

All items are from Period A, except for 1149, 1156, 1704 and 4108

All items are from graves, except for those with starred context numbers

All items were found in association with coffin fittings

Key

int = intra-mural burial (from inside the church)

ext = extra-mural burial (from the graveyard)

xx = heavily fulled

xxx = raised nap

xxxx = dense raised nap

SF = Semi-Fine fleece type

F = Fine fleece-type

F/GM = Fine/Generalised Medium fleece type

Dyes were identified by absorption spectrophotometry and thin-layer chromatography

Before leaving the outer part of the coffin, some fine textiles on the grips in burials F3696 and F3742 may be mentioned. These seem to be ribbon or tape, perhaps some form of ribbon sash or bow on the handles. Textiles from inside coffins are discussed separately below.

Small Finds from Burials

by *Quita Mould*⁵¹

This section summarizes the small finds recovered from the burials of Phases A and B. The conventions followed in assigning them to different roles in the graves are outlined on p. 230. For convenience, pins of all periods, and evidence for burial clothing in the later graves, are discussed in separate sections (pp. 706 and 1007–1012).

Phase B: c. 1500–1700

A copper-alloy dress pin with an angular flat head was found in burial F366 (Fig. 839, no. 12). This may be a shroud pin. The burial also contained a fragment of iron broken from a narrow knife blade or strap, best interpreted as residual. A small iron awl with mineral-preserved wood on the tang from the handle was found in grave F640, the burial of a mature male in the floor of the tower; again, the tool may have been accidentally incorporated in the filling. Pointed implements of this type could be used as a scribe or a bradawl to make marks and holes in wood and might have been part of a carpenter's tool kit. An iron tool, possibly a bradawl, with a wooden handle was found in a coffin at Spitalfields (Reeve and Adams 1993, 91), although in that case it would appear to have been deliberately placed there.

A broken sexfoil mount of copper alloy, possibly of medieval date, and a circular bone button likely to be intrusive from later deposits were found in burial F1014.

Phase A/B: c. 1500–1855

Residual material in Phase A/B graves

An iron arrowhead, likely to be of twelfth-century date (Type MP6: Jessop 1996, 197) occurred residually in the fill of burial F7236. The terminal from a strap-end, likely to be of late medieval date, was recovered from a disturbed burial, F3060.

Fig. 761

1. Copper-alloy strap-end comprising two plates with paired denticulated sides and a rounded terminal. The upper plate has a stylized animal-head terminal. A circular rivet is visible on the lower plate at the terminal. Incomplete. L 21+ mm, W 6 mm. F3060.
2. Iron socketed arrowhead with triangular blade with small barbs. Almost complete. L 46 mm, head W 12+ mm, socket D 9 mm. F7236.

Phase A: c. 1700–1855

Items worn on the body

In a relatively small number of burials the corpse had been buried wearing personal items of jewellery or hair ornament. Two male burials wore surgical appliances. These and the pins, buttons, and aiglets (or lace-chapes) associated with the funerary clothing are the subject of separate discussion below.

Four adult women were buried with finger-rings. A gold wedding-ring was found in grave F3697, to the north of the church. A headstone could be related to this burial, showing that it was Margaret Swallow (d. 1845). The ring was found with the left hand. The hallmark is for the year 1831–32, and the ring was made in London, most likely by Thomas Gibbs (Pl. 118; Baldi 1998, 102–4). Three other churchyard burials (F3038, F3045 and F7032) contained brass finger-rings that may have been worn as wedding-rings or love tokens. Two are plain hoops, and the other (F7032) has incised lattice decoration. The two plain rings were found in burials positioned only one grave

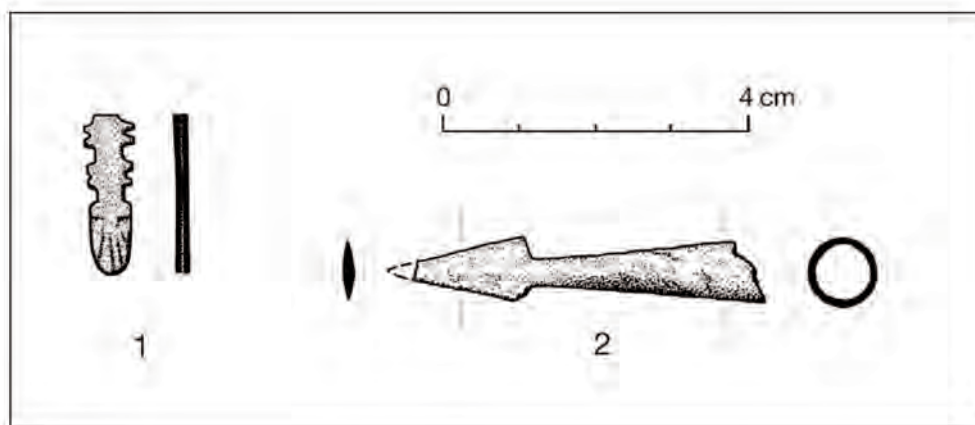


Fig. 761: Small finds from burials of Phase A/B. 1, Copper-alloy strap-end; 2, Iron arrowhead. Scale 1:1. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

apart in Area 8. The burial with the decorated ring was located to the north of the tower. One of the plain rings, bearing the inscription 'LOV' on the inner hoop, was worn on a finger of the left hand.

Earrings had been worn by one of the deceased (F3716/3717), and possibly by two more (F5182 and F3683). A pair of lozenge-shaped, faceted, gold earrings were found on either side of the skull of an adult of undetermined gender (F3716/3717) located to the north of the church. Baldi (1998, 97) studied the earrings and found them to be of low-carat gold. Judy Rudoe, who kindly commented on the earrings, considers them to be low-quality jewellery worn by the poorer classes, the hooks being characteristic of the early nineteenth century (*ibid.*, 105). Two small annular wire rings, apparently earrings, were associated

with the burial of a child, aged about seven, in grave F5182 in the northern part of the churchyard (Fig. 764, 8). Only one, of what was described as an identical pair, was available for study and found to be of leaded brass. The position in the grave suggests that they are more likely to be rings from thread buttons. A plain, annular hoop of non-ferrous metal, possibly an earring, is visible in radiograph within the corrosion products associated with coffin furniture from burial F3683. Since this was a male, aged about seventeen, the ring is more likely to be from a thread button than an earring.

A decorated heart-shaped pendant of lead was found over the sternum of a mature woman in grave F3742, outside the north aisle. The item was no doubt of sentimental rather than monetary value to the wearer.

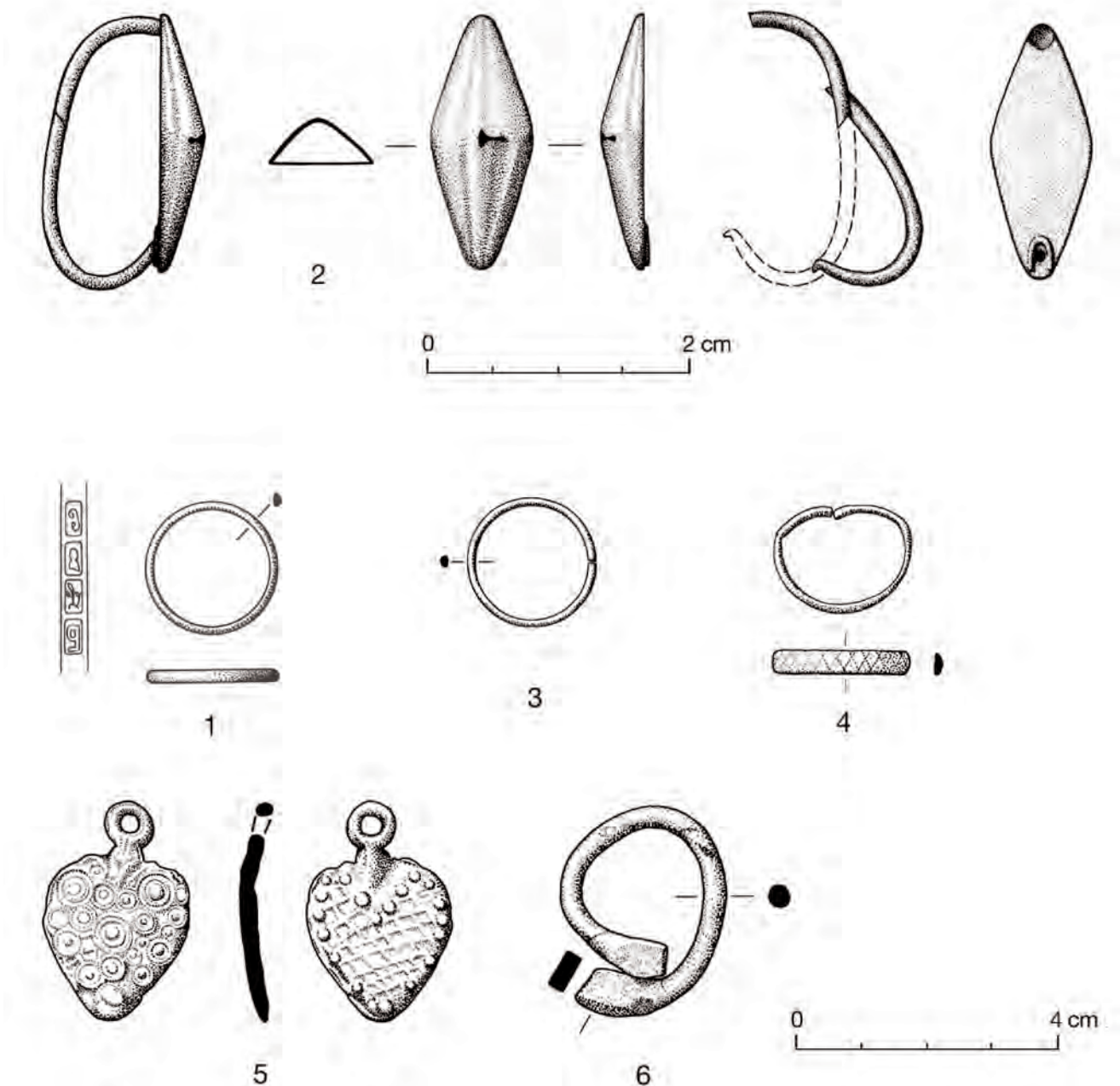


Fig. 762: Personal ornaments associated with burials. 1, Gold finger-ring; 2, Gold earrings; 3-4, Brass rings; 5, Lead pendant; 6, Lead-alloy penannular brooch. Scale 1:1, except no. 2, 2:1. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Hair ornaments

Two burials to the north of the tower had hair combs of horn present (F7002 and F7016). Each comb was associated with hair indicating they had been worn on the head. One was on an adult female (F7002), and the other was found with a large amount of hair and the remains of a lace bonnet (discussed on p. 713), belonging to a young woman who was buried with a baby.

Other items placed with the body

Two pennies of George III bearing the date 1797, with one coin placed on top of the other, were found in two burials. One was of a mature male (*c.* 45 years; F365) and the other was thought to be an adult female (sex uncertain, *c.* 25 years; F3650). The burials were located either side of the north wall of the church, F365 inside the building and F3650 outside, lying below the same window. The former is notable for having a cream-ware dinner plate placed beneath the feet (p. 678). The coins in grave F3650 were found to have wood shavings adhering to the corrosion products. Wood shavings were often placed in the bottom of the coffin at the head to absorb liquid (Litten 2002, 92, quoting Misson). The selection of these coins is of interest, and they point to an early nineteenth-century date for the burials. It may be that the coins were intended for placing over the eyes, but were stacked elsewhere in the coffin, perhaps for the mourners to view the corpse at the burial service.

Residual items in graves

Two burials each yielded a copper-alloy tack with a gilded head (F3112 and F7098); a third tack, with no gilding present, was found in grave F7056. Other tacks or small pins of this type were found in structural deposits associated with the Anglo-Saxon chancel (see coffin furniture, p. 682).

A penannular brooch of lead was found in burial F7080; it has flat, straight-ended terminals with a small moulding separating them from the ring. Lead brooches are unusual and it is possible that the object was a model used to make a clay mould in which to cast copper-alloy brooches. Lead models for casting early Anglo-Saxon copper-alloy brooches are known and their use in the manufacturing process has been discussed by Mortimer (1994, 27–33). The plain terminals of this brooch are difficult to categorize, but a date between *c.* 300 and 600 is suggested (Hattatt 1989, 266). Should the object be a model, the copper-alloy brooch cast in the mould produced from it would have had the terminals worked after casting. The present shape of the terminals has similarities with those on brooches of types E, F and H1 (Hattatt 1989, 267–8, 272). Further decoration, such as chisel-cut ornamentation or enamel, may have been employed on the finished product. Five penannular brooches, three

of iron and two of copper alloy, were found singly in burials in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Castledyke South (Drinkall and Foreman 1998, 256–8).

A papal *bull*a of Innocent VI (1352–62) occurred in burial F1440 (p. 639). A complete rumbler bell was found in grave F7063, the upper hemisphere of a second example occurred in F7019, and a third in an unphased deposit. A bone die, apparently made from an offcut of waste bone or possibly re-made from one that had previously broken, was found in burial F7014. Like the other die found at Barton, this is of non-regular layout and likely to be of medieval date. A fragment of worked bone from a broken handle, or possibly a chess piece, was found with the remains of at least three nails in burial F3663.

Various dress accessories were found. A copper-alloy sheet from a tongue-shaped strap-end and a long pin stem occurred with a farthing of Edward I–III (1279–1377) in grave F7023. A small lozenge-shaped strap mount was found in burial F7002, while buckle fragments were recovered from F3711 and F7517.

Contemporary items in graves

Fig. 762

1. Gold finger-ring, plain hoop with hallmarks: maker's mark TG, sovereign's head, lion passant, and letter year of production (1831–32). Complete. Internal D 18 mm, corresponding to size N½. Grave F3697.
2. Gold earrings, two lozenge-shaped faceted sheet earrings with flat sheet backing plates and centrally hinged wire hooks. Low-carat gold (9, 12 or 15 carat). Complete. L 19.5 mm, W 7 mm. Grave F3716/3717.
3. Brass finger-ring, plain hoop of elliptical section, with 'LOV' inscribed on the interior. Complete. Internal D 17 mm. W 2 mm. Grave F3045.
4. Brass finger-ring with strap hoop decorated with incised lattice decoration. Complete. Maximum internal D 19 mm (distorted). W 4 mm. Grave F7032.
5. Lead heart-shaped pendant with central suspension loop. Front face decorated with series of large and small double ring-and-dot motifs; the back face has oblique lattice motif within a raised pelleted border. Complete. Ht 33 mm, W 22 mm. Grave F3742.
- Not illus. Horn comb with straight top edge and series of 28 fine teeth remaining. Hair present between the teeth. Closely associated with remains of a lace bonnet and a brass pin. Almost complete. Ht 30 mm, W 68 mm. Grave F7016.
6. Lead-alloy penannular brooch of round section with flat, straight-ended, collared terminals. Distorted. L 34 mm, W 27 mm, D 3 mm. Grave F7080.

Residual items in graves

Fig. 763

7. Copper-alloy small rumbler bell. Spherical bell made in two halves with a central seam; two holes joined by a central slot present in the lower, strip suspension loop in the upper. Complete. D 17 mm, Ht 21 mm. Grave F7063.

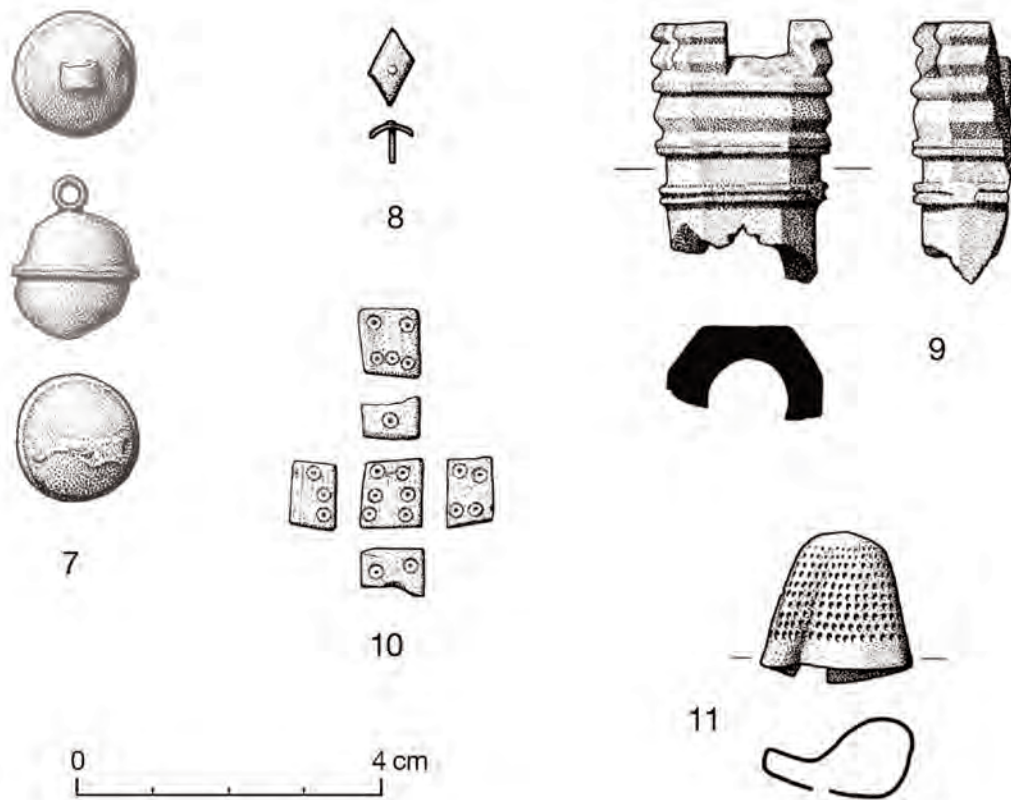


Fig. 763: Small finds associated with burials. 7, Copper-alloy bell; 8, Copper-alloy mount; 9, Bone knife handle; 10, Bone die; 11, Brass thimble. Scale 1:1. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

8. Copper-alloy small mount with lozenge-shaped head and central shank. Complete. Head L 10 mm, W 4 mm, shank L 4 mm. Grave F7002.
9. Bone handle fragment of faceted section with sharply cut vertical mouldings; broken and with a star-shaped cut-out at the point of fracture. Incomplete. L 34+ mm, W 23 mm. Grave F3663.
10. Bone die of cuboid form made from an irregular piece of bone with the shaft running along one side creating a shallow channel. Values indicated by incised ring-and-dot motifs, not arranged conventionally but to fit in with the irregular shape of the six faces. Values arranged 6/5, 4/3, 2/1. Complete. L 9 mm, W 7.5 mm, Th 6 mm. Grave F7014.

Objects from grave soils

A domed, brass thimble, eighteenth-century coffin fittings and a fragment of copper-alloy sheet were recovered from a general layer of grave soil to the south of the tower, attributed to Phase A–D. The thimble dates no earlier than *c.* 1350 and no later than *c.* 1650 (Holmes 1988, 3).

Fig. 763

11. Brass small domed thimble with plain border and drilled holes that pierce the metal. The top of the thimble has no holes. Complete but distorted. Ht 18 mm, D 19 mm. F3080.

Small Finds Associated with Burial Clothing

by *Quita Mould*⁵²

Aiglets

Twenty-seven aiglets (often called lace-chapes or lace-tags), fitted at the end of textile or leather laces to aid threading, were found at St Peter's church. They are made of copper-alloy sheet, rolled into a tapering tube with a central seam. Three methods of joining the central seam were used. Half the aiglets found (14) had overlapping sides (*e.g.* from F7002), the rest had sides meeting edge-to-edge in a butted seam (*e.g.* from F7520). Aiglets with both overlapping and butted seams often had an additional rivet or rivets at the top to secure them better. Neither the type of seam nor the presence of rivets could be related to the date of the object, since examples of both types were found together in the same contexts. A single example had the two edges rolled inward to grip the lace within. This type of seam was considered by Oakley to be used principally in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Margeson 1993, 22), though found in a later grave here (F7509).

The majority of the aiglets are of similar size. The nineteen complete examples ranged in length from 21–27 mm and from 2–4 mm in diameter. Two

examples, both from eighteenth- or nineteenth-century deposits, were slightly longer at 34 mm. A single aiglet, found with twelfth- or thirteenth-century pottery in a late medieval or early post-medieval deposit (F5301), is distinctive, being significantly larger than the rest and decorated with an incised pattern. Aiglets with stamped decoration are generally considered to be of post-medieval date (Egan and Pritchard 1991, 281). Examples with *repoussé* and incised decoration have been found at Norwich, again in post-medieval contexts (Margeson 1993, 22–3, fig. 12, nos 124–6).

Half of the aiglets were recovered from deposits of post-medieval date. One aiglet with a butted seam and a rivet hole was found on a path (F5229) running around the east end of the church, with pottery of thirteenth- to mid-fourteenth-century date (Period 5). Four occurred in contexts of Period 7, while the remainder came from contexts post-dating 1700, or from mixed grave soils.

Nine aiglets were recovered from graves. A single example with an overlapping seam came from grave F5222, attributed to Phase B/C, and the remainder were found in graves of Phase A. In five of the graves the aiglets were associated with brass pins (*e.g.* F3643), and in four they were also associated with small buttons, suggesting that they derive from the burial shroud or possibly the internal furnishings of the coffin. This interpretation is, however, questioned below.

Minerally preserved remains of the laces were found inside five aiglets, and these have been identified by Penelope Walton Rogers. In three cases the aiglets contained a leather thong (F3643, F5210 and F5175) while remains, possibly of leather, were found in a

fourth (F7104). One aiglet was found to contain linen thread (F5143). A small fragment of leather lace (30 mm in length, 7 mm wide and 5 mm thick) was found in a Period 8 context (F255). The finding of leather thongs in the aiglets is perhaps surprising. While a textile lace might be expected to draw up the neck or cuffs of a shroud, a leather lace seems unnecessarily strong for the job. The more robust properties of a leather lace might have been selected for a particular purpose, such as securing the feet together at the ankle, though traditionally textile, in the form of strips of cloth or ribbon, appears to have been used for this purpose (Janaway 1993, 95). It is more likely that the aiglets containing leather laces were not related to the funerary clothing but were residual and derived from Phase B deposits when leather lacing was extensively used on clothing.

Fig. 764

1. Copper-alloy aiglet of sheet with butted seam and folded tab end; decorated with an incised spiral, becoming increasingly more irregular towards the top. Complete. L 69 mm, D 6 mm. Period 7; F5301.
2. Copper-alloy aiglet of sheet with butted seam and open end. Complete. L 24 mm, D 2.5 mm. Grave F7520.
3. Copper-alloy aiglet of sheet with butted seam, with preserved remains of a leather thong within. Complete. L 21 mm, D 2 mm. Grave F3643
4. Copper-alloy aiglet of sheet with overlapping seam; end broken, flattened. Almost complete. L 24 mm, W 3 mm. Grave F7002.
5. Copper-alloy aiglet of sheet with each side of seam rolled inward; end has a folded tab to close. Complete. L 24 mm, W 3.5 mm. Grave F7509.

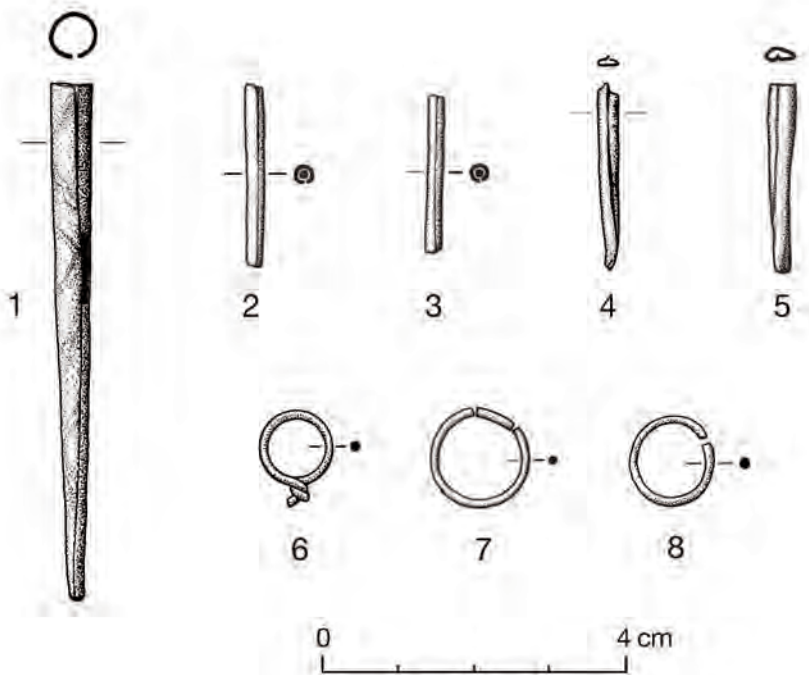


Fig. 764: Copper-alloy small finds associated with burial clothing. 1–5, Aiglets; 6, Loop fastener; 7–8, Annular rings. Scale 1:1. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Loop fasteners

A loop fastener of copper-alloy wire was recovered from a disturbed burial, F3061, and two other examples were found elsewhere. Loop fasteners occur in late medieval and post-medieval deposits, commonly in association with brass dress-making pins. Their use has been the subject of discussion and it has been suggested that they may be a by-product of the wire-drawing process. These loop fasteners have been found in association with burials at St Margaret's church, Norwich (Margeson 1993, 20, nos. 98–101), where they were positioned along the arms of some of the skeletons, thus confirming their use as garment fasteners.

Fig. 764

6. Copper-alloy loop fastener; fine annular wire ring with a twisted terminal. Complete. L 12 mm. D 10 mm. F3061.

Annular wire rings (buttons or eyelets)

Annular rings of fine copper-alloy wire were recovered from five graves of Phase A. They fall into three sizes (small, 10–13 mm; medium, 16 mm; large, 21–22 mm) and all save one were closely associated with textile. The composition of the preserved fibres and their relationship to the rings have been studied by Penelope Walton Rogers and the results are summarized here. Grave F352 contained four examples, three of small and one of medium size. Grave F3683 contained two rings of large size and a third was visible in radiograph, embedded in corrosion products on coffin furniture; a white-metal plated 'blazer' button was also found. Two rings, thought to be earrings when excavated, were found in the grave of a child (F5182). A single ring was recovered from each of the two remaining graves (F3063 and F7101).

These rings were first identified as being eyelets from the shroud or bonnet through which drawstrings were passed, but the present writer is of the opinion that they may represent the remains of thread buttons. Thread buttons were the product of a cottage industry centred in Dorset (Peacock 1996, 50) in the nineteenth century. The buttons were made by winding thread over wire rings, which were brought in from Birmingham where they were manufactured. Some styles of thread button resemble small cartwheels in design, with the thread radiating in a number of small 'spokes' from a central 'hub' to an outer thread-wrapped frame. In a discussion of the textiles from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century burials, Janaway provides a description of the personal garments found on fifteen burials from Spitalfields (Janaway 1998, 30–1). Four had garments associated with 'cartwheel' buttons, which I interpret to be thread buttons. A fragment of a linen garment had a 'cartwheel' button at the cuff, while a linen shirt was fastened at the front with, alternately, 'cartwheel' and mother-of-pearl buttons.

The cuff band from a cotton shirt was associated with three 'cartwheel' buttons, and a long-sleeved, open-fronted jacket of cotton was fastened with 'cartwheel' buttons at the neck and cuffs.

Annular rings from burials F3063 and F3683 had remains of a blanket-stitch of a fine linen thread on the ring, belonging to the button itself, while wool fibres from the textile with which it was in contact were found adhering to one face. Woollen tabby woven textile was found on annular rings from the other burials (F352 and F7101) suggesting that these buttons had been sewn on to a garment of woollen textile.

Fig. 764

7. Copper-alloy annular ring of round-sectioned wire. Fine linen thread used as blanket-stitch on the ring; also wool fibres on one face. Incomplete. D 13 mm, arm D 1 mm. Grave F3063.
8. Copper-alloy annular ring, one of two found. D 11 mm. Grave F5182.
- Not illus. Two copper-alloy annular rings, as above, with thread wrapped around each. D 21 mm and 22 mm. Grave F3683.

Buttons

Seventy-four buttons were recovered from the excavations, from thirty-eight contexts. Buttons were found in twenty-six graves, three grave soils and nine structural deposits. The buttons were made of a variety of materials, including copper alloy, pewter, bone, and mother-of-pearl, and they came in a range of sizes and styles. To this may be added the annular wire rings, discussed above.

The majority of buttons were found in graves of Phase A, with a single bone button from a Phase B grave (F1014). All but one of the graves containing buttons was in the churchyard, the exception being F289, which lay at the east end of the north aisle. This grave contained a circular button head of copper alloy heavily encrusted in mortar, suggesting that it may have become incorporated in the grave fill during later renovation works. Of particular interest are the buttons recovered from graves F3650 and F5117, where their positions were recorded. Five graves (F3650, F5106, F5117, F7030 and F7509) were found to contain buttons of two different types, suggesting that more than one type of garment had been worn. The buttons from these burials are described below.

Burial F5117 of an adult male contained five small buttons of copper-alloy sheet with a rolled rim and a large central hole. Mineraally preserved textile remains on these were identified as linen tabby covering the buttons and a wool tabby behind them. These small buttons, placed one at each cuff and three down the front, may have come from a shirt or a shroud similar in appearance to a nightdress (but see below).

Eleven buttons were found in grave F3650: a group of four small mother-of-pearl buttons with separate copper-alloy shanks, and seven buttons of copper alloy.

The copper-alloy buttons had flat heads and looped shanks, a style known as 'blazer' buttons today. They appear to be a matching set of six, with the seventh button being slightly smaller in diameter. These are likely to come from a jacket, perhaps three sets of two arranged down the front of the coat, with the smaller button at the cuff. Mineraally preserved textile was present: a wool textile was found on the back of the four mother-of-pearl buttons and another(?) wool textile including a button-hole slit was found on the back of three of the flat copper-alloy buttons. It is clear that the deceased was buried in his own personal clothing, outside the church, close to the north aisle wall.⁵³ Two pennies of George III (dated 1797), placed one on top of the other, were also found in this grave.

Four small metal buttons of pewter or zinc and two bone buttons were found in grave F7030, the burial of an adult male. The metal buttons had three fastening holes (comparable with examples of bone, discussed below), a decorative border and leaf motifs between the holes. An illegible stamp is present on the underside. The two bone buttons have four fastening holes and are of slightly larger size. The metal and bone buttons are likely to come from two different articles of clothing. In addition, a copper-alloy 'blazer' button was found in F7046, the burial of a child placed in the same grave.

Three small bone buttons each with three fastening holes, and a copper-alloy button cast in two pieces with a separate loop-shank decorated with a cast chain-like motif, were found in grave F7509. A small bone button with three fastening holes, and a mother-of-pearl button with four holes came from grave F5106.

It would appear that the size of the button, as much as the material from which it was made, was directly related to function; hence, buttons are discussed principally by size and composition below. A distinct group of buttons of small size with diameters of 11–12 mm, made of bone, mother-of-pearl and pewter/zinc, would appear to be either shirt buttons or used to decorate the shroud. A range of slightly larger buttons of bone and copper alloy, 15–16 mm in diameter, come from other garments, while a selection of flat 'blazer' buttons with looped shanks come from outer garments such as jackets. 'Blazer' buttons vary from 18–32 mm in diameter and often had a white metal plating (tinning or silvering) on the head, though one had a stamped inscription (back-mark) proclaiming it to have a 'warranted surface (of) fine gold'. Button backs of bone were identified, and these and buttons of this composite construction are described separately.

Small buttons

Eighteen small bone buttons with three fastening holes occurred in ten graves; three were found in one grave (F7005), and two each in five others (F3112, F3643, F5129, F7002, F7027 and F7509). This distinct group appears to come from shirts, or possibly they were used purely decoratively on shrouds.

Similar sized buttons with three fastening holes were made of metal. A group of four was found in grave F7030, another decorated with a 'pleated ribbon' or leaf-like motif was found in grave F5187. Superficially, these buttons appear to be made of a lead/tin alloy, but it may be an alloy of zinc and copper (tombac), which was commonly used to make buttons; it is difficult to distinguish from pewter without analysis (Peacock 1996, 20).

Small buttons of mother-of-pearl were also found. Two had four fastening holes and a decorative border, and were found in grave F4575, and a single example with a border decorated with incised dots and a milled edge occurred elsewhere. Four small mother-of-pearl buttons with copper-alloy shanks, found in association with 'blazer' buttons in grave F3650, have been described above. Three button-backs made of bone, also of this small size (12 mm diam.), occurred in grave F3053.

A small spherical button of copper alloy with a white metal plating was found in grave F7520. Buttons of this type have been found in well-dated medieval contexts in London (Egan and Pritchard 1991, 274–6), and this single button appears to be residual in the Phase A grave.

Medium-sized buttons

A small number of buttons of medium size, 15–18 mm in diameter, were found with four fastening holes. A bone button with a curved lower face came from a grave dating to the sixteenth or seventeenth century (F1014). Pairs of buttons of this type were found in two graves of Phase A (F3043 and F7030); one pair was associated with small metal buttons in grave F7030. A flat button of mother-of-pearl occurred in grave F5106 together with three smaller bone buttons with three fastening holes (described above). Two similar metal buttons made of white metal, or white metal-plated copper alloy, were also found. A bone button-back, and buttons with bone backs and decorative copper-alloy covers, were also of this size range (see further below).

Larger buttons

The remains of four copper-alloy buttons of two-piece construction with a separate looped shank were found in structural contexts and a single example in grave F7509. The upper faces were decorated with a cast pattern, or plated with white metal. These two-piece buttons varied in diameter, 17–25 mm.

Blazer buttons

Fourteen flat-headed metal buttons with looped shanks of a type known as 'blazer' buttons, and worn on outer garments, were found. The flat head was attached to a separate shank; in three cases that was a cone shank, a feature used prior to the nineteenth century (Peacock 1996, 69, fig. 19.1).

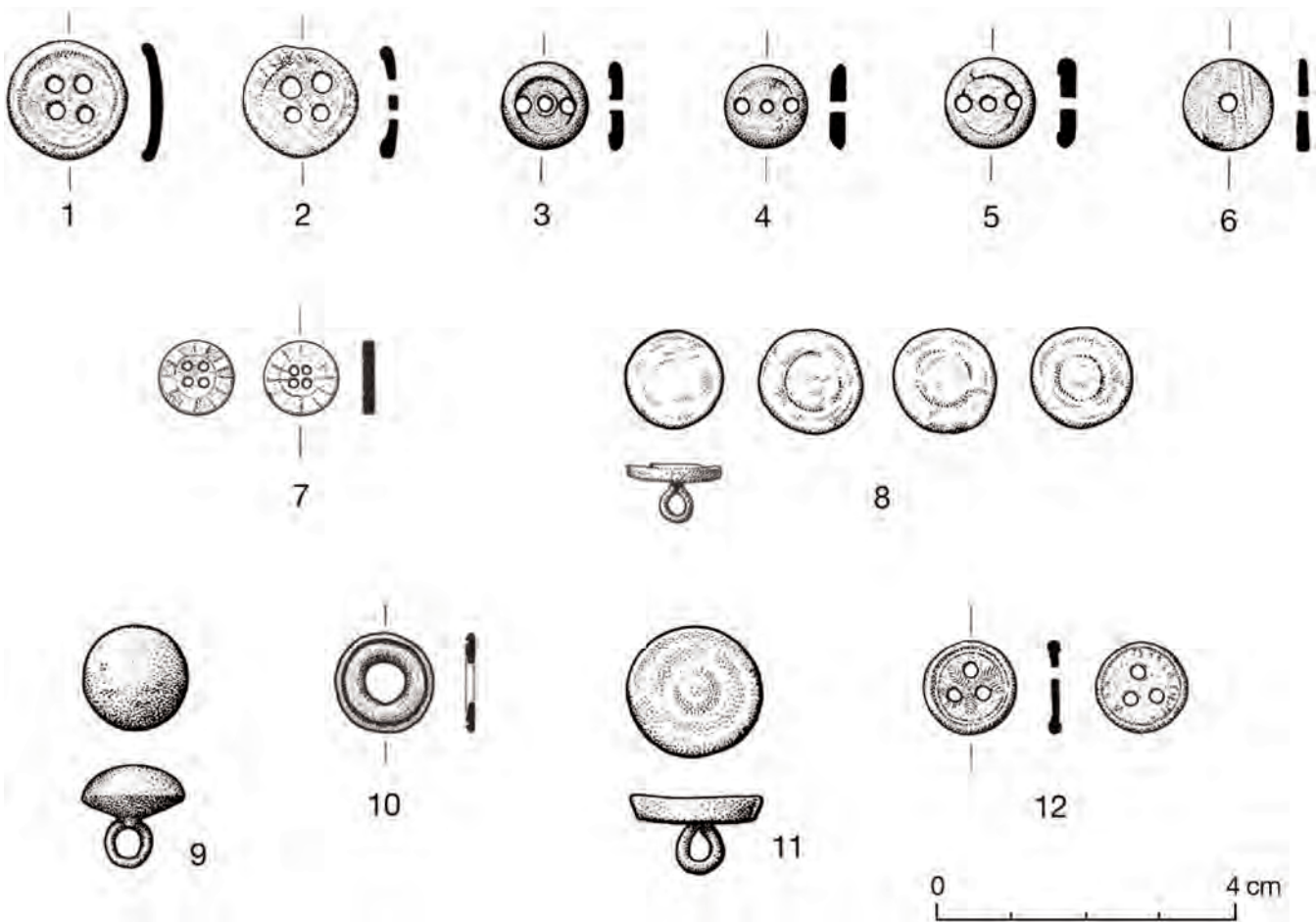


Fig. 765: Buttons associated with burial clothing. 1–6, Bone; 7–8, Mother-of-pearl; 9–12, Metal. Scale 1:1. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Five graves of Phase A contained blazer buttons (F3623, F3650, F3683, F4518 and F7046). One contained a group of seven (F3650; see above p. 708), while the remainder had a single button in each. It is likely that the single buttons recovered from grave fills were the result of accidental loss. A further three blazer buttons were found in other deposits. Five showed traces of white-metal plating. A button from grave soil F3018 was stamped on the back 'warranted surface fine gold'. Another, from a grave, was stamped on the back 'London'.

A flat button of mother-of-pearl with a copper-alloy shank found in Area 11 resembles a collar-stud and may be a large example (18 mm diam.).

Bone-backed buttons

Four flat discs of bone with a single central fastening hole were recovered. Three have a diameter of 12 mm, and a larger example (18 mm diam.) has green staining, suggesting it had a copper-alloy cover originally. Buttons with bone backs and decorative copper-alloy covers with a looped wire shank were found, as well as a button cover with cast decoration resembling basketry, and a bone-backed button with a decorative silver or tinned cover and four fastening holes. It is

clear that these plain flat discs with central holes are the backs of decoratively covered buttons, but they may not necessarily have had a stamped metal cover. Bone discs were also used as formers (or bases) for buttons worked with thread or covered in cloth (Biddle and Cook 1990, 573).

The significance of buttons and other dress accessories found in graves

Detailed study of the remains of clothing associated with burials recovered from Spitalfields (Janaway 1993) has provided invaluable information on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century funerary practices. Two particular aspects concern us here. First, that it may have been more common to bury the dead in personal clothing, rather than custom-made shrouds, than had previously been realized (Janaway 1998, 31–2). Second, that funerary clothing, *i.e.* shrouds and caps, supplied by the funeral furnisher or undertaker had no buttons or button-holes but were fastened with ties or small brass pins (Janaway 1993, 106).

It is suggested, therefore, that those corpses at Barton associated with buttons and annular rings were interred wearing their own clothes, or clothing made at home for the purpose, but not professionally supplied.

At St Peter's, one body (F3650) was certainly wearing two distinct types of garment. Others, containing more than one type of button, may also have been wearing more than one garment instead of, or perhaps as well as, a shroud. Although it should be remembered that more than one style of button may have been used on a single garment (a linen shirt fastened at the front with alternating cartwheel and mother-of-pearl buttons was found at Spitalfields; Janaway 1998, 30). It is less certain whether in burials containing a single style of button the corpse was wearing a garment with fastenings likely to be an item of personal clothing, or a ready-bought shroud. By the end of the nineteenth century shrouds had decorative, if not functioning, buttons, as is seen on a shroud of that date in the Castle Museum, York (Litten 2002, 80, fig. 39). Evidence from the burials at Spitalfields, dating between 1729 and 1852, makes it more likely that they derive from items of personal clothing, rather than ready-bought shrouds supplied by the undertaker.

Evidence from Spitalfields has shown that the body may have been buried in personal clothing, with a winding sheet, with a winding sheet and a shroud, or all three (Janaway 1998, 31). This, of course, represents the 'upper end of the market', the evidence deriving from burials principally in lead or wooden coffins placed in vaults. At Barton, shrouds, winding sheets and coffin linings will have left few traces with the exception of minerally preserved textile remains found adhering to the small brass pins by which they were secured. The minerally preserved textile remains are discussed in the section on pins (p. 1010).

Fig. 765

- 1, 2. Bone buttons: lower face convex, upper face dished with four fastening holes and a surrounding flange. D 16 mm. Grave F7030.
3. Bone button with flat back, raised rim and three holes. Complete. D 11 mm. Grave F7002.
- 4, 5. Bone buttons, as above. Grave F3643.
6. Bone button back with central hole. Complete D 12 mm. Grave F3053.
7. Mother-of-pearl. Two small buttons with four fastening holes and decorative border of raised and lowered squares. One illustrated. Complete. D 10 mm. Grave F4575.
8. Mother-of-pearl. Four small buttons with flat heads with incised ring, and pierced ring-shanks of copper alloy. Complete. D 13–14 mm. Grave F3650
9. Copper alloy. Small, cast, spherical button with white metal plating (tin or silver) with looped shank. Complete D 14 mm. Grave F7520.
10. Copper-alloy buttons with rolled rim and large central hole, originally covered in textile. One illustrated. Complete. D 12 mm. Grave F5117.
11. Copper alloy. Seven buttons with flat heads and looped shanks, minerally preserved textile present obscuring other details. D 20 mm (six examples); D 18 mm (one example). Grave F3650. One illustrated, two views shown.
12. Lead/tin alloy. Four small cast buttons with three fastening holes with decorative leaf motifs between, and a raised rim with a pelleted border. Illegible stamp on the lower face. One illus. Complete. D 12 mm. Grave F7030.

Internal Textiles and Fibres from Burials

*by Penelope Walton Rogers*⁵⁴

The textiles, yarns and fibres listed in Table 22 were found inside graves, or were in association with objects such as shroud pins that are likely to have originated in graves. They represent burial clothing, winding sheets and coffin linings (for the external coffin-covers, see pp. 701–3). A fourteenth-century silk and gold textile complex from grave F325 has been discussed separately (pp. 634–8).

In addition to the piece of linen used in a burial attributed to Phase C (p. 638) a second piece of linen tabby from a woman's burial inside the church, grave F431, is dated from the coffin style to the end of the seventeenth century. This represents an interestingly late use of linen in a burial. In 1660 and 1678 Parliament passed acts designed to promote the British wool industry, which forbade the use of any fibre other than wool in burials (Litten 1991, 74; Janaway 1993, 95). Examination of textiles in coffins with a recorded date of death shows that by the end of the seventeenth century the acts were followed assiduously,⁵⁵ and it was not until the repeal of the laws in 1815 that non-wool fibres re-appeared inside coffins, by which time cotton had largely displaced linen. The linen from grave F431 seems to belong to the earliest phase of legislation, when the acts had still not quite taken hold.

Most of the remaining textiles are made from wool, which was commonly used for funerary textiles between 1660 and 1815. Some wool unions (wool combined with other fibres), continued in use into the 1860s (Walton Rogers 2006, 164), but at sites such as Spitalfields, textiles made entirely of wool appear to have dropped out of use rapidly after the repeal of the acts (Janaway 1993, 118–19)

Coffin linings and winding sheets

The fine undyed worsted in grave F1476 was found on the opposite face of the coffin boards from the black baize outer cover (see above). At the edges of the board, the worsted was tucked inside the baize and held in place with tacks. This represents the primary lining of the coffin. A similar lining, made from an undyed woollen tabby, was found in the coffin of Jane Bowes (d. 1770) at St Mary-the-Less, Durham, although there the join between the inner and outer fabrics had been trimmed with upholstery tape.⁵⁶ Two later coffins from All Saints Pavement, York, were lined with an undyed wool-cotton or wool-linen union fabric, attached to beading at the top of the coffin side board, and pinned lower down with large copper-alloy pins.⁵⁷ In one of these coffins, dated to 1825/6, the lining had been padded out with horse-hair. This may provide an explanation of the loose tufts of animal fibre found in several graves at Barton (F912, F3736, F4629 and F7509). Stuffing from a mattress of the

Table 22: Internal textiles and fibres from burials

(All items are from graves, except for those with starred context numbers)

<i>Context</i>	<i>Textile</i>	<i>Comment</i>
<i>Phase C</i>		
425/ext	linen tabby, 13Z × 13Z	shroud
<i>Phase B/A</i>		
288/int	wool textile	pierced by shroud pin
<i>Phase A burial with linen textile</i>		
431/int	linen tabby, 18Z × 18Z	?shroud
<i>Other Phase A textiles</i>		
25/int	wool tabby, 15S × 11S, x, undyed, M × M	
352/ext	wool tabby, 10S × 10S, xx	around wire ring
912/int	animal fibres	with cu/a object
944/int	wool tabby, 15Z × 13Z, undyed	?shroud
992/int	wool textile, S × S (medium)	around shank of pin
	wool textile, Z × S (fine), worsted	around shank of pin
1476/int	wool tabby, 20Z × 20Z, worsted, undyed	coffin lining
3063/ext	linen thread, fine	blanket stitch on wire ring
	wool fibres	on one face of wire ring
3638/ext	wool ?tabby, S × S, ?	pierced twice by pin
3643/ext	wool tabby, 12S × 24S, x	in folds, with pin, etc.
	wool tabby, 12S × 20S, x	in layers, one pierced by pin
3650/ext	wool × ?, textile, 24–28S × 10?	on back of four shell buttons and curling
	wool tabby, 12S × 14S, ?	around back of cu/a button
	wool textile, S × S	on large cu/a disc, above shavings
		on back of three cu/a buttons; includes button hole slit
3683/ext	linen thread, fine	blanket stitch on wire ring
	wool textile, S × ?, x	on one face of wire ring
3721/ext	wool tabby, 18Z × 14Z, worsted	pierced by pin
	wool thread	stitching thread on worsted
3736/ext	hair	with pins, etc
3742/ext	wool tabby, 20Z × 18Z, undyed	on pin
4629/ext	animal fibre	
5110/ext	wool tabby, 12S × 18S, x	loose and on shank of pin
5117/ext	linen tabby, 40S × 35S	covering cu/a buttons
	wool tabby, 14S × 14S, x	from behind button
5143*	wool tabby, 12S × 10S, x	pierced by pin
	linen thread	inside cu/a aiglet
5161/ext	wool fibres	adhering to plated cu/a pins
5177/ext	human body hair	loose with pins and shavings
5194/ext	wool tabby, 10S × 8S, nap on one face, undyed, M × HM	from bottom right leg; selvedge
7002/ext	human head hair	ornamental comb in place
7010/ext	wool tabby, 14Z × 16Z, worsted	two layers pierced by pin
7016/ext	human head hair;	remains of bonnet with wire frame
	silk tabby net, 36 × 50;	
	silk lace-work mesh	
7043/ext	human body hair	with cu/a pin
7100/ext	human body hair	with cu/a pins
7101/ext	wool tabby, 14S × 20S, x	loose with wire ring
7137/ext	wool ?tabby, S × S	pierced by pin
7509/ext	coarse animal fibre	loose with pins

Key

int = intra-mural burial (from inside the church)

ext = extra-mural burial (from the graveyard)

x = lightly soft-finished

M = Medium fleece type

HM = Hairy Medium fleece type

Table 23: Fleece types of yarns in textiles. (Statistics are based on the measurement of the diameters of 100 fibres. Measurements in microns (1 micron = 0.001 mm))

Sample	Range	Mode(s)	Mean±S.D.	Pearson Coeff. of skew, distribution	Medullas	Pigment	Fleece type
<i>Coffin-covers</i>							
463. tabby Z	9–40	24, 26	26.2±5.9	–0.03, symmetrical	0	0	Semi-Fine
S	14–41	21	26.0±6.4	+1.07, skewed positive	1%	0	Fine/Generalised Medium
944. 2/2 twill Zi	7–29	16	16.7±4.1	+0.23, symmetrical	0	0	Fine (= noils)
Zii	10–30	16	16.9±3.7	+0.33, symmetrical	0	0	Fine (= noils)
973. 2/2 twill Zi	16–34	21, 22	22.2±4.3	+0.48, symm/skewed	0	0	Fine
Zii	11–35	22	22.4±4.1	+0.13, symmetrical	0	0	Fine
3646. tabby repp coarse S	12–46	27, 29	30.3±7.3	+0.02, symmetrical	2%	0	Semi-Fine
fine S	15–46	27, 29	28.9±6.1	+0.24, symmetrical	2%	0	Semi-Fine
3683. tabby Z	14–35	22	20.7±4.0	+0.24, symmetrical	0	0	Fine
S	12–32	20	20.8±3.8	+0.16, symmetrical	0	0	Fine
<i>Internal textiles, probably shrouds</i>							
25. tabby fine S	15–52	30, 35	32.2±7.6	+0.31, symmetrical	0	0	Medium
coarse S	17–50	31, 40	34.5±7.4	+0.03, symmetrical	0	0	Medium
5194. tabby warp S	17–57	32, 34	34.2±7.4	+0.18, symmetrical	4%	0	Medium
weft S	17–76	32	34.8±10.0	+0.33, symmetrical	7%	0	Hairy Medium

sort found in coffins at Spitalfields is also a possibility, although the identity of the material used to stuff the mattresses is not known (Janaway 1993, 103).

Other fine undyed worsteds from graves F992 and F7010 may represent similar coffin linings, or perhaps the side sheets. These appeared in the later eighteenth century and comprised a pair of wool sheets tacked to the bottom of the coffin. The corpse, clothed in a wool shift and cap, was laid in the coffin and the side sheets were brought round to enfold the body, leaving the head visible (Litten 1998, 13).

Shrouds

The wool textiles adhering to the backs of buttons and pierced by smaller pins are more likely to represent the remains of shrouds. By the eighteenth century, the medieval shroud had evolved, from a simple linen wrapper, through a gathered sheet with an opening for the head, until it had become a long-sleeved woollen shift resembling a night-shirt, open at the back for ease of dressing the body (Litten 1991, 76–83). These later shrouds were mainly made of flannel, a wool cloth woven in tabby weave and lightly soft-finished. The medium-weight wool fabrics from St Peter's burials which appear to be lightly fulled (indicated by 'x' in Table 22) are probably this fabric. Samples selected for analysis of the quality of the wool proved to be Medium and Hairy Medium fleece types and consistently coarser than the wools used in the baize coffin-covers (Table 23).

The shrouds would have had small ornamental buttons and it is interesting to note that the two wire rings from graves F3063 and F3683, identified as cartwheel buttons, have been covered in a form of blanket stitch, using fine linen thread. In another case, grave F5117, a

plain copper-alloy button had been covered in an ultra-fine linen textile. Since each of these graves also contained a wool textile, probably the remains of a shroud, it seems likely that they pre-dated the repeal of the acts concerning wool in burials. This implies that a blind eye was turned to the material of the buttons on the shroud.

Remains of a silk bonnet

Some of the head hair of the woman in grave F7016 had survived and proved to be relatively coarse, straight and originally mid-light brown, the body hair being blonde. Among the head hair were some fragments of fine metalwork. Across the outer face of the metalwork is an open-weave silk tabby and sandwiched between the tabby and the metal, and also on the back of the metal, are the remains of a fine silk mesh and some sewing threads holding the whole together. The mesh is machine-made, which places it after 1800 and the fact that it is silk suggests that it is later than 1815.

The individual elements match those of a bonnet in the burial dated to 1825/6 from All Saints Pavement, York.⁵⁸ The All Saints bonnet was in the style of a woman's indoor cap of the early to mid-nineteenth century,⁵⁹ and had a foundation of silk textile mounted on a simple wire frame, an outer cover of lace mesh, ribbon ties and a front trimming of lace and a ruched muslin band. Fragmentary remains of a similar bonnet have been found in a poorly dated coffin at St Mary-the-Less, Durham.⁶⁰ No silk bonnets were found at Spitalfields, but burial in the garments worn in life, as opposed to funerary gear, was noted to become more common after *c.* 1820 in the study of the burials at that site (Janaway 1993, 119). Grave F7016 is likely to belong to this later period.

Surgical Appliances

by *Quita Mould*⁶¹

The remains of surgical appliances were found in association with two burials (F3041 and F3043) each an adult male of unknown age deposited in the last phase of burial in the cemetery (mid-nineteenth century) in Area 8. An adjustable double truss, with leather strapping and textile padding strengthened internally with copper-alloy strips, was found at the pelvis of skeleton 258 (burial F3041) and had been worn on the body to ease the discomfort of a double hernia (Fig. 766; Pl. 116).⁶²

Fragments of iron strapping with a leather covering that appear to represent the strengthened back part of a surgical appliance were found over the right side of the pelvis of skeleton 259 (burial F3043). Remains of a linen textile and a knitted linen fabric were present on one face of the leather-covered iron strap. These textile remains, and two bone buttons, came from the burial costume (F3043). It would appear that both the corpses had been rapidly prepared for burial and were interred in their own clothes, and still wearing surgical appliances. This might suggest the two men died of a contagious disease: cholera was prevalent during the 1840s.

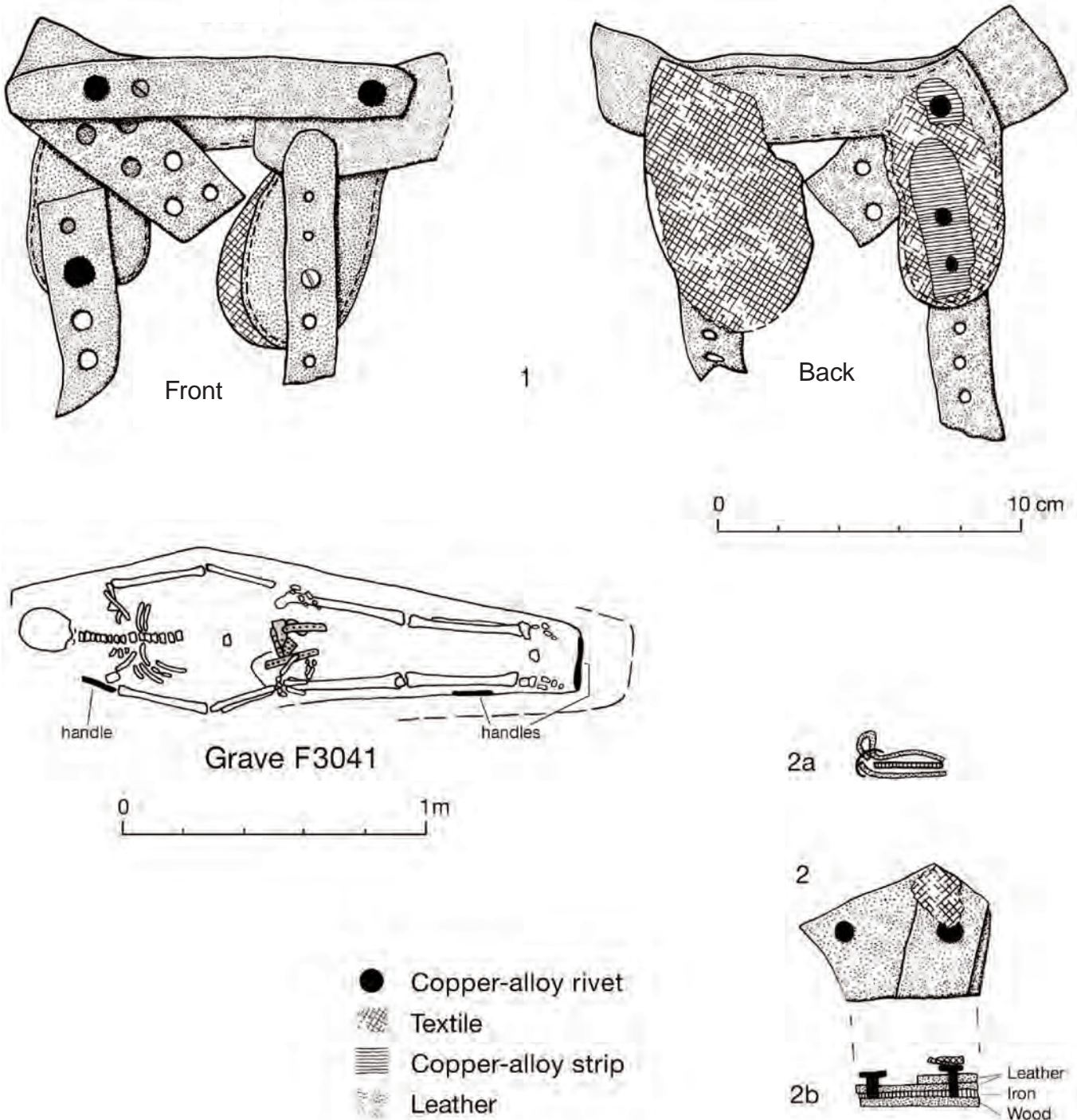


Fig. 766: Surgical appliances. 1, Hernia truss from grave F3041 (sk. 258); 2, Fragment of hernia truss from grave F3043 (sk. 259). Scale 1:2. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

A contemporary surgical appliance was reported at Alkmaar (Netherlands) during excavations in 1995 when a single truss was found on a body of eighteenth- or nineteenth-century date, buried within the *Grote Kerk* (Goubitz *et al.* 2001, 310, fig. 15). The truss is described as being of sheet brass covered with leather and textile. A possible example of fifth- or sixth-century date was found at Llandough monastery (Glam.), where two iron bands around the stomach of a male burial were interpreted as a surgical truss (Denison 1995, 4). However, Daniell (1997, 174) has pointed out that iron bands were worn as a punishment for sin, and offers this as an alternative interpretation of the find. The Llandough find and the rare occurrences of others in burials from this country and abroad have recently been published by Redknap (2005, 53–64).⁶³

Fig. 766

1. A U-shaped double-lobed support of leather which has a pad of coarse textile sewn to the underside with grain/flesh stitching around the perimeter, 5 mm from the edge, with a stitch length of 6 mm. The padding consists of two coarse wool textiles, the outer woven in tabby (8/Z × 7/S per cm), the inner 2/1 twill (6/S × 6/S per cm). Fibres of pubic hair adhere to the surface. Copper-alloy strips with round, flat-headed rivets lie beneath the padding. The rivets pass through the metal strips and the leather support, fastening through a number of straps that each have a series of punched fastening holes to allow for adjustment to fit. A wide leather strap runs horizontally across the top of the support to fasten around the waist. Its rounded terminal is present on the right side and a second fragment is present on the left, pierced by a double staggered line of fastening punched holes that may also have served to aid ventilation and reduce the overall weight. The two pieces of 'waist band' are joined with a narrow, central, adjustable strap with rounded terminals held in place by a copper-alloy rivet at each end. An adjustable strap to pass between the legs runs vertically down from each lobe attached by copper-alloy rivets, one on the right side having been replaced by a copper-alloy screw. Leather grain pattern obscured by soil, but likely to be bovine. Max. W 150 mm, support W 116 mm, waist strap W 34 mm, support pad 85 × 40 mm. Phase A; sk. 258 in grave F3041.
2. More than twelve fragments of a central iron strap within a covering of leather (width 22–30 mm). One face is overlain with a linen textile (tabby weave, 22/Z × 22/Z per cm) with a knitted linen fabric (fine stocking stitch, 10 stitches × 12 rows per cm) above. Two of the fragments have wood preserved on the other face, and one has a seam visible along an edge sewn with a whip stitch. This edge seam appears to be joining a separate 'bead' but in section it can be seen to be a rolled edge rather than a separate bead (Fig. 766, 2a).

The largest fragment of leather-covered iron strap preserves the fixing to it of a leather strap (width 24 mm), joining at an oblique angle and attached by means of copper-alloy rivets. Wood was present on the underside of the iron-covered strap. A woven textile with a knitted fabric above is present, lying on top of one of the copper-alloy rivet heads (Fig. 766, 2b). Leather grain pattern obscured by soil and corrosion products, likely to be bovine. Phase A; sk. 259 in grave F3043.

Post-Medieval Sepulchral Monuments

Stonework of sepulchral and monumental origin constitutes the majority of the *ex situ* post-medieval material. Displaced gravestones and loose fragments of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century date are not discussed in detail here (see site archive), and internal floor and wall monuments are listed and described in Appendix 6.

Local geological types are represented among the memorials, but from the early eighteenth century fine-grained buff sandstone from the Coal Measures was brought in. It is known colloquially as Yorkshire Stone (or simply Yorkstone), while the fissile and micaceous flaggy stone, also from the Coal Measures, is referred to as Elland-Flag type. For detailed discussion of the geological types see pp. 789–93 and 639–40.

Inscribed ashlar stones

by Jackie Hall

There are three Lower Magnesian Limestone blocks, and one of Yorkshire Stone, all of modest size, with rough inscriptions on the main face.

Fig. 767

1. This seems to date from 1664, but the inscription is worn and undecipherable.⁶⁴ It appears to have been a walling stone, and the inscription was doubtless cut *in situ*, to commemorate a nearby burial. Recovered from nineteenth-century pew foundations in the nave (F212).
2. Walling stone with five good faces and the rear left rough. It commemorates Elisabeth Chance (d. 1724).⁶⁵ The inscription reads 'ELISABETH / CHANCE + / DIED + MARCH + / 1724'. Unstratified.
3. Worn stone commemorating Edward Smith (d. 1729).⁶⁶ The inscription reads 'EDWARD SMITH / BVRIED THE / 2 APRIL 1729 / ES IS ES'. The three sets of initials at the bottom may include those of his widow or other person who set up the memorial. In this instance the stone appears to have been used as a memorial after its use in a wall since the lettering is at odds with the architectural function; this is evident from the way the lowest line is incised over the chamfered edge. In addition there is a small bar hole which may be associated with the previous use of the stone. Unstratified.
4. Small block of Yorkshire Stone with the initials 'A H' inscribed near the top. Sandstone of this type was not used in the church walls, and the inscription is more likely to be a simple memorial than a casual graffiti. The suggested use of Yorkshire Stone from 1723 (p. 720) together with the letter form makes a date in the first half of the eighteenth century likely (F236).

A further example survives at St Mary's, where a similar loose block (Lower Magnesian Limestone) is dated 1706 (Fig. 768).⁶⁷ It is inscribed:

[HERE LI]ES THE BOD
[Y OF] FAITH LOW. WH
O DIED THE 23 OF IVNE
1706 IN THE 17 YEAR
OF HER AGE : :

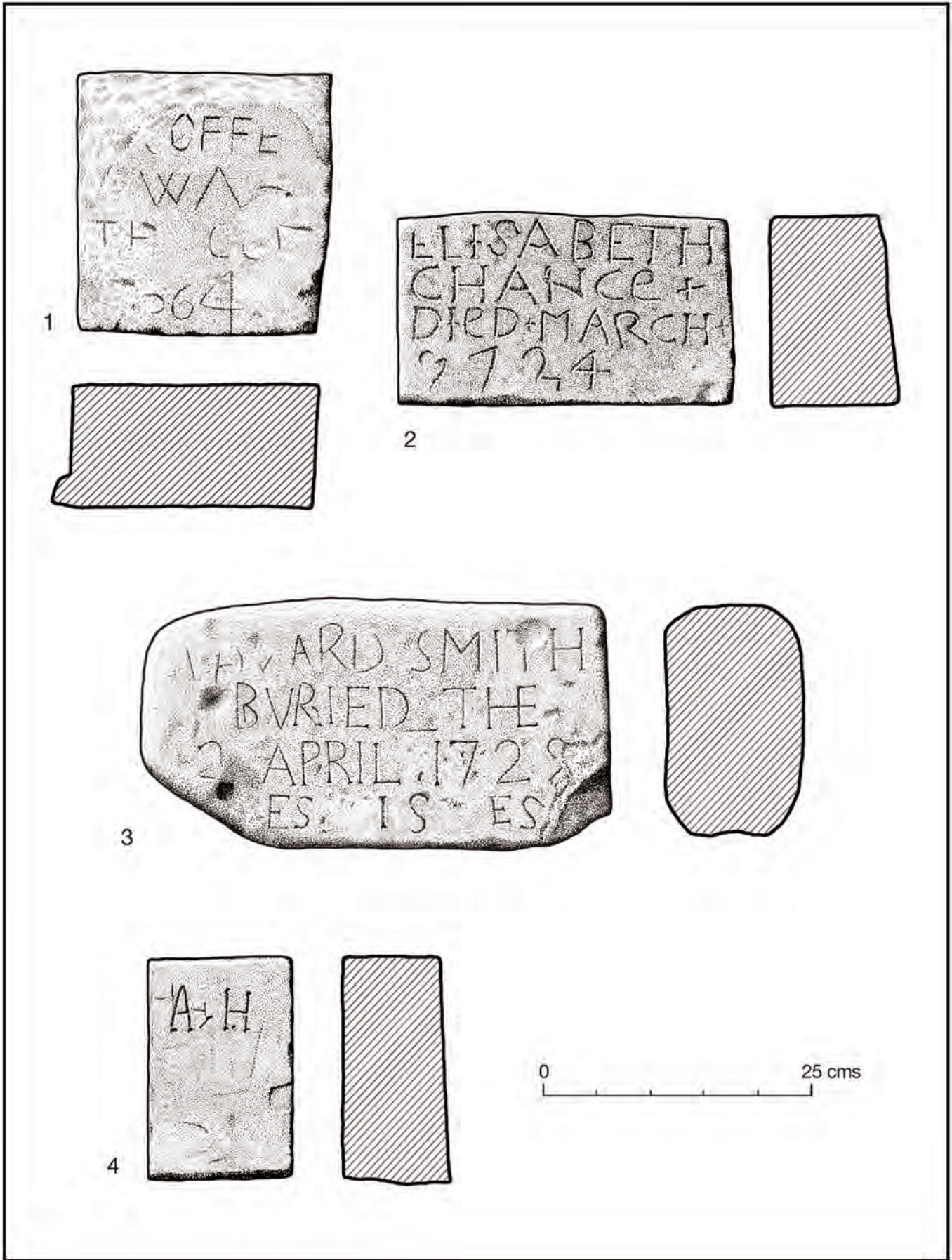


Fig. 767: Inscribed ashlars, 1-4. Scale 1:5. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

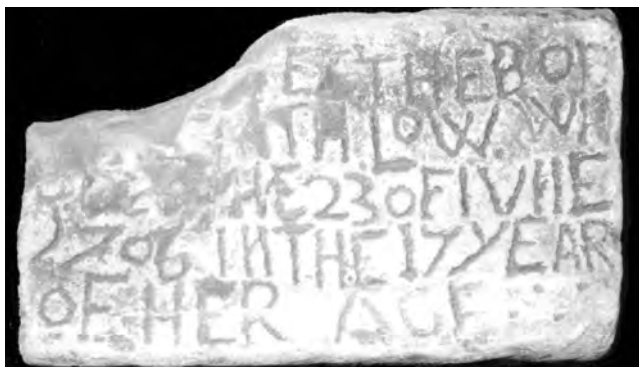


Fig. 768: *St Mary's church. Inscribed ashlar, commemorating Faith Low, 1706. Photo: Warwick Rodwell*

These pieces may represent the opportunistic use of stone released during repairs by an increasingly literate population. There are no inscribed stones extant in the walls of either church now, and it is impossible to be certain whether the surviving examples were used as grave-markers or as memorials in the church walls. Several similar inscribed blocks lie in the churchyard at Winterringham.

Loft also recorded several other examples of memorials comprising only the initials of the deceased, but these may have been the foot-stones from body-shaped tombs, rather than ashlar: *e.g.*

'B:F. I:B.' and 'I:C. Æ 19 Y^{rs.}'⁶⁸

'H:W.'⁶⁹

'A:M.', 'G:K.' and 'E:B.'⁷⁰

'J. & T.M.'⁷¹

Churchyard memorials

The destruction of the old part of St Peter's churchyard in 1967 has deprived us of the opportunity to study its memorials as an assemblage. We have at our disposal only some of the *disiecta membra* of that once-packed churchyard, supplemented by the detailed listing of memorials by Loft in 1827–32. There is no photographic coverage of the lost monuments.⁷² Some comparative evidence remains *in situ* at St Mary's, where there are again Loft's detailed notes. In analyzing the memorials, it is helpful that Loft distinguished between headstones, stone chest-tombs and brick-built tombs.

The most striking feature of both churchyards is the paucity of stone memorials ante-dating the late eighteenth century, a fact amply confirmed by Loft's lists. In St Peter's, for the seventeenth century, he noted only one 'flat stone on the ground', bearing dates of 1676 and 1678, and in St Mary's he recorded a single stone dated 1695. These do not survive, but there is an inscribed stone in the lapidary collection at St Peter's which seems to bear the damaged date 1664 (Fig. 767, 1). The lost stones may simply have been reused ashlar upon which initials and dates were inscribed. Even allowing for the fact that one or two of the several eroded and partially buried stones that Loft could not fully read may have been seventeenth century, it is

overwhelmingly clear that the churchyards were virtually devoid of memorials prior to the eighteenth century. Had there been any surviving timber grave-markers, especially with inscriptions, we can be sure that Loft would have mentioned them.

What was possibly the earliest memorial in St Peter's churchyard was a stumpy slab of Lower Magnesian Limestone with a simple, irregularly incised inscription in seventeenth-century style.⁷³ It read:

HERE LYES THE
BODY OF S.F. THE
WIFE OF I-F

The stone might commemorate Sarah Foy, wife of John Foy, a tailor, who died in August 1705.⁷⁴

The first half of the eighteenth century saw the gradual introduction of inscribed headstones and table-tombs in the churchyards, although Loft recorded only three in St Mary's (dated 1724, 1731 and 1733).⁷⁵ In St Peter's, however, a group of burials associated with the influential Gildas (*alias* Gelder) family of Bardney Hall were marked by stone memorials: they lay just south-west of the south porch. There were twelve stones, spanning the period 1717 to 1741, and the earlier ones were mostly small in size, made of limestone, and some bore inscriptions in Latin (Fig. 769).⁷⁶ The later ones were of Yorkstone, with inscriptions in English (Pl. 108). Only two have survived.⁷⁷ One, dated 1718, is a small, arched headstone of rustic style, with skull and crossbones and a Latin inscription (Fig. 770). The other is the magnificently sculpted sandstone top for a chest-tomb (Fig. 770, 6) for Susanna Gildas (d. 1723), aged 15, the daughter of William and Susanna Gildas. This is the earliest recorded stone chest at Barton. There were only four others of Georgian date: two at St Mary's (1777 and 1827) and two at St Peter's (1820 and 1825). More followed in the Victorian era.

The known Gildas memorials may be listed as follows. The inscriptions on the lost stones are partially reconstructible from records made by Loft in 1827 and by us in 1978.⁷⁸

Headstone with arched top, M.145 (Fig. 769).
Limestone (17—).

Loft noted that the remainder of the inscription was 'too deep buried' to be read; subsequently the stone was broken off at ground level. The date of this stone was probably before *c.* 1720.

[—W—]
FILIA GVLIELMI
ET SVSANNÆ
GILDAS
[broken off at this point]

Headstone M.148. Limestone (1717).⁷⁹

TERCY · FILIA · [GVL]
IELMI · ET · SVSAN
NÆ GILDAS · OBIIT



Fig. 769: Fragmentary remains of three early eighteenth-century limestone memorials of the Gildas family (M.145–147). Laid as paving outside the south entrance to the church in 1967; seen here in 1978; M.145 and M.146 are now lost; for M.147, see Fig. 770, 1. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

16^{MO} DIE MARTII A
DNI 1717^{MO} A^O · ÆTATIS
4^{TO}

Headstone M.146 (Fig. 769). Limestone (1717).
Loft noted ‘the top is broken off this’. The date of
decease correlates with the entry in the burial register
for Judith Gelder, who was baptized in Feb, 1715,

[broken off at this point]
[OBIIT 2^{DO} DIE]
[SEPTE]MBRIS: A:DNI
1717^{MO} A^O ÆTATIS
3^{TIO}

Headstone M.147. Lower Magnesian Limestone
(1718) (Figs. 769 and 770, 5).

Commemorates Charles, son of William and Susanna
Gildas (d. 1718).⁸⁰ The child’s Christian name is now
lost but is supplied by Loft. The slab had a secondary
use as paving, for which half of the arched top was cut
away.

[CAROLVS] [FILIVS]
GVLIEL[MI ET SV]
SANNÆ GILDAS
OBIIT 13^{TIO} DIE
JVNII A.DNI 1718^{VO}
A^O ÆTATIS 2^{DO}

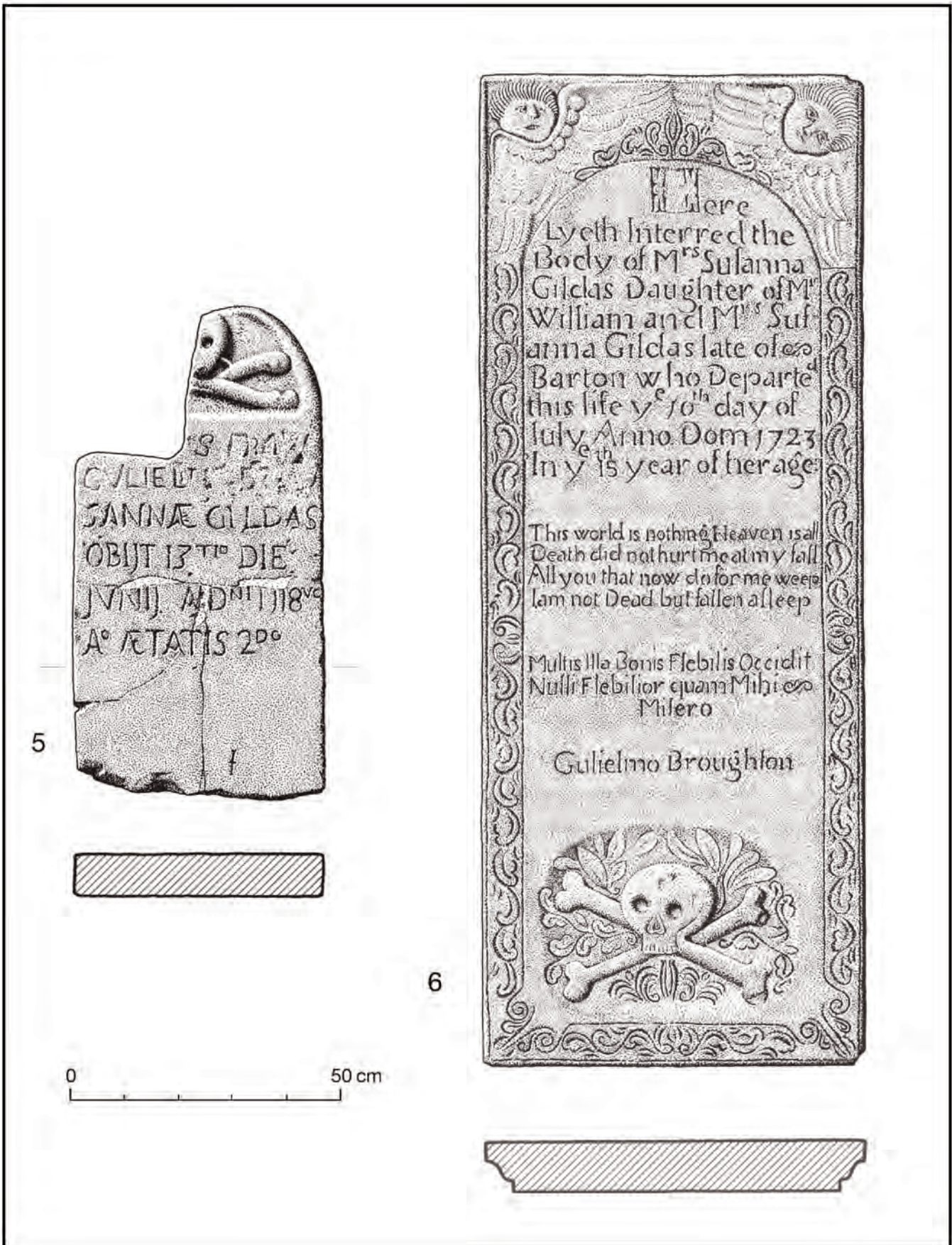


Fig. 770: Memorial stones of the Gildas family. 1, Small headstone (1718; M.147); 2, Top of a table-tomb (1723; M.139). Scale 1:10. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Top from a table tomb M.139 (Fig. 770, 6).
Fine-grained Yorkshire sandstone (1723).

This potentially marks the introduction of Yorkshire Stone to Barton as a popular material for memorials. It commemorates another of the Gildas children, Susanna.⁸¹

Here
Lyeth Interred the
Body of M^{rs} Susanna
Gildas Daughter of M^r
William and M^{rs} Sus-
anna Gildas late of
Barton who Departed^d
this Life y^e 10th day of
Iuly Anno Dom. 1723
In y^e 15th year of her age.

This world is nothing, Heaven is all
Death did not hurt me at my fall
All you that now do for me weep
I am not Dead but fallen asleep

Multis Illa Bonis Fleibilis Occidit
Nulli Flebilior quam Mihi
Misero⁸²

Gulielmo Broughton

Tomb-top. Carboniferous limestone(?) (17—/1724).
Another table-tomb was seen by Loft and described as 'a brick tomb covered with a large blue slab of marble'. It bore a Latin inscription to Judith and William Gildas (d. 17— and 1724).⁸³ This was clearly an exceptional tomb for its time at Barton, the slab presumably being of Carboniferous limestone, rather than the more common black Belgian marble. The monument does not appear to have been extant when the churchyard survey was made in 1966. Loft records the inscription, which was even then only partly legible:⁸⁴

Ivdith Vxor W^{mi}. Gildas obiit 30th. Martii a^o. suæ
Ætatis 64 A.D. 17—. Nata inlom Filia
Rogeri Acheley Armigeri Regalis præfectus
L..... ex antiqua Familia Mater..... mersto...
Gvlielmvs Gildas qui obiit decimo quarto die
Aprilis A.D. 1724. Ætatis 73^{mo}. Fuit in iecer
Vitæ conjvx fidei Patriæ Amator et nvlly
Char.....te secundus.

Headstone M.137. Limestone (1734).

The three uppermost lines of the inscription had been lost by 1978, but are supplied by Loft. He, however, could not see the lowest two-and-a-half lines because they were 'too deep buried to be made out'.

[Here lieth y^e Body of
W^m. Gildas Son of William
Gildas and Sarah his Wife]
and Grandchild to W^M.

GILDAS and SVSANNA
his Wife who Departed
this Life y^e 20th of Aprill 1734
aged tenn weeks.

Headstone M.149. Limestone(?) (1734).

Loft implies that this was part of a brick-built tomb but, with a width of only 49 cm, the stone cannot have been a tomb-top. It may have been at the head-end of a brick 'body' memorial.⁸⁵

Here lieth the Body of Susannah
GILDAS the Wife of WILLIAM
GILDAS of BARTON UPON HUMBER in
the County of LINCOLN. Gen^t
who departed this Life
on the 14th Day of November
1734
Aged 51 Years

Headstone M.144. Limestone (1735).

Here lieth
the Body of CHARLES GILDAS
Son of WILLIAM GILDAS and
SARAH his wife and Grand
Son of WILLIAM GILDAS and
Susanna his wife who
Departed this Life the 24th
of Aprill 1735 aged Seven Weeks

Headstone M.138. Limestone 1736.

This child is also commemorated on M.136.

[Here ly]eth
The Body of SARAH GILD[AS]
Daughter of W^M and SARAH GILDAS who
Departed this Life y^e
23^d. of Aprill 1736
aged nine Weeks

Headstone M.136. Limestone (1736/1741).

Here Lieth
the Body of Sarah ye Daughter
of W^m. and Sarah Gildas, who
Departed this Life y^e 23^d. of
April 1736, aged nine Weeks.
Here also lieth y^e Body of Sarah
the Daughter of W^m. and Sarah
Gildas who departed this Life
on Sunday y^e 28th. of February
1741, aged three Years and
Seventeen Days

Tomb-top M.143. Yorkstone(?) (1741).

Loft implies that this was the top of a brick-built tomb, as the dimensions would indicate (2.00 × 1.00 m).

[Here] lieth the Body of Lucy Moor
[Daughter] of William and Susanna
Gildas who departed this Life on
the 19th Day of] September [1741]
Aged [29] Years.

In 1735, the Rev'd John Gelder (d. 1751) began to colonize the interior of the church for burial. He prematurely constructed a vault for himself in the south-west corner of the south aisle, where it was as close as possible to the Gildas family burials in the churchyard (p. 665; Fig. 720).

There can be little doubt that the Gildas family should take the credit for introducing fine-quality churchyard memorials to Barton, from 1717 onwards. There were a few other memorial inscriptions of the early eighteenth century in St Peter's churchyard: Loft recorded one of 1747.⁸⁶ Simple inscribed headstones, which became an increasingly popular feature of British churchyards from the mid-seventeenth century onwards (Mytum and Chapman 2005), are totally lacking at Barton prior to 1718, which may be another reflection of the town's economic stagnation; such stones are, however, present elsewhere in Lincolnshire, including the Fenland (Healey 1991).

In the second half of the eighteenth century inscribed memorials gradually became more common in both Barton's churchyards, and it is interesting to note that one of the earliest was to John Fowler, a carpenter (d. 1753),⁸⁷ and another was to Matthew Foy, a butcher (d. 1790). The material used for headstones and the tops of the few table-tombs was almost invariably Yorkstone. At St Peter's a particularly fine example of a table-tomb commemorated Joseph Page (d. 1776), from Hull, who was described as: 'Architect and Master Builder of an extensive Genius in the Liberal Arts; superior to many and excell'd by few'. One suspects that he designed his own memorial. This, like most table-tombs at Barton, consisted of a Yorkstone slab on a brick-built chest.⁸⁸

Altogether thirty brick table-tombs were recorded by Loft (down to 1836): twelve in St Peter's churchyard and eighteen in St Mary's. Twenty were distributed through the eighteenth century, from 1724 onwards (in both churchyards), and a further ten in the early nineteenth century.⁸⁹ More were added after 1836, but there is no detailed record of these.

The number of memorials increased noticeably in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, and continued to proliferate throughout the first half of the nineteenth. Only a few post-dated 1850 and both the old churchyards were closed by Order in Council in 1855, after which all burials should have taken place in the new southern extension at St Peter's (p. 612). Little can be said about the physical form of many of the monuments since no detailed record was made before they were broken up. In addition to brick chests, there were also stone panelled altar-tombs, body-shaped stones, recumbent coped slabs, kerbs and iron railings (Figs. 672 and 687). Not surprisingly, the more substantial monuments tended to belong to the professional classes. Thus on the north side of St Peter's there was a group of three table-tombs commemorating members of the Goy family, who were solicitors (Fig. 741).⁹⁰ To the south of the chancel was a gothick monument to



Fig. 771: Excavated slot for a lost headstone which was supported by two timber posts in Area 10. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 772: Churchyard. Headstone to James Hamilton (d. 1827), depicting a sailing ship. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Richard Eddie, a surgeon; this was a tapered and coped cross-slab of limestone, set on a plinth, with an encompassing inscription in Gothic script.⁹¹ Other inscriptions commemorated merchants and tradesmen: e.g. a retired merchant from Hull,⁹² a plumber and glazier⁹³ and a lost memorial referred to a 'Nurseryman and Seedsman of this place'.⁹⁴

Headstones of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were often given added support against toppling in the unconsolidated soil of a back-filled grave by installing one, or two, square-section oak posts against the rear face; the slab and post were drilled and an iron bolt inserted (Fig. 771). For the most part, headstones at Barton were relatively plain: the top edge was generally shaped, but not heavily moulded; the inscription was straightforward, although the initial words (usually *Sacred* or *In Memory*) were sometimes in more elaborate script. Very few headstones were pictorial, but several examples bearing incised sailing ships were present, being allusions to the Humber sloop; one survived *in situ* until the 1980s to the north of the chancel (Fig. 772).⁹⁵ Unsurprisingly, some epitaphs reflected connections with the sea:

Ye blustering winds and stormy seas
Have toss'd me to and fro
But here at anchor now I lay

With many of the fleet
I hope one day to set sail
My admiral Christ to meet.⁹⁶

While some epitaphs were individually composed expressly in honour of the deceased, others were drawn from the contemporary genre of funerary memorials, especially those relating to long illness as the precursor to death (Burgess 1963, 219–22). Several epitaphs in both churchyards bore allusions to illness and the failure of the medical profession to effect a cure (p. 737). Sometimes a hint as to the nature of the illness was given:

A sudden Stroke the Lord his Body gave,
And sent him hence into the silent Grave;
Death does not always Warning give,
I hope in Christ his Soul doth Live.⁹⁷

and

A pale consumption gave its fatal blow,
The stroke was certain but the effect was slow,
With lingering in pain, Death found them long
oppressed,
Pitied their fight and kindly gave them rest.⁹⁸

Reference to a promising life being cut short by illness are not uncommon:

Mourn not dear friends at my decease,
I hope with God I've made my peace;
Repent in time, make no delay.
I in my prime was snatch'd away.

This epitaph occurred on the memorial to Joseph Bromley Swallow (d. 1842), aged 28 years. His burial was excavated in Area 11, and he was found to have died from poliomyelitis.⁹⁹

Some of the most florid and emotional epitaphs occur on memorials to children:

Angels forms for earth, too pure, too bright,
Gleamed in sweet visions o'er parental sight,
They fled, this holiest hope to faith is given,
To find the dream full realised in heaven,
Fain would we long have gazed, but God removed
To holier, happier scenes those whom he loved.
Weep not, they are not dead but sleeping.¹⁰⁰

Occasionally, accidents are recorded on memorials, as in the case of William Coulson (d. 1801), aged 35 years:

Be warn'd by this my sudden Fall,
Therefore for Death prepare;
For it will come you know not when,
The Manner how, or where.

We would have no knowledge of the circumstances behind this epitaph, if Loft had not added the note, 'This Wm. Coulson was killed coming down Beacon Hill in Barton Field, by a waggon load of clover. J.H.L.'¹⁰¹

Finally, the occasional humorous epitaph is found:

Doom'd to receive half that my Soul held dear,
The other half with Grief she left me here —
Ask not her Name for she was true and Just,
Once a Fine Woman — now a heap of Dust.¹⁰²

Still extant in the south-west quarter of the churchyard is a Victorian gothick headstone to James Knight, a curate from Sheffield who evidently retired to Barton.¹⁰³ The incised lettering retains considerable traces of the red and black pigment with which it was originally coloured (Fig. 773).¹⁰⁴

The churchyard extension was purchased in 1850 and consecrated the following year (Ball 1856, 1, 61), but not all the plots had been taken up by the time burial was transferred to the new public cemetery on Barrow Road in 1867. The extension still contains



Fig. 773: Churchyard. Gothick headstone with polychromed lettering to the Rev'd James Knight (d. 1863). Photo: Warwick Rodwell

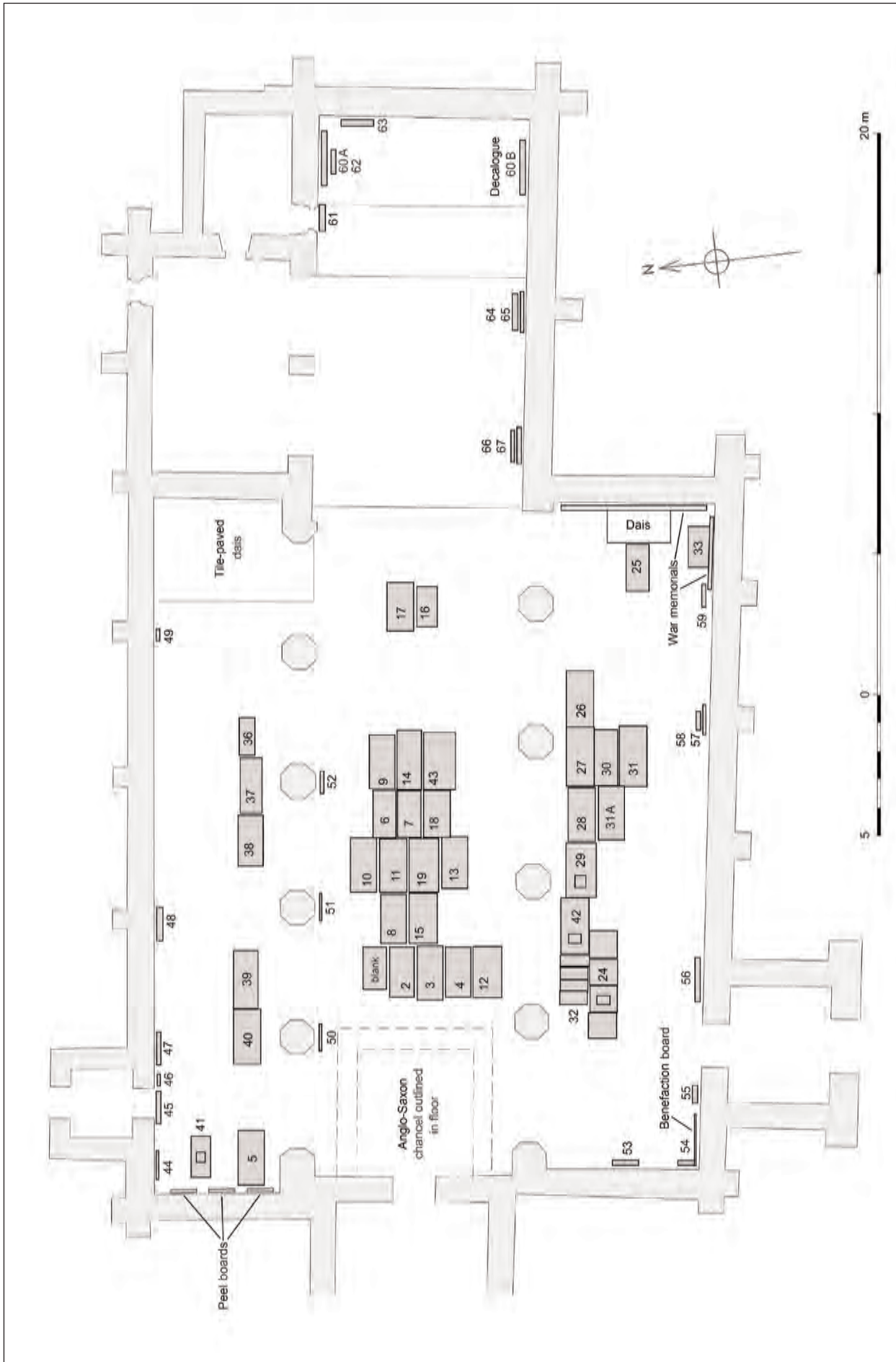


Fig. 774: Location plan of ledger-slabs and wall memorials in St Peter's church, as rearranged since 1985. Compare with Fig. 599. Scale 1:200. Drawing: Caroline Atkins and Simon Hayfield

some memorials *in situ*, but they are of very mediocre quality, and are continually being depleted through vandalism. Several were once enclosed by iron railings, all now lost.

There is very little evidence for the construction of brick burial vaults or brick-lined shafts in St Peter's churchyard, and none were encountered during the excavations. Several faculties exist for the creation of vaults in the nineteenth century, while others were apparently built without any such permission. In the former category are the vaults created for two families in the southern churchyard extension in 1861,¹⁰⁵ and another in 1862.¹⁰⁶ Of these three, two were already built and occupied, which suggests that there was a short-lived drive to legalize vault construction.

Also worthy of mention is a slate headstone to John Hattersley and his wife (d. 1848/1852, respectively); this is a rare example of the use of slate for memorials at Barton. Carved limestone has not generally fared well in outdoor conditions. Finely oolitic Lincolnshire Limestone occurs in the form of an inscribed side-piece of the monument to the widow of Richard Eddie (d. 1858; M.135).

Internal memorials

Regrettably, Loft's descriptions of the internal monuments survive only for the chancel of St Peter's, and there are none for St Mary's church.



Fig. 775: Nave. Carboniferous limestone ledger-slab to Anthony Empringham (d. 1698; M.7)

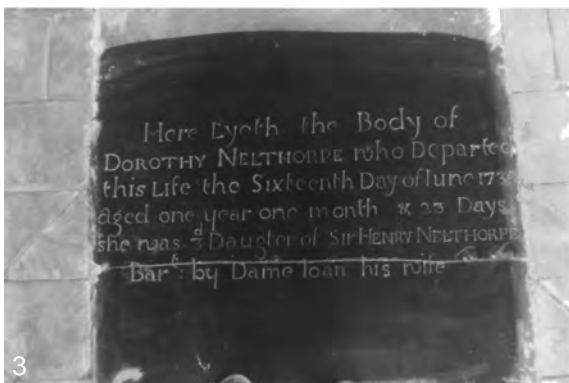
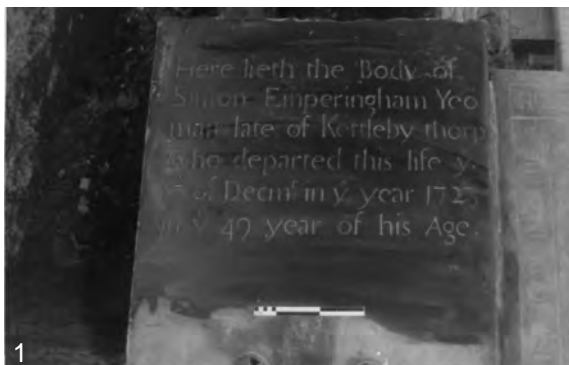


Fig. 776: Nave and south aisle. Carboniferous limestone ledger-slabs with inscriptions: 1, Simon Empringham (d. 1723; M.6); 2, John Nelthorpe (d. 1749; M.26); 3, Dorothy Nelthorpe (d. 1735; M.27); 4, Kirke Nelthorpe (d. 1734; M.25). Photos (Figs. 775 and 776): Warwick Rodwell

Ledger-slabs

Ledgers which were visible in 1978 are shown in Fig. 599. For a current location plan, see Fig. 774.

The earliest post-medieval ledgers in St Peter's are of blue-grey Carboniferous limestone: the slab commemorating Anthony Empringham (d. 1698; M.7) follows the medieval tradition of having a marginal inscription running around all four sides. The lettering is in *bas-relief* (Fig. 775). The memorial to Simon Emperingham [*sic*] (d. 1723; M.6), however, has a conventional six-line incised inscription (Fig. 776, 1). Those to Kirke Nelthorpe (d. 1734; M.25), Dorothy Nelthorpe (d. 1735; M.27) and John Nelthorpe (d. 1749; M.26) follow the same formula (Fig. 776, 2–4). Finally, a slab of Carboniferous limestone with an indent for a rectangular brass plate has been lost since 1979: it may have been the monument to Edward Tripp (d. 1619; M.21), whose plate was noted by Ball (1856, 1, 58). There are no post-medieval ledger-slabs of Carboniferous limestone in St Mary's church.

Nearly all the recorded post-medieval floor memorials are each composed of a single slab of Yorkstone,

bearing an incised inscription (thirty-four slabs). The earliest dates from 1744 (Ann Scrivener; M.11). Black mastic filling of the lettering is apparent in several early nineteenth-century inscriptions (M.19 – 1807; M.39 – 1813; M.38 – 1822; M.37 – 1823; M.16 – 1831; M.24 – 1837), but may have been lost from others. In St Mary's church (south aisle) the earliest identifiable of thirty-seven Yorkstone ledgers dates from 1757.

In three instances an inscribed, rectangular brass plate is fixed to an uninscribed slab: Richard Beachcroft (d. 1813; M.29; Fig. 777),¹⁰⁷ the Rev'd William Uppleby (d. 1834; M.9) and Henrietta Preston (d. 1837; M.24). This contrasts with those memorials which have a generally similar, or even identical, inscription on both the slab and the plate: Thomas Scrivener (d. 1774; M.42); John Scrivener (d. 1800; M.10); and Joel Tombleson (d. 1842; M.41). Another brass plate, commemorating William Graburn (d. 1822), was lost in the nineteenth century (Monson 1936, 29). Remains of black mastic filling in the lettering are present on the Scrivener (1774) plate. In St Mary's church there is a single example of an inscribed brass plate attached to a Yorkstone ledger (Sarah Hatherell, d. 1824).

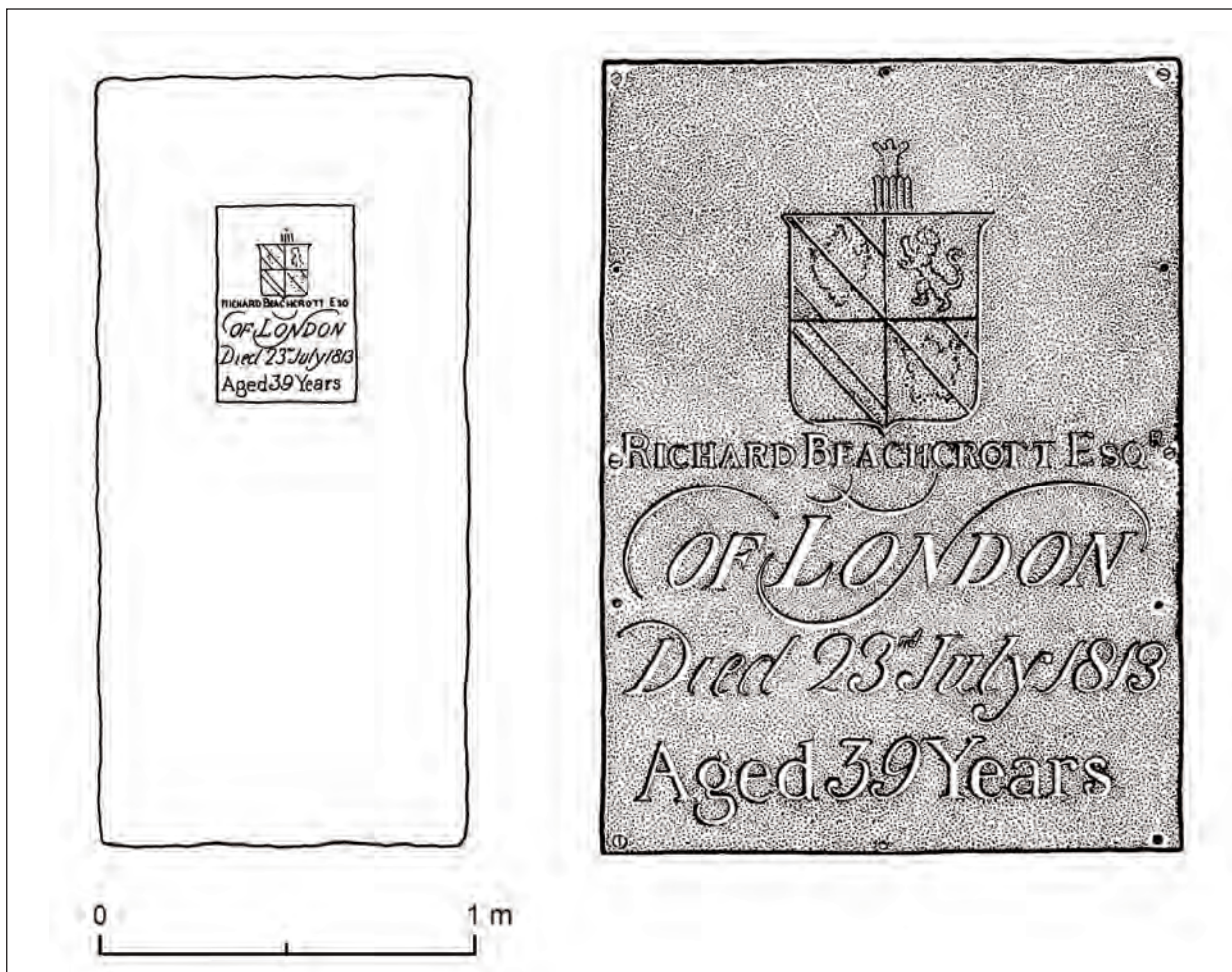


Fig. 777: South aisle. Yorkstone ledger-slab with engraved brass plate commemorating Richard Beachcroft (d. 1813; M.29). Scales: slab, 1:20; plate, 1:5. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

The only occurrence of an armorial device appearing on a floor slab in St Peter's is on the Beachcroft plate (Fig. 777), although there are several examples coarsely carved on stone ledgers in St Mary's church. Three slabs bear the signature of the local monumental mason, B. Mackrill.¹⁰⁸

Wall monuments

For a location plan, see Fig. 774.

The two earliest wall monuments occur at the west end of the south aisle, where they form a non-identical pair, and relate to the Gelder (Gildas) vault here. Each consists of an oval plaque of Carrara marble, set within a slender, moulded frame of Coade stone (Fig. 778). Outside the frame, at top and bottom, are separately moulded blocks of similar material. The lower block is modelled with an unfurling calyx which visually supports the oval frame, and the upper takes the form of a delicately moulded demi-urn which surmounts the frame (Fig. 779). One monument is to the Rev'd John

Gelder (d. 1751; M.55), who had caused the family vault to be constructed in 1735 (p. 664; Pl. 110). The other commemorates Elizabeth Willan (d. 1779; M.54) who was, first, the wife of John Gelder, and secondly of the Rev'd Thomas Willan. The latter was also a vicar of Barton.

These monuments are of particular interest for their use of Coade stone, which is not to be expected in funerary art in a small provincial town before the end of the eighteenth century. Mrs Eleanor Coade only moved to London and set up her factory in c. 1769 and very few surviving examples of her work are known to date before c. 1780 (Kelly 1990). To have the Willan monument at Barton in Coade stone as early as 1779 is remarkable but not impossible. The same may not be said of the Gelder monument, which clearly cannot date from 1751: it must be a retrospective memorial. It is impossible to determine which was made first, but it is perhaps more plausible to envisage the Gelder monument as loosely 'copying' the Willan one. While superficially similar, the two were not made at the



Fig. 778: South aisle. Two Coade stone and Carrara marble wall plaques above the Gelder vault. 1 (left), Rev'd John Gelder (d. 1751; M.55); 2 (right), Elizabeth Willan (d. 1779; M.54). Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 779: Details of the Coade stone mounts, before conservation. 1, 2, urn and calyx of M.55; 3, urn of M.54; 4, All Saints, Goxhill, urn on Pearson monument (1800). Photos: Warwick Rodwell

1



2



Fig. 780: All Saints, Goxhill (Lincs.). Wall plaques in the chancel, with urn-mounts and remains of black painted background. 1, 2, Hyer (1787), by Edmund Foster; 3, Pearson (1800). Photos: Warwick Rodwell

same time: the style of the inscriptions differs, and the Coade stone frames and mounts are from different moulds. A similar oval marble plaque with a Coade stone frame, commemorating John Boger (d. 1783), is in Maker church (Cornw.).

The two monuments exhibit strong Regency characteristics and were originally highly decorative: the form is based on a popular feature of the period, a cameo attached to a black ribbon. The frames were gilded, and the urns and calyxes were painted orange-brown (probably a base for water-gilding), set against a black background. The inscriptions were filled with reddish-brown pigment.¹⁰⁹ Although now surrounded by stripped rubble walling, the monuments were intended to be viewed against a plastered background decorated with tinted limewash. The coloured components were probably over-painted in black by the Victorians, to attune with their sense of morbidity.¹¹⁰ Unfortunately, the maker of these plaques is unrecorded, but he is most likely to have been York-based.

Two wall monuments of related type, still retaining some of their black paint, are in the chancel of nearby Goxhill church. There, the memorial to Thomas Hyer (d. 1787) comprises an inscribed oval plaque, mounted on a grey marble backplate with a pedimented top framed with moulding of Carrara marble. The pediment is



Fig. 781: Chancel (before replastering). Gothic wall monument in Carrara marble to William Gildas (d. 1780; M. 65) by John Earle. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

surmounted by three classical demi-urns with black-painted grounds (Fig. 780).¹¹¹ Prior to the plaster being stripped from the wall, there would have been a broad, black-painted band all round the monument. The second monument, to Mary Ann Pearson (d. 1800), again has an inscribed oval plaque, mounted on a rectangular Yorkstone backplate with incised decoration that has been eclipsed by Victorian black paint (Figs. 779 and 780). The backplate and a flanking pair of scrolls stand on a large plain rectangular base, all in Yorkstone. The monument is topped by an elegant classical demi-urn. The Goxhill monuments are slightly less refined and were made with less expensive materials than those at Barton, but evidently by sculptors



Fig. 782: Chancel. Carrara marble monument with a shaped Belgian marble backplate to Sir John Nelthorpe (d. 1799; M. 63), by Fisher. The pedestal supporting the urn formerly carried the Nelthorpe arms and was polychromed. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 783: North aisle. Two Carrara marble monuments with black or grey obelisk-shaped backplates. 1 (left), Thomas Scrivener (d. 1774; M.44) by Fishers; 2 (right), Elizabeth Tombleson (d. 1819; M.45), by L. Earle. The small, retrospective (modern) plaque to Joel Tombleson (d. 1778; M.46) also appears on the right. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 784: North aisle. A pair of Carrara marble monuments with grey backplates, commemorating a brother and sister. 1, Joel Tombleson (d. 1842; M.47), by Joshua Earle; 2, Elizabeth Tombleson (d. 1853, M.48), unsigned but undoubtedly by Earle. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 785: Nave, north arcade. Two classical monuments in Carrara marble with Belgian marble backplates. 1 (left), Thomas Marris (d. 1797; M.50) by Fisher; 2 (right), Henrietta Preston (d. 1837; M.51) by George Earle Jun. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 786: Chancel (before replastering). Two sarcophagus monuments in Carrara marble. 1 (above), Mary Gatty (d. 1823; M.66), unsigned but probably by Fisher; 2 (right), William Graburn (d. 1826; M.64), unsigned but attributable to Fisher. Compare with Fig. 787. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

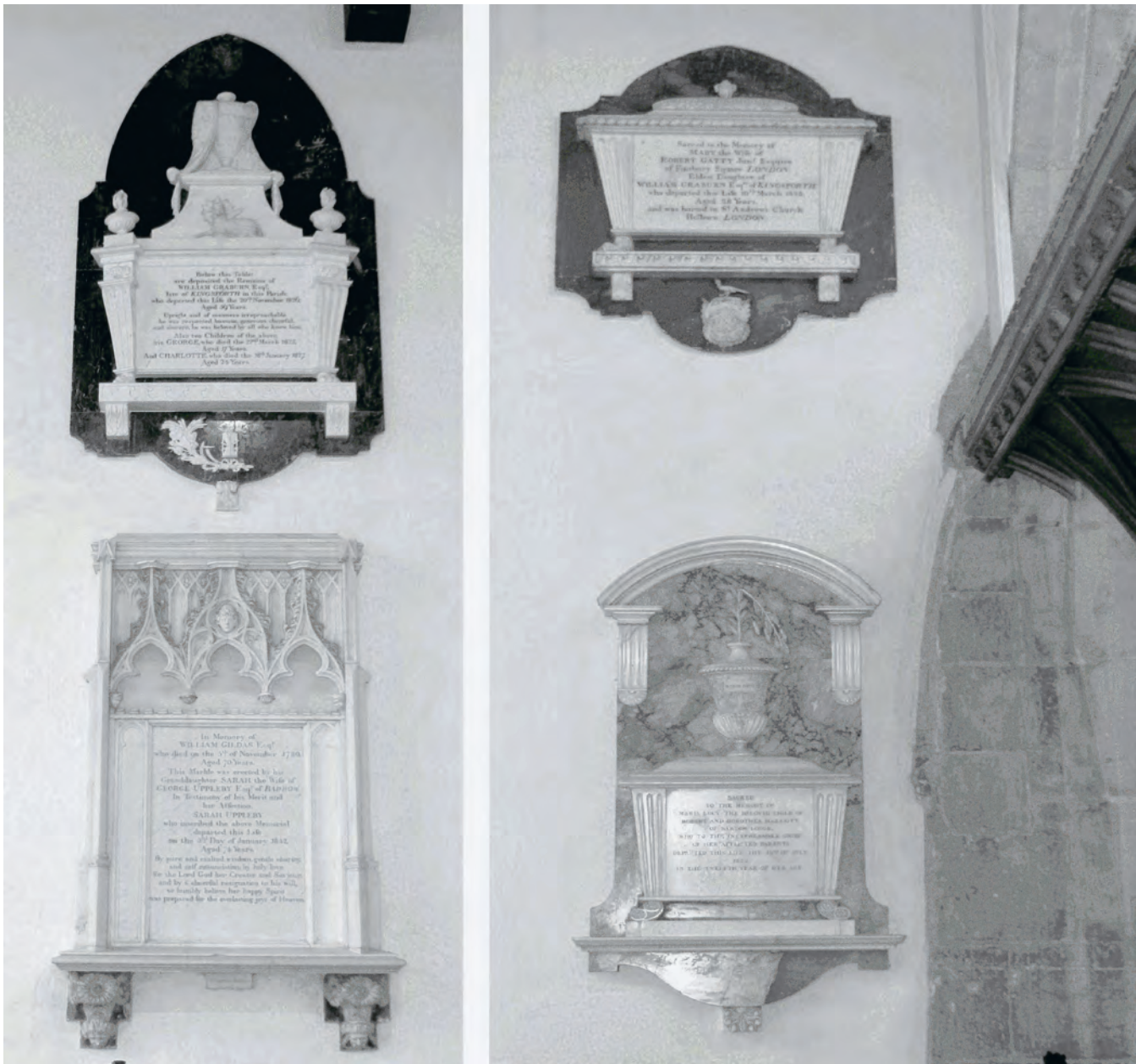


Fig. 787: Chancel, south wall (after replastering). Four monuments seen against a plastered wall face, as originally intended. Left, William Graburn (M.64) and William Gildas (M.65); right, Mary Gatty (M.66) and Maria Lucy Marriott (M.67). Photos: Warwick Rodwell

who were familiar with the *genre*. The Hyer memorial is prominently signed on the front: *E. Foster. Hull. Fecit & Sculptit*. Edmund Foster (*fl.* 1760–1787) carved the finest of the Hull-produced memorials, and this was one of his last commissions.¹¹²

Only one monument in St Peter's church is gothic in style, and that is to William Gildas: it was probably erected soon after 1780 (Figs. 781 and 787). It is in Carrara marble and when first erected it would have been viewed against a background of tinted limewash (possibly blue-grey), which would have enhanced the setting. At some stage, the monument was given a black border, painted on the wallplaster. St Mary's church also has a single gothic tabernacle monument of 1811 (Fig. 132, A), although much simpler and in

freestone. Otherwise, the memorials are all classical and are composed of Carrara marble, with black or grey marble backplates. Surprisingly, the only titled member of the Nelthorpe family commemorated here is Sir John (d. 1799; Fig. 782); there were once associated hatchments (p. 565). A group of three Georgian monuments, dating from 1774 onwards, and one Victorian example, occur in the north aisle: the inscription is placed on a rectangular panel which is surmounted by a draped urn or draped sarcophagus; the backplate is of obelisk form (Figs. 783 and 784). Another, dated 1797, has a plain panel surmounted by an undraped sarcophagus, and the backplate is rectangular with a trefoiled top (Fig. 785, 1). This is the only instance of classical and gothic elements occurring



Fig. 788: South aisle. Large black and white marble monument to Robert Brown (d. 1842; M.56) by Joshua Earle. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

together. A memorial of 1837 takes the form of a Roman altar (Fig. 785, 2). Another altar-inspired monument of 1834 in St Mary's is probably by the same maker; it is surmounted by a draped urn (Fig. 132, B).

In the chancel are three fine classical monuments of the 1820s, each taking the form of a sarcophagus standing on a shelf (Figs. 786 and 787). One, commemorating a young girl, is particularly elegant having a veined, yellow Sienna marble backplate (Pl. 109); this is by John Earle, who was also responsible for the colourful Etherington monument at North Ferriby (E. Yorks.), 1819 (Gunnis 1968, 137).

Victorian monuments are surprisingly few, and plain. The most substantial is that to Robert Brown, grandfather of Barton's namesake historian (Fig. 788). Two take the form of a book of remembrance, supported on a shelf, while others are modest plaques (Fig. 789).

Several of the marble monuments of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are signed: three are by the Fishers of York,¹¹³ the others are by members of the firm of Earle of Hull;¹¹⁴ and there are single examples by Shaw¹¹⁵ and Keyworth,¹¹⁶ both also of Hull. Twentieth-century memorials are the least



Fig. 789: Three simple Victorian monuments in black and white marbles. 1 (top), Frances Ping (d. 1854; M.59, south aisle); 2 (middle), Hannah Graburn (d. 1851), et al. (M.61, chancel); 3 (bottom), Eleanor Brown (d. 1883; M.52, nave). Photos: Warwick Rodwell

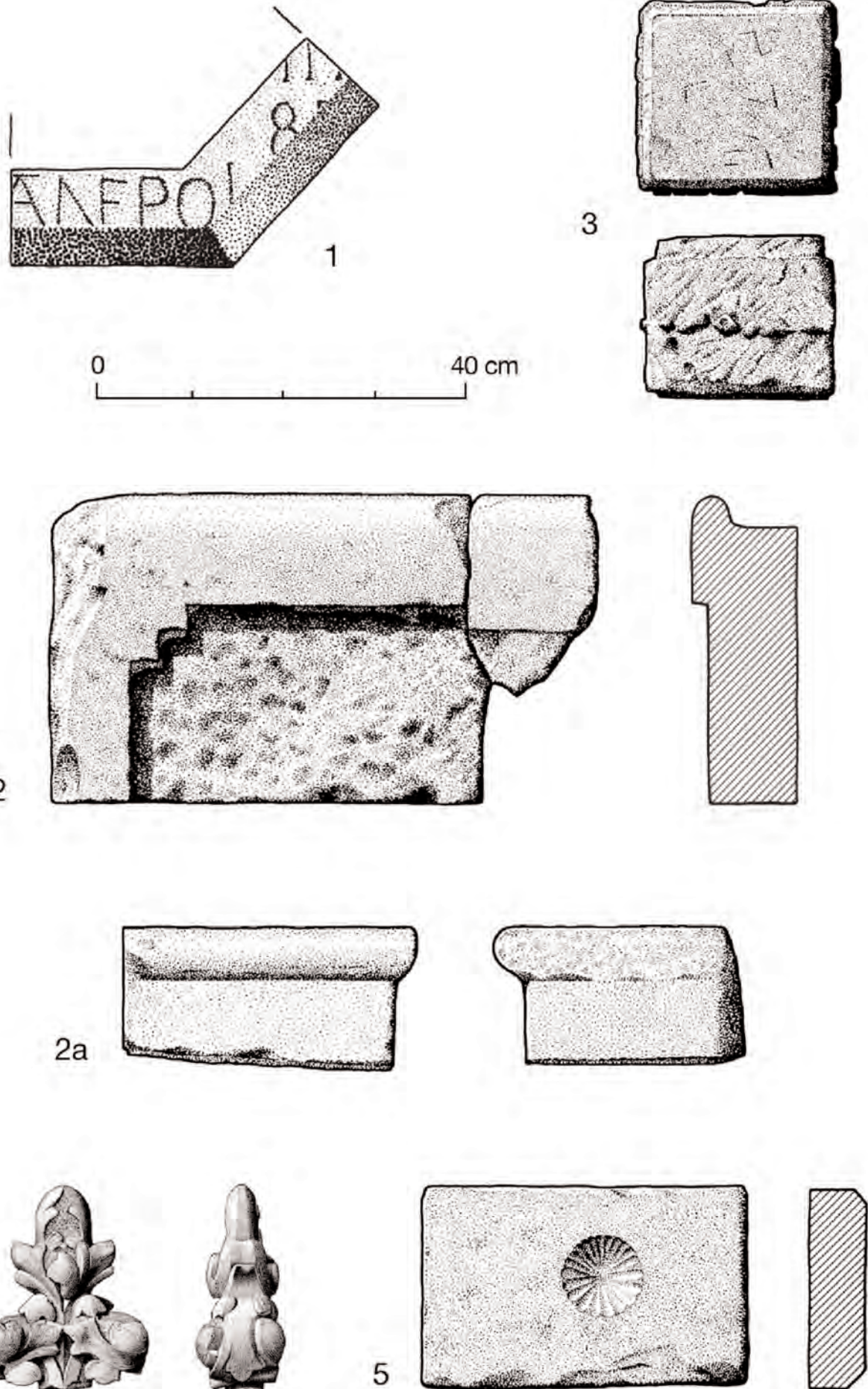


Fig. 790: Fragments of post-medieval monuments, 1–5. Scale 1:6. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

conspicuous, the only one of artistic note being the polychrome mosaic *Art Nouveau* plaque commemorating the Watson sisters, 1904 (Pl. 111).¹¹⁷ There are two brass plates: one is a memorial to a soldier who died in 1918, while the other is to a former vicar of Barton, George Hogarth (d. 1902). His son, David Hogarth, who was a Keeper at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, is also commemorated by an inscription on a plain panel of Purbeck marble.

Fragments of monuments

by Jackie Hall

The following loose fragments are probably all derived from tombs or memorials.

Fig. 790

1. A repair has been made to the chamfered plinth of the west respond to the south arcade, using a piece of limestone taken from an inscribed monument. Surviving letters show that there were at least three lines of inscription, but insufficient remains to decipher any words. Probably seventeenth century.
2. Two pieces of Lower Magnesian Limestone (LML), with a projecting roll along one edge; in the face is an indent 17 mm deep with stepped corners. Traces of fine white mortar in the indent confirm that there was an insert, perhaps of slate or marble and doubtless inscribed. Deep yellow paint on the vertical face below the roll moulding, indicating an internal location. The moulding and the use of LML suggest an earlier post-Reformation date. The fragment was reused in 1858 in the floor beneath the pews on the north side of the nave.
- 2A. Three other related fragments have also been found, one with an incised diagonal line across the top face, probably a marking-out line. No context.
3. A square block of Yorkshire Stone, with a projecting discontinuous and roughly carved band around all four sides; a roughly raised central section. Although presumed to be part of the structure of a memorial, any conclusions about this piece are very tentative. No context.
4. Trefoil-shaped foliage finial, a splendidly bold example of Victorian Gothic decoration, carved in Yorkshire Stone. It was presumably intended to grace an outdoor monument, but its perfect condition and completely unworn drag tool-marks show that it was not in use for long (if used at all). No context.
5. Possibly also part of a tomb construction is a small block of Yorkshire stone with tiny chamfers round three sides. Centrally in the upper face is a deeply carved indentation representing a many-petalled flower in a circle. Whether this was a mason's doodle or an abandoned section of a tomb is unclear. Of similar type are three other fragments (not illus.). No context.
 - Not illus. A Yorkshire Stone pedestal, flat-backed, anvil-shaped and with considerable moulding detail round the top of three sides. The assembly mark, mason's mark and mortar on top all show that something was mounted on the pedestal. It may have been part of a pedestal monument set against a wall, or it could have been one of the supports for the ledger of a table tomb. Given its classical inspiration, a late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century date is likely. No context.
 - Not illus. Possibly part of a table or chest tomb are two bulbous leaf-shapes, carved in LML, and almost certainly godroons from a tomb of mid-seventeenth- to mid-eighteenth-century date (for good examples, see Lees 2000, figs. 23, 26, 30 and 34). No context.



14. THE PEOPLE OF BARTON: EXCAVATED HUMAN REMAINS

by Tony Waldron

Affliction sore she with patience bore,
Physician was in vain,
'Till God did please to give her ease,
And free her from the pain.
Epitaph: St Peter's churchyard¹

St Peter's church has yielded what was at the time the largest assemblage of human remains in the United Kingdom. In addition to the great number of discrete inhumations, there were thousands of disarticulated bones, a quantity that was estimated to weigh approximately three tons. The disarticulated material was examined on site over several seasons by Juliet Rogers (JR) and the inhumations were examined in Bristol by JR and her research associate for the project, Geraldine Barber (GB). The disarticulated material was identified as to anatomical element, and any pathology noted and recorded but unfortunately none of the data was in a form that permitted useful analysis and the original electronic database does not appear to be extant. Thus the disarticulated material cannot be reported on here, and it is certain that some interesting information has thereby been lost.

In general, what might be called the anthropological data – age, sex and measurements – were collected and recorded by GB and the pathological data by JR. After JR's death, the archaeological phasing of the site was extensively revised, which rendered her original analyses invalid and all needed to be repeated using the new phasing, which affected a substantial number of the inhumations. What follows is a synopsis of the full study which is published in Volume 2. Archaeologically, burials were assigned to five phases, identified as Phases A to E (p. 27), but for the purposes of analysis, the skeletal assemblage was divided broadly into two periods: 'early' (pre-1500) and 'late' (post-1500).

Number of Inhumations

The total number of inhumations examined was 2,750. Many of the skeletons had *post mortem* breaks, but this is nothing out of the ordinary in such an assemblage. About a quarter of the inhumations contained bones that were from one or more other burials, presumably reflecting the crowded nature of the graveyard and the frequency with which burials would have been cut into by the grave digger.

In over half the inhumations, more than 40% of the skeleton was considered to be present, and in almost 20%, the skeleton was virtually complete. As expected, where the skeleton was fragmentary it was much less easy to determine sex than when it was well preserved.

Infant and juvenile skeletons were relatively less complete than those of adults, which conforms to the general experience of those who examine human remains.

Age and Sex of the Assemblage

The assemblage was aged and sexed using standard methods and employing as many criteria as possible; the resultant ascertainment is shown in Table 24. In about one-third of the adult skeletons age could not be determined and, of these, over a third could not be sexed either; this is somewhat surprising considering that the condition of the skeletons was generally good. There is an apparent dearth of both males and females dying between the ages of 35 and 44 for which there can be no biological explanation and it seems very likely that there has been some misdiagnosis of age, most probably by putting older individuals into the 25–34 year age range, which seems to be somewhat *over-represented*. There are remarkably few females in the 45+ year age range and, again, this does not conform to expectation and most likely resulted from misdiagnosis of age. Among the females in particular there is an over-representation in the youngest age groups and very great under-representation in the two older age groups, illustrating how difficult the ascertainment of age in adult skeletons is in practice.

The male-to-female ratio is somewhat in excess of unity (1.12:1 in favour of males) and although it has been noted that there is often a bias towards diagnosing males in a skeletal assemblage, the excess is particularly great in two phases (B and E) and hovers around

Table 24: Age and sex of the skeletal assemblage

Age	Male	Female	Unknown sex	Total
0–			457	457
5–			353	353
15–	76	104	44	224
25–	161	143	14	318
35–	47	6	2	55
45+	209	90	12	311
Adult	254	332	444	1,030
Unknown age			2	2
Total	747	675	1,328	2,750

Table 25: Proportion of children under 15 in the Barton assemblage, by period

		0	<1	1–	5–
Early	% of total	6.8	1.7	20.6	20.3
	95% CI	5.1–8.9	1.0–2.9	17.8–23.7	17.5–23.4
Late	% of total	7.8	1.5	7.8	7.4
	95% CI	6.1–10.0	0.8–2.7	6.1–10.0	5.7–9.5

unity in most others. The ratios show no obvious trend to suggest that the differences reflect some genuine biological phenomenon that has changed over time.

Children under the age of 15 comprised about a third of the total. This is a common finding at virtually all periods in the past reflecting poor obstetric and post-natal care and, presumably, a high incidence of infectious disorders, with younger children being especially prone to gastro-intestinal infections. The numbers of children vary considerably by phase. When the data for the 'early' and 'late' periods are compared, there is a marked and significant difference in the proportion of children dying between the ages of 1 and 15 in the later period; the proportions of younger children dying is the same (Table 25). This suggests that there was not a great improvement in the care of infants and neonates nor much change in the quality of obstetric care. These data do suggest, however, that the health of older children did improve substantially in the later period.

Age at death of infants and juveniles

For many of the infant and juvenile skeletons a precise age at death was given. The largest number of deaths occurs at or below the age of 1. From the age of two years onwards the number of deaths is more or less evenly spread up to 15, apparent deficits at 11, 14 and 16 are most likely due to mistaken attribution. There are relatively large numbers of deaths at 17 and 20 with few deaths in the intervening years, probably reflecting bias in favour of those ages, rather than indicating that more individuals really did die at those ages.

An Autopsy

One of the burials of the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, a male of at least 45 years of age at the time of death (sk. 219) was found with the characteristic signs of an autopsy (Burton 2001) (Figs. 743 and 744). The calvarium had been removed and the whole of the spinal column had been removed with the exception of the first two cervical vertebrae. The ribs and sternum were also missing, suggesting that these elements were also removed. A charred wooden stake had been put in the place of the spinal column for burial, presumably to give the body some semblance of normality for the benefit of the family (see further p. 677).

There was no evidence to suggest the reason why the autopsy had been carried out. Perhaps the death of this individual had been suspicious and the autopsy was for forensic purposes but there would seem no point in removing the spinal column except to examine the spinal cord. The autopsy was possibly undertaken by William Benton who was a surgeon in Barton and lived in Laurel House in Whitecross Street (p. 65), but it would be remarkable if he had the skill to carry out a neuroanatomical examination.²

Final Achieved Height

The importance of estimating final achieved height in a skeletal assemblage is that it is the best indicator of the state of nutrition at the time of maximum bone growth and where different populations vary in height it is reasonable to assume that this is most likely due to differences in nutritional status.³

There were 372 adult skeletons in which an estimate of height was made, 216 male and 156 female. The mean height for the males was 1.70 ± 0.6 m, range 1.51–1.85 m; for the females the respective values were 1.58 ± 0.5 , range 1.47–1.69 m.⁴ There was a small – <2 cm – but not significant increase in the mean height of the males from the earliest to the latest phase. For the females, mean height was slightly lower in the later phases, but again, the differences were not significant. Thus it seems that mean height remained remarkably stable at Barton over almost a millennium, indicating that the state of general nutrition did not change very much over the same period.

The growth of children

Children experience two growth spurts, the first during the first two years of life, and the second which begins when they enter puberty. Growth is more rapid during the first than during the second year of life and thereafter slows down until puberty. There are no generally agreed formulae by which to determine the height of children but use can be made of long bone measurements to study the rates of growth. Here we used the length of the femoral shaft from 190 children up to the age of 15. The rate of growth is greatest during the first two years and thereafter is steady and shows no sign of a pubertal growth spurt, at least up to the age of 15. The rate of growth in the first two years

is 4.8 cm/year and 1.6 cm/year for the remaining years. These data suggest that puberty was delayed beyond the age of 15 in these children and that they continued to grow later than modern children.

Pathology

Causes of death

Most human diseases affect soft tissues and most deaths are caused by soft tissue diseases. It is rare that the cause of death can be determined from the skeleton, except, for example, in cases of severe head trauma, or execution by beheading, or when there are signs of the spread of malignant disease to the skeleton. Young women may sometimes be found with a fetus in the pelvis, the death presumably having been caused by an obstetric accident or perhaps from an intra-uterine infection. There were four such occurrences at Barton, one of whom (sk. 1356) was Mary Goy, aged 36 when she died, who was buried with an eight-month fetus. The three other women, two aged 25–34 (sk. 1178 and 2145), and the other (sk. 405) unassigned an age, were all buried with a fetus *in situ*; two of the three were apparently full-term infants and so death must have occurred during labour. In the third case, the fetus was aged seven months and death in this case may have been due to an intra-uterine infection, or perhaps the complications of premature labour.

Osteoarthritis (OA)

The most common diseases in the skeleton are those that affect the joints and the teeth and, of the joint diseases, the most common by far is osteoarthritis. Osteoarthritis is primarily a disease of articular cartilage which breaks down as the disease progresses. A number of changes follow, of which eburnation is by far the most significant. It results when areas of the articular cartilage are completely lost and the articulating ends of the bone come into direct contact and rub on each other giving rise to polishing on the joint surface. Eburnation can be taken as pathognomonic of osteoarthritis and this sign has been used to diagnose the condition here (Rogers and Waldron 1996).

There was a total of 390 skeletons with osteoarthritis at Barton. Of these 205 were male, 143 female, and 42 for whom no sex could be ascertained. The substantial excess of male cases is unusual and is particularly marked in the early period when there were 121 males and 70 females with OA; in the later period, the corresponding numbers were 61 and 53, respectively. The difference in the sex ratio in the early period is statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) but in the later period it is not, even though there are approximately a fifth more males affected than females. In the modern period, and in most skeletal assemblages, it is usual to find a slight excess of *females* with osteoarthritis and it is difficult to explain why this is not the case at Barton.

Table 26: Rank order of number of cases of osteoarthritis at Barton, by site

Site	Male	Female	Unknown sex	Total
Spine	100	84	10	194
Hand	49	51	10	110
acj	48	28	3	79
Foot	27	22	4	53
Elbow	24	15	2	41
Wrist	22	11	7	40
Knee	12	24	3	39
Hip	22	12	1	35
scj	16	4	0	20
Shoulder	8	4	1	13
tmj	5	7	0	12
Ankle	1	1	0	2

acj = acromio-clavicular joint

scj = sterno-clavicular joint

tmj = temporo-mandibular joint

Assuming that the observations are valid, the most likely explanation is that the females engaged in different, or more strenuous, activities in the early period than they did later on.

Sites affected

The joints affected by OA in the Barton assemblage are shown in rank order in Table 26. The number of sites affected (638) is much greater than the number of individuals with OA since in many cases the disease affected more than one joint.⁵ For the period as a whole, the great majority of individuals – more than three-quarters for both sexes – had only one or two sites affected. With each increase in the number of sites affected, there were fewer individuals, with only a single female having the maximum of seven sites affected.

There is little difference in the distribution of the number of sites affected between males and females, nor is there very much difference in the distribution in the early and later males in the assemblage, although slightly fewer have one or two sites affected in the earlier period (73.5% compared with 79.2%). By contrast, the females show a marked tendency for the earlier group to have fewer sites (one or two) affected than the later (63.5% compared with 81.3%). The fact that the majority of individuals had only one or two sites affected in the later period conforms to the modern pattern, at least in patients with symptomatic disease.

Prevalence of osteoarthritis

The crude prevalence of OA at the various sites is shown in Table 27 and follows the rank order distribution very closely, as would be expected. In the majority of cases the prevalence appears to have increased in the later period, almost three times in the case of OA of the elbow and the hip, and has doubled or almost

Table 27: Crude prevalence (% and 95% CI) of osteoarthritis at Barton, by period

<i>Site</i>	<i>Early</i>	<i>Late</i>	<i>Total</i>
Spine	13.1 10.9–15.6	18.4 14.7–22.8	14.5 12.8–16.5
acj	12.4 9.4–16.2	13.5 9.0–19.7	13.6 11.1–16.6
Hand	11.8 9.3–14.9	15.8 11.8–20.9	12.5 10.5–14.9
Wrist	6.3 4.3–9.2	5.6 3.1–9.7	6.1 4.5–8.2
Elbow	3.4 2.1–5.5	9.9 6.6–14.7	5.2 3.8–7.0
Knee	4.3 2.8–6.6	7.2 4.6–11.1	5.0 3.8–7.0
Foot	4.5 3.1–6.6	6.0 3.8–9.3	4.6 3.5–6.0
Hip	2.4 1.4–4.1	6.7 4.2–10.4	4.1 2.9–5.6
scj	3.6 2.1–6.1	2.5 1.0–6.2	3.4 2.2–5.2
Shoulder	1.5 0.7–3.2	3.2 1.5–6.8	1.9 1.1–3.3
tmj	0.7 0.3–1.5	1.1 0.4–2.8	0.9 0.5–1.5
Ankle	0 0–0.6	0.6 0.2–2.1	0.2 0–0.6

doubled in the same time for OA of the shoulder and the knee. The crude prevalence is not the most suitable measure for comparative purposes, however, since it takes no account of the age and sex distribution of the populations and so any inferences drawn from the data in Table 27 must be treated with caution. Similarly, these data cannot be directly compared with modern prevalence data, which are generally based on radiographic findings and which most often quote age- and sex-specific rates.

Rotator cuff disease (RCD)

Rotator cuff disease is caused by inflammation in the tendons around the shoulder joint and is diagnosed in the skeleton by the presence of new bone and/or pitting on the insertions of these tendons on the proximal humerus. A total of 86 individuals were found to have RCD at Barton: 34 females, 51 males and a single case in a skeleton that could not be assigned a sex. The disease was much more often bilateral in males than in females, while in the latter, the right shoulder was much more frequently involved. Rotator cuff disease is a common cause of shoulder pain in the contemporary population and it is likely that this was also the case at Barton.

Other joint diseases

The joint diseases may be simply categorized into those in which the predominant feature is the production of

new bone (the proliferative types) and those in which loss of bone is the most notable characteristic (the erosive types).

Erosive osteoarthritis

Although OA is the archetypal proliferative joint disease, in some patients the inflammatory component of the disease is sufficient for erosions to occur in the distal and proximal inter-phalangeal joints. There were three skeletons (sk. 7, 64 and 716) in which the changes in the small joints of the fingers were consistent with erosive OA. Two of the three cases were female, one aged at least 45 at the time of death. Neither of the other cases was assigned an age and one could not be assigned a sex.

In three further skeletons with OA, erosions were found but these did not conform to the appearance of erosive OA or with any of the other categories of erosive arthropathy. The first (sk. 458, a female of unknown age) had OA of the spine and hands and also had erosions with undercut edges in the right carpal bones. The second (sk. 649, a male aged 25–34) had OA of the feet and hands and erosions in the medial compartment of the right tibia and the left first metatarso-phalangeal joint. In the final case (sk. 899, a female of unknown age) there was OA of the odontoid peg with erosion immediately below the joint surface. These cases may be referred to as OA with erosions, but they cannot be considered as true instances of erosive OA.

Rheumatoid arthritis (RA)

There were only three skeletons (sk. 342, 817 and 1622) in which the lesions found seemed best to fit a diagnosis of rheumatoid arthritis; two were male and one female and all were from the early period. In two cases the diagnosis was tentative because the skeletons were so poorly preserved. The only female (sk. 342) was represented by just the right arm and hand but there were marginal erosions on the first, second and fourth metacarpo-phalangeal joints with no new bone present, features characteristic of rheumatoid arthritis.

In one of the males (sk. 817) only about 15% of the skeleton had survived; all that was present were the left hand, proximal left humerus and the rib cage. Marginal erosions were found affecting the proximal inter-phalangeal joints and on X-ray, RA seemed to be the most probable diagnosis.

The second male (sk. 1622) was in a much better state of preservation but all the bones of the feet were missing except for the right calcaneus. Marginal erosions were found on the first and second right metacarpo-phalangeal joints, on the distal inter-phalangeal joints and around the head of the left humerus (the right humeral head was missing). There was ulnar deviation of the first three fingers on the right and the X-ray changes were most suggestive of RA.

Ankylosing spondylitis

There was only a single case of ankylosing spondylitis at Barton (sk. 1347), a male of at least 45 at the time of death. The entire spine was fused; both sacro-iliac joints were fused, and the first left rib was fused to the manubrium. There was a solitary erosive lesion, on the right navicular at the margin of the joint with the talus.

Psoriatic arthropathy (PSA)

Psoriasis is a skin disease that affects about 1% of the population and, of these, a variable proportion develop a joint disease which has some similarities with RA.

There were two skeletons at Barton with changes that were best explained by psoriatic arthropathy. The first was an adult male (sk. 345). The skeleton was virtually complete and had flexed knees when found in the grave. A handful of fragments of calcified arteries were also found (Fig. 791). There were widespread lesions throughout the skeleton. The fourth and fifth lumbar vertebrae and the ninth, tenth and eleventh thoracic were fused and the right first rib was fused to the manubrium. Erosions were present in the distal radius, around the right wrist, and the right lunate was fused to the distal radius. Erosions were also present around the knee and on both sacro-iliac joints and both feet were extensively fused. Marginal erosions were present on all the extant carpal bones and on all the other joints of the hands, and typical cup and pencil erosions were present in the hands and the feet. Erosions were also evident at entheses and sites of ligament insertion.

The second skeleton (sk. 2711) was a 45-year-old female with spinal fusion affecting the second and third cervical and first and second lumbar vertebrae.

There were inflammatory changes in the sacro-iliac joints and erosions affecting both wrist joints, as well as the small joints of the hand and the feet. The changes in this skeleton were best explained by PSA and, as with the case above, radiography confirmed the diagnosis.

Reactive arthritis (ReA)

Reactive arthritis was considered to be present in three skeletons at Barton, one each from the early and late periods, and one which was unphased. The early case (sk. 893) was in an adult skeleton of unknown sex, which was represented only by the distal tibiae and fibulae and some of the tarsal bones. There was bilateral sub-talar fusion and the right calcaneus and cuboid were also fused. The fusion was associated with spiky new bone and calcaneal spurs and there was periosteal new bone on the right tibial shaft. This combination of features was very suggestive of ReA and this diagnosis was confirmed on X-ray.

The case from the late period was a virtually complete skeleton from a male of 45 (sk. 2711). The surface of the right first metatarso-phalangeal joint was expanded with marginal erosions as was the right first metacarpo-phalangeal joint. At both sites the lesions were accompanied by rough, spiky new bone and although there were no other stigmata of ReA, the X-ray appearances suggested this was the most likely diagnosis.

The final case was an adult that could be neither aged nor sexed; the skeleton (sk. 1851) was in poor condition and only about half was present. Erosions were present around the right first metatarso-phalangeal joint, and the distal inter-phalangeal joint was expanded and eroded. Following radiography, ReA seemed the most probable diagnosis.

Gout

Ten individuals were identified at Barton with lesions typical of gout; six were from the early period, two from the late period and two from the intermediate Phase B/C. Four males and three females were identified while the three remaining cases could not be assigned a sex. Skeleton 665 from the late period exemplified the features found in gout. The margins of the tibial compartment of the knee, the ankle, subtalar joint, calcaneo-cuboid joint, left and right cuneiforms, right first metatarso-phalangeal and tarso-metatarsal joints all displayed erosions with sharp margins and undercut edges. There were similar lesions in the hands. The other skeletons had similar lesions in typical sites and, in addition, two (sk. 499 and 1673) had lesions of the acromio-clavicular joint, which is rarely involved clinically. Skeleton 499 (a female of 45) also had lesions on the superior surface of a marginal osteophyte of a thoracic vertebra as well as being affected at more conventional sites.



Fig. 791: Skeleton 345. Calcified arteries which survived in the soil in the pelvic region. Scale of mm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Table 28: Crude prevalence of erosive arthropathy at Barton, by period

	<i>Early period</i>		<i>Late period</i>	
	<i>Prevalence (%)</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>Prevalence (%)</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
Rheumatoid arthritis	0.70	0.24–2.05		
Ankylosing spondylitis			0.28	0.50–1.57
Psoriatic arthropathy	0.47	0.13–1.70		
Reactive arthropathy	0.47	0.13–1.70	0.34	0.06–1.89
Gout	0.94	0.38–1.96	0.70	0.49–1.96

Prevalence of the erosive arthropathies

The crude prevalence of the erosive arthropathies is shown in Table 28, from which it may be seen that none was common, nor had the frequency changed over time where the comparison could be made.

Infectious diseases

Infectious diseases would certainly have been a major health problem for the population of Barton throughout the entire period that the cemetery was in use. Childhood infections such as measles, chickenpox and mumps would probably have been common and would have exerted a significant morbidity and mortality. Water-borne infections would also have been common and gastro-intestinal infections may have been the cause of death of many of the children found in the assemblage. Both children and adults may have died from typhoid fever, and poliomyelitis would also have been present from time to time, as most likely would smallpox, especially in the latter part of the period. The town would most certainly not have escaped the ravages of the Black Death in 1348–49, and there is evidence for an outbreak of plague in 1593 in the parish records, when there was a huge increase in mortality in the town.⁶

Most of the infections that affected the population would have left no evidence on the skeleton, either because the infection was in the soft tissue or the gut, or because the individuals died too soon in the course of the disease for the skeleton to become involved. Some of the cases of reactive arthropathy mentioned in the previous chapter are likely to have been the result of chronic gut or urinary tract infections and there was a small number of skeletons with evidence of polio; these are discussed below.

Osteomyelitis

Sixteen individuals were identified with osteomyelitis of the long bones, and in all but two cases, the femur, tibia or fibula were affected; in the remaining two cases the ribs (sk. 719) or radius (sk. 2799) were involved. Of the sixteen cases, ten were male, four female and two were juveniles. Of the eleven cases to whom an age could be assigned, two were twelve-year-old children, two were aged between 15 and 24, four between 25

and 34 and the remaining three were at least 45 years old at the time of death.

One of the twelve-year-olds (sk. 1010) had a typical lesion in the right distal tibial diaphysis. The bone was expanded with a deposit of fine periosteal new bone on the surface. Cloacae were present at the epiphyseal margin and on the articular surface of the diaphysis. Much more florid changes were present in the other twelve-year-old (sk. 2159). An irregular deposit of new bone covered the whole shaft of the left femur except for the distal posterior third. Multiple cloacae were visible, especially in the posterior part of the proximal femoral shaft and a sequestrum was also visible; the X-ray changes confirmed this as a typical case of osteomyelitis and this child's death was most likely to have been due to the disease.

One of the adults (sk. 1910) presented with a swollen right tibia which had an expanded grainy and striated surface but no cloacae were evident. The right ankle was involved in the process and there was a great deal of new bone in and around the inter-tarsal joints and the inter-metatarsal joints. The tibio-talar joint was affected with an eburnated and grooved articular surface. Osteoarthritis of the ankle joint is extremely uncommon without some predisposing factor, which in this case was the adjacent infection and the septic arthritis.

Infected joints (septic arthritis)

Fifteen skeletons were noted with septic arthritis. Of these eight were male and five female with two unassigned a sex; the majority came from the early period. Several sites were affected, including the hand, wrist, elbow, hip and foot.

Skeleton 329 was one of the four examples of septic arthritis of the elbow. The joint was completely fused with extensive new bone formation and cloacae could be seen. The elbow had been fractured and there was also a Colles fracture of the left wrist, which may have occurred at the same time as the fracture of the elbow.

The changes in skeleton 1091 were unusual; the articular surface of the left first metatarso-phalangeal joint was obliterated, with much flattening and expansion giving rise to a 'hammer head' appearance. Radiographically, the changes seemed best explained by septic arthritis that had occurred during childhood; the first metatarsal was shortened with a fused sesamoid and a small proximal phalanx.

Seven of these cases were from the early period and three from the late, with four from Phase B/C and one unphased. The crude prevalence in the early period was 0.46% (95% CI 0.22–0.95) and in the late period, 0.41% (95% CI 0.14–1.20) indicating that the frequency of this condition had not altered over time.

Infection of the inter-vertebral discs (discitis)

Thirteen cases were identified, ranging in age from a five-year-old child to four adults aged over 45 years, with males slightly outnumbering females. All but two of the cases came from the early period and although the crude prevalence was more than twice that in the late period, the difference again was not statistically significant.⁷

Typical changes of discitis were shown by a male aged between 17 and 25 (sk. 1312) in whom three vertebrae were involved, the eleventh and twelfth thoracic and the first lumbar. The inferior end plate of T11 was deformed by a crescent-shaped lesion with a scalloped appearance situated posteriorly. On T12 the lesions also affected the inferior end plate which had an uneven ‘billowy’ surface with deep erosions cutting into it. The vertebral body of T12 showed some inflammatory changes with a coarse uneven deposit of new bone and extensive pitting. These changes were especially prominent on the right-hand side. On L1 the superior end plate was involved, with a major defect with scalloping and sinuses connecting to the spinal canal. The radiograph showed typical signs of infection.

Tuberculosis (TB)

Only one skeleton at Barton (sk. 1454) was identified with changes that could definitely be ascribed to TB, a male aged 35 from the intermediate Phase A/B. The skeleton was virtually complete and had a typical Pott’s spine. The anterior portions of the bodies of the sixth, seventh and eighth thoracic vertebrae were eroded and T7 and T8 were fused together. The body of T7 had completely disappeared and that of T8 was much diminished. No other changes were present in the skeleton apart from an erosion situated on the lesser tuberosity of the left humerus which was not related to the TB.

One other skeleton (sk. 2427), a 17–25 year-old female from the early period, had changes in the hip that might possibly have been caused by TB. The acetabulum was obliterated and the femoral head was grossly abnormal, appearing only as a small peg.

There appear to be remarkably few cases of TB at Barton, given that it was a common disease in the past. In the latter part of the period covered by the phase from which the single case derived, tuberculosis was very prevalent; in the London *Bills of Mortality*, consumption – which would have been predominantly caused by TB – accounted for approximately a fifth of all deaths in non-plague years, and the disease became

increasingly common during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It would be surprising if the population of Barton had been immune from the general upsurge in the disease so either the disease was particularly virulent, so that those infected died quickly, or the expression of the disease may have been different with many fewer individuals going on to develop skeletal lesions.

Poliomyelitis

There were four cases of polio at Barton, diagnosed on the basis of differences in the length of the long bones. The characteristic changes in the skeleton of an individual affected by polio are exemplified by those seen in skeleton 1425, a young man of between 17 and 25 when he died. All the bones of the skeleton were gracile but those on the left appeared within the normal range. The right lower limb bones, however, had thin shafts with a marked curvature of the femur and fibula. The right femur was noticeably shorter than the left, 394 mm compared with 450 mm. There was a marked increase in the angle between the femoral neck and the shaft (coxa valga), which is a typical finding in a neuromuscular disorder.

Trauma

Signs of trauma, whether deliberate or accidental, are commonly found on human remains. Fractures are by far the most frequent form of trauma found in assemblages of the general population, but there may also be signs such as cut-marks or the end result of soft tissue damage that has subsequently ossified.

Fractures

A total of 152 individuals had sustained 186 fractures between them (Table 29). Of these, 99 were men, 36 were women and 15 were adults who could not be assigned a sex; there were only two children with evidence of fractures, both of the skull.

The first child with a skull fracture (sk. 2080) was between 2 and 3 years of age when it died. There was a depressed fracture approximately 50 × 50 mm in area overlapping the left posterior parietal and the anterior occipital bones. The internal table of the skull was pushed in but the fracture was well healed and there was no other pathology in the skeleton. This type of fracture might have resulted from a blow or from the child falling onto a blunt object; it was certainly not implicated in its death.

The second child (sk. 2302) was slightly older when it died, probably about 7 years of age. There was a small depressed area just supero-lateral to the right side of the glabella, and about 10 mm in length. On the endocranial surface of the skull what appeared to be a healed linear fracture ran along the line of the metopic suture, across the lesion visible from outside before

Table 29: Distribution of fractures at Barton, by sex and anatomical site

<i>Anatomical site*</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Adult</i>	<i>Juvenile</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Per cent of total</i>
Skull	2	1	0	2	5	2.7
Spine	7	1	2	0	10	5.4
Rib	44	15	0	0	59	31.7
Clavicle	5	1	1	0	7	3.8
Humerus	3	1	0	0	4	2.2
Radius	7	5	1	0	13	7.0
Ulna	7	4	4	0	15	8.1
Metacarpals	13	3	2	0	15	8.1
Proximal phalanges	2	1	0	0	3	1.6
Femur	5	1	0	0	6	3.2
Patella	2	0	0	0	2	1.1
Tibia	12	3	2	0	17	9.1
Fibula	14	4	4	0	22	11.8
Metatarsals	4	0	2	0	6	3.2
Other foot bones	2	0	0	0	2	1.1
Total	129	40	17	2	186	100

*Fractures of the ribs and vertebrae have been counted as a single occurrence, irrespective of how many bones were broken

deviating to the right for about 10 mm. The most likely explanation for this fracture – which was also well healed – was a blow to the head but, as with the other child, it did not seem to be the cause of death and the remainder of the skeleton was normal.

The most common fracture by far in the adults was a rib fracture. Of the forty-four men with rib fractures, fifteen had more than one broken – one man (sk. 1562) had a total of eight broken ribs including two that were still fusing, indicating that they had been broken shortly before his death. Of the fifteen women with rib fractures, eight were single fractures only. Rib fractures are commonly the result of falls or brawls; in the latter case, usually from a kick when the individual is on the floor. It is not difficult to suppose that some of the men at least – and perhaps some of the women too – injured their ribs in a fight.

The fibula was the second most commonly broken bone, the injury being most frequent at the distal end where it is susceptible to knocks on the ankle. It was seldom displaced unless it was involved with the tibia, as in four cases. The tibia and the bones of the forearm were relatively frequently broken, and so were the metacarpals. Skull fractures were uncommon, occurring less often than wounds to the head, as will be seen below. The distribution of fractures between the two sexes was very similar although women tended to sustain injuries to the radius and the ulna proportionately more often than men.

Although a few individuals had more than one fracture, there were only two cases in which multiple fractures were noted. The first (sk. 800) was a male of at least 45 at the time of his death. He had a linear fracture of his left parietal bone, a single rib fracture, well-healed and well-aligned fractures of both ulnae, a fracture of the neck of the left humerus with the head

of the humerus tipped back posteriorly, and a fracture of the fifth right metacarpal. In addition he also had injured his right first metacarpo-phalangeal joint and the proximal phalanx was fused to the head of the metacarpal. The second (sk. 1365) was a young man aged between 25 and 34 when he died. He had bilateral transverse fractures of the tibia both of which had healed well and with minimal displacement. He also had an associated fibular fracture and bilateral fractures of the fifth metacarpal, both of which had healed with thickening and some shortening.

In most cases it is not possible to determine the nature of the accident that led to the fracture. There were three Colles fractures of the radius or ulna, which are almost always the result of a fall onto an outstretched hand, however, and there were several crush fractures of the vertebrae, again the most likely result of a fall, although one thoracic vertebral fracture in an adult female (sk. 458) was related to osteoporosis.

Prevalence of fractures

The crude prevalence of fractures at Barton was 10.1% (95% CI 8.6–11.7%). For males the prevalence was 15.4% (95% CI 12.8–18.4) and for females 6.4% (95% CI 4.7–8.8%); this difference between the sexes is statistically significant. There are also differences in the prevalence of fractures between the early and late periods. In the late period, the prevalence of fractures increases in both sexes although the differences are not significant and the male-to-female difference is only significantly different in the early period. Whether these data are a reflection of a real increase in the frequency of fractures in the later period is hard to say, given the relatively small numbers involved.



Fig. 792: Skeleton 81, with a shortened left leg resulting from a badly healed fracture. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Complications of fractures

Given the potential for complications following fractures, remarkably few were evident among the Barton assemblage. There were three bones that had not united, one rib, one fibula and one clavicle; in each instance a pseudarthrosis – a false joint – had formed. Several fractured bones had healed with some displacement, but generally it was not very great. One exception involved a spiral fracture of the tibia, and in another the fibula that had fractured into the joint (sk. 81). The fracture had healed with considerable angulation and the ankle joint was greatly inverted (Fig. 792): the individual would have found his mobility somewhat impaired and would have walked with a limp. There was only a single fracture which had developed OA; a Colles fracture with arthritic change in the wrist; this had occurred in an adult female (sk. 1420).

A number of the fractures had healed with some shortening and, where possible, the lengths of the fractured bone and the normal contralateral bone were compared; unfortunately this comparison could be made in only a small number of cases either because the bones were too broken to measure, or the normal bone was not present. The greatest degree of shortening was found with a clavicle; this is by no means surprising as fractures of the clavicle almost always result in shortening as there seems to have been no method of reducing a clavicular fracture known or used until comparatively recently. Fractures of the ulna or radius tend to show no shortening because, as explained above, the intact bone in the forearm acts to splint the broken one. In general, the results support the notion that the fractures were often well treated with excellent results.

Head wounds

The two juveniles who had skull fractures were probably the victims of violence even though there was no other evidence of ill treatment elsewhere in their skeletons and if they were deliberate injuries, they did not lead to death. Eight adults, mostly from the earlier phases, also had injuries to the skull that were deliberately inflicted, the majority with edged weapons of some kind.

Of the seven men, six had healed cuts on the skull, mostly on the left side of the head suggesting that the attack on them had been perpetrated by a right-handed opponent. In two cases (sk. 179 and 362) the attack had been made with a heavy weapon that had fractured the internal table of the skull and displaced a fragment inwards. The seventh man (sk. 1775) had a depressed healed fracture, most probably the result of a blow on the head, and the only woman with a head wound (sk. 2352) also had a depressed fracture that seemed to be the result of a blow.

Dislocations

Joints are said to be dislocated when there is a complete loss of contact between the two bone surfaces; where the loss of contact is only partial, the joint is said to be subluxed. Unstable joints such as the shoulder, or those subject to frequent injury, such as the finger joints, are commonly dislocated but can often be reduced and there may be no evidence that the dislocation ever took place.

There were six skeletons in which dislocation could be seen. In a child who was aged about 13 at the time of death (sk. 400), the right glenoid was posteriorly displaced and this was most probably associated with a

congenital displacement of the shoulder. A male aged 45 or more when he died (sk. 2583) had dislocated his right shoulder, probably on more than one occasion since he had developed osteoarthritis of the glenoid. Another skeleton with a dislocation of the shoulder was that of a young female (sk. 1442) who had a deformity of the right glenoid which appeared 'squashed', although the head of the humerus was normal. The radiographic appearance was characteristic of a shoulder dislocation taking place at birth and causing damage to the brachial plexus, resulting in an Erb's palsy.

Another skeleton (sk. 380) had a fracture dislocation of the left radio-humeral joint. There was a uniform wedge fracture of the left ulna with posterior angulation and posterior dislocation of the head of the radius. A new articulation for the radius had been formed on the back of the humerus but, unfortunately, the radius was missing and so no further details of changes that may have supervened could be obtained.

In one of the two remaining cases (sk. 1815), one of the finger joints had been dislocated; one distal interphalangeal joint was fused and the distal phalanx was hyper-extended showing that the dislocation had not been reduced. Nor was the dislocation displaced in the fourth case (sk. 1910), another elderly male who had dislocated his left first metatarso-phalangeal joints. The dorsal surface of the metatarsal head had an impression that corresponded to the base of the proximal phalanx, showing that it was hyper-extended, although it had not fused to the metatarsal head, perhaps because the dislocation was relatively recent.

Osteochondritis dissecans

Osteochondritis dissecans is characterized by fragmentation and possible separation of part of the articular surface. The lesions occur on the convex joint surfaces, the knee being the one most commonly affected.

Twenty-eight individuals were noted with the lesion, thirteen males, eleven females and four adults of unknown sex. The knee was affected in fifteen cases, the elbow in nine and there were single cases affecting the talus, temporo-mandibular joint and femoral head. The lesion in the femoral head was located on the superior pole and measured about 30 × 20 mm. It had occurred in an adult male (sk. 528) in the context of Perthes' disease, which is a form of avascular necrosis of the femoral head. This often leads to flattening and collapse of the femoral head and is frequently followed by secondary osteoarthritis in adulthood. The radiographic appearances of the lesion in the head of the femur strongly suggested that it was an area of osteonecrosis secondary to the Perthes' disease.

Spondylolysis

Spondylolysis is the condition in which the vertebral arch is separated from the body as the result of a fracture, most frequently through the isthmus, the so-called

pars inter-articularis fracture. It is generally assumed that spondylolysis is a stress fracture that is associated with learning to walk, although there may be contributory environmental or inherited factors as some families have a high prevalence of the condition.

Forty-seven skeletons at Barton were found with spondylolysis, twenty-nine males, seventeen females and one adult of indeterminate sex. The crude prevalence is 3.8% (95% CI 2.9–5.0%), which corresponds well to the normal range of 4–6% found in the modern population. The prevalence was higher in males than in females, although not significantly so, and there was no change in the frequency of the condition over time.

The condition was bilateral in all but three cases, one female (sk. 2775) and two male (sk. 436 and 671). As expected, the fifth lumbar vertebra was most commonly involved and in all but four instances, only a single vertebra was affected. Four skeletons presented spondylolysis of two adjacent vertebrae, three females (sk. 2222, 2692 and 2775) and one male (sk. 2338). The fourth and fifth vertebrae were affected in three cases; the third and fourth in the final instance.

Metabolic diseases

There are a number of diseases that interfere with the normal metabolism of the skeleton; these include, for example, Paget's disease, rickets (vitamin D deficiency) and scurvy (vitamin C deficiency), but this section starts by considering osteoporosis, a condition in which the normal loss of bone experienced with advancing age is exaggerated.

Osteoporosis

Osteoporosis was diagnosed by the subjective feel or appearance of the bone and there were twenty-six skeletons which were considered to have the condition. As expected, females predominated; there were sixteen females and seven males, and the remaining three cases were in adult skeletons that could not be assigned a sex. All the individuals who could be assigned an age were at least 45 years old at the time of death, except for one female who was apparently aged between 25 and 34. It should be noted, however, that eighteen of the skeletons could not be given an age, almost always because they were poorly preserved, perhaps as a consequence of the osteoporosis.

The female prevalence of osteoporosis was more than three or four times higher than the male in both periods and there was apparently a considerable increase in the prevalence in females from the early to the late period. The prevalence in the later period seems unrealistically high, however, (9.0%) but if one restricts the diagnosis to the single female skeleton showing the presence of typical osteoporotic fractures, which is a much more desirable way to proceed, then the prevalence falls to 2.3% (95% CI 0.4–11.8%) which is probably closer to the 'true' figure.



Fig. 793: Skeleton 1365. Adult with rickets, evidenced by bowing of the legs. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Rickets

Rickets is caused by a lack of vitamin D and results in defective mineralization of growing bone. Under normal circumstances vitamin D is obtained predominantly by the action of ultra-violet light on precursors in the skin. There are very few sources of vitamin D in the diet, the most important being oily fish and fish oils. During the winter season in northern Europe it is likely that rickets would have been a common occurrence in the past.

There were only ten skeletons at Barton with evidence of active or healed rickets, seven in adults and three in children aged 1, 3 and 5 years at the time of death. Rickets is not a killing disease and so these three children must have died from some other inter-current disease of which there was no sign on their skeletons.

The number of cases of rickets noted at Barton will not be an accurate indication of the prevalence of the disease in the living population because once the child is exposed to the sun again, the condition is rapidly reversible. Only if there is considerable malformation of the leg bones will the stigmata of the condition persist into adulthood (*e.g.* sk. 1365; Fig. 793).

Paget's disease

Fifteen cases of Paget's disease were identified at Barton: eleven males, three females and one adult of unknown sex. Just over a third of the cases were suspected on visual examination either because the bones were increased in size, thickness or vascularity. All suspect bones were X-rayed and so were the rest of the affected skeletons. Further cases came to light when other bones with an abnormal appearance were X-rayed. One other case was discovered during the radiological examination of bones with fractures and one during a study of the prevalence of hyperostosis frontalis interna.

Nine of the cases came from the early period and six from the late period. The prevalence in both the early and the late periods was 2.5% (95% CI 1.3–4.6% and 1.1–5.7%, respectively) showing that there has been no change in the prevalence over time.⁸ Three bones with Paget's disease were also identified among the disarticulated material, two sacra and one femur. They were sufficiently abnormal on visual inspection that they were selected for radiography when the diagnosis was confirmed. Very few of the other disarticulated bones were X-rayed and so other examples of the disease may easily have been overlooked. The disarticulated bones came from contexts sufficiently distant from each other and from the discrete inhumations with the disease that any association is unlikely.

Diffuse idiopathic skeletal hyperostosis (DISH)

DISH is characterized by the exuberant production of new bone in the anterior longitudinal ligament of the spine with calcification or ossification of extra-spinal entheses or ligaments, and sometimes other soft tissues as well. At Barton the criteria for diagnosing DISH were that three or more vertebrae were fused on the right-hand side in the thoracic region and the disc spaces and the facet joints were normal in the absence of other pathology.

There were 41 cases of DISH at Barton: thirty-two males, seven females and two adults of unknown sex. One of the females with DISH was Mary Thorley (sk. 740), in whom the condition was extensive and florid (Fig. 794). At some time she had fractured some ribs and the haematoma had ossified and fused three of the fractured ribs together.

The crude prevalence of DISH was 3.7% (95% CI 2.7–5.0%); in the males the prevalence was 7.7% (95% CI 5.5–10.6%) and in the females, 2.9% (95% CI



Fig. 794: Skeleton 740 (Mary Thorley, d. 1833). Block of fused vertebrae, resulting from DISH. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

1.4–5.9%). There was a considerable increase in the prevalence with age for the whole sample, and in the males,⁹ a marked increase in prevalence in the older individuals from the later but not the earlier period. This is unlikely to mean that the increased prevalence with age is a recent phenomenon, but rather an artefact of small numbers.

Hyperostosis frontalis interna (HFI)

Hyperostosis frontalis interna is a condition in which there is thickening of the internal table of the frontal bone. It is easy to recognize in the skull, but only if the

skull is broken, or if it is possible to examine the interior of the intact skull with an endoscope; radiography will detect gross lesions but smaller ones will escape notice. At Barton, the diagnosis was made only on those skulls that were broken; no attempt was made to include further cases with radiography or endoscopy. Under these constraints a total of thirty-six cases was detected; the majority were in females (twenty, compared with thirteen males and three of unknown sex), and most cases were aged over 45 at the time of death (seventeen out of the twenty-four given an age). This is certainly an underestimate of the total number of cases in the assemblage because the interiors of intact skulls were not examined, and so the crude prevalence, 3.9% (95% CI 2.8–5.3%), should be considered as the minimum estimate.

Tumours

Tumours may be classified in a number of ways but, simply, they may be thought of as either benign or malignant, and either primary or secondary. A benign tumour is one that does not spread beyond the tissue in which it arises whereas a malignant one spreads to distant tissues. A primary tumour is one that originates in the tissue in which it is found whereas a secondary tumour occurs in some other tissue; a secondary tumour is by definition malignant, but a primary tumour may be benign or malignant.

Thirty-three skeletons at Barton were identified as potentially having tumours, although several of them were initially given other diagnoses. All were X-rayed and the radiographs read twice, on separate occasions. Furthermore, another discussion took place to make a firm decision as to the most probable diagnosis and, finally, only seventeen skeletons were considered to have tumours, ten with benign lesions and seven with malignant. For the reasons given above, however, these should be considered as minimum numbers; more would undoubtedly have been found if all the skeletons had been X-rayed or if the skulls had been examined endoscopically, for example.

Benign tumours

The ten cases of benign tumour found at Barton comprised eight different kinds (Table 30). The sexes were equally distributed but the age range was very considerable, as may be seen from the table.

Malignant tumours

As expected, only a small number of the skeletons at Barton had morphological evidence of malignant change (Table 31). The great majority of cases were male and aged over 45 years at the time of death; it is likely in all these cases that the malignancy was the proximate cause of death.

Table 30: Cases of benign tumours at Barton

<i>Skeleton number (context)</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Tumour type</i>
144 (F55)	A	Female	Adult	Haemangioma, skull
1348 (F4540)	A	Female	Adult	Bone cyst, left sacro-iliac joint
1507 (F4596)	A	Unknown	6–18 m	Fibrous cortical defect, fibula
2025 (F5183)	A	Unknown	<6 m	Button sequestrum, skull
1344 (F4530)	A/B	Female	Adult	Bone cyst, right pelvis
95 (F934)	B	Male	45+	Chondroblastoma, right femoral head
415 (F3408)	B/C	Female	Adult	Button sequestrum skull, Paget's disease
427 (F1280)	D	Male	35–45	Osteoma, skull
2242 (F7161)	D	Male	25–35	Osteochondroma, right humerus
1911 (F5032)	E	Male	45+	Chondroma, proximal phalanx of great toe

Table 31: Cases of malignant tumours at Barton

<i>Skeleton number (context)</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Tumour type</i>
4 (F84)	A	Female	Adult	Lymphoma, both femurs and tibiae
209 (F3055)	A	Unknown	c. 14	Round cell tumour, both tibiae
256 (F3336)	A	Male	45+	Multiple myeloma, spine
1448 (F3723)	A	Male	15–25	Leukaemia, spine, both femora
1630 (F4787)	A/B	Male	45+	Widespread metastases, prostate cancer
585 (F1631)	E	Male	45+	Multiple myeloma, skull
976 (F4021)	E	Male	45+	Widespread metastases, prostate cancer

Table 32: Crude prevalence of benign and malignant tumours (% and 95% CI) at Barton, by sex and period

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Children</i>	<i>Total</i>
Benign tumours				
Early	0.7 0.2–2.0	0 0–1.0	0 0–0.9	0.2 0.1–0.7
Late	0.5 0.1–2.8	1.6 0.5–4.5	1.0 0.3–3.4	1.0 0.5–2.2
Malignant tumours				
Early	0.5 0.1–1.7	0 0–1.0	0 0–0.9	0.2 0–0.6
Late	1.5 0.5–4.4	0.5 0.1–2.9	0.5 0.1–2.6	0.8 0.4–2.0

Prevalence of neoplasms

The prevalence of neoplasms at Barton, both benign and malignant, for the early and late periods is shown in Table 32. As expected, the prevalence is very low – although, as mentioned earlier, for the malignant tumours the figures must be considered as the minimum in the population – and there has been no apparent change in the frequency of either type of tumour over time.

Other conditions

Scoliosis

Scoliosis refers to a side to side curvature of the spine, relatively common in adolescent girls. There were six skeletons at Barton with scoliosis, in two of which (sk. 565 and 1425) the condition seemed to be secondary to poliomyelitis; in one other (sk. 190) the cause seemed to be traumatic, but the other three were considered to be idiopathic, the most common form.

Spina bifida occulta

Spina bifida occulta is the term used to describe a sacrum in which the posterior laminae are all unfused. It is clinically insignificant, unknown to the individual, and not to be confused with the condition of spina bifida in children, in which the defect occurs in the lumbar spine and which may be accompanied by a herniation of the contents of the spinal cord; this most serious condition would invariably have been quickly fatal in the past. To avoid confusion it would be preferable to use some other term to describe the condition in the sacrum such as bifid sacrum.

Bifid sacrum is one of the easiest conditions to recognize in the skeleton and, rather surprisingly, only four cases were found at Barton, two of which were associated with other minor abnormalities of the spine. The prevalence of the condition was only 1.4% (95% CI 0.6–3.6%), which is considerably lower than a prevalence of 8% found at some other sites, or 11% found in a large series of unselected radiographs. This is not a condition that could easily be overlooked and so there is very little possibility of misdiagnosis and, for reasons which are obscure, it seems that its prevalence really is lower at Barton than would have been expected.

Transitional vertebrae

The L5/S1 junction of the spine tends to be unstable and the lower lumbar vertebra may on occasion have an expanded transverse process which may articulate or fuse with the wing of the sacrum. At Barton, fifteen instances of transitional vertebrae were noted, a prevalence of 1.6% (95% CI 1.0–2.6%). This again is lower than the prevalence reported in the early literature in either unselected skeletons or in the general population (6–8.1%) and the reasons for this discrepancy are, again, not obvious.

Six lumbar vertebrae

Another aspect of the instability of the lower lumbar spine is the presence of six lumbar vertebrae which some consider to be an atavistic condition, mimicking the situation in the early hominids. There were forty-four skeletons with six lumbar vertebrae, thirty-nine adults and five juveniles, giving a crude prevalence of 4.2% (95% CI 3.1–5.7), similar to the prevalence of 3% found in a large radiographic study.

Dental diseases

Teeth generally survive well and dental disease always accounts for a substantial proportion of the total amount of pathology seen in a skeletal assemblage.

Number of teeth present

A total of 24,354 adult teeth could be accounted for, of which 15,003 were *in situ* or loose, and 9,351 were

absent, either through *ante mortem* or *post mortem* loss, or because they were unerupted. This represents 39.3% of the total of 62,080 expected, a rather low proportion.¹⁰ A greater proportion of the number of expected lower teeth was present than the upper, 44.7% compared with 33.7%. Pre-molars were better represented than the anterior teeth (incisors and canines) and molars, which may be explained by the fact that the anterior teeth are more susceptible to trauma and the molars to dental disease. The anterior part of the maxilla and the mandible are also more likely to be damaged *post mortem*, with consequent loss of the teeth.

Ante mortem tooth loss

A total of 650 individuals had lost teeth during their lifetime at Barton, 326 males and 278 females, and between them they had lost 4,604 teeth, an average of 7.1 per individual. Substantially more teeth were lost from the lower jaw than the upper, but in both jaws, molar teeth were more frequently lost than any other type. In both sexes there is a very obvious trend for an increased tooth loss with increasing age, as would be expected.

Dental caries

Dental caries is the destruction of the structures of the teeth by the action of acid produced by bacteria in dental plaque. Altogether, 839 teeth were found with caries, occurring in a total of 399 adults (182 males and 190 females), an average rate of 2.1 caried teeth per individual. There were, in addition, 27 children with caried milk teeth. The distribution of caries throughout the mouth was again very uneven, by far the greater proportion of caried teeth being molars, most of those in the lower jaw. The trend for increasing caries with advancing age is much stronger than for *ante mortem* tooth loss, and the fact that almost half the youngest females had at least one caried tooth is remarkable.

Dental abscess

A total of 176 individuals at Barton had dental abscesses, 89 males and 77 females, with a total of 280 lesions, an average of 1.6 per individual affected. As before, the molars bore the brunt of the damage and there was some evidence for a trend of increasing disease with advancing age.

Relationship between different dental diseases

Of the 804 individuals with dental disease a quarter had both caries and tooth loss, and almost one in eight had all three types of lesion. The most common single event was *ante mortem* tooth loss which, in most cases, was probably secondary to periodontal disease.

Table 33: Crude prevalence of dental disease (% and 95% CI) at Barton

<i>Period</i>	<i>Caries</i>	<i>Ante mortem tooth loss</i>	<i>Abscess formation</i>
Early	34.6 30.9–38.4	56.5 52.6–60.4	15.9 13.2–19.0
Late	49.6 47.8–55.5	84.3 79.5–88.1	19.7 15.4–24.8
Total	39.7 36.7–42.8	64.7 61.7–67.6	17.5 15.3–20.0

The prevalence of dental disease

The prevalence of each of the three types of lesion studied here is shown in Table 33. The dental health of the population seems to have been very poor for most of the period, with almost 40% of the adults having caries and almost two-thirds having lost teeth during life. There is a striking and significant increase in the prevalence of caries and of *ante mortem* tooth loss in the late period; the rise in the prevalence of abscesses is not significant.

Periodontal disease

There was a marked trend for the proportion of those with all forms of disease to increase as the grade of periodontal disease increased, and it was clear that the mouths of those with the most severe form of periodontal disease would have been in a fearful state with most having caries, two-thirds having lost teeth and a quarter having dental abscesses, not to mention the unpleasant effects of all having swollen, infected gums and, almost certainly, halitosis.

In Conclusion

The strongest impression to be gained from the study of the human remains from St Peter's is one of stability.

Whether one considers the physical characteristics, or the pattern of disease, there seems to have been almost no change worthy of note over the 900-year time-span, and it seems evident that for a long period Barton provided a stable environment in which to live; the population were seemingly well – or at least adequately – nourished, and their toll of disease was unremarkable.

When making these judgements, some important caveats have to be entered. Firstly – and if this point seems obvious, it is sometimes forgotten – an examination of the skeleton will provide evidence only of those diseases that affect it, since the great bulk of human morbidity and mortality is due to diseases of the soft tissues. Unfortunately, the study of a skeletal assemblage will permit only a very meagre description of general morbidity; how disease of the skeleton is manifested during life is, in most cases, beyond our comprehension, and no conclusions can be drawn about the level of morbidity in the population as a whole except to say that many were likely to have been impeded by and in pain from osteoarthritis, and that substantially more would have been liable to intermittent toothache.

The second matter for consideration is that events are averaged out over the long time bases that are imposed by the phasing. Typically, the period that an assemblage relates to is measured in centuries so that short-term fluctuations are obscured. Who can doubt that the population of Barton was affected by the twin catastrophes of the fourteenth century, the great famine and the Black Death? Yet their occurrence is undetectable, as is the most calamitous event for which we have objective historical evidence, the outbreak of plague in 1593, when about one-fifth of the town's inhabitants died.

Nevertheless, the study of the remains of our long-dead ancestors is a privilege that permits the closest link with those who lived, aspired, loved and died so long ago, and offers the most immediate insight into their society.



15. SPECIALIST STUDIES, 1: INTERPRETING CHRONOLOGY

by Alex Bayliss and Caroline Atkins

Introduction

One hundred and eight graves from the cemetery at St Peter's church have absolute dating information. Thirty-one coffins have been dated by dendrochronology (Tyers 2001a) and three additional coffins have been dated by radiocarbon determinations. Radiocarbon measurements have also been obtained on seventy-five human skeletons, including one that was laid inside a coffin which has also been dated by the technique.

In addition, thirteen structural timbers from the church have been dated by dendrochronology (Tyers 2001b), and six radiocarbon determinations have been made on this material. Finally, two radiocarbon measurements have been made on animal bone from the primary fill of the waterlogged ditch beneath the eastern part of the cemetery. Chronological information is also available from the finds assemblage, including coins and tokens, coffin fittings, metalwork, and ceramics. The fabric of the church structure itself may also be dated on typological grounds. A plethora of relative dating information is available for both burials and the church structure from the stratigraphic relationships recorded during excavation.

The aim of this chapter is to combine the different forms of evidence, to provide an integrated chronology for the cemetery and church structure.

General Approach

The Bayesian approach to chronology adopted here is unashamedly interpretative (Buck *et al.* 1996). Scientific dating methods provide dates for samples, but it is the dates of the archaeological events represented by those samples that are significant. In this case, we are principally interested in the dates when the cemetery was in use, and in the dates of particular burials. The latter may be accurately estimated by a date on an articulated skeleton or on the timber used to construct the coffin, but most likely it will be more reliable and more precise if related absolute and relative dating information is incorporated in the interpretation of the scientific date. Larger questions of chronology can only be tackled by considering the whole range of chronological information.

Methodology is now available which allows us to combine the results of these different strands of evidence to produce realistic estimates of the dates of

archaeological interest. It should be emphasized that these *posterior density estimates* are not absolute, they are interpretative *estimates*, which can and will change as further data become available and as other researchers choose to model the existing data from different perspectives.

The technique used is a form of Markov Chain Monte Carlo sampling, and has been applied using the program OxCal v3.5 (<http://units.ox.ac.uk/departments/rlaha/>), which combines a mixture of the Metropolis-Hastings algorithm and the more specific Gibbs sampler (Gilks *et al.* 1996; Gelfand and Smith 1990). Details of the algorithms employed by this program are available from the on-line manual or in Bronk Ramsey (1995; 1998; 2000; 2001). The algorithms used in the models described below can be derived either from the structure shown in Figs. 795, 801–803, 805, 807–808 and 810, or from the chronological query language files, which are contained in the project archive.

Replicate radiocarbon measurements on the same sample have been combined before calibration by taking a weighted mean, and the consistency of groups of results which are, or may be, of the same actual age has been tested using methods outlined by Ward and Wilson (1978).

Worked examples demonstrating the application of this approach are provided by the series of papers by Buck *et al.* (1991; 1992; 1994a; 1994b). Archaeological problems tackled by integrating radiocarbon evidence with other forms of chronological information are becoming common in the literature (see for example Bayliss *et al.* 1997; Needham *et al.* 1998; Rom *et al.* 1999; Deraniyagala and Abeyratne 2000; Lu *et al.* 2001). Examples utilizing dendrochronological information are rarer (Bayliss *et al.* 1999; Millard 2002), and methodological development continues (*e.g.* Steier *et al.* 2001; Nicholls and Jones 2001).

Objectives

The scientific dating programme has been undertaken over a number of years as the project has developed. The original impetus for the archaeological investigations on St Peter's church was the poor condition of the structure, and the need for extensive consolidation and repair. In 1978 five samples from structural timbers were submitted for radiocarbon dating, and the objectives of this programme were:

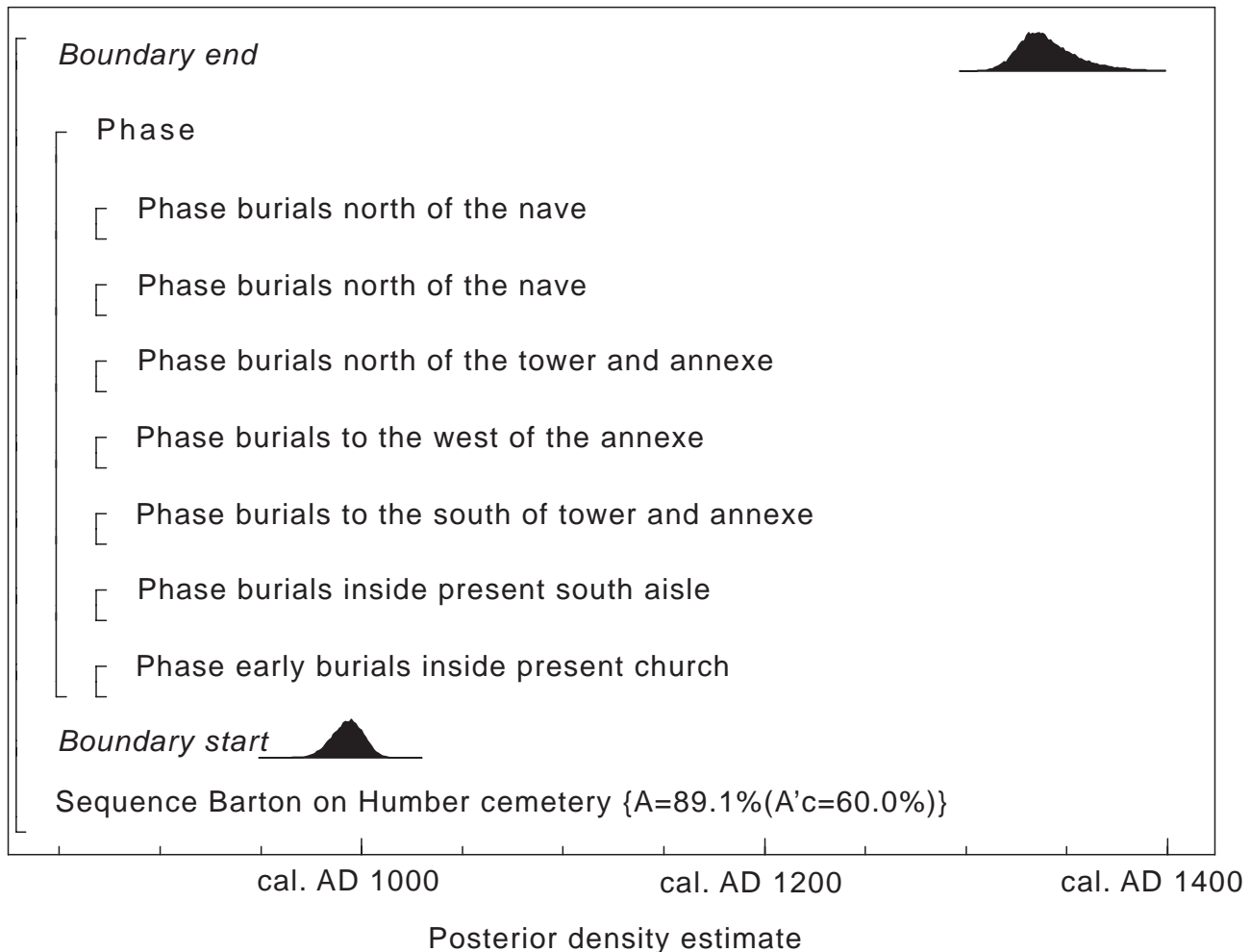


Fig. 795: Overall structure for the chronological model of the cemetery at St Peter's church. The component sections of this model are shown in detail in Figures 795, 801–803, 805, 807–808 and 810. The large square brackets down the left-hand side, along with the OxCal keywords, define the overall model exactly

- i) To confirm whether the fragmentary base-frame of a former spire inside the west tower is of Saxo-Norman date.
- ii) To date the floor of the ringing-chamber.
- iii) To date surviving elements of a potentially original floor for the upper chamber of the western annexe.

Further samples were submitted in 1984–85, when the waterlogged coffins were being prepared for conservation. These samples were intended to confirm the suspected early date of the coffins, and to determine whether the dug-out coffin was significantly earlier than those of plank construction. BH08 (HAR-6476) is also the most southerly surviving coffin. At this time, the availability of the micro-counter at Harwell enabled a fragment of wicker basket in the filling of a primary put-log hole in the wall of the Anglo-Saxon tower to be dated. This provided the opportunity to date the construction of the tower independently of architectural style.

The development of Accelerator Mass Spectrometry during the 1980s allowed much smaller samples to be submitted for radiocarbon analysis (Taylor 1997). Consequently, in the early stages of

post-excavation analysis, in 1990, six core samples from five more coffins were submitted for dating using this technique. All these graves were among the earliest in their stratigraphic sequences, and were selected to provide an indication of the date of the early coffined burials in different parts of the cemetery. BH10 (OxA-2283–4) is a well-preserved pegged and nailed coffin in which two coppice-rods were discovered; consequently, it was believed to be particularly early and might help to date the pre-church cemetery. BH12 (OxA-2286) also contained two rods. BH13 (OxA-2287) is unique, as the child's coffin was constructed out of pine planks, which are thought to have been imported from Scandinavia.

From their initial discovery, the potential for tree-ring dating of the waterlogged coffins was obvious. To verify the potential of the technique two oak timbers were sampled and dated by Jennifer Hillam in 1991. In 1994 some of the pine boards of the child's coffin (F5474) were analyzed by Cathy Groves, but did not cross-match with any available reference chronologies. The main programme of analysis, however, occurred in 2000–01 after completion of the conservation

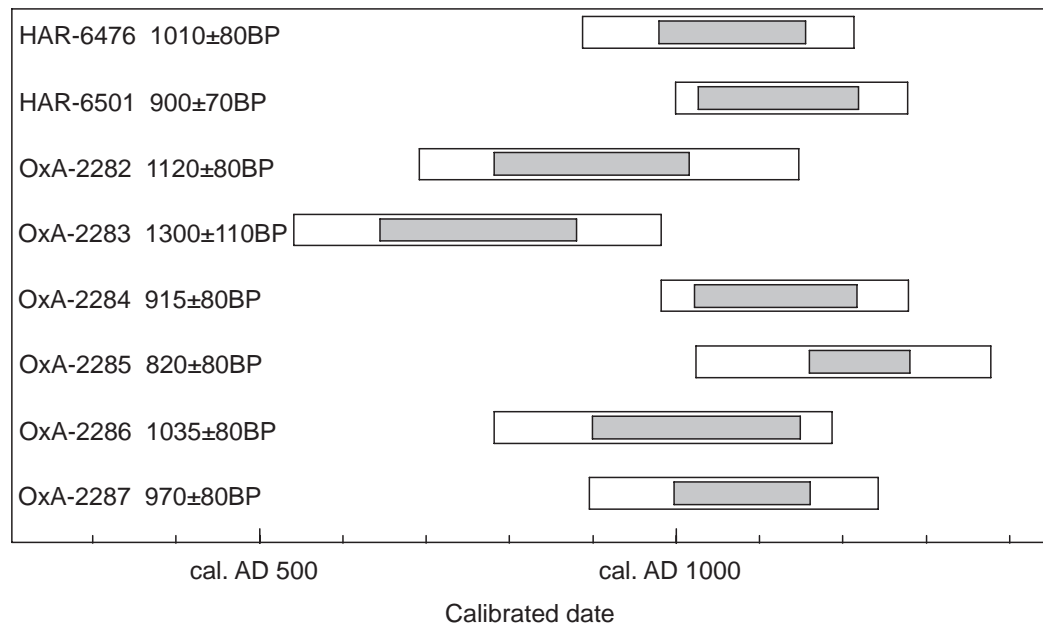


Fig. 796: Calibrated date ranges for the radiocarbon dates available on material from the cemetery in AD 1990, calculated according to the method of Stuiver and Reimer (1986) and data from Stuiver and Pearson (1986)

programme. All thirty-four conserved coffins were sampled for tree-ring dating, although in some cases sufficient replication was available without sampling every suitable plank from an individual grave.

This dating programme was designed to contribute to the following project objectives:

- i) To determine the chronology of early burial rites.
- ii) To date the carpentry of the coffins.
- iii) To investigate the timber supply, including the possibility of international trading.
- iv) To throw light on the exploitation and management of the woodlands supplying the timber.
- v) To produce a well-replicated tree-ring chronology.

Technical and methodological developments during the 1990s (Bayliss 1998) enabled a more ambitious radiocarbon dating programme to be attempted during post-excavation analysis between 1999 and 2003. The aims of this dating programme were informed by the initial set of radiocarbon determinations from the cemetery (Fig. 796). These were:

- i) To date the beginning of the cemetery and show how this related to the surviving fabric of the church.
- ii) To determine which part of the excavated area contained the earliest burials.
- iii) To test the chronological validity of the preliminary phasing scheme, particularly outside the church where stratigraphic relationships with stylistically dated deposits related to the church structure were less common.
- iv) To date the occurrence of burials containing boat fragments, as evidenced by clenched-bolts in the graves.

v) To date a group of seven burials which had liquid riverine mud poured over the corpse, inside a timber coffin.

vi) To determine whether the beginning of burial at St Peter's overlapped with, or succeeded, the latest burials at Castledyke South.

Following the initial results, a further objective was identified:

- vii) To provide fixed points within the sequence of stratified burials outside the present church to enable more accurate phasing, particularly in problematic areas.

Two samples were also submitted to refine the dating of the sub-circular enclosure ditch, sealed beneath the early cemetery.

In 2001, a programme of dendrochronology was undertaken on the surviving structure of the church, and a group of *ex situ* timbers from the ringing-chamber floor. In the late 1970s David Haddon-Reece of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory had assessed this material as unsuitable for dating, but the development of sampling techniques and the availability of reference chronologies in the intervening period meant that tree-ring analysis could now be attempted. Much of the potentially Anglo-Saxon fabric, however, is still barely suitable for analysis, although the importance of dating it justified the attempt.

The objectives of this programme of analysis were:

- i) To confirm the typological dating of the primary fabric of the tower and western annexe.
- ii) To date the ringing-chamber floor.

- iii) To date the base-frame of the former spire.
- iv) To date the surviving elements of the original roof of the north aisle.
- v) To date the door in the north aisle, which is potentially coeval with its construction.
- vi) To date the surviving elements of the original roof of the south aisle.
- vii) To date the roof of the south porch.
- viii) To date the chancel screen.
- ix) To date the present tower roof.
- x) To date the present chancel roof.
- xi) To date the church chests and an *ex situ* timber corbel from a roof.

Sampling

An initial assessment of the potential for tree-ring dating of all surviving timbers from St Peter's church was undertaken on the basis of technical and archaeological suitability, and in accordance with criteria set out by English Heritage (1998). All structures that contained timbers suitable for dendrochronology were sampled.

From the coffins, those timbers that appeared most suitable had a single transverse cut applied at the best position, using an electric scroll saw with a fine-toothed blade and a slow cutting speed. Sampling positions attempted to avoid known areas of interest such as tool-marks, peg-holes, etc. For a handful of the planks, a section was removed by applying a double cut. Where several planks in a coffin were clearly derived from the same parent log, it was sometimes considered inappropriate to sample every plank. Full discussion of the sampling approach adopted may be found in Tyers 2001a.

A variety of approaches was adopted for sampling the surviving fabric within the church. *In situ* structural timbers were sampled using a 15 mm diameter corer attached to an electric drill; the removed timbers from the ringing-chamber floor were cross-sectioned using a hand saw; the ring sequences of the chancel screen timbers and the two chests were recovered by photography; and planks in the north aisle door and other parts of the chancel screen were recovered by FIMO moulding (Leuschner and Leuschner 1996). Full discussion of the sampling approaches adopted may be found in Tyers (2001b).

During the excavation, samples were selected to answer specific questions. The coffins sampled in 1990 were dated to provide a general indication of the age of this, at the time, nationally unique assemblage.

A more formal sampling strategy was adopted in 1999. Several mathematical models were built simulating the results of the dating programme (*e.g.* Fig. 797). These models included the stratigraphic order of samples and phases, and archaeological estimates of the likely age of the cemetery. Radiocarbon results were simulated using the R_Simulate function in OxCal, with error terms estimated on the basis of the material

available and the type of measurement to be commissioned (*e.g.* high precision, single-run AMS, etc.). Once constructed, the models were used to determine how many measurements were needed to achieve the aims of the dating programme to a precision that would be archaeologically useful. In particular, which parts of the stratigraphic sequence would benefit sufficiently from high-precision measurements to justify the additional expense and turn-around time required?

An initial series of six high-precision measurements, selected from among the earliest burials on stratigraphic grounds, indicated that the commencement of burial on the site was likely to have been in the tenth or eleventh century. Simulations based on this estimated date, suggested that high-precision dating would be effective for burials at the bases of sequences, although less precise measurements would be useful where these were constrained by other information. High-precision dates were also obtained for a few intrinsically interesting burials.

A different approach was adopted to test the chronological validity of the preliminary phasing scheme outside the existing church. Resources were concentrated on dating burials which had no stratigraphic relationships to the structural sequence, or to other dated burials. The earliest phase of burial (E) was not sampled as burials from this phase of activity had already been submitted for high-precision dating to estimate the initial date of the cemetery. The latest phases of graves (A, A/B, and B) were also not sampled as these were readily identifiable on the basis of their coffin evidence. Between five and seven burials from each of the intermediate preliminary phases (B/C, C, C/D, D, and D/E) were selected, with some attempt to provide a representative spatial coverage of the relevant areas of the cemetery.

Analysis of these results suggested that around half of the burials from outside the existing church were phased incorrectly, with about 10% earlier than the phase to which they had been assigned, and 30% later. However, more detailed difficulties with phasing were apparent. In particular, around a third of burials that had been placed initially in D and D/E are actually later than this (reflecting the later-than-expected initial date of the cemetery), and about half of those in B and B/C were actually earlier. When analyzed by excavation area, it was apparent that the bulk of mis-phased burials occurred towards the west end of the cemetery around the tower and annexe. For example, Area 8 contained significant numbers of burials which were earlier, and more densely packed, than was expected from the preliminary phasing scheme.

A strategy was formulated to mitigate these difficulties. An additional fifteen samples were submitted from burials in areas of the cemetery where the phasing appeared to be particularly unreliable (Areas 8, 10, and the north-west corner of Area 14), in order to provide fixed points in strings of stratigraphically related burials which would allow them to be phased more

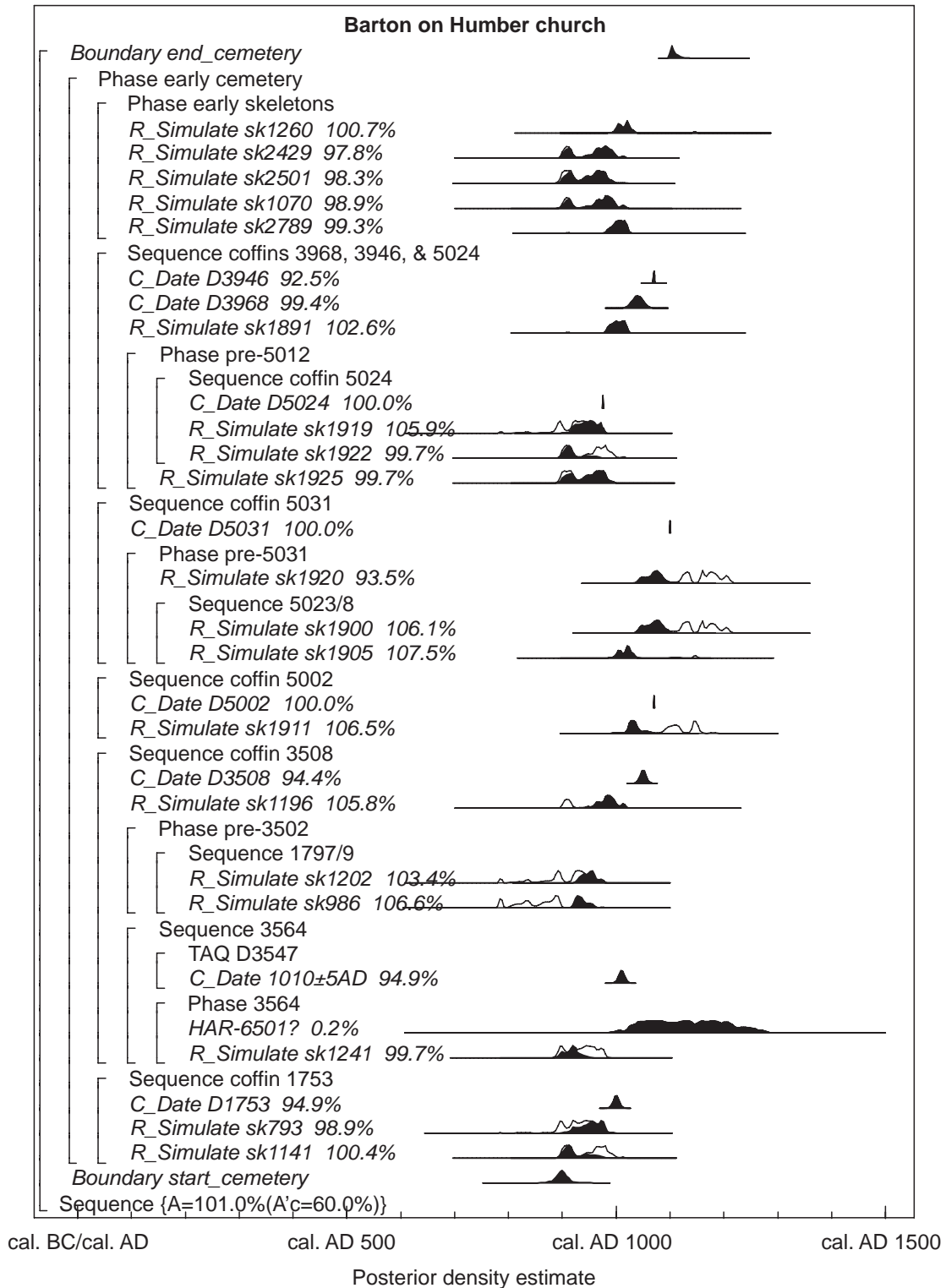


Fig. 797: Probability distributions of simulated dates from the cemetery of St Peter's church. Each distribution represents the relative probability that an event occurred at a particular time. For each simulated radiocarbon date, two distributions have been plotted: one in outline which is the result of simple radiocarbon calibration, and a solid one based on the chronological model used. The large square brackets down the left-hand side, along with the OxCal keywords, define the overall model exactly

reliably. A few replicate samples were also submitted at this stage, to investigate potentially very early or unexpected results.

It was also decided to redefine the temporal limits of Phase E. The initial set of radiocarbon dates (Fig. 796), and the Anglo-Scandinavian characteristics of

some of the burial rites, had misled us into believing that there were substantial numbers of pre-Conquest burials, and consequently Phase E had been defined as c. 900–1100. High-precision radiocarbon dates and dendrochronology from the coffins suggested that the cemetery started slightly later than had been initially

anticipated, and that burial rites did not change appreciably until rather later than expected. Consequently, the boundaries of Phase E were redefined as c. 950–1150, and Phase D as c. 1150–1300. All subsequent phases have remained unchanged.

On the basis of these re-definitions, additional absolute dating information from radiocarbon and dendrochronology, and from final artefactual results, the preliminary phasing scheme has been reassessed. It is hoped that this will substantially reduce the number of mis-phased burials, to perhaps 15% in areas outside the existing church, and to 5% overall. For the locations of all sampled burials, see Figure 798.

Two samples of disarticulated animal bone from the primary fill of the enclosure ditch were submitted for dating in 1999, in the hope that the *terminus post quem* for the accumulation of this material would provide a useful indication of the date when the ditch was dug. It appears that the material in the primary silts is of mixed origin, and consequently further samples were selected to provide a more robust indication of the latest of this material, and hence a better *terminus post quem* for the digging of the ditch. Unfortunately these samples were lost in transit and could not be submitted.

Radiocarbon Dating

by Alex Bayliss, Gordon Cook, F. Gerry McCormac and Christopher Bronk Ramsey

A total of ninety-three radiocarbon measurements have been made on ninety-one samples from Barton. Eighty-five results relate to burials in the churchyard, seventy-seven of these measurements were made on seventy-five articulated skeletons, the remaining eight on waterlogged wood from surviving coffins. Six samples were taken from structural elements of the church structure, and two from the primary fills of the early boundary ditch running beneath the cemetery. As part of this study determinations were also made on four burials from the nearby cemetery at Castledyke South.

Analysis and quality assurance

Forty-five samples of human bone were dated at the Scottish Universities Research and Reactor Centre in 2001 and 2002. The samples were processed as described by Stenhouse and Baxter (1983) and measured using Liquid Scintillation Counting (Noakes *et al.* 1965).

Twenty-nine samples of human bone were dated at The Queen's University, Belfast, between 1999 and 2002. These were processed according to methods outlined by Longin (1971), Pearson (1984), and McCormac (1992), and measured using Liquid Scintillation Counting (Wilson *et al.* 1996; Wilson 1997).

Six samples of waterlogged wood were processed at the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit in 1990. These were prepared and measured using methods

outlined in Hedges *et al.* (1989). Two samples of animal bone from the early medieval boundary ditch were measured in 2001 (Bronk Ramsey and Hedges 1997). The pre-treatment method used for these samples was a collagen extraction (Law and Hedges 1989; Hedges *et al.* 1989) followed by gelatinization and separation by filtration (Bronk Ramsey *et al.* 2000). Five samples of human bone were dated in 2003. These were prepared and measured in the same way, although the gelatinization process was slightly different (Bronk Ramsey *et al.* 2004).

Eight samples of wood were dated by the radiocarbon laboratory at AERE Harwell in 1978–79 and 1984–85. These samples were prepared as described by Otlet and Warchal (1978) and combusted to carbon dioxide and synthesized to benzene using a method similar to that initially described by Tamers (1965) and a vanadium-based catalyst (Otlet 1977). The radiocarbon content was measured using Liquid Scintillation Counting as described by Otlet (1979). HAR-6838 was measured using the mini gas-proportional counter (Otlet *et al.* 1983; 1986).

For those measurements made since 1990, all the laboratories maintain continual programmes of quality assurance procedures, in addition to participation in international inter-comparisons (Scott *et al.* 1990; Rozanski *et al.* 1992; Scott *et al.* 1998). These tests indicate no laboratory offsets and demonstrate the validity of the precision quoted.

In the 1970s the importance of quality assurance for radiocarbon dating was less widely appreciated, although at this time the first steps towards formal inter-laboratory comparison were being taken within the UK. The results of these measurements were published in 1980 (Otlet *et al.* 1980) and show that the British laboratories were in good agreement. The samples that were measured at Harwell were processed at this time.

There are two pairs of replicate measurements on human skeletons, and one pair on a coffin and the individual buried within it. One of the pairs of measurements on human bone is statistically consistent¹ but the other is statistically inconsistent at 95% confidence (although not at 99% confidence.² The measurements from the dug-out coffin F3564 and the skeleton recovered from within it are also statistically consistent (HAR-6501 and UB-4655; $T'=0.6$; $T'(5\%)=3.8$; $v=1$), even though the wood sample is likely to be at least a decade earlier than the burial because of missing sapwood.

Results

The results are given in Tables 34–36, and are quoted in accordance with the international standard known as the Trondheim convention (Stuiver and Kra 1986). They are conventional radiocarbon ages (Stuiver and Polach 1977).

Table 34: Radiocarbon determinations from the cemetery

<i>Laboratory no.</i>	<i>Sample ref.</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Radiocarbon age (BP)</i>	<i>$\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (‰)</i>	<i>Calibrated date range (95% confidence)</i>
HAR-6501	BH07	from oak dug-out coffin F3564, a decadal block ending in the heartwood/sapwood boundary from fragment 831616	900±70	-26.8	cal. AD 990–1280
HAR-6476	BH08	from the lid of oak coffin F4181, other timbers from this coffin include growth rings spanning AD 1001–1130	1010±80	-27.6	cal. AD 880–1220
OxA-2282	BH09	from an unidentified part of oak coffin F1753, which includes growth rings spanning AD 887–1084	1120±80	-24.6	cal. AD 690–1150
OxA-2283	BH10	from oak coffin F1790, a 30-year block centred on AD 924 from the north side of board 839055	1300±110	-25.5	cal. AD 540–990
OxA-2284	BH10	from oak coffin F1790, a 30-year block centred on AD 1085 from lid 831625	915±80	-26.2	cal. AD 980–1280
OxA-2285	BH11	from the base oak coffin F3946, a decadal block, the centre of which is 57–91 years earlier than the felling date of the tree	820±80	-25.2	cal. AD 1020–1380
OxA-2286	BH12	from the lid of oak coffin F5045, a 40-year block centred on AD 1015	1035±80	-25.0	cal. AD 780–1190
OxA-2287	BH13	from pine coffin F5474, a 60-year block from board 841089, 69 years earlier than the felling date of the tree	970±80	-25.5	cal. AD 890–1250
UB-4440	BH14	tibia from skeleton 1911, grave F5032	940±18	-20.0±0.2	cal. AD 1020–1160
UB-4441	BH15	tibia from skeleton 2789, grave F7626	990±21	-20.2±0.2	cal. AD 1000–1155
UB-4442	BH16	femur and fibula shaft from skeleton 1070, grave F4071	929±19	-20.4±0.2	cal. AD 1025–1185
UB-4443	BH17	tibiae from skeleton 1260, grave F3247	1000±22	-19.6±0.2	cal. AD 995–1155
UB-4444	BH18	tibia from skeleton 2501, grave F7348	959±19	-19.9±0.2	cal. AD 1020–1160
UB-4445	BH19	unidentified long bone from skeleton 2429, grave F5393	1002±19	-19.9±0.2	cal. AD 995–1150
OxA-12373	BH22	fragment of left humerus from skeleton 30, grave F716	930±26	-19.4	cal. AD 1020–1210
UB-4647	BH23	bone from skeleton 537, grave F4096	1068±16	-18.8±0.2	cal. AD 900–1020
OxA-12374	BH24	medial half of left clavicle from skeleton 592, grave F1364	1032±27	-18.5	cal. AD 970–1030
UB-4648	BH25	sacrum, fragment of right ilium, and right humerus from skeleton 842, grave F1774	970±15	-19.9±0.2	cal. AD 1020–1155
OxA-12375	BH26	skull vault from skeleton 958, grave F4001	960±25	-19.6	cal. AD 1010–1160
UB-4649	BH27	fragments of left femur and left tibia from skeleton 986, grave F1797	964±15	-20.1±0.2	cal. AD 1020–1160
UB-4650	BH28	tibiae and fibulae from skeleton 1082, grave F3157	921±21	-19.9±0.2	cal. AD 1025–1210
UB-4651	BH29	right tibia and humerus from skeleton 1162, grave F3203	962±17	-19.4±0.2	cal. AD 1020–1160
OxA-12247	BH30	left tibia from skeleton 1196, grave F3502	955±30	-19.7	cal. AD 1010–1170
UB-4652	BH31	right femur from skeleton 1198, grave F4131	965±18	-19.4±0.2	cal. AD 1020–1160
OxA-12248	BH32	right femur from skeleton 1202, grave F1799	1003±26	-19.8	cal. AD 990–1160
UB-4653	BH33	left femur from skeleton 1208, grave F3228	954±20	-20.0±0.2	cal. AD 1020–1160
UB-4654	BH34	left femur from skeleton 1234, grave F3244	947±18	-19.7±0.2	cal. AD 1020–1160
UB-4655	BH35	left femur from skeleton 1241, grave F3564	959±17	-19.7±0.2	cal. AD 1020–1160
UB-4656	BH36	right femur from skeleton 1283, grave F4183	958±20	-20.0±0.2	cal. AD 1020–1160
UB-4657	BH37	left femur from skeleton 1323, grave F3288	1002±16	-19.5±0.2	cal. AD 995–1035
UB-4658	BH38	right femur from skeleton 1910, grave F5032	1038±14	-19.5±0.2	cal. AD 980–1025
UB-4659	BH39	right humerus, radius, and ulna and fragment of left humerus from skeleton 2545, grave F7382	1057±15	-19.4±0.2	cal. AD 905–1020
UB-4660	BH40	skull vault from skeleton 2569, grave F7398	978±21	-19.5±0.2	cal. AD 1000–1160
UB-4661	BH41	fragments of femora and right humerus from skeleton 1916, grave F5037	998±17	-20.4±0.2	cal. AD 995–1150
GU-5821	BH42	left tibia from skeleton 1022, grave F3129	1120±50	-18.3	cal. AD 770–1020
GU-5822	BH43	right femur and distal half of right tibia from skeleton 1041, grave F3135	850±50	-21.6	cal. AD 1030–1280
GU-5823	BH44	left humerus and left radius from skeleton 272, grave F3342	520±50	-20.0	cal. AD 1300–1450
GU-5824	BH45	left femur from skeleton 333, grave F3374	420±50	-17.3	cal. AD 1410–1640
GU-5825	BH46	proximal 70% of left femur from skeleton 1548, grave F4624	840±50	-19.3	cal. AD 1030–1290
GU-5826	BH47	left femur and right humerus from skeleton 1606, grave F4643	870±60	-23.4	cal. AD 1020–1280

Table 34: (cont'd)

<i>Laboratory no.</i>	<i>Sample ref.</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Radiocarbon age (BP)</i>	<i>δ¹³C (‰)</i>	<i>Calibrated date range (95% confidence)</i>
GU-5827	BH48	left and right humeri from skeleton 1673, grave F4653	390±50	-17.6	cal. AD 1420–1640
GU-5828	BH49	fragments of right femur, humerus, and tibia from skeleton 1745, grave F4712	750±50	-19.7	cal. AD 1190–1390
GU-5829	BH50	right tibia from skeleton 1694, grave F4818	560±50	-21.5	cal. AD 1290–1440
GU-5830	BH51	left tibia from skeleton 2282, grave F4897	960±50	-21.7	cal. AD 980–1220
GU-5831	BH52	distal part of left femur from skeleton 2304, grave F4901	690±50	-19.7	cal. AD 1250–1400
GU-5832	BH53	left femur from skeleton 2139, grave F5246	1010±50	-19.9	cal. AD 1020–1220 ³
GU-5865	BH53A	replicate of GU-5832 from right femur	840±50	-18.8	
GU-5833	BH54	left femur and right fibula from skeleton 2348, grave F5335	620±50	-20.4	cal. AD 1280–1420
GU-5834	BH55	right femur from skeleton 2422, grave F5382	570±50	-20.3	cal. AD 1290–1440
GU-5835	BH56	right tibia from skeleton 2242, grave F7161	840±60	-20.6	cal. AD 1030–1290
GU-5836	BH57	right tibia from skeleton 2259, grave F7204	850±90	-20.3	cal. AD 1000–1300
GU-5837	BH58	right humerus and proximal 80% of right femur from skeleton 2465, grave F7321	1080±50	-18.2	cal. AD 780–1030
GU-5838	BH59	right tibia from skeleton 2486, grave F7340	950±50	-20.7	cal. AD 990–1220
GU-5839	BH60	left femur from skeleton 2701(A), grave F7551	660±50	-18.8	cal. AD 1270–1410
GU-5840	BH61	humeri, ulnae, radii, left clavicle, left scapula, 4 metacarpals and 3 phalanges from skeleton 2745, grave F7593	970±60	-20.5	cal. AD 970–1220
GU-5841	BH62	left femur from skeleton 649, grave F7714	810±50	-18.6	cal. AD 1060–1290
GU-5856	BH63	right femur from skeleton 765, grave F7799	830±60	-18.9	cal. AD 1030–1290
GU-5842	BH64	left femur from skeleton 1050, grave F7910	870±50	-20.9	cal. AD 1020–1280
GU-5843	BH65	left femur from skeleton 1000, grave F7944	200±60	-19.2	cal. AD 1520–1955*
GU-5844	BH66	proximal 80% of right femur and distal end of left femur from skeleton 809, grave F7826	660±60	-17.0	cal. AD 1260–1410
GU-5845	BH67	right femur from skeleton 885, grave F7863	690±60	-18.8	cal. AD 1220–1410
GU-5846	BH68	right femur and left tibia from skeleton 1780, grave F3930	680±50	-19.0	cal. AD 1260–1400
GU-5847	BH69	left femur from skeleton 1491, grave F3731	690±50	-19.0	cal. AD 1250–1400
GU-5848	BH70	right femur and tibia from skeleton 2417, grave F7278	820±50	-19.2	cal. AD 1040–1290
GU-5849	BH71	right femur from skeleton 2509, grave F7351	750±60	-19.9	cal. AD 1160–1390
UB-4662	BH72	fragments of femora from skeleton 957, grave F4019	911±16	-20.0±0.2	cal. AD 1035–1210
UB-4663	BH73	left femur from skeleton 1015, grave F4040	968±16	-19.2±0.2	cal. AD 1020–1160
GU-5871	BH74	left femur from skeleton 1574, grave F4635, Area 10	900±50	-19.3	cal. AD 1020–1260
GU-5872	BH75	left and right femora from skeleton 1532, grave F4753, Area 10	610±60	-18.7	cal. AD 1280–1440
GU-5873	BH76	left femur from skeleton 1644, grave F4792, Area 10	750±50	-18.2	cal. AD 1190–1390
GU-5874	BH77	fragments of right femur and pelvis from skeleton 1572, grave F4634, Area 10	640±50	-19.3	cal. AD 1270–1410
GU-5875	BH78	right femur of skeleton 1738, grave F4695, Area 10	580±50	-18.2	cal. AD 1290–1440
GU-5876	BH79	left femur of skeleton 2352, grave F7220, Area 14	670±50	-16.9	cal. AD 1260–1410
GU-5877	BH80	left femur and left tibia of skeleton 2238, grave F4877, Area 14	710±50	-19.1	cal. AD 1220–1400
GU-5878	BH81	left femur from skeleton 2243, grave F4880, Area 14	500±50	-19.0	cal. AD 1320–1480
GU-5879	BH82	fragments of left and right femora from skeleton 2436, grave F7290, Area 14	600±50	-18.3	cal. AD 1280–1430
GU-5880	BH83	right femur from skeleton 2499, grave F7212, Area 14	710±50	-18.0	cal. AD 1220–1400
GU-5866	BH84	right femur from skeleton 641, grave F3492, Area 8	770±50	-18.6	cal. AD 1160–1300
GU-5867	BH85	right femur from skeleton 539, grave F3490, Area 8	770±50	-18.8	cal. AD 1160–1300
GU-5868	BH86	right femur from skeleton 898, grave F7869, Area 8	190±50	-19.5	cal. AD 1650–1950 ⁴
GU-5897	BH86	replicate of GU-5868	180±50	-19.2	
GU-5869	BH87	left femur from skeleton 671, grave F3092, Area 8	760±50	-19.4	cal. AD 1180–1380
GU-5870	BH88	left femur from skeleton 748, grave F3089, Area 8	770±50	-19.4	cal. AD 1160–1300
UB-4719	BH89	femora from skeleton 1321, grave F3280	995±19	-19.9±0.5	cal. AD 995–1155
UB-4720	BH90	left femur, left tibia, and right humerus from skeleton F2576, grave F4970	1028±20	-19.6±0.5	cal. AD 980–1025

Table 35: Radiocarbon determinations from the church structure and early medieval boundary ditch (F3890)

Laboratory no.	Sample ref.	Context	Radiocarbon age (BP)	$\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (‰)	Calibrated date range (95% confidence)
HAR-3106	BH01	from a joist (mature <i>Quercus</i> sp.) which supported the floor of the upper chamber in the west annexe to the church	960±70	-26.0	cal. AD 900–1230
HAR-2865	BH03	from one of the east–west timbers (<i>Quercus</i> sp.) of the base frame of the former spire	570±70	-25.0	cal. AD 1280–1450
HAR-5655	BH04	from one of the north–south timbers of the base frame of the former spire	750±70	-26.4	cal. AD 1160–1400
HAR-2863	BH05	from the stump of one of the beams (<i>Quercus</i> sp.) embedded in the belfry wall which supported the former spire	720±60	-25.5	cal. AD 1210–1400
HAR-2864	BH06	from the central joist (<i>Quercus</i> sp.) in the floor of the ringing-chamber of the tower	780±80	-26.2	cal. AD 1030–1390
HAR-6838	BH800554	from part of a wicker basket (<i>Salix/Populus</i> sp.) handle found in a putlog hole (F1953) on the inside of the tower wall	900±100	-28.1	cal. AD 900–1300
OxA-8780	BH20	sheep/goat bone from primary fill of boundary ditch	1510±40	-21.7	cal. AD 430–650
OxA-8866	BH21	<i>Bos</i> sp. bone from primary fill of boundary ditch	1655±25	-21.2	cal. AD 260–440

Table 36: Radiocarbon determinations from Castledyke South

Laboratory no.	Sample ref.	Context	Radiocarbon age (BP)	$\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (‰)	Calibrated date range (95% confidence)
UB-4643	BHC01	Grave 5	1428±16	-20.3±0.2	cal. AD 600–660
UB-4644	BHC02	Grave 15, context 8	1345±19	-21.3±0.2	cal. AD 655–695
UB-4645	BHC03	Grave 54, context 63	1423±15	-19.9±0.2	cal. AD 600–660
UB-4646	BHC04	Grave 84, context 330	1303±17	-20.2±0.2	cal. AD 660–775

Calibration

The calibrations of these results, which relate the radiocarbon measurements directly to the calendrical time scale, are given in Tables 34–36, and in outline in Figs. 795, 801–803, 805, 807–808 and 810. All have been calculated using the data-sets published by Stuiver *et al.* (1998a) and the computer programme OxCal (v3.5) (Bronk Ramsey 1995; 1998; 2000; 2001). The calibrated date-ranges cited in the text are those for 95% confidence. They are quoted in the form recommended by Mook (1986), with the end points rounded outwards to ten years if the error term is greater than or equal to twenty-five radiocarbon years, or to five years if it is less. The ranges cited in plain type have been calculated according to the maximum intercept method (Stuiver and Reimer 1986); all other ranges are derived from the probability method (Stuiver and Reimer 1993). Those ranges printed in italics in the text and tables are derived from the mathematical modelling of archaeological problems.

Stable Isotope Analysis

by Nancy Beavan, Simon Mays, Gordon Cook and Peter Ditchfield

Samples of human bone from the skeletons sampled for radiocarbon dating were submitted for stable isotope analysis ($\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$) and analysis of %C, %N

and atomic C:N (carbon:nitrogen) ratios. The principal aim of this study was to determine the dietary inputs of the dated individuals and thus the potential for the incorporation of radiocarbon from different reservoirs into the dated bone protein (collagen).

Stable isotope analysis: carbon and nitrogen

Sub-samples of bone from skeletons dated by the Belfast Laboratory (code UB in Table 37) were chemically pre-treated at the Rafter Radiocarbon Laboratory as outlined in Beavan-Athfield *et al.* (2001) and analyzed at Isotracer New Zealand for nitrogen and carbon ($\delta^{15}\text{N}$, $\delta^{13}\text{C}$, %N and %C) using the elemental analyzer isotope ratio mass spectrometry (EA-IRMS) technique. Laboratory methods, standards, equipment, and calculation of total analytical error were as described by Beavan-Athfield and Mays (2009).

Those samples processed at the Scottish Universities Research and Reactor Centre (code GU in Table 37) were prepared according to the method outlined in Ascough *et al.* (2007) and analyzed using a Finningan TracerMAT CF-IRMS. Those analyzed at the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit (code OxA in Table 37) were prepared as for AMS (Bronk Ramsey

Table 37: Stable isotope determinations from 'gelatine'

Laboratory no.	Sample ref.	$\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (‰)	$\delta^{15}\text{N}$ (‰)	C:N ratio
UB-4440	BH14	-20.0	9.5	2.6
UB-4441	BH15	-20.0	11.0	2.6
UB-4442	BH16	-20.4	10.1	2.7
UB-4443	BH17	-19.4	10.4	2.6
UB-4444	BH18	-20.0	10.2	2.6
UB-4445	BH19	-19.9	9.7	2.6
OxA-12373	BH22	-19.4	10.9	3.2
UB-4647	BH23	-18.9	13.2	2.9
OxA-12374	BH24	-18.5	13.0	3.2
UB-4648	BH25	-19.7	11.5	2.8
OxA-12375	BH26	-19.6	10.9	3.2
UB-4649	BH27	-20.2	12.0	2.8
UB-4650	BH28	-19.4	12.5	2.9
UB-4651	BH29	-19.1	14.5	2.5
OxA-12247	BH30	-19.7	13.0	3.2
UB-4652	BH31	-19.6	14.2	2.5
OxA-12248	BH32	-19.8	12.0	3.1
UB-4653	BH33	-19.9	13.9	2.6
UB-4654	BH34	-19.6	14.8	2.5
UB-4655	BH35	-20.1	12.2	2.5
UB-4656	BH36	-19.8	13.6	2.5
UB-4657	BH37	-19.7	13.9	2.4
UB-4658	BH38	-19.8	13.0	2.4
UB-4659	BH39	-19.6	13.9	2.4
UB-4660	BH40	-20.0	13.7	2.5
UB-4661	BH41	-19.9	14.3	2.5
GU-5821	BH42	-18.3	13.4	-
GU-5822	BH43	-21.6	10.6	-
GU-5823	BH44	-20.0	13.3	-
GU-5824	BH45	-17.3	12.3	-
GU-5825	BH46	-19.3	12.1	-
GU-5826	BH47	-23.4	11.6	-
GU-5827	BH48	-17.6	11.7	-
GU-5828	BH49	-19.7	10.4	-
GU-5829	BH50	-21.5	13.4	-
GU-5830	BH51	-21.7	12.1	-
GU-5831	BH52	-19.7	13.2	-
GU-5832	BH53	-19.9	11.3	-
GU-5865	BH53A	-18.8	12.3	3.4
GU-5833	BH54	-20.4	10.8	-
GU-5834	BH55	-20.3	10.0	-
GU-5835	BH56	-20.6	11.8	-
GU-5836	BH57	-20.3	9.8	-
GU-5837	BH58	-18.2	11.1	-
GU-5838	BH59	-20.7	11.3	-
GU-5839	BH60	-18.8	12.8	-
GU-5840	BH61	-20.5	11.1	-
GU-5841	BH62	-18.6	12.6	-
GU-5856	BH63	-18.9	14.0	-
GU-5842	BH64	-20.9	10.4	-
GU-5843	BH65	-19.2	11.1	-
GU-5844	BH66	-17.0	12.3	-
GU-5845	BH67	-18.8	12.5	-
GU-5846	BH68	-19.0	12.1	-
GU-5847	BH69	-19.0	11.4	-
GU-5848	BH70	-19.2	11.6	-
GU-5849	BH71	-19.9	10.5	-
UB-4662	BH72	-20.0	12.8	2.6
UB-4663	BH73	-19.2	12.9	2.6
GU-5871	BH74	-19.3	7.1	3.2

Laboratory no.	Sample ref.	$\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (‰)	$\delta^{15}\text{N}$ (‰)	C:N ratio
GU-5872	BH75	-18.7	12.1	3.4
GU-5873	BH76	-18.2	13.5	3.4
GU-5874	BH77	-19.3	9.8	3.6
GU-5875	BH78	-18.2	13.3	3.3
GU-5876	BH79	-16.9	6.3	3.0
GU-5877	BH80	-19.1	11.8	3.1
GU-5878	BH81	-19.0	13.0	3.4
GU-5879	BH82	-18.3	13.5	3.4
GU-5880	BH83	-18.0	14.9	3.4
GU-5866	BH84	-18.6	10.0	3.4
GU-5867	BH85	-18.8	14.3	3.3
GU-5868	BH86	-19.5	9.9	4.2
GU-5897	BH86	-19.2	-	-
GU-5869	BH87	-19.4	11.5	3.5
GU-5870	BH88	-19.4	13.4	3.4
UB-4719	BH89	-19.6	10.1	2.7
UB-4720	BH90	-19.9	11.2	2.6

et al. 2004) and were measured on a CF-IRMS consisting of a PDZ-Europa Robo-Prep biological sample converter coupled to a PDZ-Europa 20/20 mass spectrometer. Samples are combusted and converted to N_2 and CO_2 gas pulses (in a He carrier gas stream) in the Robo-Prep biological sample converter.

Results

The results of the stable isotope analyses and atomic C:N ratios on bone gelatine for the skeletons in the sample set are presented in Table 37.

Protein preservation and suitability for dating

The atomic C:N ratios provided for forty-nine of the skeletons suggest generally good overall preservation despite the waterlogged nature of part of the churchyard (mean 3.3, stdev = 0.2). The individual C:N ratios indicate that all but one of the skeletons were within the optimum range (2.9 to 3.6) for well-preserved bone protein suggested by DeNiro (1985). Skeleton BH86 (GU-5868) had a C:N ratio of 4.2, which suggests that it was less suitable for dating (although since this measurement is statistically consistent with a second determination on the same skeleton (GU-5897, Table 34) the relatively poor preservation has not affected the accuracy of the result). The remaining thirty skeletons without C:N ratios (BH42 to BH71, Table 37) cannot be assessed individually for protein preservation, although on the basis of the sample for which ratios are available, they too are likely to have been well preserved.

Dietary inferences from $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$

As well as indicating the suitability of bone for dating, stable isotope analyses can also provide indications of past diet. Stable isotope values from the seventy-five

radiocarbon dated skeletons from Barton-upon-Humber and four dated skeletons from Castledyke South from Table 37 are considered (excluding the two replicate analyses). Overall, the mean $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ value was -19.0‰ (sd 4.0), and the mean $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ value was $+11.5\text{‰}$ (sd 1.4). The range of $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values was -23.4‰ to -16.9‰ , and the range of $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values was $+6.3\text{‰}$ to $+14.9\text{‰}$.

Burials having enriched ^{13}C (up to -16.9‰) and ^{15}N (up to $+14.9\text{‰}$) are of interest as they are indicative of a higher trophic level protein source, which is often associated with a marine environment. The presence of marine foods in a diet might require adjustments to the methods used for radiocarbon calibration, as a mixture of radiocarbon reservoirs may be involved. We also investigated whether the more enriched values were particular to an era of burials, indicating changing

diet preferences in the population. The burials were divided into six period categories (Table 38) on the basis of the posterior density estimates calculated by the chronological model (see below; Figs. 795, 801–803, 805, 807–808 and 810). We have used three methods to illustrate where Barton-upon-Humber stable isotope values fit with respect to likely food sources.

First, we have constructed expected diet-to-collagen value boxes (Fig. 804) based upon the reported range of $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ and $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values for archaeological fauna from various sites in England (Richards *et al.* 2006; Jay and Richards 2006; Privat *et al.* 2002; Richards 2000; Müldner and Richards 2005; seal from Denmark from DeNiro and Epstein 1978). We have considered the appropriate biomagnification factor – the enrichment of $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ in bone collagen from diet source to consumer – to use here, as the magnitude of this factor for both carbon and nitrogen is extensively debated (see Van der Merwe and Vogel 1978; Peterson and Fry 1987; Hedges and Reynard 2007). The box relating to terrestrial plant eaters uses cattle values to approximate where human collagen values would be, given an entirely plant-based diet; we also use this type of proxy relationship to estimate the marine food source diet-to-consumer ranges by assuming seal as a representative of a fully marine consumer. For terrestrial protein (domestic fowl, sheep, and cattle), freshwater fish, salmonid, and eel boxed ranges, we use a biomagnification factor of 1‰ for ^{13}C and 4‰ for ^{15}N , based on

Table 38: Phasing and dating of the burials

Phase	Date
1	7th–8th century AD
2	10th–11th century AD
3	11th–12th century AD
4	13th century AD
5	14th century AD
6	15th century onward

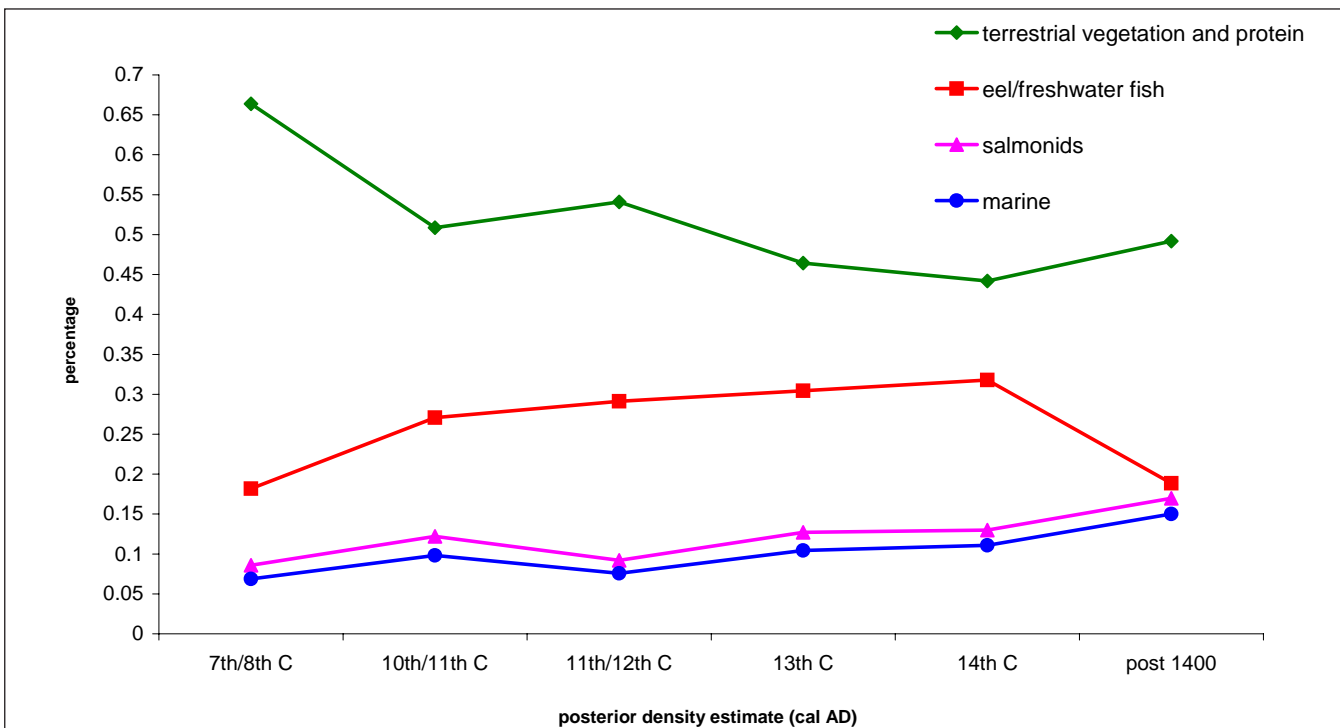


Fig. 799: Estimated per cent components of diet using ISOSOURCE, for the mean isotopic profile of populations in each era. Results suggest that the burials through time have slightly increasing proportions of fish from both freshwater and marine sources. Burials after the seventh–eighth century appear to trend towards lower proportions of terrestrial vegetation and protein, with slight increases in freshwater fish and/or eel. These results reflect observations by Mays (1997) on the general trend of medieval diets towards terrestrial foods but also the importance of marine resources as sources of protein for both coastal and inland populations in this region

Table 39: Summary statistics for the carbon stable isotope data (‰)

	1	2	3	Phase 4	5	6
N	4	14	21	22	10	5
Median	-19.9	-19.6	-19.8	-19.2	-19.1	-19.0
IQR	0.30	0.78	0.45	0.98	2.42	1.90

Table 40: Summary statistics for the nitrogen stable isotope data (‰)

	1	2	3	Phase 4	5	6
N	4	14	21	22	10	5
Mean	9.8	11.6	11.2	12.0	11.6	11.6
sd	0.58	0.96	1.08	1.43	2.33	1.18

evidence for the scale of trophic enrichments in children being breastfed and nursing women (Richards *et al.* 2002), and similar 1‰ carbon isotope enrichments in herbivores (Jay and Richards 2006). The box ranges in Figure 804 define ranges for pure terrestrial protein, pure marine protein, etc. diets. The Barton burials cluster mainly among terrestrial protein ranges, but show a trend towards more enriched ^{13}C and ^{15}N values, indicating complex diets.

In a second exercise, and to define feasible dietary mixes more clearly, we used ISOSOURCE (Phillips and Gregg 2003), a mixing model that can be used to derive probable diet-source partitions when there are a complex number of possible inputs for isotopic signatures found in a given individual. The six potential diet sources for each isotope shown in the boxes in Figure 804 were considered. ISOSOURCE produces a set of solutions derived from the combination of source proportions that satisfy an isotopic mass balance mixing model, with descriptive statistics to characterize the distribution of feasible solutions.

The $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values for each burial were run through ISOSOURCE at 1% increments and to within a 0.5‰ tolerance. A complete discussion of this work is currently in preparation. ISOSOURCE results suggest that the burials through time have slightly increasing proportions of marine foods, ranging from a mean of 6.9% (combined std dev 4.7%, $n=4$) in the seventh–eighth century at Castledyke South to 15% (combined std dev 8.9%, $n=5$) in the period after AD 1400. After the seventh–eighth century, people appear to have consumed lower proportions of terrestrial vegetation and protein, with slight increases in freshwater fish and/or eel (Fig. 799). These results reflect observations by Mays (1997) on the general trend for medieval diets to be largely based on terrestrial foods, but also suggest the importance of marine resources as sources of protein for both coastal and inland populations in this region.

Lastly, we undertook a statistical analysis of the isotopic data by period. Only adult burials are included in this part of the study since previous work (Richards *et al.* 2002) on other English medieval material has shown significant age-related variation in isotopic values, and by implication diet, in sub-adults.

Lilliefors's tests indicated no evidence for departure from normality for the $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ data, permitting parametric statistics to be used in analysis. However, the $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ data departed from normality. Therefore the carbon data were analyzed using non-parametric statistics, and the median and the inter-quartile range (IQR) were used, instead of mean and standard deviation (sd), as measures of central tendency and dispersion respectively.

For neither the $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ nor the $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ was there any evidence of a sex difference. Therefore, for the purposes of analysis, data for the adults as whole were pooled.

In the statistical analysis of $\delta^{13}\text{C}$, Kruskal-Wallis non-parametric one-way analysis of variance indicates that there is significant variation in $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values across the six phases (chi-square=15.2, $p=0.009$). Table 39 suggests that this principally reflects a difference between phases 1–3 on the one hand and phases 4–6 on the other, the latter having less negative values. A Mann-Whitney test indicates that the difference between phases 1–3 and 4–6 is statistically significant ($Z=2.98$, $p=0.004$). There also appears to be a tendency toward greater variability in $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values from phase 4 onward, as indicated by the higher IQR figures.

In the statistical analysis of $\delta^{15}\text{N}$, analysis of variance indicates that the variation in $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values across the six phases narrowly fails to attain conventional statistical significance ($F=2.12$, $p=0.074$). Table 40 suggests little variation in isotope values across phases 2–6, but the mean for phase 1 appears lower than for later phases. When the data from phase 1 are compared with the combined data from phases 2–6, a t-test indicates a statistically significant difference ($t=5.56$, $p=0.002$).

Discussion of statistical analysis

At all periods, $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values indicate only a fairly minor contribution to diets from marine resources, but the less negative values from phase 4 onward indicate an increase in the marine contribution compared to earlier periods. However, this inferred dietary change is minor. One of us (SM) previously suggested $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ end-points of approximately -21.5‰ and -12‰ for fully terrestrial and fully marine protein components of diets in a medieval northern English context (Mays 1997). If these are correct, and a linear mixing model assumed, then the difference in median $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ between phases 1–3 and 4–6 suggests that marine resources made up about 5–10% more of total dietary protein in the latter than the former phases. The greater variation in $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ in phases 4–6 suggests that the degree to which the marine component of diets increased from about the thirteenth century was rather variable in the Barton population.

In this context it is useful to recall the suggestion of Barrett and co-workers that there was a revolutionary expansion of marine fishing in England in the decades either side of AD 1000 (Barrett *et al.* 2004a; 2004b). This is based on faunal evidence for a dramatic eleventh-century increase in marine fish bones. Although there does seem to be an increase in the marine component of the diets at Barton, it can hardly be described as 'revolutionary', and it seems to date from the thirteenth rather than the eleventh century. Barrett *et al.* (2004b) suggest that a factor behind the expansion in marine fisheries was that by about AD 1000 fish stocks in many rivers became insufficient to meet demand. Perhaps Barton's prime position adjacent to the Humber and lower Trent meant that local supplies of freshwater foods could be maintained even as communities further inland were feeling the pinch. Perhaps this is why the increase in marine foods came later and was perhaps more muted than Barrett and co-workers seem to be suggesting was the case elsewhere.

Turning to the $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ data, the values for phases 2–6 (from Barton) are markedly higher than for phase 1 (from Castledyke South). However, there is no concomitant change in $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ at this point. The phase 2–6 $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values from Barton resemble those noted for some other (predominantly high status) burial sites from late medieval England, where elevated $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ has been noted in combination with predominantly terrestrial carbon signals (*e.g.* Mays *et al.* 2003; Müldner and Richards 2005; Müldner 2005). The explanation for this pattern is unclear, although Müldner and Richards (2005) suggest dietary protein heavy in freshwater resources as one possible contributing factor. If Barrett *et al.* (2004b) are correct that there was a decreased availability of freshwater fish at that time then high-status individuals would be in a better position than most to access such resources. It is unclear whether a diet high in freshwater resources is a factor in the elevated $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ from phases 2–6 at Barton, but it would be consistent

with the discussion of the ^{13}C data, above. If this interpretation is correct, it would imply that at Barton freshwater resources were of lesser importance during the seventh–eighth century than they were from the tenth century onwards.

Given that marine foods have elevated $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ levels it might be suggested that the lack of any rise in $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ concomitant with the rise in $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ seen between phases 3 and 4 is surprising if the shift in the carbon data is explicable in terms of an increased marine component. However, there is a marked trophic level effect for $\delta^{15}\text{N}$, and a variety of other factors (*e.g.* relative consumption of leguminous and non-leguminous vegetables, and arable farming practices such as the application of fertilizers) may also influence $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values. Because a great variety of factors contribute to variation in human bone collagen $\delta^{15}\text{N}$, it might be expected to be rather difficult to isolate minor shifts in marine contributions to diet in $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ data.

Potential effects of diet on radiocarbon dating

The model presented below assumes that the collagen in the dated protein was in equilibrium with atmospheric carbon (as measured from the tree-rings of the calibration curve) at the time when the dated individuals died and were buried. As collagen derives principally from the protein component of the diet (Ambrose and Norr 1993), it is the radiocarbon age of this dietary protein which is measured when dating a skeleton. It does, however, take some time for this dietary protein to be incorporated in bone collagen (Hedges *et al.* 2007).

As discussed above, some assessment of dietary sources may be gained by measuring carbon and nitrogen stable isotope ratios (Fig. 804). Unfortunately, the relationship between stable isotopes and diets is complex and not yet fully understood (Schwarcz *et al.* 1985; White and Schwarcz 1989), and so inferring detailed dietary information from such data is hazardous.

In order to provide some indication of the potential influence of human diet on the accuracy of the radiocarbon dates from Barton-upon-Humber, however, the chronological model (see below; Figs. 795, 801–803, 805, 807–808 and 810) was recalculated twice. The first analysis used the minimum average input of marine protein of $6.9 \pm 4.7\%$ suggested by the ISOSOURCE analysis for phase 1. The atmospheric calibration curve (Stuiver *et al.* 1998a) was mixed with the marine calibration curve (Stuiver *et al.* 1998b) using a Δ^R value of 5 ± 40 for the coastal waters off England (Stuiver and Braziunas 1993) and the methodology outlined in Bronk Ramsey (1998), with this proportion of the marine calibration curve employed for every dated individual. This is not entirely realistic as the marine component would vary between people. The second analysis used the maximum average input of marine protein of $15.0 \pm 8.9\%$

Table 41: Posterior density estimates for the start of burial at Barton-upon-Humber (derived from the model defined in Figs. 795, 801–803, 805, 807–808 and 810 calculated with a) the atmospheric calibration data (Stuiver *et al.* 1998a), b) the atmospheric calibration data mixed with $6.9\pm 4.7\%$ marine data (Stuiver *et al.* 1998b; Stuiver and Braziunas 1993), and c) the atmospheric data mixed with $15.0\pm 8.9\%$ marine data; see text)

	<i>Start</i>	
	<i>95% probability</i>	<i>68% probability</i>
terrestrial	<i>cal. AD 975–1010</i>	<i>cal. AD 985–1005</i>
6.9±4.7% marine	<i>cal. AD 985–1020</i>	<i>cal. AD 995–1015</i>
15.0±8.9% marine	<i>cal. AD 1010–1050</i>	<i>cal. AD 1020–1040</i>

suggested by the ISOSOURCE analysis for phase 6, again with this proportion of the marine calibration curve for every dated individual. It should be noted that the chronological model for Barton-upon-Humber includes not only radiocarbon dates (which could be biased towards older ages by dietary factors), but also tree-ring dates and relative dating from archaeological stratigraphy (both of which are not biased by this factor). The Bayesian model may therefore be more robust in relation to potential dietary offsets than simple calibrated radiocarbon dates, as this other information may compensate for any slight shift caused by diet.

The posterior density estimates for the start of the cemetery at Barton-upon-Humber from each of the three models are shown in Table 41. It can be seen that the scale of dietary offsets which may be present at Barton may shift the outputs of the model to later ages by between ten and thirty-five years. This analysis demonstrates that if there are offsets in the radiocarbon measurements caused by dietary factors, these are of relatively modest scale. Given the current uncertainties around inferring diet from isotopic values (Bayliss *et al.* 2004), we have chosen to undertake the main analysis using a fully terrestrial calibration curve.

Dendrochronology

by Ian Tyers

Tree-ring analysis was undertaken on the surviving coffin boards from the cemetery excavations and also on a range of structural and other timbers from within the church.

Dendrochronology of excavated coffin boards

Tree-ring assessment was undertaken on oak boards from thirty-three burials and pine boards from burial F5474. Samples were taken from the boards that were identified as being suitable for dendrochronological analysis, and tree-ring dates were obtained from the oak boards from thirty-one of the burials. The results indicate these burials principally date from between

AD 1071 and 1134. All the dated oak coffins were constructed of locally grown oak. This section summarizes these results, and full details are provided in Tyers (2001a).

The methodology used for the dendrochronological work is described in English Heritage (1998). The conserved timbers were assessed for their suitability for analysis. In a typical assemblage unsuitable samples are defined as those too fragmented to yield usable samples, or those with evidently fewer than fifty annual rings. At Barton, timbers with as few as thirty rings were measured because of the possibility of matching the material to other plank fragments made from the same parent log in the same coffin. All the timbers were oak (*Quercus* spp.) except for those from coffin F5474 which were of pine (*Pinus* cf. *sylvestris*). Timbers that were identified by inspection as being the most suitable were sampled by removal of cross-sections at the optimum locations. Photographs were taken of each sampled board before and after sampling. The ring sequences of the cut surface were revealed by a combination of bladed hand-tools until each ring could be clearly differentiated when examined under a microscope.

The complete sequences of growth rings in the selected boards were measured to an accuracy of 0.01 mm, using a micro-computer based travelling stage. The ring sequences were plotted onto semi-log graph paper to enable visual comparisons to be made between sequences. In addition, standard cross-correlation algorithms (*e.g.* Baillie and Pilcher 1973) were employed to search for positions where the ring sequences were highly correlated. These positions were then checked using the graphs and, where these checks proved satisfactory, they provided a date for the tree-ring sequence within the sample.

An extensive series of intra-coffin, intra-site, and external cross-matching comparisons was undertaken following the completion of the sampling and measurement of the entire assemblage. For each coffin the individual dated and undated series were re-checked for evidence of their derivation from 'same tree' groups and the recorded presence of sapwood and bark-edge. After analysis, the samples were returned to the store containing the rest of the boards.

Tree-ring dating techniques can only date the ring sequence present in a sample. The interpretation of any dating obtained for the ring sequence relies upon the nature of the final rings in the measured sequence. If a sample ends in the heartwood of the original tree, a *terminus post quem* (*tpq*) for the felling of the tree is indicated by the date of the last ring, plus the addition of the minimum expected number of sapwood rings that may be missing. This calculated *tpq* may be many decades prior to the real felling date since many more rings than the minimum may be missing. Where some of the outer sapwood or the heartwood/sapwood boundary survives on the sample, a felling date range can be calculated using the maximum and minimum number of sapwood rings likely to have been present. Alternatively, if bark-edge survives, then a felling date can be directly determined from the date of the last surviving ring. The sapwood estimate applied must be appropriate to the source of the timber as there is a geographical variation in the number of sapwood rings present which increases from east to west across Europe. The sapwood estimates applied here are a minimum of ten and maximum of forty-six annual sapwood rings, where these figures indicate the 95% confidence limits of the range. These figures are applicable to archaeological material excavated from England.

The outer surfaces of the oak planks are now of quite variable colouration. Unfortunately, many boards in the assemblage include areas of heartwood with the normal colour of sapwood. While examining the material under a microscope it was possible to identify that tyloses were present in the oak early wood vessels; the absence of tyloses is thus critical to the recognition of sapwood in this assemblage. Since tyloses could have disappeared through differential degradation, there could be circumstances where the interpreted dates are too early compared to the true date of the burial. Usually the potential for such problems is reduced wherever several boards are dated in a single burial; however, since nearly half the Barton burials contained only a single datable board this possibility cannot be entirely eliminated.

The dates obtained by the technique do not necessarily indicate the date of the burial from which they are derived. Firm evidence for the reuse of timbers is limited to a handful of burials. Any unrecognized examples of reused or stockpiled timber will also impact upon the reliability of the interpretations presented here.

In total, 129 boards from thirty-four burials were assessed for their potential value for dendrochronological analysis: 123 oak boards and six pine boards. Samples for dendrochronological analysis were obtained from 103 boards, ninety-seven oak and six pine. Absolute dates were obtained from ninety-three of the oak boards. These analyses resulted in tree-ring dates for boards from thirty-one of the burials, for details of which see Fig. 800 and Table 42. Burial F3564 had no material suitable for tree-ring analysis, burial F3946 had just one surviving oak timber and

Table 42: Summary showing the numbers of samples examined, analyzed and dated from the thirty-four burials that were studied, and the favoured interpretation of the tree-ring evidence

Burial	Timbers examined	Timbers analyzed	Dated timbers	Interpretation of tree-ring results
F1753	7	7	7	after AD 1094
F1773	1	1	1	after AD 1109
F1790	6	3	3	winter AD 1131/2
F1791	1	1	1	AD 1071–1107?
F3508	6	4	3	AD 1099?
F3547	4	4	4	after AD 1081
F3564	1	0	0	–
F3868	9	6	5	spring AD 1134
F3869	7	4	4	winter AD 1130/1
F3883	4	3	3	AD 1133–43
F3908	1	1	1	AD 1103–39
F3946	3	1	0	–
F3968	7	4	3	AD 1079?
F3971	3	3	3	AD 1130–62
F3979	4	4	4	winter AD 1119/20
F3980	1	1	1	after AD 1092
F3999	1	1	1	after AD 1100
F4026	1	1	1	after AD 1066
F4181	2	2	2	AD 1130?
F4186	1	1	1	after AD 1123
F5002	3	1	1	AD 1049–85
F5024	3	1	1	after AD 1119
F5031	3	2	2	after AD 1126
F5044	7	6	6	winter AD 1088/9
F5045	7	7	7	AD 1071–81? Reused
F5052	2	2	2	after AD 1050
F5311	2	2	2	AD 1120–53?
F5328	6	6	6	winter AD 1134/5
F5357	5	5	5	spring AD 1134
F5402	3	2	2	AD 1098–1134
F5425	1	1	1	AD 1113–49?
F5473	5	5	5	spring AD 1129
F5474	6	6	0	–
F5475	6	5	5	winter AD 1103/5

this proved undatable, while the pine boards from burial F5474 were cross-matched but only among themselves and not to any absolutely dated reference series.

Twelve burials had one or more boards complete, or probably complete, to bark-edge. These timbers thus have a definite date of felling. Nine burials have boards either retaining some sapwood, or with apparently surviving heartwood/sapwood boundaries. These are given a felling date range. Ten burials are given *terminus post quem* dates, in each case because there is no sapwood surviving on any of the dated boards. These dates are the least precise and most open to difficulties in interpretation. Some of the dates may be significantly earlier than burial.

All the coffins except three produced dendrochronological dates, and the three undated coffins each have ¹⁴C dates.

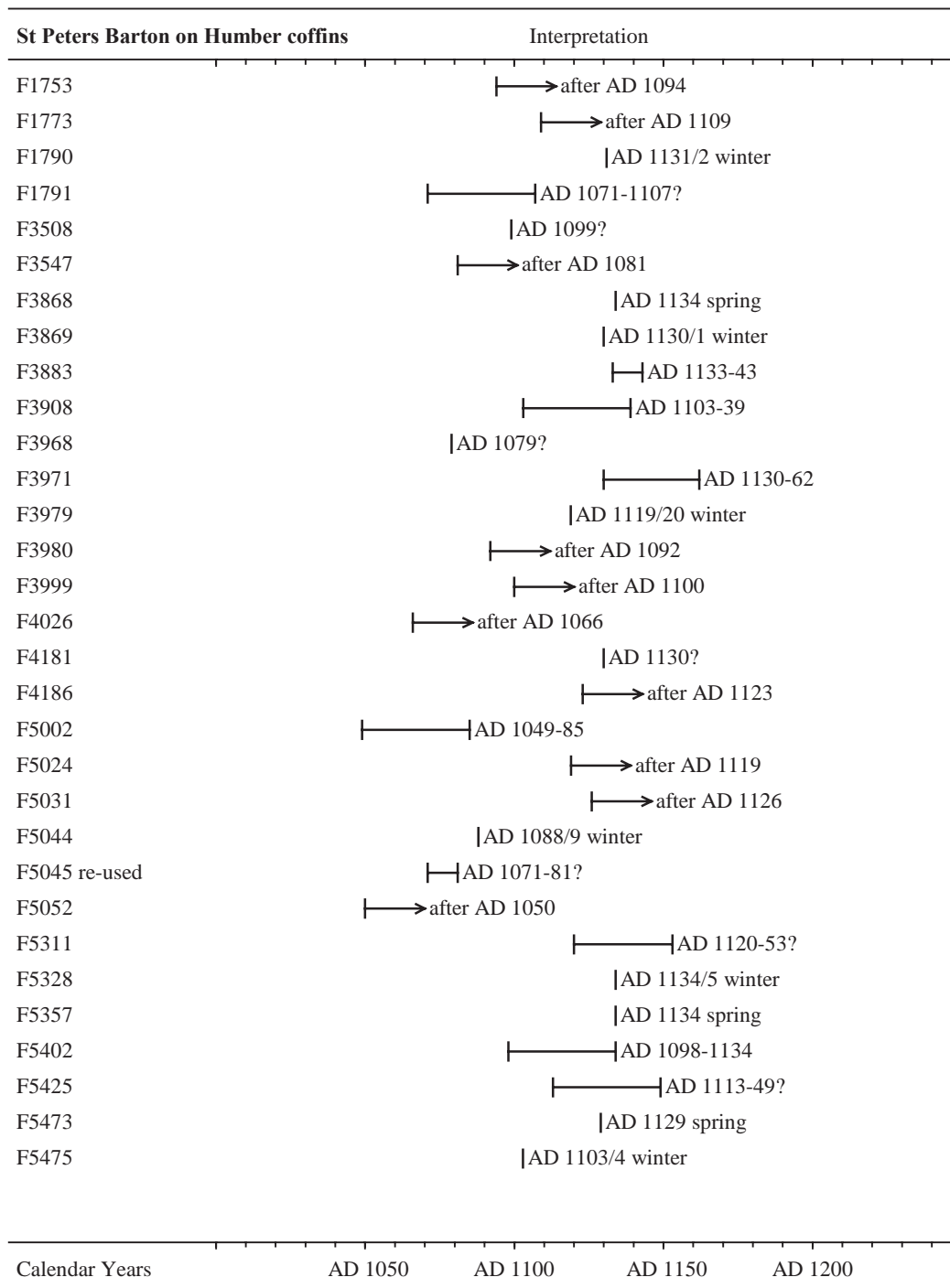


Fig. 800: Summary diagram showing the tree-ring dates for the thirty-one burials dated by dendrochronology. Ian Tyers

The tree-ring results indicate the precisely dated coffins are from between 1071 and 1134 (Fig. 800). The coffins do not appear to be evenly distributed in time since most of the dated burials seem to be from the later end of this period. In particular, there is an obvious cluster of burials between 1129 and 1134. Two burials (F5002 and F5052) could be as early as *c.* 1050, but in both these cases degradation has probably removed some heartwood rings, even before the amounts of lost sapwood are taken into consideration. It seems probable therefore that all the oak coffins post-dated the Norman Conquest.

The date of felling of the timbers is assumed to equate to a construction or usage date for the coffin, except for burial F5045 where the timbers have been identified as reused. The reused furniture from F5045 is clearly of the later eleventh century, and not markedly different in date from the other coffins.

Comparison of the data with the incomplete distribution of contemporaneous tree-ring sequences cannot provide a refined view of the source of the timber. The tree-ring sequences from each individual board cross-match especially well with other material from Barton as well as with the geographically nearby

chronologies of contemporaneous oak tree-ring data from Beverley, York, and Lincoln. It is reasonable to conclude therefore that the dated coffin boards were of locally grown oak.

One likely exception to the use of locally grown timber is the child's coffin of pine (F5474). Pines are unlikely to be growing locally at this time, since they probably died out two–three millennia earlier (Rackham 1990, 76). These boards are thus more likely to have been imported, especially as pine boards are referred to in customs accounts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁵ If this tree-ring data ever cross-matches to data from a known source, a provenance for these boards will be obtained.

Most of the oak boards are riven with a characteristic taper, and all contain a single radius of the parent tree. Few signs of the tree centres are visible on any of the sections, and so the inner feathered edges have presumably been removed for structural reasons. Many have a characteristically steady, slow decline in their growth rates. The data from many of the boards stretch back to *c.* 900, while a few go to 800, and one exceptional tree to 750. Oak trees 180–250 years of age have thus produced many of the boards, but there are occasionally examples of 250–350 year-old trees. A number of the boards are 400–460 mm wide. When reconstructing the original tree sizes some allowance needs to be made for the missing centres, sapwood, and bark. Most of the boards could have been produced from trees of between 0.8 m and 1.0 m in diameter. The size and age data suggest the material is most likely derived from trees of a closed canopied woodland origin.

The evidence for woodland management within the material is slight. One board (from coffin F3980) may be of pollard origin, since it exhibits strongly cyclic growth and a disrupted ray pattern. There is little evidence for cyclic interference in any of the others, and there are no overgrown knots or debarking scars. There is therefore very little evidence for woodland management in these timbers.

The coffins were not always constructed from a single tree, nor were they necessarily made from several trees. There are some coffins that are entirely derived from one tree (*e.g.* F1753), and some for which boards derived from several trees were used (*e.g.* F5045).

The results from the dendrochronological analysis of 103 coffin boards excavated at Barton provide later eleventh- and early twelfth-century dates for the felling of the trees used in thirty-one burials. It is assumed that these dates equate to the burial dates except where the timbers were obviously reused from other objects. The results allow reliable dates to be applied to the associated artefacts and skeletal pathologies. The oak boards are entirely local in origin and indicate the types of trees present in at least some north Lincolnshire woodlands of this period. A single coffin of pine, probably imported, and possibly reused, is not dated at this stage but has yielded a tree-ring sequence that has some potential for the future.

Dendrochronology of timbers from the church

A survey of all the extant timbers from structures and objects in the church identified those timbers that appeared to contain potentially suitable material for dendrochronological analysis. A sampling programme attempted to obtain cores or other samples from as broad a range of structural timbers, in terms of structural element types, scantling sizes, and carpentry features, as was possible within the terms of the request, the Scheduled Monument Consent documentation, and with due regard to safety on site.

The most promising structural timbers were sampled using a 15 mm diameter corer attached to an electric drill. The cores were taken as closely as possible along the radius of the timbers so that the maximum number of rings could be obtained for subsequent analysis. The resulting core holes were photographed and then filled and stained. The ring sequences in these cores were revealed by sanding. Some sections of timbers removed from the ringing-chamber floor were assessed for suitability and the best material was sampled by removing cross-sections, or segments of cross-sections, by hand saw. The ring sequences in these slices were revealed by sanding. The tree-ring series from the decorated chancel screen timbers, and two chests were recovered by photographic record, planks in the north aisle door, and other parts of the decorated chancel screen timbers were recovered by use of *FIMO* moulding clay (Leuschner and Leuschner 1996).

These various sequences were measured and analyzed in the same way as described for the excavated coffin boards. The same constraints apply to their interpretation, the absence of sapwood or bark reducing the precision of the interpretation that is possible from the datable series (see discussion above). The minimum sapwood allowance used for the eastern Baltic timbers is eight years.

The ring sequences from forty-nine timbers were recovered by cores (30), *FIMO* moulds (5), cut slices (5), or photographic mosaics (9). Thirty-three of these proved suitable for measurement, and thirteen of these were dated. The results are discussed for each area of sampling, arranged in their predicted date order.

The tenth-century Anglo-Saxon tower and baptistery includes four timber plates within the stonework; these are presumed to be part of the original construction. The top of the baptistery also retains some complete and some stub-ends of horizontal beams also thought to be part of this phase. During sampling it became clear that only the outer few centimetres of the plates survived, and that there were voids and/or later masonry behind them. The joist ends contained very short tree-ring sequences. None of this material was found to match to each other, to other samples from the church or cemetery, or to reference chronologies.

The ringing-chamber floor, thought to be Norman, had been demolished in the 1970s but the timbers were retained. The best four oak timbers, and one of the pine timbers were cut at the most appropriate point for this purpose, most of these timbers were unsuitable for analysis as they retained too few rings. The four oak samples were suitable for analysis and two were found to match, in this case indicating they are derived from a single aberrant tree. A mean sequence calculated from these was not found to match to other samples from the church or cemetery, or to reference chronologies.

There are two structures superimposed on one another at the top of the Norman tower extension. The grid of large horizontal beams at the top of the tower is the base of an earlier timber spire; above it is a low pitched roof that replaced the spire. Two timbers that were part of the earlier base frame were cored. These samples were measured and the resultant series were found to match each other. A mean sequence calculated from these was dated to AD 1247–1310, inclusive. The presence of the heartwood/sapwood boundary on both samples at 1307 and 1310 provide a combined felling date range for this structure of AD 1320–53, inclusive.

Most of the north aisle consists of softwood timbers, which are probably of nineteenth-century origin. However, three oak timbers are reused within the structure, two decorated east–west beams down the centre of the aisle, and a moulded wall plate on the south wall at the eastern end. All these timbers were assessed, and two of them were cored; however, both samples proved unsuitable for analysis. The north porch roof timbers were also examined but these contain too few rings for sampling to be considered.

The north porch door consists of two layers of oak planking, one horizontal, and one vertical, riveted together with diamond-headed rivets, and suspended with decorative ironwork hinges. At some later stage an ogee-headed wicket gate has been cut through the door. Useful sequences of end grain of six of the horizontal planks are visible on the hinge end of the wicket gate. Four plank ends were cleaned and the sequences were recovered via the *FIMO* moulding method of Leuschner and Leuschner (1996). All four sequences were measured and the resultant series were then compared with each other. Two of the measured series were matched against reference series from north-eastern Europe. These matches identify the material as imported oak planking from the eastern Baltic. The absence of sapwood on this material is not unexpected, but the similarity of end-dates perhaps suggests there was, as is usual, little excess trimming of outermost heartwood rings. A felling date of after AD 1385 is indicated for the planks in this door. Similar groups of this material suggest that relatively little heartwood was routinely trimmed off such boards and that little time elapsed during the transport of the material into England. The dendrochronological evidence suggests that the construction of the door is

most likely to date either from the end of the fourteenth century or within the first third of the fifteenth century.

The south aisle, like the north aisle, the nave, and the chancel has a later softwood roof. As with the north aisle, a few decorated oak beams have been reused within the framework. This presumably indicates that the timber layout of the replacement roof is similar to the original layout. Along the north wall of the aisle are a series of timber corbels, vertical posts, and other miscellaneous timbers. The east wall also has some remnant timbers. Each timber was assessed and six timbers that appeared suitable were sampled by coring; three corbels, a moulded wall plate, and two moulded central beams from the roof. Four of these produced samples suitable for analysis, but none of these were found to match to other samples from the church or cemetery, or to reference chronologies.

The south porch has a simple oak roof but appears to include one earlier timber in the southern wall plate. Three timbers were sampled by coring from this structure, including the reused timber. All three produced samples suitable for analysis, but none of these were found to match to other samples from the church or cemetery, or to reference chronologies.

The chancel screen consists of a particularly fine series of horizontal, highly decorative, carved oak panels inset into the plainer structural elements. The vertical boarding on the lower section of the screen appears to be later replacement. The grain of the carved planking is visible within the spandrels. The sequences from a selection of these were obtained by photography, while one panel was released from one of the screen doors, measured along the lower edge and subsequently returned to it. The six photographic series were found to have too few well-resolved rings for reliable analysis. In total, therefore, only the door panel was measured from this structure. This sequence was found to match to chronologies from north-eastern Europe and this board is also therefore an imported oak plank from the eastern Baltic. Compared with the material in the north door it came somewhat later and from a different part of this area. A felling date after AD 1458 is indicated for this panel. The result indicates this structure may have been originally constructed in the second half of the fifteenth century. It should be noted that carving of this intricacy would be significantly easier to undertake on green timber.

As discussed above, there are two structures superimposed on one another at the top of the tower extension. Above the surviving part of an earlier timber spire is a low pitched roof that replaced the spire; there is also a central cruciform structure assumed to be later. The phasing of this area is complex, since there are clearly reused timbers in the upper structure, and the roof appears to both use and probably to have amended the base frame. Six samples were cored, all of which were found to be suitable for analysis. The measured series were compared with each other and four of these

sequences were found that matched together to form an internally consistent group. A mean sequence was calculated from these, which was found to match local reference series at AD 1606–1713, inclusive. The presence of surviving bark-edge on one of the samples with an incomplete annual ring indicates felling of this tree occurred in the spring or shortly thereafter of AD 1713.

The chancel roof structure is mostly concealed behind modern softwood boarding and is probably a modern replacement. There are, however, four exceptionally long oak tie-beams (*c.* 8.5 m length) crossing the chancel at ceiling level. These have simple chamfer stops and redundant sockets for missing bracing. All four tie-beams were cored and all were found to be suitable for analysis. The measured series were compared with each other and all four sequences were found to match together to form one internally consistent group. A mean sequence was calculated which was found to date to local reference series at AD 1680–1759, inclusive. The presence of the heartwood/sapwood boundary on all samples provides a combined felling date range for this structure of AD 1766–97.

An oak corbel with a carving of a head, originally from Barton, but now stored elsewhere, was examined with a view to assessing its suitability for dendrochronology. This timber was clearly once tenoned into something, but the tenon has been cut off, exposing the rings reasonably clearly. The ring sequence was examined but it has a distorted ring sequence with a non-resolvable band of narrow rings. This timber was not measured or analyzed.

There are two chests now in St Mary's church, but previously one was probably in St Peter's. One chest is constructed from a series of softwood boards, presumed to be pine although not positively identified as such. The other is constructed from a single oak log, hollowed out forming the base of the chest, with a single plank forming the lid. Neither was suitable for coring, and neither was suitable for *FIMO* moulding, so a series of photographic mosaics were taken from each item. These, however, proved inadequate for analysis.

The results from this series of analyses are somewhat mixed: the results from the Saxon tower and baptistery timbers are especially disappointing, particularly since the analysis of the coffin timbers had produced an exceptionally well-replicated and undoubtedly local chronology that covers all the likely period of construction for this early part of the church. Much of the rest of the material used to build the church at different times was derived from short-lived relatively fast growing trees, resulting in a widespread failure to obtain datable samples. Fine-quality planking used in the north door and the chancel screen yielded sequences that again demonstrate the presence of imported planking in the medieval period in England.

Analysis and Interpretation

by Alex Bayliss, Caroline Atkins, Christopher Bronk Ramsey, Warwick Rodwell and Ian Tyers

The model for the chronology of the cemetery at Barton is shown in Figs. 795, 801–803, 805, 807–808 and 810. The locations of the sampled burials are shown in Fig. 798.

Stage 1: the samples and the sequence

Three samples from inside the present church were selected for dating because they had the potential to be remnants of the pre-church cemetery (Fig. 801). Of these three, BH24 (OxA-12374) was cut by the foundation for the original chancel. Its date therefore provides a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the church. This is *cal. AD 985–1035 (95% probability)*. A second burial (BH22; OxA-12373), aligned parallel to the interior face of the south wall of the tower and potentially the only grave from the pre-church cemetery which had not been exhumed on its construction (Fig. 798), provided a date of *cal. AD 1025–1165 (93% probability)* or *1170–1185 (2% probability)*. BH26 (OxA-12375), the most easterly of the three, was selected because it had been cut away by a large rectangular stone foundation, thought initially to be the base for an Anglo-Saxon cross that may have pre-dated the church. Its date, *cal. AD 1015–1130 (74% probability)* or *cal. AD 1135–1160 (21% probability)*, suggests that the burial is unlikely to be contemporary with the first stone church and the base is rather later than anticipated. A timber, thought to have been the disturbed remains of the coffin from an exhumed burial, provides a tree-ring date after 1066 (F4026). The grave was cut into the masonry base.

Underneath the present south aisle, and originally interred outside the structure, eight burials have been dated (Fig. 802). Two were in preserved wooden coffins which have provided tree-ring dates of ?1130 (F4181), and after 1123 (F4186). Both of these were stratigraphically the lowest burials in that part of the cemetery. In the mid-1980s, a radiocarbon sample was submitted from the lid of coffin F4181, although the actual rings dated are not recorded. Consequently this measurement can only be used as a *terminus post quem* for the felling date of all the material from the coffin (?1130), and so this result does not now provide useful additional information for the date of this burial (Tyers 2001a, appendix 1).

Four skeletons were submitted for radiocarbon dating to provide an indication of the initial date of the cemetery to the south of the church (Fig. 802). Three of these are the earliest burials in their stratigraphic sequences. BH31 (UB-4652) provided a date of *cal. AD 1015–1065 (38% probability)* or *cal. AD 1085–1125 (33% probability)* or *cal. AD 1135–1160 (24% probability)*. Further west, BH36 (UB-4656) was buried in *cal. AD 1020–1070 (35% probability)* or *cal. AD 1080–1130 (38% probability)* or *cal. AD 1135–1160 (22% probability)*, and

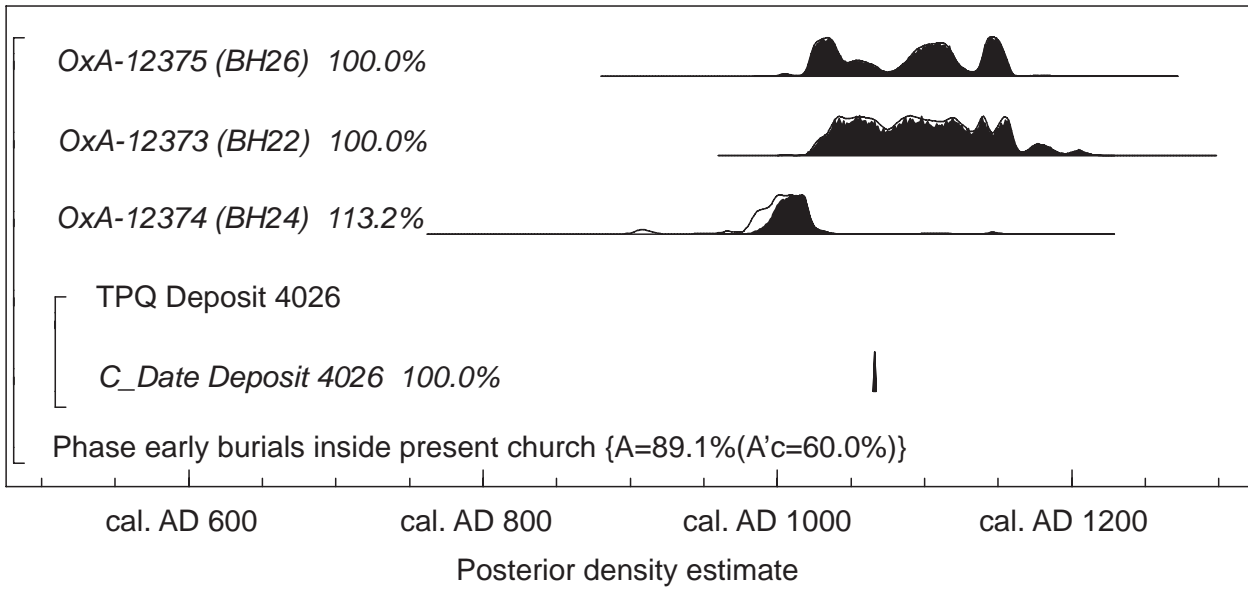


Fig. 801: Probability distributions of dates from early burials inside the present church. Each distribution represents the relative probability that an event occurred at a particular time. For each radiocarbon date, two distributions have been plotted: one in outline which is the result of simple radiocarbon calibration (Stuiver and Reimer 1993), and a solid one based on the chronological model used; the 'event' associated with, for example, OxA-12374 (BH24), is the growth of the bone of the individual who died and was dated. The large square brackets down the left-hand side and the OxCal keywords define the overall model exactly

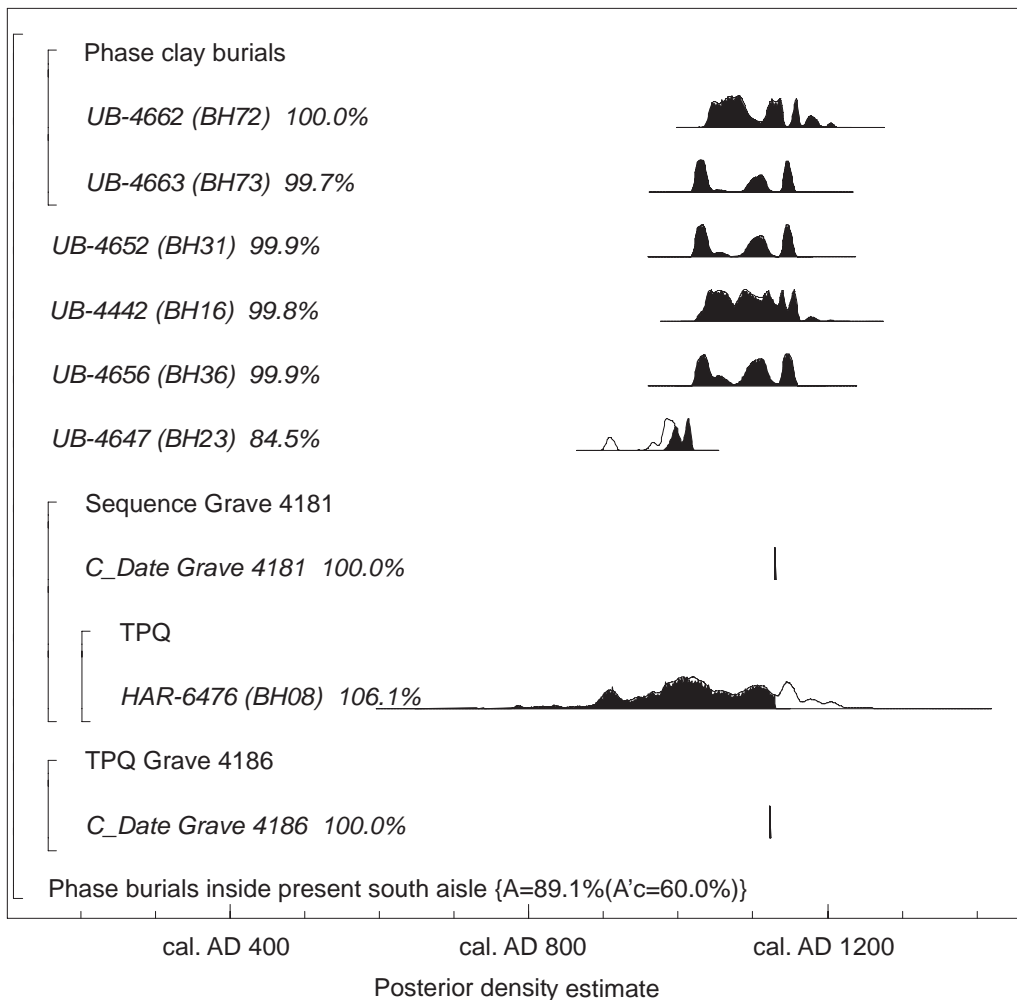


Fig. 802: Probability distributions of dates from burials inside the present south aisle. The format is identical to that of Figure 801

BH23 (UB-4647) was buried in *cal. AD 985–1020* (95% probability). Also south of the church, BH16 (UB-4442), was the second earliest burial in its string (the earlier burial, F4070, did not provide sufficient bone for dating). It provided a date of *cal. AD 1030–1160* (95% probability).

Radiocarbon measurements were also obtained on two of the seven burials in the present south aisle, which are distinguished by having had liquid riverine mud poured over the corpse, inside a timber coffin (Fig. 802). Both were also the earliest in their stratigraphic

sequences. These burials provide dates of *cal. AD 1035–1145* (81% probability) or *cal. AD 1150–1165* (8% probability) or *cal. AD 1170–1190* (6% probability) (BH72; UB-4662), and *cal. AD 1015–1050* (40% probability) or *cal. AD 1085–1125* (30% probability) or *cal. AD 1135–1160* (25% probability) (BH73; UB-4663).

Outside the present church, to the south of the tower and annexe, four skeletons were submitted for radiocarbon dating in order to estimate the date when the cemetery here came into use (Fig. 803). Two of these were at the base of the sequence. BH33 (UB-4653) dated to *cal.*

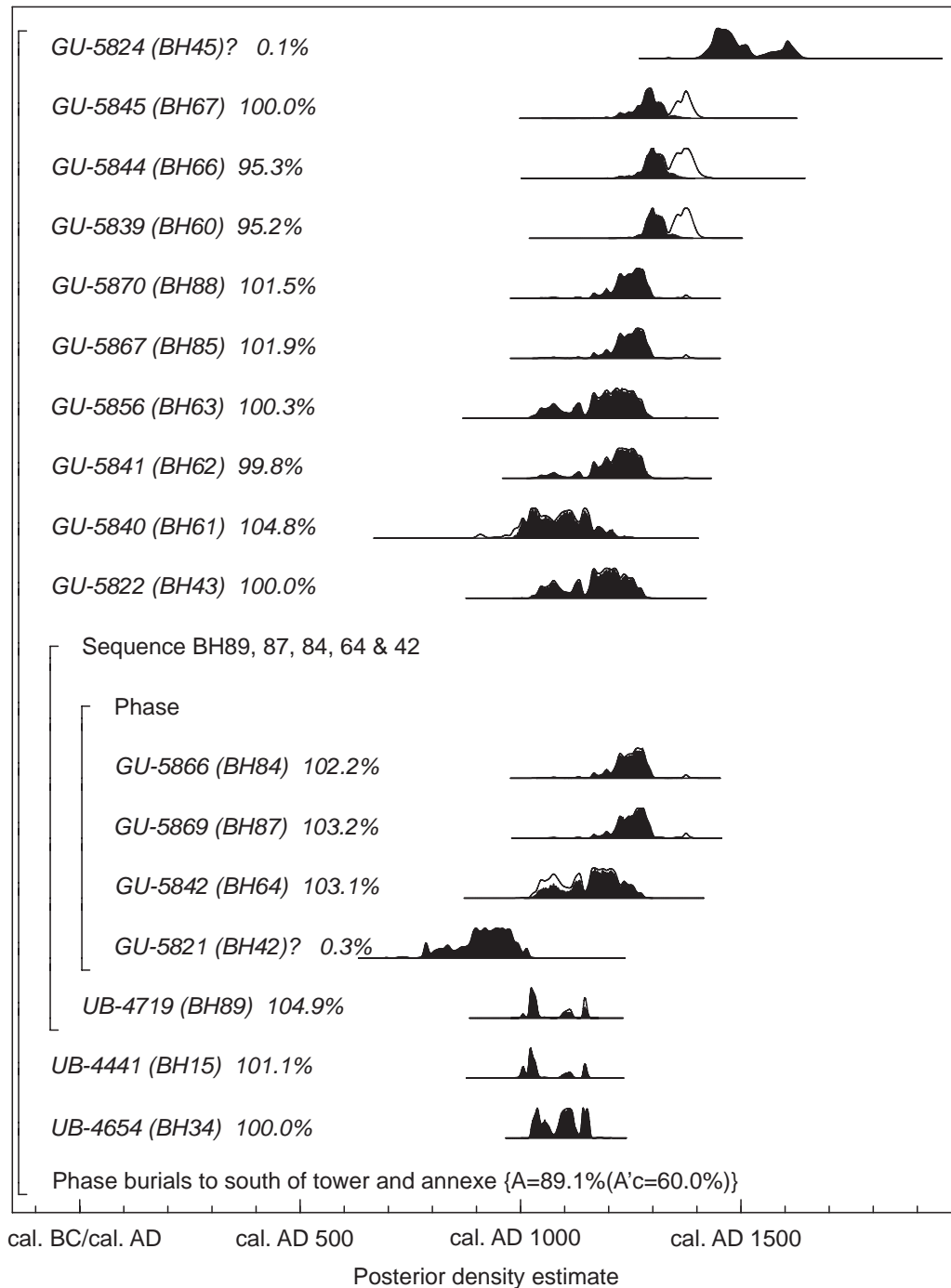


Fig. 803: Probability distributions of dates from burials located to the south of the tower and annexe (Area 8). Dates followed by '?' have been excluded from the mathematical analysis for reasons explained in the text. The format is identical to that of Figure 801

AD 1020–1070 (34% probability) or cal. AD 1080–1130 (40% probability) or cal. AD 1135–1160 (21% probability), and BH37 (UB-4657) dated to cal. AD 995–1040 (92% probability) or cal. AD 1140–1150 (3% probability). BH37 was stratigraphically earlier than BH44 (see below), as was BH17. This relative chronology has been incorporated into the model (Fig. 803). BH17 (UB-4443) was not the lowest burial in its string, because it had disturbed an earlier burial. The surviving grave-cut for this burial did not contain any bone, although the disarticulated remains of a single individual were found within the fill of BH17, presumably the disturbed individual. Grave F3247 (BH17) was dug in cal. AD 995–1040 (81% probability) or cal. AD 1095–1120 (6% probability) or cal. AD 1140–1155 (8% probability). BH34 (UB-4654) may have been the earliest burial in its sequence, although its relationship to one other burial (F3091) – which may be earlier – is uncertain. BH34 dates to cal. AD 1020–1070 (32% probability) or cal. AD 1080–1130 (42% probability) or cal. AD 1135–1160 (21% probability).

Further south, to the west of the medieval south porch, BH15 (UB-4441) was the most southerly of the Phase E burials to be dated (Fig. 803). This burial was the earliest in its stratigraphic sequence, and provided a date of cal. AD 995–1045 (67% probability) or cal. AD 1090–1120 (13% probability) or cal. AD 1140–1155 (15% probability).

A sequence of burials was dated as part of the programme to test the chronological validity of the preliminary phasing scheme (Fig. 803). Grave F3280 (BH89; UB-4719⁶) provided a date of cal. AD 1000–1045 (65% probability) or cal. AD 1090–1125 (17% probability) or cal. AD 1135–1155 (13% probability). The skeleton from this burial was submitted for dating to confirm the surprisingly early result from BH42 (GU-5821), which is certainly stratigraphically later. Significantly, part of the articulated skeleton in grave F3129 (BH42) directly overlay that in grave F3280 (BH89), and also overlay the skeleton in grave F3188 (undated), which in turn was directly over F3280. The radiocarbon results are in poor agreement with this recorded relative chronology ($A=16.0\%$; Bronk Ramsey 1995). The probability that GU-5821 is earlier than UB-4719 is less than 1% on the basis of their radiocarbon measurements. It seems that GU-5821 is an anomalous measurement, or at least an extreme statistical outlier. This measurement has therefore been excluded from the analysis. It should not be interpreted as evidence for a surviving remnant of the pre-church cemetery as the calibrated date may not relate to the date of the individual's death. It is not apparent why this should be so. Although this man may have had some marine component in his diet ($\delta^{13}C=18.3\%$; $\delta^{15}N=+13.4\%$), he falls within the main group of isotopic values for the Barton population (Fig. 804). Three other skeletons were also stratigraphically

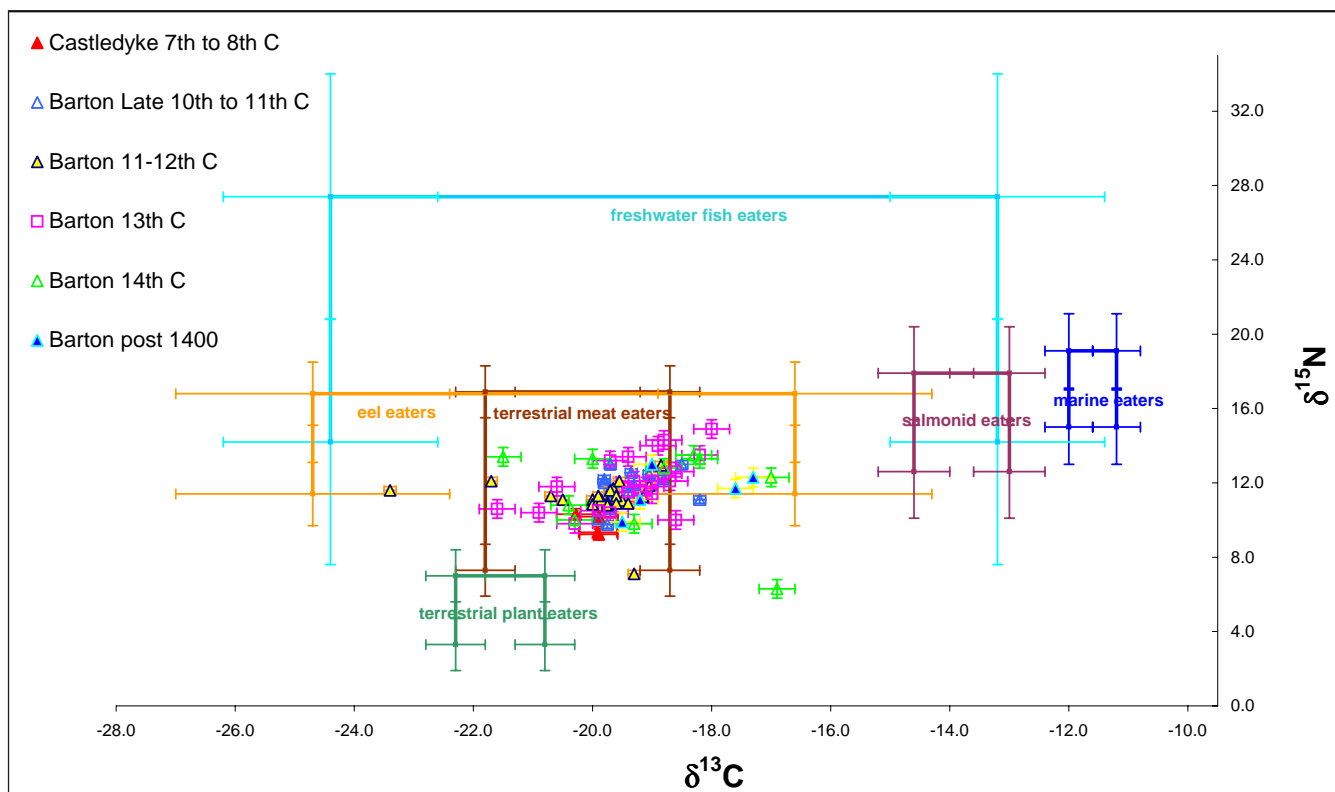


Fig. 804: Graph of $\delta^{13}C$ and $\delta^{15}N$ values of bone collagen from St Peter's, related to the values expected for archaeological populations consuming pure C_3 and marine diets. Diet-to-collagen value boxes based upon the reported range of $\delta^{15}N$ and $\delta^{13}C$ values for archaeological fauna from various sites in England (Richards et al. 2006; Jay and Richards 2006; Privat et al. 2002; Richards 2000; Müldner and Richards 2005; seal from Denmark from DeNiro and Epstein 1978); error on boxes based on standard deviation within diet sources, with biomagnification of 1% for ^{13}C and 4% for ^{15}N

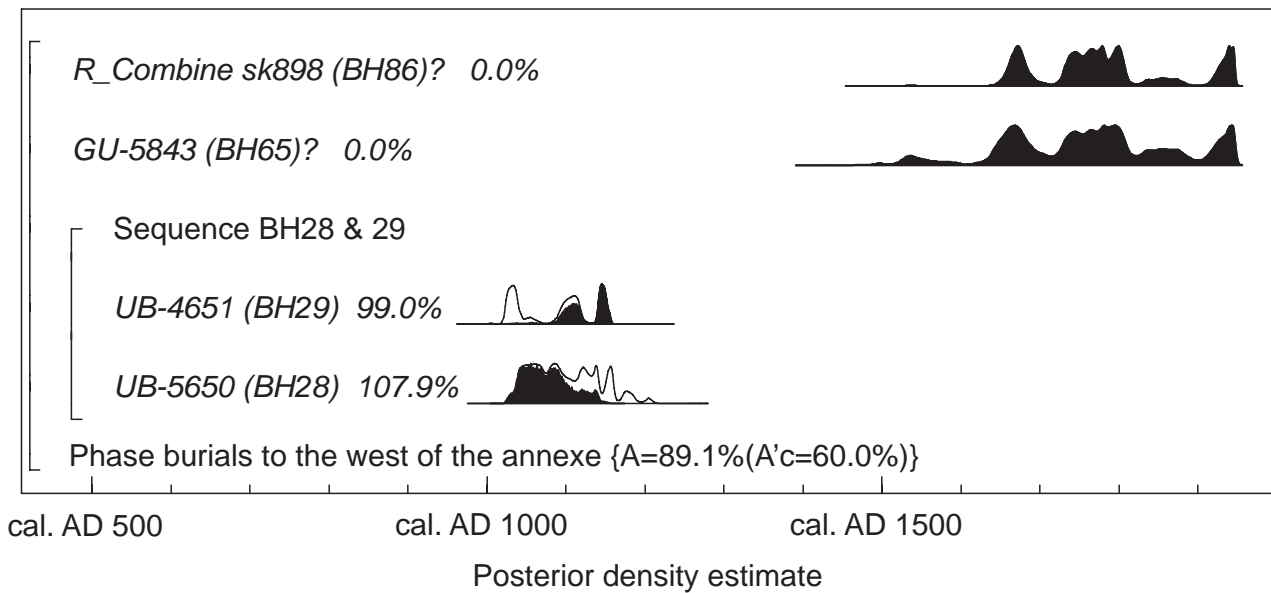


Fig. 805: Probability distributions of dates from burials located to the west of the annexe (Area 9). Dates followed by '?' have been excluded from the mathematical analysis for reasons explained in the text. The format is identical to that of Figure 801

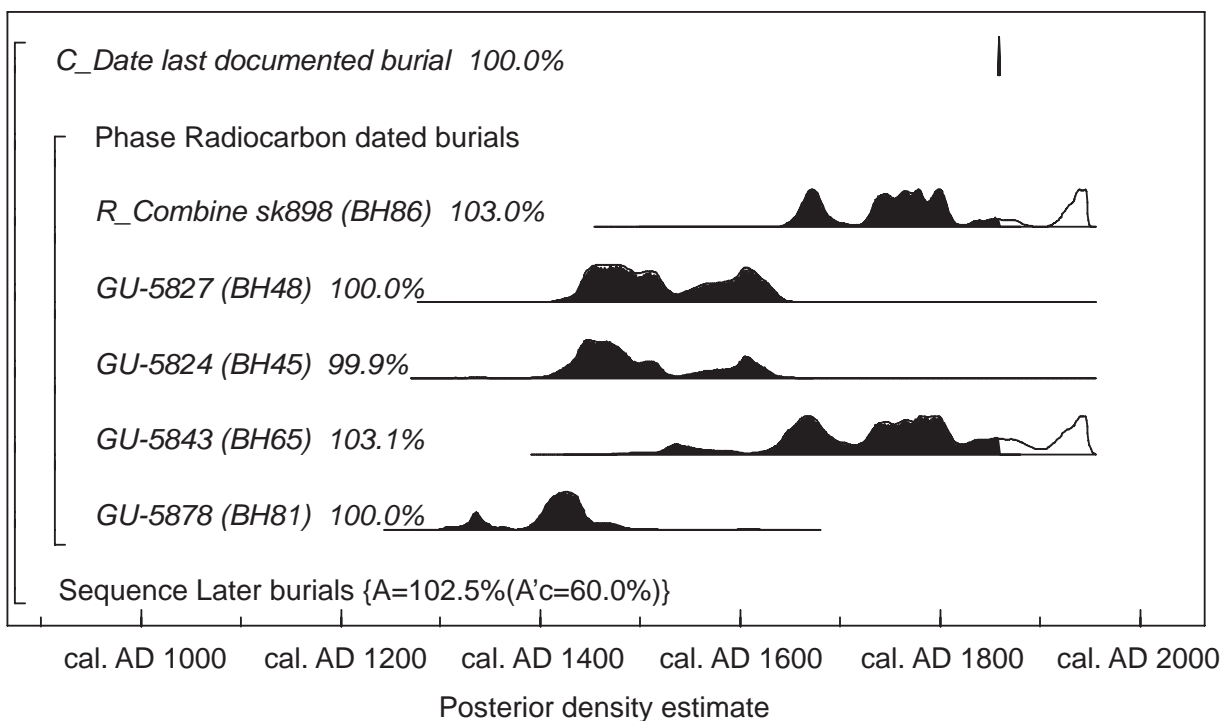


Fig. 806: Probability distributions of dates from later burials dated by radiocarbon at St Peter's which have been excluded from the main model, but which must be earlier than 1867, when the new cemetery on Barrow Road was opened

later than grave F3280 (BH89; UB-4719). BH64 (GU-5842) dates to *cal. AD* 1040–1265 (95% probability), BH84 (GU-5866) dates to *cal. AD* 1160–1175 (2% probability) or *cal. AD* 1180–1300 (93% probability), and BH87 (GU-5869) dates to *cal. AD* 1185–1305 (95% probability). All these results are in good agreement with the recorded stratigraphy (Fig. 803).

Ten more burials were sampled to test the preliminary phasing structure of the cemetery to the south of the tower and annexe (Fig. 803). BH61 (GU-5840) was buried in *cal. AD* 995–1210 (95% probability), BH43 (GU-5822) in *cal. AD* 1035–1100 (17% probability) or *cal. AD* 1110–1145 (9% probability) or *cal. AD* 1150–1280 (69% probability), and BH62 (GU-5841) in

cal. AD 1065–1090 (3% probability) or cal. AD 1120–1140 (3% probability) or cal. AD 1155–1295 (89% probability). BH63 (GU-5856) provided a date of *cal. AD 1035–1100 (14% probability) or cal. AD 1110–1145 (7% probability) or cal. AD 1150–1285 (74% probability)*, BH85 (GU-5867) dates to *cal. AD 1160–1175 (2% probability) or cal. AD 1180–1300 (93% probability)*, and BH88 (GU-5870) dates to *cal. AD 1160–1175 (2% probability) or cal. AD 1180–1300 (93% probability)*.

Four of these samples provide simple calibrated dates which span the violent fourteenth-century ‘wiggle’ in the radiocarbon calibration curve. They produce posterior density estimates of *cal. AD 1300–1350 (95% probability) (BH44; GU-5823)*, *cal. AD 1260–1360 (95% probability) (BH60; GU-5839)*, *cal. AD 1250–1360 (95% probability) (BH66; GU-5844)*, and *cal. AD 1215–1355 (95% probability) (BH67; GU-5845)*. It should be noted that in reality these burials may have been interred as late as *c. 1400*, since the uniform prior distribution of the model constrains these estimates to be slightly earlier than they would be otherwise (see discussion below). BH45 (GU-5824) has been excluded from the model, because it is rather late. This means that it falls within part of the cemetery which has not been representatively sampled for radiocarbon dating. The simple calibrated date for this sample is *cal. AD 1410–1640 (95% confidence)*, which confirms its allocation to Phase B/C.

Two skeletons were submitted for dating from the area to the west of the annexe, to provide an indication of the commencement of burial in this area (Fig. 805). They appeared to be aligned perpendicular to the west wall of this structure and so it was hoped that their dating might throw light on the irregular plan of the annexe. These burials were stratigraphically related, with BH28 (UB-4650) being earlier than BH29 (UB-4651). The radiocarbon results are in good agreement with this relative dating information (Fig. 805). BH28 was interred in *cal. AD 1030–1145 (95% probability) and BH29 was interred in cal. AD 1080–1130 (48% probability) or cal. AD 1135–1160 (47% probability)*.

Another two graves were sampled in the area to the west of the annexe, as part of the programme to test the preliminary phasing structure (Fig. 805). Both of these were late, and so fell within the period of use of the cemetery which was not representatively sampled for radiocarbon dating. Consequently, the results have poor agreement with the uniform prior distribution incorporated in the model ($A=8.4\%$ and $A=0.1\%$; Bronk Ramsey 1995; see below), and have been excluded from the mathematical analysis. The simple calibrated dates of these measurements are *cal. AD 1520–1955* (95% confidence) (BH65; GU-5843)*, and *cal. AD 1650–1950 (95% confidence) (BH86; weighted mean of GU-5868 and GU-5897)*. However, we know that St Peter’s churchyard ceased to be used for burial when the new cemetery was opened on Barrow Road in 1851, and so this information can be used to provide posterior density estimates for the

dates of these burials of *cal. AD 1520–1570 (4% probability) or cal. AD 1630–1860 (91% probability) (BH65) and cal. AD 1650–1700 (25% probability) or cal. AD 1720–1820 (66% probability) or cal. AD 1830–1860 (4% probability) (BH86) (Fig. 806)*.

North of the tower and annexe, three early burials were submitted for dating to indicate when this area of the cemetery came into use (Fig. 807). All of these were the earliest burials in their respective stratigraphic sequences, and F7382 (BH39) and F7398 (BH40) are known to be earlier than burials F7161 (BH56) and F4877 (BH80) on account of their mutual relationships to trench F7302 (p. 378). These early dates are *cal. AD 985–1020 (95% probability) (BH39; UB-4659)*, and *cal. AD 1000–1060 (56% probability) or cal. AD 1085–1125 (23% probability) or cal. AD 1135–1160 (16% probability) (BH40; UB-4660)*. The date of BH40 is almost certain to fall within the first, most probable, range. Further north BH18 (UB-4444) is dated to *cal. AD 1020–1070 (36% probability) or cal. AD 1080–1125 (37% probability) or cal. AD 1135–1160 (22% probability)*. This burial (F7348) is stratigraphically earlier than grave F7327 which contained a total of fourteen clench-bolts placed in two rows (see ch. 5).

Twenty-four skeletons from the area north of the tower and annexe were sampled as part of the programme to test and enhance the phasing structure (Fig. 807). As mentioned above, BH56 and BH80 are later than BH39 and BH40 because of their relationship to trench F7302. These burials date to *cal. AD 1040–1100 (9% probability) or cal. AD 1110–1145 (7% probability) or cal. AD 1150–1285 (79% probability) (BH56; GU-5835)*, and *cal. AD 1215–1330 (95% probability) (BH80; GU-5877)*. Three samples were submitted from a stratigraphically related sequence of burials, F4970 (BH90), F7321 (BH58), and F7212/7205 (BH83). BH90, which is stratigraphically earlier than BH58, was submitted to test the unexpectedly early result provided by this sample. The relative dating sequence has been incorporated in the model and shows good agreement with the radiocarbon measurements (Fig. 807). These burials date to *cal. AD 990–1030 (95% probability) (BH90; UB-4720⁷)*, *cal. AD 990–1045 (80% probability) or cal. AD 1085–1120 (8% probability) or cal. AD 1135–1160 (7% probability) (BH58; GU-5837)*, and *cal. AD 1215–1330 (95% probability) (BH83; GU-5880)*.

Other burials sampled as part of the programme, to refine the phasing, provide dates of *cal. AD 1030–1265 (95% probability) (BH47; GU-5826)*, *cal. AD 995–1190 (95% probability) (BH51; GU-5830)*, *cal. AD 1000–1195 (94% probability) or cal. AD 1200–1210 (1% probability) (BH59; GU-5838)*, and *cal. AD 1020–1225 (95% probability) (BH74; GU-5871)*. Further burials were made in *cal. AD 1035–1100 (14% probability) or cal. AD 1115–1145 (7% probability) or cal. AD 1150–1285 (74% probability) (BH46; GU-5825)*, *cal. AD 1035–1145 (27% probability) or cal. AD 1150–1285 (68% probability) (BH57; GU-5836)*, *cal.*

AD 1040–1055 (1% probability) or cal. AD 1060–1090 (4% probability) or cal. AD 1115–1140 (4% probability) or cal. AD 1150–1285 (86% probability) (BH70; GU-5848), cal. AD 1185–1305 (95% probability) (BH76; GU-5873), and cal. AD 1160–1325 (95% probability) (BH71; GU-5849).

BH52 (GU-5831) dates to *cal. AD 1220–1335 (95% probability)*, BH79 (GU-5876) to *cal. AD 1255–1360 (95% probability)*, and BH77 (GU-5874) to *cal. AD 1275–1360 (95% probability)*. It should be noted that in reality the three burials may have been interred as late as 1400, as the uniform prior distribution of the model

constrains these estimates to be slightly earlier than they would be otherwise (see discussion below). The same is true of burial BH75, which may be as late as 1420, and BH50 which might have been interred as late as 1440. These samples provided posterior density estimates of *cal. AD 1280–1355 (95% probability) (BH75; GU-5872)*, and *cal. AD 1295–1355 (95% probability) (BH50; GU-5829)*. Two further burials may extend into the first quarter of the fifteenth century: BH78 (GU-5875), which dates to *cal. AD 1290–1355 (95% probability)* and BH82 (GU-5879), which dates to *cal. AD 1285–1355 (95% probability)*.

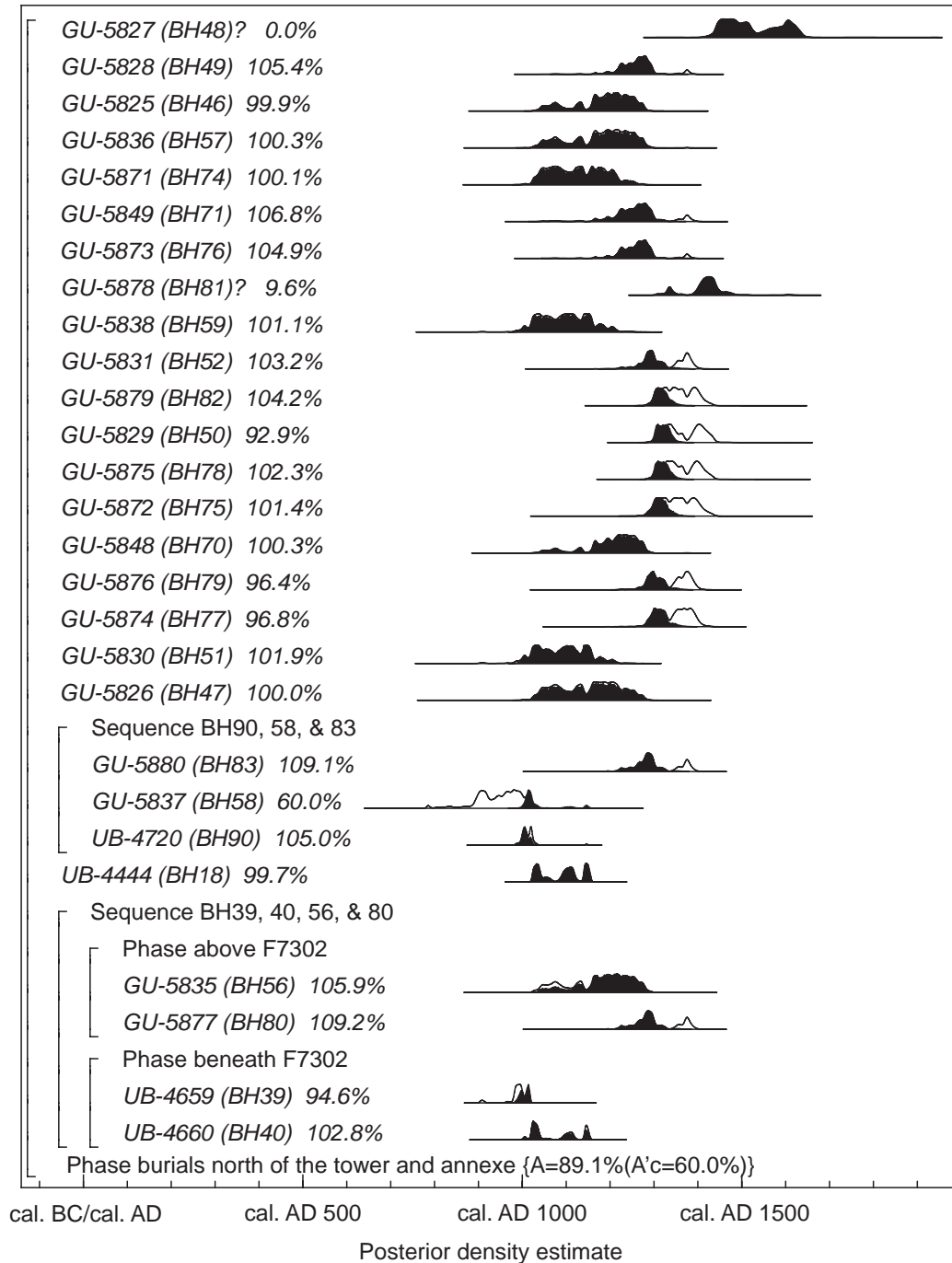


Fig. 807: Probability distributions of dates from burials located to the north of the tower and annexe (Areas 10, 13 and 14). Dates followed by '?' have been excluded from the mathematical analysis for reasons explained in the text. The format is identical to that of Figure 801

BH81 (GU-5878) has poor agreement with the uniform prior distribution of the model ($A=32.9\%$; Bronk Ramsey 1995), as it is rather late and extends into the period which was not sampled representatively for radiocarbon dating. For this reason it has been excluded from the model presented here. The radiocarbon measurement calibrates to cal. AD 1320–1480 (95% confidence).

The most northerly burial which has been dated, BH49 (GU-5828), was interred in cal. AD 1185–1305 (95% probability). There is one burial stratigraphically earlier than BH49, which suggests that the cemetery extended this far north relatively early. The other dated burial in the same area, BH48 (GU-5827), is not included in the model as it is later than the main phase of the cemetery dated by radiocarbon. Its calibrated date range is cal. AD 1420–1640 (95% confidence).

Moving eastwards, to the area north of the Saxo-Norman and Norman naves, waterlogged conditions were encountered, enabling the provision of a number of tree-ring dates for preserved coffins. A series of dates is available from early burials in this area (Fig. 808).

Radiocarbon sample BH32 (OxA-12248) was stratigraphically earlier than BH30 (OxA-12247), which was earlier than the dug-out coffin, F3564. The dug-out has been dated twice by radiocarbon. Skeleton 1241, which was interred in the coffin, is dated by UB-4655. In the mid-1980s, the dug-out coffin itself was dated (HAR-6501). The recent dendrochronological programme has shown that this coffin consists of ten annual growth-rings, the latest of which is the heartwood/sapwood boundary. Consequently the radiocarbon date on the wood can be offset by the number of sapwood rings expected from this assemblage (Fig. 809), and the resultant date combined with that from the skeleton to provide the most realistic estimate for the date of the burial. The dug-out coffin, F3564, is earlier than two coffins dated by dendrochronology, F3547 and F3508. These in turn are earlier than grave F1773, also dated by dendrochronology.

All this information has been combined in the model shown in Figure 808. The scientific dating evidence is in good agreement with this sequence, and has enabled some stratigraphic uncertainties to be resolved. The model suggests that burial F1799 (BH32) was made in cal. AD 995–1040 (95% probability), burial F3502 (BH30) in cal. AD 1015–1100 (95% probability), and burial F3564 in cal. AD 1025–1070 (44% probability) or cal. AD 1080–1100 (51% probability). Coffin F3508 was made of timbers felled in ?1099, coffin F3547 from timbers felled after 1081, and coffin F1773 from timbers felled after 1109.

Slightly further north, a series of dates for the early use of the cemetery is provided by dendrochronology. Coffin F3868 was constructed of timbers felled in spring 1134. It was stratigraphically later than grave F3979, whose coffin was constructed of timbers felled in the winter of 1119/20. Grave F3869 was probably

dug in the winter of 1130/1, since the timber used to construct its coffin was felled at that time. It is stratigraphically later than coffin F5473, which was constructed of timbers felled in spring 1129. This in turn was stratigraphically later than coffin F5475, which was constructed of timber felled in the winter of 1103/4.

Grave F5311 was later than grave F5357. The coffin in the latter was constructed of timber felled in spring 1134. Coffin F5311 has two dated timbers, both with possible heartwood/sapwood boundaries at 1107 and 1110. The date of the construction of the coffin may be estimated by adding the expected number of sapwood rings to the latest of these boundaries (Fig. 809). However, the additional information that the coffin must be later than grave F5357 (*i.e.* after 1134) can also be included in this model (Fig. 808). The scientific dating information is in good agreement with the stratigraphy, and suggests that coffin F5311 was constructed in AD 1132–1158 (95% probability).

Grave F3971 was later than grave F5052, whose coffin was constructed from timber felled after 1050. Coffin F3971 contained two dated timbers, both of which retain heartwood/sapwood boundaries of 1120 and 1116 (the latter also retains nine rings of sapwood). Applying the probability distribution of the number of sapwood rings expected on this assemblage (Fig. 809) to the latest of these boundaries, provides a posterior density estimate for the date of this burial of AD 1124–1152 (95% probability).

Grave F5032 was earlier than grave F5002. The coffin from F5002 has one dated timber, which retains nine sapwood rings. Adding the expected number of missing sapwood rings from this assemblage, the date of the burial can be estimated to be AD 1047–1075 (95% probability). Two adult males have been dated by radiocarbon from grave F5032. Both were fully articulated. These results are statistically significantly different at 95% confidence ($T'=18.4$; $T'=3.8$; $v=1$; Ward and Wilson 1978), and the burials are dated to cal. AD 1020–1065 (95% probability) (BH14; UB-4440) and cal. AD 990–1025 (95% probability) (BH38; UB-4658). Grave F5032 was a multiple burial of two adults with three children, and the bodies all lay at the same level with their limbs apparently intertwined (p. 179).

Two more burials, F5024 and F5031, provide tree-ring dates for the early use of the cemetery (Fig. 810). Neither of these coffins retained heartwood/sapwood boundaries, so that their construction can only be dated to after 1119 and after 1126, respectively. These graves are earlier than BH68 (GU-5846), which was dated as part of the programme to refine the preliminary phasing scheme (see below).

The relative order of burial of three more coffins which have been dated by dendrochronology could not be determined at the time of excavation. However, from the tree-ring results it is apparent that F5044 was carefully inserted between F3968 and F5045. Coffin F5045 was constructed of timbers that may have been reused,

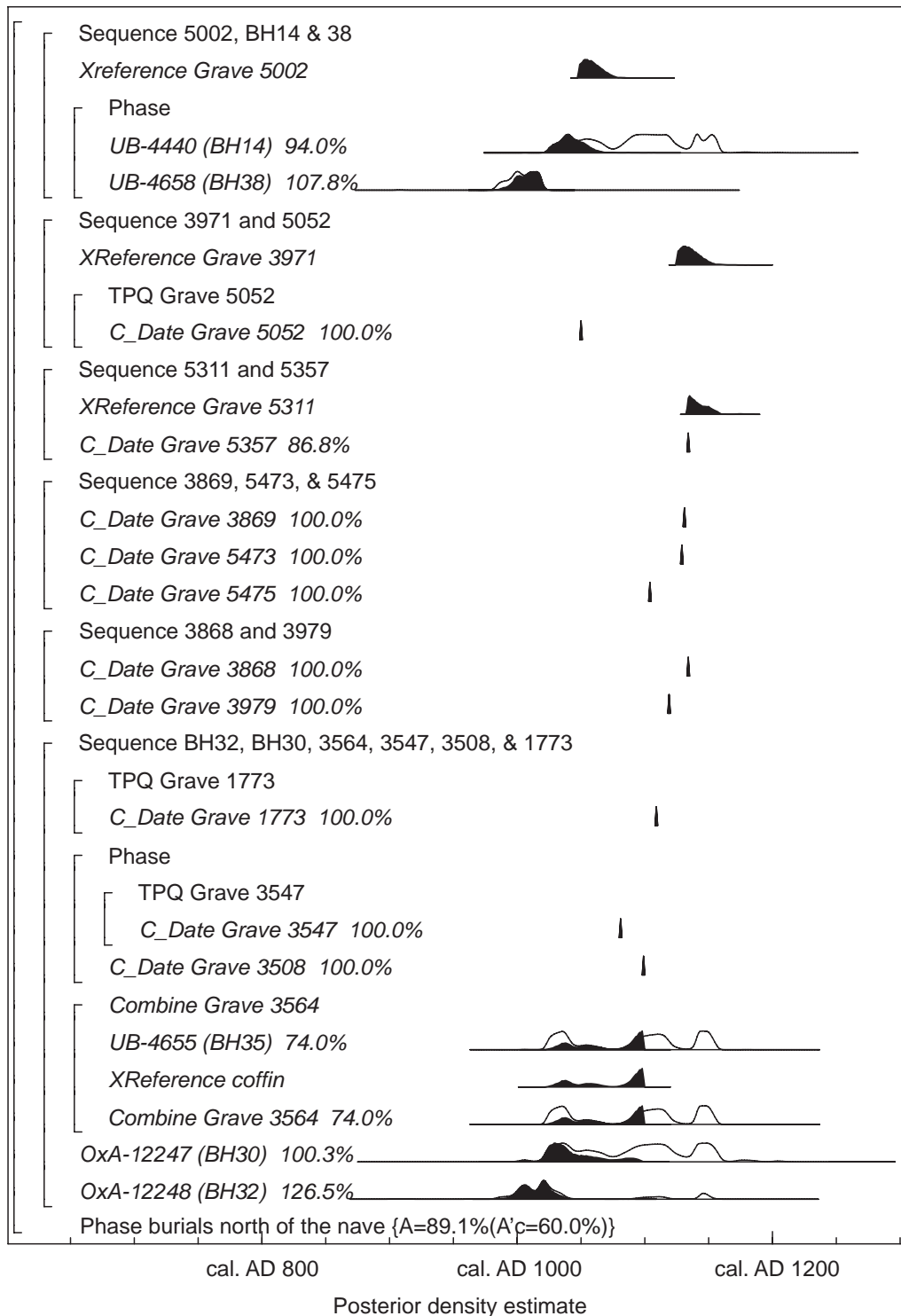


Fig. 808: Probability distributions of dates from burials located to the north of the naves of the three-celled and five-celled churches (Areas 5, 6, 11 and 12). Dates followed by '?' have been excluded from the mathematical analysis for reasons explained in the text. The format is identical to that of Figure 801

and were felled after 1071 but perhaps before 1081. Coffin F3968 was constructed from timbers felled in ?1079. Coffin F5044 was constructed of timbers felled in the winter of 1088/9. Coffin F5045 had previously been dated by radiocarbon dating (BH12; OxA-2286). During the recent programme of dendrochronology it was discovered that the dated sample consisted of a forty-year block of rings centred on 1015, and so *c.* 56

years earlier than the felling date of the tree. A model which combines all this information shows good agreement, confirming the accuracy of the original measurement, although this no longer provides any additional dating information (Fig. 811). Coffin F3946 is later than coffin F5044. This has a radiocarbon date (OxA-2285; BH11) the centre of which is 57–91 years earlier than the felling date of the tree from which the coffin

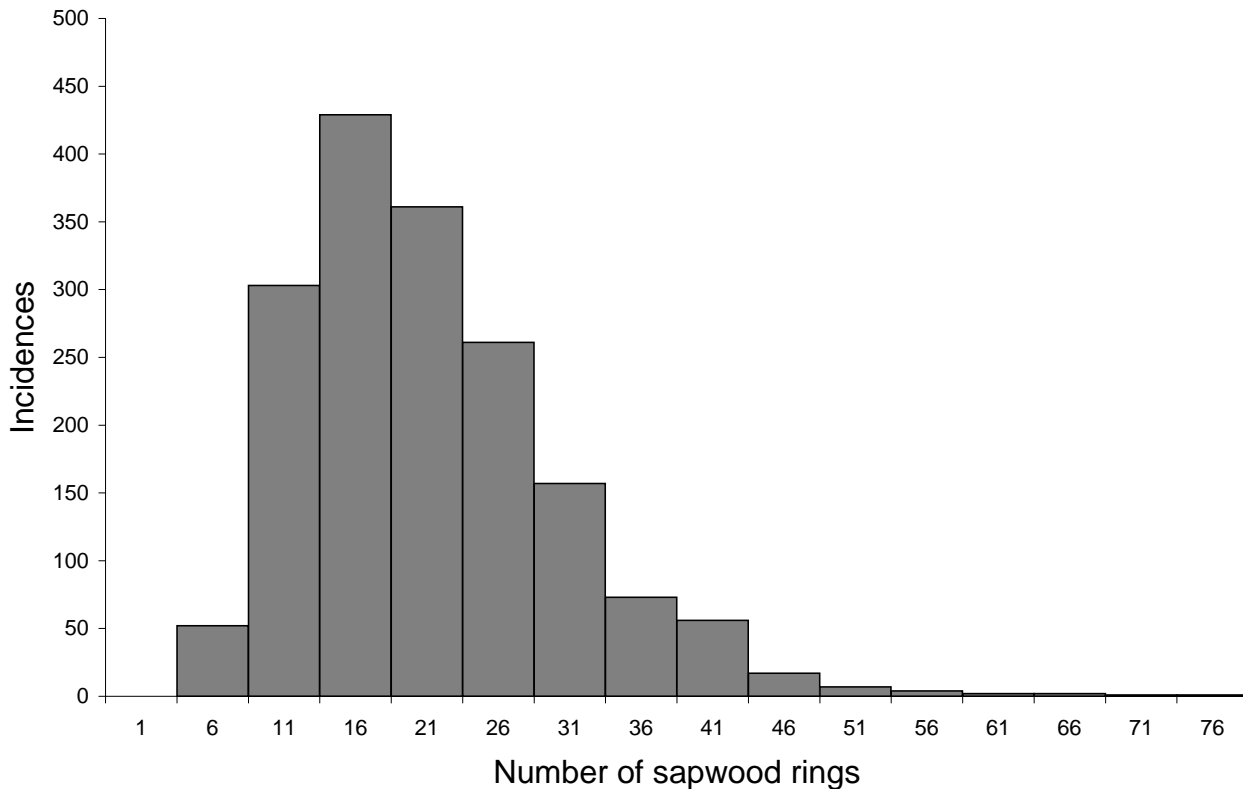


Fig. 809: Probability distribution of number of sapwood rings present on medieval English oak (Tyers 2001a)

was constructed. The scientific dating evidence is also in good agreement with this information, and produces a posterior density estimate for grave F3946 of *cal. AD 1110–1345 (95% probability)*.

Further tree-ring dates for the early use of the cemetery are available (Fig. 810). Coffin F3999 was constructed after 1100, and coffin F3980 after 1092. Coffin F3908 was constructed from timber felled in *AD 1115–1141 (95% probability)*, coffin F5328 from timber felled in the winter of 1134/5, and F3883 in *AD 1132–1156 (95% probability)*. Slightly further north, coffin F5402 was constructed from timber felled in *AD 1113–1139 (95% probability)* and F5425 from timber felled in *AD 1125–1151 (95% probability)*.

Further south, inside the medieval north aisle, coffin F1790 was constructed of timber felled in the winter of 1131/2, coffin F1791 from timber felled in *AD 1083–1109 (95% probability)*, and F1753 from trees felled after 1094. In 1990, a radiocarbon sample was submitted from an unidentified part of coffin F1753 (BH09; OxA-2282). Consequently this measurement can only be used as a *terminus post quem* for the last measured ring (1084) from the coffin, and so this measurement does not now provide useful additional information for the date of this burial. Two samples were also submitted from coffin F1790: OxA-2283 consisted of a thirty-year block centred on 924, and OxA-2284 consisted of a thirty-year block centred on 1085. The actual date of OxA-2283 is therefore 161 years earlier than OxA-2284, which is forty-seven years earlier than the date when the coffin was constructed. This

information is incorporated in the model shown in Figure 812, and is in good agreement with the measurements. This suggests that these are accurate, although they do not provide additional information for the dating of the coffins now that absolute dating has been provided by dendrochronology. Further details of the integration of the radiocarbon measurements undertaken on the waterlogged coffins before 1990 with the new tree-ring evidence can be found in Tyers 2001a, appendix 1.

Radiocarbon dates have been obtained on four further early burials to the north of the three-celled church (Fig. 810): BH25 (UB-4648) dates to *cal. AD 1015–1045 (44% probability)* or *cal. AD 1085–1125 (27% probability)* or *cal. AD 1135–1160 (24% probability)*; BH27 (UB-4649) dates to *cal. AD 1020–1050 (37% probability)* or *cal. AD 1085–1125 (33% probability)* or *cal. AD 1135–1160 (25% probability)*; BH41 (UB-4661) dates to *cal. AD 995–1040 (87% probability)* or *cal. AD 1105–1115 (1% probability)* or *cal. AD 1140–1155 (7% probability)*; BH19 (UB-4445) dates to *cal. AD 995–1040 (89% probability)* or *cal. AD 1105–1115 (1% probability)* or *cal. AD 1140–1155 (5% probability)*.

A radiocarbon date has also been obtained on the timber of the pine coffin (F5474). The sample was a sixty-year block, centred sixty-nine years earlier than the felling date of the tree that provided the boards (OxA-2287; BH13). This radiocarbon determination can therefore be offset by sixty-nine years to provide an estimate for the date of the burial of *cal. AD 1025–1290 (95% probability)*.

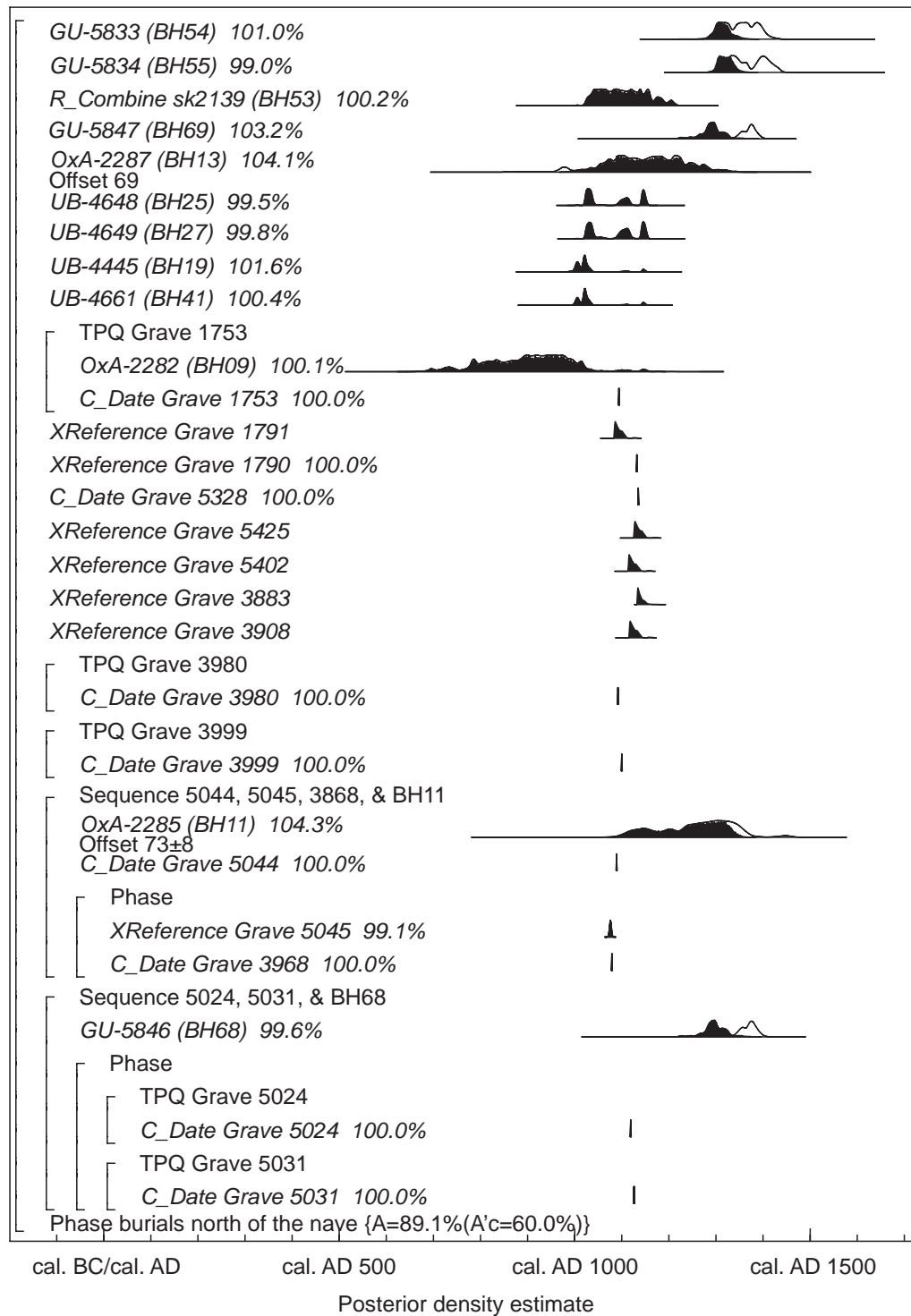


Fig. 810: Probability distributions of dates from burials located to the north of the naves of the three-celled and five-celled churches (Areas 5, 6, 11 and 12). Dates followed by '?' have been excluded from the mathematical analysis for reasons explained in the text. The format is identical to that of Figure 801

Two burials to the north of the wide north aisle were dated as part of the programme to test the preliminary phasing scheme. BH68 (GU-5846) dates to *cal. AD 1240–1335* (92% probability) or *cal. AD 1340–1360* (3% probability) and BH69 (GU-5847) dates to *cal. AD 1220–1335* (95% probability) (Fig. 810).

Three burials further east were also sampled as part of the programme to test the preliminary phasing.

Skeleton 2139 from grave F5246 provides two radiocarbon measurements, which are rather different (BH53, GU-5865 and GU-5832; see above), but have been combined before calibration by taking a weighted mean. This provides a date for the burial of *cal. AD 1020–1190* (94% probability) or *cal. AD 1200–1210* (1% probability). BH54 (GU-5833) provides a date of *cal. AD 1280–1355* (95% probability) and BH55

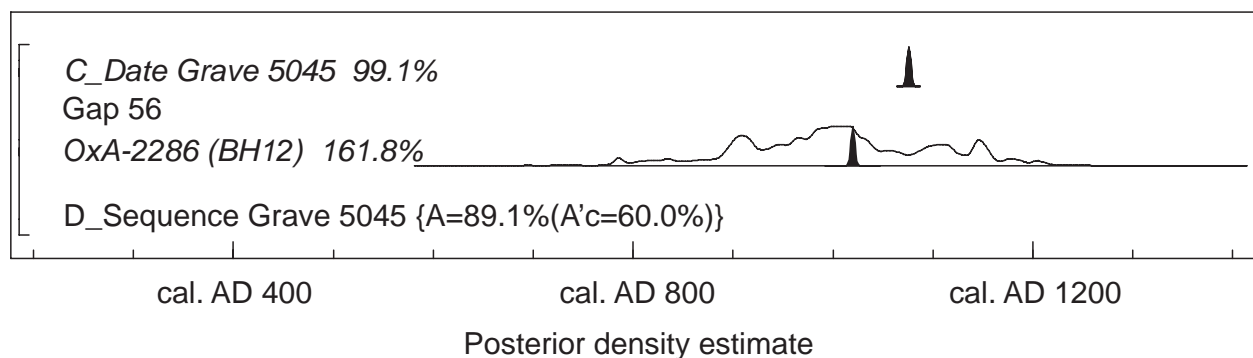


Fig. 811: Probability distributions of the dated samples from coffin F5045, incorporating the evidence from tree-ring analysis that the centre of the sample dated by radiocarbon was fifty-six years earlier than the felling date of the tree in c. 1071–81

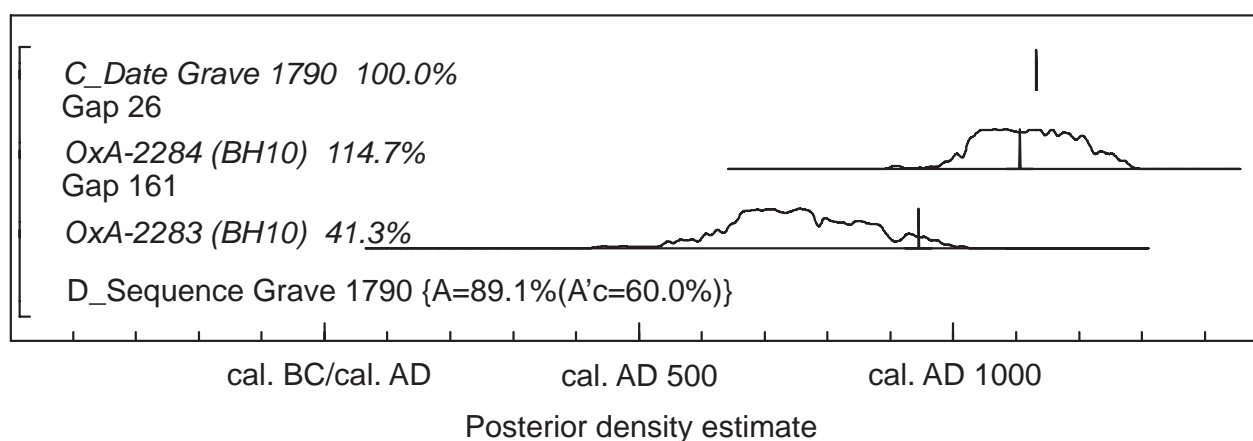


Fig. 812: Probability distributions of the dated samples from coffin F1790, incorporating the evidence from tree-ring analysis that the centre of the samples dated by radiocarbon were 161 years and twenty-six years earlier than the felling date of the tree in the winter of AD 1131/2

(GU-5834) provides a date of *cal. AD 1290–1355* (95% probability). It is possible that these two burials may have been interred slightly later than these estimates in reality, since the uniform prior distribution of the model constrains these estimates to be slightly earlier than they would be otherwise (see discussion below).

Stage 2: the dating of the cemetery

The radiocarbon dates on the waterlogged coffins produced before 1990, probably misled more than they informed (Fig. 796). This is because the rings of the trees dated were not identified, and so many of the radiocarbon measurements relate to the radiocarbon content of the atmosphere several decades (or even centuries) before the felling of the tree, its conversion into timber, and its use in a coffin. The rings dated were identified during the recent programme of dendrochronology and these measurements have been rehabilitated, by offsetting the results by the appropriate amount (see above and Tyers 2001a, appendix 1). At the time when they were first received, these early dates seemed to support a late Saxon origin for the

coffins, which had been suggested on the basis of their construction and associated burial rites. This explains the supposition during excavation and the early stages of analysis that the coffins related to the late Saxon church and, possibly, earlier. The limited series of results was unable to provide a relative chronology for the carpentry and burial types, although it appeared that the dug-out coffin (F3564) was not particularly early, and the whole assemblage could be thought to be pre-Conquest.

The most recent scientific dating programme has succeeded in meeting the majority of its objectives. Burials with coppice-rods and with absolute dating are shown in Fig. 813. Those which survive at Barton appear to fall within the period c. 1075–1135. As rods only survive in exceptionally waterlogged conditions, we must consider whether this date range is an artefact of survival. Although the earliest tree-ring date for a coffin in this area of the cemetery is ?1079 (F3968), burial had probably begun by the early eleventh century, and grave F5393 was probably dug in *cal. AD 995–1040* (89% probability). However, these earlier burials were uncoffined, and thus it is not certain that rods, even if present, would have survived or been recognized.

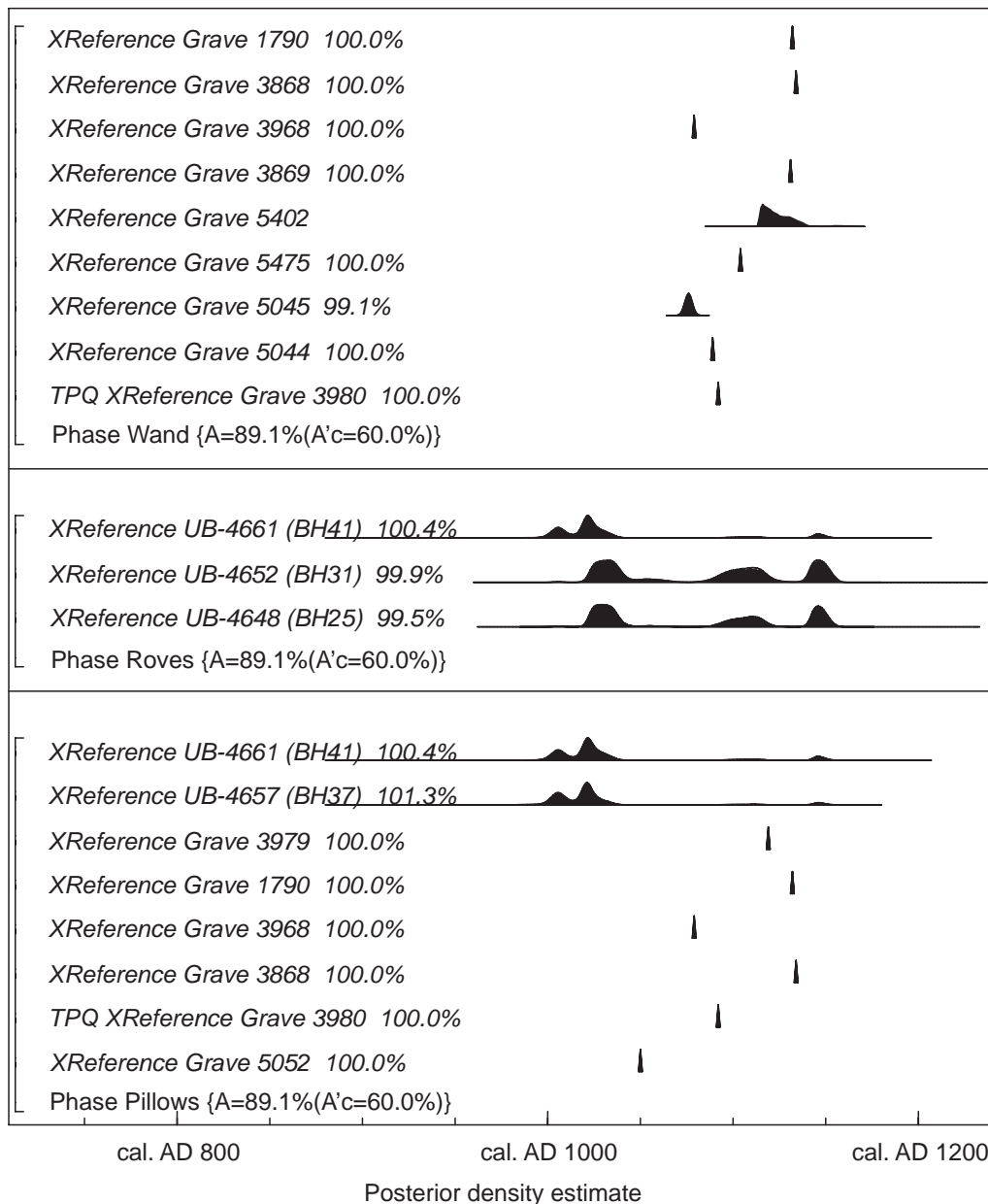


Fig. 813: Probability distributions of dates from graves which contained wands, pillows, and roves, as calculated from the model defined in Figures 795, 801–803, 805, 807–808 and 810. The format is identical to that of Figure 801

Burials with one or more head-supporting stones, and with absolute dating, are also shown in Fig. 813. These appear to fall between *c.* 1000 and *c.* 1140. The dates of graves that contained significant quantities, or rows, of clench-bolts and so may have been covered by sections of boat planking, are shown in Fig. 813. Only three have been dated. It is possible that all of these belong to the first half of the eleventh century, although the variation in the radiocarbon calibration curve at this time means that the continuity of this tradition into the first half of the twelfth century cannot be excluded. The absence of probability within the late eleventh century is, however, suggestive.

Unfortunately only a few examples of each type of coffin construction have been dated from Barton. It is therefore not possible to provide a meaningful dated typology for the site, and insufficient examples exist

from elsewhere for comparison. It is hoped that the Barton material will provide a resource for future synthesis.

The two dates obtained from burials which had liquid riverine mud poured over the corpse provide imprecise posterior density estimates (Fig. 802), indicating that these burials occurred during the eleventh or early twelfth century. However, the two results are statistically significantly different ($T'=6.3$; $T'(5\%)=3.8$; $\nu=1$; Ward and Wilson 1978), which suggests that they are not of the same date, and that the two burials did not, for example, occur as the result of a single outbreak of an infectious disease.

The chronological model shown in Figs. 795, 801–803, 805, 807–808 and 810 suggests that the excavated cemetery began in *cal. AD* 975–1010 (95% probability) or *cal. AD* 985–1005 (68% probability).

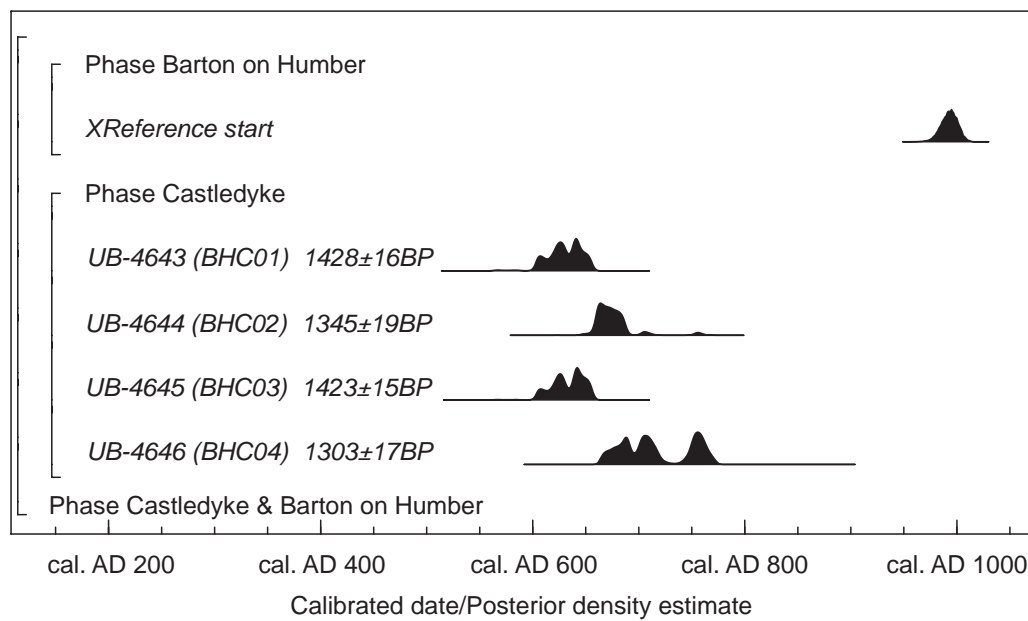


Fig. 814: Probability distributions of dated samples from Castledyke South, calculated according to the probability method of Stuiver and Reimer (1993), and the posterior density estimate for the date when burial started in the churchyard at St Peter's, calculated from the model defined in Figures 795, 801–803, 805, 807–808 and 810

Only one dated grave is certainly earlier than the three-celled church. Grave F1364 (BH24; OxA-12374) is stratigraphically earlier than the chancel of this structure. The posterior density estimate of this burial is *cal. AD 985–1035 (95% probability)*. This is by no means the only dated grave which was dug in the years around 1000, and there are at least a dozen dated skeletons which could be approximately contemporary with BH24 (see Table 34). These are widely spread across the excavated area. The group of neatly aligned burials which was exhumed before the construction of the tower and annexe may be part of this phase of burial, although they appear to have been more closely spaced and more carefully aligned than these early dated burials. It is possible, however, that this exhumed cemetery has not been dated. No bone survived in any of the exhumation trenches, and perhaps grave F1364 was not actually part of this burial group.

Grave F1364 provides a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the Anglo-Saxon church of *cal. AD 985–1035 (95% probability)* or *cal. AD 1000–1025 (68% probability)*. The only other dated burial which was related to early structural stonework is grave F4001 (BH26; OxA-12375), which was cut by a foundation that must have been part of a feature external to the Anglo-Saxon and Saxo-Norman churches. The date, *cal. AD 1015–1130 (74% probability)*, provides a *terminus post quem* for the erection of this foundation.

Use of the excavated cemetery seems to have started in association with the three-celled church. No skeletal remnants of the exhumed cemetery from beneath the existing tower were identified. Once burial began, it appears to have expanded across the excavated area rapidly. Certainly the majority of the site had been used for burial when the church expanded eastwards in

the Saxo-Norman period, although the graves may have become more densely packed in the eastern part of the cemetery from the early twelfth century.

The beginning of the excavated burial sequence at St Peter's falls in the final quarter of the tenth century. This is considerably later than the end of the Castledyke South cemetery, even though as part of this project four of the, plausibly latest, burials from that site have been dated by radiocarbon (Fig. 814; Table 37). The gap between the periods of use of these cemeteries is at least 150 years. The exhumed burials from beneath the tower may represent Barton's residents of the generation immediately preceding the three-celled church. They are unlikely to be earlier than this because the neatness of the exhumations suggests that burial mounds were visible at the time when the site was being prepared for the construction of the tower.

The sampling strategy for dating the cemetery at St Peter's has concentrated on the earlier medieval burials. For this reason, the model presented here has assumed a uniform distribution for the dated graves (Buck *et al.* 1992) only through the medieval period. Some later fourteenth- or fifteenth-century radiocarbon dates have been excluded from the model on statistical grounds, in order to provide a representative sample population for the period of use of the cemetery which has been dated using scientific methods. In order to test the robustness of this approach, a second model has been constructed. In this, all the later radiocarbon measurements were included despite the fact that the later part of the cemetery has been under-represented in the sampling strategy and so we know that the assumptions of the model are incorrect. Nevertheless, this analysis provides a very similar estimate for the date when the cemetery began. The main

model suggests that this happened in *cal. AD 975–1010* (95% probability) or *cal. AD 985–1005* (68% probability), and the second model that this happened in *cal. AD 965–1005* (95% probability) or *cal. AD 980–1000* (68% probability). The similarity of these estimates indicates that they are robust against the mathematical assumptions of the model, and depend rather on the scientific and archaeological evidence.

Stage 3: the question of phasing

At the time when the cemetery was excavated, it provided the largest assemblage of human skeletal material from a single site in the United Kingdom. Extensive palaeopathological research has therefore been undertaken on this material (Vol. 2). Site phasing plays a critical role in how changes seen in the skeletal population, and the incidence of disease, have been interpreted.

For this reason, it was decided to test the chronological validity of the preliminary phasing. The burials inside the present church were well stratified between structural deposits relating to the church fabric, and so the preliminary phasing was considered to be relatively secure. For the areas outside the later medieval church (over 2,000 skeletons), less than a quarter had clear relationships with structural deposits and so much more uncertainty was attached to the preliminary phasing. The earliest burials (Phase E) could be identified on stratigraphic grounds. The latest coffined burials, of Phases A, A/B, and B, could be identified on the basis of their coffin fittings and morphology. It was the burials that lay between these two extremes which were difficult to phase accurately.

An initial sample of thirty burials was selected for dating from the 800 or so individuals who had been assigned to Phases B/C to D/E. This sample, along with the thirteen high-precision measurements on early burials then available, suggested that about half were correctly phased. The following problems were identified with the preliminary phasing:

- i) Some burials initially allocated to Phase E were somewhat later than expected. Phase E had originally been defined as spanning the period 900–1100; however, not only did the cemetery start rather later than expected, but also 'early' burial rites, such as rods and pillow-stones, continued well into the twelfth century.
- ii) In a few areas, the phasing appeared to be consistently biased, with significant numbers of burials being either earlier than expected, or later.
- iii) The phasing in Area 10 was as insecure as anticipated, there being very few fixed points and relatively sparse burial.

Fifteen more samples were submitted from the problematic areas to the north and south of the tower and annexe, to provide absolute dating points within the sequences of burials in those areas. In addition, once the

tree-ring results had confirmed the later occurrence of those burial rites previously thought to be confined to the tenth and eleventh centuries, the boundaries of Phase E were redefined as 950–1150, and those of Phase D as 1150–1300. This redefinition reduced the proportion of mis-phased burials in the preliminary phasing in the area outside the church to around a third.

Following the completion of the scientific dating programme and the finds analysis, the final phasing scheme for the area outside the church was compiled. Not only were there far more fixed points to aid phasing allocations (almost three-quarters of burials now relating to a structural deposit or a scientific date), but it was also decided to allocate a far larger proportion of the skeletons to the combined phases, B/C, C/D, and D/E. To some extent this is because many of the radiocarbon dates straddle the phase boundaries, although it is also hoped that because the phasing is less precise, it will be more accurate. The division of the skeletal material into three overlapping phases (A, A/B, B; B/C, C, C/D; and D, D/E, E) allows palaeopathologists to compare the early and late populations from the site reliably, with a less certain intermediate group between them.

The improvement in the reliability of the phasing structure produced by the dating programme varied in different parts of the site. For example, in Area 12 over 70% of skeletons exhibited a relationship to a structural deposit. However, in Area 8 only 6% of graves had such a relationship, but two-thirds could be related to a scientific date. This is a result of the sampling strategy, which deliberately attempted to provide fixed points in areas where these were otherwise lacking.

The sub-circular enclosure ditch

Two samples from the ditch F3890 provided dates which fell in the later Roman and early Anglo-Saxon periods (OxA-8780 and OxA-8866). These were submitted in the belief that they were from the primary filling of the, probably middle Saxon, enclosure ditch. Unfortunately, there was some confusion over the numbering scheme, and these samples are actually from the single fill of a ditch which is cut by the enclosure ditch. These samples therefore, do provide a *terminus post quem* for the enclosure ditch, although this is not as directly related to the cutting of that ditch as had been hoped.

No material is available for dating from the primary silt of the enclosure ditch.

The church structure

by Ian Tyers and Warwick Rodwell

The first attempts to date the church structure were by radiocarbon dating in the late 1970s. These samples suggested that the base frame of the former spire inside the tower was not of Saxo-Norman date, as initially suspected, but might be thirteenth or fourteenth century (HAR-2865, HAR-2863, and HAR-5655; Table 35).

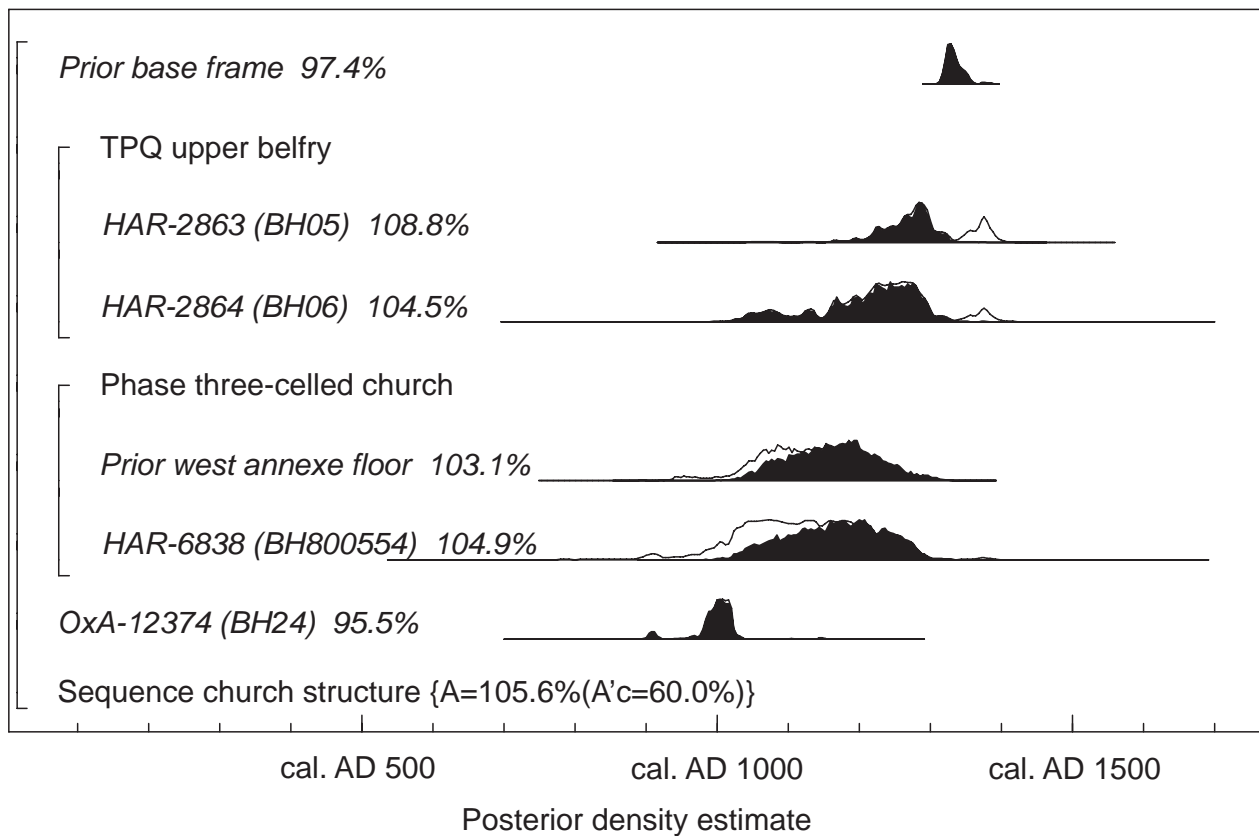


Fig. 815: Probability distributions of absolute dates relating to the existing church structure. The format is identical to that of Figure 801. The large square brackets down the left-hand side and the OxCal keywords define the overall model exactly

Structural evidence, subsequently revealed, supported the later date of these timbers. The date produced for the central timber from the ringing-chamber floor, thought to have been reused from an earlier structure, was inconclusive. This result calibrates to cal. AD 1030–1390 (HAR-2864), which does not refine the dating available on structural grounds. The date provided for the floor of the upper chamber in the western annexe also does not refine that available on structural grounds, calibrating to cal. AD 900–1230 (HAR-3106). At the time of sampling, the parts of these timbers selected for dating were not recorded.

In the mid-1980s, a fragment of a wicker basket found in the blocking of an original putlog hole within the Anglo-Saxon tower was dated. This result calibrates to cal. AD 900–1300 (HAR-6838), again not refining the dating of the tower which was already available on typological grounds.

The recent programme of dendrochronology not only provides absolute dating on its own account, but allows re-analysis of the existing radiocarbon evidence.

The surviving timbers of the tower and annexe did not contain enough rings for successful tree-ring dating. However, as all the timbers from this structural phase contained no more than 55 rings, and four seem to have been complete to the heartwood/sapwood boundary, it seems reasonable to reinterpret HAR-3106 (BH01) as a date twenty-five years before the

heartwood/sapwood boundary which must be offset for missing sapwood rings (Fig. 809). We also know that this sample must post-date OxA-10625 (BH24) as the chancel of the three-celled church cuts this burial. HAR-6838 (BH800554) also relates to the primary construction of the three-celled church and must be later than the burial.

Both of these samples from the three-celled church must be earlier than HAR-2863 (BH05) because this timber was a primary feature in the belfry of structural Period 3. Unfortunately, we do not know how many rings this sample contained, or how the dated rings relate to the bark of the tree from which the timber was converted. This sample was removed from the church in the mid-1980s and cannot now be located. Consequently the radiocarbon date can only be used as a *terminus post quem* for subsequent alterations. The same is true of HAR-2864 (BH06), from the belfry floor. This sample also could not be located at the time of the tree-ring dating programme, although other timbers which had been removed from the tower in the 1970s proved to have up to 132 growth-rings (without the heartwood/sapwood boundary). Consequently this has also been used to provide a *terminus post quem* for subsequent structural phases.

All of these samples are earlier than HAR-2865 (BH03) and HAR-5655 (BH04). The radiocarbon dates were taken from timbers that were later sampled

for tree-ring dating. These had forty-nine and sixty-one rings, respectively, and surviving heartwood/sapwood boundaries dating to 1310 and 1307, respectively. Consequently, the sapwood estimate simply has to be applied to the average of these heartwood/sapwood boundary dates for an estimated felling date for the timbers to be provided.

This information has been combined in the model shown in Fig. 815, which suggests that the timber from the western annexe floor probably dates to the eleventh or twelfth century. The floor was a primary feature (p. 297) and the three-celled church was constructed at the beginning of the eleventh century, as suggested by the radiocarbon date of grave F1364 (OxA-12374; *cal. AD 985–1035 (95% probability)*). Similarly, if the dated fragment of basket from putlog hole F1953 is really part of the primary construction of the tower, the latter is more likely to date after 1000.

It appears that sample BH05 (HAR-2863) is not part of the Saxo-Norman belfry, as it is almost certainly thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century in date (Fig. 815). Since it was not recorded which rings were dated, it could have been part of the fourteenth-century spire base dated by dendrochronology to *AD 1316–1354 (base frame)*. It may, however, have been derived from some otherwise unidentified thirteenth-century work in the tower. The radiocarbon measurement from the belfry floor (HAR-2864; BH06) is also consistent with this structure being part of the early fourteenth-century refurbishment of the tower.

Conclusion

The recent scientific dating programme has substantially revised the previously accepted chronologies for both the cemetery and the church fabric at St Peter's.

At the time of excavation, it was believed that the waterlogged coffins, with their rods and head-supporting stones, were of Anglo-Saxon date. This belief was seemingly reinforced by the first series of radiocarbon dates from the timber coffins (Fig. 796), but had to be abandoned in the light of the tree-ring dating. A substantial series of high-precision radiocarbon dates on skeletons from the earliest stratigraphic phase of burials in the churchyard suggests that the area was commonly used for burial by a sizable community from *cal. AD 975–1010 (95% probability)*. The rather later date for the beginning of burial on the site suggested that the preliminary phasing of the graves outside the present church should be reassessed. Subsequently, further radiocarbon dates provided many more fixed points to inform the phasing of those areas of the cemetery that were particularly problematic.

The dating programme has also refined the absolute chronology of the church structure. The radiocarbon determination on the single burial that was cut by the three-celled church suggests that this may have been constructed in the early years of the eleventh century, perhaps rather later than hitherto supposed. Tree-ring dating in the church has been disappointing for the earlier surviving timberwork, although it has enabled a much more detailed understanding of later periods of construction and repair.

16. SPECIALIST STUDIES, 2: STRUCTURAL AND DECORATIVE MATERIALS

A large quantity of artefacts was collected during the excavation, the vast majority of which were retained: the exceptions were disarticulated human bone (reburied after examination) and run-of-the-mill building materials from general deposits (examined, noted and discarded). All classes of finds were submitted to appropriate specialists, whose detailed reports are held in the Barton site archive: it has been necessary to abbreviate those reports for publication here. In a few instances, where a class of finds shed no significant light on either architectural or social history, no report is included (*e.g.* animal bone).

In addition, many samples of mortars and plasters were collected, from both the standing structure and the excavations; likewise, numerous samples of soils and residues were taken. Unfortunately, resources were not available to study or analyze any of this material.¹

Where a specific find, or group of finds, relates substantially to the subject material covered in one of the foregoing chapters (*e.g.* burial), it has been incorporated there. Otherwise, studies of artefacts covering long time-spans, or recovered from disparate parts of the site, are grouped together in this chapter (architectural materials) and in chapter 17 (portable finds).

Architectural Stonework²

More than 270 stone fragments (architectural, sepulchral, medieval and post-medieval) were recovered from the excavations at St Peter's, or were found lying loose in the church (excluding detached elements of marble wall memorials). The information these fragments provide about the structure and life of the church ranges from glimpses of lost building phases to the grave-slabs of the wealthy, and they evidence widespread trade in stone for both building and sepulchral purposes.

Barton is a locality devoid of good building stone, and consequently a variety of different stone types is found in the church. Although certain types were used over several centuries, trends are nevertheless discernible. An understanding of the stones, therefore, requires some knowledge of their geology, and this is reviewed first. The study also incorporates evidence from other churches in the region, in order to place St Peter's in context.

Geological aspects of the stonework

by Geoff Gaunt and Jackie Hall

Building and architectural stone

The Anglo-Saxon tower and baptistery at St Peter's are principally constructed of two stone types: Upper Carboniferous Millstone-Grit sandstone and an oolitic variety of Middle Jurassic Lincolnshire Limestone, although there are also examples of other types.

The Millstone-Grit sandstone, typically coarse grained, was used for the majority of the architectural elements of the tower-nave, for the quoins of the baptistery and presumably also of the contemporary chancel, and for the sculptured components. In addition, several pieces of fine to mainly medium-grained sandstone are present. Despite being lithologically similar to some sandstones in both the Upper Carboniferous Coal Measures of western Yorkshire and the Middle Jurassic of north-eastern Yorkshire, these sandstones are probably also attributable to the Millstone Grit. Freshly quarried Millstone-Grit sandstone is not known from the Anglo-Saxon period, and so reuse from a Roman source is likely. The reuse of Millstone-Grit sandstone from Roman sites at this period is well attested, particularly from York, and is evident in recycled Roman architectural components (Morris 1988; Stocker 1990).

At Barton, this sandstone was almost certainly derived from Roman York, since it can be seen in churches all along the river Ouse, down which it would have been carried (Morris 1988, 194; Buckland and Sadler 1990; Bryant 1994, 119–20; Everson and Stocker 1999, 69, 81). There are nearer Roman sites, for instance at Winteringham and Brough-on-Humber, as noted by Rodwell and Rodwell (1982, n. 28), but for neither of these sites is there any confirmation of Millstone-Grit sandstone having been used for building purposes (Corder 1942; Wacher 1969; Stead 1976, 234; Bryant 1994, 120). Given the distance of York from Barton, and from other Anglo-Saxon churches in north Lincolnshire which incorporate Roman Millstone-Grit sandstone – such as Winteringham, Broughton, Whitton, Burton-upon-Stather and Alkborough³ – this reuse shows a degree of organization and investment which may have approached that of the fresh quarrying and transport of stone which occurred later. A similar situation occurs at Brixworth (Northants.), where stone was also brought long distances in preference to new

quarrying (Sutherland and Parsons 1984; Sutherland 1990). The effort of bringing former building stone from Roman York additionally suggests that Millstone-Grit sandstone was seen as particularly appropriate for church-building, either on account of its strength or because of the symbolic implications of reusing Roman *spolia*, especially at St Peter's where the stripwork is highly visible externally (for the use of *spolia* see Greenhalgh 1989, especially ch. 7 and 8).

In addition, a number of blocks of different origin were used as through-jambes, voussoirs and stripwork: Jurassic oolitic limestone (nine through-jambes, two pieces of sill and one piece of triangular door-head noted); Lower Jurassic or Lower Cretaceous oolitic ironstone (two impost blocks and two pilaster sections noted); Permian Lower Magnesian Limestone (three jambes noted) and a single example of Upper Jurassic calcareous sandstone.

It is probable that the Lower Magnesian Limestone (a mainly or entirely dolomitic limestone) was reclaimed from Roman buildings in York at the same time as the Millstone-Grit sandstone. In Roman York this limestone was commonly shaped into small square blocks (Buckland 1988, 255), insufficiently large to serve as the through-jambes of Barton's Anglo-Saxon church, but it has been suggested that the size and shape of the early medieval monuments found in York was determined by the available Roman stones; this implies the use of sizeable blocks of limestone in the Roman period (Senior 1991, 13, 15).

The single piece of calcareous sandstone has a very distinctive lithology with numerous minute interstitial sub-rounded voids characteristic of only two sandstones in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, both in the Upper Jurassic Corallian Group of north-eastern Yorkshire. They are the Lower Calcareous Grit and the Birdsall Calcareous Grit (Gaunt 1992, 46). Southwards, the nearest possibly comparable lithology is in the Oxfordshire–Wiltshire border area.⁴

Clearly the St Peter's example is more likely to have originated in Yorkshire, despite the fact that the use of Jurassic sandstones in Roman York is slight and no calcareous sandstone has been recorded (Buckland 1988, 265).

The remaining stones used in the tower originated more locally. The ironstone is variably pale to dark brown and consists of numerous uncompacted ooliths in a fine-grained ferruginous matrix. This lithological type is present in the Lower Jurassic Frodingham Ironstone and the Pecten Ironstone, the nearest outcrops of which are only 11 km west of Barton, and also in the Lower Cretaceous Claxby Ironstone, 20 km from Barton (Gaunt *et al.* 1992, 34–6, 71–3). It might have been freshly quarried but, given its low incidence, reuse from nearby Roman sites is probable.

The large Jurassic oolitic limestone blocks, similar examples of which can be found in the eleventh-century tower of Winterton church, may also have been recycled from local Roman sites, although this cannot be proved. The fabric of the roughly coursed rubble walls of St Peter's tower is, wherever sampled, also of Jurassic oolitic limestone. These pieces might have been either reused or freshly quarried. The nearest outcrop is only 10 km to the west-south-west, where it occurs in all but the basal part of the Hibaldstow Limestones, generally as a moderately compacted, medium oolitic limestone. The Hibaldstow Limestones comprise the highest member of the Lincolnshire Limestone Formation (Fig. 816), and this is the lithostratigraphical equivalent of the Cave Oolite north of the Humber, and of the Ancaster Beds and Great Ponton Beds of southern Lincolnshire (Gaunt *et al.* 1992, 51). There is no reason in this context, however, to suppose that anything other than the most local sources, namely outcrops just to the north and south-east of Winterton, were used, especially for the roughly coursed wall-work for which relatively shallow quarrying would suffice.

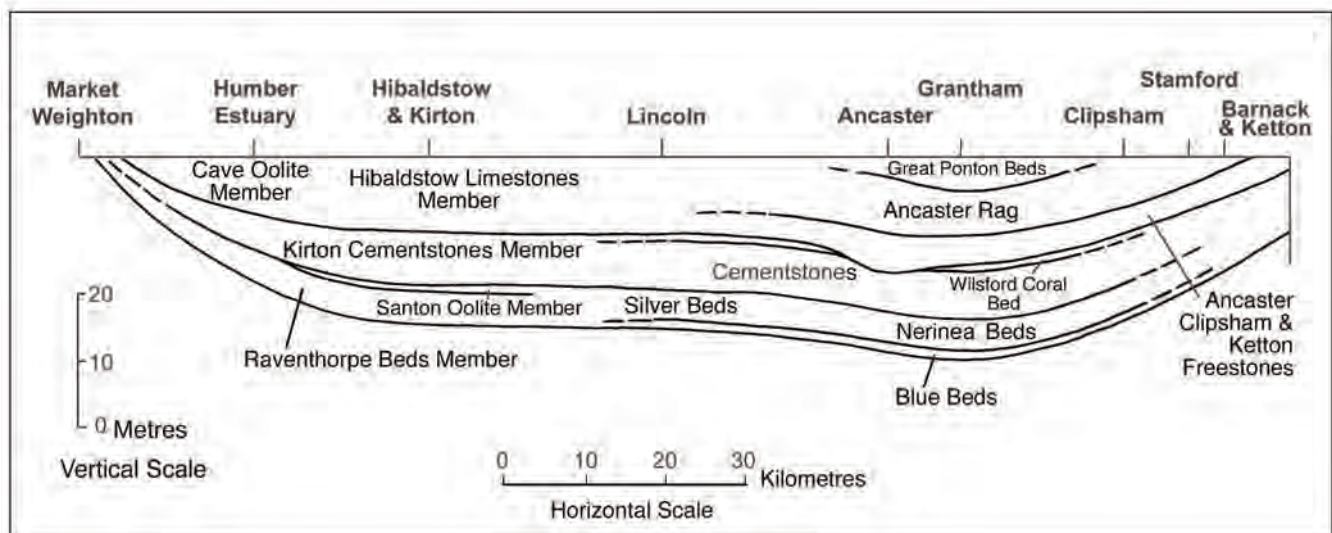


Fig. 816: Diagrammatic section through the Lincolnshire Limestone Formation. Drawing: Geoff Gaunt and Simon Hayfield

Of the Saxo-Norman church little is known, although the filling of the scar of the Anglo-Saxon chancel is in coursed rubble of Hibaldstow Limestones, which may suggest a similar building technique to that of the first church. By contrast, the external facing of the late eleventh-century upper storey of the tower is constructed entirely out of good-quality, almost white, fine-grained, Lower Magnesian Limestone with a relict oolitic texture (internally the upper storey is coursed rubble, now obscured by lime-wash and grime). There are no obvious signs of reuse, and the conclusion must be that this stone was quarried and transported specifically for the work. Such a conclusion is reinforced by the uniformity of the stone throughout the storey, except for the capitals of the belfry windows which are grey and were clearly quarried and carved separately from the wall-work.

This situation provides an interesting footnote to the contemporary work on Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux's minster at York, built largely or entirely of reused Roman stone, with Lower Magnesian Limestone probably not freshly quarried for the minster until *c.* 1160 (Gee 1981, 247; Phillips 1985, 182–4; Arnold 1996, 9). The work at Barton shows that Lower Magnesian Limestone was being quarried in bulk, and transported some distance, prior to this time. It is inconceivable that St Peter's had access to a resource which the minster did not, and therefore the choice of reused stone for Thomas's minster must have been deliberate because of its ready availability at York, or for other reasons. Alternatively, it is possible that the belfry at St Peter's may have been built near the end of work on Thomas's minster or that some of the undatable upper parts of the minster may have been built in freshly quarried stone (as suggested by Phillips 1985, 117, 184).

Lower Magnesian Limestone remained an important stone for architectural details at Barton until the last significant building phase at St Peter's in the sixteenth century, and so it is useful here to consider the outcrops, varieties and quarry sources available. The Lower Magnesian Limestone forms a narrow belt extending across Yorkshire from north to south, and is well exposed from Knaresborough southwards in Yorkshire, and along the Nottinghamshire–Derbyshire border. It includes several textural types, notably fine-grained, oolitic, relict oolitic, microcellular, and medium to (less commonly) coarse-grained 'dolomite sand'. It is not possible from these textures alone to identify the source of the Lower Magnesian Limestone, since more than one texture can occur within a single quarry, and almost the entire range is present within the buildings and the collection of loose stones from St Peter's. Only the 'dolomite sand' texture is less likely to be quarried in conjunction with the other varieties, and its occurrence in the stonework may, therefore, be indicative of a particular phase of work, in the case of St Peter's during the sixteenth century. Only this texture, together with the

less common oolitic texture (which is mainly from the basal part of the Lower Magnesian Limestone), is listed in the catalogue.

The closest source to Barton is *c.* 50 km due west, in the Castleford–Pontefract area, from whence the stone could have been transported along the rivers Aire and Ouse to the Humber, but equally good river transport means that it could, without much extra expense, have come from farther north in the Tadcaster area via the Wharfe and Ouse, or farther south in the Doncaster area via the pre-Vermuyden southern branch of the Don and the Trent. All of these are entirely downstream routes, so Barton was particularly well placed to receive the stone. It must, nevertheless, have still cost considerably more than the local Jurassic oolitic limestone (for transport costs, see Salzman 1952, 119). Not all of the quarries lay close to a river (Oswald 1959, fig. 11), and some land-haulage is likely to have been required.

The choice of Lower Magnesian Limestone was probably dictated, at least partly, by its superior strength and working qualities, and the relatively poorer (*i.e.* less hard) quality of the Jurassic oolitic limestone found in northern Lincolnshire, though it may also have been a function of patronage, fashion, and access to quarries. In the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries there were several large-scale quarrying complexes working the Lower Magnesian Limestone in Yorkshire, notably at Thevesdale (near Tadcaster), Huddleston (near Sherburn-in-Elmet) and Stapleton (south-east of Pontefract), as well as farther south near Hampole, Marr and Cadeby (Oswald 1959; Clifton-Taylor 1987, 94–5). These quarries supplied building and architectural stone for many of the contemporary ecclesiastical constructions, large and small, in and adjacent to Yorkshire including, close to Barton, Thornton Abbey, which had quarrying rights in Thevesdale from 1283 (Gee 1981, 248). It seems likely that one or more of these quarries was the source of the Lower Magnesian Limestone at St Peter's. Although it was in more-or-less continuous use for architectural details, Lower Magnesian Limestone was, after the eleventh century, only again used in bulk for ashlar wall-facing in the sixteenth-century chancel and for some late refacing of both aisles.

It should be noted that the use of Lower Magnesian Limestone for architectural details was standard in this area, as shown by a survey of the churches along the south side of the Humber estuary, and farther south, although this fact has not hitherto received comment. Its use extends at least as far south as Redbourne, 21.5 km from the Humber. In contrast, the church at Normanby-by-Spital, a further 12 km south, was built entirely of Lincolnshire Limestone (at least externally).

Returning to our chronological survey, there are no extant early or mid-twelfth-century building phases at St Peter's, but in the Romanesque north arcade of St Mary's, Lower Magnesian Limestone was used along with two differing types of sandstone. One is pale greenish-grey, thick bedded but with abundant small-scale

'wispy' cross-bedding commonly accentuated by occasional iron-pan deposition. The other is greyish-white with a uniform fine to medium-grained texture. The provenance of the former sandstone is uncertain. Possible sources include sandstones within the Triassic Mercia Mudstone in Nottinghamshire, the Middle Jurassic non-marine sandstones of north-eastern Yorkshire (although there are no descriptions of slightly greenish shades in the geological literature) and the terminal Jurassic-basal Cretaceous Spilsby Sandstone of central Lincolnshire. Generally, the Spilsby Sandstone (along with the lithologically identical Upper Jurassic Elsham Sandstone) is more coarsely grained, conglomeratic and friable than the greenish-grey sandstone at St Mary's. More southerly variants of the Spilsby Sandstone, however, are finer grained and more cohesive, and were used as a building stone in the Salmonby-Horncastle area. The greyish-white sandstone is very pure, with no evidence of minerals other than quartz or of sedimentary features and, as such, it could be from the Coal Measures of western Yorkshire or the Middle Jurassic sequence of north-eastern Yorkshire.

The next evidence of stone use at St Peter's dates from the later twelfth or thirteenth century, when the narrow aisles were built and Lower Magnesian Limestone was again being freshly quarried for the architectural details (although none of this work is now standing). Although the southern quarries in the Lincolnshire Limestone (Barnack, Clipsham and Ancaster) produced stone of equal working quality to the Lower Magnesian Limestone, and as far-travelled (Clifton-Taylor 1987, 79–86), the greater distances and difficulties of transport probably precluded its wholesale use at Barton. This, combined with the primary use of Lincolnshire Limestone as squared rubble, suggests that a local, probably inferior, source was quarried, no doubt in the Hibaldstow Limestones available nearby (see above). It is also found in other north Lincolnshire churches, although as one travels east, farther from the Hibaldstow Limestones outcrops, its use gradually drops off to be replaced wholly or partly by other local stones: chalk and oolitic ironstone, of which a mere handful of pieces occur at St Peter's.

Chalk, although a local stone, is really only useful internally, and that is where it is mostly found. Oolitic ironstone, on the other hand, is less local. As noted above, the Frodingham Ironstone and the Pecten Ironstone outcrops are only 11 km west of Barton, 3–4 km farther than those of the Hibaldstow Limestones, while the nearest outcrop of the Claxby Ironstone is some 20 km south-south-east of Barton. The substantial use of ironstone in churches east of Barton, for instance in the towers of Wootton and Ulceby, implies that Claxby Ironstone was the principal source. It occurs only sporadically at St Peter's, but at St Mary's it was used for the early thirteenth-century south doorway (reset in a late thirteenth-century porch). At the same period, a fine-grained variety of Lincolnshire Limestone in which ooliths occur only sparsely, if at

all, was used for the capitals and voussoirs of the west tower doorway of St Mary's, although the base, jambs and hood-moulding are all of Lower Magnesian Limestone. Clearly, for some reason three different varieties of stone (Lower Magnesian Limestone, oolith-poor Lincolnshire Limestone and Claxby Ironstone) were being used in St Mary's for distinctive architectural details within a short time-span.

A century later, in the early to mid-fourteenth century, the oolith-poor variety of Lincolnshire Limestone was employed for a number of architectural features at St Peter's. It is extant in the north aisle windows, where it is found in conjunction with Lower Magnesian Limestone. The oolith-poor Lincolnshire Limestone was used for the tracery, jambs and rear-arches while the Lower Magnesian Limestone was reserved for the sills, hood-mouldings and string-course of the north aisle, as well as for the arcades which were rebuilt at the same time. Oolith-poor Lincolnshire Limestone was used for the details and windows of the fourteenth-century chancel, and it also appeared internally in pieces associated with liturgical furniture (sedilia, etc.). Although it is present sporadically in the walls of other local churches (including those at Winteringham, Roxby and Alkborough), the use of this lithology in architecturally complex pieces is highly unusual in northernmost Lincolnshire. Apart from the early thirteenth-century example at St Mary's, already discussed, only one feature was found to be carved from this stone type in the other ten churches examined along the Humber (five of them to the east and five to the west of Barton), namely a window of flowing tracery design in the chancel of Goxhill church.

In northern Lincolnshire this oolith-poor limestone lithology is found only in the c. 1.0 m thick basal part of the Hibaldstow Limestones (Gaunt *et al.* 1992, 51), and it is conceivable that the architectural and other constructional features referred to above came from this source. However, lithologically comparable limestone is present further south in Lincolnshire where (in contrast to the north) it occurs in the lower strata of the Lincolnshire Limestone, most notably in the Silver or 'Nerinea' Beds (Evans 1952) and where it was widely used in churches for architectural features and constructional stone. It occurs, for example, in the walls, windows and, significantly, the early fourteenth-century liturgical furniture in Navenby, 13 km south of Lincoln,⁵ and in the walls at Bardney church, 15 km east of Lincoln. It is also found in the architectural items from Bardney Abbey now held in the parish church (and important because the abbey held the rectory of St Peter's, Barton), in the walls and windows of Normanby church and in the walls of Redbourne, 17 km and 29 km, respectively, north of Lincoln. Moreover, Worssam (1999, 18–19) gives other examples of the use of Silver Beds-type limestone in Lincoln Cathedral and in several churches in the surrounding area. The wide occurrences in more southerly churches of this fine-grained oolith-poor limestone of presumed

local Silver Beds provenance suggests that the lithologically comparable limestone used for the fourteenth-century architectural stonework at Barton and Goxhill is likely to be from the same southerly source.⁶

At Bardney church finely oolitic limestone varieties appear to have been used preferentially for later architectural details, while at Redbourne, as already noted, Lower Magnesian Limestone was used. In both churches the fine-grained oolith-poor Lincolnshire Limestone was employed in the walls. Where this variety was occasionally used for windows, etc., as at Navenby, Normanby and Goxhill (and also for the only visible nave pier at Bardney Abbey), it did not fare well, as indicated by the substantial amounts of replaced mullions and tracery, and the poor quality of some of the surrounding ashlar or rubble walling. There is a similar situation at St Peter's where the north aisle windows, especially the Crucifixion window, are in poor condition and show many signs of repair (Fig. 470).

Since Lower Magnesian Limestone remained available throughout the medieval period, some other reason must be sought for the use of oolith-poor Lincolnshire Limestone for specific architectural features. One possibility is that certain quarries were producing 'off-the-peg' items such as traceried windows, tombs and liturgical furniture, ready to be fitted within pre-designed spaces (as suggested for the fifteenth century by Salzman 1952, 123). In any event, the use of the oolith-poor Lincolnshire Limestone in the chancel and north aisle windows at St Peter's must be linked to patronage. The rector, in this case the abbot of Bardney, was responsible for the chancel, and it must have been the abbey that paid for the work there. Why this stone type was chosen rather than Lower Magnesian Limestone, the norm for the region, will probably remain a mystery. It is not clear whether Bardney Abbey was taking the cheaper option in using a local, poor-quality stone (the basal part of the Hibaldstow Limestones), or was rebuilding the chancel in the height of fashion and expense by purchasing pre-made components from sources in more southerly parts of Lincolnshire. The latter might be implied by the closeness of the window dimensions and design at St Peter's and at Navenby (not that Navenby belonged to Bardney), and the use of the same lithology at both churches for stylistically similar, high-quality liturgical furniture. The construction of the north aisle windows in the same stone at the same time may point to unexpected altruism on the part of Bardney Abbey, or another patron or the parishioners making use of the established link with the same sources.

No Lincolnshire Limestone of any variety appears to have been employed again until the nineteenth century, when it was used for many small repairs to the building. In this instance a good-quality, pinkish, finely oolitic variety was favoured. Although this might be from the local Hibaldstow Limestones it could as easily have come from further afield after the advent of railways, and a pinkish variety was available in the Ancaster and Ketton quarries (Clifton-Taylor 1987, 79). As in earlier

periods, chalk, locally available and easily worked, was used only for internal repairs, including substantial refacing of the south aisle wall in 1897.⁷

Roofing stone

Little roofing stone was recovered from the excavations at Barton, which is not surprising for an area rich in clays suitable for tile production. What stone there was divides into two lithological types. The first, comprising eleven fragments, consists of a pale grey, fine-grained, thin-bedded limestone, almost certainly from the Kirton Cementstones (which occurs below the Hibaldstow Limestones in the Lincolnshire Limestone; Gaunt *et al.* 1992, 49–51). Only one of the fragments retained what might be the remains of a peg-hole, and it cannot be confirmed that this limestone was definitely used as roofing stone, although this is likely. All eleven fragments were found inside the church, mostly close to the west end of the nave, and the earliest contexts are referable to the fourteenth century, namely a spacer from the south aisle arcade and a bench-base from the south aisle. Fragments were found sparsely in contexts of every subsequent period.

The second type (nine fragments) is purplish-grey slate, probably from Cumbria or north Wales. One piece still had most of a peg-hole remaining: otherwise it is conceivable that they might be flakes from a slate gravestone. Slate was not used on a widespread scale until the late eighteenth century and, with one exception (almost certainly an intrusion), the fragments were recovered from late contexts, both internal and external.

Catalogue of selected items

by Jackie Hall

The catalogue is confined to architectural masonry: for sepulchral and monumental material, see chapters 12 and 13. Entries are divided into two broad groups, medieval and post-medieval; the former is further sub-divided into chronological groups. As far as possible, descriptions of mouldings follow Morris 1992. For convenience, Lower Magnesian Limestone has, in most cases, been abbreviated to 'LML'. Tooling is mentioned only where it is seen as diagnostic, *e.g.* in showing reuse. Many of these items are either unprovenanced or not significantly stratified. Context references are given where available, and fuller details are recorded in the site archive.

Anglo-Saxon

The following are all of Millstone-Grit sandstone.

Block with Lewis hole

Not illus. This roughly punched block is confirmed as having a Roman origin by the presence of a Lewis hole in one face. In addition it has parts of two drilled holes of unknown purpose. Two other blocks with Lewis holes are visible in the fabric of the tower (Fig. 362).

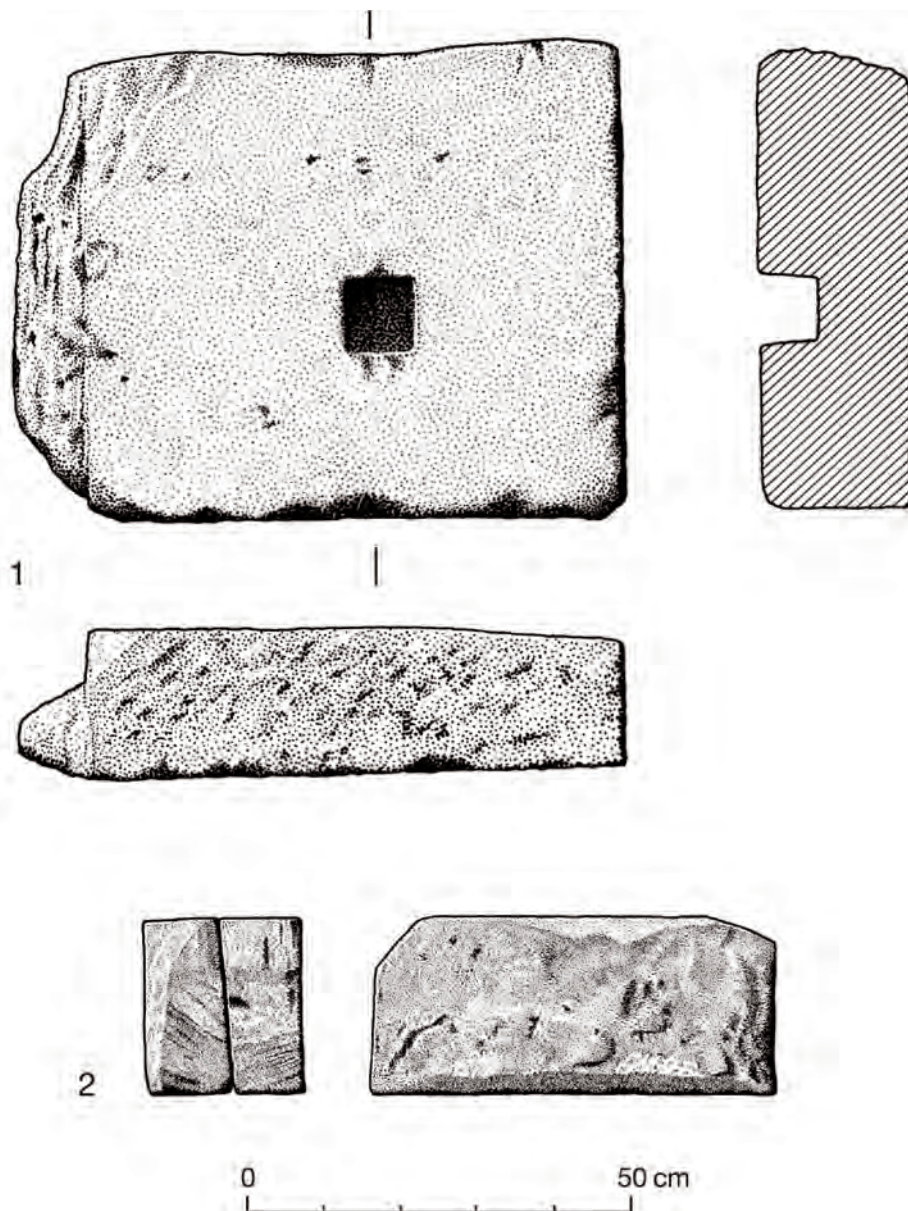


Fig. 817: Anglo-Saxon architectural fragments. 1, Font base; 2, Chamfered block. Scale 1:10. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Font base (Fig. 817, 1)

This piece was found *in situ* in the south-west corner of the Anglo-Saxon baptistery (F793; p. 302; Figs. 338 and 339). It is a massive slab, up to 21.5 cm thick, with an off-centre socket *c.* 10 cm square in the upper face. Font bowls were not normally tenoned to their bases, and the socket must relate to an earlier use, either Roman or Anglo-Saxon. If the former (more likely) this could be a length of stylobate; if the latter it could be a pad-stone, socketed to receive a timber upright.⁸ The rebate along one side is probably a feature of its Roman use, as may be the heavy punch tooling around three sides. The upper surface is worn smooth.

Chamfered block (Fig. 817, 2)

This chamfered block was reused twice, first in the Anglo-Saxon church, and then in the sixteenth-century bell-foundry, where it formed the lintel over the furnace flue (F528; p. 499; Pl. 36; Fig. 576).

Late twelfth to mid-thirteenth century

The fragments in this section may belong to the narrow-aisles and their arcades, or to an earlier chancel. They are suggestive of early Gothic architecture, rather than Romanesque.

Abacus and sub-base

Five fragments, all LML. Three of them are of a simple circular abacus moulding, with a short chamfer above and a long one below (Fig. 818, 3). The fact that the abacus is formed separately makes an early date, probably the first quarter of the thirteenth century, likely. A diameter for the abacus of *c.* 1.0 m is indicated. The curvature is similar to that of the two conjoining sections of sub-base with a single chamfer (Fig. 818, 4). These fragments match the remodelled early components in the fourteenth-century north arcade (circular sub-base, base, capital and abacus of piers of

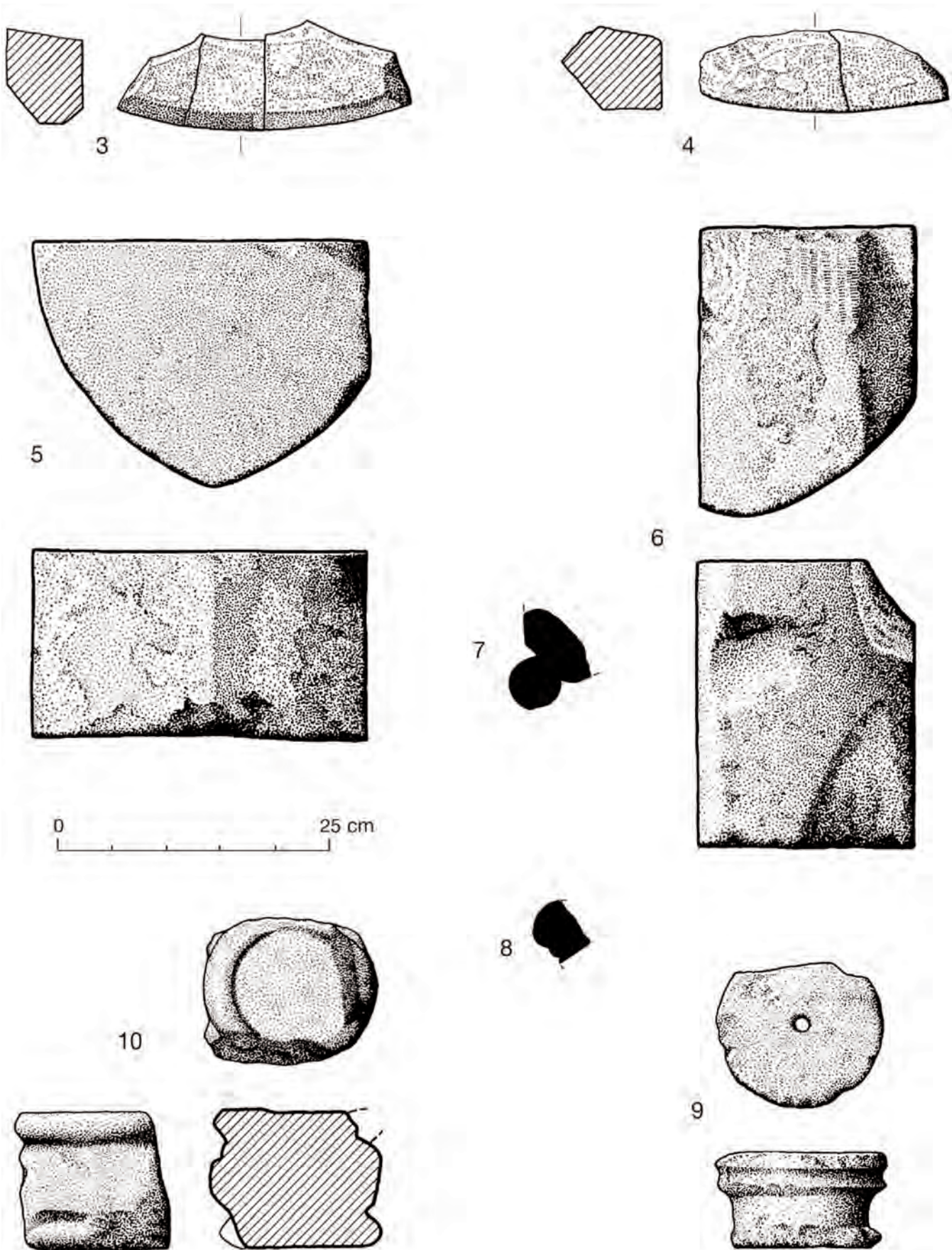


Fig. 818: Early medieval architectural fragments, nos. 3–10. Scale 1:5. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

bays 2/3 and 3/4, which have a diameter of 90 cm. All the fragments were found in a single context (F1012), a Period 8 fill in the south-west corner of the nave.

Keeled shafts (Fig. 818, 5 and 6)

Two large keeled shafts, both in LML, and both recut to make ashlar walling stones. Their profiles do not match: they were *c.* 34 cm and 38 cm across, respectively. Keeled shafts such as these are a common feature of English early Gothic, particularly of the northern region. They typically appear in clustered piers from the 1170s: *e.g.* at Byland Abbey, St Andrew's Priory, York, and Roche Abbey (Kemp and Graves 1996, 239–40). The size of the Barton examples would have produced clustered piers *c.* 1.2 m across, which would have been out of scale with St Peter's church; a more likely context for them is an arcade or chancel arch responds. Keeled shafts appear in such contexts locally: *e.g.* in the early thirteenth-century arcade responds of Thornton Curtis; at Horkstow, where they occur with circular piers; at Barrow-upon-Humber, whose south arcade has a keeled respond and piers of octagonal, circular and clustered form; and in the early Gothic chancel arch responds at Ulceby.

Moulded ?voussoir fragments (Fig. 818, 7 and 8)

Two small moulding fragments were found, both of LML, and both with possible slight curvature.

Fig. 818, 7. A projecting roll, probably an angle-roll, flanked by small hollow chamfers. This is typical of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, perhaps originating in a doorway or in a narrow aisle arcade. A similar, though much larger, moulding can be found at St James's, Grimsby (Bond 1905, 667). The St Peter's example was found in a Period 1 layer (F4714) somewhat to the north of the baptistery, in which context it must be seen as an intrusion, probably from the thirteenth- or fourteenth-century metallated surface above (F4620).

Fig. 818, 8. ?Voussoir with a bead and incomplete roll, partly covered in gesso, is harder to place, but probably also belongs to an early Gothic arch. This was found in a seventeenth/eighteenth-century posthole (F334) beneath the north arcade.

Small capital, annulet and shafts (Fig. 818, 9–10)

Fig. 818, 9. The capital is of LML, almost complete, and is for a shaft 10 cm in diameter. It is simply moulded, with a necking of pointed profile, a plain bell and a shallow hollow cut into the vertical face above; it cannot be placed with any more precision than early Gothic. Additionally, it has a central hole for a dowel drilled all the way through, almost certainly a later repair or an indicator of secondary use.

Fig. 818, 10. The annulet is for a shaft of the same diameter, and may have come from the same feature,

although in this case it is made from a very finely oolitic limestone, probably LML. It has keeled rolls at the top and bottom, but the central section is broken away. The keeled rolls make a date in the last quarter of the twelfth or the first quarter of the thirteenth century likely (Morris 1992, 5). The piece was found in the Old Vicarage garden and almost certainly came from St Mary's, where the early thirteenth-century clustered piers of the south arcade have annulets with this profile. The St Mary's annulets have a prominent, sharply keeled roll as their central moulding.

Not illus. Two fragments of shaft of LML: one is of round section, 12.5 cm diam. found in a Period 7 layer; the other has one flat surface, showing that it belonged to an attached shaft, with an original diameter of *c.* 7.5 cm. It was found in grave earth spanning many periods. The diagonal striated tooling indicates a probable late twelfth-century origin (Stocker 1999, 347–8).

Late thirteenth to mid-fourteenth century

This section includes most of the fragments which relate to the present building, and also a number of important pieces which illustrate now-missing parts of the church, most significantly the fourteenth-century chancel windows. They also include a very fine nodding-ogee canopy and a small finial, probably both originating in liturgical furniture.

Fragment with ghost-images of painted decoration (Fig. 819, 11)

Block of oolitic Lincolnshire Limestone with a chamfer and parallel incised line. Numerous dark circular marks on top indicate a row of closely spaced rosettes running parallel to the chamfer; these are ghost-images (the pigment has been lost) of a painted frieze of six-petalled rosettes, perhaps on a reveal or around a window (*cf.* remains of painted rosettes on bay 1 of the south arcade: p. 431; Pls. 44 and 45). As it now stands, the chamfer and incised line appear to be part of a plinth, perhaps for a tomb, and therefore later than the original decoration.

South aisle windows

Five pieces, of LML, can be identified as belonging to the late Geometrical windows of the south aisle. Three of them (Fig. 819, 12) are sections of hood-moulding with a simple chamfered roll, undercut by a semicircular hollow, a ubiquitous design for string-courses and hood-mouldings. One appears to be from the window in bay 1, but two apex-pieces do not match well, and could have come from the lost west or east windows of the aisle. Two further fragments must have come from lost windows: one is a complete section of tracery (Fig. 819, 13), and the other a fragment of matching vertical roll-moulding. The former was found in the sixteenth-century bell-casting pit in the tower (F511),

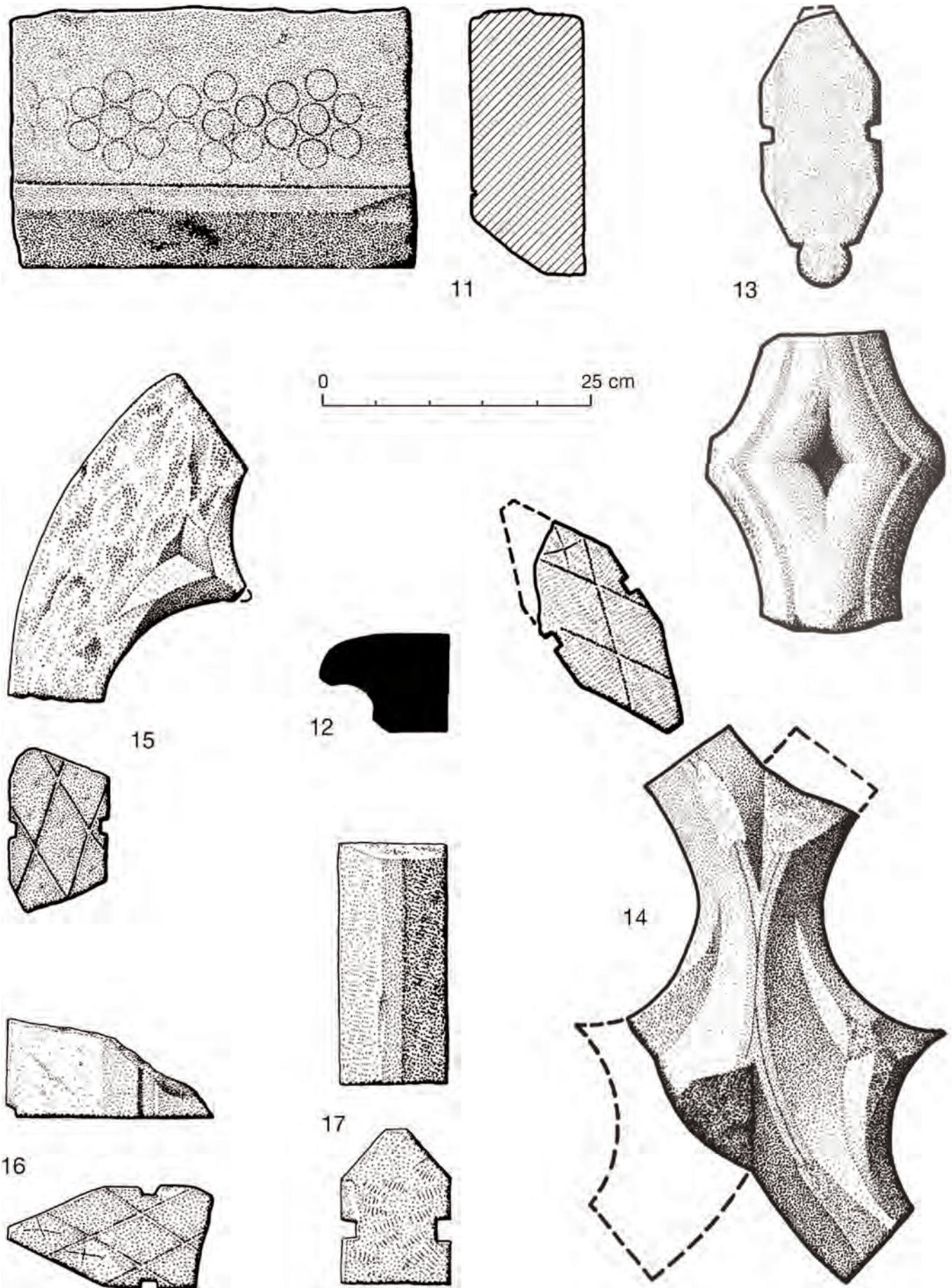


Fig. 819: Medieval architectural fragments, nos. 11–17. Scale 1:5. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

which accords well with the replacement of the east window of the south aisle at around the same time. The profile of the tracery is the same as that of the extant windows, namely a simple chamfered mullion with a prominent axial roll on the internal side. However, similar mouldings can be found over a wide area and time-span: *cf.* the plate tracery windows of St Mary's south chancel chapel. The loose piece of tracery, with two cusps projecting at right-angles from the axial mullion moulding, might seem more at home in a flowing design of the early to mid-fourteenth century, *e.g.* at the junction of two quatrefoils (*cf.* Heckington east window and Grantham south chapel: Pevsner *et al.* 1989, pls. 39, 41).

One further piece of LML moulding (not *illus.*) relates to the south aisle: a fragment of string-course, with two rolls separated by a deep hollow. It was found in the core of the fourteenth-century wall-bench of the north aisle (F455). Since the south aisle was unaltered at this time, the stone possibly came from the earlier north aisle or chapel.

North aisle windows

The mid-fourteenth-century north aisle windows have undergone substantial repairs since the late nineteenth century, resulting in a collection of loose stones. As discussed above, the tracery, mullions and rear-arches are made from oolith-poor Lincolnshire Limestone, possibly in an 'off-the-peg' manner, with the sills and hood-mouldings cut from LML. An examination of the fragments reveals some of the mason's construction techniques, in particular a distinctive mortar key on the mullion beds concentric with the stone edge, with an axial key-line inside. While there is nothing unusual about the use of keys, it is of interest here since it helps to distinguish the north aisle windows from another series of very similar fragments, discussed below (for discussion of keys, see Stocker 1999, 355). The fragments further show that the windows were subject to a number of attempts to repair them. This is evident in recut glazing grooves, hemp drilled into the soffit of one piece, but most particularly in a number of mullions sawn in half through the glazing groove. A few of the very badly decayed outer halves still survive, which were apparently replaced with sections of LML (two in the collection), prior to wholesale replacement with Lincolnshire Limestone. Nine fragments were found in late stratified contexts: four of them in late putlog blockings; four in graves; and one in a posthole.

The windows of the lost chancel (Fig. 819, 14–16)

Five fragments of oolith-poor Lincolnshire Limestone must come from the fourteenth-century chancel windows. This group is closely similar to that above, though the dimensions are not identical. At least one piece is typical of reticulated tracery, with the quatrefoils having the same radius of curvature as those in the north aisle windows. However, the tracery pieces have a narrower and deeper profile, and characteristic diamond

criss-cross keying on their beds, suggesting that they were the work of a different mason. Two of the pieces were found in a void at the top of the east end of the chancel, presumably put there as rubble when the chancel was rebuilt; and two were found in features in the tower associated with the sixteenth-century bell-foundry.

The largest fragment (Fig. 819, 14) is a nearly complete section of standard Decorated tracery, with four branches emerging from the centre. Two of the branches are longer and cusped, while the others are shorter and show no sign of cusping. It probably came from the junction between two quatrefoils in a reticulated design, although this piece would have formed more elongated quatrefoils than those in the north aisle windows. Alternatively, it could have belonged to a more creative, flowing window. One, possibly two, of the other fragments may be part of the missing long arm of no. 14. No. 15 is part of a single cusped springer, again something not found in the north aisle and suggestive of a larger and more open design (Fig. 819, 15). The last piece (Fig. 819, 16) is also part of a springer, though such a short section that no cusp is visible. From such a limited assemblage it is not possible to make a realistic reconstruction, but these may all be fragments of a lost east window.

An unassigned window (Fig. 819, 17)

Another mullion, of oolith-poor Lincolnshire Limestone, does not match either the north aisle windows or the putative chancel east window. Like them, it is very finely cut, but it is flat-backed (apparently an original feature). This mullion could suggest the presence of another window bought from the quarry in the early or mid-fourteenth century. No location for it can be suggested.

Canopy (Figs. 598 and 820, 18)

The texture of this piece varies from the fine-grained oolith-poor Lincolnshire Limestone to a coarsely oolitic variety. It consists of an ogee trefoil below a nodding-ogee canopy. At the base of the canopy on each side is a small gablet with foliage crockets and a short finial. Above the gablets, three strong, bulbous foliage crockets climb each side of the canopy, with leaves in low relief spilling out between, leading to a platform with a socket and a backplate behind, for the support of an apex figure or, more likely, a foliage finial. The entire back of the stone is broken, suggesting its origin in a wall monument rather than a free-standing structure.

Such compositions are common in the first half of the fourteenth century, although the nodding ogee makes a date after 1320 likely (Stone 1972, 130). They were used in various locations: over tombs, aumbries, piscinae, sedilia and Easter Sepulchres, as well as over statues, particularly in external locations such as buttresses. Although the carving is rather worn, an outside location at St Peter's can be ruled out, since the width

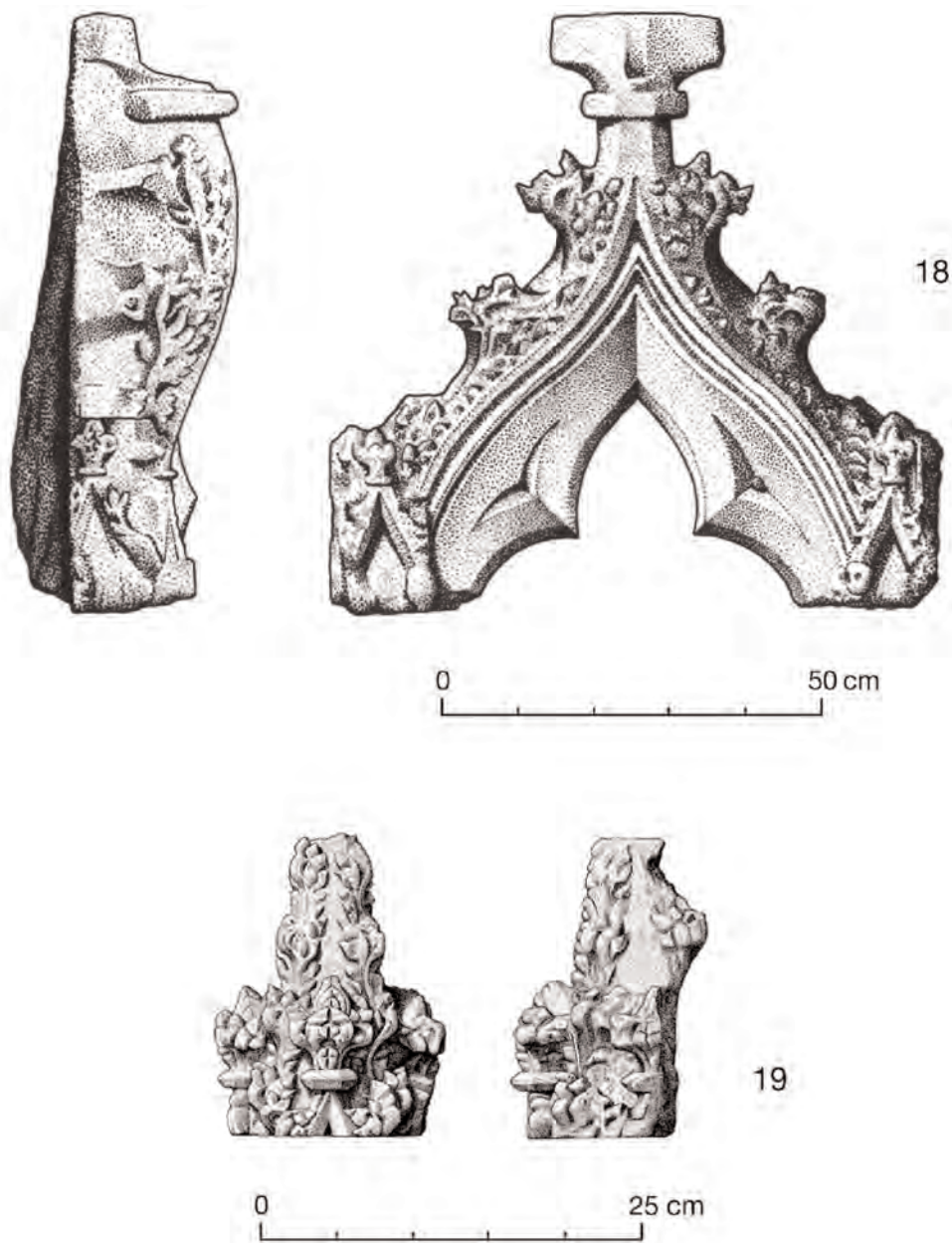


Fig. 820: Medieval architectural fragments, nos. 18–19. Scales 18, 1:10; 19, 1:5. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

of the canopy is greater than that of any extant buttress (and the fourteenth-century chancel is not likely to have had wider buttresses).⁹ Internally, a tomb location is less likely since the canopy is too narrow (although tomb canopies are sometimes sub-divided as, for instance, the tomb of Remigius in Lincoln Cathedral, c. 1300, and the possible tomb at Irnham). It is too wide for an aumbry or piscina and this leaves a location over a sedilia or Easter Sepulchre, within the lost fourteenth-century chancel most likely. Elaboration of sedilia and piscinae, in line with an elaborated liturgy was frequent at this time, while Easter Sepulchres, or tombs of Christ, were now permanently built for the first time (Sekules 1986). Only a small group of these last survive, in a region from Hawton (Notts.) to Patrington (E. Yorks.) (Stone 1972, 168–9; Sekules 1983; Sekules 1986). Easter Sepulchres were invari-

ably built as part of a suite, with the sepulchre and perhaps a tomb on the north side of the chancel and a piscina and sedilia on the south side. Piscinae and sedilia were, however, commonly built on their own, without an attendant Easter Sepulchre (as at nearby Roxby).

With no signs of iconographic figures or further elaboration above, it is likely that the St Peter's canopy comes from a fairly restrained sedilia. The Roxby example is of a similar date, and is relatively simple but it is constructed from Lower Magnesian Limestone, and the crockets are much less free and detailed. The best comparative examples are probably at Navenby and Heckington, both in South Lincolnshire (Sekules 1983, pl. LXVIa). The Navenby sedilia is as restrained as the Roxby one, but has crocket forms which are remarkably close to the Barton example, as does the

Heckington Easter Sepulchre, by the same master (Sekules 1983, 163) and, even more so, the external canopies in the buttresses at Heckington. However, as already observed (p. 792), the lithology of the stone used at Navenby is very close to that at Barton, while the Heckington stone is fully oolitic.

It may be posited that some fine liturgical furniture was made for Barton, shortly after 1320, by masons of the south Lincolnshire group. In this context it is tempting to suppose the additional presence of an Easter Sepulchre. That Navenby is one of the principal comparative churches for this finely carved piece, as well as for the north aisle windows, suggests that the latter were commissioned at the same time as the canopy.

Foliage finial (Fig. 820, 19)

This small piece is made from oolitic Lincolnshire Limestone, though with more ooliths than the foregoing examples (fine-grained with moderate ooliths). Superficially, it is similar to the gablets of the canopy discussed above. The tops of the gablets are visible on three sides, each with its own sprouting foliage finial and from within them a pinnacle emerges. Climbing foliage crockets cling to both the gablets and the pinnacle. The back is broken off, which may indicate its attachment to a wall fixture.

Compared to the gablets of the canopy this piece is more finely worked, with each leaf more fully formed and undercut, although this apparent difference may be partly due to the post-medieval wear suffered by the canopy. The leaves also have a clinging quality, compared to the canopy where the crockets are practically flying off both the arch and the gablets. These differences in workmanship strongly suggest another provenance for the finial. However, as Sekules (1983, 152) proposed for Heckington, separate sculptors could have made different pieces within a single ensemble, and thus the finial could have belonged to another item of the liturgical furniture in St Peter's. The finial was found in a Period 7 rubble layer (F5210) outside the east end of the chancel, close to its likely original location.

Block with base (Fig. 821, 20)

A fairly substantial block of LML, finely worked, with a small chamfer along its upper front edge, and the highly damaged remains of an integral base on the right-hand end (left-hand end is broken off), for a shaft of c. 22–23.5 cm in diameter. The chamfer suggests that this piece is part of the sill of a recessed feature, such as a tomb or sedilia, rather than a step. It would have had a lip at the back, which is now worked off. It probably belongs to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and could even be part of the same suite as the canopy discussed above. If so, this would be another example of the use of LML for the sill of a feature, with the details, probably brought in ready made, in the oolitic Jurassic limestone.

Corbel and label-stop fragments

Three fragments survive, of oolitic Lincolnshire Limestone.

Not illus. Part of a hand, with traces of whitewash.

Fig. 821, 21. The top of a corbel with part of an eye and conventionalized hair or head-dress. It may be a grotesque, and has on it post-medieval ochre paint.

Fig. 821, 22. Probably also part of an animal or monstrous head; it has curling hair, continued as a zigzag on the sides, spreading from around an oblong slot (probably a secondary feature: mostly filled with plaster, traces of which also survive on the surface). The absence of a properly formed mouth or ear is an oddity, and it is unfortunately impossible to determine to what this piece belonged, or even to be certain which way up it went. The emerging backplate, however, suggests that it belonged to a label-stop.

Dating these fragments is problematic as too little survives for any useful comparisons. Since the datable pieces of the same geology belong to c. 1320–50, this, along perhaps with the curling hair of no. 22, suggests that these fragments should also be assigned to that period. If so, this is of interest since the arcade heads, carved at a similar period, were made from LML, implying products of two contemporary workshops at St Peter's, or the buying-in of at least one set ready made. An origin in the chancel is again likely, especially since one fragment was found in the sixteenth-century bell-pit in the tower, which fits well with the date of destruction of the decorated chancel.

Capital

Not illus. Also of oolitic Lincolnshire Limestone, this is a badly damaged fragment, which may have had its upper part worked off, or else have been a plain integral octagonal abacus above a round capital. The capital itself has a beak for its upper unit, then a further damaged unit, perhaps a roll-and-fillet, or a scroll moulding above the familiar bell. Because it is so fragmentary and damaged, this capital is impossible to date (apart from being Gothic), and is placed here on account of its geology. If it is fourteenth century, it probably came from the chancel arch, since the nave arcades are complete and there are no other obvious options for an arch of this date. In that location, it would have provided an interesting contrast with the carved foliage capitals of the nave arcades. Since the fragment was found in the sixteenth-century bell-metal furnace, this makes an origin in the chancel more likely.

Buttress cap (Fig. 822, 23)

Of oolitic Lincolnshire Limestone, is a buttress offset with the projecting weatherings broken from each side; on the main face a projecting pointed trefoil gablet, surmounted by a fleur-de-lys finial, the top of

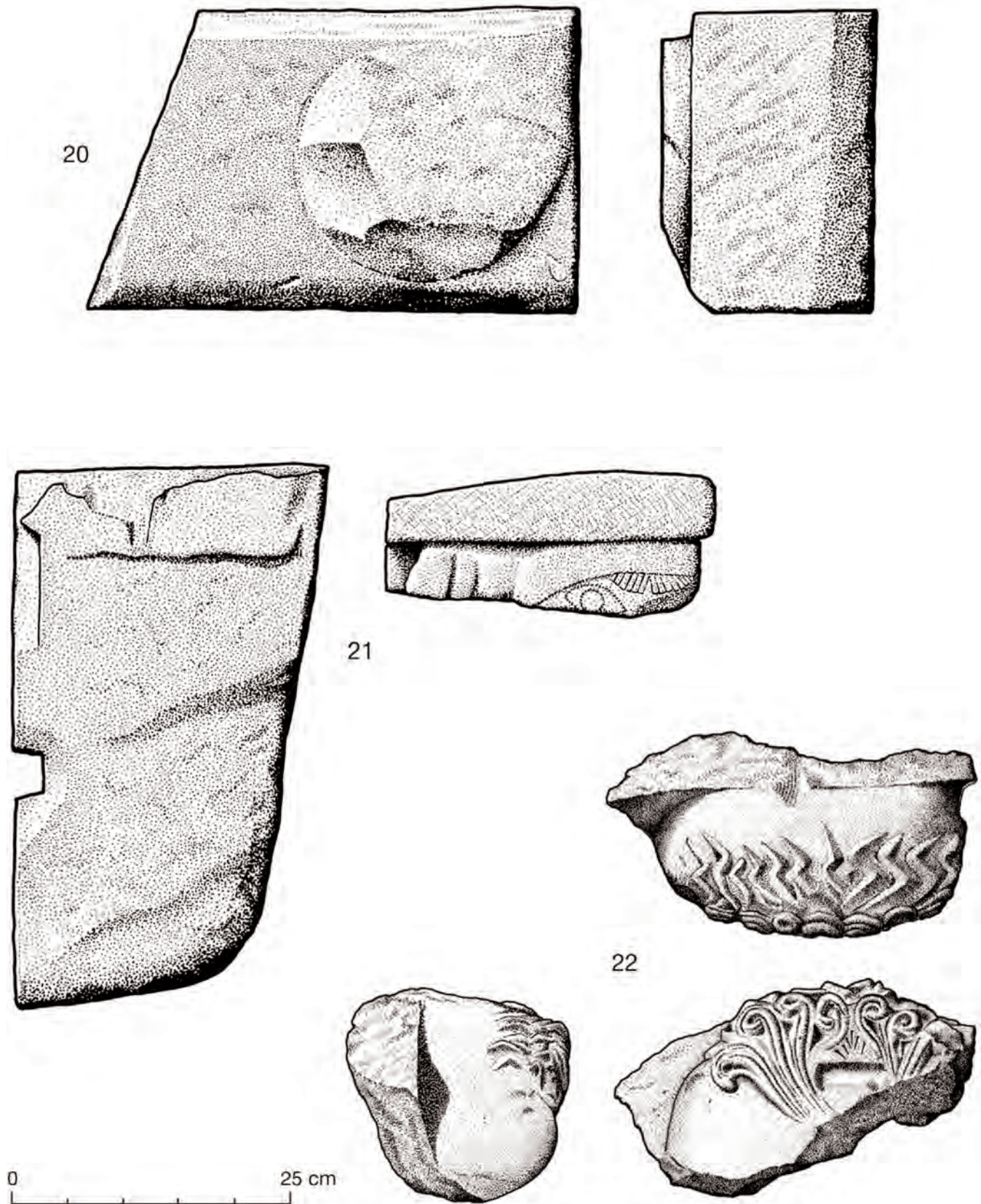


Fig. 821: Medieval architectural fragments, nos. 20–22. Scale 1:5. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

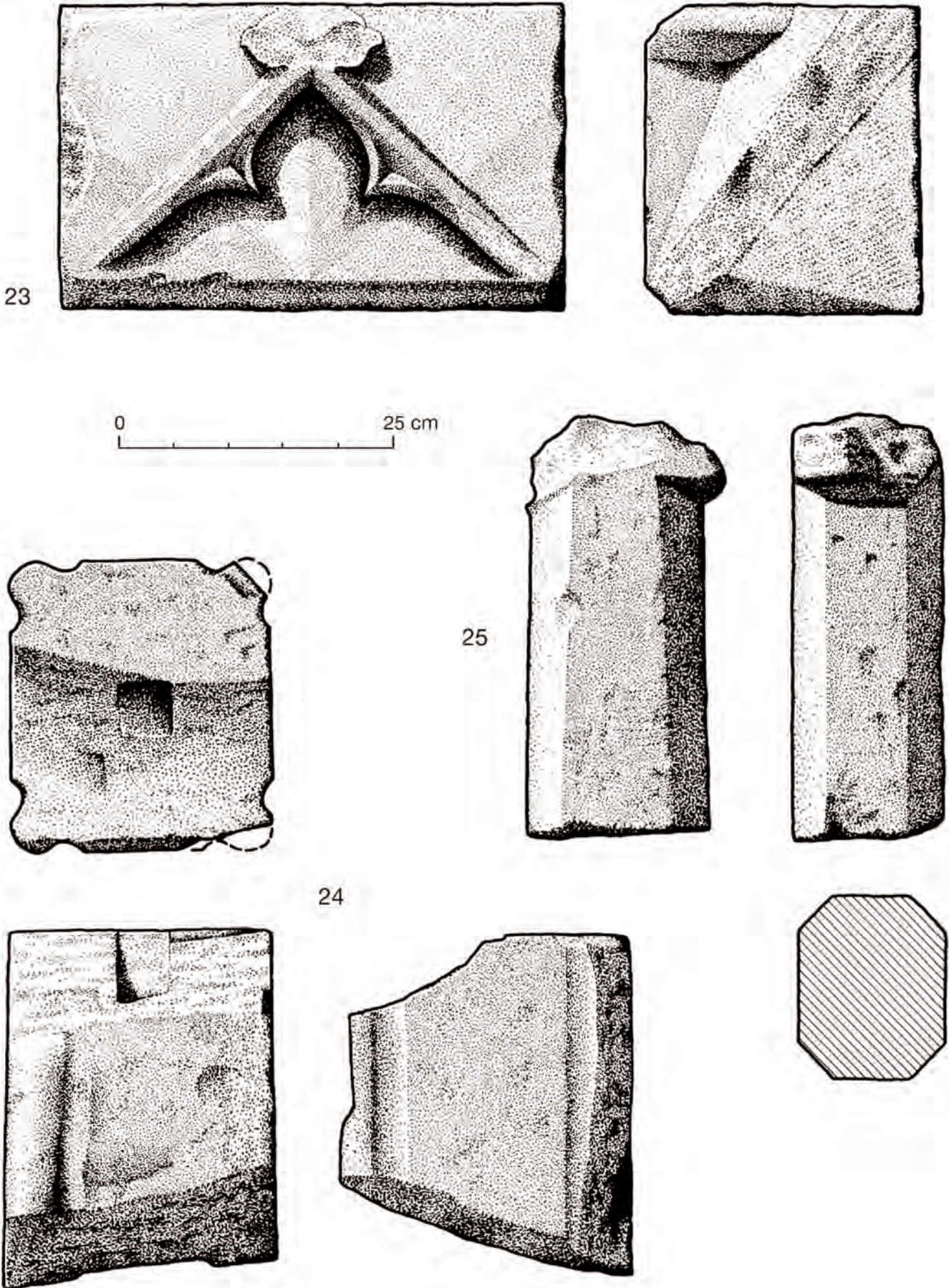


Fig. 822: Medieval architectural fragments, nos. 23–25. Scale 1:5. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

which has also been broken off. The finial contains a scroll moulding, suggesting a date between 1280 and 1340 (Morris 1979, 20–2), with the lack of an ogee in the trefoil perhaps favouring the earlier part of this period, although Stocker (1999, 316) notes the use of the scroll moulding in the early part of the thirteenth century. None of the extant buttresses at Barton has anything like this amount of detail, and it presumably also came from the early fourteenth-century chancel.

Late fourteenth to sixteenth century

Gargoyle

Two joining fragments of LML gargoyle. They are too worn to allow sufficient identification of the subject, although there is clearly a figure on top, probably a person, with its left arm stretching forwards, and its right arm passing underneath towards the left side, where a hand is visible. It is not clear what the figure lies on: it might be a barrel, or a grotesque. The lack of detail hinders dating, though it is unlikely to pre-date the fourteenth century (see Sekules 1995 for comparative early fourteenth-century examples). The likely use of oolith-poor Lincolnshire Limestone for carved features in the fourteenth-century chancel (including external ones: *e.g.* the buttress cap described above), and the lack of anything similar in the north aisle, suggests that this gargoyle is more likely to have come from the now-destroyed fifteenth-century clerestory parapet.

Cross-shaft fragments (Fig. 822)

Four fragments of medieval cross-shaft survive, all of LML. Three of them are from the same cross (Fig. 822, 24, one illustrated), with a simple roll on each corner flanked by hollows. In the top of one is a square socket for fixing the next section of shaft. This design matches the original sections of the extant churchyard cross (Fig. 673; p. 604), and the pieces are all carved from a distinctive variety of the LML, with a ‘dolomite sand’ texture. The only other place where this occurs at St Peter’s is in the late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century replacement east window of the south aisle (and a few parts of the chancel), but this is too late for the churchyard cross. Oddly, the replacement sections to this cross-shaft were all erroneously carved with quirks as well as hollows.¹⁰ The three fragments were found in nineteenth-century restoration deposits in the nave.

The fourth fragment (Fig. 822, 25) is the top of a cross-shaft, with an elongated octagonal section, and the beginnings of one of the arms. It is quite small and could be a gable-cross from a roof, or from the upper section of a modest churchyard cross. Although gable-crosses of similar design and date have been found at Mount Grace Priory and the hospital of St Giles by Brompton Bridge, both in North Yorkshire (EH archive and Hall 1995, 208–10, respectively), local examples at Roxby and Thornton Curtis are rather ornate; so too is the gable-cross on the western annexe of St Peter’s.

A churchyard location is perhaps more likely: part of a similar octagonal cross-shaft still stands in the churchyard at Barrow-upon-Humber (p. 606; Fig. 676).

Weatherings (Fig. 823, 26)

One complete section of LML parapet survives, with a typical late medieval profile; it has clearly come from the south aisle parapet, which was erected at the same time as the fifteenth-century clerestory (now lacking its parapet). Both lead straps and modern dowels have been employed in a vain attempt to retain this stone in position.

A very worn fragment of string-course of LML (not illus.), with a straight chamfer above and a shallow hollow below, is similar to, but much smaller than, the string-course beneath the sixteenth-century chancel east window.

Tracery fragments

Two fragments of LML tracery do not belong to any of the windows so far identified. The first piece has a ‘dolomite sand’ texture, and is the apex of a light with a mullion rising from it (Fig. 823, 27). The mason’s setting-out-lines are visible on the face. This piece is similar to the clerestory windows. The second fragment is similar, although it does not have the ‘dolomite sand’ texture (Fig. 823, 28). It is a straight section of mullion, smaller than the last; it has a very fine finish, hollow chamfers and sharp V-profile glazing grooves. The piece was found in the blocking of a putlog hole (F6084) in the north wall of the nave; its origin has not been deduced.

Other medieval material

This section includes pieces that are clearly medieval, but otherwise difficult to date.

Fragment from a possible altar slab (Fig. 823, 29)

Fragment of a slab of LML with a shallow sloping rebate and, on the horizontal surface, a finely chiselled cross with splayed arms, 58 mm long. The quality of the carving suggests that the stone was a late medieval *mensa* with a consecration cross, rather than an architectural fragment with a mason’s mark. The rebate may indicate that the altar top was inlaid with another stone, or represent a secondary use.

Moulding fragments

Fig. 823, 30. A roll-moulding in LML, with a diameter of c. 40 mm, may be part of a string-course. It was found in a Period 8 posthole (F20) near the west end of the nave.

Fig. 823, 31, 32. Two fragments of moulding, also in LML, appear superficially like ribs with an axial double-beaked roll. However, there is no evidence for vaulting at either St Peter’s or St Mary’s, and the context for these mouldings is unknown. Both were found in putlog-hole blockings in the north aisle.

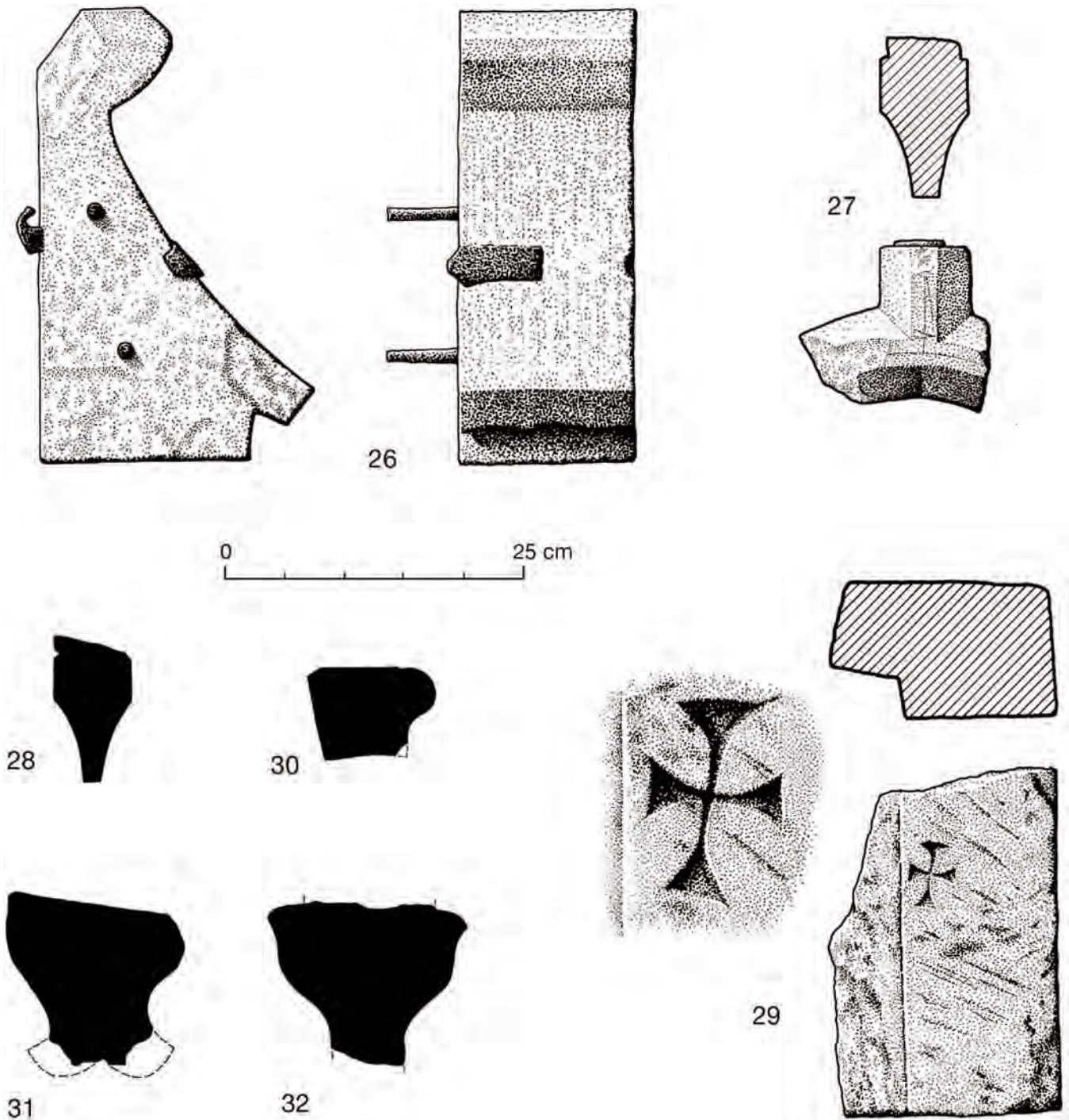


Fig. 823: Medieval architectural fragments, nos. 26–32. Scale 1:5, except cross on no. 29, $\times 3$ scale. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Fig. 824, 33. A complete section of sill with the setting for a jamb; it was found built into the west side of the chancel arch (in F6110).

Steps

Three fragments of LML were found which, from the wear patterns, indicate that they may have originated as steps. One is a complete step, measuring $72 \times 37 \times 17$ cm, with a heavily worn central section (Fig. 824, 34). It was found outside the south doorway to the tower, where it had served as a step from an early period, almost certainly the eleventh century (p. 375).

Miscellaneous

A handful of pieces defied identification, but two are nevertheless of sufficient interest to be mentioned here. All are of LML.

Fig. 824, 35. A rather complex block with chamfers along two opposing sides, and a raised central section; three of the upper corners are asymmetrically worked. This has claw, chisel and punch tooling and was found blocking a putlog-hole in the north aisle. It might be a reused fragment of parapet moulding.

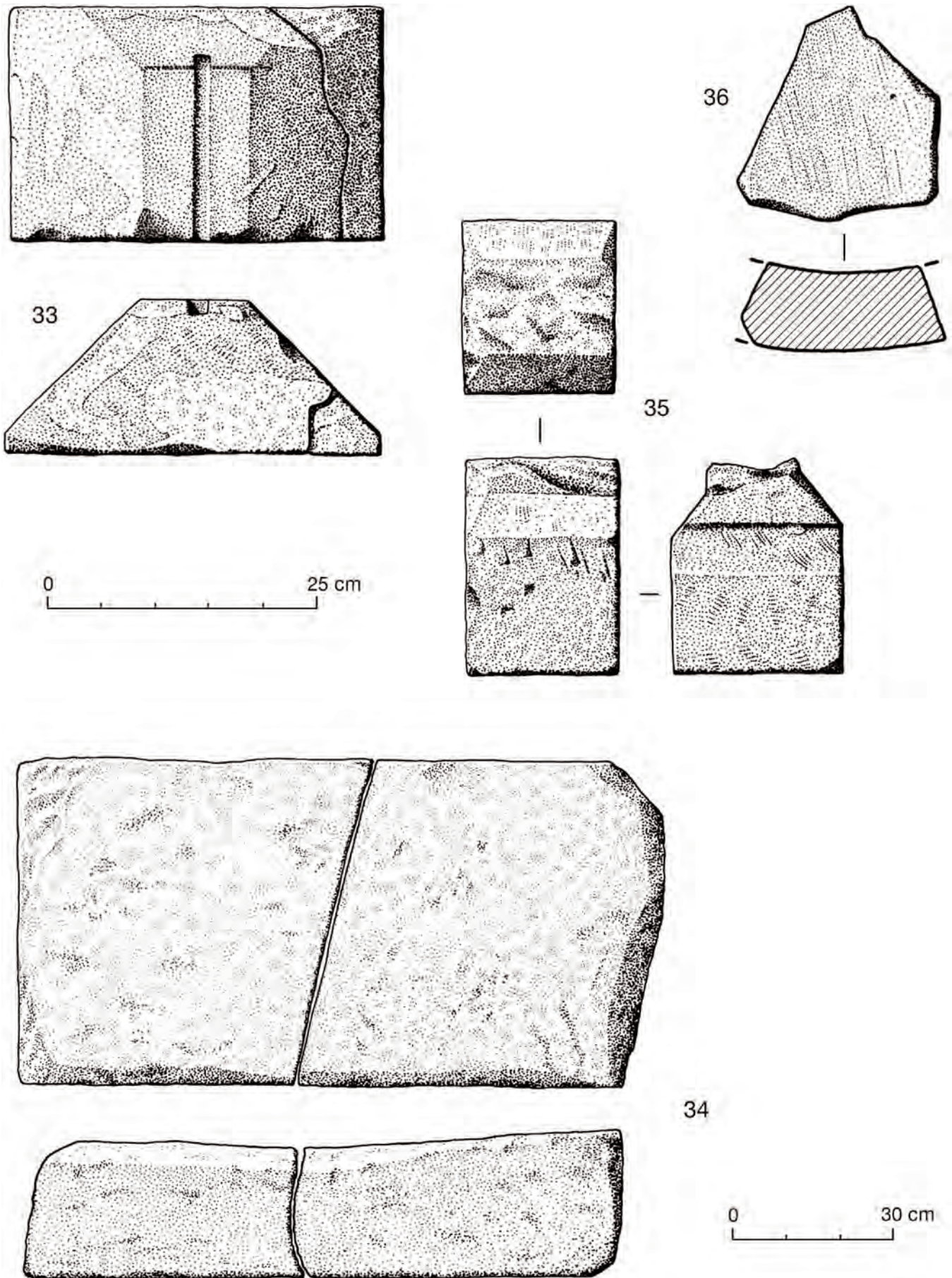


Fig. 824: Medieval architectural fragments, nos. 33–36. Scales 1:5, except 34, 1:10. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Fig. 824, 36. A curved fragment like a chimney, although rather thin, with striated tooling inside and out; no signs of burning or of the rough punched tooling usually seen on the inner surface of a chimney. From the filling of a Phase D/E grave (F3185), but must surely come from the end of that period.

Post-medieval building material

Little survives in this category and only one item is worthy of mention.

Plaster capital moulding

Not illus. This fragment of a squarish roll formed in two-coat plasterwork, with one octagonal corner, matches the astragal of some of the fourteenth-century arcade capitals, and must represent a repair to one of them, after the removal of a screen or some other attachment which had necessitated cutting into the capital in the first place. This repair can be located: it came from the first pier (bay 1/2) of the north arcade, where it has not been replaced. A few plaster repairs still survive on other piers, and possibly date from the

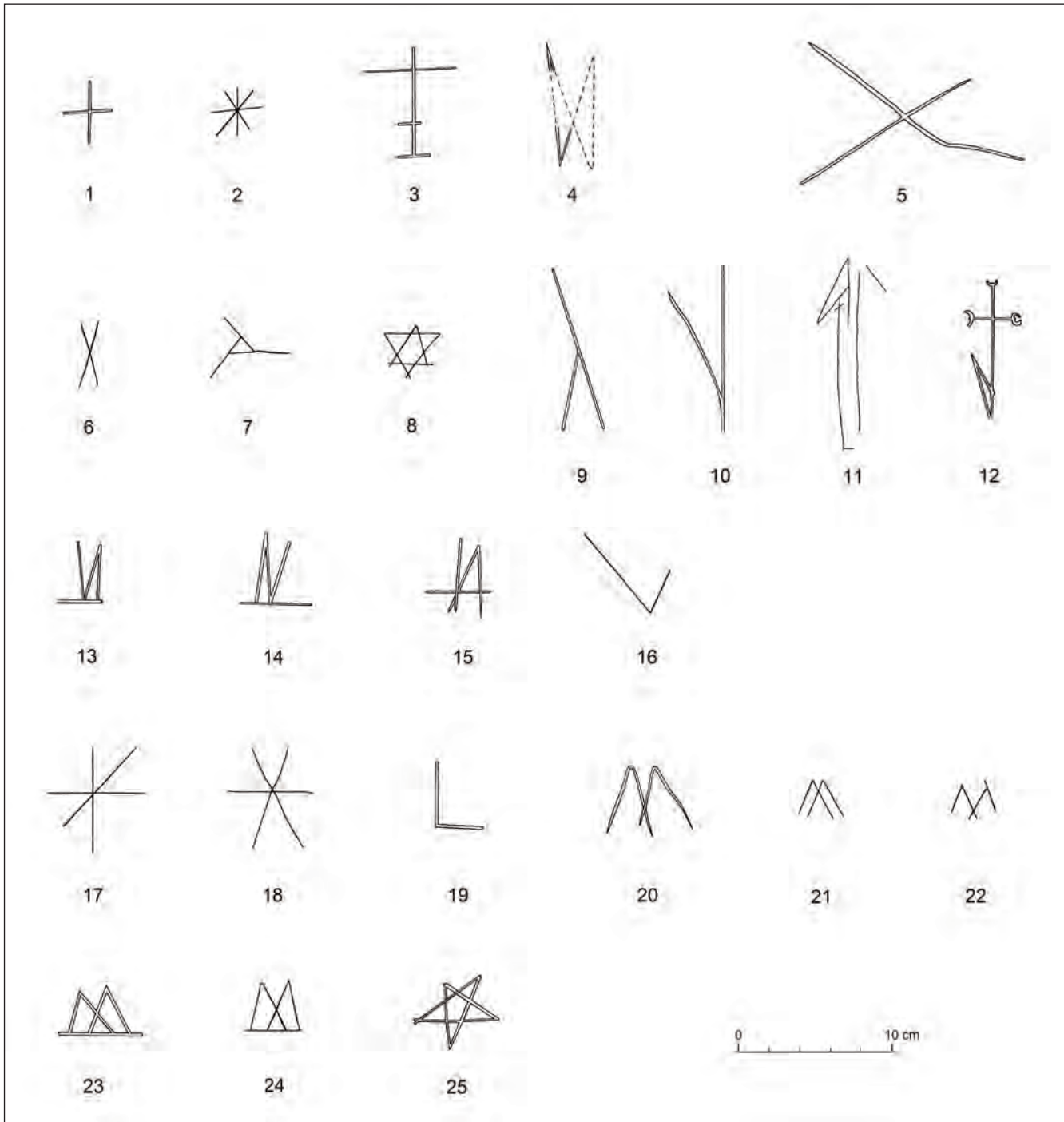


Fig. 825: Masons' marks. 1–4, Thirteenth century; 5–12, Fourteenth century (north aisle); 13–16, Fourteenth century (south aisle); 17–25, Fourteenth century (north and south aisles). Scale 1:4. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

eighteenth century; also, in the nineteenth century, small areas of damage were made good using finely oolitic Lincolnshire Limestone. This particular moulding survived because it was incorporated in the packing material behind one of the Victorian marble wall memorials which was taken down in the 1980s.

Masons' marks and graffiti

All masons' marks and graffiti observed during the investigations at St Peter's were recorded (Figs. 825–828). However, they were not numerous, owing to external weathering and internal scraping of the dressed stonework. A small cross of uncertain but early

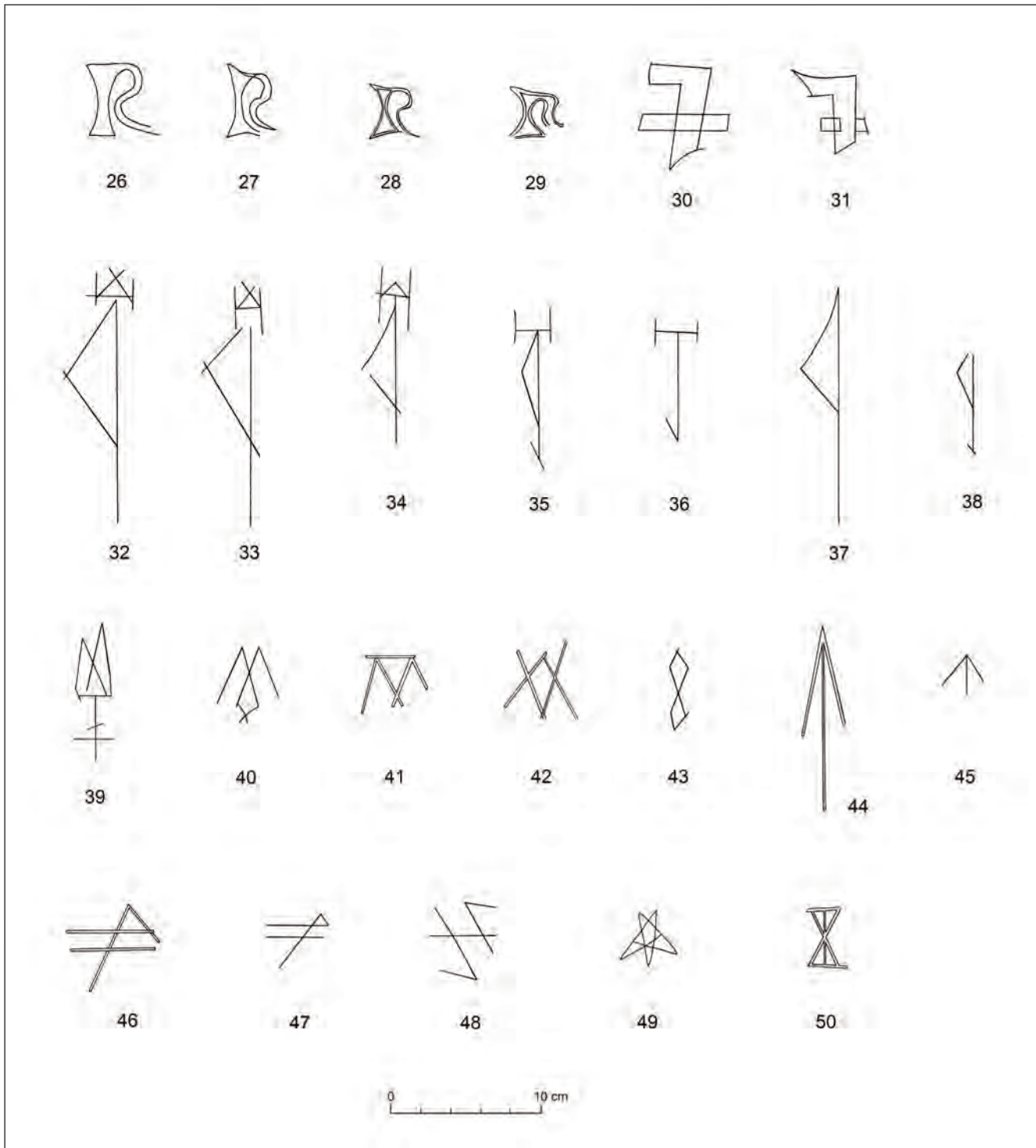


Fig. 826: Masons' marks. 26–49, Fifteenth century (clerestory and chancel); 50, Late fifteenth century (south aisle). Scale 1:4. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 827: Masons' marks. 1, Ligatured initials 'IR'; 2, A crude copy of the same initials, perhaps by an apprentice; 3, Double lozenge. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

date, incised in the north doorway of the tower, has already been noted (Fig. 57, 1). Otherwise, the earliest marks were found in the south aisle, where they dated from the later thirteenth century (Fig. 825, nos. 1–4). Fourteenth-century marks occurred on the arches and piers of the nave arcades (nos. 6–25), but were seemingly absent from the windows and north doorway, except for a single, crude cross on the latter (no. 5). In the fifteenth century, masons' marks were more prolific, and it seems that almost every moulded stone in the chancel arch and clerestory windows originally bore one (Fig. 826, nos. 26–50). The jambs and heads of the Perpendicular windows were also marked, along with the two piers that were renewed in the north arcade (p. 468), and the inserted eastern respond of the south arcade. Elaborate letters and numerals rank among the marks; these include the ligatured initials 'IR' and the Arabic numeral '7' (Figs. 826 and 827).

A record of masons' marks in St Mary's church was compiled in 1961, but the authorship is unknown.¹¹ Unfortunately, no annotations or locations for the marks are given.

The masonry just inside the fourteenth-century doorway leading from the chancel to the vestry carries a plethora of lightly incised lines, mostly forming no intelligible patterns. The two exceptions comprise a crude and incomplete gaming board, and a small, narrow-waisted figure of a man with outstretched arms (Fig. 828, no. 54). It bears some resemblance to the fifteenth-century graffito of a knight in Goxhill church (Pritchard 1967, 121, fig. 156). Two of the pier bases of the north arcade carry individual marks, which appear to be additions made *in situ*, and not masons' marks (nos. 51–52): one is a later medieval cross.

Also worth mentioning are the initials 'RW' cut on a tie-beam in the south porch: from their position it can be deduced that they relate to the construction of the roof. Hence, these are presumably the initials of a fifteenth-century carpenter (Fig. 828, no. 53). Finally, there are several post-medieval graffiti, cut by bell-ringers, in the small area of surviving ancient wallplaster in the ringing-chamber of the tower.

Ceramic Building Materials: Brick and Tile¹²

by John Tibbles

In total, 774 fragments of ceramic building material (brick and tile), weighing 473.61 kg, were submitted for examination, and a detailed report is lodged in the site archive. Considerable diversity of size and colour within the brick and tile was noted, which was caused during the manufacturing process, and which must be taken into consideration when comparing examples within collected assemblages and local typologies. The differing sizes and colours can be attributed to the variation in the clays used, shrinkage during drying, firing in the kiln or clamp, and the location of the brick/tile

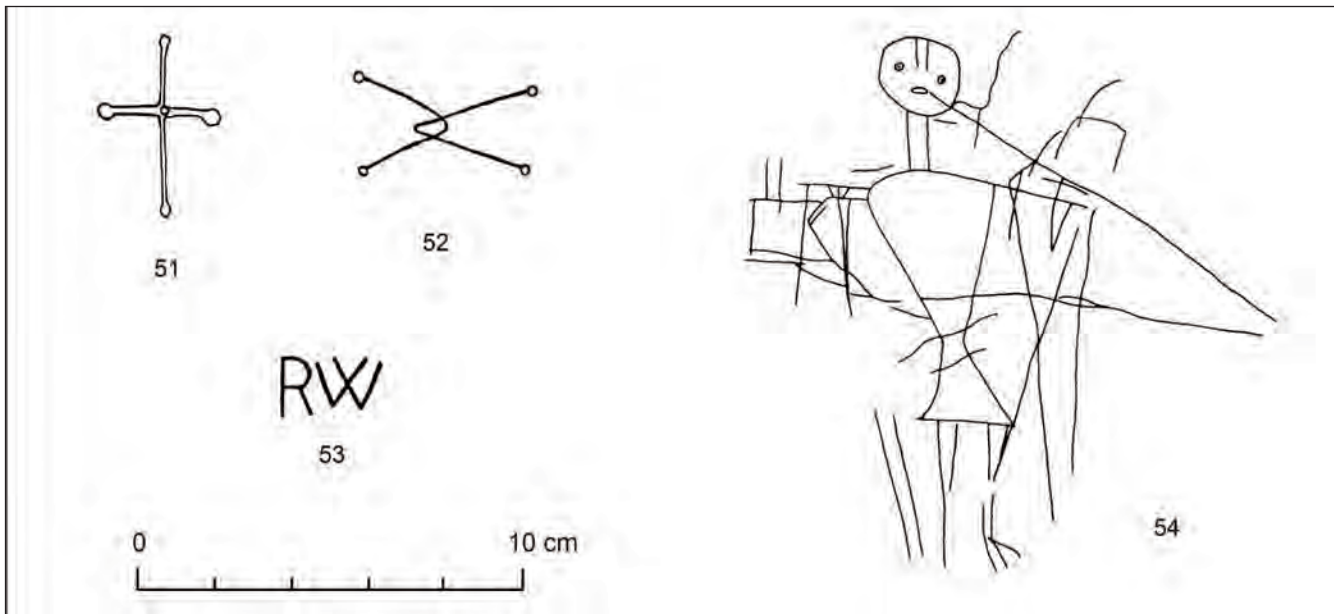


Fig. 828: Medieval graffiti. 51–52, North arcade plinths; 53, South porch roof (tie beam); 54, Vestry doorway (east reveal). Scale 1:2. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

within the kiln. Where possible, the identified material was compared with the existing regional typology.¹³

At least ten fabrics were recognized in the assemblage, all of a relatively similar nature and manufactured from estuarine clays found in both the Humber region and the Low Countries.¹⁴

Origins of the brick and tile

Only a small amount of residual Romano-British tile was found during excavation at St Peter's, although tegulae and imbrices were recovered from a substantial Roman settlement one kilometre to the east (Steedman 1992); there was a smaller assemblage from the Barrow Road excavations,¹⁵ and finds of tiles were reported from nearby East Acridge in 1967–68 (p. 150). The only fragment examined by the present writer displayed a single non-combed face and rounded corner associated with box-flue tiles.¹⁶

At present, the manufacturing source of medieval and later bricks is unresolved. Barton had all the basic necessities for brick making (clay, water and turf for fuel) but no evidence has yet been forthcoming for the manufacture of brick in the post-Roman period, until the eighteenth century. However, nearby Thornton Abbey has large pits described as clay pits within its precinct, suggesting possible brick and tile production (Brooks 1939), and Meaux Abbey (E. Yorks.) was manufacturing brick, roof and floor tile by the late thirteenth century (Eames 1961). It is likely that these sites may have been selling their surplus, Meaux being competitive on account of the easy access to water transportation.

A *tegularius*, or tiler, was mentioned in Beverley in 1202 and it is probable that roof tiles were being produced there in the mid-to-late twelfth century

(Armstrong 1991), and bricks by the mid-thirteenth century, with manufacture continuing throughout the medieval period and down to the twentieth century. The products were exported via the rivers Hull and Humber. The new town-hall in Grimsby was constructed at the turn of the fifteenth century using tiles brought from Beverley (Gillett 1970, 41). Hull was also producing bricks from at least 1303 until the early fifteenth century, and may be considered a likely source for the earlier bricks at Barton. The demise of Hull's brick industry in *c.* 1423 gave Beverley an open field to export its brick and tile throughout the Humberside region.

The importation of brick from the Low Countries into England, from the late thirteenth century, is well documented (Clifton-Taylor 1987; Ryan 1996), and this continued until the nineteenth century, when importation of the smaller Dutch *clinkaert* ceased (Tibbles 2001).

The brick assemblage

The majority of the brick assemblage bore evidence of hand-moulded manufacture which included straw impressions, trimmed lips, rain pitting, strike marks and, from the drying stage, animal impressions and impressed lithics. Less than 2% of the assemblage showed residual moulding sand on the bricks, indicating that they were manufactured in the slop-moulded method without sand. At least two wooden mould impressions were evident along the upper edges of the bricks where the protruding lip resulting from the brick's removal from its mould had been levelled off.¹⁷ The full depth of the mould side was visible, indicating that it was manufactured from timber $\frac{1}{2}$ – $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in thickness. The brickmaker's fingerprints were evident

Table 43: Site brick typology

<i>Site type</i>	<i>Length mm</i>	<i>Width mm</i>	<i>Thickness mm</i>	<i>Fabrics</i> ¹⁸
A	280–290	135–140	50–60	F1, F2
B	265–270	130–140	50–60	F1, F2
C	255–260	125–135	50–60	F1, F2
D	250	125–135	50–60	F1, F2, F4
E	230–245	110–135	50–60	F1, F2

on several examples, and on one brick the heel of a hand was visible. Many of the bricks had been finished with a pale slip and in two cases the applying brush-marks were evident. The slip, generally a mixture of clay and water, was coated on brick and tile to give an acceptable finish by hiding blemishes and minor cracks.

The assemblage has been categorized into five site-types, A–E (Table 43).

Although displaying varied dimensions, Types B, C and D fit within the regional typology, Type 3, at opposing ends of the size range (length 245–265 mm; width 117–137 mm).

Discussion

Dating bricks is contentious, owing to their frequent reuse as a valuable building commodity. At York, in 1505, bricks were standardized at $10 \times 5 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ ins ($254 \times 127 \times 63$ mm); in 1571 Parliament decreed that the size of a brick should be $9 \times 4\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ ins ($230 \times 115 \times 56$ mm); and again in 1725 that the brick size should be $9 \times 4\frac{1}{2} \times 2$ ins ($230 \times 115 \times 50$ mm). It should be noted that although the statutes were binding, it would be naïve to suppose that brickmakers always adhered strictly to these sizes.

The larger Type A bricks are comparable to examples recorded at Thornton Abbey (Lloyd 1925) and the Augustinian Priory excavations at Hull (Tibbles forthcoming a), while slightly thinner bricks with dimensions of $280 \times ? \times 45$ mm were recorded in the fabric of the North Bar at Beverley.¹⁹

The slightly smaller examples belonging to Type B are comparable with bricks recorded in fourteenth/fifteenth-century contexts at Liberty Lane, Hull (Tibbles 2000b). Within the regional brick typology, the dimensions of Type 4 bricks are recorded as $260\text{--}270 \times 125\text{--}137 \times 55\text{--}62$ mm, and have been noted in fourteenth-century and later contexts.

The east wall of the south aisle of St Peter's displays a near-complete face of Type B bricks of fairly consistent size ($266\text{--}273 \times 127 \times 51\text{--}57$ mm) with several repairs that incorporate Type A bricks (p. 478; Fig. 561). The clerestory and east gable of the nave are constructed of Type C/D bricks ($250\text{--}260 \times 125\text{--}135 \times 45\text{--}50$ mm) (p. 460; Fig. 541). In the north porch the majority of the brickwork is of Type E bricks, the smallest recorded in the assemblage.

The high value placed upon brick as a building material is evident by its continual reuse and reworking into later structures. Examples of brick with bevelled arrises along one stretcher were recorded (pit F511), the result of constant wear from animal hooves; these would have originated from a yard, barn or stable. Also displaying evidence of wear, but in this case through human foot-traffic, were twenty-nine fragments of brick all showing a single stretcher worn to a relatively smooth surface, leaving the arrises intact. These bricks represent internal floor and threshold surfaces, polished smooth by constant foot-traffic.

Twelve examples of bricks (from F522) displayed a single chamfered arris, commonly used in wall-thickness reductions, and buttresses. The chamfers were formed by crudely chipping away the stretcher edge on a regular-shaped brick, post-firing. This resulted in a poor appearance and therefore it may be assumed that such bricks were not intended to be visible, but were perhaps plastered.

At least six bricks from Periods 7–8 retained evidence of render, ranging from white, through pinkish-white/grey, to reddish-brown; the last was subsequently sealed by a dull white wash. Excavations at the Augustinian Priory, Hull, recorded several examples of pale rendering on brickwork in late medieval contexts (Tibbles forthcoming a). Red ochre pigment and size, traditionally known as 'ruddle', was used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Suffolk to decorate internal brickwork, particularly hearth stacks (Easton 1986).

Several bricks exhibited vitrified headers that resulted from their manufacture, either intentionally or not. Others may represent the internal fabric of brick kilns or furnaces. The Period 7 bell-metal furnace (F529) had been constructed from bricks of Type C ($260 \times 125\text{--}135 \times 60$ mm), with repairs of poorly manufactured bricks including a single example of Type A.

Bricks from various contexts displayed residual lead and copper adhesions, and three of the hearths found inside the church (F36, F245 and F593) were constructed from reused brick. Hearths F36 and F245 (Period 8) incorporated Type E bricks, which displayed frequent adhesions from copper and lead smelting. The earlier hearth F593 (Period 7) had been constructed from part-bricks of Types D and E of poor quality; no industrial residues were visible on their surfaces.

From the backfill of grave F410 several non-diagnostic fragments of brick were recovered, of which one fragment showed an olive-brown glaze smear. The glaze on this brick was not intentional but was the result of pottery glazing, suggesting that it had originated from the fabric, possibly the floor, of a pottery kiln. Similar dribbles and smears have been found on floor bricks derived from demolished pottery kilns at Beverley (Tibbles 2000a, 29).

Seven fragments of brick bore evidence of possible tally marks; these were applied to the surface by brick-makers to represent a batch or specific number of

bricks. All the examples were of a similar type, represented by one or more diagonal strokes made with a finger (Tibbles forthcoming a).

Animal impressions were identified on the surface of bricks used in Phase 8 pew platform foundations (F914). These were identified as a late-adolescent medieval domesticated pig (*Sus scrofa*),²⁰ which evidently found its way into the tilery.

The roof tile assemblage

No complete example of a roof tile was recovered, nor one which displayed either the complete length or width; therefore all information has been heavily biased towards physical appearance, suspension, fabric and thickness.²¹

Flat roof tile

Manufacturing techniques were still discernible on many examples of roof tile. There was no moulding sand evident, suggesting slop-moulding. However, the majority of fragments showed no moulding lips, although mould impressions of 20 mm and 32 mm were evident on some examples. Generally the tiles were well made with sharp arrises.

Only two types of flat roof tile were identified from their suspension nibs. Both types are common throughout the Humberside region and have been recorded from late twelfth-century contexts at Beverley and thirteenth-century contexts at Hull (Armstrong and Armstrong 1987; Armstrong 1991). In 1987, excavations at Beverley identified at least one source of manufacture for these tiles on the northern bank of the beck.²² Archaeomagnetic dating of the kilns yielded a last-firing date of *c.* 1240. Similar tiles have also been identified from their distinctive nibs throughout the Humberside region.

Further types of flat roof tiles were also evident and were identified from their suspension holes, both square and round. The round peg-holes had a diameter of 16 mm, while the square peg-holes showed sizes of 8 mm, 10 mm, 12 mm and 15 mm; occasionally the square holes were punched obliquely to form a diamond shape. A single square or round peg-hole could relate to a number of different tile types, and cannot therefore be closely dated. The thickness of the roof tiles ranged between 12 mm and 20 mm, with 15 mm being the most common. No examples of glazed roof tile were recorded.

Ridge-tile

Seventeen examples of ridge-tile were recorded from contexts spanning Periods 5–7. All the fragments were plain, with no glaze or decoration. Thickness varied from 18–24 mm, with a mean of 20 mm. None of the examples could be classified as ventilator ridge-tile from the diagnostic dimensions recorded. Such tiles are common from the twelfth century onwards in the region (Armstrong 1991).

Hip-tile

A single hip-tile was recorded in a Period 8 context, suggesting residuality: it was probably imported to the site from a nearby building (*e.g.* Tyrwhitt Hall).

Discussion

In comparison to the roof area, the amount of flat roof tile recovered was exceptionally small, and it is likely that the church roofs were covered in materials such as lead or wooden shingles. Pantiles on the north porch and plain tiles on the western annexe were probably not introduced before the eighteenth century. The small amount of ridge-tile and hip-tile also suggests that the ceramic roofing material was imported from outside the churchyard for secondary uses, such as making paths. The overwhelming majority of the tile recovered came from paths and dumps of rubble around the east end of the church, adjacent to Tyrwhitt Hall (which has extensive tiled roofs).

The lack of variation in the medieval flat roof tiles suggests that they came from only a few sources of manufacture and were imported into the town. Near-identical tiles have been recorded throughout the Humberside region and their source is likely to have been Hull or Beverley. A few tile ‘seconds’ were identified by their stone-like fabric, or partial vitrification, but they could still have been laid with little difficulty alongside good tiles. The comparative lack of non-usable wasters (only two fragments in the assemblage) also suggests that the tiles were imported from an external source and not made locally.

Albeit that tile manufacture is documented at Barton from the turn of the eighteenth century (Holm 1976), the industry did not flourish until the mid-century when pantiles and land drains were manufactured. Although there is evidence for the importation of Flemish floor tiles (p. 812), there is no indication in the assemblage of brick and roof tile for importation from the Low Countries. That roof tile (pantile) was imported from the Low Countries from the late sixteenth century is well attested (Lucas 1998), and until its manufacture in this country began around the turn of the eighteenth century, the majority of tile imported would have passed through Hull and the ports of eastern England (Neave 1991).

Floor Tiles²³

by Jennie Stopford

(incorporating the results of analyses by Alan Vince)

The large assemblage of floor tiles from St Peter’s provided a rare opportunity to analyze a variety of types from a substantial and high-quality excavation of a parish church. Following excavation, Paul Drury carried out an initial appraisal of the floor tile assemblage in 1984 and several different types were identified,

the predominant being plain-glazed tiles that were thought, on typological grounds, to have been imported from the Netherlands in the medieval and post-medieval periods. A much smaller collection of English tiles, including a few decorated examples, was also recovered. The floor tiles from St Peter's were compared with those from other sites in a study of assemblages from across the north of England (Stopford 2005, 48–9, 67–8, 213–18, 221, 276). Further study, including fabric analysis of a sample of the tiles by Inductively Coupled Plasma Spectrometry (ICPS) and thin-section petrology, was carried out by Dr Alan Vince.²⁴ Recording of the physical attributes of the tiles followed a published methodology (Stopford 1990).

Most contexts with *in situ* paving showed a clear predominance of one tile type and, on this basis, tile groups were allocated to specific areas of paving or zones in the church. Areas with a mixture of several tile types, and without a coherent layout, were interpreted as instances where tiles had been reused. The sequence for the tile groups, their dating, and the layout of the various pavements in the church, were established as far as possible. The origins of the floor tiles were considered through comparison of their visible physical characteristics and chemical analysis of the tile fabrics.

The floor tile assemblage

The loose assemblage comprised over 2,883 floor tiles. The great bulk of the material was plain-glazed. Only six tiles or fragments had patterned decoration, made using either line-impressed or two-colour techniques. The condition of the assemblage was poor, with only about 25% of pieces having one or both complete upper-surface dimensions (*i.e.* a half-tile, or bigger: *c.* 683 tiles). In addition, 66% of the assemblage was completely worn, while only a little slip or glaze survived on the upper surfaces of most of the rest of the tiles. Only 6% of the assemblage retained most of the original slip and glaze. The general condition indicates that the tiles were in use over a long period and that some were reused. Less worn examples from early phases of paving might, for example, have been relaid in more prominent positions at a later date. Eleven per cent of tile pieces had mortar on upper surface and broken edges, showing that much material was subsequently incorporated in builders' rubble, make-up layers, etc.

In addition to the loose assemblage, some of the tiles from the excavations were reset in 1984 on a dais at the east end of the north aisle. These consist mainly of unglazed, post-medieval tiles of Group 10 (Pl. 62), but there is also an area of forty-eight unworn tiles of Group 5 in the south-west corner (Pl. 61). These tiles are laid in alternating sets of four of each colour, reflecting the layout of the tiles found under the plinth of the chancel screen.

Tile groups

On typological grounds, the assemblage could be divided broadly into two: tiles thought to be imported from the Netherlands (often called Flemish tiles) and those made in England. The Flemish types accounted for the great bulk of the material (98%). The tiles were further divided into seventeen groups on the basis of their physical characteristics, in an attempt to identify the products of different workshops, and the material used in different phases of flooring in the church. The seventeen groups were subsequently rationalized to thirteen, as discussed below. A total of 780 tiles in the loose assemblage could be assigned to specific tile groups and these form the basis of much of the following analysis.

Imports: medieval Flemish tiles

The tiles identified as being of medieval Flemish type were plain-glazed, either yellow or dark brown/black/green. The yellow tiles were coated with a thin 'slip', or white clay in solution, before being covered with a lead glaze. The dark coloured tiles were glazed directly over the red clay quarry.

These tiles are distinguished by the nail holes visible on their upper surfaces.²⁵ The nail holes had been caused by the tilers using a wooden block with nails driven through it, either as a form for cutting out the quarries or for moving the quarries around. The nail holes are small, usually *c.* 2 mm in diameter, and are not always visible. They often become filled with slip on the yellow examples or can be completely worn away. They are also not always distinguishable from abrasion or voids in tile fabrics. The clearest indication is where the glaze has run down into the hole, as seen in section in Pl. 59. This shows that the nail hole was made before the glaze was applied and the tile fired. Nail holes may be found in the centre and/or in some or all of the corners of the tiles. At St Peter's five nail holes were apparent in all the medieval groups of Flemish tiles (one in the centre and one at each corner), while there were only four (one in each corner) on the post-medieval examples (see further below). Where five nail holes were visible on tiles of the same size, tracings of their layout showed that some of the tiles had been made using the same wooden block.

Other features of these Flemish tiles were their oxidized (red or orange) fabrics and the glaze, which had a high gloss and tended to flake away from the body as it became worn. On yellow examples, the slip brushed onto the quarries was sometimes so thin or carelessly applied that it did not properly coat them. As a result, the glaze fired to a different colour over the slip and over the quarry fabric, giving a streaked brown and yellow appearance. Incised on the underside of one fragment was an incomplete batch mark, a cross-in-circle (Fig. 829, 5).

Tiles with these Flemish characteristics occurred in a range of different sizes and were initially divided, by size, into nine groups. The groups are listed in Table 44.

The following analysis excludes *c.* 1,500 fragments that were of Flemish type but could not be assigned to a specific size group.

It is apparent from Table 44 that the great majority of the Flemish tiles were of the smaller sized groups (Groups 1, 2, 5 and 6: *c.* 626 examples). There were *c.* 121 examples of the larger sized tiles (Groups 3, 4, 7, 8 and 9). Most of the tiles were of similar thickness, with those of Groups 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 3 and 4 measuring 20–30 mm.

It can be seen that the upper surface dimensions overlapped between groups. In particular the differences between Groups 1, 2, 5 and 6 were unclear, with the dimensions merging into a continuum (*c.* 105–125 mm). Work on a regional study of tiles from all sites in the north of England between the Humber and the Scottish border has suggested that variations during manufacture could result in differences of at least 10 mm in the upper surface dimensions of tiles of the same group (Stopford 2005). On this basis, the three tiles of Group 1 at Barton are thought to be outliers to Group 2 and, similarly, the twenty-three tiles of Group 6 outliers to Group 5. It is, however, likely that there was a real distinction in manufacture between Groups 2 and 5, although it is difficult to identify precisely where this should be drawn. This is an important issue because these tile groups made up a large proportion of the assemblage (75%) and must represent major phases of tiling. The question was largely resolved when the groups were considered in relation to the contextual information and with reference to the results of scientific fabric analysis (see below).

Table 44: Medieval Flemish tiles grouped by size (excluding obvious outliers)

Group no.	Upper surface dimensions of complete tiles (mm)	Depth (mm)	Approx. no. of tiles
1	103–109 (<i>c.</i> 105)	23–26 (<i>c.</i> 25)	3
2	110–118 (<i>c.</i> 114)	18–26 (<i>c.</i> 22)	371
5	114–123 (<i>c.</i> 118)	22–28 (<i>c.</i> 24)	229
6	122–126 (<i>c.</i> 124)	22–29 (<i>c.</i> 25)	23
9	147	29	1
3	176–187 (<i>c.</i> 180)	25–30 (<i>c.</i> 27)	9
4	220–225 (<i>c.</i> 222)	28	3
8	<i>c.</i> 220	36–46 (<i>c.</i> 40)	21 (all fragments)
7	235–255 (<i>c.</i> 245)	28–42 (<i>c.</i> 35)	87

The numbers of larger sized Flemish tiles in groups other than 7 and 8 were very small, with a single extant tile of 147 mm (nominally Group 9), and only a few examples assigned to Groups 3 and 4. The distinctions between some groups, particularly where they are based on the depth of the tiles, may be illusory. For example, Groups 4 and 8 had similar upper surface dimensions but different depths. The considerable variation in depth (28–42 mm) apparent among some well-defined Group 7 tiles suggests that depth could vary considerably within groups of larger tiles. If differences in depth between Groups 4 and 8 were not significant, then these two groups might be merged. It is also possible that upper surface dimensions varied by a greater margin among the larger sized tiles than among their smaller counterparts.

Imports: post-medieval Flemish tiles

Tiles of Group 10 are also thought to be imported, but to be of post-medieval date. These tiles were never glazed but they were fired so that half were oxidized (red or pink in colour) while the remainder were reduced (grey in colour). They had large nail holes (*c.* 6 mm diameter) in all four corners (but not in the centre) of their upper surfaces. The tiles measured *c.* 220 mm across and 25–30 mm thick (averaging *c.* 27 mm). One example was inscribed ‘T L / 1762’, scratched into the clay after firing (Figs. 829, 6, and 830; see also p. 541).

Two small fragments of blue-and-white Delftware were also found (Group 17). Tiles of this type were imported in large numbers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Similar material was made in England (especially at Lambeth near London, as well as Bristol and Liverpool) but ease of access suggests that examples found at Barton would probably be Dutch imports.

Medieval tiles made in England

Some much smaller groups, interpreted as English tiles, are listed in Table 45. These do not have the nail holes of their supposedly Flemish counterparts, and they tend to have a partly or completely reduced (grey) fabric that contains little grog (ground up pre-fired clay). The characteristics of these groups varied more widely than the Flemish types, although the small sample sizes made generalization difficult. The four examples of Group 14 included two designs (Fig. 829, 1–2). The tiles of design 1 had never been glazed, but this may have been accidental since tiles of this design

Table 45: The extant assemblage of English tiles at St Peter’s

Group no.	Upper surface dimensions (mm)	Depth (mm) +fragments	No. of tiles
11/12	105–116 (<i>c.</i> 110)	20–30 (<i>c.</i> 25)	15 + 9 fragments
14 (decorated)	118–125 (<i>c.</i> 120)	25–28 (<i>c.</i> 26)	2 + 2 fragments
15 (decorated)	–	27	2 fragments
13	130–132 (<i>c.</i> 130)	22–32 (<i>c.</i> 28)	4 + 1 fragment

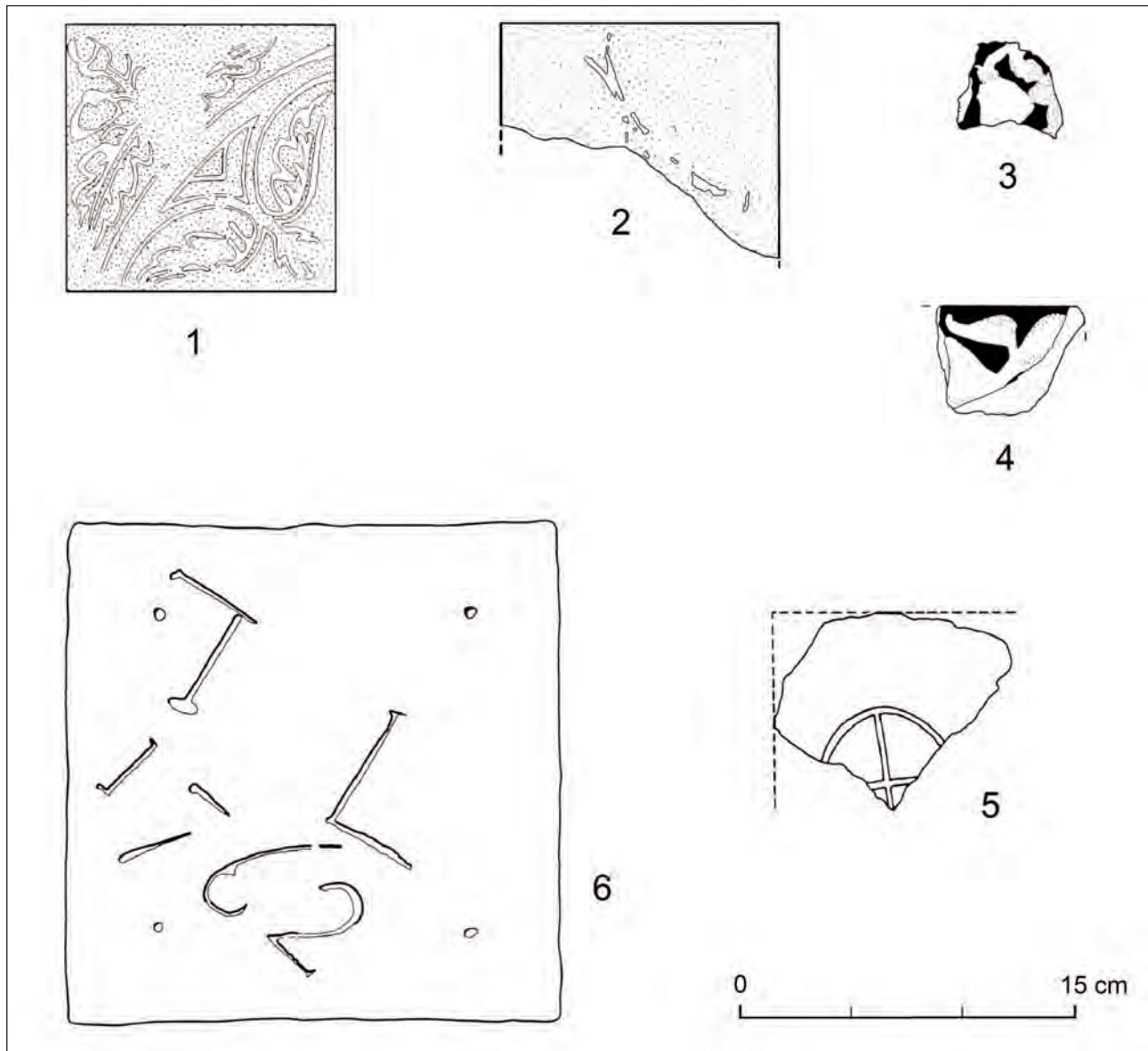


Fig. 829: Medieval and later floor tiles. 1, Group 14, design 1; 2, Group 14, design 2; 3, 4, Group 15, designs 3 and 4; 5, Batch mark on the underside of a Flemish tile; 6, Secondary graffito on a Group 10 tile. Scale 1:3. Drawing: Jennie Stopford

known elsewhere were glazed (Pl. 60; see p. 822). The only example of design 2 was so worn as to be barely visible, but traces of glaze remained. Group 15 consisted of two very small fragments with two-colour decoration (Fig. 829, 3–4). It is possible that they formed parts of the same design, which may have included a fleur-de-lys.

It is likely that both the decorated tile Groups 14 and 15 would also have included plain tiles. In England, plain tiles were frequently used as spacers between blocks of decorated examples, or as borders to them. The extant plain tiles of English types were of different sizes from the tiles of Group 14 and the upper surface dimensions are not known for Group 15. However, it is possible that Group 15 were used with plain tiles of Group 11/12. No distinction could be found between Groups 11 and 12, once the whole assemblage had been recorded: all these tiles were characterized by

being partly reduced and having little or no sand on the base. Little is known about the six tiles of Group 13, which were largely coated with mortar. These relatively thick, heavy, straight-sided tiles showed no sign of decoration. The small sample-sizes of all the English tile groups might suggest that they were used in the chancel of the church, which was not excavated.

Post-medieval tiles made in England

A small sample of eight fragments or half-tiles measuring *c.* 240 mm across and 33–45 mm deep was characterized by partial reduction in firing and the absence of any lead glaze (a salt glaze, leaving a dark but not shiny surface, may have been used). These tiles were designated as Group 16.

The nineteenth-century tiled floor in the chancel is not included in this study (see p. 518).

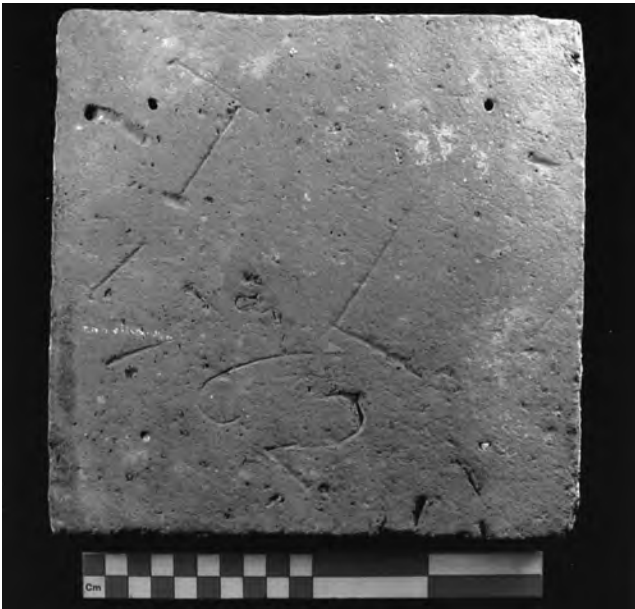


Fig. 830: Post-medieval Flemish floor tile with four small nail holes towards the corners. A graffito was later incised in the upper surface, but subsequent wear has partly erased it and removed the outer reduced skin, leaving the red core exposed. Photo: Alan Vince

Sourcing the fabrics of the floor tiles

The results of the ICPS fabric analysis of the sample of sixty-five tiles were compared with samples of roof tile from St Peter's church, with material from a known production (kiln) site in Beverley, and with other relevant material studied in previous projects. ICPS analysis identified the chemical components of each sample, producing a chemical 'finger-print' for that fabric. The results were grouped using statistical techniques to create a series of fabric clusters (these are referred to as 'clusters' in order to avoid any confusion with the tile 'groups' formed on typological grounds). The technique is a relatively inexpensive and well-established tool for fabric sourcing. Thin-section petrology provides an accurate method of describing and visualizing the fabric types and can assist with the interpretation of ICPS results.

Fabric cluster A

This fabric cluster was already well defined on the existing fabric database. This was made up of pottery from a producer site in Bruges, and consumer sites at Ieper and Aardenburg, all in the Low Countries, and some plain-glazed floor tiles from Hull and York, analyzed in previous projects.²⁶ None of the Barton material was assignable to cluster A.

Fabric cluster B

All but four of the floor tiles from Barton which had been thought, on typological grounds, to be imported from the Low Countries in either the medieval or

post-medieval periods, were assigned to cluster B (41 examples). This cluster also included floor tiles from consumer sites at Launceston (Corn.), and further examples from Hull, all of which were thought to be imports from the Low Countries.

Fabric cluster C

All the floor tiles from Barton thought to have been made in England were assigned to this cluster (20 examples), together with the four outliers from cluster B above. This cluster also contained all the roof tile samples from St Peter's, and all the pottery and tile known to have been made in Beverley.

Cluster A is interpreted as a clay source in the vicinity of Bruges. Cluster B is interpreted as a clay source in the Low Countries whose exact location is not yet known. Cluster C is interpreted as an English clay source in the Humber region. It can be seen that the broad distinctions between the floor tiles, identified from their physical characteristics, grouped coherently with regard to the ICPS clusters.

More detailed analysis of the clusters produced some indications of differences between individual tile groups. Analysis showed that each of the clusters B and C could be further split into two sub-clusters: B1, B2, C1 and C2. As shown in Tables 46 and 47, individual tile groups were assigned to one or the other of these sub-clusters in most cases.

It can be seen in Table 46 that six out of the eight samples of tile Groups 1 and 2 were assigned to fabric B2, while nine of the eleven samples of Groups 5 and 6 were assigned to fabric B1. This supports the idea of a distinction between the small Flemish tiles (Group 2) and the medium-sized Flemish tiles (Group 5). It was notable that the two tiles assigned to Group 5, but of fabric cluster B2, were the two smallest of the Group 5 sample (and so most like Group 2 in typological terms). However, the small numbers of tiles used in the fabric analysis programme makes interpretation at this level difficult.

All the large-sized medieval Flemish tiles of Groups 3, 4 and 7, and the single tile of Group 9, were of cluster B2, as were the post-medieval tiles of Group 10. Of all the tile groups, the results in relation to the sample of Group 8 were least satisfactory, with fabrics B1, B2 and C1 all represented among the five samples. Group 8 is relatively poorly defined typologically. There are no complete examples and the nail hole in the centre of one broken piece gives the only indication of the upper surface measurement (*c.* 220 mm). Most of the fragments were assigned to this group on the basis of their depth (*c.* 40 mm). This is deeper than for other groups but, as noted in discussion of the tile groups above, it is possible that depth is relatively unreliable as an indicator.

The B1 fabric may therefore represent the Netherlandish clay source and production site for one or, at most, two groups of imports at Barton (Group 5

Table 46: ICPS results for the sample of imported tiles

<i>Tile group no.</i>	<i>Tile type</i>	<i>ICPS cluster</i>	<i>EH accession</i>
1	Small Flemish, same as Group 2	C1	88099719
1	Small Flemish, same as Group 2	B2	88099722
1	Small Flemish, same as Group 2	B2	88099725
2	Small Flemish	C1	88098988
2	Small Flemish	B2	88099433
2	Small Flemish	B2	88099413
2	Small Flemish	B2	88099071
2	Small Flemish	B2	88098937
5	Medium Flemish	B1	88098878
5	Medium Flemish	B1	88100001
5	Medium Flemish	B1	88099127
5	Medium Flemish	B2	88100014
5	Medium Flemish	B2	88099158
6	Medium Flemish, same as Group 5	B1	88099554
6	Medium Flemish, same as Group 5	B1	88099928
6	Medium Flemish, same as Group 5	B1	88099552
6	Medium Flemish, same as Group 5	B1	88099543
6	Medium Flemish, same as Group 5	B1	88099555
6	Medium Flemish, same as Group 5	B1	88099558
3	Large Flemish	B2	88099713
3	Large Flemish	B2	88099711
3	Large Flemish	B2	88099726
3	Large Flemish	B2	88099724
3	Large Flemish	B2	88099720
3-4	Large Flemish	B2	88099715
3-4	Large Flemish	B2	88099713
3-4	Large Flemish	B2	88099721
4	Large Flemish	B2	88099718
4	Large Flemish	B2	88099716
7	Large Flemish	B2	88099576
7	Large Flemish	B2	88099863
7	Large Flemish	B2	88099862
7	Large Flemish	B2	88099367
7	Large Flemish	B2	88099866
8	Large Flemish	B2	88099468
8	Large Flemish	B1	88099454
8	Large Flemish	B1	88099453
8	Large Flemish	C1	88099462
8	Large Flemish	C1	88099471
9	Large Flemish	B2	88099815
10	Post-medieval Flemish	B2	88099838
10	Post-medieval Flemish	B2	88099838
10	Post-medieval Flemish	B2	88099839
10	Post-medieval Flemish	B2	88099840
10	Post-medieval Flemish	B2	88099837

and possibly Group 8). The B2 fabric might represent another, more frequently used clay source, which was exploited for some considerable time in the medieval and later periods.

As shown in Table 47, the English-made tile groups co-varied without exception with their fabric sub-clusters. All tiles of Groups 11/12 and all the decorated tiles (Groups 14 and 15) were assigned to C2, and all

Table 47: ICPS results for the sample of English-made tiles

<i>Tile group no.</i>	<i>Tile type</i>	<i>ICPS cluster</i>	<i>EH accession</i>
11	Plain-glazed English, as Group 12	C2	88099817
11	Plain-glazed English, as Group 12	C2	88099818
11	Plain-glazed English, as Group 12	C2	88099826
11	Plain-glazed English, as Group 12	C2	88099833
11	Plain-glazed English, as Group 12	C2	88099841
12	Plain-glazed English, as Group 11	C2	88099814
12	Plain-glazed English, as Group 11	C2	88099819
12	Plain-glazed English, as Group 11	C2	88099819
12	Plain-glazed English, as Group 11	C2	88099820
12	Plain-glazed English, as Group 11	C2	88099829
13	Plain or unglazed English	C1	88099932
13	Plain or unglazed English	C1	88099934
13	Plain or unglazed English	C1	88099937
13	Plain or unglazed English	C1	88099942
14	Decorated English	C2	89000566
14	Decorated English	C2	89000567
14	Decorated English	C2	89000568
14	Decorated English	C2	89000569
15	Decorated English	C2	89000572
15	Decorated English	C2	89000573

examples of Group 13 were assigned to C1. The post-medieval unglazed tiles of Group 16, thought to be of English origin, were not sampled.

The overall consistency of the allocation of tile groups and ICPS sub-clusters supported the interpretation of the sub-clusters as representing separate clay sources. Alongside the floor tiles of Group 13, sub-cluster C1 also contained all the samples of roof tile from the kiln in Beverley. It is likely, therefore, that the Group 13 tiles were made in Beverley. Along with the decorated tiles from St Peter's and the plain tiles of Group 11/12, sub-cluster C2 also contained a single decorated floor tile from a small assemblage from Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York.

The roof tile and brick samples from Barton were allocated to both C1 and C2 but there appeared to be a pattern in the distribution of these clusters by context. Material in sub-cluster C1 was concentrated in contexts F5234, F5279 and F5281, each of which consisted of a mix of building materials that had been used to fill depressions and create a rough path to the north of the chancel. Most of the material in C2 came from F5209, a deposit which consisted almost entirely of broken roof tile, reused to make a path around the east end of the chancel.

The ICPS results appeared, therefore, to support both the identity of the main tile groups and their assignment as either imported or English made. However, it should be noted that the differences between cluster B (interpreted as a Flemish clay source) and cluster C (interpreted as an English clay source) were not reflected in the results of the

thin-section petrology. In contrast, the petrology showed few differences between the tiles of the various groups, or between the Barton tiles and material from Launceston (thought from documentary evidence to have been imported from the Netherlands). All samples were heterogeneous, formed either by mixing two or more clays together or by utilizing clays that are naturally heterogeneous. Estuarine clays are the most likely source for all the samples, but it is not clear, from the petrological evidence, whether one estuary (the Humber), or more than one (the Humber and another, or others, in the Low Countries), were being utilized.²⁷

The excavation: contextual background

Small numbers of tiles were found either *in situ* or closely associated with mortar bedding at various locations within the church, and larger areas of paving could be established from patches of mortar bedding with the impressions of tiles still visible on them.

However, the great bulk of the extant assemblage had been re-deposited, and was found in the fill of graves cut through earlier tiled floors, or in building rubble and floor make-up layers, or packed into putlog holes. Some material was also recovered from excavations outside the church. Logic demands that all contexts with re-deposited tiles must be dated later than the use of that type of tile in a new floor. At a site such as St Peter's, where there was on-going disturbance to the floor as a result of burial, some evidence of all the main tiling phases would be expected to have survived.

The areas of *in situ* tiling and tile impressions found during excavations in the church are shown on Figs. 540 and 831, and labelled A–F.

Area A: beneath the chancel arch

A strip of tiling survived in largely unworn condition at the east end of the nave, extending beneath a plinth supporting the fifteenth-century chancel screen (F1508; Fig. 832). These tiles were laid square to the

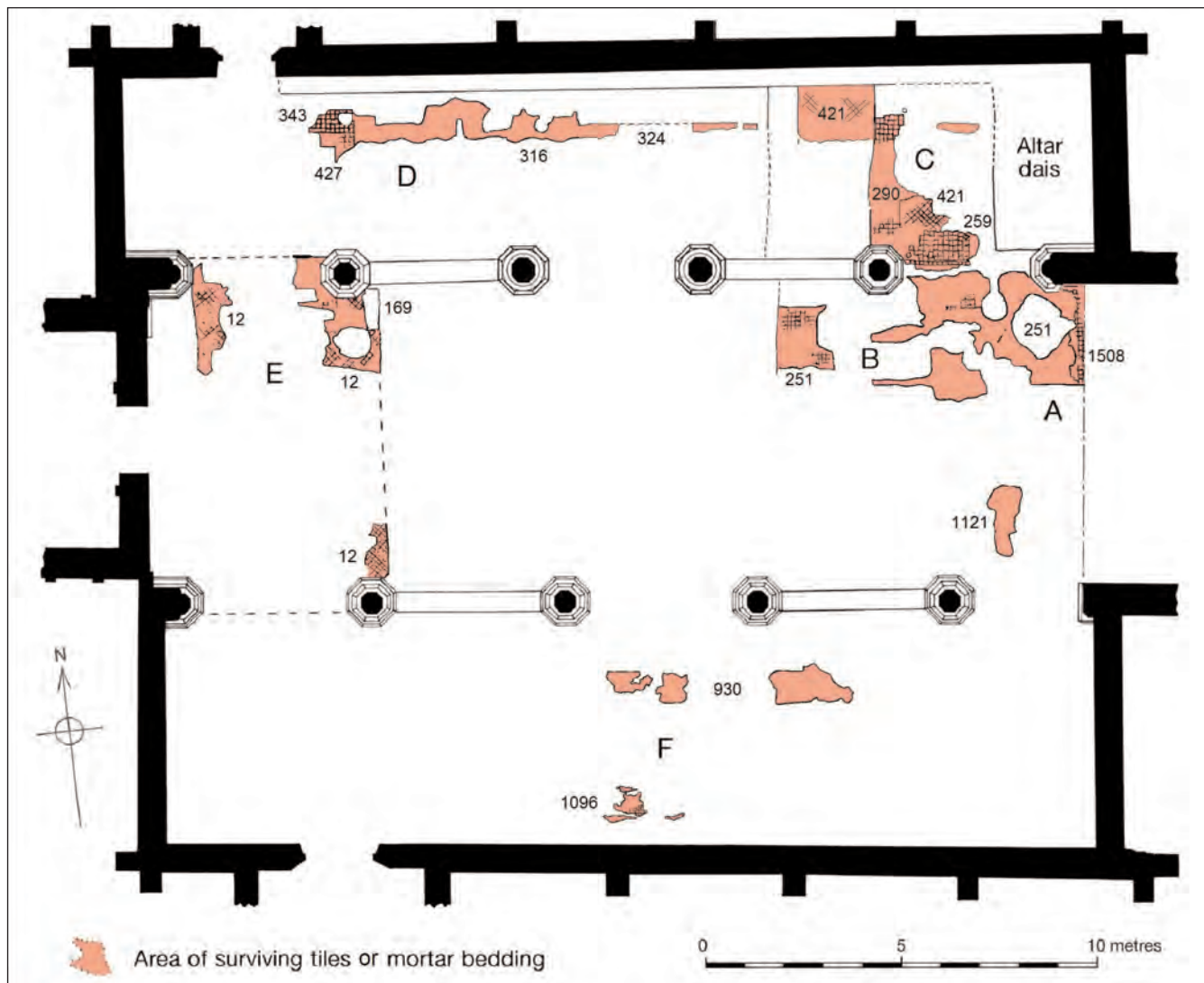


Fig. 831: Plan showing excavated areas (A–F) where medieval floor tiling, or tile impressions, survived. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell



Fig. 832: Medieval floor tiling (Area A, F1508) surviving beneath the chancel screen. View north-east. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

church, in alternating sets of four of each colour (Pl. 53). Of the thirty-two tiles from this context, twenty-five were assigned to Group 5, four to Group 2, one fragment to Group 7. There were two unassigned fragments.

Area B: east end of the nave

Of later date than the tiles under the chancel screen was an adjacent area of mortar in the eastern bay of the nave with tile and brick impressions set square to the church (F251/250). The tile impressions were approximately 4 ins (100 mm) across, suggesting that tiles of Group 2 had been used here (the impressions reflect the size of the tile bases, which are smaller than the upper surfaces since the sides of these tiles were bevelled). Few tiles are extant from this context but they include one of Group 2. Other tiles were of Groups 7 or 8 (three examples). It is possible that the single fragment of Group 7 assigned to Area A, above, belonged here.

On the south side of the first bay of the nave was another piece of flooring with a similar variety of tile types (F1121). It is possible that this was part of F251/250. Of the sixteen examples found *in situ*, half were of Groups 2 and 5 and half were of the large sized plain-glazed tiles (predominantly Group 7).

The mix of brick and tiles of different sizes found here is typical of a floor made of reused material. The west edge of this area aligned approximately with pier 1/2 of the south arcade.

Area C: east end of the north aisle

Several patches of pale pink mortar with white flecking and tile impressions (F421) were found to the east of a sleeper wall running north–south, at the mid-point of bay 2 (F326), defining a chapel. What had been a tiled surface covered the full width of the north aisle in this eastern area, and a number of burials were subsequently inserted in the floor. The impressions in the mortar showed that the tiled pavement had been laid on the diagonal, but the arrangement of the tiles by colour is not known. Only two pieces were extant, one fragment of unknown type and one example of Group 2. The tiles had clearly been taken up for reuse.

Floor F421 (above) had been laid across the line of a north–south foundation (F1712) that had formed the western wall of the two-celled structure that had preceded the construction of the narrow north aisle (p. 381). Some time after it was laid, floor F421 began to crack along the eastern side of this foundation and the western ends of adjacent burials, and to sink. The tiles were taken up and either replaced or, more likely, relaid over the mortar bed of F421 to restore the level (F290). The tiles of the reset floor were laid in pinkish-buff mortar, square to the building, and were in a haphazard arrangement with no coherent pattern in terms of their colour. This is much more likely to be a feature of repair work reusing tiles than of a new pavement. Of the forty-one tiles in F290, twenty-eight were of Group 2, eleven were assigned to Group 5, and two unassigned. It is possible that the tiles taken up from F421 were reused in floor F290.



Fig. 833: Mortar bedding for a tile floor (Area E, F12) in bay 5 of the nave, abutting pier 4/5 of the north arcade. Note the brick-on-edge (left) defining the limit of the paving. View east. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

At about the time floor F290 was laid, a new internal division was created following the line of subsidence on the western side of the first bay. There is no recorded structural evidence for a partition, but a line of graves in bay 2 appeared to respect the western limit of F290. This suggests that the east end of the north aisle was retained as a chapel but was slightly reduced in size, taking up only the easternmost bay.

Later, floor F421 was patched up over a grave (F357) just north-east of pier 1/2 (F259) (Pl. 55). Again the tiles were set square to the church without any coherent colour arrangement. However, of the forty-nine tiles in this context, forty-one were of Group 5 and six of Group 2; there was also one fragment of Group 7 and one unassigned fragment. The predominance of a different tile group in this patching confirms that it was a separate phase of repair work, following disturbance of the floor by the insertion of this burial.

Area D: west end of the north aisle

North of pier 4/5 in the north aisle, a patch of tiling (F343) was found which was sufficiently unworn to establish that it had been laid in a simple chequered arrangement, set square to the church (Pl. 54). The twenty-four surviving tiles consisted of fifteen of Group 2, seven of Group 5, and two unassigned fragments.

Three areas of white or off-white mortar bedding in bays 2 and 3 of the north aisle (F307, F316 and F324) are thought to be part of the same floor as F343. The tiles and impressions indicated that the paving was set square to the church and, although the colour layout could not be established from the few extant tiles, what remained could have been in a chequered arrangement. There were no tiles extant from F307; all four examples from F324 were of Group 2; and three tiles from F316 were also of Group 2, with one assigned to Group 5.

Area E: west end of the nave

Several large areas of mortar impressions and some paving survived intact in the westernmost bay of the nave (F11/12; Fig. 833). These suggest that the whole of bay 5 was tiled and that there was a liturgical or functional demarcation running north–south between the opposing piers of the two arcades. The tiles had been laid on the diagonal, but no arrangement by colour could be established from the worn examples found *in situ* (Pls. 56–58). The thirty-two extant tiles consisted of twenty-five of Group 2, five of Group 5, and two unassigned fragments.

Medieval floors in the central nave had largely been destroyed by burials. However, east of floor F12, a possibly contemporary mortar floor (F110) was identified

in bays 3 and 4. This area was, perhaps, delimited to the east by a screen or pews running south from pier 2/3 of the north arcade (F336). Another slot for a screen or pews lay further east, on the line of the western limit of the north aisle chapel (F337).

The tiled floor F12 and mortar floor F110 were contiguous at one point, just east of pier 4/5 on the north side of the nave. A stone slab here (F169), and the uneven surface of F110, might suggest that the latter formed the bedding for a stone floor. In the post-medieval period, tiles of Groups 2 and 7/8 were reused with brick to pave the two eastern bays of the nave, including some of what had been floor F110 (see above, Area B).

Area F: south aisle

Almost nothing survived of the medieval floors in the south aisle. In a single area south of arcade pier 2/3, a patch of mortar bedding had sunk over a grave. The few remaining tiles were disturbed but may have been set square to the church. Five of the tiles were of Group 2, and two of Group 6.

At a later date, tiles of Group 10 were laid in parts of at least two bays of the south aisle, in bays 2 and 3 (F930). The tiles were set diagonally, seemingly without regard to any colour arrangement. Many of these tiles were reset at the east end of the north aisle, when the church was refloored after excavation (1984). In this location they were laid in a chequered arrangement formed by alternating oxidized and reduced examples (the tiles were never glazed).

The chancel

Since the chancel was not excavated, nothing is known for certain about earlier tiling in that area, although the chequered arrangement recorded under the screen (Area A) remains *in situ* and clearly continues into the western part of the chancel. In 1832, the floor was described as 'of brick pavings, alternate red and slate colour' (p. 596), evidently referring to tiles of Group 10. These were taken up in the restoration of 1858–59, and some were relaid (with other salvaged materials) as rough paving under the new pew platforms in the nave and aisles. The chancel was repaved with new plain and patterned tiles purchased from the potteries at Stoke-on-Trent. In some cases the Victorian restorers had replicas made of medieval tiles found on site (*e.g.*

at Bolton Abbey, Wharfedale, Lancs.), but this was not the case at St Peter's, where the tiles were just generally reminiscent of medieval flooring.

Phases of tiling in St Peter's church

The reality of a distinction between the small and medium-sized Flemish tiles of Groups 2 and 5 was strongly supported by the contextual information. As summarized in Table 48, the material from each relevant area of *in situ* paving comprised a majority of either one, or the other, of these groups.

Further analysis established that where the majority of the tiles found *in situ* were of Group 2, those assigned to Group 5 from the same context tended to have dimensions at the smaller end of the range for that group. It was concluded that tiles of Groups 2 and 5 were distinguishable in only about 75% of cases in the loose collection, but that they nevertheless represented batches of material used in separate tiling campaigns.

Differences between the larger sized medieval imports identified in the loose assemblage were not demonstrated by the contextual evidence. Finds of all the large plain-glazed tiles were concentrated in the eastern bays of the nave. The only examples identified as part of an area of *in situ* flooring were in Area B on the north and south sides of the nave. This floor, assigned to the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, was made of brick and reused tiles of various types. However, the large tiles were also found in some concentration in many supposedly medieval features in this area (see further below). It is possible that larger sized Netherlandish tiles were used in a medieval floor in the east bay of the nave and that this was subsequently much patched and relaid.

Tiles of the English-made types were not found *in situ*. Their distributions were as follows:

Group 11/12: of sixteen examples with contextual information, nine were from the west end of the nave or tower, and seven were from the north aisle.

Group 13: the six tiles of this type were scattered throughout the church, with two used in the east bay of the north aisle.

Group 14: the few line-impressed patterned tiles were found in scattered contexts in the nave, and both north and south aisles.

Group 15: one two-colour slip-decorated fragment was found in the south aisle.

Table 48: Composition of the areas of surviving tiling

<i>Areas of in situ paving</i>	<i>Proportion of tiles assigned to Group 2</i>	<i>Proportion of tiles assigned to Group 5</i>
A – under chancel screen	13%	83%
C – east end north aisle floor, F421	few extant	few extant
C – east end north aisle floor, F290	72%	28%
C – east end north aisle patching, F259	15%	85%
D – western bays of north aisle	73%	27%
E – west bay of nave	81%	19%

Group 16: finds of these post-medieval unglazed tiles were concentrated at the west end of the nave (five examples), although there were also occurrences at the east end of the nave and in the north aisle.

Group 17: the two small fragments of Delftware were from contexts outside the church (F5133 and F5142).

There is little to suggest that the plain tiles of Group 13 or the decorated tiles of Groups 14 or 15 were ever used in a floor in the body of the church. The slightly larger samples of Groups 11/12 and 16 might suggest small areas of patching or repair work in the west nave or north aisle. However, it is possible that Group 11/12 tiles were the plain counterparts to the decorated tiles of Group 15. It is likely that at least some of these poorly represented groups were used in pavements in the chancel, an area that might be expected to have had some of the earliest and most decorative floors (for dating, see below).

Given the above interpretations, it can be concluded that there was one major medieval campaign of tiling in the body of the church, using the small-sized plain-glazed Flemish tiles of Group 2. This saw the west bay of the nave and the whole of the north aisle paved with these tiles: the layout varied, defining specific areas of the building. The unworn Group 2 tiles in the western north aisle were set square to the building and laid in a simple chequer with yellow and black/dark brown tiles laid alternately. The floor of the north aisle chapel, and that in the west bay of the nave, were both laid on the diagonal. The two bays of the nave to the east of the tiled area may have been paved with stone.

At a later date there was a reorganization of the chapel at the east end of the north aisle, which was reduced in size, and the floor was relaid square to the church, possibly reusing the same tiles (F290). Later still, this relaid floor was patched, following the intrusion of grave F357, which was marked with tiles of Group 5. The tiles were not new when they were set here, as evidenced by the differential wear on them.

Group 5 tiles were, however, almost certainly used when new in a floor under the chancel arch. The extent of the tiled floor either side of the chancel arch is not known. There was no change of level here between the nave and the chancel. The layout of this floor was again as a chequer of light and dark coloured tiles but here the tiles were laid in alternating blocks of four yellow and four black/dark brown tiles. This arrangement is unknown among the few extant pavements of plain-glazed tiles elsewhere in England. It could have been a way of making the chequer look as if it were made using large plain-glazed tiles.

It is probable that the south aisle was also paved with tiles during one of these campaigns. The few tiles in the sunken (and therefore surviving) patch of mortar of F1096 may be a remnant of this. However, it cannot be determined which phase of tiling was represented here since the tiles were of both Group 2 and Group 6 (larger sized outliers of Group 5). They were laid square with the church.

Large sized plain-glazed tiles may have been laid in a floor at the east end of the nave at a date after the paving under the chancel arch but there is no evidence for their layout or alignment. At a later, post-medieval, date this area was paved with a mixture of various types of reused medieval tile and brick, perhaps suggesting a long sequence of repair and reuse.

The last phase of tiling identified by the excavations was the post-medieval pavement set on the diagonal in the eastern bays of the south aisle (F930). This floor was entirely composed of the unglazed tiles of Group 10.

Dating

Dating of tiles thought to have been imported from the Netherlands

Small Flemish tiles

The Group 2 tiles used in the north aisle, in the west bay of the nave, and possibly in the south aisle, were laid after the north aisle was rebuilt and widened, *c.* 1330–40 (p. 458). The tiling was not the first floor finish in the wide north aisle and the time lapse between the completion of construction and the addition of the tiled floor is not known. A pinkish-buff mortar floor was laid over the construction floor in the north aisle after building work was finished (F328, F383 and F311). This covered the whole of the north aisle with no internal divisions. It is likely that an eastern chapel was first delimited by a screen sited just west of the first bay, at some point during the life of the mortar floor (F420; three postholes aligned north–south). The mortar floor F328 was repaired before a laminated clay floor (F327) was laid directly on top of it. The screen suggested by the postholes of F420 remained in use. This timber partition was then removed and replaced by a stone sleeper wall (F326) slightly to the west of the earlier partition. It was at this point that the tiled floor F421 (of Group 2 tiles) was laid on pale pink mortar bedding in the newly delimited chapel. These tiles were subsequently almost all taken up and are thought to have been relaid in this location as floor F290.

The Group 2 tiling laid further west in the north aisle was on white or off-white mortar over the laminated clay floor F327. The difference in mortar suggests a separate phase of work here, although there was no visible difference in the type of tiles used. As noted above, they were set square to the church, instead of on the diagonal as in the chapel. Archaeologically, the first phase of tile paving cannot be dated earlier than the middle of the fourteenth century.

Tile Group 5

The coherent layout of the tiles under the chancel screen suggested that they were in their original location. The date of the screen has been assigned to the mid-fifteenth century, or perhaps slightly earlier (p. 481). The tiling in Area A pre-dated this screen and had been preserved by it. Although the tiles here were

less worn than was usual for the assemblage from St Peter's, they had nevertheless been in use for some time before being covered up. There were no pristine examples, with all the slip and glaze intact: twenty-five tiles were partly worn and six were completely worn. A date in the later fourteenth century is likely.

No direct relationship was recorded between the tiles of Area A and floors F421 and F290 in Area C. However, the tiles of Area A were of later date than the clay floor (F327) that preceded floor F290 in the north aisle. Tiles of Group 5 were certainly reused over grave F357 in the north aisle chapel in the sixteenth century: this happened some time after the chapel floor had first been tiled (F421), and after that floor had been relaid (F290).

Although it is impossible to be certain, it seems most likely that the tiles of Group 5 were later in date than those of Group 2. The window of opportunity for both tiling campaigns was between the mid-fourteenth and mid-fifteenth centuries.

Tile Group 7

Floor F251 in the eastern bay of the nave was made up of a variety of reused material which included the only *in situ* examples of the larger plain-glazed Netherlandish tiles, particularly of Group 7. This floor was later than that under the chancel arch and was assigned to the seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The concentration of Group 7 tiles in this area might suggest that they had been used in an earlier tiled floor in this area.

Other large-sized Flemish tiles

Typologically all the larger plain-glazed tile groups would be assigned a late medieval date. The sample sizes for these groups were small but instances where finds were assigned to medieval contexts could only be generally dated in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. The single tile of Group 9 was from a grave of Period 8 (F289).

Tile Group 10

The floor of Group 10 tiles in the south aisle is thought to date to the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries on typological grounds. The incised inscription 'TL / 1762' is a later addition, reusing the tile as a commemorative plaque (Fig. 830), in the same way that small stone plaques were popular in the eighteenth century (*cf.* p. 715). It is probable that the tile came originally from the chancel and commemorated Tracy Lely, who was briefly vicar of Barton, and died in 1762 (p. 675).

Dating of the English-made tiles

As already noted, the English-made tiles were found in small numbers and none was *in situ*. It is possible that they were not laid in the body of the church, but were derived from the chancel. The only indications of date from their contexts are as follows:

Group 11/12: The earliest occurrence was a single example in a grave in bay 1 of the nave, associated with Period 7 (F366; fourteenth–fifteenth century). All other contexts were post-medieval.

Groups 13 and 15: All examples were in post-medieval contexts.

Group 14: The earliest context was in Period 6 (grave F368; fourteenth century) in bay 2 of the nave. Others were from later contexts.

Group 16: Five examples of these post-medieval unglazed tiles were from Period 8 contexts.

On typological grounds, a fourteenth-century date would be assigned to the decorated tiles of both Groups 14 and 15, although the small size of the Group 15 fragments makes this a tentative conclusion. The line-impressed design 1 of Group 14 is known from several other sites, as discussed below.

Comparative material

The oak leaf and acorn pattern of design 1 (Group 14) was recorded in an engraving of tiles found in St Nicholas's Chapel, York Minster, made in 1801 by William Fowler.²⁸ Several pristine examples of this design in the Yorkshire Museum are now unprovenanced but it is possible that they came from the Minster. These tiles were probably made with the same stamp, and produced by the same workshop, as those from St Peter's. However, unlike the tiles from St Peter's, the York examples had been coated with slip over the whole surface. When glazed and fired, the tiles were a shiny yellow with the linear pattern visible in counter-relief. The few pieces from St Peter's, Barton, have white clay in the depression made by the stamp. There is now no white clay on the rest of the upper surface but it is possible that this wore off while the tiles were in use. It is certain, however, that the tiles at St Peter's were never glazed. The only complete example also has a large pebble disrupting part of the upper surface. It would appear that at least some of the decorated tiles at St Peter's were not of the highest quality, and may have been purchased as 'seconds'.

The other tile designs in Fowler's engraving are from a well-known fourteenth-century workshop in the north-east Midlands, possibly around Nottingham. The oak leaf and acorn tiles are of different manufacture and are not thought to have been made by that workshop (for details of the Nottinghamshire workshop, see Whitcomb 1956). The design was popular and parallels are widely known in the north-west Midlands and in Ireland.²⁹ However, line-impressed designs with some broadly similar motifs were also made in the fourteenth-century tile kiln at Repton (Derbys.) and this would accord better with Fowler's record which linked this design with tiles from the Nottinghamshire area (Eames 1980, 1, 94). The Norton Priory and Irish examples of the design were not made with the same stamp as tiles recorded in the north-east. It has not been possible to search collections in the north-east for this study.

Floor tiling in parish churches in the north of England

Few parish churches in the north of England had tiled floors in the medieval period. In a survey of all medieval floor tiles in an area between the Humber, the Ribble and the Scottish border, it was found that there were only eleven parish churches with tiles (Stopford 2005): three were in York and all the others were in the vicinity of the Humber.³⁰ The tiles in the East Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire churches dated from the fourteenth century or later, and in four cases consisted of decorated material. Plain-glazed tiles were in use at three sites. As far as is known, the decorated tiles were laid in the chancels of the churches. None was of the same design as the decorated tiles at St Peter's.

The will of William Melburne, a merchant who died in 1411, recorded that he donated enough Flanders' tiles to pave the whole of the north aisle of St Mary's, Beverley (Bilson 1920, 401 and n.2; Raine 1858, 66; Smith 1979). At Winteringham, a few plain-glazed tiles were found in post-medieval contexts during excavations in the 1970s.³¹ At St Augustine's, Hedon (E. Yorks.), fifty tiles were purchased for the altar of St Mary's chantry in 1400–01 (Boyle 1895, 131, 144), and *c.* 1453, Thomas Mone had the floor before the altar of the Holy Trinity, in the northern bay of the north transept, paved with Flanders stone (this could refer to brick or tile). Both St Mary's, Beverley, and St Augustine's, Hedon, and their communities, were considerably larger than St Peter's. Nevertheless, the last managed to maintain the interior décor of their church to the same standard as their wealthy neighbours.

Conclusions

The study showed that the chosen methodology produced a coherent set of results. When viewed in relation to the tile groups identified on typological grounds, the ICPS results were clear-cut, with well-defined differences between tiles thought to have been made in England and those thought to have been made in the Low Countries. The precise origins of the tiles could not be established because the fabric types did not match other material with a known source. The database of ICPS samples is still small, especially in relation to material from the Low Countries, and many more samples from known production sites are needed. However, the interpretation of the various tile groups as either locally manufactured, or imported, was strongly supported by the comparisons made with known local fabrics and material from much further afield. The samples from St Peter's will inform future work in this area. The results of the thin-section petrology did not identify differences between the tiles. It may be that this technique is inappropriate as a means of distinguishing between tiles made from different estuarine clays.

At least four different types of floor tiles, probably imported from the Netherlands, and a further two or three types made in England, were used in various phases of paving in St Peter's between the fourteenth and earlier sixteenth centuries. Floor tiles of any kind, and particularly such a variety, were unusual in a parish church in the north of England at this time. The earliest tiles from the site were decorated examples made in England, probably in the fourteenth century. It is uncertain where these tiles were used, but the chancel is most likely. Some of these tiles were of imperfect quality and it is possible that, in this first phase of tiling, costs were being kept to a minimum. Similarities in design and fabric with material in York might suggest a workshop located on or near to the Humber–Ouse waterways, but the precise location of the production site is not known.

Between the construction of the wide north aisle and the insertion of the screen beneath the chancel arch there were two major tiling campaigns in the body of the church using plain-glazed floor tiles probably imported from the Netherlands. The sequence is not certain but it is more likely that the north aisle, west bay of the nave and possibly the south aisle were paved first. This substantial operation followed the widening of the north aisle and the establishment of a chapel at its eastern end. The new floor would have transformed the appearance of the body of the church, giving it a hard, level, washable surface in a simple chequer of alternating bright yellow and dark brown or green squares. The tiles were laid variously on the diagonal, or square to the church, marking out different spatial or liturgical zones. The central bays of the nave may have been paved with stone and mortar.

As a separate, and possibly later, operation, plain-glazed tiles, again probably imported but from a different source, were used to pave the area under the chancel arch at the east end of the nave. The tiles were again laid in a chequered arrangement but, unusually, were in alternating sets of four tiles of each colour. If the south aisle had not been paved earlier, it was paved at this time.

After the initial phase of tiling in the east chapel of the north aisle there were several subsequent alterations as a result of structural changes and disturbance through burials. Whenever a tiled floor was altered or replaced at St Peter's, impressions in the mortar bedding show that the tiles were taken up for reuse. The tiles remained a useful commodity, therefore, either for another floor or as hardcore. When subsequently reused in a floor, the tiles were laid without regard to their colour even when this was still visible. Their value in secondary contexts was practical rather than decorative.

The tiled flooring in the north aisle, the chapel and the west nave was disturbed by burials, patched with mortar, and eventually completely superseded in the late medieval period by mortar floors. The first tiled floor at the east end of the nave was similarly removed leaving the remnant sealed by the chancel screen.

The nave immediately west of the screen may have subsequently been paved with large sized plain-glazed imports which were later relaid in the same area.

In the post-medieval period, the declining affluence of Barton may be indicated by the patching of the east nave floor, which was made up of several different types of reused tile and brick. The only new tiled flooring was laid in the south aisle and, apparently, in the chancel (the latter known only from a description of 1832). Again, these tiles were probably imported from the Netherlands and were made from the same clay source as the first phase of medieval tiling at St Peter's. The tiles were of markedly different manufacture, however, without glaze and with four nail holes rather than five on the upper surfaces. Despite the absence of glaze, the tiles were fired so that half of them were grey (reduced) and the other half pink (oxidized). They were set on the diagonal to the church and may again have been laid in a chequer, alternating the two colours. The lack of a glazed surface may have made them cheaper to manufacture than the earlier tiles. It would certainly have made them less bright, shiny and colourful and might represent a more restrained view towards what was appropriate in a religious building.

Two separate sources for the Flemish tiles at St Peter's were suggested by ICPS analysis of the fabrics. One seems to have been a major source in use in both the medieval and post-medieval periods. The second appeared to have been used for only one, or at the most two, batches of tiles (Group 5, and possibly Group 8). The necessity for a new supplier in *c.* 1400 might suggest that the demand for the plain-glazed Flemish tiles at that time was such that new production sites, exploiting different clay sources, were set up.

There is no evidence from St Peter's to suggest that different sizes of Flemish tiles were used together. In the rare instances where purchases of Flemish tiles are documented, it is the case that two sizes of tiles were bought together (*e.g.* at Winchester and York: Norton 1976; Stopford 2005). Two sizes of this type of tile are, also, often found at the same site, usually with a larger number of the smaller tiles. Purchases of two sizes may sometimes have related to a need for small numbers for repairs and patching. However, the smallest of the plain-glazed tiles found at St Peter's was used in the first phase of plain-glazed tiling (fourteenth century). The only indications of use of the larger sized Flemish tiles was of later date. In the second period of flooring under the chancel arch, small tiles were arranged in sets of four of the same colour, and this may have been intended to give the impression of larger sized tiles, perhaps suggesting that they were more fashionable at that time than earlier.

The parish churches in the region that, like St Peter's, had tiled floors, were concentrated in the area of York and Beverley, and on the Humber, Ouse and Trent river systems. This zone was by far the richest, most fashionable and up-to-date area of the north of England in the late medieval period. This was in part a result of

the importance of York and development of Kingston-upon-Hull, which grew to become a major port after its royal foundation in 1293. The Humber estuary and surrounding area had close links with continental Europe across the North Sea, to the south of England via coastal trade, and to the north Midlands via the river Trent. The region was in touch with the latest ideas and aspirations as well as sources of supply. The plain-glazed tiles imported from the Netherlands and laid in the nave and aisles of St Peter's church were just one example of this phenomenon. The fourteenth-century imported memorial floor-slabs is another (p. 662).

Legally, the upkeep of the chancel was the responsibility of the rector (in this instance, the abbot of Bardney), while the maintenance of the remainder of the church was in the hands of the congregation. If the suggestion that the English-made decorated tiles were used in the chancel is correct, the appearance of different types of tile in the chancel and nave might reflect differences in the patronage provision for these two areas of the church. Documented cases of donations of floor tiles to parish churches elsewhere suggest that it was common practice for individual benefactors to pave specific areas of a church, sometimes an individual chapel or chantry. That may not have been the case in the late fourteenth century at St Peter's: the campaign, which appears to have included paving the whole north aisle, the west bay of the nave and possibly the south aisle, was a more than usually large undertaking, potentially involving the whole community rather than one individual.

The distribution of the tile types at St Peter's could, however, also be explained by the dating of the phases of work and the availability of floor tiles. Tiles were made in the north of England until the later fourteenth century. Production on any scale then ceased, and appears not to have resumed until the mid- or perhaps late fifteenth century (Stopford 2005). The date range for the main phases of tiling in the nave and aisles of St Peter's may have coincided with the period when floor tiles were not being manufactured locally. Plain-glazed tiles from the Netherlands were imported to many ports around Britain by the later fourteenth century. Sufficient customs accounts survive to establish that, in the second half of the fifteenth century, floor tiles were being imported to Hull in regular but relatively small batches, usually of *c.* 1–3 tons (Childs 1984; Stopford 2005). It is possible that the tiles for St Peter's were brought into Hull in a mixed cargo and ferried across the Humber to Barton.

Nothing substantive is known about the medieval floors of St Mary's church, Barton (formerly All Saints' and located only *c.* 100 m north-west of St Peter's), but given its undoubted affluence in the later medieval period, it would be surprising if sizeable areas of floor tiling were not laid there too. There has been no serious excavation at that site: however, both yellow and green/black plain-glazed Flemish tiles of medium size (Group 5) were found during the restoration of the chancel aisle in

the early 1900s, and some specimens were retained.³² The aisle is most likely to date from the second quarter of the fourteenth century, providing a *terminus post quem* for the tiles. Further tile fragments occur sporadically in the medieval fabric,³³ and excavation of the floor of the vestry in 1994 yielded another *ex situ* assemblage of Flemish plain-glazed tiles of Group 5.³⁴

Fragment of an Alabaster Panel

by Philip J. Lankester³⁵

Description (Fig. 834)

When in its correct orientation, the alabaster fragment measures *c.* 90 mm wide by 90 mm high, by 60 mm thick. The surfaces are generally eroded, but the essential details are still visible. The fragment is the broken-off, lower left-hand corner of a panel, probably originally measuring about 25–35 cm wide. It shows a right hand, with the fingers together, extended and pointing downwards and diagonally to the viewer's right, with the thumb extended alongside. The hand is shown holding the back of the blade of a long-hafted axe. The cutting edge of the blade faces the base and there is a pyramidal spike or fluke on the opposite side (the back, if the weapon was held upright). The thumb appears to extend on to the edge of the fluke, though surface erosion makes it difficult to be sure of this. The axe blade is shaped roughly like a Pythagorean triangle, with the shortest side at right-angles to the haft, opposite the centre of the fluke. The two longer sides extend beyond the top of the haft. The cutting edge is very slightly convex and the shortest side may be slightly concave, possibly with a single cusp.

Above the hand, which is broken off at or just below the wrist, the surface is chamfered back to the break at the top. The fact that the chamfered surface extends behind the hand probably indicates that at least part of the forearm was fully undercut. The base of the fragment has a chamfered corner in the horizontal plane.

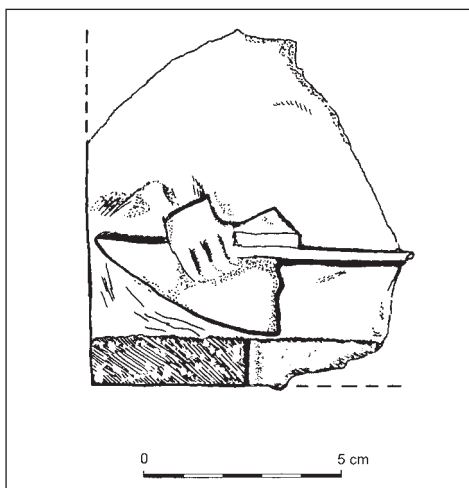


Fig. 834: Fragment of a medieval alabaster panel from an altarpiece. Scale 1:2. Drawing: Diane Gibbs

The lower edge also has a slight raised border extending along the front as far as the end of the chamfer, but the irregularity of the lower edge indicates that it originally extended further than it does now. In the corner where the (viewer's) left side of the hand meets the blade there is what appears to be a small fragment of green pigment.

On the back a roughly triangular flat area extends from the right side (the left side of the panel when viewed from the front); the remainder of the surface is at a lower level and slopes towards the base. Near the bottom of the flat triangular area is a roughly circular hole, *c.* 12 mm in diameter, containing two short lengths of copper or copper-alloy wire set in a plug that appears to be of lead.

The fragment was found in an eighteenth–nineteenth-century context outside the north-west corner of the nave; no other alabaster fragments were recovered that might be of medieval date.³⁶

Context and iconography

The fragment comes from an alabaster panel of the type produced in large numbers in England from the later fourteenth to the early sixteenth centuries. Many examples retain all or part of their original polychromy. These panels were usually mounted in wooden frames and were used both singly (perhaps especially for devotion in private chapels or other private premises) and in sets, in one or more tiers, to form altarpieces, which sometimes had a taller panel at the centre and were often flanked by a pair of larger scale single standing figures or by two pairs of smaller figures placed one above the other.³⁷ Copper or copper-alloy wires, commonly two to four in number and set in lead plugs, are found on the backs of many panels,³⁸ and this corresponds with the single example already noted on the present fragment.

The purpose of these wires seems to have been especially for securing the panels in wooden frames and they have been observed still performing this function on surviving sets of panels in frames.³⁹ On the backs of many panels an area running across most of the bottom edge and extending up a little way in the shape of the segment of a circle has been roughly hollowed out, making the panel thinner at this point, 'either to make handling easier or to reduce the weight'.⁴⁰ This again corresponds with the Barton fragment, on the back of which the end of one side of the cutaway area can be seen.

The subject of the complete panel was most probably the Resurrection, and a very close parallel is provided by an example in the Victoria and Albert Museum (hereafter, V&A).⁴¹ The head of the staff-weapon in the V&A example is similar to that on the Barton fragment but the blade of the former is more elongated and the rear edge of its upper horn curves back.

The V&A panel follows an iconographic formula for the Resurrection, commonly found on English alabaster panels, in which Christ steps out of an open tomb on to

the body of a semi-recumbent, sleeping guard, lying at the foot of the tomb. Further guards (usually two or three) flank the figure of Christ. The depiction of Christ stepping on to the body of the guard is found rarely in medieval art outside England, according to Hildburgh who was of the view that it has its origins in medieval drama, and cited in support of his view lines from the Chester Resurrection play (Hildburgh 1949, 91–2). If the Barton fragment is correctly identified as coming from a Resurrection panel, the soldier to which the hand belonged would have been wearing armour and his hand would have been protected by a gauntlet.

Many panels of the Resurrection survive, and Cheetham lists 143.⁴² The top of the V&A panel has an embattled cresting and, in his study of alabaster panels with this feature, Nelson divided those depicting the Resurrection into two groups: type I, where the guard at the foot of the panel is 'sitting up [*i.e.* semi-recumbent] and facing to the right' and type II, where the guard is 'lying down and supporting his chin on his right hand' (Nelson 1918, 319–21). The V&A panel clearly belongs to Nelson's type I.

The background of the lower part of English alabaster panels generally was often painted green and powdered with small flowers composed of a circle of white dots around a red dot.⁴³ The fragment of green paint by the hand on the present fragment almost certainly therefore indicates that there was a green background.

There is one other scene from which the fragment might have come. In panels showing the Betrayal, Malchus, the High Priest's servant, is sometimes shown lying horizontally along the bottom in a position similar to that of the guard in the Resurrection panels.⁴⁴ Usually Malchus is shown with a staff, lacking the blade which is present on the Barton fragment,⁴⁵ but in at least three panels Malchus holds a weapon which is similar to that held by the guard in some of the Resurrection scenes.⁴⁶ On balance, a Resurrection context for the Barton fragment seems more probable since the depiction of Malchus with a bladed weapon, rather than a simple staff, seems to have been the exception rather than the rule.⁴⁷

While alabaster panels were used singly for private devotion, it is very improbable that either the Betrayal or the Resurrection would have been used in this way and, given the ecclesiastical context in which they were found, it is much more probable that the fragment came from a set of, perhaps, five or seven panels which were mounted together as an altarpiece. Scenes of both the Betrayal and the Resurrection would normally belong in a Passion series. Among the surviving examples of sets of panels, Passion series and those composed of scenes of the life of the Virgin are the most numerous (see list of altarpieces by subject in Cheetham 2003, 161–77). The Resurrection panel in the V&A, which was cited earlier as a particularly close parallel for the Barton fragment, is part of a set of five Passion panels which was at one time in the church of the Holy Sepulchre,

Palma de Mallorca: the others in the set show the Betrayal, Christ carrying the Cross, the Crucifixion, and the Deposition (Cheetham 1984, 68). It should be mentioned that Passion and Virgin themes are sometimes found combined in the same sets of panels. Cheetham lists three examples of such sets which he considers are each 'probably the remains of two separate altarpieces' (Cheetham 2003, 176–7). However, in another altarpiece of about the same date as the V&A set just mentioned, from the church of Munkaþverá, Iceland, and now preserved in the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen (Cheetham 1984, 22, fig. 10) the mixture of themes seems original. Complete with its wooden frame the altarpiece contains five panels with flanking figures of standing saints. A Resurrection scene is placed in the centre; and the other scenes, all of which have a strong Marian theme, show (from left to right) the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Ascension (with the Virgin as one of the two central figures), and the Coronation of the Virgin.

Dating

Dating complete panels is difficult, and such a small fragment even more so. Sadly the form of the axe blade on the Barton fragment gives little clue to the date. It is hard to find close parallels for the shape (even allowing for the uncertainty of its lower edge) but the weapon shown on the fragment, on the similar V&A panel and on some other alabaster panels, is probably a great axe of the type to which the term *gisarme* was applied.⁴⁸ A near parallel for the right-angled triangular shape of the Barton blade (and the similar though more elongated shape on the V&A panel) is found on the weapon held by Malchus on the Betrayal panel in Reading Museum (see note 46) but here the point of the extended upper horn of the blade is located a little way forward of the line of the haft and the rear edge of the horn curves back to meet the top of the socket. The lower edge of the blade, although slightly curved, is nearly at right-angles to the haft. A similar shape to the blade on the Reading Museum panel is seen on the axe carried on ceremonial occasions by the Yeoman Gaoler of the Tower of London (Borg 1976, pl. CXXI B) though its lower edge is more curved than on the blade of the Reading panel. The Tower axe is usually considered to be English but is generally dated to the sixteenth century, rather than earlier.

The blades of the weapons on the Barton fragment and the V&A panels differ in one respect from the other examples just mentioned, in having a squat pyramidal spike or fluke opposite the blade. However, Borg cites evidence for some great axes being mounted with rear spikes or hammer heads (and sometimes also with top spikes) (Borg 1976, 339). Borg cites no surviving medieval great axes with rear spikes but he illustrates one with a small rear hammer head in the Tower of London Armouries,⁴⁹ for which he suggests a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century date and a possible Italian origin.

Cheetham (1984, 41–4), in a slight modification of Prior and Gardner (1912, bk. II, ch. 11), divides the production of these panels and related carving into four periods, *c.* 1340–80, *c.* 1380–1420, *c.* 1420–50 and *c.* 1450–1540. The V&A panel falls into Cheetham's second period and it is dated by him to the early fifteenth century. In the absence of further fragments from the Barton panel showing, for example, the style of the armour worn by the guards or the form of the top of the panel, it is not possible to date the present fragment with any certainty more closely than to the end of the fourteenth century or some time in the fifteenth century. However, it may be significant that, of the panels so far noted by the present author, all the examples showing the Resurrection where the hand of the soldier with the axe partly covers the blade, and all those showing the Betrayal where Malchus carries an axe rather than a staff, either have or are likely to have had embattled tops (the top of the Reading Museum example is missing) and this embattled type falls within the second of Cheetham's four groups, which he dates to *c.* 1380–1420.

Excavated Window Glass⁵⁰

by Penny Hebgin-Barnes

Two hundred and seventy-four individual finds of window glass pre-dating the nineteenth century were excavated at St Peter's. The fragments vary in size, but none exceeds 9 cm in height or breadth. Some have broken into two or more pieces and a minority have already crumbled into minuscule flakes, while others are on the point of following suit. These factors mean that neither the exact number of pieces of excavated window glass nor their overall area in square centimetres can be accurately determined. The great majority of the fragments are poorly preserved, being devitrified and darkened, sometimes to the point of complete opacity. A minority of the pieces are covered with surface deposits (*e.g.* mortar) which obscures the paint. In many cases small flakes have become detached from the surface of the glass, particularly at the edges, often revealing a hard, clear core layer. Forty-two pieces are illustrated (Pl. 89; Figs. 835 and 836).

Although the fragments were recovered from hundreds of contexts throughout the church, including grave fills and pits, it is worth recording that more of the noteworthy fourteenth-century pieces were found in the north aisle than in any other part of the building, with a smaller number in the nave. This distribution adds weight to the antiquarian evidence that the north aisle was glazed during the first half of the fourteenth century.

Light pitting is prevalent on the fourteenth-century pieces, but some are quite heavily pitted. Heavy pitting indicates centuries of exposure to the weather, showing that the affected pieces remained in the windows until relatively recently. Generally speaking, the fifteenth-century painted pieces are in better condition than those which pre-date them. Some of the unpainted pieces, which probably originated from plain quarries

of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century date, are now silvery and iridescent in hue. The straight, clean-cut edges and depth (never exceeding 1 mm) of these pieces confirm their post-medieval date.

The thickness of the glass can offer some indication of age, with the fourteenth-century fragments (2.5 mm minimum) being thicker than the later medieval pieces, while the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century glass is usually only about 1 mm in depth. Some of the earlier fragments vary in thickness between one edge and another by as much as 1.5 mm, this variation being typical of crown glass. One fifteenth-century architectural piece (Fig. 835, 8) displays the best example in the assemblage of a fire-rounded edge, a typical feature of cylinder glass.

The vast majority of the pieces are 'white' (*i.e.* uncoloured) glass, which in the fourteenth century almost invariably had a slight greenish hue on account of iron impurities in the sand used during its manufacture. Less than 5% are visibly coloured: among these, pot-metal green and ochre predominate, with smaller amounts of pot-metal pink and blue and flashed ruby. However, many pieces are so opaque that their original colour is impossible to determine.

Many of the fragments have one or more grozed edges. A substantial minority bear traces of 'black' (a term denoting various shades of reddish-brown) paint. In most of the fourteenth-century painted pieces this takes the form of trace lines (outlines) of varying thickness, but there are also examples of both smear and stipple shading. The dark ground of an arch (no. 8) provides a particularly good example of the latter technique. Most of the paint, especially in the fourteenth-century examples, remains firmly attached to the surface of the glass, demonstrating the efficacy of the original firing process. Paint was usually applied to the inner surface but a few pieces retain traces of back-painting, a technique usually employed for shading and modelling. Medieval glass remaining in windows is prone to losing back-painting through weathering, and most of the excavated pieces have been subject to further corrosion, so it is reasonable to assume that more has been lost. A small minority of fragments have visible traces of yellow stain, which was applied as a wash on the exterior surface, but the opaque condition of most pieces makes stain much more difficult to detect than paint, particularly on the fourteenth-century pieces which are generally more darkened than the later glass.

In most cases the small size of the painted fragments makes it difficult if not impossible to identify their subjects. The most frequently recognizable subjects are naturalistic foliage, fragments of rinceaux and borders, with a smaller number of pieces depicting drapery folds and architectural elements. Although excavated fragments of this size and condition enable the windows and glazing schemes in which they originated to be dated and stylistic elements to be identified, it is rare for them to yield much information about iconography or the identity of donors. The few fragments excavated at St Peter's which form an exception to this rule merit individual discussion.

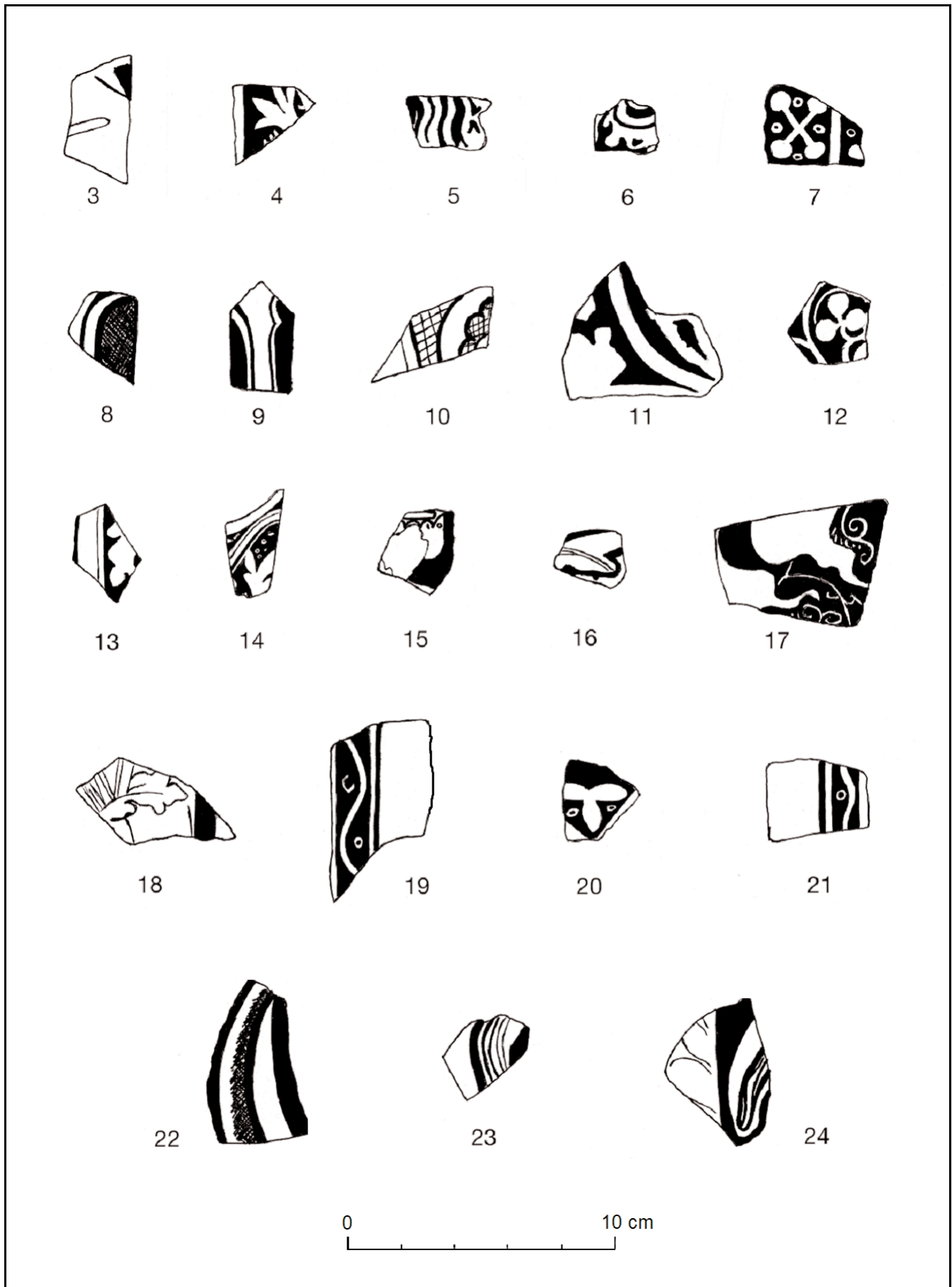


Fig. 835: Excavated medieval window glass, nos. 3–24. For descriptions, see Table 49. Scale 1:2. Drawing: Penny Hebgin-Barnes

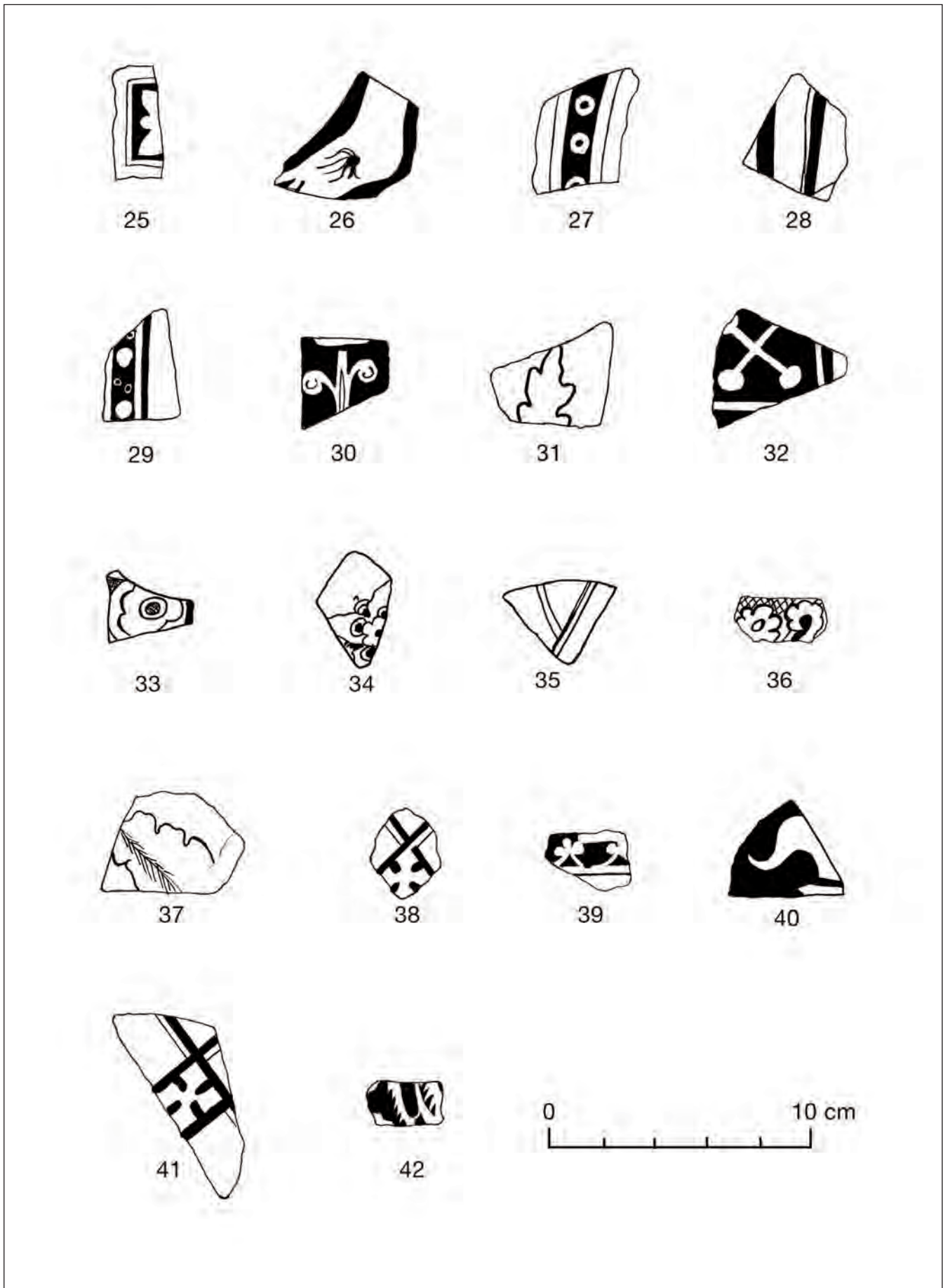


Fig. 836: Excavated medieval window glass, nos. 25–42. For descriptions, see Table 49. Scale 1:2. Drawing: Penny Hebgin-Barnes

Table 49: Details of the most significant fragments of medieval window glass
 For illustrations, see Pl. 89 (nos. 1, 2) and Figs. 835 and 836 (nos. 3–42)

<i>EH no.</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Context Dims in cm</i>	<i>Brief description</i>	<i>Condition</i>	<i>Colour</i> <i>(unless white)</i>	<i>Paint</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Illus.</i>
Unnumbered	7	422}	heads of St Ann and the Virgin	excellent; in 3 pieces		bp, ys	14th-c	1
Unnumbered	8	301}		white surface deposit		bp	14th-c	3
881020 77	S8	16	black lines; unidentified subject; back-painting	white surface deposit	ruby	bp	14th-c	4
881020 81(1)	8	14	hawthorn rinceau frag., design as St George					
			panel's blue rinceau; grozed edge					
881020 81(2)	8	14	stem fragment; grozed edges	white surface deposit	green	bp	14th-c	
881020 82(1)	S8	13	finger pointing at inscription	good		bp	15th-c	2
881020 82(2)	S8	13	beard frag.	opaque, iridescent surface		bp	14th-c	5
881020 96	8	45	stylized foliate diaper?	opaque, flaking surface		bp	14th-c	6
881021 05	7	75	painted frag., detail of ball-crocketed finial or armour joint	opaque		bp	14th-c	
881021 15	8	225	diapered band with saltire pattern from canopy	opaque, pitting	ochre	bp	14th-c	7
			or possibly shield; 3 grozed edges					
881021 16	8	225	frag. of canopy arch with stipple shading; grozed edge	good		bp	15th-c	8
881021 20	8	223	piece of canopy with window openings	exterior pitting	ochre	bp	14th-c	9
881021 22(1)	7	237	hatched ground adjoining straight border with yellow stain	fair		bp, ys	15th-c	10
881021 22(2)	A/B	237	architectural frag. with marbling effect	fair		bp, ys	15th-c	
			(small reserved circles) and yellow stain					
881021 27	8	250	irregular shape with all 4 edges neatly grozed,	opaque		bp	14th-c	11
			painted stem(?)					
881021 31	8	256	clover-leaf rinceau fragment	opaque, light pits, flaking	green	bp	14th-c	12
881021 32	8	258	seaweed rinceau fragment within plain border	surface deposit		bp	14th-c	13
881021 34(1)	8	261	hawthorn rinceau fragment; grozed edge	opaque	ruby	bp	14th-c	14
881021 34(2)	8	261	part of canopy or covered ?cup	opaque, flaking, coated		bp	14th-c	15
				with cement				
881021 35	8	272	architectural piece; grozed edge	opaque, exterior pitting		bp	14th-c	
881021 36	8A	273	oak leaf from naturalistic grisaille	light brown surface deposit		bp	14th-c	16
881021 40	8	282	stylized tendrilled foliage rinceau	light corrosion	pale green	bp	14th-c	17
881021 42(1)	8A	289	fragment of quarry with vine trail grisaille	heavy ext. pitting		bp	14th-c	18
881021 42(2)	8A	289	border with reserved undulating line and annulet pattern;	surface deposit		bp, ys	14th-c	19
			grozed edges					
881021 42(3)	8A	289	diapered band with saltire pattern from canopy or	opaque	blue?	bp	14th-c	20
			possibly shield					
881021 42(4)	8A	289	fragment from edge of same/similar quarry to 42(1),	heavy ext. pitting		bp	14th-c	
			with stem					
881021 42(5)	8A	289	stylized foliage form	fair		bp	14th-c	
881021 43(1)	8A	292	architectural fragment with smear shading; grozed edge	exterior pitting		bp	14th-c	
881021 43(2)	8A	292	fragment of stems	opaque, exterior pitting		bp, ys	14th-c	
881021 43(3)	8A	292	strapwork fragment, probably from border	opaque, surface deposit		bp, ys	14th-c	
881021 48(1)	8	301	border with reserved undulating line and annulet pattern;	heavy surface deposit		bp, ys	14th-c	21
			grozed edge					
881021 48(2)	8	301	yellow drapery with smear shading and grozed edges	surface deposit; in 2 pieces	ochre	bp	14th-c	22

881021	48(3)	8	301	3.3 × 2.0 × 0.035	flowing hair, with back painting (similar smaller frag. in same bag)	fair	pink	bp	14th-c	23
881021	48(4)	8	301	5.2 × 3.7 × 0.02	drapery and ?hair, with stipple shading	darkened; in 2 pieces		bp	14th-c	24
881021	48(5)	8	301	1.8 × 2.1 × 0.03	border with pattern as 48(1)	opaque, surface deposit	green	bp	14th-c	
881021	48(6)	8	301	4.5 × 3.4 × 0.025	thick central plant stem; grozed edges	surface deposit and pitting		bp	14th-c	
881021	48(7)	8	301	4.1 × 3.3 × 0.015	drapery with stipple shading & back painting	fair		bp	15th-c	
881021	49	6C	305	4.2 × 1.7 × 0.03	end of diapered band from canopy or possibly shield; 3 grozed edges	opaque, surface deposit	green?	bp	14th-c	25
881021	56	8	337	7.9 × 4.4 × 0.02	large scale foliage ?border design; grozed edges	surface deposit, pitting; in 2 pieces		bp	14th-c	
881021	64	7	367	2.4 × 1.6 × 0.02	drapery folds or angel's wing feathers (as 88102182)	light pits, discolouration	pink	bp	14th-c	26
881021	69(1)	C	410	5.9 × 4.1 × 0.025	pink right foot of Christ with nail wound gushing blood; grozed edges	incomplete, somewhat darkened		bp	14th-c	
881021	69(2)	C	410	5.4 × 3.0 × 0.025	neatly grozed rectangle from border	opaque	blue?	bp	14th-c	
881021	75	7	436	4.3 × 3.0 × 0.035	section of annulet border from canopy arch; grozed edges	opaque	pinkish	bp	14th-c	27
881021	81	6	469	3.3 × 1.6 × 0.025	deep blue unpainted fragment	very friable, surface deposit	blue	bp	14th-c	28
881021	82	5	470	3.7 × 3.3 × 0.02	drapery folds or angel's wing feathers (as 88102164)	light pits, discolouration		bp	14th-c	
881021	83	6	479	4.8 × 4.5 × 0.035	ochre unpainted square; grozed edges.	complete but flaking	ochre	bp	14th-c	
881021	88	8	506	4.4 × 2.0 × 0.02	From border. No visible paint	surface, light pits		bp	14th-c	
881021	90	8	509	4.4 × 1.5 × 0.03	drapery with painted ?fold seaweed type leaf	fair	ochre	bp	14th-c	
881021	93	7	541	2.5 × 1.5 × 0.035	pale pink unpainted scrap	darkened		bp	14th-c	
881021	94	7	545	4.7 × 1.9 × 0.03	plant stem from grisaille	opaque, flaking surface	pink	bp	14th-c	
881022	00	7	613	5.1 × 2.4 × 0.03	2 unpainted blue pieces	surface deposit, flaking edges	blue	bp	14th-c	
881022	04	B	902	5.0 × 3.0 × 0.015	plant stems, some straight edges	corroded		bp	14th-c or later	
881022	10	8	913	4.1 × 2.6 × 0.025	border decorated with large beads alternating with pairs of small annulets	darkened		bp, ys	14th-c	29
881022	16	8	942	3.2 × 3.2 × 0.03	tip of comma-crocketed gable	opaque	pinkish(?)	bp	14th-c	30
881022	18	8	944	3.2 × 2.4 × 0.02	deep green fronded hawthorn-like rinceau	crumbling edges, exterior pits	green	bp	14th-c	
881022	26	u/p	991	5.9 × 1.5 × 0.035	green hatched sliver	light pits	green	bp	14th-c	
881022	69(1)	8	1012	3.6 × 4.4 × 0.02	fragment of oak leaves from naturalistic grisaille	opaque; in 2 pieces		bp	14th-c	31
881022	69(2)	8	1012	5.0 × 3.6 × 0.025	reserved saltire on black ground, probably from border	exterior pits, opaque	ochre	bp	14th-c	32
881022	73	8	1028	3.0 × 2.3 × 0.02	flower, doubtless from robe diapered with floral pattern. Hatched centre	deposit on surface		bp	15th-c	33
881022	87	6	1159	4.3 × 2.7 × 0.02	fragment of quarry of standard stylized design	opaque		bp	15th-c	34
881022	97	A/D	3014	3.2 × 3.5 × 0.035	fragment of trellised naturalistic foliage quarry with stem	opaque		bp	14th-c	35
881023	17	8	3671	3.3 × 1.8 × 0.015	foliage on hatched ground, perhaps from quarry	opaque, flaky, ext. pitting		bp	15th-c	36
881023	33	8	4611	5.4 × 3.6 × 0.03	oak leaf from grisaille	opaque, heavy ext. pitting		bp	14th-c	37
881023	46(1)	8	5173	3.3 × 2.7 × 0.03	tip of trellised quarry	opaque		bp	14th-c	38
881023	46(2)	8	5173	2.8 × 2.1 × 0.03	architectural fragment with trefoil decoration; grozed edge	opaque		bp	14th-c	39
881023	46(3)	8	5173	3.4 × 4.1 × 0.03	part of small roundel bearing ?flaming star	opaque		bp	14th-c	40
881023	46(4)	8	5173	7.8 × 3.0 × 0.035	part of trellised quarries; grozed edge	opaque		bp	14th-c	41
881023	55	7	5279	2.7 × 1.5 × 0.03	scrap of serrated leaf rinceau; grozed edges	opaque		bp	14th-c	42

Phase key: 5 = late 13th century; 6 = 14th century; 7 = 15th–16th century; 8 = 17th–18th century; u/p = unrecorded; A = grave of 1700–1899; B = grave of 1500–1699;

C = grave of 1300–1499; D = grave of 1100–1299

Paint key: bp = black paint; ys = yellow stain

The most impressive piece, which although broken into three is one of the best preserved, depicts the heads of St Ann and her young daughter, the Virgin Mary (F422/301; Phase 7/8). The scene of St Ann teaching the Virgin to read by pointing at the text in an open book featured frequently in English medieval iconography. It was a characteristically English subject which seems to have been invented without reference to any biblical or apocryphal text (Scase 1993). The earliest examples of the scene that can definitely be identified date from the early fourteenth century, but late thirteenth-century fragments including two heads, a book and an unnaturally elongated index finger resembling a pointer, which survive in a window at Thurlby (Lincs.), suggest that it may have originated even earlier (Hebgin-Barnes 1996, 336–7).

The Barton St Ann and the Virgin are set on a ground of square trellised quarries bearing stylized foliage (Pl. 89, no. 1). The design of the trelliswork, the intersections of which are decorated with quatrefoil motifs, is identical to that of some larger scale examples (*cf.* nos. 38 and 41). St Ann wears a wimple and a yellow cloak fastened with a large morse. Smear shading is used on the drapery folds. Some of the edges are neatly grozed. The figures' small size (the whole fragment measures only 7.5 × 6.3 cm) suggests that they derived from a tracery light. This subsidiary location probably accounts for the fact that they are not as finely drawn as the head of the large surviving figure of St James (see ch. 10, pp. 580–88), despite being executed in the same style. The piece was recovered from two contexts, a clay floor and a layer of loam over the northern half of the north aisle, both lying below the north windows, in one of which the glass must have originated.

In contrast to the two remaining fourteenth-century panels contemporary with it, the St Ann and the Virgin fragment is in near perfect condition, with no hint of pitting or opacity. It is unusual for glass of this period to be so well preserved, which suggests that it was no longer exposed to the weather by the time the aerial pollution of the modern age began; this is confirmed by the archaeological stratigraphy which confirms that the glass was deposited in the ground in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. At only 1 mm thick, it is also thinner than the other fragments of the same date, although it shares with them the glossy fire-finished surface of the glass, the embedded impurities and the characteristic style of the painting.

The second noteworthy fragment depicts a finger pointing to text comprising rows of blackletter minims (Pl. 89, no. 2), which was found in a layer of loose loam and rubble inside the west end of the nave. The blackletter script, which replaced Lombardic lettering during the course of the fourteenth century, indicates that this piece is later in date than the St Ann and the Virgin fragment. However, it probably derives from a larger version of the same scene. It is also possible, but less likely, that it represents some other holy figure, such as an Old Testament prophet indicating a book

containing his prophecies or an angel pointing at a text, since it is more usual for such figures to hold scrolls rather than books.

The third interesting piece is a pink right foot pierced by a nail hole and gushing streams of blood (no. 26). The lower toes are missing and the leg is broken off above the ankle. This derives from an otherwise lost early to mid-fourteenth-century figure of the risen Christ displaying his wounds. Such figures could appear singly but often formed part of a Doom composition, with Christ the Judge flanked by angels bearing emblems of the Passion and presiding over the dead rising from their graves. In either case the figure of Christ would almost certainly have originated in the apex tracery light of a window, a position that emphasized his pre-eminence. The foot fragment was recovered from a grave in the second bay from the east end of the nave, a location which gives little indication of where it might have originated.

Some other fragments dating from the early to mid-fourteenth century depict recognizable subjects including hair, drapery, wing feathers, foliage, architectural fragments and naturalistic grisaille in the form of plant stems and oak and vine foliage. There are also coloured fragments of hawthorn, clover and seaweed rinceau, some with reserved annulets and tendrils. Architectural and decorative elements include window openings, marbling and geometric patterns incorporating circles, saltires and quatrefoils. The more detailed of these pieces are recognizably in the same style as the two fourteenth-century panels depicting saints surviving in the church: for example, a ruby fragment (no. 4) excavated from beneath the east wall of the tower bears hawthorn rinceau of the same design as the blue rinceau in the St George panel (see ch. 10, pp. 580–88).

Several pieces bear border designs characteristic of the first half of the fourteenth century (*e.g.* nos. 19 and 21), both found in the north aisle, and no. 29, found in a deposit layer in the nave). Such designs often comprise a black matt band on which are set large circles or saltires punctuated by pairs of small annulets reserved by stickwork against the black ground. The geometrical forms, annulets and plain strips bordering the matt band are almost invariably coloured with yellow stain. These various border pieces are rather rougher in execution than the two surviving panels, but could derive from tracery lights of the same windows, which being of less importance than the main panels were often executed by the master glazier's assistants and apprentices.

Another category which is well represented is grisaille, featuring naturalistic oak and vine foliage outlined on white glass, often set on a ground of plain trellised quarries. As previously noted, in a few cases the intersections of the trelliswork are decorated with quatrefoil motifs. Foliage grisaille, which was cheap and easy to produce, was the most common background in late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century glazing. Naturalistic vine grisaille is used as a ground in the two fourteenth-century panels.

The excavated fourteenth-century fragments, together with the evidence of the two surviving contemporary panels (see ch. 10, pp. 579–93), confirm that the north aisle contained a series of band windows, a form typical of English glazing at this period. The main lights of band windows comprised colourful horizontal rows of single figures or scenes set beneath canopies and separated from the row above or below by uncoloured bands of grisaille. The features depicted on the excavated fragments are staple elements of this type of window: grisaille, coloured rinceau grounds, architectural features and drapery.

A far smaller proportion of pieces can be assigned to the fifteenth century. The most noteworthy of these include part of a decorated quarry (no. 34, found in a grave near the east window of the south aisle), a small portion of floral diaper from a garment (no. 33, found in grave fill near the east window of the south aisle), drapery with stipple shading and back-painting,⁵¹ found beneath the north windows of the north aisle) and architectural fragments demonstrating stipple shading (no. 8) and marbling effect,⁵² both found beneath the north arcade near the east end). Quarries bearing identical self-contained designs usually resembling stylized foliate forms executed in black paint and yellow stain, as in the example found here, superseded grisaille as the standard background during the fifteenth century. The context of the floral diaper and quarry fragments suggest that they could have come from the east window of the south aisle, which was glazed during the fifteenth century.

Table 49 provides a brief résumé of the most noteworthy pieces, including all those that are illustrated. Most are painted but a few are included because they provide good examples of coloured glass. The table does not include all the painted pieces: as previously noted, a fragment may be painted and have grozed edges without being particularly informative if too little of the design is visible to reveal what it represents, and unfortunately this is true of the majority of the excavated painted pieces. Many of them would undoubtedly be of greater interest if their condition were not so poor, with flaking surfaces, opacity, pitting, surface deposit, or a combination of these factors frequently rendering the painted design illegible.

Lead⁵³

by *Quita Mould*

A relatively small quantity of lead alloy was recovered from the excavations. It occurred in 137 contexts and unstratified deposits, and principally comprised lead associated with the window glazing and roofing.

Window lead

The window lead (1.5 kg) chiefly comprised comes and came trimmings. In addition, a small number of twisted strips or stem fragments were found, being the ties used to secure leading to the iron window bars.

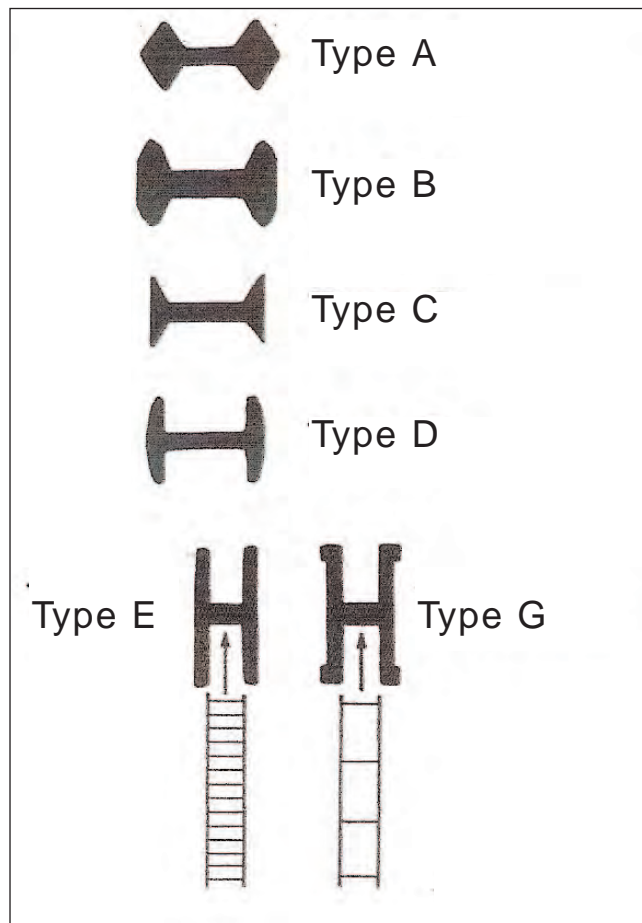


Fig. 837: Cross-sections of lead window comes. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Window lead was found in seventy-one contexts, thirty-one of which were grave fills where the lead had been accidentally incorporated. The majority of the window lead came from features of post-medieval date, and more than a third (38%) of that was found to be of medieval date occurring residually.

The window lead was classified according to the scheme proposed by Knight (1984, 49–51; 1985, 154–6), and only 10% was unidentifiable. Much of the lead was clearly scrap that had been folded and crushed ready for melting down. Consequently, features such as the internal measurement of the web and exact profile of the sides were not always well preserved. Hence, a simplified version of Knight's classification has been used here. The six different window came sections identified are shown in Figure 837.

Cames with lozenge-shaped flanges

Forty-one per cent of the comes found (600 g) had been cast with flanges of lozenge-shaped profile (type A). The flanges (sides) were narrow (4–5 mm) but the web (the U-shaped seating to hold the glass) was c. 3–4 mm wide. Comes of this type, conforming to Knight's type A, date to the medieval period. A small quantity of type A comes was incorporated in the fill of graves of

Phase D, deposits of structural Period 7, and later features. Over 90% (500 g) of type A came occurred residually in post-medieval contexts. Two lengths of came flange, apparently miscastings, were found in a grave fill (F449) of fourteenth- or fifteenth-century date. Another came fragment of type A had remains of solder lying at right-angles, providing evidence of how it had been tied to a stanchion or saddle-bar, *i.e.* the vertical or horizontal window bars (Marks 1991, 274).

Cames with trimmed flanges

Twenty-two per cent of the came (300 g), though cast originally with lozenge-shaped flanges (type A above), had the casting flashes on the outer edges of the came trimmed away to leave a straight outer profile. Waste (100 g) from the removal of the casting flashes was recovered from seventeen contexts, the majority of the trimmings being found alongside the came from which they are likely to have been cut. Came with straight, trimmed flanges correspond to Knight's types B and C. The slight difference in the width of the web and the shape of the outer edge that distinguishes came of Knight's type B from that of type C is difficult to identify in the Barton assemblage. A single example of type B was recognized, but the majority appear to be his type C. A came of type C was found in a Period 4 context (F447). While window leads have been found on ecclesiastical sites dating from the Anglo-Saxon period (Egan 1998, 51), none is certainly as early as this at Barton, and it is possible that such a small amount of lead (5 g) may derive from a later context.

Two pieces of came of type C, found in a deposit of fourteenth- or fifteenth-century date (F5279), outside the chancel, had right-angled junctions present, indicating that they held quarries of rectangular shape. Another, from a Period 8 deposit (F258), had a Y-shaped junction of leads, indicating a border of triangular-shaped quarries.

The occurrence of both came and flange trimmings indicates that this type of came was being manufactured on site as required during the installation of the windows. A came with the web missing at either end was apparently a fault during manufacture (F272). A small amount of lead (40 g), possibly scrap fragments deriving from came manufacture, occurred in a late medieval grave fill. Since painted glass was leaded in the workshop and installed as ready prepared panels (Marks 1991, 274) it suggests that came of type C (Knight's type B/C) were made on site for the installation of clear glass in the windows.

Milled came with plain webs

A small quantity of came (3%, 20 g) corresponding to Knight's type D was recognized in deposits from Period 7 (F56) and later. Came of this type are thought to have been made in a toothless mill and date

to the late medieval period (Egan 1998, 52; Knight 1985, 156). In common with the cast types, the flanges were narrow (5 mm) and the web was wide (*c.* 5 mm), to hold a thick quarry.

Milled came with reeded webs

The remaining came (24%) were distinguished by having been made in a toothed mill, indicated by reeding in the web. The web was also noticeably narrower (*c.* 2 mm) than the came previously described, and thus held a thinner quarry. The flanges were taller (7–9 mm) and distinctly thinner. Milled came with reeding in the web became widely used during the sixteenth century (Egan 1998, 52). A very small quantity of window lead (1%) of Knight's type E, distinguished by having closely spaced reeding in the web, was recovered from contexts of eighteenth- or nineteenth-century date (F272, F952 and F3716/3717).

The majority of the milled came were of Knight's type G (300 g) with widely spaced reeding in the web, and occur in post-medieval contexts. Some came of Knight's type G with widely spaced reeding had distinctly shorter flanges (7 mm, rather than 9 mm), giving a 'lighter' appearance to the leading.

One fragment of came of type G, recovered from a modern deposit (F5126), had remains of a triangular-shaped quarry *in situ*. The glass is *c.* 2 mm in thickness, and is now amber coloured. Another fragment of type G came (F18) had right-angled joints, indicating large rectangular quarries *c.* 3 mm in thickness.⁵⁴

Roofing lead

A small amount of lead was found that was associated with the church roof: offcuts of sheet (3.25 kg), strips (80 g) and trimmings (700 g). Pieces of lead sheet with iron nails with flat, round heads still present were recovered (1.5 kg); also nailed lead strips (400 g). The nailed strips, including four examples with a single nail hole present, were used to secure roofing tiles that had slipped out of place. These strips, called 'tingles', were recovered from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century grave fills.

Many of the pieces had been deliberately folded or rolled up, ready for melting down and reuse. In addition, a small quantity of solidified spills of lead (100 g), partially melted sheet fragments (30 g), and fragments with a single rough-cast face (400 g) were found. Over thirty lead-melting hearths, along with casting floors of sand, were found in the earlier medieval levels inside the western annexe and tower; there were several occurrences in the nave too (p. 387).

A small quantity of sheet trimmings (20 g) and partially melted fragments (10 g) was found in grave fills of medieval date (Phases D and C), and a wider range of lead offcuts (1.5 kg) and waste (500 g) in post-medieval fills (Phases B and A) and grave earths. A small amount of material occurred in earlier deposits, from Period 1 onwards.

Analysis of Bell-Casting and Other Metalworking Debris⁵⁵

by David Dungworth and Paul Maclean

Features relating to industrial activities were recorded during the excavation, including two bell-casting pits (one at the west end of the nave and one under the tower), and a foundry under the tower (pp. 380 and 497–500).

This report discusses some historical and archaeological evidence for medieval bell-founding in England. Each category of material (especially bell-mould, casting debris, slag and hearth lining) is described in turn. The material was also analyzed using energy dispersive X-ray fluorescence (EDXRF) and five samples were analyzed quantitatively using an energy dispersive spectrometer attached to a scanning electron microscope (SEM-EDS). The stratigraphic information relating to the debris is also examined to determine where and when metalworking activities took place.

Excavation recovered a range of metal waste, slag and ceramic material relating to the working of lead and the casting of copper-alloy bells. These materials were examined to determine:

i) The range of metals being cast.

Analysis of the waste metal and slags would show whether the copper alloys being cast were typical of those used for bells (very high tin levels) or were more appropriate for the casting of other artefacts (such as cauldrons). The extensive evidence for lead working (the 'plumbery') was also examined to determine if this related to structural work, pewter casting or silver refining.

ii) The size and type of bells being cast.

The size and shape of many of the ceramic mould fragments indicate the casting of bells. Examination of all the mould fragments was undertaken to determine whether more than one bell was cast, if any of the bells related to those known from historical records, and if other artefacts were also being cast.

Medieval bell-founding

The interpretation of bell-founding on this site is greatly helped by two important texts and archaeological evidence for bell-founding which has been recovered from other sites. Descriptions of bell-casting survive from the twelfth century, by Theophilus (Hawthorne and Smith 1979, 167–76), and from the sixteenth century, by Biringuccio (Smith and Gnudi 1959, 260–72). Both describe similar processes whereby a two-part mould was built up around a horizontally mounted wooden spindle (the outer part of the mould is called the 'cope', the inner part the 'core'). This spindle on which the clay core was built up could be rotated which ensured the symmetry of the bell. Theophilus describes the moulding clay as being well-kneaded with dung, while

Biringuccio recommends the addition of a wide variety of fine organic material. Theophilus describes how a wax pattern of the bell was built up over the core mould, while Biringuccio refers to a removable clay pattern with a facing of ash or tallow to ease removal. In the former case the wax could be melted out while in the latter case the cope mould would have to be lifted to allow the removal of the clay pattern. The change in the use of material for the pattern may have been necessitated by a shortage of wax and the increasing size of bells. Finally the cope mould was built up over the pattern (Hawthorne and Smith 1979, figs. 21, 22). The wooden spindle was then removed and the iron clapper and the wax patterns for the cannons added. The mould was fired before it was used and this was commonly carried out in a specially dug pit (with the rim of the bell at the base of the pit and the cannons at the top). The firing would strengthen the mould, remove water and (in the case of a wax pattern) allow the wax to flow out. Tylecote (1992, 86) suggests that bell-moulds were fired in the range of 500–600°C.

The teeming (pouring) of the molten metal into the mould also took place with the mould inside the pit. The metal in the melting furnace would have been 'tapped' and then allowed to run through channels into the mould. This process is described by Biringuccio (Smith and Gnudi 1959, 289) and illustrated in a window in York Minster (Tylecote 1992, 84). By placing the mould in a pit and filling all of the space in between the mould and the walls of the pit, the bell-founders helped to prevent any catastrophic cracking of the mould during casting. The great weight of metal involved meant that such cracking was always a dangerous possibility: Tylecote (1992, 86) estimated that the bell cast at Cheddar in the thirteenth century weighed about 340 kg. Theophilus recommends the use of a tin bronze containing one part tin to four parts copper (*i.e.* 20% tin) for casting bells. Biringuccio refers to the use of alloys containing 18–21% tin, 12–25% tin, or 25% tin (Smith and Gnudi 1959, 210, 300, 388). In addition, he refers to an alloy containing 25% copper and 75% tin (a transcription error?), and the occasional addition of small amounts of antimony and/or silver to bell-metal.

Archaeological evidence for bell-casting in the form of bell pits, bell-mould and casting debris has been recovered from at least forty sites in England.⁵⁶ This has shown that the mould fragments were made from fine clays with a fine organic temper. The surfaces in contact with the metal are now black or grey (reduced-fired) while the outer surfaces are orange or red (oxidized-fired). Fragments of core mould have convex reduced-fired surfaces while cope moulds have concave reduced-fired surfaces. The degree of fragmentation of the moulds varies from site to site, but core fragments are generally larger than cope fragments. Analysis of metal traces on mould fragments and slag associated with bell-casting (*e.g.* Tylecote 1986, 39) usually shows high tin levels (often over 20%).

Table 50: Weights (g) of material by category and the area from which it was recovered

	<i>Nave</i>	<i>Tower</i>	<i>Annexe</i>	<i>Outside</i>	<i>Total</i>
Bell-mould	9,308	417			9,725
Hearth lining	672	94			766
Vitrified brick/tile		507			507
Copper spillage	386	71	6	50	513
Copper-alloy slag	457	229		94	780
Copper-alloy object	204	44		51	299
Fired clay	6924	76		2348	9348
Lead spillage	2758	22	141		2921
Lead-working waste			353		353
Total	20,709	1460	500	2543	25,212

Methods of analysis and examination

Approximately 25 kg of ceramic, metallic and vitreous material from Barton were submitted for study. Samples were carefully examined (often using a low-magnification binocular microscope), counted and weighed.⁵⁷ Many samples were qualitatively analyzed using EDXRF (*e.g.* to confirm that the lead was lead and not lead-tin alloy). Five samples of copper alloy were selected for closer examination and quantitative chemical analysis. These were mounted in epoxy resin and polished to a 1-micron finish. The analyses were carried out in a scanning electron microscope using an energy dispersive spectrometer (SEM-EDS).

Summary of results

The material was divided into a number of different categories based on simple characteristics such as colour, shape and density (Bayley *et al.* 2001). These were weighed and counted (Table 50). Each category of material is described in turn below.

The diagnostic residues recovered indicate the melting and casting of copper alloys and the melting of lead.

Bell-mould

A large quantity of distinctive ceramic bell-mould (9.725 kg) was submitted for examination. It is often difficult to distinguish between the ceramic moulds used for casting bells and those used for casting large domestic vessels such as cauldrons. The context in which these moulds were discovered (inside a church) and the chemical composition of the casting waste (a high-tin bronze, see below) clearly show that these moulds were used for casting bells. Most of the bell-mould derives from a Period 4 bell-pit in the nave (p. 380), although a few fragments were found in the tower associated with bell-casting in Period 7 (p. 498).

The bell-mould consists of pieces of fired clay with a porous, low density fabric which would have contained a high proportion of finely divided organic matter prior to firing, possibly added in the form of animal

dung. Any fragments of organic temper have been removed by the firing of the mould. The porosity of the mould fabric would have enabled the escape of gases during casting and given the mould some elasticity to absorb stresses from contraction of the casting during cooling. None of these fragments contains any noticeable mineral temper, in contrast to the fired clay and hearth lining which contained much mineral temper. Most fragments have the clearly recognizable smooth and gently curving surface typical of bell-moulds. Many original surfaces have fine circumferential striations such as may have been produced by forming the pattern and the mould by turning on a spindle. The clay has not been fired to a high temperature and is relatively soft but has been fired uniformly. Its colour varies from an oxidized orange through greys and browns to a fully reduced black. The more reduced colours are commonly associated with the inner surfaces of the mould, which would have been in contact with the metal. The oxidized surfaces on the large fragments of core mould from F181 appear to have been applied separately to the mould. While differences in firing colour are common in moulds and should not automatically be seen as evidence for different layers, here the outer oxidized layer appears to overlie a smooth reduced-fired surface (especially noticeable at the base: Fig. 838). In addition, the alignment of pores closely follows the apparent interface between these two different clay layers. The outer layer may be the remains of extra clay added to hold the cope and core moulds together as was noticed on the Kirkstall Abbey mould (Duncan and Wrathmell 1986). Most of the larger fragments of bell-mould can be identified as core mould from near the rim of a bell. Numerous smaller fragments have a concave inner surface and derive from the cope but many others cannot be assigned to any particular part of the mould. The few mould fragments from the tower are generally very similar to those from the nave, although the fabric of the clay is more yellow.

Three segments of the core of the bell-mould from F181 (weighing 6.4 kg) are a possible fit, and represent approximately one-fifth of a complete mould circumference. The inner portion of the core mould shows a

break (Fig. 838, A) where the rest of the mould would have continued upwards and inwards. The broad 'shelf' extending outwards from this would have corresponded to the rim of the bell (Fig. 838, B). The 'step' beyond this (Fig. 838, C) may have acted as a means of aligning the core and cope mould. Assuming that the step in between B and C corresponds to the outer rim of the bell cast in this mould, it would have had a diameter of about 570 mm (22.4 ins).

One of the aims of the study of the mould fragments was to match any inscription or decoration to those bells recorded from Barton-upon-Humber. The historical record provides relevant information on bells cast from the late sixteenth century to mid-eighteenth century (1598, 1666, 1741 and 1743), including the diameters of the bells and their inscriptions (North 1882, 300–1). None of the mould fragments, however, provided unequivocal evidence for inscription or decoration. The rim diameter reconstructed from the surviving core mould (thirteenth century) is 570 mm (22.4 ins) which is at least 100 mm (4 ins) less than any of the historically known bells (diameters of 27.25, 29.25, 31.25, 31.75, 34.75 and 40.0 ins), which are of later dates.

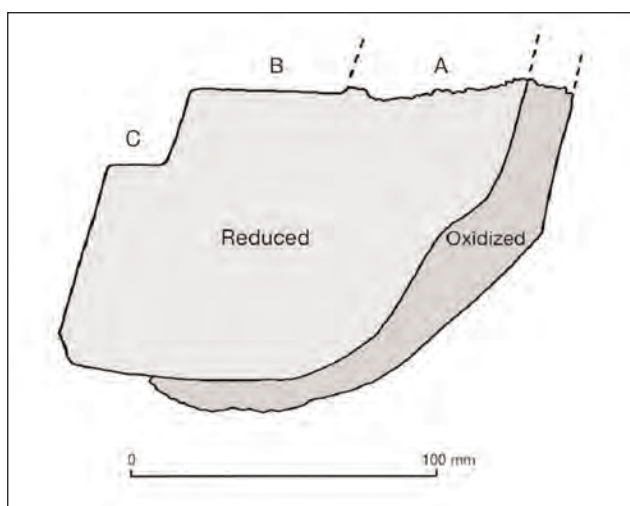


Fig. 838: Cross-section of core bell mould from context F181, showing reduced-fired core and oxidized-fired possible additional clay. Scale 1:25. Drawing: David Dungworth

Metal spillages

Amorphous lumps of lead (2.921 kg) and copper alloys (513 g) were recovered from locations throughout the interior of the church although most were from the nave, and much of the lead came from a single feature (a Period 6 hearth). In some cases these spillages could have been formed during accidental fires (especially lead, which has a relatively low melting point) but they are most likely to be waste from casting operations.

Qualitative EDXRF analysis of the lead spillages showed them all to be more-or-less pure lead with no use of tin-lead alloys. Lead spillages are frequently found on church sites, *e.g.* Cheddar (Rahtz 1979, fig. 75) and Castle Rising (Heyworth 1997), and may be associated with the working of lead for constructional purposes (Knight 1997).

Three copper-alloy spillages had high tin contents (Table 51) typical of bell-metal. Two additional copper-alloy fragments were analyzed: a fragment of a bell, and a fragment of a vessel (for discussion of these, see below).

Copper-alloy slag

Numerous fragments of slag, totalling 780 g, were examined. They tended to be small amorphous lumps, grey-black in colour with some redder areas (owing to the presence of copper oxide) and varying widely in density and porosity. Spots of green corroded copper also occurred across the surface of many slag samples. Qualitative EDXRF analysis confirmed the presence of non-ferrous metals. In some cases very strong results for tin were recorded, consistent with the formation of melting slags during the melting and casting of bell-metal. The association of the slag with bell-metal spillages and bell-mould fragments confirms that this slag was formed during bell-founding. Most of the copper-alloy slag was recovered from the nave and the tower.

Hearth or furnace lining

Fragments of vitrified ceramic hearth or furnace structures were recovered, including 766 g of clay hearth lining and 507 g of vitrified brick or tile. All of the vitrified brick or tile was recovered from a Period 7 pit in the tower. The majority of the hearth lining

Table 51: Composition of metal spillages and artefacts (SEM-EDS, nd = not detected)

Description	Area	Context	Sn (%)	Pb (%)	Sb (%)
Copper-alloy spillage	Nave	181	23.7	5.3	0.5
Copper-alloy spillage	Tower	568	20.6	3.8	nd
Copper-alloy spillage	Tower	511	23.6	3.1	1.1
Fragment of bell?	Tower	511	20.6	3.1	nd
Vessel	Graveyard	7016	13.2	1.1	6.1

was recovered from the nave but mostly from disturbed contexts (graves, etc.). The clay lining had a mixed organic and coarse mineral temper and had been fired to a high temperature. Most fragments of hearth lining had a vitrified layer on the concave surface which was coloured black or red (the latter was due to the presence of copper oxide). All of the vitrified brick or tile came from within the tower and was associated with the later period of copper-alloy working.

Fired clay

Large quantities of fired clay (9.348 kg) were recovered from contexts inside and outside the church. Most of the fired clay came from the nave (in particular from a Period 4 pit). The fired clay from outside the church was mainly recovered from Period 1C contexts (*i.e.* pre-dating any other metalworking evidence). The fired clay lumps consist of highly heterogeneous clay with large and varied inclusions, and as a whole are not uniformly fired (this is especially true for the material recovered from outside the church). In contrast, the bell-moulds have 'clean' and uniform fabrics. The fired clay is usually oxidized fired and EDXRF analysis rarely indicated the presence of non-ferrous metals. Such material could derive from non-metallurgical activities (*e.g.* structural daub or an oven). Much of the fired clay from the nave came from the bell-casting pit F181 and was associated with bell-mould fragments. Lumps of clay such as these may have been used during the preparation of the mould and during the casting of the bell to support or strengthen the mould, or could have been parts of an associated furnace structure.

Lead-working waste

Small amounts (353 g) of dense but vesicular material were recovered from within the western annexe. It is off-white at the surface, but grades into yellow and grey-green within. EDXRF analysis shows that the material contains large amounts of lead (but no silver). Some fragments have clay hearth lining attached. It is likely that this material was formed by the accidental oxidation of lead and the reaction of this with the clay lining within the hearths in which it was melted. As such this indicates that the lead melting was carried out under conditions that were far more oxidizing than was desirable.

Other material

Among the material submitted for examination and analysis were large numbers of copper-alloy fragments (299 g), often too corroded to allow identification as artefacts, casting waste or scrap metal. One small fragment (F511, tower) had a smooth surface on one side and a rough surface on the other. It is possible that this fragment was formed when an old bell was broken up. A sample was taken from this, and one from a fragment of a small vessel found in the fill of a Phase A burial to the north of the church (F7016). These were analyzed (SEM-EDS) to determine their chemical composition (Table 51). The possible bell fragment had a chemical composition typical of bell-metal. The small vessel had lower tin and lead contents than the bell-casting debris and antimony at much higher levels. This type of copper alloy was widely used in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries for casting domestic vessels (*cf.* Dungworth 2002).

Summary

The material examined comprised bell-mould, hearth lining, slag and metal spillages associated with the casting of at least two bells. The first period of bell-founding dates to the twelfth or thirteenth century and took place inside the west of the nave. The second period dates to the late sixteenth century and took place in the tower. None of the archaeological evidence for bell-founding can be linked directly to the known bells from St Peter's (late sixteenth to mid-eighteenth centuries). Samples of casting debris and a possible bell fragment were analyzed: all had high tin contents typical of bells.

Large quantities of undiagnostic fired clay were also examined. Much of this was found outside the church in areas with no other metalworking debris. This material was probably not connected with any industrial process. Some fired clay was found in the fill of one of the bell-pits and this could have been produced during casting activities.

During excavation in the nave no sign of any furnace associated with the bell-pit was recorded. This is not surprising given the extent to which Period 4 features have been truncated (especially by graves). The furnace would have been large enough to hold enough metal to cast a bell 22 inches in diameter. Quantities of lead spillages and lead-working waste were recovered from the western annexe and the nave. This was probably produced during several periods of construction.



Plate 1: Aerial view of the historic core of Barton-upon-Humber looking north-west, 1985. Burgate, the principal street, runs diagonally across the picture from top left, passing St Mary's church (centre right), to St Peter's church (lower right). Photo: David Lee Photography



Plate 2: Aerial view of St Mary's (top) and St Peter's churches with the dried-up Beck between them. View from the south-east. Photo: English Heritage Photo Library

ST PETER'S, BARTON-UPON-HUMBER, LINCOLNSHIRE



Plate 3: St Peter's church from the south-west, in 2000. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 4: St Peter's church and churchyard from the west. The dried-up Beck is represented by the grassed area in the foreground, and the white building is the Old Vicarage. Taken from St Mary's church tower, 2006. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

COLOUR PLATES



Plate 5: St Mary's church from the east. Taken from St Peter's church tower, 2007. The river Humber is glimpsed in the distance. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 6: St Mary's church from the east, with the Beck filled to capacity, and Soutergate flooded, February 1980. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 7: *Barton-upon-Humber from the south. Gouache, unsigned, ?1823. This view appears to be taken from Beacon Hill, with a chalk quarry and tower mill in the foreground, and Brigg Road on the right. The settlement at Waterside is seen in the middle distance (left), and St Mary's church tower (far right). Photo: David Lambert, courtesy of Andrew King*



Plate 8: *Detail from Pl. 7, showing the eastern part of the town with properties straggling along Burgate, St Mary's church tower is on the far right and next to it is glimpsed a sliver of St Peter's tower. The gabled building partly obscuring St Mary's is presumably the Congregational Chapel of 1806. Photo: David Lambert, courtesy of Andrew King*



Plate 9: *St Peter's church and vicarage from the west; gouache, unsigned, ?1823. This view was taken from St Mary's churchyard, looking across the Beck. Photo: David Lambert, courtesy of Andrew King*



Plate 10: *Grey-wash sketch of St Mary's and St Peter's churches, and the vicarage, from the south-east, c. 1830. Possibly by W.S. Hesleden. Bodleian Library, Oxford*



Plate 11: Bardney Hall, Whitecross Street, Barton-upon-Humber. Viewed from the south-west, 2010. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 12: Sir John Nelthorpe, with Barton in the background, by G.W. Stubbs, 1776. The view is taken from the Wolds, looking north, with the two church towers to centre left. Photo: Private collection, The Bridgeman Art Library



Plate 13: St Mary's church interior, c. 1820. Unsigned watercolour, looking north-east. Photo: David Lee Photography, courtesy of Dinah Tyszka



Plate 14: St Mary's church: interior looking east from the ringers' gallery, 2006. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 15: *St Mary's church. Composite Crucifixion in stained glass in the east window of the chancel. Photo: Gordon Plumb*

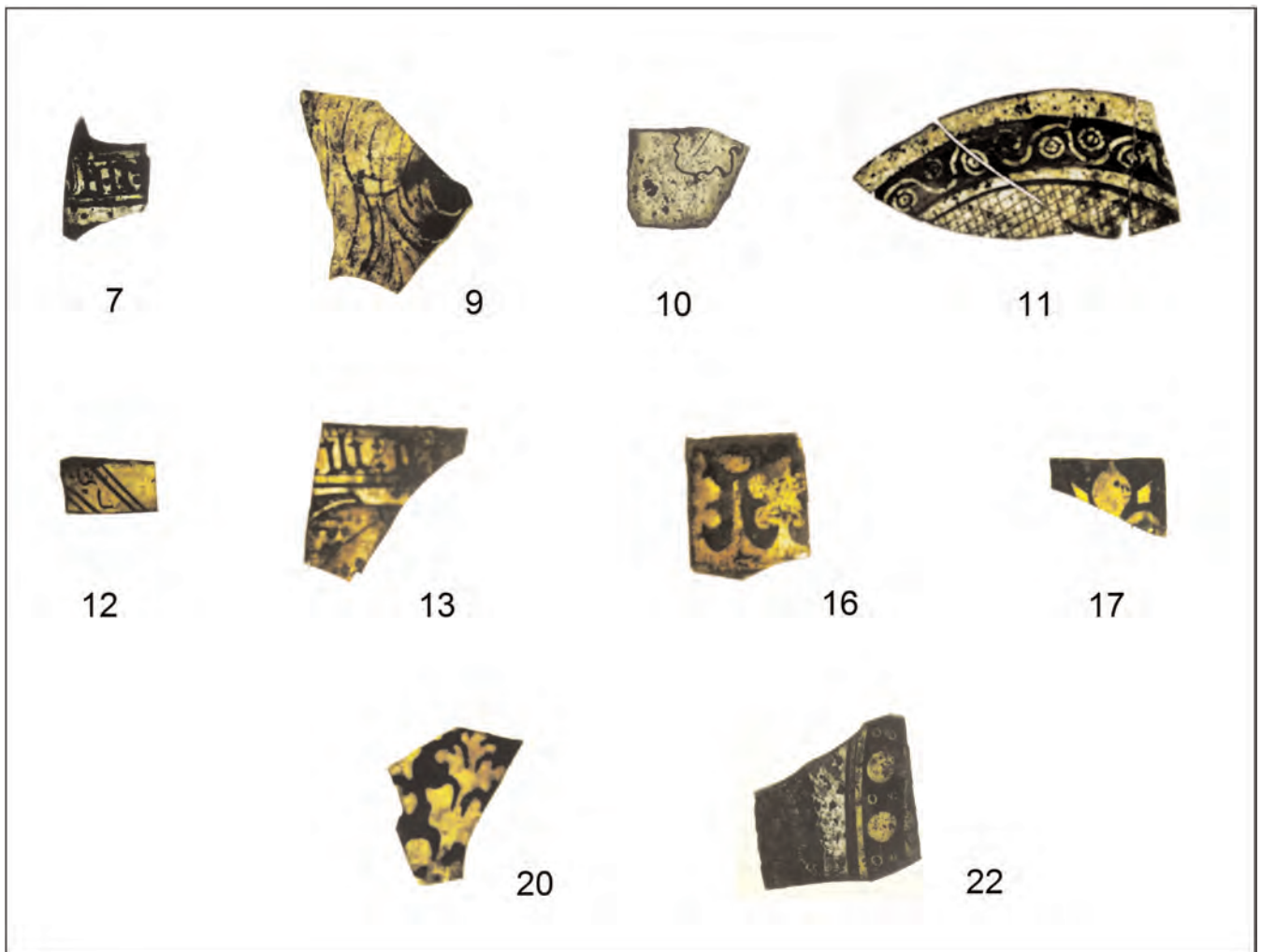


Plate 16: *St Mary's church. Excavated medieval window glass fragments, nos. 7, 9, 10–13, 16, 17, 20 and 22. Scale approx. 1:2. Photos: Penny Hebgin-Barnes*



Plate 17: St Mary's church. Stained glass memorial window in the south nave aisle designed by James Fowler, 1887. The name of the artist has not been discovered. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 18: St Peter's church tower and annexe from the south-west, 2007. English Heritage Photo Library

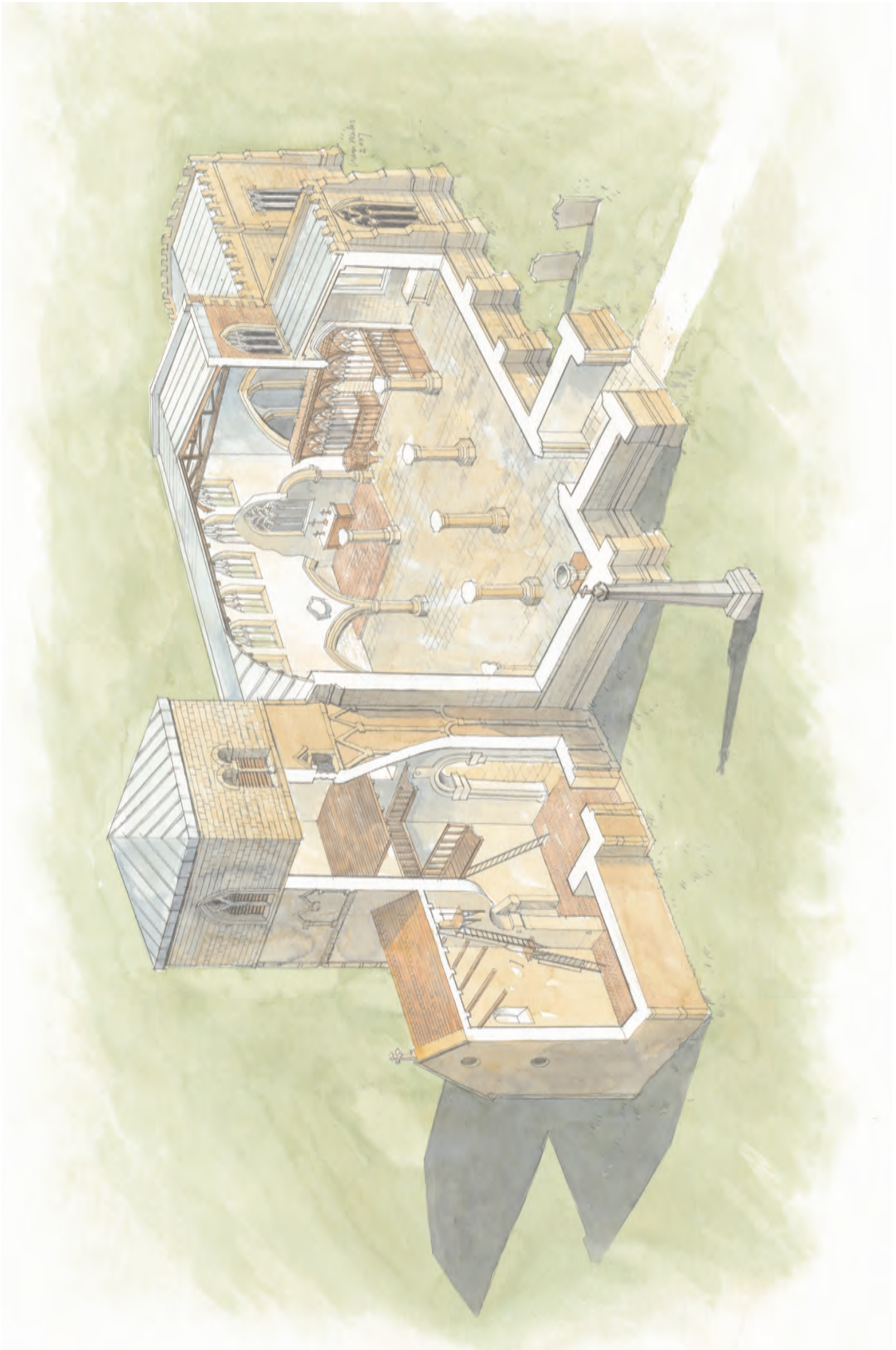


Plate 19: St Peter's church from the south-west: cutaway view showing the components of the building and the internal arrangement, following restoration, 2007. Drawing: Liam Wales, English Heritage

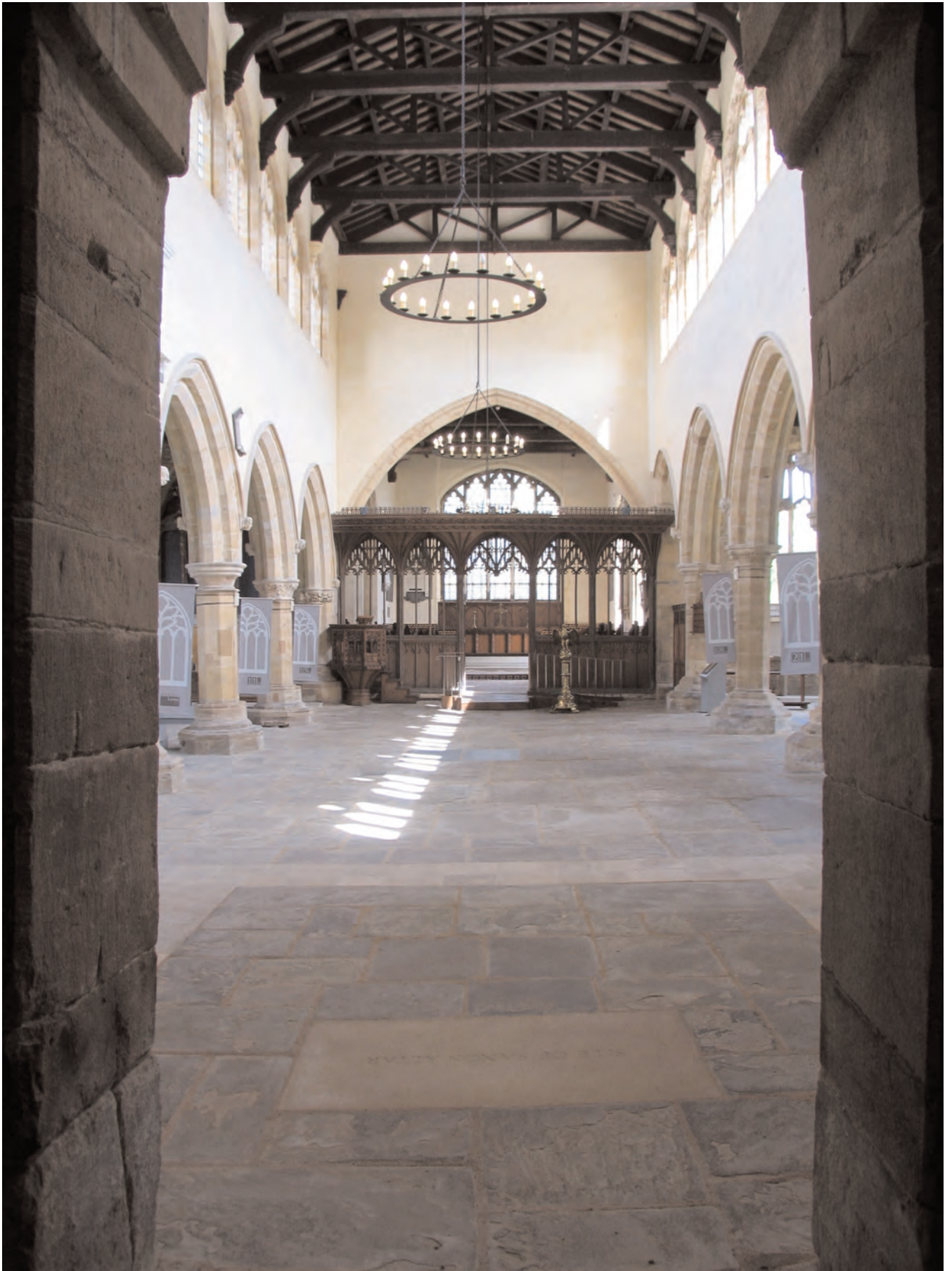


Plate 20: St Peter's church interior. View east along the nave from the base of the tower, following restoration and the installation of a new exhibition, 2007. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 21: Detail of the gritstone voussoirs of the western arch in the ground stage of the tower. Photo: English Heritage Photo Library

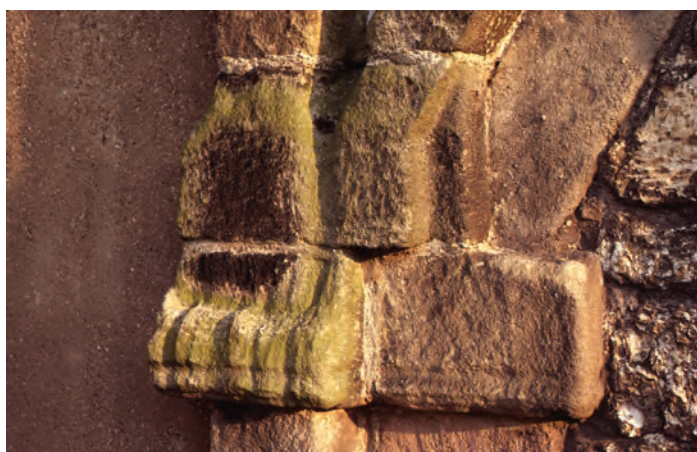


Plate 23: A gritstone block cut to form the complex eastern impost of the north door of the tower. The same block serves as the impost for the adjoining stripwork and as the springer for the triangular door-head. Heavy weathering has created the appearance of mouldings on the stone. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 22: (top left) Gritstone used for the eastern belfry opening in the tower. Photo: English Heritage Photo Library

Plate 24: (below left) St Andrew, Burton-upon-Stather (Lincs.). Medieval buttress on the south aisle of the church, constructed from reused Roman ashlars. The two pink chamfered blocks are gritstone and the pale blocks are Magnesian Limestone. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

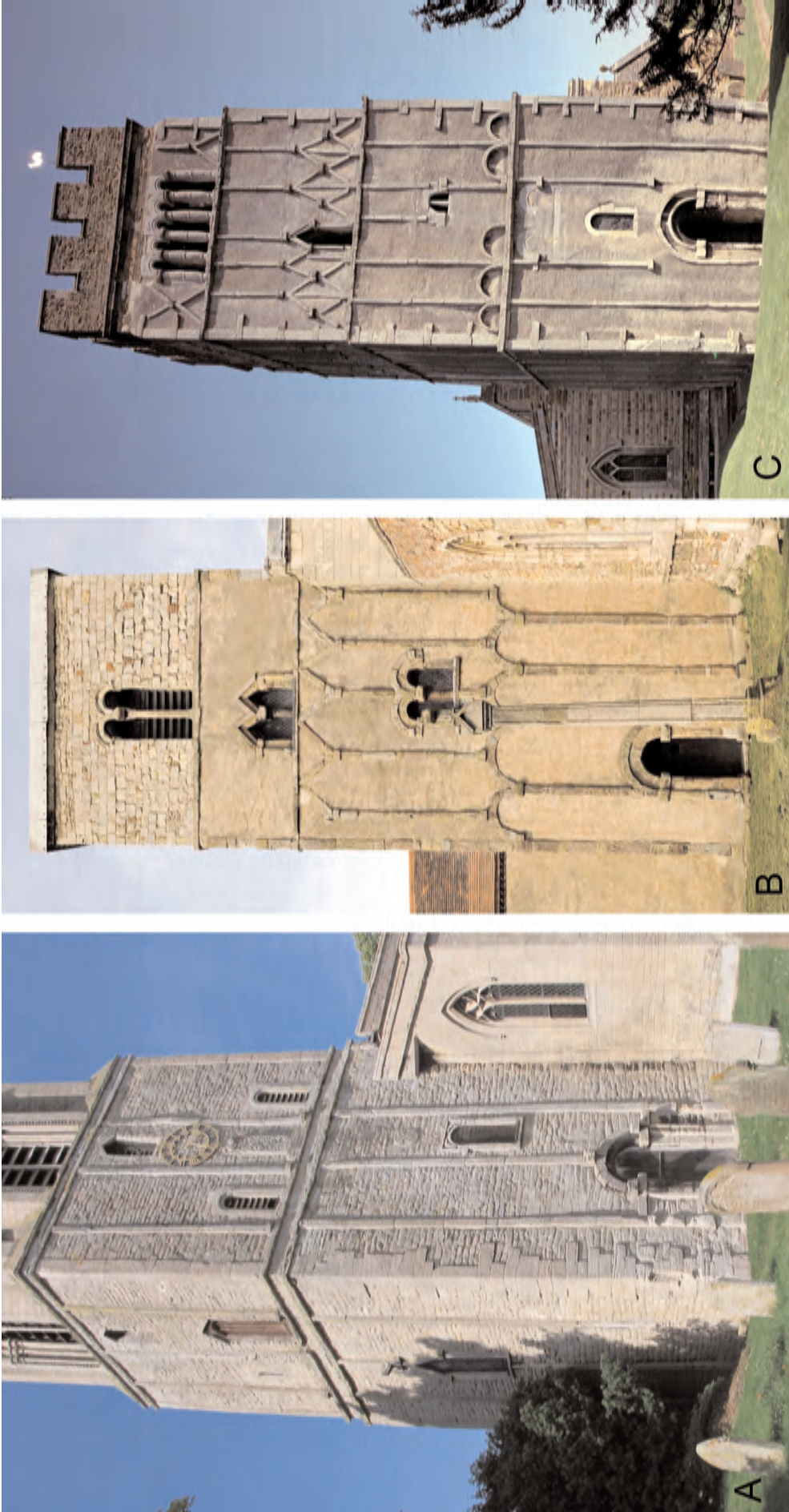


Plate 25: Three Anglo-Saxon towers decorated with pilaster-stripwork, and round- and triangular-headed features

A, St John the Baptist, Barmack (Northants.). View from the south-west. Photo: Warwick Rodzwell

B, St Peter, Barton-upon-Humber. South elevation. Photo: English Heritage Picture Library

C, All Saints, Earls Barton (Northants.). West elevation. Photo: English Heritage, RCHME

Plate 26: (right) *St Catherine, Maeseeyck, Belgium. Page from an eighth-century Gospel book depicting a painted timber throne with semicircular and triangular 'architectural' features. Photo: Geoffrey Bryant*



Plate 27: (below) *Lincolnshire Saxo-Norman towers with ashlar facing of recycled Magnesian Limestone. A, St Giles, Scartho: west elevation. B, St Helen, Brigsley: south elevation. Photos: (A) Paul Everson; (B) Warwick Rodwell*





Plate 28: Tower. Remains of the primary plaster finish at the base of the north wall, abutted by the Saxo-Norman lime-concrete floor. Scale of 25 cm. View north-east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 29: Tower. Surviving band of primary plaster at the base of the east wall, abutting the base for the pilaster-strip flanking the chancel arch. Note how the lower end of the pilaster is spalled as a result of fire. View east. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 30: Tower, western arch. The base of the southern pilaster-strip, burnt and shattered by fire. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 31: Tower, western arch. Northern pilaster-strip with scars resulting from sharpening implements or weapons, and subsequent damage inflicted through burning. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 32: Tower, north-west quoin. Scars resulting from sharpening implements or weapons. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 33: Western annexe. Interior view looking west during excavation of the hearths and burnt deposits associated with the medieval plumbers. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 34: Western annexe. Detail of a rectangular furnace pit with a burnt clay lining (F537). View west. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 35: View east across the floor of the tower, showing the fragmentary medieval deposits during excavation in 1978. The large pit in the centre is the bell foundry, F511. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 36: Tower. Furnace for melting bell-metal alongside the north wall, F527. View north-east, with the stoke-pit to the left. Scale of 25 cm resting on the flue lintel. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Plate 37: The chamber of the bell-metal furnace, longitudinally sectioned. View north. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 38: Burnt clay floor of the latest phase of the kiln F1727 partly underlying the Saxo-Norman apse of Period 3. View south-east. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 39: Pine coffin for an infant, from grave F5474. View of the south side and west end. Photo: English Heritage

ST PETER'S, BARTON-UPON-HUMBER, LINCOLNSHIRE



Plate 40: Artist's reconstruction of St Peter's church from the south-west in the late twelfth century (Period 4D). Drawing: Liam Wales, English Heritage

Plate 41: Artist's reconstruction of St Peter's church in the late fifteenth century (Period 7A). Drawing: Liam Wales, English Heritage



Plate 42: Artist's reconstruction of St Peter's church in the mid-eighteenth century (Period 8B). The crow-stepped gables date from Period 7B. Drawing: Liam Wales, English Heritage



Plate 43: *St Lawrence, Thornton Curtis (Lincs.). North wall of the Norman chancel, showing the construction of small rubble (mainly chalk) with dressings of ironstone. Photo: Warwick Rodwell*



Plate 44: (left) *South arcade, pier 1/2. Traces of a red rosette painted on the east (left) face of the capital. The fracture in the adjoining face has been repaired with hot mastic, as evidenced by the line of reddening caused by heating the stone. Photo: Warwick Rodwell*



Plate 45: *Another red painted rosette overlying a mortar joint on the east face of the same pier. Photo: Warwick Rodwell*



Plate 46: *South arcade, pier 1/2. Masonry fracture repaired using hot mastic, and subsequently pointed with lime mortar. Photo: Warwick Rodwell*



Plate 47: North doorway. Red paint on the external mouldings at the apex of the external arch (seen inside the porch). Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 48: Mutilated figure of Christ (c. 1330) removed in 1924 from the central mullion of the east window of the north aisle. Photo: English Heritage



Plate 49: South doorway. Red paint on the mouldings of the west reveal and the stump of the label-stop of the hood-moulding. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 50: South doorway. Red paint on the eastern part of the external arch, showing also the marks where nails were driven in for modelling repairs to fractured limestone mouldings in Roman cement. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



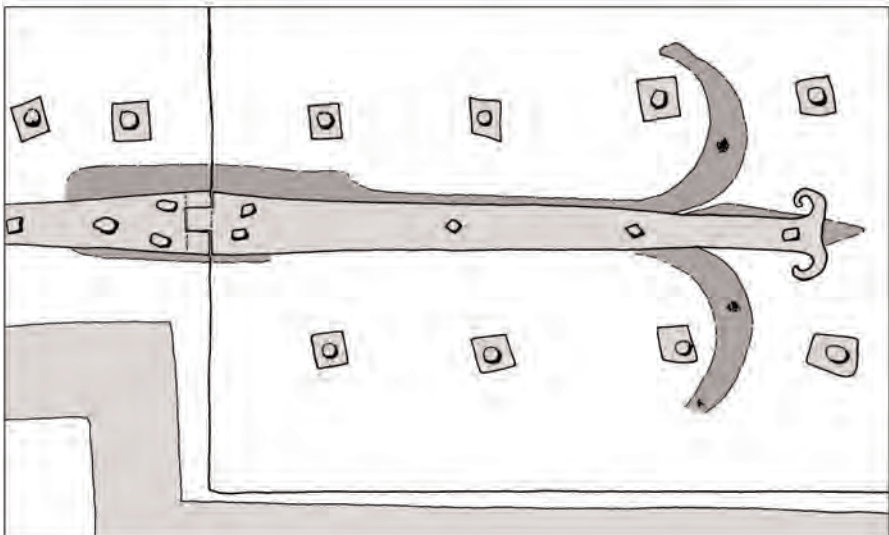
Plate 51: Late medieval oak bracket in the form of a painted male head; probably from a roof. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



A



B



C

Plate 52: Medieval hinges. A, Reused hinge with fleur-de-lys terminal on the south aisle door. B, Tudor lower hinge on the wicket of the north aisle door, with the 'ghost' outline of the former hinge partly showing. C, Diagram to illustrate the relationship between the superimposed hinges. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 53: Four-tile chequered arrangement of plain glazed medieval floor tiles at the east end of the nave, beneath the chancel screen (F1508). View north-east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

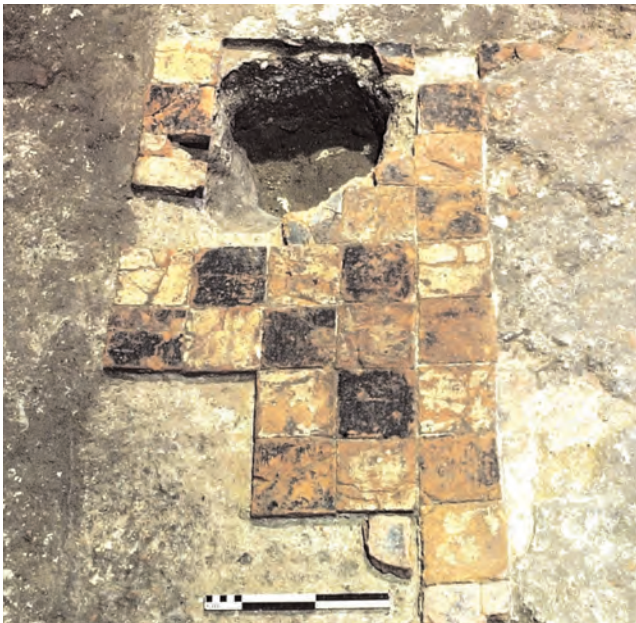


Plate 54: Simple chequered arrangement of plain glazed tiles in bay 4/5 of the north aisle (F343). View east. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 55: Floor tiles relaid over a grave and sunk into its filling (F259). View west. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

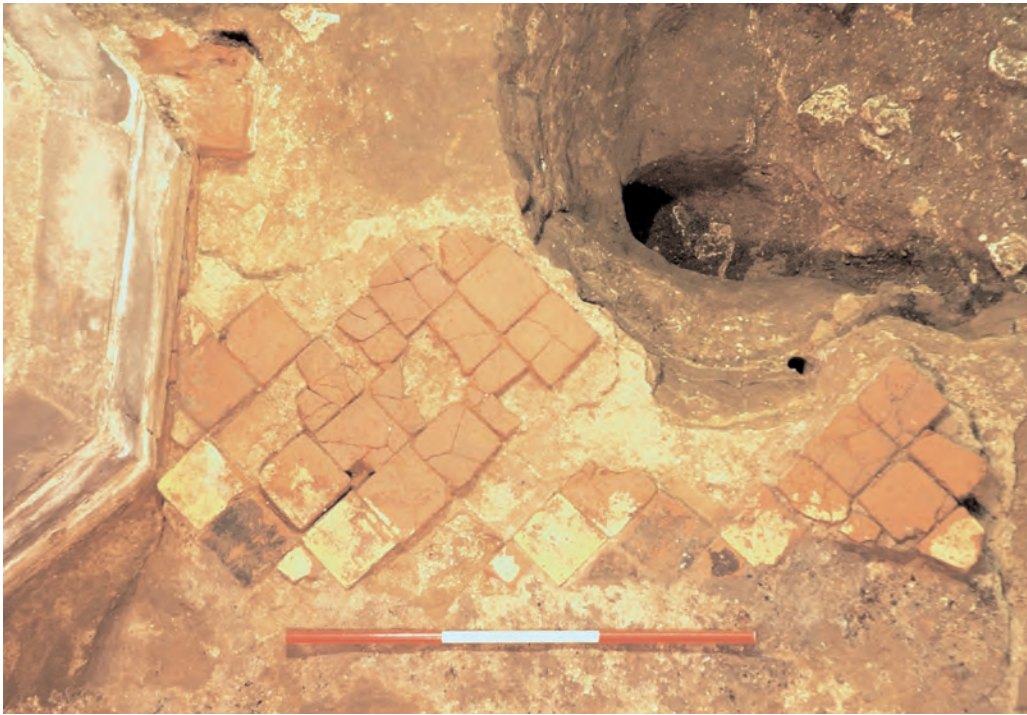


Plate 56: Chequered arrangement of plain glazed tiles in the westernmost bay of the nave (F12), abutting pier 4/5 (seen on the left) of the south arcade. West is at the top. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 57: (above left) Tiles and mortar-bed impressions of a 'carpet' of diagonally laid paving running across the nave (F12), abutting north arcade pier 4/5. The carpet was bordered on the left by a single row of square-set tiles, and on the right (east) by a stone slab (F169). Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 58: (above right) Tiles and mortar impressions of paving in bay 5 of the nave (F12); the western edge of the floor abutted a timber structure, possibly a stair enclosure, the line of which is marked by three postholes and a mortar fillet. West is at the top. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Plate 59: (below right) Section through a Flemish floor tile showing how the glaze had run into and filled one of the small nail-holes in the upper surface. The thickness of the tile is 22 mm. Photo: Jennie Stopford



*Plate 60: Line-impressed floor tile, Group 14, design 1.
Photo: Warwick Rodwell*



*Plate 61: Modern resetting (in 1984) on the dais in the north aisle of a sample of dark green- and yellow-glazed Flemish floor tiles (Group 5), derived from the excavations. They reproduce the four-tile chequered pattern evidenced in the nave.
Photo: Warwick Rodwell*

Plate 62: Modern resetting (in 1984) on the dais in the north aisle of a sample of grey and red unglazed Flemish tiles (Group 10), derived from the excavations. The chancel was paved in this fashion in the sixteenth century, but the tiles were taken up in 1858 and used to form rough paving under the pew platforms in the nave and aisles. Photo: Warwick Rodwell





Plate 63: The sanctuary with polychromatic floor and wall tiling. View from the west, after restoration in 2007. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 64: St Martin, Waithe (Lincs.). Detail of the sanctuary with polychromatic floor and wall tiling, the latter incorporating an inscription above the altar. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

COLOUR PLATES



Plate 65: The high altar, reredos and altar ornaments, 2010. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 66: North aisle chapel and its furnishings after restoration, 2010. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 68: (above) Dado of glazed polychrome tiles around the sanctuary, 1859. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Plate 67: (left) Chancel. Staffordshire polychrome floor tiling and the substructure of the choir stalls on the north side, 1859. View east. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 69: Staffordshire polychrome tiling on the plinth of the font, 1859. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



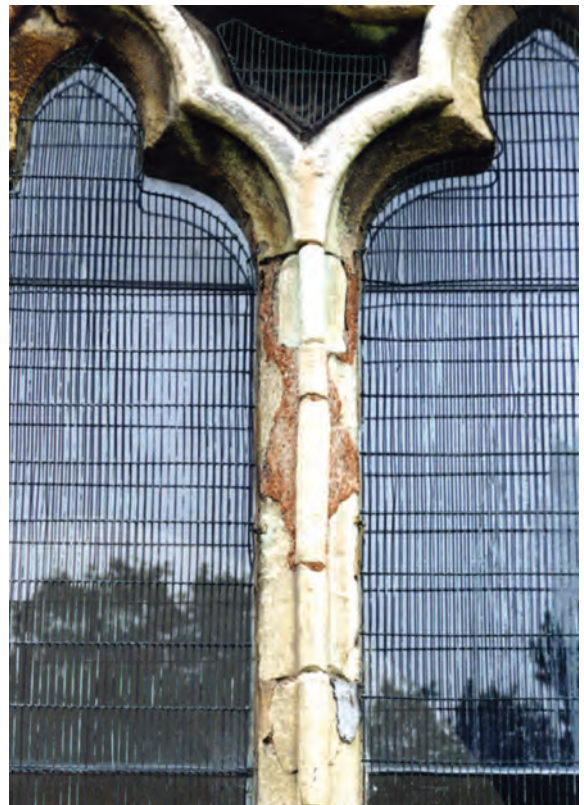
Plate 70: Staffordshire polychrome tile panels on the sides of the font plinth, 1859. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

A



B

C



D



Plate 71: Lime mortars containing crushed brick as an aggregate. A, Clerestory of St Peter's at the north-east corner of the nave. Fifteenth-century brickwork and limestone quoins, with eroded remains of pink lime rendering containing coarse aggregate of crushed brick. B, St Lawrence, Thornton Curtis. Pink lime rendering finished flush with the ashlar-work of a buttress on the south side of the chancel. C, St Peter's, south aisle window, bay 3. Fractured limestone mullion repaired with pink lime mortar containing coarse aggregate of crushed brick. D, St Peter's tower. Soffit of a gallery-stage window (south) showing fine, pink lime rendering between the outer and inner gritstone arches. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 72: Chancel. Upper part of the east window, showing stained glass in situ, 1979. Note the panels were reversed when the window was re-fixed in 1902, and consequently the figures face left (north). Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 73: Chancel, east window. The reversed St James panel in situ, 1984. Photo: Colin Briden



Plate 74: Chancel, east window. The reversed St George panel in situ, 1984. Photo: Colin Briden



Plate 76: St George panel, in storage, 2010. Photo: Gordon Plumb



Plate 75: St James panel, in storage, 2010. Photo: Gordon Plumb



Plate 77: Chancel, east window. Close-up of the central star in the tracery, showing its composition, 2005. Photo: Gordon Plumb

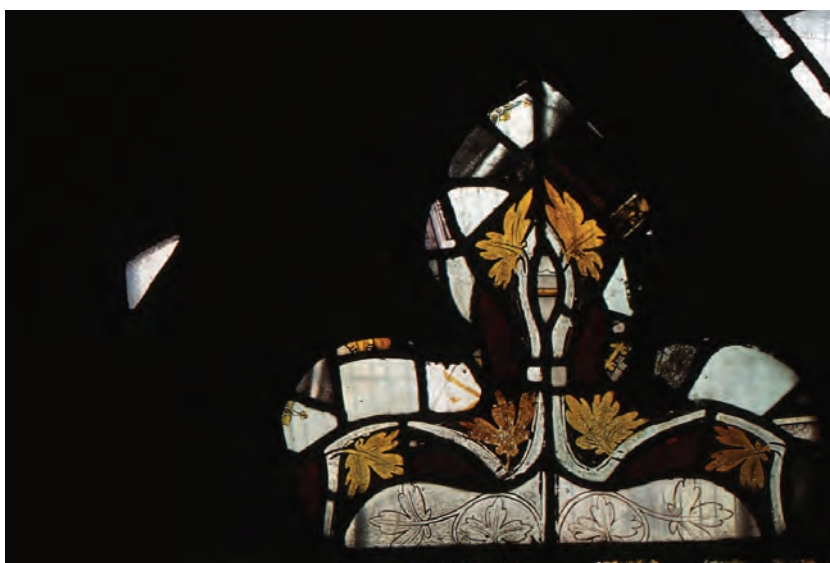


Plate 78: Chancel, east window. Detail above the St James panel, in situ, 1984. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 79: Chancel, east window. Detail above the St George panel, in situ, 1984. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 80: *St James panel. Left, Canopy side-shafting. Right, Grotesque border piece. Photos: Gordon Plumb*



Plate 81: *St James panel. Left, Detail of border including grisaille fragment. Right, Detail of border. Photos: Gordon Plumb*



Plate 82: St James panel: the head. Photo: Gordon Plumb



Plate 83: St James panel: scrip. Photo: Gordon Plumb



*Plate 84: St George panel: the head.
Photo: Gordon Plumb*

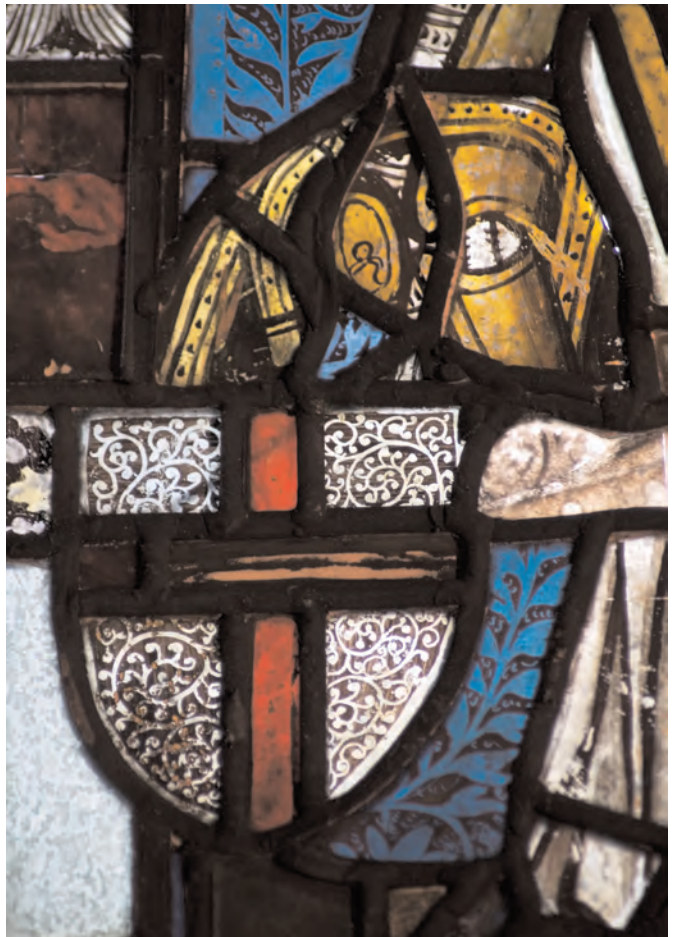


Plate 85: St George panel: the shield. Photo: Gordon Plumb



Plate 86: (left) St George panel: detail of leg-harness and rinceau ground. Photo: Gordon Plumb

Plate 87: (below left) St George panel: lion's mask and fish border pieces. Photo: Gordon Plumb

Plate 88: (below right) Detail of lions' masks with fleurs-de-lys issuing from their mouths. Photos: Gordon Plumb

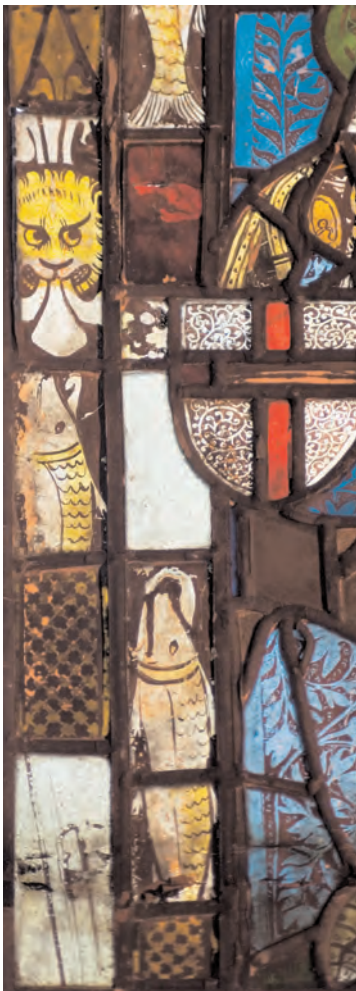


Plate 89: Excavated medieval window glass. 1, St Ann and the Virgin; 2, Fragment of text. Scale approx. 1:2. Photos: Penny Hebgin-Barnes



Plate 91: South aisle, window sIV. Shield of Willoughby, in storage, 2010. Photo: Gordon Plumb



Plate 90: South aisle, window sIV. Shield of Neville, in storage, 2010. Photo: Gordon Plumb



Plate 92: *St Andrew, Folkingham (Lincs.). Heads of two apostles in window nIII. Photos: Gordon Plumb*



Plate 94: *St Mary Lowgate, Hull. Shield of Kingston-upon-Hull, 2010. Photo: Gordon Plumb*



Plate 93: *(left, above) St Mary Lowgate, Hull. Shield of England, 2010. Photo: Gordon Plumb*

Plate 95: *(left, below) St Mary Lowgate, Hull. Shield of de la Pole quartering Wingfield, 2010. Photo: Gordon Plumb*



Plate 96: Chancel, bay 2. Stained glass window sII, by William Warrington, 1856. Photographed in situ, 1985. Photo: Colin Briden



Plate 97: Chancel, bay 2. Detail of four scenes from window sII (Pl. 96), 1985. The scenes represent the Crucifixion, Entombment, Angel at the Tomb and Ascension. Photo: Colin Briden



Plate 98: Organ chamber, bay 2. Stained glass window nIII, by William Warrington, 1858. Photographed in situ, 2005. Photo: Gordon Plumb



Plate 99: (left) Chancel, bay 1. Stained glass panel in window sIII. Retained and reset in 1924 from a destroyed window by Thomas Willement, 1847. Vandalized remains of heraldic shield and inscription panel, photographed in situ, 1985. The areas of lost glass are indicated in grey tone. Photo: Colin Briden

Plate 100: (below) Organ chamber, bay 1. Stained glass panels in window nIV; these were originally part of Warrington's window in nIII (Pl. 98). Photographed in situ, 1985. Photo: Colin Briden





Plate 101: South aisle, bay 3. Stained glass window sVII, in the style of Clayton and Bell, early 1860s. Photographed in situ, 1985. Photo: Colin Briden



Plate 102: South aisle, bay 2. Stained glass window sVI, in the style of Clayton and Bell, late 1880s. Photographed in situ, 1985. Photo: Colin Briden



Plate 103: North aisle, bay 2. Stained glass window nVII, by A.K. Nicholson, 1914. Photographed in situ, 2005. Photo: Gordon Plumb



Plate 104: Royal Arms of George II on carvings,
commissioned in 1740. Photo: Geoffrey Bryant

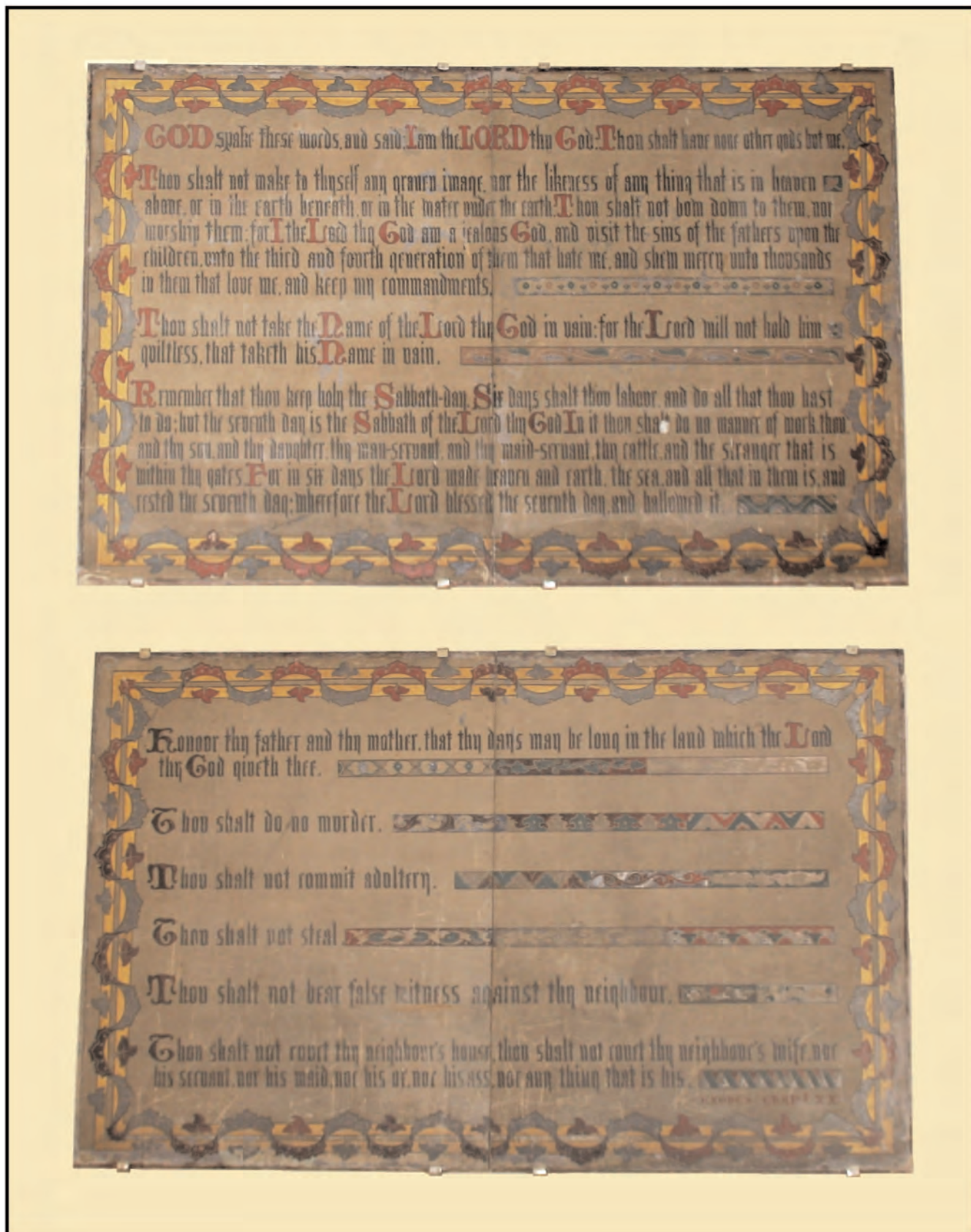


Plate 105: Chancel. Four slabs of Welsh slate (M.60), formerly comprising two panels of a reredos, painted with the table of the Decalogue, 1859. Now mounted on the north and south walls. Photos: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 106: St Peter's church banner, early twentieth century. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 107: Vestry. Door to safe with contemporary paint and inscription, 1813. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 108: Churchyard. Three disintegrating Yorkstone grave-markers of the Gildas family, 1730s (M.136–138). Behind them is the Gildas table-tomb top, 1723 (M.139). Reused as revetting beside the south porch in 1967; photographed in 1978. The three headstones have since been lost. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 109: Chancel. Monument on the south wall to Maria Lucy Marriott (d. 1823; M.67) with a yellow Sienna marble backplate. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Plate 110: South aisle. Monument of Carrara marble and Coado stone to the Rev'd John Gelder (d. 1751; M.55). Shown against a simulated plaster background, rather than stripped rubble-work. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

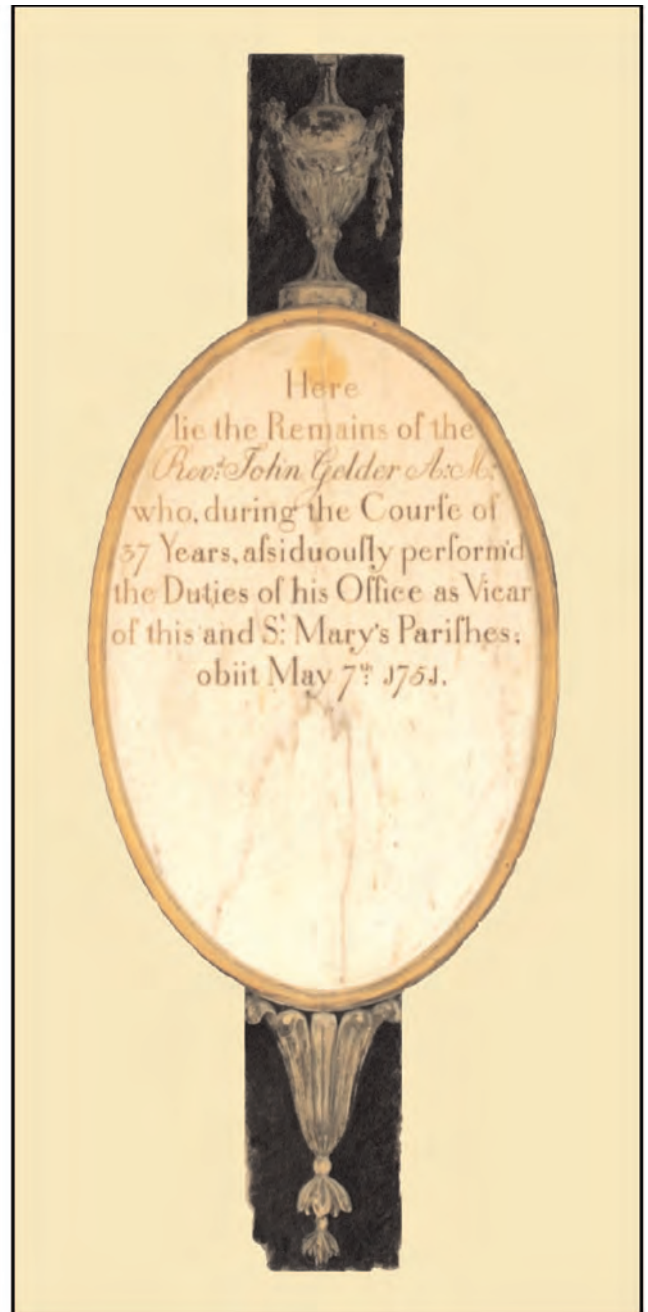
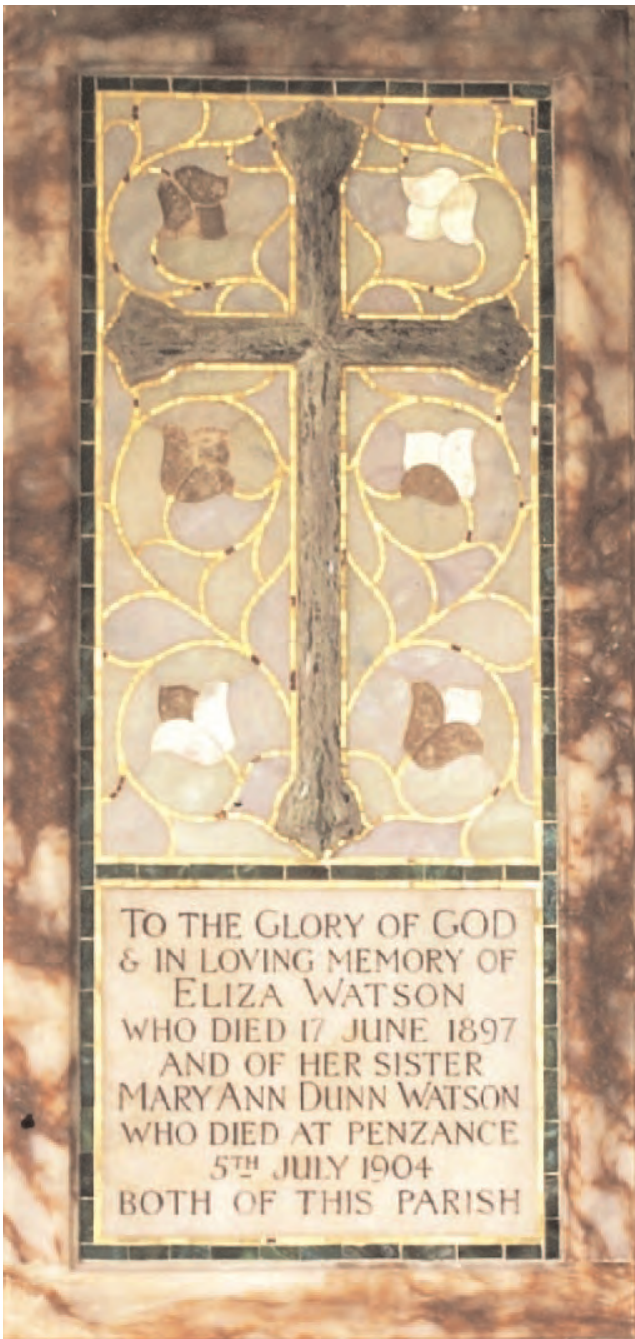


Plate 111: North aisle. Art Nouveau mosaic memorial plaque with an alabaster frame to Eliza and Mary Watson (d. 1897/1904; M.49). Height 86 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 112: St Peter's churchyard cross from the north-west in 1999, showing the different colour shades of stone used in the restoration of 1904. The south porch is seen on the left. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 113: Smooth clay filling defining the outline of the coffin in burial F4100. View south. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



A



B

Plate 114: Grave F325, cloth of gold. A, Circular area of decayed material, as found, lying on the lid of the coffin; B, Detail, showing gold thread; C, Impressions preserved in lime-hardened soil (after drying). Photos: (A, B) Warwick Rodwell; (C) The Anglo-Saxon Laboratory



C



Plate 115 Churchyard, Area 8. Grave F3027, containing a transfer-decorated china bowl beneath the coffin. Photo: Warwick Rodwell



Plate 116: Churchyard, Area 8. Detail of the hernia truss in burial F3041 (sk. 258). The various components were adjustable and held together with brass studs. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Plate 117: Pewter mortuary chalice from the priest's grave F4115. Late medieval. Photo: English Heritage Photo Library



Plate 118: Gold finger-ring with a London hallmark for 1831–32. From grave F3697. Photo: English Heritage Photo Library



Plate 119: Pinchbeck brooch with yellow faceted glass inset. Nineteenth century; unstratified. Photo: English Heritage Photo Library

Notes to Chapters

Chapter 1 (pp. 1–28)

1. The name has variously been written as ‘Barton-upon-Humber’, ‘Barton-on-Humber’, ‘Barton-on-the-Humber’ and ‘Barton-by-the-Humber’. The first has the longest recorded usage – from at least 1202 (*super Humb*) – and is adopted here. For examples of dated usages, see Cameron 1991, 30–1.

2. Barton is in the north Lindsey division of the historic county, and in the Wapentake of Yarborough, the archdeaconry of Stow and the diocese of Lincoln. In 1974, the area became part of the new county of Humberside, which was abolished in 1996. Since then Barton has been in North Lincolnshire.

3. The ferry from New Holland to Hull was operated by successive railway companies from 1845 to 1981 (Ludham 1996).

4. See generally, Bryant 1994. For a gazetteer of archaeological sites and finds in the area, see Loughlin and Miller 1979.

5. For a general account of Roman Lincolnshire, see Whitwell 1970. Again, Barton itself receives fuller discussion in Bryant 1994. For north-west Lincolnshire, see May 1996, 2, 634–8.

6. The archaeology of Anglo-Saxon settlement on Humberside has been catalogued by Eagles (1979), and early Anglo-Saxon evidence in north Lincolnshire has been usefully summarized by Leahy (1993a; 1998; 1999). For a general and wide-ranging account of Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire, see Sawyer 1998; and for the Viking period, see Leahy and Paterson 2001.

7. There were also two Domesday-period ferries at Grimsby, and one at Winteringham.

8. Brown (1908) ended his history in 1377, and very little has been written about the town between this date and the eighteenth century (WEA 1980; Russell 1968). Keith Miller has carried out extensive research with a view to writing a history of ‘Barton in Medieval, Tudor, Stuart and early Georgian Times’. This will form part of the series, *The Later History of Barton-upon-Humber* (ed. G.F. Bryant).

9. Brown (1908, 101) inveighed against the appellation ‘chapel-of-ease’ because it was not at a significant remove from St Peter’s.

10. For a brief account of the ferry, see Clapson 2005, ch. 5. Many documents relating to the history and ownership of the ferry in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, including the disputes that raged over its fares and conditions, are preserved in Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, ff. 50–145. For details of this scrapbook, see note 35. The documents include a history of Barton ferry, printed in *The Hull Portfolio*, a newspaper published by Ackland, 1831: *op. cit.*, ff. 84–101.

11. Extract from Byng 1934; cited in *BPM*, ii.1938.

12. ‘A View of Barton Ferry’, engraved in *aqua tinta* by Hassell, from a painting by T. Bradley (London, 1801). Copy of the engraving and text in NLMS: Ball, scrapbook 2, ff. 44, 45; also Bodl: Ball Scrapbook 1, f. 81. For details of these scrapbooks, see note 35.

13. This reference occurs in the third (1742) and later editions of Defoe’s travels. Although he was writing in the early 1720s, his notes were amassed over a period of forty years, and close dating of individual observations is not therefore possible.

14. Several programmes for ‘Theatre Barton’ have survived from the 1790s (NLMS: Ball, scrapbook 2).

15. ‘Barton-upon-Humber from Beacon Hill’, etched by J. Greenwood (Hull, n.d.). ‘The Humber, from Beacon Hill, Near Barton’, drawn by Joseph Liversay and published by John Saunders, Jun. (London and Lincoln, 1835). The latter was also published in Saunders 1836, opp. 43.

16. ‘Barton’, drawn by G.B. Topham and published by John Saunders, Jun. (Allen 1834, vol. 2); also published in Saunders 1836, opp. 40.

17. *E.g.* Saunders 1835 contained woodcuts showing the tower of St Peter’s, and a detail from the Norman arcade in St Mary’s (although both were incorrectly captioned).

18. *Pigot and Co’s Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography of ... Lincoln, 1841* (Manchester).

19. Cited in WEA 1978, 9–10.

20. It was published at a scale of 3½ inches to one mile, bears the name J. Smith and was dedicated to G.C. Uppleby; copy in NLMS: Ball, scrapbook 2, f. 21.

21. Trollope 1887–88, lx.

22. *E.g.* Brown 1906; 1908; Bryant 1984; 1994; 2003.

23. St Chad’s was never a viable proposition, as Brown (1906, 101) noted at the time of its erection, describing it as ‘a heroic remedy’ for those who lived at Waterside, ‘but one which from a financial point of view is calculated to cause grave misgivings’.

24. For the vicars and curates of Barton, see Appendix 5; for earlier compilations, see Brown 1908, appendix II, Varah 1982, and Tyszka 2006, appendices 2 and 3. Churchwardens’ accounts for St Mary’s survive (partly in transcript) from 1640, but not for St Peter’s. The list of churchwardens for St Mary’s is complete only from 1817, with very few earlier records. For St Peter’s, the list survives from 1650–51, although with gaps in the second half of the eighteenth century.

25. College of Arms: Ms. H.XI.C.N. Unpublished.

26. BL: Add. Ms. 36,295.

27. De la Pryme (1672–1704) kept a diary in which he recorded several visits to Barton, but the only one for which any detail is given was in 1697 (Jackson 1869, 132).

28. *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* 46 (1890), 168–9; *ibid.* (ns) 27 (1921), 32–4. There have also been numerous visits by county and local archaeological societies, with brief descriptions and observations often published in their own journals. *E.g.* the East Riding Antiquarian Society visited Barton in 1904, guided by J.R. Boyle, who published perceptive descriptions of the town’s churches: *Trans. E. Riding Antiq. Soc.* 12 (1904), xxiii–xxiv.

29. The 1849 visit was recorded in *Lincolnshire Architect. Soc. Sixth Rep.* (1849). For the visit in 1859, see Anon. 1859–60, xix. Following the visit in 1888, the Bishop of Nottingham wrote ‘Notes on the Churches of Barton-on-Humber Visited by the Society, June 1888’ (Trollope 1887–88, lx–lxi, 313–18). A copy of the detailed programme for the 1888 visit is preserved (NLMS: Ball, scrapbook 2, f. 100).

30. Glynne visited Barton on 21–22 April 1825, and evidently again in 1867, when he added supplementary notes to his account.

31. Bonney’s work was privately printed and is very scarce. A copy with extensive marginal corrections by G.S. Gibbons is in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

32. Several ephemeral pamphlets are also known, but lack precise details. These include the anonymous, *Ancient Churches of Barton-on-Humber*, a 10-page booklet published

by the Literary and Publicity Committee of the Church Council [n.d., early twentieth century].

33. His lecture notes, entitled 'A Familiar Account of the History and Antiquities of Barton upon Humber' and a poster announcing the three lectures on 'Topographical History and Antiquity of Barton' are preserved in Ball's scrapbook 1 (see below, note 35). The ms is in four notebooks, numbered 1–4 (ff. 412–94); the poster (f. 411) is dated 3 Nov. 1848.

34. Following his death, Hesleden's papers were dispersed, but some were purchased from London dealers by H.W. Ball, who incorporated them in his scrapbooks (Ball, *q.v.*; Moor 1893). Five of Hesleden's notebooks are now in LA: Barton Par. 23/33. A watercolour of Hesleden, wearing the uniform of the Barton Volunteers, is also extant (NLMS: Ball, scrapbook 2, f. 52).

35. Ball's obituary in the *Hull and Lincolnshire Times*, 10 Jan. 1914, refers to his 'two scrapbooks of Barton', both of which have survived. A large part of Ball's collection is contained in a scrapbook of 650 folios, entitled 'Lincolnshire Collections (History of Barton-on-Humber, Barrow, Thornton Abbey, etc.), formed by H.W. Ball, of Barton on Humber'. The volume is in the Bodleian Library: Ms. Top. Lincs. b.1. It is listed as item 30730 in the Library's *Summary Catalogue*, where it is said to have been acquired in *c.* 1876. This, however, is questionable on several grounds, not least the inclusion of two items of later date. Moreover, Ball is alleged to have sold his collection to Gillyatt Sumner of Woodmansey, near Beverley (E. Yorks.), perhaps in 1860; from Sumner, it passed to the Bodleian Library. Again, this seems highly unlikely, since Ball was still collecting local history information down to the time of his death. To add to the confusion, the volume is labelled inside the front cover 'Gough MS Lincolnshire 20'. There is nothing in the collection that can be associated with Richard Gough, and it is highly improbable that the Bodleian Library acquired the ms before 1914.

Much of the material in the scrapbook was clearly assembled by Ball himself in the 1850s, and it also incorporates Hesleden's mss of the 1830s and 1840s. The only items post-dating 1860, are a newspaper cutting of 1904 (f. 495), and a letter of 1893 which was added at the front, possibly when the volume was bound in its present form. The letter is from Ball to an unknown person, asking for information about manuscripts in his possession, which were presumed to have come from Hesleden's estate. The volume is referred to here as 'Ball, scrapbook 1'.

Ball's second scrapbook passed to his daughter, Mrs J.P. Pullan, and then to Baysgarth Museum, Barton. It is entitled 'Scrap Book of Engravings, &c., Relating to Barton'. The volume is now disbound and held by NLMS: BABDM, unaccessioned. Internal evidence suggests that the scrapbook was not compiled before 1903, and that obituary notices were pasted inside the front cover in 1914. The volume is referred to here as 'Ball, scrapbook 2'.

36. Ff. 6–49.

37. There are also sundry notes on Boston, Brigg, Brocklesby, Caistor, Croxby and Goxhill.

38. The original print-run of Ball's *History* was 400 copies; it was reprinted in 1969.

39. He was a Methodist and does not appear in the parish church registers. His memorial is in Trinity Methodist Church, Barton.

40. He compiled at least eleven volumes of notes, which were seen by the present writer in the 1980s, when they were in the possession of the late G.H. Varah. The notebooks are in private hands, but considerable portions have been copied by Geoffrey Bryant.

41. Very scarce: copies are held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and Cambridge University Library.

42. Tombleson and Brown did not, however, see eye-to-eye. The former was slipshod in his transcription of documents.

43. Although, strictly speaking, these volumes are undated, they were published in the same years as their dated prefaces were written.

44. For an article about Brown, see 'Robert Brown, Jun., F.S.A.', *The Cosmopolitan*, Dec. 1887, 219–22.

A bound scrapbook belonging to Brown's father, a medic (also Robert Brown, 1820–18—), is held by NLMS: BABDM, accn. 86. Entitled 'Scrap Book, Volume 1'. Compiled between *c.* 1844 and 1854, it comprises 312 indexed folios almost entirely of newspaper cuttings; these are reports of lectures, meetings and discoveries in scientific, philosophical and antiquarian fields (with an emphasis on Lincolnshire and Yorkshire). Unfortunately, ff. 163–6 and 273–4, which related specifically to Barton, have been cut out.

45. It was developed from articles published by Moor in *BPM*.

46. The booklet was based on a series of articles that appeared in *BPM* between July 1914 and Sept. 1918. Much of the material was derived from Moor's earlier work. The first printed edition was undated and has caused bibliographic confusion in the past, but its publication in 1928 is confirmed by a note in *BPM*, i.1929; also by a review in *Notes and Queries*, 5 Jan. 1929. The booklet was reissued in 1936: *BPM*, viii.1936.

47. Who deposited the Taylor/Varah papers in Lincoln Archives in 2010.

48. Lincoln Public Library: Banks Coll, I.

49. Nattes's drawing of St Peter's first appeared in Bryant 1994 (fig. 8.1). His companion drawing of St Mary's was published in Tyszka 2006 (fig. 2.11), and his distant view of that church from the east was engraved in Howlett 1805.

50. *Gent's Mag.* 86(ii), (1816), pl. 1, fac. p. 201. The drawing is signed 'M.R. del. May 1810'.

51. Pencil drawing acquired by the writer at auction at Shepton Mallet (Som.). It is signed 'H.B. Carter', but undated. Henry Barlow Carter (1803–67) lived at Hull before moving to Scarborough in the 1830s (Mallalieu 1976, 55). His drawing of St Peter's is an early work and may date from the late 1820s or early 1830s.

52. Painted in gouache or watercolours on thin paper, heavily varnished and adhered to a thin (7 mm) pine board, which was once framed; now in poor condition. The painting, which measures 45.8 × 30.8 cm, is unsigned but is dated '1823' in pencil on the back of the board, which also bears a paper label stating 'Details as on back of St Peters': see below, note 53. The date may not be entirely accurate, but the inclusion of the Congregational Chapel confirms that it is after 1806. Formerly owned by a Barton resident, the painting was acquired by Andrew King in 2005, who kindly made it available for study.

53. Painted in gouache on stiff card ('Bristol Board') and adhered to a thin pine board which was once framed and glazed. The card, which measures 50.2 × 34.9 cm, bears the paper manufacturer's embossed stamp (20 mm diam.) in the upper left-hand corner: 'BRISTOL PAPER'. The painting is unsigned, but scratched on the back of the board is 'St Peters' and written on it in pencil is 'Barton Church' and, crudely in a different hand, '1823'. This date is again of doubtful reliability, and the painting could be slightly older. There is also an attached paper label stating: 'Formerly the property of the Barton Capes's. Sold at Sale of the late Mr Geo Capes Postmaster Caistor Lincs 1880. Purchased by my

Uncle late Geo Capes J.P. Caistor Lincs. Came into my possession about 1920. Geo E Capes. Grimsby'. *Pigot's Directory* records that William Capes was postmaster of Barton in 1841. In recent times the painting was in the hands of a Barton resident, until it was acquired by Andrew King in 2005, who kindly made it available for study.

54. This was probably a watercolour or gouache and was framed. It is known only from a late nineteenth-century photograph in NLMS: Ball, scrapbook 2, f. 78. The photograph is very poor and the reverse appears to have been heavily scrawled upon, which has disfigured the image on the front (Fig. 14). Several of the tombstones in St Mary's churchyard depicted in the view are identifiable, confirming that the painting cannot be earlier than 1820, and may be nearer 1830.

55. Bodl: Ms Top. Lincs. b.1, f. 5v. It is entitled 'St Mary's and St Peter's, Barton', but is unsigned and undated. The may be the work of W.S. Hesleden, c. 1830; grey wash on cartridge paper, 290 × 210 mm. The artist's viewpoint was from Football Close, the field immediately south-east of St Peter's churchyard.

56. These were engraved by William Fowler of Winterton (1761–1832), a local topographical artist whose works were listed by Ball (1869). He published three volumes of engravings and the panels from Barton were included in the first two (vol. 1, 1804; vol. 2; 1809). Copies in NLMS: Ball, scrapbook 2, ff. 38, 39 and 41 (includes the accompanying text to the 1806 engraving).

57. Tinted engraving by Saunders, entitled 'Brass in the Chancel of St Mary's Church' (undated, c. 1830). Copy in NLMS: Ball, scrapbook 2, f. 26.

58. In both cases Barton appears at the lower left-hand corner, and is identified by name. Brown (1908, 146–7) was the first to notice the relevance of the earlier map to Barton.

59. BL: Cotton Ms. Aug. I.i, f. 83. Beverley and Cottingham are also included.

60. The map, executed in black ink on paper, was once tinted with watercolours, but these have faded badly. Land was coloured green, water appears to have been blue, and some buildings have red walls or roofs (doubtless reflecting the use of brick and tile), while others do not seem to have been coloured, or were very pale yellow (perhaps indicative of plaster and thatch). The map may originally have been larger: material has certainly been lost by trimming on the north and west: part of Beverley Minster has been cut off, as has one edge of the church tower at Cottingham.

61. In most if not all instances, church towers on this map have been placed alongside the body of the church, not on the axis. The tower of Holy Trinity church, Hull, is carefully depicted, and is regarded as providing the major evidence for the date of the map (de Boer 1973, 81).

62. De Boer 1973, 79, and references cited.

63. The extant arrangement of tall, slender pinnacles does not suggest co-existence with spires.

64. BL: Cotton Ms. Aug. I.i, f. 86. The plat (plan) is drawn in brown-black ink on several sheets of paper which are overlapped and glued; it does not appear to have been trimmed. It is tinted with a great deal of heavily applied watercolour (green, blue, brown and sepia).

65. The application of white paint – both for short, thick lines and dabs on trees – occurs many times on the map and is almost certainly a later embellishment. The white paint both overlies and is much fresher than the other colours. No topographical explanation can be offered for the white line on the east side of Barton.

66. Slender and featureless towers (sometimes leaning) are shown on many of the churches on this plan.

67. The map is dated 1835, and a proof copy exists in Ball's scrapbook 2 (f. 73), indicating that it was in the process of being published. An accompanying note by Ball states that it is the 'only copy'. However, Hesleden did not die until more than a decade later, and at least one source refers to the map as 'published'. Hesleden is unlikely to have surveyed the town himself, *ab initio*, and presumably used an existing map as a base: however, this was not necessarily the Enclosure map, since there are subtle but significant differences between the two.

68. Ordnance Survey 1:2500 plan: Lincolnshire, sheets VII.5, 6, 9 and 10. First edn published 1887–88; second edn, 1908; revised edn, 1932.

69. The earliest record of Barton's church being photographed is in Ball 1856, 2, 23. He published two engravings prepared from photographs taken by the Rev'd G.L. Burge; that of St Peter's is reproduced here as Fig. 668. The photographs themselves have not been traced.

70. According to Kelly's *Directory of Lincolnshire, 1905*, Brummitt was a retailer of wines and spirits, and an insurance agent, living in Fleetgate. Prints of his are found in various photographic collections; some of his glass plates are held by John French, who kindly made them available for copying. Around the turn of the twentieth century views were also taken by Parrish and Berry of Hull (two were printed in Brown 1908).

71. His views illustrated Varah 1928.

72. His work illustrated Varah 1965.

73. *E.g.*, a Merovingian gold *tremissis* was found somewhere in Barton in 2006 (p. 154, n.31), and a thirteenth-century silver annular brooch is also unprovenanced (DCMS, *Treasure Annual Report 2003*, cat. no. 144).

74. *BPM*, iv.1894.

75. This remained in place until November 2006. A further intended exhibition in the south aisle, of Anglo-Saxon church architecture in north Lincolnshire and south Yorkshire, never materialized.

76. The proposal involved purchasing the property and running it as a joint venture by Glanford Borough Council and the DoE.

77. Baysgarth Park was given to the town in 1930; in 1981 the house was opened as a museum, staffed and run by Glanford Borough Council. Financial constraints forced its effective closure in 2004, when the management of the house was transferred to the CHAMP (Community, Heritage, Arts and Media Project) Trust. The museum staff and reserve collections were withdrawn to Scunthorpe, although a static display is maintained at Baysgarth by NLMS.

78. Martin Stancliffe Architects [now Purcell Miller Tritton], 'St Peter's Church, Barton-on-Humber: Inspection Report' (York, April 2001).

Chapter 2 (pp. 29–68)

1. LA: Barton Par. 23/2/3. WEA 1980, 40–2.

2. LA: Barton Par. 17/1–2. Russell 1968; 2002, ch. 2.

3. It should be noted that Cox (1994, 44) tentatively raised the possibility that 'Barton' might ultimately derive from *burh-t_n* (fortified settlement), but acknowledged that all recorded early spellings point firmly to *baer-t_n* ('barley farm').

4. Interestingly, Hesleden's map of 1835 shows a dotted line here – presumably indicating a visible landscape feature – which approximately coincides with the likely circuit of the earthwork (Fig. 19).

5. The southern boundary is slightly set back from the adjacent parts of the circuit, suggesting that it marked the inner edge of the bank, rather than the ditch.

6. It is labelled as such on a plan of the churchyard in 1831. This path was also referred to by at least one writer as 'Chantry Lane', an unfortunate confusion with the lane north-west of St Mary's.

7. On Bryant's map, the enclosure is shown somewhat smaller (2 ha.): he reconstructed the eastern and southern parts of the circuit well inside the line of the field boundaries shown on the 1796 Enclosure map (Bryant 1994, 74–5, fig. 6.1).

8. There are also three inland sites, close to major routeways: Blyborough, Yarborough Camp (Croxtan) and Burgh-on-Bain.

9. The eastern part of this street has always been known as Burgate or Burghgate, but the western part has become known as High Street in recent centuries. For the use of the *Burghgate* spelling, see notes in Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 182. When these notes were published (Ball 1856, 1, 54) the spelling was modernized to *Burgate*.

10. The site is unpublished, but is clearly defined on the 1st edn 6-inch Ordnance Survey map (1885); see Lindley 1991, 14, fig. 1.

11. Reynolds (2003, fig. 9) included Barton with this category, but nevertheless argued for a secular origin (*ibid.*, 117).

12. Britton 1807, 682. Similar statements were made by Howlett (1805) and Lewis (1835). The latter comments that Barton 'is of great antiquity, and is thought to have been a Roman station, which opinion is in some degree confirmed by the direction of the streets, which intersect each other at right angles. During the Saxon and Danish contests it was a place of considerable importance, and is said to have been surrounded by a rampart and fosse, some remains of which, called the Castle Dykes, are still perceptible'.

13. LA: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3 (Appendix 3).

14. See also a letter by Hesleden in *Gent's Mag.* 92(i), 1822, 3–6; reprinted as 'Battle of Brunnan', in *Gent's Mag. Library: Archaeology*, pt 2 (1886), 228–33. Many attempts have been made since Hesleden's day to link *Brunanburh* with the Barton area (*e.g.* Hunt 1905–06), but the battle did not take place in Lincolnshire: it was most likely in Cheshire. See Bryant 1994, 82, 84, n.20 for references.

15. The name appears in numerous documents, a selection of which is cited by Cameron (1991, 37). See also Brown 1906, 29–34.

16. Cited in Brown 1906, 33–4.

17. An even earlier map of Barton, by John Rawson, 1824, apparently had the earthworks marked in red, and is mentioned by Tombleson (1905, 11). This has not been traced by the present writer.

18. However, Tombleson (1905, 11) refers to 'the old mound or dyke being levelled at the end of the East Acridge' within living memory. Whether this was the sub-circular enclosure, or the eastern side of the castledykes, cannot now be determined.

19. The earliest mention of this is in 1719, when the town was described as 'bounded by a Common Bank on the north' (Brown 1906, 33). No references to the road are recorded before 1796, when it appears on the Enclosure map.

20. These were Constable Close on the east and Carter's Close on the west (Figs. 4 and 18).

21. A plan of it survives, drawn by Hesleden (Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 503).

22. LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/38. Tombleson (1905, 11) noted property deeds of 1651 and 1750 confirming that Holydyke was then called Castle Dyke.

23. LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/1, f. 3.

24. The final width of the weathered ditch, at ground level, must have been *c.* 6.5 m. The published section drawing does not show ground level, some 0.6 m of topsoil having been stripped.

25. No details of the sherds or their stratigraphic relationship to the various fillings within the ditch were published.

26. For an initial study, see W. Rodwell, *Fulham Palace, London SW6, Archaeological Appraisal and Plan*, in Fulham Palace Management Plan (London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham, 1988).

27. The extent of this site is likely to have been slightly reduced by coastal erosion.

28. Roads and tracks describe a D-shaped circuit alongside the head of Benfleet Creek which, if they define the Viking camp, would enclose an exceptionally large area of 145 ha.

29. Found by a treasure hunter in 1991; location not disclosed. Recorded at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

30. Found in 2004, again by a treasure hunter at an undisclosed location. Recorded at the Fitzwilliam Museum.

31. *GDB*, 376; *DB Lincs.*, CN18.

32. *GDB*, 354v; *DB Lincs.*, 24, 13.

33. *GDB*, 354v; *DB Lincs.*, 24, 14–15.

34. *GDB*, 337; *DB Lincs.*, T5.

35. *GDB*, 349; *DB Lincs.*, 13, 17.

36. *GDB*, 349; *DB Lincs.*, 13, 18.

37. *GDB*, 337; *DB Lincs.*, T5.

38. *GDB*, 375v; *DB Lincs.*, CN1.

39. Sawyer 1968, Charter S782.

40. *Hugh Candidus*: Mellows 1949, 64.

41. *GDB*, 360; *DB Lincs.*, 30, 1; 5.

42. *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, no. 39 (Whitelock 1930); Roffe 1994, 9.

43. *Hugh Candidus* (Mellows 1949, 64).

44. *GDB*, 337v, 347v, 348; *DB Lincs.*, 1, 7.12, 43; 48; 49.

45. *GDB*, 304v, 321; *DB Yorks.*, 3Y4,12W1.

46. C. Plummer (ed.), *Baedae Opera Historica*, 207 (Oxford, 1896).

47. *Hugh Candidus* (Mellows 1949, 27–8).

48. Sawyer 1968, Charter S397.

49. *LD*, lxxxv.

50. *GDB*, 353v, 362; *DB Lincs.*, 22, 6; 34, 4.

51. *GDB*, 350v, 353v; *DB Lincs.*, 14, 28.21, 1.

52. *Hugh Candidus* (Mellows 1949, 40–2); *LD*, xl–xli.

53. *GDB*, 369; *DB Lincs.*, 63, 5–26.

54. *GDB*, 370; *DB Lincs.*, 64, 18.

55. *GDB*, 362–3; *DB Lincs.*, 34, 1; 8; 9.36, 2.

56. *GDB*, 344; *DB Lincs.*, 7, 18; 20; 22; 27.

57. *GDB*, 362; *DB Lincs.*, 34, 2; 4–6.

58. *GDB*, 363; *DB Lincs.*, 36, 1.

59. *GDB*, 364; *DB Lincs.*, 40, 8.

60. *GDB*, 360; *DB Lincs.*, 30, 12.

61. *GDB*, 357v; *DB Lincs.*, 27, 3.

62. *GDB*, 350v, 376v; *DB Lincs.*, 14, 28. CW17c.

63. *GDB*, 305, 321; *DB Yorks.*, 4E2. 12W1.

64. *Æthelweard* (Campbell 1962, 51).

65. *ASC*, *s.a.* 942.

66. *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Whitelock 1930, no. 17).

67. *ASC*, *s.a.* 1015.

68. *ASC*, *s.a.* 1015.

69. *John of Worcester*, ii, 443 (Darlington and McGurk 1995).

70. *ASC*, *s.a.* 1013.

71. *ASC*, *s.a.* 1014.

72. *ASC*, *s.a.* 1015.

73. BL: Cotton Ms, Vespasian E.xx (Bardney Cartulary).

74. 'The street of the shoemakers'; this is not to be confused with Southgate. Interestingly, Soutergate is labelled 'Northgate' on the map of 1855 (Fig. 3), suggesting that the street (or part of it) had an alternative name. Topographically, 'Northgate' is appropriate.

75. *E.g.* at Headbourne Worthy (Hants.) the church is almost surrounded by a tributary of the river Itchen. At Lichfield (Staffs.), the Anglo-Saxon cathedral (Chad's bishopstool) lies at one end of the long Stow Pool, and St Chad's church at the other.
76. Today, that includes High Street, which is a renaming of the western part of Burgate.
77. Bardney Cartulary. BL: Cotton Ms. Vespasian E.xx. The folio numbers are given for each relevant extract.
78. See Brown 1906, 93, for a slightly inaccurate translation. He dated the charter to between 1156 (when Gilbert died) and 1161 (when Archbishop Theobald, a signatory, died).
79. Brown 1906, 89–90; 1908, 4–5. Unaccountably, Brown elsewhere (1906, 98) gives the date for Gilbert's exchange and building of the castle as between 1142 and 1147.
80. Brown 1908, 3–5.
81. Brown 1906, 91–2.
82. At this period, *murum* did not necessarily equate with a stone wall, but could refer to earthen and timber defences. There is no evidence that Barton was ever enclosed by a stone wall.
83. Described by W.S. Hesleden in *Gent's Mag.* 92(i), (1822), 5–6; Hesleden 1846; Sampson 1887; Loughlin and Miller 1979, 184, pl. 13 (good air photo); Atkins 1983.
84. The description is contained in his *Iter V*, which may mean that Stukeley first visited Barrow in 1722. He certainly drew monuments in the area in 1724, and is recorded as having returned to the site in 1740: *Surtees Soc.*, 8 (1838), 384.
85. A fine ink drawing (275 × 172 mm) with watercoloured borders, entitled 'Prospect of the British Temple at Barrow, Lincolnsh. July 25. 1725', is pasted onto the flyleaf of a grangerized copy of Camden's *Britannia*, 2, pt. 2 (Bodl: Gough Gen. Top. 63). The title-page and edition date are missing.
86. The earliest was by Stukeley himself, 1724 (Bodl: Gough Prints & Drawings: Lincs. vol. 16, ff. 22B, 23). A plan was drawn in the mid-nineteenth century for an unknown purpose ('Drawn & Etched by J.G.?'; publication not identified); another was published by Hesleden (1846), and one (apparently by Sydney Turner) appeared in Hunt 1905, opp. 30. For a plan of the earthworks at 'Castle Hills', drawn in 1911, see BL: Add. Ms. 38,602, f. 14.
87. Recorded by Hesleden (1846, 225), who also noted that a lane ran along its course. On his map, Brown (1906) marked this as 'Piece of Dyke now existing'.
88. The last visible stretch of the dyke was noted in 1972 in the grounds of Bardney Hall, behind no. 4 Barrow Road. The ditch was represented by an earthwork 'c. 11 yards wide by 70 yards' in length; it was described as '2–3 feet deep and rather soggy even in dry weather'. NLMS, SMR no. 19487.
89. Bardney Cartulary, f. 56v.
90. North Lincolnshire Museum: unpublished ms and phased plans, entitled 'Baysgarth House: History and Architecture' (n.d., c. 1996). I am grateful to David Williams for sharing his researches with me. See also LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/36. Additionally, Geoffrey Bryant kindly supplied a copy of an anonymous manuscript (n.d., c. 1990), entitled 'Baysgarth and the Nelthorpes'. It embodies much serious research, but is unfortunately not referenced.
91. Cameron (1991, 32) notes that the name also occurs in two other parishes in north Lincolnshire, at East Halton and Brocklesby.
92. Cameron 1991, 34. Mount House is said to have been built as three cottages, sometime between 1796 and 1812: *BPM*, ix.1938.
93. Thomas Naylor's will only makes reference to the property, and does not mention the house itself. Some writers have taken this to indicate that there was no residence on the site in 1557, but that is not a valid assumption.
94. Trial excavations at 55 Whitecross Street in 2005, in advance of redevelopment of the former garage premises, failed to discover any medieval or earlier deposits *in situ*. NLMS, SMR.
95. *In Bartona in Neuport unum toftum contra toftum Bucstani ex altera parte vie* (Clay 1936, no. 394). See also Cameron 1991, 39.
96. No provision for archaeology was made when a new police station was constructed on Holydyke in 2005: thus, a rare opportunity to investigate an area where there had been no modern development was lost.
97. *Lincolnshire Hist. Archaeol.* 3 (1968), 30.
98. NLMS, SMR: 'Results of an archaeological trial trench evaluation: 12 Soutergate, Barton-on-Humber'. Ms report, 2006.
99. Although the excavators described it as a drainage 'ditch', this profile could never have survived as an open feature, and there was nowhere for it to drain to. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Soutergate was fronted by a line of buildings of unknown function: the feature could have been a timber-lined channel serving an industrial purpose under the floor of one of these.
100. *Marketgate*, first mentioned in 1343, appears to be the same as the post-medieval Market Lane, which is on the south side of the town: hence the move must already have taken place by this date (Cameron 1991, 39).
101. The Glebe Terrier of 1606 for Barrow refers to houses being made of wood, earth and straw. The same appears to have been true in Barton until the late seventeenth century.
102. First mentioned in 1391 (Cameron 1991, 32). The present building is entirely Georgian (pp. 64–5).
103. The name first occurs in 1537 and the influential Nelthorpe family was certainly there by 1585 (Cameron 1991, 32). See also p. 50.
104. 'Archaeology in Lincolnshire, 1999', *Lincolnshire Hist. Archaeol.* 34 (1999), 24.
105. K. Miller, 'Tyrwhitt Hall, Barton-on-Humber'. Ms report, Humberside Archaeol. Unit, 1982.
106. *Lincolnshire Hist. Archaeol.* 2 (1967), 45. There is no further report on the excavation, which was conducted by G.H. Varah, assisted by school children. The site, which is c. 45 m south of the house, has been incorporated in modern landscaping of the garden. Dimensions were given for one of the structures: 15 ft internal diameter, with a wall 3¼ ft thick; this was clearly a substantial structure. It is difficult to suggest what it was, if not a dovecote; however, Dovecote Close lay on the north-east side of Tyrwhitt Hall.
107. The highest ground within the Tyrwhitt Hall enclosure is the part upon which the hall and East Acridge House now stand. The possibility that this was the site of the Norman motte-and-bailey castle was been considered and rejected: it is still lower than the adjoining churchyard on the west (p. 48).
108. Evidenced in the gardens of Tyrwhitt Hall and East Acridge House on the west flank of the ditch, and those of 14 East Acridge, nos. 20 and 23 Saxon Close, and 16 Green Lane on the east. Observations by Keith Miller.
109. Cameron (1991, 35) cites various members of the family, beginning with Robert Tirwhite in 1508. John Leland, writing in the early 1540s, referred to 'Turwithe' as the principal family at Barton: L.T. Smith (ed.), *The Itinerary of John Leland 5*, 38 (London, 1964).
110. Inf. Keith Miller, who has carried out documentary research on the hall.

111. Burial and baptism registers survive from the mid-sixteenth century, and tomb-slabs attest to interment within the church in the thirteenth century. Nothing is known of the medieval font at either St Mary's or St Peter's.

112. It is common to find that medieval (and later) references to the 'foundation' or 'building' of a church cannot be read too literally: what was often meant was 'refoundation' or 'rebuilding'.

113. *BPM*, ix.1927; ix.1939; ii.1941.

114. Tombleson 1905, 9; Cameron 1991, 37; Brown 1908, 100. Burgate was the principal street of the town, extending from the Beck to Junction Square; the westward continuation of the street beyond Junction Square was part of Fleetgate. Confusion arose in the eighteenth century, when the appellation High Street appeared: since the nineteenth century that has been applied to the western half of Burgate and the eastern end of Fleetgate.

115. Now called Hungate. Confusingly, the appellation Chapel Lane has been reassigned to the street leading south-east from Junction Square.

116. Local oral tradition places the well in the centre of Junction Square. Tombleson (1905, 10) compared this central location to one in a similar situation at nearby Winterton. The well associated with the chapel should not be confused with another well which has been reported under the pavement on the south side of High Street, outside no. 35: that may have been another public water supply, but it is too far east to be relevant.

117. LA: Barton Par. 23/1/2.

118. Survey of the Manor of Barton, Oct. 1649. LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/3.

119. Cameron (1991, 47) linked the name to the family of Jennet Stowe, recorded in Barton in 1574.

120. *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1259; Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 313, 341; Cameron 1991, 43.

121. For a string of references between 1658 and 1789, see Brown 1908, 93–6. *Cf.* also 'A Tarrier of the Merefuris in Barton', 17 Jan. 1719. LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/39 and Barton Par. 23/1/3.

122. *Stamford Mercury*, 22 Mar. 1867; Tombleson 1905, 31; Brown 1906, 18–19 (where the date of the discovery is incorrectly cited as 1807); *Lincolnshire Notes Queries* 19 (1926–27), 41–2.

123. National Archive (Kew): State Papers Domestic, SP46/24/fo5.

124. Tombleson 1905, 30. Hesleden published a note on St Trunnian in *Gent's Mag.* 92(i), 1822, 5; see also G.L. Gomme (ed.), *Gentleman's Magazine Library: Archaeology, Pt 2* (1886), 232.

125. NLMS: Ball, scrapbook 2, f. 73. A later annotation to the map gives 'St Aronan' as an alternative spelling.

126. Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 5r. The sketch is unsigned, but is almost certainly by Hesleden.

127. 'Trunion' does not feature in F. Arnold-Forster's, *Studies in Church Dedications* (London, 1899). There is, however, a dedication to 'St Trinian' in the Isle of Man.

128. *Lincolnshire Notes Queries* 1 (1889), 148–9; 2 (1891), 119; 19 (1926–27), 41. *BPM*, ix.1927.

129. Whitecross Street begins at Baysgarth and now runs well into the town, where it has subsumed the former Southgate: prior to the nineteenth century, the name applied only to that part of the street which lies to the south of Barrow Road. Winship Lane is the name applied to the first part of Caistor Road, where it branches off Whitecross Street.

130. Labelled '180' on the Enclosure map.

131. It is similarly marked on another plan drawn sometime between 1827 and 1843 (LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/8). Tombleson (1905, 30) mentions that he had seen a map showing land to the west of Catherine Street also labelled 'St Catherine's'.

132. It is in the rear garden of 2 Queen's Avenue, which extends behind the adjacent property, 26 Queen's Street. NLMS: SMR no. 17966; information and photograph supplied by Vera W. Chapman, 1995.

133. *Cf.* some of the most famous Anglo-Saxon churches, such as Brixworth (Northants.). Locally, we find churches of Anglo-Saxon origin at Winterton and Winteringham with the bland dedication to All Saints. Similarly, the dedication to St Chad had been lost at Barrow, where it was perhaps supplanted by Holy Trinity.

134. Foster 1912b, 147; *BPM*, ix.1924; Bryant 2003, 26.

135. *BPM*, ix.1925.

136. *BPM*, x, xii.1892; vii, viii, x.1915.

137. LA. There is a terrier for St Peter's only in 1664, and separate ones for the two churches in 1671, 1674, 1679 and 1707.

138. *BPM*, vii.1930. No source cited.

139. See Appendix 5.

140. General register, vol. 1. Memorandum transcribed in *BPM*, vii.1892; ii.1923; x.1938

141. *BPM* iii.1939.

142. *BPM*, v.1932.

143. *BPM*, xii.1932.

144. See Appendix 6, monument M.55.

145. See Appendix 5; the only other appearance of the term in relation to an installation was in 1850.

146. Britton 1807, 682–3. This reference appears to derive from Howlett 1801 (1805).

147. Ms by W.S. Hesleden, dated 1821, formerly kept with the parish records.

148. *Hull, East Riding and North Lincolnshire Times*, Supplement, 21 Feb. 1863 (cited in Brown 1906, 68, n. 1).

149. Pigot & Co, *National Commercial Directory for 1835*.

150. *Supplement to the Hull, East Riding & North Lincolnshire Times*, 21 Feb. 1863. Reported in *BPM*, viii.1936.

151. Asserted by W.E. Varah (*BPM*, ix.1925).

152. It is potentially of interest to note that the town is delimited on the north by Butts Road and Butts Drain, and that there are several recorded references to the Butts and Butt Close. The earliest appears to be 1633: 'a close ... whereupon the butts stand' (Cameron 1991, 37). While it has been assumed that this refers to archery butts, they could equally have been for artillery or smaller firearms. The earthworks of an abandoned Tudor fortification would have served this purpose well.

153. House of Lords Record Office: HL/PO/PB/1/1793/33G3n55 (Private Act for enclosing Barton-upon-Humber, 1793). The two plans, which were surveyed by John Dalton to accompany the Enclosure Award, are in the National Archive (Kew): MPL 1/51/1–2. The scale is approximately 1 inch to 2.75 chains (*c.* 1:2,178). See also LA: GB/NNAF/056010; Barton Par. 17/1–2. The Enclosure plans are reproduced in Russell 1968 and WEA 1980.

154. An ink sketch of 'The Old Crow Tree' by Hesleden, *c.* 1830, shows two men with muskets standing beneath the tree and firing upwards into it (Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 346).

155. A newspaper cutting records that 'Mr Graburn's rookery tree blew down in a heavy gale' (Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 344).

156. One, described as 'near St Mary's church', was used in 1816 as the venue for an auction sale (Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 406).

157. The earliest record of pantiles being used in Barton is in 1707, when a house in King Street was described as covered with 'crooked tile' (Neave 1991, 96).

158. Meanwhile, useful sources include: Bryant *et al.* 1983; Pevsner *et al.* 1989, 125–7; Russell 2002.

159. No reliance can be placed on a local tale, reported by Tombleson, that the stones came from Thornton Abbey.

160. *BPM*, ii.1938.

161. Little has been written on Barton's involvement in the Civil War. See generally Brears 1940; Clapson 2005, 21–2; and D. Williams, *Barton and the Civil War* (programme for the Civil War Festival, Barton-upon-Humber, 1992).

162. Since the majority of buildings were timber-framed and thatched, it is not surprising that carrying pieces of burning coal or stick from one house to another, with which to ignite a fire, was prohibited. The fine of failing to carry burning materials in an enclosed vessel, as prescribed, was 3s. 4d. The disastrous fire in 1730, which destroyed the properties on the south side of Market Place, may have resulted from such carelessness (LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/53).

163. *BPM*, i.1930. See also note 90.

164. The site of the Empringham house is shown as a vacant plot on the 1796 map, while the Long house was still in existence.

165. LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/43.

166. *Kelly's Trade Directory for 1900*.

167. Trial excavations adjacent to the hall in 2004 yielded only seventeenth- and eighteenth-century materials.

168. Other pieces of the same gallery were reused in houses in Beverley (Hall and Hall 1981, figs. 46 and 48).

169. Investigations carried out by the present writer, who was then the owner of Laurel House.

170. Appendix 6, M.13. For an obituary of Benton, see *Gent's Mag.* 70(i), Feb. 1800, 183.

171. Nothing remains of this church: it was superseded in 1938 and then largely rebuilt again in 1987–88, retaining the presbytery of 1938. *Catholic Parish of St Augustine Webster, Barton on Humber*. Privately printed, n.d. [c. 1990].

172. Although originally built for the Barton Temperance Society.

173. The mills at Waterside (Hewson's), Caistor Road and Ferriby Road are shown on Hesleden's plan of 1835 (Fig. 19).

174. The artist's viewpoint for this plate was clearly due south of Barton. This cannot be Caistor Road mill, which was too far east, nor can the quarry be identified with that alongside Horkstow Road, which was too far west. The site is plausibly identifiable from an early nineteenth-century 'Plan of the Lordship of Barton-upon-Humber' (undated; surveyed by John Dalton; copy in LA), which shows the quarry (marked 'pitt') at the junction of Brigg Road and Saxby Road (TA 022188), near Chapel Farm. The mill appears prominently on the horizon in a view of 1834 (Fig. 6).

175. Ludham 1996. Although the station was demolished in 1973, Barton is still a terminus and the single-line track from Barnetby-le-Wold remains operational.

176. The 1855 map is also reproduced in WEA 1979, 68.

177. Site plans showing the changes are preserved in LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/8 and 10/2/9. An indication that in 1823 it was a very substantial three-storied house of five bays is gained from a sketch in Ball's scrapbook 2, f. 86.

178. Thomas Tombleson recorded the following in one of his voluminous notebooks (vol. 5, p. 123); although undated, the relevant notebook was evidently compiled in 1899.

1801	St Peter's parish	1,057
	St Mary's parish	679
	Total	1,736

1812	St Peter: males 552; females 676	1,228
	St Mary: males 462; females 514	976
	Total	2,204

1818	St Peter	1,500
	St Mary	1,200
	Total	2,700

The last set of figures is clearly only an approximation. Tombleson's labelling of St Peter's and St Mary's as separate 'parishes' is erroneous, although they were popularly so called (p. 61).

179. The census returns chart the population growth of Barton through the nineteenth century as follows: 1801 – 1,709; 1811 – 2,204; 1821 – 2,496; 1831 – 3,233; 1841 – 3,475; 1851 – 3,866; 1861 – 3,797 (decrease); 1871 – 4,332; 1881 – 5,319; 1891 – 5,226 (decrease); 1901 – 5,761.

180. For details of population movement in the mid-nineteenth century, see WEA 1978.

181. Barton parish records: Vestry Book, 31 Aug. 1866.

182. R. Clarke, 'The Civil Cemetery, Barton-upon-Humber: A Study in Landscape History and Ecology Impact'. Undated ms [c. 2000], Internet, Barton Civic Soc. Copy in site archive.

183. *Stamford Mercury*, 22 Jan. and 2 Dec. 1864. Tyszka 2006, 61, fig. 2.14.

184. *BPM*, vii, viii.1893. Tyszka 2006, 62.

185. *BPM*, ix.1893; ii.1894.

186. *BPM*, vi.1899; i, v.1901.

187. LA: Barton Par. 5/4. *BPM*, vi, vii.1902; viii.1903. Tyszka 2006, 64. For the inscription on the foundation stone, see here p. 139.

Notes to Chapter 3 (pp. 69–140)

1. In wills of 1532 and 1534 (Hickman 2001, 142, 386).

2. LA: Bigby Par. 23/4. The flanking walls are built of 75 mm bricks, and capped with Yorkstone.

3. The railings have gone, the entrance has been widened and the walls flanking it have been rebuilt; this may not have been an ancient entrance to the churchyard, which was possibly at the south-west corner. Pockets remain in the stone copings for fixing the railings alongside Burgate.

4. Gravestones from 1830 occur here. The entrance was 2.75 m wide. The limestone coping on the infilled section of walling is different from that elsewhere.

5. LA: Bigby Par. 23/4. The Victorian red brick top to the wall thus presumably dates from 1862.

6. In 1980, when the foundations for the church hall were dug, brickwork and a foundation of chalk rubble was encountered at its north-east corner.

7. LA: St Mary's burial register, 1815–57.

8. The headstones were mostly of Yorkstone, and the posts were c. 70–90 mm square. Rusting of the iron bolts often led to star-cracking, followed by fracturing of the headstone.

9. For various notes and comments on the chantries, see *BPM*, vi, viii.1894; ii, iii.1922; i.1927; ii–vi, viii, ix, xi.1938; x.1940. Most of these are unreferenced, and not all are accurate.

10. *BPM*, viii.1924; Bryant 2003, 26.

11. Varah's imaginative reasoning seems to have been along the following lines: Paulinus and James the Deacon were both active in Lindsey in the seventh century; hence, they would have known Chad; Barton was the site of Chad's monastery; James would 'naturally' have been commemorated there (Varah 1928, 39–40). The argument is flawed at every stage. Varah seems to have developed his theory from

Brown's discussion of the two St Jameses (Brown 1906, 22–3). There is no recorded allusion to St James the Less in Barton, and the only explicit reference to St James the Great is in the stained glass of the east window in St Peter's church (p. 580).

12. Foster 1927, 145; *BPM*, ix.1930; Bryant 2003, 26.

13. The idea seems to have originated with Moor (*BPM*, vi.1894). It was repeated by Brown (1908, 82–3).

14. Partially reproduced in *BPM*, x.1940. Richard Adinot died by 1276, leaving a widow, Matilda (*BPM*, ix.1938).

15. *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1577*.

16. See Appendix 5.

17. See Appendix 5.

18. *BPM*, ii.1892.

19. LA: F.L. Misc. 10/8/10.

20. *BPM*, vi.1894.

21. Varah 1928, 33; *BPM*, ii.1938.

22. *BPM*, ii, iii, iv, ix.1938.

23. Moor initially associated it with Ouresby's chantry (*BPM*, ii.1892), but subsequently changed his mind (*BPM*, vi.1894).

24. The grant was printed, slightly abridged, in *BPM*, iii.1922 and x.1940.

25. LA: Barton Par. 5/9; 13/1.

26. A bequest of £20, made by Thomas Johnson in 1723, funded the conversion in 1753 (*BPM*, vi.1892). For Hesleden's notes on the building, see Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 240. A description contained in a directory of 1826 was cited in *BPM*, vi.1938.

27. *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* 46 (1890), 169.

28. The watercolour is undated but is of the same period: an engraving based on it, and dated 1804, was published in Howlett 1805.

29. LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/18. It is written on one side of a scrap of paper, which has non-Barton material on the verso.

30. He mentioned the south porch entrance, 'another door on the south side' (chancel chapel, bay 1) and 'one on the south side of the chancel' (chancel chapel, bay 3, now blocked, but shown by Nattes), and the north aisle door (then blocked).

31. This may have referred to a lost pinnacle. In 1939, a fund was started for the 'replacement' of a pinnacle on the east side (*BPM*, iii.1939). This was not carried out, and it is doubtful from the construction of the parapet whether there ever was a central pinnacle on the east. Certainly, there is no evidence for the seating of one today.

32. LA: FB2/78.

33. LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/15. The plan was drawn in ink by William Rawson, who initialled and dated it both 'W.R. 1822' and 'W.R. 1823'. The scale is 8 ft to 1 inch (not marked), and the sheet is smothered with dimensions and marginalia which are now so faint that most are illegible. Dimensions include pillars, pew widths, etc.

34. LA: Dixon 19/1/3, f. 32r. Loft had a habit of drawing separate plans for the exteriors and interiors of churches.

35. The original, in pen, ink and grey wash, was drawn at a scale of 24 ft to 1 inch (LA: Barton Par. 9/2/3). It was not annotated and grave-slabs were not numbered. Redrawn, it was published in Brown 1908, fig. 19. There are also several derivative versions, including one which shows the floor slabs numbered 1–42 (LA: Barton Par. 9). Another redrawn version has an incomplete numbered key (1–31) to the slabs (Lincoln Ref. Lib.: Ross, vol. III).

36. Copy in possession of John French, Barton.

37. LA: Barton Par. 9/2/4.

38. In private possession.

39. The site sketch is elementary, and the preliminary drawing is remarkably crude, but is dimensioned and annotated, 'Measurement of the tower by W.C.H. with a sextant' (LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/16–17). 'W.C.H.' was presumably W.S. Hesleden's son. Proof copies of the engraved version are preserved in Ball's scrapbooks (Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, ff. 209–10; NLMS: Ball, scrapbook 2, f. 23). The engraving is initialled and titled, and is uniform with the south elevation of St Peter's (Fig. 247); it also bears the label of Day and Haghe, which can be dated to the period *c.* 1833–36.

40. Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 207. The same collection includes dimensioned pencil sketches of details of the west doorway, window above, and belfry opening (*ibid.*, ff. 212–13, 214v).

41. Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, ff. 215–16, 218. These include a general elevation of the arcade (f. 215); an ink and grey-wash drawing of arcade pier 4/5 (f. 216); and an ink drawing of the same pier, together with one in the south arcade (f. 218).

42. *Ibid.*, west respond corbel (f. 214r); a pier (f. 218); a pier with the arcade label-stop above (un-numbered folio, between ff. 217–18). The last is baffling, since there are no label-mouldings or head-stops to the south nave arcade, yet multi-shafted piers with mid-height rings occur nowhere else in Barton.

43. *Ibid.*, south face of pier 1/2, showing sculptures 7 and 15 (ff. 217, 650).

44. Moor 1892 is a reduced version of the series of articles published in 1890, under the title 'Some Account of St Mary's Church' (*BPM*, iv–x.1890).

45. Following Moor, Varah first published 'A Description of Saint Mary's Church' as a series of eleven articles (*BPM*, x.1915; iii, iv, vi–xii.1916; i.1917).

46. By members of the archaeological team engaged upon St Peter's, 1983; plan completed in 2006/2009 by Caroline Atkins.

47. The housing remains visible on the south flank, but has been infilled with a stone slip on the north.

48. The southern reveal rises uninterrupted, while the northern has a set-back at *c.* 2.5 m above floor level. Both reveals incorporate fragments of glazed medieval floor tile, used as packing material.

49. It dates from 1937 (LA: Barton Par. 9/3/1). For the crucifix and its setting in St Chad's, see Varah 1965, 16–17.

50. A crude drawing (unlabelled) of the tracery, probably made by Hesleden in the 1830s, is in Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 634.

51. There is a patch of masonry above the second window which could possibly represent the site of an earlier opening in this wall. That would imply a former window of Norman date.

52. The rear-arch of bay 1 window has inserted pieces of stone (80 mm high) at the base of the jambs, indicating that the sill has been dropped. Seemingly, this was done to align it with a lower sill in bay 2.

53. Reset in the blocked north arcade; the main lights have cinquefoiled ogee heads.

54. There are seven beams, with one set against the east end wall.

55. Varah 1928, 35. The vestry roof was lowered and the chancel window unblocked in the mid-twentieth century.

56. Excavation by Naomi Field: no report has been published. The finds are held by NLMS: acn no. 5737.

57. The bottoms of the traceries survive beneath the later head, but they have been infilled with mortar, which conceals the mouldings and any cusping.

58. The arms of the cross measure 75 mm overall.
59. The setting is illustrated in Varah 1965, 14.
60. In bay 2 a later opening has been cut through the bench, where there is now a doorway in the screen.
61. Attempts by Geoffrey Bryant and the writer to ensure that this discovery was professionally investigated and recorded failed. Repairs were carried out, leading to the loss of much plaster and paint.
62. Originally there were nine beams, which included one against each end wall: that on the west is missing.
63. An ink and grey-wash drawing (150 × 260 mm) of the corbel, probably by Hesleden, is in Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 214r.
64. For poured-lead joining generally, see Alexander 2005.
65. For the general setting of the pins, see the plate in Varah 1965, 13.
66. *BPM*, vii.1927.
67. The arcade has been discussed by, *inter alia*, Moor (1892), Brown (1908, 78) and Bryant (2003, 61–4).
68. The first four shafts are similar and composed largely of limestone, but the fifth contains a preponderance of fine-grained sandstone, which is also present in the west respond.
69. The composition is about 50% sandstone and 50% limestone. A single block of the same sandstone is also found in pier 2/3.
70. The inner order is of limestone; the outer comprises a mixture of yellow limestone and sandstone.
71. Observed by the present writer.
72. Numerous, small gritstone blocks were also introduced into the western part of the aisle in the mid-twentieth century. Like those intruded into the fabric of St Peter's, they have no historic connection with Barton but were brought in as salvaged street-cobbles (p. 538).
73. The openings were both 76 cm wide externally, and they shared a common sill level, lower than that of the late medieval window. The northern window was taller than the southern, and the latter was evidently relict from an initial narrow aisle. There is no discernible evidence that the shorter window was superseded by another, taller one, alongside (as suggested in Bryant 2003, fig. 3.13).
74. The west wall of the aisle, to a height of 1.8 m, is internally covered with modern oak panelling which obscures the lower parts of both lancets.
75. Observed by the present writer.
76. That on the west is of ironstone and has largely disintegrated. The priest's doorway at Barrow-upon-Humber is of similar design.
77. The trefoils in the uppermost circle are original, but the cinquefoils are only present as restorations (of 1867) in bay 2; in bays 1, 3 and 4 the lower circles are all uncusped. Varah (1928, 37) maintained that was the original design, and that the cusps had not been subsequently cut away. The cinquefoiled circles in the chapter house at Thornton Abbey may have unduly influenced the restoration at Barton (Clapham and Baillie Reynolds 1956, 9, pl.).
78. The piscina is of pale limestone and incorporates some chalk in its construction, whereas the sedilia are in yellow limestone (illustrated in Varah 1965, 13).
79. On the south, the masonry of the arch runs into the embrasure of the low-side window; this was probably completely infilled at the same time, but was reopened in the nineteenth century.
80. The writer has been unable to inspect the roof at close quarters.
81. A pair of plain iron gates of utilitarian design has been installed in recent years.
82. Trollope 1887–88, 317. The evidence is equivocal. The present window has a chamfered surround of recent date, recessed within the arch.
83. The east window had a moulded, flat Tudor head which was made from a thirteenth-century grave-slab. This points to the likelihood that the windows were truncated.
84. The stone (M.20) has not been petrologically identified. It is not Belgian marble and nor is it local: superficially, it has the appearance of Cannel Coal, which was used as a flooring material in Staffordshire churches.
85. Appendix 3: Loft ms, LA, F.L. Misc. 10/1/3. f. 36v.
86. Churchwardens did not usually hold office for more than four consecutive years.
87. Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 213.
88. There does not now appear to be any iron or lead present, and the channels are all filled with cement; in a few instances copper straps can be seen. The parapet has evidently been dismantled and rebuilt, discarding the dog-cramps in the process.
89. The three patches are located: on the west side, towards the south-west corner; in the middle of the south side; and the same on the east.
90. When part of the plaster was stripped from the west wall of the nave in 1984, the continuation of the weathering-line on the south was temporarily revealed.
91. Doubtless the walls of the ground stage were internally plastered, although there is now no trace remaining. The clock chamber and belfry levels, however, have never been plastered.
92. Pevsner *et al.* 1989, 124, erroneously described the stiff-leaf capitals as 'all now Victorian'. Dr Pamela Tudor-Craig points out that the pelleted leaves are similar to those of c. 1240 at Peterborough Cathedral.
93. The screen was removed from the aisle to the tower in 1973, when the organ from St Peter's was installed (p. 559).
94. No tree-ring dating has yet been carried out on the timbers of St Mary's church.
95. There is a difference in level of half a timber's thickness between holes in adjacent walls, potentially indicating that putlogs were halved over one another: that being so, framed construction is implied (*cf.* the upper belfry stage of St Peter's tower, pp. 367–8). Also, in plan, the putlogs fanned out slightly at the corners of the tower.
96. The pockets were c. 0.5 m wide and held beams at least 0.6 m high; the underside was 2.3 m above the clock chamber floor. The pockets have been somewhat mutilated and are now infilled with brick (230 × 110 × 50 mm, apparently wasters); the best preserved is on the north-west.
97. Inf. from G.H. Varah.
98. *BPM*, ii.1892; subsequently republished in Varah 1928,
29. Moor concluded his original account: 'A little book describing these developments will probably be on sale about Easter'. This was an allusion to the first guidebook to St Mary's (Moor 1892), which contained an even briefer account of the finding of the early church.
99. *BPM*, ii.1942. Reference to the discovery being in the north wall is incorrect: it is believed to have been made in the east wall (*BPM*, i.1939; Varah 1965, 4; and G.H. Varah, pers. comm.).
100. Pevsner *et al.* (1989, 124) were apparently confounded by the evidence at Barton: having assigned the arcade to the late twelfth century, they compared the pier design with St Hugh's choir and observed 'but the capitals have waterleaf, not stiff-leaf, a motif more of c. 1170 than of c. 1200'.
101. The difficulty presented by Reepham was noticed by Pevsner *et al.* (1989, 609), who concluded that if the piers

were related to Lincoln the capitals could not be late twelfth century, and 'one would have to advance the date to the early C13'. This is a circular argument.

102. The tracery of the central light, with its super-mullions and transoms, closely resembles the west window at Goxhill Hall (alias Priory). The Goxhill window, which has been inserted into a fourteenth-century chamber, has a low Tudor head, similar to the east window in the south aisle at St Peter's. The three are closely related. For Goxhill Hall, see Pevsner *et al.* 1989, 313.

103. Seen on Hesleden's drawing, Figure 45 (Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 211).

104. The limestone slab measures 2.8 × 0.99 m; its thickness and the form of its edge-moulding are unknown since it is now set flush with the Victorian tiled floor. The average dimension of the five consecration crosses is 40 mm. Hesleden's plan of 1834 shows a slab of the same length at the west end of the nave, aligned north-south (Fig. 44, no. 4). He also made a dimensioned drawing of it (Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 221).

105. Foster 1912b, 147; *BPM*, ix.1924; Bryant 2003, 26.

106. In bay 1 (division 12) two cusps have human heads, facing both north and south. The south-facing ones have pointed chins, broad noses and almond-shaped eyes; the north-facing heads have prominent brows. In bay 2 (division 4) one cusp has a semi-grotesque head with prominent teeth, facing north; another, less aggressive, head faces south. The early twentieth-century work in bay 3 followed the same idiom: divisions 2 and 12 each carry 'Gothic' faces on two of the cusps.

107. The mutilated bench-end noted in the vestry (Moor 1892, 22) came from St Peter's church (p. 555).

108. *BPM*, x.1928.

109. The churchwardens' accounts were quoted by Ball (1856, 2, 6-9), and extracts are preserved in Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, ff. 308-14. Further transcripts, down to 1703-04, were made by Moor in the 1890s and published by Varah in the parish magazine (*BPM*) in the 1920s and 1930s. A series of excerpts was printed in 37 parts, between Sep. 1925 and May 1936. See also Appendix 5.

110. *BPM*, ix.1925.

111. For a detailed account of the work and costs involved in this bell-casting, see Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 318.

112. *Ibid.*, vi, viii, ix.1926.

113. *Ibid.*, v.1927.

114. *Ibid.*, vii, viii.1927.

115. *Ibid.*, ix.1927.

116. *Ibid.*, v, vi.1928. For further details of the bells, see North 1882, 301-3; Varah 1948, ch. 3 and 4; Ketteringham 2009, 24-5. Varah's account includes considerable speculation.

117. As assumed by North (1882, 302) and incorrectly stated in *BPM*, viii.1944.

118. Appendix 5. Varah 1948, 21, 49 (the churchwardens' accounts referred to by Varah are lost). Several reports incorrectly state that the date '1602' is part of the inscription: *e.g.* Ketteringham 2009, 24.

119. Cole, 1909-10, 28-9.

120. The gable and steeply pitched tile roof survived until the twentieth century, appearing in photographs (Fig. 37). Presumably a low-pitched lead roof was replaced.

121. *BPM*, ix.1928.

122. *Ibid.*, x.1928; iv, vii.1929; i, v.1930.

123. Varah records an inscription in stone, on the south clerestory parapet, which he took to denote its completion: 'R 1674 P' (Varah 1928, 42; *BPM*, v.1930). These initials probably belonged to a craftsman, rather than a churchwarden.

124. Moor (1892, 23) records another stone at a high level bearing the initials 'I.N, I.K., C.W.' and the date 1678. The identities of the churchwardens cannot be established since the accounts for the period have been lost.

125. *E.g.* *BPM*, xii.1930; v, vi, viii.1931; xii.1931.

126. *E.g.* *BPM*, xii.1933; iv, viii.1934; ii.1935.

127. *I.e.* he did not consider them to be of great antiquity.

128. LA: Fac. 9/25; Fac. 10/100; FB2/78 (with plan).

129. LA: Cor. B5/4/44/4.

130. LA: Bigby Par. 23/3.

131. LA: Barton Par. 9/2/1. There is possibly some confusion here over the date: the faculty surely relates to 1711?

132. LA: Fac. 10/93.

133. LA: FB2/78; FB2/82; Fac. 10/24; Barton Par. 9/2/2.

134. *BPM*, ix.1928.

135. Details were recorded in a memoir by W.S.H[esleden], 'Churchwardens of St Mary's, Barton upon Humber. Statement of what has passed in regard to their repairing their Church &c.' Ms. dated 1821, held with parish records.

136. W. Burton and T. Wilson, 'An Appeal to the Vicar and Parishioners of St Mary's, in Barton-upon-Humber'. Privately printed memoir issued by the churchwardens (Barton-upon-Humber, 1834); copy in Grimsby Public Libraries.

137. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/6; 9/2/3.

138. Appendix 3. LA: Dixon 19/1/3, f. 33r.

139. Loft recorded this inscription when it was *in situ* (Appendix 3). There were, however, six separate inscriptions altogether, which were cut out and saved when the roof was reroofed. The remaining five read: 'F. Arton 1818'; 'G. Todd 1818'; 'T. Lund Penrith, Cumberland'; 'C. Atkinson Doncaster 1818'; and 'J. Toinby-Long 1818'. The lead plaques were deposited in Baysgarth Museum: Accn nos. BABDM L55.1-L55.6. I have not seen the smaller inscriptions.

140. I owe this identification to Prof. Martin Henig.

141. ICBS file 00022, but the plan is unfortunately missing; see also Minutes, vol. 2, pp. 78, 92 and vol. 6, p. 244.

142. *Stamford Mercury*, 20 Aug. 1819.

143. LA: Fac. 11/54; FB4/217. In 1856, Graburn, the principal pew holder, was still vexed at having to pay 20 guineas for his new seat (*BPM*, xi.1890).

144. LA: Misc. 10/2/15.

145. Appended to the churchwardens' submission were accounts for repairs to the roof and pews, since 1818, and lists of rates arrears. Ball (1856, 1, 60) reported the cost as 'upwards of £1,200'.

146. No record of the installation of the gallery could be discovered in 1890 (*BPM*, xi.1890).

147. Copy in possession of John French. The plan is almost identical to that of 1823, but the pew numbering differs.

148. LA: Barton Par. 9/2/4.

149. LA: Bigby Par. 23/4.

150. LA: Bigby Par. 23/4.

151. LA: FB9/80; Barton Par. 9/2/5.

152. For James Fowler (1828-92), see Kaye and Scorer 1992; Brodie *et al.* 2001, 679-80, with references.

153. *Kelly's Trade Directory for 1900*.

154. Varah (1928, 37) assigned the window to 1867.

155. The installation of the window was listed in *Lincoln Diocesan Calendar 1888*, 108, which records work done in the previous year. I owe this reference to Dr Michael Kerney. He also kindly drew my attention to an entry in *Lincoln Diocesan Calendar 1897* (p. 136) referring to a new three-light window by Heaton, Butler & Bayne, in memory of Mrs Andrew, illustrating *Proverbs* xxxi.15. The location is simply noted at

'Barton-on-Humber'. This is, however, erroneous, and actually refers to Barrow-upon-Humber, where Mrs Andrew was the vicar's wife. The glass is in the east window there (Pevsner *et al.* 1989, 120).

156. LA: Barton Par. 9/2/6. *BPM*, ii, iii, iv, vi.1890.

157. *Ibid.*, vii, xi.1890. For Baysgarth House, see p. 64.

158. LA: Fac. Papers 1891/7; FB10/203. *BPM*, v, vi.1891. Sir George Gilbert Scott – father of John Oldrid Scott (1841–1913) – had evidently visited St Mary's and made sketches in 1843–44 (Heseltine 1981, 84, item 49).

159. *BPM*, viii, ix.1891.

160. *BPM*, x.1891.

161. Notes on the works undertaken, as well as details of the various contractors and suppliers of furnishings, were published in *BPM*, xii.1891; ii, iv, v.1892; and Moor 1892, 14. As already noted, the low-side window had been at least partly opened and glazed in 1865.

162. *BPM*, viii.1892.

163. LA: Drawing of 1891 deposited in 2006; not catalogued.

164. RIBA Library: Scott notebooks 1/2/42, pp. 39–49; 1/2/47, pp. 85–6, 92. He made historical notes on both churches: those on St Mary's are dated 6 Oct. 1895 and 15 Jan. 1896. These are not listed in Heseltine 1981, and I am grateful to Dr Alexandrina Buchanan for supplying details of the entries.

165. LA: FB11/332; Barton Par. 9/2/7. *BPM*, iv, vi, vii.1902; i.1904; iv.1909; ii, iii.1910. See also *ibid.*, iii.1925.

166. *BPM*, iv.1907; vi.1908.

167. *BPM*, ix.1910; x.1937; ii.1939. Renewed stone in the western half of the north parapet is of a different lithology and does not respect the historic block size.

168. LA: FB14/629. *BPM*, vii, xi.1925; Varah 1928, 46.

169. *E.g.* *BPM*, xi.1927.

170. *BPM*, viii–x.1928.

171. *BPM*, xii.1937; vii.1938; ii.1939.

172. *Cf.* St Peter's church. The upper chamber was evidently still intact in 1796, since Nattes showed glazed windows in the south and west walls.

173. *BPM*, ix.1937; ix.1938; i, vii.1939; ii.1942.

174. LA: Barton Par. 9/2/9. The accompanying ornaments were given by the Varah family, and others.

175. There do not appear to have been any faculties obtained for roof works, and dates are therefore uncertain.

176. ICBS file 14784, f. 9ff; Minutes, vol. 36, p. 134. No deposited plans.

177. LA: Barton Par. 9/2/13.

178. LA: Barton Par. 8/12; 9/2/14

179. The present writer inspected the foundation trenches after they had been dug but, in the nature of such observations, these were not especially informative. An important opportunity to assess the archaeology of St Mary's church site was lost.

180. The contractors' operations were partially observed by Geoffrey Bryant and the writer.

181. LA: Barton Par. 9/2/15. No record has been found of archaeological work taking place.

182. The cover was broken by the workman who found the jar.

183. The jar used to be kept in the church safe, and I photographed and drew it in 1979. It is now missing, and was probably lost in the burglary that occurred in the 1990s.

184. Ink and grey-wash drawing (150 × 190 mm) (Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 224).

185. Hesleden records that it was given by W.H. Eddie (Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 222). That probably implies a date prior to *c.* 1850, and certainly before 1855.

186. A faculty to install the font in St Mary's was retrospectively obtained, 15 May 1979.

187. Inf. from John Smith of King's Lynn, who photographed the font in the dealer's yard, 14 Nov. 1981.

188. For a crude ink and watercolour drawing by W.M. Rawson, dated 1833, see Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 220.

189. College of Arms: Ms. H.XI.C.N., ff. 39v–40. BL: Harleian Ms. 6829, 81, 83. For Holles, see Cole 1911, 78–80.

190. Lee drew this shield as impaled, not quartered. An heiress's husband was entitled to quarter her arms with his own, but the wife commemorated here was not the heiress of her father, the Earl of Lancaster (Longo-Castro). In this instance it seems that Holles made an error.

191. Recorded by Holles (*ibid.*, 143). He described the third shield as that of Beaumont impaling England, an easy mistake to make as the only difference between the two shields was the label borne by Lancaster. For the lost and extant Linwood glazing, see Hebgin-Barnes 1996, 167–8.

192. In the upper row were Bohemia, Castile and León, England, the Holy Roman Emperor, France, an unidentified shield and Jerusalem. In the lower row were Navarre, Aragon, Scotland, Cyprus, Hungary, Portugal and Poland (Cole 1911, 79).

193. Upper row: De la Pole, Percy, Neville, Beaumont, Clifford, Willoughby, Ros, unidentified and Despencer. Lower row: Lascells, unidentified, Bromflet, Latimer, Rither, Etchingham, Rowth, Hansard and Aske.

194. A good example of this is the Heraldic Window (nXXIII) in the nave of York Minster dating from *c.* 1307–12, where the shields of European kingdoms and English noble families are used as decorative elements in the borders (see O'Connor, forthcoming).

195. As well as being the grandson of the King of Jerusalem, Henry Beaumont was the great-grandson of Alfonso IX, King of Castile and León, which made him the second cousin of Edward II of England.

196. The glass was recovered during a small excavation (p. 87). NLMS: registration nos. 5737.66–216. Site code BSM 94. Nos. 5737.111 and 5737.112 comprise two bagsful of dirty, unpainted medieval fragments, together weighing over 2.5 kg. Many of these are parts of diamond quarries.

197. This same border design is found in a fourteenth-century tracery light (window sIII, panel A2) remaining at Wickenby (Lincs.) (Hebgin-Barnes 1996, 349; not illustrated).

198. In Lincolnshire alone, fifteenth-century series of female saints or remnants thereof are found in tracery lights at Addlethorpe, Wrangle and St John's in Stamford (Hebgin-Barnes 1996, 1–3, 277–86, 359–69).

199. For example, several figures including the prophets Zachariah and Ezekiel in the tracery lights of the early fifteenth-century east window of Cartmel Priory (Cumbria, formerly Lancashire; Hebgin-Barnes 2009, 61, 62).

200. *E.g.* see Trollope 1887–88, 318.

201. Various versions exist: the original is entitled 'Plan of Saint Mary's Church', and is initialled 'W.S.H.'. A redrawn version was published in Brown 1908, fig. 19. Another redrawing, by an unknown hand, omits the pews and carries the schedule of floor slabs, the number of which was increased there to 44 (Lincoln Reference Library: Ross vol. III).

202. The monument is damaged, in dirty condition and in need of conservation. Being alabaster, it has attracted numerous incised graffiti, which extend back to the eighteenth century. Moreover, the colours were toned down with black paint to suit Victorian taste.

203. Varah (1928, 43) claimed that the lost finial was an angel, smashed by the Puritans; Pevsner *et al.* (1989, 125) suggested an allegorical figure; Holles confirms that it was an angel (Cole 1911, 78).
204. An ink drawing of the monument in the 1830s, by Hesleden, is in Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 570. The date of death is erroneously recorded as 1696 (rather than 1626), and a later hand has misleadingly written 'Laceby' on the drawing.
205. The monument has suffered badly from penetrating dampness, and is in need of conservation. The lettering was coloured red and black.
206. The block measures 380 × 220 mm by 120 mm deep, and the very crudely cut inscription reads: [HERE LY]ES THE BOD[Y] / [FAI]ITH LOW WH[O] / [DIED] THE 23 OF IVNE / 1706 IN THE 17 YEAR / OF HER AGE : The parish register records that Faith Low was the daughter of a weaver.
207. The inscription reads: HERE LYETH THE BODYE OF ANN / ARNOLD LATE WIFE OF THOMAS / ARNOLD WHO LEVED FIFTYESEX YEARES AND WAS BVRIED THE 2 / OF DESEMBER ANNO DVI 1633.
208. Notes on some of the floor slabs were made, after 1835, by an unknown antiquary. LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/31.
209. *BPM*, vi.1892; Brown 1908, 145.
210. *BPM*, ii.1894. The cross-head was found in a garden somewhere in Barton and was presented to St Mary's by the owner, where it was put on display until 1904.
211. Fitzwilliam Museum: Ms. 330 (Rickert 1954, pl. 98).
212. BL: Arundel Ms. 156, f. 99v (Backhouse 1993, 74–5, pl. p. 75).
213. Orléans: Ms. Bibl. Mun. 13, 112 (Cahn 1996, cat. 16).

Notes to Chapter 4 (pp. 141–168)

- For an introduction to the geology of the area, see Catt 1990 and Gaunt *et al.* 1992.
- Ordnance Survey, 1 inch to 1 mile: sheet 86. First edn, 1824.
- Ball 1856, 2, 21. Lewis (1835) records, 'the largest stones are used for repairing the banks of the Humber and other rivers, and for the construction and repair of jetties; the smaller for mending the public roads; and the finest quality is sold for making plaister of Paris, and shipped for foreign markets'. Stone was being quarried here from a much earlier date, as evidenced by a survey of the manor of Barton in Oct. 1649, which refers to the 'stone pitts' on the west side of the town (LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/1, f. 3).
- Although both were found during archaeological investigations, neither was excavated. The former was at the rear of 19 Newport Street, on a site which yielded medieval and later pottery: *Lincolnshire Hist. Archaeol.* 3 (1968), 34. The latter was at 12 Soutergate, just north-west of St Mary's church: archive report [2006] by M & M Archaeological Services in the SMR.
- Ground surface has changed over time, and it is not meaningful to give precise levels. The rising level of the springs in the bottom of the Beck is in the region of 4 m O.D.
- The southern part of Pasture Road bears the name of 'Beck Hill', which was first applied in the later nineteenth century; previously, Pasture Road started at the junction of Burgate Street with Whitecross Street.
- The western half of the south wall in bay 1 subsided and had to be rebuilt in the fifteenth century: see further, p. 472.
- The spring was still marked on the 1932 edition of the 1:2,500 O.S. map.
- These and the Shadwells are marked as 'blow wells' on the map of 1824 (Fig. 136).
- Details are recorded in *Kelly's Trade Directory for 1900*.
- LA: F.L. Misc. 10/8/10. The plan is undated, but is approximately contemporary with the Enclosure map.
- The plan shows the drain dividing in Beck Hill: one course was culverted under the road, while the other flowed in an open channel through the orchard on the western corner of Pasture Road.
- May 1976 and 1996 provide a good introduction to prehistoric Lincolnshire; for an earlier account of the archaeology of the Ancholme and its hinterland, see Dudley 1949. For a gazetteer of all archaeological sites and finds in the area, see Loughlin and Miller 1979. The number of new sites and finds made since these publications has increased considerably.
- On votive depositions in watery places, see Bradley 1990.
- See Humber Wetlands Project, *Annual Reports: Humber Wetlands Survey*, Univ. of Hull; also, for waterlogged deposits of the Humberhead, west of the Trent, see Van de Noort and Ellis 1997; also Van de Noort 2004.
- A good deal of confusion between these routes has arisen in past literature, now succinctly clarified by Bryant (2006). See also May 1976, fig. 4.
- Loughlin and Miller 1979, 183–6. For a general discussion of prehistoric finds from Barton parish, see Bryant 1994, ch. 2; also for the newly discovered Iron Age site in Tofts Road, see Bennet 2008, 69; and NLMS, SMR, ref. 20411-MLS20411.
- It is doubtful whether the 'several large tumuli, or long barrows, in which human bones have been found' were prehistoric (Loughlin and Miller 1979, 184). 'Large tumuli' of prehistoric date do not often occur in low-lying riverine locations.
- For a summary of the finds, with references, see Loughlin and Miller 1979, 215.
- For a general introduction to the archaeology of Roman Lincolnshire, see Whitwell 1970; for the early Roman period in the Humber estuary, see Creighton 1990; and for the late Roman period in the same area, including plans of settlements, see Whitwell 1988.
- A trial excavation was conducted in 1970 (Bryant 1994, 18). In 2010 fieldwork and geophysical survey revealed the extensive nature of the site, which included two enclosure complexes with associated droeways. See: Anon., 'Poor Farm, Barton-upon-Humber: A Non-Destructive Survey. An Interim Report' (2010); and WYAS Archaeological Services, 'Poor Farm, Barton-upon-Humber, North Lincolnshire. Geophysical Survey', Report No. 2057 (2010). SMR, NLMS.
- Hull Packet*, 18 Nov. 1828. The urn was drawn by Hesleden (Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 277) and an engraving produced; copies in NLMS: Ball, scrapbook 2, f. 29, dated 1829, and in Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 278.
- The Thames estuary similarly yields a constant stream of Roman-period finds from salt-panning sites, as the tides scour the foreshore and erode the sea defences. Tidal action around the Wash and along the east coast of Lincolnshire has likewise scoured many salt-winning sites of Iron Age and Roman date.
- Regrettably, the investigations were very limited and no report was published. The area is now fully built up.
- The archaeology of Anglo-Saxon settlement on Humberside has been catalogued by Eagles (1979), and early Anglo-Saxon evidence in north Lincolnshire has been usefully summarized by Leahy (1993a; 1998; 1999; 2007). For the middle Saxon period, see Leahy 2003 and 2007; for a

general, wide-ranging account of Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire, see Sawyer 1998; and for a collection of papers on the early archaeology of Lindsey, see Vince 1993. Evidence relating to Barton has been summarized by Bryant (1994, 28–53).

26. For example, grave 5 was orientated west–east and contained the skeleton of a woman who was laid in a supine position, and was not accompanied by any formal grave-goods. The only associated item was an iron dress-hook, which conveys no religious overtones. Similarly, the female buried in grave 15 was accompanied only by a very plain dress pin and two lace tags. All these imply is that she was interred in simple clothing; her burial was not furnished with grave-goods.
27. The first burials were discovered during the construction of an air-raid shelter in 1939. They included some of the more spectacular finds, which attracted immediate attention, both locally and nationally: *BPM*, vi, vii.1939; ix.1940; T. Sheppard, ‘Saxon Relics from Barton, Lincs.’, *The Naturalist*, Oct. 1939, 257–62 and Feb. 1940, 37–49; Sheppard 1939 and 1940.
28. DCMS, *Treasure Annual Report, 2001*, cat. no. 75.
29. Samples from the burials were submitted to the radiocarbon laboratory at Queen’s University, Belfast.
30. Calibrated dates reported at 95% confidence range.
31. In 2006 a *tremissis* and other Anglo-Saxon metalwork was found on an undisclosed site in Barton (K. Leahy, pers. comm.); see Leahy 2007, 158.
32. Loughlin and Miller 1979, 186; Addyman and Whitwell 1970, 98.
33. D. Greenhalf, *The Barton Vicarage Excavation*. Humberside Archaeol. Unit Archive Rep. (1981).
34. J. Tibbles and K. Steedman, *Trial Excavations at Birkett’s Garage, Barton-on-Humber*. Humberside Archaeol. Archive Rep. (1990).
35. The sherds were not especially diagnostic, but broadly datable to the period of the fifth to ninth centuries.
36. This was a well-sealed context, yielding seven sherds of fifth- to seventh-century pottery on the floor, with further sherds of middle Saxon date in the overlying soil.
37. At the time of excavation it was thought that the structure might have been of Roman date, since a large sherd of late Roman pottery occurred in the filling, and the other pottery had not then been identified as Anglo-Saxon. Nine sherds of fifth-to-seventh-century date were recovered.
38. See p. 131: no provision was made for archaeological investigation: observations by the present writer, after the trenches had been dug. For a plan of the churchyard, see Fig. 40.
39. Two bone samples were submitted for radiocarbon dating: BH20, *cal. AD 430–650 (95% probability; OxA-8780)*; BH21, *cal. AD 260–440 (95% probability; OxA-8866)*.
40. Towards the eastern part of the site the platform material merged with a buried soil (F1763) which also sealed the backfilled enclosure ditch.
41. Bede, *A History of the English Church and People*, bk. IV, ch. 3.
42. *Ibid.* IV, ch. 6.
43. If the name was already of some antiquity, the wood may not even have existed in Chad’s time. Bryant (1994, 71, n.12) points out that the name is unlikely to have implied forest conditions, but scrubland or rough pasture.
44. For published references, see Everson 1984, 123; Everson and Knowles 1992–93, 19.
45. *Ruris portionem æt Bearuwe quam olim sanctus Ceadda ante paganorum vastationem possederat.*
46. ‘Middel hille’ lay towards the western end of the southern boundary, in the area where it was abutted by the later parish boundary between Barton and Barrow. The fields in this area subsequently became known as ‘Black Moulds’, the

name occurring in both parishes. A description of 1833 refers to ‘two sheepwalks within the feilds of Barrow cawled blackemoldes’ (Cameron 1991, 21). These must surely refer to dykes which were still extant in the early nineteenth century: one would have been the southern charter boundary, the other, the intruded Barton/Barrow parish boundary.

47. Ball 1856, 1, 56(a).
48. The complex evidence has been succinctly summarized and discussed by Bryant (1994, 58–68).
49. Citing, J. Martin, ‘Report on “The Island”, Barrow’. Unpubl. ms report (1961): SMR, NLMS.
50. Dated by the University of Waikato.
51. D.M. Hadley, ‘An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Barrow-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire’. Unpubl. ms report (2005): SMR, NLMS.
52. ‘Cottage ... called St Chadds’, 1649 survey; ‘a certain street ... called Saint Chad’, 1798; ‘St Chad’s’, 1803 enclosure award; ‘a place called Saint Chad’, 1848 (Brown 1906, 18; Cameron 1991, 20).
53. The burials at Barrow are also discussed in J.L. Buckberry, *Later Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*, appendix III. Univ. of Sheffield, Ph.D. thesis, 2004.
54. *E.g.* five middle Saxon coins were found in the churchyard at Wharram Percy (Barclay 2007, 301).
55. The writer visited the excavations, which were carried out in the winter, in appalling weather conditions; most of the middle Saxon industrial material came from small exploratory trenches to the east of the church. Strenuous efforts by the writer and others to secure funding for open-area excavation were unsuccessful, and thus the opportunity to excavate adequately on a site of national importance was lost.
56. LA: Survey of the Manor of Barrow, 1785. Not noted in Cameron 1991. Keith Miller (pers. comm.) suggests that Minster Gate was either a route to the monastery, developed in the middle Saxon period, or, more likely, originated as a Roman road linking two known substantial farmsteads and the tidal haven at Barrow.
57. Bryant 1988; Pevsner *et al.* 1989, 119–20. A leaflet is sold in the church: J.P.W. Cherry, *Holy Trinity Church, Barrow-upon-Humber. A Short Guide* (1999).
58. The ICBS has a file and plan relating to the reseating of the church in 1868; it was carried out by Charles Kirk, architect of Sleaford: ICBS plan 06882; Minutes, vol. 19, pp. 174, 254.

Notes to Chapter 5 (pp. 169–236)

1. *E.g.* the potentially but not exclusively pre-Conquest result derived from a sample of human bone collected from burial F4131: *cal. AD 1015–1065 (38% probability)*, or *cal. AD 1085–1125 (33% probability)*, or *cal. AD 1135–1160 (24% probability; UB-4652)*.
2. Initially, it was assigned to *c.* 900–1100. See also Vol. 2, chap. 2.
3. Of the 486 graves, 439 contained articulated skeletal material.
4. The grave-cut was sizeable, being 2.66 × 0.76 m. The average exhumation cut in the area of the tower and baptistry measured 2.40 × 0.9 m.
5. The majority of his ‘neighbours’ were either assigned to a later date by dendrochronology, or they lay in rows together with graves which were so dated. For Anglo-Saxon ‘deviant’ burial, see Reynolds 2009.
6. Boards from a third grave (F5045), close to the other two, yielded a date of 1071–81(?), but this cannot be cited as dating evidence for the cemetery boundary since the timber was reused (p. 209).

7. The orderly layout of graves abutting the new boundary is noticeable; the same phenomenon recurred when the eastern churchyard boundary was repositioned yet again in the twelfth century (p. 609).

8. No pottery was recovered from what may be the primary fill (F5465), but there was a lot from the bulk infilling (F5456): residual Anglo-Saxon and Norman wares, including large pieces of mid-twelfth-century vessels. The upper filling may have immediately preceded the cutting of the large Norman 'town' ditch (F5458) across it. For that ditch, see p. 609.

9. *E.g.* grave F5475, the earliest securely dated burial in the extension, was confined but aligned with its unconfined neighbours.

10. The mortar was distinctly different from that used in the primary structure of the church, but was closer in composition to the mortar in the Saxo-Norman building.

11. The masonry plinth of the Butter Cross in Barrow is only 1.95 m (6½ ft) square.

12. *Cf.* Winchester Old Minster and, probably, Winchcombe Abbey (Glos.) (Rodwell 2001, 79).

13. There were certainly preserved coffins extending to the north of Area 12, and in the unexcavated chancel (Area 17), and there is every reason to suppose that more lay outside the church, south of the chancel and aisle, in waterlogged Anglo-Saxon ditches.

14. Unhelpfully, this grave could have pre-dated or post-dated grave F5475 (the coffin in which was tree-ring dated to 1103/04). It could even pre-date the cemetery enclosure and church, although this is not very likely.

15. Relationships between graves and the thick deposit of clay laid down for the construction of the long-naved Norman church are critical. Adult graves dug through the clay had base levels less than 2.0 m below site datum, whereas the bottom of the pine coffin (F5474) was at 2.52 m below datum. Its nearest neighbour (F3979, an adult in a similarly aligned grave, in the same row) bottomed at 2.75 m, and had a tree-ring date of winter 1119/20.

16. Unhelpfully, there is confusion in the literature between clench-nails and clench-bolts: the two are not synonymous. A clench-nail was normally driven through the timber, and the projecting point simply bent over, with or without slipping a rove on it first. A clench-bolt, on the other hand, was inserted through a pre-drilled hole in the timbers, a rove fitted, and the end rivetted over.

17. Sutton Hoo: Bruce-Mitford 1975; Graveney: Fenwick 1978.

18. In ship-building clench-bolts were usually caulked, to improve water-tightness: the holes drilled through the planks were sufficiently large in diameter to receive a lining. That took the form of a wooden peg, which was driven into the hole, and then re-drilled to a smaller size to receive the shank of the bolt.

19. A few clenches had slipped out of line and a group appearing to form a circle at the west end of the grave was probably fortuitous.

20. *Cf.* the chapter house vestibule door, tree-ring dated to 1032–64: *Vernacular Architect.* 36 (2005), 91; Rodwell *et al.* 2006.

21. North door tree-ring dated to *c.* 1050–75: *Vernacular Architect.* 35 (2004), 98.

22. The roves used in early door construction tended to be very long and pointed, and designed to clasp the ledges (which were often of rounded section: *cf.* Hadstock again). No roves of this type were found at Barton.

23. For a diagrammatic illustration of this, see Brookes 2007, fig. 2.

24. Goodall 2006, 283–4; Nicholson 1997, 409–10; O'Sullivan 1994, fig. 6.

25. Dover: Evison 1987, 118. Castledyke: graves 1, 53 and 187 (Drinkall and Foreman 1998).

26. For discussion, see K. Rodwell 1993, 253–4.

27. Grave 93 at York Minster exhibited all the characteristics of a straightforward inhumation in a rectangular timber-lined grave with stone ear-muffs, comparable to several at Barton. The fact that a section of timber derived from a boat was placed in the base of the grave does not constitute convincing evidence for a Viking boat-burial, as has been claimed (Kjølbye-Biddle 1995, 504–5). Although Edwards and Watson refer to this as 'burial XK239' and Kjølbye-Biddle as 'burial 93', the two reports describe the same grave. They present conflicting views on the location of the clench-bolts in relation to the corpse: the earlier report describes them as being 'in the top layers of this inhumation', while the later account refers to vertebrae overlying a central row of clenches. Hence, there may have been sections of boat timber both underlying and overlying the corpse. WR

28. An earlier suggestion that coffins might have been manufactured, using clenches *de novo*, is incorrect and should now be disregarded (Rodwell and Rodwell 1982, 291).

29. Burials of men whose lives depended on seafaring or fishing might have been accompanied by symbolic boat timbers, but this argument would be undermined if clench-bolts turn up in the graves of women or children.

30. Reported and illustrated in *British Archaeol.* 102 (Sept./Oct. 2008), 6.

31. Radiocarbon dating was not used in those parts of the cemetery where preserved timbers could supply more precise tree-ring dates.

32. Several different types of burial involving charcoal and ash have been conflated in the past under the general term of 'charcoal burial'; for recent discussion, see Daniell 1997, 158–60; Rodwell 2001, 541–2; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 120–3.

33. Samples were retained for analysis, but have never been studied.

34. Some of these burials lay in the waterlogged part of the site, and consideration was given to the possibility that mud had seeped into the coffins. However, this hypothesis can be firmly rejected: many of the preserved timber coffins contained blue-grey silt which had seeped in naturally, to varying depths, but this was markedly different from the material in the mud burials. The silt that accumulated on site preserved bone in excellent condition, whereas the imported alluvium had the opposite effect. Bone in the true mud burials was invariably so decayed that little could be salvaged for study.

35. Again, the possibility was considered that this material was a layer that had formed naturally inside the coffin, before its lid collapsed, through a combination of corporeal decay and silt. The hypothesis had to be rejected for two reasons: first, no similar material was present in confined post-medieval graves in the same area and, second, the western part of the churchyard is much drier than the east, and there is no reason to believe that it has ever been waterlogged. Here, coffins decayed and collapsed relatively quickly, so that there was no opportunity for gradual silting to take place in a sustained void, over the course of many centuries.

36. This of course implies a rudimentary sense of hygiene and an understanding of the need to protect the living against contagion from the dead, but not all scholars accept that this concept existed in the medieval mind. For a later burial in lime, see p. 619.

37. Conservation was carried out as a collaborative project between York Archaeological Trust and English Heritage, for which the York Archaeological Wood Centre was set up. For an interim note, see Panter 1994.
38. English Heritage, 'Barton on Humber, St Peter's Church, Site No. 1451: Waterlogged Wood Archive', especially Appendix 3: R. Darrah, 'Anglo-Saxon Timber Technology of the Barton-on-Humber Coffin Boards', Sept. 1994.
39. Timbers from several coffins were also subjected to radiocarbon dating: see chapter 15.
40. Collectively, the recording and conservation processes took well over a decade to complete, during which time losses of evidence were unfortunately incurred.
41. As observed by Darrah in his archive report (1994, 11).
42. Where conversion evidence could be recorded, 88% of boards were radial, and 12% tangential.
43. A preliminary account of this coffin was published in Rodwell and Rodwell 1982, 310–12. Before dendrochronology was attempted, a timber sample yielded a radiocarbon date of *cal. AD 690–1030 (95% probability; OxA-2282)*.
44. In the case of the foot (east) end, the two pegs were very close together, towards its southern edge; this was on account of the tapering of the riven board, which did not have sufficient thickness at its northern edge to allow a peg-hole to be drilled where it should ideally have been.
45. The planks were 1.84 m long, by 20 mm thick; one was 300 mm wide, the other 170 mm.
46. The suggestion that the lid was essentially held together by glue is made with considerable reservation, but the joint between the two planks had failed and inspection of the edges revealed no trace of holes for edge-dowelling.
47. Timber identifications were by Jacqui Watson and Jane Porter.
48. A radiocarbon date was obtained of *cal. AD 1000–1270 (95% probability; HAR-6501)*.
49. The west board had horizontal grain, the east board had vertical: the taper was not a consequence of timber decay. However, these, like many other end-boards, also tapered in thickness, from the base upwards: that is an indicator of differential decay in the ground, related to depth of burial and the degree of waterlogging.
50. Darrah (note 41) noted that the angled cuts on both the base and the lid were on the outside of the tree, at the point where the trunk spread out for the root: hence, these are associated with felling-cuts.
51. *Cf.* the south door at White Roding church, Essex (Hewett 1974, fig. 67; Geddes 1999, 382–3, fig. 4.50). However, wedging is not present in the construction of the late Saxon vestibule door at Westminster Abbey, *contra* Hewett 1980, fig. 24.
52. Very little is known about Norman furniture. Currently, the oldest scientifically dated piece is the cope chest in Wells Cathedral, AD 1111–43: *Vernacular Architect.* 34 (2003), 117–18.
53. Revised report submitted 2003, checked in 2010.
54. *Cf.* the coffin of a thirteenth-century cleric at Lichfield Cathedral; this was more precisely constructed, covered in fabric and a cross painted in red on the lid (Rodwell 2005b).
55. 'Rod' is a common term used for coppice-stems of any length; 'wand' has connotations with magic and short hand-held sticks; and 'staff' is most commonly used to denote a long and fairly stout stick, carried by a person who is walking. The slender rods found in graves should not be confused with pastoral staves, which were symbols of office and often accompanied clerical burials, especially those of bishops and abbots.

Similarly, the staves carried by pilgrims were sometimes buried with them, again signifying status (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 169–76).

56. Coppice growth was known as 'springs' in the Middle Ages, the first documented use of the term being in 1483 (James 1981, 162). It surely cannot be coincidental that the same word has been used to denote a source of water, the season of new growth, and a shoot from the base of a tree or shrub. It must reflect a much older association of these features with natural sources of regeneration.
57. The practice is much older, having also been recorded in some prehistoric burials.
58. The same applies to the medieval burial containing lime inside the coffin (p. 619). In East Anglia, in the nineteenth century, it was still customary for the mattresses of diphtheria victims to be burnt and buried, although when this practice started is not recorded.
59. Revised report written in 2003 and checked 2010.
60. During excavation, the location of any item found in close juxtaposition with the skeleton was individually recorded; finds from the backfill of the grave were not.
61. There were several other graves in the same area where the forearms were unmistakably crossed, which was not a common posture at Barton (*cf.* graves F7184, F7226, F7229, F7342 and F7380).
62. The earlier grave (F5475) contained a female aged *c.* 45, while the later burial (F5473) was that of a male, aged *c.* 40. This could, for example, represent a son buried over his mother.
63. Although not precisely analogous to Barton, the case of Sancton (E. Yorks.), is of interest in this context (Faull 1976).

Notes to Chapter 6 (pp. 237–356)

- Gent's Mag.* 86(ii), (1816), 201, pl. 1. A correspondent, identified only as 'M.R.', supplied a fine drawing of his own (dated 1810), and sought further information on the tower. Attempts to discover the identity of this artist have been unsuccessful.
- Appendix 3: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3, f. 38.
- The drawing bears the publication date 1819.
- No attempt has been made to compile an exhaustive bibliography of references to the Anglo-Saxon church, but the principal works include the following (subsequent editions which do not incorporate additional material are not noted): Gough 1789, 2, 278; Rickman 1819, 45; *ibid.* 1836, 29, 34; *ibid.* 1848, v–vii, xi–xiii, figs. p. vii, xii; Britton 1826/1835; Saunders 1836, 40; Bloxham 1836, 29; *ibid.* 1841, 35, fig. p. 38; *ibid.*, 1843, 36, 40, 43, 51, fig. opp. p. 40; Parker 1840, 187, pl. 94; *ibid.* 1866, 230; Anon. 1844, 139; Freeman 1849, 210, 213; Lowe 1850–51, 134; Sharpe 1851, 11; Atkinson 1859–60, 32; Scott 1879, 24, 53, fig. 227; *ibid.* 1881, 49; Anon. 1887–88, lx–lxi; Trollope 1887–88, 313–16; Micklethwaite 1896, 333–5, 339; *ibid.* 1898, 346, 348; Glynne 1898, 201–2; Brown 1903, *passim*; Brown 1906, 52–62; Thompson 1907–08, 44–5, 49, 70; Ball 1909, 3–6; Thompson 1911, 54, 65, 69, 72, 75, pl. opp. p. 55; Brown 1925, *passim*; Varah 1928, 3–12; Taylor 1959, 157; Taylor and Taylor 1961, 58, 64, 68–70, fig. 2a; Fisher 1962, *passim*; Pevsner and Harris 1964, 180; Taylor and Taylor 1965, 52–7, figs. 27, 379–82; Taylor and Taylor 1966, 49; Taylor 1968, 15–16; Fisher 1969, *passim*; Taylor 1974a; *ibid.* 1974b; *ibid.* 1978, *passim*; Fernie 1983, 8, 136, 141–3, 148, 161, 171, 177–8, pls. 81–2; Bryant 1984, 4, 22, fig. 31; *ibid.* 1994, 105–37; Rodwell and Rodwell 1981a; *ibid.* 1982; Rodwell 1983, 2–4; *ibid.* 1986; *ibid.* 1990, 165–6, pls. 8–10; Pevsner *et*

al. 1989, 122–4; Gem 1991, 827–8; Taylor 1991; Miller 2000; Stocker and Everson 2006, 7, 100–3; Rodwell 2007, 2–3.

5. *E.g.* in Glynne 1898, 202.

6. BL: Add. Ms. 36,438, ff. 458–62, 485, 486, 488. See Appendix 1. The majority of Buckler's drawings are undated, but three are of 1820, and one is of 1828.

7. *Ibid.*, f. 488.

8. For Earls Barton, see Taylor and Taylor 1965, 222–6, and Audouy *et al.* 1995. For Barnack, see Taylor and Taylor 1965, 43–7, and Dickinson 1968.

9. A.C. Pugin evidently drew the south-west view of the tower in or shortly before 1819, presumably for John Britton, who published an engraved version in that year. It seems most likely that Rickman made a hasty sketch of his own, from the published drawing. In so doing, he missed out the stripwork on the angles of the tower, and contracted the wall arcading by half a bay. The flawed sketch was given to Jewitt, to make a fair copy. In addition to signing his drawing, Jewitt would include the name or initials of anyone who had provided him with the primary sketch. In this instance, the initials 'T.R.' (Thomas Rickman) are present (on the printed page the letters appear to read 'T.P', owing to damage to the block).

10. R.W. Billings (1813–74), undated engraving; publication source not traced. Entitled '[Churc]hes of Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire'. Copy in NLMS: Ball, scrapbook 2, f. 31.

11. Entitled, 'Ancient View of St Peter's Church, South Elevation'; initialled 'W.S.H.', undated (probably 1833 or 1834). The view is not known to have been published, but bears the lithographer's name, 'Printed by Day & Haghe, Lith.' The firm operated under that name for only a short period, *c.* 1833–45. Proof copies in Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, ff. 183–4; NLMS: Ball, scrapbook 2, f. 13.

12. Hesleden also shows moderately high-pitched roofs on the nave and aisle. Did he add these from Pugin's view?

13. The drawings are initialled and titled, and bear the label 'Etched by J. Greenwood, Hull'. They are not known to have been published, and the artist's style is markedly different from that in the view of the tower (Fig. 248).

14. Engraved by Greenwood, the figure is mis-captioned 'St Mary's Church, Barton'. It shows the crow-stepped gable to the south aisle, which places the drawing in or before 1833 (p. 512).

15. The drawings are titled, initialled and dated 'DE 1849', and were printed by Cowell's Anastatic Press, Ipswich. They were published in the *Sixth Rep. Lincolnshire Eccles. Architect. Soc.* (copies in NLMS: Ball, scrapbook 2, f. 46). The drawings are almost certainly a youthful work of Valentine Dudley Henry Cary-Elwes (1832–1909), who was a member of the local gentry, lord of the manor of Roxby, and lived at The Manor House, Brigg. He also made a drawing of one of the Winterton mosaics in 1879 (not noticed in Stead 1976; see under 'Roxby' in *Kelly's Trade Directory for 1900*). The tiny initials 'B.B.J.' are also concealed among the ground-level vegetation in both drawings.

16. *AASR* 5 (1859), xix–xx. For Brodrick's restoration of the church, see chapter 9.

17. *Archaeol. J.* 24 (1867), 372–3.

18. For another account, see *BPM*, i.1942. Freeman, in his *History of the Norman Conquest* (5, 1876, 614), alluded to the distinctive differences between Anglo-Saxon and Norman architecture, as illustrated by St Peter's tower.

19. J.H. Parker, 'Buildings of the Tenth Century?', *Gent's Mag.* 133(i), (1863), 349–53. When Parker was 'confronted [in 1867] with St Peter's and at the same time by the great

historian of the Norman conquest [*i.e.* Freeman] he confidently stuck to his contention, and the plain evidence of three styles of church building ... not all of which could have been later than 1066 had no more effect on him than [did] the much greater historical knowledge of Professor Freeman' (*BPM*, i.1942).

20. *Eastern Morning News*, 27 Sep. 1886.

21. He did so in collaboration with a local church-antiquary, the Rev'd Dr J.T. Fowler of Winterton.

22. Micklethwaite's papers relating to his work on Anglo-Saxon churches are in the BL: Add. Ms. 37,508. For Barton, see ff. 213–33. The portfolio of plans, compiled to illustrate his articles (Micklethwaite 1896; 1898) are also in the BL: Add. Ms. 37,510; the Barton plan is on f. 7b.

23. There are letters from Irvine to Brown, dated Oct. 1895. Univ. of Edinburgh: Baldwin Brown Papers, Gen. 1922/107.

24. Bilson (1856–1943) spent most of his life in architectural practice at Hull, residing at nearby Hessle until his death (Brodie *et al.* 2001, 1, 181). There is Bilson correspondence in LA; and BL: Add. Ms. 37,508, f. 213, letter from Bilson to Micklethwaite, dated 1 Mar. 1897. There is also extant correspondence between Hodges, Brown, and the vicar of Barton in 1897, discussing western porches and other adjuncts (LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/28–29). On 13 Oct. 1895 Bilson wrote to Brown, mentioning that he had recently visited with a Newcastle architect (C.C. Hodges?) and, enigmatically, noted 'Some of the plastering has tumbled off the lower part of the W. face of the building west of the tower, & shews how the strips of the apse are constructed' (Univ. of Edinburgh: Baldwin Brown Papers, Gen. 122/106). The mention of an apse was clearly erroneous.

25. LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/29. This is a response from Baldwin Brown (22 Jul. 1897) to a letter that he had received, apparently from the vicar, informing him of the discoveries.

26. The excavations were carried out by John Briggs, the local building contractor engaged on the restoration: *BPM*, iii.1898; *The Builder* 74 (1898), 199. The trenches picked up the middle of the north wall of the chancel, the south-east angle, and the west end of the south wall, respectively.

27. By Briggs, the building contractor. BL: Add. Ms. 37,508, ff. 217–19. Discreet night-time archaeological investigations in churches have remained a curious phenomenon, even into recent times: *e.g.* Archbishop de Gray's tomb in York Minster, in 1968.

28. BL: Add. Ms. 37,508, ff. 216–24. For press reports, see *The Hull Times*, Jan. 1903, *passim*.

29. *BPM*, iv, ix.1891.

30. Brown also addressed the Royal Archaeological Institute, when it visited Barton in 1909: *Archaeol. J.* 66 (1909), 357–8. The British Archaeological Association visited on St Peter's Day in 1921, and was addressed by W.E. Varah: *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* (ns) 27 (1921), 32–4.

31. The extent to which floor level inside the tower had risen is accurately recorded in Buckler's detailed elevation drawing of 1820 of the western arch (BL: Add. Ms. 36,438, f. 462). From this it can be extrapolated that archaeological deposits within the tower had accumulated to a depth of 60 cm. All but 10 cm of these were destroyed by Varah.

32. The archaeological deposits in the tower and annexe – representing its medieval and post-medieval history – were removed without record, and the excavated soil was dumped along the southern boundary of the churchyard extension.

33. Plan dated Jan.–Mar. 1913. The documents were retained by the Varah family and in 1971 given to the late Dr H.M. Taylor, who passed them on to the present writer. They are now in Lincoln Archives.

34. It is clear from the extant one-sided correspondence of Bilson to Varah, in 1912–13, that the latter had already adopted an entrenched view and was unpersuaded by Bilson's superior scholarship.

35. *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* (ns) 27 (1921), 32–4. Varah's fantasies did not find favour in all quarters: Canon J.T. Fowler was reported as dismissing the supposed reliquary as 'nothing more than a dustbin' (*op. cit.*, 33). For Varah's own version of the visit, see *BPM*, viii.1921.

36. *BPM*, xi.1925; Varah 1928, 3–10. Robert Brown (1906, 53) was responsible for suggesting that St Peter's began as a timber church which perished during the Danish incursions. Varah elaborated upon this. He sent a copy of his booklet to Bilson, who penned a tactful and courteous acknowledgement (13 Feb. 1929), while not conceding his unsubstantiated conclusions.

37. Brown 1925, 288–91, 386–7. See now Stocker and Everson 2006.

38. In 1945 he opened a pit in the north-east corner of the tower, and another in the south-west.

39. In 1965 Varah prepared a ms account of his and his father's investigations, and his plan provided the basis of that published by Taylor (1974b, fig. 32). *N.B.* In the key, for '1897' read '1898'.

40. The interior of the tower had been stripped then, and the masonry ribbon-pointed, but the position regarding the annexe is less certain.

41. Brown 1906, 57. Robert Brown's rejection of the intruded west door is remarkable, since he was brought up in Barton and his family attended St Peter's. He must surely have seen the doorway in his youth: he was aged about ten when it was constructed, and about 20 when it was destroyed.

42. *BPM*, vii.1923. See also Taylor 1974a, 372.

43. He was, apparently, Alfred Jickels, sen. (1850–1930). On the back of a letter, dated 1913 and having no direct connection with the matter, is a pencil sketch of the annexe and the following note, written by W.E. Varah: 'Jickels said that the stones removed from the blocking of the doorway had brick built in with them. Could he have thought that red stone was brick? He said the brick had crumbled and was very weather worn'. A note by G.H. Varah, on a plan of the Saxon church drawn by him in 1965, states, 'Door jambs removed and opening filled in with chalk stone in 1869–1870 by Mr Jickels, sen.' Two events have possibly been conflated: Jickels's allusion to decayed brick in the blocking sounds like an account of the formation of the new doorway in 1858, rather than the subsequent removal of its dressings. Jickels, then aged eight or nine, could not have been involved in the former, but could have been reporting what he had heard.

44. In this, as in so much else, Varah demonstrated breathtaking arrogance, and his dogged insistence over the history of the doorway is difficult to explain, since Alfred Jickels, the man who had infilled the west doorway in 1869–70, was still alive (Taylor 1974b, 372).

45. Brown 1925, figs. 15, 16, 107, 125–28, 154 and 192.

46. These sills were covered with lead in 1965 and are not fully accessible to study.

47. A course at mid-height on the east comprises two blocks, side by side, held together with a pair of iron dog-cramps of uncertain antiquity. Varah (1928, 6) assumed that they were primary, but they are more likely to reflect the post-medieval insertion of a new block, being a repair where the fixing for a latch was broken out.

48. In the winter of 1977, the through-stone on the south fractured and a large portion fell to the ground, incurring

further damage; the main fragment was subsequently refixed with epoxy resin.

49. One exception, on the south, has the head cut from a block of Yorkstone.

50. The antiquity of this render has not been firmly established. However, it is not to be confused with the render containing a coarse, unsieved aggregate of crushed brick (like Roman building mortar), which was applied over much of the church in the nineteenth century, including all stages of the tower (p. 524).

51. BL: Add. Ms. 36,438, f. 461. The drawing was neatly executed and is labelled 'Section of baluster or pillar, window 2nd tier from ground, 1820'. However, it shows four rings on the shaft, rather than three, which might suggest that Buckler actually drew the window baluster of the gallery below. That does have four rings, but the mouldings of its upper and lower extremities are rounded, and not sharply angular like those shown in the drawing, and are also present on the upper baluster. The conundrum remains.

52. Varah noted evidence of burning on the masonry, attributing it to a Viking attack in 993 (Varah 1928, 10).

53. As with the south doorway at Barton, a secondary rebate for a door has been cut into the internal arris at Barnack.

54. A complete example is displayed in the Great North Museum, Newcastle.

55. For illustrations of medieval cranes, see Binding 2004, *passim*; examples of projecting beams fitted with pulleys are seen in *ibid.*, figs. 252, 253 and 439.

56. Brown 1925, 190, fig. 128. Justification for his reconstruction was based on Corbridge (Northumb.), where, he claimed, 'there seems some evidence' for a saddleback roof. That 'evidence' turns out to be only a displaced gable-cross, which proves nothing about the form of the tower roof. Uncharacteristically for Brown, the argument lacks academic rigour.

57. Two bulges in the north foundation were caused by the presence of graves F737 and F753; and on the south by grave F751.

58. It is interesting to note that the lowest course of the plinth on the west side of the tower at Skipwith was similarly interrupted, indicating an initial intention to build an annexe 3.7 m wide there (Hall *et al.* 2008, 416, *illus.* 7, 10).

59. The primary mortar is buff in colour and contains a large amount of coarse chalk and gravel aggregate.

60. A very few pieces of Roman tile are also included in the rubblework: one is visible externally on the north face, immediately below the first string-course.

61. The limestone is of north Lincolnshire origin; mixed with it is some chalk, which would have been quarried in or very close to Barton, and occasional river pebbles.

62. The fragment, up to 17 cm in length, survived against the inner (west) face of the tower wall.

63. The first lift was 2.0 m above ground level, and the heights of the others 1.5 m and 1.7 m, respectively.

64. The angular chalk at the base was not pressed into the underlying layer, illustrating that it was not builders' trample, but was the preparation for a floor laid as a single operation in three consecutive stages: angular rubble to level the surface; fine aggregate raked in, to fill the voids; a wet mix of lime poured over the whole area, spread and finished with a float. The slab was up to 12 cm in thickness. While lime concrete deposits of this kind are often loosely referred to as 'mortar floors', this is terminologically incorrect: by definition, mortar is a binding material used between stones, bricks, etc. Material laid *en masse*, although of the same composition as mortar, is 'concrete'.

65. Varah (1928, 3) initially described the discovery as 'two parallel mortar beds', but that was eventually exaggerated to 'massive foundations' (Clapham 1946, 180).

66. General views of the north wall are particularly rare: see Fisher 1962, pl. 131.

67. No record of this operation has been traced, but it may have been carried out in 1858–59, 1897–98 or possibly even as late as 1912.

68. The lifts occur at *c.* 1.9 m, 3.5 m, 5.5 m and 7.7 m above floor level.

69. Varah (1928, 8) claimed that three original floor joists survived, two *in situ* and one loose. There is a second joist still remaining in place but, despite its rough appearance, it is from a quarter-sawn sapling and was inserted in the eighteenth century. Nothing is now known of the loose joist.

70. Inf. G.H. Varah, 1983. For a square-on photograph of the west wall, after stripping, see Varah 1928, pl. opp. 4. The quality is very poor and no reliable evidence of gable framing can be seen. The same applies to the photograph in Figure 323, although there is a hint of a break in the gable masonry corresponding to eaves level in the side walls.

71. Although attention was drawn to the importance of this precious survival, the contractors engaged on repairing the wall-top removed and discarded it in 1983.

72. Rodwell 1986, 165–6. For a study of comparable Romanesque timber window-frames in Holland, see Van der Wal 1968.

73. *Contra* Varah (1928, 4), these were not 'round-holed hit-and-miss double shutters'.

74. Inf. and drawing from R.J.B. Keene, courtesy of Richard Halsey.

75. On the north, a major slump occurred in grave F803, and on the south graves F805 and F806 gave rise to a sinuous foundation line.

76. Only the southern half of the ghosted circle survived, owing to disturbances caused by later postholes cut from a higher floor level.

77. It should be acknowledged that the stem and bowl could have been wrought from a single, large block.

78. The Victorian patching over the scars was not removed during archaeological investigation. It had been carried out in a slightly darker limestone than that of the tower, and is consequently plainly visible today.

79. A similar discrepancy exists between plinth levels on the north-east and south-east corners of the tower. If measurements for the heights of the chancel walls had been taken from that plinth, the difference in wallplate levels would be accounted for.

80. Owing to the difference in wallplate levels, and the displacement of the ridge-beam slightly to the north of the central axis, the measurable angles of pitch are 57 degrees on the south and 62 degrees on the north. Such small discrepancies would have been neither noticeable nor of any practical consequence in the completed roof. The pockets for the ridge and wallplates were 25–35 cm deep.

81. Double-chamfered string-courses were sometimes used to divide a wall into upper and lower registers, as at Avebury (Wilts.) (Ponting 1884, fig. 2).

82. It is not uncommon in church excavations to discover that walls were undermined and foundations cut away, in order to fit burials into tight spaces. In this instance, however, to accommodate the lower end of the coffin it would have been necessary to gouge a hole at least 50 cm deep into the foundation of the east wall. This seems implausible, especially since there was no apparent reason why the coffin could not have been placed further to the west, thus obviating the need to intrude upon the east wall at all.

83. It has been noted at, *inter alia*, Lichfield and Wells cathedrals (Rodwell 2001, 542–5). The phenomenon was more common in coffined burials than those laid directly in the earth.

84. N.E.S.A. Hamilton (ed.): William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*. Rolls Ser. 52 (1870), 199.

85. The position of its south side is uncertain: Davey pressed three postholes into service for his interpretation, ignoring a further three which clearly belonged with them and formed the corner of a post-built structure that cannot have been part of the primary layout.

86. There are some difficulties in interpreting the structural nature of the building. The settings for the sill-beams are discontinuous, but whether that reflects reality or simply the survival of archaeological evidence is unclear. The west porch was constructed with groundfast posts, and groups of other postholes relate to the chamber at the south-east corner of the site.

87. For Navestock, see RCHME 1921, 191. For West Hanningfield, see RCHME 1923, 165; Hewett 1962, 229–30. For Stock, see RCHME 1923, 155; Hewett 1962, 230–2.

88. Shapland's gazetteer comprises: Barnack (Northants.); Barton-upon-Humber; Caistor (Lincs.); Caversfield (Oxon.); Cholsey (Oxon.); Clapham (Beds.); Debenham (Suff.); Earls Barton (Northants.); Fingest (Bucks.); Hexham (Northumb.); Hough-on-the-Hill (Lincs.); Jevington (E. Sussex); Ludlow Castle (Salop.); Market Overton (Rutl.); Morland (Cumb.); St Michael-at-the-Northgate, Oxford; St George's Tower, Oxford; Ozleworth (Glos.); Singleton (W. Sussex); South Cadbury (Som.); Stevington (Beds.); Teignmouth (Dev.); Thorney (Cambs.); Wickham (Berks.); Woodeaton (Oxon.); St Mary Bishophill Junior, York; St Michael-le-Belfry, York. He rejected Eastdean (E. Sussex), which had been included in Parsons's (1995) list.

89. We should perhaps allow for the possibility of also including churches where the chancel was of the same width as the nave.

90. The lists published by both Audouy *et al.* (1995) and Shapland (2008) include various structures solely on the basis of their size and/or function (*e.g.* gatehouse towers and freestanding towers). I have limited the present list to those churches where there is reasonable evidence to argue that they had turiform naves with attached chancels.

91. Taylor and Taylor 1965, 548–9. Singleton was included in Shapland's list.

92. Micklethwaite 1896, 335, fig. 30; Brown 1906, 58; Taylor and Taylor 1965, 115–16.

93. The tower-church was built on the site of a late Roman cemetery in the southern suburb of Colchester. At the time of its discovery, the possibility was considered that the square nave began its existence as a Roman mausoleum, which was later incorporated in an Anglo-Saxon church (Rodwell 1977, 38–9); this hypothesis has now been discounted (Crummy *et al.* 1993, 215).

94. Cornelius (1946, 144) gives the date of demolition as 1820, and states that the surviving sketch was published in 1822. The engraving was reproduced by Fisher (1962, pl. 221), but no source is given; nor have I been able to locate a plan of the church.

95. The apparent absence of an east window is not necessarily meaningful, since there may well have been one that was later blocked by a reredos of a large post-medieval tomb placed against the east wall.

96. Cornelius mentions the existence of an early view of the church, but does not give a source.

97. Michael Shapland tells me that he is engaged on such a study (2009).

98. *Medieval Archaeol.* 50 (2006), 333, fig. 12.

99. The church was described in the Domesday Survey as derelict, and Thurlby (2003, 126) consequently dates the present building to *c.* 1090. That would suit the eastern tower arch and the suggested construction of a new nave.

100. Ponting's paper is accompanied by a plan, elevations of the north, south and east sides, and drawings of mouldings and capitals: all are of elementary form.

101. Blair 1998. Of the two alternative reconstructions offered, 'hypothesis (b)' is more plausible, principally on the basis of retaining the primary division between chancel and nave (*op. cit.*, fig. 10).

102. The marked difference in the construction of the east and west arches suggests that they are of different ages: the latter could either be a replacement for an original doorway, or have communicated with a western porch (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 367–72).

103. Taylor and Taylor 1965, 685–8. This church has been extensively studied as a field project by Birmingham University, School of History.

104. It has sometimes been suggested that the appearance of eastern quoins on masonry towers resulted from their having been added to timber naves. While timber towers were often added to stone churches, the converse is most unlikely.

105. For the likely geological sources of the sculpted gritstone blocks, see identifications by Dr John Senior in Everson and Stocker 1999, 101–5.

106. The internal plinth at Skipwith is especially comparable (Hall *et al.* 2008, 416–17, illus. 12). Roman demi-column drums were used in the walling (*ibid.*, 417).

107. While Eaton (2000, 141, pl. 24) noted the reuse of gritstone blocks at Skipwith, he was evidently unaware of the occurrence of this material in churches in north Lincolnshire.

108. Taylor and Taylor 1965, 23; Pevsner *et al.* 1989, 95–6; Stocker 1990, 90–1, fig. 26; Stocker and Everson 2006, 94–9.

109. The possibility that there is a socketed base concealed below the surface of the churchyard should not be entirely discounted, albeit improbable.

110. Taylor and Taylor 1965, 115–16; Pevsner *et al.* 1989, 192–3; Stocker and Everson 2006, 47–8; Shapland 2008.

111. Pevsner *et al.* 1989, 200.

112. These blocks are square or rectangular in cross-section, and a little longer than the width of the headstone. The latter was morticed into the upper face of the gritstone plinth, which was partly sunk into the ground. There are several loose blocks alongside the eastern churchyard boundary, and a group of others which still support headstones to the north-west of the tower. It would seem a remarkable coincidence if gritstone was transported to Burton-upon-Stather on two separate occasions in history, and the tooling on some of the blocks is not inconsistent with a Roman date. It is observable that the tooling differs markedly on adjacent faces of some of these plinths, demonstrating that they have been cut from larger blocks.

113. Pevsner *et al.* 1989, 797; Stocker and Everson 2006, 283–6.

114. Pevsner *et al.* 1989, 802–3; Stocker and Everson 2006, 6, 18.

115. Bryant 1994, 120. I am grateful to Geoffrey Bryant who joined me in making a systematic search for gritstone in the churches of north Lincolnshire in the late 1970s. The distribution of gritstone, used structurally in churches, is limited to the stretch of Humber bank between the Ancholme on the west and Barton on the east. Broughton is the furthest

inland, but it lies on Ermine Street and therefore has a direct link to the Humber. Most remarkable is the complete absence of gritstone in the eleventh-century masonry at Winterton, which lies in the midst of the group of churches containing this material. Whether gritstone was once used for dressings at Thornton Curtis, Old Clew and Scartho remains an open question: if so, that would double the distribution area.

116. Where gritstone occurs in post-medieval fabric it must be eliminated from consideration, there being several known *falsa*. Examples of imported gritstone cobbles being used in the 1960s to repair the aisles of both St Peter's and St Mary's churches, Barton, have been noted, and the north aisle of Barrow church was rebuilt in 1868 using large blocks of freshly quarried gritstone.

117. It is acknowledged that a small amount of reclaimed Lower Magnesian Limestone from Yorkshire is found in the fabric of several of the churches under consideration, but the preponderance of stone types originated from Lincolnshire. Interestingly, some of this local material was undoubtedly recycled, and hence it too presumably derived from Roman-period structures in the county. The situation becomes even more complex when it is appreciated that in the late eleventh century another wave of recycled Roman masonry arrived in north Lincolnshire from an unknown source, this time consisting entirely of Lower Magnesian Limestone. It was used particularly for ashlar facing on towers: Brigsley, Scartho, Waithe, and the added upper belfry of St Peter's, Barton. For further discussion, see chapter 7, pp. 397–9.

118. Continued recycling within the city itself, and its immediate hinterland, is a different matter. Morris (1988, 194) argues that reuse tailed off in the early twelfth century, and ceased altogether by around 1150.

119. The extensive Roman site has largely been destroyed through quarrying: for limited rescue excavations see Stead 1976, ch. 1. For the settlement generally, see Whitwell 1988, including plan fig. 4.3.

120. Recorded by J.T. Fowler, during restoration: *Proc. Soc. Antiq. London*, ser. 2, 20 (1903–04), 24.

121. Former external rendering has been noted on the tower, trapped behind a staircase that was erected *c.* 1200 (Hare 2009, 54).

122. Potter (2006, 60) rejects both of these. In the case of Barnack (*ibid.*, 62), he argues that the surviving render cannot be original since it abuts pilaster-strips that do not have the natural grain of the rock in the vertical direction (*i.e.* the blocks are not edge-bedded), and that they must therefore be replacements. Express archaeological evidence of stone replacement is required before such a sweeping assumption can be made: while there was undeniably a general tendency to use vertical-bedded blocks for quoins and pilaster-strips in Anglo-Saxon churches (Potter 2005), inconsistencies are not uncommon.

123. Similarly, antiquaries have regarded other features which would normally have been plastered as 'decorative': *e.g.* arches turned in Roman brick or tile, and arches embodying voussoirs of two or more different stone types (sometimes in contrasting colours).

124. Potter plays down the latter, but cut-backs are present at Barton in both the vertical pilaster-strips flanking the major openings in the tower-nave, and in the strips that form hoods to the arches. In most churches the evidence is currently obscured internally by the presence of wallplaster.

125. There are a very few instances where the depth of cut-back was so slight that the abutting render, unless very thin, might have finished flush with the pilaster-strip: Breamore is case in point where the pilasters are shallow (Rodwell and

Rouse 1984). Even so, by slightly feathering the render, the clean vertical lines of the strip-work would have remained visible; the only difference between this and more prominently projecting masonry would be the absence of the shadow-line. 126. Hiscock 2003, xix. Gleber's account is summarily dismissed by Potter (2006, 60).

127. Apart from chalk, which is not a sound material for the external facing of buildings, as noted by Potter (2006, 59).

128. We should not forget that when the masons could not find suitable slabs of stone for the rear-arch of the southern belfry opening, they used offcuts of planks instead (p. 275). This reflects their willingness to turn to other media when a difficulty arose.

129. *E.g.* by P.M. Johnston, in *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* (ns) 27 (1921), 33.

130. For further examples revealed during restoration at Earls Barton, see Audouy *et al.* 1995, 84, illus. 9–11.

131. The nine bays of arcading shown probably represent one of the nave walls. Although the west tower and parts of the chancel at Bosham survive from the eleventh century, the north and south walls of the nave were rebuilt when aisles were added (Tatton-Brown 2006).

132. For all three churches, see Gage 1831. Also for Tasburgh, see Taylor and Taylor 1965, 605–6, fig. 300; for Haddiscoe Thorpe, *ibid.*, 271–2, fig. 477; for Thorington, *ibid.*, 612–13, figs. 308, 593.

133. Pevsner and Wilson 1999, 338. The arcades were presumably once recessed, as at Tasburgh *et al.*, but are now flush, having been infilled with flint rubble.

134. Taylor and Taylor 1965, 248–9, fig. 468. The Taylors described the arcade as being made of rubble, but this is only the appearance it has assumed since being hacked back.

135. Maesevick Ms: Au. Evangelist, fol. O. Illus. in Wilson 1984, pl. 155. I am indebted to Geoffrey Bryant for drawing this comparison to my attention.

136. The painting is carefully shaded to give a hint of three-dimensionality, and subtle changes in the colours used on the main uprights indicate that they were not square, but angled. The terminals were obviously spherical.

137. Unequivocal evidence of lathe turning, or the use of a turntable, would only be found by examining the two ends of each baluster, which are of course inaccessible: there would be a square socket at one end and a circular pivot-point at the other, as in the *ex situ* examples from Jarrow (see below).

138. Taylor and Taylor 1965, 60; Goode 1982, 49. In the 1820s Buckler made a careful drawing of the mid-wall shaft at Beechamwell (BL: Add. Ms. 36,438, f. 532).

139. Taylor and Taylor 1965, 113, pl. 411 (Brixworth); 130, pl. 417 (Cambridge); 481, pl. 546 (Oxford). Fisher 1969, 90 (Earls Barton); 107 (Brixworth). Tweddle *et al.* 1995, 233–4, pls. 364–70 (Oxford).

140. Taylor and Taylor 1965, 224–5, fig. 458. Brown 1925, fig. 124.

141. *Cf.* masonry details at Earls Barton, fully exposed when rendering was stripped (Audouy *et al.* 1995, pls. 9–11).

142. Notes by C.R. Peers in *Proc. Soc. Antiq. London*, ser. 2, 21(1), (1905–06), 52–8; and W.H.A. Vallance, *ibid.* 21(2), (1906–07), 349–59; Wilson 1964, nos. 9, 44 and 56; Backhouse *et al.* 1984, nos. 73 and 74.

143. *E.g.* Stenton 1957, pls. 30 and 37.

144. Hare (2009, 40–3) similarly grappled with the problem of primary access to the first- and second-floor chambers within the tower at Deerhurst, but was unable to find any convincing pointer to the location of stairs or ladders.

145. The tradition of placing heads over major arches was still practised in Barton in the early thirteenth century, as

evidenced in the west doorway of the tower to St Mary's church. Here, in addition to the usual pair of label-stops, a larger male head was incorporated centrally in the hood-moulding (Fig. 98). Also, at St Peter's church, a reused fourteenth-century male head has been set in the gable of the north porch, directly over the entrance (Figs. 525 and 552), and at Goxhill a male head projects internally above the fifteenth-century north doorway (Fig. 568).

146. Aldsworth and Harris 1988, fig. 10, pl. 1; Tweddle *et al.* 1995, 184, pl. 215. A suggestion that the Barton heads could be 'fragmentary Roman details reused' (Everson and Stocker 1999, 104) should be discounted: they are not carved on small, separate pieces of stone (like label-stops), but are integral to the shaping of the large blocks that form the imposts.

147. It is reputed to represent the Virgin, and possibly derives from a Rood composition, and was reused here c. 1100 (Everson and Stocker 1999, 170–2, pl. 185; Stocker and Everson 2006, fig. 4.73).

148. For illustrations and references, see Rodwell 2005b; Webster and Backhouse 1991, 245; for further discussion in relation to the Lichfield angel, see Rodwell *et al.* 2008, 67.

149. Fisher's description of the figures as 'defaced' is clearly incorrect (Fisher 1962, pl. 82).

150. Illustrated in Stocker and Everson 2006, fig. 4.73.

151. Taylor and Taylor 1965, 161; Stocker and Everson 2006, 45, 232. The Taylors regarded the blocks as *prokrossoi* (*cf.* Alkborough); Stocker and Everson, while supporting their identification as decayed sculptures, also advanced the novel suggestion that they might be no more than 'projecting plugs filling putlog holes'. I am unconvinced by the latter, since putlog plugs are invariably flush with the wall face, and the stones at Old Clee project by up to 30 cm. However, the unprecedented possibility that sculptures were indeed installed in putlog holes, as the scaffolding was struck, should not be entirely dismissed, particularly since the locations of the blocks are compatible with positions where putlogs would have been required in a box-scaffold.

152. Micklethwaite 1896, 334–5. Others followed suit: *e.g.* Varah 1928, 9. Until 1858 this panel lay just above the inserted floor of the post-medieval ringing-chamber, and thus could not have been seen from the ground (p. 521). There is no record of the carving prior to Micklethwaite's notes of 1889, and its omission from Ball's *History* (1856) strongly suggests that the stone was then concealed by plaster or wooden panelling in the ringing-chamber.

153. The Breamore rood also exhibits traces of the white primer and dark red pigment which were employed in the original decoration (Rodwell and Rouse 1984, 321–2).

154. For previous discussions of the Barton panel, see: Micklethwaite 1896, 334–5; Brown 1925, 293–4; Clapham 1930, 139–40; Varah 1928, 9; Clapham 1946, 179–80; Fisher 1962, 259, pl. 135; Pevsner and Harris 1964, 26, 181; Taylor and Taylor 1965, 55, pl. 380; Rodwell and Rodwell 1982, 295, 314 n.31, pl. 40b; Bryant 1984, 3 fig; Coatsworth 1988, 165, 173, 188; Pevsner *et al.* 1989, 122; Raw 1990, 48, 190–1; Rodwell 1990, 165–6, pls. 8–10; Bryant 1994, 128, fig. 8:16a. 155. For Gocelin's account, see Hope 1917, 4; for discussion, see Taylor and Taylor 1965, 137.

156. For Compton, see Blatch 1997, 94, fig. 15; for discussion of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century gallery-chapels at Dorchester Abbey and elsewhere, see Rodwell 2009, 83, 92, 148–9 and 175–7.

157. British Library: Add. Ms 49598, f. 118v. Alexander 1975, pl. 15, 177.

158. These sculptural representations have been illustrated in various works, *e.g.* Stocker and Everson 2006, fig. 2.53.

159. Earlier still, the altar could be west of the chancel arch (Taylor 1973a). In addition to the excavated evidence, the positioning and asymmetrical splaying of windows in some early chancels points to the same conclusion: cf. Rodwell and Rodwell 1985, 133, fig. 92.

160. The suggestion by Baldwin Brown, followed by Parsons (1978, 132), that the turret is secondary on account of partial straight-jointing between the two elements is not accepted: the fact that horizontal bands of different stone-types continue uninterrupted from stair-turret to tower confirms their contemporaneity.

161. Parsons 1978, fig. 2. The turret at Brigstock is 4.4 m in diameter, and the tower is only 5.0 m across.

162. The Bucklers were at pains to illustrate this church and its *oculi* in detail (BL: Add. Ms. 36,438, ff. 463, 464, 487).

163. Cf. the use of first-floor rooms above medieval sacristies and side-chapels as priests' accommodation (e.g. Clifton Campville, Staffs.). There are also records of priests living on the upper floors of towers.

164. At Bischofshofen, Austria, there is a surviving medieval cross which comprises a timber armature, sheathed with metal plates. I am indebted to Prof. John Blair for this reference. The technique of making 'metal' sculpture by nailing copper-alloy plates to a timber core was certainly practised in medieval England: cf. the effigy of William de Valence (d. 1296) in Westminster Abbey.

165. Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, I, 26; II, 14.

166. See Bailey 2005; Cramp 2006b, 38–40, 177–8, 224–8; Rodwell 2001, 149–60. Without advancing cogent arguments in support of his case, Blair (2010, 152–4) casually rejects the Anglo-Saxon dating of the Wells font, which is made of Bath stone. All known Anglo-Saxon sculpture in the region is of this material, whereas all Norman work is of Doultong or Chilcote stone. The petrological division is striking.

167. A feature with many parallels in late Roman adornment and graffiti. The possibility that some of these six-armed crosses are crude representations of the *Chi-Rho* monogram has been noted by various writers.

168. Illustrated in *Cambridge Antiq. Soc. Repts. and Communications* 4 (1881), pl. opp. xv. See also Blair 2010, fig. 5d.

169. Blair 2010, figs. 13c and 14. Elements of the decoration on the Willingdon tank bear a remarkable resemblance to those on some Romano-British vessels.

170. For Flixborough, see Cowgill 2009, 267–77; for Whithorn, see Nicholson and Hill 1997, 390. Other examples are discussed in both papers.

171. While those examples with lugs for attaching handles have the appearance of cauldrons, a soldered lead vessel cannot be directly heated over a fire without a high risk of collapse. The shape is wrong for a bucket, and the weight is unnecessarily great. The suggestion that they served as measures for liquid or dry goods is plausible, but if they were meant to be readily portable, the weight of the lead is again an encumbrance: post-medieval corn-measures were commonly made from thin strips of timber, bent to form a cylinder, into which a base was fitted. Interpretation is further confused by the fact that several of the tanks were finally used as containers in which to bury hoards of iron tools.

172. The execution of the cross in two stages is noteworthy: a Greek cross (+) was overlaid by a saltire (X).

173. This view was provisionally embraced by Rodwell and Rodwell 1982, 308.

174. Hugh Candidus: Mellows 1949, 64–5.

175. This would necessitate accepting that the child's burial (F744) was mistakenly assigned to the pre-church cemetery

at the time of excavation, and that the interment took place at an early date inside the building. But that was demonstrably not the case.

176. When used as a vestry, the tower would have been heated by a paraffin stove, and in the mid-twentieth century cans of chemicals were stored there and deployed for the preservation of timbers and treatment of dry rot. Many opportunities for leakage and accidental spillage into the soil must have arisen over the past 150 years.

Notes to Chapter 7 (pp. 357–401)

1. A description of St Oswald's church, Grasmere (Cumb.).

2. See p. 154.

3. The latter grave (F1732) could only be internal to the church if the chancel arch was slightly wider than the measurement suggested above.

4. The eaves-course is nevertheless considered to be original to the third stage of the tower.

5. At North Leigh (Oxon.) the end of what appears to be a structurally integral beam still projects for the west face of the tower. It is uncertain whether this is eleventh century, or later (Fisher 1962, 232, pl. 111).

6. The Taylors published sketches, taken from ground-level photographs, showing what they believed the form of each to be (Taylor and Taylor 1965, fig. 27). The belfry was carefully re-examined from scaffolding in 1979 and 2005.

7. Channels were also present in the west belfry opening, the outer reveals of which were destroyed in the fourteenth century. However, some of the channelled ashlar are extant, having been reused as packing blocks when the new traceried light was installed.

8. The Taylors (1965, 53) somewhat misleadingly described these as small trefoils on the angles. The drawing of the capital published by Baldwin Brown (1925, fig. 192, XI) omits the central point of the leaf, making the motif appear more like a volute. The same motif appears on the late twelfth-century respond of the north arcade at Kirton-in-Lindsey (Lincs.).

9. Cf. a grave-cover from St Mark's, Lincoln (Everson and Stocker 1999, 284, no. 23A).

10. The Taylors (1965, 54), who only viewed this baluster from ground level, described and illustrated it as having cable ornament, which must have been more readily apparent three-quarters of a century ago than it is today.

11. The latter, in particular, is not closely analogous: Stocker and Everson 2006, figs. 4.66, 4.82 and 4.83.

12. The stump was removed to the Ancient Monuments Laboratory for potential tree-ring dating, and rediscovered in a store in 2006: meanwhile, deathwatch beetle had largely consumed the timber. It was of no use for dating purposes.

13. The south opening was blocked with post-medieval brickwork sometime before 1796, and was most likely unfilled before that. The north opening appears without any blocking in early nineteenth-century views.

14. The slab measured 1.2 × 0.9 m by 12 cm thick. The south-west corner had been hacked away in order to insert a post-medieval grave (F3040). There were no graves beneath the slab.

15. When excavated, it was noted that the deeper section of the trench had broken through the boulder clay horizon into what had once been a water-bearing stratum; there were traces of organic material in dark, sticky loam.

16. For a twelfth-century treatise on bell-casting, *De Diversis Artibus*, written by a Benedictine monk, Theophilus, see Hawthorne and Smith 1979, ch. 85. See also below (chapter 9) for a later bell foundry, and chapter 16 for analyses of bell-founding debris.

17. The line of the inner edge may have been conditioned by an earlier feature here, such as a grave-cut.

18. Since the chancel arch represented a major liturgical and jurisdictional division in a medieval parish church, its location was rarely altered. Barton is already exceptional, if not unique, in the number of relocations of its chancel arch: Anglo-Saxon, Saxo-Norman, Norman and late medieval. To posit yet another short-lived arch position in the middle of this sequence is implausible.

19. The maximum depth reached was 1.4 m; here, the ground was soft and waterlogged.

20. Also, the drawn plan is affected by the different levels at which the foundation was encountered: *e.g.* towards the east end of the south wall only residual fragments of chalk rubble survived in the base of the trench: the original sides were not present.

21. It was not uncommon for the end wall of a narrow aisle to be incorporated in a later widening, as may be seen at the west end of St Mary's church (Bryant 2003, 42–4), and at nearby Thornton Curtis.

22. Bryant 1987. The porch was substantially rebuilt in 1883, when it was given clasping buttresses; but Loft's plan of 1831 shows only lateral buttresses at the angles, and others midway along the sides (to support the internal vaulting).

23. At Thornton Curtis a few of the jamb-stones bearing dog-tooth ornament appear to be medieval, giving credence to the suggestion that the porch was thus elaborated.

24. *Cf.* the striking series at Gnosall (Staffs). Brown (1925, 294) noted their occurrence at Goodmanham (Yorks.), recalling that they have 'sometimes been explained as the marks made by sharpening arrow-heads' when 'the graveyard was used as a place of muster'. However, he went on to dismiss the undoubted marks of arrow-head sharpening at Broughton as more likely the work of 'some grave digger or gardener of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries'.

25. A distinctive, rectangular patch of intense burning on the masonry at the north-west corner of the annexe is unconnected with this event: it marks the site of a post-medieval fireplace and chimney (p. 519).

26. Further traces of burning would probably have been found in the higher levels of the tower if the primary wallplaster had survived. However, observation shows that a major fire can occur, completely destroying the roof of a building, yet causing no more than superficial damage to the wall finishes; this is especially true of towers, where the venturi effect carries heat upwards, rather than spreading it laterally (except in respect of burning timbers that have fallen to the ground and continue to smoulder there).

27. A considerable amount of gritstone occurs in all five bays, and mostly takes the form of squarish blocks. Archaeologically, this could be highly misleading: the gritstone is not relict from the Anglo-Saxon fabric, as might be supposed, but was only brought to the church in the 1950s, for use in repairing the aisle. The blocks were apparently nineteenth-century street cobbles (*inf.* G.H. Varah). They were similarly used in repairing St Mary's church (chap. 3, n.72).

28. Buttress, bay 3/4, was substantially rebuilt at this time, together with much of the porch.

29. The limestone and chalk rubble of the original wall was found to be badly shattered: hence large-scale refacing occurred in order to satisfy the desire to expose and point the masonry. Its present appearance is thus bogus, and this wall should be replastered.

30. Several sections of coffin were built into the south-west clasping buttresses: one piece, which had partly broken away to reveal its internal profile, was destroyed in 2005 and

replaced by new stone. Single blocks used in the faces of the buttresses defining bays 1/2 and 2/3 exhibit drilled holes, confirming that they are sections of coffins with basal drainage.

31. Incorporated in the east face of the buttress at bay 1/2.

32. The stump of the western stop is broken through the neck of a human head. The stump on the east has brown paint on it, evidently post-medieval graining (p. 513).

33. Two types of limestone are found in the doorway: a fine grey stone was used for the capitals, while much of the other work is in yellow stone.

34. This technique of repair – using nails, string and Roman cement – was popular in the Georgian era and was employed extensively, for example, by James Wyatt at Lichfield Cathedral.

35. The socket on the west is partly blocked, but was 2.6 m deep, sufficient to house the full length of the bar. The socket on the east is 18 cm deep. The absence of damage to the jambs at mid-height, where locks and bolts would have been fitted, confirms that there were always two leaves rather than a single one.

36. This detail is best seen on the east side of the window in bay 2.

37. In bay 1 the pockets are roughly chiselled into joints between the voussoirs; in bay 2 they are neatly cut rectangles, 8 × 5 cm, laid flat; bay 3 has one upright pocket (6 × 9 cm) and one square (6 cm) one; in bay 4 the opposing pockets are not at the same level. Clearly, these do not represent a coherent set of permanent features, and all the pockets have been infilled with medieval mortar.

38. The south jamb, made of cut chalk blocks (as in the south windows), survives unaltered to a height that corresponds exactly with the springing of the heads of the southern windows. This supports the argument that the west window was generally similar, apart from some additional detailing on the external jamb mouldings and sills. It is not uncommon to find slight additional embellishment on the west windows in aisles. The replaced north jamb is in limestone, as is the heightening of the south jamb.

39. G.H. Varah informed me that he installed the smooth ashlar, while Lawrence Bond, the church architect, insisted on distressing new ashlar.

40. It was noted that fragments of clay roof-tile and Roman-type mortar occur in the joints around both heads, which suggests that they have either been renewed or disturbed.

41. The tie-beam was probably set against the inner face of the original gable: the timber has only one chamfered lower-arris and is badly decayed on its south face, where it abutted the gable masonry.

42. Archaeological features in the porch were only recorded superficially and without removing their blockings.

43. The truncated outlines of all three are visible internally, although the east window has lost its northern reveal. Externally, on the west, much of the outline of the window is preserved, while on the east only the sill remains; nothing can be seen externally of the south window.

44. Cutting back the brickwork and refacing this area was carried out in 1897, but before it was decided that a more general refacing of the aisle wall was required.

45. The true width of the upper-level doorway cannot be ascertained on account of its jambs having been removed: it would have been much narrower than the main south doorway below.

46. A short horizontal feature at mid-height, in the western angle between the aisle and the porch, appears on Nattes's drawing. While it is tempting to associate this with a diagonal access passage through the wall between the aisle and the

porch, it seems to be in the wrong place, *vis-à-vis* the evidence which points to an axial entrance to the upper chamber rather than a corner one.

47. The carving may have been by the same man who made the label-stop for the window in bay 4 of the north aisle.

48. On the west wall, thirteenth-century masonry survives against the quoin of the tower to a height of a further 60 cm.

49. Most of the evidence for the doorway was destroyed in 1858, when a much larger opening was created (p. 519), but the base of the medieval breach was preserved below Victorian floor level.

50. For a discussion of fonts located in tower bases, see Stocker and Everson 2006, 80–1.

51. In the early thirteenth century, the cathedrals of Wells, Salisbury and Lichfield were all provided with ‘singing-holes’ in their west fronts. Additionally, at Wells, there was a gallery of nine circular apertures for trumpeters incorporated in the base of the west gable (Sampson 1998, 169–75).

52. Stocker and Everson (2006) concur with the Taylors, but inadvertently refer to the ‘added upper bell-chamber stage’ on p. 96.

53. To fashion the octagonal shafts required stones 1.35 m long by 20 cm square in cross-section. A block of freshly quarried limestone of these dimensions would be quite fragile and easily fractured.

54. This should not be confused with the much later reconstruction in rubblework of the uppermost courses of the east face.

55. *E.g.* Compare the belfry openings of St Mary-le-Wigford and St Peter-at-Gowts with those at Barton and Scartho (Stocker and Everson 2006, figs. 4.115, 4.121, 4.9 and 4.155, respectively).

56. Bryant (1987, 4) inclined towards the view that the north arcade was slightly later than the south, on account of its being less decorative. However, there are keels on the shafts of the north arcade and fillets on the south, which would tend to indicate the reverse.

57. *Trans. E. Riding Antiq. Soc.* 12 (1904), xxiii.

58. The use of grave-covers as foundations for pier-bases is recorded elsewhere: *e.g.* St John’s, Cirencester (Glos.), where the Perpendicular arcades stand on footings composed of numerous reused grave-covers.

59. Locally, thirteenth-century grave-covers are present in the south aisle walls at Thornton Curtis, Barrow, etc.

60. First illustrated in Varah 1965, 4, pl. Noted in Everson and Stocker 1999, 316.

Notes to Chapter 8 (pp. 403–494)

1. This foundation was not associated with the structure of the Period 4B chapel, but was cut through both it and the chalk platform (F1713) within.

2. The north-east angle-buttresses were modified in 1897, when the organ chamber was added. The east-facing buttress was removed down to foundation level.

3. No archaeological intervention has taken place to establish the age of the facing blocks, but many are probably twentieth century.

4. It was common practice in medieval rubble construction to lay a single course of dressed stone above a moulded plinth or string-course: it established a clean face-line from which to build-up in rubble.

5. The bricks measured $\sim 13 \times 5$ cm; the tiles measured $28 \times 21.5 \times 1.5$ cm and $28 \times 16.5 \times 1.5$ cm.

6. Above the west window, close to the wall-top. Also, a fragment of a Purbeck marble slab was noted in the primary fabric

above the window in bay 2: used here as building stone, it presumably derived from a thirteenth-century monument.

7. On the north a large flint protrudes where the stop may have been, while on the south there appears to be a mortar-filled pocket.

8. It was fixed with an iron pin which rusted and split the stone; the figure was taken down in 1982.

9. The chamfers on the arrises are secondary; the paint, interleaved between layers of limewash, overlies these and other areas of damage.

10. *I.e.* they are not ogival like the trefoils in the north windows. Also, the lights are wider on the west. This window is a singleton.

11. The door has been locked for over 40 years, and the key lost.

12. Fragments of clay roof tile are incorporated in the back of the recess. An oak credence shelf was added in the 1920s.

13. The evidence is clearly preserved in the south-east angle of the aisle.

14. In order to investigate and record the masonry of the north wall, a narrow vertical strip of wallplaster was removed directly above the pier of bay 1/2, rising from the base of the spandrel to the clerestory window sill. Two other areas in the clerestory were also recorded, where the plaster had fallen away. Subsequently, the DoE decided to strip and replaster the entire wall. The loss of all this medieval plaster is to be regretted. Unfortunately, no opportunity was provided for detailed recording of the temporarily exposed masonry above the north arcade; hence the blank areas on the elevation drawings.

15. There is a good deal of dark red paint remaining on the circular piers of the north arcade in St Mary’s church.

16. The southern return of the dais may have lain just within the nave, since the south face of the respond is not dressed to a lower level than the north and west faces. The rough masonry here was clearly not meant to be seen in the nave, although it could have been concealed with plaster.

17. The base mouldings of piers 1/2 and 4/5 are almost identical, but the west respond has a smaller roll and larger cavetto, and the east respond has a much larger cavetto.

18. It could not, however, have been an identical octagonal capital to that of pier 4/5: it is therefore unlikely to have been part of the Norman north arcade. Also, the evidence is not compatible with an Early English four-lobed capital, to fit a quatrefoil shaft.

19. The uppermost section of the shaft is a single block of stone; the other courses are composite.

20. The narrow course at the top of the shaft is composed of two blocks, so is the secondary neck-ring.

21. One stone bears both masons’ marks, and is the only example noted at St Peter’s of the ‘double marking’ phenomenon, which is known elsewhere but is not common.

22. The mastic appears as a brown line, adjacent to which the stone has turned pink with the effects of heat.

23. The east respond is now embedded in the south wall of the chancel, and only partially visible; this is a result of changes introduced at the east end of the arcade in the fifteenth century: see below.

24. The rosette spans a joint, confirming that it was painted here in the fourteenth century, or later. The existence of these painted rosettes had not previously been noticed.

25. It should be noted that there is no evidence for fixing the top rail of a screen, at arcade capital level, on the fifteenth-century east respond. It is therefore deduced that a tall screen did not exist here after the shortening of the first bay.

26. The bases and plinths, especially in the south aisle, exhibit nineteenth-century patching and pointing, and the stone is

very dirty, all of which might be disguising alterations that would only become apparent with more intrusive investigation.

27. This is the only section of shaft in the south arcade to comprise a single block of stone: all the others are in two parts.

28. Brown's identifications were based largely on information supplied by Albert Hartshorne, a contemporary authority on costume.

29. The identifications are based substantially on observations by Dr Pamela Tudor-Craig in 2000.

30. This seems to have been achieved by first painting dark red and then thinly overpainting in black (best preserved in the dexter eye).

31. I am indebted to Pamela Tudor-Craig for alerting me to the comparison.

32. If head nos. 12 and 13 were modelled on Sir John Tenniel's 'Red King' and 'White King', they could not date before 1872, when he was commissioned by Carroll to illustrate *Alice Through the Looking-Glass*. It would be surprising if copies of these famous but somewhat frivolous figures were introduced into the church in the restoration of 1897, where high-mindedness was the order of the day. They would, on the other hand, have been more acceptable in 1858. Perhaps they represent a small embellishment of the 1870s?

33. Beard and nose chipped, the latter by clumsy scaffolders in the 1980s.

34. This same mortar is ubiquitous as a repair material in the arcades.

35. W.E. Varah 1928, 3; G.H. Varah 1965, 5, 6, pl.

36. *I.e.* the pairs of leaves have their stems springing from the north-west, north-east, south-east and south-west faces of the pier.

37. The rose on the south facet is single-bordered (*cf.* the impost of the north-west respond, no. 25) and is much cruder than the double-bordered one on the west.

38. The secondary damage is not so severe that all traces of the rosettes would have been lost, unless they were extremely small. The arrangement of the foliage on these two faces also indicates that there was insufficient space for rosettes here: the intended abutment of screen timbers may thus have been anticipated by the carver.

39. The paint is especially well preserved on the north-west-facing lion.

40. If the latter, it would imply that the piscina was restored in 1859, which is curious since this corner of the church was then filled with the organ. Restoration in 1898, following the removal of the organ, seems more likely.

41. None of the beam positions coincided with the buttresses of the thirteenth-century aisle, and they were equally unrelated to the pitch of the fourteenth-century arcade bays. The two easternmost beams were fortuitously centred over the arcade piers, but the next three fell progressively further off-centre, confirming that there was no planned relationship between these components.

42. The bay widths were as follows: bay 1, 4.45 m; bay 2, 4.85 m; bay 3, 4.70 m; bay 4, 4.75 m; bay 5, 1.2 m.

43. Occasional pieces of medieval tile are found as packing in the joints between the ashlars.

44. The imbalance between bays 1 and 2 would have been even more marked when the east wall of the south aisle was in its original position. For the moving of the wall westwards, see p. 477).

45. The present parapet, which rises 30 cm above the level of the weathering, dates from 1897.

46. A generally similar arch with a nodding-ogee head and a large finial, but of slightly smaller dimensions, is found in the south transept at Great Bedwyn church (Wilts.). There, the

feature has no jambs but rests directly on a plain, basally chamfered credence shelf. The decorated piscina basin is set in the south-east angle of the transept, and is distinctly separate from the credence.

47. For a low-level moulding the hood is very crude (*cf.* the hood-mouldings on the aisle-faces of the nave arcades); part of it has been renewed.

48. Proportionally, six lights would fit well, although an even number is not common in the east windows of chancels. However, there are some fine examples of six-light windows, as at Raunds (Northants.), *c.* 1275. If there were seven lights, they would have been slightly narrower than those in the lateral windows, which is an unlikely scenario.

49. The traceried head of this window was restored in 1927 (Pevsner and Neave 1995, 640).

50. The stoolings on the sills match the sections of the mullions, and are not left in block form, as in the north aisle.

51. In the south wall, the label of bay 1 is modern.

52. The main lights in the belfry are 3–4 cm narrower, and the top of the quatrefoil in the tracery is rounded, rather than pointed.

53. The south end of the tie is first glimpsed in Nattes's view of 1796; it was removed in 1965.

54. One of the east–west beams is a later renewal.

55. Tyers 2001b, sample nos. 21 and 22.

56. See Appendix 3: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3, f. 29v.

57. The complete absence of medieval burials at the west end of the aisles may be illusory: both these areas were largely taken up with post-medieval vaults (Fig. 719).

58. Brick sizes and quality vary. In the south clerestory the average is 25 × 12.5 × 5 cm; in the north many of the bricks are larger and of rough appearance, 26.5–26.5 × 11.5–13.0 × 5.5–6.0. Noticeably larger but thinner bricks occur in the north-west corner of the nave, averaging 27.5 × 13.5 × 4.5 cm.

59. The putlog holes on the south are small and very variable in shape: nevertheless, they appear on both faces and thus pass through the walls. More regular, but still small, holes appear externally on the north clerestory: there, the springers have been carefully cut to house the putlogs.

60. Average dimensions of roof tiles: 34 × 24(?) × 1.4 cm. The tile types were not readily discernible.

61. The north and south parapets of the chancel slightly overlap the clerestory quoins, demonstrating the constructional sequence. There is also some brickwork at the top of each quoin, relating to the rebuild of the upper part of the gable in the nineteenth century, following the removal of the crow-stepped gable.

62. Theoretically, another 6 ft could have been gained by extending the chancel eastwards to the boundary of the churchyard. That would have blocked the thoroughfare around the end of the church, and the proximity of the hall would have prevented the chancel from having a large east window. Moreover, it would have placed the new east wall in the middle of a back-filled Norman defensive ditch, the former existence of which must still have been apparent in the fifteenth century (p. 609).

63. Much of the surface of the medieval wallplaster was lost long ago; later patching and renewal had also decayed and partly fallen off. Consequently, the wall was fully replastered in 1984.

64. Average brick dimensions are: length, 25–26 × 12.5–13.5 × 4.5–5.0 cm.

65. Bricks up to 27 × 14 × 5.5 cm. Whiter mortar was used in the reconstruction.

66. The arch bricks appear to be seventeenth or eighteenth century (reused). Each arch comprises a single ring of headers, measuring 10.5 × 6.0 cm.

67. The oak corbels on the south had all been consumed by rot in the twentieth century, and were renewed in 1984.

68. No reason can be given for the unequal spacing. The bay pitch averages, and was presumably intended to be, *c.* 4.8 m; but bay 3 is 5.1 m and bay 5 is 4.7 m.

69. All the beams were replaced, perhaps in 1833, and the sides of the pockets have been damaged. The dimensions of the original beams were *c.* 25 cm wide by 42 cm deep.

70. The present coping is entirely modern.

71. The positions of the corbels alternate between the bridging-beams, defining four bays, each of 5.0 m, and two half-bays, one at each end.

72. Surviving housings confirm that the rafters were 18 cm wide, and laid at 55 cm centres. The moulding on the lower arris of the wallplate was discontinuous, being interrupted at each corbel.

73. The surviving purlins have tenons (or display scars where they were sawn off) on their ends, indicating that they were butt-purlins and that there must have been principals on top of the bridging-beams. The roof was therefore composed of half-trusses.

74. The pockets in the arcade wall for the medieval beams were found directly below the seatings of the present bridging-beams.

75. Also, some remnants of potentially associated timbers, embedded in the top of the east wall, were noted in 1983.

76. It is unclear why the north jamb was dismantled and rebuilt in the same position; externally, a wedge of brick infilling alongside reveals the extent of the intervention.

77. The replacement mullions are slim, plain bevelled, and do not sit well on the thirteenth-century stoolings, which were intended to receive mullions with a frontal roll.

78. The eaves mouldings did not run horizontally across the ends of the aisle, the apices of the windows being too high to permit this. Also, at the west end, thirteenth-century masonry survives intact on a line equivalent to the eaves-course. The mouldings must therefore have followed the slope of the roof.

79. The relatively small scantling of the timbers and its poor quality (waney-edged) would be surprising for a medieval structure. The porch must have been reduced in height at the same time as the south aisle was reroofed and given a continuous crenellated parapet: thus the height reduction can hardly post-date the mid-fifteenth century, although the roof timbers subjectively appear to be later.

80. This timber cannot be part of the thirteenth-century roof *in situ*, being too low: the height of the porch has been reduced by up to one metre. The truncation of the window reveals indicates the level to which the primary fabric survives, just below the rebuilt eaves.

81. There was once a fifth pair of rafters in the south bay, forming a timber-framed gable. The west purlin in the northern bay was renewed in 1983, when the roof was reroofed. The diagonal pine boarding under the lead was recycled at the same time from the south aisle roof (early nineteenth century).

82. Since the diameter of the neck-ring of the circular capital was insufficient to encompass the across-points dimension of the octagonal shaft, a second neck-ring was made and slipped under the first. This provided a transitional element, albeit visually uncomfortable. The insertion of octagonal shafts into existing piers, resulting in an awkward junction with the capitals, is also seen in the north arcade at Castor (Cambs.).

83. Curiously, the corresponding arris on the easternmost voussoir has been similarly mutilated, although this serves no function: it was presumably done to balance the arch visually. There is no evidence that the doorway was ever fitted with two leaves.

84. The head-piece and some of the cover-strips are modern renewals. A wide batten fixed across the bottom of the outer face is partly ancient, but not primary.

85. Tyers (2001b) suggests that the wicket is secondary, but the evidence of its original hanging with hinges having fleur-de-lys terminals, as well as the cranking of the lower hinge to the main door, argue for its primacy. The originality of the wicket is clinched by the fact that there is a small, draught-proofing rebate at the junction between the inner and outer boards, which is integral to the construction of both the main door and the wicket: it could not have been cut afterwards.

86. It has not been established whether the vertical boards are edge-dowelled too, albeit that is very likely.

87. Doors of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries were frequently hide covered, the surviving evidence for which is normally trapped behind hinge-straps. Careful inspection shows that there is no such primary evidence on the Barton door.

88. At an early date the wicket door was also fitted with a latching device, and the ghost of the circular backplate of its handle is plainly visible externally. The plate must have been lost at a relatively recent date, since there is no post-medieval paint over the scar. Indeed, the small area of original timber surface now exposed is both unweathered and unpainted; this indicates that the door was not originally decorated.

89. Sampling was undertaken by recording exposed end-grain. More comprehensive samples could be obtained by using a micro-borer.

90. Tyers 2001b, sample nos. 26 and 27.

91. The well-preserved moulding between the first and second stages of the buttress may be seen internally in the east wall of the porch, at eaves level.

92. A block of Gritstone is incorporated in the north-east corner; presumably, this ultimately derived from the Anglo-Saxon church.

93. It was seemingly the inclusion of the aisle buttress in the porch structure that dictated the positioning of the truss away from the aisle wall-face.

94. The crown-post is halved over the tie-beam, and does not appear to be tenoned into it.

95. The short purlins south of the main truss have their ends embedded in the aisle wall. The northern ends of the purlins were formerly tenoned into the gable-truss, but are now supported on brick piers built on top of the north wall.

96. The five medieval rafters survive on the west, but those on the east are all later replacements. The northernmost rafter on the west may originally have come from the east slope.

97. The construction sequence is preserved: the brick addition to the south wall abuts the chancel arch with a straight joint, but the brickwork of the north wall is partly bonded to the arch. The east wall is bonded to the north, but abuts the south.

98. A mixture of brick and stone was used for patching the area around the window head.

99. The gable is only one brick thick (23 cm), and is rendered with pebbledash on the west side (Fig. 558). At the centre, on this face, is a brick pilaster to impart rigidity to what is essentially a flimsy wall.

100. See Appendix 3: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3, f. 29v. Loft notes that there were six 'steps' (crenellations?) to either side of the centre, the latter being broader and having 'a cross or pinnacle upon it'.

101. For most of the twentieth century, the corbel stood as a loose object on a ledge in the ringing-chamber. It receives no mention in any earlier account of the church. EH store: accn no. 88106858.

102. The block, which is 29 cm long, is a half-section of trunk, *c.* 40 cm in diameter. The back is rough, and the scar of the tenon on the base measures 18 × 4 cm. The timber was not suitable for dating by dendrochronology (Tyers 2001b).

103. The nose was renewed in pine, and is thinly painted; the remainder of the head carries multiple paint layers. The present colouring is garish: leather brown face, dark red cheeks, grey eyebrows, green beard and moustache, red mouth, white teeth, and a black hood; all varnished.

104. A good example is Great Hale (Stocker and Everson 2006, fig. 4.70).

105. The bricks measure on average 26.5 × 12.5 × 6 cm. The new east wall is straight-jointed with the outer aisle wall, and shows little sign of bonding to the nave either.

106. The masonry at the very top of the wall is of rougher construction and projects fractionally forward from the main plane of the internal face; this is typical of the effect resulting from building against a roof truss that is already in place.

107. When the east wall was repositioned, the coping may have been reused, or this may have been the moment at which the crow-stepped gable erected. Either way, a special modification was introduced at the south-east corner of the aisle to enable the eaves-course to be returned.

108. In several instances, the central fixing has been superseded by a second alongside. There are no marks on the mullions or stiles for the fixing of ferramenta or grilles in the openings.

109. Flanged iron pintles have been driven into these channels, to receive the hinges which are effectively concealed from view. The latter comprise a ring with an attached short plate which is slotted into a mortice in the hinging-stile of the gate, and secured with a square-section headless iron pin (or a replacement bolt with a square head).

110. Instead of the usual prominent surface-fixed straps, these hinges have short tongues on both the fixed and moving components. The tongues are morticed into the stiles and posts, and secured with transverse iron pins.

111. Damage to the third vousoir in the outer order of the arcade, facing the nave, corresponds to rood loft level, and may be significant.

112. Tyers 2001b, sample no. 7.

113. LA: Fac. 14/11.

114. Head nos. 9 and 10 are inaccessible to study, being directly under the roof. They appear to be heavily limewashed and are very dirty. Since they have not been cleaned during Victorian and later restorations, there is a good possibility that any medieval polychromy on them will have survived.

115. Keith Miller has suggested to me the possibility that the Goxhill head might have come from nearby Thornton Abbey. If so, its appearance here would most likely be the result of nineteenth-century antiquarianism. However, the purposeful integration of the head with a group of three limestone ash-lars, centrally over the door-arch, in a wall which is otherwise of rubble construction, militates against that explanation. Indeed, the arrangement is a strong pointer to the head's being part of the medieval construction. That in turn raises a question as to whether it is contemporaneous with the fifteenth-century assemblage of figures on the exterior of the doorway (for which, see further below), or whether it was then a recycled head dating from the previous century. The history of the Goxhill sculptures cannot be pursued here. WR.

116. Thornton Abbey: EH site museum. The sculptures are unpublished.

117. The adjacent parish church at Welwick also has fine detail of the mid-fourteenth century (Pevsner and Neave 1995, 743).

118. BL: Add. Ms. 42,130.

119. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

120. In the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

121. BL: Arundel Ms 83 (Sandler 1983).

122. Will of Richard Thomas, 5 April 1525 (Bryant 2003, 26).

123. *BPM*, vi.1938.

124. *BPM*, xi.1924; Bryant 2003, 26. While there is no firm basis for associating this with St Trunnion's chapel, on the west side of Barton, that cannot be ruled out (p. 60). As with other local wills, bequests might be made to more than one building.

125. *BPM*, xi.1924. Confusion may have arisen with Bardney Abbey, to which the church in Barton was appropriated: that was dedicated to SS Peter and Paul. In the 1920s, it was assumed, without justification, that St Ninian's altar was in the north aisle of St Peter's church (p. 537).

126. Foster 1927, 47; *BPM*, ix.1931.

127. Hickman 2001, 37, no. 49.

128. For illustrations of Haltham, see Thorold 1989, 90; for Patrington and York, see Bond 1913, 628, 639, respectively.

129. There is a considerable literature on the subject: see, for example, Basford 1978; Doel and Doel 2001 (with bibliographies).

130. The Barton 'green men' are not well known and were omitted from the gazetteer in Doel and Doel 2001. For a note on them, and discussion of symbolism, see Whitwell 1991b.

131. The bricks at Goxhill measure 26 × 12 × 4.5/5.0 cm.

132. Crow-stepped gables were clearly not appreciated in the nineteenth century: 'These heavy and unpleasing additions have fortunately disappeared.' (Brown 1908, 140).

Notes to Chapter 9 (pp. 495–543)

1. 'Lamentable Newes out of Lincolnshire, of the over-flowing of waters breaking from the seas, which drowned five villages, &c. November 1613'. Pamphlet, publ. 1614; cited in Gough 1768, 245.

2. Only one bell is intrinsically dated (1598), while the other was assigned a date of *c.* 1595 by Varah (1948, 17, appendix A), but on no good authority.

3. For a sixteenth-century treatise on bell-casting by Vannoccio Biringuccio, see Smith and Gnudi 1959, 260–72. For discussion of archaeological evidence relating to bell-founding, see Blagg 1974, 133–49 and Davies and Ovenden 1990. Generally, see also Salzman 1923, 144–56, and Elphick 1988.

4. The base of the cone was incompletely preserved, and the precise curvature of the rim could not be determined, but the dimension given must be correct to within a few centimetres.

5. For a discussion of archaeological evidence relating to bell-founding in Nottinghamshire in particular, see Blagg 1998.

6. The bricks measured 25 × 13 × 6 cm. Two courses survived: at the east end, the base-course was laid flat on the floor of the pit, but along the north and south sides the bricks were laid horizontally on edge. The second course comprised bricks laid vertically, on end.

7. This was evidently a reused architectural fragment. It was laid north–south, measured 52 × 23 cm in plan, and was 20 cm deep; both ends had a simple chamfer on one face. The stone had been removed and replaced again in 1912.

8. *ƒ. Brit. Archaeol. Ass. (ns) 27, (1921), 32.* A photograph and version of the story also entered later guidebooks (Varah 1965, 4, pl.).

9. *BPM*, vii.1927. Gilbert Pepper died in November 1653, whereafter the living lay vacant for nine years until Humphrey Booth was instituted in December 1662: see also Appendix 5. Curiously, Pepper was buried in St Mary's church, rather than St Peter's.

10. 'A true and impartial relation of the great damages done by the late great tempest and overflowing of the tide upon the coast of Lincolnshire and Norfolk, &c.' Pamphlet, publ. 1671; cited in Gough 1768, 245. I have been unable to trace a copy of the original pamphlet.

11. It is unclear in which year the disaster occurred, and the sole source of evidence is the fact that small sums (3s. 3d. and 4d., respectively) were sent by the churches at Cranford (Middlesex) and Old Burgclere (Hants.): *BPM*, x.1936; x.1937.

12. A serious fire occurred in the Market Place in 1730, and a subscription was raised for the benefit of those who had suffered losses (Ball 1856, 2, 19). However, the time-interval is too great for this event to be connected with the 'Brief' of 1732/33.

13. Misleadingly, Ball (1856, 1, 59) and Varah (1948, 46, appendix A) gave the impression that the bell in St Peter's was also dated 1666. The lettering on the three bells in St Mary's is different from that on the St Peter's bell, demonstrating, *contra* Varah, that they were not all cast at the same time.

14. The scantling varied, but the timbers were of modest dimensions: this was not a heavy-duty floor. Some repairs and strengthening of weak joists, using pine, had taken place, probably in 1852; the pine floorboards were laid at the same time.

15. There are hints in the south wall that there may have been an even earlier floor at this level, supported on only five joists. However, no corresponding joist pockets could be detected in the north wall, and the existence of the floor must therefore remain uncertain.

16. Tyers 2001b, sample nos. 18, 19, 23 and 25.

17. This memorandum is recorded in the parish register of Middle Rasen Drax (Lincs.) (*BPM*, v.1918).

18. There was also an eighteenth-century weathercock on St Mary's tower. It bore the inscription: *Made by Matthew Robinson / 1779 Fecit / Repaired by him 1801 / Churchwardens John Kennington and Thos. Cotsworth* (*BPM*, xi, xii.1912).

19. It is odd that Scott should have shown an imaginary feature on his drawing. It is just possible that the spirelet could have been added by Brodrick in 1858–59, and was removed again a decade or so later, before the earliest surviving photograph was taken, although this does not carry full conviction (Fig. 687).

20. *BPM*, vi, vii, viii, ix.1901.

21. *BPM*, vi.1929.

22. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/1. Plan entitled, 'Barton St Peters in the County of Lincoln 1711'; no scale or draughtsman's name.

23. LA: Barton Par. 3/1.

24. Otherwise, the list of property in 1788 was the same as that given in the terrier of 1730 (p. 545).

25. The east window was thus obliterated, and the external aperture of the west window was infilled with brick, but both reveals remained as niches internally.

26. The brickwork is irregular but displays a tendency towards English bond.

27. The upper crook was attached by drilling a hole diagonally through the moulding of the inner order; the protruding end of the crook was screw-threaded and fitted with a square nut.

28. The chimney is seen in many views: *e.g.* see Pl. 9 and Figs. 11, 13 and 15. The omission of the fireplace from the 1803 plan is not significant, since that also omitted the stairs to the ringing-chamber and the fireplace in the vestry: both the latter were certainly in existence. Loft's plan of 1831–32 showed the two fireplaces, but not the stairs.

29. For Loft's notes, see Appendix 3.

30. *Ibid.* LA: Dixon 19/1/3, f. 37r; F.L. Misc. 10/1/3.

31. LA: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3.

32. I am grateful to Prof. Martin Henig for this suggestion.

33. The Nelthorpes were not the lay rectors, and it is therefore unlikely that they would have carried out work on the chancel.

34. Tyers 2001b. The tree-rings of the tie-beams were measured, yielding felling dates as follows: no. 1, 1766–1802; no. 2, 1763–97; no. 3, 1762–98; no. 4, 1764–1800.

35. LA: Fac. 11/72. The faculty was granted in 1760: *loc. cit.*, FB1/227, ff. 90–1; Barton Par. 9/1/2.

36. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/5.

37. No ready explanation for this statement is forthcoming. The roof is plain and very mediocre: could there have been a panelled timber ceiling suspended beneath it?

38. LA: Church Terrier, 1822.

39. Two versions survive, each with the schedule written alongside the plan. The first is carefully drawn and has colourwash to differentiate walls, seats and liturgical furniture (LA: Barton Par. 9/1/3/1). There is some annotation, but no scale. The second copy is cruder and has some over-drawing. It also carries a secondary note concerning the reallocation of two servants' pews which had become available on account of Marmaduke Graburn's mansion in the High Street being pulled down. The note was signed by the vicar (George Uppleby) and churchwardens (William Eddie and Brian Hesleden), but was not dated. The addition can, however, be attributed to 1847, that being the year of demolition of the mansion, as well as the last year that those two churchwardens served together.

40. LA: FB3/195; Fac. 5/22; F.L. Misc. 10/2/22.

41. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/3, 9/1/4. An unannotated version was published in Brown 1908, fig. 9. Barnett's original plan contains more detail than that accompanying the faculty application. Subsequently, signed alterations were made to the schedule in 1847. For another copy of the plan, see LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/22.

42. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/5.

43. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/6. This undated plan, bearing Hesleden's initials, was engraved by J. Greenwood, Hull. It seems to be based on the 1803 seating plan, shows the font at the west end of the nave, four locations in the chancel are lettered (A–D), and floor-slabs are numbered 1–39. Regrettably, no key has survived.

44. *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 13 Dec. 1805.

45. There are also small pockets cut into the clerestory brickwork a short distance above the corbels; their function was probably to anchor framing-members supporting the plaster vault.

46. *VCH, Staffs.* 14 (1990), 145. The ceiling at Stowe is still extant.

47. LA: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3.

48. The elements of the design are all found, for example, in Price's well-known treatise on structural carpentry (Price 1735: see esp. pl. G, truss B).

49. The tower openings were partly obstructed by the westernmost truss of the nave roof, but access was still possible; blocking the openings at both ends of the roof was included in the 1858 specification. We removed the brick infilling to

the belfry openings in 1979, and were thereby able to climb through them and take overhead photographs of the excavations in the nave, from the tie-beams. It was only in 1984 that the central section of the westernmost tie-beam was cut out and replaced with a steel rod: this enabled the Anglo-Saxon belfry opening to be better appreciated from the floor of the church (compare Figs. 289 and 627).

50. The plumber inscribed, literally, 'eighteen, six', omitting the intervening zero.

51. Superficially, the date appears to read '1800', but this seems unlikely in view of the age of the roof (1805), and the occurrence of a second graffito, almost certainly by the same plumber, dated 1806.

52. The sheets were brought down into the church, where they remained for some months. However, for fear of their being lost, they were taken to Baysgarth Museum and were stored in the attic, along with all the other archaeological finds. Subsequently, contractors who were repairing the roof of the museum had access to the store, and stole all the lead.

53. The purlin now in bay 1 is moulded, whereas that in bay 2 has stopped chamfers; all the others are replacements in pine. The first two bridging-beams have arris-beads and are likely to date from the later nineteenth century, whereas the remainder are chamfered. Possibly two of the medieval beams survived the 1833 restoration, and were only later replaced.

54. The hinging-stile of the eastern leaf acts as a post on which the wicket is itself hinged. In 1832 Loft described these as 'folding doors'. LA: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3. See Appendix 3.

55. The possibility that this was originally a thin, two-layered door cannot be dismissed. The middle and back boards are clenched nailed, and the front was fixed afterwards. The boards on the front are similar in appearance to those on the outer door to the wall-safe in the vestry, which is dated 1813.

56. The safe door is decorated in imitation of wood-graining and carries painted inscriptions in the two panels: *S. PETER'S / BARTON. 1813.* and *W. Uppleby Vicar / S. Hall and J. Harper Church-Wardens.* (the last is in cursive script).

57. LA: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3.

58. LA: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3. Fireplaces are shown in the vestry and western annexe on Loft's plan. LA: Dixon 19/1/3, f. 34r (Fig. 582).

59. *Stamford Mercury*, 24 Dec. 1858.

60. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/7.

61. Brodie *et al.* 2001, 1, 262). For a general study of Brodrick's work, see Linstrum 1999; Barton is not mentioned in that account.

62. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/7–9. For further details of the Victorian restorations, see Tyszka 2006, 37–52.

63. Pamphlet: *Re-seating and Internal Restoration of St. Peter's Church, Barton-on-Humber, Lincolnshire.* Barton, Dec. 1857. The eventual cost was double the estimate.

64. LA: FB6/350; Faculty 14/11; Barton Par. 9/1/10. The legal cost of obtaining the faculty was £11 3s. 1d. (LA: Barton Par. 9/1/9/2). See also *Barton, Brigg, Caistor and Winterton News*, 30 Sept. 1858, 4. For invitations to tender for the contract, see *Hull Advertiser*, 31 Aug. 1858.

65. Lists have survived (LA: Barton Par. 9/1/9).

66. Lambeth Palace Library: ICBS file 05218; Minutes vol. 16, pp. 78, 102, 115, 256. The Society made a grant of £80, towards an estimated total cost of £771. See also LA: Barton Par. 9/1/8.

67. Described in 1867 as 'carved wood on stone base' (Glynne 1898, 203).

68. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/7.

69. The source of the original is unknown, but a mid-twentieth-century copy exists, bearing the supposed date to *verso*: 1882. However, it cannot be that early because the Mary Lunn memorial window of 1886 is present in the south aisle: a date of *c.* 1890 is likely.

70. During this work 'an interesting specimen of medieval sculpture' was found in the north aisle, 'decapitated, and on being turned over represented a priest in the act of raising the chalice. ... Near the same place were also found several feet of coloured paving, consisting of small buff, red and black squares, like Dutch tiles.' *Barton, Brigg, Caistor and Winterton News*, 4 Nov. 1858, p. 4. For the priest's effigy, see Fig. 708. The fourteenth-century tile paving was rediscovered in 1980 at the east end of the aisle (Pl. 54).

71. The tiles are 150 mm square, by 12 mm thick. They are channelled on the underside and some carry a *bas-relief* inscription: 'T. & R. BOOTE. / BURSLEM.' The colours used are buff, red, purplish-brown and black.

72. The step does not have a stone riser, but is faced somewhat clumsily with tiles.

73. The blocks are 48 cm wide and, curiously, have a small chamfer on the front arris.

74. No photograph is known to survive showing the reredos *in situ*. The Commandments panels survive, but the exact nature of the monogram panel is unknown: it is likely to have borne the letters *IHS*. A quotation, dated 16 April 1859, puts the cost of these panels at £14 14s. 0d.

75. The tiles measure 110 mm square, by 13 mm thick.

76. This type of tile was manufactured by Maw, Minton, Godwin and other factories. The tiles in St Peter's are all believed to be by Maw.

77. The window reveals retain a ghost image where a reredos was fitted between them.

78. The corbels were non-supporting and essentially face-fixed: they were 26–27 cm wide by 28–29 cm high. Each had a mortice in the back, to receive a loose tenon, one end of which was also located in a pocket in the masonry.

79. There were said to be three females altogether: inf. G.H. Varah, 1983.

80. The carpentry was all the work of A. Stamp, joiner, of Barton: *Stamford Mercury*, 3 Jun. 1859, p. 5.

81. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/11.

82. Barton Gas Works had been constructed in 1846, on the north-west side of town.

83. The fixing for the long iron pipe that supported the corona – and supplied the gas to it – remains on one of the bridging-beams.

84. *BPM*, i, ii.1894.

85. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/12; this is a handwritten draft for the public notice. A lengthy report was published in the *Stamford Mercury*, 3 Jun. 1859.

86. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/13. The cost was reported to be £1,199 4s. 3d. There was still a deficit of £205 1s. 6d.

87. *BPM*, x.1905.

88. Of the various doors recorded in the tower, only the south door now remains.

89. *Stamford Mercury*, 3 Jun. 1859, 5–6.

90. For the saga of the west doorway, see Taylor 1974b and 1991.

91. In 1897, Baldwin Brown recalled Headbourne Worthy in the context of Barton (LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/29).

92. *E.g.* Taylor 1974b.

93. Early nineteenth-century views confirm that there was then no functioning doorway in the west wall, but a ragged gap, *c.* 3½ ft wide, is shown on Buckler's undated plan (probably 1820) and marked 'modern door' (BL: Add. Ms.

36,438, f. 488). Buckler omitted 'modern' features from his plan, such as the fireplace and stairs in the annexe, and hence did not draw the doorway in detail.

94. LA: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3. See Appendix 3. Traces of similar pink stucco still survive on the south wall of the chancel of Barrow church.

95. *Stamford Mercury*, 24 Dec. 1858.

96. LA: Bigby Par. 23/4. The churchwardens and parishioners clearly did not take any pride in the appearance of their church: apart from the dilapidated rendering, Barnard's reports speak of blocked gutters and rainwater spouts, dirty windows in the clerestory, neglect in the churchyard and weeds on the vestry roof. He further exhorted that the relatively new pews 'ought to be well washed'.

97. *BPM*, xi.1893.

98. Varah 1928, 7. *BPM*, i.1942.

99. LA: Bigby Par. 23/4.

100. Quotation by Henry Briggs of Barton, dated 14 June 1870. The receipt for £20 is dated 27 Aug. 1870. Briggs's notepaper carries a small embossing of the Prince of Wales's feathers (LA: uncat.).

101. *BPM*, i.1942.

102. It was seemingly not applied to the west end of either the north or south aisle, where there are traces of a creamish-buff render, which in turn overlies white lime render that may well be late medieval (*N.B.* It also occurs on the fifteenth-century brickwork of the south aisle). Little trace of the pink render mentioned by Loft is discernible, but it must have overlain both those noted here.

103. This render extended over work that was undertaken as part of the 1858–59 restoration.

104. Some newly built Georgian churches were painted pinkish-red, even over fine ashlar: *e.g.* Christ Church, Downside, Som. (built 1838).

105. The mix was quite fine and contained small lumps of unburnt lime but very little crushed brick. The flint gravel averaged 4–6 mm across. Irregularities in the wall surface were made good with broken pieces of roof tile, pressed into mortar: traces survive on the south face of the porch, and larger patches on the west wall of the north aisle.

106. LA: Bigby Par. 23/4.

107. *BPM*, x.1893.

108. Reported in a miscellany of notes by G.H. Varah, sent to H.M. Taylor in 1973.

109. *BPM*, x.1890.

110. *BPM*, i, ii.1894.

111. *BPM*, iv.1894. It has been shown that the evidence was not correctly interpreted.

112. Measurement taken from the top of the foundation at the threshold. Information extrapolated from BL: Add. Ms. 36,438, f. 460r.

113. *BPM*, i, iv.1895.

114. *BPM*, i, viii.1896.

115. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/18.

116. RIBA Library: Scott notebook 1/2/42, pp. 39–41, contains notes and sketches of the western annexe and the mullion sculptures in the north aisle window; on pp. 45–50 are notes on the belfry and mid-wall shafts in the tower, as well as the medieval glass in the east window. In notebook 1/2/47, pp. 85–6, are details of the masonry on the west face of the tower. Additionally, there are some earlier, but undated, notes and sketches by Scott of the east window, stained glass, chancel screen and tomb-slabs in notebook 1/2/38, pp. 62–3. I am indebted to Dr Alexandrina Buchanan for these references.

117. *BPM*, viii.1896.

118. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/17; *loc. cit.* Hodgson Fowler nos. 1–5. This collection comprises a plan of the chancel as existing in 1896, a plan of the proposed alterations, and elevations of the organ chamber. Drawing no. 9 shows his scheme for siting the organ in front of the east window of the south aisle. See Appendix 1.

119. *BPM*, xi.1896; i, ii, iii.1897. Fowler's estimate cited in the faculty application was £1,225. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/14, /15.

120. As well as the faculty and architect's drawings, the restoration committee's minute book, bank book, accounts and other papers survive. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/14–/18.

121. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/16, 18. *BPM*, viii.1897. The memorial plate from the old organ was preserved, to be affixed to the new instrument.

122. *BPM*, vi, viii, ix, xi, xii.1897.

123. The last was given by Mrs Holt. Despite the date (1896) on the plaque, it was reported as a gift only in June 1898, and dedicated in October: *BPM*, vi.1898.

124. *BPM*, vii.1898.

125. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/15.

126. *BPM*, xi, xii.1897; viii, ix.1898.

127. Two copies of the print are known. One is BL: Add. ms. 37,508, f. 231; the other is in the Taylor/Varah archive (LA).

128. Manufactured by Blyth's brickyard in Barton, these had a smooth upper face and shallow frog on the underside. Later extension of the brick-paved areas (1913) employed similar bricks bearing the name of 'Blyth' in the frog. See *BPM*, v.1923. These bricks average 38 mm in thickness. According to the specification of 1858, herringbone brick paving should have been laid in all the visible areas of the nave and aisles, but that evidently did not come to fruition: rough paving using secondhand bricks seems to have sufficed until 1897.

129. The stops on bay 1 (W) and bay 2 (E) are medieval, the other two are of 1897.

130. The minute book of the Restoration Committee records a resolution to employ the services of a 'skilled man' to alter the 'Uppleby window' when it was reinstated (LA: Barton Par. 9/1/18).

131. The strap hinges, however, are of cast iron, with *Patent Collinges* in relief.

132. The timber floor was consumed by dry rot in the early 1980s, and was removed.

133. There is only one piece of medieval stone reused in the north jamb.

134. *BPM*, viii.1900.

135. *BPM*, vi, vii, viii, ix.1901.

136. *BPM*, ii.1902; ii, vi, vii, ix.1903; i, iv.1904. The modified reredos and new altar were designed by the Rev'd H.F. Napier, curate.

137. *BPM*, vi, vii.1904. For the memorial brass, see Appendix 6, M.62. The altar cross bears an inscription recording that it was given in 1904. However, an undated photograph (Fig. 615), alleged to be of 1898, shows the cross standing on the small altar which preceded the present large one: either the cross was already in use in the church, before it was inscribed (perhaps on loan), or the photograph must have been taken in 1904, before the new altar arrived.

138. *BPM*, v.1910.

139. *BPM*, iii.1910.

140. *BPM*, vii.1913.

141. *BPM*, iv.1914; for details, see below, window nVII.

142. *BPM*, ix.1914.

143. *BPM*, xii.1911; i, iv.1913. LA: Barton Par. 7/5 (accounts relating to the work).

144. Cf. Varah 1928; 1965. Additionally confusing is the fact that, in the nineteenth century, St Peter's was often referred to as the 'old church' and St Mary's as the 'new church'.

145. *BPM*, x.1905. The organ chamber was used as an alternative vestry in winter.

146. No further details are recorded, and it is presumed that the fireplace was removed in 1911–12. The last datable appearance of the chimney is in a photograph of 1904, in the archive of the Church Buildings Council (London). For a view taken in or shortly before 1907, see Brown 1908, pl. opp. 140.

147. The door leaves that were removed from the eastern arch in 1978 are held in the EH store at York.

148. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/19.

149. *BPM*, xi.1922.

150. *BPM*, vii, viii.1923. The inserted stones were all reused, some having 'Gothic markings', which were turned in towards the wall core. Two of the stones had been recovered in 1912 from the filling of the bell-metal furnace in the base of the tower: one was a piece of window tracery, the other a fragment of an effigy with hands in an attitude of prayer (p. 499). According to *BPM*, x.1927, the pebbledash had still not been stripped from the north and south sides of the belfry; nor had the central figure of the rood window in the north aisle been restored. Other works were listed as desirable.

151. *BPM*, vii.1923. See discussion in chapter 6.

152. *BPM*, vii.1926.

153. LA: FB14/629; Barton Par. 7/5 (accounts relating to the restoration of the chapels); Par. 9/1/19 (faculty).

154. The nave then had four stoves. *BPM*, iv.1923; vi.1924.

155. *BPM*, vii.1924.

156. Painted by W.H. Allberry, a local artist: the decoration of the two outer panels was taken from the Eleanor Cross at Geddington, and from a wallpainting in Canterbury Cathedral for the inner two: *BPM* v, vi.1923. The panels were repainted in 1936: *BPM*, x.1936. They were removed in 1982.

157. *BPM*, vi, vii.1924.

158. *BPM*, viii.1928.

159. *BPM*, ix.1928; iv.1929.

160. *BPM*, xii.1931; iv.1932.

161. *BPM*, ix.1936. Reinstatement of the weathercock was the reported intention.

162. *BPM*, iv.1944.

163. An ecclesiastical practice was established by his father, Wilfrid Bond (Brodie *et al.* 2001, 217). It later operated under the name of Bond and Reed.

164. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/20. This provided for the boiler to be installed in the north porch, and the oil tank in the churchyard. However, in 1963, or subsequently, the boiler was located at the west end of the north aisle and the oil tank was sited in the porch, where it remained until the church was finally closed.

165. Burnt into the iron shoe supporting the flagstaff is the date '1956'. The cockerel (57 cm high) is made of sheet copper with reinforced edges (EH store: accn 88106857).

166. The roof lead bears a plaque 'Recast 1965'. The plumber's plaque recording the previous re-leading in 1833 was salvaged (Fig. 9.30).

167. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/21. Typescript, unsigned, dated March 1965. The cost of the works was estimated at £3,200.

168. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/21, /22.

169. Historic Churches Preservation Trust, *Ann. Rep. 1967*, 8, 15, 37.

170. In its report, Lincoln Diocesan Advisory Committee stressed the architectural importance of St Peter's, urging that it should be 'carefully preserved in its entirety'. A brief report was prepared by the Council for the Care of

Churches, 12 May 1971 (since renamed Church Buildings Council). The Advisory Board for Redundant Churches was set up in 1969 and abolished in 2008.

171. Since renamed The Churches Conservation Trust.

172. Details set out in a letter to H.M. Taylor, 10 Feb. 1972, and in the parish magazine for that month.

173. The CBA had just established (1972) its Churches Committee, as a result of national concern about redundancy and its effect on historic churches (Jesson 1973). Barton was one of the seminal examples.

174. Enquiries to the Diocesan Registrar, in 1983, failed to establish that such a list had ever been made. A retrospective list, made from memory and clearly incomplete, was compiled by G.H. Varah for the Dept of the Environment, 4 Dec. 1984. No mention was made of the church plate belonging to St Peter's.

175. On 18 Feb. 1971 the Archdeacon of Stow wrote to the churchwardens of Barton, warning them not to remove anything from St Peter's without a faculty. This was not heeded.

176. The lead on the nave is dated on the north slope, 'Recast 1979'. The north aisle carries a plumber's plate, inscribed 'Leadwork by / J. Coultas & Co. Ltd. / Beech House, / Chapel Lane, / Barton. / 1981.' The lead was carried on wide pine boarding, which was not reused: instead, chipboard was laid on the nave and north aisle, and new narrow boarding was diagonally laid on the south aisle in 1983. The long pine rafters which spanned the aisles were also replaced. The chancel roof was straight-boarded with a mixture of old and new material, while the south porch was similarly treated, but the boards were laid diagonally.

177. Although the floor timbers of the gallery are in the correct positions, they are more bulky than their Anglo-Saxon predecessors would have been; this is a consequence of modern engineering calculations overriding historical authenticity. The structure of the gallery balustrade is hypothetical, and the ladder position is based on slight evidence found during the excavation of the floor. Again, the scantling of the gallery and ladder timbers is greater than is desirable. The gallery should have been limewashed on the underside.

178. The dais is 18 cm high, and the bricks, dating from 1912, were recovered from the floor at the west end; they are laid two-by-two, in a billet-pattern.

179. The panel consists of 10 tiles in the east–west direction, and 15 in the north–south.

180. They comprise 22 yellow and 20 black tiles, which were recovered from various locations in the excavation of the nave and north aisle.

181. The elasticity of the very long ropes renders the bells difficult to ring. Suitably soundproofed, the former clock chamber would have served well as the new ringing-chamber, leaving the base of the tower uncluttered. This course of action was rejected merely because access does not conform to modern health and safety regulations: a triumph of bureaucracy over commonsense. Access to the gallery and upper parts of the tower is similarly denied to scholars.

Notes to Chapter 10 (pp. 545–596)

1. A list of the contents, supposedly transferred to English Heritage, was compiled retrospectively and from memory by G.H. Varah in 1984 (copy in site archive). This includes items which had been 'temporarily' taken into St Mary's church, pending return; other items expressly belonging to St Peter's, including plate, are not listed.

2. LA: Barton Par. 3/1.

3. LA: Bigby Par. 23/3.

4. LA: F.L. Misc.10/1/3, f. 39.
5. See Appendix 3: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3, f. 26r.
6. For similar detailing of friezes and brackets, *cf.* Macquoid 1972, figs. 215, 218, etc. St Mary's church also had 'a marble slab on brackets' (apparently an iron frame) for a Communion table (Harding 1937, 71); its fate is not recorded.
7. *BPM*, xii.1929. For a time, the Georgian altar was used as a choir-vestry table in the base of the tower of St Peter's (inf. G.H. Varah).
8. EH store: accn 88106855. Careless handling in the early 1980s caused one corner to be broken off the hitherto perfect marble top. Continued abuse has resulted in further breakages: the slab is now in six pieces.
9. *BPM*, iv.1902; ii.1903.
10. The platform was consumed by dry rot, and was burnt in 1984.
11. *BPM*, v.1923.
12. The altar measures 1.78 m long, 87 cm deep and 94 cm high. The top is without consecration crosses.
13. *BPM*, vii.1924. Mr Allberry, a local artist, executed the painting.
14. *BPM*, ii.1903; iv.1904. The altar measures 3.04 m long, 75 cm deep and 99 cm high. It carries a brass plate, inscribed: 'Given in memory of Charles Hodgson and Elizabeth Mary Crowder by their sons and daughters, 1904'.
15. Inf. G.H. Varah (1983), who pointed out that the altar had never been properly finished. Although the framing is highly ornate, the panels are entirely plain and rather roughly finished, and it seems likely that they are substitutes for a more elaborate form of infilling (which may have borne representations that were theologically unacceptable in an Anglican church).
16. *BPM*, vi, vii.1904.
17. *BPM*, vii.1904 incorrectly gives the inscription as: *To the Glory of God, and in memory of George Hogarth, M.A., an Altar Cross and Candle-sticks were given to this Church by his widow. He was Vicar of St. Peter with St. Mary, Barton-on-Humber, from 1858 to 1889. Afterwards Vicar of Harston, Grantham. Born September 14th, 1827. Died, January 4th, 1902.* This may have been the intended inscription.
18. EH store: accn 88106863, 88106870–72.
19. EH store: accn 88106865–66.
20. *In the Service of God and to remember Sergt. George Frederick Gouldthorpe who fell at Loos Sept. 25 1915.*
21. EH store: accn 88106864 and 88106869.
22. + *In loving memory of Harry Parks. Killed in action March 11th 1913, from his Mother and Father.*
23. (a) *For the High Altar / of / Saint Peter's Parish Church / Barton-on-Humber.*
(b) *To keep in mind / MONTAGU H. HAYLLAR / Assistant Priest of Barton, / called to his rest / 15th. November 1920.*
24. EH store: not accessioned.
25. Listed by Varah in 1984; then in St Mary's church.
26. Inscribed to this effect, it was given by Mrs Uppleby, widow of the former vicar. The dish is now in St Mary's church vestry, but was listed by Varah in 1984 as one of the possessions of St Peter's.
27. Listed by Varah in 1984; it was then in St Mary's church. Present whereabouts unknown.
28. *BPM*, vii.1923. The fate of these is not recorded.
29. Burnt into the base of the cross is an inscription: *Presented By / G.R. & S. Welch / Brothers of / Barton on Humber / 1949 / Laus Deo.* The text is in cursive script.
30. These have a pear-shaped body, flaring mouth and attached pedestal-base. EH store: not accessioned.
31. EH store: not accessioned.
32. Cast in the base of the glass bowl is 'FARRIS'.
33. *BPM*, vi.1924.
34. EH store: not accessioned.
35. The underside of the base is inscribed: *To the loved memory of Lieut. George Liddon Varah, who died of disease contracted at the Front in Flanders.* He was one of the vicar's sons. The present whereabouts of the cross has not been established: the late G.H. Varah told the writer in the early 1980s that he was 'looking after it'.
36. *TO THE LOVED MEMORY OF / SERGT. FRANK COX / WHO FELL AT THE FRONT IN PICARDY.*
37. *TO THE LOVED MEMORY / OF MAJOR HAROLD / STEPHENSON, WHO / AFTER SERVING HIS COUNTRY / IN WAR WAS CALLED / TO HIS REST IN PEACE.*
38. The origin of this piece is unknown. EH store: not accessioned.
39. Given by W.E. Varah. EH store: not accessioned. In 2010 the cross was on the south aisle altar (Fig. 632).
40. EH store: not accessioned.
41. Given by the widow of William Blyth, the owner of Blyth's brickyard in Barton (Bryant and Land 2007).
42. These appear on Varah's list of 1984.
43. These have a pear-shaped body, flaring mouth and attached pedestal-base. EH store: not accessioned.
44. EH store: accn no. 88106861.
45. These have a pear-shaped body, flaring mouth and attached pedestal-base. EH store: accn 88106867 and 88106868
46. LA: Bigby Par. 23/3.
47. LA: Bigby Par. 23/4.
48. An inventory of plate in both churches was published in *BPM*, x.1913. See also Varah 1928, 27; P. Hawker, 'Lincolnshire Church Plate to 1837' (undated ms, Society of Antiquaries Library, Burlington House, London). Although legally the property of St Peter's, the plate is still being held by St Mary's church. The Order in Council of 14 Nov. 1972 did not provide for the transfer of plate upon the redundancy of St Peter's. Down to the 1970s, the principal items of historic plate were all kept in St Peter's (Pevsner and Harris 1964, 182). The early plate has not been used for many years, and is stored in a bank vault (where it was inspected by WR in June 2010).
49. Although silverware by Edward Mangy (Mangey/Mangie) is recorded in several churches, very little is known about the man, and there is no published account of his *oeuvre*. His *floruit* appears to have been in the 1660s and 1670s. St Giles's, Hull, has a cup and cover, 1668 (Pevsner 1972, 279). In Lincolnshire, South Ferriby has a chalice and cover-paten, 1666 (Pevsner and Harris 1964, 369); Horkstow has a chalice and cover-paten, c. 1670 (*ibid.*, 275); Barnoldby-le-Beck has a cup and cover, c. 1676 (*ibid.*, 179); and there is another at Saxby All Saints (inf. Rev'd Gordon Plumb).
50. Each item bears three marks, comprising the initials 'EM' in a shield, flanked by the mark of the Hull goldsmiths' guild (three crowns). Hull did not have the status of an assay office, and there are no date-letters on silverware made by its guild members.
51. For churchwardens, see Appendix 5B.
52. The weights given here have not been checked, and are clearly only approximate; they have been taken from a list kept in St Mary's church safe.
53. I am grateful to the Rev'd Gordon Plumb for this suggestion, and for photographs and information on plate by Mangy.
54. For examples of Pyne's work, see Oman 1957.

55. Curiously, this item receives no mention in *BPM*, or in any other account. It features on a list of plate in St Mary's church safe as 'St Peter's small chalice'.
56. *BPM*, i.1938.
57. *BPM*, x.1913, x.1925.
58. *BPM*, x.1913; x, xi.1925. Varah 1928, 43.
59. The St Chad's plate includes a Communion set and an inscribed silver trowel dated 1902. Some of the recent plate was reportedly lost during a burglary in St Mary's vestry in the early 1990s.
60. *Hull Advertiser*, 27 Oct. 1798 (LA: Barton Par. 10/2/27).
61. Published on 15 Oct. 1798. Text quoted in *BPM*, x.1913.
62. While Varah noted the inconsistency in the evidence, he was unable to resolve the problem: *BPM*, x.1913.
63. *BPM*, v.1890.
64. The four surviving panels of grey Welsh slate each measure 91.5 cm wide by 117 cm high, and 1.8 cm thick. The photograph of c. 1890 (Fig. 601) shows a narrow reredos projecting well up into the east window: either this was the missing central panel – the Decalogue tables being set lower, and flanking it – or it represents another, unrecorded phase. The Commandments are prefaced on the first panel by: *GOD spake these words, and said; I am the LORD thy God; Thou shalt have none other gods but me.*
65. The panels are generally in good condition, with no evidence of flaking paint. However, some paint loss has occurred around the borders and elsewhere, as a result of rough handling, accidental scraping, etc. The panels have also been slightly marred by several modern graffiti.
66. LA: uncat. The quotation states that it was 'without the centance [*sic*] over the altar'. Presumably an inscription was also being considered.
67. The design sketch does not give details of materials or decoration: LA: Hodgson Fowler, no. 6. The design incorporates a predella, and the sketch shows the outline of an altar 2.4 m (8 ft) in length. There is no evidence that an altar of this size was ever installed, the pre-existing small one serving until 1904, when the present very large altar was acquired. NB Lest confusion should arise, it may be useful to state that the works of three 'Fowlers' practising in the Barton area in the nineteenth century are referred to in this chapter: Charles Hodgson Fowler (1840–1910), architect from Durham; James Fowler (1828–92), architect from Louth (Lincs.); and William Fowler (1761–1832), artist and engraver from Winterton (Lincs.).
68. *BPM*, vi.1898. The new reredos is known only from indistinct photographs; it was certainly wider than that shown in the photograph of c. 1890, and had a raised central feature.
69. *BPM*, iv.1902.
70. Inf. G.H. Varah, 1980.
71. The hooks on the east wall are 2.13 m above pavement level; the second set is immediately above the wall tiling.
72. *BPM*, vi.1942.
73. EH store: accn 88106860.
74. See Appendix 3: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3, f. 26.
75. *BPM*, vi.1899.
76. *BPM*, iv, v.1898.
77. *BPM*, viii.1929. Given by W.E. Varah.
78. *BPM*, vii.1924. Made and given by Charles French, joiner and undertaker of Barton.
79. The rail is 3.65 m long. This is the left-hand one of a former pair; it possibly came from St Mary's church.
80. *BPM*, iv.1914. Fowler's design sketches survive: LA: Hodgson Fowler, no. 8.
81. *BPM*, i.1895.
82. *BPM*, vi.1898.
83. *Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointed to be read in Churches in the time of Queen Elizabeth of Famous Memory* (London, 1713). A fragmentary inscription on the title-page reads: '... given him by the Revd. Mr. White ... 1775'; not further identified.
84. LA: Bigby Par. 23/3. One of these books may survive in St Mary's church, which has *The Book of Common Prayer* (Cambridge 1811), illustrated by R. Westall (engravings dated 1812); black leather and gold-tooled binding. A bookplate has been removed and a flyleaf inscription carefully erased.
85. *The Altar Services, according to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland* (Cambridge, 1814).
86. See Appendix 3: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3, f. 26.
87. *BPM*, x.1930.
88. *BPM*, ix.1931. This was apparently 'lost', and returned anonymously to the church in 1931. EH store: not accessioned.
89. EH store: not accessioned.
90. EH store: not accessioned. First issued in 42 parts in c. 1835; this edition is mid-nineteenth century.
91. Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 203.
92. See Appendix 3: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3, f. 26r.
93. Another infilled, square hole close to the top of the bench-end may have held the top-rail.
94. See Appendix 3: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3, f. 39v. The font was similarly described in 1846 by Bonney (Harding 1937, 70).
95. St Mary's had a small Georgian font too, dated 1715 (Fig. 127. Harding 1937, 71). Both were apparently of limestone, rather than marble.
96. Brodrick's specification of 1858 refers to resiting the then-existing font, but his plan shows the present octagonal one, which was given by the vicar and his friends.
97. *Stamford Mercury*, 3 Jun. 1859.
98. The inscription begins on the east face and runs anti-clockwise around the bowl.
99. *BPM*, i.1894; ii.1894.
100. The screen carries an inscription on the south side: *This screen is erected to the loved memory of William Harold Blyth by his daughters Betty and Dorothy.* See also note 41. The screen is shown in Varah 1965, 9.
101. *BPM*, ix.1927.
102. Churchwardens' accounts reveal that a salaried organist was employed at St Mary's in 1640, together with a man to operate the bellows: *BPM*, ix.1925. There is also a faculty for installing a new organ in St Mary's in 1717 (Tyszka 2006, 55).
103. Some sources describe these as barrel-organs, which they evidently were not (*BPM*, ii.1922).
104. *Stamford Mercury*, 4 Mar. 1825.
105. Mentioned as there on 21 Apr. 1825 (Glynne 1898, 202), and in 1846 (*BPM*, vii.1938).
106. *BPM*, vi.1932. The organ was a gift in memory of the local surgeon Richard Eddie (d. 1856), and bore an ornate brass plaque with an armorial shield and enamel-filled lettering (Tyszka 2006, fig. 2.6). It was inscribed: *To the Honour & Glory of God & / + In Memory of + / Richard Eddie of this Town, Surgeon, / This Organ was Erected by his Widow and two / Sons in Testimony of their Love and Esteem. / 1856.*
107. It was installed in 1856 at a cost of £200 (Ball 1856, 1, 60; *Stamford Mercury*, 15 Feb. 1856).
108. *BPM*, i.1896; viii.1896. When the organ was sold, the memorial brass plate was removed from it and affixed to the new organ.

109. It bore its own brass inscription plate: *In replacement of the above mentioned Organ, / this larger Organ was Erected in the year 1898, / chiefly at the cost of Julia Abigail, widow of George Holt / sometime Vicar of this Parish.* Inexplicably, the plate was not inscribed until twenty-nine years after the event it commemorated (*BPM*, x.1927).
110. Faculty granted 1 Feb. 1883. The organ still bears the two incised brass plaques, to which a third has been added recording the move to St Mary's, 27 May 1973. The heavy six-spoked cast iron fly-wheel (1.22 m diam.), for operating the former hand-pumped blower, remains with St Peter's church (EH store: not accessioned).
111. *BPM*, iv, vi.1929.
112. LA: Barton Par. 3/1.
113. LA: Bigby Par. 23/3.
114. Trollope 1887–88, 318.
115. According to G.H. Varah (pers. comm.), prior to 1911 the chest stood with other lumber in the western annexe; he also said that it had been in the north porch, prior to the installation there of an oil tank in the mid-1950s.
116. Neither the transfer nor the sale was authorized by faculty.
117. Hearing in Lincoln, 6–7 Jun. 1985, before Judge M.B. Goodman, the Chancellor of the Diocese. In his *Judgement*, dated 3 Aug. 1985, the Chancellor declined to grant a confirmatory Faculty for the disposal of the chest, and consequently the current possessor of it, holds no legal title. The case was summarized in *The Weekly Law Reports*, 21 Nov. 1986, pp. 906–21. See also *Scunthorpe Evening Telegraph*, 7 Aug. 1985, and *Antiques Trade Gazette*, 6 Feb. 1988, p. 3.
118. It appears to be the chest mentioned here in *Kelly's Trade Directory for 1900*.
119. Tyers 2001b. The timber is fairly fast grown and the body of the chest contains less than 75 rings; it is most likely English. It might possibly be datable, if coring were to be undertaken.
120. For examples of chests containing church plate and ornaments, see Eames 1977, 125–6; Sherlock 2008, 13–15. There are also records of long chests intended to carry torches: Eames 1977, 129–30.
121. As, for example, the panelling of c. 1675 in the Wren Library, Lincoln Cathedral (pers. comm. Carol Bennett, Lincoln Cathedral Library).
122. *BPM*, iii.1896.
123. There is no record authorizing the transfer of the chest from St Peter's to St Mary's.
124. The inscription is painted in two rectangular panels: *ST. PETER'S / BARTON. / 1813.* and *W. Uppleby Vicar. / S. Hall and J. Harper / Church-wardens.*
125. See Appendix 3: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3, f. 29v.
126. Ball 1856, 2, 6–8. The account books seen by Ball were for St Mary's, 1640–1725, and for St Peter's, 1650–1750.
127. LA: Bigby Par. 23/3.
128. *BPM*, ix, 1890. A reference to 'a very large picture of Moses and Elias with the Ten Commandments' being displayed in the north aisle, but formerly on the rood beam, is unrelated.
129. A full colour photograph of the restored arms appeared as an advertisement by Aspreys on the back cover of *The Antique Collector*, Jan. 1984. For a pre-restoration photograph, see Rodwell and Bentley 1984, pl. 98.
130. The PCC sought a confirmatory faculty for the sale of the royal arms and a medieval oak chest (see above), 26 Jul. 1984. This application precipitated the Consistory Court hearing on 6–7 June 1985. In his *Judgement*, dated 3 Aug. 1985, the Chancellor declined to grant a faculty for the disposal of the royal arms, and ordered the Vicar and Churchwardens to negotiate their recovery from Aspreys. The judgement was published in *The Weekly Law Reports*, 21 Nov. 1986, 906–21. See also *Scunthorpe Evening Telegraph*, 7 Aug. 1985, and *Antiques Trade Gazette*, 6 Feb. 1988.
131. NLMS: accn no. BABDM L.65.
132. LA: Dixon 19/1/2, f. 169.
133. See Appendix 3: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3, ff. 27–28. Brown (1908, 140) noted them as representing Sir Goddard Nelthorpe, Sir Henry Nelthorpe, Sir Montagu Nelthorpe and Sir John Nelthorpe. The memorial to the last-named is on the east wall (d. 1799; M.63; see Appendix 6).
134. LA: Barton Par. 15/4.
135. Gildas's will was dated 2 Nov. 1721.
136. A note by Ball records that it was in St Mary's and 'taken down 1892' (LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/11). The board was deposited in Baysgarth Museum before 1981 (NLMS: accn BABDM 169.2). For Alice Ingle's will, see LA: Barton Par. 15/7.
137. Varah does not distinguish between fact, tradition and interpretation. Nor does he cite details for the sources of his material: much of it was clearly taken from notes in *BPM*, ix.1894; x.1913; vi–xii.1914; vii, viii.1944; see also Varah 1928 and North 1882, 300–1. Errors in reporting the inscriptions and dates are legion.
138. Varah (1948, 16–17) assigns this reference to St Peter's, but does not quote a source.
139. They both have the same stamp: North 1882, fig. 113. Bell no. 7 also has the arms of Queen Elizabeth I (*ibid.*, fig. 114) and a grotesque mount on the crown (*ibid.*, fig. 118).
140. *BPM*, ix, x.1894, referring to the churchwardens' account book of St Mary's, 1640–1760. See also Varah 1948, 21–2.
141. The bells were a cause of endless trouble and expenditure in the seventeenth century, as revealed by the churchwardens' accounts (Ball 1856, 2, 9).
142. *BPM*, iv.1893, referring to a detailed description of this work, extracted from the churchwardens' accounts, and published in the *Lincoln Diocesan Magazine* in Aug. 1892. See also North 1882, 301–3; Varah 1948, 31–40; Ketteringham 2009, 25.
143. The error may originate with Ball (1856, 1, 59), who stated that the oldest bell in St Peter's was dated 1666; see also North 1882, 300.
144. Mentioned in the lost churchwardens' accounts: *BPM*, vii.1927.
145. LA: FB1/23. Bonney confirmed that there were six bells in 1846 (Harding 1937, 70).
146. *BPM*, i.1894; Varah 1948, 59–60.
147. *BPM*, vii.1913.
148. LA: Barton Par. 22/4.
149. *BPM*, x.1913; vi–xii.1914. Varah 1948, 59–66.
150. *BPM*, ix, x.1919; ii.1921. Varah 1948, 69–73.
151. *BPM*, v.1941, citing the receipt from James Harrison. Ball (1856, 2, 59) incorrectly states the cost as £120. The setting-dial carries the inscription: 'Presented by Elizabeth Tombleson. Made by Jas Harrison. Hull. 1852'. Elizabeth Tombleson died in 1853: for her memorial, see Appendix 6, M.48.
152. Inf. C.G. McKay, Antiquarian Horological Society, 1979.
153. Anonymous tract, *Church Clocks, made by James Harrison of Barton-upon-Humber* (n.d.). Privately published, William Ross, Hull. Copy preserved in NLMS: Ball, scrapbook 2, f. 10.
154. *BPM*, vii, viii.1909; vii, viii, x.1941.

155. The clock was gifted to St Mary's church by the DoE, and installed with a faculty. The work was carried out by John Ablott, clockmaker of Alkborough. *Scunthorpe Evening Telegraph*, 1 Aug. 1983.

156. LA: Bigby Par. 23/3.

157. The claws were attached to long poles and were used primarily to pull burning thatch off buildings; they could also pull down clapboarding and light timber-framing. No mention of a parish fire engine has been found, but it would have been kept in one of the churches: St Mary's is the more likely, where there was easy external access through the west door to the base of the tower.

158. Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, ff. 196–8, contains scale drawings of the pieces, in ink and grey-brown wash, entitled 'Armour preserved in Barton Church'. These items were also mentioned by Ball (1856, 1, 57), Brown (1908, 139), and in the report of the Council for the Care of Churches, 12 May 1971 (see also chapter 9, p. 538).

159. Trollope 1887–88, 317; Ball 1856 2, 1–2. Ball also illustrated a halberd, without detailing its provenance.

160. This irregularity came to light in 1985 during the Consistory Court hearing into the illegal sale of a chest and Royal Arms (p. 564): see the Court Judgement, dated 3 Aug. 1985.

161. NLMS: accn nos. BABDM L67.1, L67.2, L67.3.

162. There would also have been a pole for carrying the banner in processions. The tasselled rope that hung with the banner survives. EH store: not accessioned.

163. EH store: accn 88106856.

164. NLMS: accn no. BABDM L102.1.

165. Noted in Varah's 1984 list, when it was 'temporarily' in St Mary's church. There are several credence tables in St Mary's.

166. Potentially the item listed there by Varah in 1984.

167. *BPM*, v.1897.

168. This was the desk noted by Varah in 1984 as 'temporarily' in St Mary's church.

169. These were listed by Varah, who stated that the desks were used in the base of the tower in the early twentieth century.

170. EH store: not accessioned. Published in Tyszka 2006, fig. 1.7.

171. *BPM*, i.1916; vii.1915.

172. This is possibly the chair noted in G.H. Varah's 1984 list as being given by himself; if so, it was then in the base of the tower. Varah claimed to have made the chair himself (pers. comm.).

173. Noted in G.H. Varah's list of 1984; they were then temporarily in St Mary's church. He recorded the chairs as having been given by W.E. Varah in 1911, in memory of his father Edward Varah.

174. Noted in Varah's 1984 list, when it was temporarily in St Mary's church. He recorded it as 'the gift of an Australian family'.

175. The height is 2.25 m, the width 1.58 m and the depth 43 cm.

176. Linen and soft furnishings received frequent mention in *BPM*, especially in the 1890s and 1900s, but often without sufficient details to permit worthwhile description or identification. No soft furnishings or linen survive at St Peter's.

177. LA: Bigby Par. 23/3.

178. *Lincolnshire, Rutland & Stamford Mercury*, 3 Jun. 1859.

179. *BPM*, ix.1918. Reproduced in Varah 1928, 26.

180. *Ibid.*

181. *BPM*, x.1924.

182. After removal, the glass was stored on edge in wooden cases with straw packing, in the church. The panels were not properly supported and physical deterioration occurred; in 2000 the panels were transferred to the EH store in York, and laid flat. At the time of removal, labelling of the windows for identification was apparently as follows:

- SA1–6 South aisle: 1, west; 2–5, south; 6, east
- C1–2 Organ chamber: 1–2, north
- C3–5 Chancel: 3, east; 4–5, south

Not all these windows were removed *in toto*: some tracery lights remain.

183. Photographs of the windows were taken in 1985 by Colin Briden (then of the Alex Gordon Architectural Partnership), prior to the removal of the glass. A set of prints, kindly supplied by Mr Briden, is held in the EH site archive.

184. Copies of the engravings and accompanying text are in NLMS: BABDM, Ball, scrapbook 2, ff. 38, 38 and 41; also in Bodl: Ball scrapbook 1, ff. 190–5.

185. Fowler's engravings, with superimposed pencil grids to facilitate copying, are in Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, ff. 191–2.

186. LA: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3.

187. *BPM*, vi, vii, ix, xi.1903; i.1904.

188. *BPM*, viii, ix.1918.

189. LA: FB15/210, 23 Sept. 1924.

190. *BPM*, x.1924.

191. The heraldic device is faintly visible in an oblique view inside the chancel, dated 1945. It also appears, again faintly in a view of c. 1900 (Fig. 613).

192. BL: Harleian Ms. 6829.

193. *BPM*, viii, ix.1918.

194. Appendix 3: F.L. Misc./10/1/3, f. 26v.

195. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/18.

196. *BPM*, viii.1898.

197. For Robert Brown, see p. 13.

198. *BPM*, iv.1914. See also *BPM*, ix.1918.

199. *BPM*, iii.1910. One light on each side, towards the east end.

200. Nattes (1796) shows the blocking.

201. South window has borders in the eastern light, but not in the western; the opposite in the north window.

202. Appendix 3: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3, f. 30r. By 'without a frame', he meant that the window lacked a dressed stone surround. G.H. Varah informed us that there were still remnants of a timber frame *in situ* in the 1930s.

203. The earliest view showing glazing is a photograph in the Micklethwaite Coll. BL: Add. Ms. 37,508, f. 229.

204. Acknowledgements: the author would like to thank David O'Connor, Gordon Plumb and Hugh Murray for their assistance.

205. College of Arms: Ms H.XI.C.N, ff. 40–1. Lee's manuscript is unpublished.

206. BL: Harleian Ms. 6829. Holles's manuscript is far better known than Lee's work (Cole 1911, 78–81).

207. BL: Add. Ms. 36,295.

208. *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Vol. VII* (London, 1909), no. 622.

209. For this and other sites in Lincolnshire cited in this report see Hebgin-Barnes 1996.

210. There is no historical record of the existence of a Beaumont chantry, so if one did exist it had ceased to function before 1547, when all active chantries were documented prior to their dissolution. The lack of evidence is not conclusive, since some chantries were founded for a limited term only, while others that were intended to be perpetual did not survive if their endowments were insufficient.

211. Christ Church, Oxford: Ms. 92. Blair 1958, 42–5, 48.
212. Images of the Carlton Scroop, Aldwinckle St Peter and Tewkesbury figures can be viewed on-line via the Picture Archive of the CVMA website (<http://www.cvma.ac.uk/archive/>).
213. This was published in *Archaeologia* 40 (1866), 225–41. Brown (1908, 111) claimed that de la Pryme was copying William Camden. However, no pre-1700 edition of either Camden's *Britannia* or his *Remaines Concerning Britaine* mentions the glass at Barton.
214. A similar example of this phenomenon is found at Long Sutton in south Lincolnshire, where an un-nimbed St George dating from c. 1380–90 is the only large figure to have survived in the windows of St Mary's church. Early nineteenth-century visitors recorded the local tradition that this represented John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who the parishioners erroneously believed was buried in their church. As at Barton, a shield apparently supporting this identification was preserved near the figure (in this case the royal arms of England, identical to the Duke's shield apart from the label denoting cadency). John of Gaunt was the lord of Long Sutton at the date when the window containing the St George was installed and he may have been its donor, although definite evidence is lacking.
215. Brown 1908, 112, quoting the *Academy*, 3 Sept. 1879. There must be an error in Brown's reference, as the *Academy* was not published on that day, but there is no reason to doubt the truth of the statement.
216. *BPM*, vi, vii, ix, xi.1903; i.1904.
217. The descriptions were possibly not published until 1824. Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, ff. 194–5.
218. The engravings have been reproduced in many publications, for example: J. Ballantine, *A Treatise on Painted Glass* (London, 1845), pl. VII; *Illus. London News*, 15 Aug. 1846, 107; Ball 1856, 1, opp. 56; and T. Tindall Wildridge, 'Ancient Stained Glass and the Great Earl Beaumont', in Andrews 1891, 62–8.
219. Monson 1936, 30; Ball 1856, 1, 56; letter published in *Hull and Lincolnshire Times* in 1892; letter from Rev'd C. Moor, quoted by Brown 1908, 113.
220. Brown (1908), who reproduced several previous accounts of and references to them, is the most useful of these sources.
221. M.A. Smith, 'A Catalogue of Late Medieval Glass in St Peter's Church, Barton-upon-Humber and St John's Church, Croxton, Lincolnshire'. Unpublished, M.A. Art History Essay, University of York, 1983.
222. This practice was particularly widespread in the Victorian era and the early twentieth century. Nearly all such movements of glass are undocumented and only come to light on the rare occasions when the displaced fragments are recognized. For example, in 2003 the present author was visiting Greystoke church (Cumbria) with Dr Tim Ayers when he realized that some fourteenth-century fragments in the east window had originated in Wells Cathedral, whence they must have been removed by Thomas Willement, who worked at both sites during the 1840s (Ayers 2004, cviii, 645).
223. The hooks demonstrate that they were inspired by charges rather than being intended as a naturalistic motif in the manner of the contemporary hares and bird at Brocklesby (Lincs.) or the hares and hounds at Aldwinckle St Peter (Northants.).
224. Images of the Brocklesby and Dronfield grotesques can be viewed on-line via the Picture Archive of the CVMA website (<http://www.cvma.ac.uk/archive/>).
225. Hebgin-Barnes 1996, xxii–xxv; quarry typology nos. 57 and 10.
226. Ayers makes the point that the Dorchester east window, which stood behind the main altar, served as a retable in glass and stone.
227. As found in other contemporary glazing schemes, for example the east window of the chancel at Carlisle Cathedral, where the Jesse Tree originally filled the main lights and the Doom the tracery (O'Connor 2004).
228. EH store: accn 88102135, 88102136, 88102140, 88102142 and 88102143.
229. He also omitted the later variant of the Barnetby shield noted by Holles, but this is less significant as its installation could well have post-dated 1592.
230. Rogers 1968, 44–5. Although the spelling of his name might suggest that this John Barnaby was definitely the donor named in the window, it would be unwise to use spelling as evidence at this period.
231. For a Portington will of 1528, see p. 491.
232. *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Vol. XII* (London, 1938), no. 321.
233. See the Lincolnshire inquisitions for William Lord Ros (d. 1414): *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Vol. XX: 1–5 Henry V (1413–1418)*, ed. J.L. Kirby, nos. 241, 242 (London, 1995).
234. Holles alone recorded each of these shields at over twenty locations throughout the county (BL: Harleian Ms. 6829, *passim*).
235. In 1454 Edward Neville (d. 1476) held the manor and lordship of Halton (Lincs.) by Burton-on-Stather (*Calendar of the Close Rolls: Henry VI: Vol VI: A.D. 1454–1461* (London, 1939), 60); his grandson George Neville (d. 1535) held lands in and around Flixborough (Lincs.) (*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Henry VII: Vol. II* (London, 1915), no. 566). These villages are situated roughly 10 miles south-west of Barton and 15 miles east of Fishlake.
236. Cokayne 1910, 1, 27, 29–30. As a younger son, Edward differenced his paternal arms with a red rose on the saltire, perhaps an allusion to his descent from John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.
237. Confirmation that he bore the quartered Ufford and Bek shield is provided by its appearance on the garter stall plate of his father William, 5th Lord Willoughby (d. 1409), in St George's Chapel, Windsor.
238. The families of Pennington, Angell, Rawlinson, Pattle, Vavasour and Haslewood are recorded to have borne this or a very similar shield, but none of them have any recorded connection with Barton or Lincolnshire. As the surviving shield is incomplete it cannot be definitely identified.
239. Several instances of this practice survive or are recorded, for example at Prestbury and Rostherne in Cheshire (Hebgin-Barnes 2010, cx, 206–7).
240. For these heads, see Hebgin-Barnes 1996, liv, 91–2. Two others are in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (Hebgin-Barnes 2009, 164–5).
241. Images of the Bere Ferrers, Grappenhall and York, All Saints, North Street figures can be viewed on-line via the Picture Archive of the CVMA website (<http://www.cvma.ac.uk/archive/>).
242. BL: Harleian Ms. 6829, 142.
243. Images of the Heydour, Long Sutton, Aldwinckle St Peter and Brinsop figures can be viewed on-line via the Picture Archive of the CVMA website, <http://www.cvma.ac.uk/archive/>.
244. For a detailed study of the iconography of St George, see Riches 2000.
245. These shields are unpublished. The author is grateful to Richard Green of Riverside Studio, Hull, for bringing them to her attention.

246. The shield of Montagu quartering Neville must post-date the death in 1428 of Thomas Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, after which his son-in-law Ralph Neville assumed these arms along with the earldom. The fourth quarter of this shield is replaced by stopgaps which derive from a fifth shield in the series, probably that of the Merchant Adventurers. The appearance of the royal arms and those of the town suggest the possibility that the glazing was commissioned to celebrate either Henry VI's grant of a prestigious new charter to Hull in 1440, or his visit in 1448. The bearers of two of the shields, William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk (d. 1450), whose family originated in Hull, and Ralph Neville, Earl of Salisbury (d. 1460), a major Yorkshire landowner, were important figures at court. The church of St Mary Lowgate was rebuilt throughout the fifteenth century, starting from the east end c. 1400, which does not assist with the dating of the shields (Pevsner and Neave 1995, 511). But although firm evidence is lacking, it seems likely that they were produced to celebrate the royal favour conferred on Hull in the more stable period before 1450, when the Duke of Suffolk was murdered and England began to slide towards civil conflict.

247. Monson's careful description (*op. cit.*) confirms that he saw this stopgap and the bouget in the fourth quarter.

248. *BPM*, x.1924.

249. See contemporary notes by Hesleden (Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 202) and Ball 1856, 1, 58. According to *Kelly's Trade Directory for 1900*, the window was installed in 1842, but that is erroneous.

250. *A Chronological List of the Principal Works in Stained Glass; &c, Designed and Executed by Thomas Willement, of London F.S.A., from the Years 1812 to 1865 inclusive*. BL: Add. Ms 52,413, f. 58r.

251. V&A: Willement MS, 86.ZZ.169, Apr. 1847, p. 303

252. *Ibid.*, 26 Jun. 1851, p. 392.

253. For an account of the origin and development of the idea of commemorative stained glass, see Kerney 2007.

254. *The Builder* 14 (16 Feb. 1856), 88; *Land & Building News* 2 (1 Mar. 1856), 114. *A List of some of the principal works in Stained Glass by William Warrington*: Ms notebook (c. 1865) in V&A, 86.BB.27. Also contemporary notes by Hesleden (Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 202).

255. *Guardian* 13 (22 Dec. 1858), 1018; *The Builder* 17 (8 Jan. 1859), 29.

256. *Stamford Mercury*, 24 Dec. 1858.

257. A trade brochure published by Clayton and Bell mentions unspecified work at 'Barton-on-Humber' (*Works Executed for ... Churches in the United Kingdom* (London: n.d., but c. 1895), 4 pp).

258. According to *Kelly's Trade Directory for 1900*, it was installed in 1862.

259. Anonymous review of stained glass in the International Exhibition of 1862, *The Builder* 20 (16 Aug. 1862), 578.

260. *BPM*, iv.1914.

261. Noted by Loft in 1832. For the tiles, see p. 813.

262. LA: Barton Par. 9/1/6.

two churches: Chantry Lane is the path leading out of the north-west corner of St Mary's churchyard (p. 69).

4. *Stamford Mercury*, 1 Apr. 1859; WEA 1984, 54.

5. In the mid-1980s this wall and the steps (apart from the treads) were completely replaced, using new red semi-engineering brick. No archaeological recording took place.

6. For another early view of the churchyard from the south-west, see vol. 2, fig. 8.

7. LA: uncat. typescript entitled, 'St Peter's Church Barton-on-Humber. Gravestones removed 1966'. Although the survey was conducted in 1966, removal of the stones was not carried out until the summer of 1967. There were apparently 280 stones present, of which only 244 were inventoried. In 1978 it was not possible to identify 82 of these, most of which had presumably been broken up or otherwise defaced. Numerous errors and omissions have been noted in the inventory. Of the 82 missing stones a few of the inscriptions can be checked against Loft's list (which ends at 1832); for the remainder there is no further record.

8. A list of stones to be preserved *in situ*, dated 'autumn 1966', was drawn up by the Archdeacon. This does not entirely agree with the situation as found in 1978.

9. A line of slabs branching from the south-west path continued to the south door of the tower.

10. Research was carried out and a detailed scheme for reinstatement was prepared by the present writer. The proposal was not pursued further.

11. In total, 513 churchyard monuments were recorded using the CBA's 'Grave Memorial Recording Form'. The cards are lodged with the site archive. The monument numbering (M.-) is a continuation from that inside the church.

12. Regrettably, no photographic record was ever made of the monuments, and no schedule was compiled when the surviving slabs were buried.

13. This includes the standing walls of the church, where excavation abutted them on both sides, but not where they defined the outer limits of investigation.

14. This includes 23 exhumed graves under the tower and annexe.

15. Since there was no graveyard to the east of the church, from the thirteenth century onwards, the south side was favoured.

16. Appendix 3: F.L. Misc. 10/3/1, f. 17v. For a dimensioned sketch of the cross, together with moulding profiles, made by John Buckler in the 1820s, see BL: Add. Ms 36,438, f. 48.

17. *BPM*, ix.1904.

18. Both single and triple apex-rolls were common: cf. Vallance 1933, pls. 97, 99 and 103.

19. This stone is weathered and the detail does not show clearly.

20. *BPM*, ii.1894. According to Brown (1908, 145), the fragment was still displayed in St Mary's church in 1907. Either Brown's description was out-of-date, or the head of the cross was restored subsequent to 1904.

21. See, however, observations on the geology of the cross, p. 803.

22. The present sundial-head (incomplete) dates from 1732, and is by James Harrison, the local clockmaker: *Trans. E. Riding Antiq. Soc.* 12 (1904), xxii.

23. LA: Dixon 19/1/2, f. 55v. Although noted by Pevsner *et al.* (1989, 313), the churchyard cross appears no longer to be extant.

24. The commonest location in the region seems to have been to the south-east of the entrance.

25. Rebuilding of the northern wall in 1938 is documented (*BPM*, x.1938). It is uncertain what was meant by rebuilding

Notes to Chapter 11 (pp. 597–618)

1. The area is given as 0a. 3r. 22p. on a plan of c. 1831 (LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/23). This is the equivalent of 0.89 acre.

2. Appendix 3: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3, f. 12v.

3. LA: Barton Par. 6/1. The path has sometimes been referred to as Chantry Lane. However, there is no historical context or justification for the name, and it seems very likely that a relatively modern confusion has occurred between the

the 'churchyard' wall in 1897 (p. 529); it may have been part of the northern wall, since that alongside the footpath on the south had only been erected in 1858.

26. The renaming occurred sometime between 1831 and 1886, as shown by cartographic evidence.

27. A *sondage* taken down in Area 16 revealed the filling of the ditch, including a lens of burnt material that had been tipped in from the east.

28. The earliest record of Pasture Road is in the Enclosure Award of 1796 (Cameron 1991, 40). It may be no coincidence that the Whitecross Street Drain runs in a culvert along the entire length of the eastern side of Pasture Road (see chapter 4, p. 146).

29. No. 8 Beck Hill, built in the 1960s.

30. LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/23.

31. LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/24.

32. The undated original plan and a copy made in 1903 survive (LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/24).

33. LA: Barton Par. 8/1–3.

34. LA: Barton Par. 8/4.

35. *BPM*, ix, xi.1890; vii, ix.1892.

36. *E.g.* *BPM*, iv.1896; ix.1897; iv.1901.

37. *BPM*, ix.1925; vi.1930.

38. *BPM*, vi.1938. This was perhaps Parker Close, which is named on the Enclosure map (Fig. 18).

39. LA: Barton terrier, 1578.

40. Barton Glebe Terriers for 1730 and 1788 are in LA, together with a transcript for the terrier of 1622 (LA: Barton Par. 3/1–3). See also a transcripts in Ball, scrapbook 1, ff. 158–61 (terrier of 1622, and another, undated, but post-1642 [c. 1670]). The earliest reference to the vicarage cited by Cameron (1991, 47) is 1606.

41. Ball 1856, 1, 52; Cameron 1991, 48–9.

42. LA: Barton Par. 6/1; F.L. Misc. 10/2/23.

43. *BPM*, vii.1926.

44. The eaves moulding comprises a cavetto with a roll below and a cyma above.

45. LA: Barton Par. 3/3. Suspiciously, that is the same description as was given for the old vicarage which had been burnt.

46. The history of the King Street property has not been fully researched: it was the property of the vicar and churchwardens, but there does not appear to be any express record of its having served as the vicarage. Tombleson (1905, 6–7) assigned it a date of c. 1720 but, by that time, the new vicarage on the edge of St Peter's churchyard had been erected.

47. Varah stated that the new vicarage was built in 1715: *BPM*, vii.1926. The authority for this claim has not been discovered.

48. For notes on benefactions, see *BPM*, vi.1892, and Tyszka 2006, app. 1.

49. Transcript given in Monson 1936, 22–3. The bequest is also recorded in Long's will, dated 18 Feb. 1722 (*BPM*, iii.1928). Long died in 1729.

50. The tenement may have been 'the Parsonage Hutt' that was mentioned in 1733 (Cameron 1991, 46).

51. For a further account of the vicarage in the nineteenth century, with references, see Tyszka 2006, 64–8.

52. It is worth noting that the painting which shows the vicarage so prominently (Pl. 9), is dated 1823, and there is a strong possibility that it was made for George Uppleby, and hung in Bardney Hall.

53. Inf. from G.H. Varah, who saw evidence when building work was being undertaken and plaster was removed from the walls. A site plan of 1831, or soon after, shows the new layout: the house was doubled in size (making a square) and the principal entrance repositioned on the south; one of the

ranges in the courtyard was demolished. An account of 1830 describes it as a 'small but handsome Vicarage House lately built by Mrs Uppleby' (Tyszka 2006, 66).

54. *Stamford Mercury*, 10 Jan. 1832.

55. LA: Barton Par. 6/2.

56. LA: Barton Par. 6/3, 6/4.

57. Inf. G.H. Varah. This was in the 1950s or 1960s.

58. *Ibid.*

59. *BPM*, x.1943.

60. Regrettably, no report on this archaeologically significant site has been published and it was hoped to include one in this volume, but that has not proved possible.

Notes to Chapter 12 (pp. 619–662)

1. *BPM*, vii.1924; Bryant 2003, 26.

2. Burials in the nave: F1184, F1206, F1220 and F1332. F1220 was the latest of the intercutting group of three and was an empty grave: a small stone coffin could have been removed.

3. The order of burial appears to have been: F4129, F4133, F1186 and F4115, respectively.

4. The only other child interred within the church at this period was in F1003, directly over a pair of adult burials in the south aisle (bay 2). This suggests a family group, perhaps overlain by a slab which was relatively easy to lift in order to insert a secondary burial.

5. From south to north, they were: F5439, F5438, F5416, F5418, F5419, F5420, F5421 and F5436.

6. The surviving nails were all found along one side of the coffin, the other side having been cut away. It is therefore likely that this was a heavily nailed coffin.

7. The coffin nails were all likely to have been for fixing the sides to the base-boards, since the upper parts of graves had been disturbed by later burials (*i.e.* no evidence relating to lids survived).

8. The minimum numbers of nails recorded in these graves were: F7540 (14); F7548 (18); F7551 (10); F7563 (7).

9. *Cf.* the use of 6/7 nails per side for the construction of Phase E coffin F1790 (p. 201).

10. Revised report submitted in 2003, checked in 2010.

11. John Cherry, pers. comm.

12. The crucifix was also illustrated in Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, fig. 46.

13. British Museum: MME 1999, 6–2, 1.

14. The crucifixes are recorded as T 316 and T 339.

15. For a conservation study and analysis of the crucifix, see Baldi 1998, ch. 7.

16. Report written in 2001, revised in 2006 and checked in 2010: The Anglo-Saxon Laboratory.

17. Accn T.36–1955.

18. C. Devitt, pers. comm.

19. Report written in 2001 and checked in 2010: The Anglo-Saxon Laboratory.

20. Unpublished. Drawings and notes on two shrouds from a burial at St Bees priory kindly provided by the conservator, J. Glover (Whitehaven Museum, Cumbria). North Western Museum and Art Gallery Service code CON-TEX 1982–355.

21. Unpublished. F. Pritchard, St Mary's Abbey, grave F125. Typescript report, 1985.

22. Report written 2002 and revised 2010

23. For a study of medieval quarrying and local stone use in the East Midlands, see Alexander 1995.

24. Ball 1856, 1, 60; Haines 1861, 1, 129, 200, 210; Stephenson 1926, 280; Monson 1936, 22–30; Greenhill 1986, 16–18.

25. Geological report written in 1999 and revised in 2010.

26. EH accn no. 88213557. Acknowledgements: I am grateful to the following for help in compiling this report: Sally Badham, Marion Campbell, Terence Cocks, Brian and Moira Gittos, Dr John Goodall, Dr Jackie Hall, Dr Phillip Lindley and Prof. Warwick Rodwell.

27. A cement joint across the middle of the block has failed, and the figure is currently in two halves.

28. Including Pevsner *et al.* 1989, 122–4.

29. The only evidence cited by Varah is a lost inscription, recorded by Monson in 1835, ‘on an old stone at the east end of the chancel’ (Monson 1936, 26). There is no basis for associating the inscription with the effigy (which is not recorded by Monson). See also *BPM*, vii.1936.

30. Unpublished handlist by the present author and others.

31. Searches of antiquarian notes in the British Library have failed to find any mention of the effigy, though omission from notes for the church cannot be taken as evidence that the effigy was not visible at the time. The early antiquaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were in the main concerned with heraldry and genealogy, and monuments that had neither arms nor inscription were often omitted. This means that, in the case of medieval sculpted effigies (in contrast with brasses or incised slabs), those in ecclesiastical and civil dress are, on the whole, less likely to be recorded than those in armour (Lankester 1993b, 26). For the Lincolnshire antiquarian sources see also Downing 2010, 2.

32. Badham and Norris 1999, *passim*, and Sally Badham, pers. comm.

33. I am not aware of any separate overall study of these, but I have not yet come across any that have domed bases.

34. Dr Jackie Hall, pers. comm.

35. A chip from this grave-cover was found nearby, in a cut also made in Phase D/E (F7318). A further fragment of identical lithology and suitable thickness (27–37 mm) is likely to come from the same series of coffins and covers: it was found in Area 8 in another Phase D/E grave (F3185).

36. *BPM*, ix.1938; i.1939; ii.1942. Varah 1965, 4; 1984, 8.

37. Incomplete head of a limestone grave-marker, closely similar to the Barton example; on display in Thornton Abbey gatehouse, 2007.

38. The slab was first reused in the footing of the Early English south arcade, c. 1200–20; it continued to serve the same function for the Decorated arcade. The location implies a twelfth-century date for the grave-cover.

39. *BPM*, ix.1938; i.1939; and inf. G.H. Varah.

40. No priest of this name is explicitly recorded at Barton, but when William de Brocklesby was instituted in 1327/8 his predecessor was named as ‘Stephen’: see Appendix 5.

41. This slab was not noted by Monson (1936) or Ball (1856).

42. Bodl: Ball, Scrapbook 1, ff. 201, 265. The rubbing indicates the plate size was 68.5 × 9.2 cm.

43. Ironically, the plate was stolen from Baysgarth Museum, whence it had been taken in 1980 for safety.

44. Brown (1908, 140), after noting Ball’s description of 1856, wrote ‘the brasses have now disappeared’. The slab was obscured by a pew platform in 1859, which was not removed until c. 1920. The brass was noted by Mill Stephenson in the 1938 appendix to his list of monumental brasses, published in 1926 (Stephenson 1938, 775).

45. Bodl: Ball, Scrapbook 1, ff. 201, 265 (rubbing). LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/33 (tracing). There are also rubbings in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, one of the complete slab, dated 1931, the other of the surviving brass alone (undated). The latter is reproduced here as Fig. 716. The inscription plate measured 47.5 × 6.2 cm.

46. Thanks are due to Prof. John Prentice for undertaking geological identifications of Namur stone and Tournai marble. For an account of the various ‘marbles’ used in medieval monuments, see Badham 2007. See also p. 640 for details of geology.

47. In 1846 Bonney noted a slab ‘dated MCCCXVII’ (Harding 1937, 71). No other record of a slab dating from 1417 has been discovered, although there is one of 1471 (see no. 1).

48. This slab originally lay on the central axis of the chancel, immediately west of the Seman brass, no. 5 (Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 226).

49. Curiously, nothing further appears to be known of this man, the slab being the sole evidence for his existence: see Appendix 5.

50. Not published in detail: see Clapham and Baillie Reynolds 1956, 17–18; Greenhill 1986.

51. *BPM*, xii.1934.

52. For a mid-nineteenth-century rubbing of part of the inscription, see Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, f. 265. Fr. Jerome Bertram reads this as: *Wymerke(n) t— —-e hndelwode m—*

53. The date must be after 1421, when Wymerke was acting as executor to John de Lyndewod (*BPM*, ix.1934; ii.1935).

54. A rubbing made by the Rev’d Henry Addington, c. 1850, shows the bust and the inscription panel, both in very worn condition. BL: Add. Ms. 32,490, S15. The panel measured 45.1 × 12.0 cm, and contained a three-line inscription with letters 27 mm high. Addington’s rubbings are not dated, but he was most active as an antiquary in the Oxford area in the 1840s; the rubbings were donated to the British Museum by his son in 1882–87.

55. Noted as ‘mutilated brass of a lady’ in *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* (ns) 27 (1921), 34; also noted by Brown (1908, 145), Haines (1861, 2, 262) and Stephenson (1926, 280).

56. A fine rubbing of the brass was made by the Rev’d Henry Addington, c. 1850, which provides the earliest reliable record of its condition. BL: Add. Ms. 32,490, R45. The surviving merchant’s marks are upper dexter and lower sinister: the others had been lost before 1846 (Harding 1937, 71). Also lost were the dexter ankle and small parts of the evangelists’ symbols at the upper and lower sinister corners.

57. *BPM*, i.1935.

58. An ink drawing and proofs of an engraved plate are preserved (Bodl: Ball, scrapbook 1, ff. 226–32).

59. E.L. G[range], ‘The Memorial Brass of Simon Seman, Barton-on-Humber’, *Lincolnshire Notes Queries* 1 (1889), 129–30. For other published illustrations, see: *Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society, 1894–1984*, fig. 151 (MBS, London 1988); and *Monumental Brass Soc. Bull.* 82 (1999), 445. See also Haines 1861, 1, 129, 200, 210 and Stephenson 1926, 280.

60. From the pattern of cement infilling, there appears also to have been a small central figure and two other objects above the heads of the main figures. WR.

61. Greenhill identified this as a ‘light grey slab of foreign marble, badly crumbled’.

62. Note also the evidence for another, lost, sculptured effigy (p. 499).

Notes to Chapter 13 (pp. 663–735)

1. See Appendix 6: M.21 and M.7, respectively.

2. *BPM*, ii.1938.

3. *BPM*, viii.1937.

4. At least two of these families had vaults in the chancel, and all were represented there by wall plaques or stained glass windows.

5. The following clergy, with their designations, are listed in the burial registers and other sources: William Duffield, 1537; Richard Watson, 1544; Thomas Cokes, 1562; John Bossall, 1571; John Hall, 'clarke', 1580; Leonard Wadeson, 'vicar', 1602; Ralf Besty, 'clarke of St Peter's', 1605; Michael Page, 'vicar', 1625; Thomas Bilcliffe, 'minister and vicar', 1627; Richard Read, 1629; Thomas Duckle, 'clerk and curate', 1633; William Rawson, 1646; Gilbert Pepper, 'curate', 1653; Henry Tripp, 'clerk', 1657; Joseph Darley, 'a minister', 1669; Ralph Tonstall, 'curate', 1711; John Harper, 'curate', 1751; John Gelder, 'vicar', 1751; Thomas Willan, 'vicar', 1759; Tracy Lely, 'vicar', 1762; William Uppleby, 'vicar', 1789; Robert Marris, 'Reverend', 1791; George Uppleby, 'vicar', 1852. For further details, see Appendix 5A and Varah 1982.
6. LA: Fac. 10/30.
7. The two ledgers, which lay just east of the vault, were probably repositioned in 1858.
8. G.H. Varah, who glimpsed inside the vault when floor paving was being relaid in the 1960s, reported that it contained at least five lead coffins piled one on another, the top-most bearing a plate which identified it as Joel Tombleson's (d. 1842). It seems likely that this Tombleson burial was placed in the Scrivener vault on account of there being no room for it elsewhere.
9. Where operational space was restricted, bricklayers were adept at constructing arched brick roofs to vaults, using minimal formwork, after the coffins had been inserted.
10. Related wall memorial: M.51. The coffins were not opened, but the plates were removed from the vault.
11. The lead-shell was reburied, without investigating the contents.
12. Her daughter Mary also died in 1800, in childbirth, at Clixby Manor (I am grateful to Stephen Haddelsey for this information). No-one named Mary Benton appears in the Barton burial registers.
13. The tombs were not opened.
14. G.H. Varah reported that he lifted a slab and confirmed that there was a coffin in one chamber bearing a Scrivener *deposuitum* plate: no further details.
15. The remnant of painted inscription read:]F. Worthi[ngton ... / ... Age]d 10 W[eeks]. It was rare at this time for a child to be given three Christian names, and the third (Frideswide) was most unusual.
16. The tomb was not investigated; nor were nos. 13 and 14.
17. The brick shaft was dismantled, but the coffin-shell was reinterred intact.
18. The slab was probably shunted slightly to the north when the aisle was re-pewed in 1858–59.
19. Related memorials: M.25, M.26 and M.27.
20. Inexplicably, Lady Joan, Henry and Richard do not appear in the burial register.
21. LA: NELIV/24/15, dated 5 May 1747.
22. It is unclear whether he was interred in the family vault in St Peter's. He does not appear in the burial register, but Ball (1856, 1, 64) and Brown (1908, 140) assert that he was buried at Barton.
23. In 1747, following Sir Henry's death, the family vault was leased to his widow, Lady Elizabeth, for 99 years for the sum of £5. LA: NEL IV/24/15.
24. *E.g.* the double brick-lined shaft (F929) was partly overlain by four ledgers: M.8 (Marris), M.9 (Uppleby), M.10 and M.11 (both Scrivener). The problem is equally clearly demonstrated by the fact that the ledger to Ann Latham (M.16) was not over her burial (F1341), but had been displaced westwards by 3.5 m when brick paving was laid across the east end of the nave in 1859.
25. Noted by Loft. LA: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3.
26. This monument served also retrospectively to commemorate Sarah's grandfather, George Gildas, who is likely to have been interred in the family vault in the south aisle, or in the chancel.
27. It is mentioned in a marginal note in the burial register, under 1762, 'In the chancel of St Peter's church, just opposite the door, is a tile with *T.L. 1762* upon it, referring to the burial of this vicar'.
28. Graves F272, 273, 274, 289, 292, 293, 294, 318, 391 and 419.
29. In so far as it can be identified from the 1967 listing, a nearby headstone potentially in the same burial row bore dates of 1835/1838. However, a second line of headstones is shown on the plan immediately to the west (too close to represent accurately the spacing of rows of graves) and that contained a memorial dated 1790. No certainty can obtain, and the autopsy can only be assigned a date bracket of *c.* 1790–1840.
30. For discussion of this type of coffin, see Litten 1991, 96–102.
31. The cartouche was inscribed in cursive script: *Mrs Mary Thorley. / Obt 27th Octr 1833 / Æt. 79. / In her the poor have lost / a never failing friend.*
32. The other recorded examples of inscribed lead shells at Barton are H. Graburn 1828 (p. 671), and H.J. Preston 1837 (p. 666) and J. Preston 1844 (p. 667).
33. A double-tapered coffin could be constructed with only six boards, and this tended to be the case with those that had lead linings: a series of closely spaced saw-cuts was made across the grain of the side-board (through about three-quarters of its thickness), at the point where the change of angle was required. The board was then bent. It relied on strong nailing to the base and end-boards to maintain the angle. Unless the timber is well preserved it is impossible to establish whether a double-tapered coffin was made from six or eight boards.
34. It should be remembered that cartwheel pennies bearing the date '1797' were minted over a number of years; the same applies to the '1806' halfpenny.
35. Revised report submitted in 2003, checked 2010.
36. The following text benefits greatly from information gained from investigative conservation and X-ray fluorescence analysis (XRF) undertaken by Jennifer Jones, Department of Archaeology, University of Durham, to whom I am indebted. As part of this work, she photographed a number of items of coffin furniture. I am also grateful to Sarah Maultby for allowing me access to the collections held in the York Castle Museum.
37. For a conservation study of a small selection of the coffin fittings, see Baldi 1998, ch. 6.
38. Almost certainly they were children of the Nelthorpe family (p. 674).
39. Simon Ward, Chester Archaeology, pers. comm.
40. Carried out by Jennifer Jones, University of Durham.
41. Victoria and Albert Museum, Dept of Prints and Drawings: E3119–1910.
42. Grip-plate type 10: Reeve and Adams 1993, 87, fig. 5.5, M2.
43. Grip-plate type 24: *ibid.*, M2.
44. Victoria and Albert Museum, Print Room: M63E. Folio reproduced in Thompson and Ross 1973, pl. V, no. 50, 1 and 2.
45. Adrian Miles, pers. comm.
46. Report submitted 2001, revised 2010: The Anglo-Saxon Laboratory.
47. P. Walton Rogers, unpublished.

48. Unpublished. E. Crowfoot, 'St Martin-at-Palace, Norwich: Textiles'. Typescript (n.d.).
49. Unpublished. E. Crowfoot, 'Textiles from Essex Burial'. Typescript (n.d.).
50. P. Walton Rogers, unpublished (see note 47).
51. Revised report submitted 2003, checked in 2010.
52. Revised report submitted 2003, checked in 2010.
53. Unfortunately, the sex of the deceased was not determinable with certainty.
54. Report submitted 2001, revised 2010: The Anglo-Saxon Laboratory.
55. Janaway 1993, 118; and unpublished data collected by the present writer.
56. P. Walton Rogers, unpublished.
57. P. Walton Rogers, forthcoming report on burial textiles from All Saints, Pavement, York.
58. Walton Rogers unpublished; excavations by MAP.
59. J. Sheppard, pers. comm.
60. P. Walton Rogers, unpublished (see note 47).
61. Revised report submitted 2003 and checked in 2010.
62. See also vol. 2, 28, figs. 26 and 27.
63. For a probable hernia belt of late medieval date in a grave at Merton priory (Surr.), see Miller and Saxby 2007, 101, figs. 134 and 156. [WR]
64. It appears to read:]OFFE / WA / TH CC(?) [/ [1]664. The letters do not conform to any name in St Peter's burial register for 1664, but there was a Christofer Bishop buried at St Mary's in that year. The first line of the inscription could be read as [CHRIST]OFFER. The stone may have been cut down and reused as building material at St Peter's, perhaps as flooring: that would account for its heavily worn condition.
65. Elisabeth Chance is recorded in St Peter's burial register.
66. The only occurrence of the name Edward Smith in Barton burial registers is at St Peter's in 1713. This is another inexplicable omission from the written record.
67. Kept in the north aisle. This inscription was not noted by Loft.
68. Appendix 3: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3, f. 19v.
69. *Ibid.*, f. 24r.
70. *Ibid.*, f. 33r. These were in St Mary's churchyard.
71. Appendix 3: Dixon 19/1/3, f. 31v. Also in St Mary's.
72. The schedule made in 1966 (see chapter 11, note 7) is replete with errors and omissions, but in some cases provides the sole source of information on a lost inscription. For details of inscriptions that were extant in 1978, see the relevant monument number (M.—) in the site archive.
73. M.151. The stone measured 60 cm wide and stood to a height of only 21.5 cm above the concrete into which it was embedded in 1967 (alongside the path to the south porch). There may not have been any more to the inscription. The stone, which is now lost, was not seen by Loft; nor does it appear in the 1966 survey of St Peter's churchyard. The inscription was noted in 1978.
74. This is the only likely match that has been found in the burial registers. However, the entry is in St Mary's register, which is potentially problematical; but the possibility that this small stone was transferred between churchyards cannot be discounted, especially since the origin of the stone is not confirmed by the records of the 1820s and 1966. The only other partial match of initials is with Susanna Fry (d. 1686), who appears in St Peter's burial register, but nothing further is known about her.
75. To Rowland Dickon (1724), William Ostler, surgeon (1731) and Thomas Taylor (1733).
76. Inventoried in 1978 as monument nos. M.136 (1736), M.137 (1734), M.138 (1736), M.139 (1723), M.143 (1741), M.144 (1735), M.145 (broken, undated; Latin inscr.), M.146 (1717, Latin inscr.), M.147 (1718, Latin inscr.), M.148 (1717, Latin inscr.) and M.149 (1734). The twelfth monument (17—/1724, Latin inscr.) had already been lost. One infant girl, who died in 1736 at the age of nine weeks, was commemorated on two memorials: on her own on M.138, and again with her three-year-old sister on M.136.
77. These are M.139 and M.147, described below. Of the remaining Gildas monuments, the smaller ones were lost in the 1980s, while others may have been buried by the DoE in the three churchyard mounds (p. 602). Such cavalier treatment of Barton's earliest and most important assemblage of churchyard monuments is much to be regretted.
78. Appendix 3: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3, ff. 17v–18v. The inscriptions were more clearly legible when Loft made his record, but he tended to record their content rather than their precise form. Hence, in some of the transcripts the exact layout of the epitaph, line-breaks, word contractions, etc., were not recorded and the version offered here represents a 'best fit'.
79. This child appears in the burial register as Tercy Gelder, died Mar. 1718.
80. Recorded in the burial register as Charles Gelder.
81. The stonemason seems to have confused the mother and daughter here, designating them both as 'Mrs', when the latter should have been 'Miss'. Her name appears as Gelder in the burial register.
82. Adapted from Horace, *Odes, Carm.* 1.24, 3–10.
83. This Judith Gildas/Gelder does not appear in the burial register; nor does a William Gildas/Gelder in 1724. Indeed, it is apparent that other burials relating to this family were not recorded in the register, but no explanation for this can be offered. This is all the more curious since the Gildas/Gelders were the lay impropiators of the rectory of Barton.
84. The fact that the inscription was already fragmentary after only a hundred years supports the suggestion that the slab was of poor-quality Carboniferous limestone, or even Blue Lias, which tends to laminate more readily than most Belgian marble.
85. *I.e.* the monument took the form of a horizontal double-tapered (or body-shaped) construction in brick or stone, with upright slabs at the head- and foot-ends. None of these survive in the Barton churchyards today.
86. To Elizabeth Stephenson; lost before 1966.
87. M.124. He was aged 90.
88. M.181, demolished in 1967; it lay next to the Gildas tombs, south-west of the south porch.
89. Brick tombs at St Peter's were dated: 1724, 1734, 1741, 1743, 1764, 1768 (2), 1776, 1797, 1804, 1815 and 1819. At St Mary's, brick tombs were dated: 1724, 1731, 1733, 1763, 1766, 1767, 1772, 1779, 1782, 1793, 1794, 1813, 1816, 1819, 1821, 1824, 1830 and 1836.
90. M.401, M.407 and M.413. William Goy, solicitor (1836), his two wives, Mary (1820) and Ann (1825), and some of their children. Two of these were stone tomb-chests.
91. M.189. Richard Eddie (1858) and his wife Sarah. A new organ was given to St Peter's in his memory. The monument survived the purge of 1967, but disintegrated through weathering and vandalism in the 1980s; a fragment of the inscription is held in the lapidary collection.
92. M.131, John Astrop (d. 1848).
93. William Handley (d. 1815). His widow, Martha (d. 1824), continued with the plumbing business and releaded the nave roof of St Mary's church in 1818 (Fig. 123). See Appendix 3: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3, f. 22v.

94. Memorial to the infant daughter of William Brown: she died in 1834. See no. 157 in the inventory compiled in 1966; it was not extant in 1978.

95. M.461, James Hamilton (d. 1827). The inscribed surface of this headstone delaminated through frost action.

96. M.199, Robert Dannatt (d. 1857). He sailed with the whaling fleet from Hull (Tombleson 1905).

97. M.90, Thomas Turner (d. 1811).

98. M.109, George Newton (d. 1795), aged 16; and his brother William Newton (d. 1798), aged 21.

99. M.421; sk. 1425 (F3683); see Vol. 2, p. 38.

100. M.464, Eliza and Sarah Hewson (d. 1830/1841), aged eight and six, respectively.

101. Appendix 3: F.L. Misc. 10/1/3, f. 14r.

102. M.108, unnamed (d. 1777).

103. M.156. This commemorates James Knight (1863) and his wife who died at Leamington in 1874; it is unclear whether she was interred here too, the churchyard having been legally closed to burial in 1868.

104. The survival of this monument in such good condition is due to its being sheltered by a large beech tree, until that was felled in the mid-1980s.

105. The first was a retrospective application by the widow of John Wilbar Lunn to construct a vault and enclose the ground above, presumably with railings. Dimensions are given. LA: FB6/485. The second was for a new vault; a plan of the entire churchyard (scale, 30 ft to 1 inch), by T.E. Greene of Barrow, accompanied this application. LA: Fac. Pap. 1861/11.

106. Retrospective application made by Robert James Bedford, for the vault with railings in which his wife was already buried. LA: FB6/574; Fac. Pap. 1862/6 (includes a scrappy plan).

107. This plate was previously affixed to a reused medieval slab of Carboniferous limestone (Monson 1936, 27).

108. M.3, M.5 and M.11: Benjamin Mackrill was buried in St Peter's church in 1812, his ledger-slab being M.8.

109. I am grateful to Diane Gibbs-Rodwell for her observations on these and other monuments, which were made during conservation in 2000.

110. As well as overpainting brightly coloured or gilded memorials, there was a fashion in the nineteenth century for painting black borders on the plaster around wall monuments. These frames have mostly been lost through redecoration or plaster-stripping (as at Barton), but rare examples survive, *e.g.* in the east cloister at Salisbury Cathedral.

111. Close inspection was not possible, but the material appears to be fine-grained sandstone. The urns themselves have also been blackened, and subsequently roughly cleaned.

112. *E.g.* at Hull, Beverley, Rise and Roos, all in East Yorkshire (Pevsner and Neave 1995, 69). Gunnis (1968, 156) notices only one of his monuments. Foster retired from business as a carver and gilder in May 1787, when his stock-in-trade was auctioned: Hull Museum Coll. KINCM:1982.1002.446. Some sources erroneously refer to him as 'Edward' rather than Edmund Foster.

113. This was a family firm which produced some very fine monuments. While much of their output is in Yorkshire, examples are found over a much wider area (Gunnis 1968, 145–6). Monuments at Barton signed by Fisher(s), York, are M.44, M.50 and M.63; two others are attributable with reasonable confidence to the workshop (M.64, M.66).

114. The sculptors represented are: Geo. Earle Jun^r, Hull (M.51); I. Earle, Hull (M.65, M.67); Josh^h. Earle, Hull (M.47, M.56); and L. Earle, Hull (M.45). At least one other monument is attributable to the firm (M.48). John Earle

(1779–1863) was probably the founder of the firm, and was responsible for some fine monuments; he was followed by his even more illustrious son Thomas (Gunnis 1968, 137). Little is known about the other three family members represented at Barton: a scatter of monuments bearing their names is found through Lincolnshire and the East Riding.

115. M.59 is signed 'A. Shaw, Hull.' He was clearly a minor sculptor, who is not listed by Gunnis (1968); single examples of his work occur at Owston Ferry (Lincs.) (Pevsner *et al.* 1989, 597) and Kirkburn (E. Yorks.) (Pevsner and Neave 1995, 583).

116. M.52 is signed 'W.D. Keyworth & Son, Hull'. William Day Keyworth, father and son, ran a local sculpture business in Hull. Few monuments by them are known (Gunnis 1968, 227).

117. This bears close similarities to a plaque to an archdeacon, dated 1907, in the south quire aisle of Exeter Cathedral. The plaques probably originated in London.

Notes to Chapter 14 (pp. 737–51)

1. Tombstone M.171, Jane Shaw (d. 1802). This common epitaph, with slight variations according to sex, is recorded on at least seven tombstones in St Peter's churchyard: Mary Hutchinson (d. 1781); Ann Temple (d. 1821); M.91, Samuel Turner (d. 1823); M.483, Susannah Storey (d. 1824); M.193, Jane Doughty (d. 1831); M.400, Margaret Swallow (d. 1845). In St Mary's churchyard, similar inscriptions were recorded on at least five tombstones: Thomas Smith (d. 1784); William Gunson and Ann Breeton (d. 1800/1804); Alexander Gunson (d. 1808); Edward Breeton (d. 1809); Catrin Newbown (d. 1811). Margaret Swallow's skeleton is one of the named sample discussed in Chapter 13.
2. Benton died in 1800, aged 49, and was buried in the nave of St Peter's (Appendix 6, M.13). He is known to have been particularly interested in medical science. For him to have carried out the autopsy, the burial must have taken place in the earlier part of the date-bracket assigned to it.
3. The height of a skeleton is calculated from the maximum length of the long bones, entering the measurement into an appropriate regression equation. The equations that are most commonly used were published by Mildred Trotter (1970).
4. These values correspond to a mean of 5 ft 7 ins (range 5 ft to 6 ft 1 in) for the males and for the females, 5 ft 2¼ ins (range 4 ft 10 ins to 5 ft 6½ ins). A quick way to convert metres to inches is to multiply the metric measurement by 40.
5. When making comparisons between the number of sites affected, compound joints such as the knee or the elbow are counted singly no matter how many compartments are affected. Similarly, multiple joints, such as the proximal or distal inter-phalangeal joints of the hand, are counted singly no matter how many individual joints are involved.
6. A record is preserved in the general register (no. 1) for St Peter's: '1593. In this year a great and contagious pest & pestilence entered the town, the number of deaths in Barton was 224, and in 1594 only 32, showing the great mortality'. For another note on the plague, see LA: F.L. Misc. 10/2/19. 'In ye year 1593 a severe plague raged'. The registers record that 128 people were buried in St Peter's and 97 in St Mary's. Numbers of baptisms in the same year were 14 and 21, respectively.
7. Crude prevalence for early period: 1.05% (95% CI 0.59–1.88%); for late period: 0.44% (95% CI 0.12–1.60 %).
8. When Juliet Rogers calculated the prevalence using the old phasing data, she found that there was actually an increase in the prevalence from the early to the late periods,

from 1.7% to 3.1%, and this was reported in the literature (Rogers *et al.* 2002). After re-allocating the skeletons to their new phases, the differences disappeared and an *erratum* has been placed in the journal in which the original report appeared (Waldron 2004).

9. The females were excluded from this analysis because the numbers were too small.

10. There were 1,940 adult skulls with the maxilla and/or mandible present, each of which should have yielded 32 teeth giving an expected total of 62,080 teeth.

Notes to Chapter 15 (pp. 753–788)

1. See note 4 below.
2. See note 3 below.
3. The two measurements on skeleton 2139 (GU-5865 and GU-5832) are statistically significantly different at 95% confidence ($T'=5.8$; $T'(5\%)=3.8$; $v=1$; Ward and Wilson 1978), but are sufficiently similar to allow a weighted mean to be taken before calibration (926 ± 35 BP).
4. The two measurements on skeleton 898 (GU-5868 and GU-5897) are statistically consistent ($T'=0.0$; $T'(5\%)=3.8$; $v=1$; Ward and Wilson 1978), and so a weighted mean has been taken before calibration (185 ± 35 BP).
5. G. Simpson, pers. comm., and Salzman 1952, 247–8.
6. This analysis has been calculated using a radiocarbon age of 980 ± 18 BP for UB-4719. Unfortunately after the chronological modelling had been completed, a technical problem became apparent at the Belfast laboratory which required the recalculation of this result. This is 995 ± 19 BP, as reported in Table 34, and replaces the previous value which has been withdrawn. Further details of the technical problem and its resolution are provided in McCormac *et al.* forthcoming.
7. This analysis has been calculated using a radiocarbon age of 1013 ± 19 BP for UB-4720. Unfortunately after the chronological modelling had been completed, a technical problem became apparent at the Belfast laboratory which required the recalculation of this result. This is 1028 ± 20 BP, as reported in Table 34, and replaces the previous value which has been withdrawn. Further details of the technical problem and its resolution are provided in McCormac *et al.* forthcoming.

Notes to Chapter 16 (pp. 789–838)

1. Initially, all finds were stored at Baysgarth Museum, Barton, from whence some (metals) were stolen by building contractors. The collection was then transferred to English Heritage's store at Helmsley, and some classes of material were later moved to York; certain scientific samples went to the Ancient Monuments Laboratory in London. Inexplicably, various items, including several scientific samples and a significant quantity of pottery, were mislaid somewhere along the line; consequently, they cannot be reported upon here.
2. Report submitted 2004, revised 2010.
3. For a further consideration of these churches and the Millstone-Grit contained in them, see p. 322.
4. Dr Beris Cox, pers. comm.
5. However, the similar work of Heckington is entirely oolitic, at least externally. Inside Heckington church, poor light, limewash, gesso and the lack of fresh surfaces defied any useful lithological identification.
6. Extensive quarrying of the 'Nerinea' beds was carried on to the east of Lincoln Cathedral (Stocker 2003).
7. Late repairs and rebuildings at other local churches indicate that Lower Magnesian Limestone was commonly used externally, and chalk internally.

8. A generally similar block was found in a middle Saxon context at Lichfield Cathedral, adjacent to what may have been the shrine of St Chad; there, the block is likely to have been one of four upon which posts were set to carry a canopy-of-honour, or *baldaccino* (Rodwell 2005b, 3, fig. 1; Rodwell *et al.* 2008). It seems unlikely that a comparable context existed at Barton.

9. The canopy was mounted as an ornament on the east gable of the chancel, where it suffered some weathering. The gable was rebuilt in 1903, but the canopy was already there in the nineteenth century, and was possibly installed *c.* 1833; it was taken down for better preservation in 1983.

10. A much earlier date for the churchyard cross has been argued in chapter 11 (p. 606). WR

11. LA: Barton Par. 9/2/10. Two sheets containing 43 marks; they are unsigned, but dated 1961.

12. Report submitted in 2004, checked in 2010.

13. Humber Archaeology Partnership (HAP): Regional Brick and Roof Tile Typology (unpublished).

14. Petrological analysis by Alan Vince: for archive reports, see below, note 24.

15. S. Tibbles, 'The Romano-British building materials', in J. Bradley, *An Archaeological Evaluation at Barrow Road, Barton-upon-Humber*, 55–7. Humber Archaeol. Rep. 97 (2002). This material was not included in the published report (Bradley 2002).

16. Note by WR. The remainder of the Romano-British material, all of which was retained at the time of excavation, has been mislaid in store. A preliminary listing by Paul Drury in 1984 recorded: bonding tiles (with a triple-semicircle signature and Roman pink mortar adhering), tegulae, imbrices and box-flue tiles. Despite careful searching, no tile certainly of Roman date has been noted in the fabric of the church; a possible fragment occurs in the north side of the tower.

17. I. Betts, 'New thoughts on bricks with sunken margins', *Brit. Brick Soc. Information* (1996).

18. For details of fabrics, see site archive.

19. J. Evans, 'The social shaping of medieval brick technology', 34. Unpubl. M.A. dissertation, Univ. of York (1990).

20. J. Watt, pers. comm.

21. Note by WR. A very large quantity of roof tile was collected during excavation, mainly from contexts around the east end of the church, but again much of the material has been mislaid in store. Peg-tiles with a width of 212 mm were noted by Paul Drury, and nib-tiles of *c.* 220 mm. There were also many decoratively shaped and conjoining fragments, presumably from ridge-tiles: reconstruction should be possible.

22. C. Atkins, 'The archaeology of a medieval roof tile factory site in Grovehill, Beverley'. Humber Archaeology Unit, unpubl. rep. (1987).

23. Report submitted 2004, revised 2010.

24. Archive reports: A. Vince, 'Chemical analysis of ceramic building material from St Peter's church, Barton-upon-Humber' (2001), and 'Petrological analysis of ceramic building material from St Peter's church, Barton-upon-Humber' (2002).

25. For discussion of the characteristics of medieval Flemish tiles, see Eames 1980, 1, 18–19; Stopford 2005, 214–22.

26. J. Stopford, 'The floor tiles from Blanket Row, Hull, and comparative material', and A. Vince, 'Chemical analysis of floor tiles from Blanket Row, Hull'; unpublished reports for Northern Archaeological Associates, Barnard Castle (2001).

27. Vince 2002: see note 24.

28. W. Fowler, architect of Winterton: engraving entitled 'Principal patterns of Norman tiles from the floor of St Nicholas Chapel York Minster', published 13 Jul. 1801. See also Stopford 2005, 263, fig. 25.4, design Un/19.

29. See, for example, Eames and Keen 1972; Eames 1980, 2, BMD/222 and 223; Eames and Fanning 1988, L22; Thompson 1976, 219, fig. 43, no. 18. Also, J.P. Greene, *Norton Priory: An Archaeological Examination of the Priory, its Hinterland and its Economic Links*, 4011. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of Leeds, 1985); and four unpublished volumes of tile drawings and notes in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, compiled by F. Renaud, *c.* 1858–92: 1, 50; 2, 221 (the entries discussed here were made in 1887).

30. The eight churches in the Humber region are: Beverley (two churches), Hedon and Hull (E. Yorks.); Barton-upon-Humber (St Peter's), Burnham, Winterringham and Winterton (Lincs.). St Mary's, Barton, can now be added to the list.

31. Dr Kevin Leahy, pers. comm.

32. Eleven complete tiles and two half-tiles (diagonally cut) are mounted in a frame on the south wall of the chancel aisle. They measure 125–130 mm square, by *c.* 25 mm thick.

33. *E.g.* in the north flank of the arch separating the nave and chancel aisles, and in the west parapet of the tower.

34. NLMS: ref. 5737 (site code BSM94), not accessioned. No published report. There is also a single example of a tile with bubbly green glaze, measuring 140 mm square by 26 mm thick (Group 9?).

35. EH accn no. 88213598. Acknowledgements: For help and comments I am grateful to the late Dr Claude Blair, Dr Jackie Hall, Dr Nigel Ramsay and Dr Paul Williamson.

36. The only other occurrence of alabaster noted at Barton is in the south aisle of St Mary's church: two fragments – one a defaced panel – are built into the west respond.

37. For illustrations of examples still in their frames, see Cheetham 1984, 8, 22, 23, 25, 70, col. pl. I (facing 32); Flavigny and Jablonski-Chauveau 1997, 78–9, 90–1; and Cheetham 2003, 6, 12.

38. For illustrated examples, see Cheetham 1984, 183; Flavigny and Jablonski-Chauveau 1997, 35.

39. Dr Nigel Ramsay, pers. comm.

40. Flavigny and Jablonski-Chauveau 1997, 35 (illus.); for further illustrated examples, see Cheetham 1984, 267, 305.

41. Victoria & Albert Museum: accn. no. A154–1946; Cheetham 1984, 275, cat. no. 202 (illus.).

42. Cheetham 2003, 134–41; for illustrations see Nelson 1918, pls V (2), VII and VIII; Cheetham 1984, 272–81, cat. nos. 199–208 (all illus.); Flavigny and Jablonski-Chauveau 1997, 105 (nos. 6, 7), 118–19 (nos. 46, 47) (all illus.), 120–1 (no. 51e; illus. p. 99); Cheetham 2003, monochrome illus. 'Life of Christ', 74–82.

43. *E.g.* Cheetham 1984, col. pls II, V–VIII; Flavigny and Jablonski-Chauveau 1997, col. illus. pp. 32, 34, 39, 59, 76, 79, 83, 86, 93, 94, 99.

44. For a list of surviving Betrayal panels, see Cheetham 2003, 109–14, illus. 14, fig. 9, col. pl. XII, monochrome illus. 'Life of Christ', 14–26; also Cheetham 1984, cat. nos. 151–8 (all illus.).

45. A simple stave with a wider, heavier top (as usually shown on the panels) would seem closer to the gospel

accounts. Only Matthew and Luke describe the weapons carried by the crowd coming to arrest Jesus, but Matthew (ch. 26, v. 47) has *cum gladiis et fustibus* ('with swords and clubs', or possibly 'staves'), while Mark (ch. 14, v. 43) has *cum gladiis et lignis* ('with swords and sticks').

46. Examples of Betrayal panels with this feature so far noted by the author are in Reading Museum (accn no. REDMG 1944.58.1; see Prior and Gardner 1912, 486, fig. 557; Nelson 1918, pl. XII.2 (facing 324)); Yarnton parish church, Oxon. (Nelson 1918, pl. XII.1 (facing 324)); and the Victoria & Albert Museum (accn no. A171–1946; see Cheetham 1984, 224, cat. no. 151 (illus.)). In the latter example the curiously rectangular 'blades' of this and the similar object held by a figure in the top left of the same panel might cast doubt on whether they are bladed weapons. However, it seems probable that bladed weapons are depicted, since a similar weapon is carried by the soldier at the foot of a Resurrection panel in the Victoria & Albert Museum (accn no. A81–1946; see Cheetham 1984, 274, cat. no. 201; also Nelson 1918, pl. VII.1 (facing 319) when still in Nelson's own collection) and also by the figure of the centurion in a Crucifixion panel (Cheetham 1984, 249, cat. no. 176 (illus.)). Another Betrayal panel in the Victoria & Albert Museum (accn no. A25–1946; Cheetham 1984, 231, cat. no. 158 (illus.)) shows Malchus with a simple staff but with his hand in a position relative to the top of the staff that would accord with the position of the hand on the blade on the Barton fragment. Cheetham's illustration of the Victoria & Albert Museum panel appears to indicate that the forearm is completely undercut, which also corresponds with the Barton fragment.

47. It is also worth noting that in none of the three examples, noted above, where Malchus is shown with a bladed weapon, does his hand partially cover the blade as it does on at least two of the Resurrection panels (Victoria & Albert Museum accn nos. A81–1946, A154–1946; see Cheetham 1984, 274–5, cat. nos. 201, 202), though it would be unwarranted to place too much weight on this.

48. For a general study of this type of weapon and the various contemporary terms that may have been applied to it, see Borg 1976.

49. Now the Royal Armouries, inv. no. VII.868; see Borg 1976, pl. CXVII B.

50. Report submitted 2006, checked in 2010.

51. EH accn no. 88102148(7). Not illus.

52. EH accn no. 88102122(2). Not illus.

53. Revised report submitted in 2003, checked 2010.

54. This was doubtless from the eighteenth-century glazing, which is seen in early illustrations of the church: areas of it survived, principally in the clerestory and north aisle, until the early 1980s.

55. Report submitted 1999, revised 2010.

56. *E.g.* Exeter (Blaylock 1996); Norton Priory (Greene 1989).

57. A catalogue of all of the material is held in the site archive.



Bibliography

Abbreviations

- AASR *Associated Architectural Societies Reports and Papers*
 ASC *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (Swanton 1996)
 BAR British Archaeological Reports (British Series)
 Bodl. Bodleian Library, Oxford
 BF *Book of Fees*. Public Record Office, 3 vols. (1920–31)
 BL British Library, London
 BPM *Barton-upon-Humber Parish Magazine* (unpaginated; cited by month and year: e.g. xii.1935)
 CBA Council for British Archaeology
 CVMA Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, Great Britain
 CYS, 10 Canterbury and York Society (Davis 1908)
 CYS, 31 Canterbury and York Society (Davis *et al.* 1925)
 DB Lincs. *Domesday Book: Lincolnshire* (Morgan and Thorn 1986)
 DC Stenton 1920
 DoE Department of the Environment
 EH English Heritage
 F— Feature, or context (followed by a number)
 GDB *Great Domesday* (Erskine 1986)
 HBMC Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission (English Heritage)
 ICBS Incorporated Church Building Society
 LA Lincolnshire Archives, Lincoln
 LD *Lincolnshire Domesday and Lindsey Survey* (Foster and Longley 1924)
 LRS Lincoln Record Society
 LRS, 1 (Cole 1911)
 LRS, 2 (Foster 1912a)
 LRS, 4 (Cole 1913)
 LRS, 5 (Foster 1912b)
 LRS, 9 (Davis 1914)
 LRS, 23 (Foster 1926)
 LRS, 27 (Foster 1931)
 LRS, 31 (Monson 1936)
 LRS, 33 (Thompson 1940)
 LRS, 39 (Hill 1948)
 LRS, 48 (Hill 1954)
 LRS, 53 (Hodgett 1959)
 LRS, 61 (Bowker 1967)
 LRS, 72 (Ambler 1979)
 LRS, 81 (McHardy 1992)
 LRS, 86 (McHardy 1997)
 LRS, 87 (Bennett 1999)
 LRS, 89 (Hickman 2001)
 M.— Monument (followed by a number)
 Mon. Ang. *Monasticon Anglicanum* (Caley *et al.* 1817–30)
 NLMS North Lincolnshire Museum Service, Scunthorpe
 RCAHM Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales
 RCHME Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England
 RIBA Royal Institute of British Architects
 Sk.— Skeleton (followed by a number)
 SMR Sites and Monuments Record, North Lincolnshire Council, Scunthorpe (housed with NLMS)
 Valor *Valor Ecclesiasticus Temp. Henr. VIII Auctoritate Regia Institutus*, vol. IV. Rec. Comm. (1821)
 VCH Victoria County History (VCH 1906)
 WEA Workers' Educational Association, Barton-upon-Humber Branch

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Illustrations are denoted by page numbers in *italics* or by *illus* where figures are scattered throughout the text. The letter n following a page number indicates that the reference will be found in a note. The following abbreviations have been used in this index: d. – died; f – following; *fl.* – *floruit*; *Pl.* – *Plate*.

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