ST PETER'S

Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire

A Parish Church and its Community

by

Warwick Rodwell

with

Caroline Atkins

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

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

Geoffrey F. Bryant, M.B.E.

Harold M. Taylor, C.B.E.
(1907–1995)

G. Hugh Varah
(1917–1994)

ST PETER'S,
Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire:
A Parish Church and its Community

VOLUME 1

HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHITECTURE

PART 1

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Historic England

Front cover:
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.

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Downside, Somerset
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Acknowledgements

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 turriform 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 turriform 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 reconnait 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 appartement 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 détaillés. 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.

A la fin du onzième siècle, le chœur minuscule fut démoli 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 crucifixion 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 dosserets 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 Kirchgang 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 Forschungs-methoden 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 Herrschaftshauses 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 Jahrhundert 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 Ausgrabunsareals 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 verflochtenen 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-Humber[1] 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

1
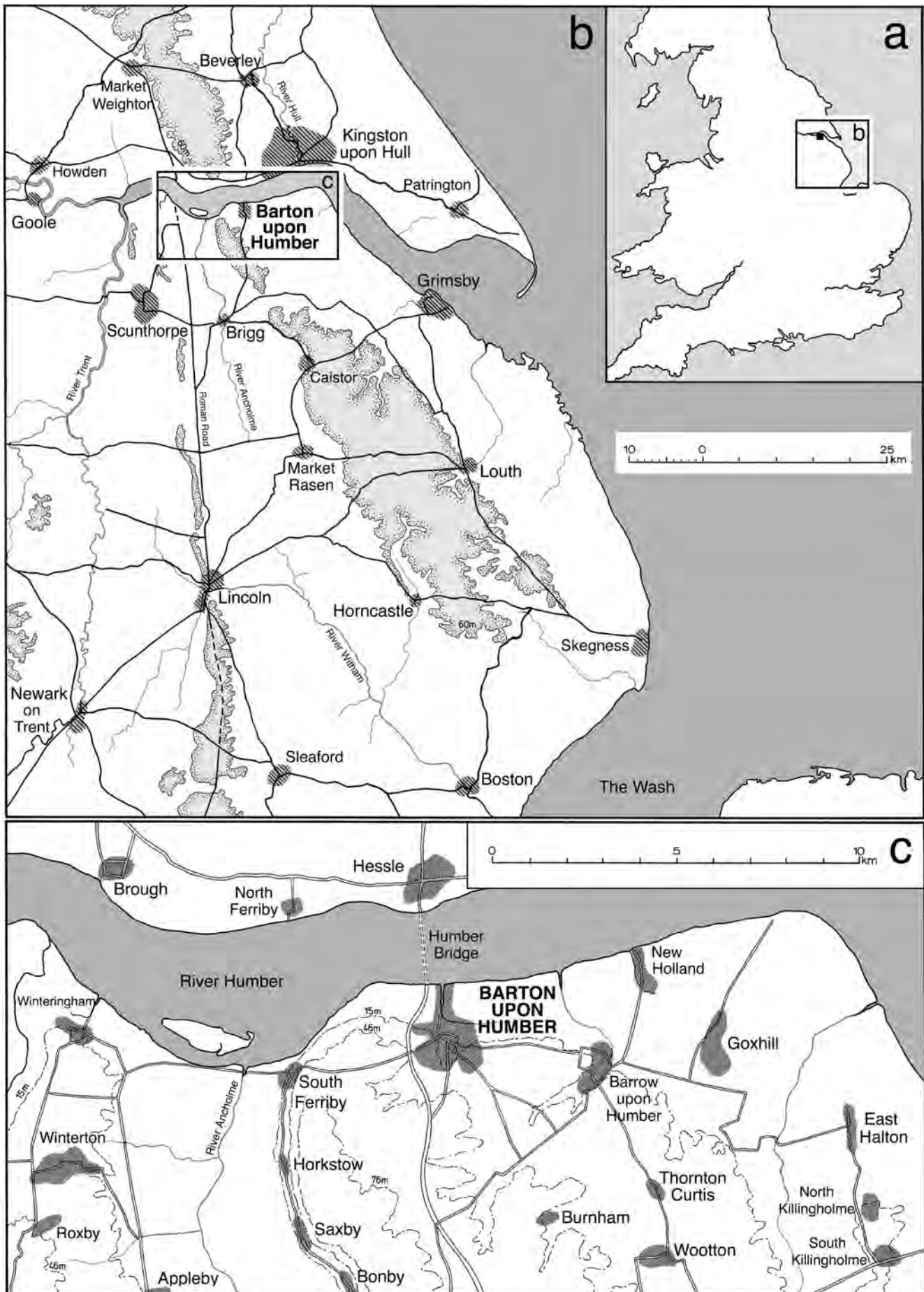
Fig. 1: Barton-upon-Humber: location plans. Drawing: Simon Hayfield
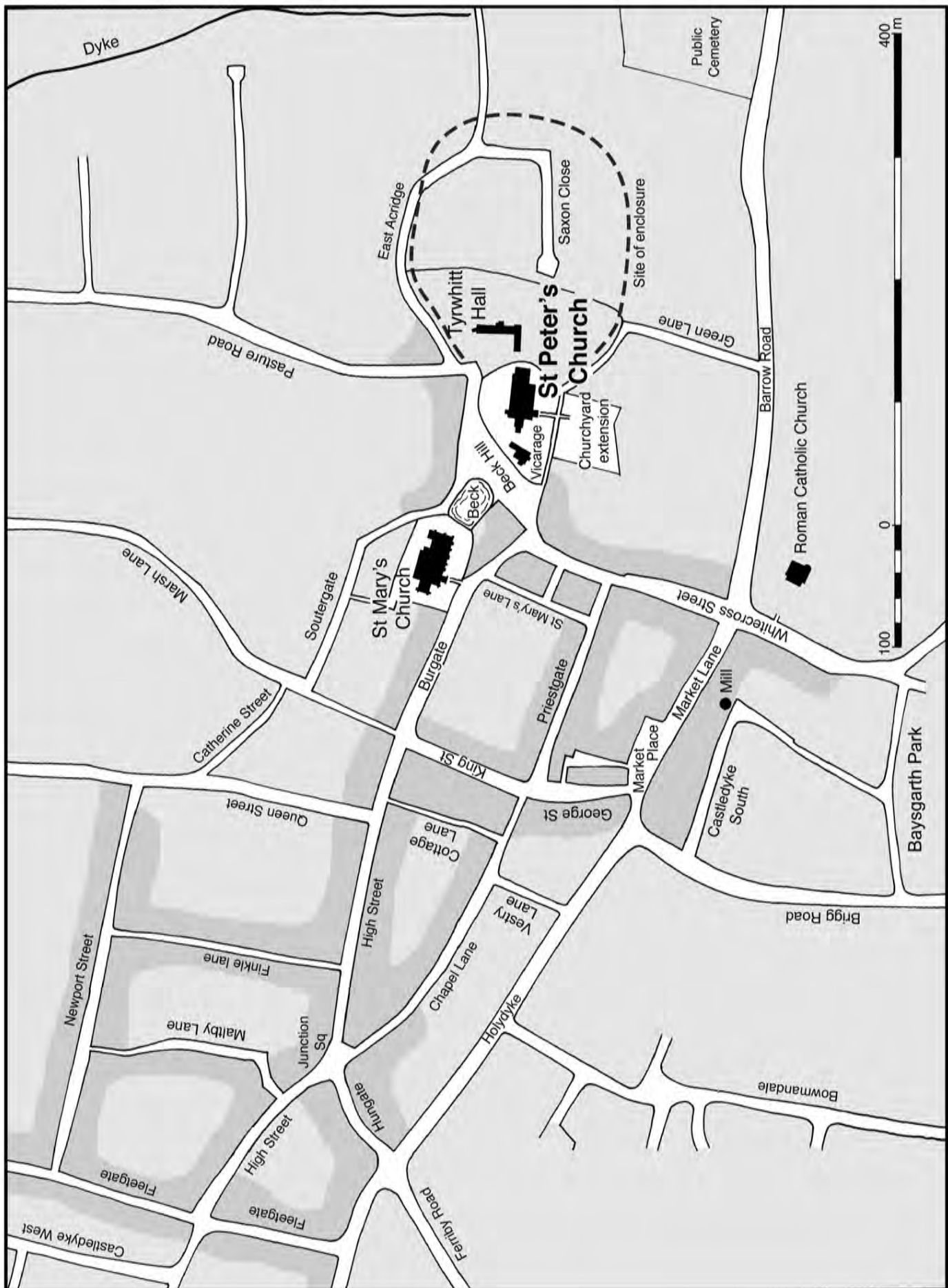
Fig. 2: Plan of the historic core of Barton-upon-Humber, showing the principal streets and topographical features. The darker tone indicates street frontages which were built-up before the middle of the nineteenth century. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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. 4: Topographical plan of the town, adapted from the Barton Enclosure map of 1796. The red line represents Robert Brown's supposed circuit of the defensive earthworks. The churches are shown in yellow, and the Beck and associated watercourses in blue. After Brown 1906

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 begun 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 straggling 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 1841[18] 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
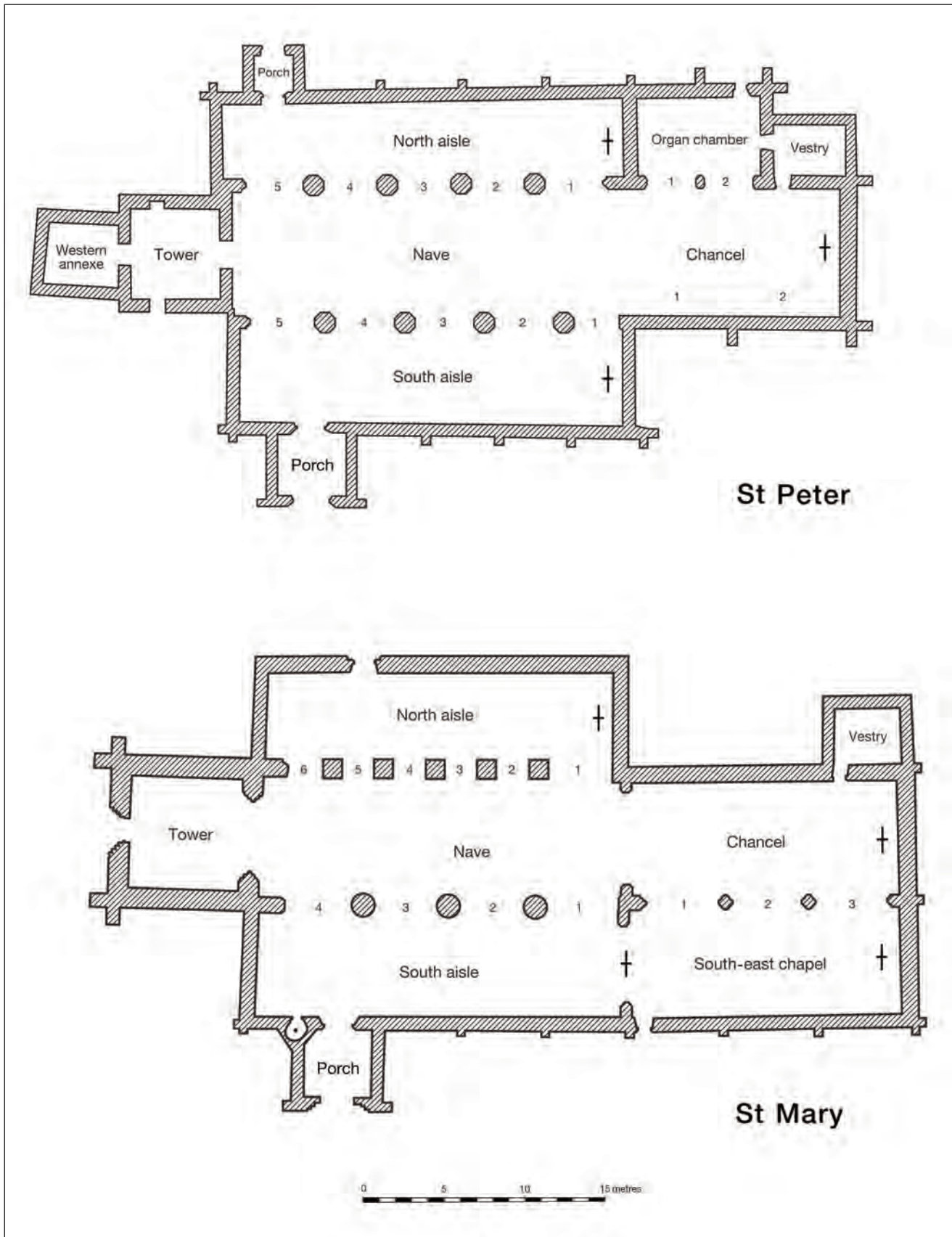
Fig. 7: Comparative floor plans of St Peter's and St Mary's churches in their fully developed form. The nomenclature and bay-numbering system adopted in this report is indicated. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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 1634–42[26] (Cole 1911), and Abraham de la Pryme, the Yorkshire antiquary who visited Barton in 1695 and 1697[27] 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.
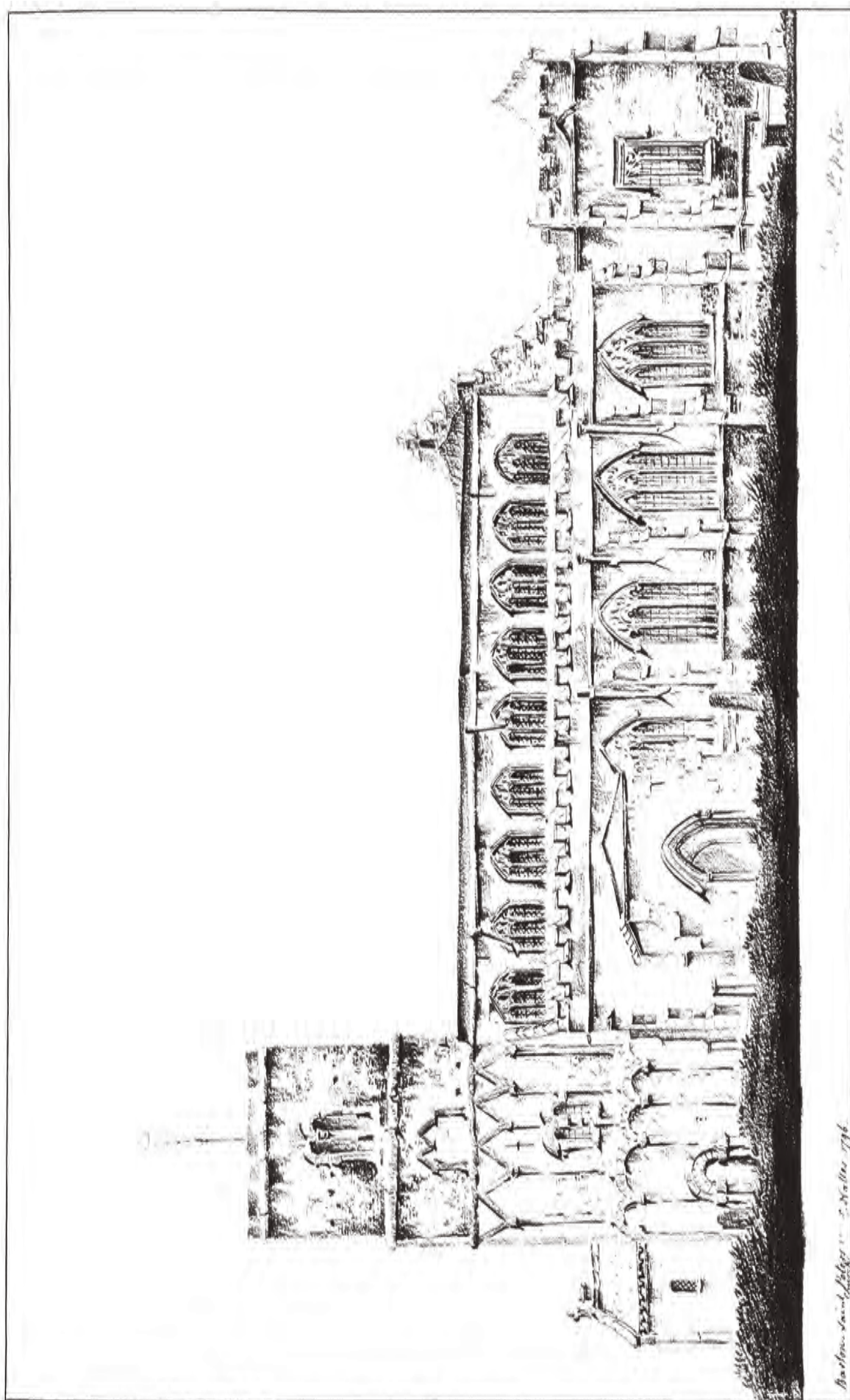
Fig. 11: St Peter's church from the south, 1796. Drawn by Claude Nattes. Photo: Lincoln Library Services. Reproduced from the Local Studies Collection, Lincoln Central Library, by courtesy of Lincolnshire County Council
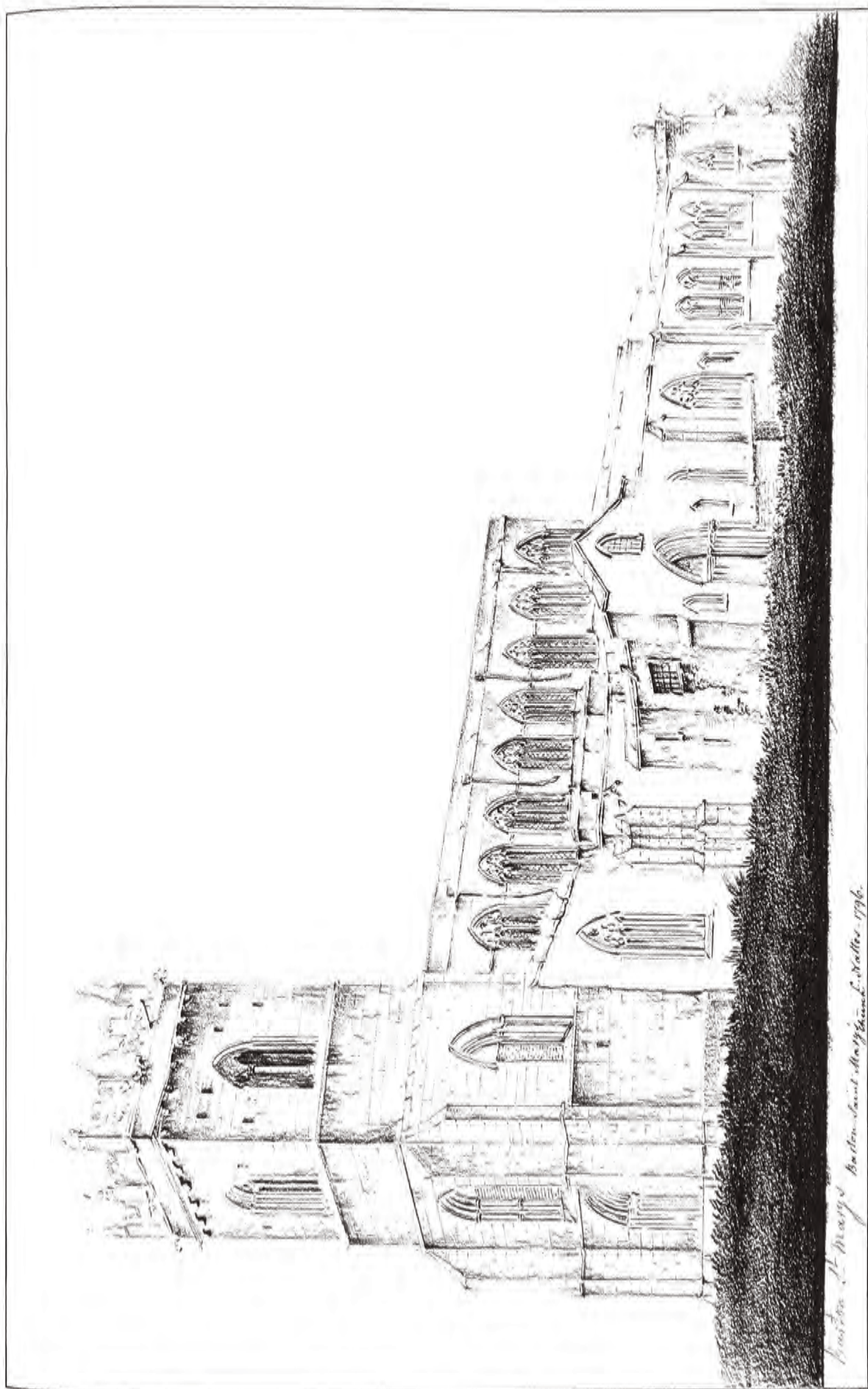
Fig. 12: St Mary's church from the south-west, 1796. Drawn by Claude Nattes. Photo: Lincoln Library Services. Reproduced from the Local Studies Collection, Lincoln Central Library, by courtesy of Lincolnshire County Council
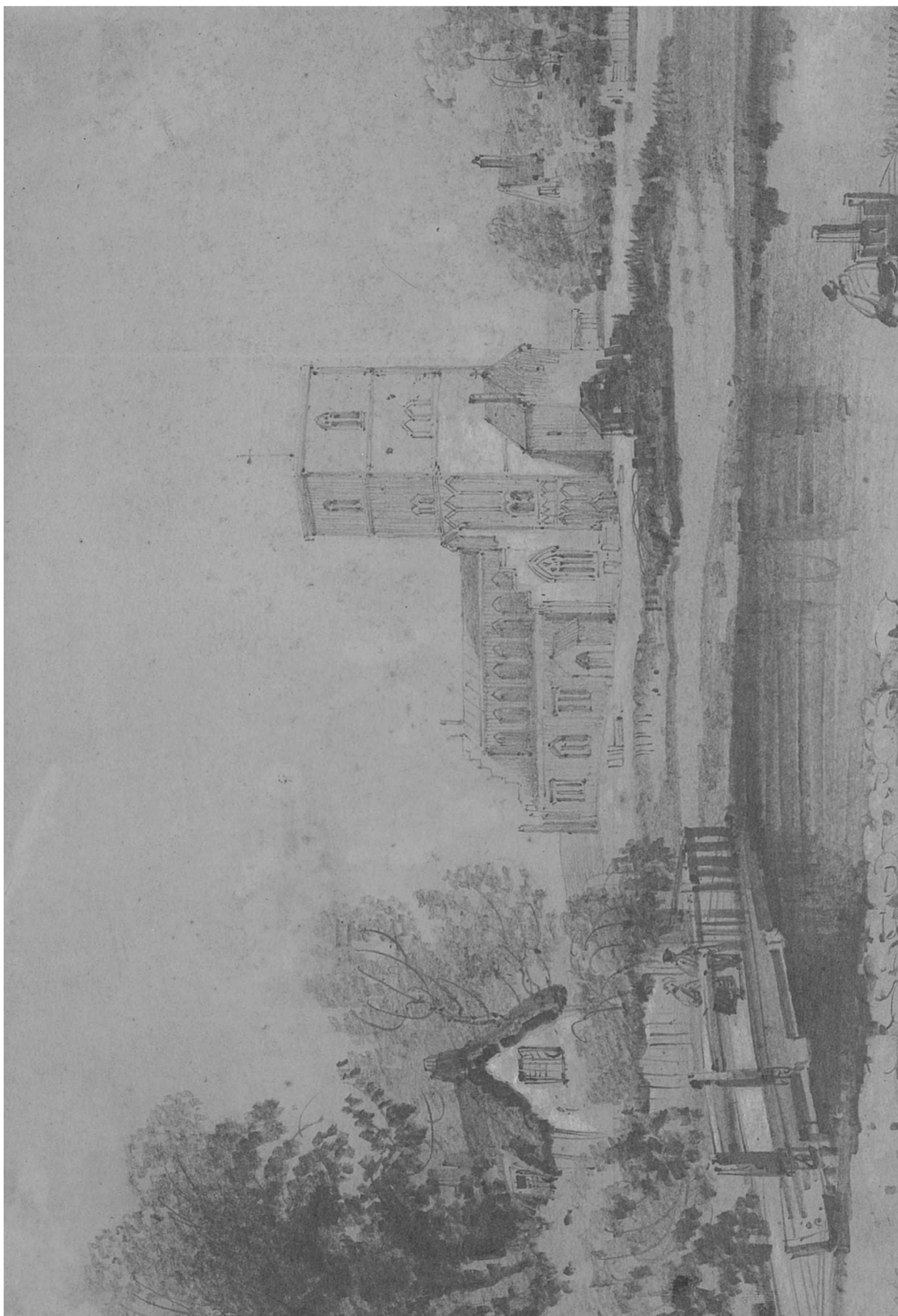
Fig. 13: St Peter's church and the Beck from the north-west, c. 1830. Pencil drawing by Henry Barlow Carter. Private collection
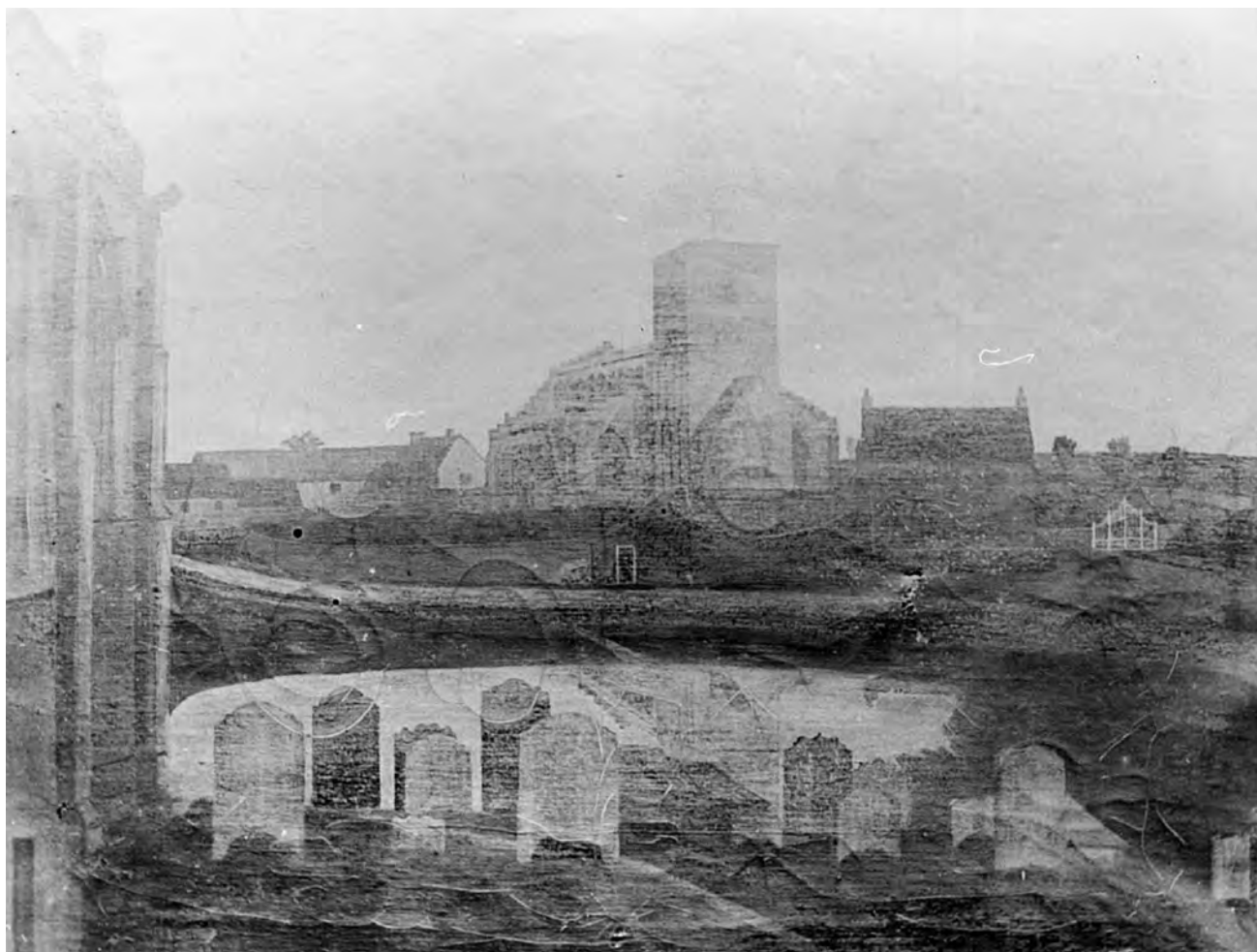
Fig. 14: St Peter's church and vicarage from the west, in the 1820s. A lost painting with part of St Mary's churchyard in the foreground and the Beck beyond. To the left of the church is Tyrwhitt Hall, and to the right is the vicarage. Reproduced from a heavily damaged late nineteenth-century photograph. 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 Tombleson 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 known[49] (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' plats (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
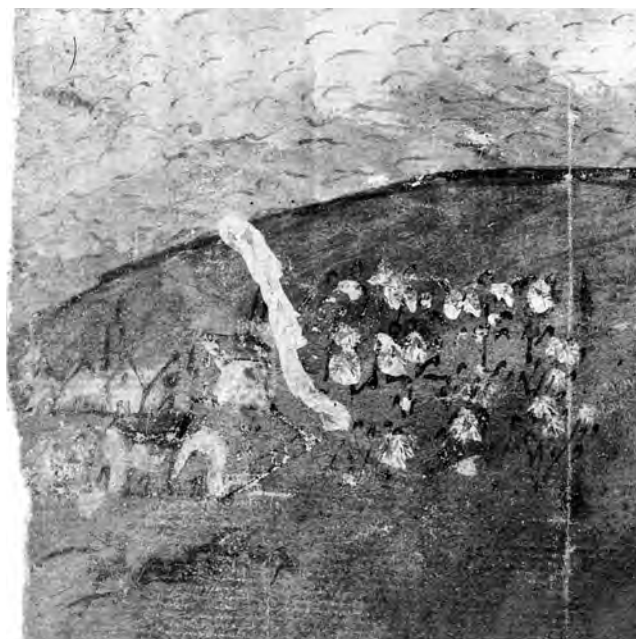
Fig. 17: Plan of Barton, c. 1540–41, showing buildings in rudimentary form, including the two church towers. Photo: British Library. Cotton Ms Aug. I.i. f. 86

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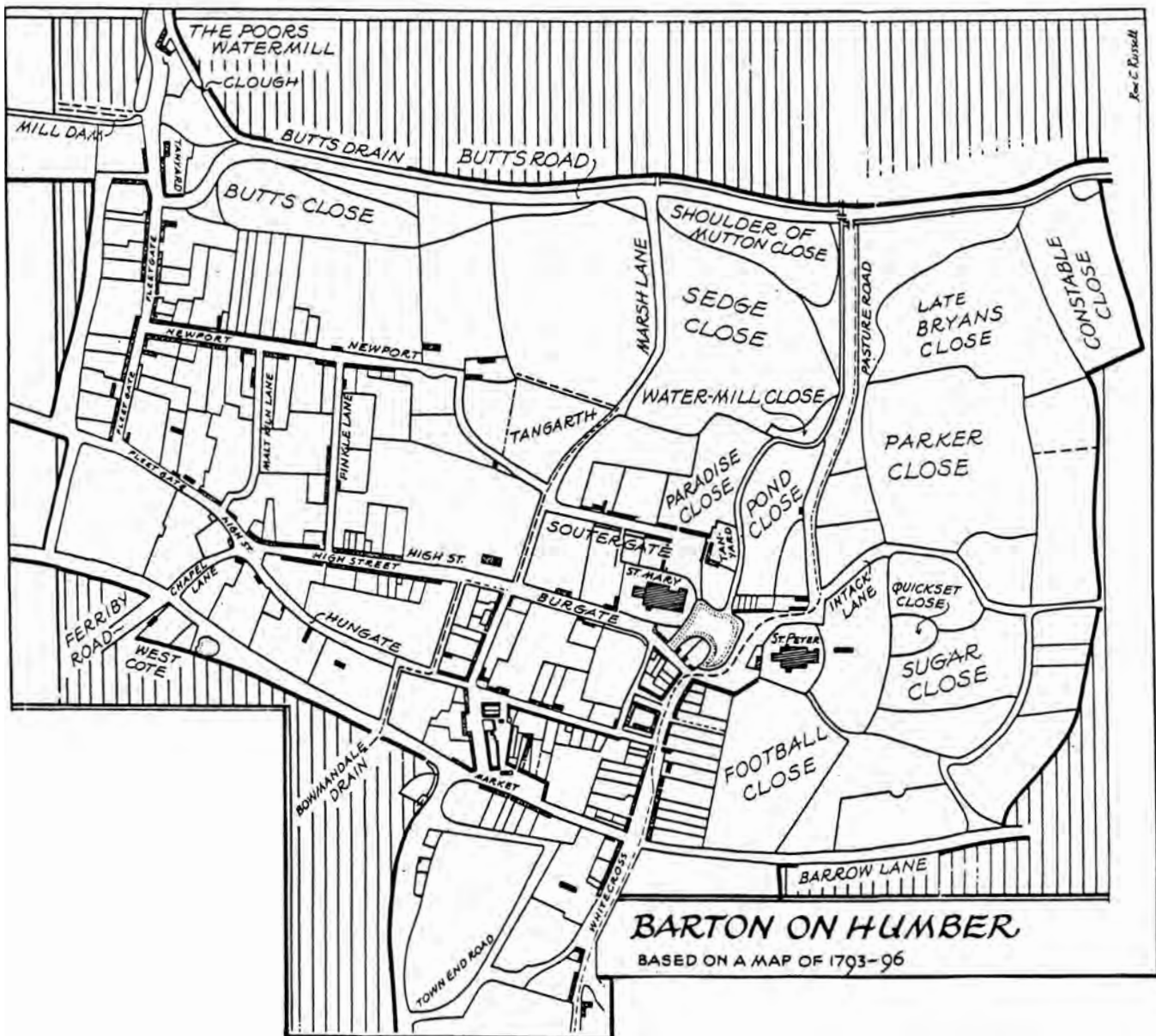
Fig. 18: Town plan with local names, redrawn from the Enclosure map of 1796. Broken lines indicate the courses of Bowmandale Drain and Waterslacks (Whitecross) Drain. Drawing: Rex Russell

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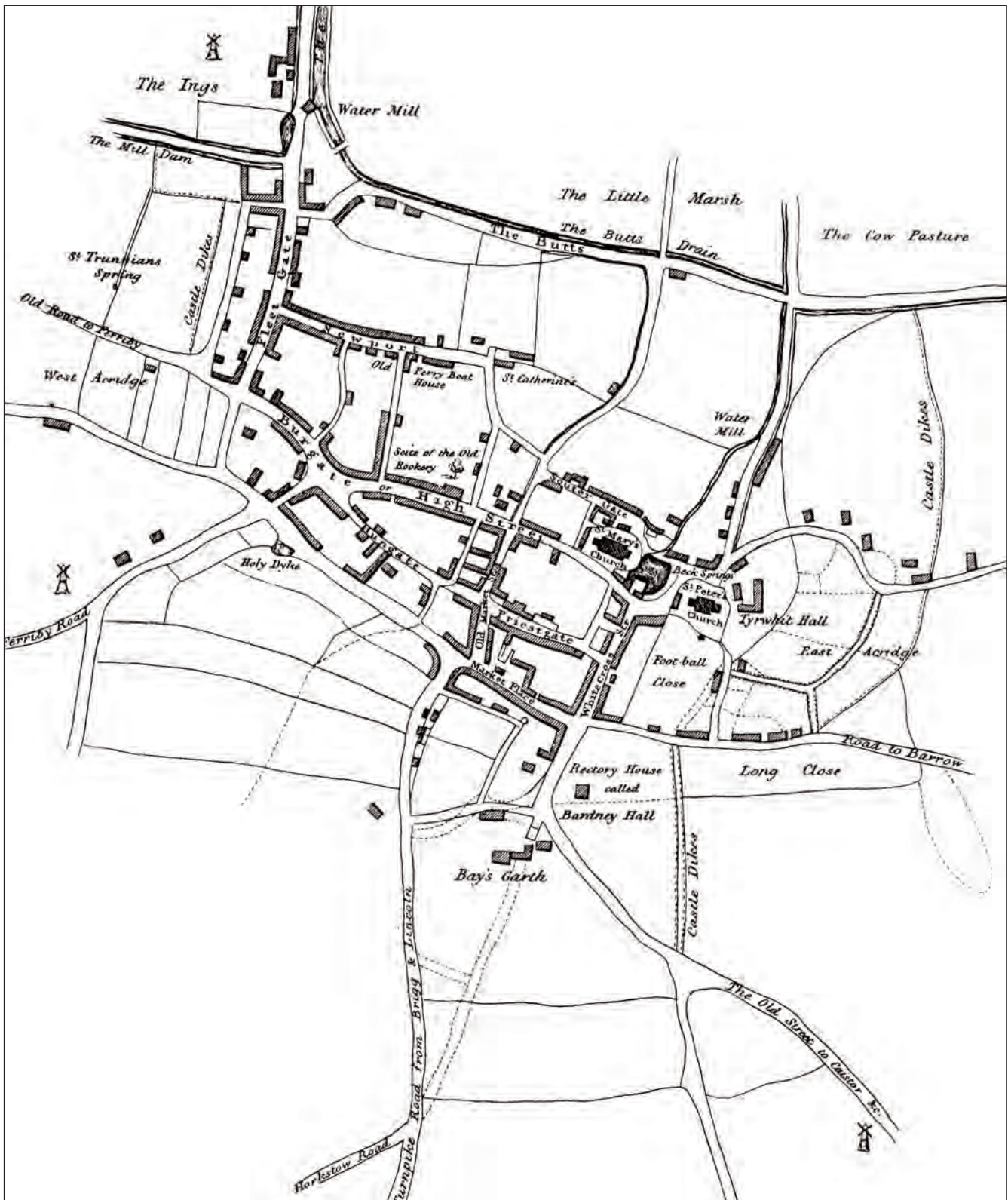
Fig. 19: Printer's proof of a map of Barton compiled by William Hesleden, 1835. Courtesy of North Lincolnshire Museum Service (Ball, scrapbook 2)

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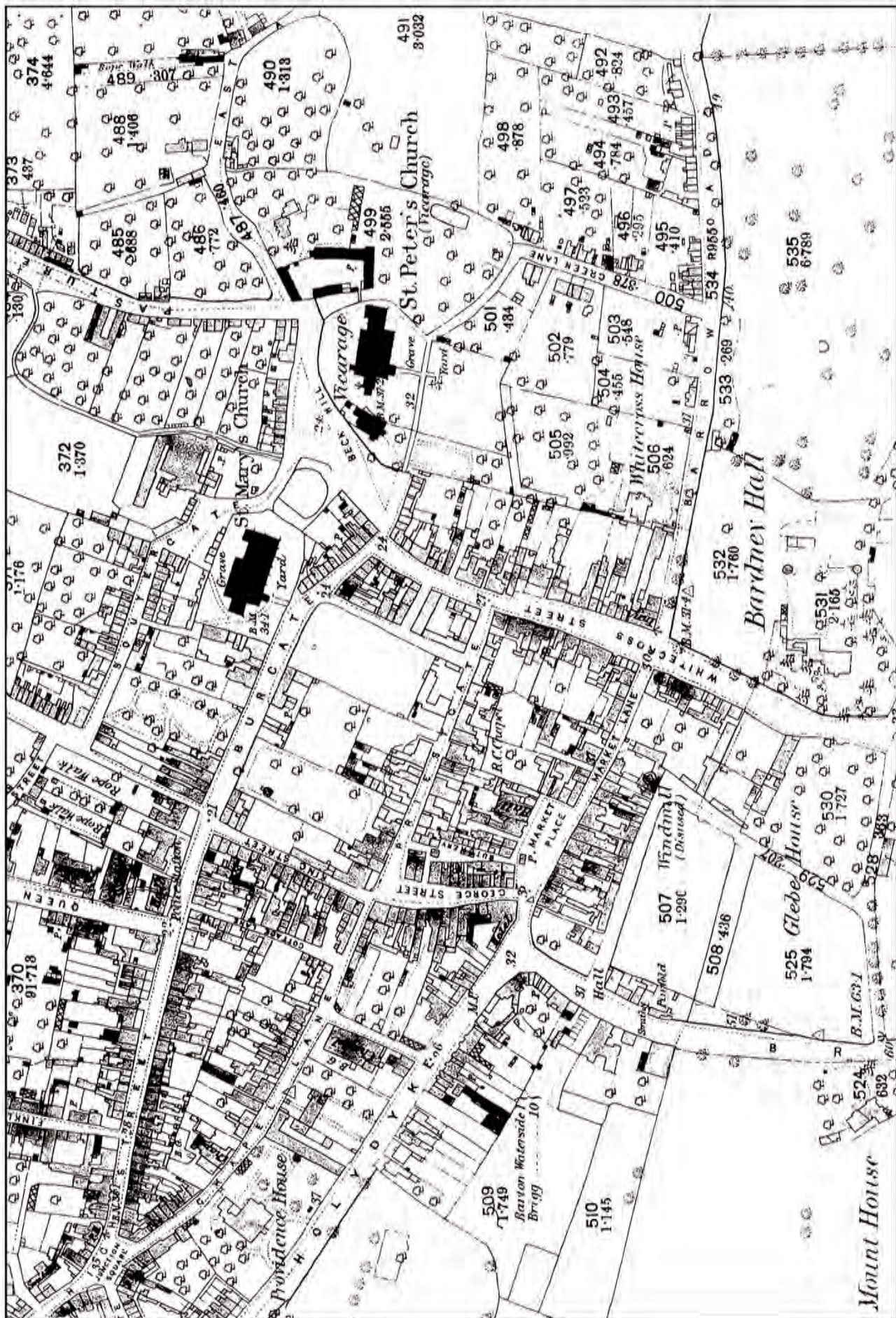
Fig. 20: Ordnance Survey 1:2,500 town plan of Barton, first edition, 1886. The churches, vicarage and Tyrwhitt Hall have been emphasized

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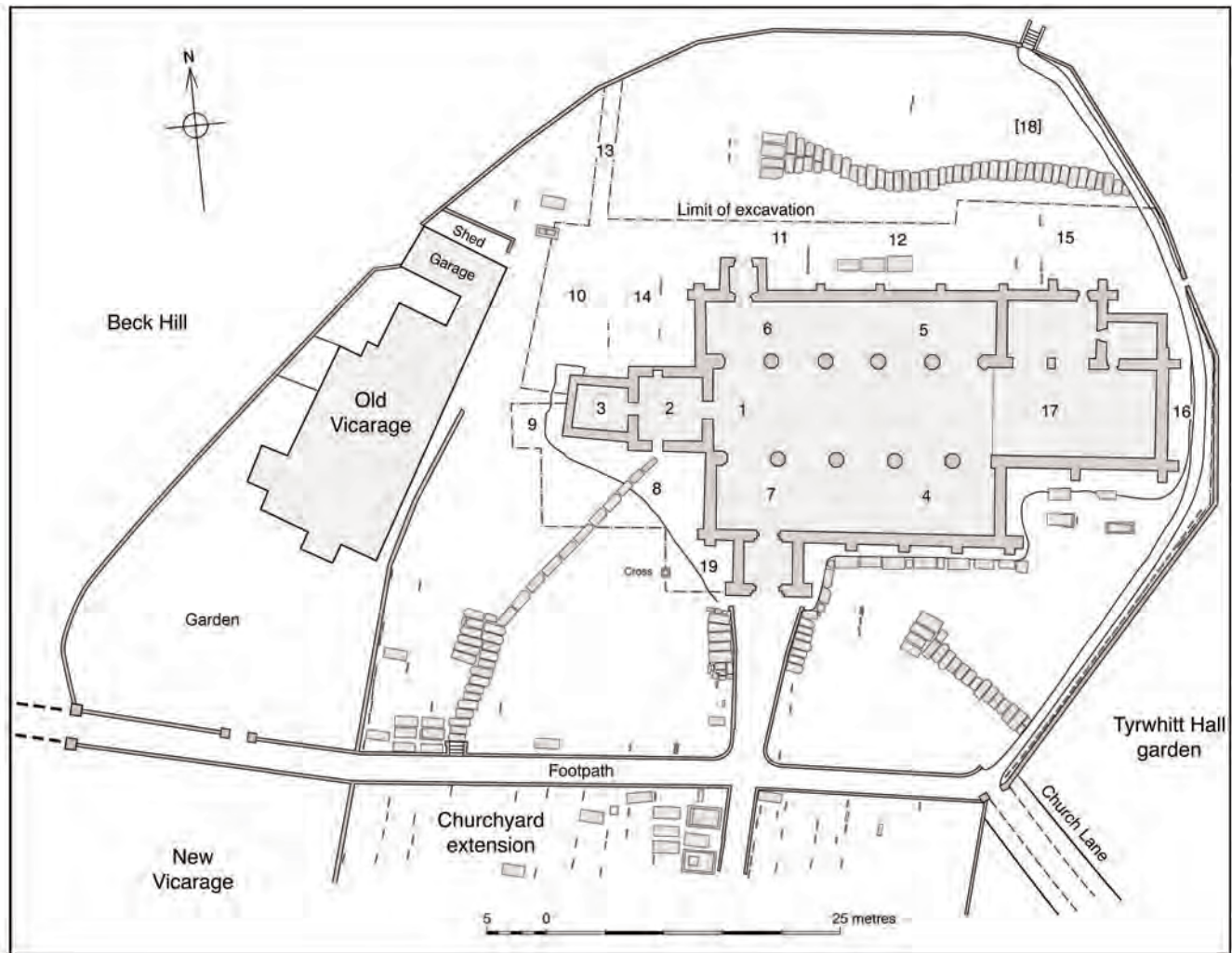
Fig. 24: Plan of St Peter's churchyard and Old Vicarage, showing topographical features. The churchyard was recorded in 1980–82, as it survived after the clearance of 1967. The limit of the excavations of 1978–84 is indicated, and the areas are numbered 1–17 and 19. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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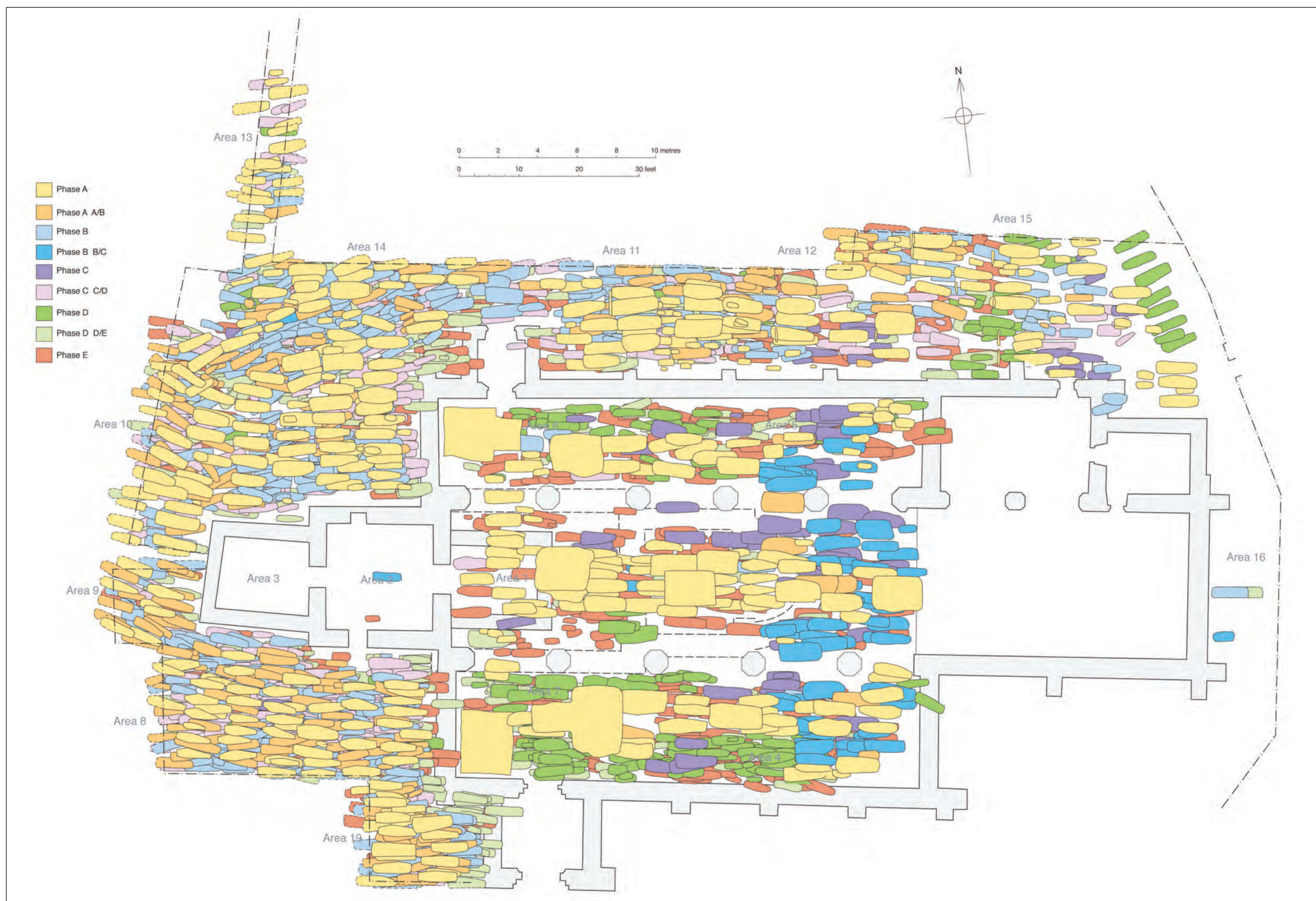
Fig. 25: St Peter's church: composite plan of excavated graves of all phases. Many of the earliest graves cannot be shown here on account of their being overlaid by later burials. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Table 2: St Peter's church: structural periods

Period		Description	Principal structural features
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

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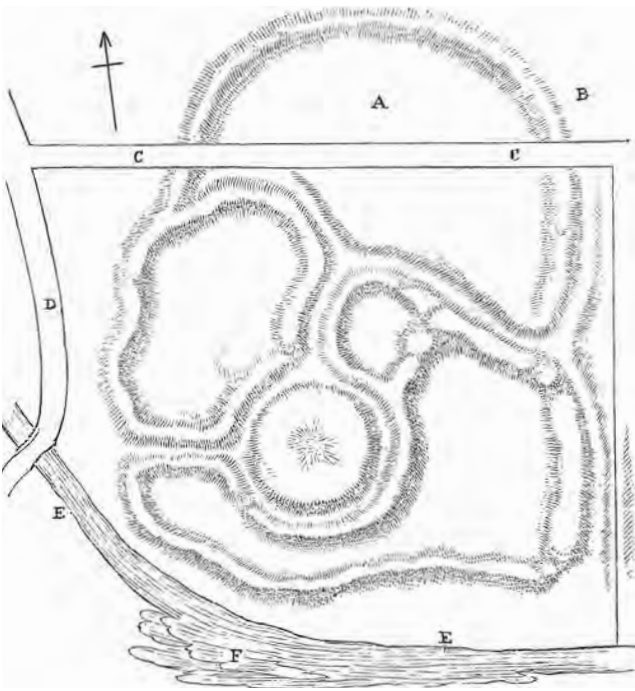
Fig. 27: Barrow Castles: plan of the earthworks in the mid-nineteenth century. Barrow Beck is labelled 'E' and Barrow Bogs (blow-wells) are indicated at 'F'. Hesleden 1846

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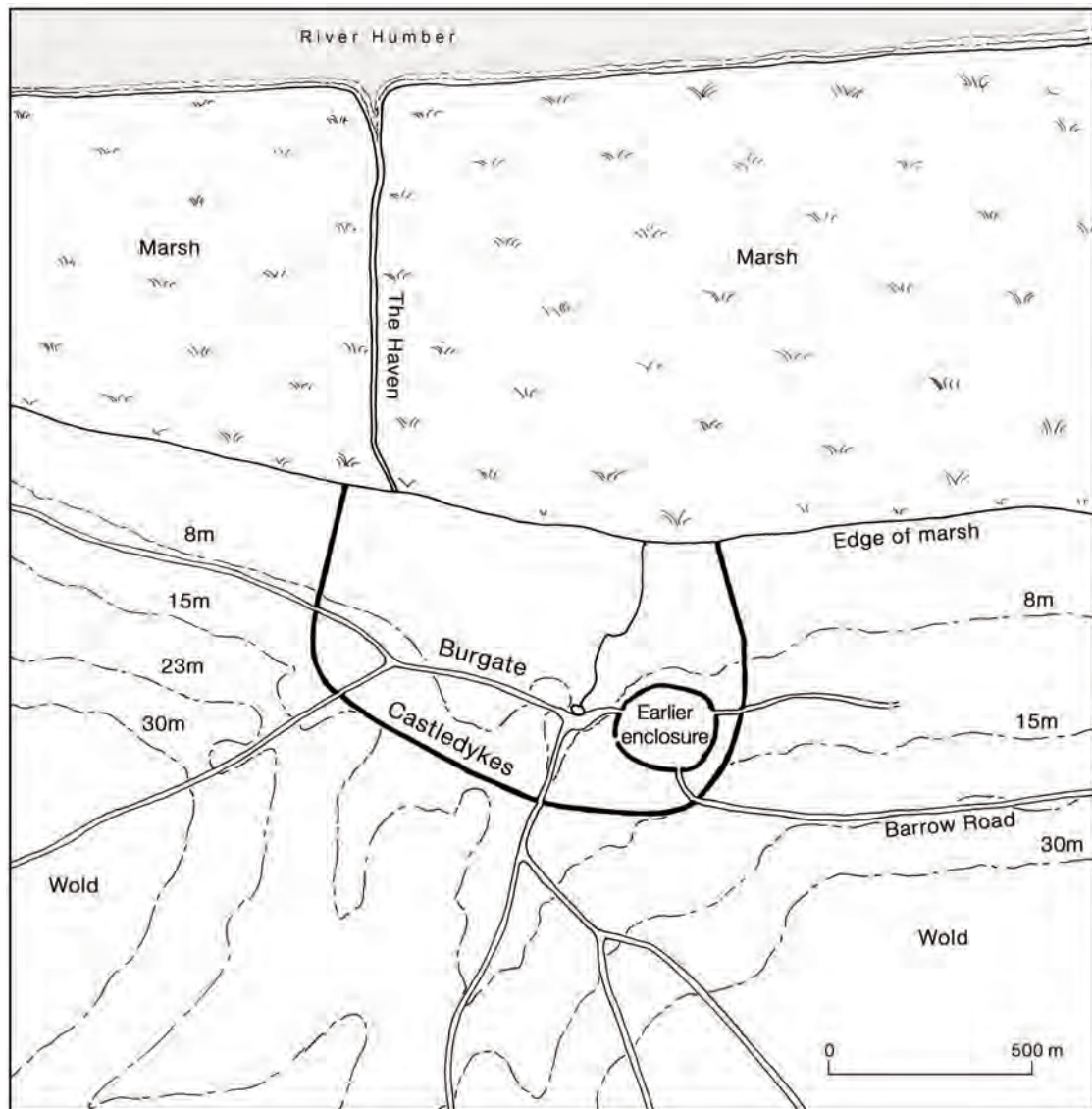
Fig. 28: Reconstructed plan of the D-shaped earthwork encompassing the town of Barton and the earlier sub-circular enclosure. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

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. Fortuitously, 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 Godwineson, 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 vills 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 926[48] 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

Within 971 bounds	c.b	Without 971 bounds	c.b
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 sokeland 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
Owmby	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

Parish	Lord in 1086	Reference	Parish	Lord in 1086	Reference
Audleby	1	par. Caistor	Immingham		
Barnetby	34(½)	*LD*, 34.4	Keelby	7(½) or 30	
Barrow	30	LRS 9, 55	Kelsey, North	1	LRS 27, 51
Barton	24	*LD*, 24.13	Kettleby	7	par. Bigby
Bigby	7	*LD*, 7, 18	Kettleby Thorpe	7	par. Bigby
'Bodebi'	34 or 36	par. Thornton	Killingholme	32	*DC*, 212-13
Bonby	25	*LD*, L11/10	Kirmington		
Brocklesby	3, 14, 25, 27, 32, 34	*LD*, 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	*LD*, 1, 65	Melton Ross	34	*LD*, 34, 1
Clixby	1	par. Caistor	Nettleton	44	*LD*, 44, 5
Croxton			Newsham	3, 14, 25, 27, 32, 34	par. Brocklesby
Elsham	7	LRS 9, 57; BF, 159	Owmby	44	par. Searby
Ferriby	23	*LD*, 23, 1	Riby		
Fonaby	1	par. Caistor	Saxby	14	*LD*, L11/10
Goxhill		LRS 9, 172	Searby	44	*LD*, 44, 7
			Somerby	?22	VCH, 131
Grasby	4	*LD*, 4, 26	Stallingboro'	32(½)	LD, 32, 1
Habrough	27	*DC*, 180	Thornton	36	LRS 9, 55
Halton	32 (part)	*DC*, 212-13	Ulceby	34	*LD*, 34, 2
Horkstow			Wootton		
Houfleet	32(½)	par. Stallingboro'	Worlaby		
Howsham	?1	par. Cadney	Wrawby	64	*LD*, 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, Owmby, and Searby. Sokeland in Clixby and Fonaby embraced the whole of each vill, but otherwise the manor shared the soke of the adjoining vills. 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 Grimbald 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, Owmby, 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 vills 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 vills 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 (Kapelle 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 vills in the Caistor complex. However, the Domesday soke of Caistor was not confined to these vills. 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 seigneurial 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 vills centred on West Halton can be reconstructed from interlocking patterns of Domesday tenure which can probably be identified with the *Alftham* 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 inter-dependence. 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 unregu-lated, 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**									
Trunsco			*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

	Status of holding	TRE holder
Epworth	manor	Leodwine
Owston	manor	Gytha
Haxey	manor	Siward Barn
Eastlound	two manors	Fulcric and Wege
Graizelound		
Ibidem	soke of Epworth	
Ibidem	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	
Ibidem	inland of Westwood	
Ibidem	soke of Garthorpe	
Garthorpe	soke of Crowle	
Luddington		
Ibidem	manor	Fulcric
Ibidem	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 Healing[61] – 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

Sigeferth 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 Sigeferth 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* (Soutergate[74]), *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
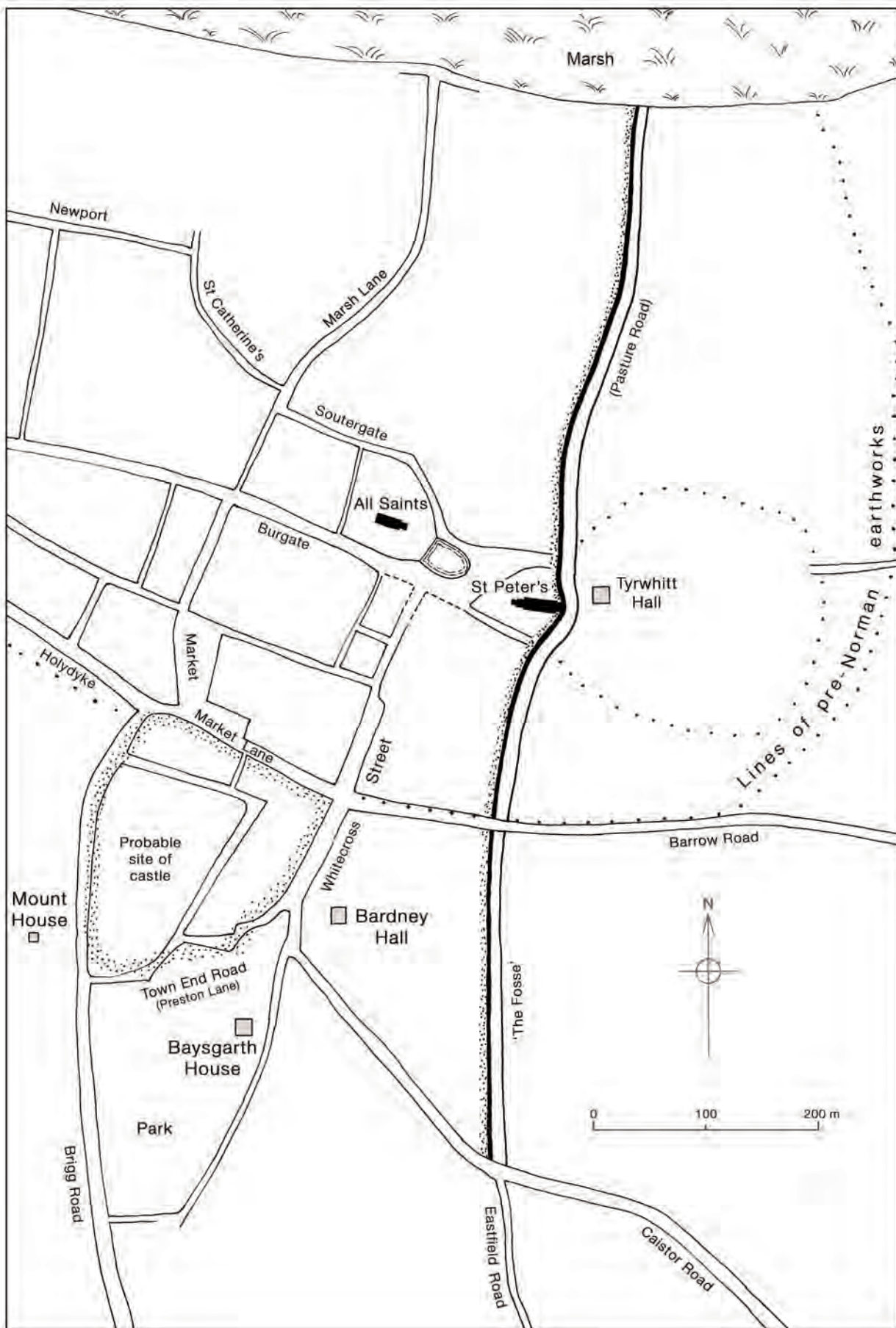
Fig. 29: Suggested reconstruction of the topography of Barton castle and the eastern defences of the town in the mid-twelfth century. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

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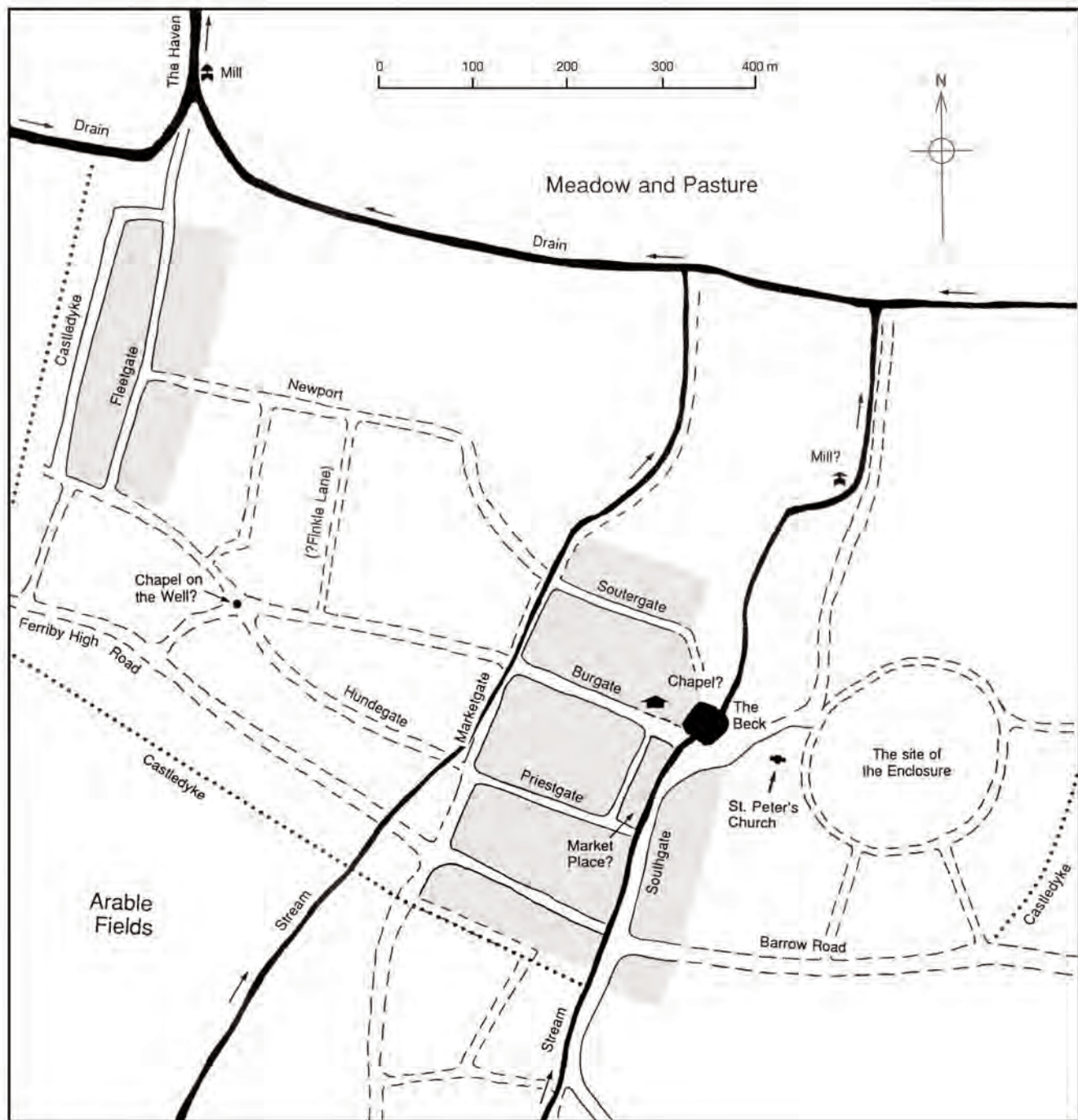
Fig. 31: Reconstructed plan of the late Saxon and Norman town of Barton. After Bryant 1994

The line of the medieval frontage on the east is pre-served 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 proper-ties on this side.

Little can be said with certainty about the dimen-sions of the burgage plots: they were not all of a stan-dard 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 north-wards 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 harbourage 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 unbuilt-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 Hall[102] 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 gate-house 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
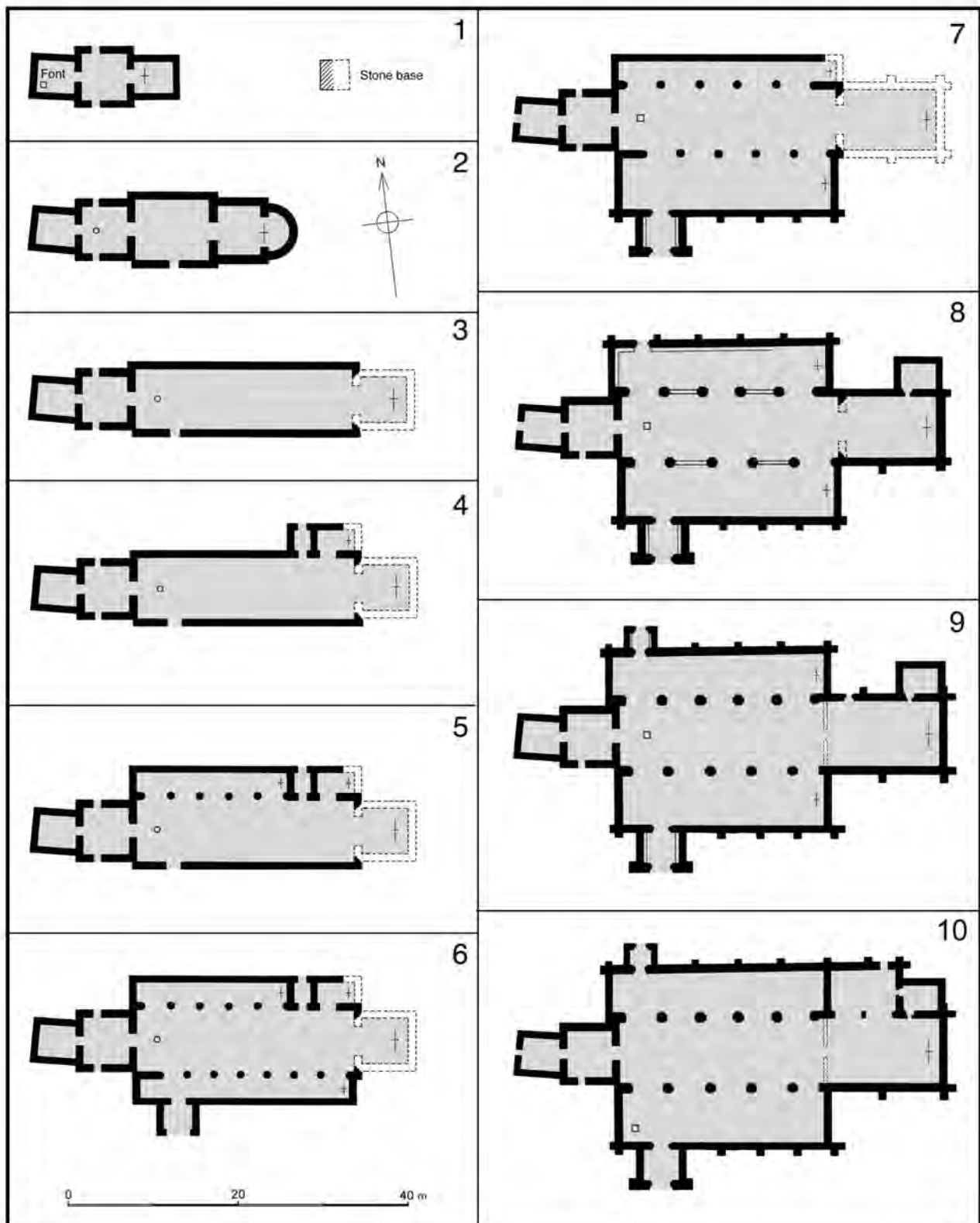
Fig. 33: St Peter's, Barton. Phase plans showing the development of the church. Font and probable altar positions are marked. 1 Late tenth or early eleventh century; 2 Mid–late eleventh century; 3 Early–mid twelfth century; 4 Mid-twelfth century; 5 Late twelfth century; 6 Early thirteenth century; 7 Late thirteenth century; 8 Early–mid-fourteenth century; 9 Mid-fifteenth century; 10 Mid- and late nineteenth century. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell and Simon Hayfield
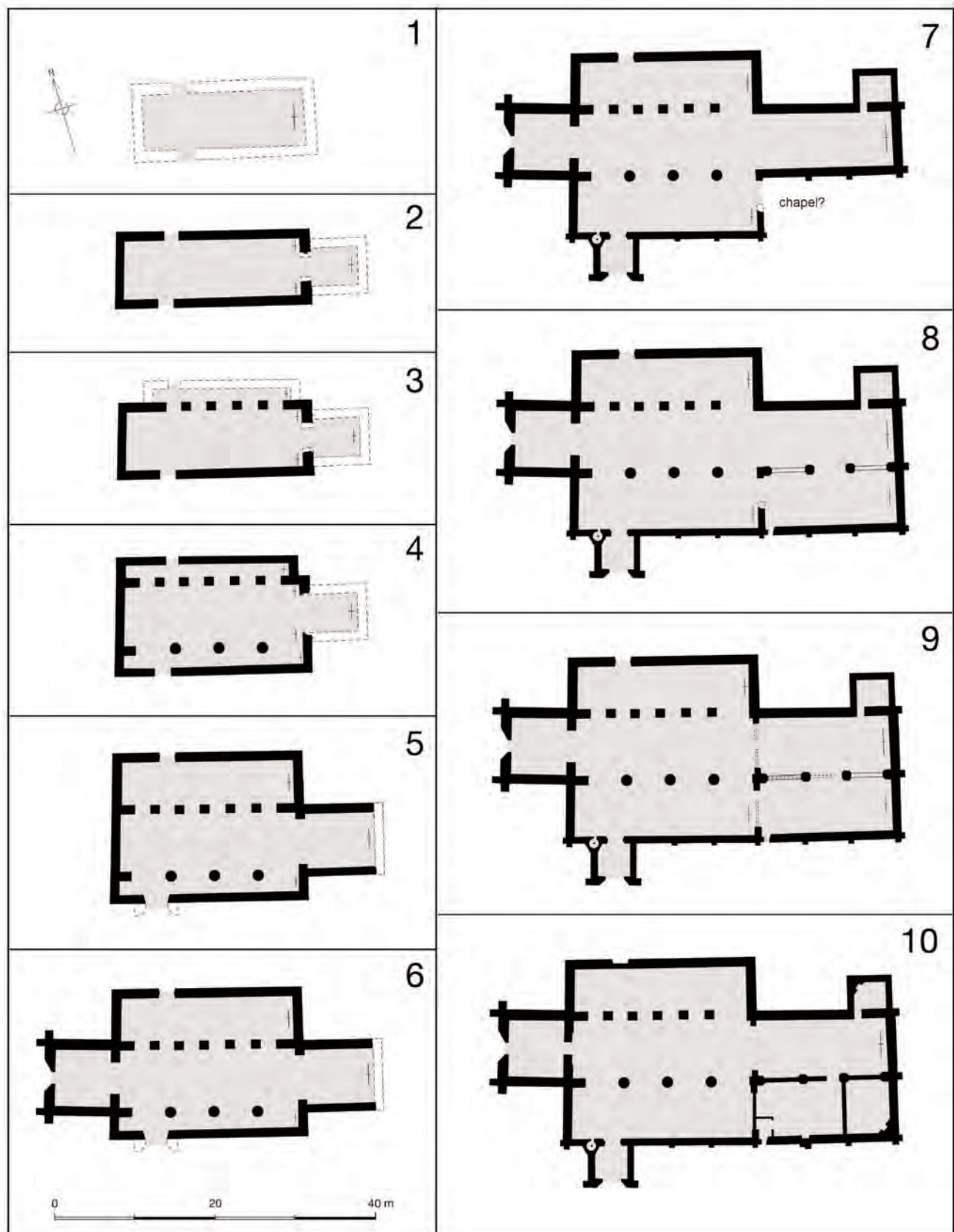
Fig. 34: St Mary's Barton. Phase plans showing the probable development of the church. 1, eleventh century; 2, early twelfth century; 3, mid–late twelfth century; 4, late twelfth century; 5, early thirteenth century; 6, mid-thirteenth century; 7, late thirteenth century; 8, early–mid-fourteenth century; 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 outlying. 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, Tombleson (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 Trunyon'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 reparacion off saynt Nynyan chaple xvj*d*.' (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 (Tombleson 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 buryed within the chapell of our laydy 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 Channcell of theis severall parishes 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]
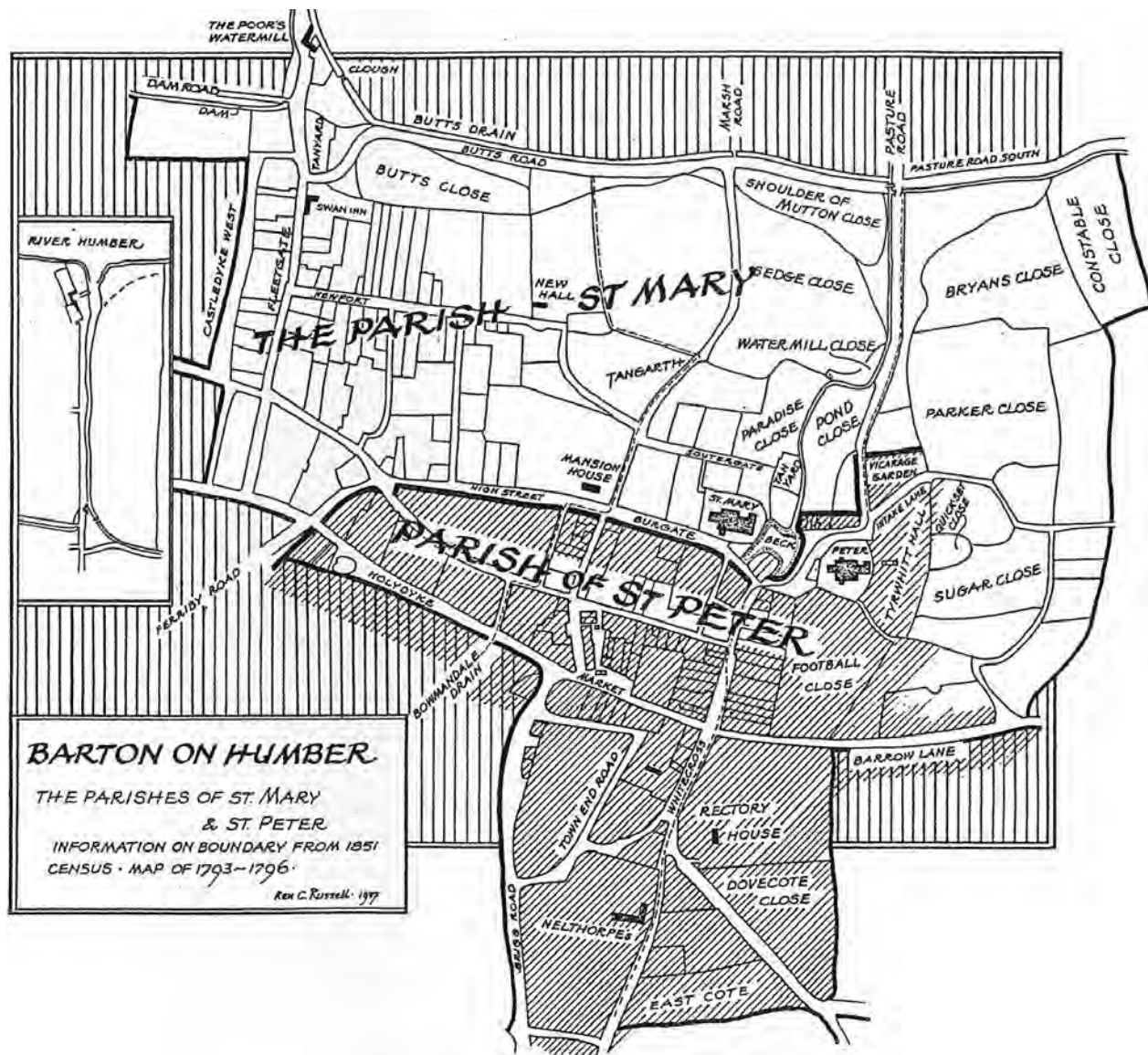
Fig. 35: Reconstruction of the de facto *division of Barton into two 'parishes'. Russell 2002*

he also made bequests to 'the vicar of Barton', the reader of St Maryes parish' and the 'clerk of the parishe 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 impropriator 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. 7[174]).

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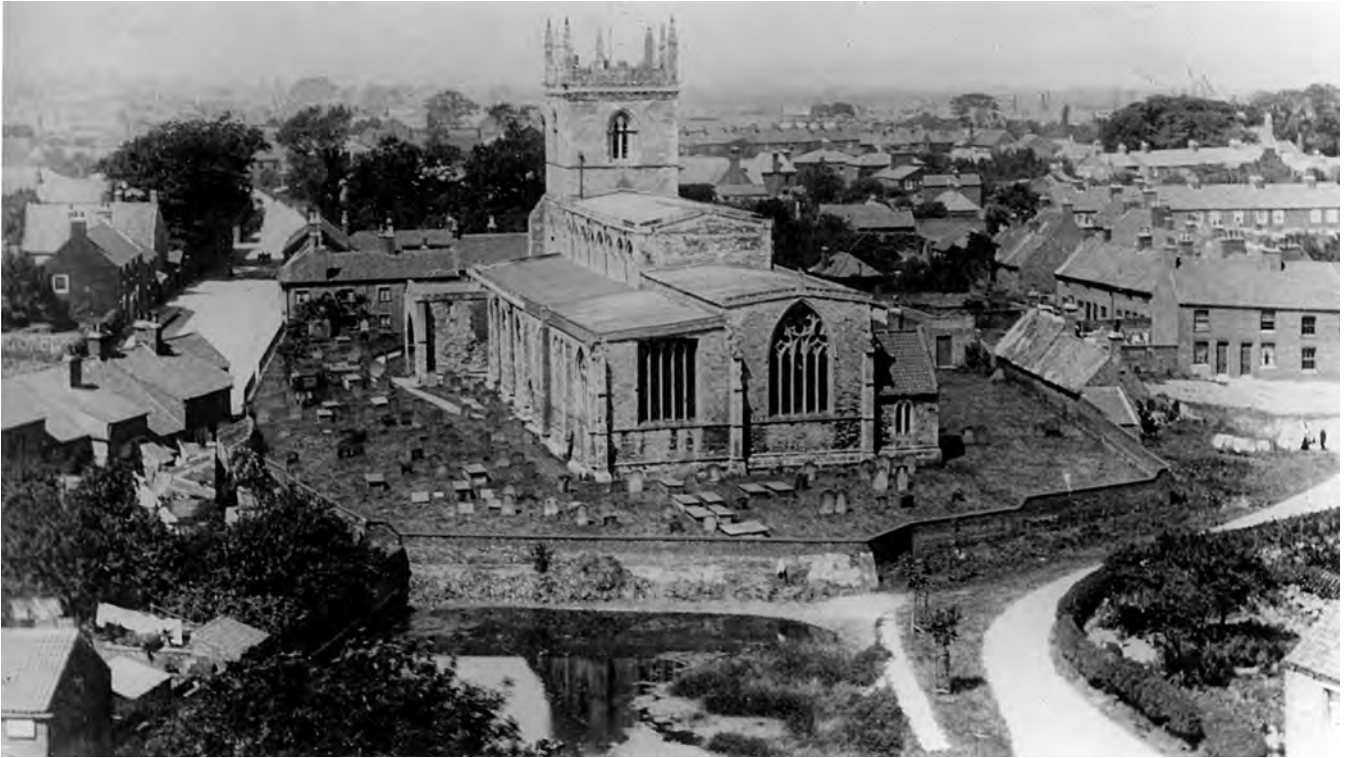
Fig. 37: St Mary's church and its setting from the east in the 1890s. View from St Peter's tower, probably taken by Arthur Brummitt. Compare with Fig. 1. Courtesy of North Lincolnshire Museum Service (Ball, scrapbook 2)

Fig. 38: St Mary's church from the south-west in the 1890s. Photo: Arthur Brummitt, courtesy of John French
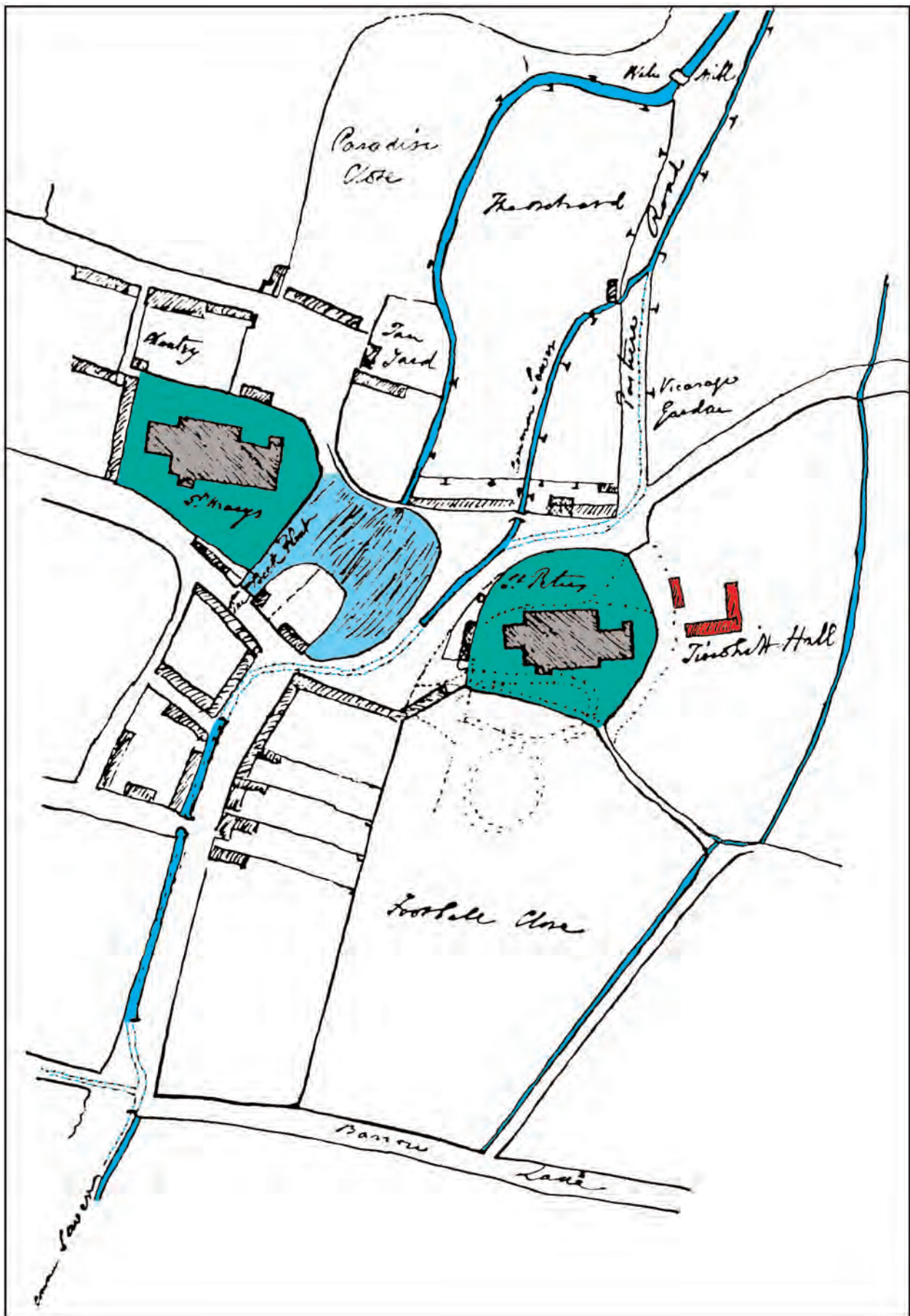
Fig. 39: The environs of St Mary's and St Peter's churches. Undated, late eighteenth-century plan. Colour has been added to emphasize the churchyards, streams and drains. Lincolnshire Archives
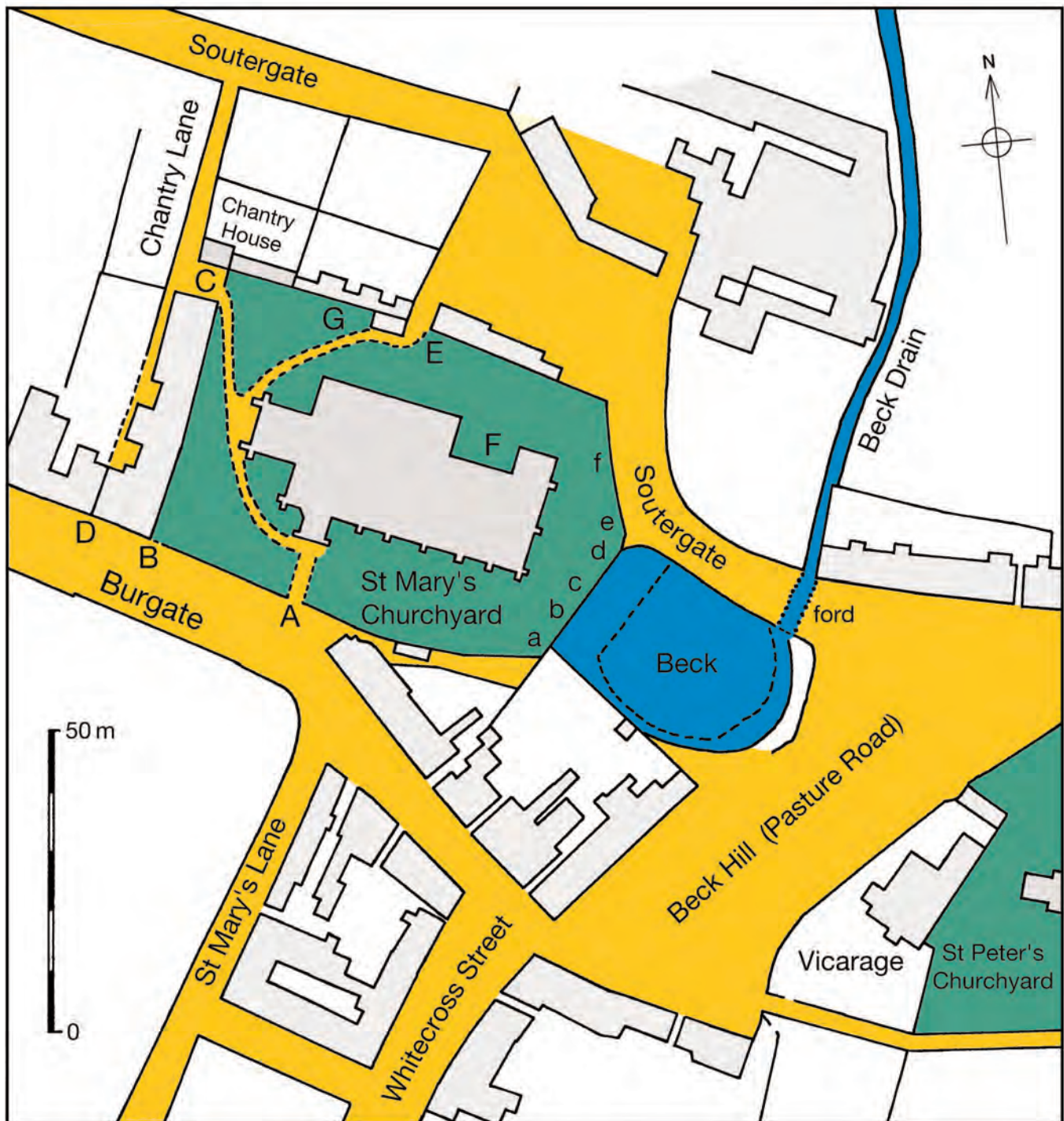
Fig. 40: Topographical plan of St Mary's churchyard and its environs in the mid-nineteenth century. Compiled from the Ordnance Survey 1:2,500 plan of 1886, and other sources. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

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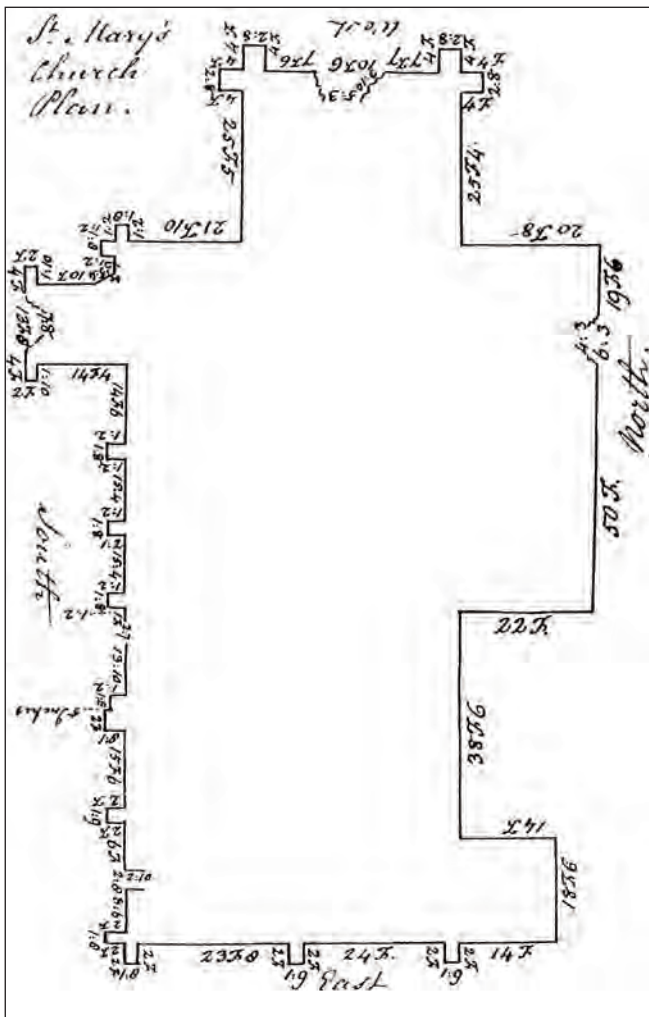
Fig. 43: St Mary's: plan of the exterior by J.H. Loft, 1831. West is at the top. Lincolnshire Archives

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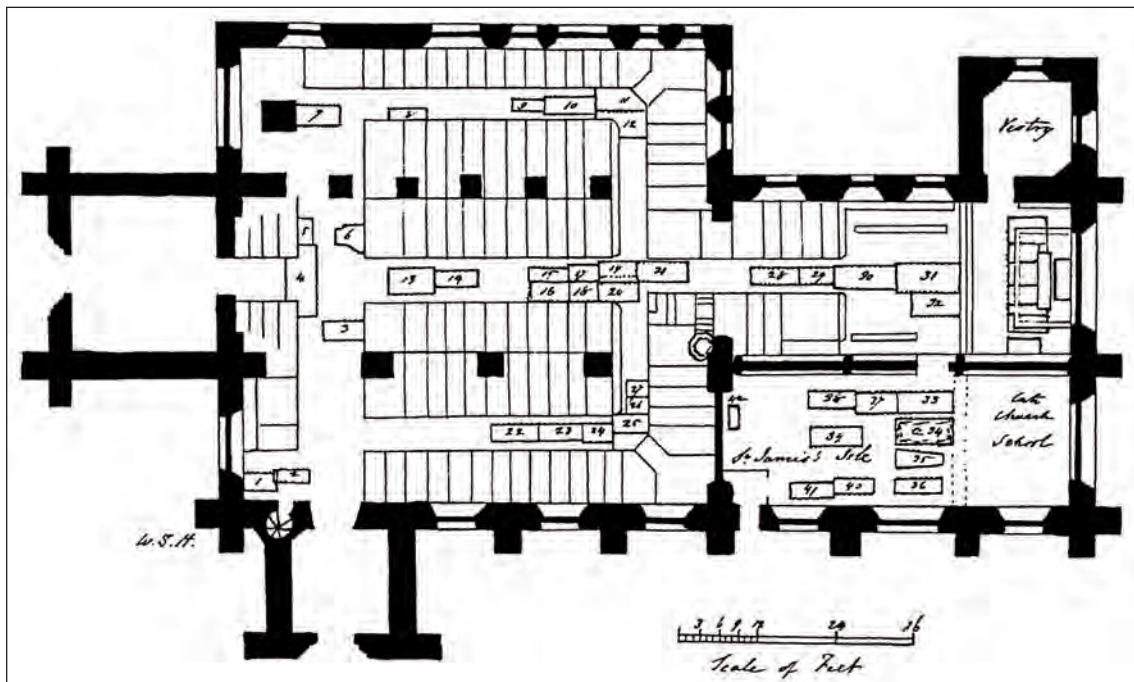
Fig. 44: St Mary's: plan of the church and seating by W.S. Hesleden, 1834. Lincolnshire Archives and Brown 1908

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.
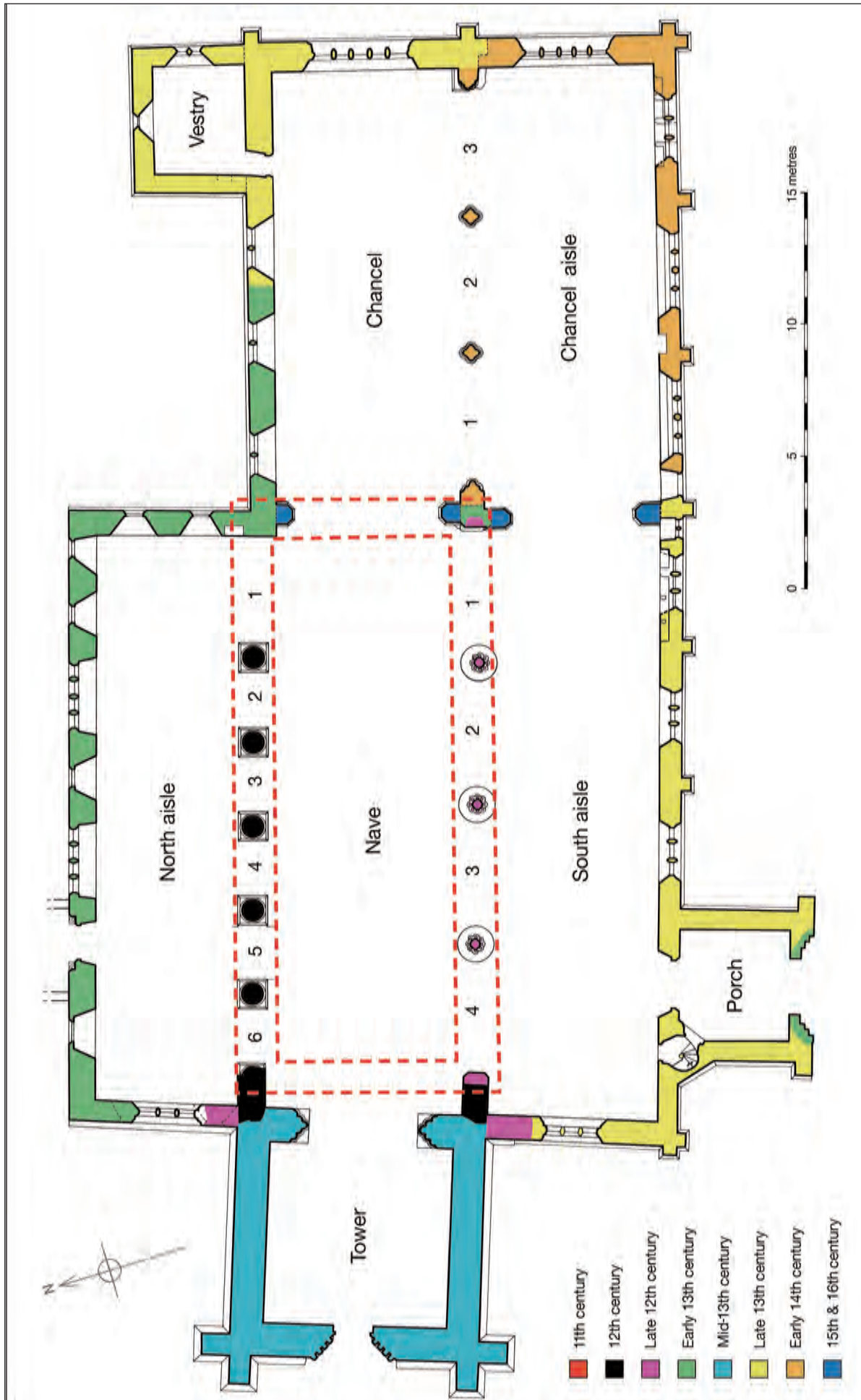
Fig. 46: St Mary's church: phased plan of the upstanding walls. The approximate positions of the foundations of the earlier (Anglo-Saxon?) nave are also shown. Drawing: Caroline Atkins and Simon Hayfield
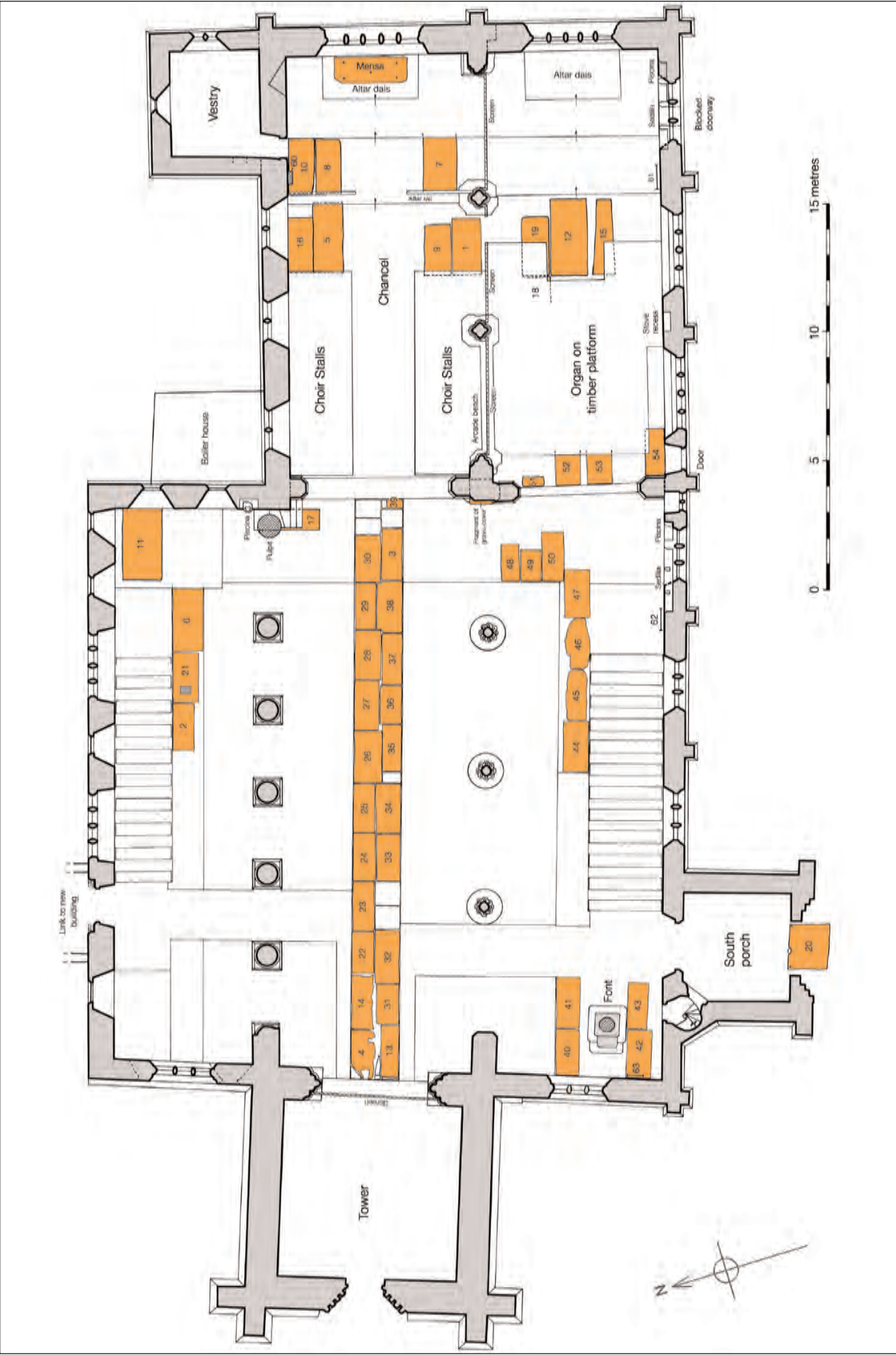
Fig. 47: St Mary's church: ground plan, showing also the locations of funerary monuments. M.1–54 are floor slabs; M.60–63 are affixed to the walls. Drawing: Caroline Atkins
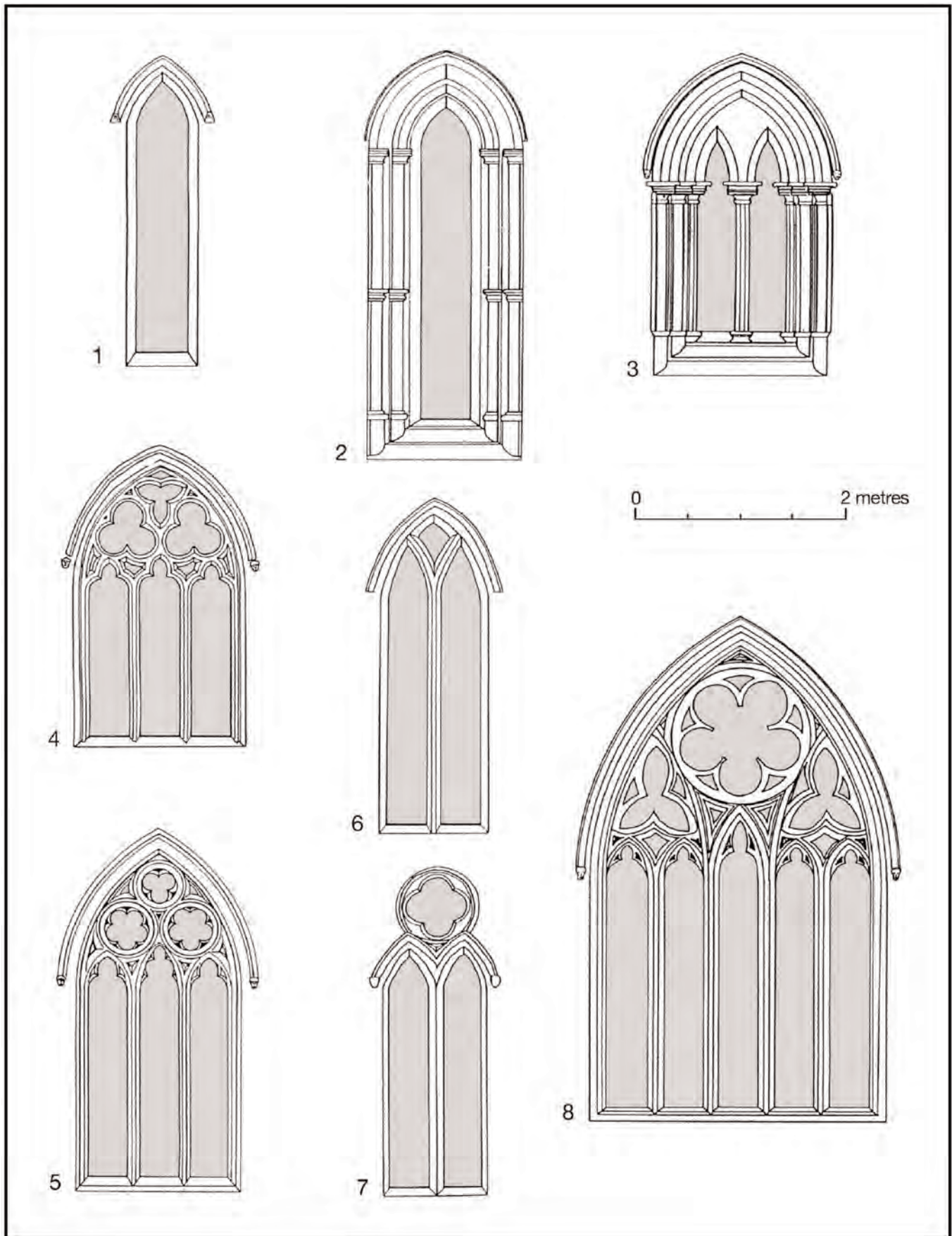
Fig. 48: Typology of the medieval windows in St Peter's and St Mary's churches. 1 St M., north aisle; 2, 3 St M., tower; 4 St P., south aisle; 5 St M., south nave aisle; 6 St M., chancel north wall, bay 3; 7 St M., chancel north wall, bay 2; 8 St M., chancel, east wall. Scale 1:50. After Bryant 2003
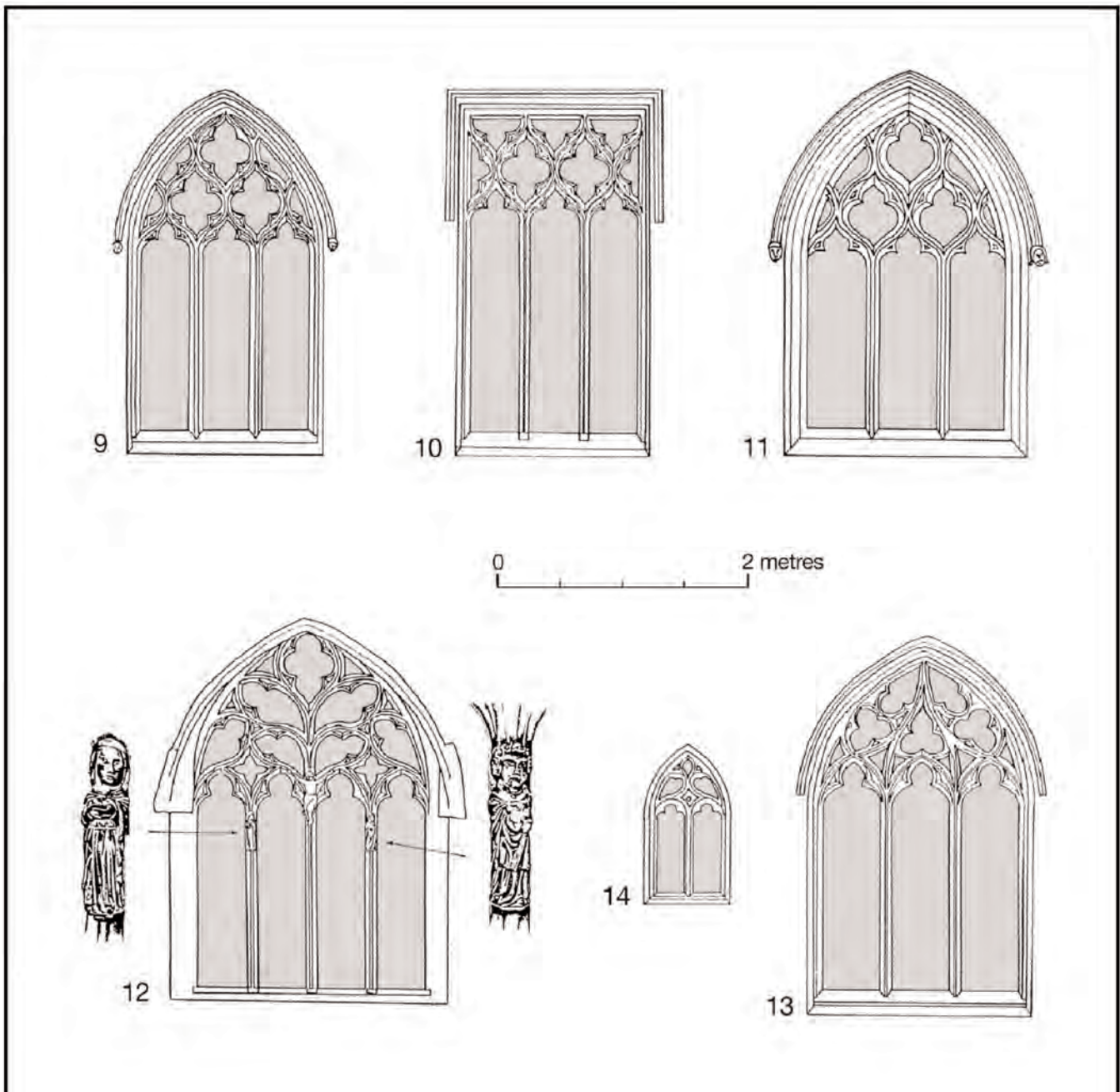
Fig. 49: Typology of the medieval windows in St Peter's and St Mary's churches. 9, 10 St P., north aisle; 11 St M., south chancel aisle, bay 3; 12 St P., north aisle, east wall (interior); 13 St P., north aisle, west wall; 14 St M., south nave aisle, bay 1. Scale 1:50. After Bryant 2003

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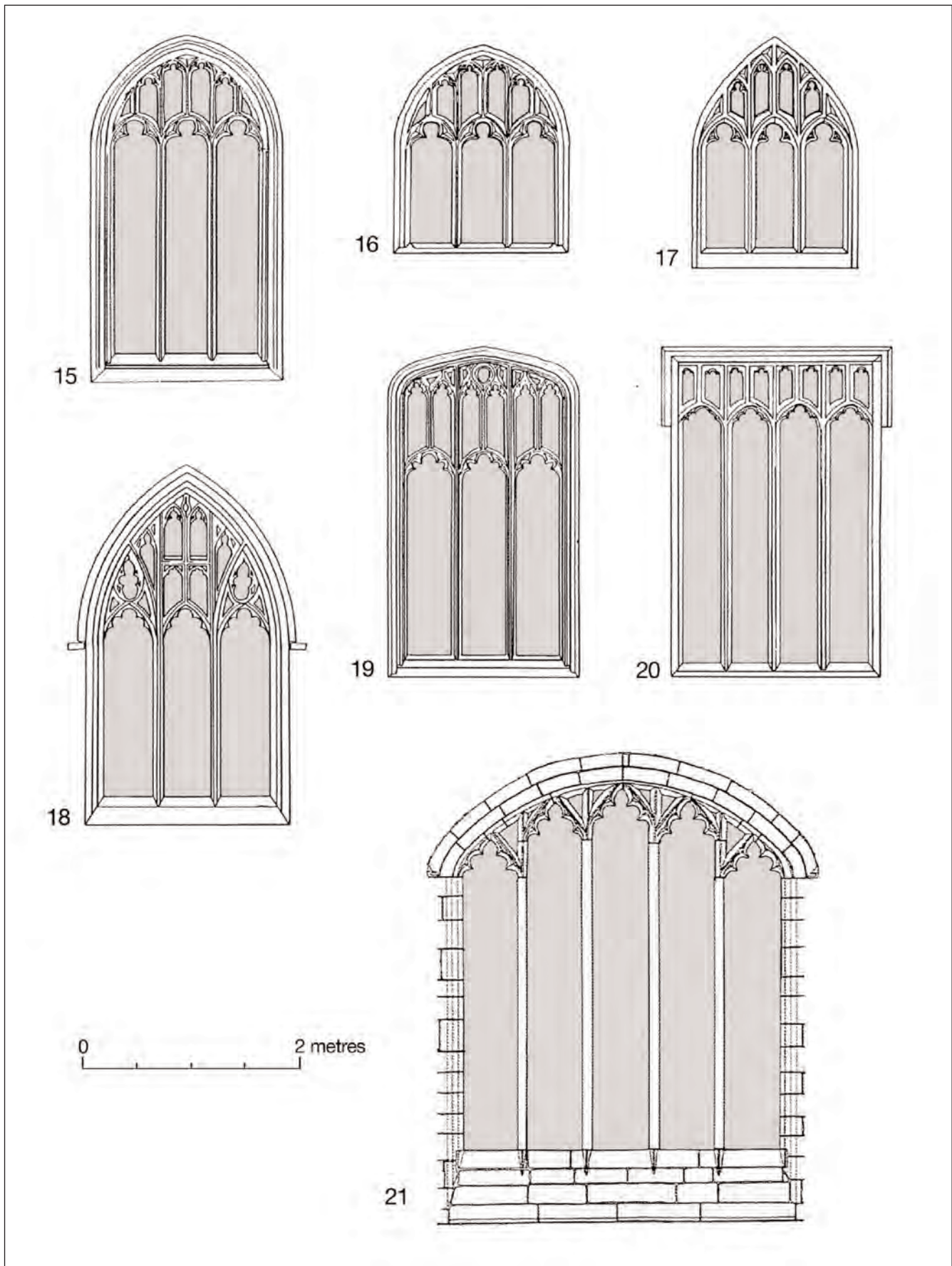
Fig. 50: Typology of the medieval windows in St Peter's and St Mary's churches. 15 St P., south aisle, west wall; 16 St P., clerestory; 17 St M., clerestory; 18 St M., north aisle, west wall; 19 St P., south aisle, east wall; 20 St M., north aisle; 21 St P., chancel, east wall. Scale 1:50. After Bryant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

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

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.

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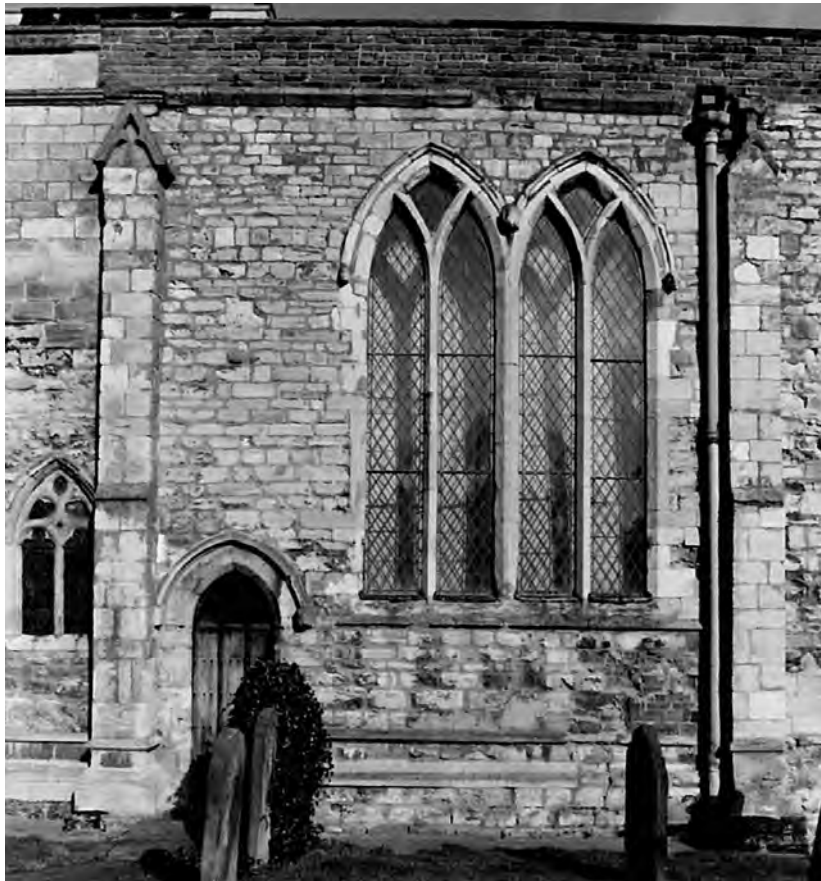
Fig. 60: St Mary's: south chancel aisle. Four-light window with Y-tracery and adjacent priest's door in bay 1. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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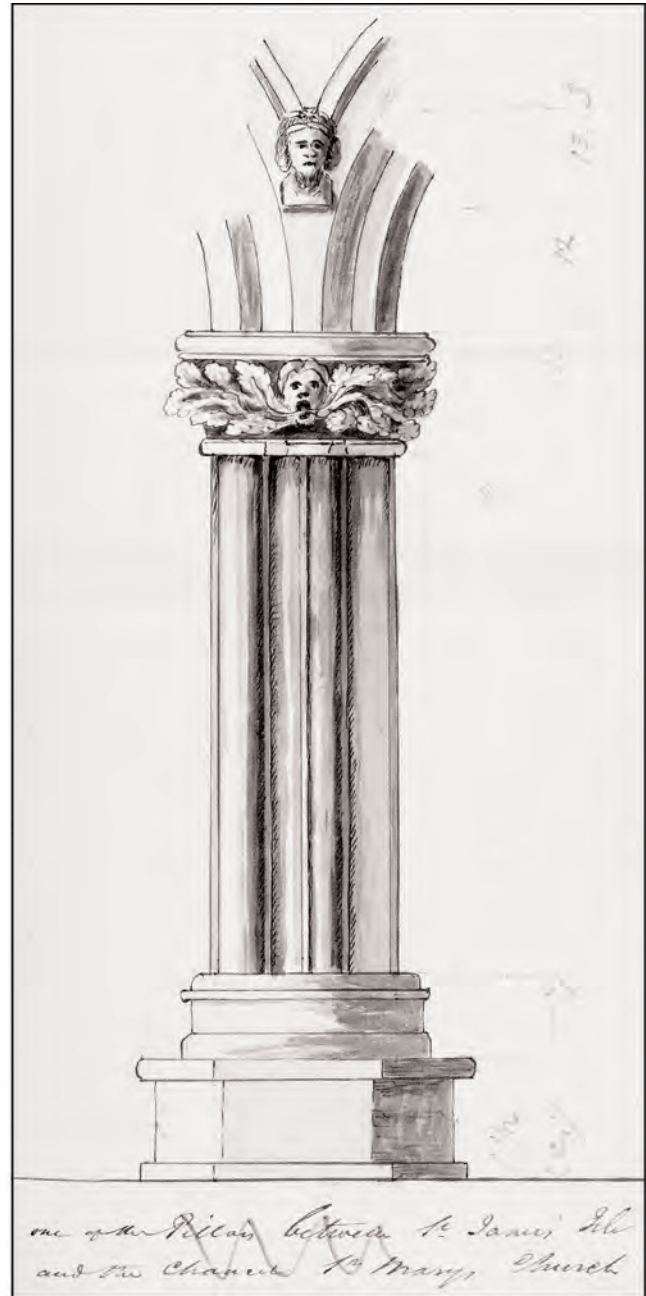
Fig. 62: St Mary's: chancel arcade. South face of the pier of bay 1/2, showing sculpture nos. 7 and 15 and the octagonal bench around the base (omitting the lateral bench abutments). Drawn by W.S. Hesleden, c. 1833. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: Ms Top. Lincs. b.1, f. 217.

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 arches[60] (*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 dished 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
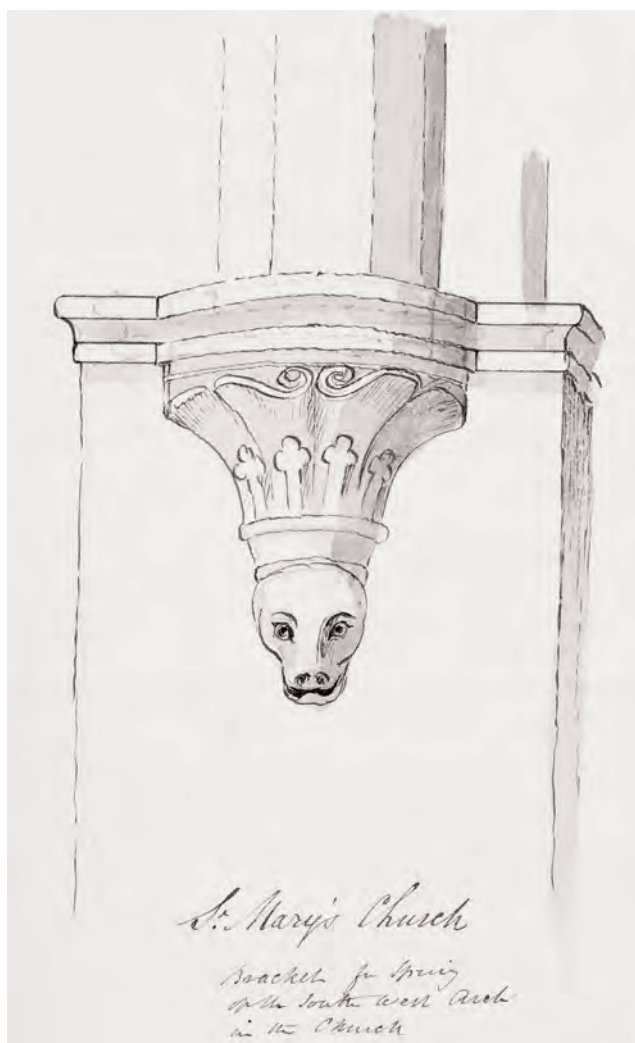
Fig. 67: St Mary's: south nave arcade. Waterleaf corbel and beast-head, drawn by W.S. Hesleden, c. 1833. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: Ms Top. Lincs. b.1, f. 214.

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

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

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 hourglass (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 8*d*.' 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.

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 ashlars 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
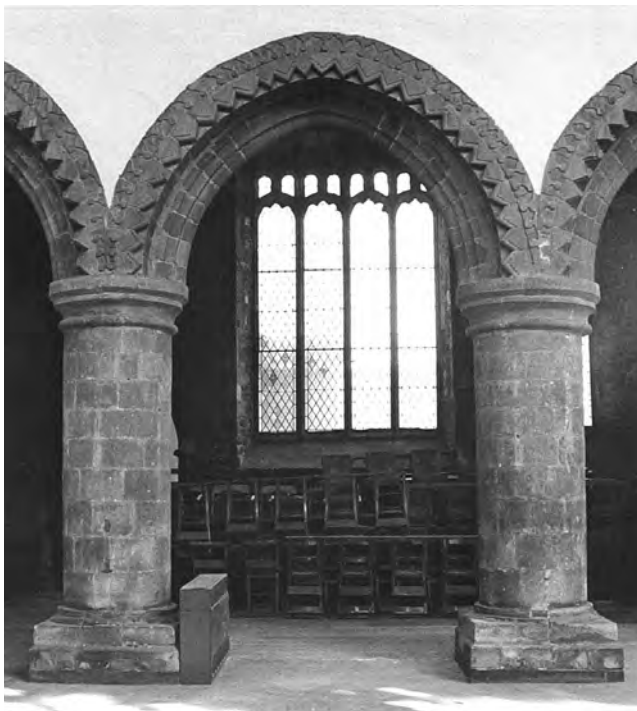
Fig. 75: St Mary's: north arcade, bay 4. View north, 1984. Photo: Geoffrey Bryant
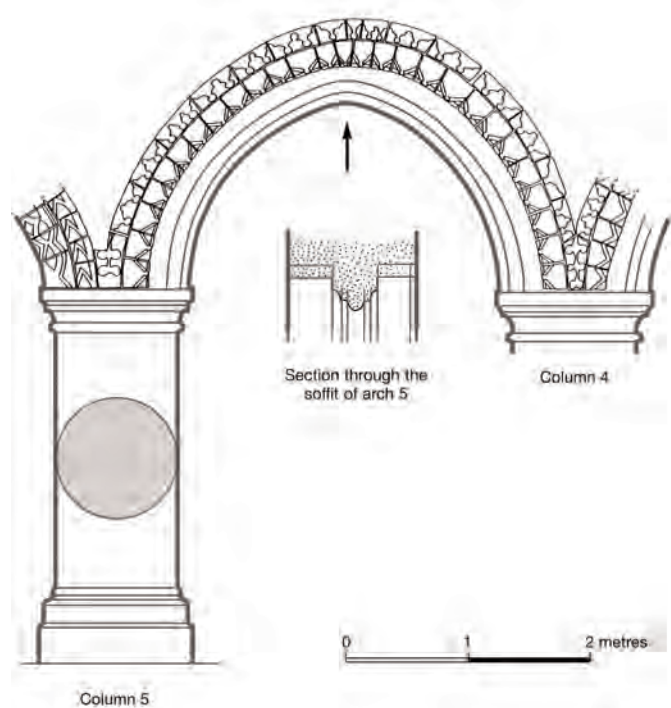
Fig. 76: St Mary's: north arcade. South elevation of bay 5. After Bryant 2003

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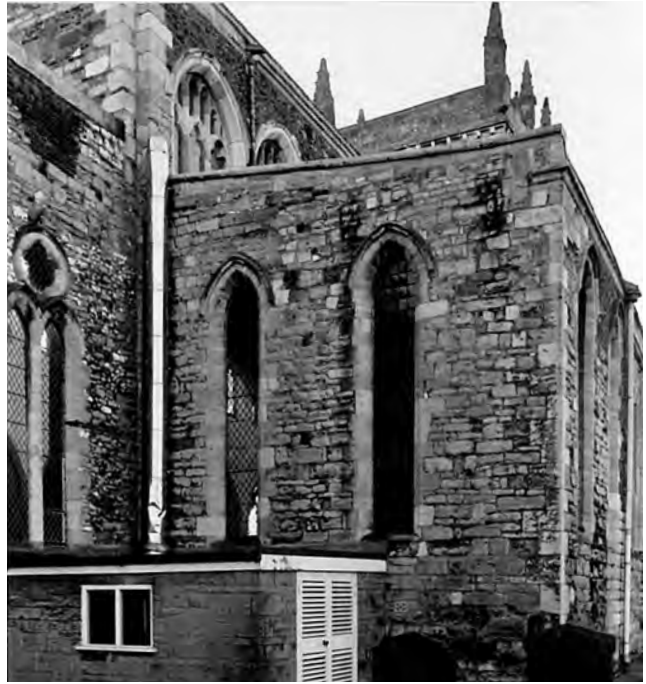
Fig. 77: St Mary's: north aisle. East end, exterior. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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
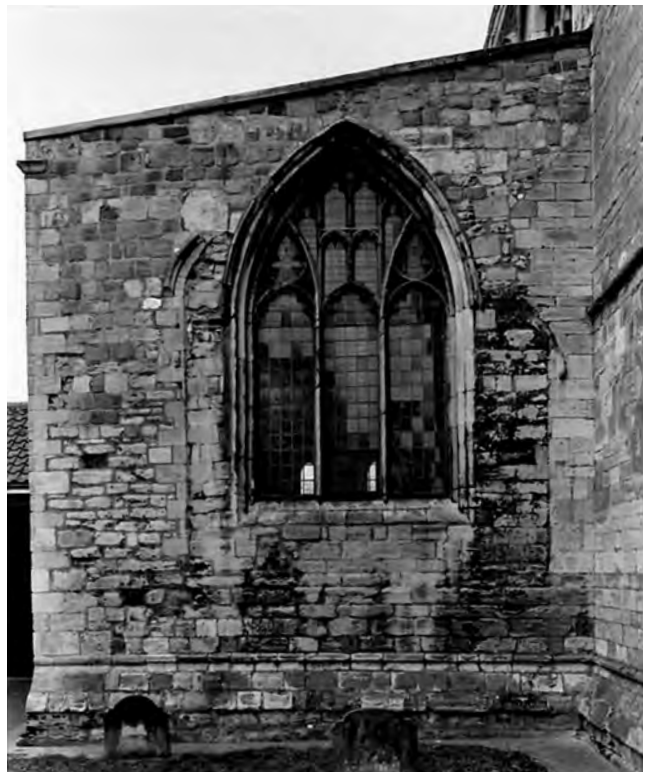
Fig. 79: St Mary's: north aisle. West wall, showing the monopitched roof-line of an earlier narrow aisle and an infilled lancet window below (right); also showing is a taller lancet (left) belonging to the wide aisle. These features are partly cut away by the late Perpendicular window; for a key, see Fig. 80. Photo: Warwick Rodwell
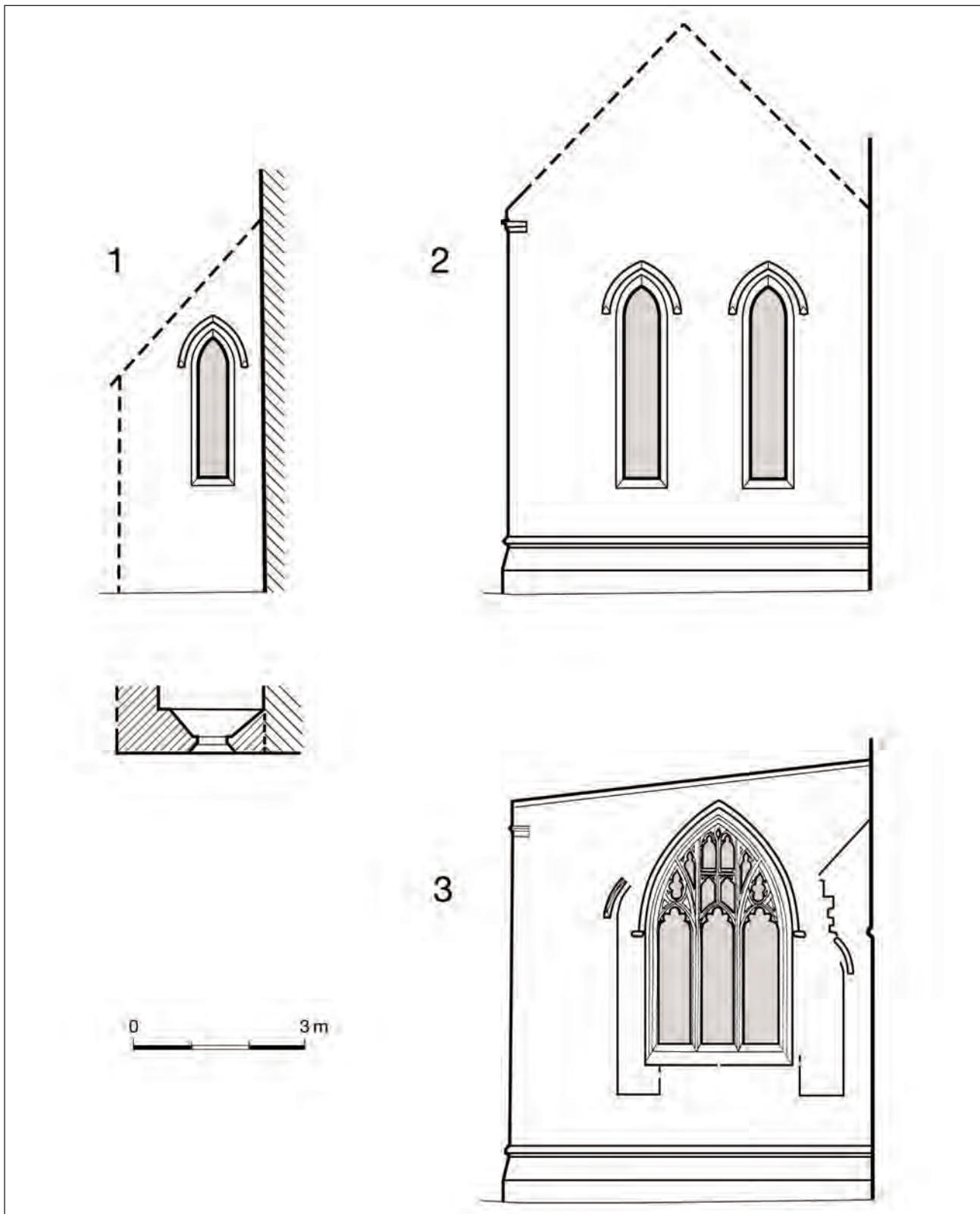
Fig. 80: St Mary's: north aisle, west wall. 1 Reconstructed elevation and plan of the narrow aisle with a single, short lancet window; 2 Reconstruction of the wide aisle with a pair of taller lancets; 3 The present west window and relict evidence for the earlier fenestration. Scale 1:100. After Bryant 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 unmoulded, 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

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

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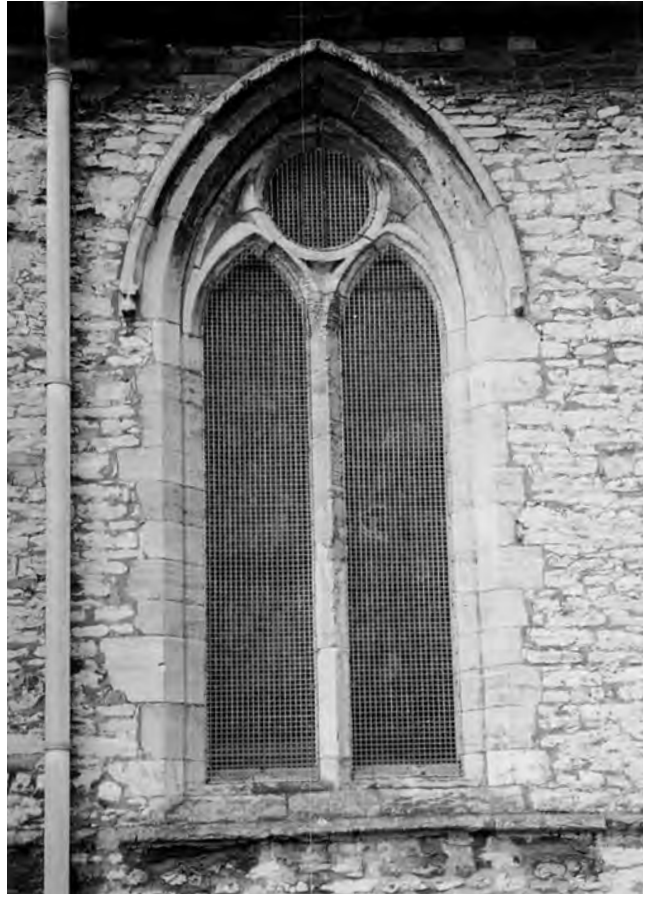
Fig. 88: All Saints, Winterton (Lincs.): south wall of chancel. A two-light window with tracery circle, all uncusped. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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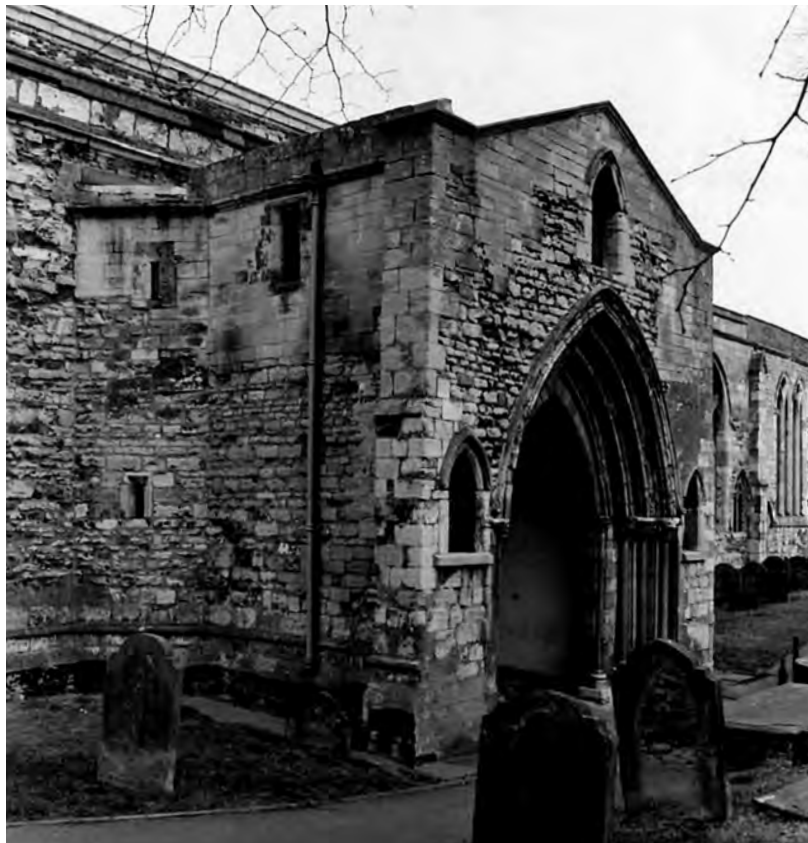
Fig. 90: St Mary's: south porch from the south-west, showing the canted corner containing the staircase leading to the upper chamber. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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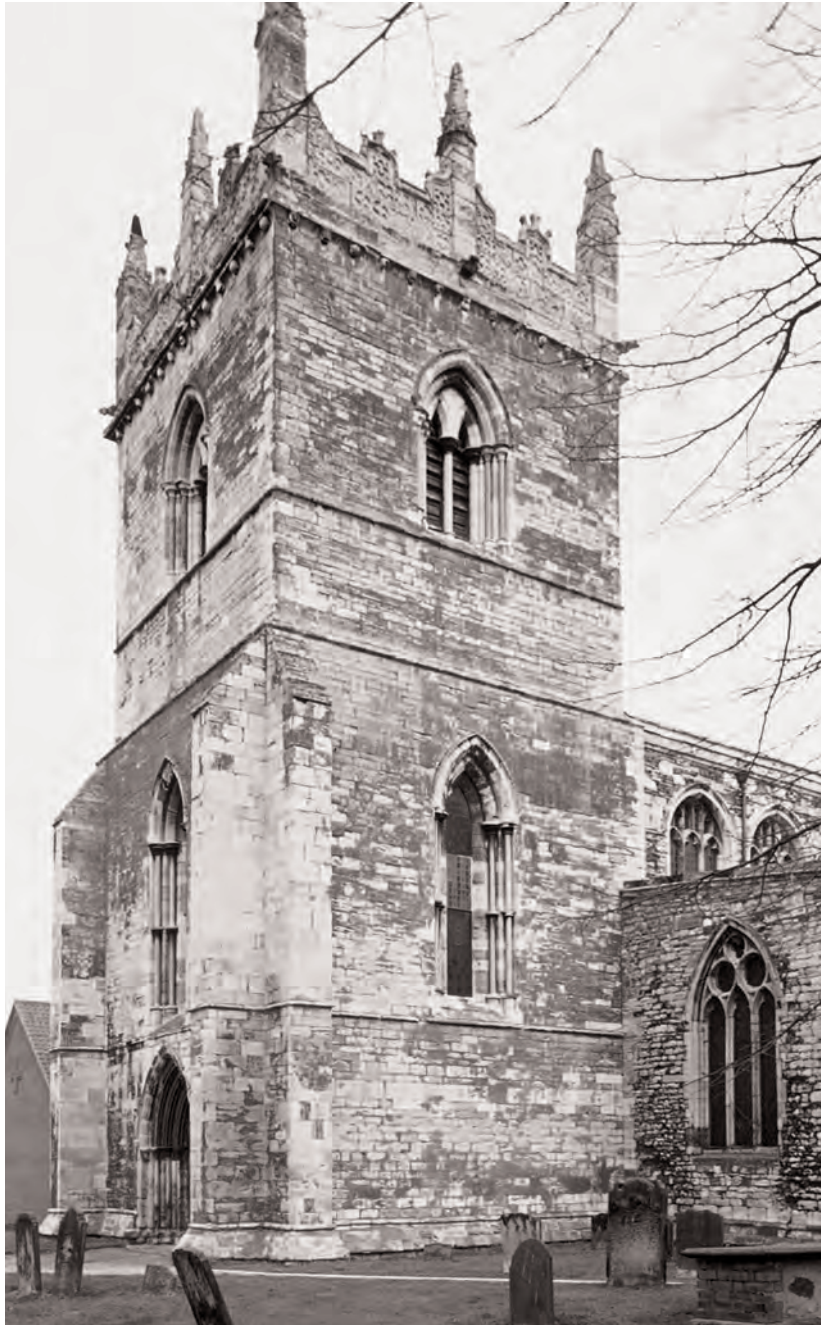
Fig. 96: St Mary's: the tower from the south-west. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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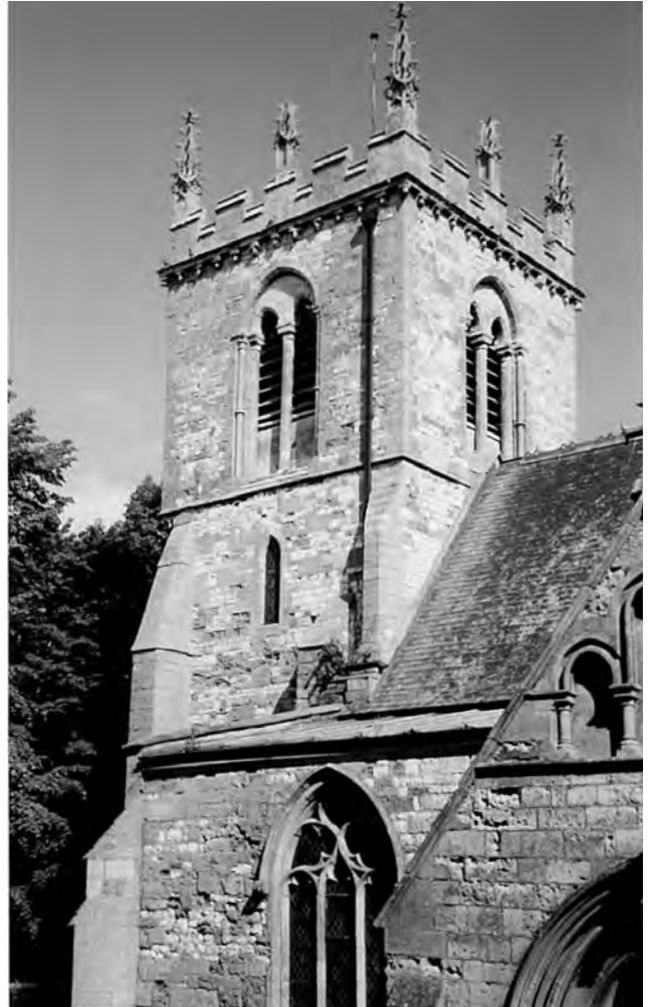
Fig. 105: St Lawrence, Thornton Curtis (Lincs.): west tower. Upper stages, from the south-east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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

Fig. 107: St Lawrence, Thornton Curtis (Lincs.): south porch. 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).

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.
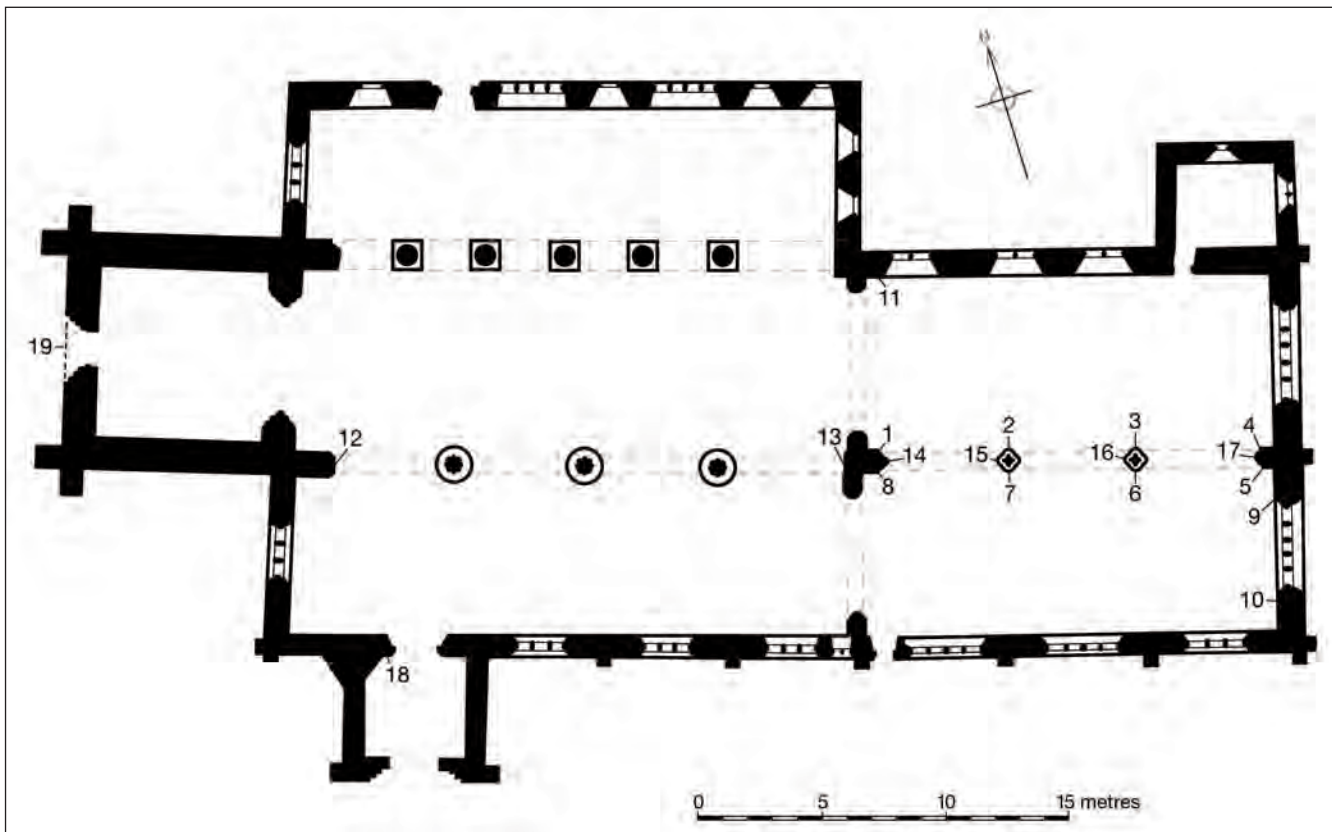
Fig. 108: St Mary's: plan showing the locations and numbering of the medieval architectural sculptures. 1–10 arcade label-stops; 11–13 corbels; 14–17 arcade capitals; 18 label-stop; 19 label-keystone. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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 southeast 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
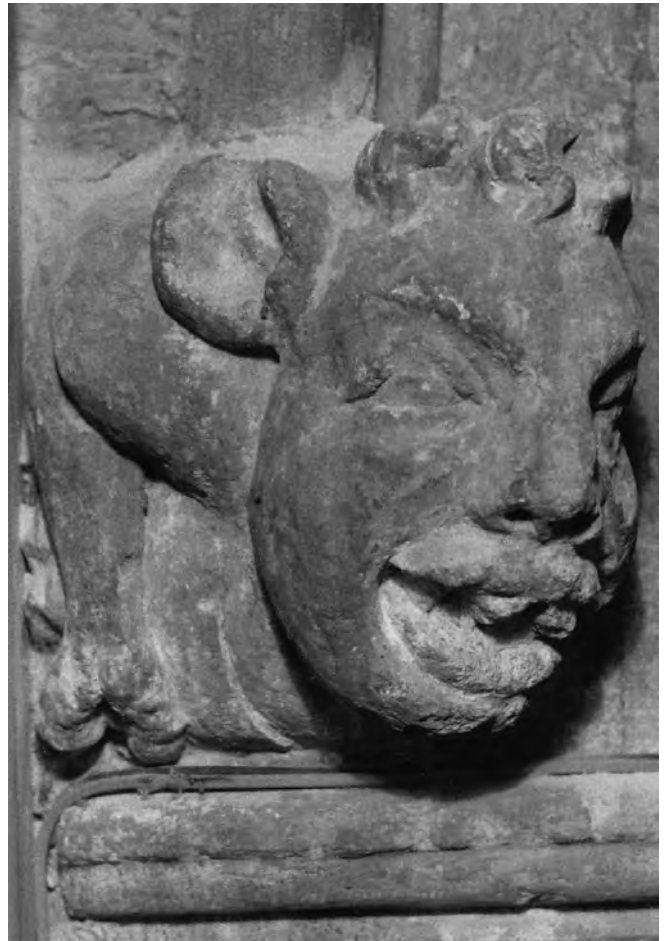
Fig. 116: St Mary's: chancel arcade. Label-stop no. 8. Photos: Warwick Rodwell
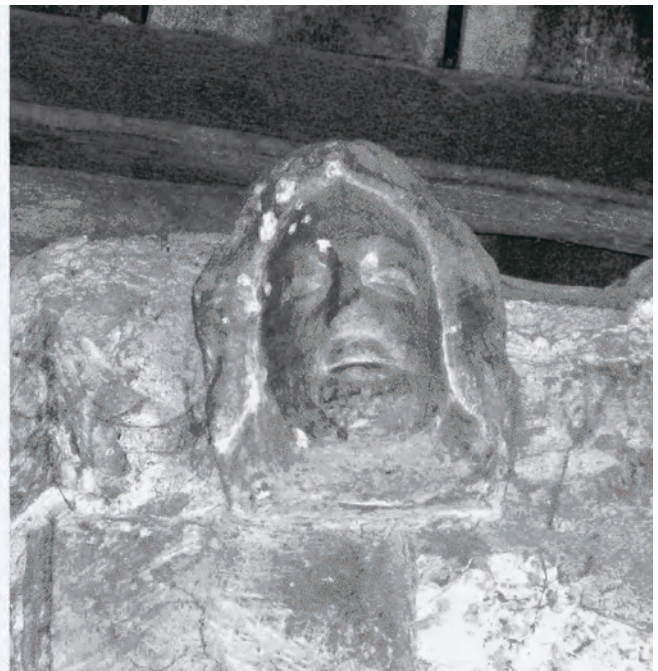
Fig. 117: St Mary's: south chancel aisle. Internal label-stops on the east window. Left, northern (label-stop no. 9). Right, southern (label-stop no. 10). Photos: Warwick Rodwell

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 20*s*.[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 xij*d*. 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 great dammage to the steeple, because that the raigne did beate in there, and soe wett and consume the timber that the whole roofe 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 1674[123] 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 cornish [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 1718[132] 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 losed 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 fortuitously 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]

*Fig. 123: St Mary's: nave roof (*ex situ*). Plumber's lead plaque. Photo: Warwick Rodwell*

> 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. 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 service ....[142]

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; releading 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]
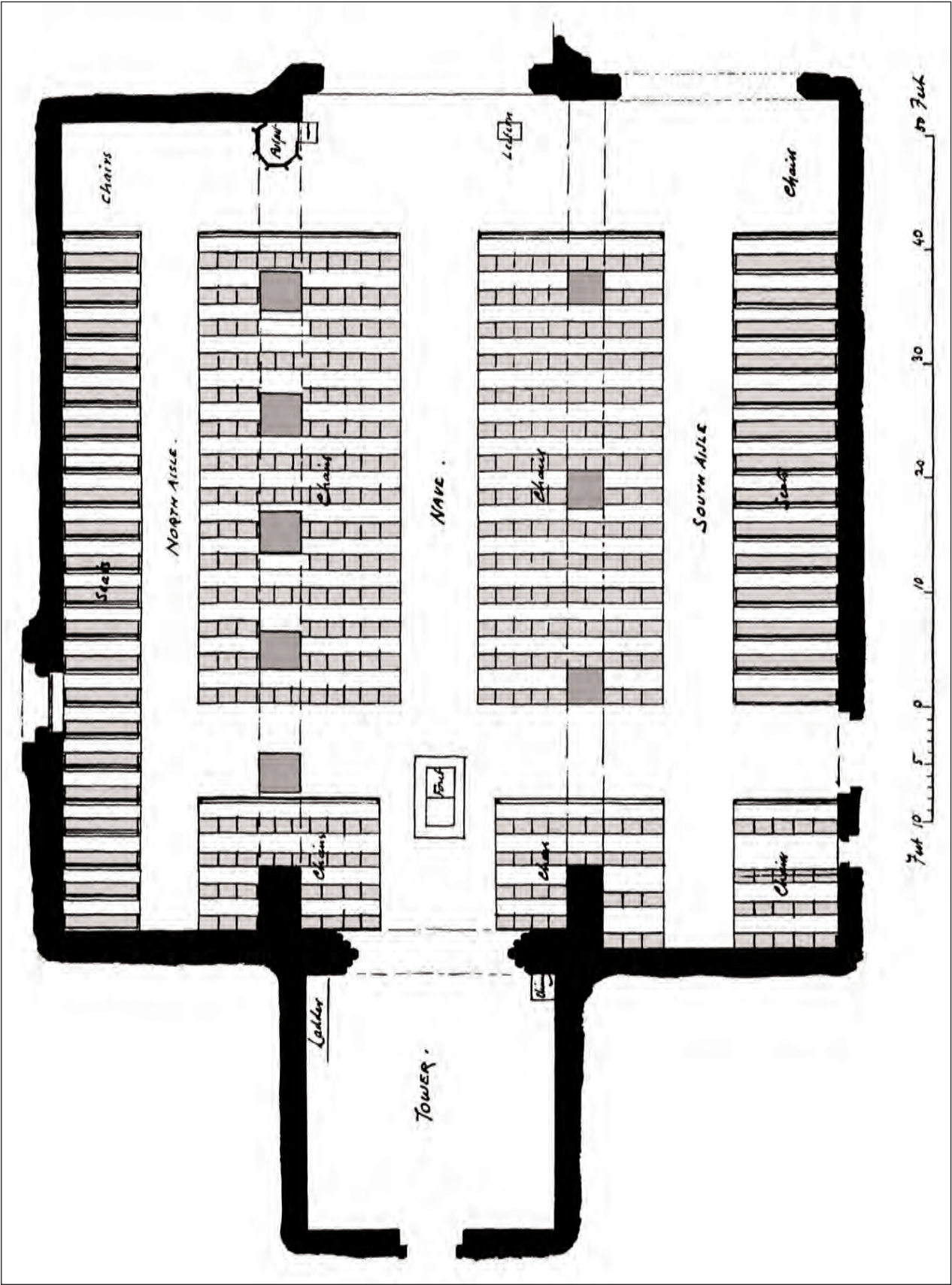
Fig. 125: St Mary's: plan for the restoration and reseating of the church by J.O. Scott, 1891. Lincolnshire Archives

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 releaded 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 releaded 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 knop.[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 knop, 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.
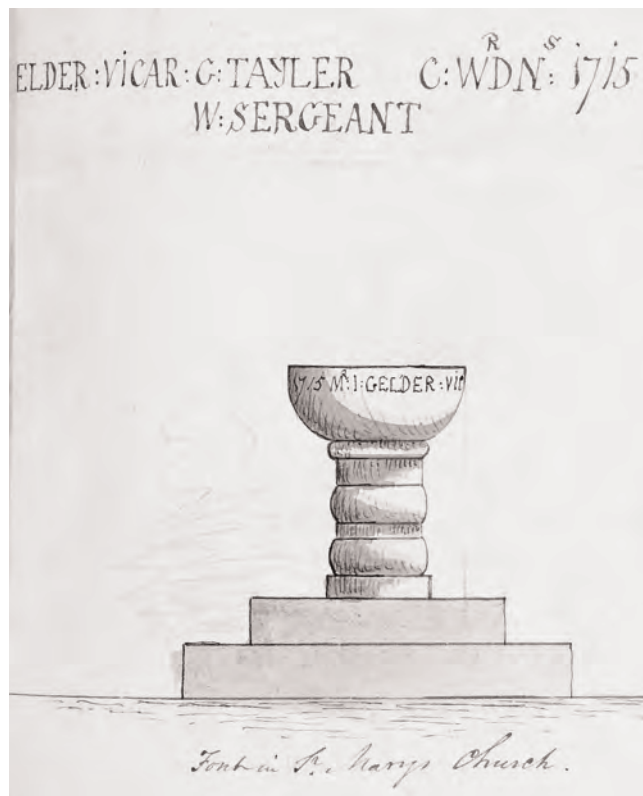
Fig. 127: St Mary's: font, 1715. Drawn by W.S. Hesleden in c. *1833 (part of the inscription is masked by the binding). Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: Ms Top. Lincs. b.1, f. 224*

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 yard[187] 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 Hierosolomiæ 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
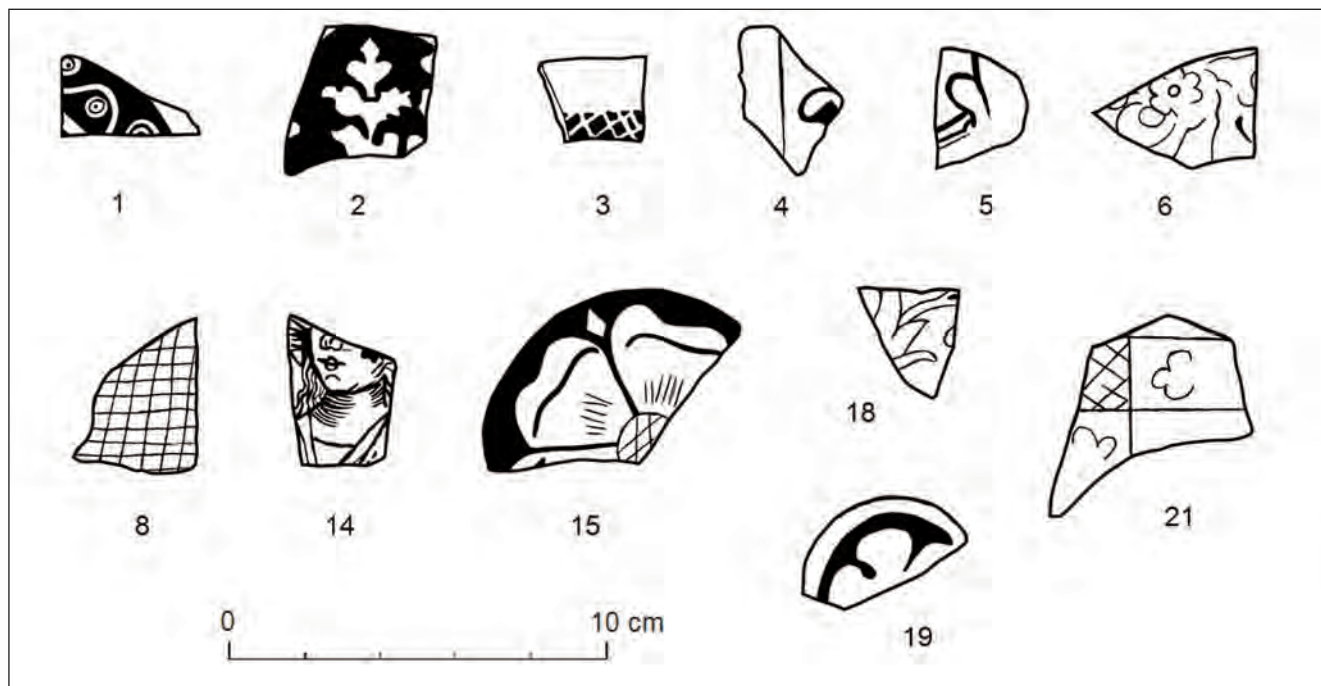
Fig. 128: St Mary's: excavated medieval window glass from the vestry, 1994. For descriptions, see Table 12. Scale 1:2. Drawing: Penny Hebgin-Barnes

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

Accn. no.	Size (mm)	Brief description	Condition	Paint	Date	Illus. no.
5737 66	37 x 20 × 1.5	border with reserved undulating design	encrusted with earth	bp	late C14	128,1
5737 67	40 × 39 × 1.5	yellow-stained seaweed rinceau	weathered exterior	bp, ys	late C14	128,2
5737 70	27 × 20 × 2	black border with reserved hatching; grozed edge	exterior pitting	bp	late C14	128,3
5737 71	41 × 21 × 1	foliage with hatching	encrusted with earth, edge flaking	bp, ys	late C14	–
5737 77	39 × 34 × 1.5	seaweed rinceau as 67	coated with cement	bp, ys	late C14	
5737 82	40 × 25 × 2	foliage lobe within plain border(?)	coated with cement	bp	late C14	128,4
5737 87	30 × 23 × 2.5	grisaille frond	opaque, light pitting, surface deposit	bp	C14	128,5
5737 89	42 × 29 × 2	flowery pattern, possibly drapery	heavy dirt deposits on surface	bp, ys	late C14	128,6
5737 92	38 × 24 × 1.5	scroll with blackletter inscription; grozed edge	light exterior pitting, surface dirt	bp, ys	late C14	Pl. 16,7
5737 95	40 × 31 × 2	hatching	opaque, surface coated with cement	bp	late C14	128,8
5737 100	58 × 37 × 1.5	hair(?)	light exterior pitting & paint loss	bp, ys	late C14	Pl. 16,9
5737 102	49 × 25 × 2.5	seaweed foliage(?); grozed edge; back-painting	encrusted with earth; design indistinct	bp, ys	late C14	–
5737 105	34 × 28 × 2.5	oakleaf from grisaille quarry; 2 grozed edges	light exterior pitting, dirty	bp	late C14	Pl. 16,10
5737 110	66 × 28 × 2	border as 66 enclosing hatched ground; grozed edge	encrusted with earth	bp	late C14	Pl. 16,11
5737 111	26 × 16 × 2	border with rough undulating and dot design	dirty	bp, ys	C14	Pl. 16,12
5737 125	40 × 44 × 1.5	scroll as 92 beside smear-shaded drapery	surface deposit	bp, ys	late C14	Pl. 16,13
5737 127	34 × 21 × 1.5	hatching as 95	encrusted with earth	bp	late C14	–
5737 144	39 × 27 × 2	head of female saint	incomplete, exterior pitting, dirty	bp	late C14	128,14
5737 150	77 × 43 × 1.5	rosette; grozed edge; smear shading, needlepoint	incomplete, dirty	bp	C14	128,15
5737 151	39 × 33 × 1.5	crown (border motif); 3 grozed edges	exterior pitting	bp, ys	late C14	Pl. 16,16
5737 156	58 × 43 × 1.5	as 110 to which it joins	dirty	bp	late C14	Pl. 16,11
5737 167	32 × 23 × 1.5	rectangle depicting 4-petalled flower; 3 grozed edges	incomplete, dirty	bp	late C14	Pl. 16,17
5737 168	41 × 16 × 1.5	as 156 to which it joins	dirty	bp	late C14	Pl. 16,11
5737 174	27 × 25 × 2	floral motif from a quarry	corroded, dirty	bp	late C14	128,18
5737 185	44 × 22 × 1.5	blue rosette on black ground; grozed edge	opaque, surface deposit	bp	C14	128,19
5737 189	48 × 29 × 2	seaweed rinceau	lightly pitted, dirty	bp	late C14	Pl. 16,20
5737 191	66 × 48 × 2	chequered flooring; grozed curved edge	exterior pitting, surface deposit, light paint loss	bp	late C14	128,21
5737 200	46 × 41 × 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:

Fig. 129: St Mary's: chancel. Pilaster monument against the north wall, to Jane Shipsea (d. 1626; M.60). Photo: Warwick Rodwell

ICVNDISSIMÆ MEMORIÆ
PIE= PRVDENTIS MATRONÆ IANÆ
VXORIS IOHANNIS SHIPSEA REC
TORIS ECCLESIÆ 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

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

Fig. 131: St Mary's: chancel aisle. Cartouche monument to William Long (d. 1729; M.61). Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Near
this Pillar
is in=terred yᵉ Body of WILL: LONG of yˢ
Town justice of yᵉ 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 200ᴸ to be
Laid out in a purchase of Land for yᵉ
Education of Children
also a Tenement & yard
for better Convenience
of yᵉ vicarage house
Objt 26 *Marty* 1729
Ætat: Suæ 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

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 4ᴸ ꝑ Annᵒ to the
Minister of this Town to Preach
an Annual Sermon
and forty Shillings
ꝑ Annᵒ 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*
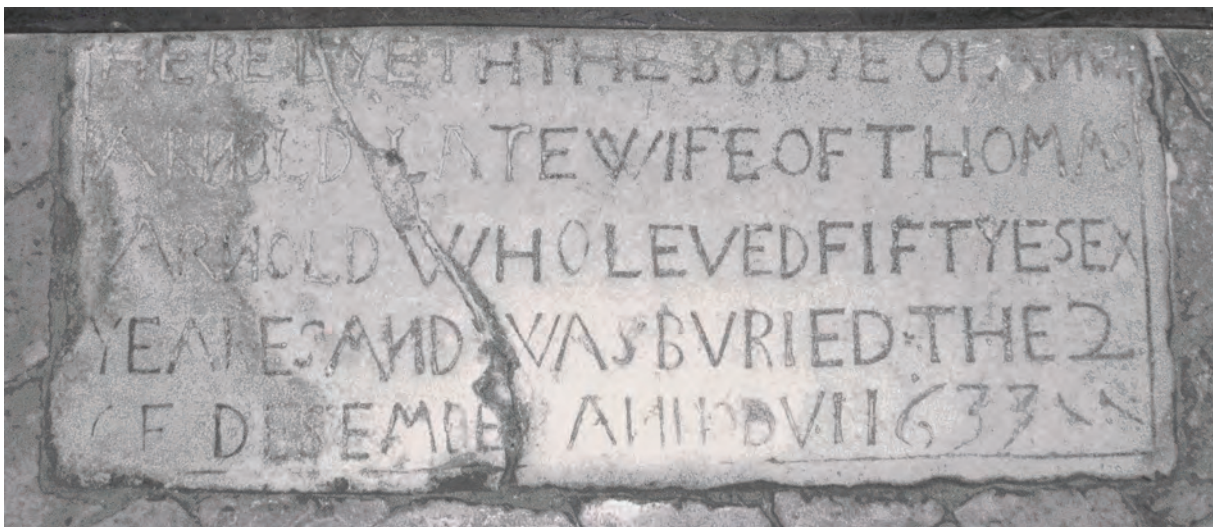
Fig. 133: *St Mary's: chancel aisle. Inscribed limestone panel, now set into the floor. From a destroyed monument to Ann Arnold (d. 1633; M.51). Photo: Warwick Rodwell*

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
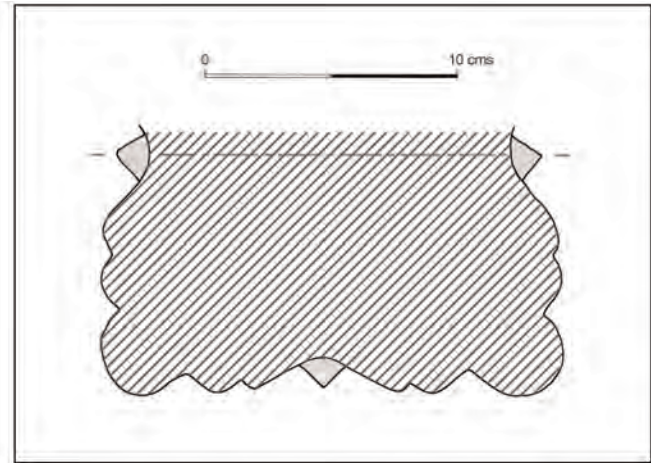
Fig. 134: St Mary's: fragment of a medieval churchyard cross. Half-section through the shaft. Scale 1:3. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

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
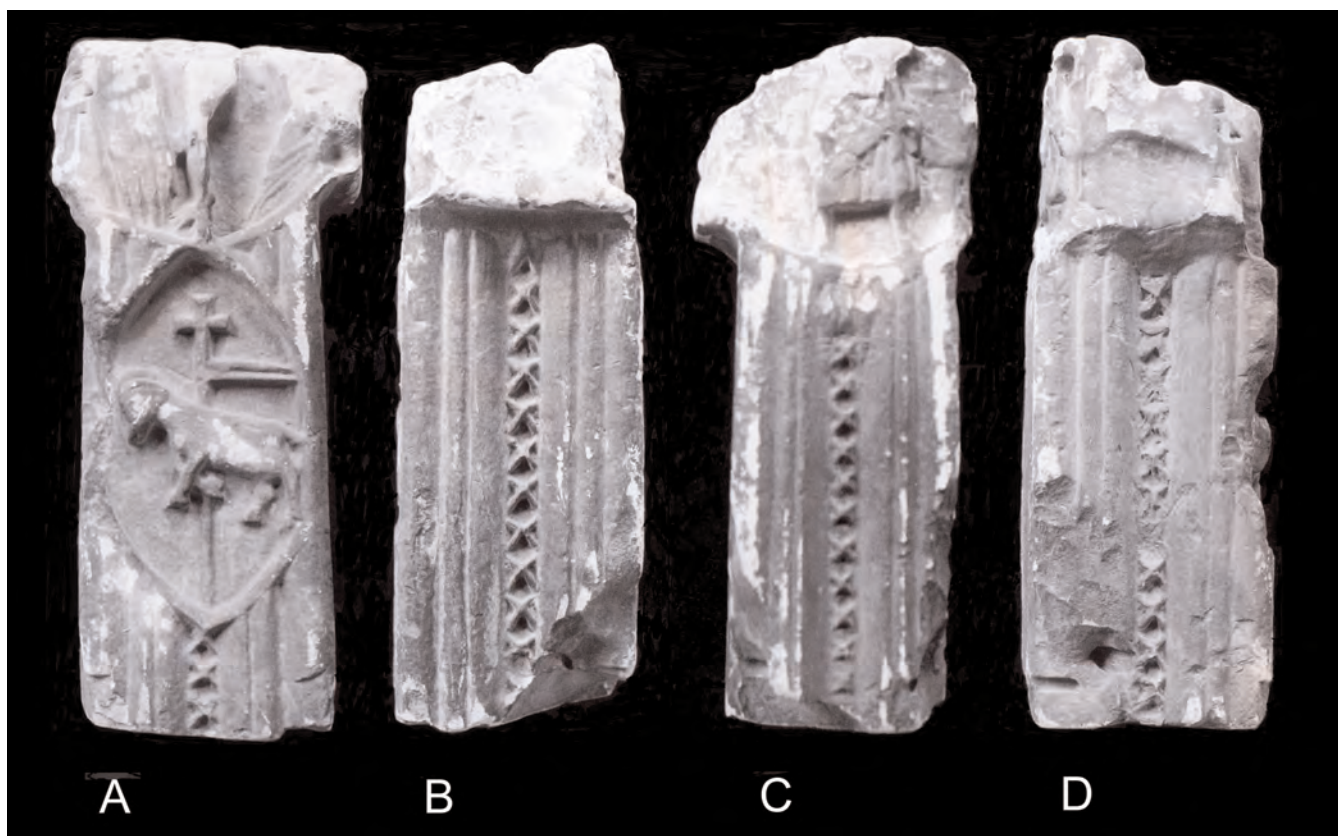
Fig. 135: St Mary's: fragment of a medieval churchyard cross. Scale approx. 1:6.5. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

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 would.' (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. 136: First edition Ordnance Survey map, 1 inch to 1 mile (reduced), 1824. The railways were subsequently superimposed

By far the most substantial of the springs rose in the eastern part of the town, in a pond known as the Beck (C), which lies between the two medieval churches, at *c*. 6 m O.D.,[5] and which clearly provided a focal point for settlement in Barton from the outset. It is shown in early views and on the 1796 map as a major feature of the townscape (Figs. 39, 40, 139 and 140). On the west, the water lapped up to St Mary's churchyard wall, and was bounded by Pasture Road on the east.[6] A stream (Beck Drain) flowed from the north side of the pond, feeding the watermill in Pasture Road. Soutergate – the dog-legged street to the north of St Mary's – did not continue smoothly on its eastward course, round to Pasture Road as it does today, but effectively stopped at the north-west corner of the Beck (Fig. 18). The road was interrupted by the outflow into Beck Drain, which had to be forded. However, in the eighteenth century there was a footbridge of two

arches (Fig. 139) and in the nineteenth century a raised timber walkway along the northern edge of the Beck connected Soutergate with Pasture Road (Figs. 13 and 141).

During the excavation of St Peter's church it was observed that markedly different soil conditions obtained on the east and west ends of the site, respectively. At the latter there was compact chalky boulder clay which became extremely hard and tenacious on drying, whereas at the former softer and more loamy soil was found, interleaved with lenses of gravel which conducted ground water. This area of the site dried out slowly, and in wet weather it remained waterlogged. Here, a length of ditch was found forming the west side of a large Anglo-Saxon sub-circular enclosure (p. 159). The ditch passed under the church, just west of the present chancel arch, and its soft filling clearly acted as a conduit for a spring: tiny jets of water bubbled up
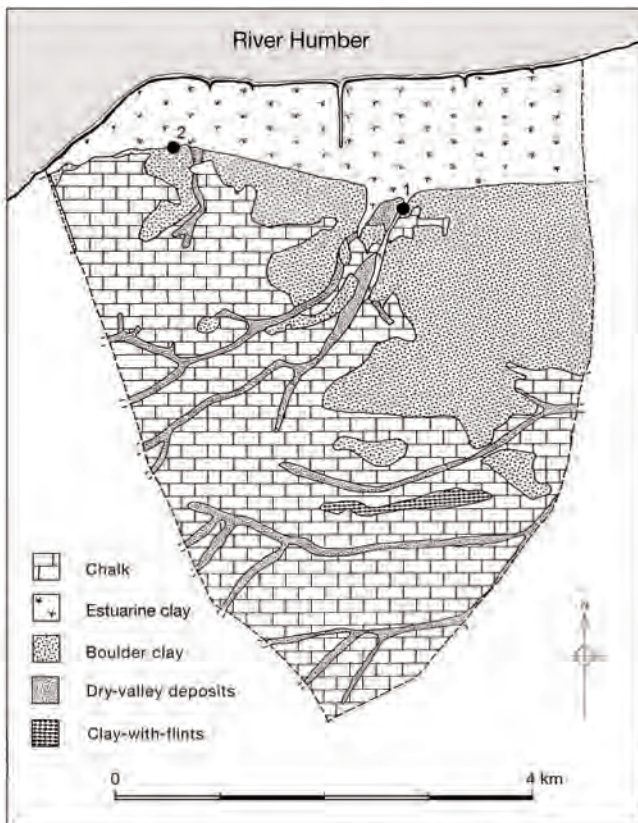
Fig. 137: The drift geology of Barton-upon-Humber parish, marking the two principal blow-wells. 1, The Beck; 2, Shadwells. After Bryant 1994

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. Fleetgate Drain. There appears to have been a stream running alongside Fleetgate, 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
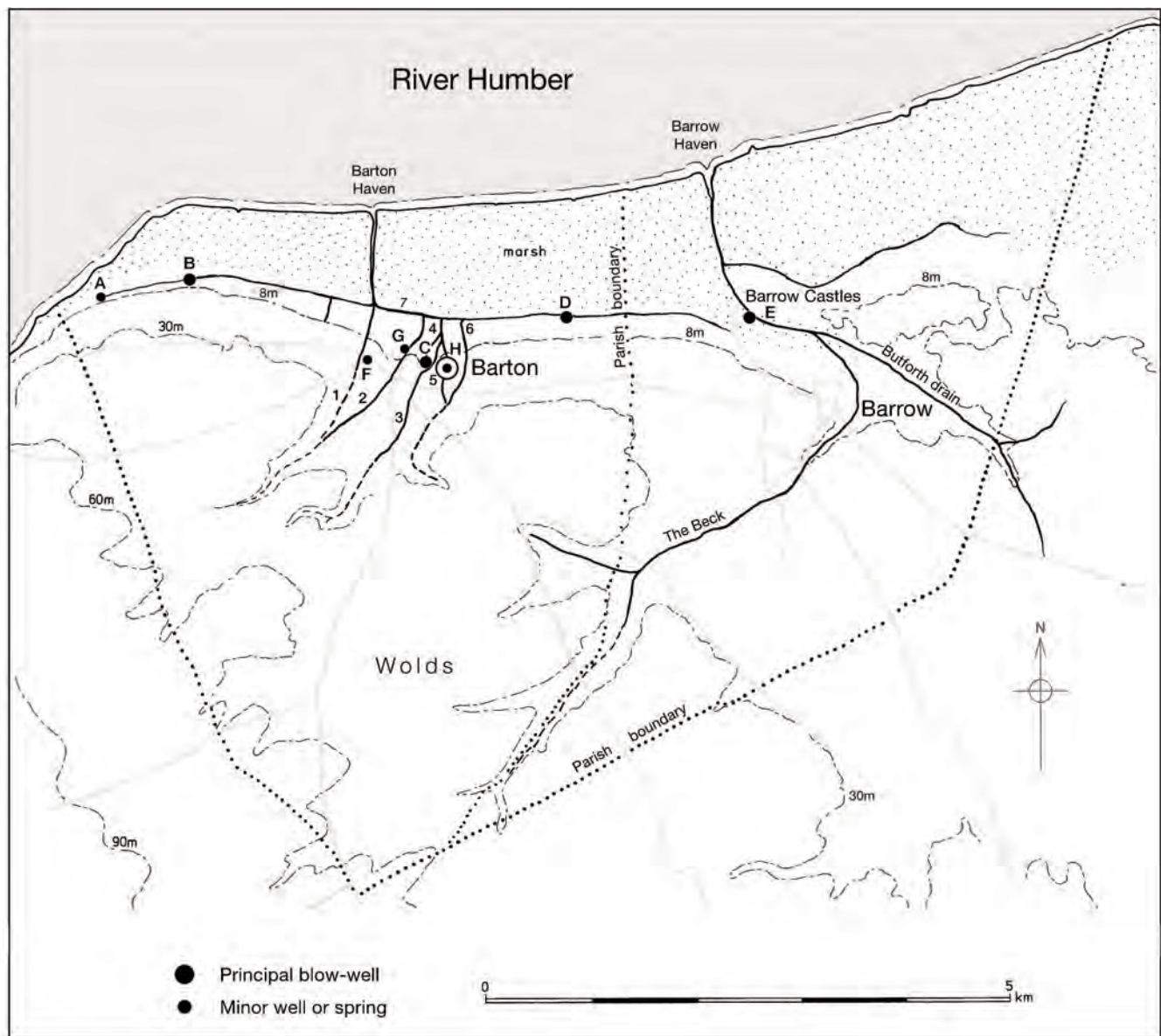
Fig. 138: The physical topography of Barton and Barrow parishes, showing blow-wells and watercourses. A Broadwell; B Shadwells; C The Beck; D South Marsh Farm; E Barrow Bogs; F Chapel-on-the-Well; G St Catherine's Well; H Tyrwhitt Hall springs. 1 Fleetgate Drain; 2 Bowmandale Drain; 3 Whitecross (Waterslacks) 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 plan[11] (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,
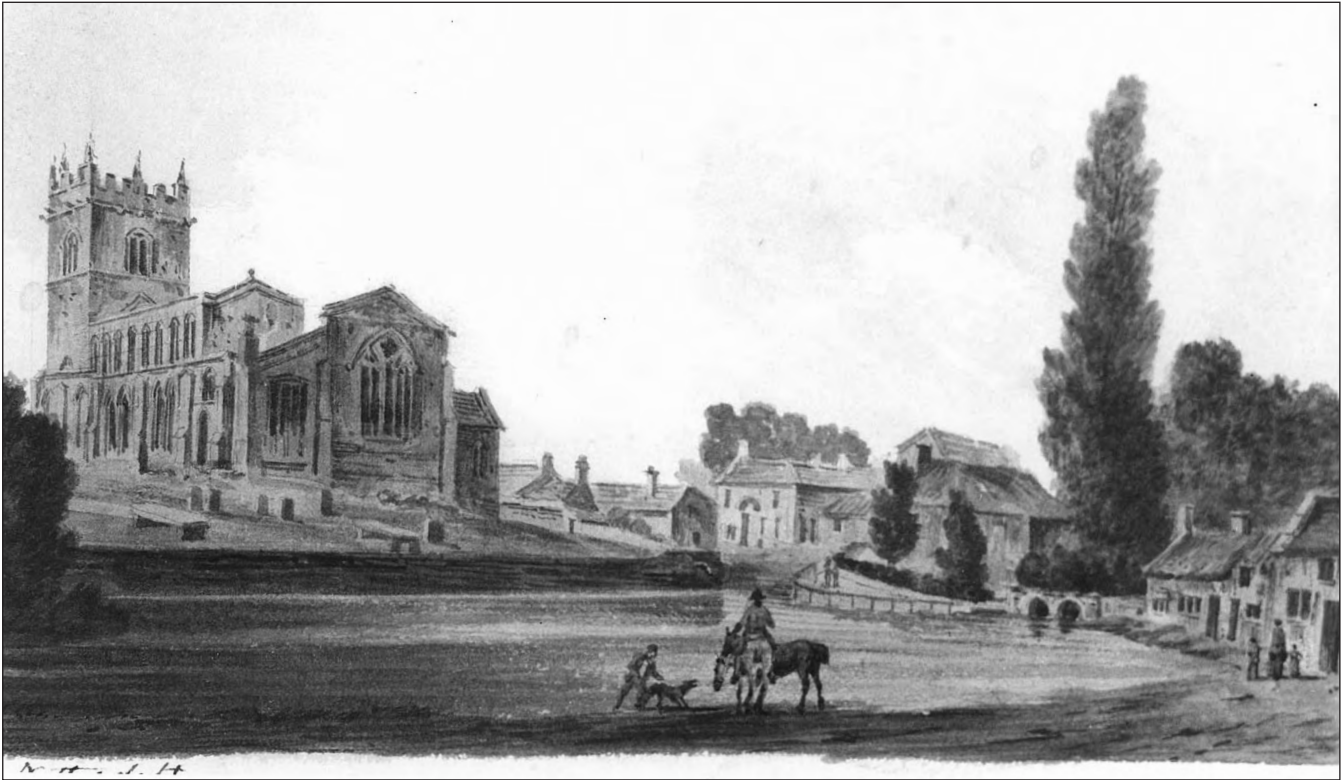
Fig. 139: Watercolour by Claude Nattes of St Mary's church with the Beck in the foreground, c. *1800. Photo: Lincoln Library Services. Reproduced from the Local Studies Collection, Lincoln Central Library, by courtesy of Lincolnshire County Council*

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 (Tombleson 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 Winteringham, 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 Winteringham, 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 droveway. 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
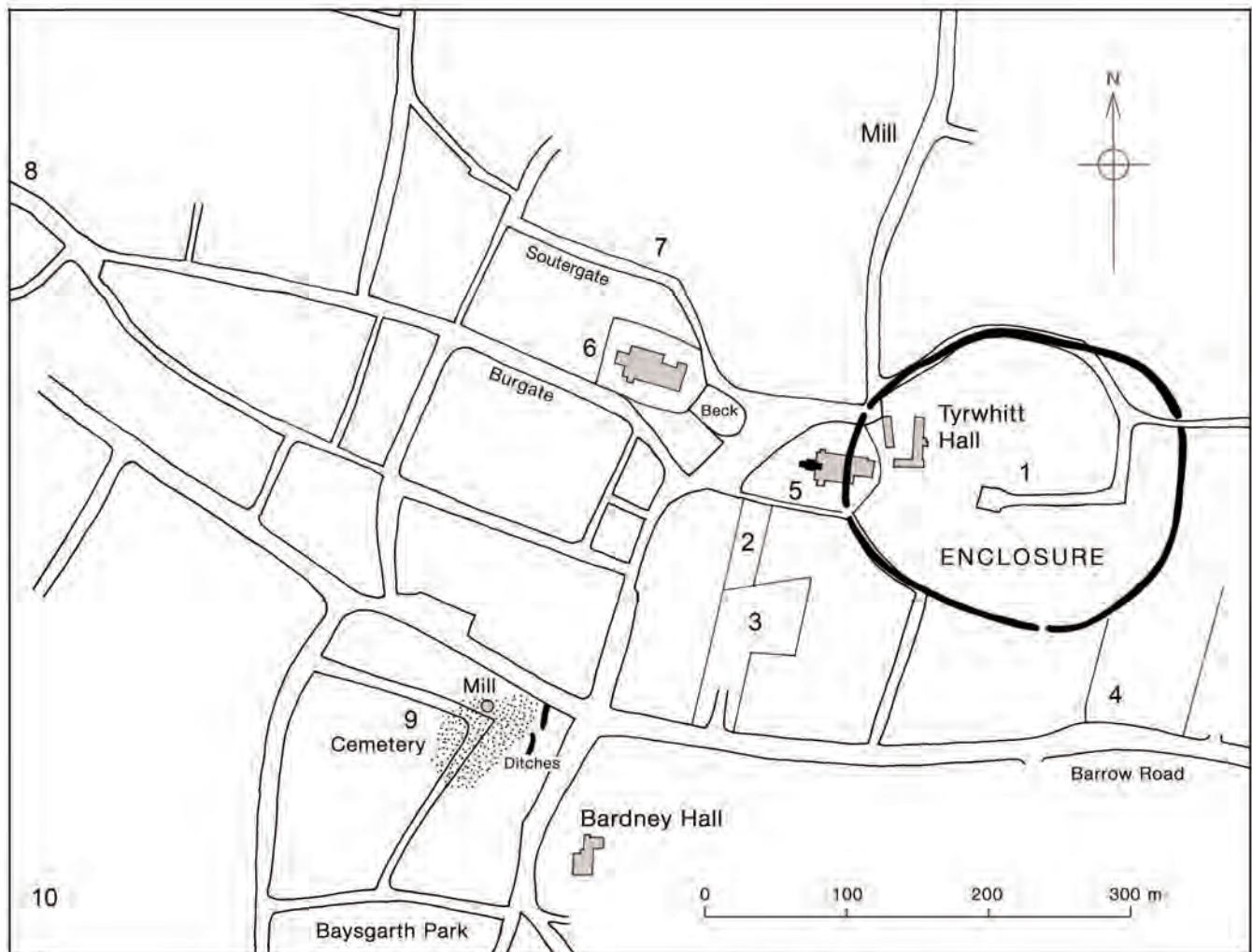
Fig. 145: Map showing sites and finds of the Anglo-Saxon period in Barton. 1. East Acridge housing estate; 2. New Vicarage; 3. Church Close; 4. Barrow Road site (Seaforth); 5. St Peter's churchyard; 6. St Mary's churchyard; 7. St Mary's Works, Soutergate; 8. 80 High Street; 9. Castledyke South cemetery; 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
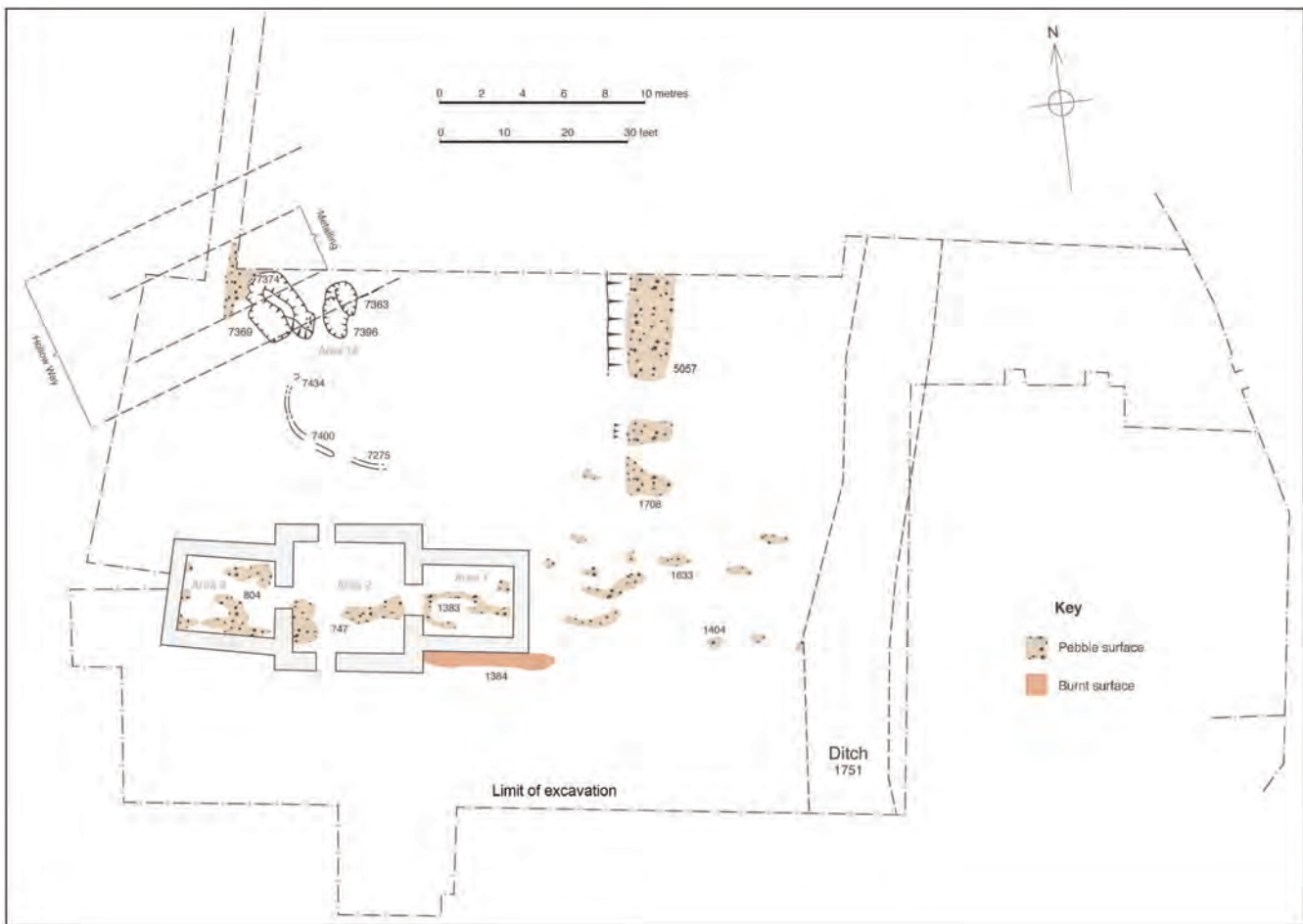
Fig. 147: Plan showing survival of metalled surfaces and related features, all probably of middle Saxon date. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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 metalling was present, the underlying topsoil was heavily impregnated with charcoal, indicating the site of a hearth. No metalling 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 metalling (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 metalling 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.
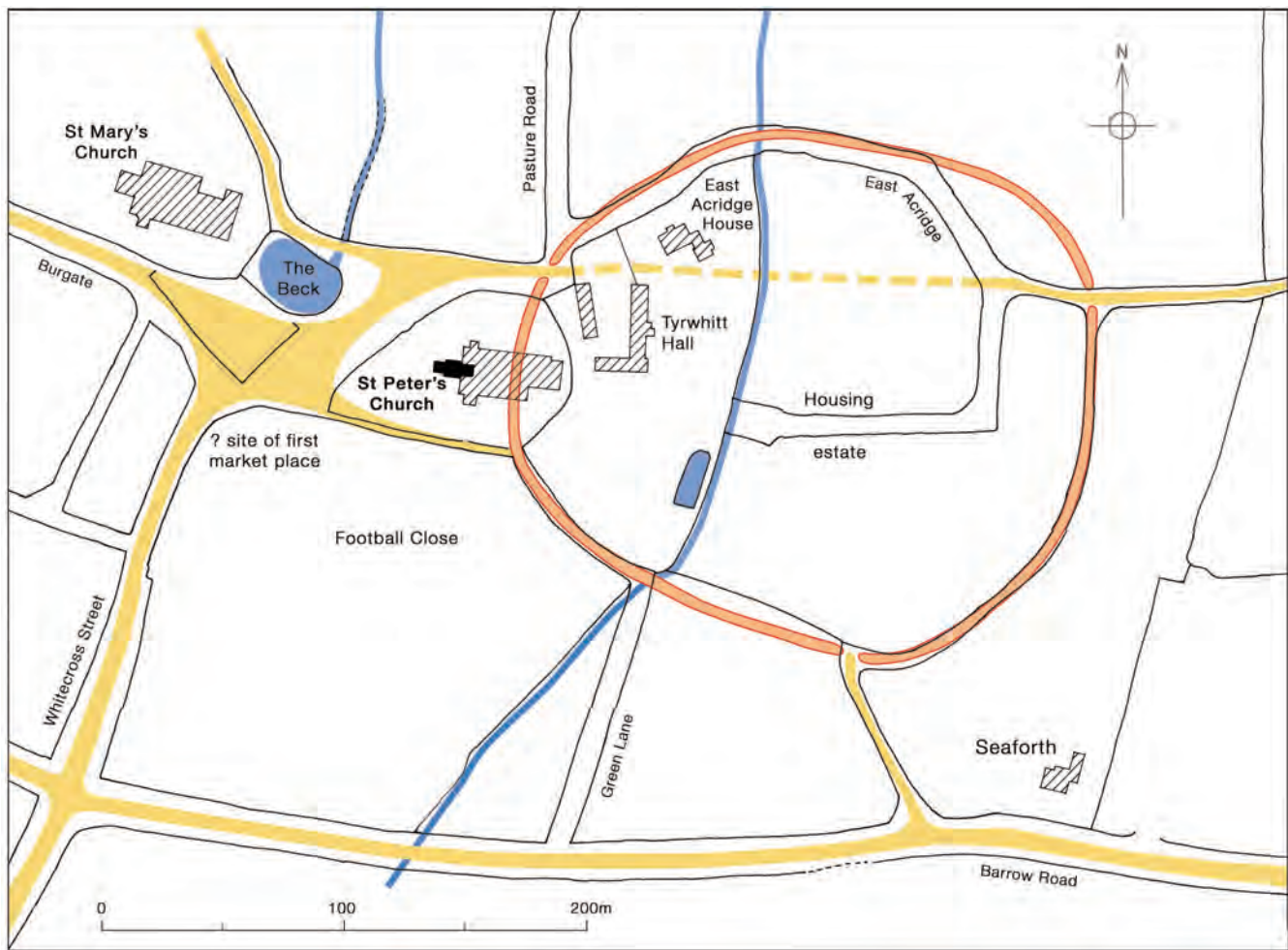
Fig. 151: Plan of the topographical features defining the perimeter of the sub-circular enclosure around Tyrwhitt Hall. A suggested reconstruction of the principal elements of the Anglo-Saxon landscape is overlaid in colour: pink, the ditch of the earthwork; blue, ponds and streams; yellow, early roads 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

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 tenurial 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. 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

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
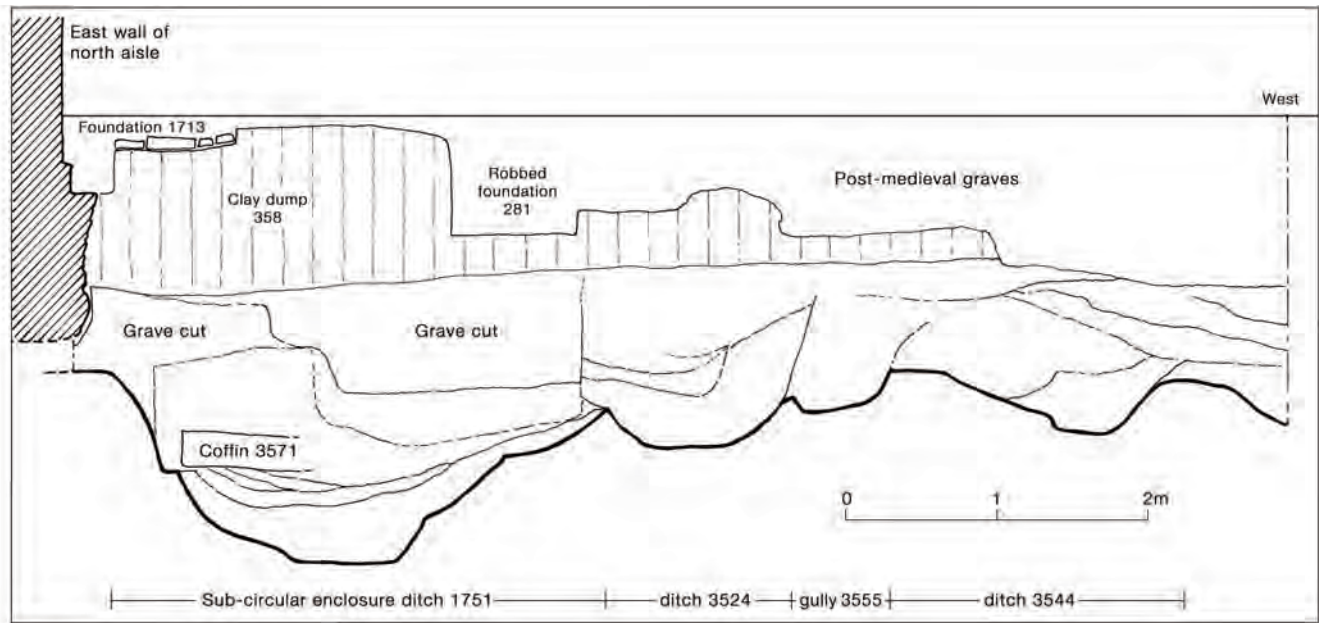
Fig. 154: Section across a series of Anglo-Saxon ditches in Area 5 (north aisle), including the sub-circular enclosure (F1751) with several recuts. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell
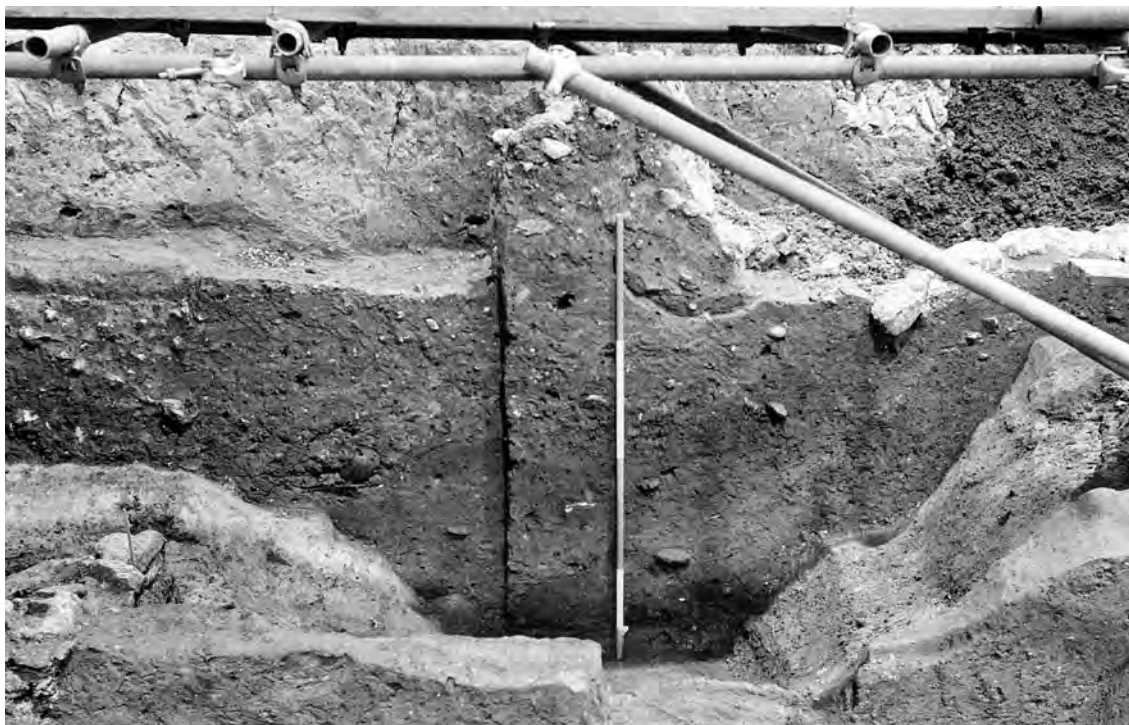
Fig. 155: Section of ditch F1751 in Area 5. View south. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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).
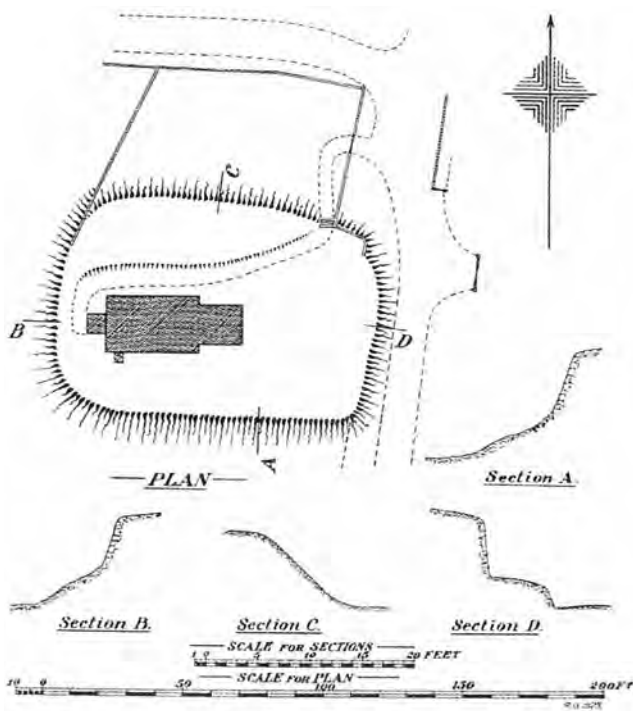
Fig. 156: St Mary, Chithurst (W. Sussex). Plan and profiles of the sub-rectangular earthen platform upon which the eleventh-century church was built. Drawn by R. Gurd, 1923. Hutchinson 2007

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.
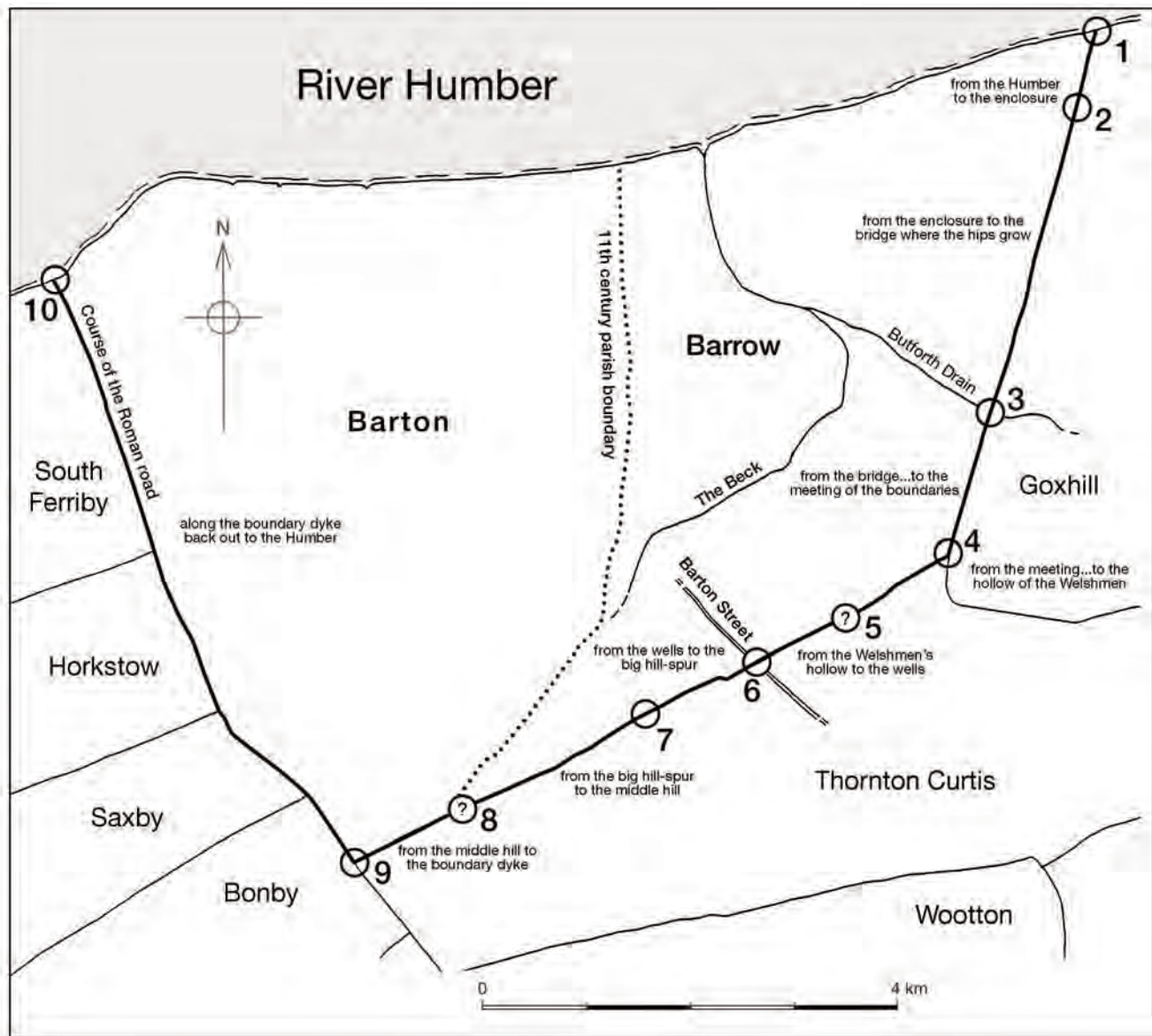
Fig. 157: The estate of æt Bearuwe *and the ten named features on its bounds, as described in the charter of AD 971. After Bryant 1994*

**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 it 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
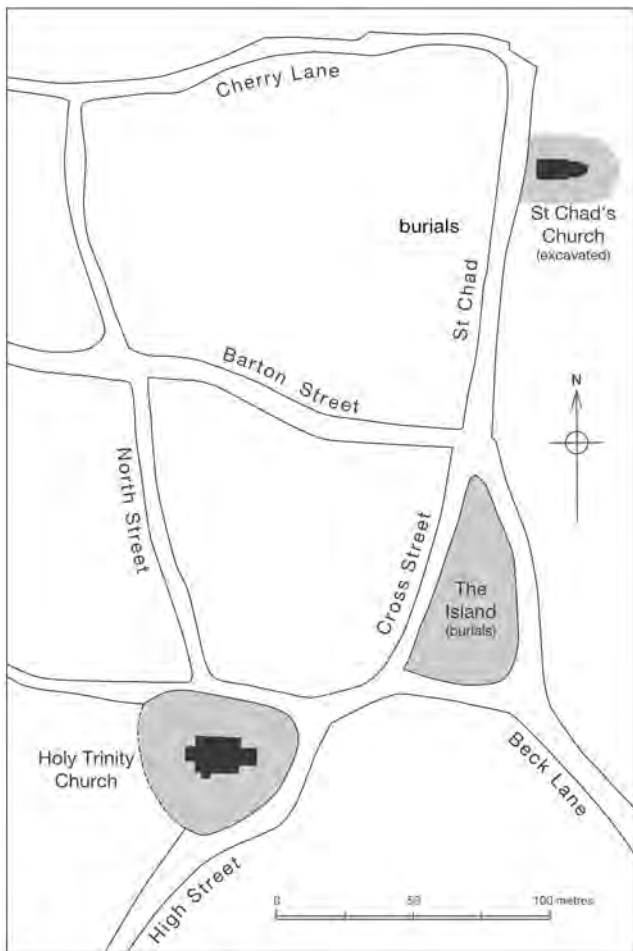
Fig. 158: The ecclesiastical topography of Barrow-upon-Humber. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

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^σ range, but at the 1^σ 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*
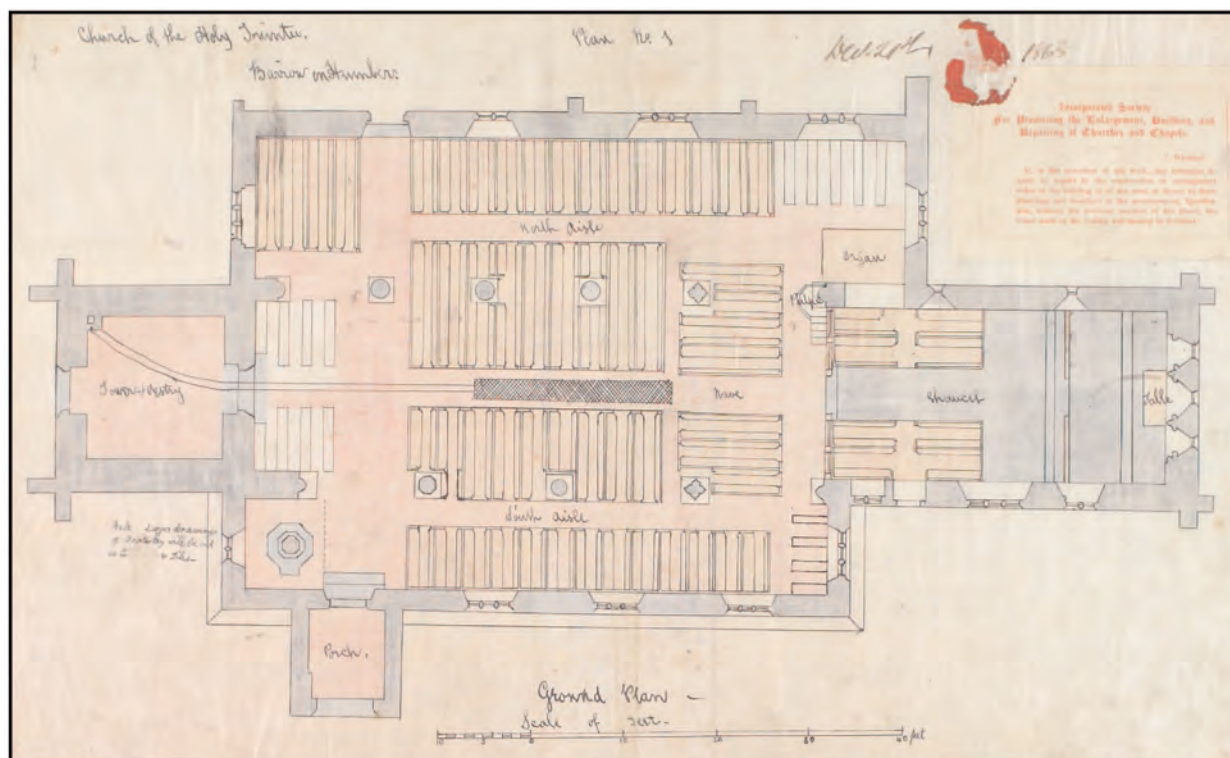
Fig. 160: *Holy Trinity, Barrow-upon-Humber. Plan of the church by Charles Kirk, showing reseating, 1868. The Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library*

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 turriform 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 turriform church (Period 2), and also the burials contemporary with the Saxo-Norman church (Period 3) (Figs.
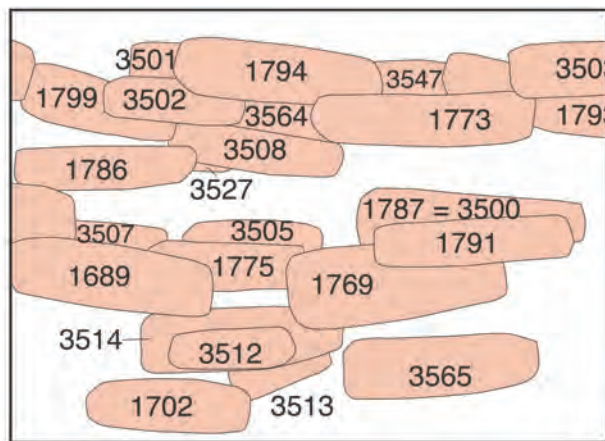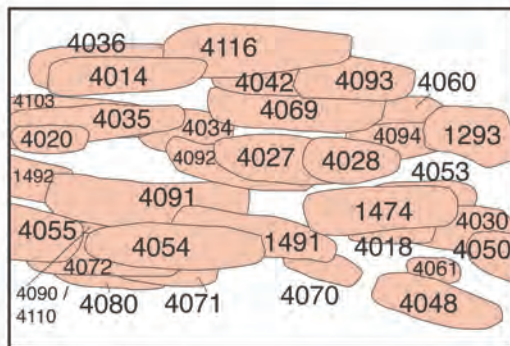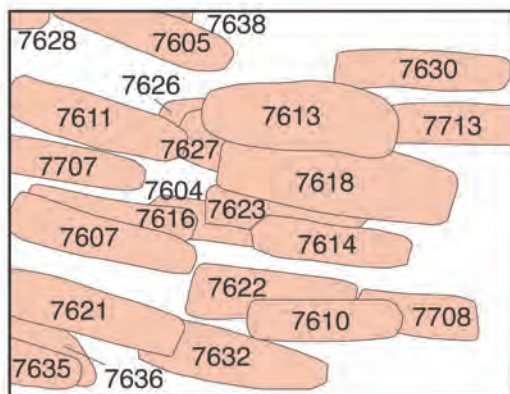
Fig. 162: Enlarged detail plans of three areas of dense burial in Phase E; see Fig. 161. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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 coffined 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).
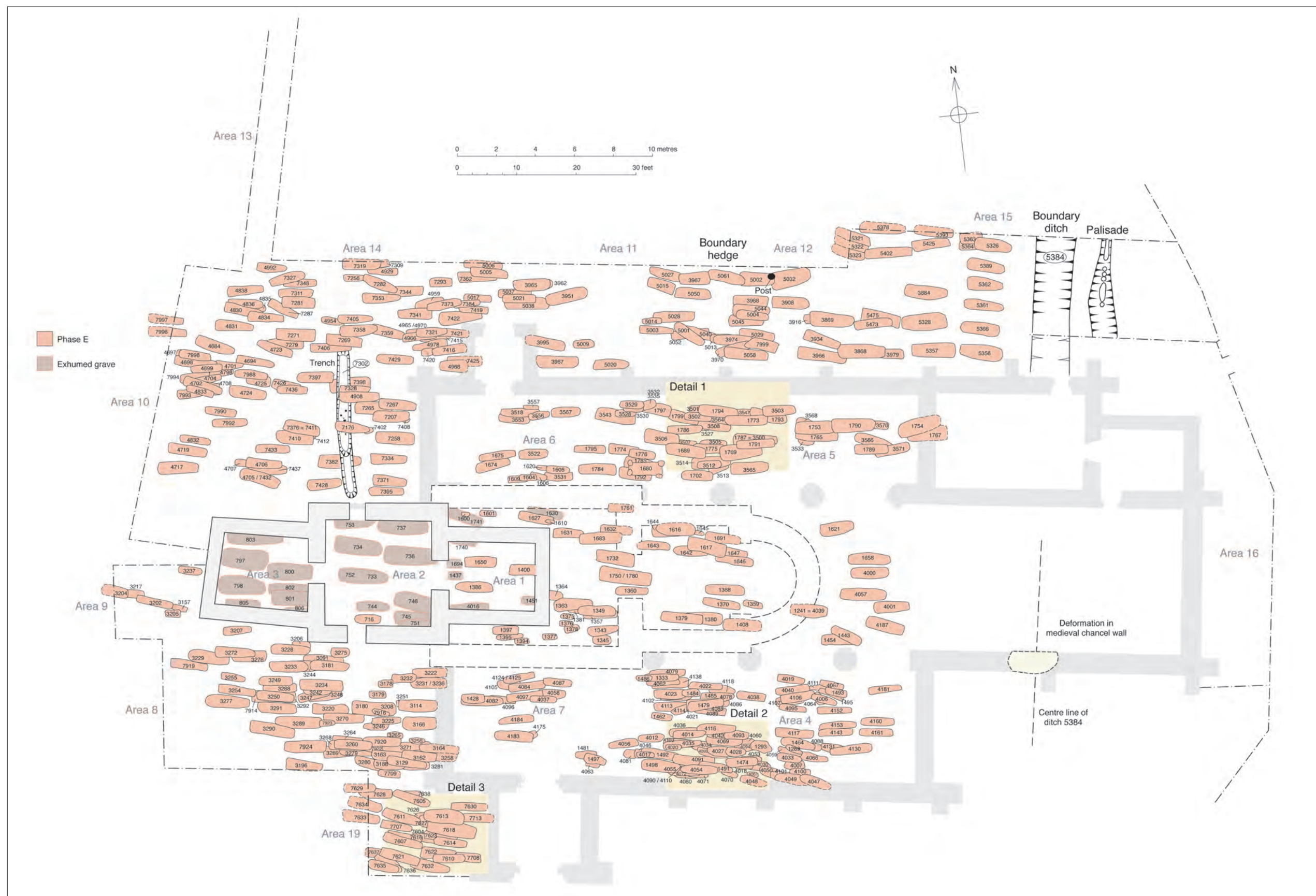
Fig. 161: General plan of excavated graves attributed to burial Phase E. Drawing: Simon Hayfield
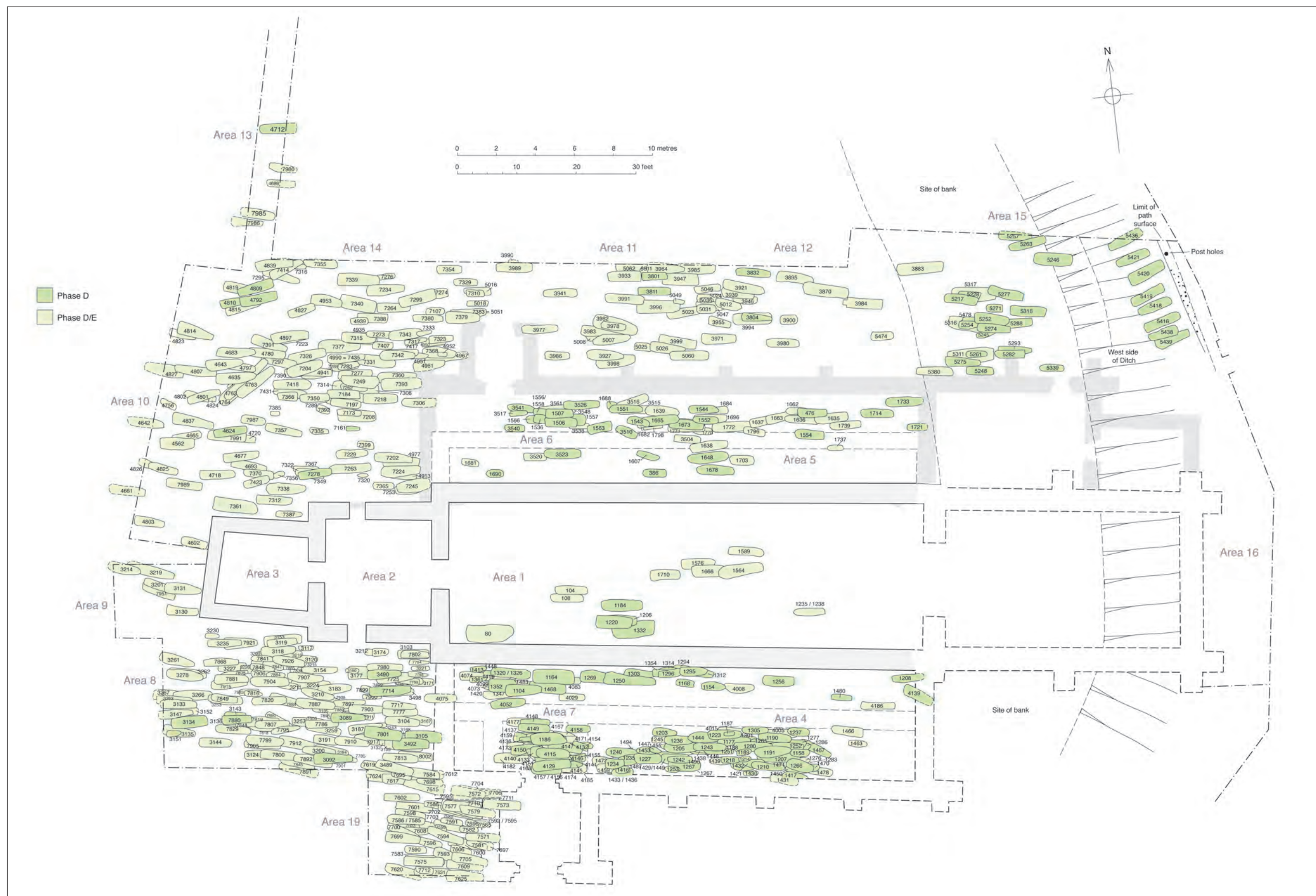
Fig. 163: General plan of excavated graves attributed to burial Phases D and D/E. Drawing: Simon Hayfield
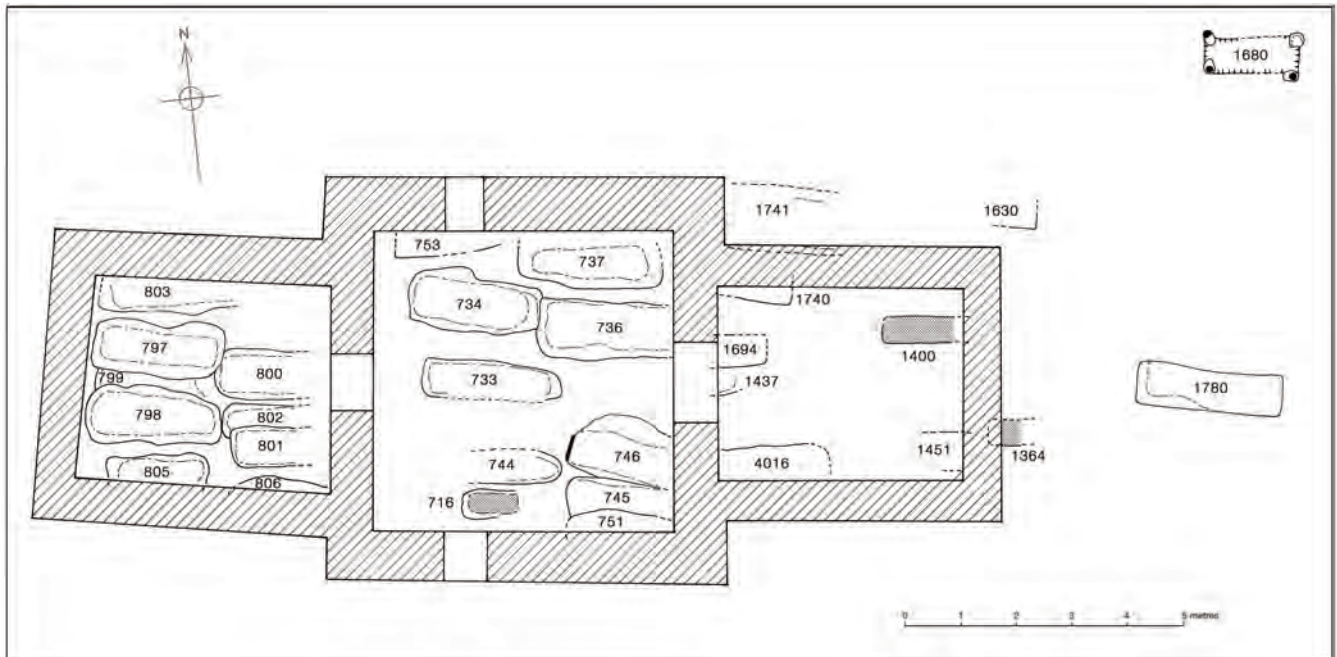
Fig. 164: Plan of graves, mostly exhumed, pre-dating the erection of the first stone church. Only the three shaded graves still contained skeletal remains (F716, F1364 and F1400). Where the original plan of the cut was preserved in the bottom of the grave, this is indicated with a chain line. Drawing: 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 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.

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

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
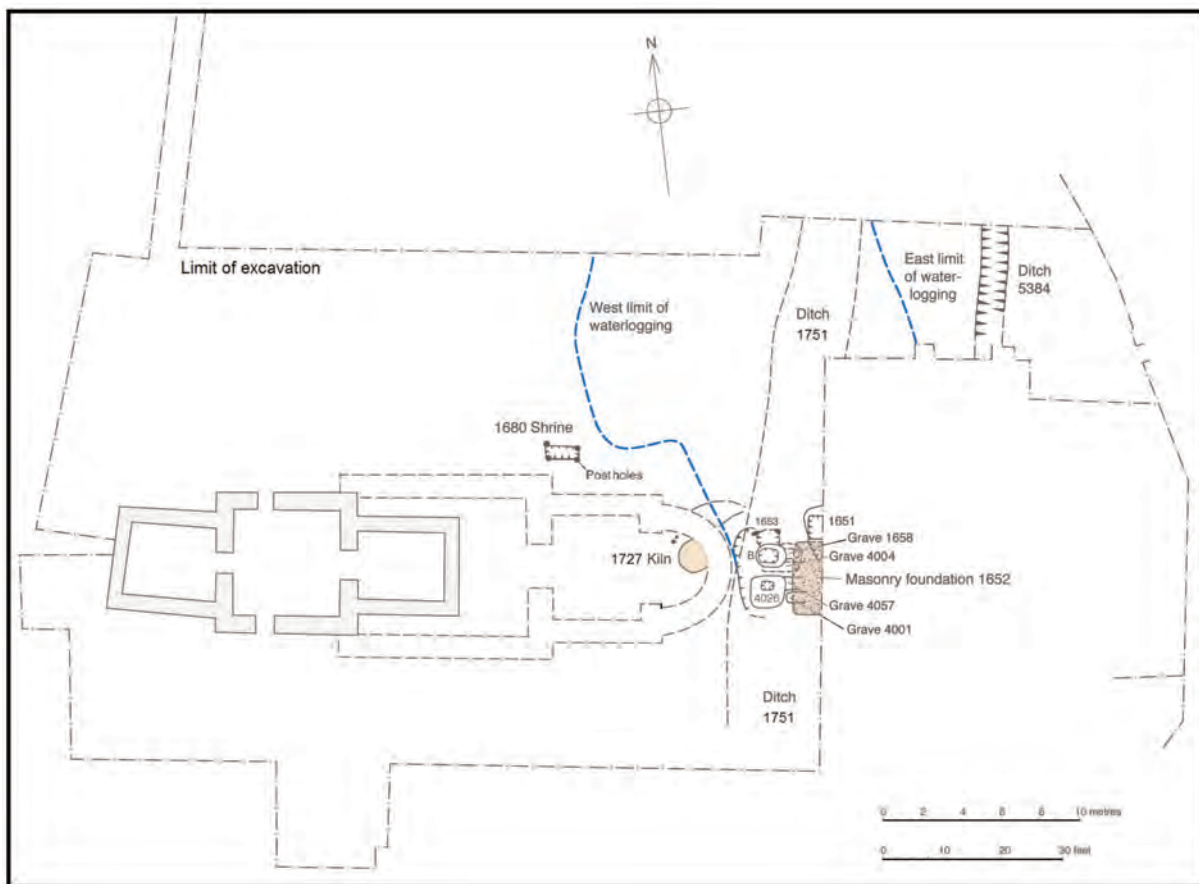
Fig. 167: Plan of features at the east end of the Saxo-Norman church. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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 waterlogged. 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 *hypogea*, are known at Glastonbury Abbey, Winchester Old Minster
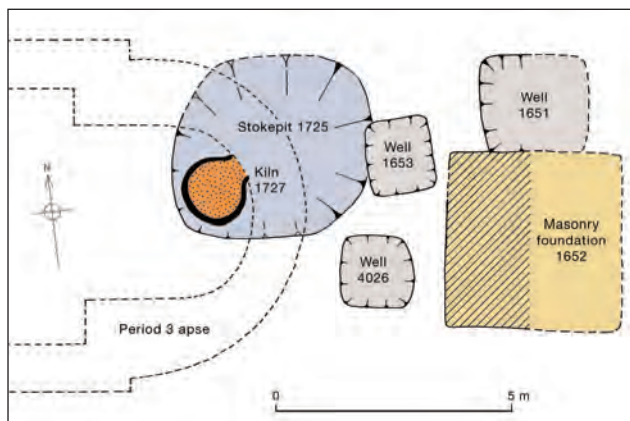
Fig. 169: Plan of the kiln, wells and masonry foundation in Areas 4/5. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

and Wells Cathedral (for a discussion, see Rodwell 2001, 78–9). These structures had sunken chambers which contained one or more interments, but the waterlogged 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 circular 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 gravelining 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 presaged 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.
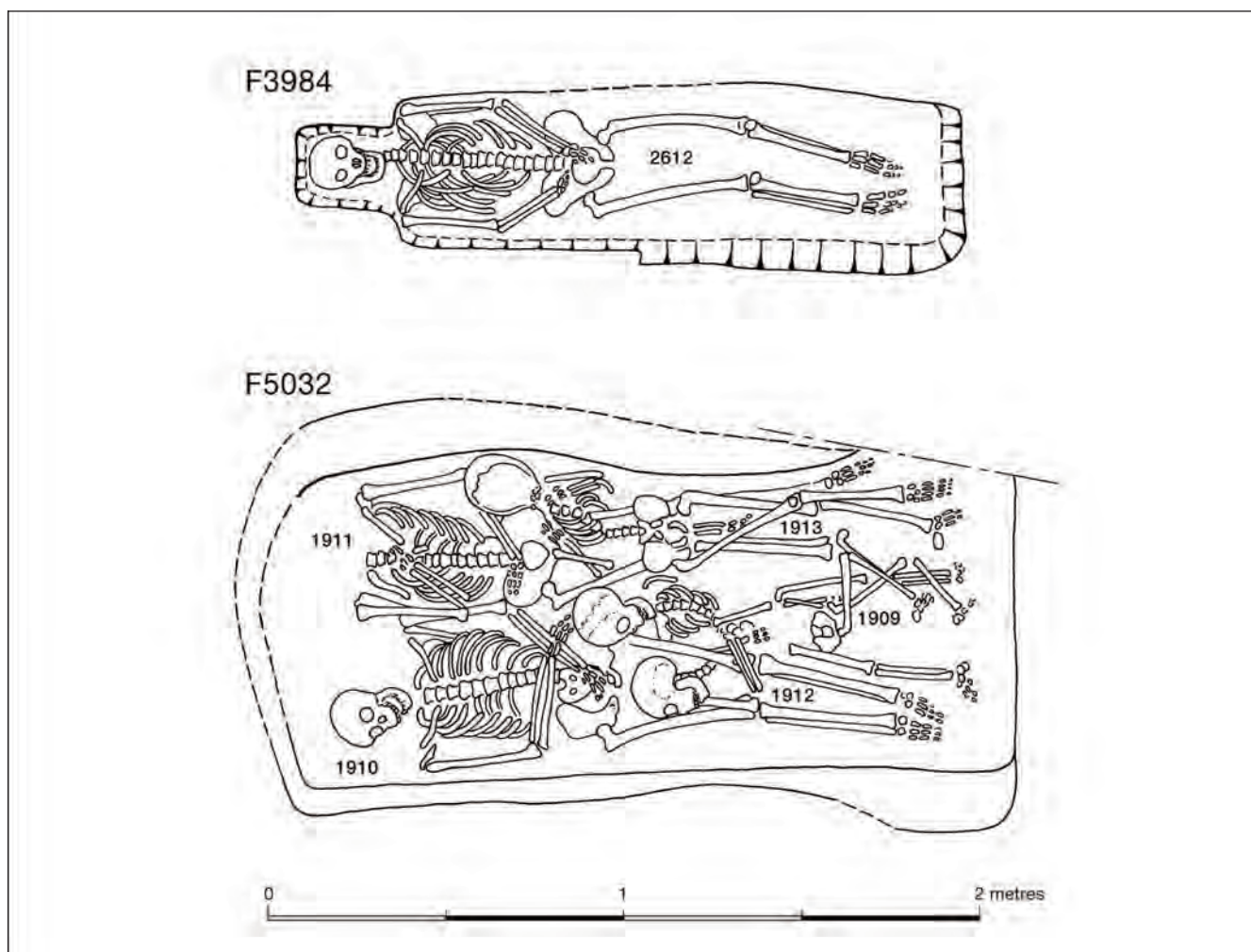
Fig. 171: Plans of graves F3984 and F5032 in Area 12. The latter grave contains five skeletons: 1909–1913. Scale 1:20. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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 coffined and uncoffined
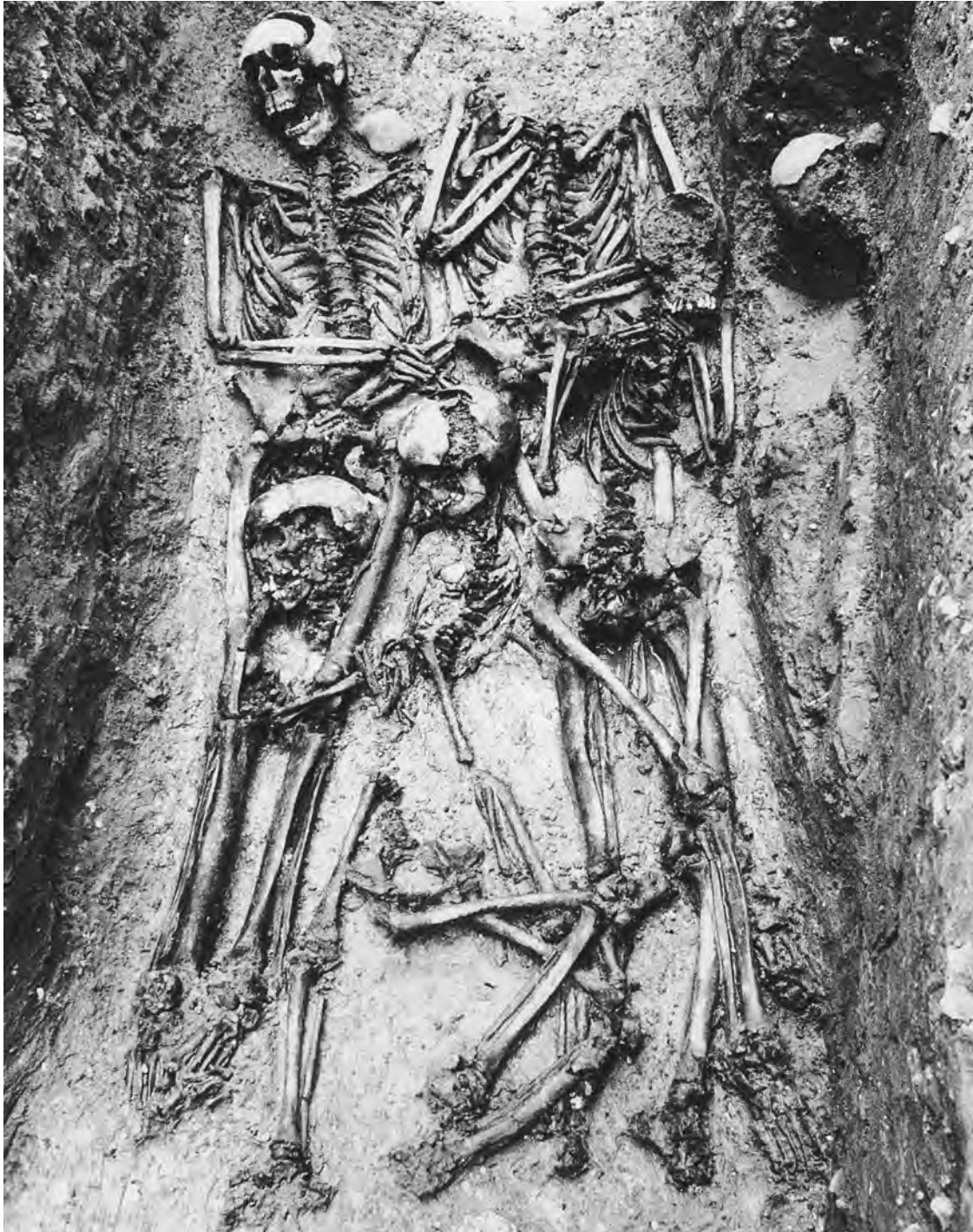
Fig. 172: Late Saxon grave containing two adult males and three adolescents with their limbs inter-twined (F5032). Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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

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

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
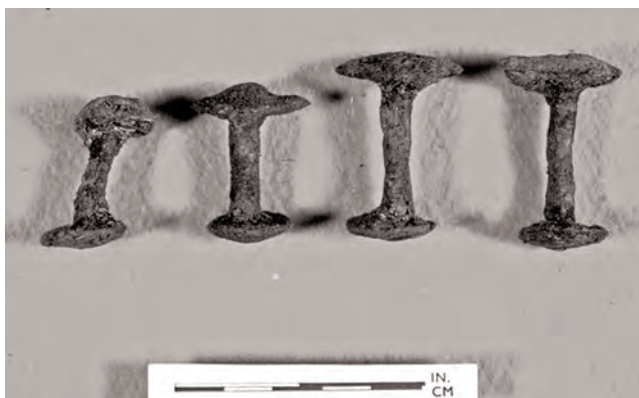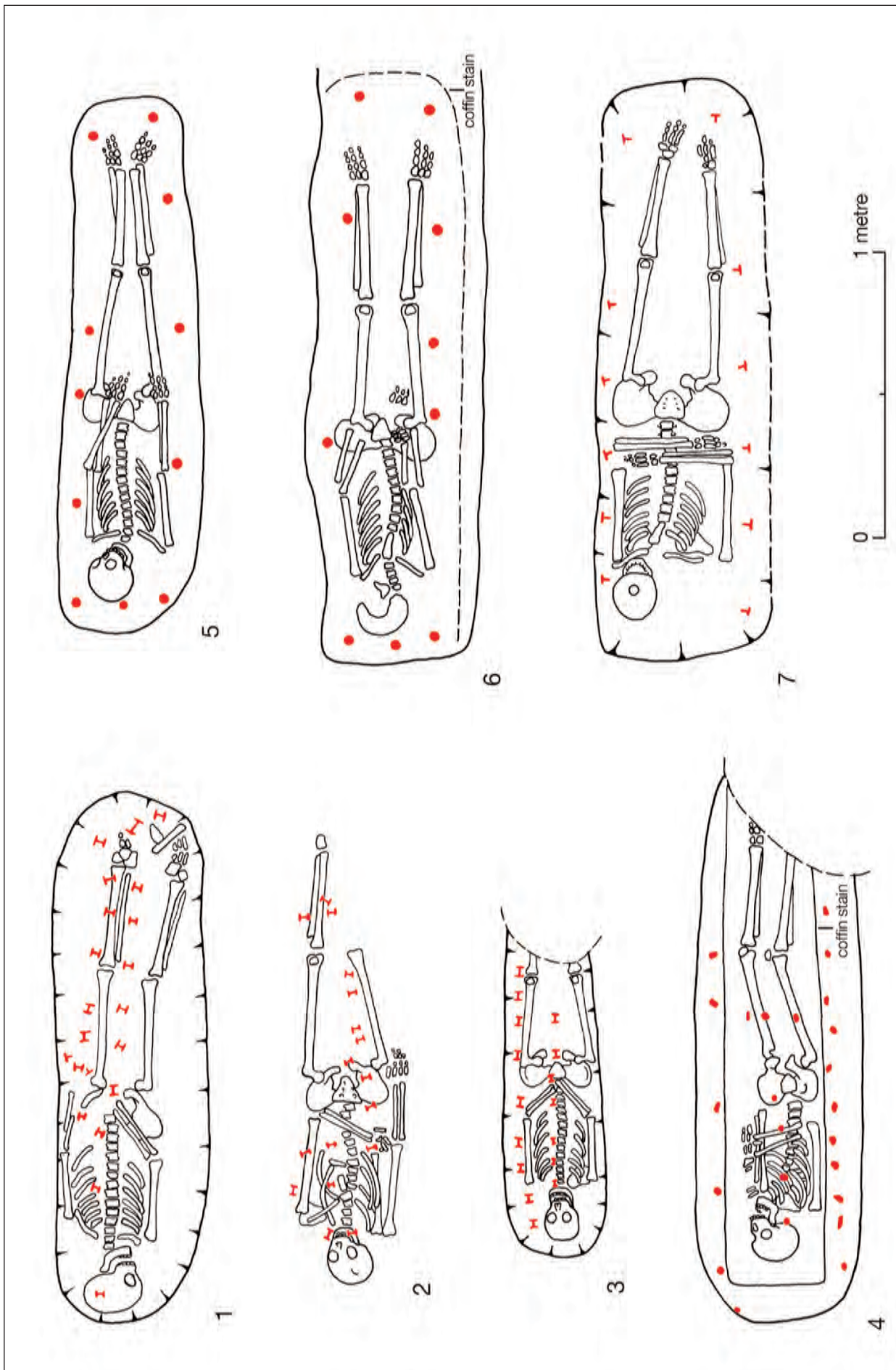
Fig. 176: Plans of graves of Phases D and E, showing the disposition of clench-bolts and nails within them. 1, F7327; 2, F5026; 3, F7256; 4, F1631; 5, F3228; 6, F3234; 7, F7208. Scale 1:20. Drawing: Simon Hayfield
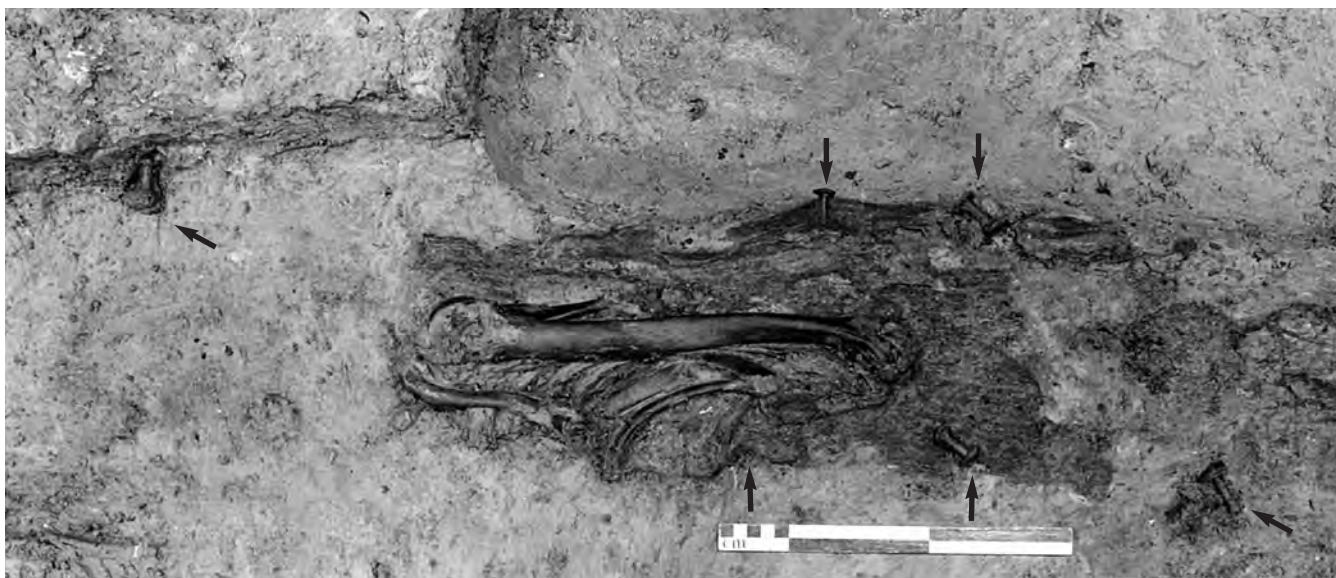
Fig. 177: Grave F1787, lined with fragments of boat timbers containing clench-bolts (arrowed). View south. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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 clench-bolts were among the earlier interments in their particular areas of the cemetery.

Three radiocarbon dates were obtained for burials containing clench-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 clench-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 clench-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 clench-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 clench-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 clench-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 clench-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 clench-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 clench-nails for attaching strakes to stemposts. Further confirmation of this is provided by the fact that the heads and roves of some clench-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 clench-bolts with the longer shanks are bent slightly; this can have occurred either during the act of riveting the nail-shank over a skewed rove, or through subsequent strain on the joint. Either way, the evidence provides confirmation that these clench-bolts derive from boats.

Clench-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 Yeavering (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. Yeavering 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 clench-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 clench-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, clench-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 clench-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-jointed 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.) clench-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 proportionally: 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
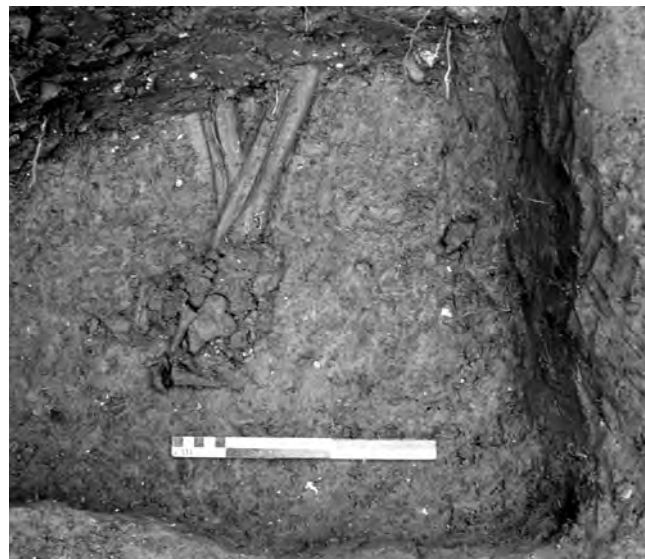
Fig. 179: Grave F7634. Skeleton with crossed ankles. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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 1094[43]

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
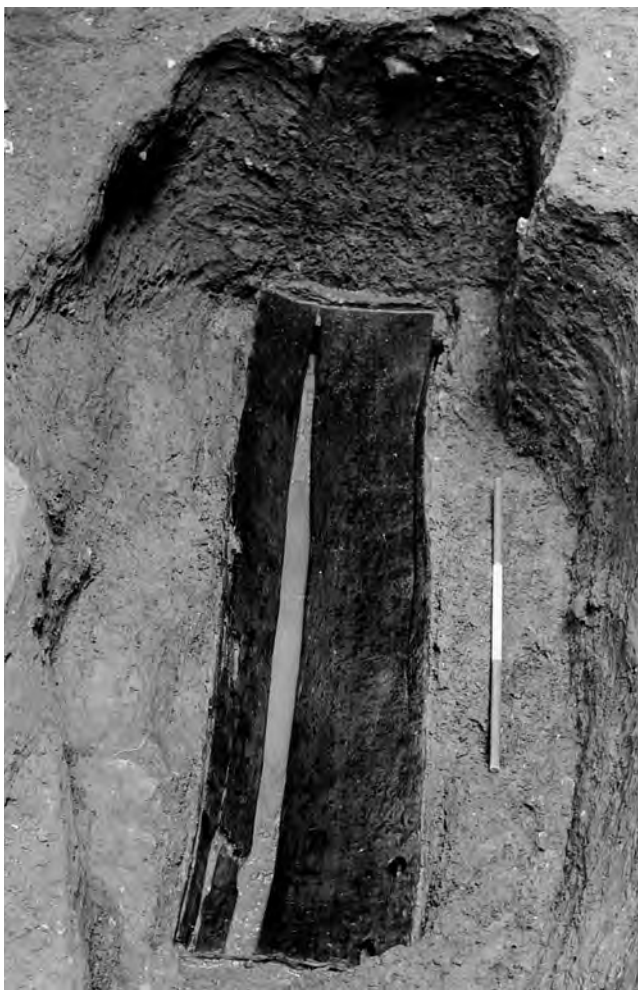
Fig. 187: Coffin, grave F1753, as found with compressed and split lid. View west. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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
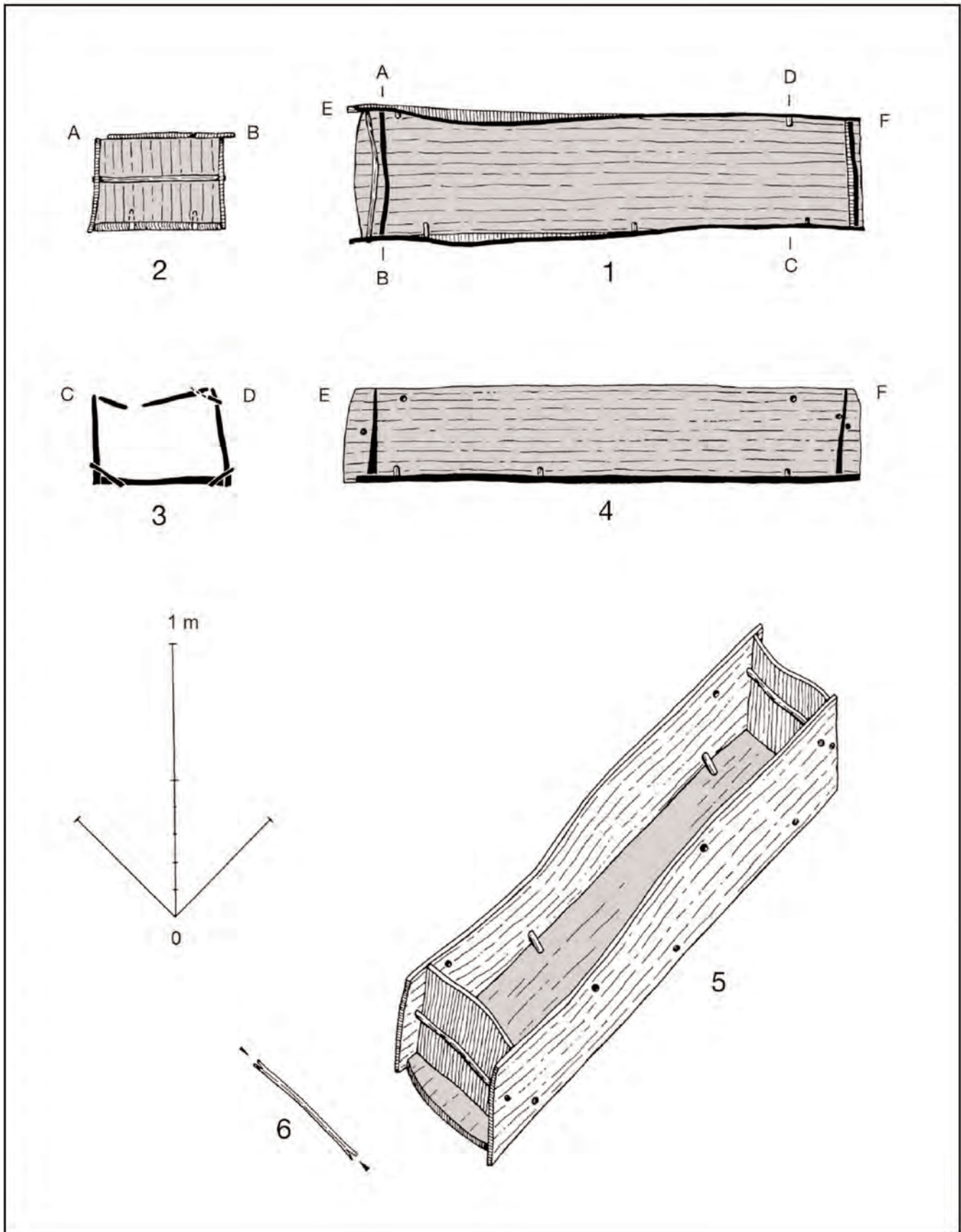
Fig. 190: Coffin, grave F1753, assembled. 1, Plan with the lid removed; 2, west end elevation AB; 3, cross-section CD; 4, longitudinal sectional elevation EF; 5, axonometric view of the complete coffin, omitting the lid; 6, detail of a tying-dowel with wedged ends. Scale 1:20. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

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 facetted) 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

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. 191: Coffin, grave F1753. Internal view of the west end, showing a skewed peg attaching the side to the base. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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. 192: Coffin, grave F1753. Vertical view of the west end, showing the external tying-dowel in situ. 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
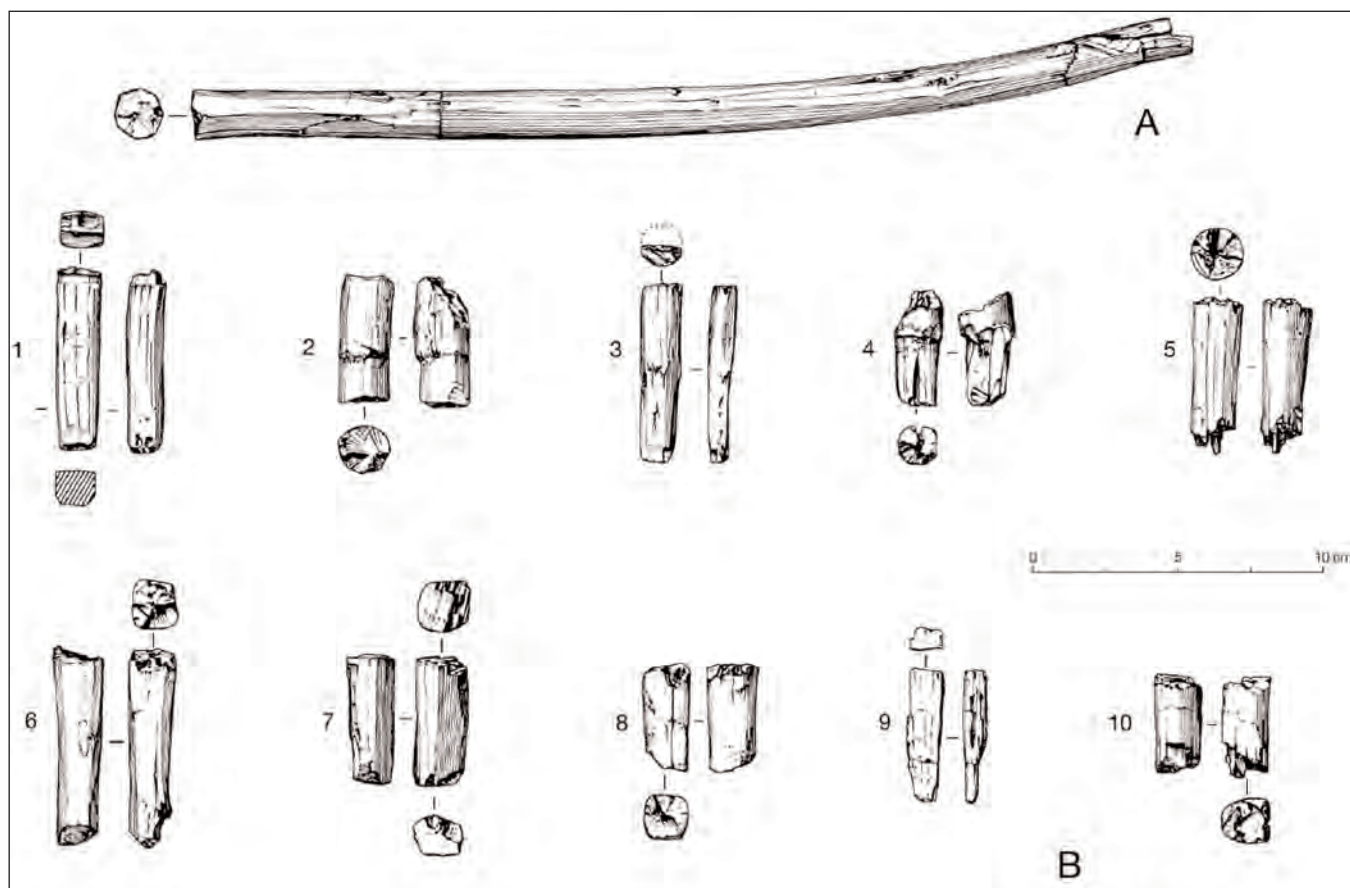
Fig. 195: Coffin, grave F1753. A, oak tying-dowel; B, ten pegs used in the construction. Nos. 1, 7 and 9 are oak; nos. 2 and 5 are willow; nos. 3, 4, 6, 8 and 10 are hazel. Scale 1:2.5. Drawing: Judith Dobie

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 graffito 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
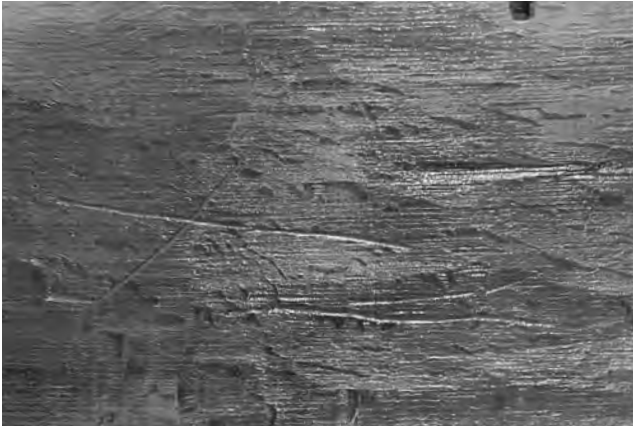
Fig. 197: Coffin, grave F1753. Detail of the base-board showing the incised graffito. Photo and drawing: Warwick Rodwell

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 successful[48]

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
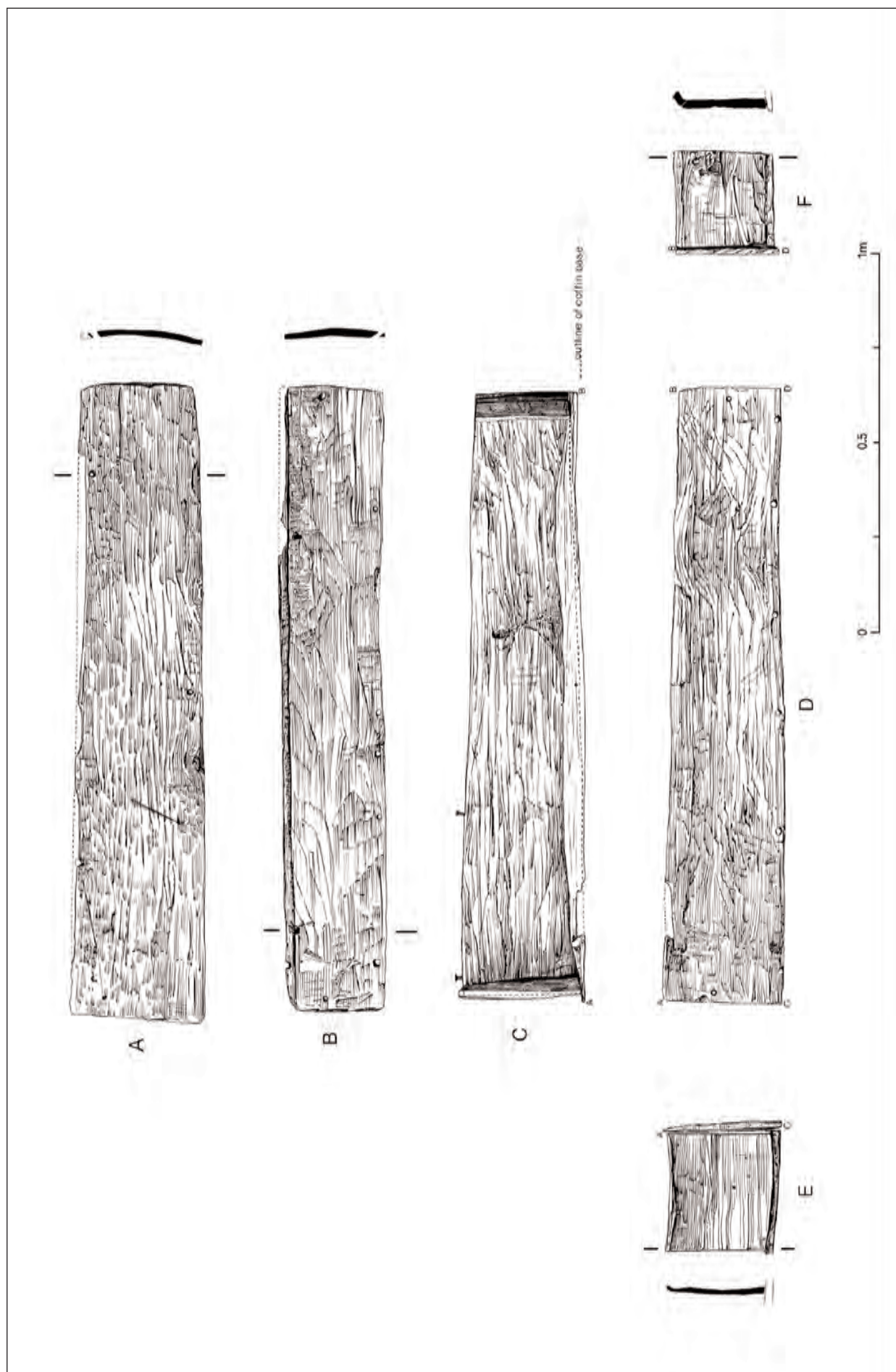
Fig. 198: Coffin, grave F1790. (A) lid; (B) north side (exterior); (C) base (interior); (D) south side (exterior); (E) west end; (F) east end. Scale 1:15. Drawing: Judith Dobie
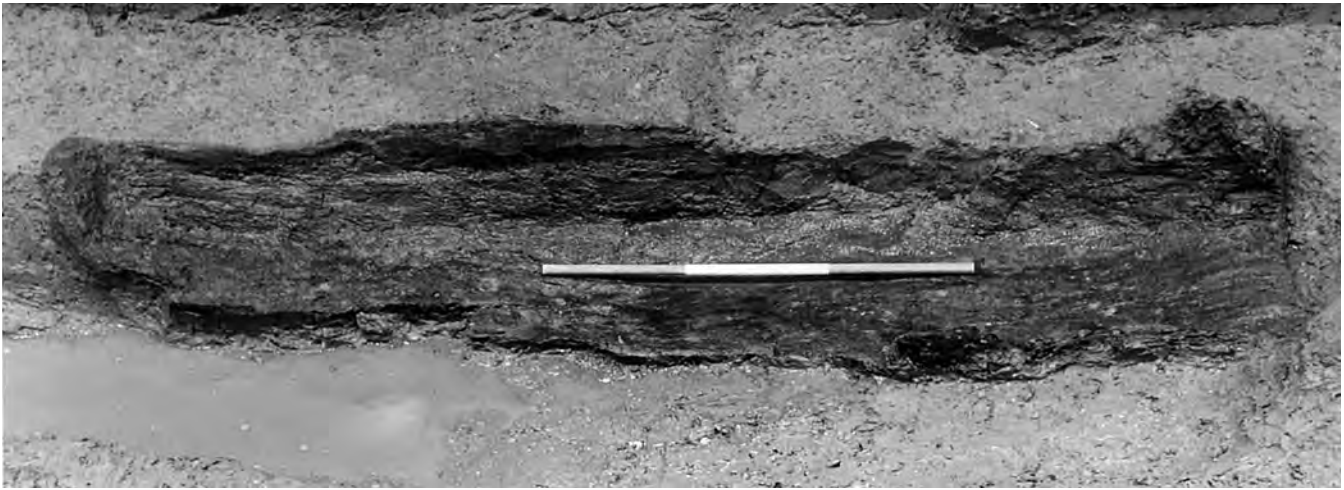
Fig. 199: Dug-out coffin, grave F3564. View north. Scale of 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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 (½ 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
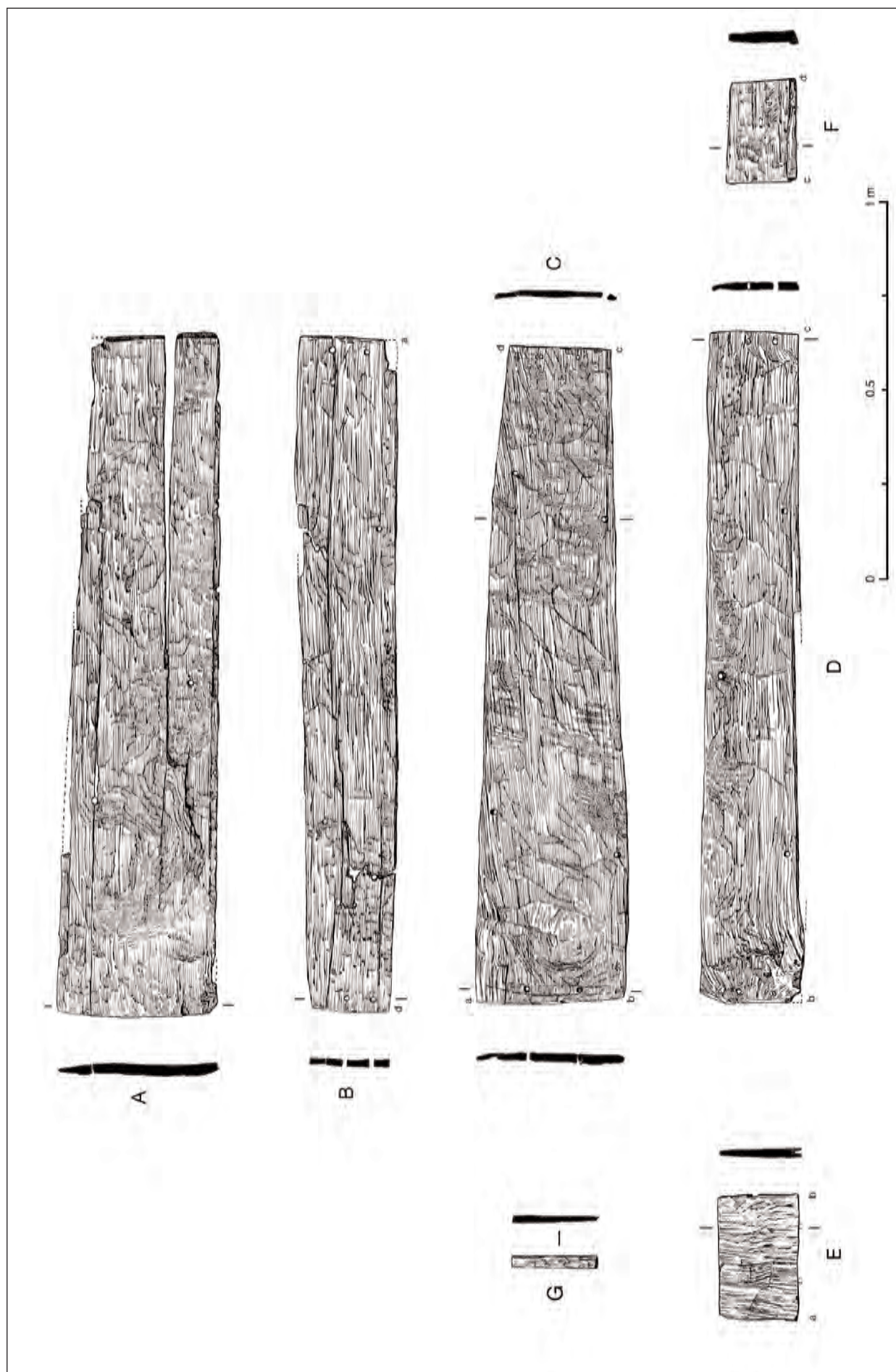
Fig. 200: Coffin, grave F3868. (A) lid; (B) base (interior); (C) north side (exterior); (D) south side (exterior); (E) west end; (F) east end; (G) wedge from south-west corner. Scale 1:15. Drawing: Judith Dobie

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

Fig. 205: Coffin, grave F3968. Waterlogged contents, as seen after removal of the lid. Note the mud 'pillow'. 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

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.

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 clench-bolts, for the north side; it has been argued that this was a reused fragment from a clinker-built boat (p. 186). No other clench-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. 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

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 joint-ed 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 arrange-ment 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 cof-fin. 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 like-ly 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 marked-ly 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 dri-ven 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, indicat-ing that the sides were not vertical but slightly inclined
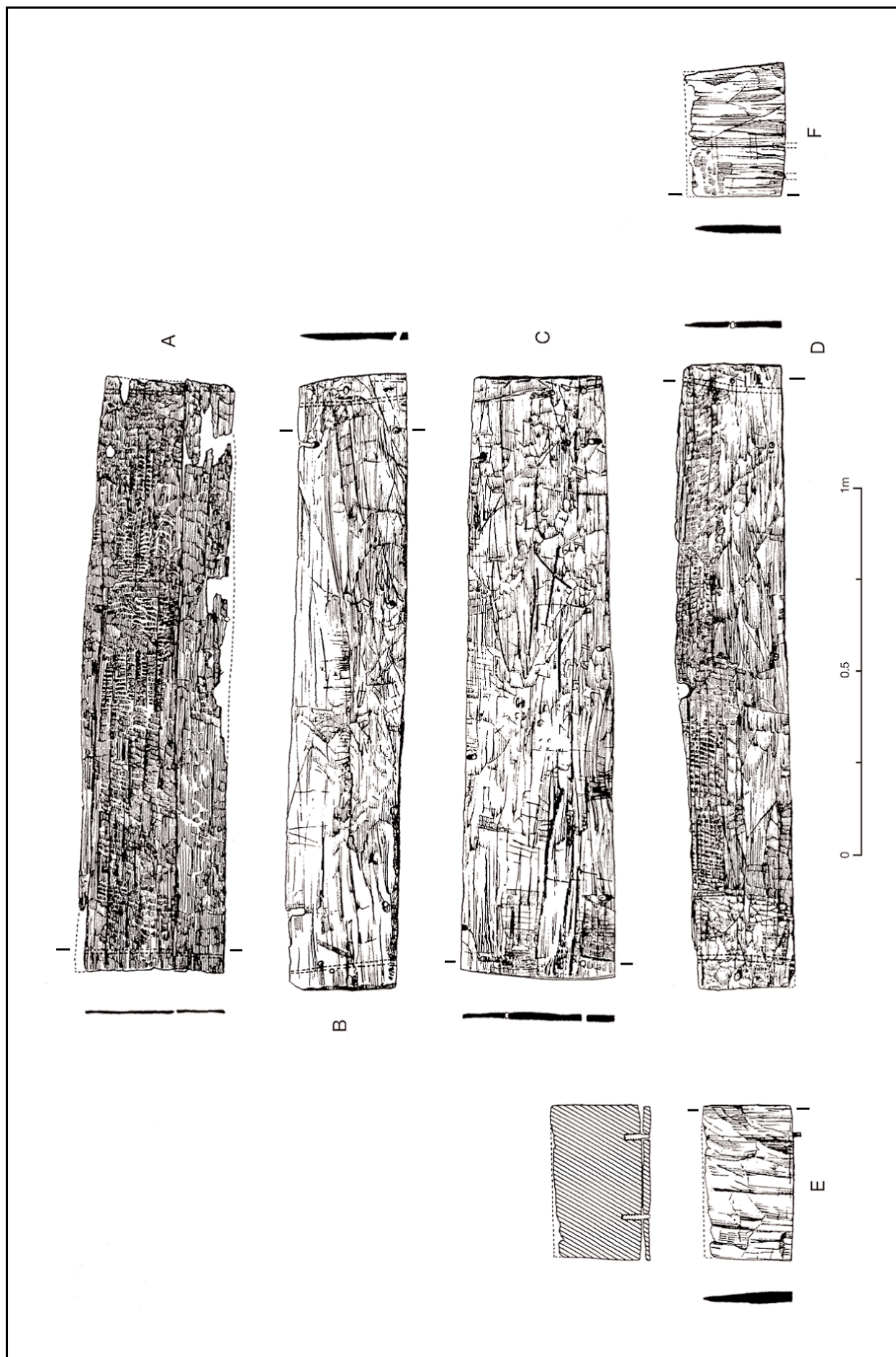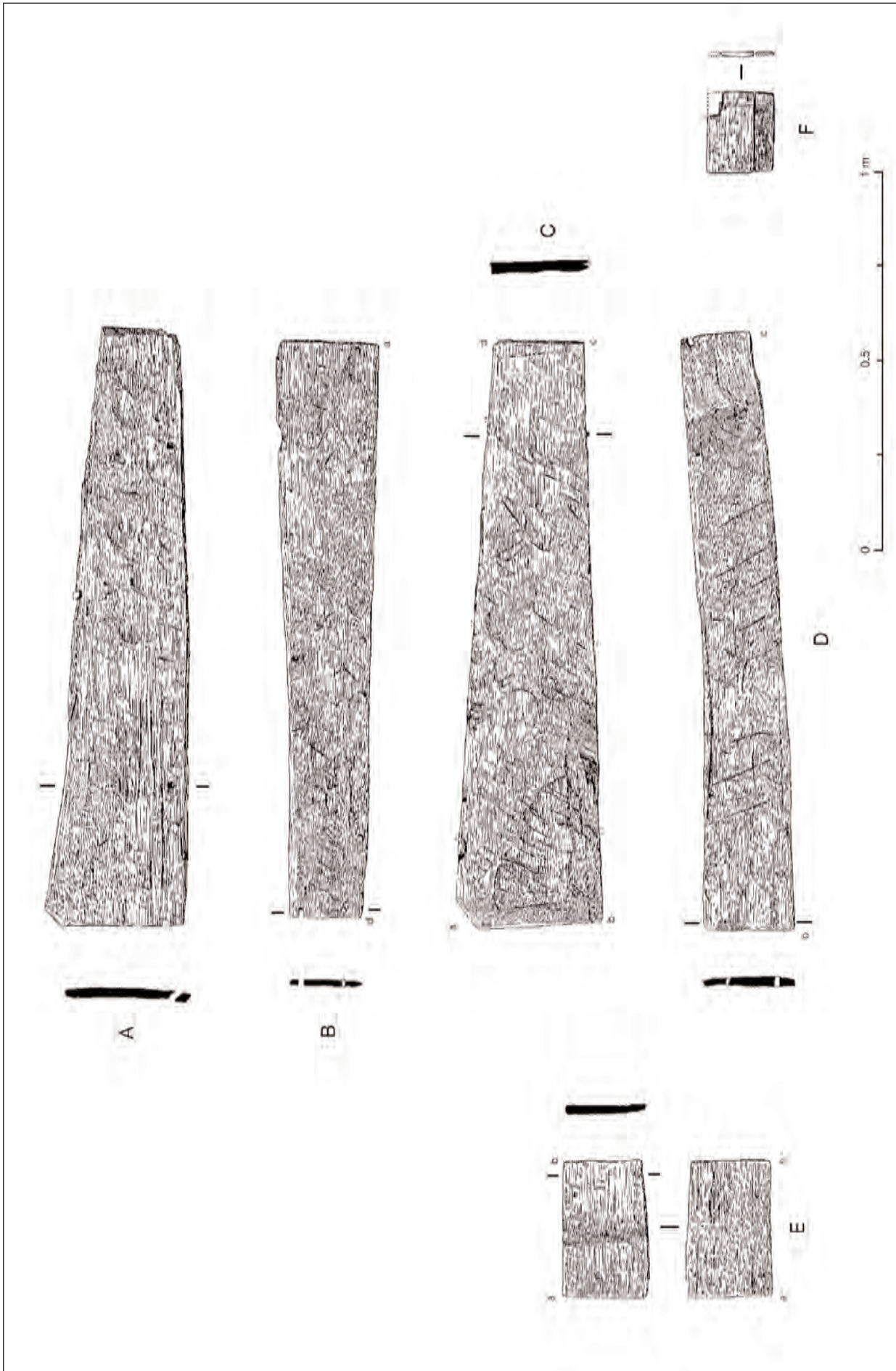
Fig. 209: Coffin, grave F3968. (A) lid (exterior); (B) north side (exterior); (C) base (interior); (D) south side (exterior); (E) west end (internal and external views); (F) east end. Scale 1:15. Drawing: Judith Dobie

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
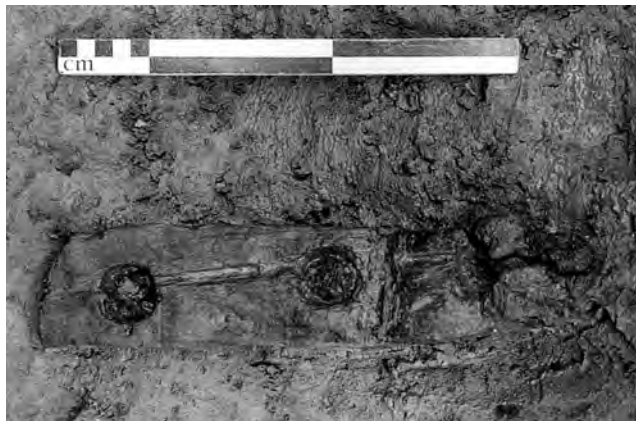
Fig. 212: Coffin, grave F5013. Detail of a batten with three large holes found under the base of the coffin. Photo: Warwick Rodwell
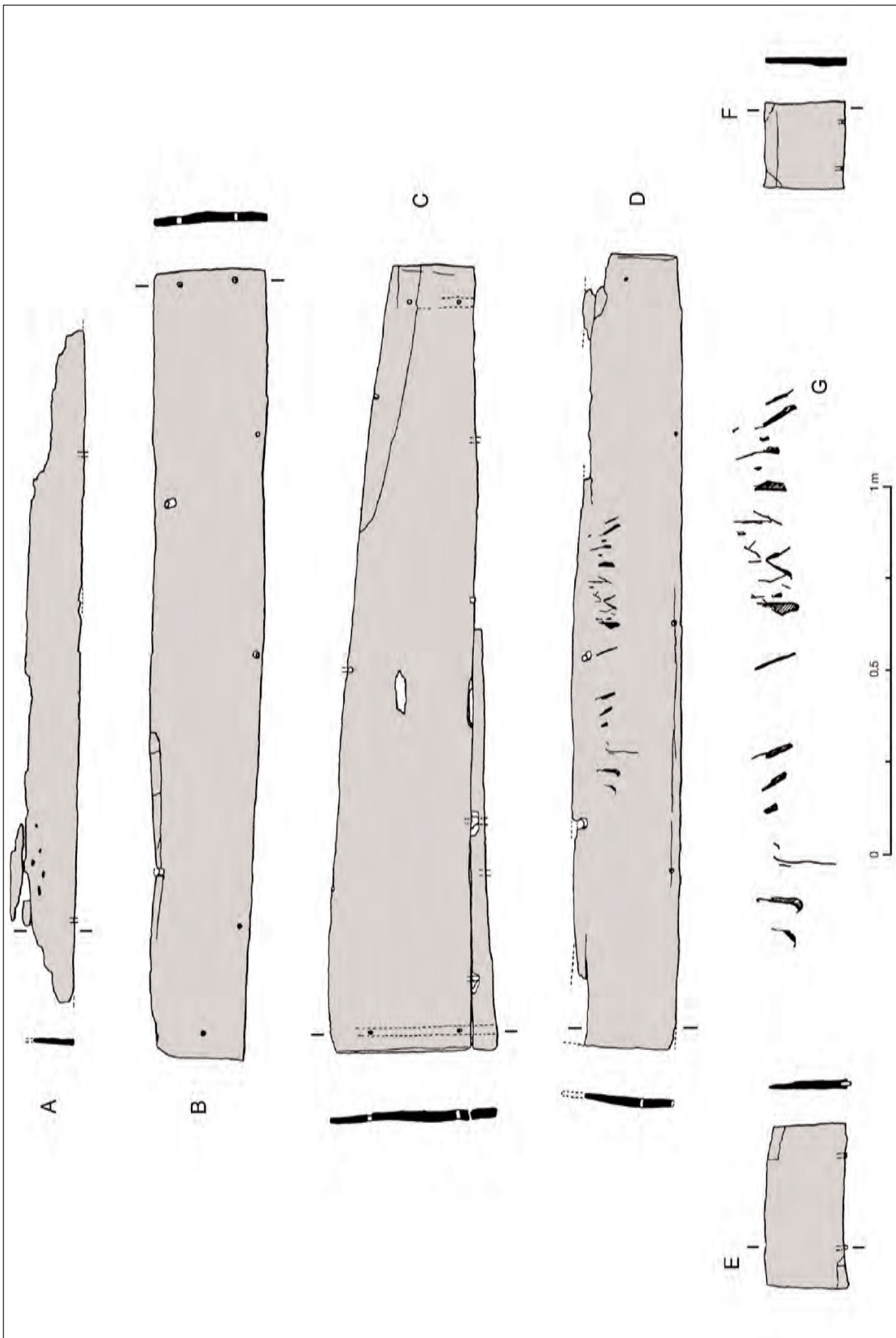
Fig. 213: Coffin, grave F5044, outline drawing. (A) lid; (B) north side (exterior); (C) base (interior); (D) south side (exterior); (E) west end; (F) east end; (G) inscription(?) on south side. Scale 1:15, except inscription, 1:7.5. Drawing: Judith Dobie
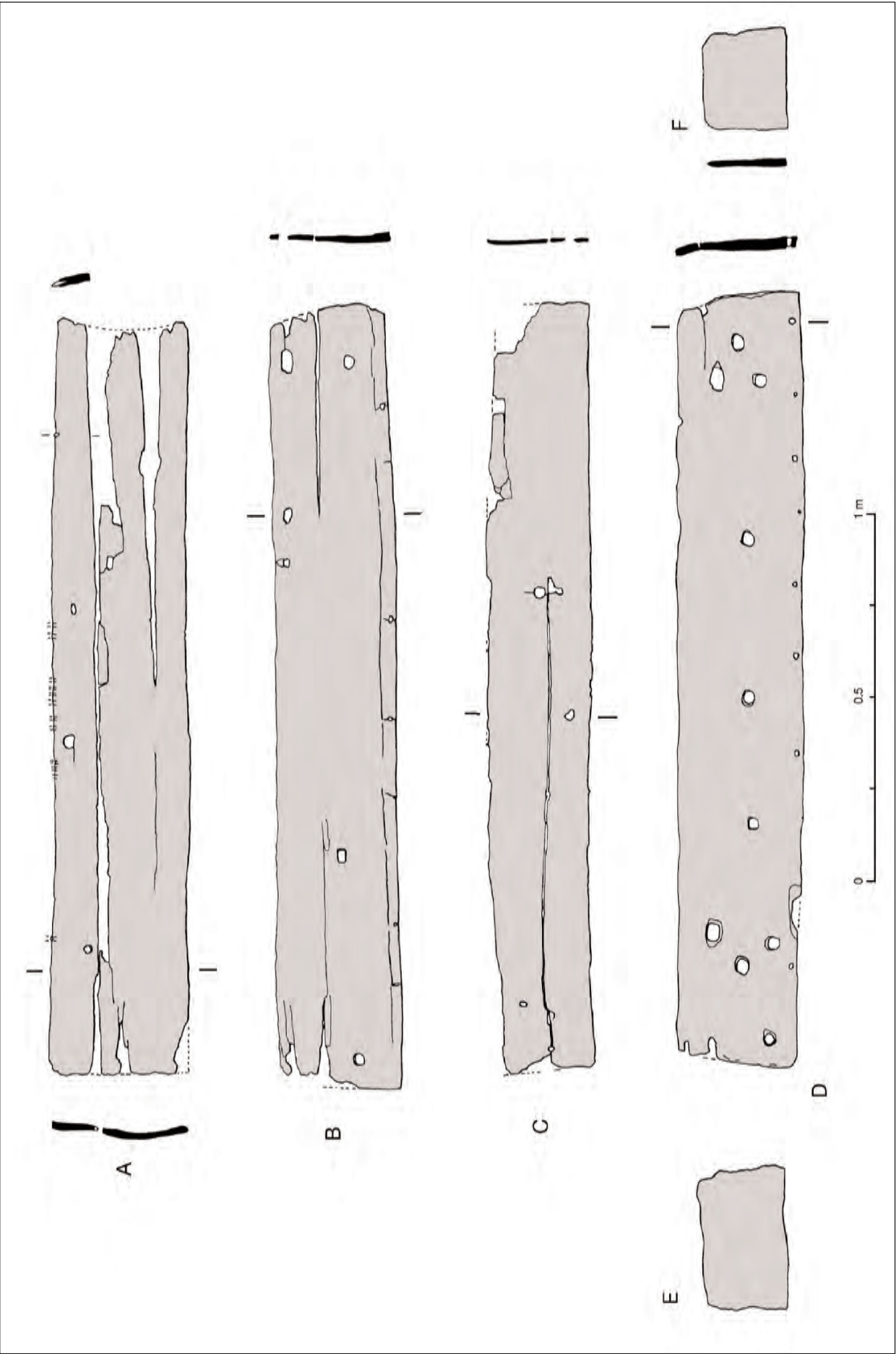
Fig. 214: Coffin, grave F5045, outline drawing. (A) lid (exterior); (B) north side (exterior); (C) base (interior); (D) south side (exterior); (E) west end; (F) east end. Scale 1:15. Drawing: Judith Dobie
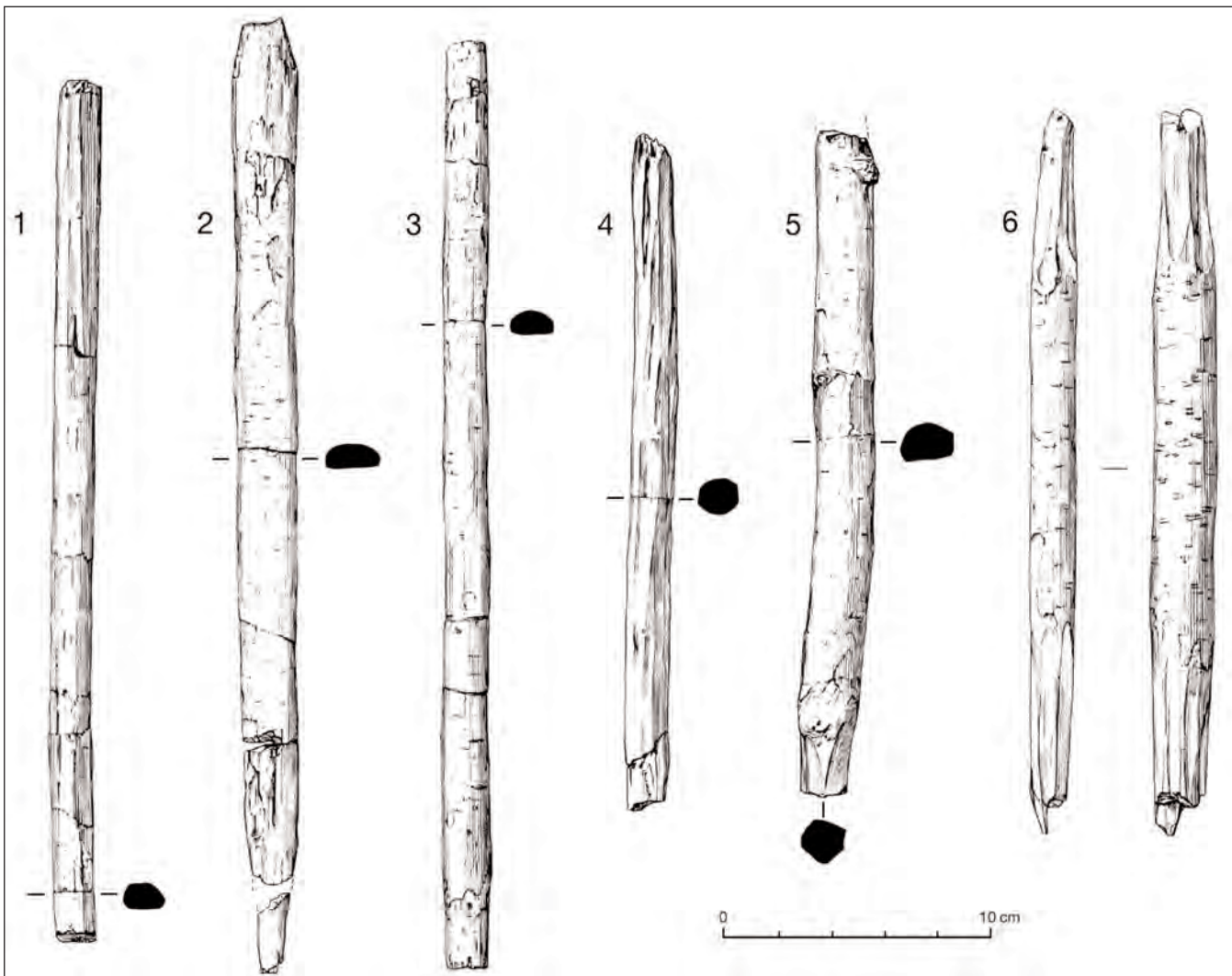
Fig. 215: Coffin, grave F5045. Six tying-dowels. Scale 1:2.5. Drawing Judith Dobie

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, facetted 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
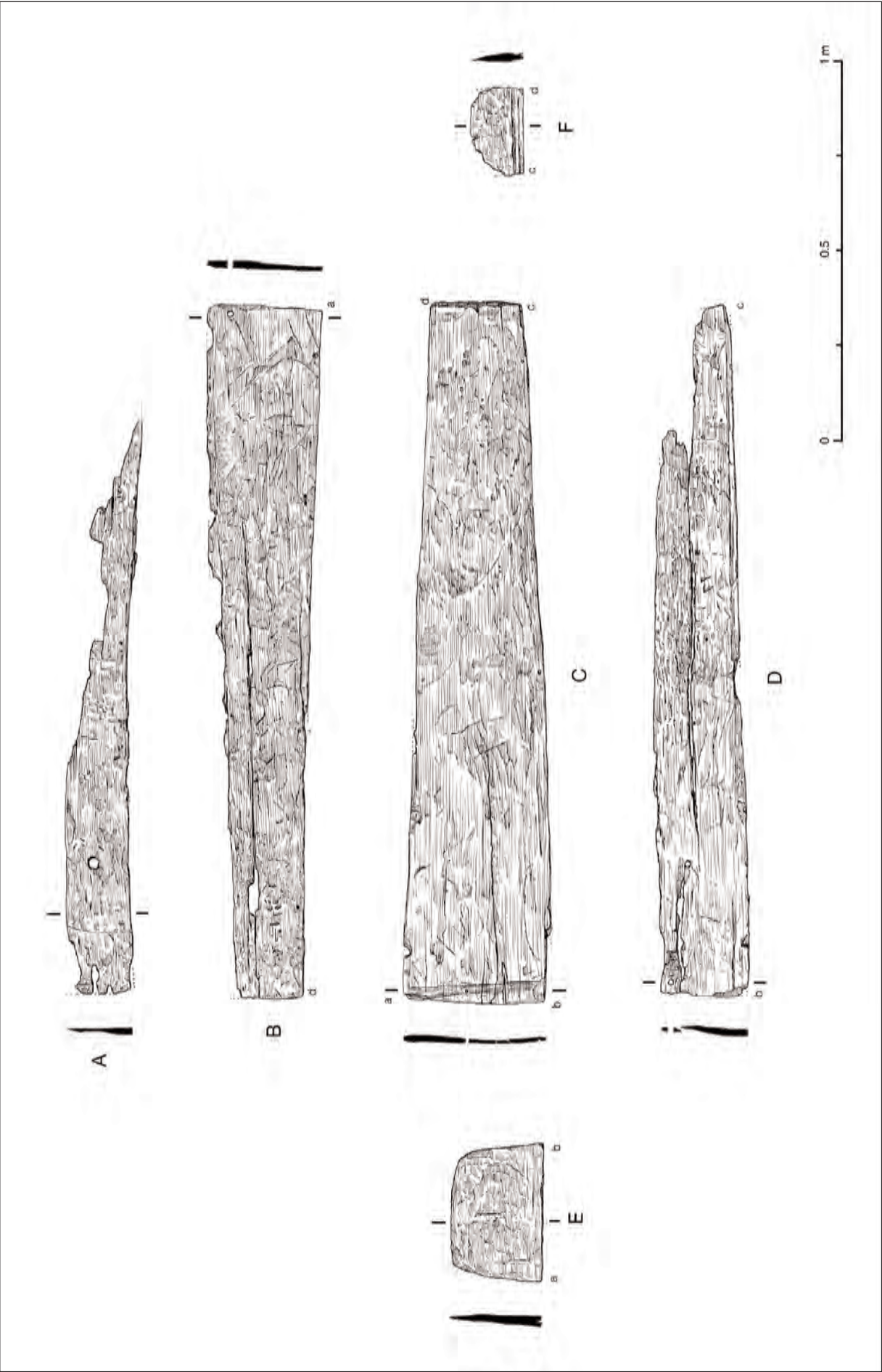
Fig. 216: Coffin, grave F5328. (A) lid; (B) north side (exterior); (C) base (interior); (D) south side (exterior); (E) west end; (F) east end. Scale 1:15. Drawing: Judith Dobie
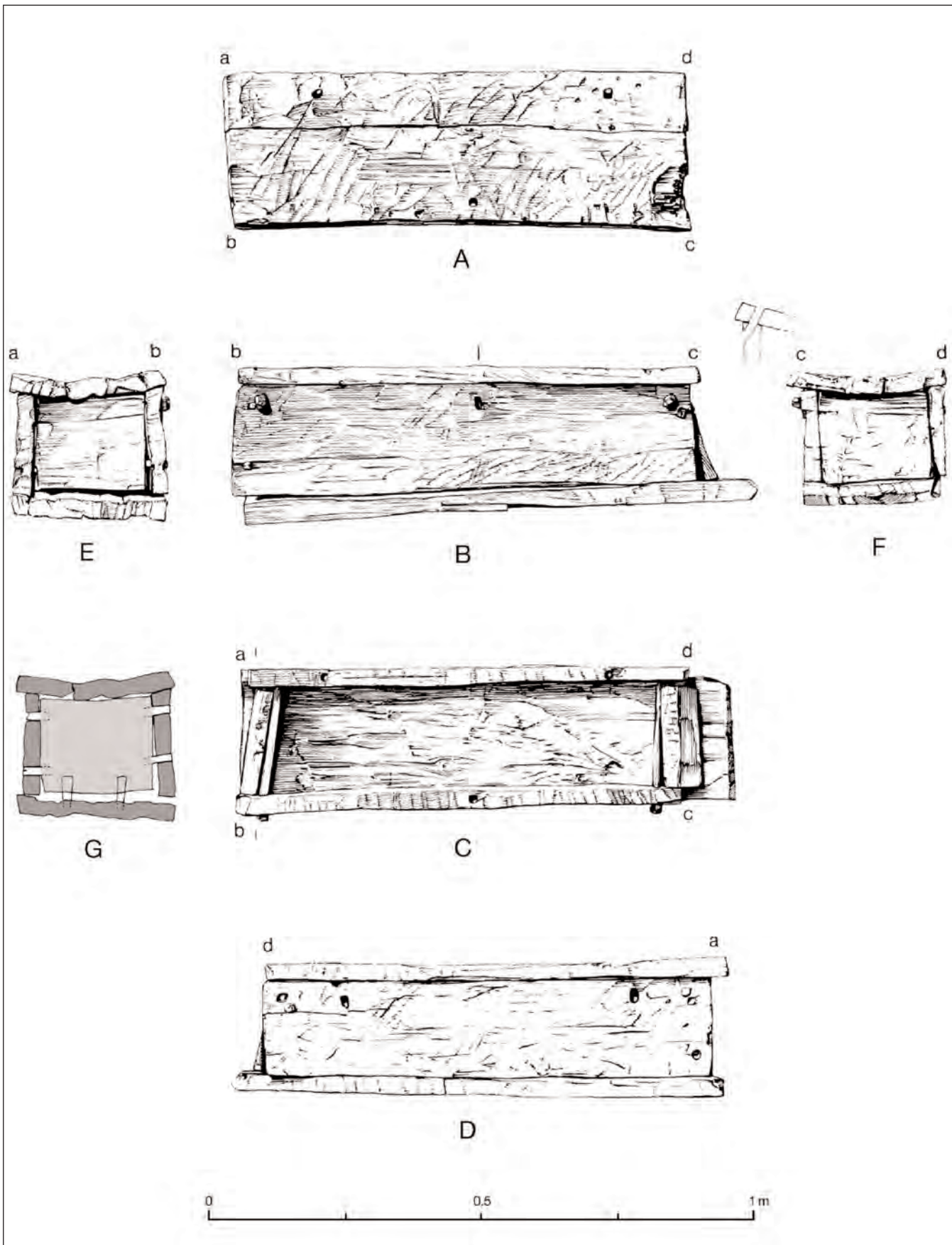
Fig. 217: Coffin, grave F5474. Views of the complete coffin. (A) lid, from above; (B) south side; (C) interior with lid removed; (D) north side; (E) west end; (F) east end; (G) transverse section through west end. Scale 1:10. Drawing: Judith Dobie
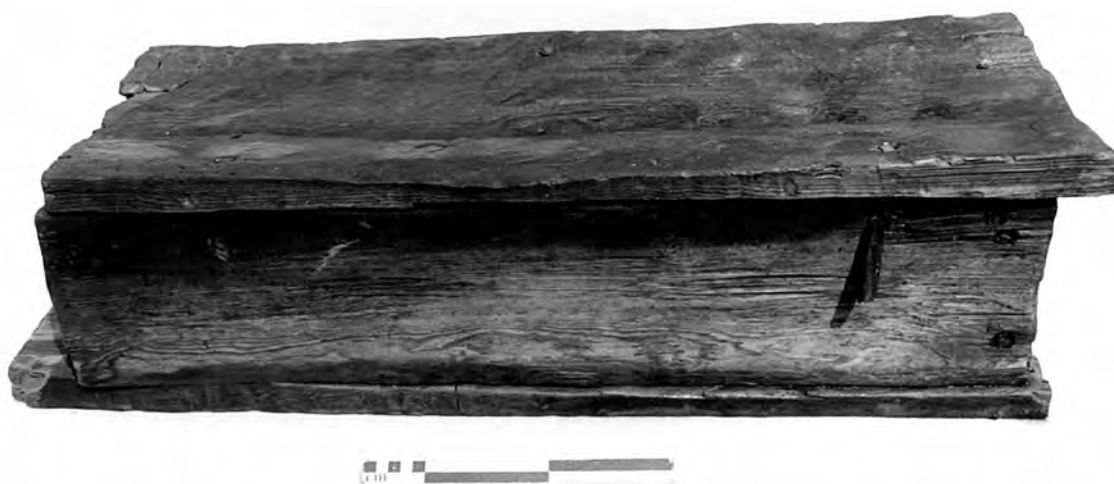
Fig. 218: Coffin, grave F5474. North side of the coffin. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

A

B

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 water-logged 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,
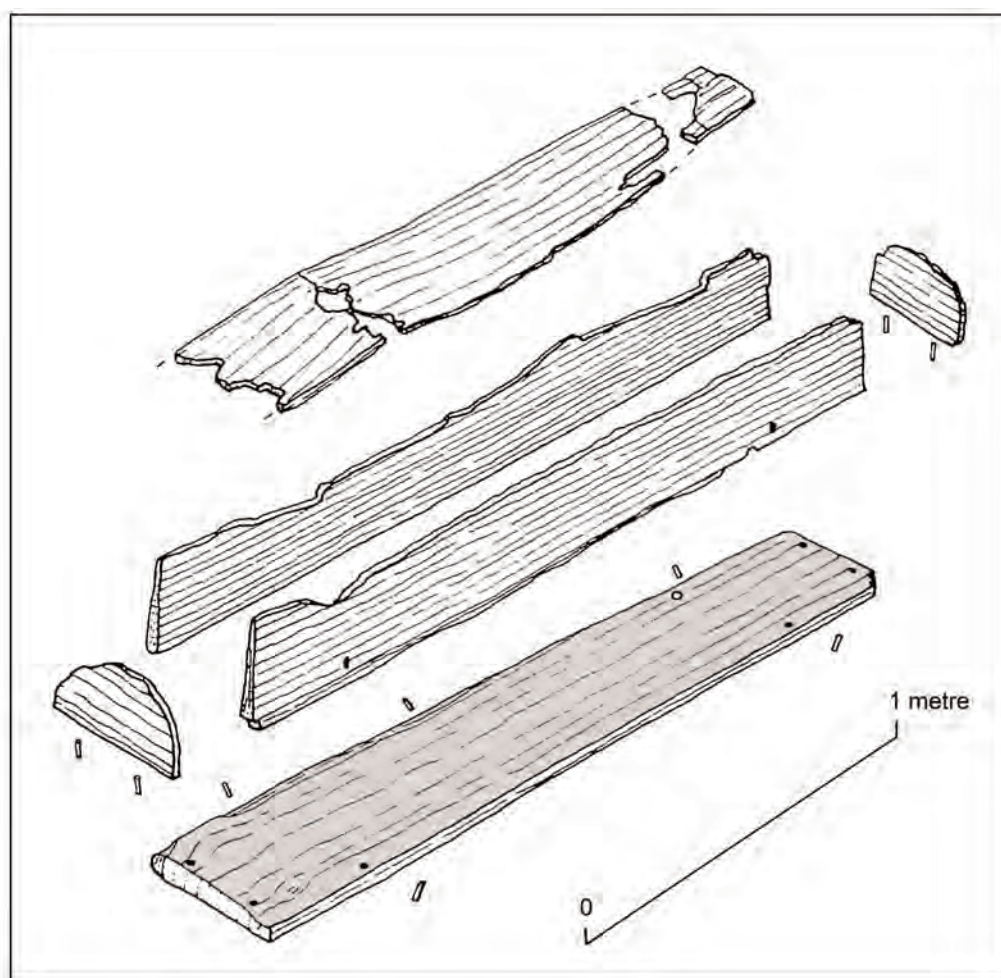
Fig. 222: Beverley Minster (E. Yorks). Exploded view showing the construction of an oak coffin dated by dendrochronology to AD 992. Johnson 2003–05
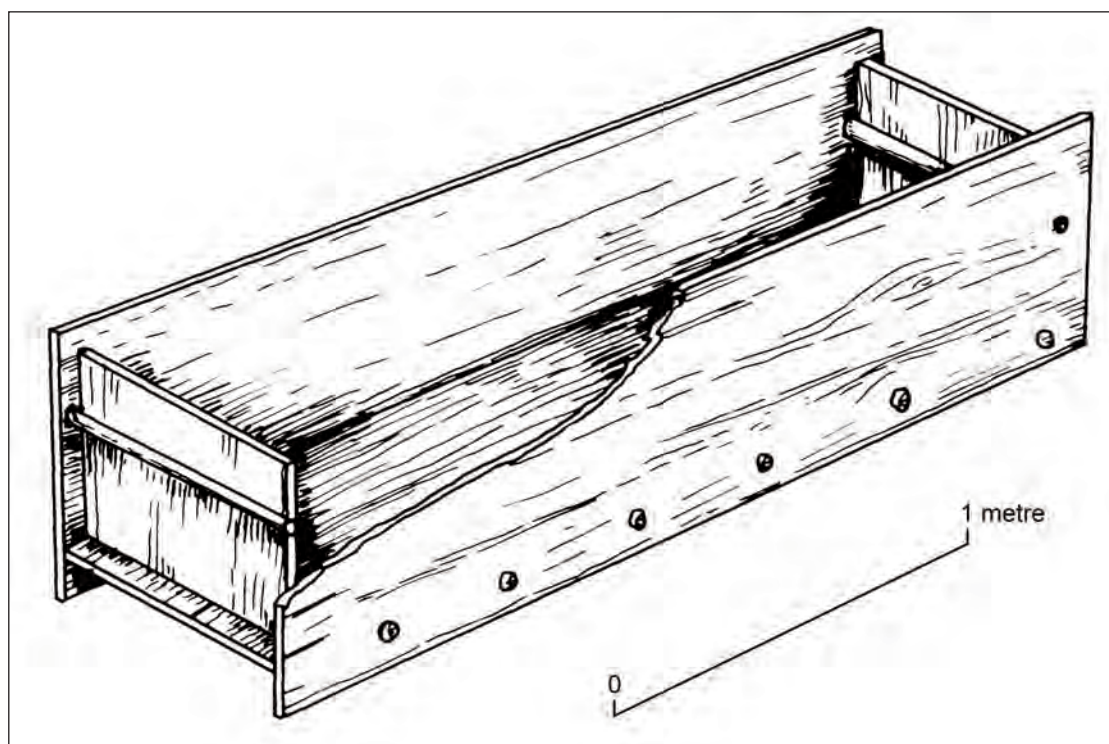
Fig. 223: Coffin, grave F5045. Reconstruction. Panter 1994

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 Mould[53]

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 ¾ in.). In addition to the usual range of nail lengths which was 38–64 mm (1½–2½ ins) in all phases, small nails were also noted: 13–23 mm (½–¾ 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.
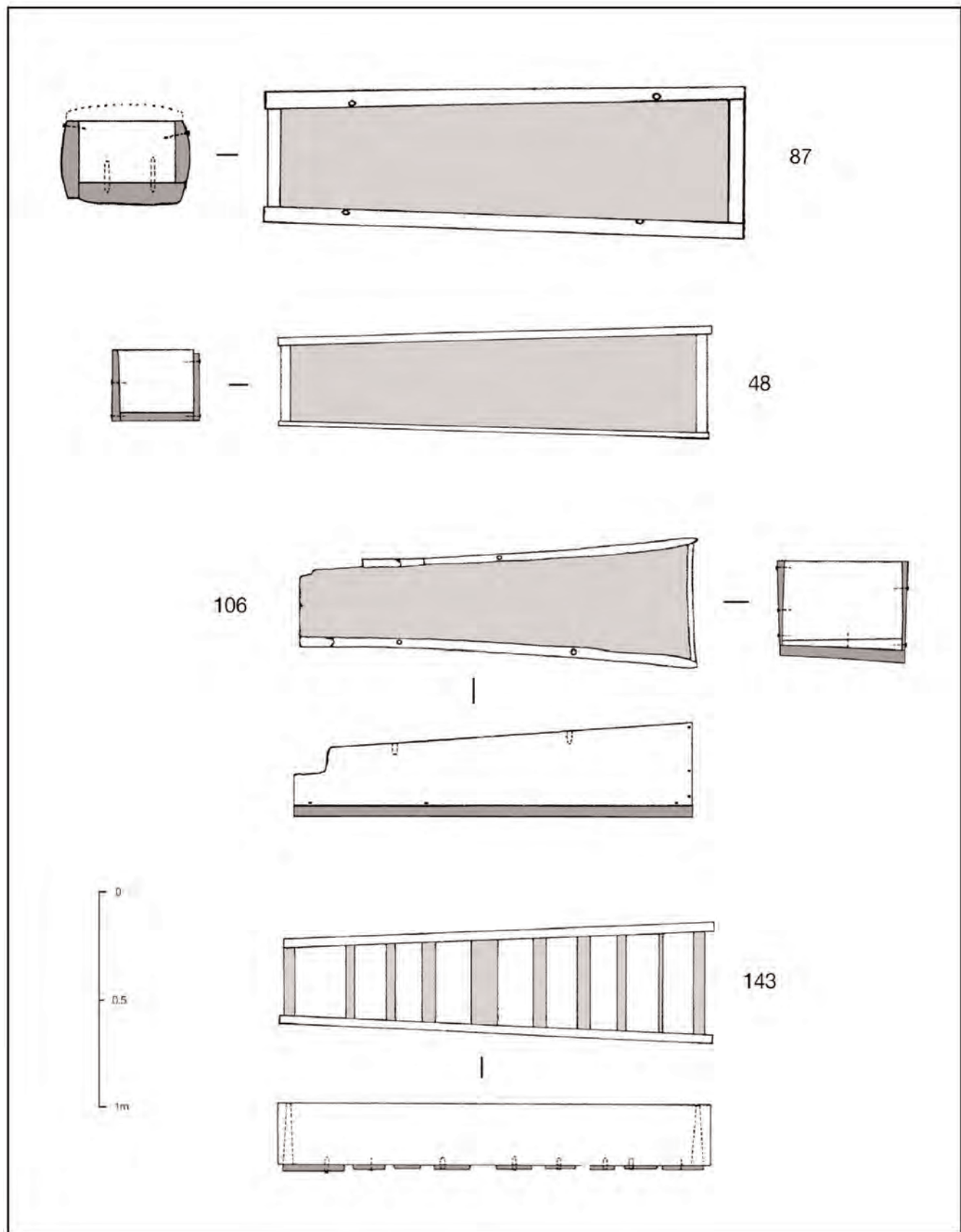
Fig. 224: Lund, Sweden. Details of coffin construction, graves 48, 87, 106 and 143. Scale 1:25. After Blomqvist and Mårtensson 1963

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 graffito 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 dished 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 clench-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).
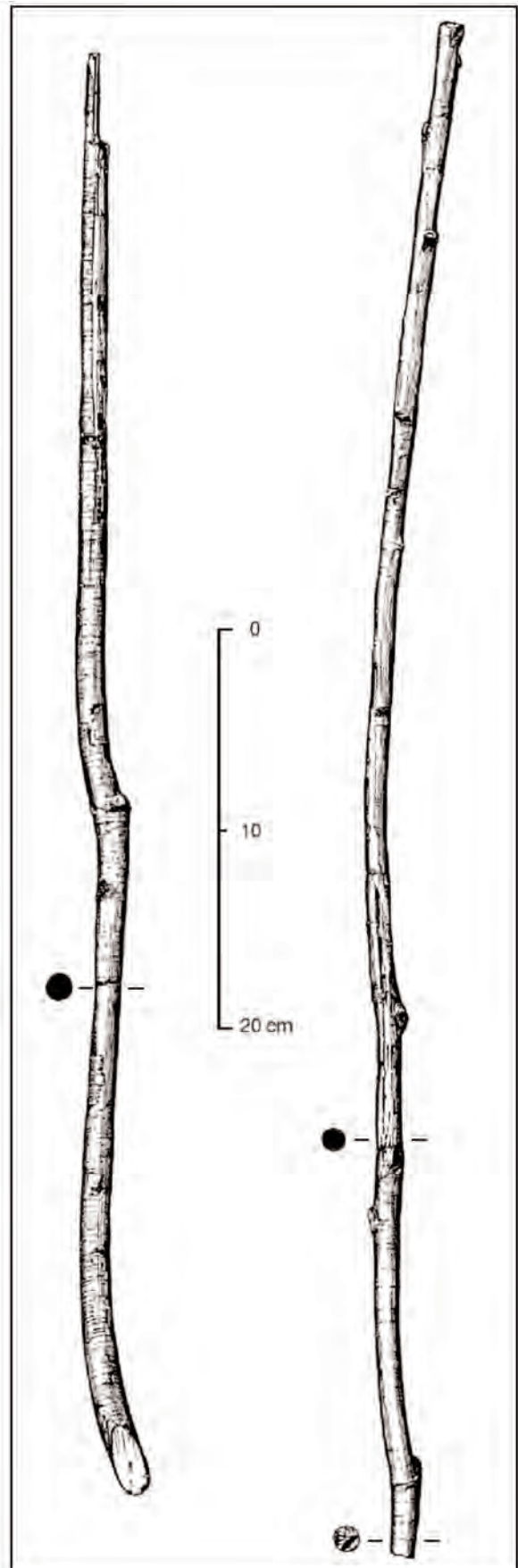
Fig. 228: Grave F1790. Two complete coppice-rods found inside the coffin. Drawing: Judith Dobie
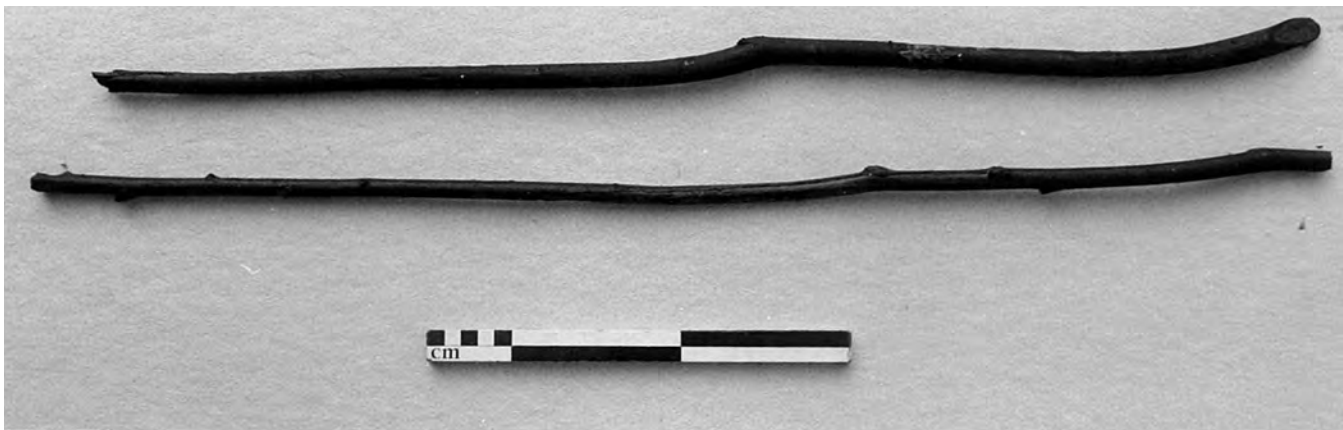
Fig. 229: Grave F1790. A, The two coppice-rods of willow/poplar; B, Details of one obliquely cut and one snapped end. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

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 Talyllyn 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 hazel 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
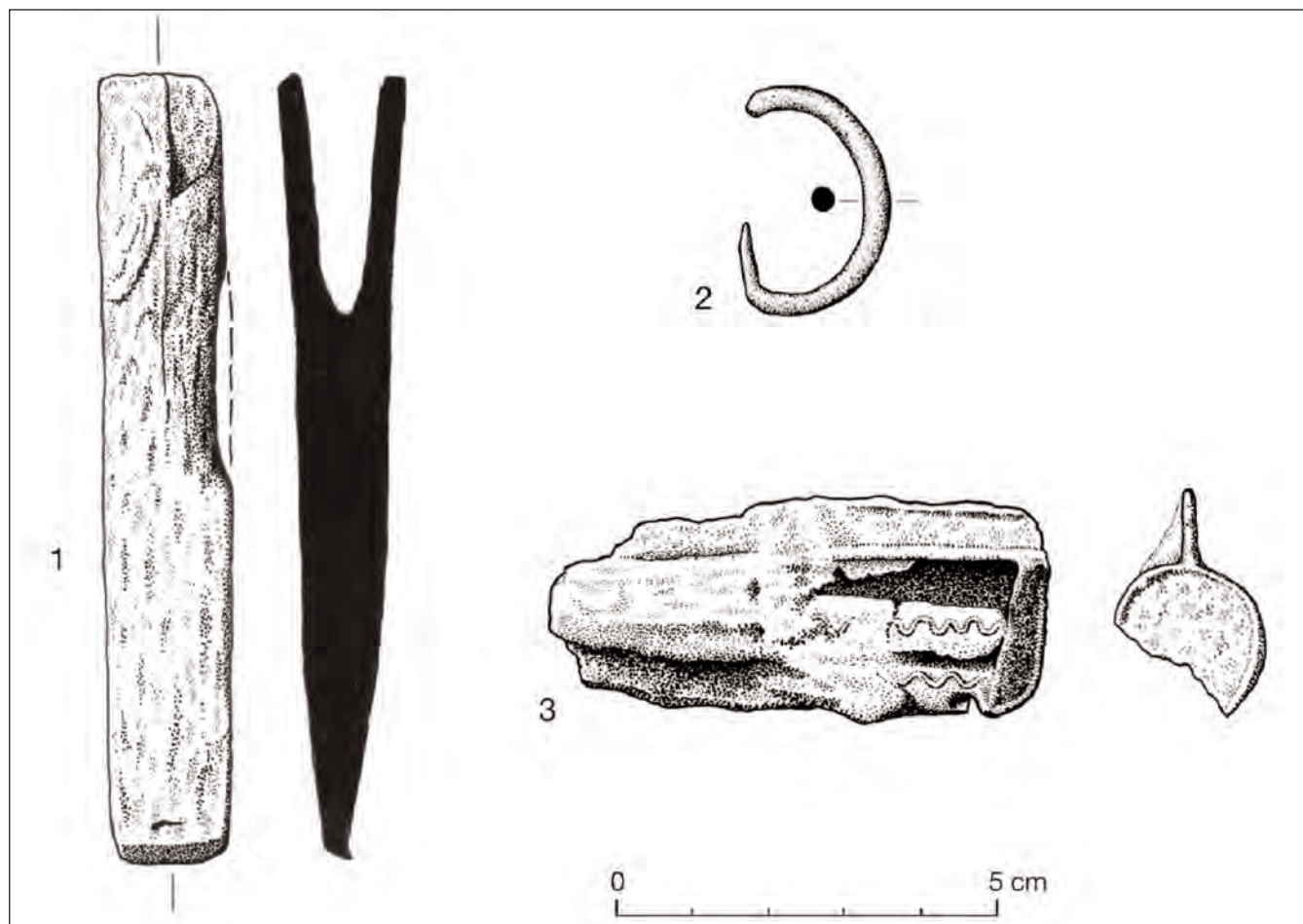
Fig. 231: Small finds from burials of Phase E. 1 Iron socketed chisel; 2 Copper-alloy buckle; 3 Iron cylindrical padlock. Scale 1:1. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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 forearms 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
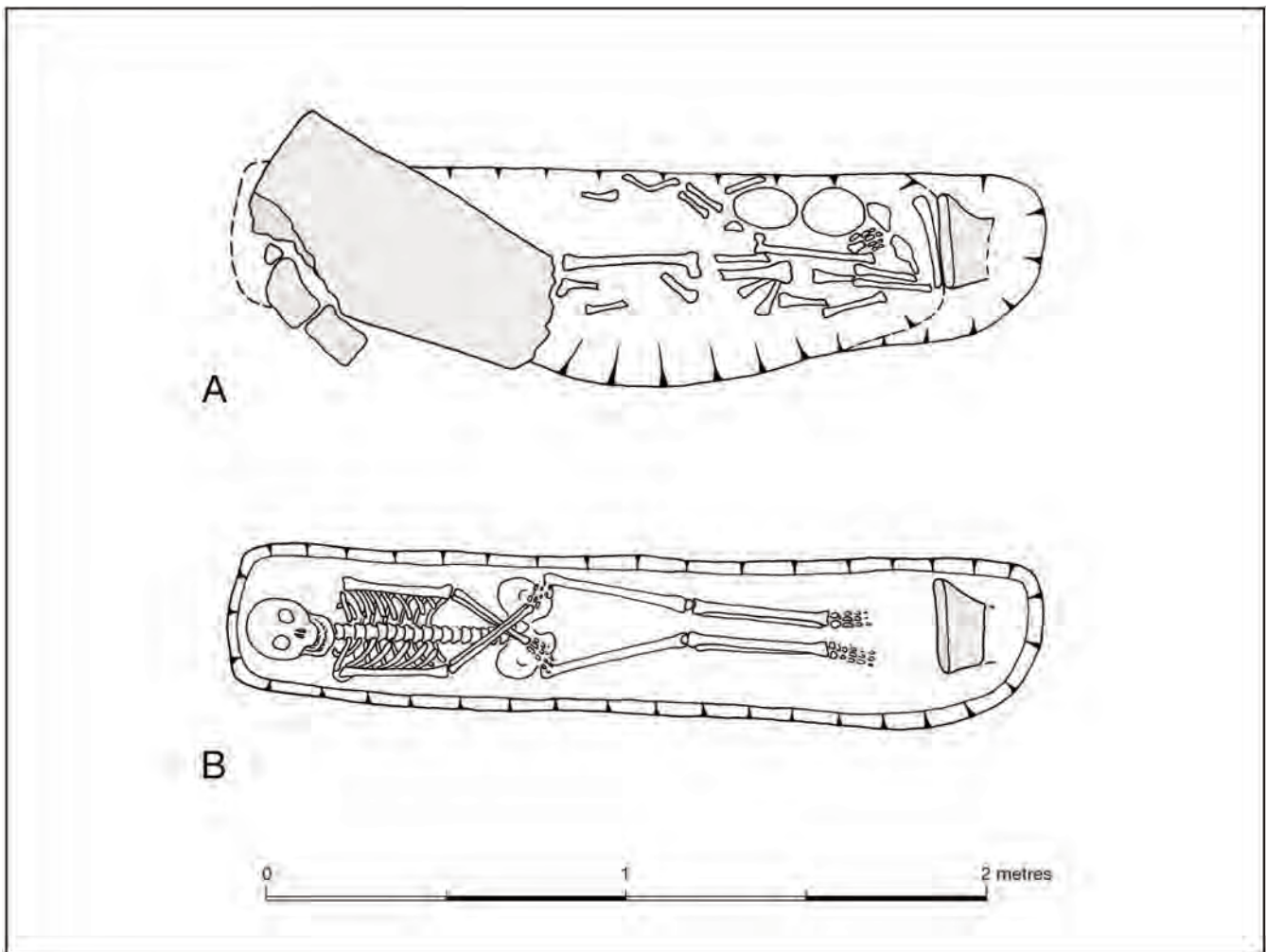
Fig. 232: Plans of grave F7263 in Area 14. A, As found, with fragments of a grave-cover *in* situ; B, The grave-cut and burial, diagrammatically represented. Scale 1:20. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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

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*

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

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 Arminiyah. 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
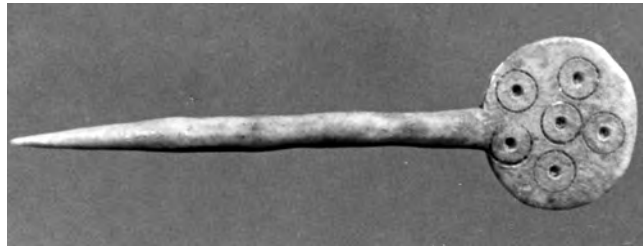
Fig. 238: Bone pin with ring-and-dot ornament. Probably tenth century. Length 66 mm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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 construction 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 1816[1] (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 masoncraft, 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
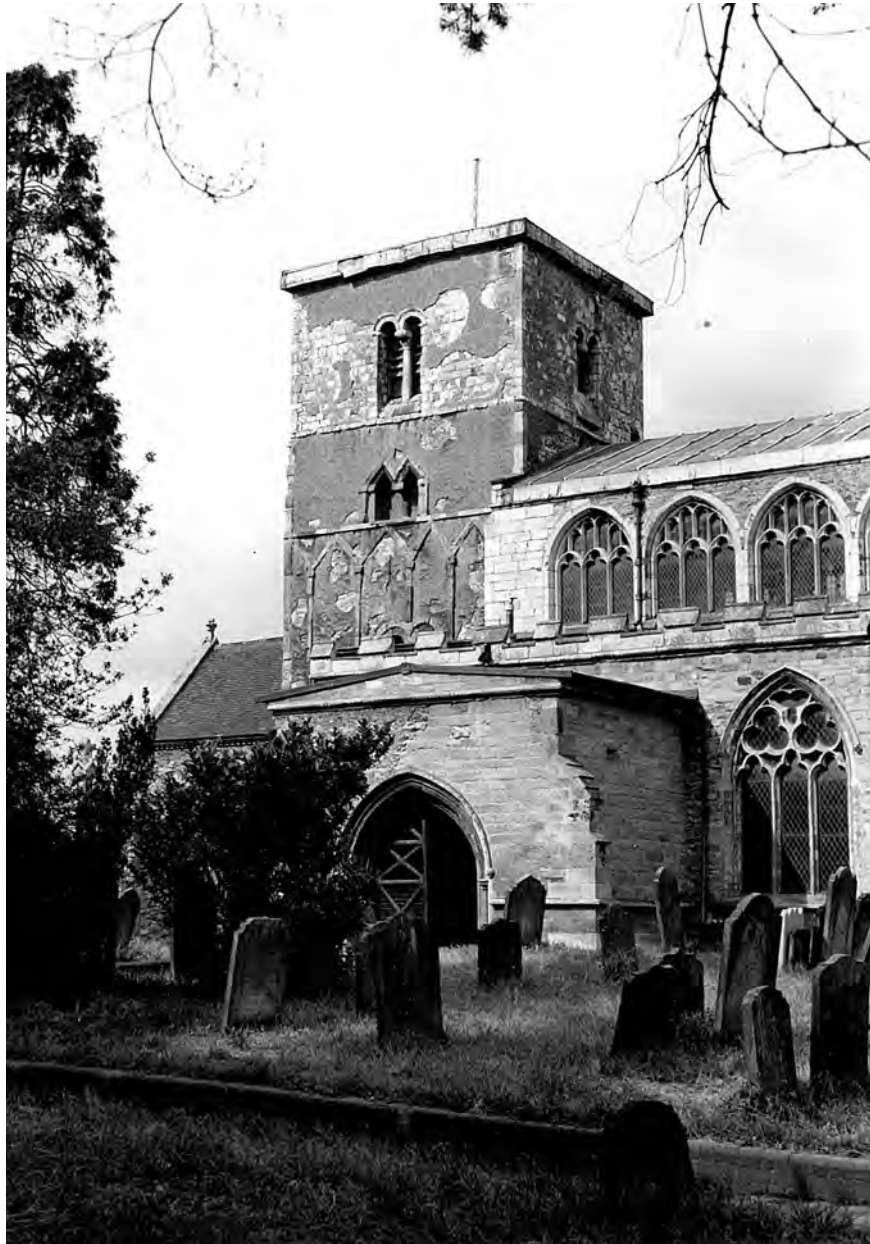
Fig. 240: St Peter's tower from the south-east, before re-rendering in 1965. Photo: David Lee Photography

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 imposts 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).
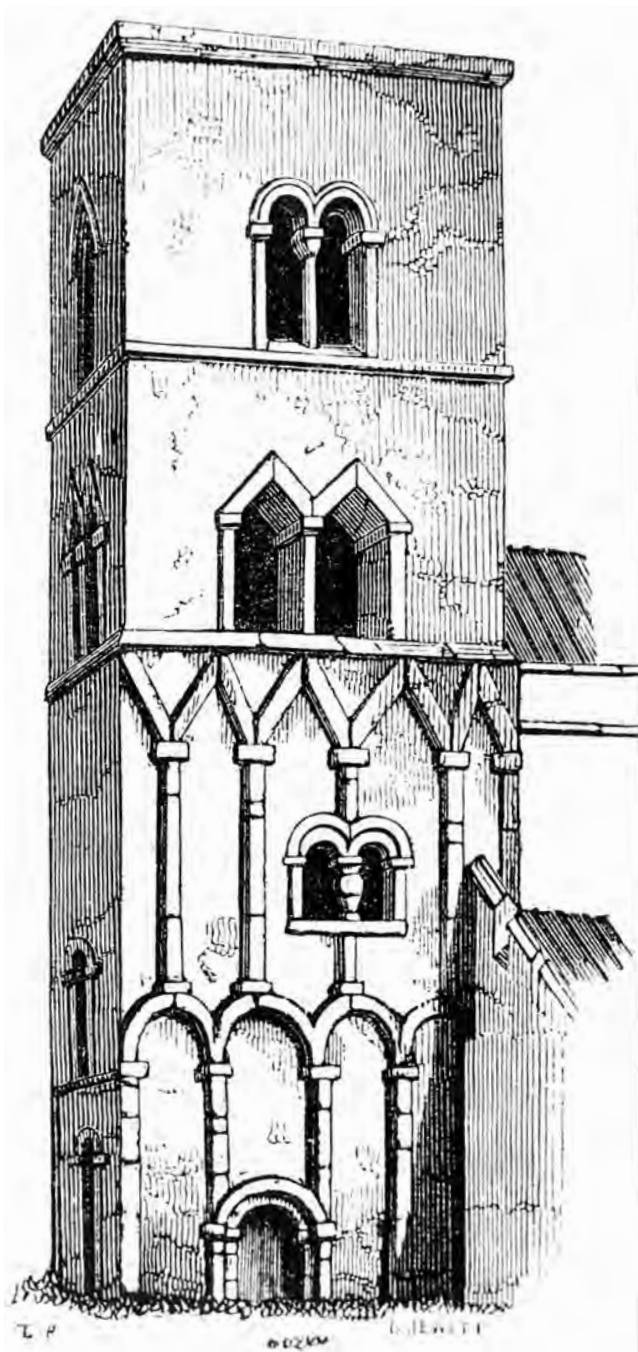
Fig. 241: St Peter's tower from the south-south-west, omitting the western annexe. Drawn by Orlando Jewitt in the 1840s, after a sketch by Thomas Rickman. Rickman 1848

Fig. 242: St Peter's tower from the south-south-west, omitting the western annexe. Drawn by Augustus Pugin, 1819. Britton 1826
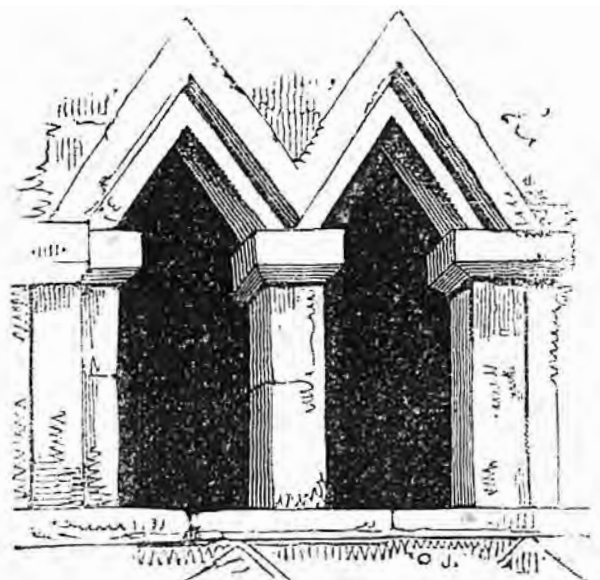
Fig. 243: Tower. Lower belfry window (south) with assumed rectangular mid-wall slab instead of a baluster. Drawn by Orlando Jewitt, after Pugin. Parker 1840

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

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
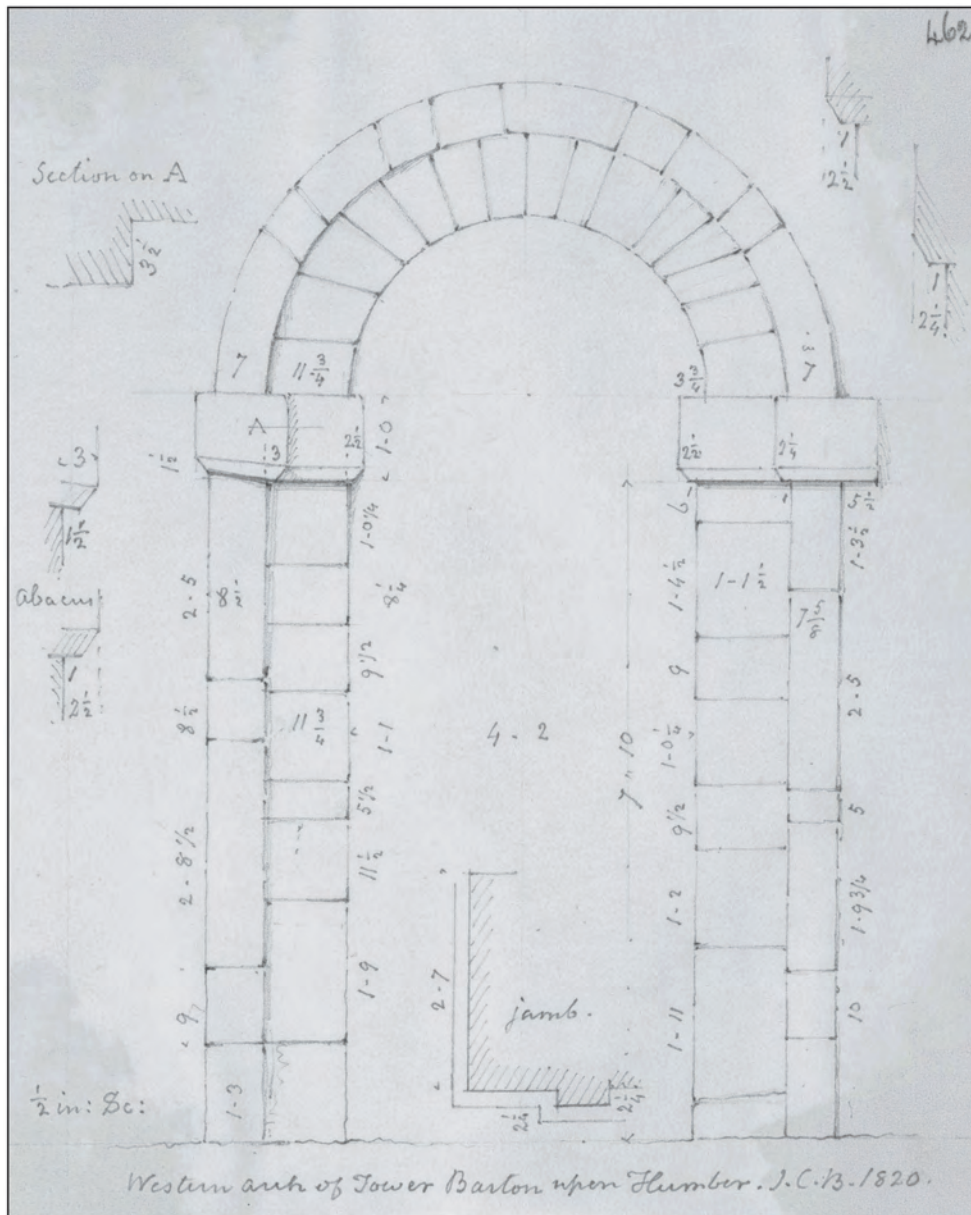
Fig. 244: Tower, western arch. Elevation of the east face, drawn to scale by J.C. Buckler, 1820. © British Library: Ms. Add. 36,438, f. 462

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. 245: Tower, north doorway. External elevation and profile, drawn by J.C. Buckler, probably in 1820. © British Library: Ms. Add. 36,438, f. 485–6

Ball concluded that the annexe was part of an early nave of tiny proportions, attached to the west side of the tower, and that there was formerly a chancel to the east. The antiquity of the annexe, which at the time served as a fuel store, was accepted, and this is probably what saved it from destruction in the ensuing Victorian restorations. The first of these, in 1858, saw the annexe temporarily converted into a porch-like structure, by the insertion in its west wall of a substantial arched doorway of Anglo-Saxon style (Fig. 251). This was carried out by the Hull-based architect Cuthbert Brodrick, who appears to have unilaterally decided that the annexe was originally a 'narthex', even though it had no primary external entrance. He may have been tempted into this course of action by evidence for a small blocked opening of secondary

creation (p. 522). Nevertheless, his intervention received an immediate indictment from the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society.[16]

In 1867, the Royal Archaeological Institute held its Annual Meeting at Hull, and visited the churches at Barton (p. 13).[17] J.H. Parker and E.A. Freeman were both present, and enunciated their differing views with customary force: apparently, a 'battle of the giants' ensued as Freeman, in 'an argumentative speech' insisted that St Peter's tower was pre-Conquest, to which Parker 'gave an unqualified dissent'.[18] For some years, Parker had firmly contested the notion that *any* building in England antedated the Norman Conquest, or at least the eleventh century.[19]

The Institute's meeting also sharply criticized the injudicious intrusion of the bogus Anglo-Saxon doorway

Fig. 246: St Peter's tower from the south-south-west, omitting the western annexe. Drawn by R.W. Billings in the 1840s

Fig. 247: Tower: south elevation. Drawn by W.S. Hesleden in the early 1830s. Courtesy of North Lincolnshire Museum Service (Ball, scrapbook 2)

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 church[21] 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

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
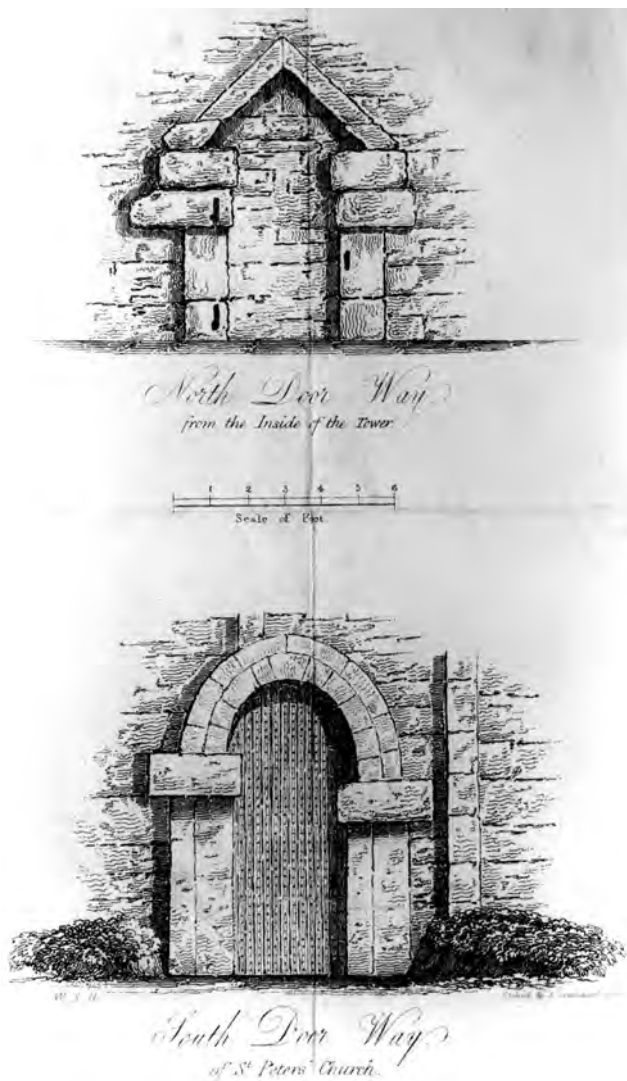
Fig. 248: Tower doorways. Upper, north (interior). Lower, south (exterior); cf. Fig. 249. Drawn by W.S. Hesleden in the early 1830s. Courtesy of North Lincolnshire Museum Service (Ball, scrapbook 2)

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
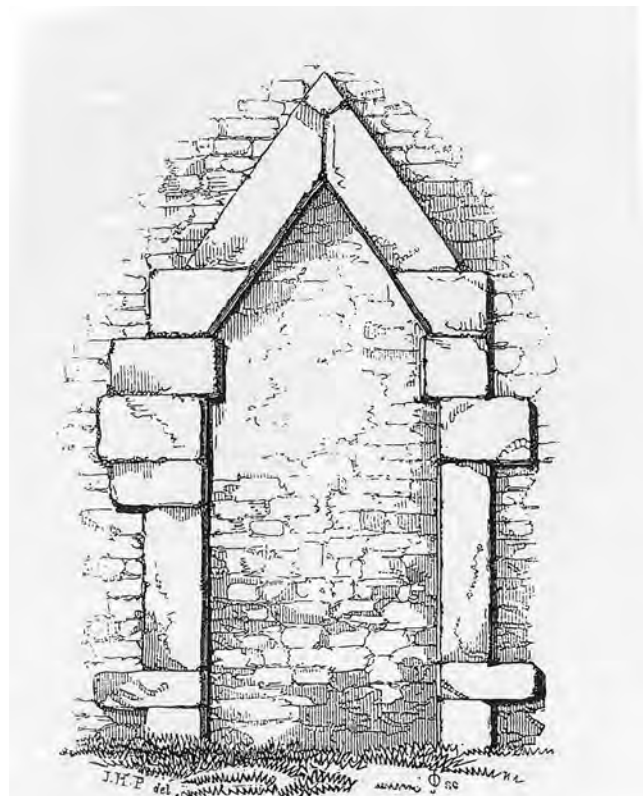
A

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
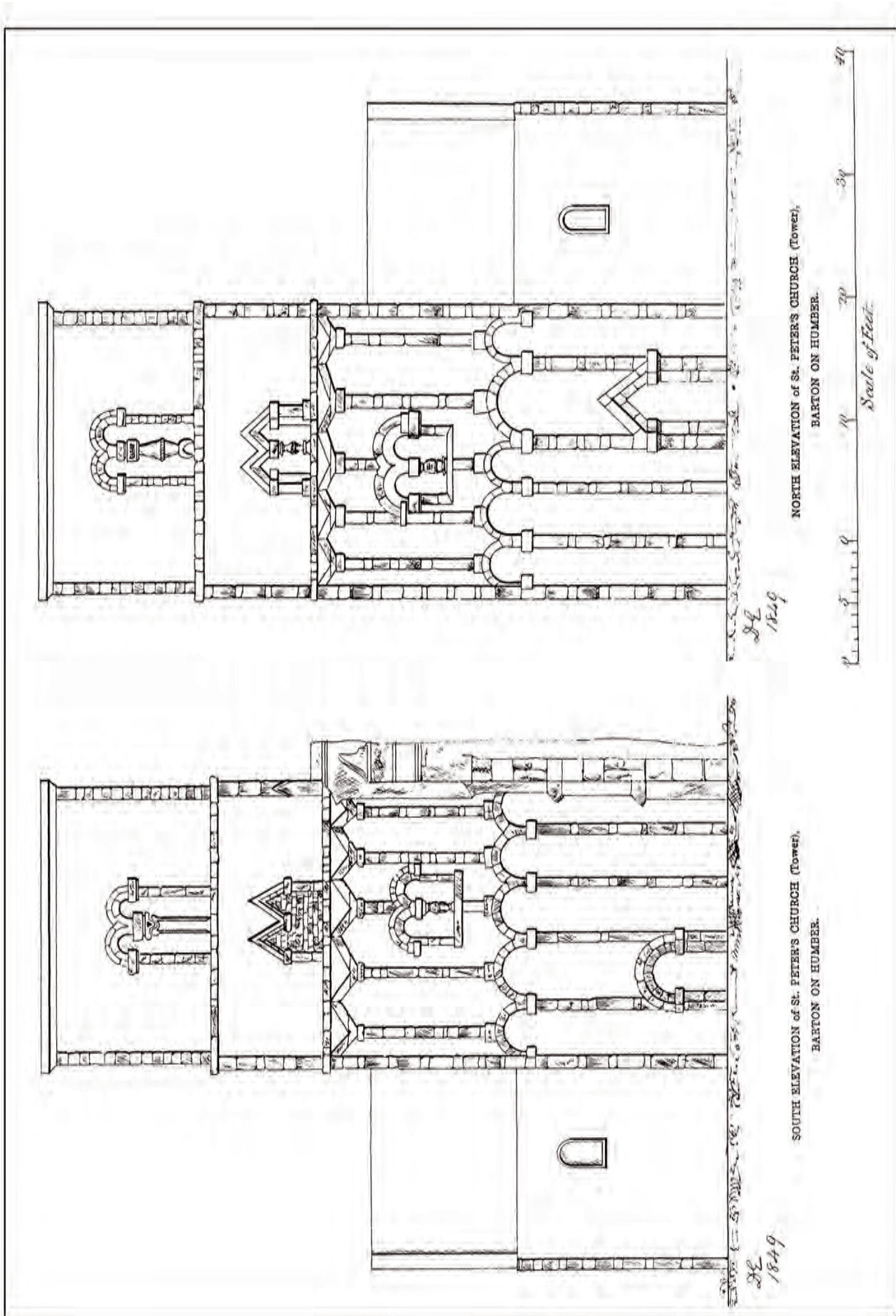
Fig. 250: Tower and western annexe. North and south elevations. Drawn by Dudley Elwes, 1849. Courtesy of North Lincolnshire Museum Service (Ball, scrapbook 2)

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

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

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'.

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
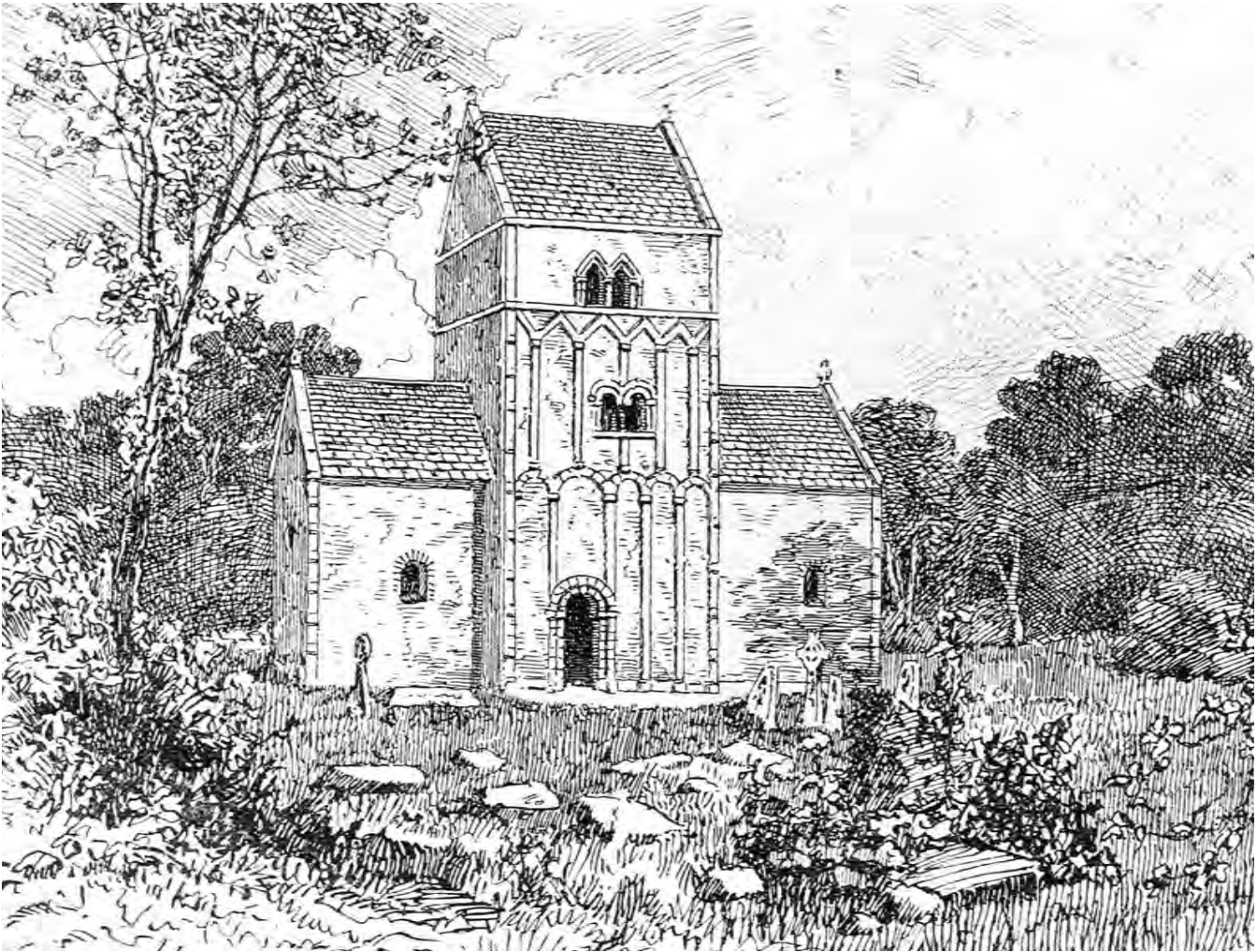
Fig. 253: Reconstruction of the first stone church, viewed from the south-west. Drawn by G. Baldwin Brown, 1903. Brown 1903

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
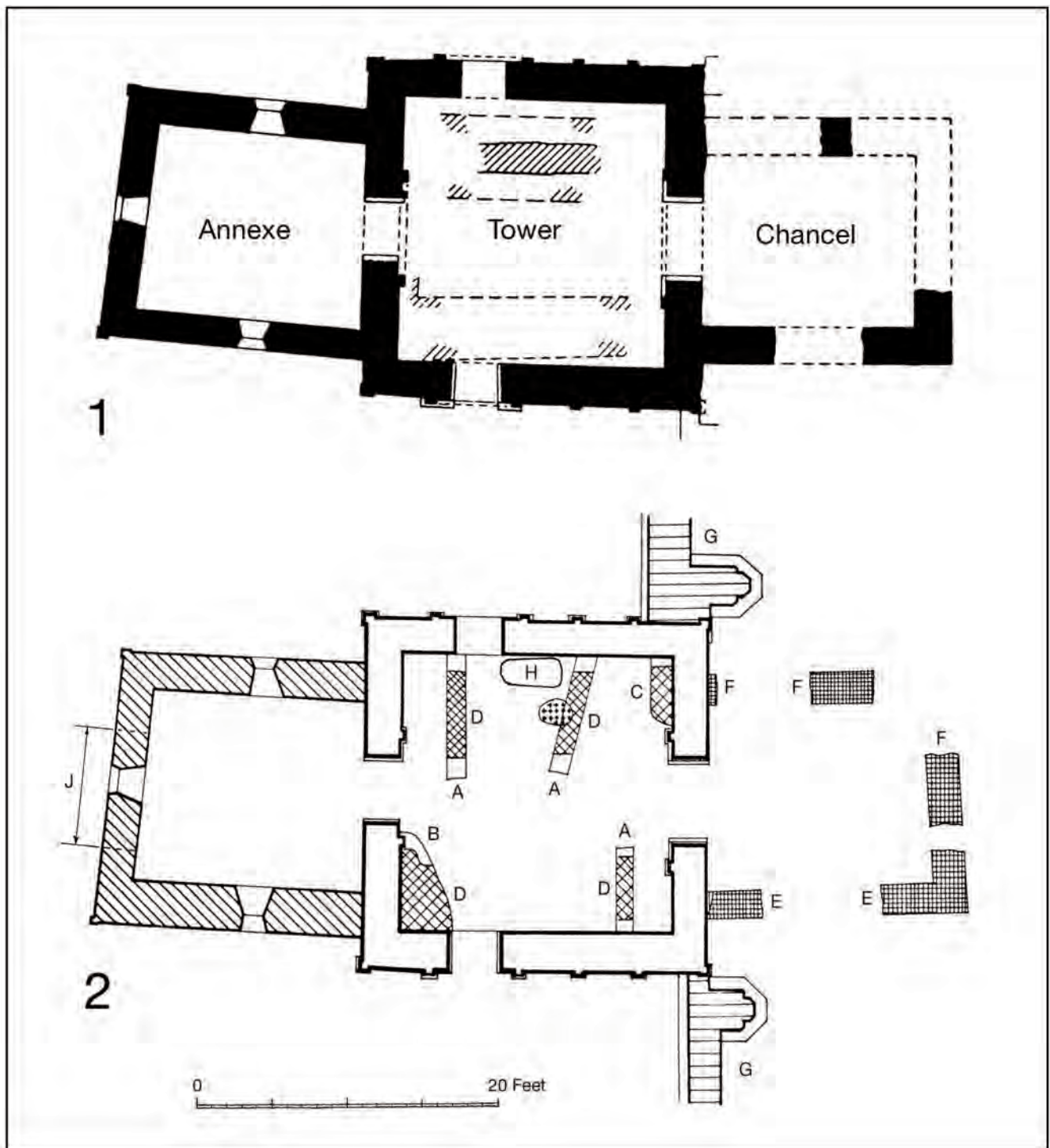
Fig. 254: *Archaeological plans of the Anglo-Saxon church. 1, interpretive drawing showing the supposed earlier foundations (hatched) under the floor of the turriform nave, based on Bilson's excavations of 1912–13. Drawn by A.W. Clapham. 2, plan showing archaeological trenches. A, excavated 1913; B, 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 via 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 clasping 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).
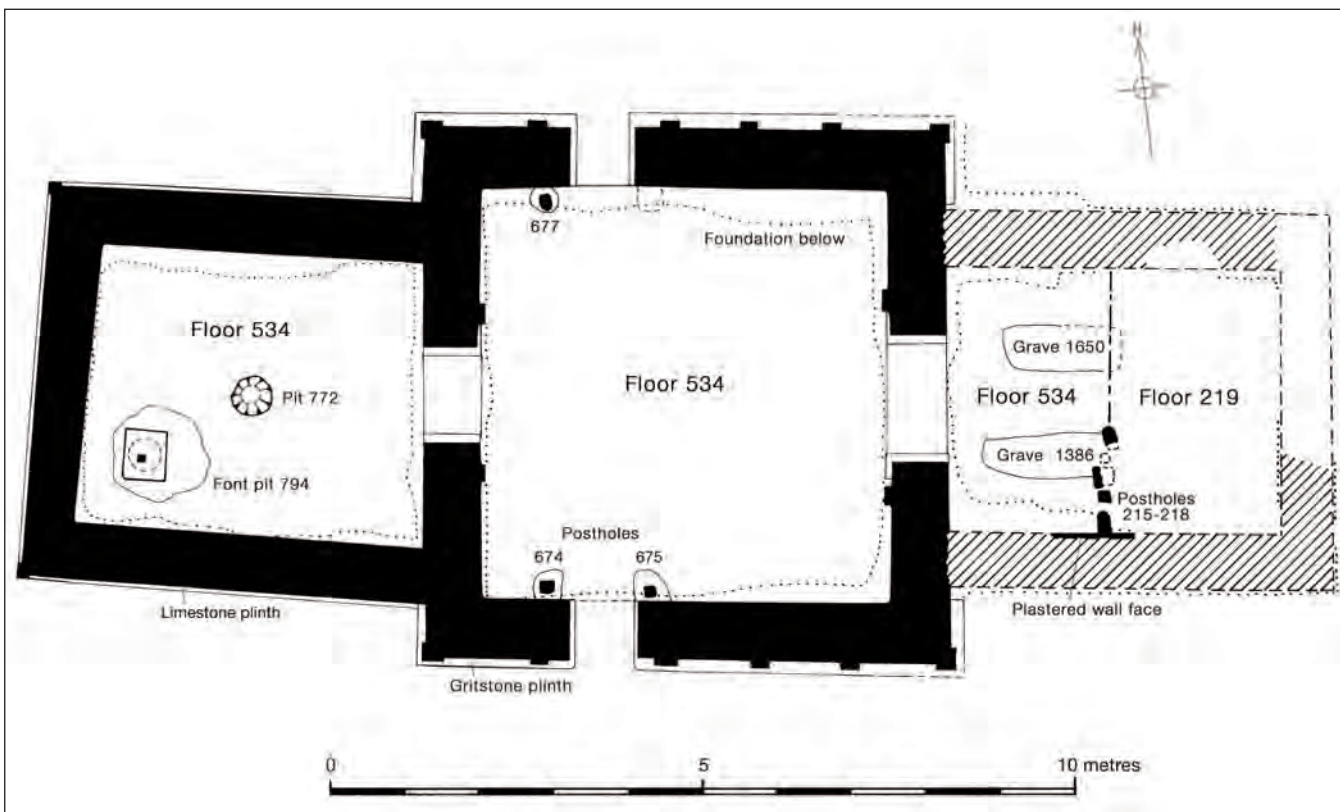
Fig. 256: Excavated foundations and ground plan of the three-celled church, showing evidence for primary structural fixtures and furnishings. A dotted line indicates the edge of the foundation, where this projects beyond the line of the wall. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell
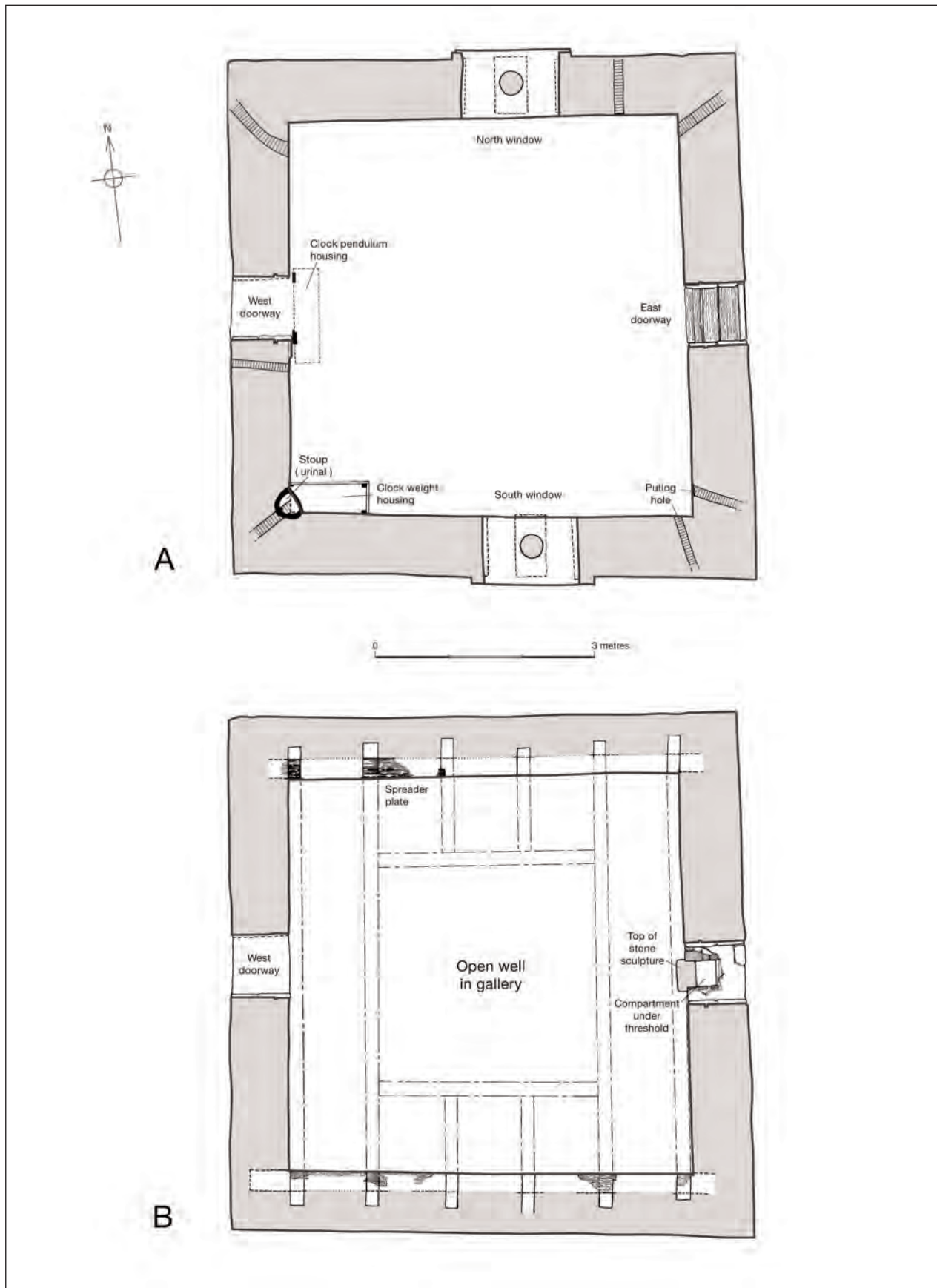
Fig. 257: Tower: plans of Stage 1B, 1980. A, window sill level, showing investigated putlog holes and later features associ-ated with the post-medieval ringing-chamber; B, floor (gallery) level, showing the remains of the spreader-plates in the north and south walls and pockets for the six joists. The 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

North

East

South

West
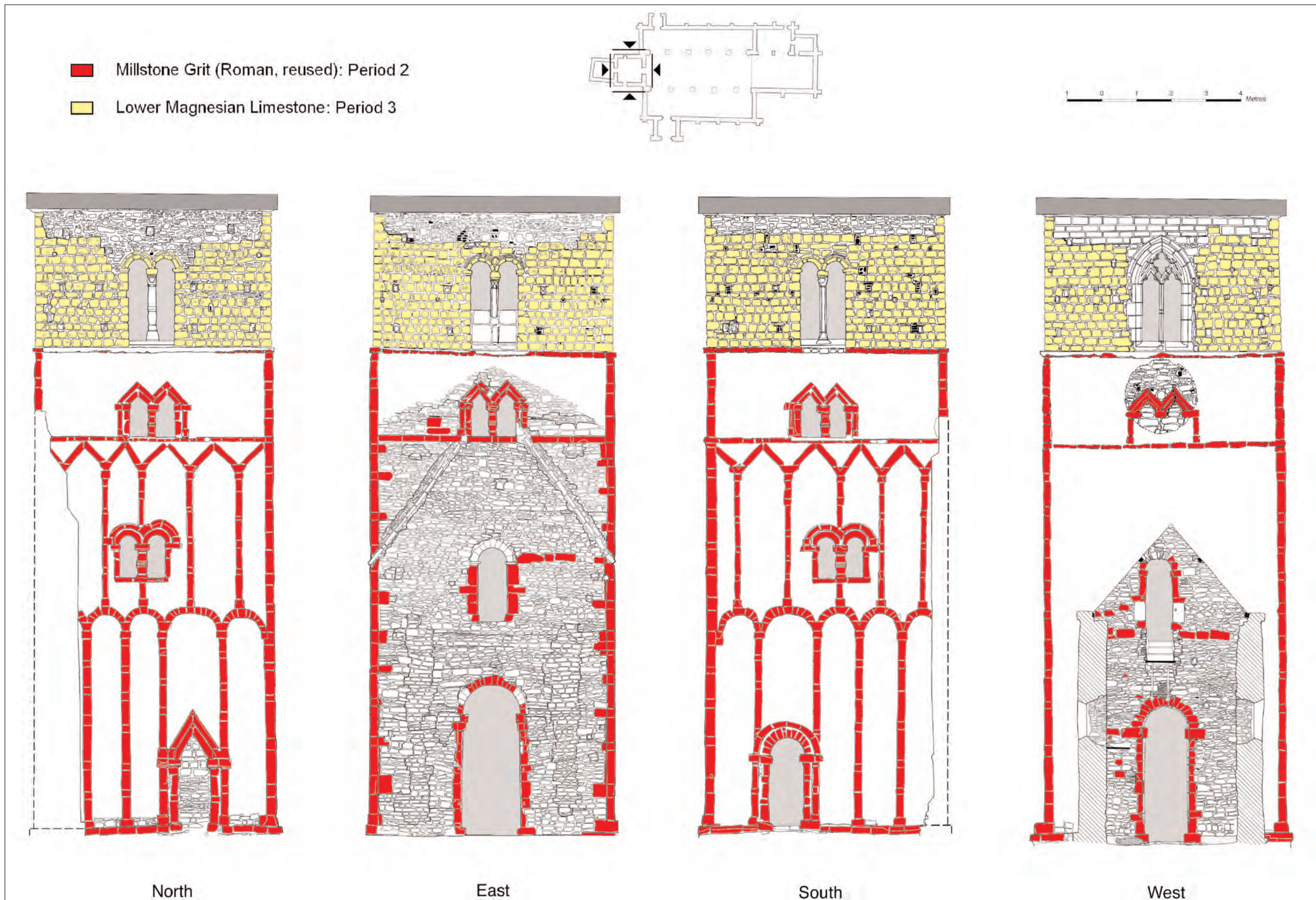
Fig. 258: *Tower: external elevations. The reuse of two stone types is highlighted: gritstone in the Period 2 tower, and Magnesian Limestone in the Period 3 belfry. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Stephen Coll, Warwick Rodwell and Simon Hayfield*
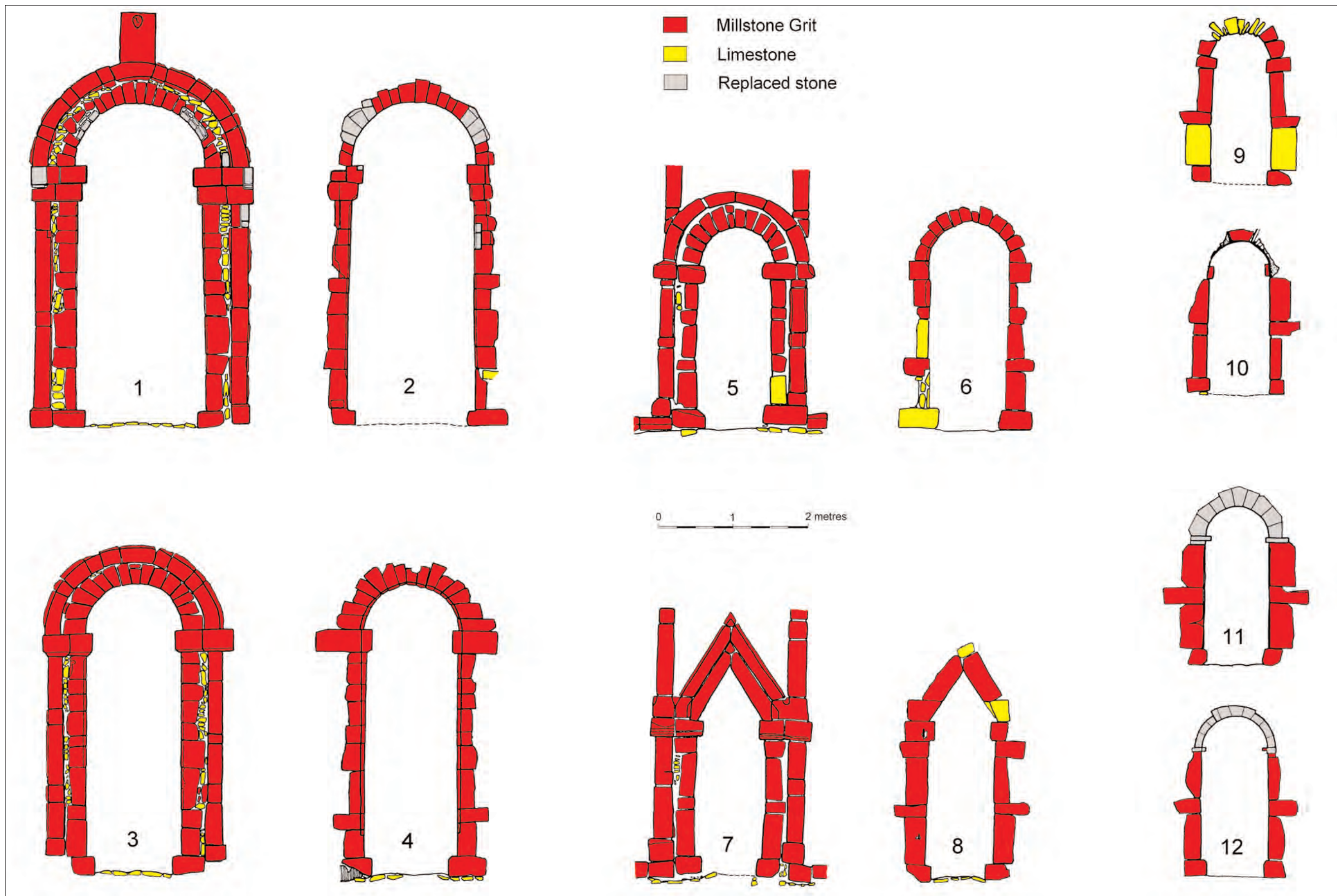
Fig. 259: Tower: great arches and doorways. Elevations of the dressings to the openings. 1, east great arch, west face; 2, east great arch, east face; 3, west great arch, east face; 4, west great arch, west face; 5, south doorway, exterior; 6, south doorway, interior; 7, north doorway, exterior; 8, north 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 nar-rower 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 dress-ings. 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 bap-tistery, 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 imposts 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 church-yard 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
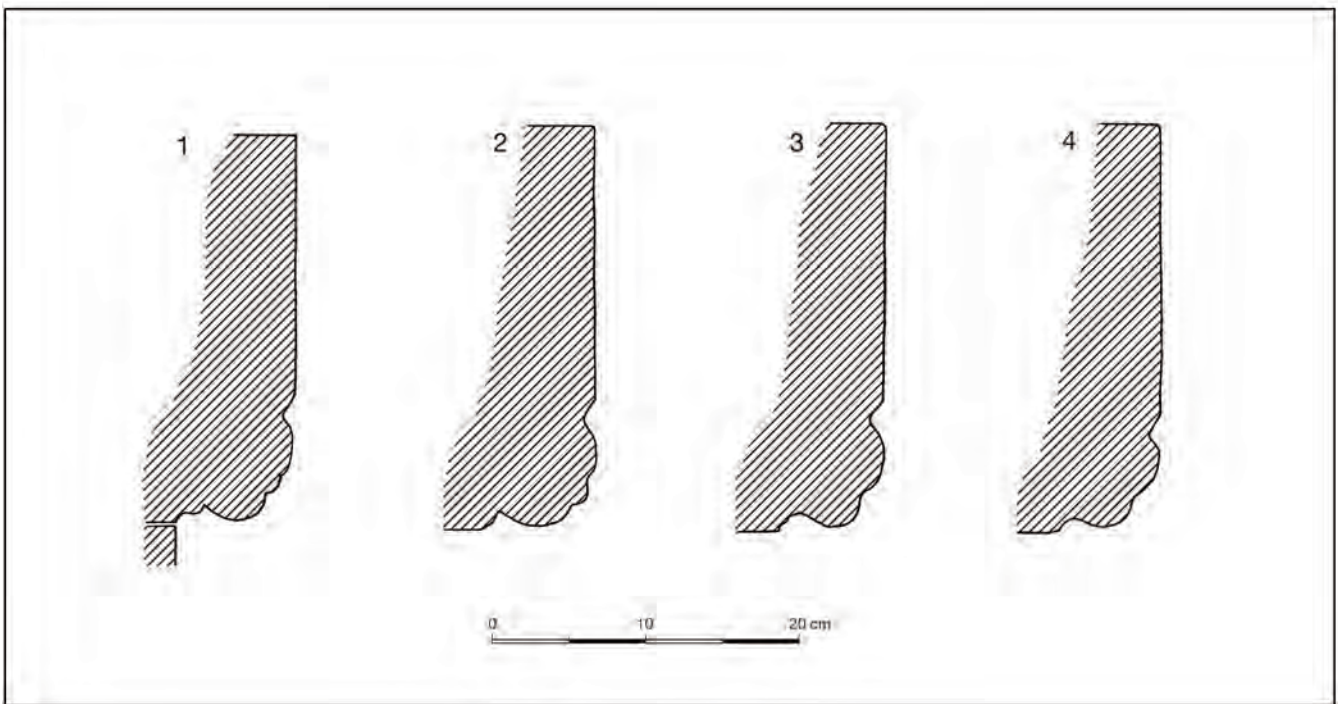
Fig. 268: Tower: Stage 1A, doorways. Moulding profiles of the impost blocks. 1, north-east; 2, north-west; 3, south-east; 4, south-west. Scale 1:5. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

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
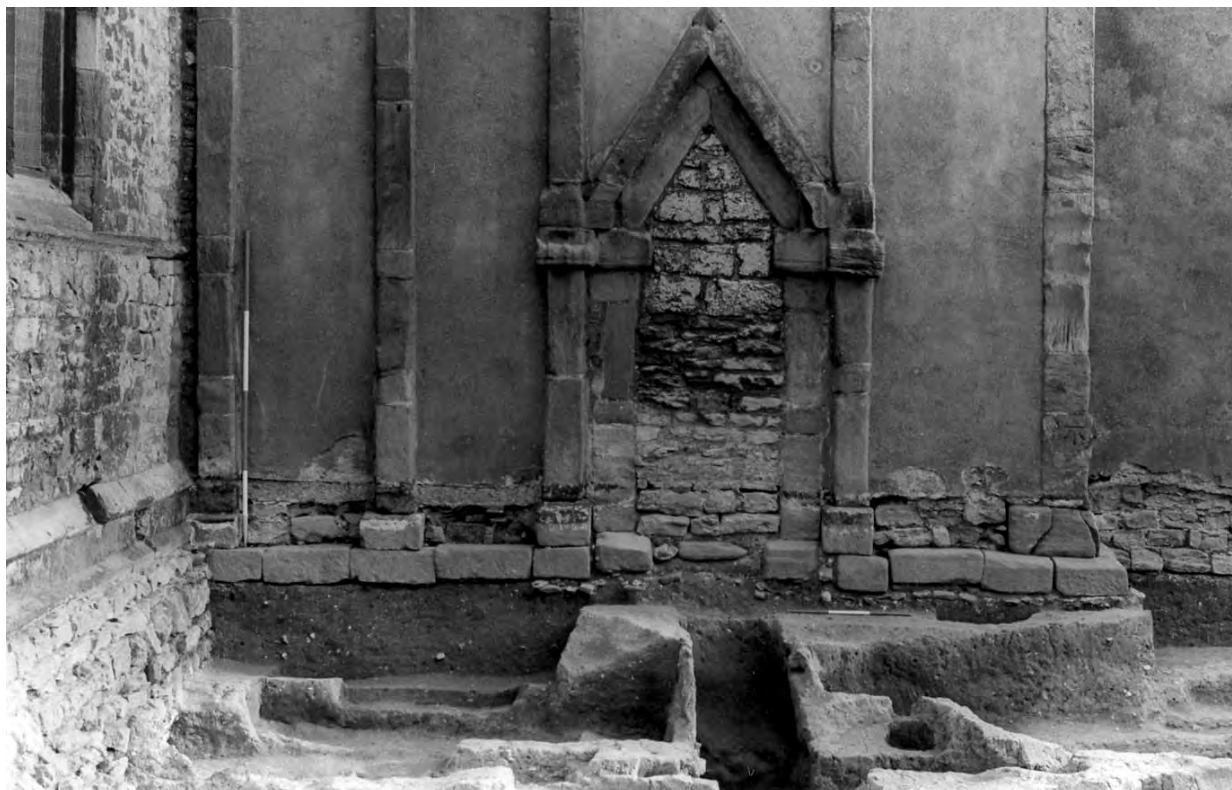
Fig. 270: Tower: plinth and north doorway fully revealed after excavation. Scales of 2 m and 75 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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 unmoulded 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 unmoulded 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. Junction of the interrupted pilaster-strip with the head of the gallery window. Photo: Warwick Rodwell
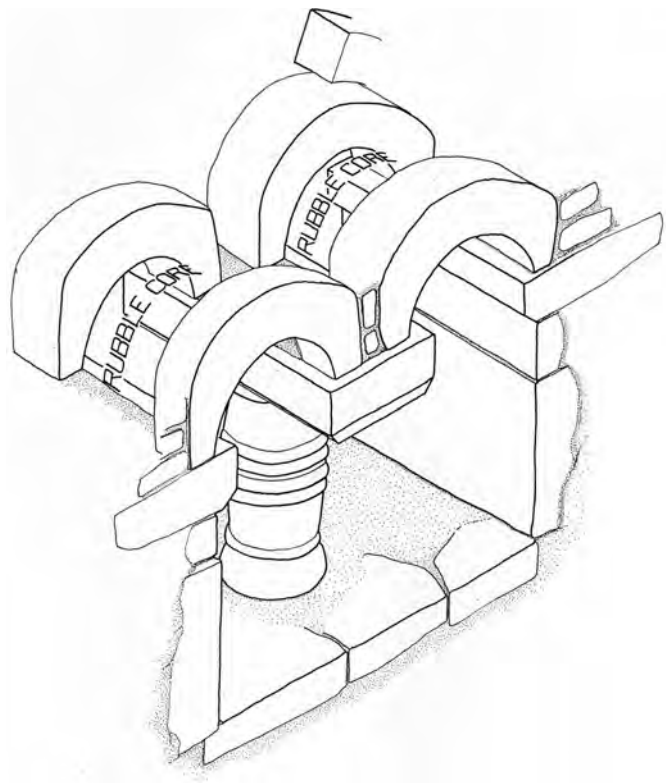
Fig. 274: Tower: Stage 1B. Isometric view illustrating the construction of the southern gallery window (seen from the interior). Drawing: Stephen Coll

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 imposts 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 head-stops, particularly on the left. See also Fig. 377. Photo: Derek Craig. © Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture
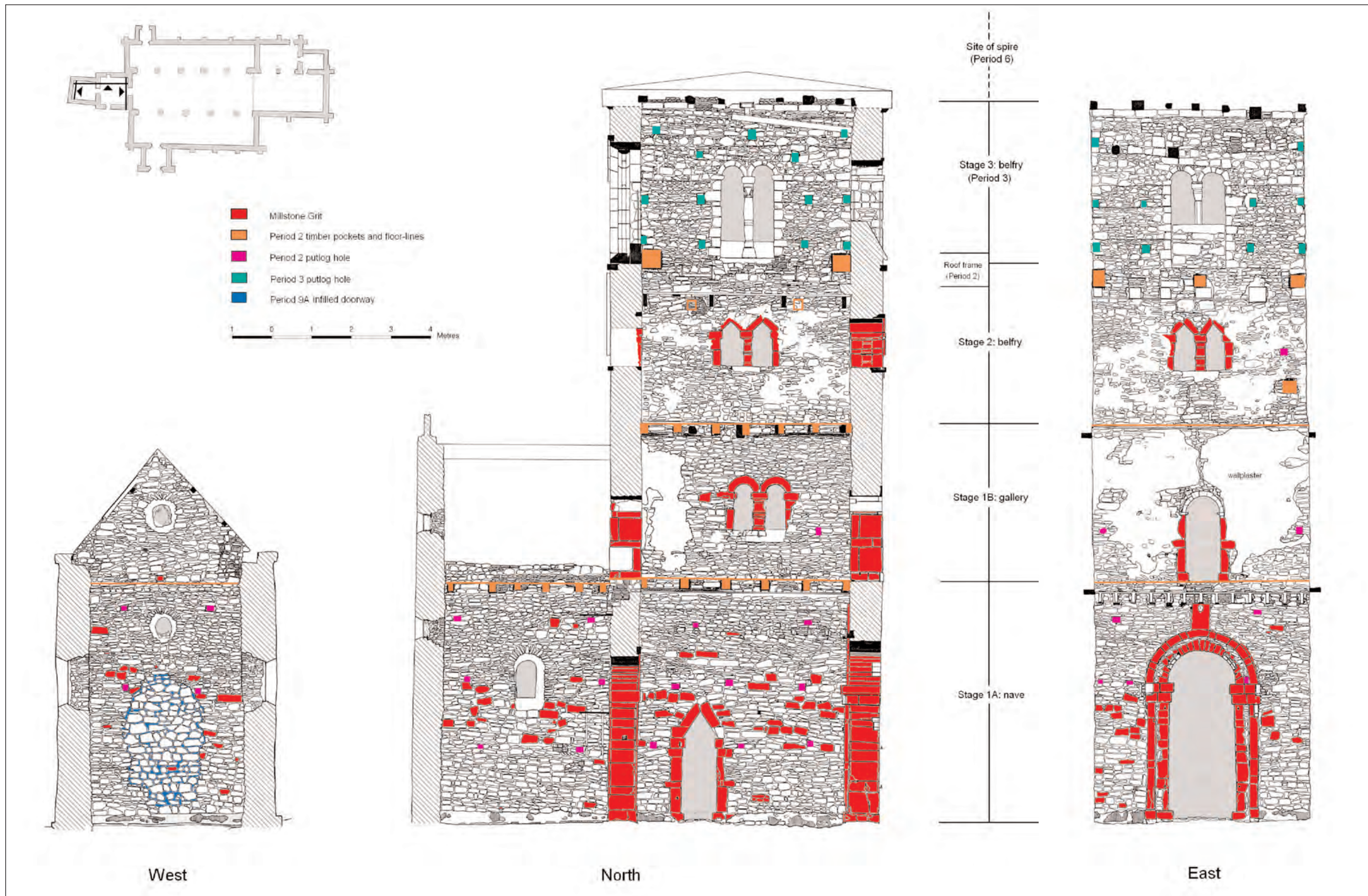
Fig. 277: *Internal elevations of the tower (north and east sides) and the western annexe (north and west), highlighting evidence for original structural timberwork. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Stephen Coll and Simon Hayfield*

Legend:
- Millstone Grit
- Period 2 timber pockets and floor-lines
- Period 2 putlog hole
- Period 3 putlog hole
- Period 9A infilled doorway

Metres

West

North

East

Site of spire (Period 6)

Stage 3: belfry (Period 3)

Roof frame (Period 2)

Stage 2: belfry

Stage 1B: gallery

wallplaster

Stage 1A: nave
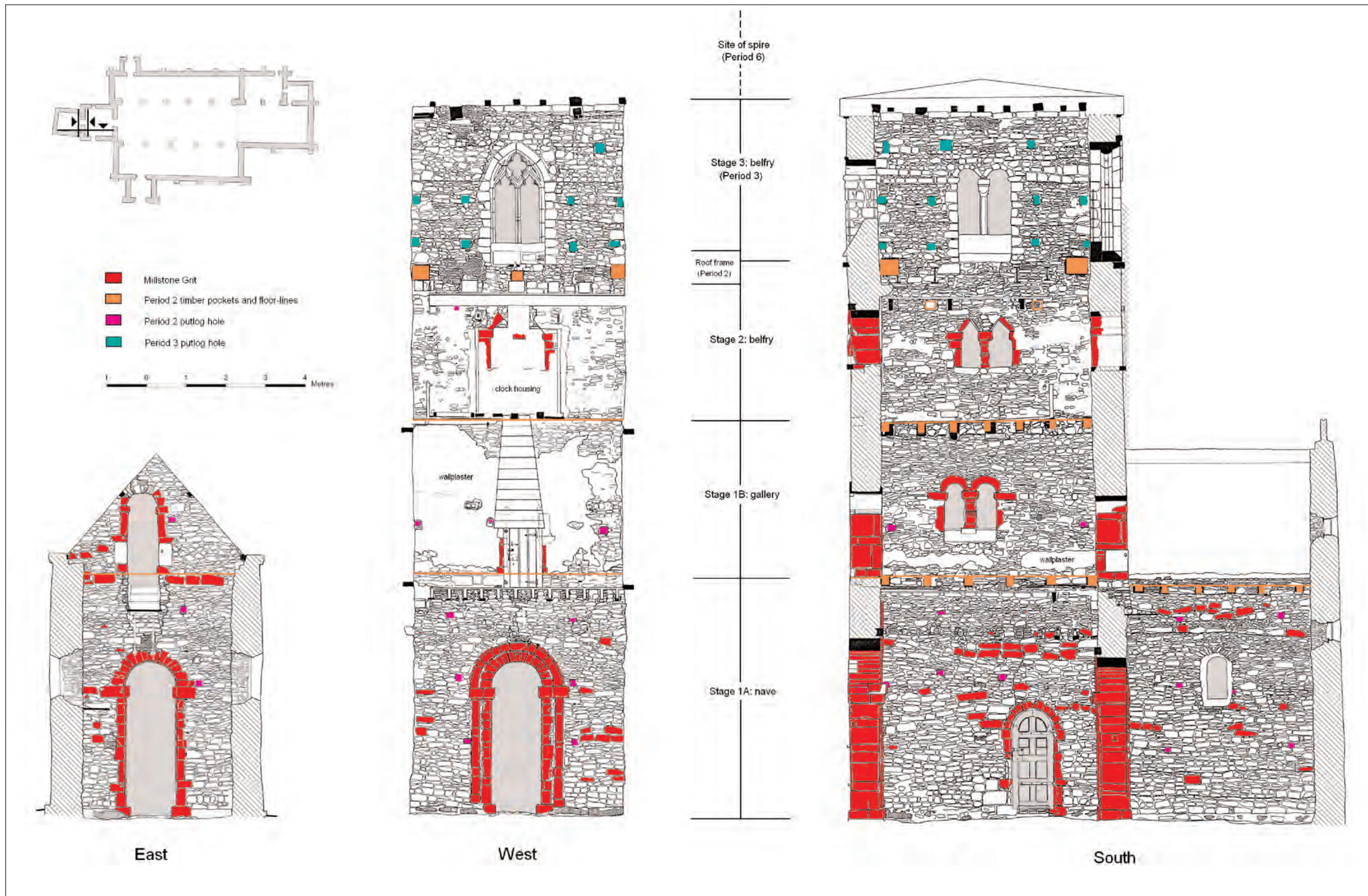
Fig. 278: Internal elevations of the tower (south and west sides) and the western annexe (south and east), highlighting evidence for original structural timberwork. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Stephen Coll and Simon Hayfield
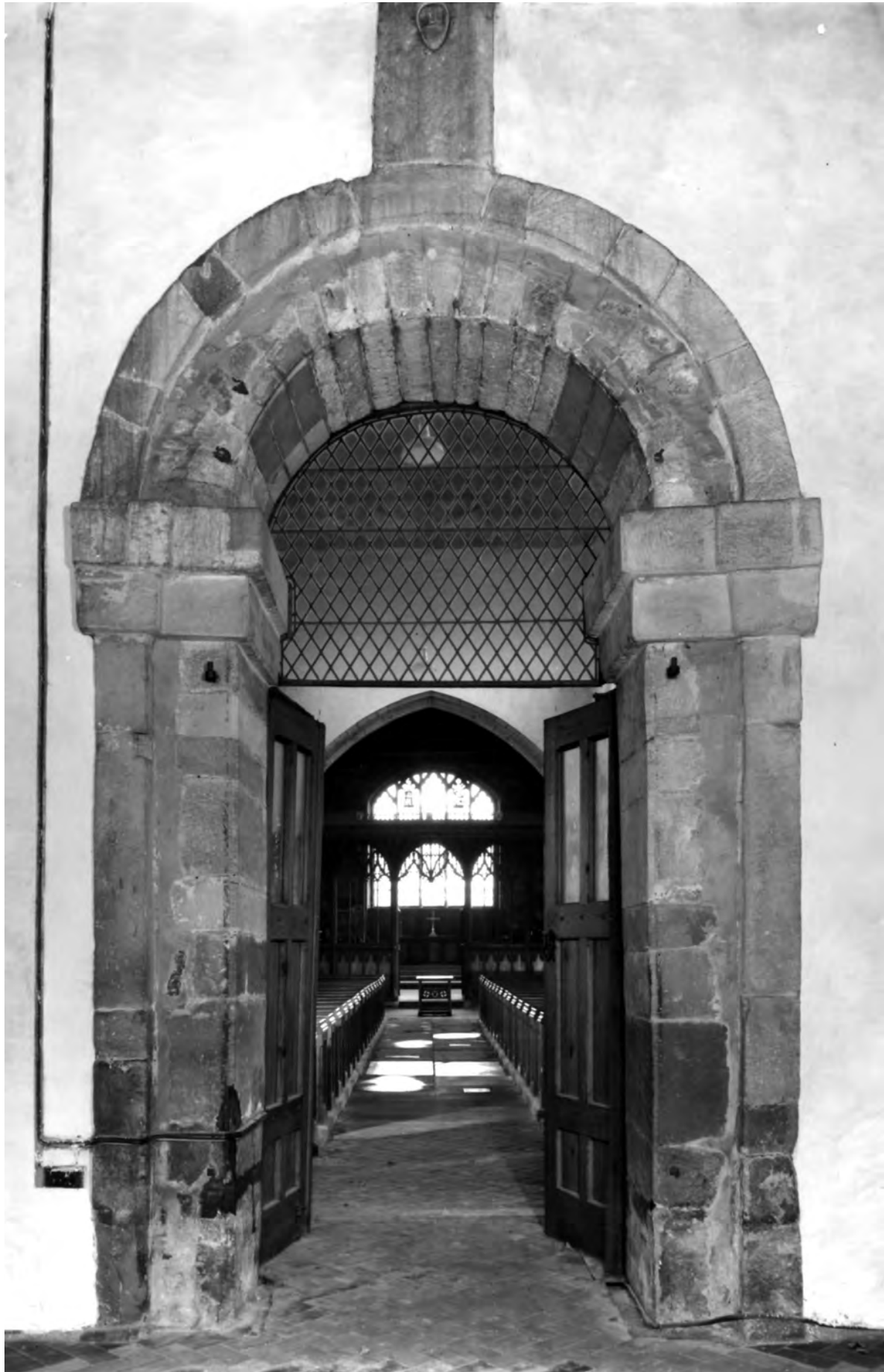
Fig. 279: Tower: Stage 1A, eastern (chancel) arch. View east, 1972. Photo: English Heritage, NMR

areas, the surface of the plaster is present, while else-where 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 grit-stone (Fig. 280). Similar imposts appear in other Anglo-Saxon buildings and on the Deerhurst Virgin panel (Fig. 384).

A

B

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

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

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

The bases and imposts 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 imposts 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 imposts, 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

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
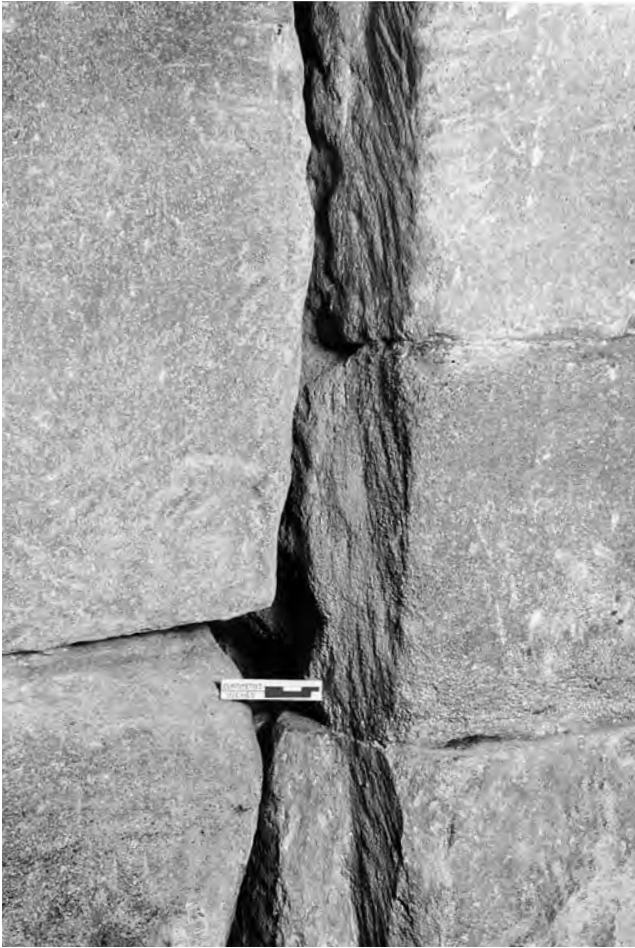
Fig. 286: Tower: Stage 1A. Southern flank of the eastern arch. On the left is seen the west face of two of the blocks lining the reveal, and on the right is the projecting strip-work. Note the in situ *bolster dressing on the northern arris of the pilaster-strip. The short scale bridging the gap shows 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 imposts, 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
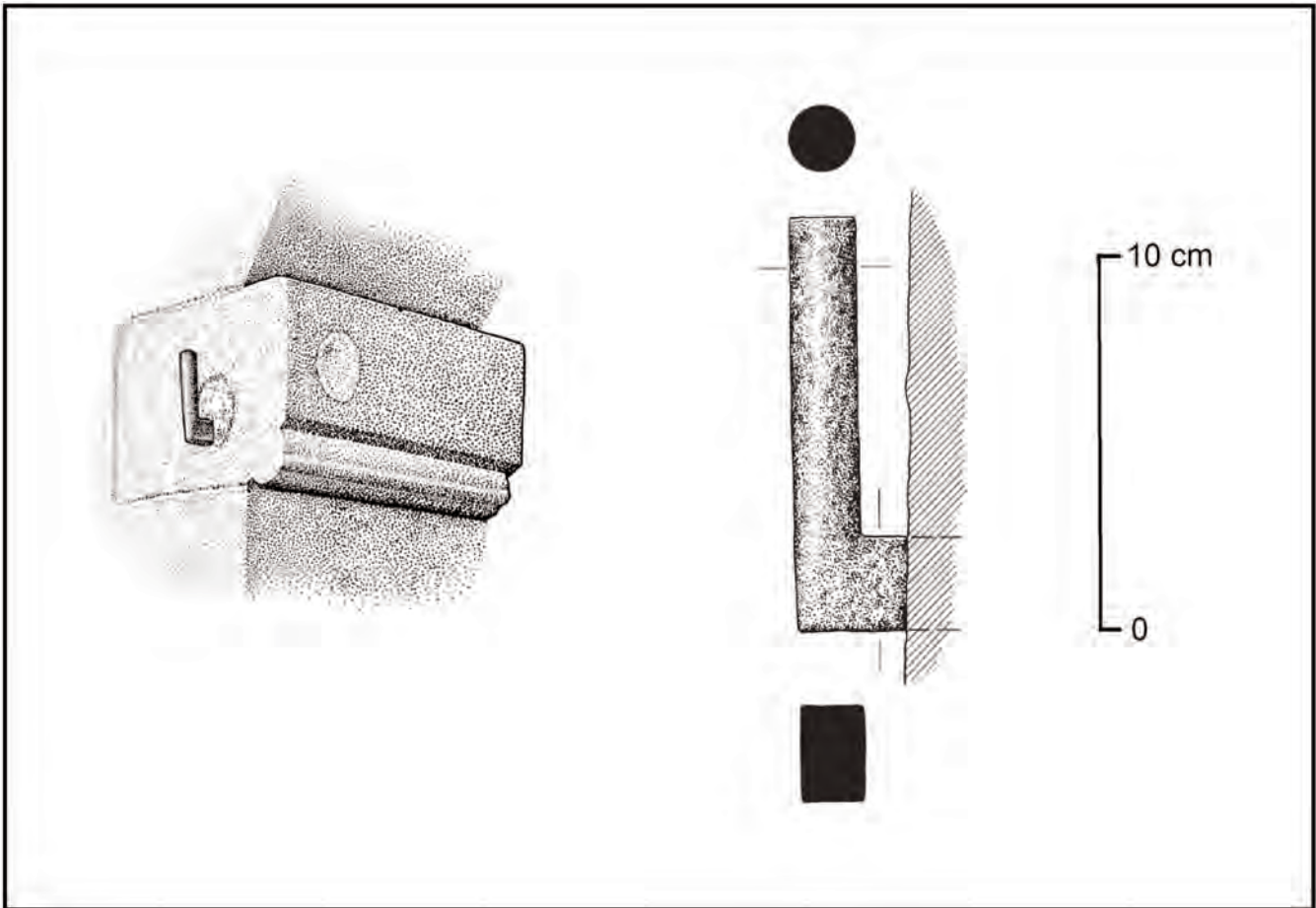
Fig. 288: Tower: Stage 1A, north doorway. Detail of western impost with the original iron hinge-crook leaded into the block. Hinge-crook scale 1:2. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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 gritstone 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 imposts 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 ashlars of the door-jambs. 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 cutouts. They are present, for example, at Chesters Roman fort[54] 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'

(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. 294: Tower: Stage 1B. South gallery window, with secondary bevelling of the sill and Georgian glazing. Brown 1925

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
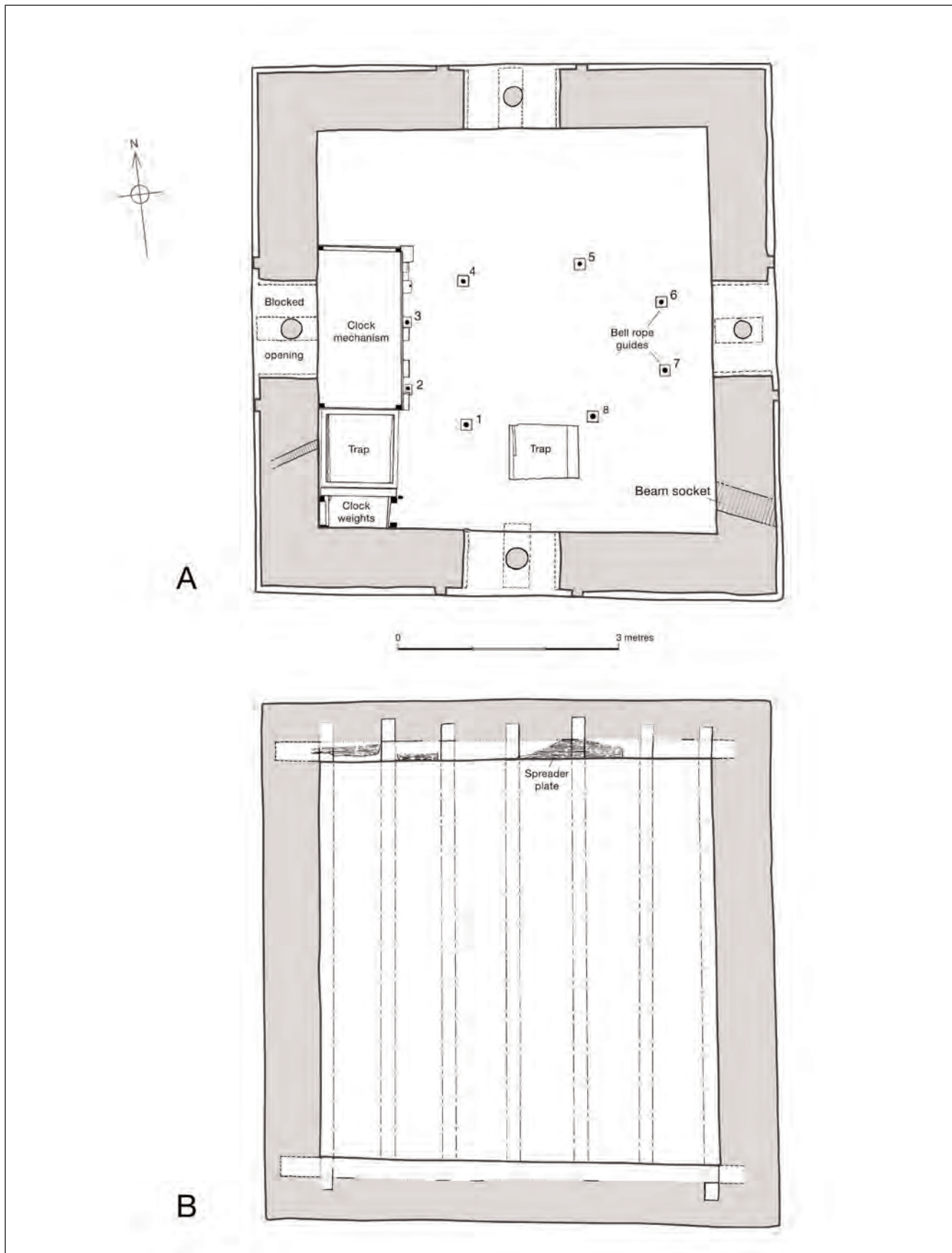
Fig. 296: Tower: plans of Stage 2, 1980. A, Belfry sill-level, including the angled beam socket at the south-east corner. Also shown are the housings for the clock movement and weights, bell-rope guides and other post-medieval features. B, Floor level, showing remains of the spreader-plates in the north 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
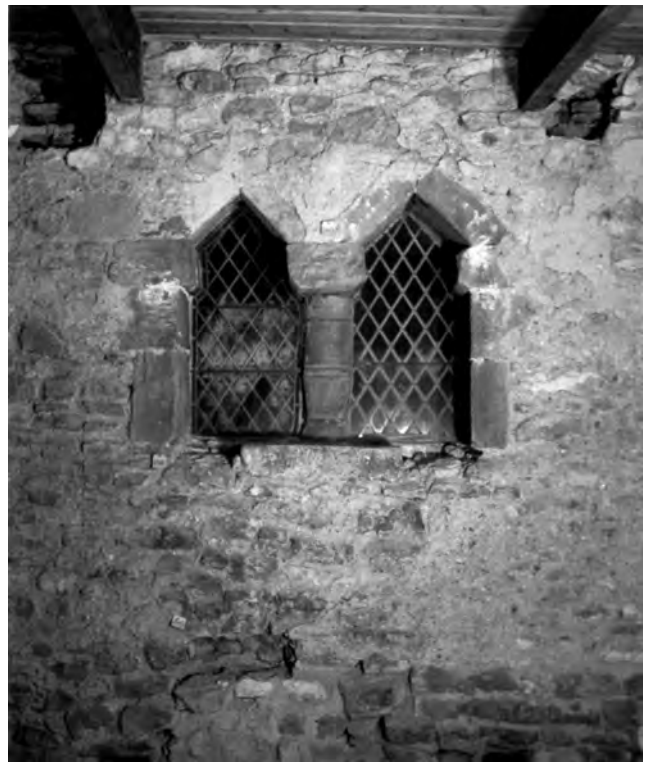
Fig. 298: Tower: Stage 2, interior. North wall and belfry opening, 1983. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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 × 23 × 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
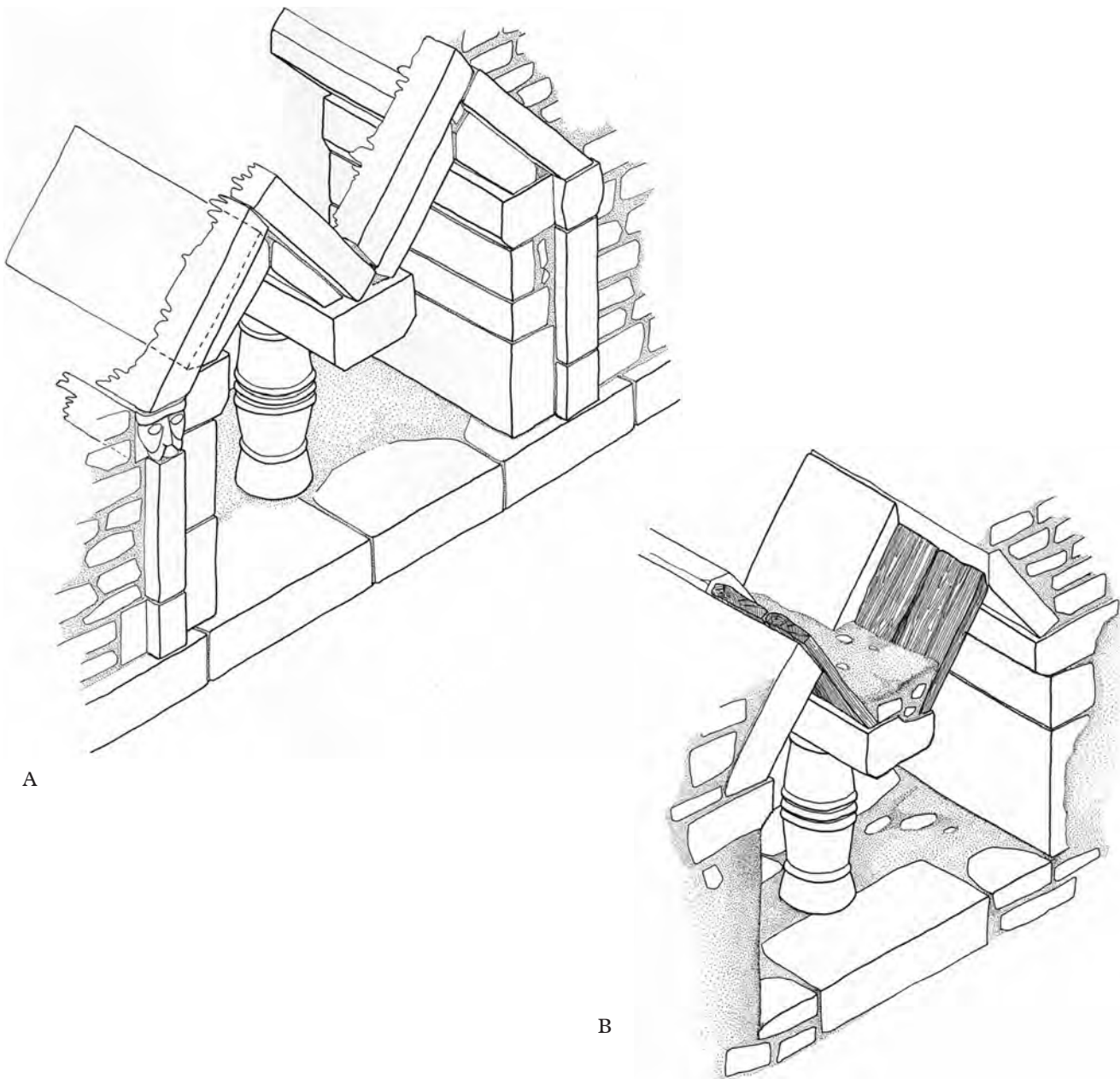
Fig. 300: Tower: Stage 2. Isometric views showing the construction of two of the belfry openings. A, eastern opening, exterior. B, western opening, interior. The latter shows the use of wooden boards instead of stone slabs to form parts of the gabled heads. Scale 1:25. Drawings: Stephen Coll

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, C_1). The tops of the two outer timbers were flush with the external string-course, but the central timber,
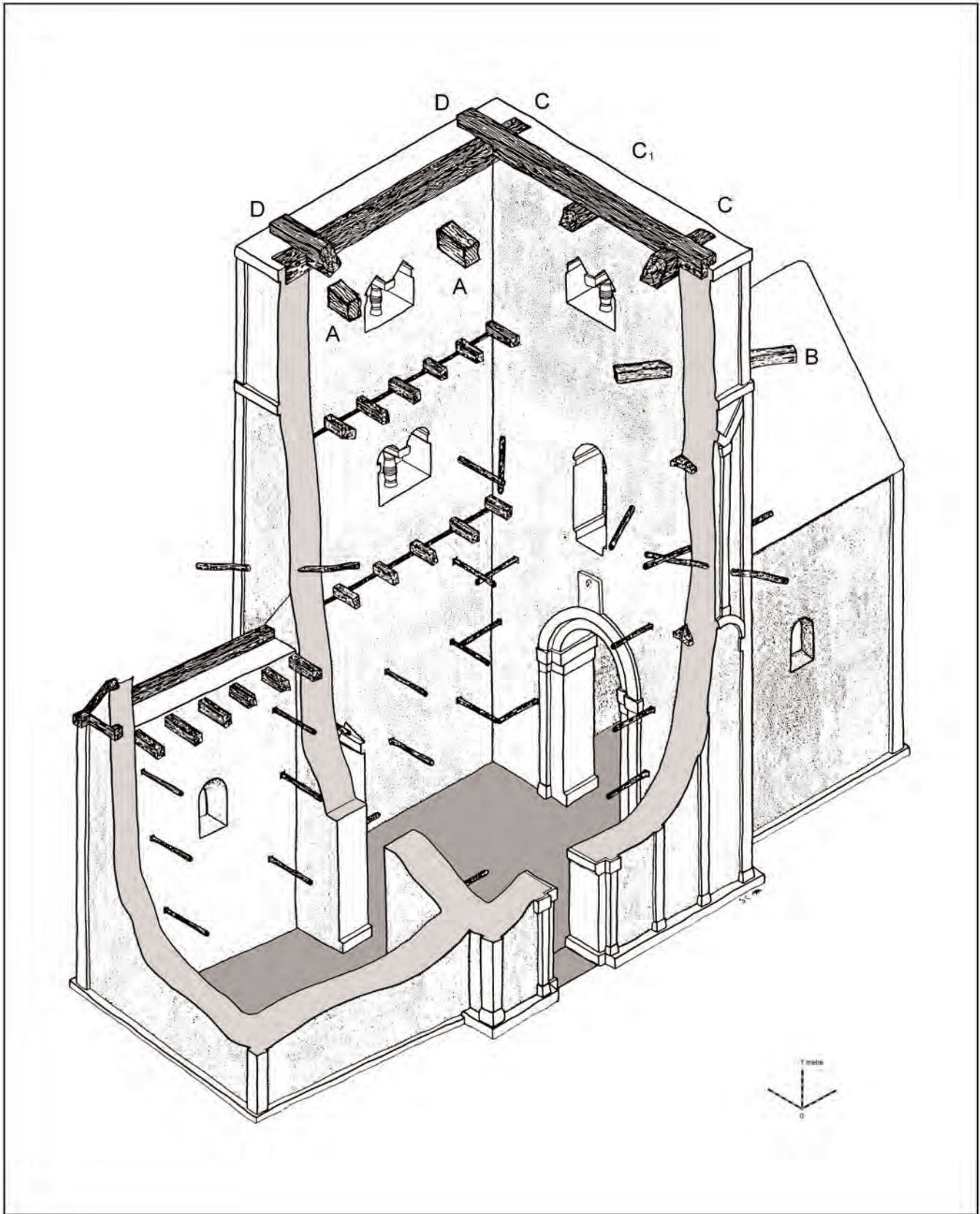
Fig. 301: Cutaway isometric view of the Anglo-Saxon church from the south-west, showing positions of recorded putlogs, floor and roof timbers. Also marked are the possible bell-hanging beams (AA) and sanctus-bell bracket (B). Drawing: Stephen Coll
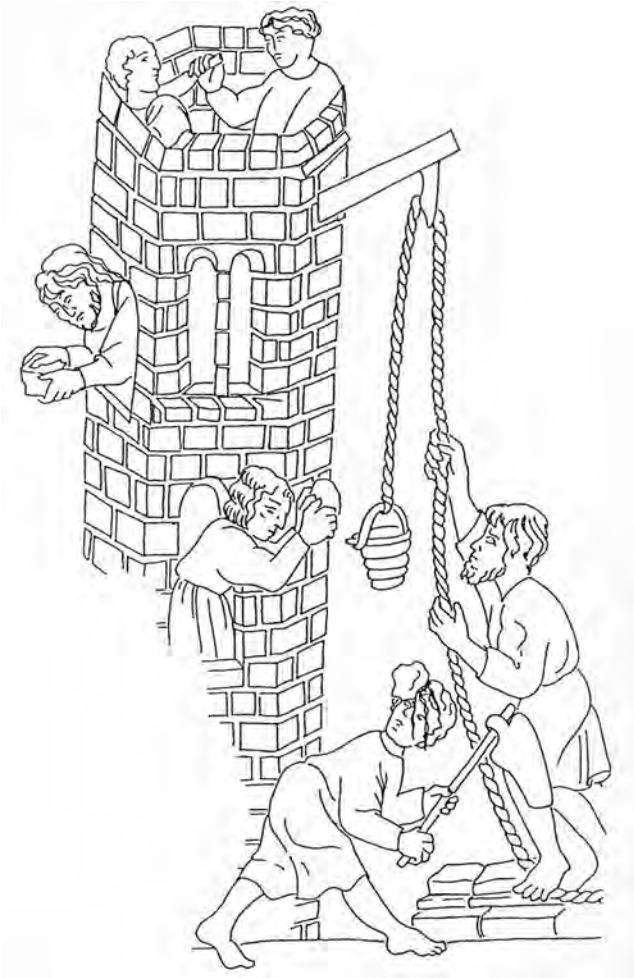
Fig. 302: Hoisting-beam projecting from the side of a medieval tower under construction. Early fourteenth century, northern Spanish. Binding 2004; drawing after British Library Add Ms 27,210, fol. 3

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

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. 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

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

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

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
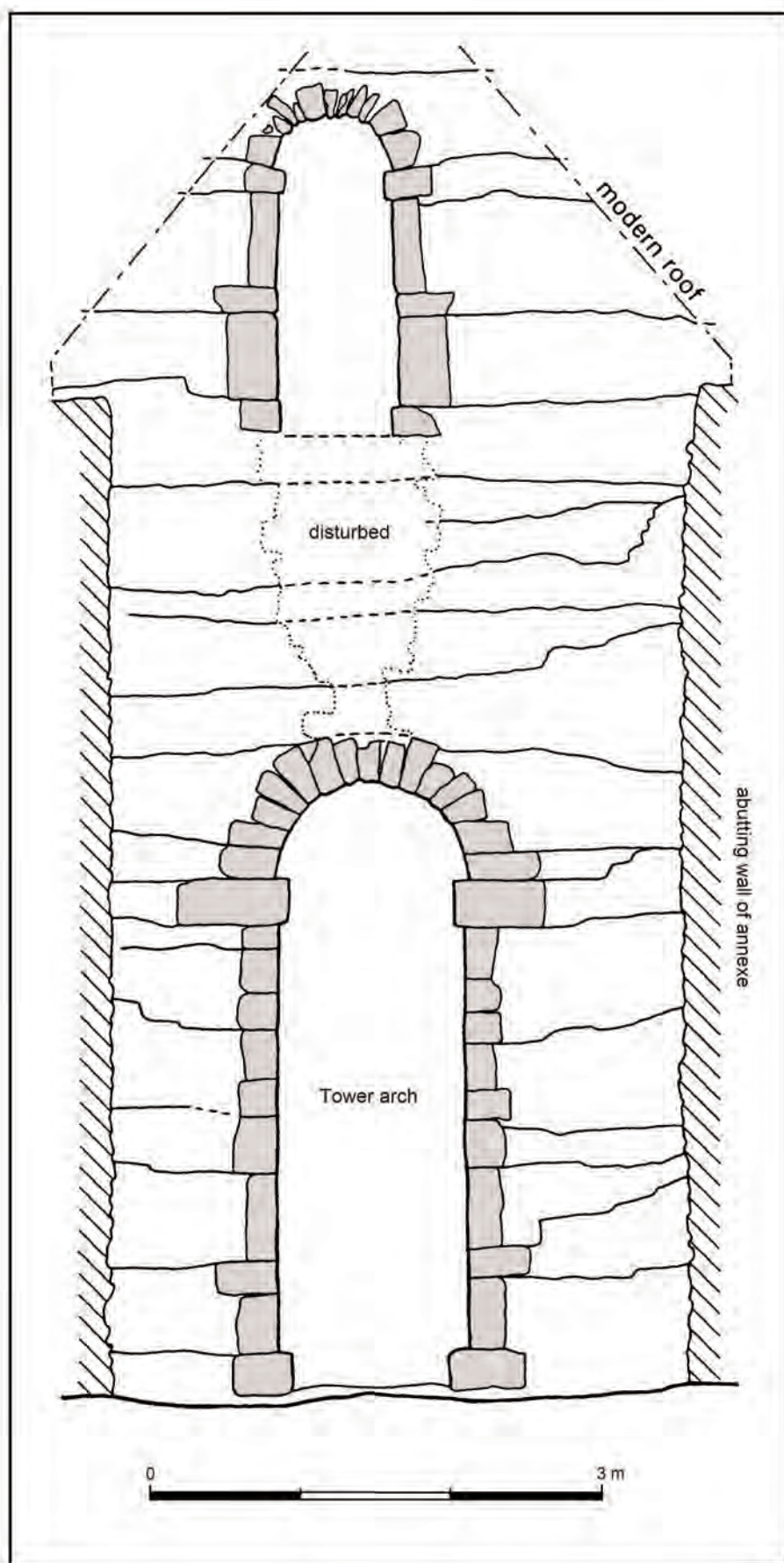
Fig. 308: Tower: west wall. Pattern of building-lifts exposed on the outer face (seen inside the annexe). Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

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 gritstone, 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 ashlars 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 ashlars 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,
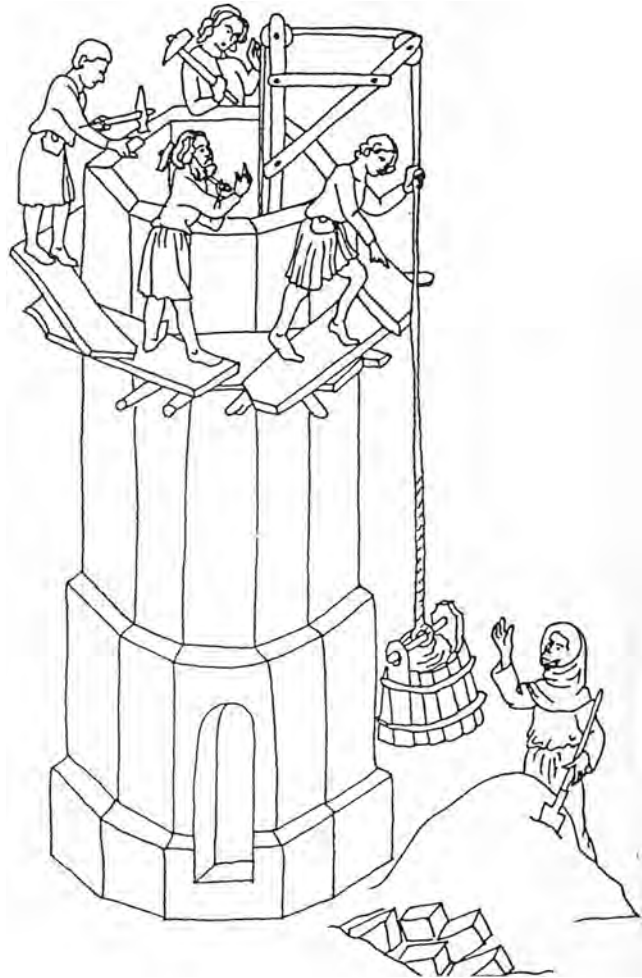
Fig. 310: Cantilevered scaffolding around the uppermost stage of a medieval tower under construction. Late fourteenth century, Bavarian or Austrian. Binding 2004; drawing after Wolfenbüttel, Ms cod. Guelf. 1.5.2. Aug. 2°, fol. 23v

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
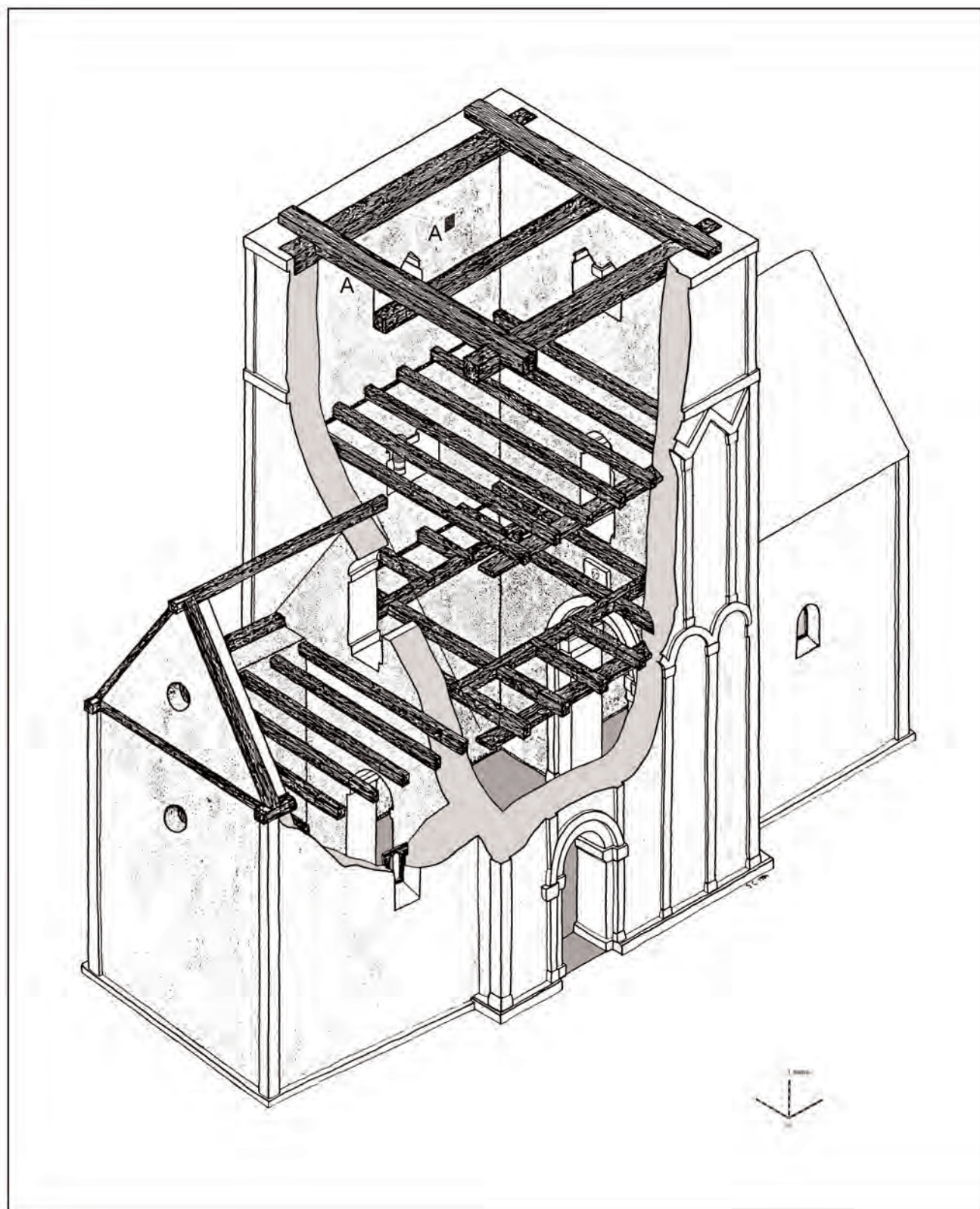
Fig. 311: Cutaway isometric reconstruction of the floor and roof timbers in the tower-nave and baptistery, based on evidence encapsulated in the walls (cf. Fig. 301). Bell-hanging beams (AA) are omitted for clarity. View north-east. Drawing: Stephen Coll

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 baptistery, 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).
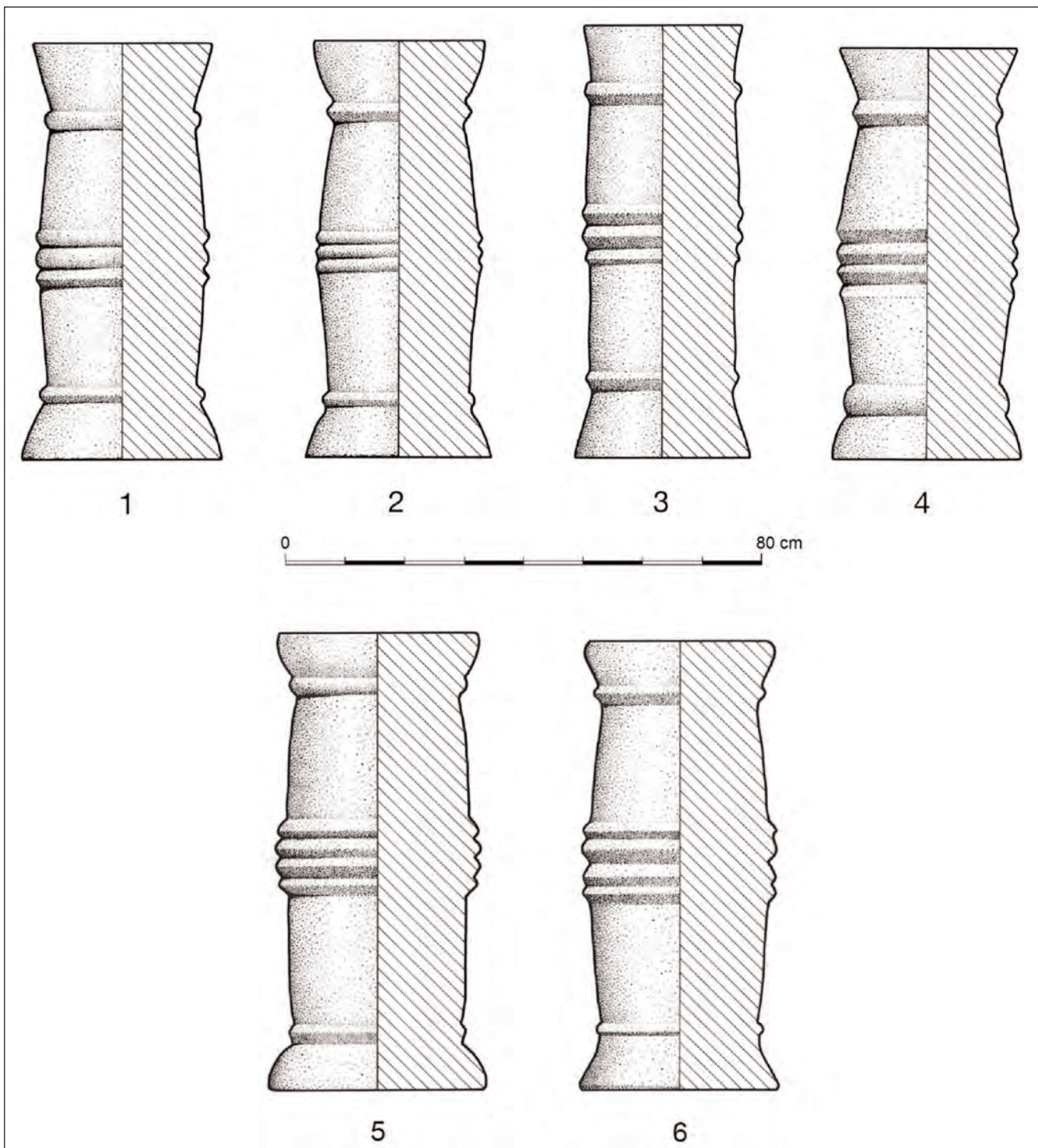
Fig. 312: Tower: Stages 1B and 2. Profiles of the six gritstone baluster-shafts employed in the double openings. Belfry: 1, north; 2, south; 3, east; 4, west. Gallery: 5, north; 6, south. Scale 1:10. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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.

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. 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.

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, unmoulded 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
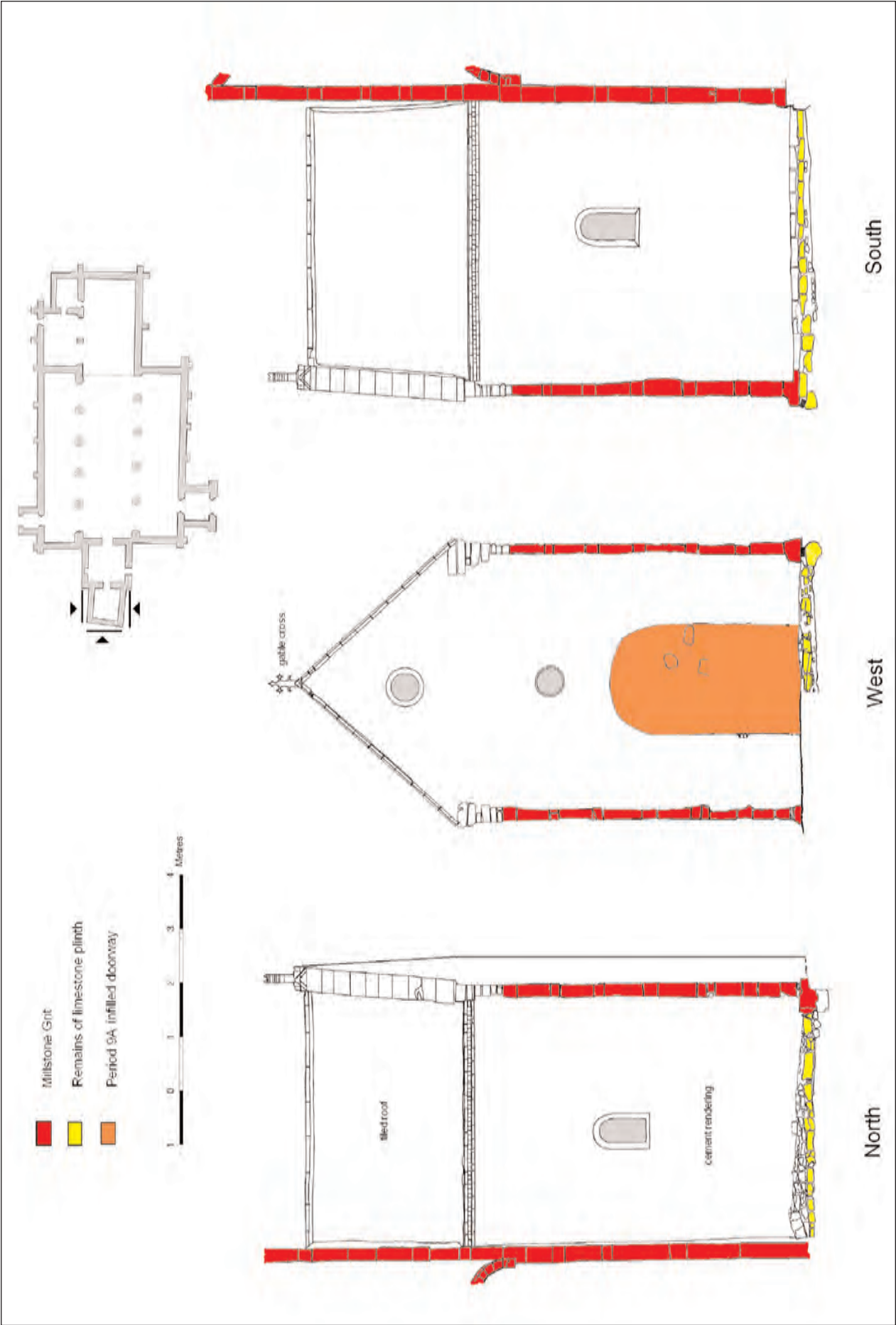
Fig. 324: Western annexe: external elevations. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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 brick-work 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 scaffold-ing. Whatever its use, the end of the branch was firm-ly 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 sag-ging under the weight of stone and wet mortar.

Both the outer and rear apertures of the north and south windows, when plastered, were probably intend-ed 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 asymmet-rical (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 canework 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).
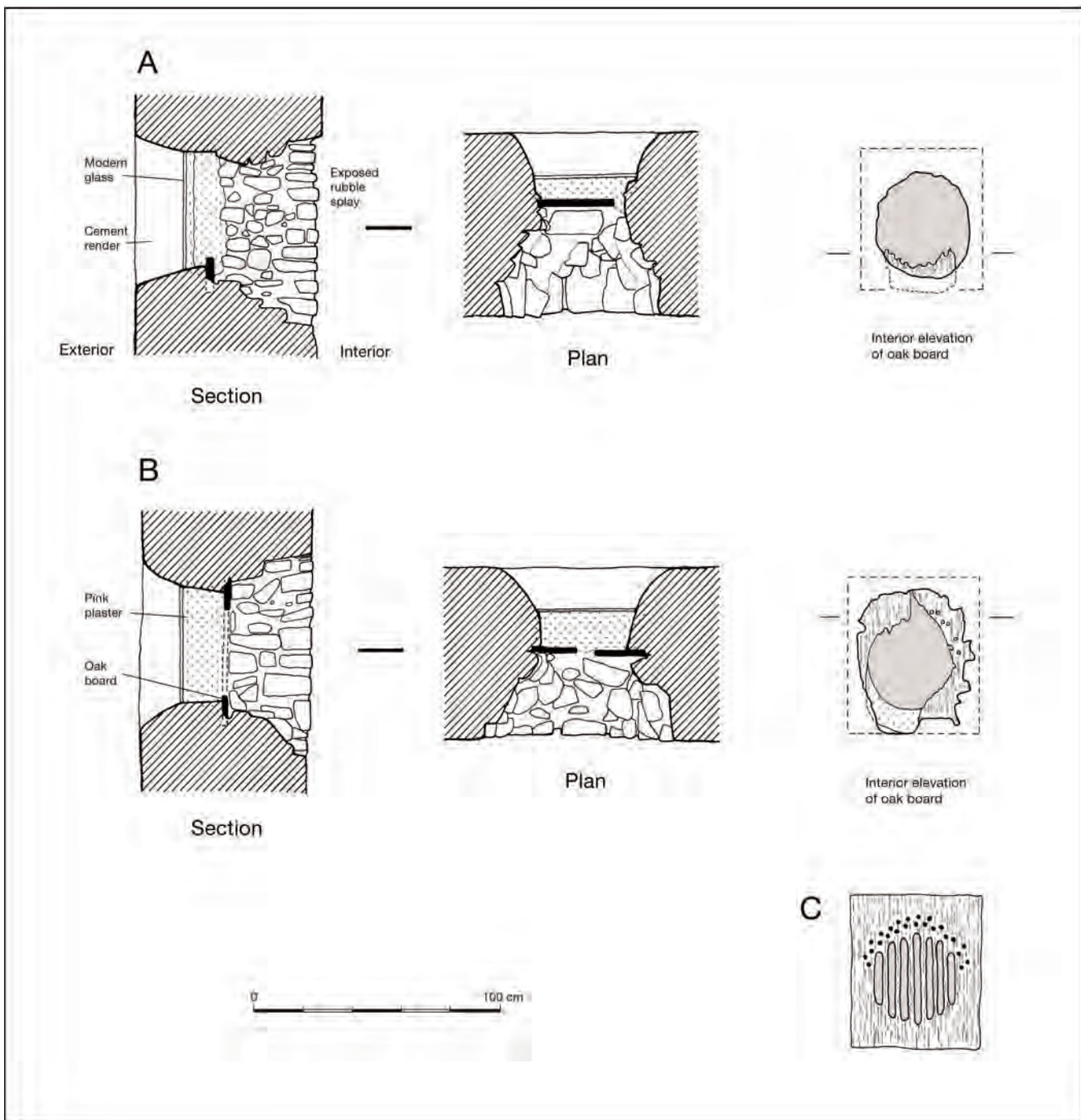
Fig. 333: Western annexe. Plans and sections through the oculi *in the west wall, and internal elevations of the surviving fragments of pierced window-boards contained in them. A, lower* oculus*; B, upper* oculus*; C, reconstruction of a window-board. Scale 1:25. Drawings: Stephen Coll and Warwick Rodwell*

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 overlay 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 square[85] (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, turriform 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 *stele*. 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.
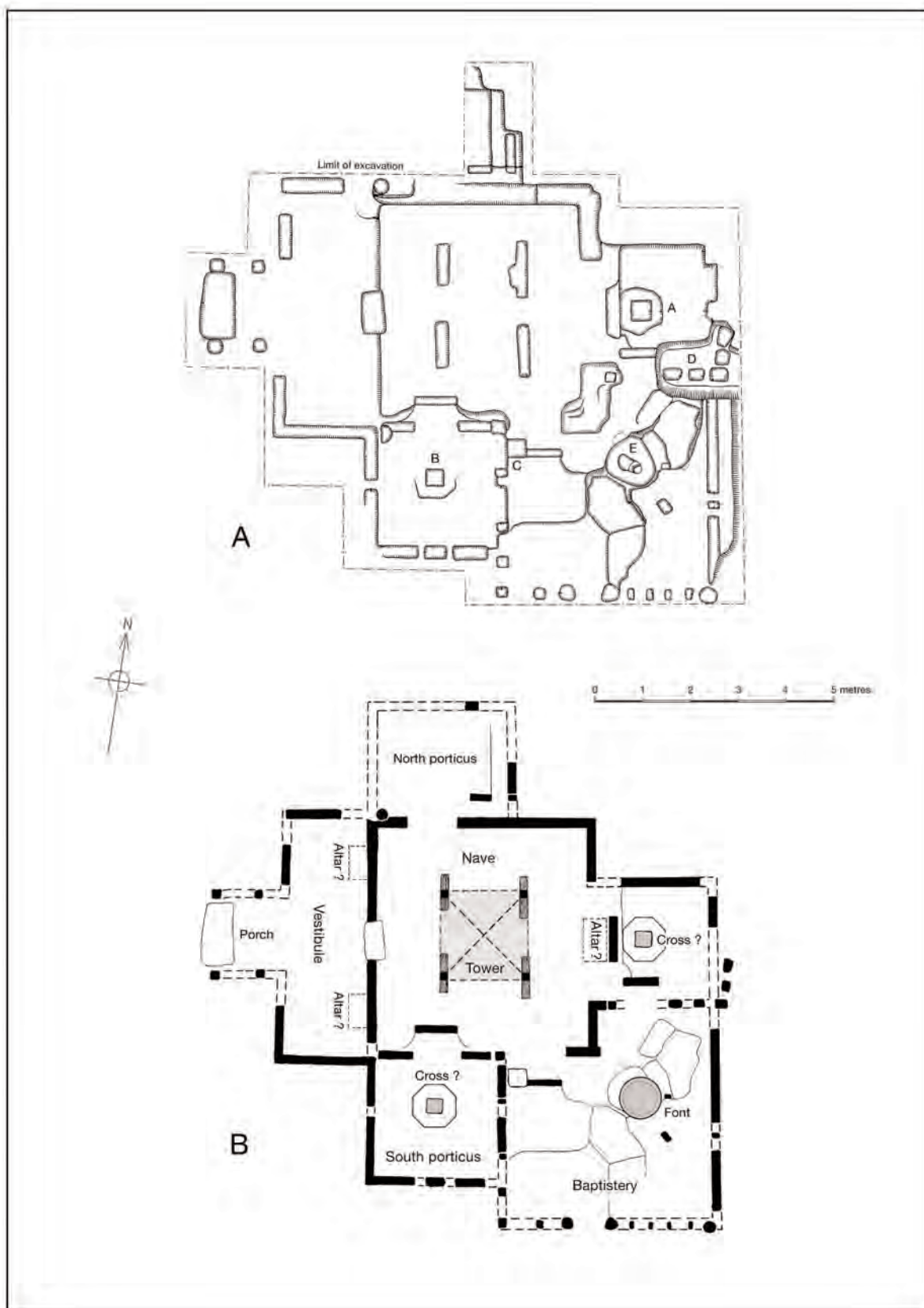
Fig. 348: Potterne (Wilts.). Cruciform timber church found by excavation. A, excavation plan. After Davey 1964. B, interpreted foundation and function plan. Scale 1:125. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell
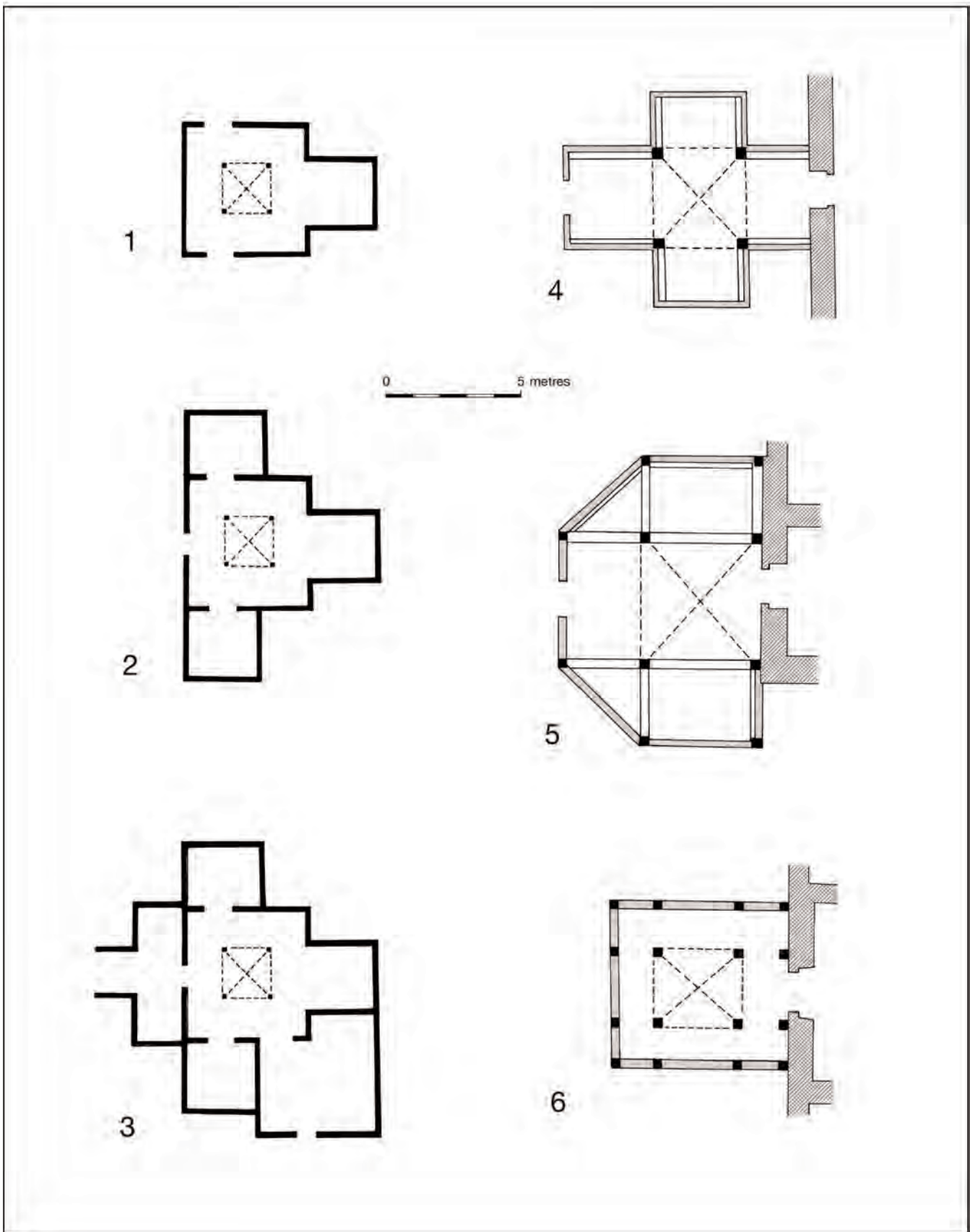
Fig. 349: Comparative plans of turriform timber structures associated with churches of late Saxon and medieval date. 1, Potterne, phase 1; 2, Potterne, phase 2; 3, Potterne, phase 3; 4, West Hanningfield, belfry; 5, Navestock, belfry; 6, Stock, belfry. Scale 1:200. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell
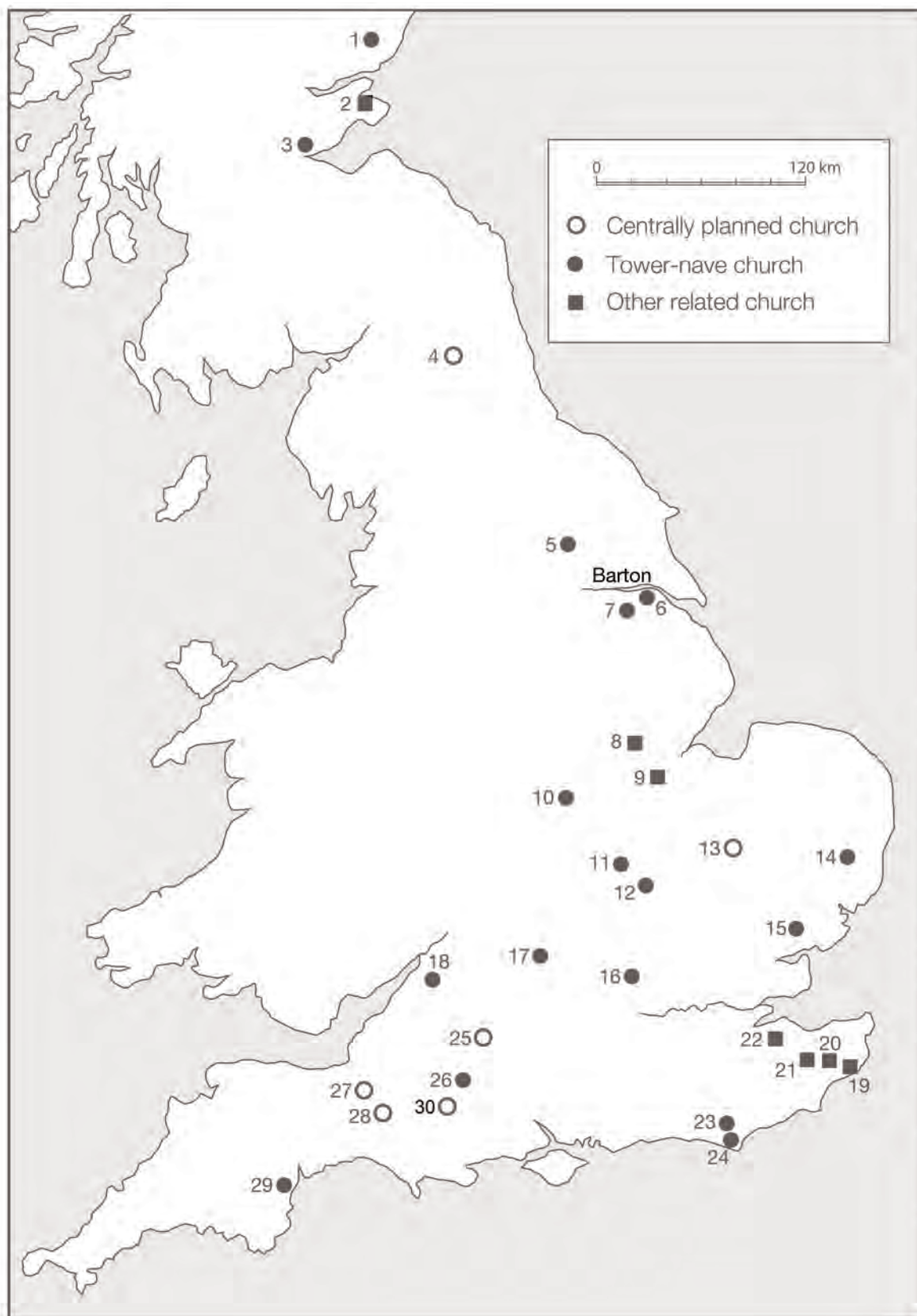
Fig. 350: Distribution map of early centrally planned churches, tower-naves and related churches in England and Scotland. Key: 1, Restenneth; 2, St Andrews; 3, Dunfermline; 4, Hexham; 5, York; 6, Barton-upon-Humber; 7, Broughton; 8, Hough-on-the-Hill; 9, Barnack; 10, Leicester; 11, Earls Barton; 12, 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 were 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
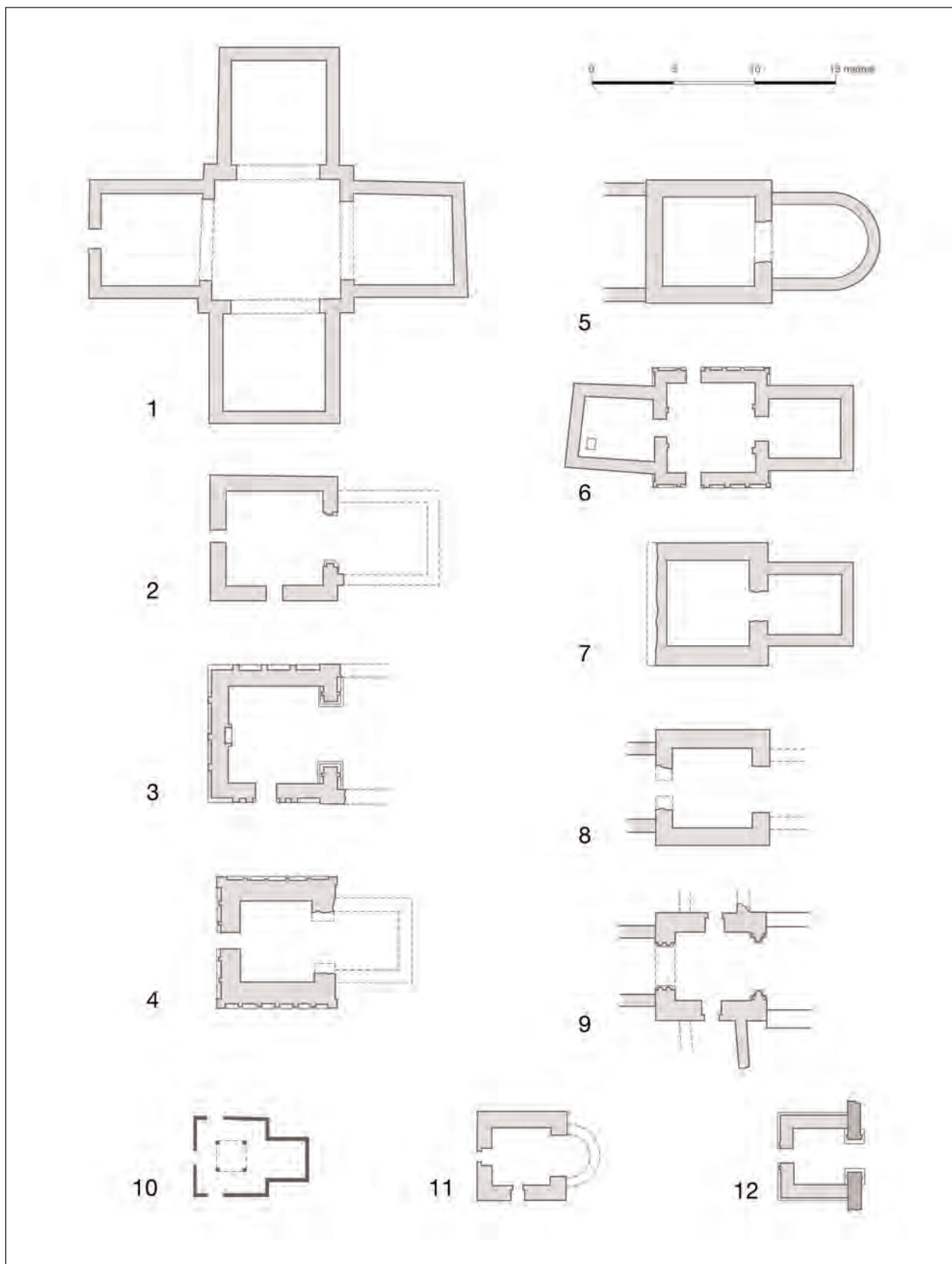
Fig. 351: Comparative plans of late Saxon turriform naves and other potentially related towers. 1, South Cadbury (interpreted from foundation trench); 2, St Mary Bishophill Junior, York; 3, Barnack; 4, Earls Barton; 5. 'St John's', Colchester (interpreted from foundations); 6, Barton-upon-Humber; 7, St Peter, Leicester (interpreted from foundations); 8, Debenham; 9, Netheravon; 10 Potterne, phase 1; 11, Eastdean; 12, Holy Trinity, Colchester. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell
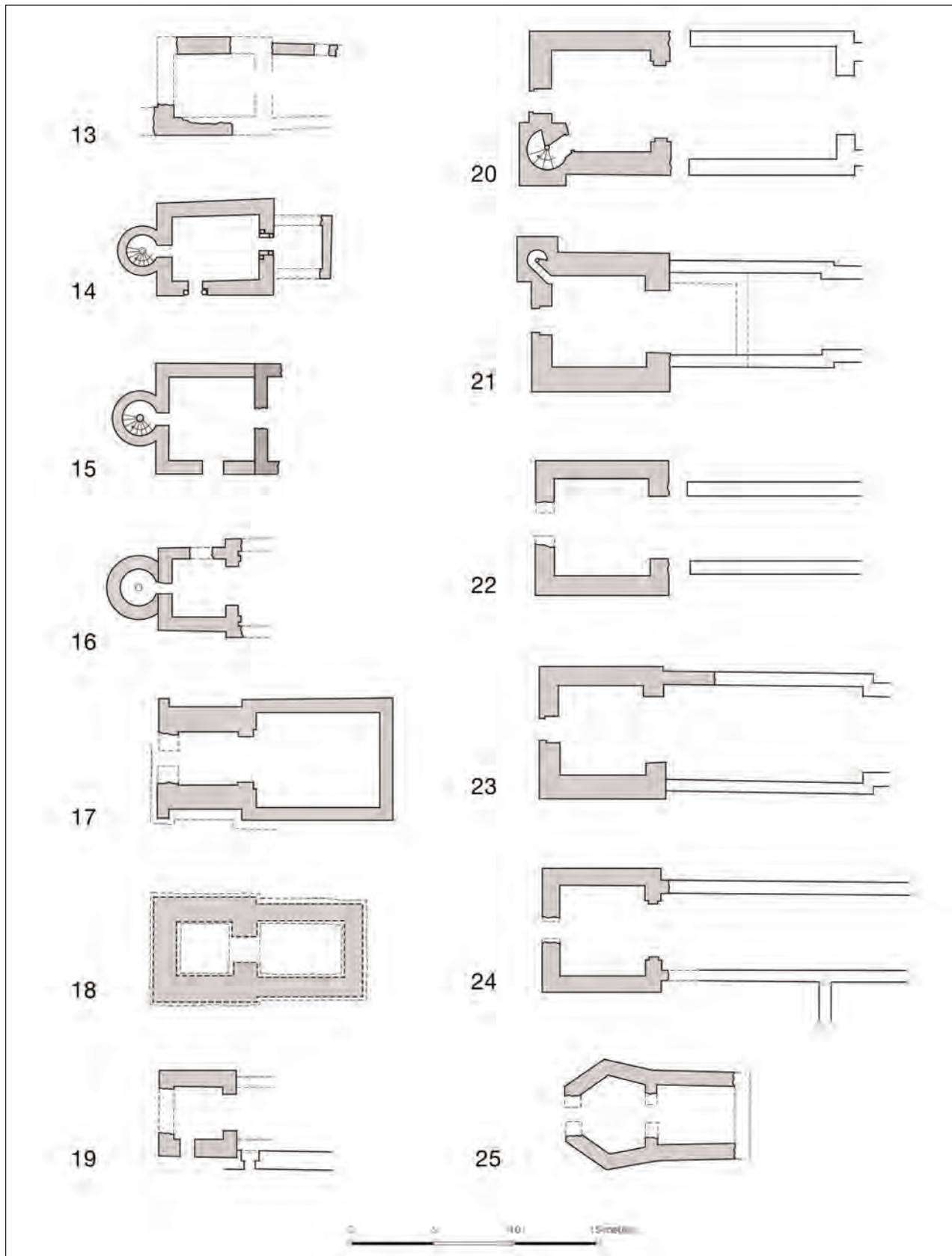
Fig. 352: Comparative plans of late Saxon and Norman turriform naves and other potentially related towers. 13, Woodeaton (interpreted from fragmentary foundations); 14, Broughton; 15, Hough-on-the-Hill; 16, Brigstock; 17, St Andrews; 18, Dunfermline (interpreted from foundations); 19, Restenneth; 20, 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)
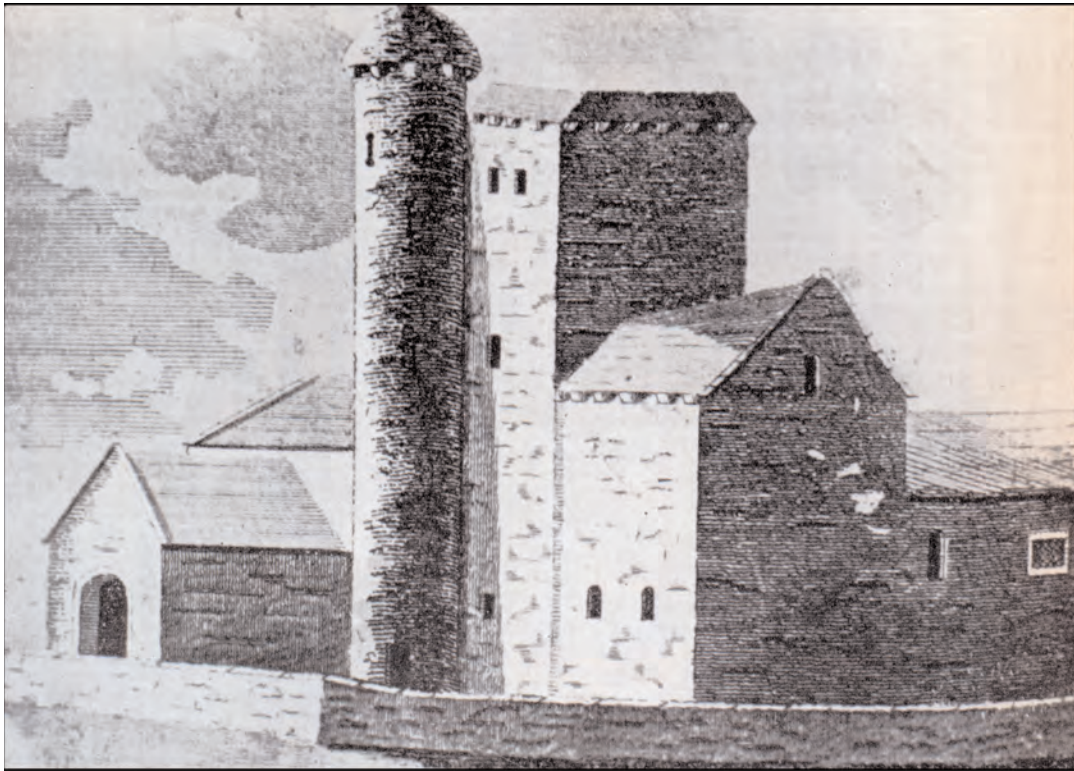
Fig. 355: St Michael, East Teignmouth (Devon). Engraving of the church demolished in 1811. South-east view. Cornelius 1946

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
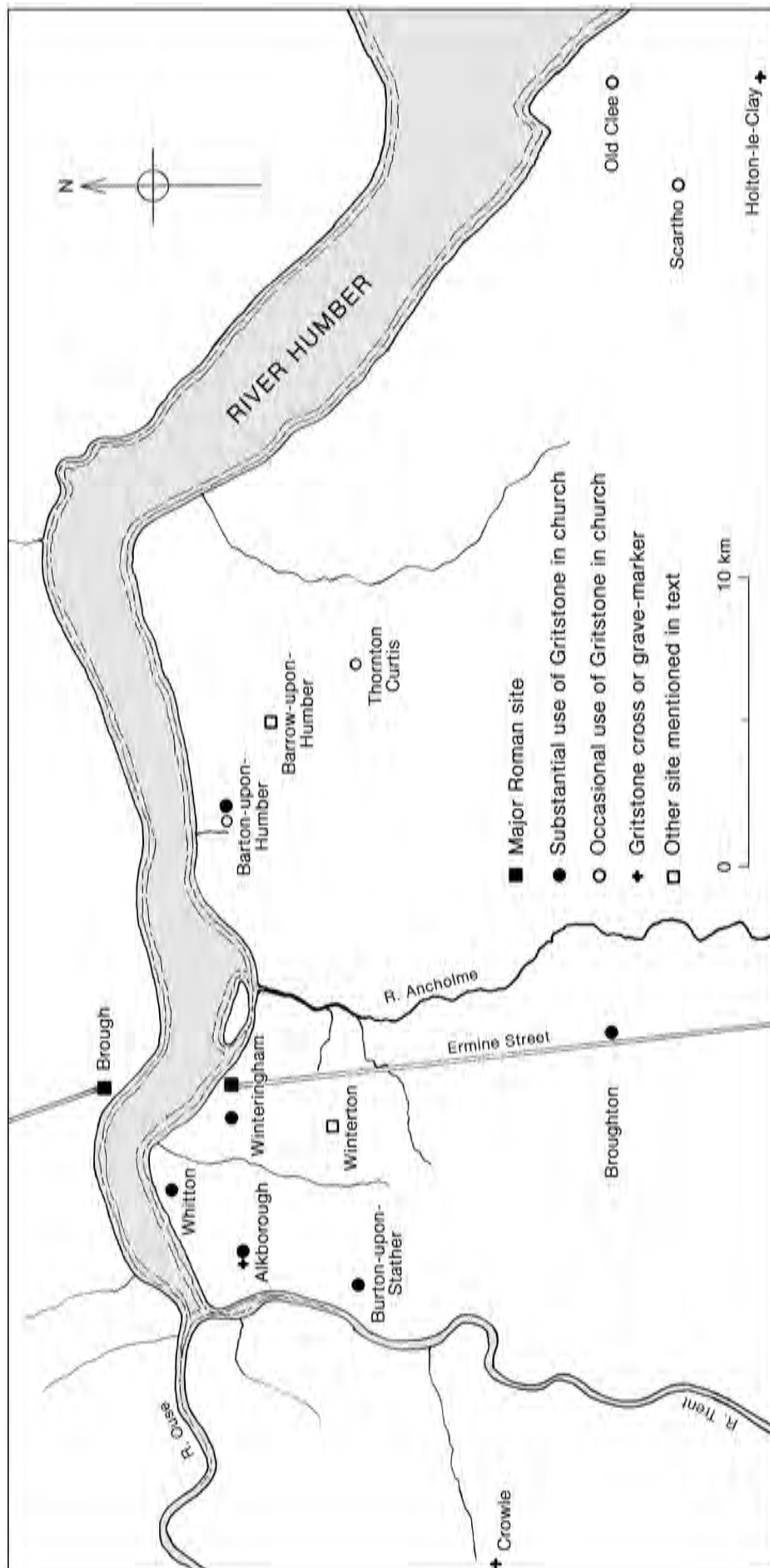
Fig. 357: Map showing the distribution of churches on the south bank of the Humber with structural reuse of Roman gritstone (solid circles), and other occurrences of the material. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

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 ashlars of Magnesian Limestone.

Broughton, St Mary[110]

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 ashlars, 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 Andrew[111]

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 ashlars 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 Clee, Holy Trinity

A single dressed block of gritstone and several nondescript lumps occur in the rubble masonry of the eleventh-century west tower.

Scartho, 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 John[113]

Large gritstone ashlars 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 Saints[114]

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 ashlars 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 ashlars 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 Winteringham 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 Winteringham, 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-impressions 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 interface[120] (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
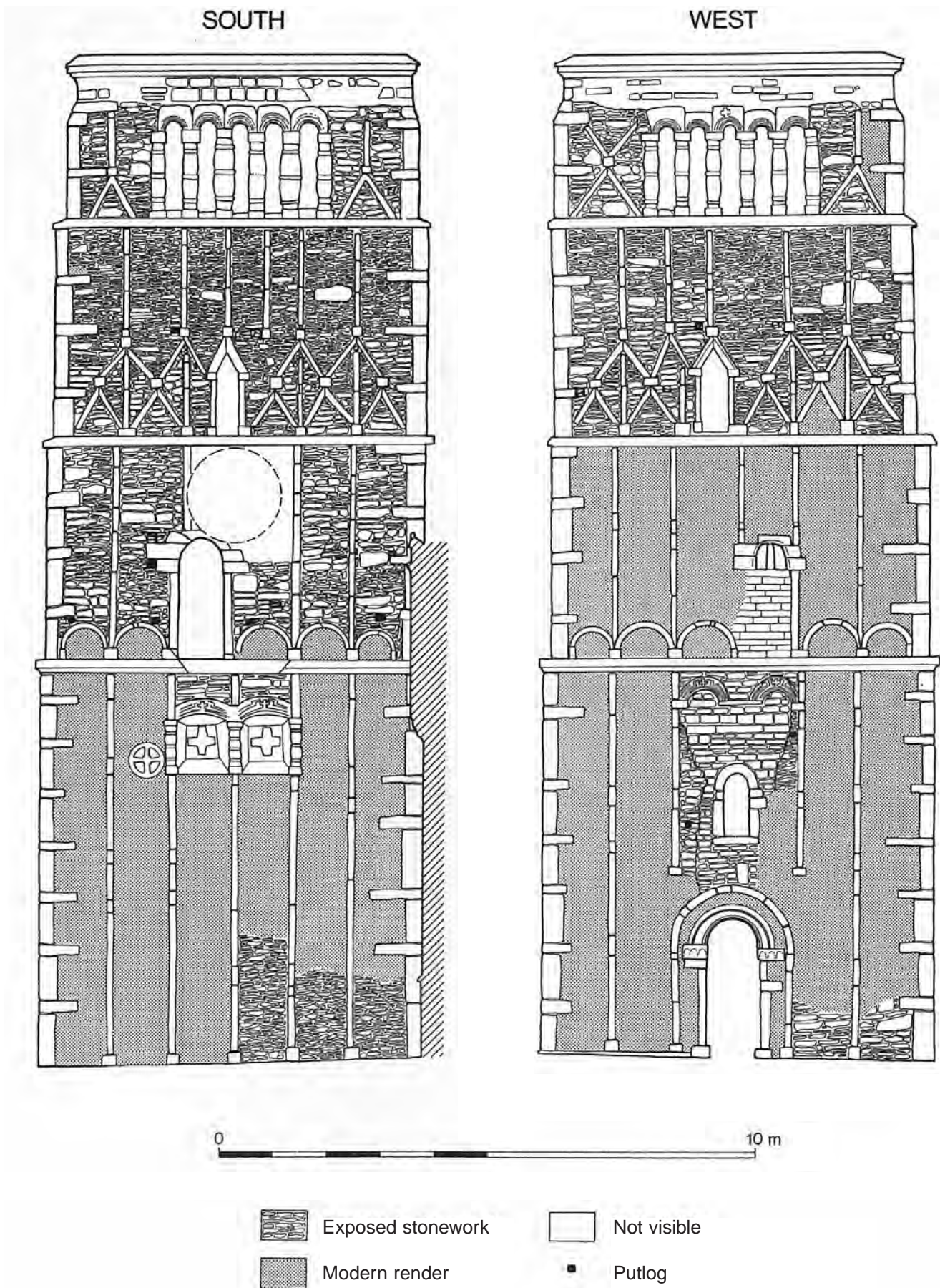
Fig. 363: *All Saints, Earls Barton (Northants.). South and west elevations of the tower, showing the stripwork decoration and small rubble construction. Stippled areas are obscured by modern rendering.* Audouy *et al. 1995*
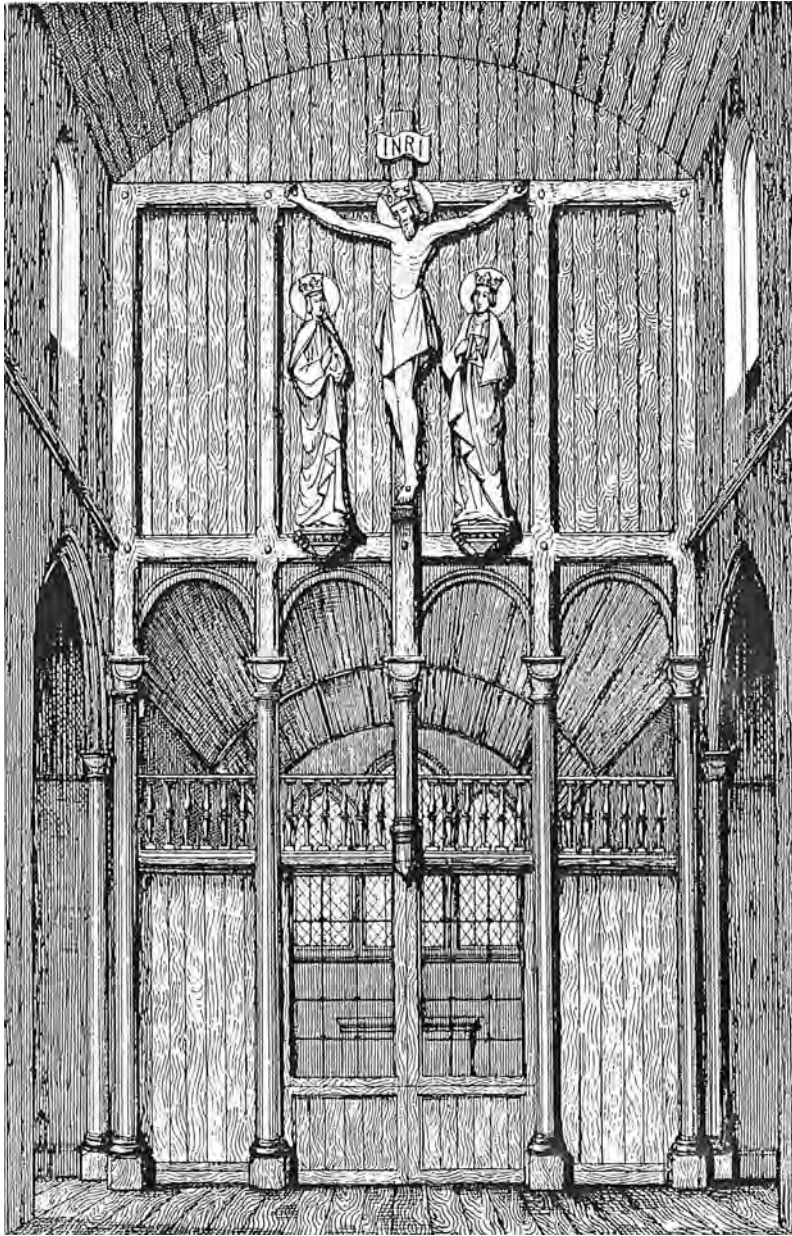
Fig. 364: Urnes, Norway. Romanesque timber chancel screen of attenuated form. Pugin 1851

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
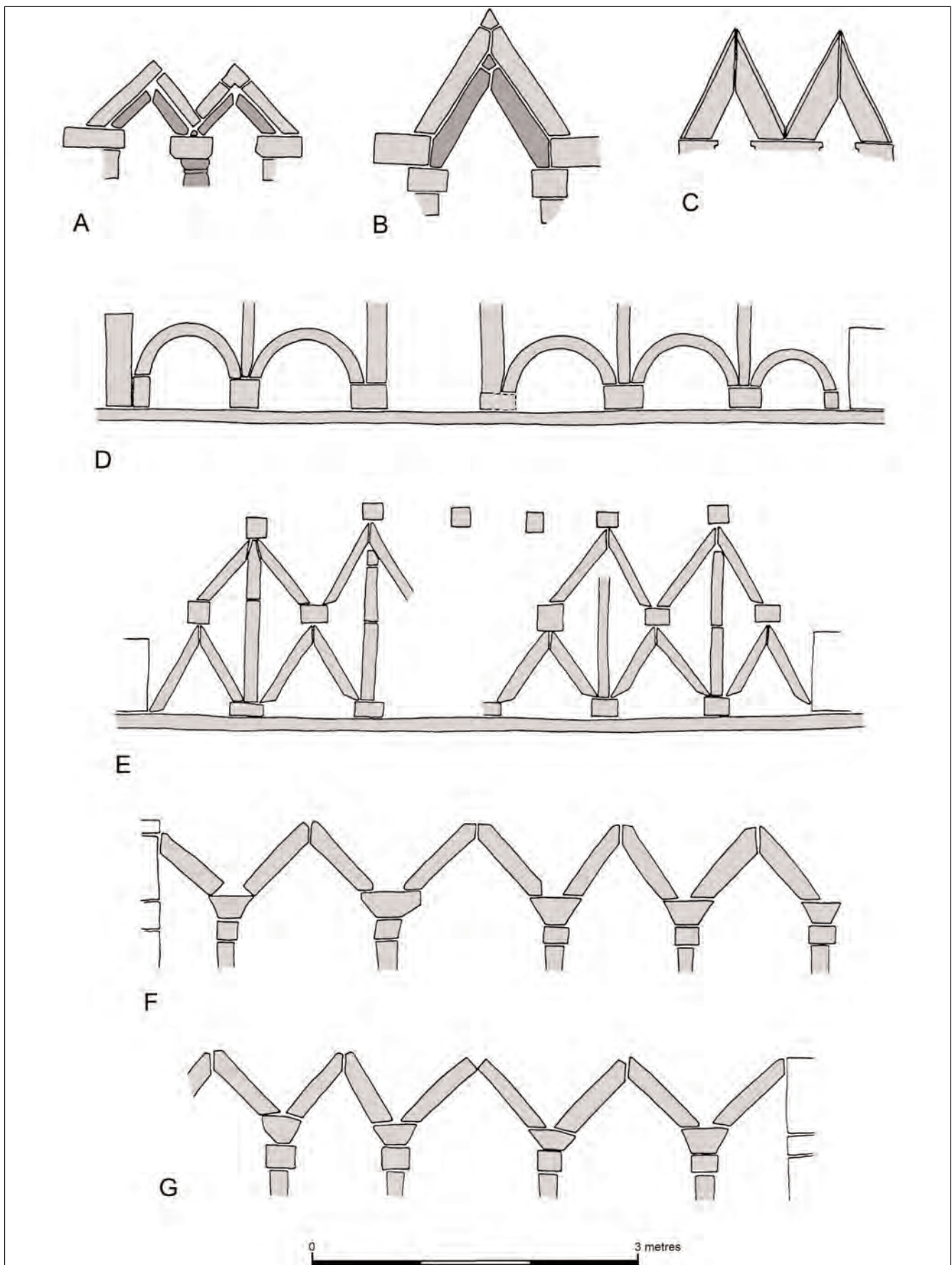
Fig. 366: Examples of jointing employed in pilaster-strips and triangular-headed features. A, Barton: belfry opening, north side. B, Barton: north doorway. C, Deerhurst: tower windows, east side. D, Earls Barton: arcading, south side. E, Earls Barton: gable-headed features, south side. F, Barton: arcading, south side. G, Barton: arcading, north side. Scale 1:50. After Rodwell 1986
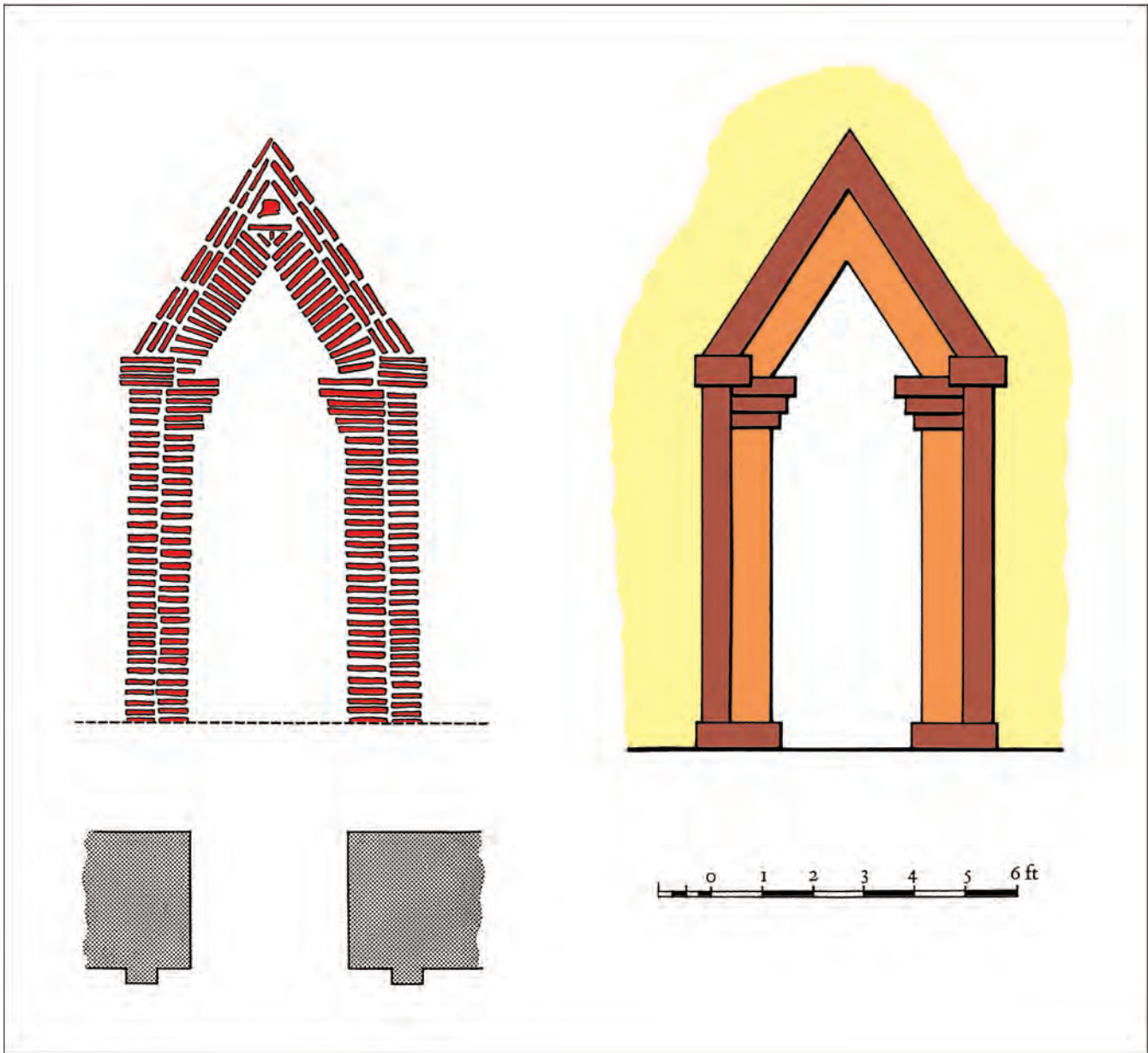
Fig. 367: Holy Trinity, Colchester (Essex). West doorway of tower, constructed entirely from reused Roman bricks. Left, external elevation, drawn by H.M. Taylor (adapted). Right, reconstruction of the intended appearance of the doorway when encased in stucco. Drawings: Taylor and Taylor 1965; Warwick Rodwell

date these features more closely than to the eleventh century: Flitcham (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). Flitcham 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

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, Maeseyck,
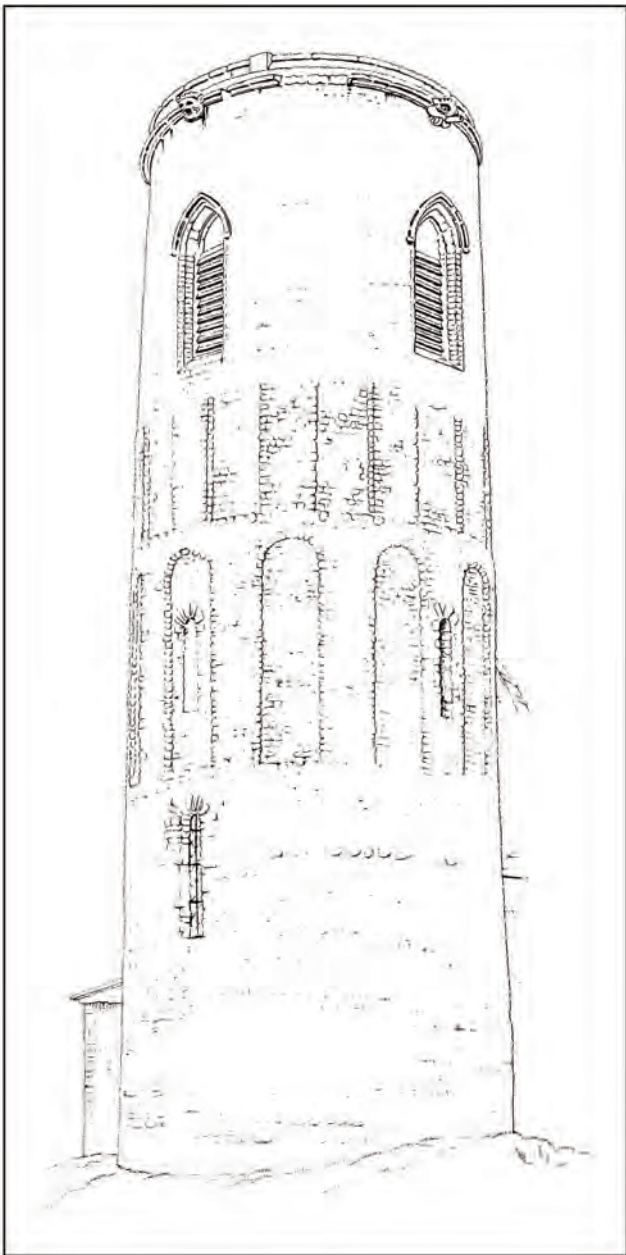
Fig. 368: *St Mary, Tasburgh (Norf.). West tower, showing two registers of recessed blind arcading, the upper truncated by a later belfry. Drawn by J.C. Buckler, 1829. Gage 1831*

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
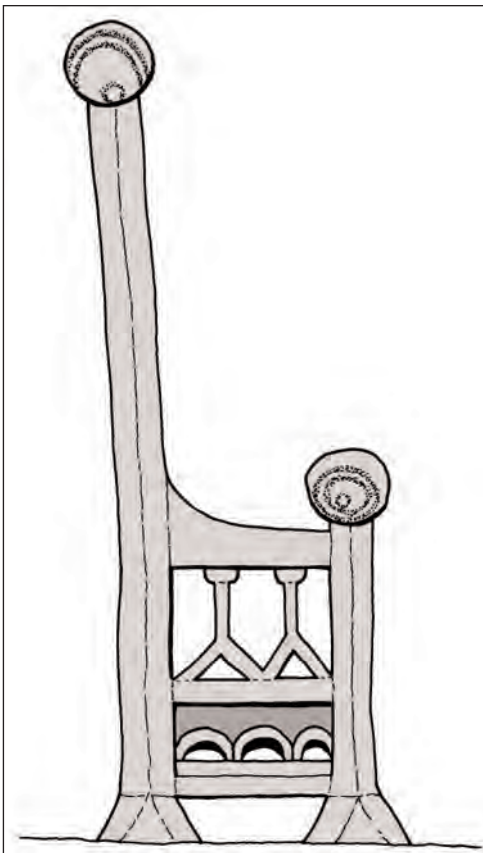
Fig. 371: Diagram to illustrate the construction and architectural detailing of the side of the throne depicted in a Gospel book from Maeseyck, Belgium (Pl. 26). Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

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 Maeseyck 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-gabling, 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 gabling, 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
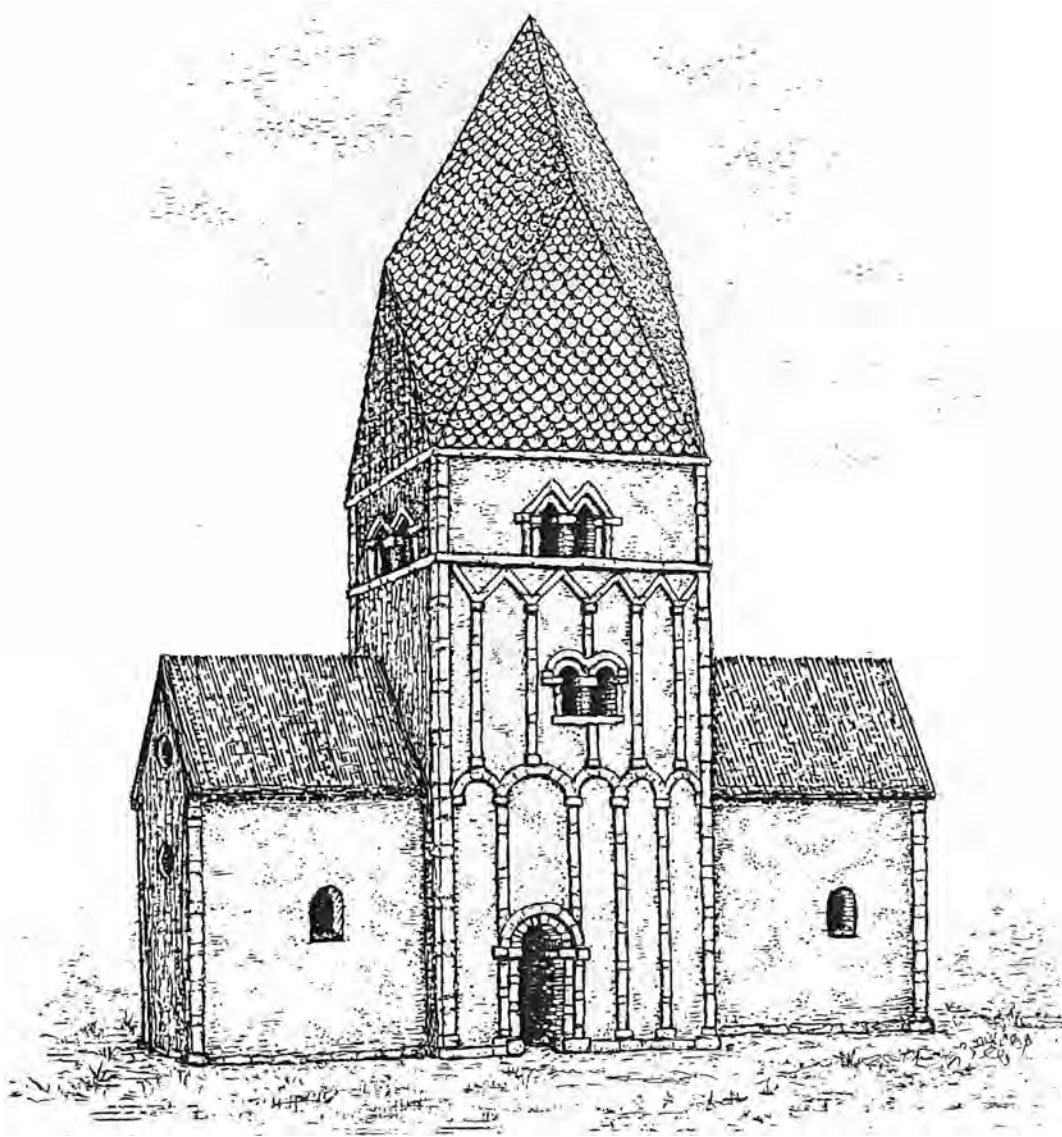
Fig. 374: St Peter, Barton-upon-Humber. Reconstruction of the Anglo-Saxon three-celled church. View from the south. Drawing: Rex Russell

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 pro-truding 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 like-ly, 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 prob-ably 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 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
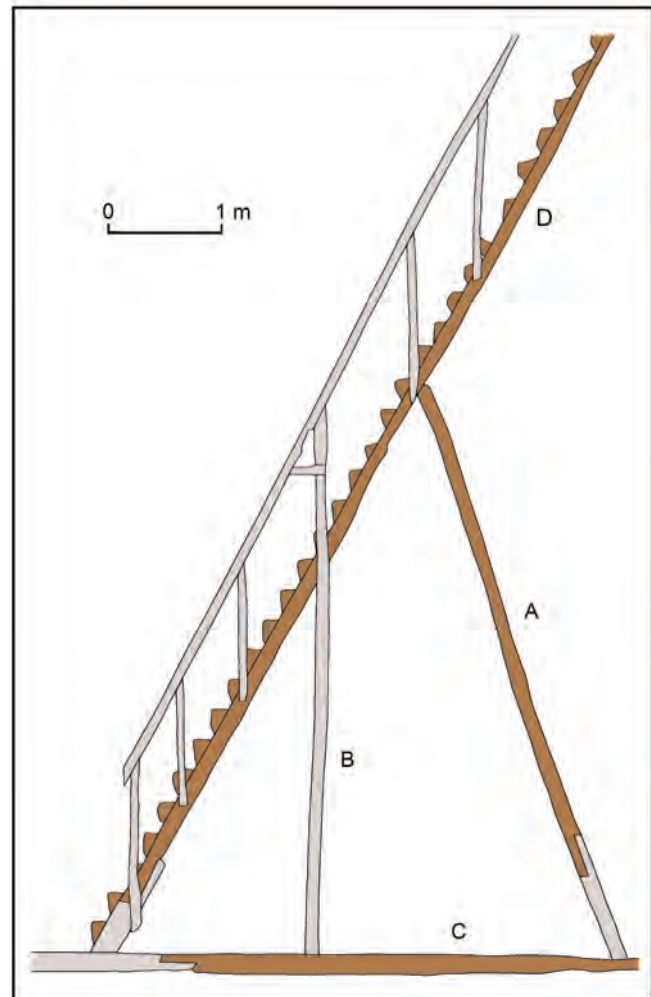
Fig. 375: St Mary, Brabourne (Kent). Fourteenth-century timber ladder-stair in the ground-stage of the tower. Secondary timbers and repairs are shown in light tone. A, strut supporting the carriages. B, added strut and balustrade. C, sill-beam. D, pair of carriage timbers supporting treads. Gardiner 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 imposts 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

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.

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

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 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. 379: St Peter, Barton-upon-Humber. Tower: detail of the incised head on the panel above the eastern arch. Photo: Warwick Rodwell
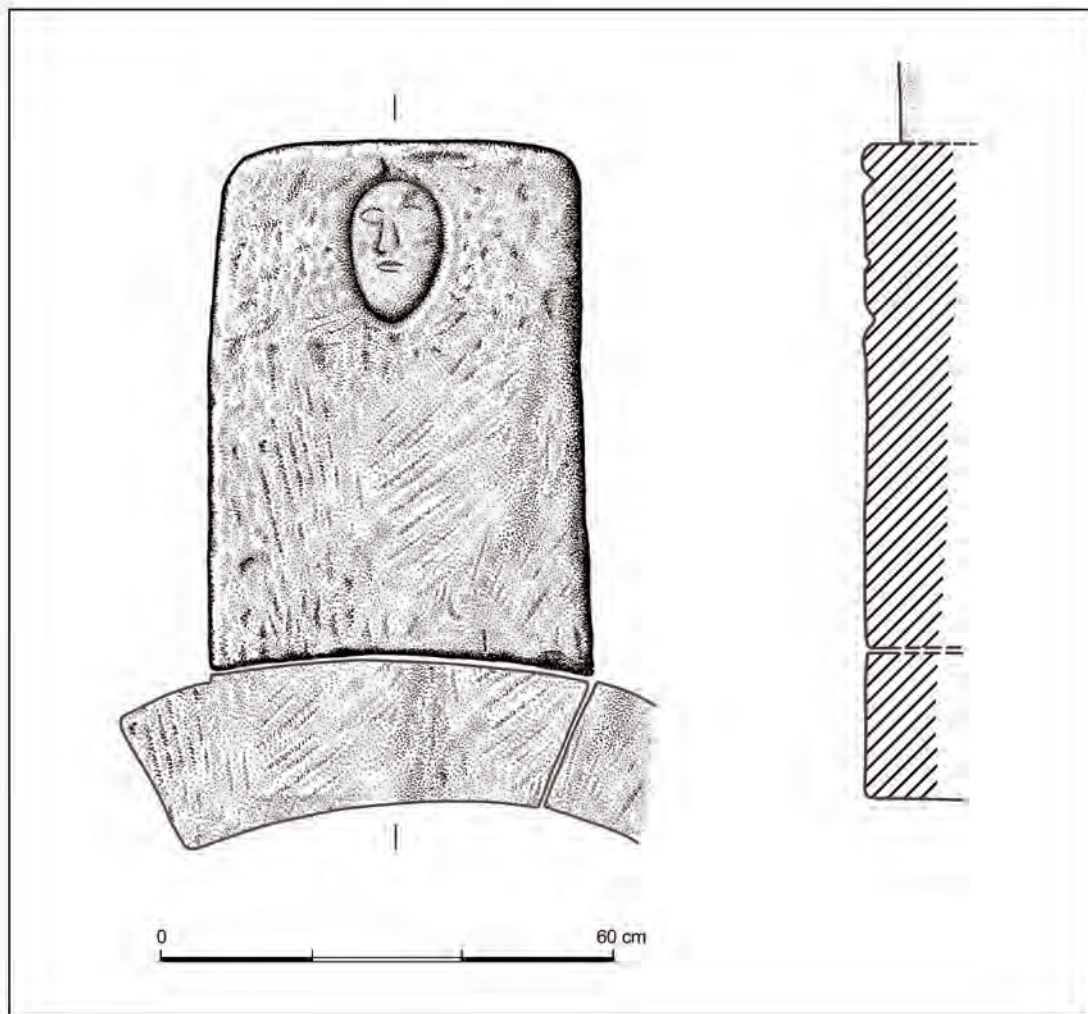
Fig. 380: St Peter, Barton-upon-Humber. Tower: false keystone and stripwork over the eastern arch. Scale 1:10. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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 reconstruction[149] (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
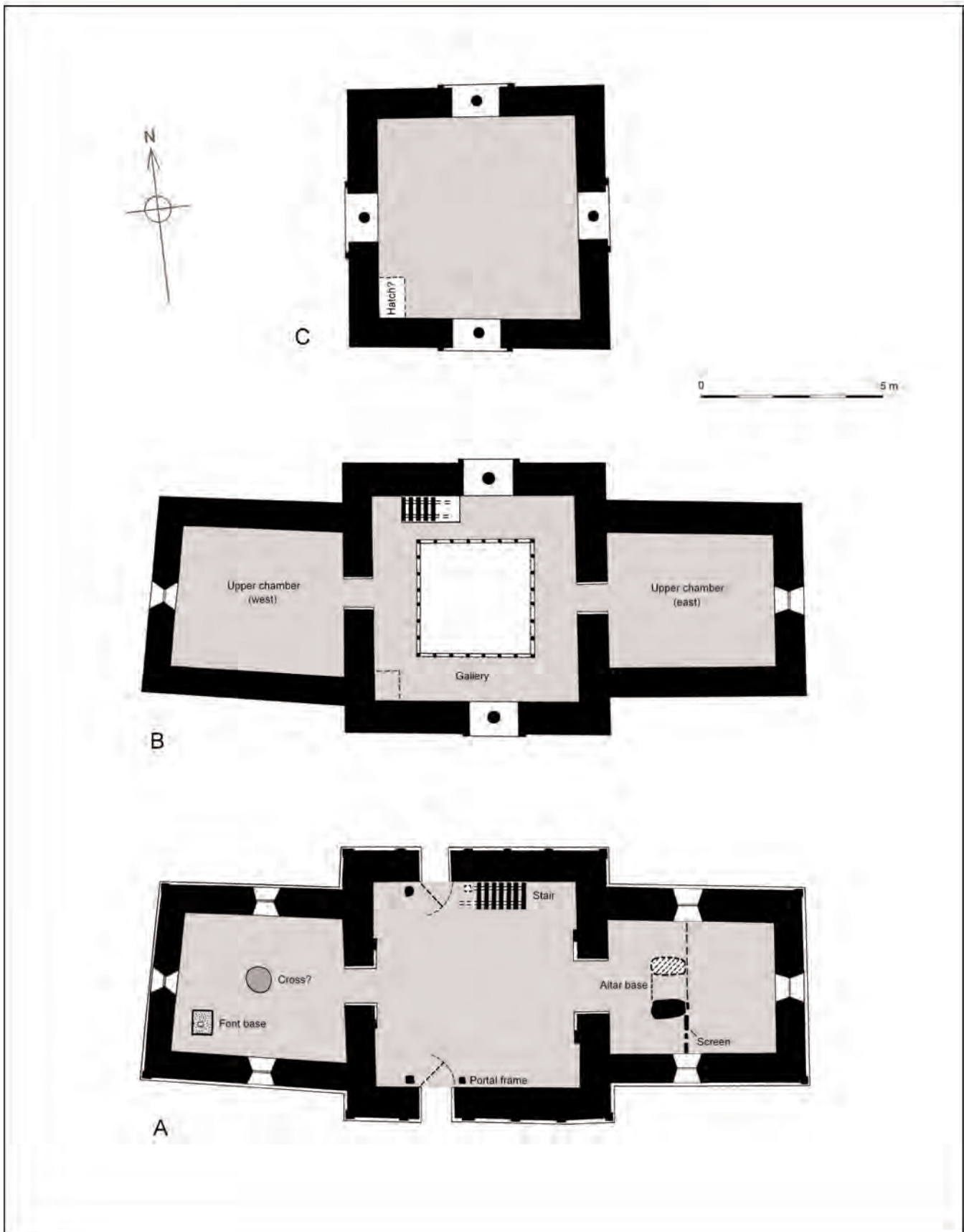
Fig. 387: St Peter, Barton-upon-Humber. Reconstructed plans of the Period 2 Anglo-Saxon church. A, ground level; B, gallery and upper-chamber level; C, belfry level. Scale 1:150. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

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 southeast 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 priest[163] 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
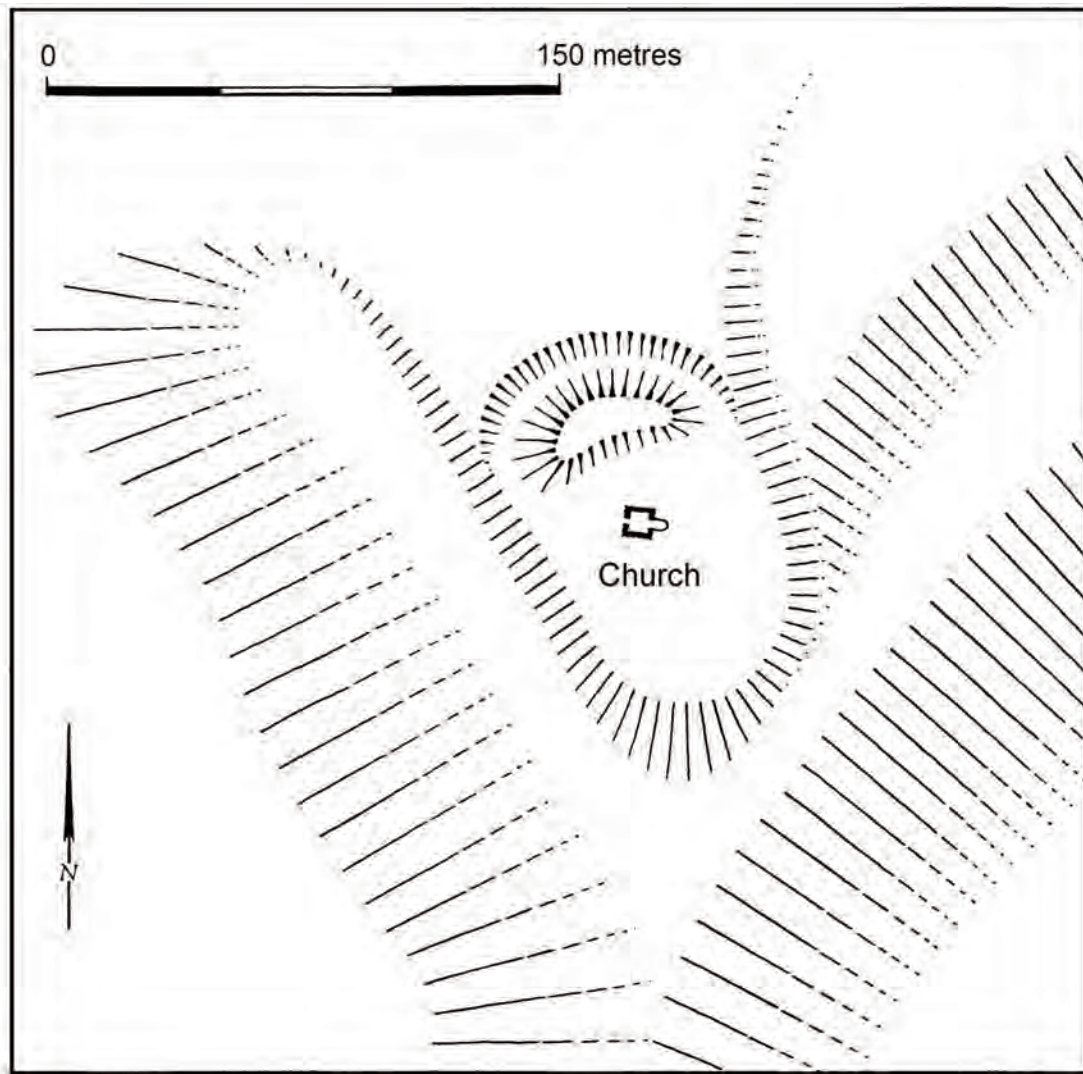
Fig. 389: All Saints, Earls Barton (Northants.). The topographical setting of the tower-nave church amidst the castle earthworks. After Davison 1967

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 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 tenurial 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*, 1814[1]

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.
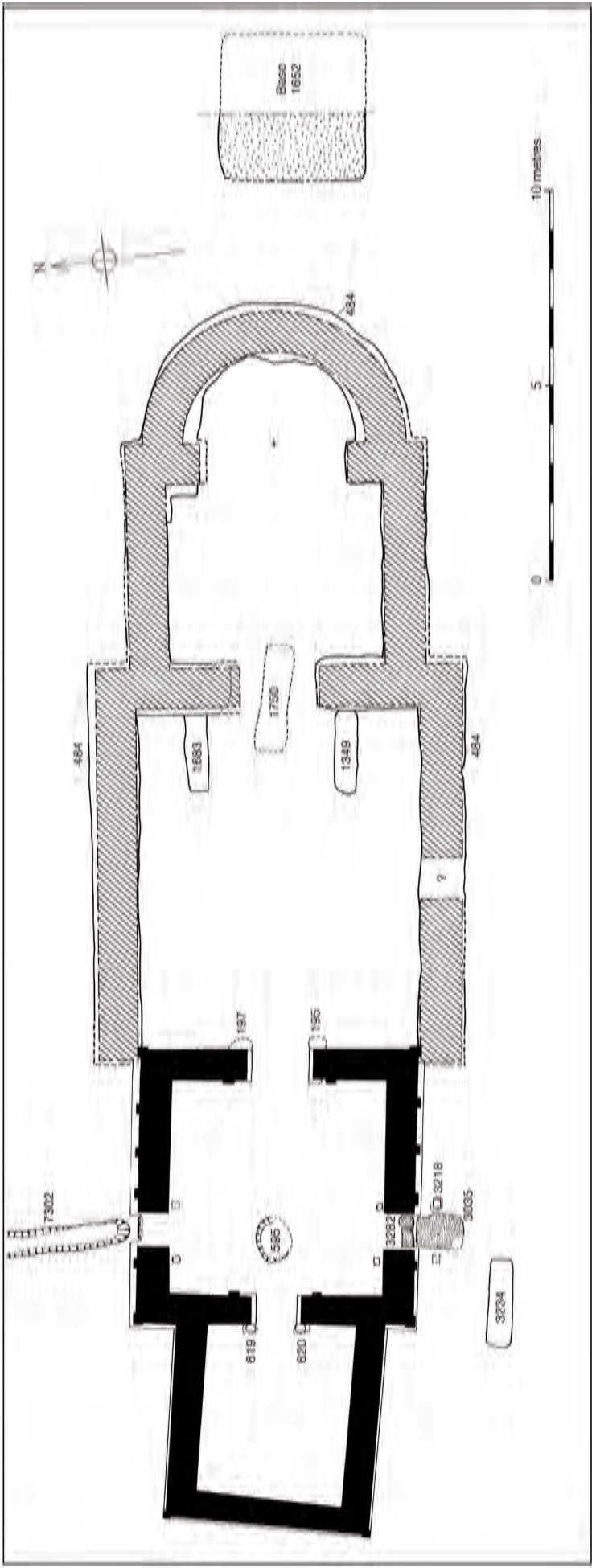
Fig. 391: Foundation plan of the Period 3 Saxo-Norman church and associated features. Standing fabric is shown in black and the reconstructed plan of the demolished walls is hatched. Scale 1:150. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

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 ashlars 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).
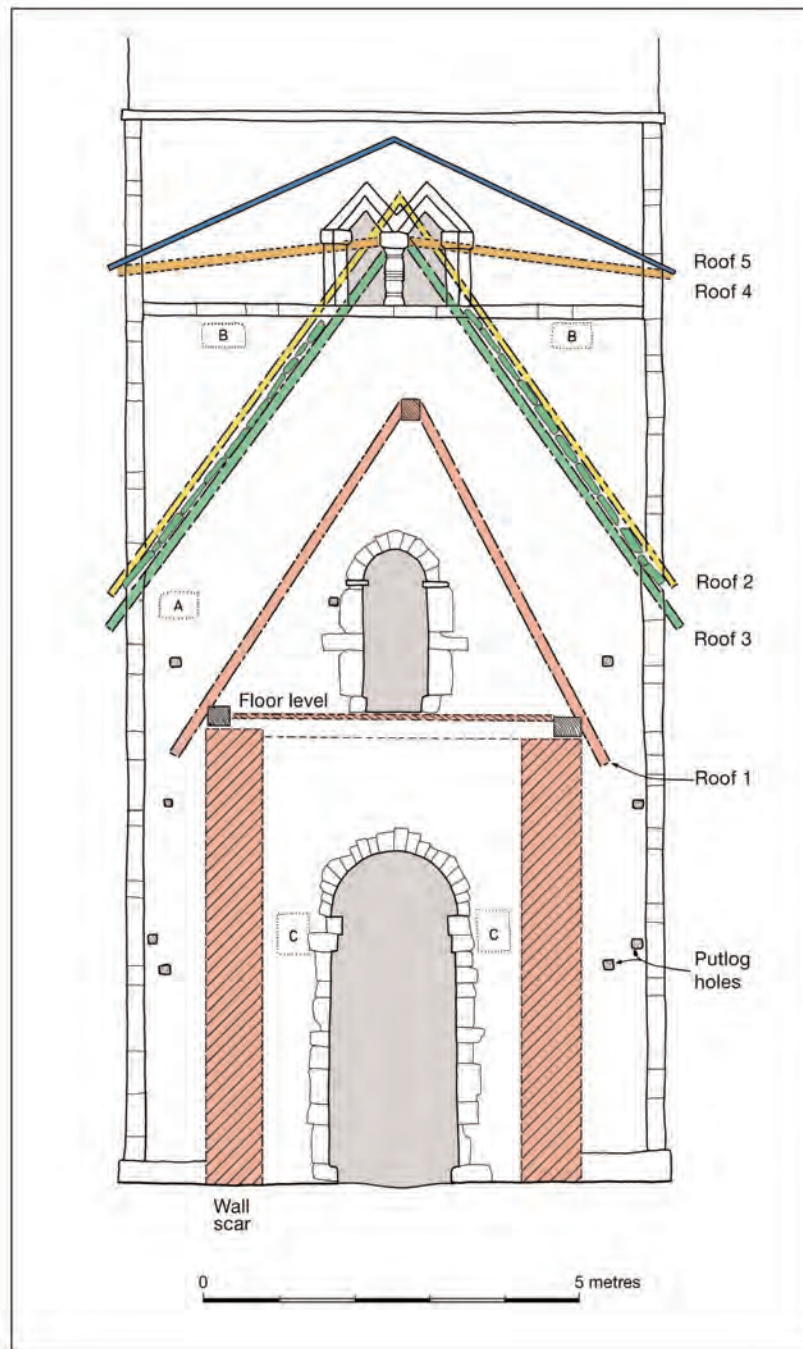
Fig. 398: Tower: east face of stages 1 and 2. Interpretation diagram of the abutment of the walls of the Anglo-Saxon chancel and five successive roofs. 1, Anglo-Saxon; 2, Saxo-Norman; 3, Thirteenth century; 4, Fifteenth century; 5, Early nineteenth century. Other features shown include: A, B, housings 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-splayed 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
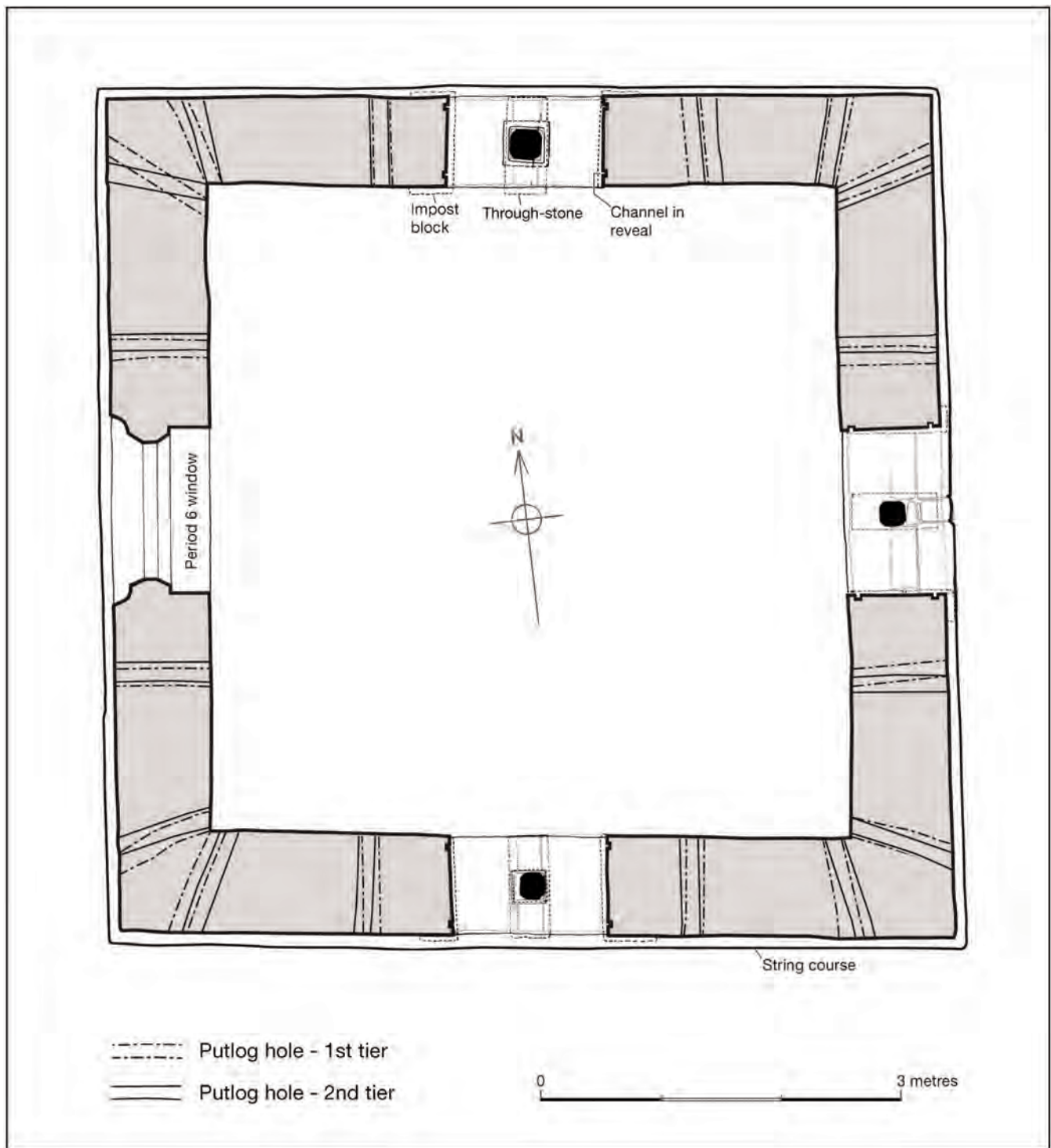
Fig. 400: Tower: Stage 3. Plan of the Period 3 belfry at sill level, showing the locations and angles of the first and second tiers of putlog holes. Also indicated (by broken lines) are the imposts and through-stones of the three surviving original belfry openings. Drawing: Stephen Coll and Warwick Rodwell

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.
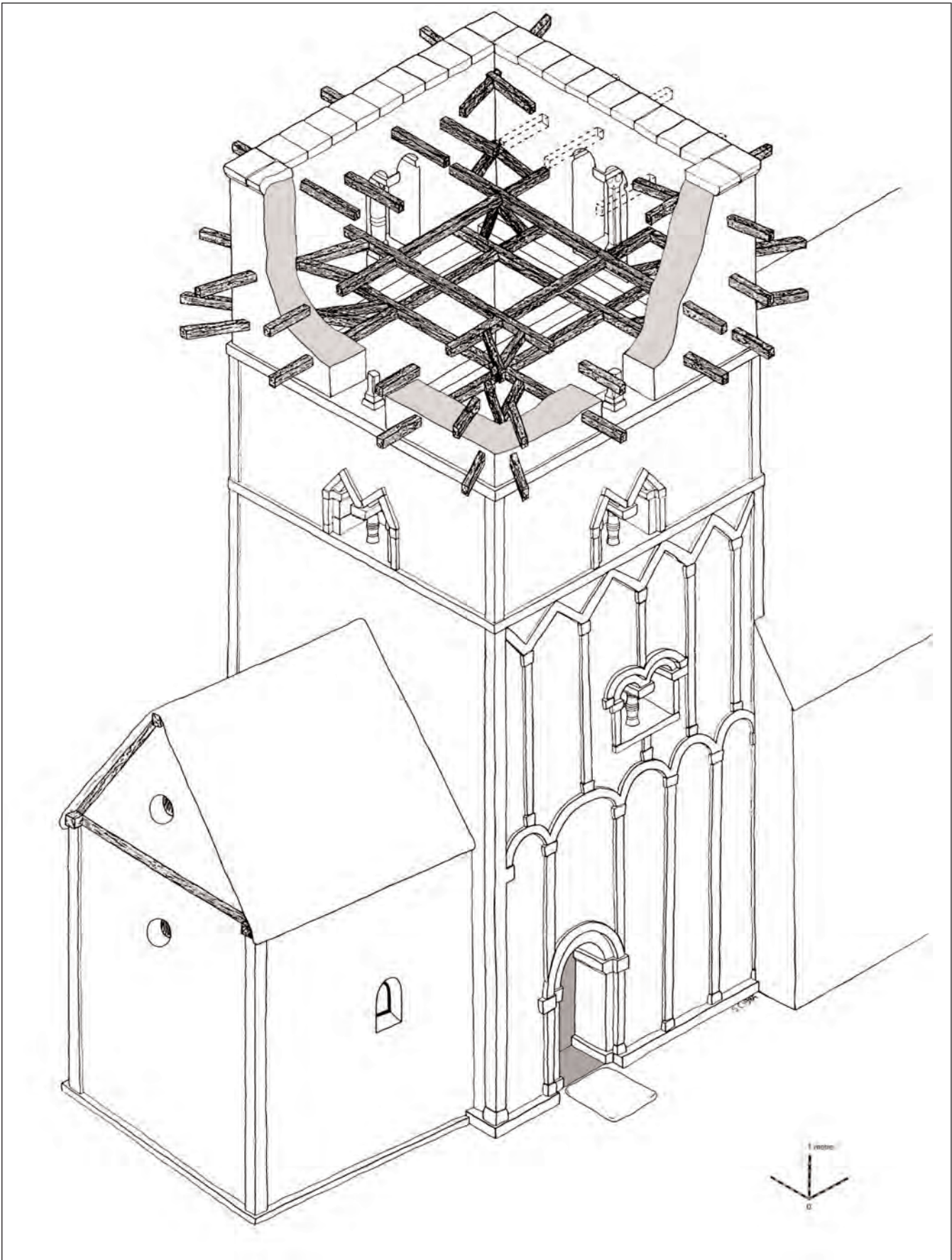
Fig. 401: Tower. Cutaway isometric view, showing a reconstruction of the timber framing erected integrally with the Saxo-Norman belfry. This framing probably acted as an anchor for a roof spire, as well as supporting the bells. Initially, the timbers projected through the walls, to provide cantilevered scaffolding platforms. Drawing: Stephen Coll

North

South

East

West

0 1 2 Metres
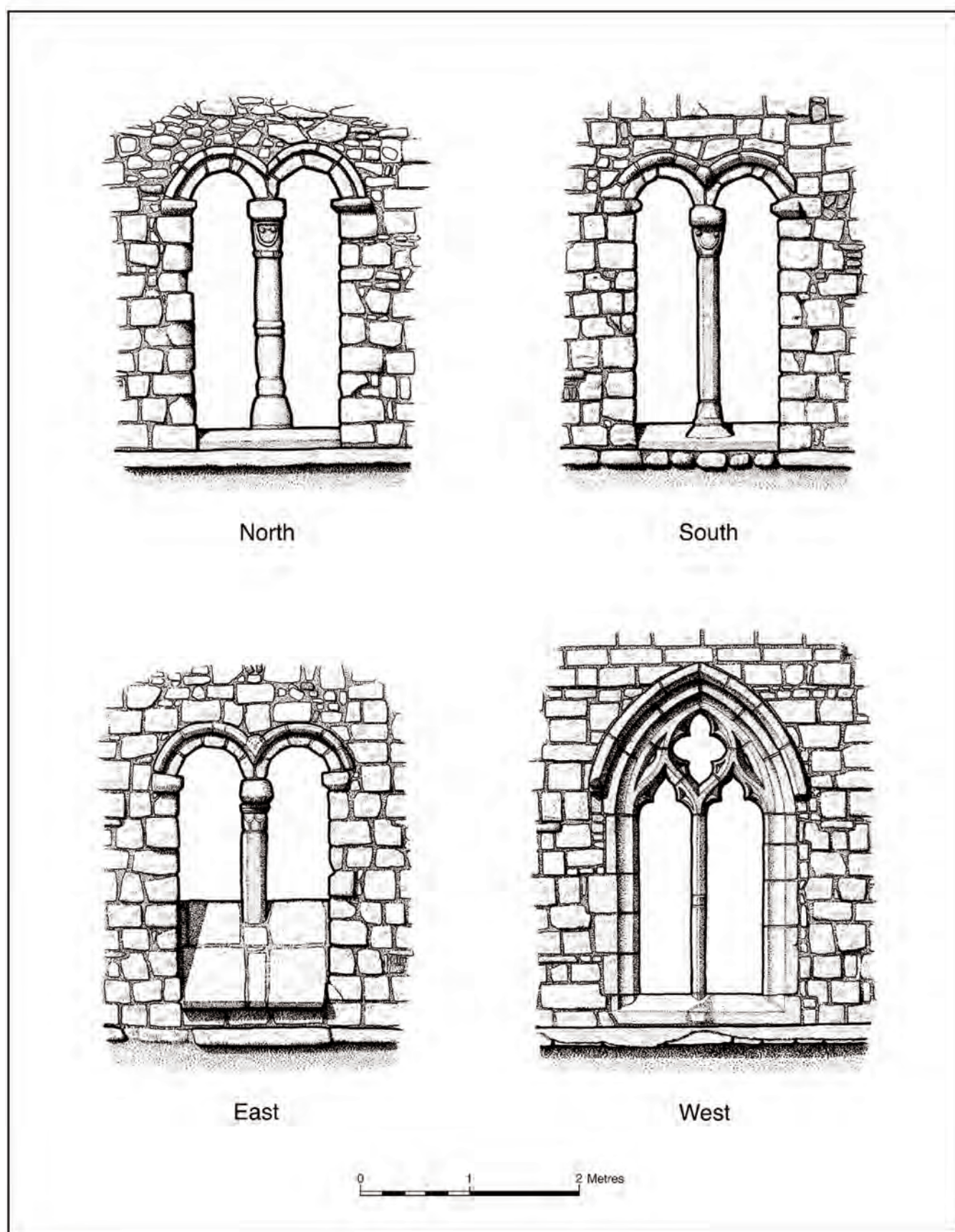
Fig. 402: Tower, Stage 3. External elevations of the belfry openings. Scale 1:50. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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
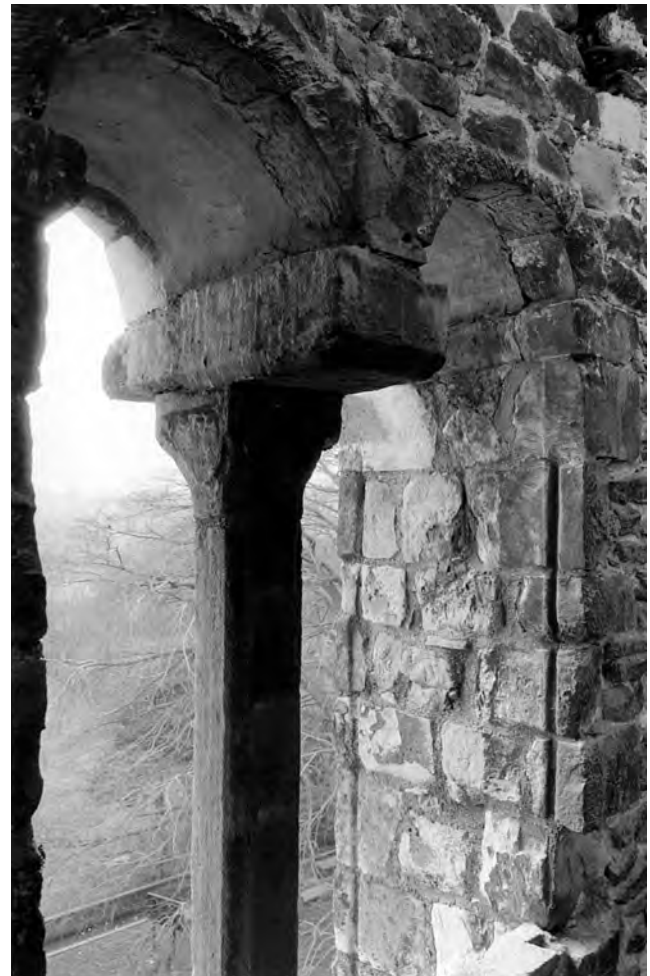
Fig. 404: Tower: Stage 3. Interior of the southern belfry opening, showing the plastered soffits to the arches and vertical channels in the jambs. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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 was as a fully joint-ed 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 (per-haps as a consequence of the medieval fire in the tower;
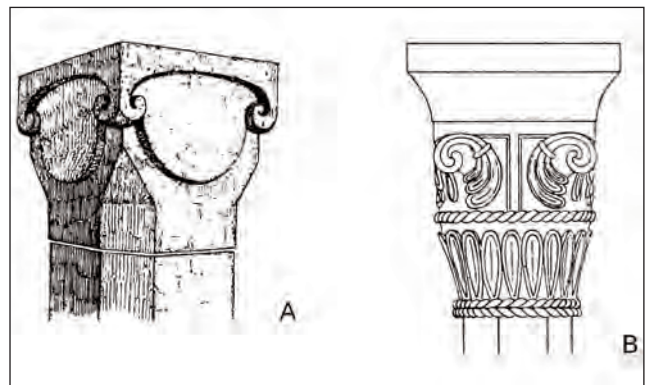
Fig. 407: Belfry capitals in Lincolnshire towers: drawings by Baldwin Brown. A, Capital of the southern mid-wall shaft at Barton; B, Capital of the southern mid-wall shaft at St Peter-at-Gowts, Lincoln. Brown 1925

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 imposts 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 imposts 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 facetted. 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 facetted 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 facetted 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 gravecovers.[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

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. 413: Tower: Stage 3, north. Mid-wall shaft in the double belfry-opening. View from the north-east, 2005. Photo: Warwick Rodwell
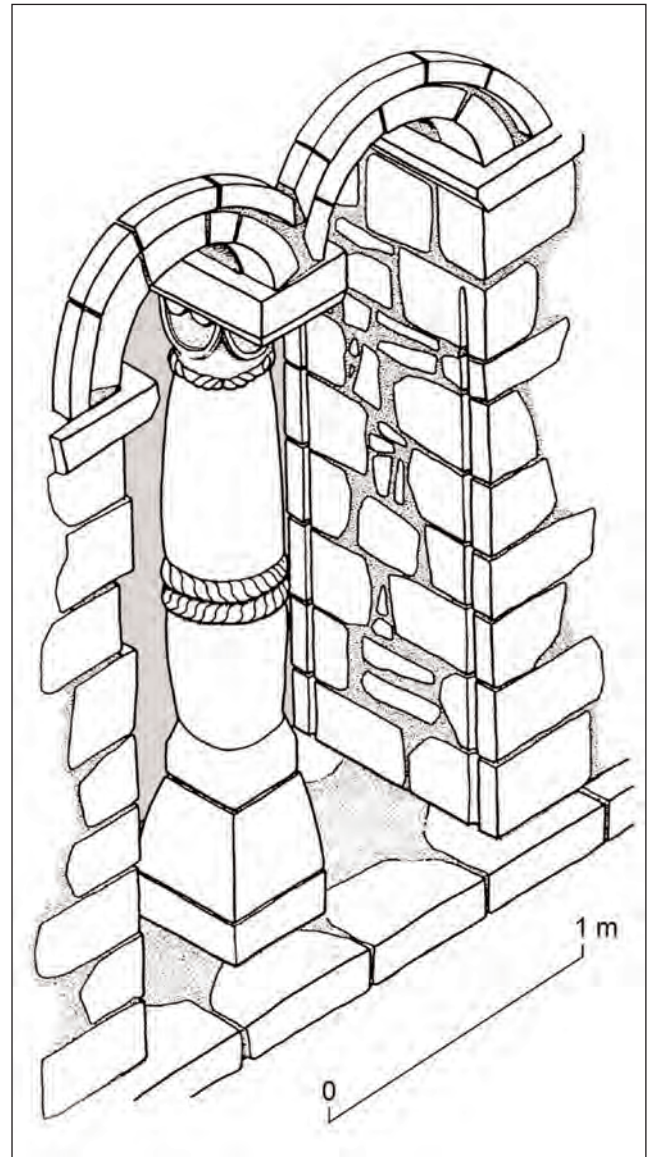
Fig. 414: Tower: Stage 3, north. Mid-wall shaft in the double belfry-opening. Isometric view from the north-east. Scale 1:25. Drawing: Stephen Coll

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 stripwork pilasters of the doorway and sited 50 cm forward of them. Only one posthole was present (F3218), the

Fig. 417: Tower: Stage 3, north. Base and sub-base of the mid-wall shaft, from the north-east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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

Fig. 418: Tower: Stage 3, west. Infilled double belfry-opening. The three darker rectangular blocks in line near the top are the imposts 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

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 metalled surface on which the masons engaged in heightening the tower had worked (F7252). Strewn over the metalling was an accumulation of mortar and masons' waste from dressing limestone (Fig. 420). This activity had slightly raised the ground level alongside the

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 metalling, 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.
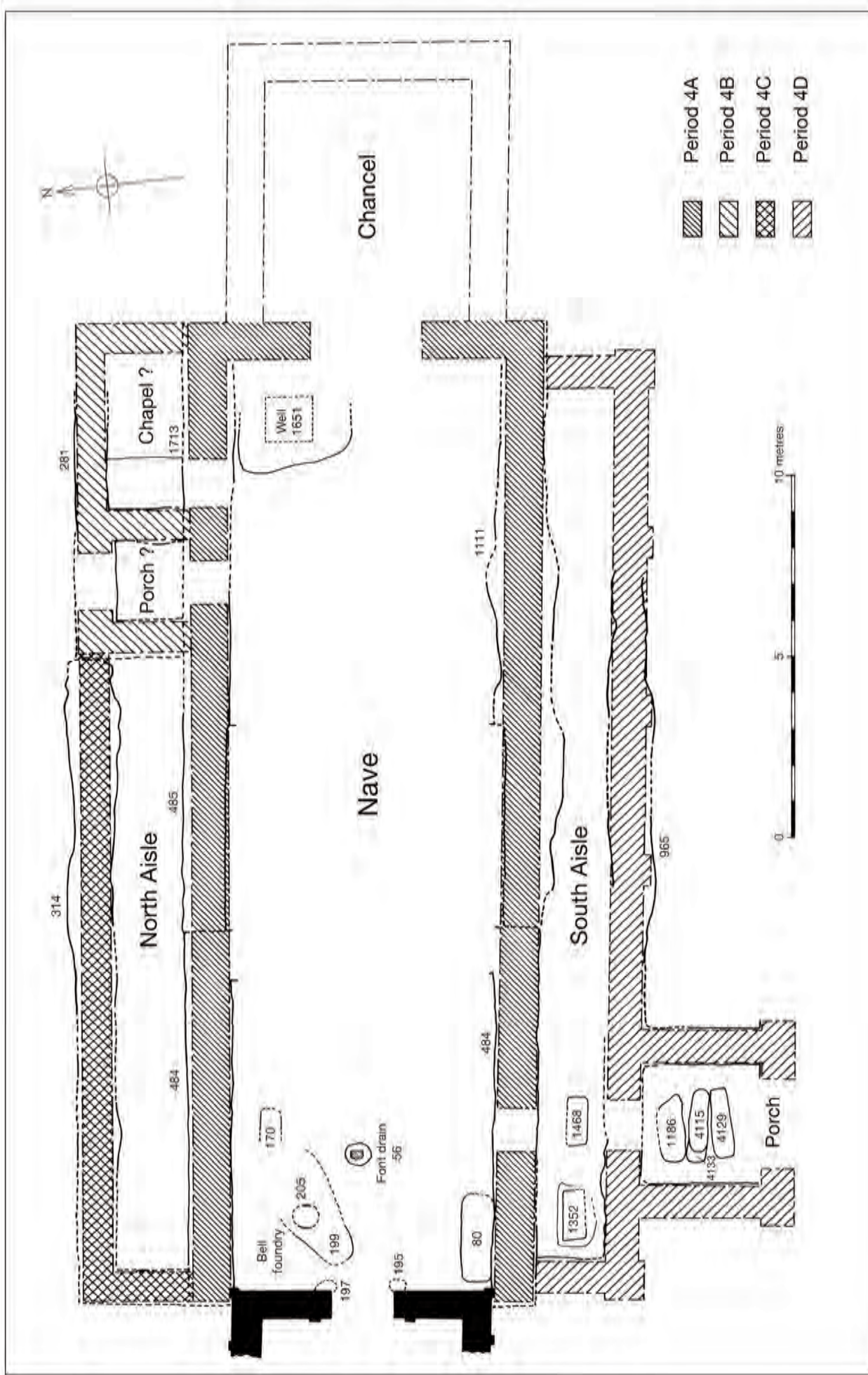
Fig. 426: Foundation plan of the Norman church, Periods 4A–D, based on excavation. Reconstructions of the demolished walls are hatched and openings are schematically shown; the plan of the chancel is entirely hypothetical. Scale 1:150. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

Fig. 427: Nave. Fragment of rim of the inner (core) mould for a bell, in pit F181. Scale of 25 cm. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Fig. 428: Nave. Font drain pit (F56). View west. 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. 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
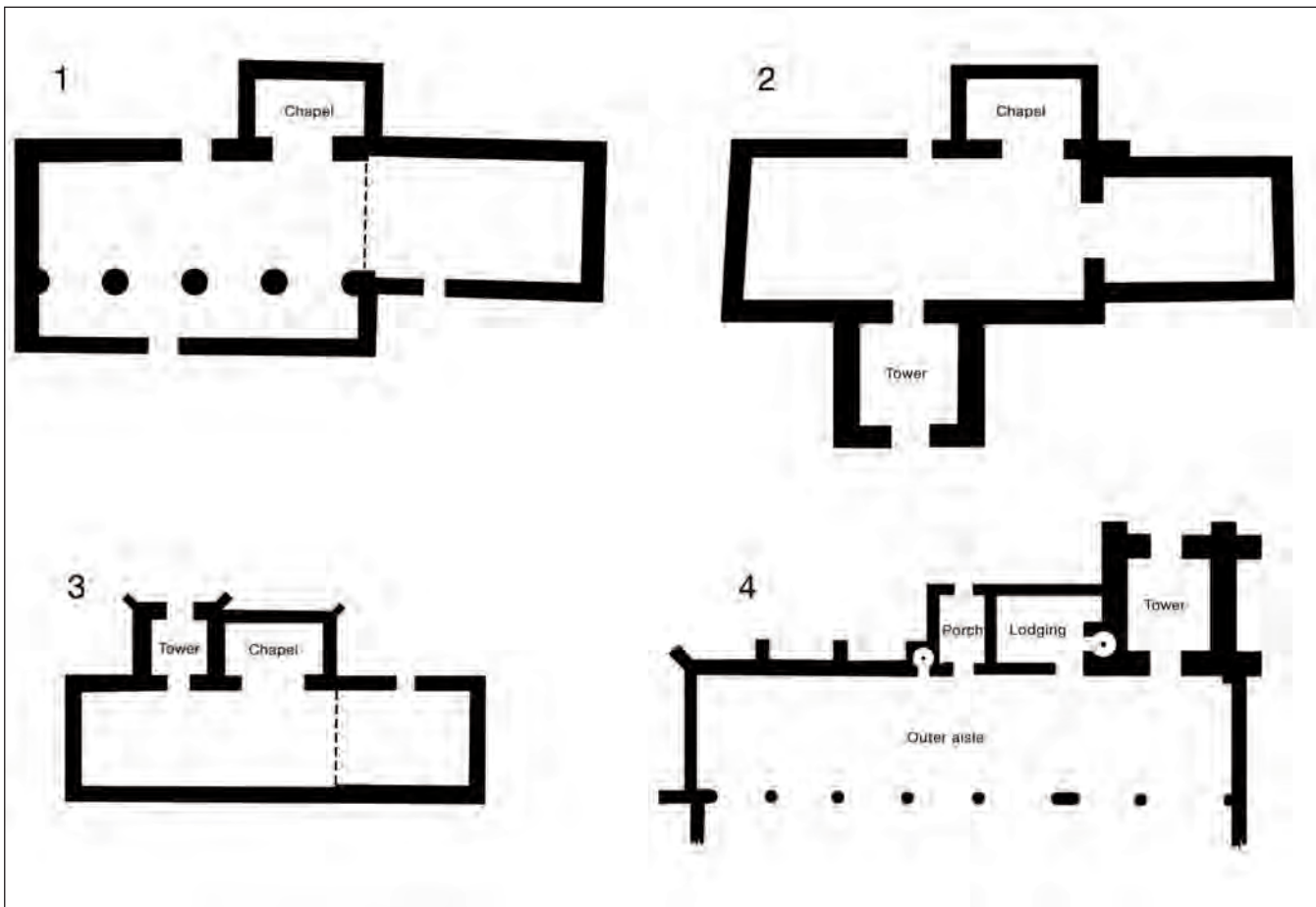
Fig. 430: Simplified, diagrammatic plans of four churches with small chambers annexed to the north side of the nave. 1, St Mary, Stapleford; 2, St Leonard, Bulford; 3, St Peter, Charlton; 4, St Helen, Abingdon. Not to scale. Compiled from various sources

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 clasping 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 doorframes 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 chancel 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 portalframe 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 portalframes 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
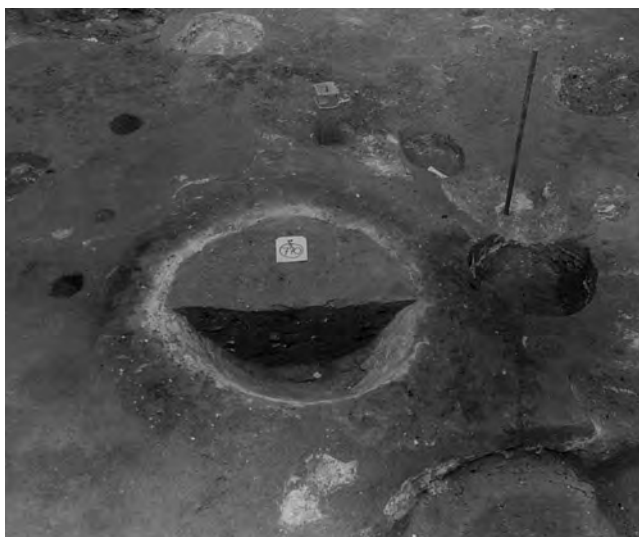
Fig. 436: Western annexe. Features cut into the earth floor, including a circular hearth (F770) lined with lead residue. View west. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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
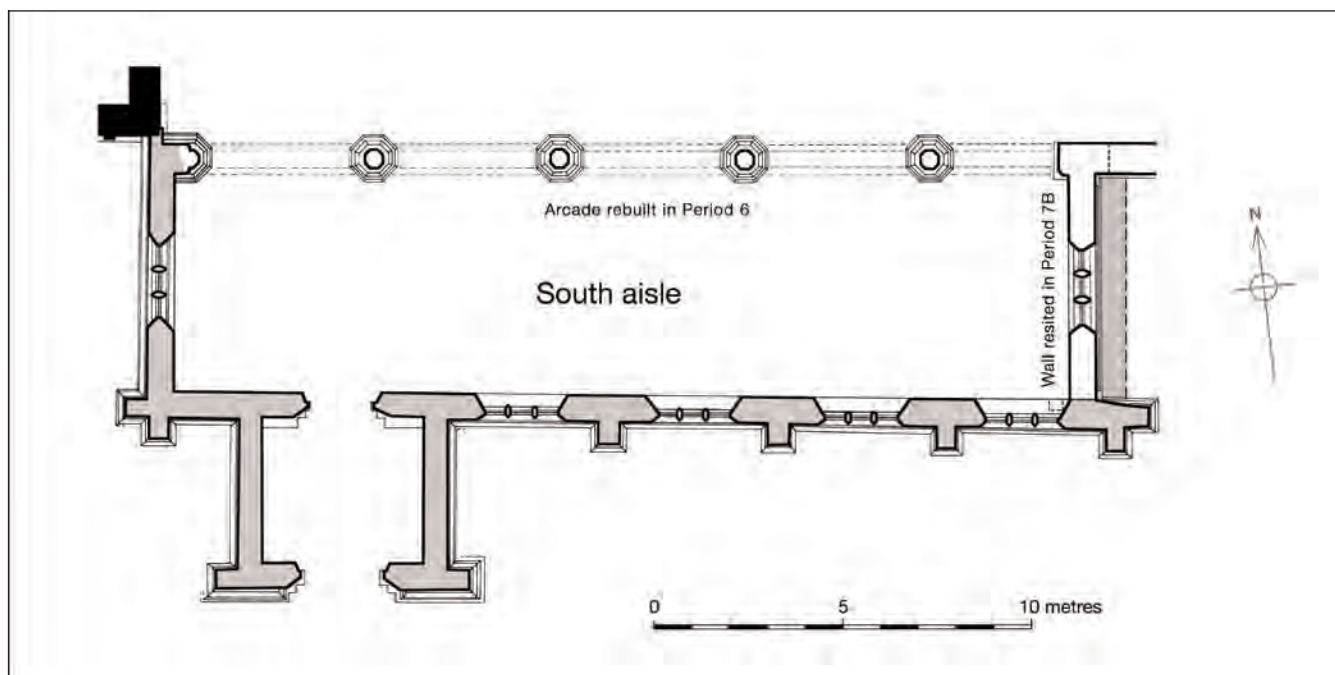
Fig. 437: Plan of the late thirteenth-century south aisle and porch. Scale 1:200. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

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 coffin[30] 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
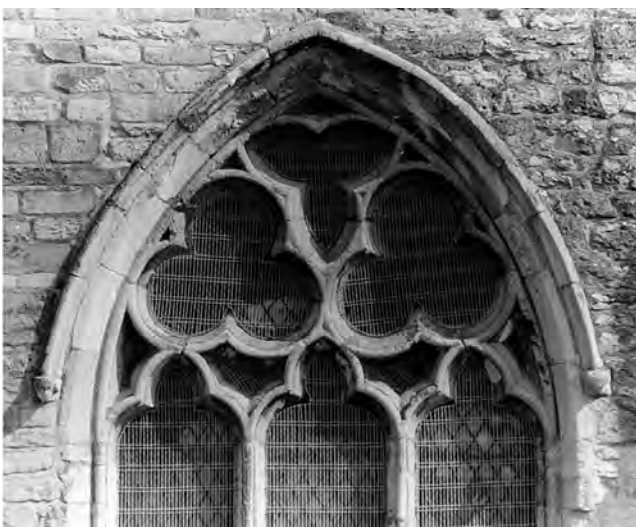
Fig. 440: South aisle, Period 5: west wall. Thirteenth-century chalk rubble foundation, encasing and extending the foundation of the Norman narrow aisle. Note the slightly undulating profile of the plinth, resulting from subsidence. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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,
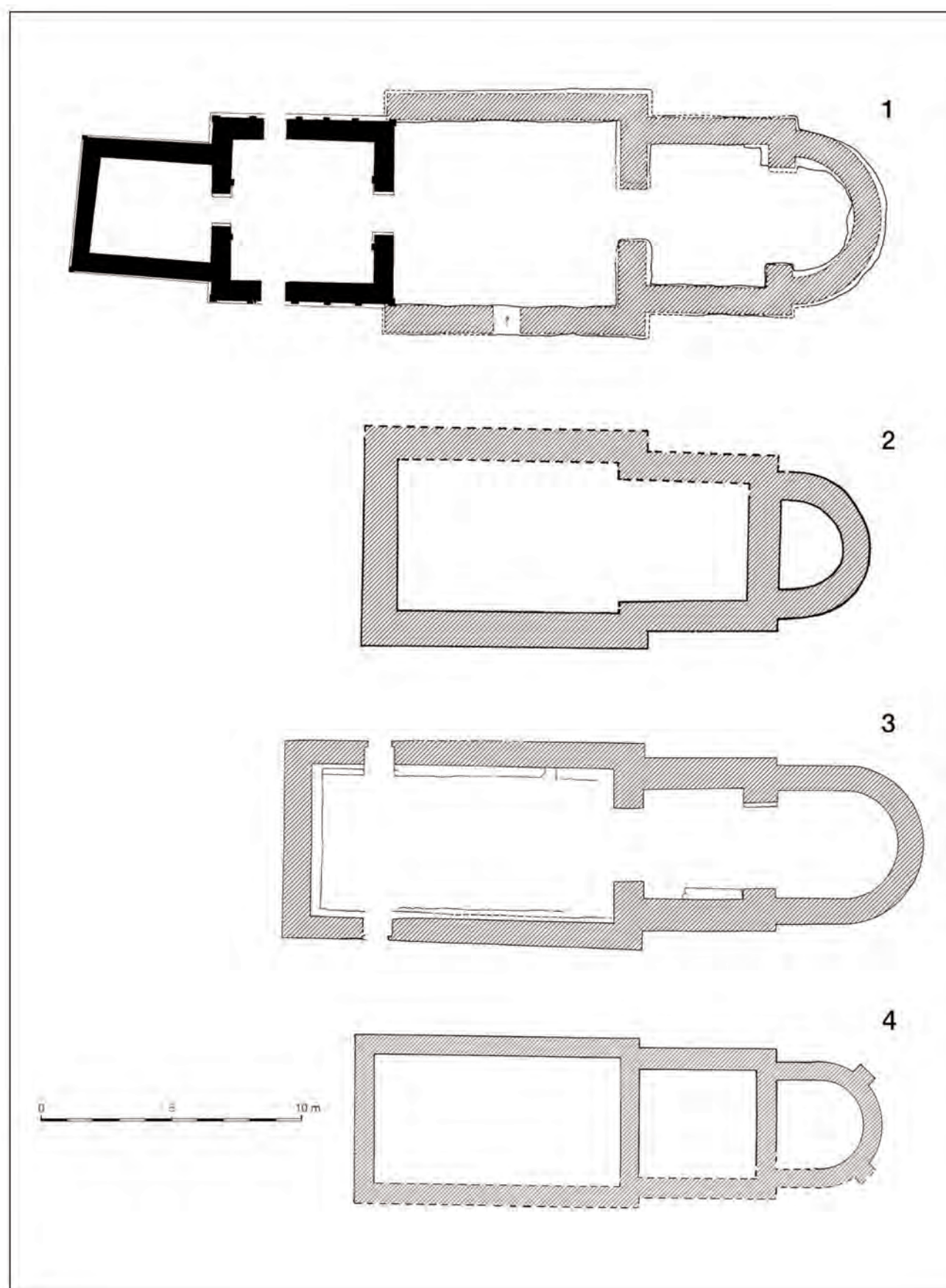
Fig. 447: Comparative plans of Saxo-Norman churches. 1, St Peter, Barton; 2, St Chad, Barrow; 3, Castle Rising (Norf.); 4, All Saints, Fishergate, York. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell, adapting Boden and Whitwell 1979 (no. 2), and Morley and Gurney 1997 (no. 3). No. 4 is reconstructed from a foundation plan 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 turriform 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
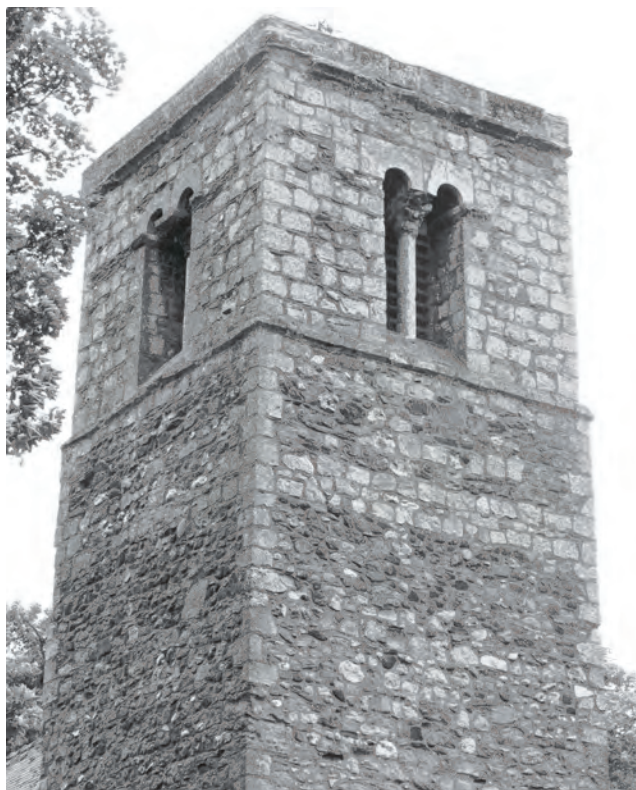
Fig. 448: St Giles, Scartho (Lincs.). Tower of rubble construction with the belfry faced in Magnesian Limestone. North-west view. Photo: Warwick Rodwell
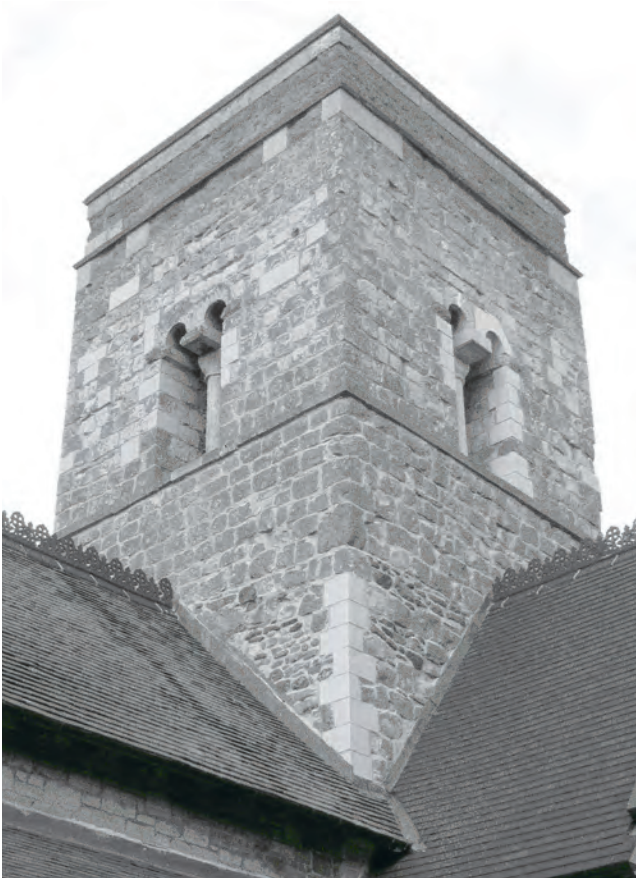
Fig. 449: St Martin, Waithe (Lincs.). Upper part of the crossing tower faced with Magnesian Limestone. South-west view. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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 outmoded 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 ashlars 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.

Lead roof

Vestry

Foundation stone

Organ chamber

Lead roof of aisle

48 49
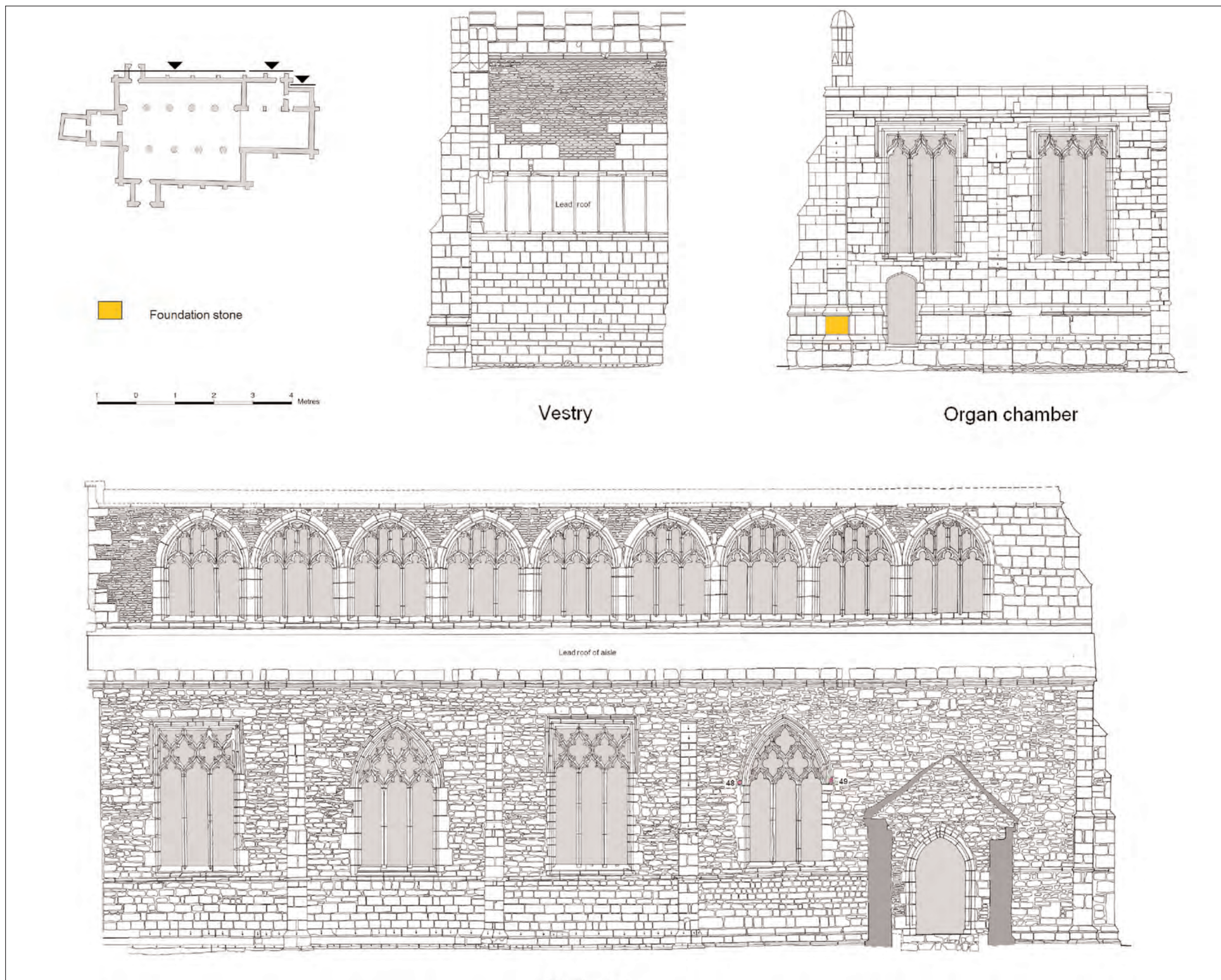
Fig. 451: North aisle (omitting the porch), clerestory, organ chamber and vestry. External elevations (north), 1984. For the tower and annexe, see Figs. 259 and 324. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Legend:
- Earliest chancel masonry
- Medieval sculptures and grave-slabs

Chancel

Lead roof of aisle

grave-slab
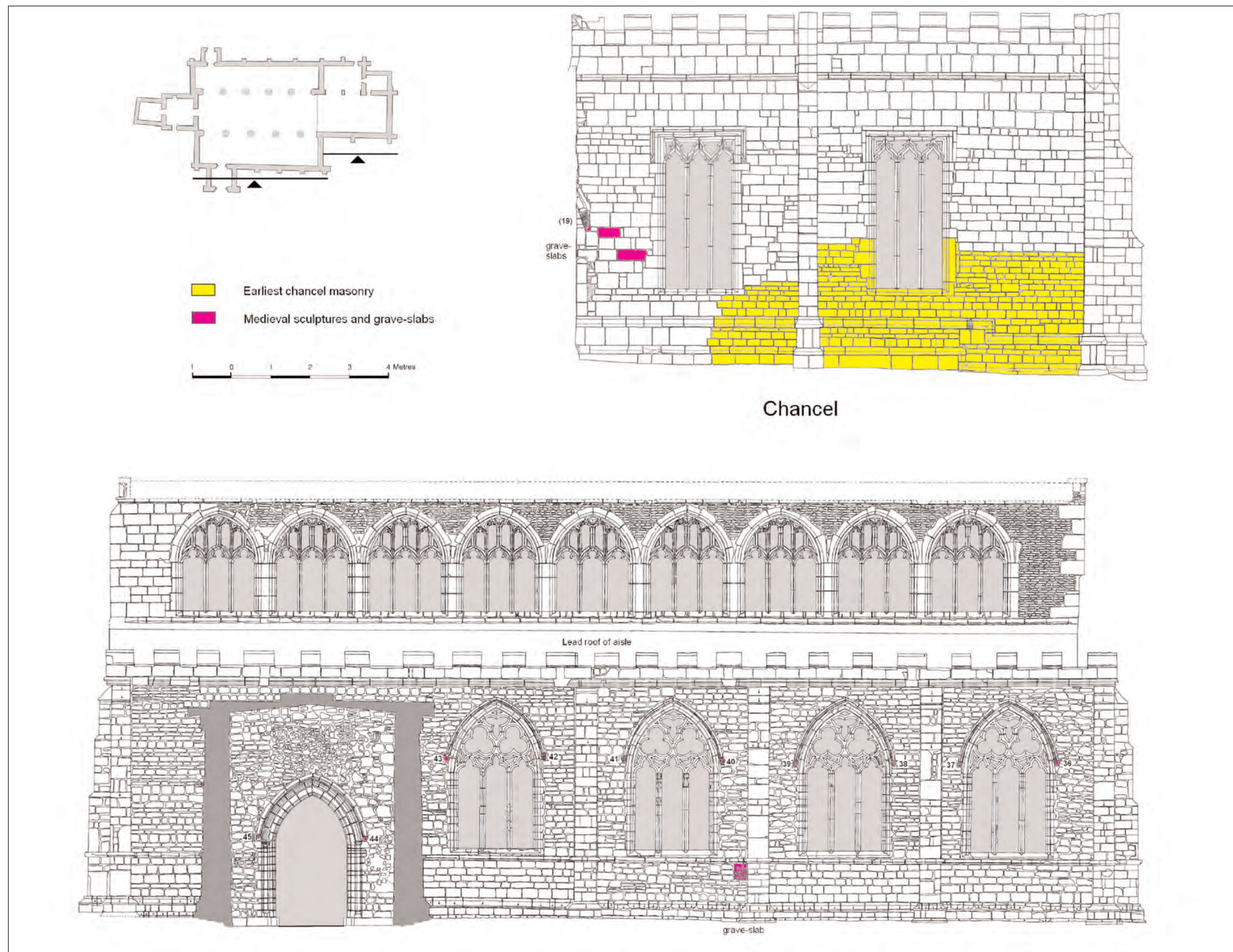
Fig. 452: South aisle (omitting the porch), clerestory and chancel. External elevations (south), 1984. For the tower and annexe, see Figs. 259 and 324. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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 partway 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 ashlars. 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
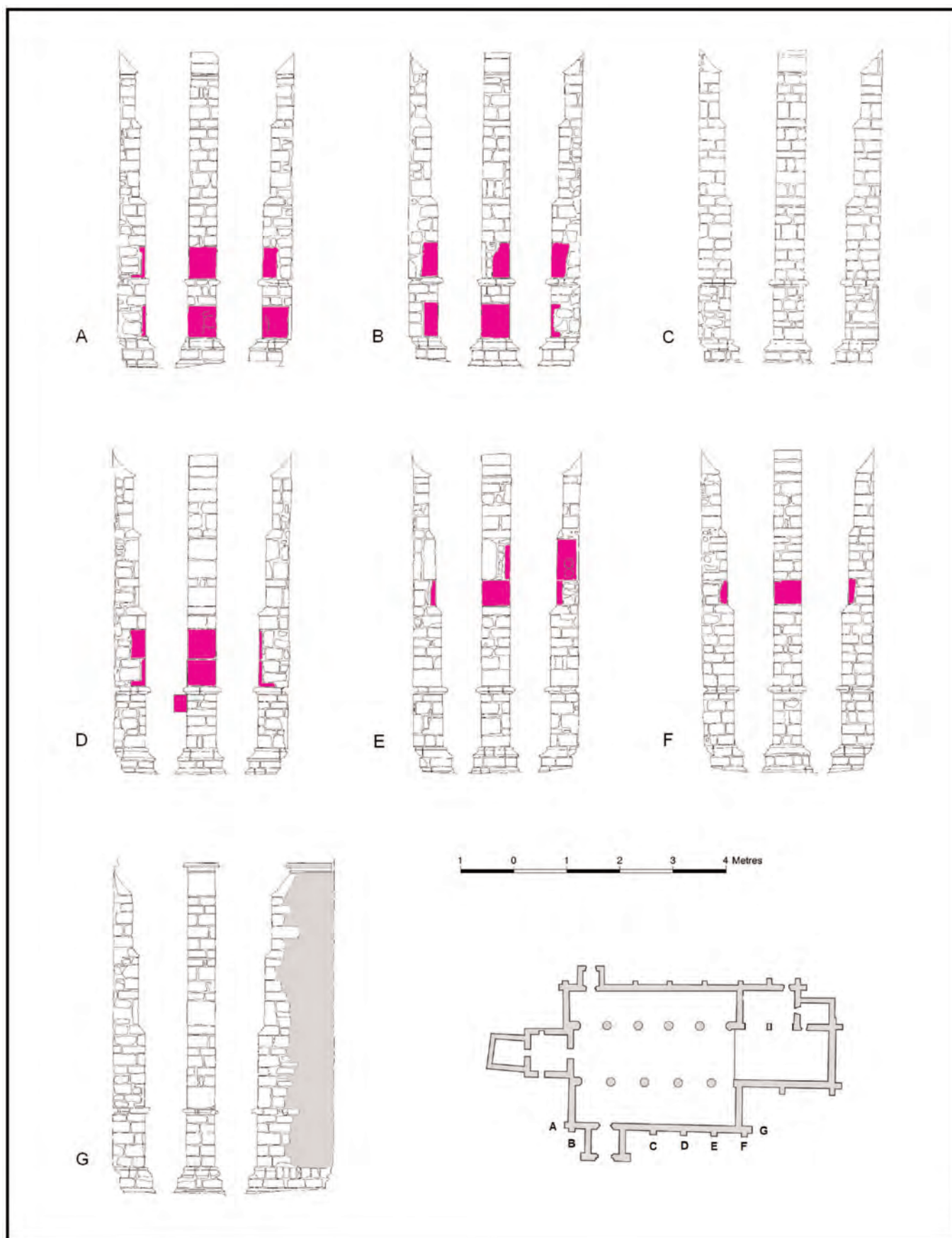
Fig. 453: South aisle. Elevations of the buttresses, 1984. Reused fragments of medieval coffins and grave-covers are indicated in pink tone. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Caroline Atkins
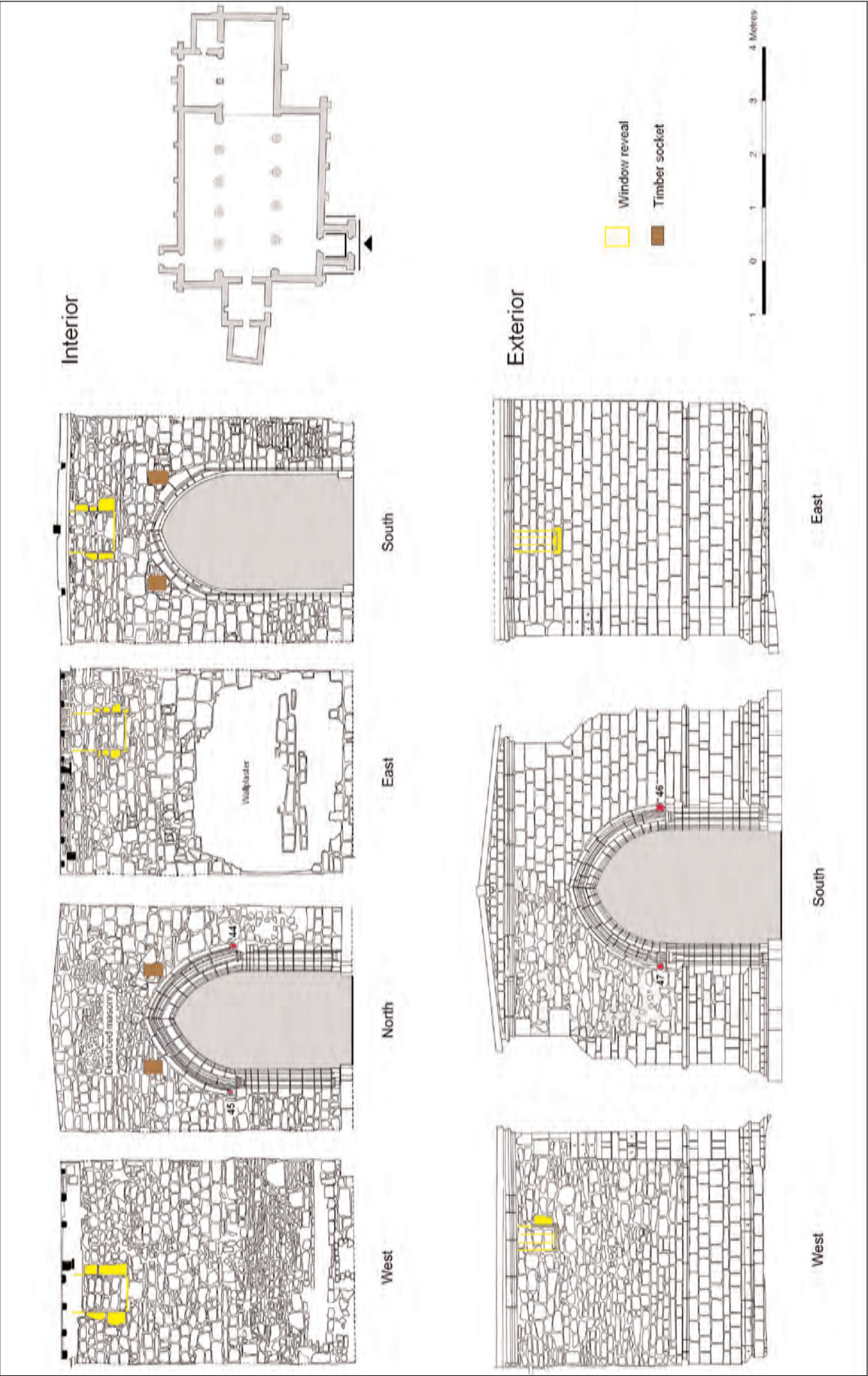
Fig. 454: South porch. External and internal elevations, 1984. The reveals of the east, west and south windows that lit the former upper storey are partially preserved internally. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield
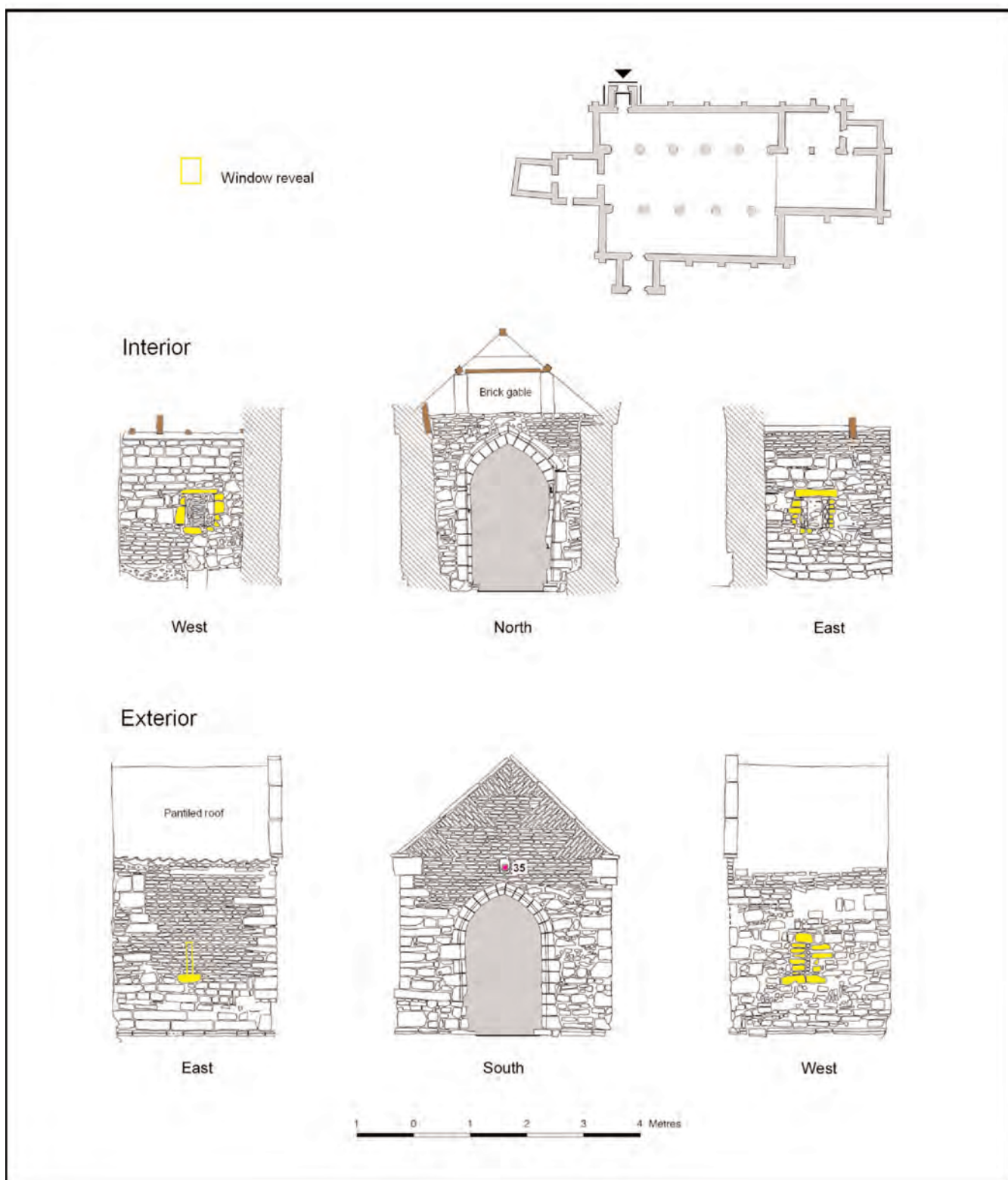
Fig. 455: North porch. External and internal elevations, 1984. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Site of
clock dial

Cement rendered gable

Parallel roof

0 1 2 3 4 Metres
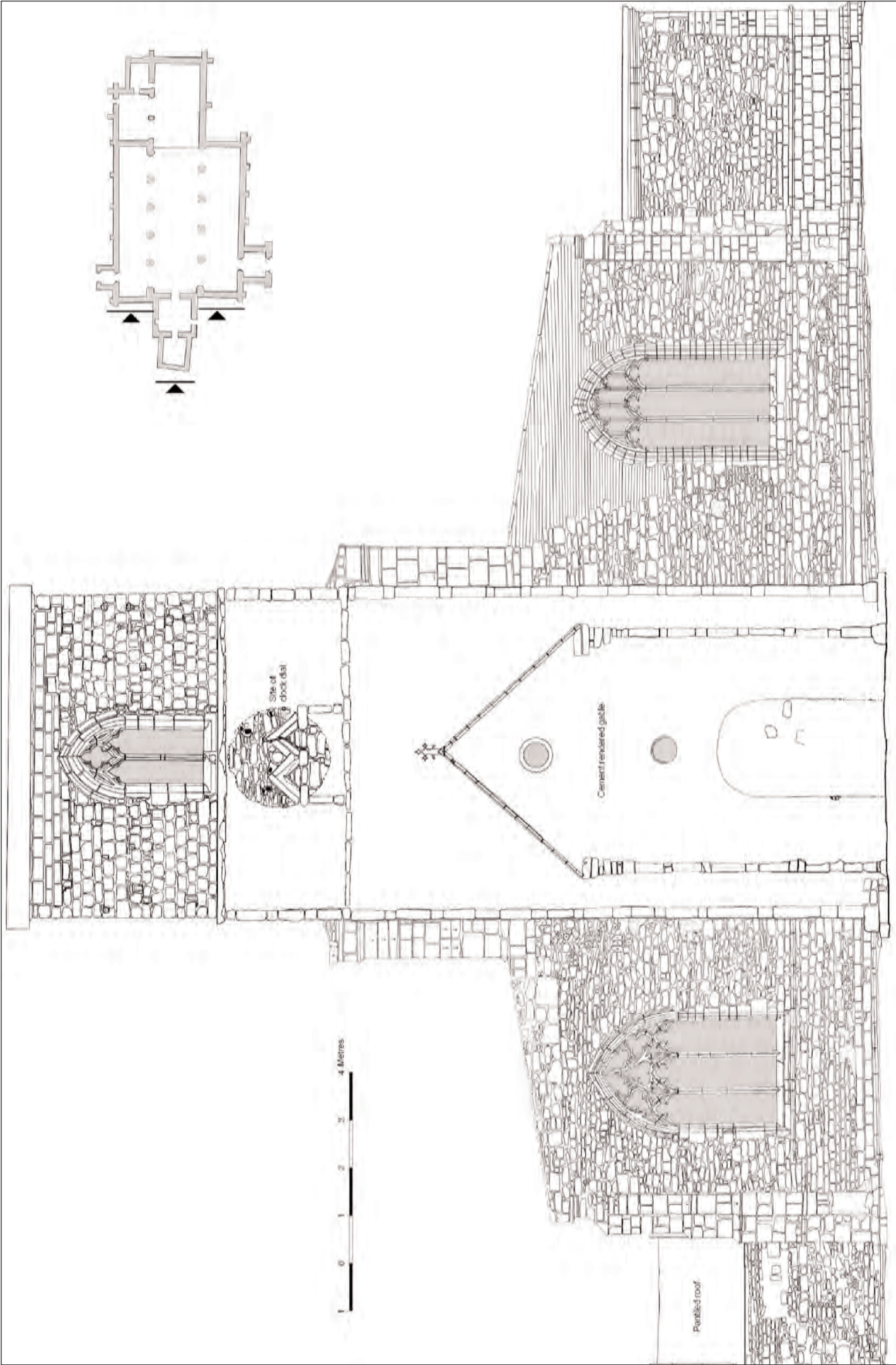
Fig. 456: Tower, western annexe, aisles and porches. External elevations (west), 1984. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield
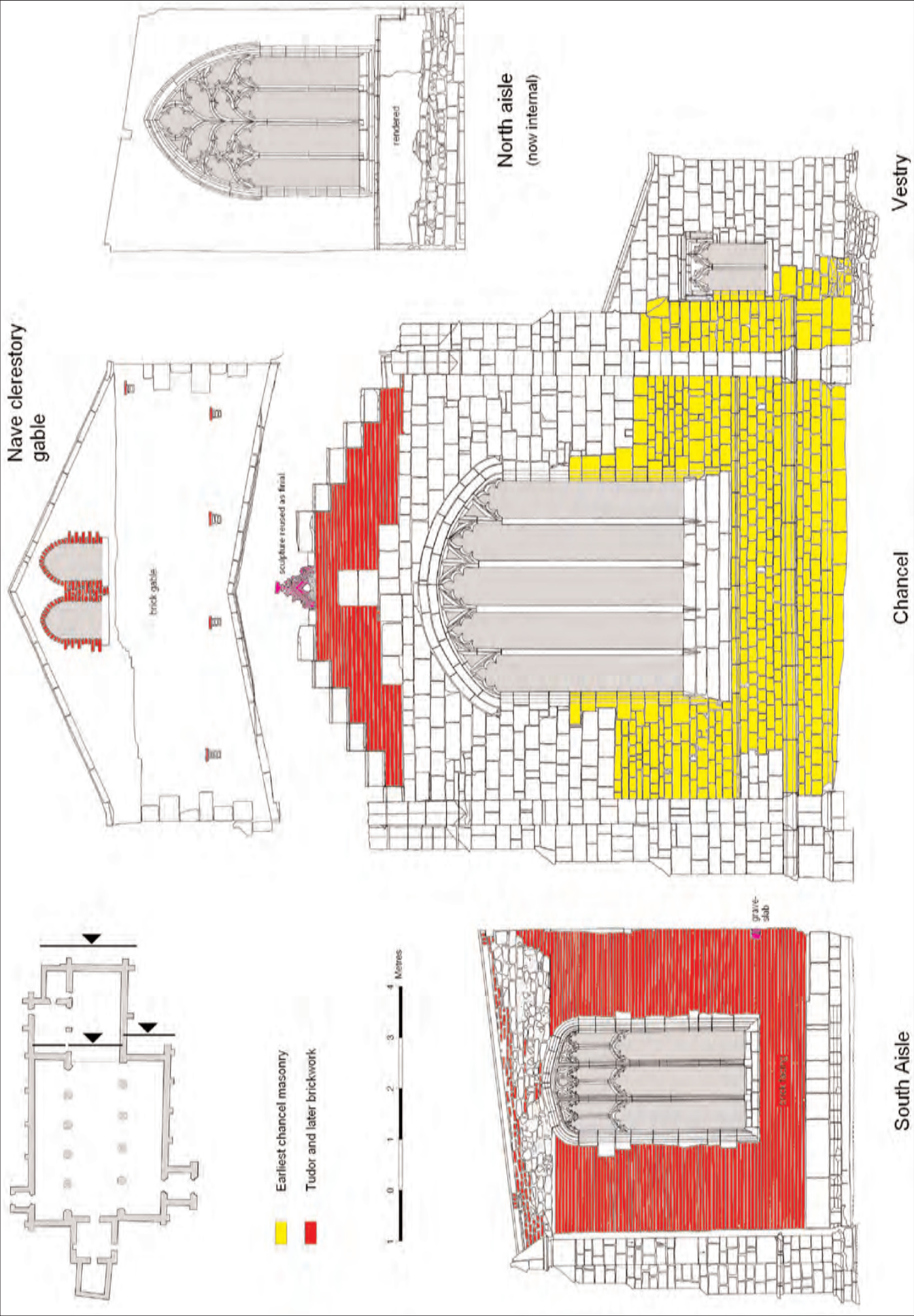
Fig. 457: Chancel, nave clerestory, south aisle, north aisle and vestry. External elevations (east), 1984. Note: the east elevation of the north aisle is now internal to the organ chamber. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Legend:
- Reused from Period 4C
- Period 6 corbel
- Inserted pier, Period 7A

South

West

East

North

Piscina

site of arcade bench

bracket

aumbry

scar of wall bench

1 0 1 2 3 4 Metres
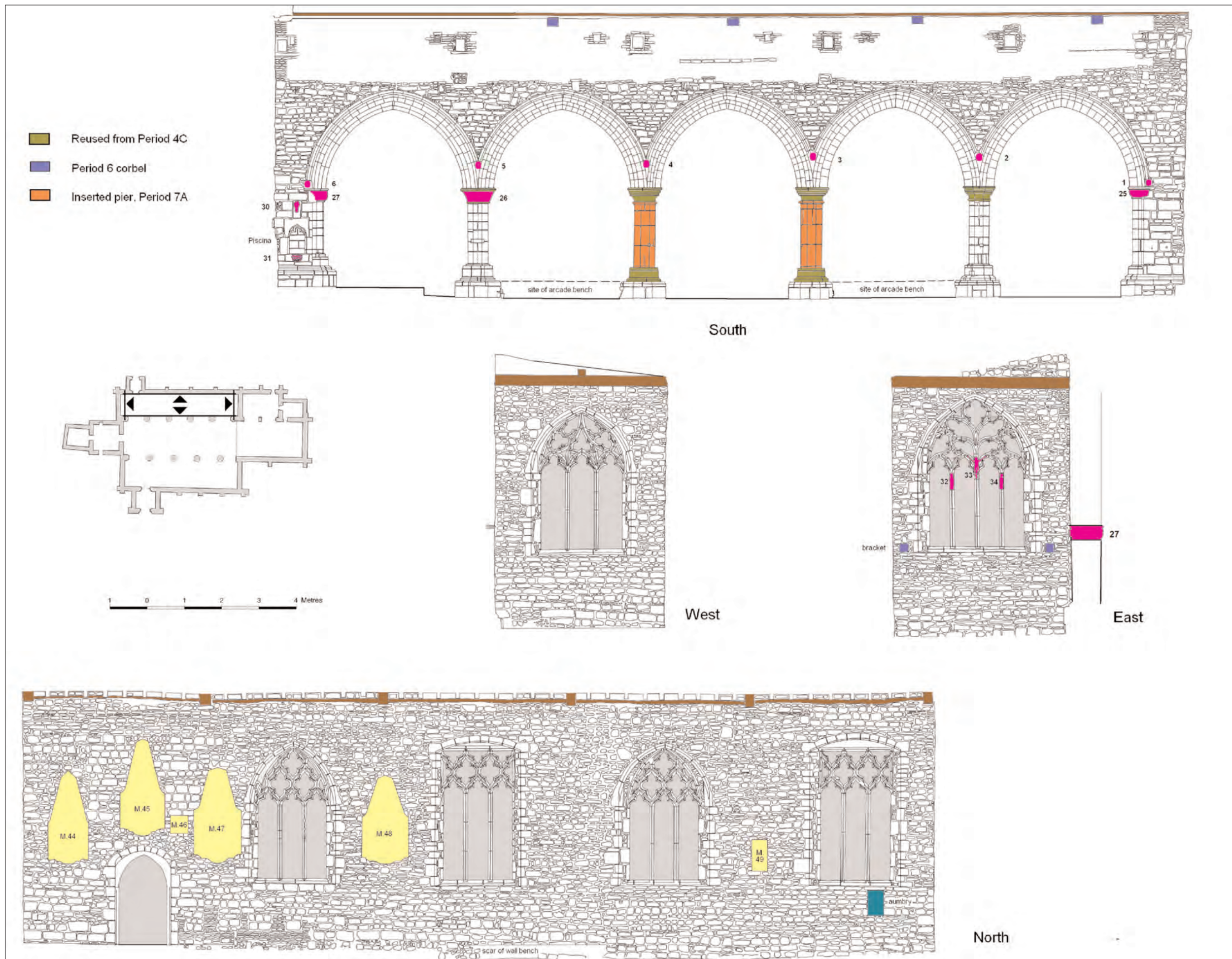
Fig. 458: North aisle and arcade. Internal elevations, 1984. The positions of wall-mounted memorials are also shown (M.44–M.49). Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Legend:
- Period 6 corbel
- Inserted respond, Period 7A
- Chalk blocking of entrance(?) to porch chamber

North

1 0 1 2 3 4 Metres

East

West
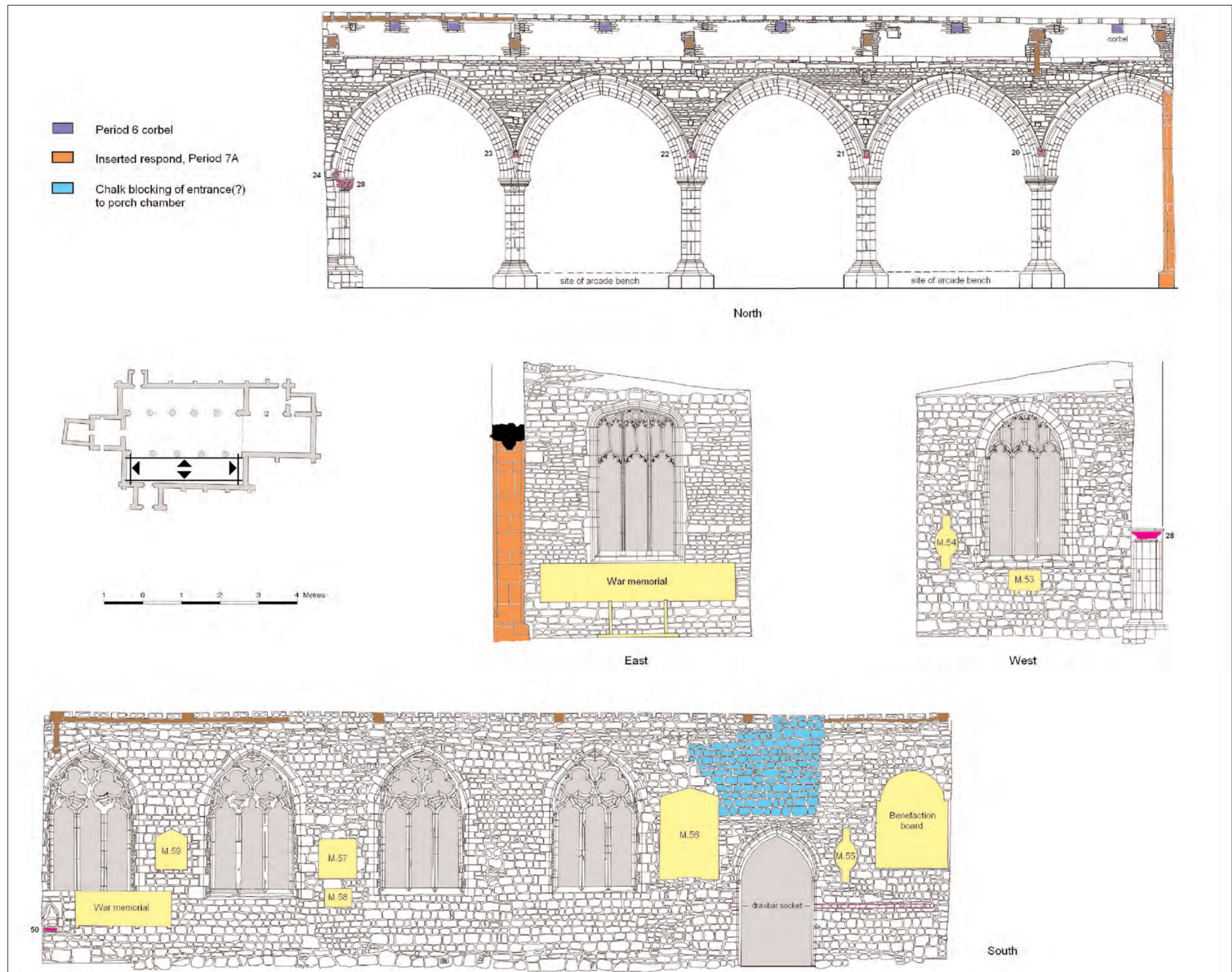
South

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*
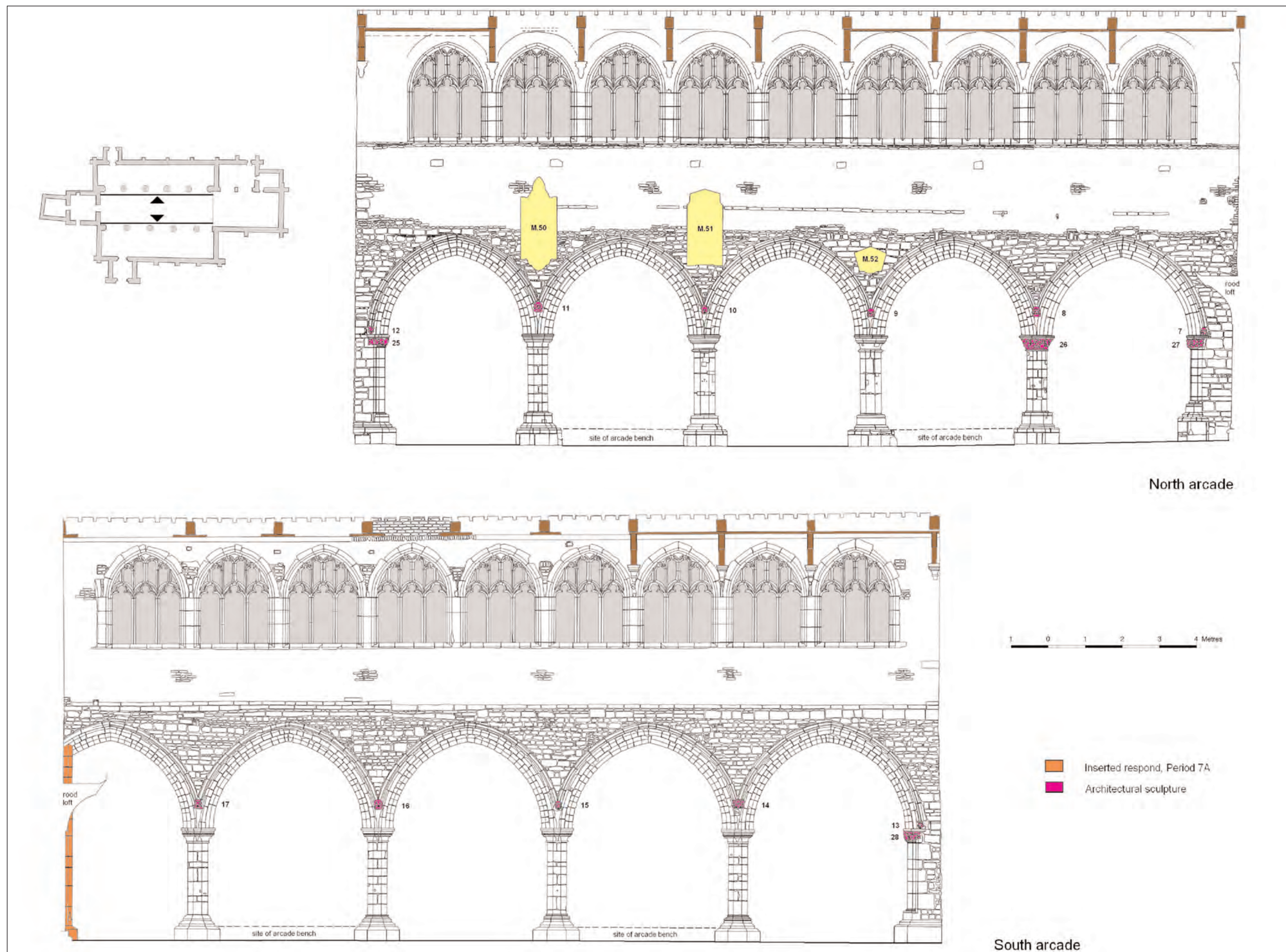
Fig. 460: Nave arcades and clerestories. Internal elevations, 1984. The positions of wall-mounted memorials are also shown (M.50–M.52). Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

Legend:

- Arcade respond, Period 6
- Chancel arch, Period 7A
- Reconstructed window head, Period 7B (stone and brick)
- Organ chamber, Period 9B

North

rood loft

M.61

M.62

M.60(A) Decalogue

Wall-tiles

East

M.63

Reredos

Wall-tiles

tiled dais

Chancel

South

M.60(B) Decalogue

M.64

M.66

M.65

M.67

rood loft

29

Wall-tiles

West

Period 8B ceiling joist pockets

rood loft over screen

Chancel screen

Vestry

wallplaster

wallplaster

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

0 1 2 3 4 Metres

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
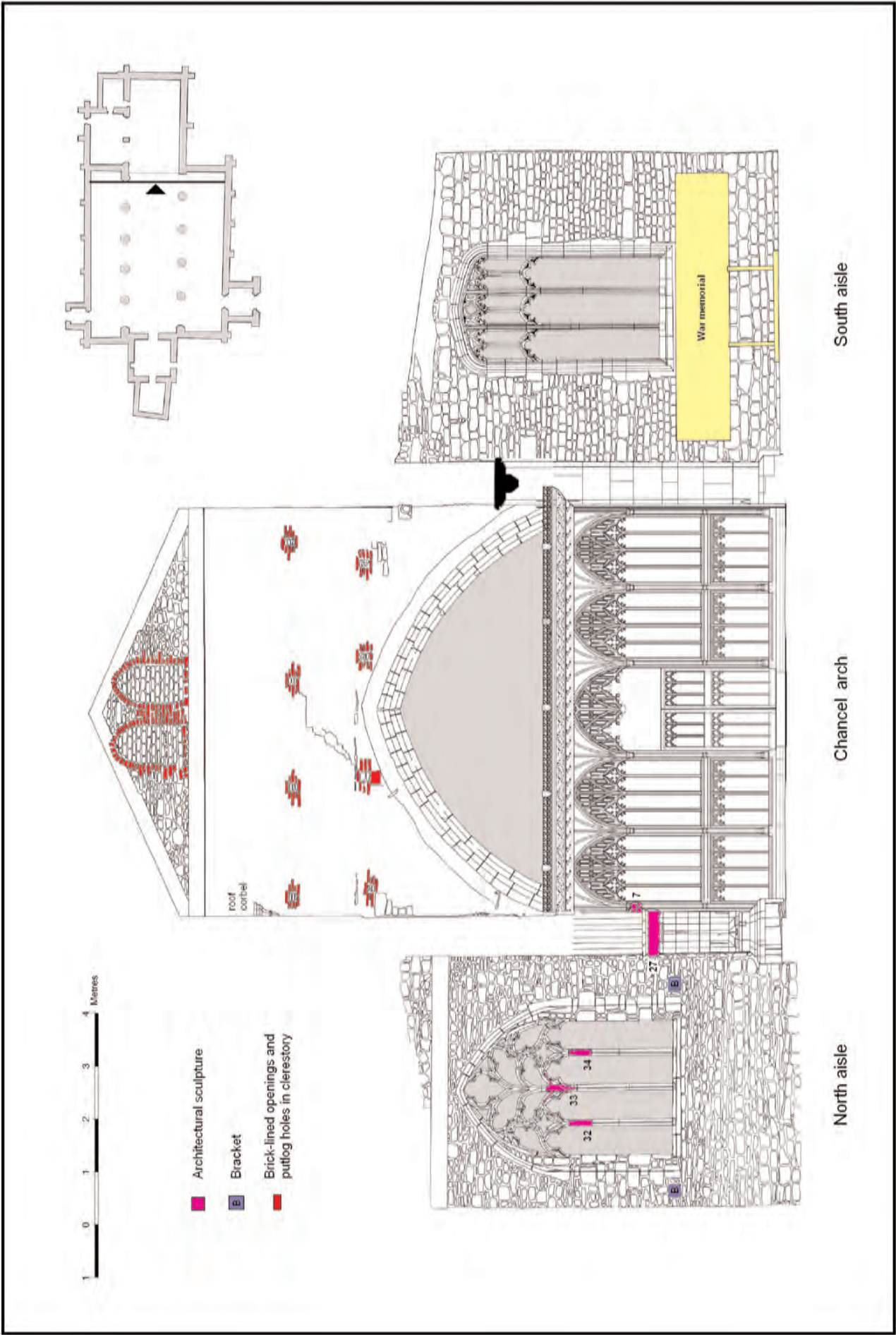
Fig. 463: Nave and aisles. Internal sectional elevation, looking east, 1984. Scale 1:100. Drawing: Simon Hayfield
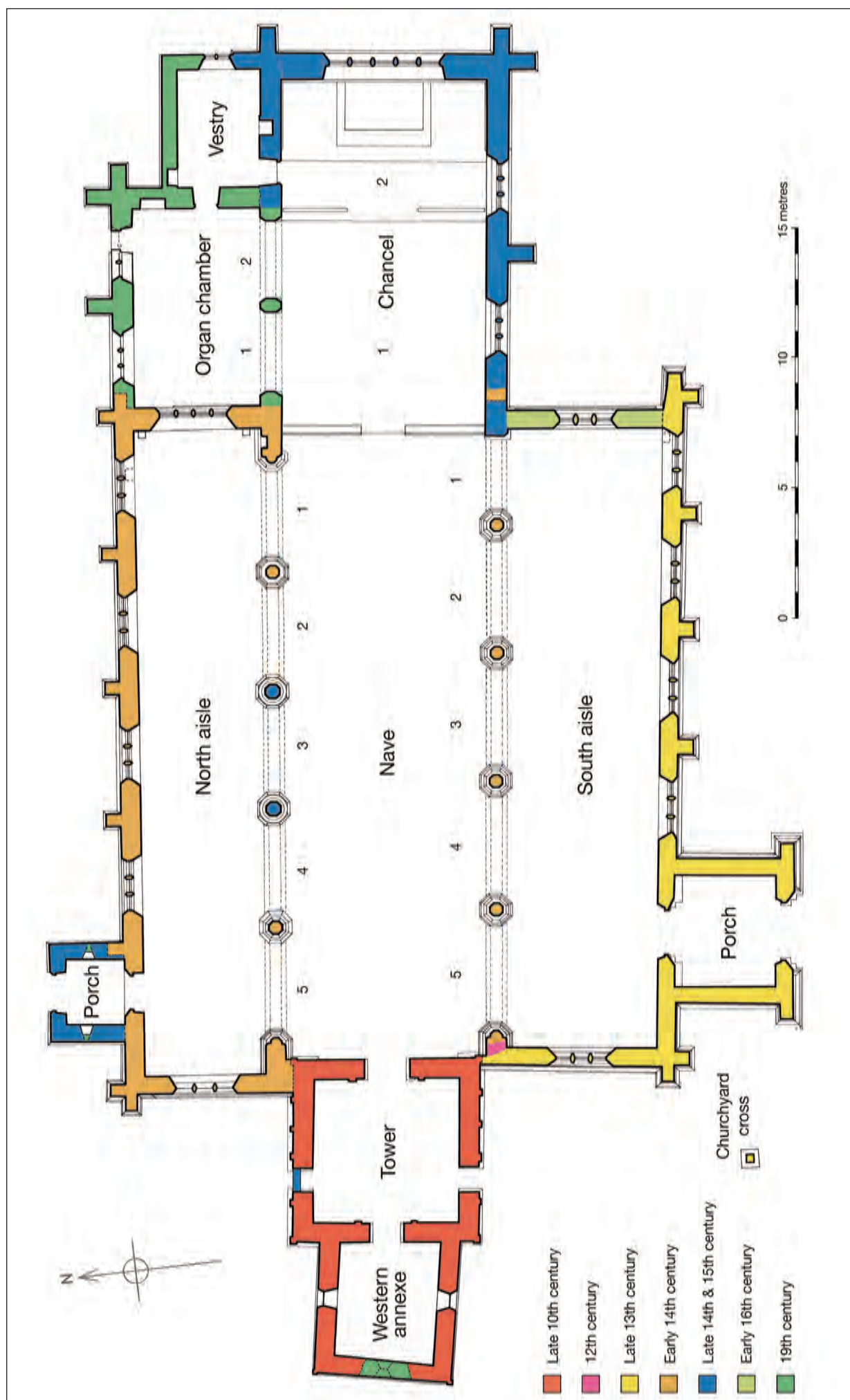
Fig. 464: Phased plan of the upstanding walls of St Peter's church, with the bay numbering indicated. Scale 1:200. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell and Simon Hayfield

Vestry

Organ chamber

Chancel

North aisle

Nave

South aisle

Porch

Porch

Tower

Western annexe

Churchyard cross

Late 10th century

12th century

Late 13th century

Early 14th century

Late 14th & 15th century

Early 16th century

19th century

15 metres

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
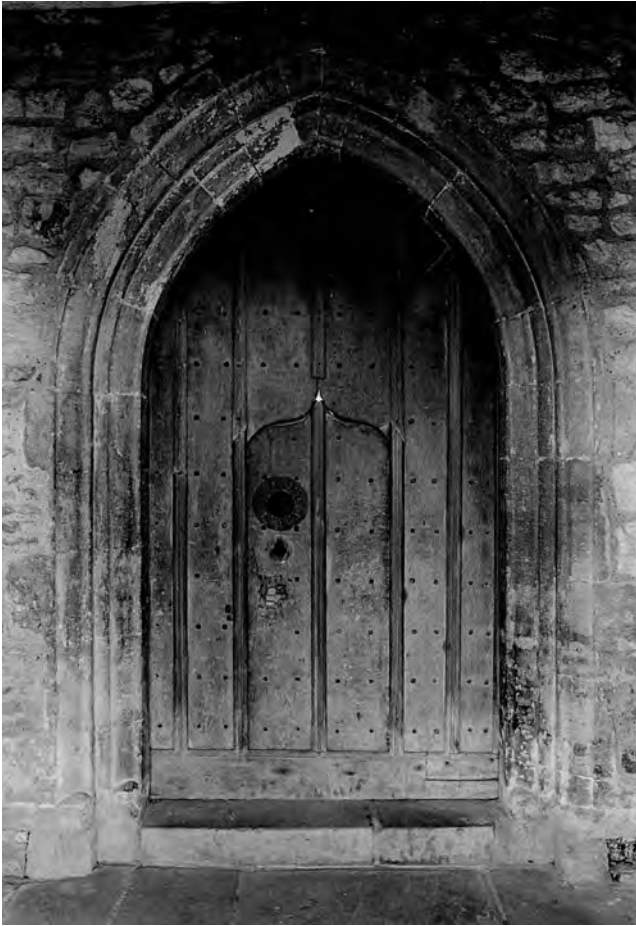
Fig. 466: North doorway: exterior. Photo: Warwick Rodwell
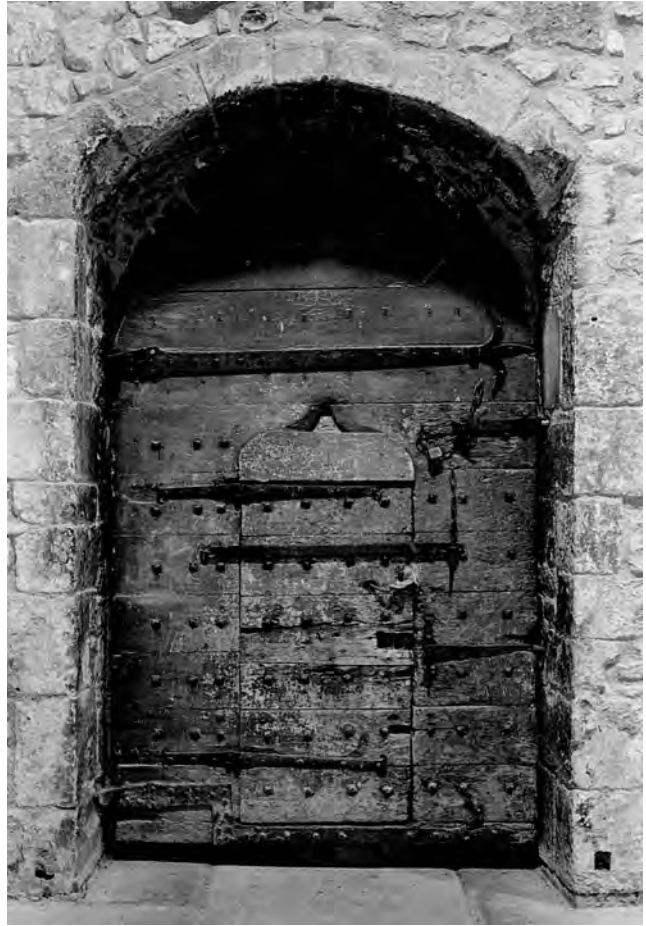
Fig. 467: North doorway: interior. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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-
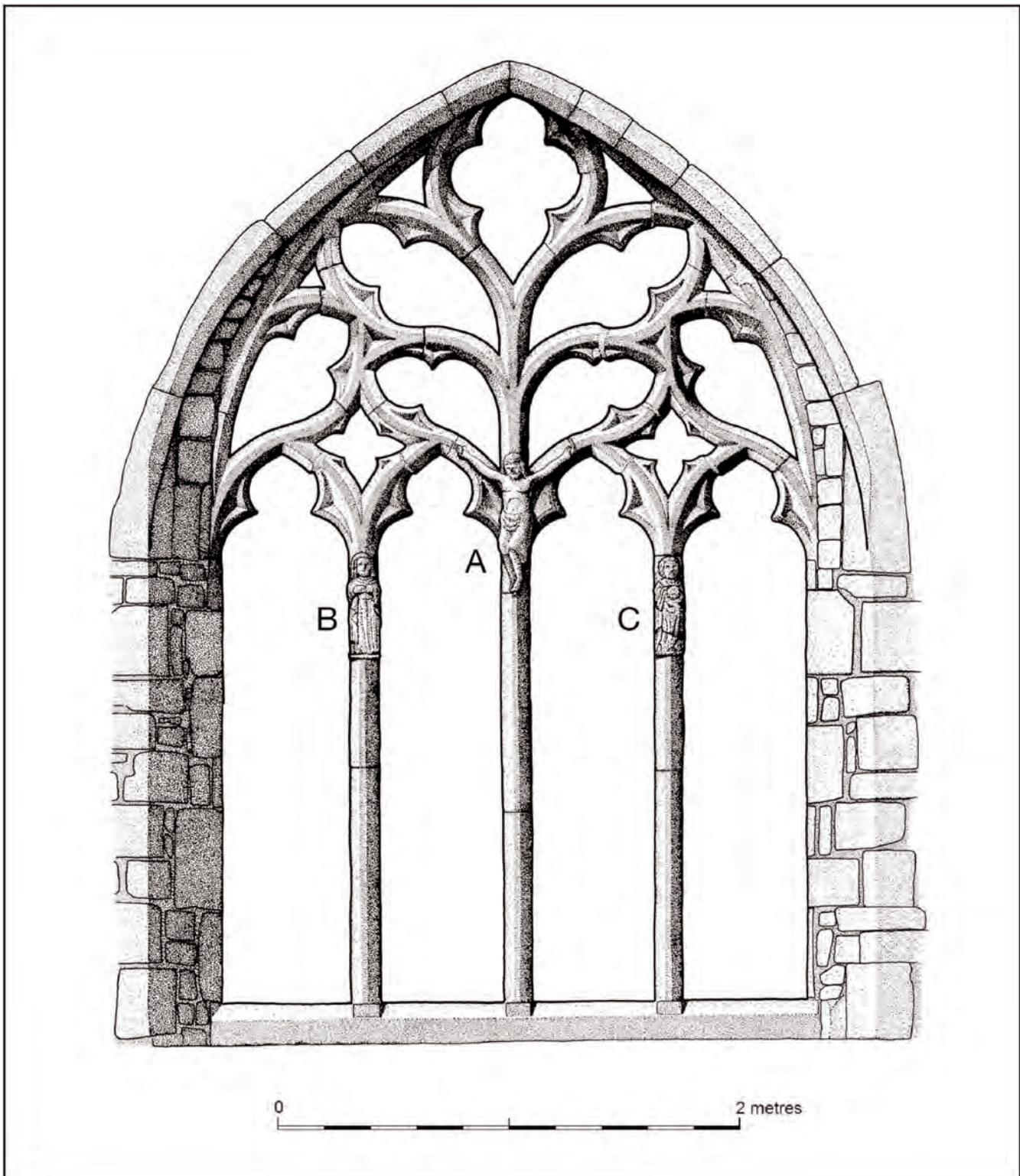
Fig. 470: North aisle: east window. Internal elevation of the masonry. A, Christ (replacement figure); B, St Mary the Virgin; C, St John. Scale 1:25. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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. 473: North aisle: east window. Limestone figure of St Mary the Virgin on the northern mullion (sculpture no. 32). Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Fig. 474: North aisle: east window. Limestone figure of St John on the southern mullion (sculpture no. 34). 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
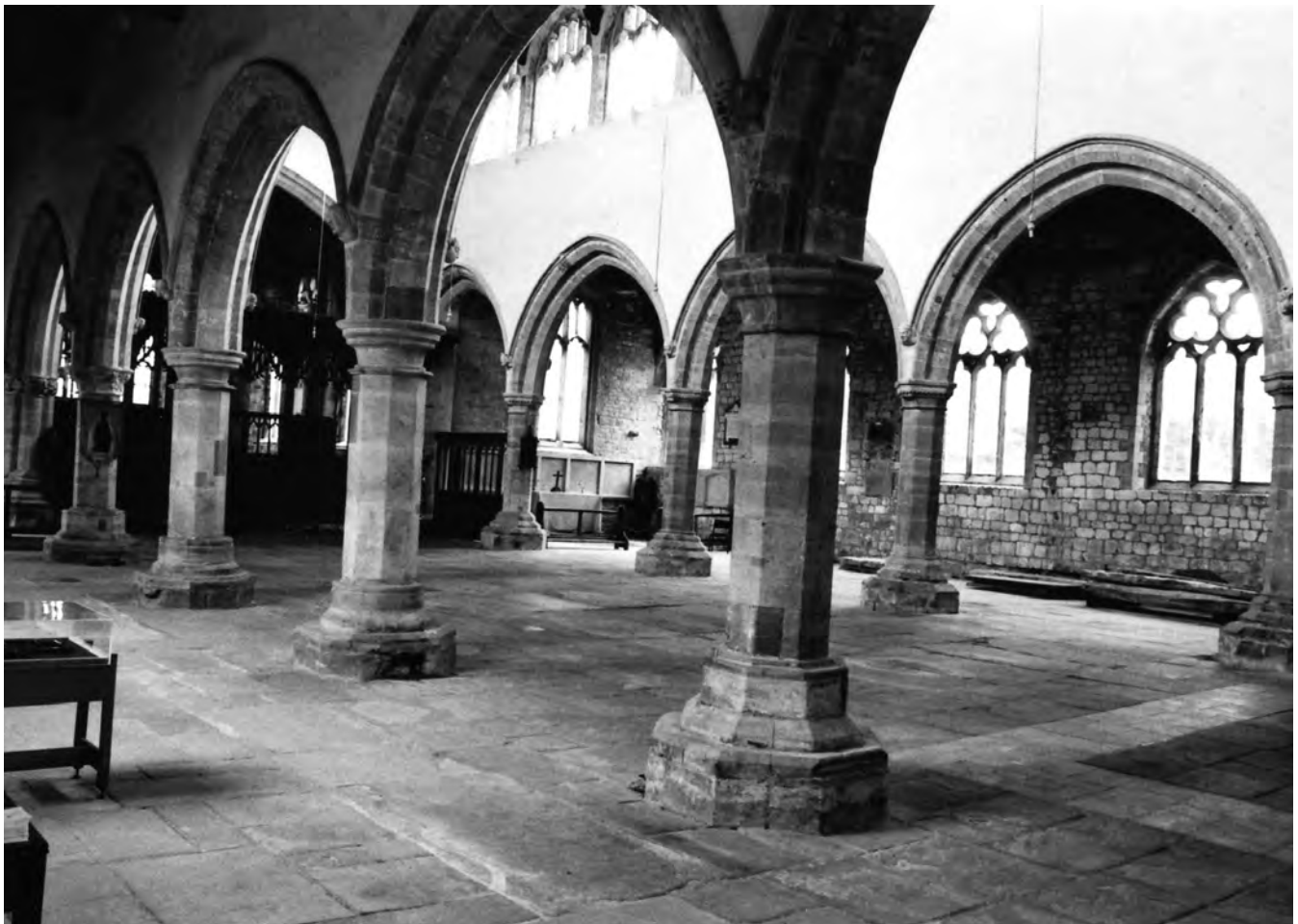
Fig. 481: Nave arcades. View looking south-east, from the west end of the north aisle, 2005. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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 knobbly 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 ogivally 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.

West respond

Bay 4/5   Bay 3/4   Bay 2/3   Bay 1/2   East respond

West respond   Bay 4/5   Bay 3/4   Bay 2/3   Bay 1/2   East respond

0   30 cm
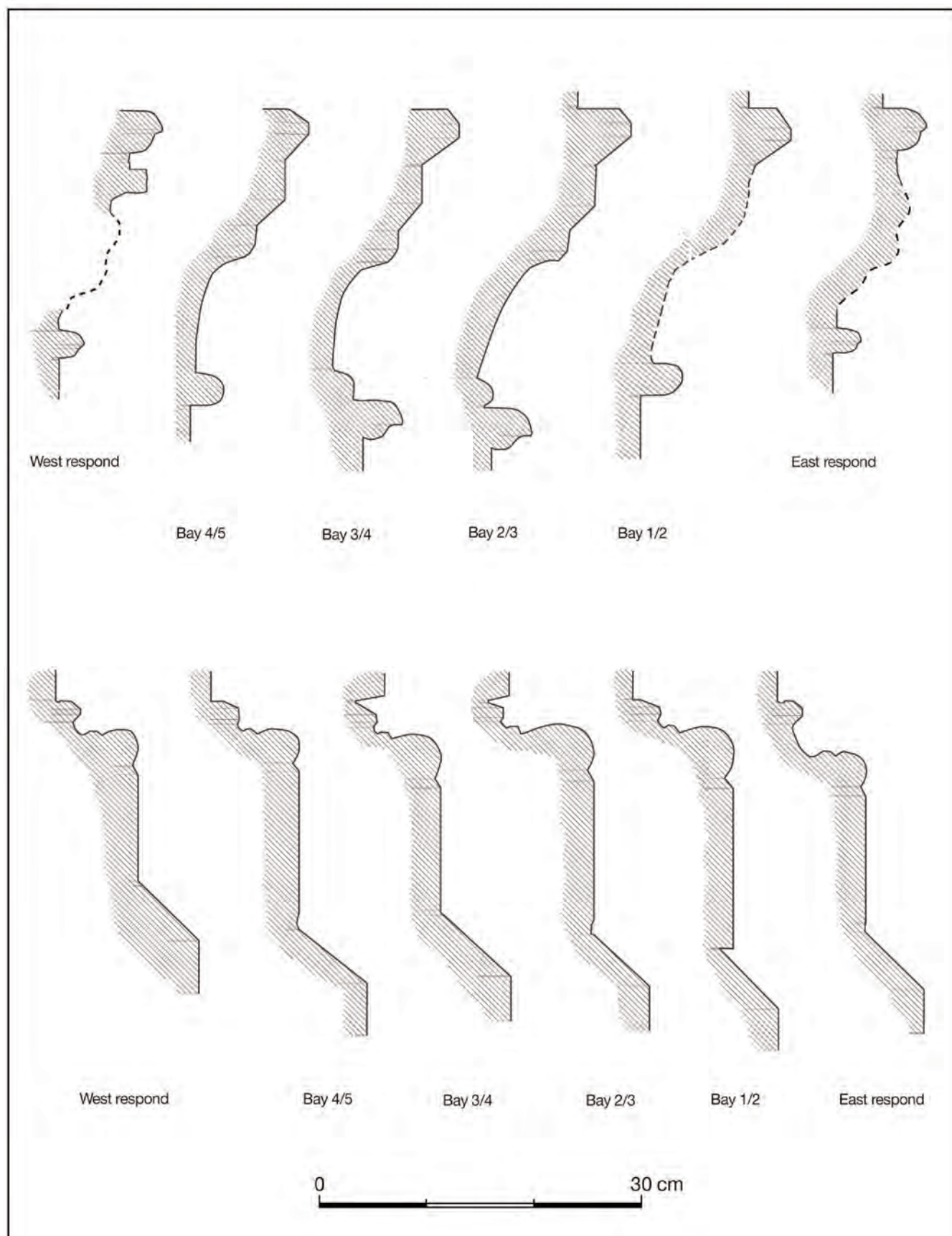
Fig. 486: North arcade, moulding profiles of abaci, capitals and bases. Scale 1:5. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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 quatre-foiled 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

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

Fig. 491: North arcade. East respond, showing also the piscina and stone bracket on the east wall of the aisle. 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).

Pier, bay 3|4 (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 4|5 (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 knobbly 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 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. 494: South arcade. Pier 3/4 from the south-west, 2005. Photo: Warwick Rodwell
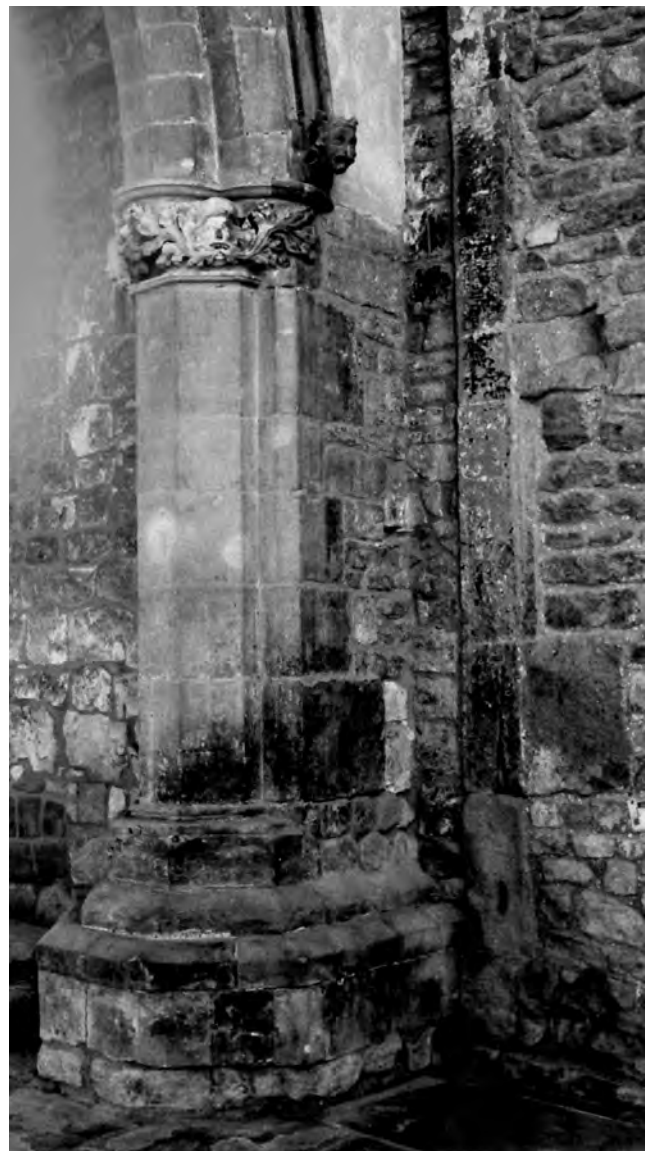
Fig. 495: South arcade. West respond, viewed from the north-east. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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 ashlars. 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 ashlars.

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.
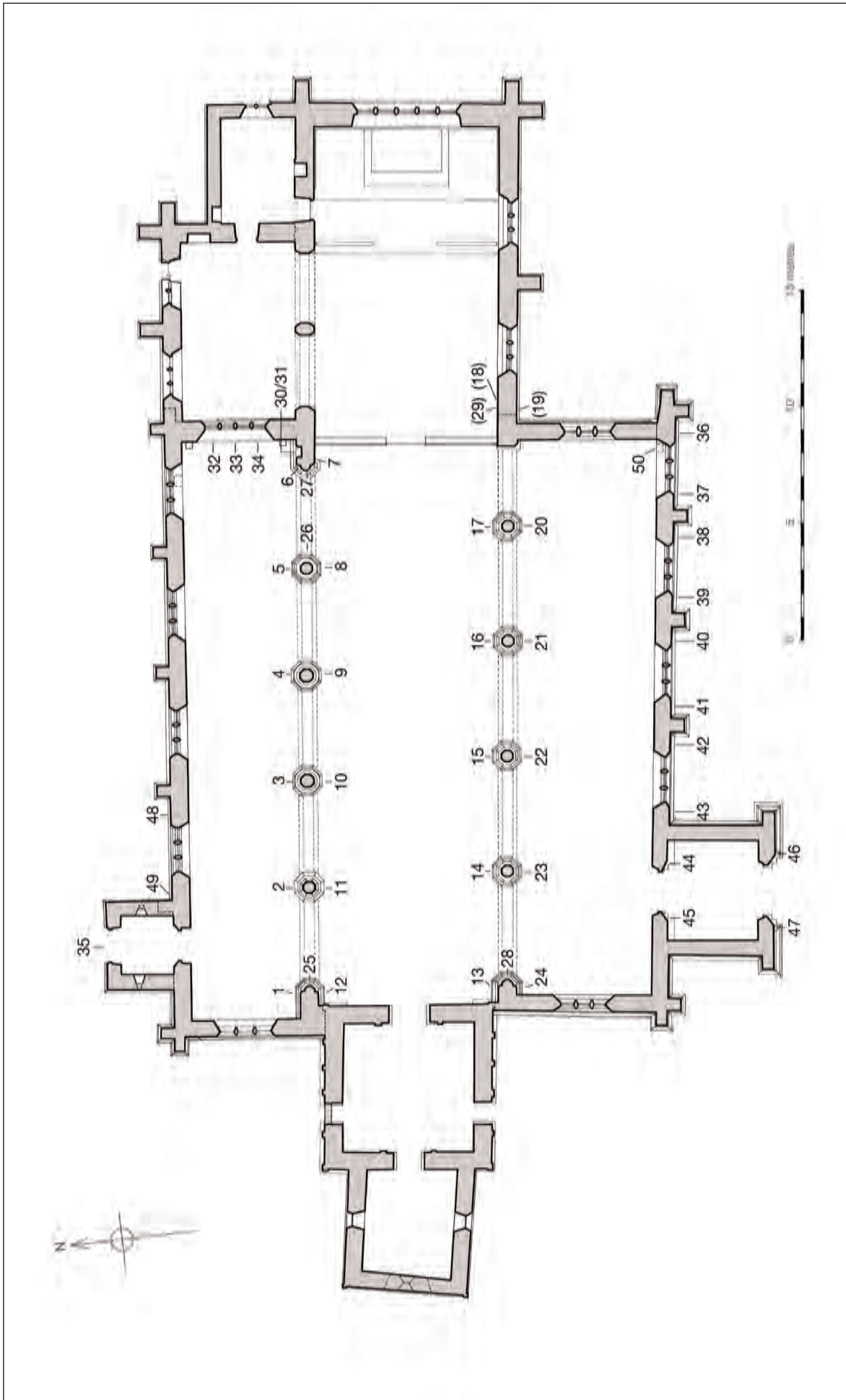
Fig. 497: Plan showing the locations and numbering system of the medieval architectural sculptures in St Peter's church. Nos. 1–24, label-stops; 25–29, capital and responds; 30–31, piscina; 32–34, rood window; 35, gable stone; 36–49, label-stops; 50, piscina. Scale 1:250. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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 trefoil 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 hairline; 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-black[30] 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 limewashing, 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.
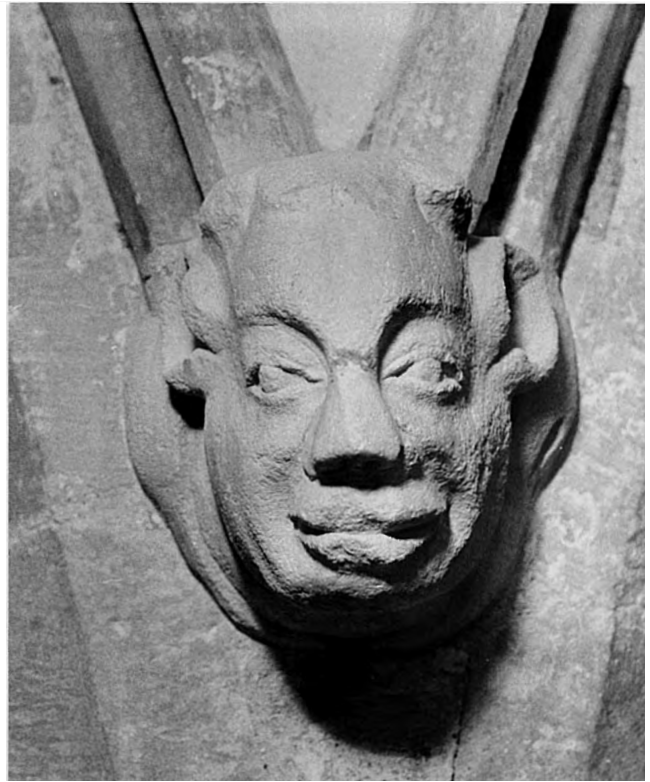
Fig. 507: Nave, north arcade. Label-stop no. 10. Photos: Warwick Rodwell
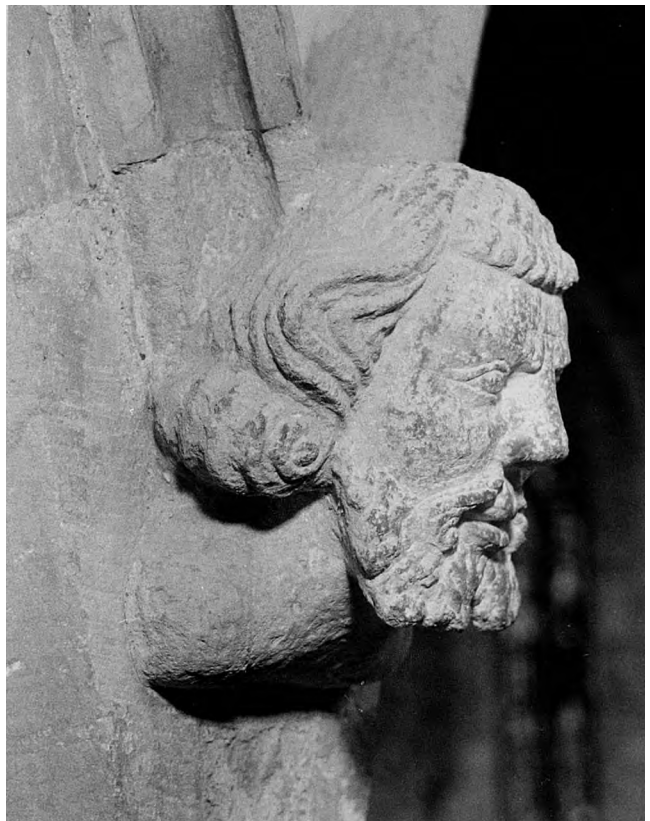
Fig. 508: Nave, north arcade. Label-stop no. 11. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

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 neck-line 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 lime-stone 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
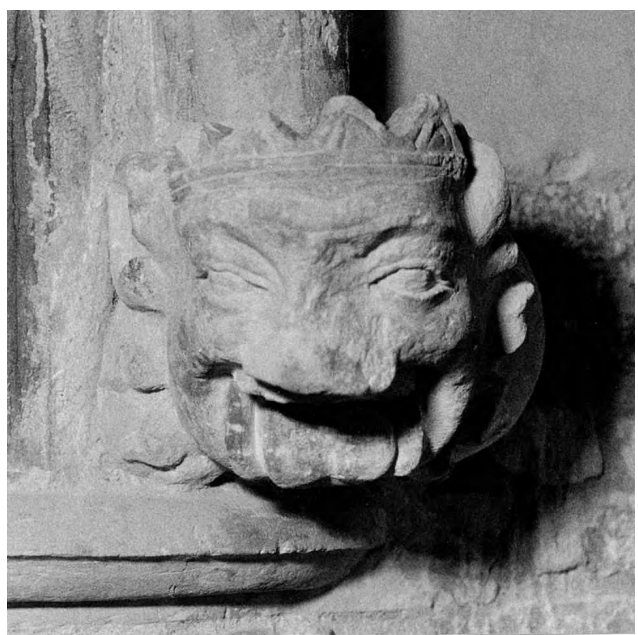
Fig. 518: South aisle, arcade. Label-stop no. 23. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

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 its 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 5¼ 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
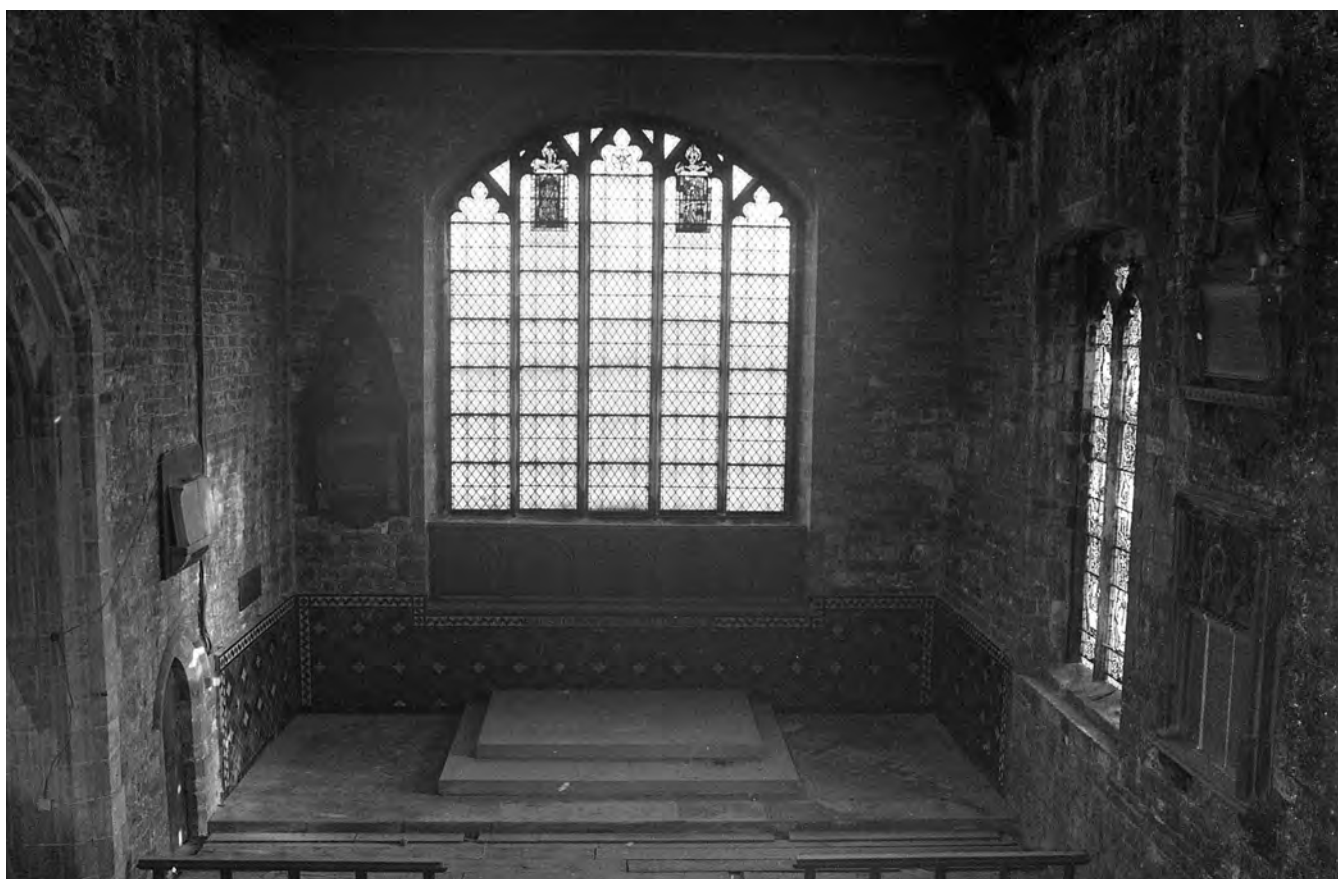
Fig. 535: Chancel. Interior looking east from the screen, 1983. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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

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. 536: St Wilfrid, Ottringham (E. Yorks.). Chancel: five-light east window with reticulated tracery. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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]
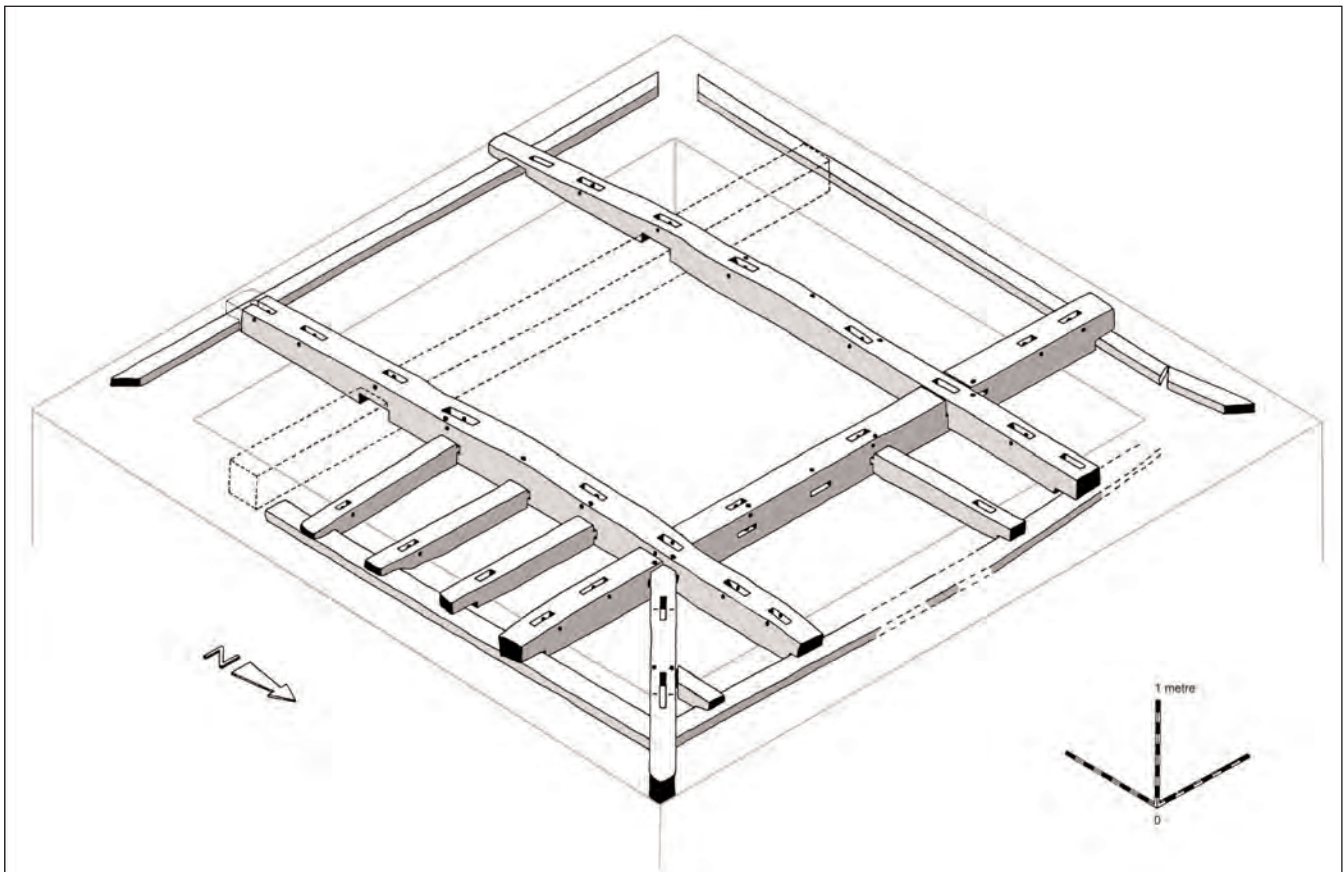
Fig. 538: Tower. Plan of the surviving components of the base-frame of the medieval timber spire. Drawing: Stephen Coll

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
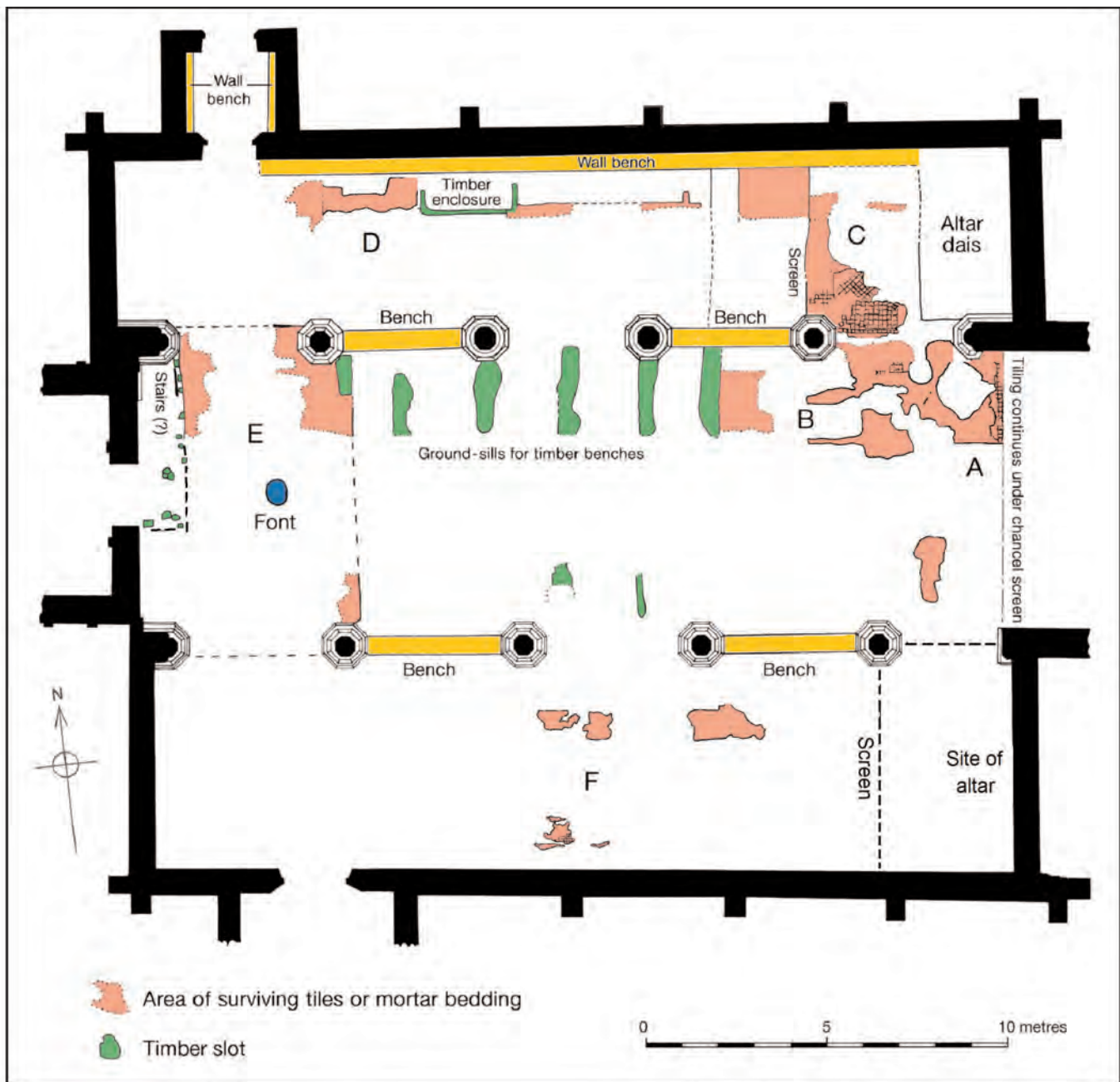
Fig. 540: Nave and aisles. Plan showing surviving patches of floor tiling (lettered A to F), stone and timber bench positions, and other principal features of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Scale 1:175. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell

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 easternmost 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

Fig. 542: North clerestory. A, Bay 1 (east); B, Bay 9 (west); showing windows and adjoining nibs of brickwork and ash-lar 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 clere-story 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 lime-stone 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

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 ashlars 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 chancel and aisle (Figs. 452, 461 and 544).
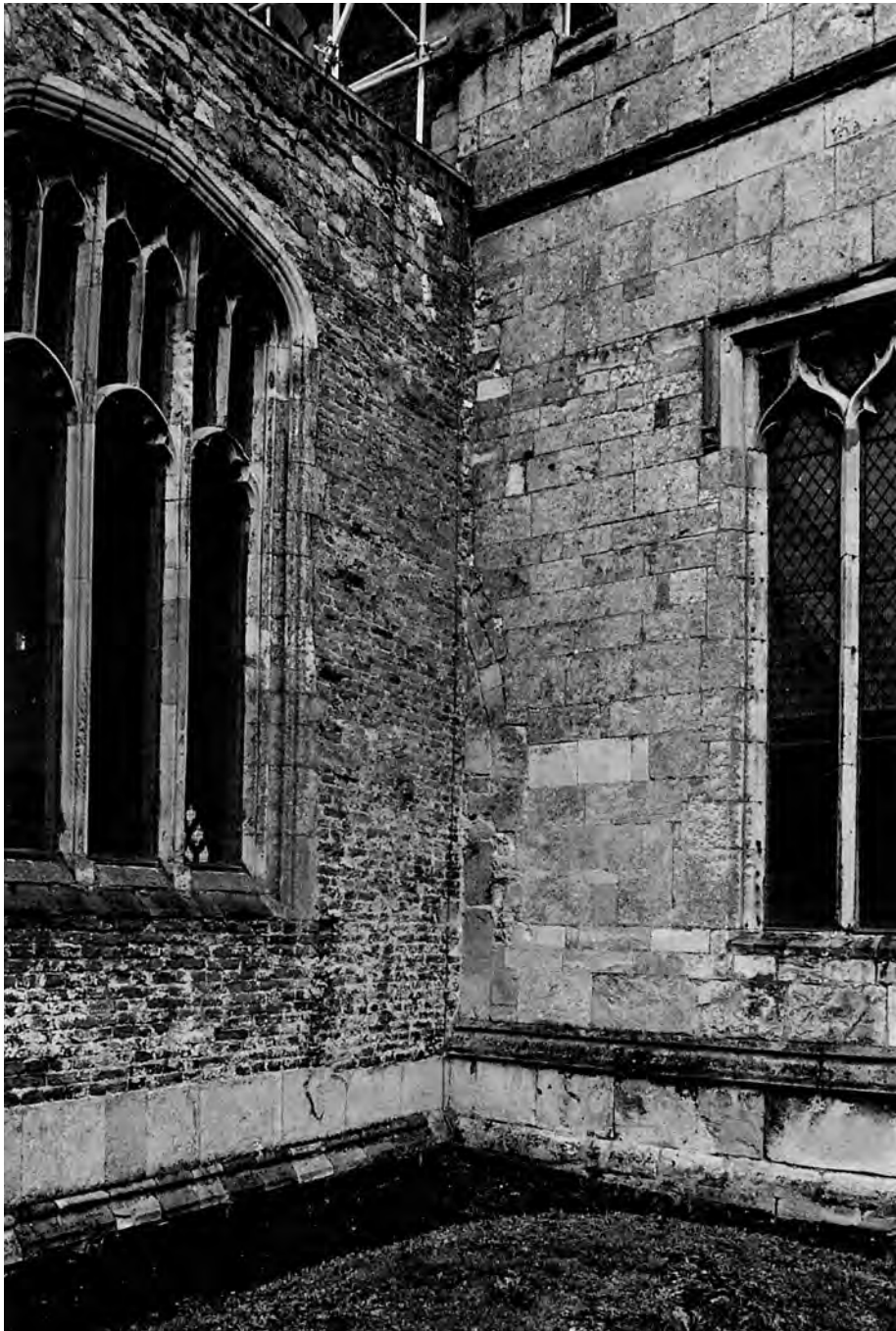
Fig. 544: South aisle. View into the external angle between the aisle (left) and the chancel, showing the cut-back remains of the east respond and hood-moulding of the fourteenth-century arcade, bay 1. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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 wall-posts, 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 yellower 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
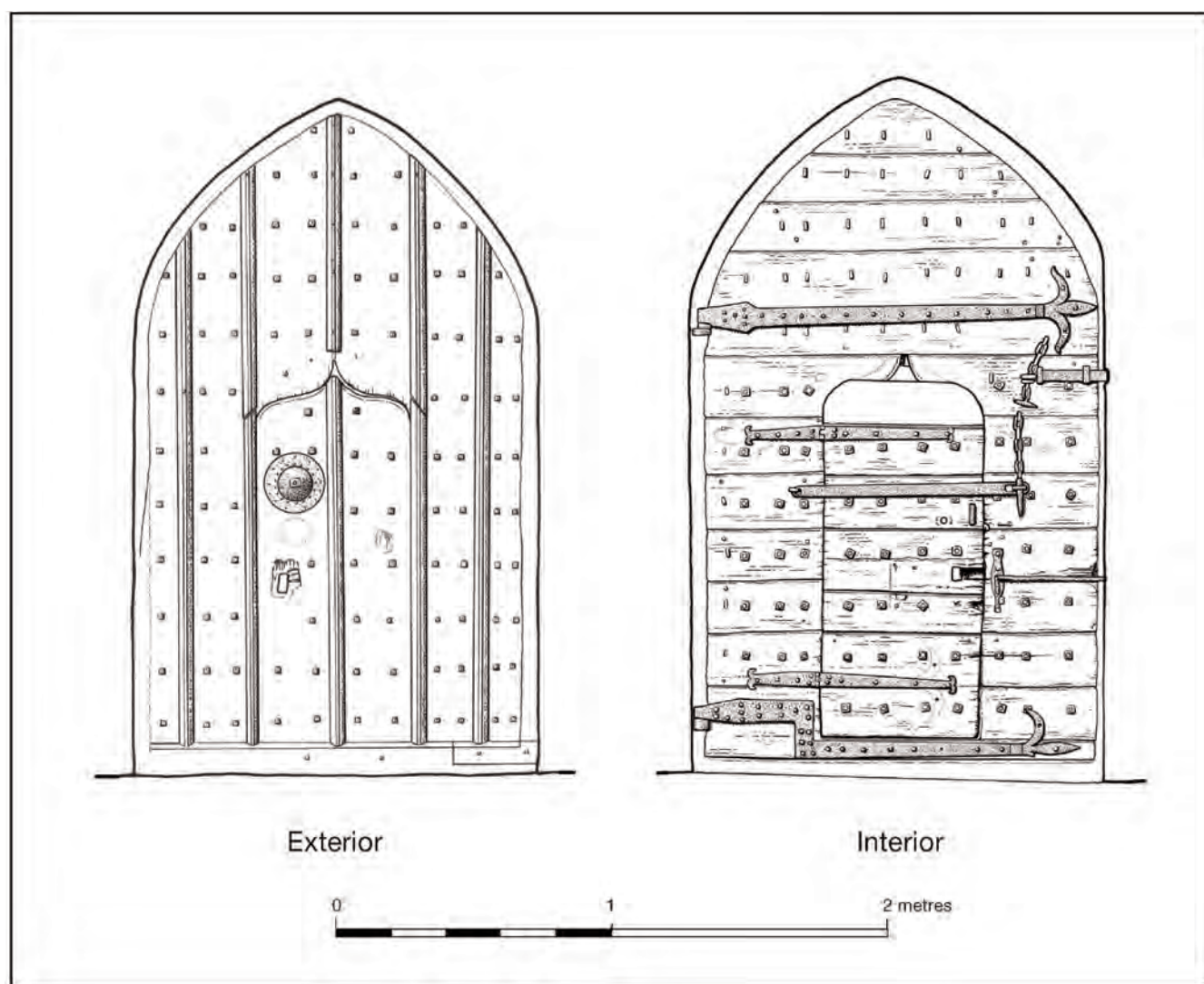
Fig. 548: North door. External and internal elevations. Scale 1:25. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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 clench-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 clench-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 dating[89] 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 ashlars, 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
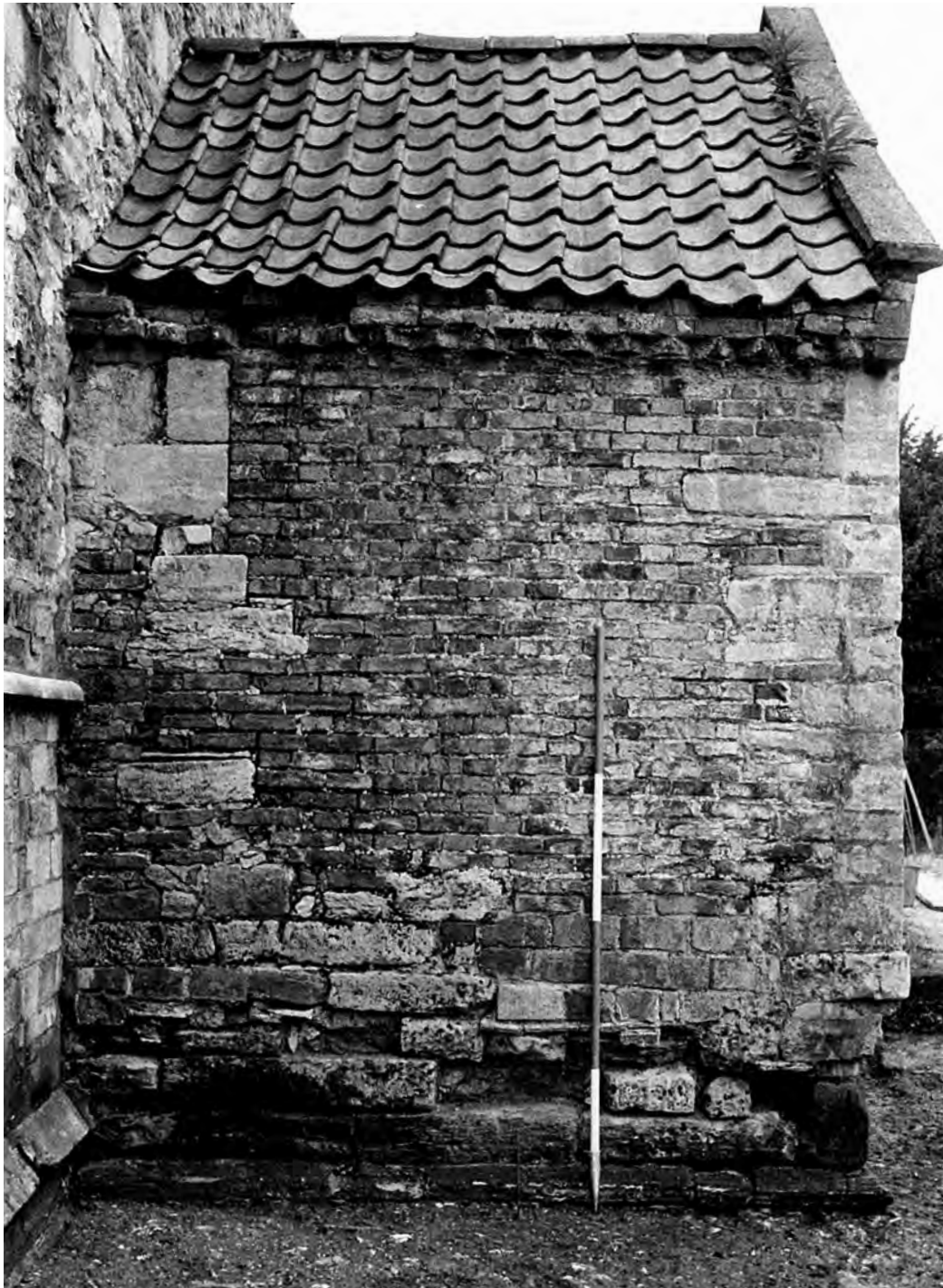
Fig. 552: North porch. East side during excavation, 1982. Note the incorporated remnant (immediately below eaves-level) of a north aisle buttress. Scale of 2 m. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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 remodelling 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
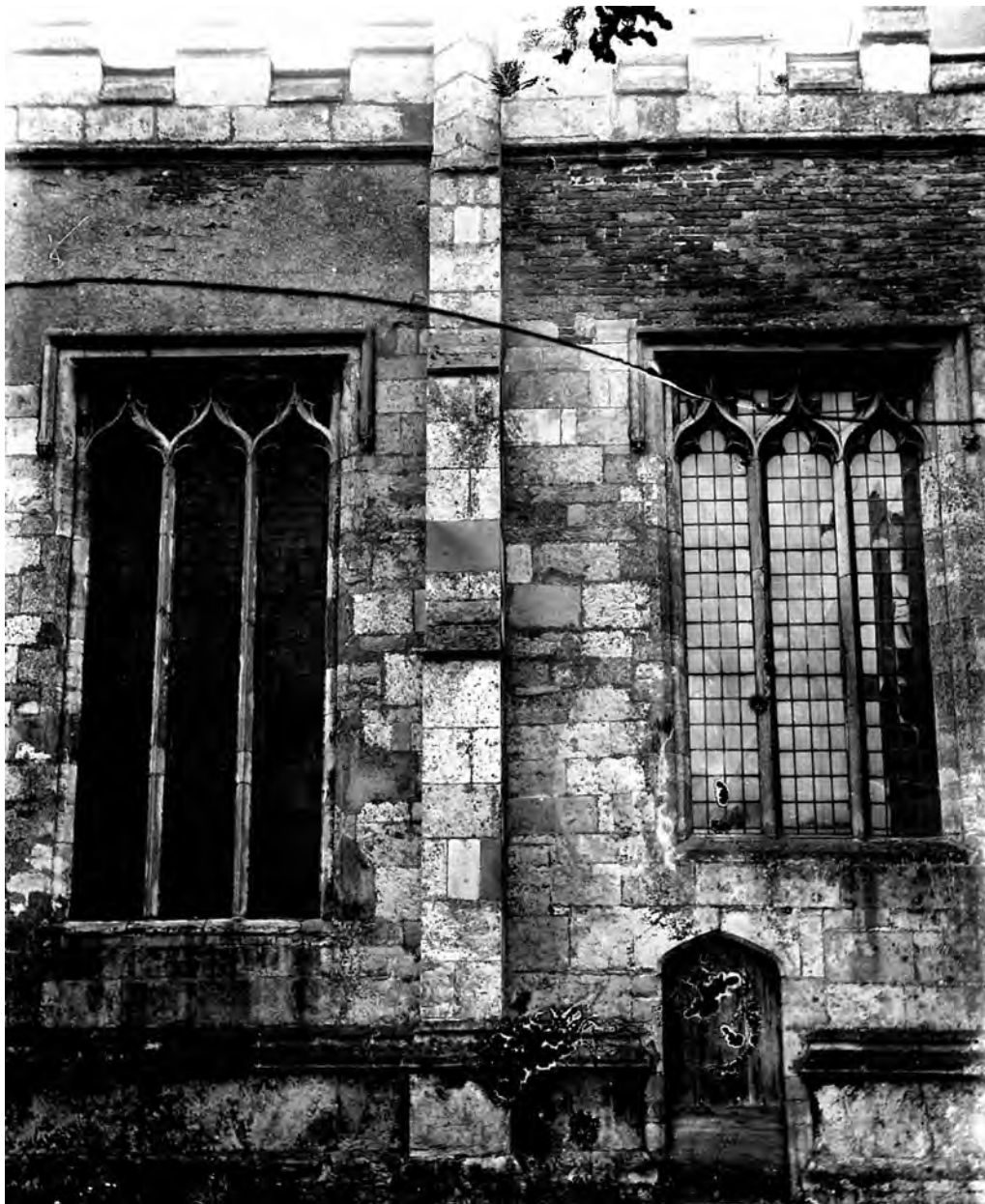
Fig. 556: Chancel, north wall. The masonry of bays 2 and 1 before the organ chamber was built in 1897. Note the Tudor heightening of the wall in rendered brickwork, and the original position of the priest's door in bay 1. Photo: Arthur Brummitt, courtesy of John French

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
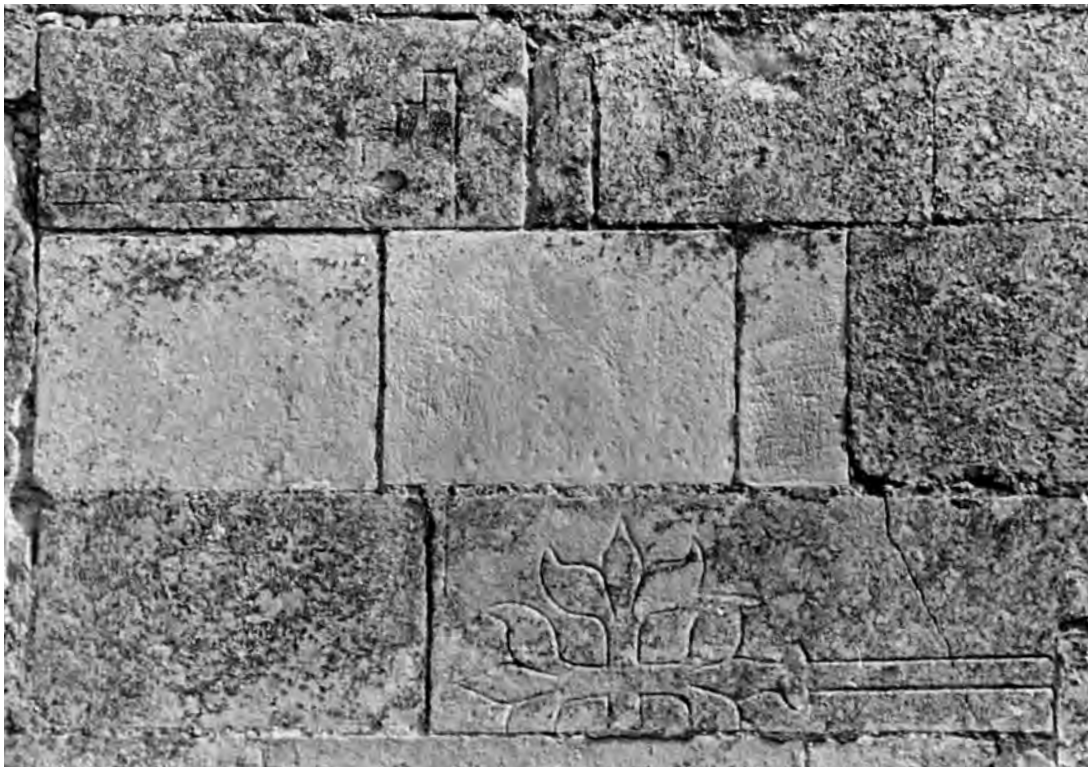
Fig. 558: Chancel, south wall. Two fragments of an incised cross-slab used in the refacing. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

Fig. 559: Chancel east window. Late Perpendicular head and tracery, replacing Decorated tracery. Photo: Warwick Rodwell
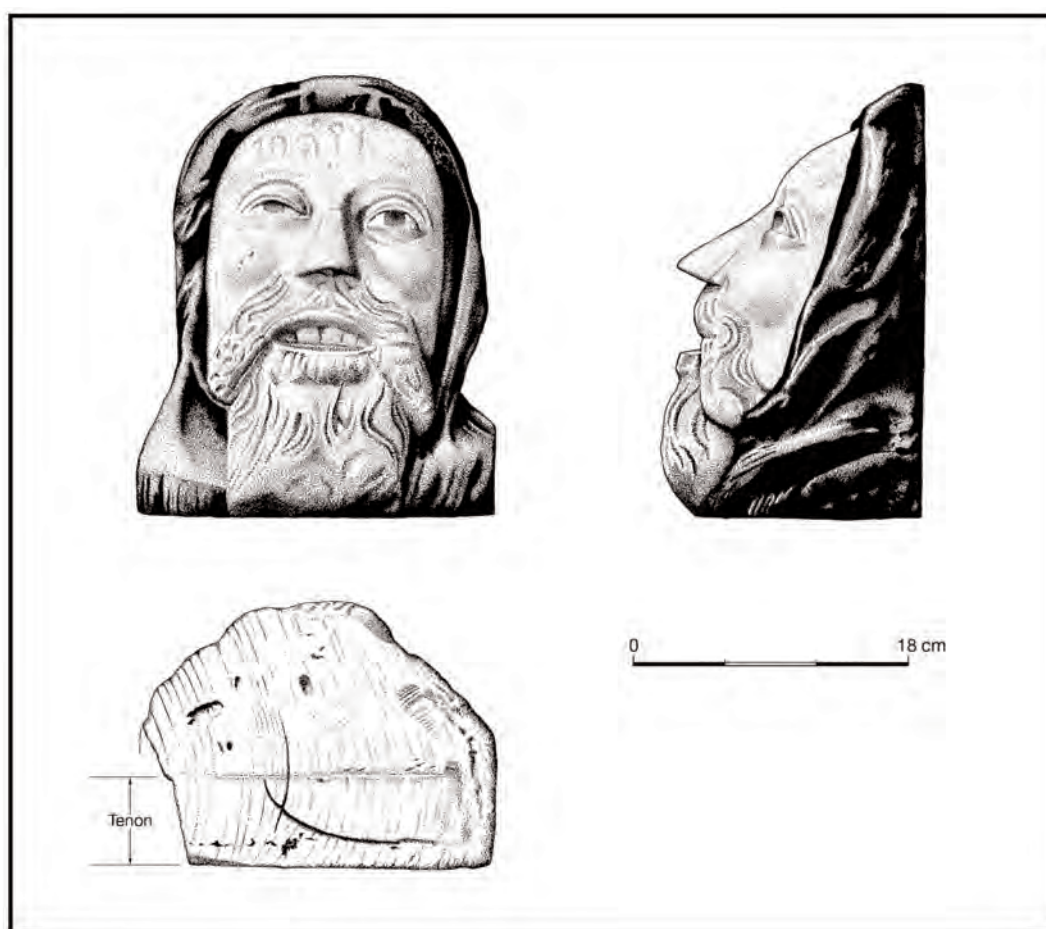
Fig. 560: Oak corbel head, possibly from the chancel roof. Scale 1:5. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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 unrecorded[101] (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 clasping 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 ashlars (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.
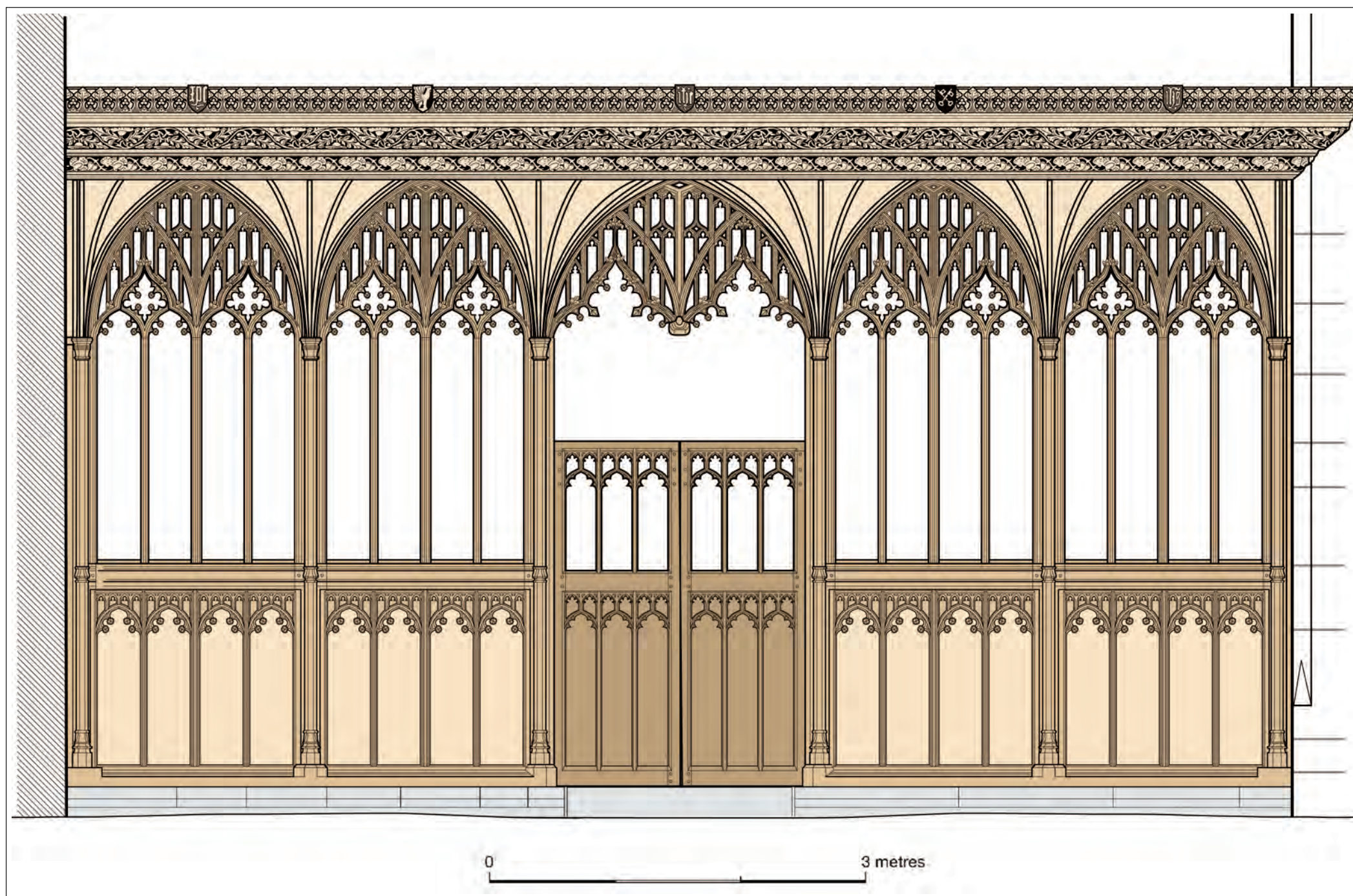
Fig. 564: Chancel screen. Elevation of the west face. Scale 1:40. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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
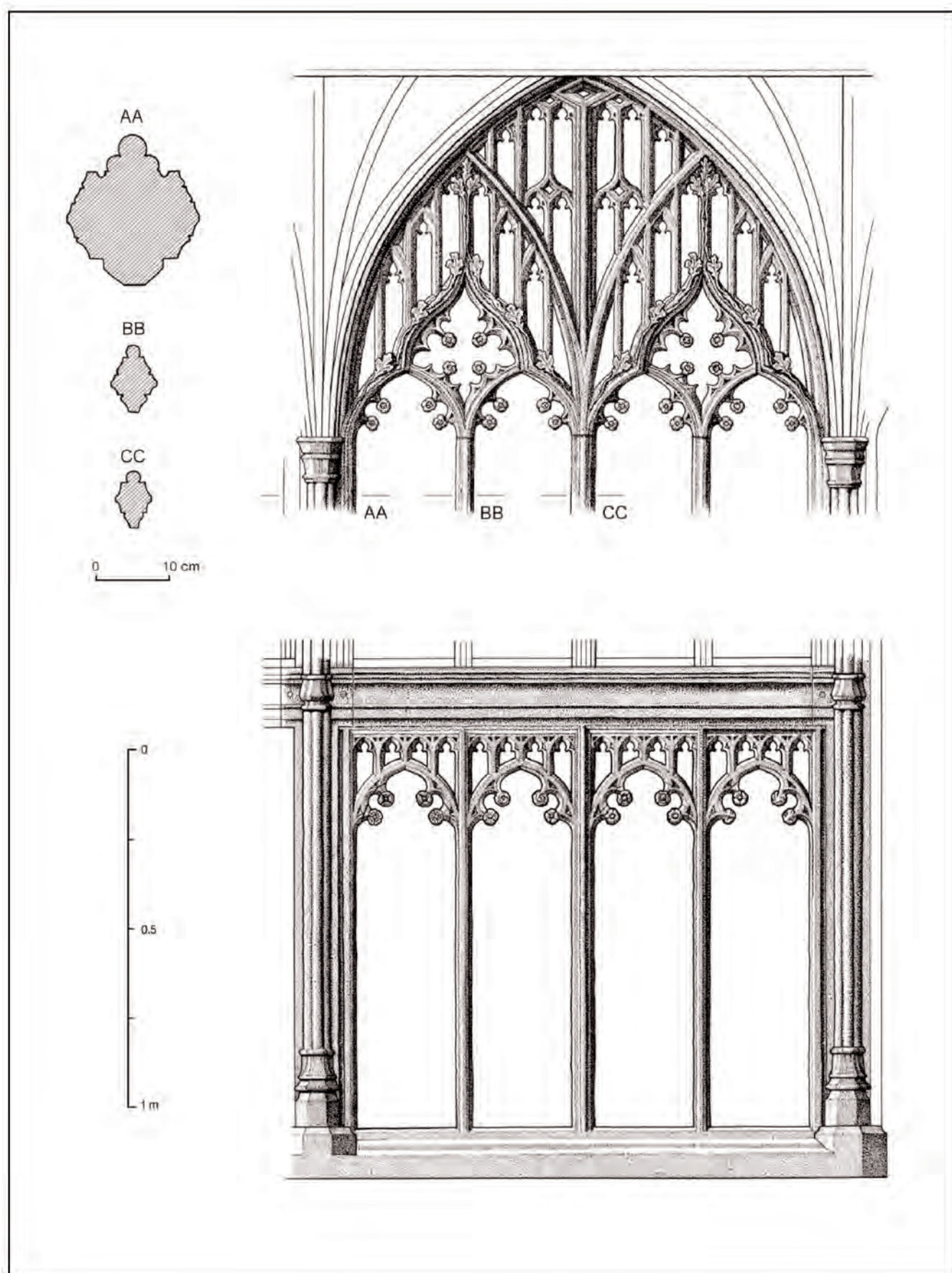
Fig. 565: Chancel screen. Detail of the traceried upper and lower registers of one bay (west face). Scale 1:15; moulding profiles 1:7.5. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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

Fig. 566: Chancel screen. Details of one of the secret hinges carrying the secondary gates. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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.

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 win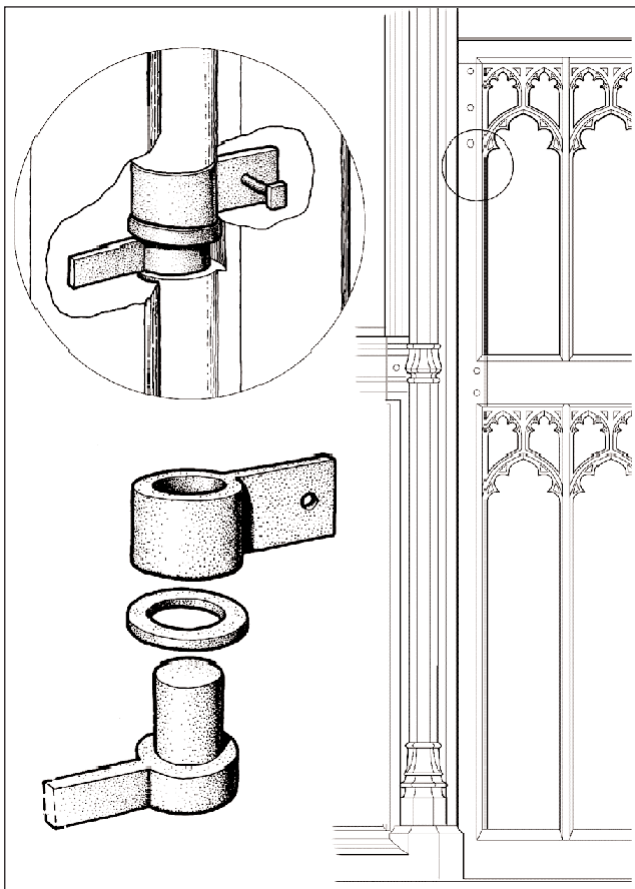dows well carved thereon' (Ball 1856, **1**, 58). Although the earliest evidence for an overall pewing arrangement dates only from 1803, it must have embodied late medieval carved rectangular bench-ends: they were either reused as doors to enclose pews, or perhaps they were incorporated in the panelling 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 hair[114]

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 volunte 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

	North aisle	St Peter's church North nave arcade	South nave arcade	South aisle
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 Cl9 replacement	24 C19 replacement
		St Mary's church	South chancel arcade	South chancel aisle
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	East Side
a) Bearded king	a) Bearded man
b) Queen	b) Lady with mouth open
c) Bearded man	c) Bishop with mouth open
d) Fool with mouth open	d) Head of wild man
e) Man with tall headdress	e) Beast's head
f) Woman with mouth open	
g) Cowled 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 Lindseye 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
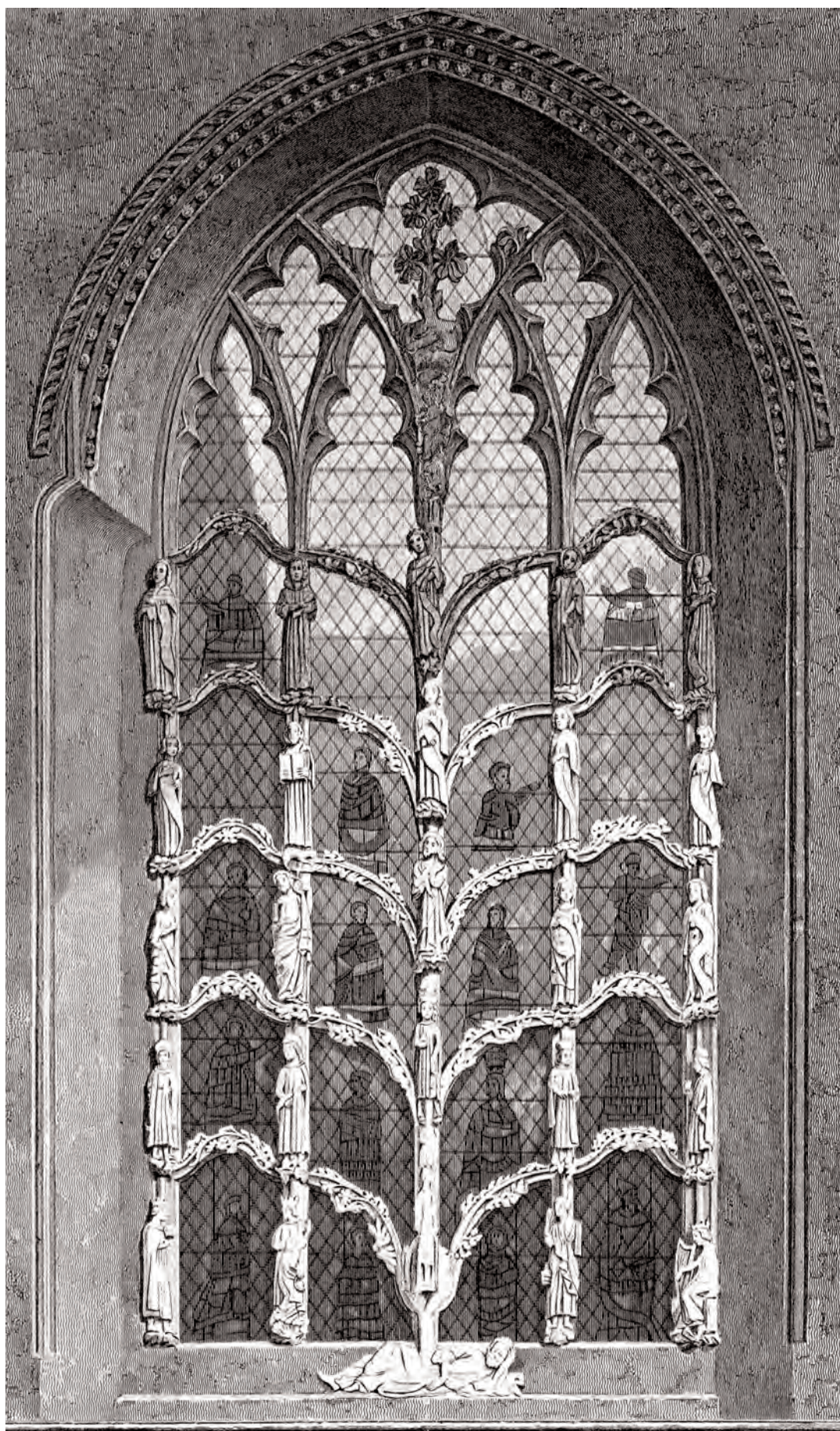
Fig. 572: Dorchester Abbey (Oxon.). Jesse window on the north side of the sanctuary. Skelton 1823

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, xvj*d*'. 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 10*s*. 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,
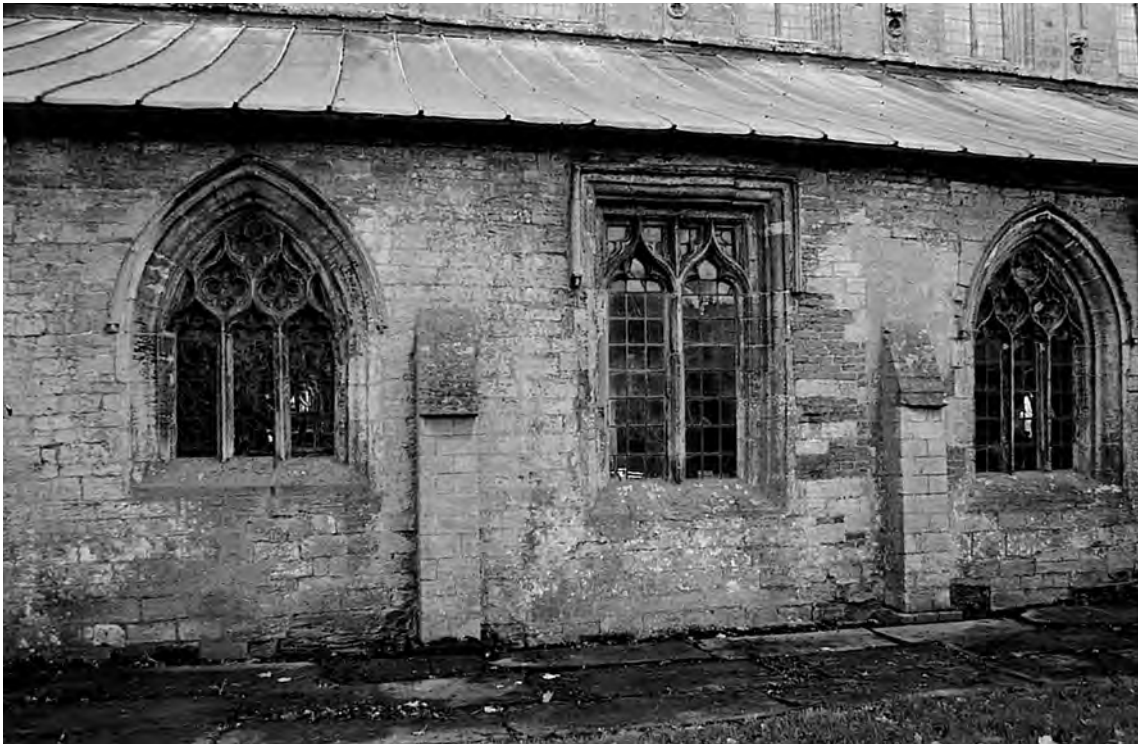
Fig. 573: St Mary, Old Leake (Lincs.). Alternating pointed and square-headed windows with reticulated tracery in the north aisle. Photo: Geoffrey Bryant

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 knobbly 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 knobbly 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
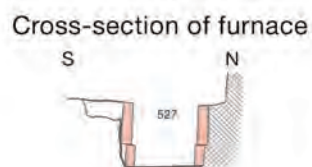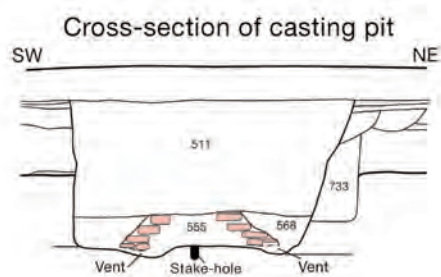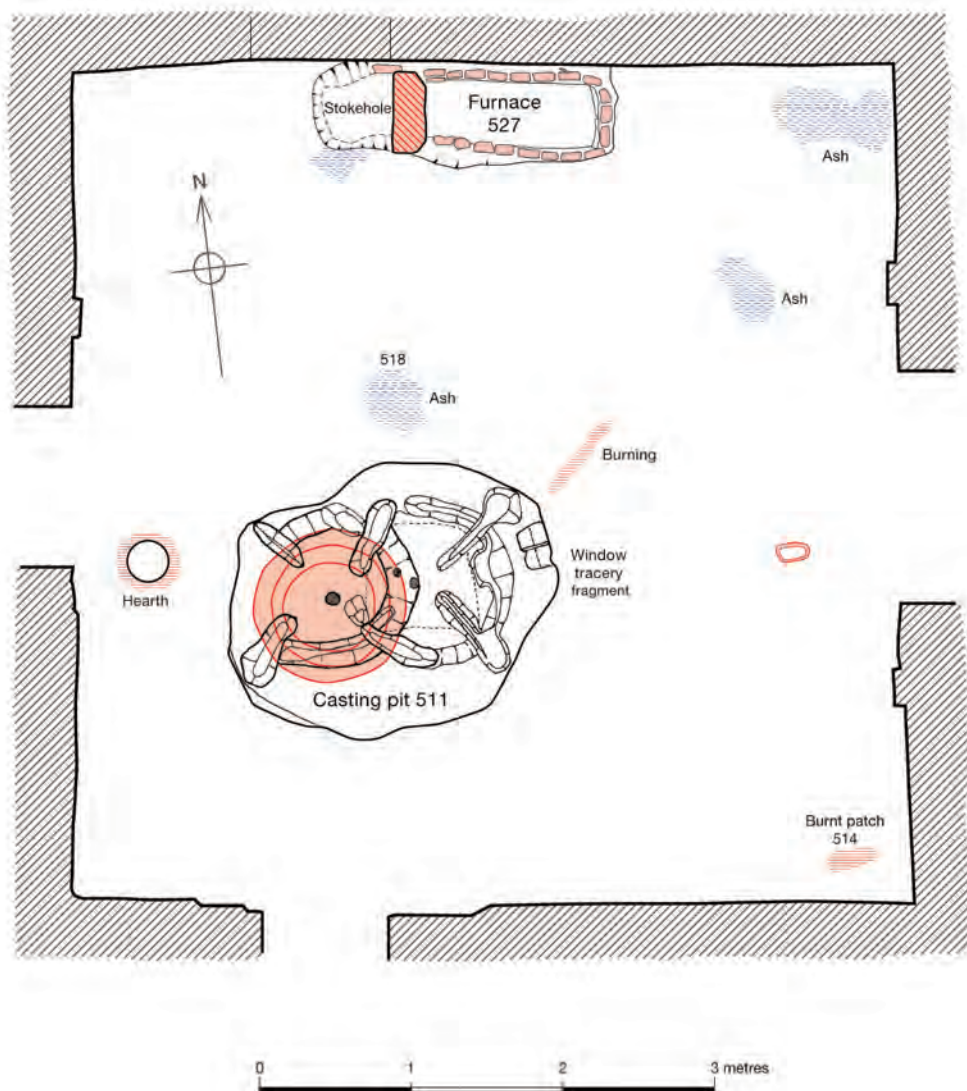
Fig. 576: Tower. Plan and sections of features associated with post-medieval bellfounding and metalworking. Scale 1:50. Drawing: Warwick Rodwell and Simon Hayfield

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; Shoesmith 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 gutter; 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 source[19] (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
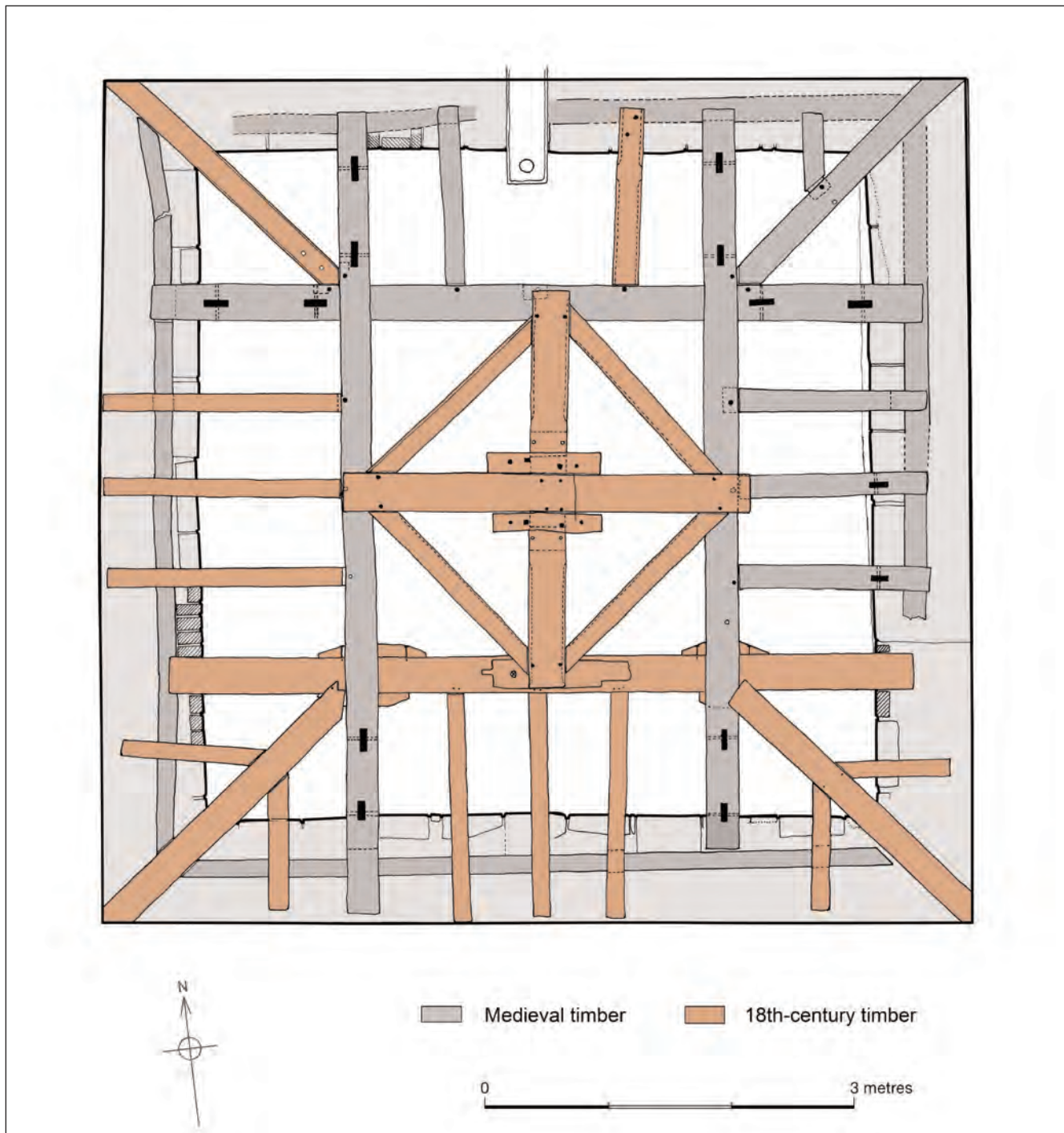
Fig. 581: Tower. Plan of the existing roof structure. Post-medieval timbers are shown in outline. For a detailed drawing of the surviving medieval components (grey-toned), see Fig. 538. Scale 1:50. Drawing: Stephen Coll

small blocks beyond the chancel arch, one on either side. The pulpit 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 parishes, 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 Impropriator.

Canvases displaying the Royal Arms, Decalogue, and Lord's Prayer were commissioned in 1740. The arms still survive (p. 564; Pl. 104).

Restoration, *c.* 1740–1800
(Periods 8B–8C)

There is every likelihood that the church was damaged in the great storm that struck the East Coast on 8 September 1741, bringing down, *inter alia*, the south-west tower and spire of St Margaret's church, King's Lynn. That storm may have initiated a restoration, but little is known about it. Three of the bells in St Peter's date from this period, and the church terrier of 1788 confirms the number as having been increased from four (plus the *sanctus* bell) to six.[24]

Western annexe

It was probably around this time that repairs were carried out to the north porch and western annexe. In the case of the porch, this involved rebuilding the north-east quoin, refacing much of the east wall in local brick[25] and replacing the timber north gable with one

Fig. 582: Plan of St Peter's church drawn by J.H. Loft in 1831–32. West is at the top. Lincolnshire Archives

of tumbled brickwork.[26] The gable has a Yorkstone coping (Fig. 551). The eaves were re-formed in brick and ornamented with oversailing courses and dog-tooth ornament. This is a familiar detail, seen in many houses of the mid-eighteenth century in Barton. The porch roof was pantiled, and the interior plastered. A new outer gate was hung on crooks set into the east jamb.[27]

Repairs to the annexe involved a complete reconstruction of the roof and the wall-tops, which again were finished with oversailing brick courses and dog-toothing (Fig. 255). The roof was covered with plain clay tiles. It was probably at this time that a brick fireplace and chimney were installed in the north-west corner. This was doubtless for the comfort of the sexton who made use of the chamber.[28] The blocking of the small, inserted doorway in the west wall of the annexe may have taken place contemporaneously, and there was a screen and door filling the arch between the tower and annexe. In his notes on the church in 1832, Loft mistakenly referred to the west wall of the annexe as being of brick, although he possibly saw a blocked doorway and other patches of brickwork, showing through the then-defective lime rendering.[29]

Loft variously described the annexe no less than three times: he referred to it as 'a square room', used as 'the Dead House, or receptacle for bodies found drown'd, or sudden deaths until after the Coroner's inquest was held, and it is a great accommodation, as a great number of drown'd bodies are found along the shore of the parishes of Barton' (Fig. 582).[30]

Roofs

On the evidence of two dated hopper-heads on the clerestory, it would appear that roof works were undertaken to the nave in 1773, yet Nattes's drawing of 1796 clearly shows three long spouts projecting from the clerestory parapet on the south side (Fig. 11). This is confirmed in 1832 by Loft, who mentions '3 handsome lead spouts conveying water to the leads of the aisles' on both the south and north.[31] Now, however, there are in total six cast lead hopper-heads feeding downpipes, three on each side of the church; curiously, they are not uniform, but of various sizes and differently moulded. On both north and south, the central one is dated (Fig. 583).

South clerestory

Central pipe:
Moulded funnel, plain collar (inscribed), fluted body, collar (inscribed) and moulded shank (inscribed). The inscriptions are boldly cast in relief:
'IH & WH / CW / 1773'

The collar of the uppermost length of downpipe carries two motifs, separately cast in lead and attached with solder. These are a crown and the winged head of a cherub (Fig. 584).
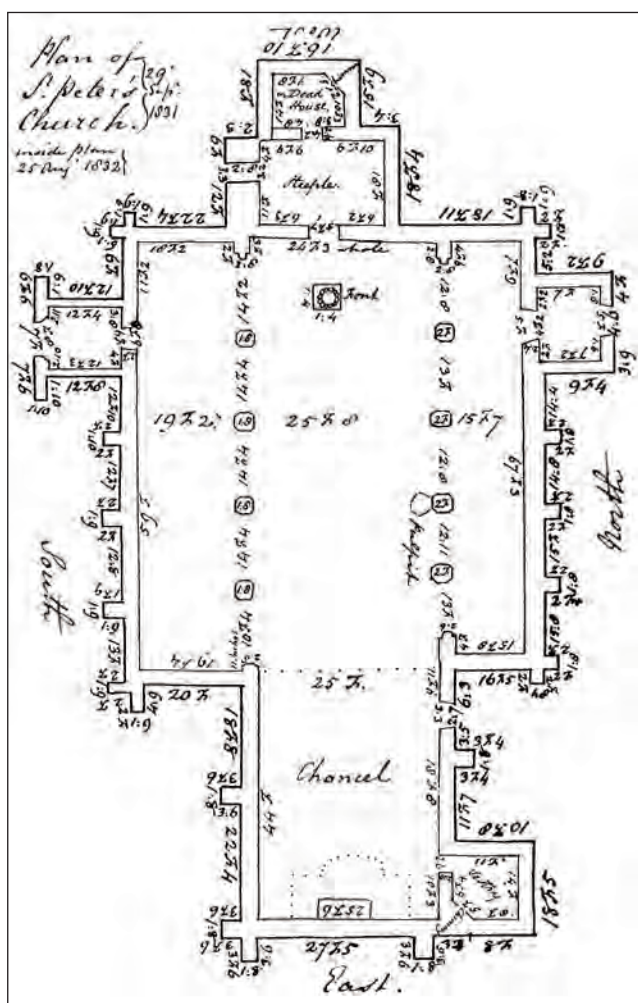
Fig. 583: South clerestory, central rainwater pipe. Inscribed lead hopper-head and decorated downpipe between window bays 4 and 5. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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

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.

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:

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 Qucie, & 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
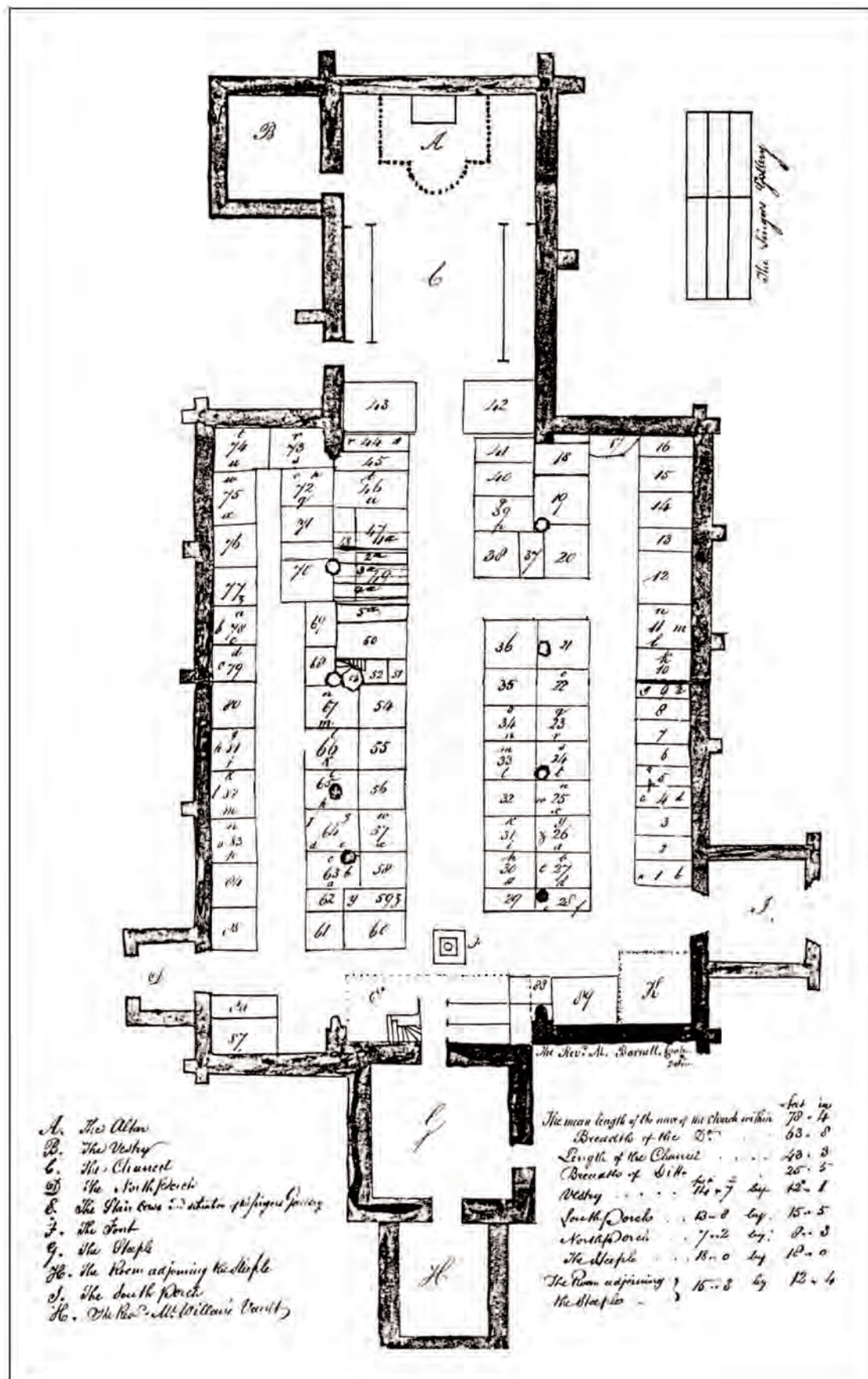
Fig. 587: Plan by M. Barnett of the seating in St Peter's church, 1803. Key to lettered elements: A, Altar; B, Vestry; C, Chancel; D, North porch; E, 'The Stair Case and situation of the Singers Gallery'; F, Font; G, Steeple; H, 'The Room adjoining the Steeple'; J, South porch; K, 'The Revᵈ Mr Willan's 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]

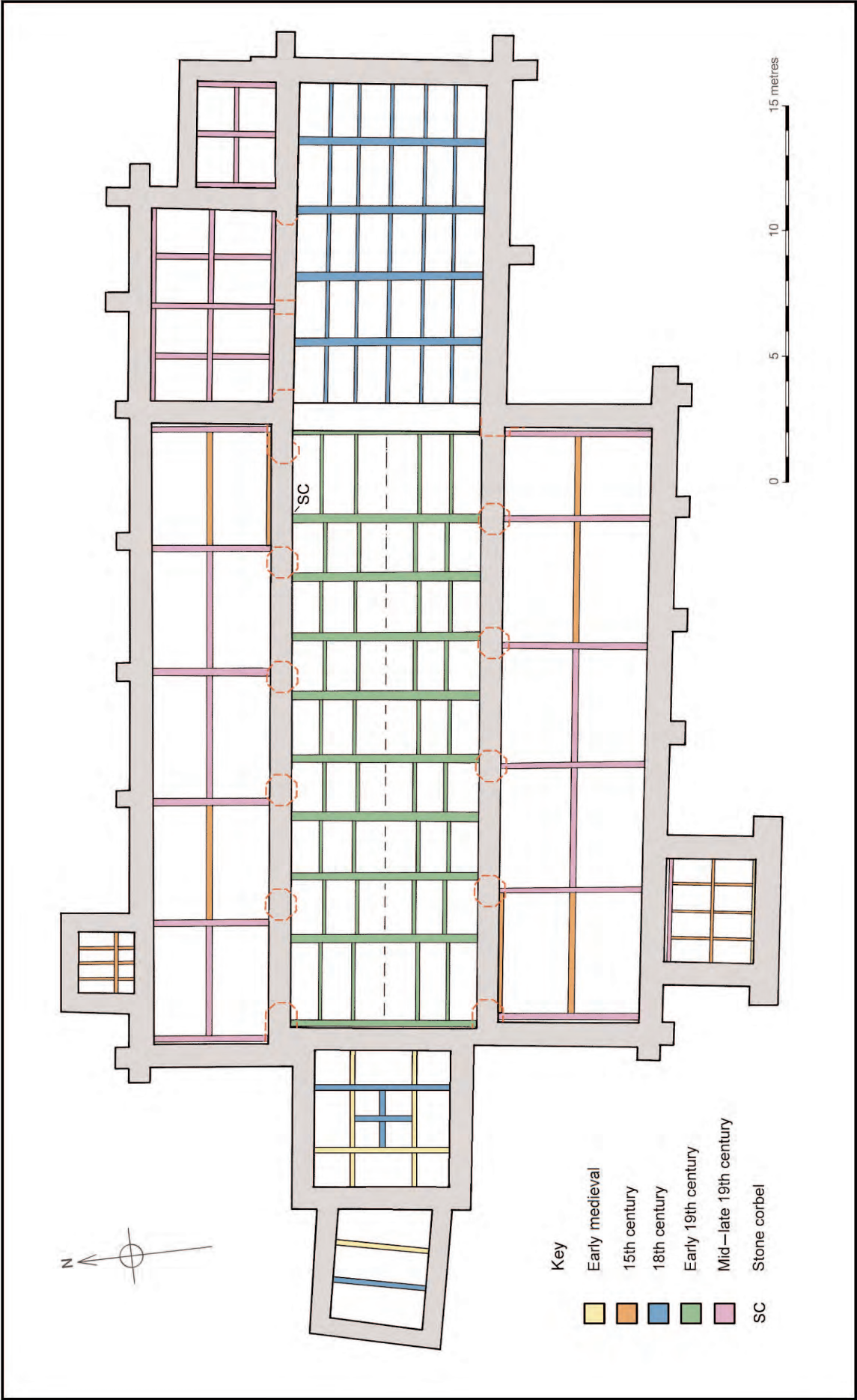Semicircular scarring in the wallplaster over the clerestory windows clearly reveals where the plaster arches were attached to the walls (Fig. 460, north arcade). The effect was of a flattened, elliptical, groined vault, a popular feature in Regency gothick decoration. An almost identical ceiling, although 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 (Tombleson 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
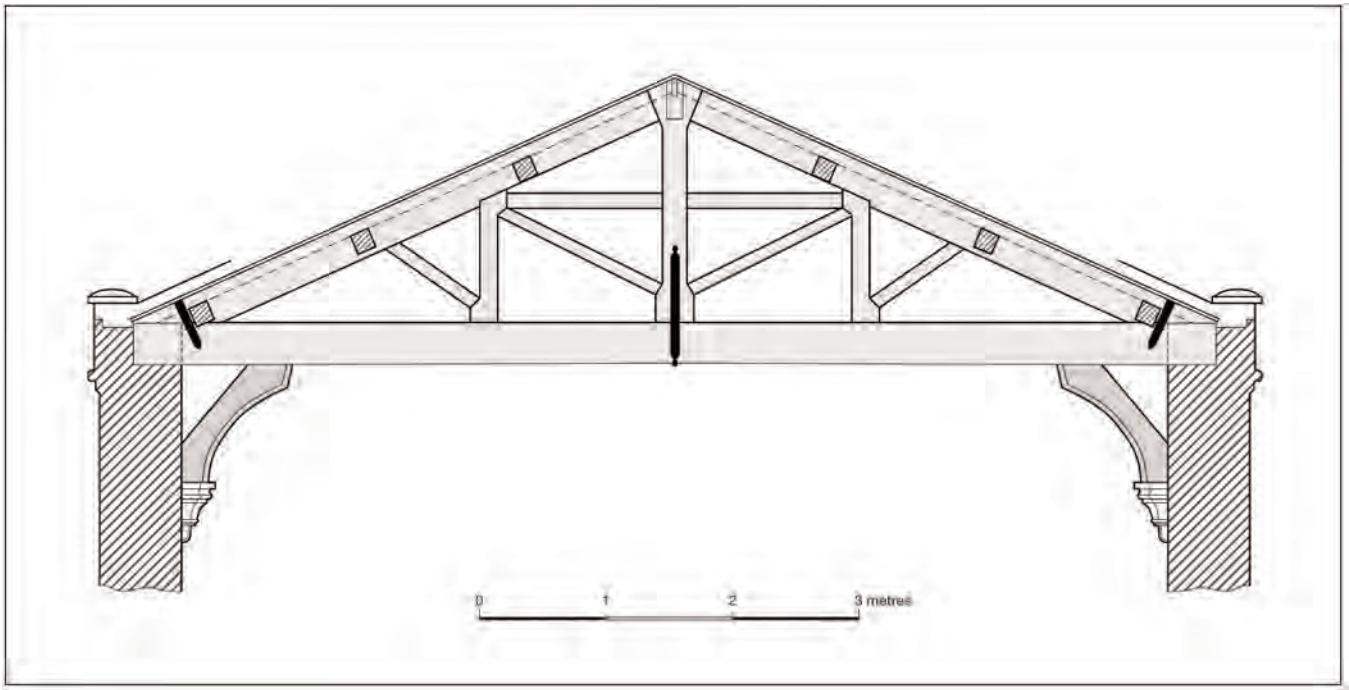
Fig. 591: Nave roof. Elevation of the easternmost king-post truss of 1805, with later wall-brackets below. Scale 1:60. Drawing: Simon Hayfield

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 graffito.
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
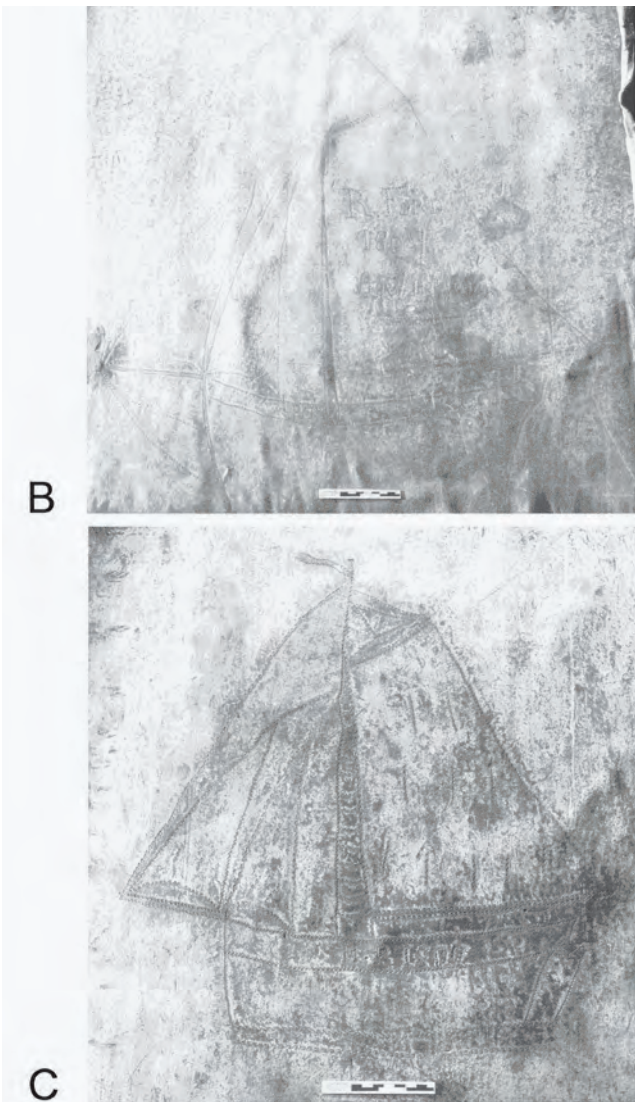

Fig. 593: Nave roof, 1978. Graffiti on lead. B, Sailing ship, inscribed by R. Ford, 1807. C, Sailing ship, inscribed by H. P[orter], 1807. Photos: Warwick Rodwell
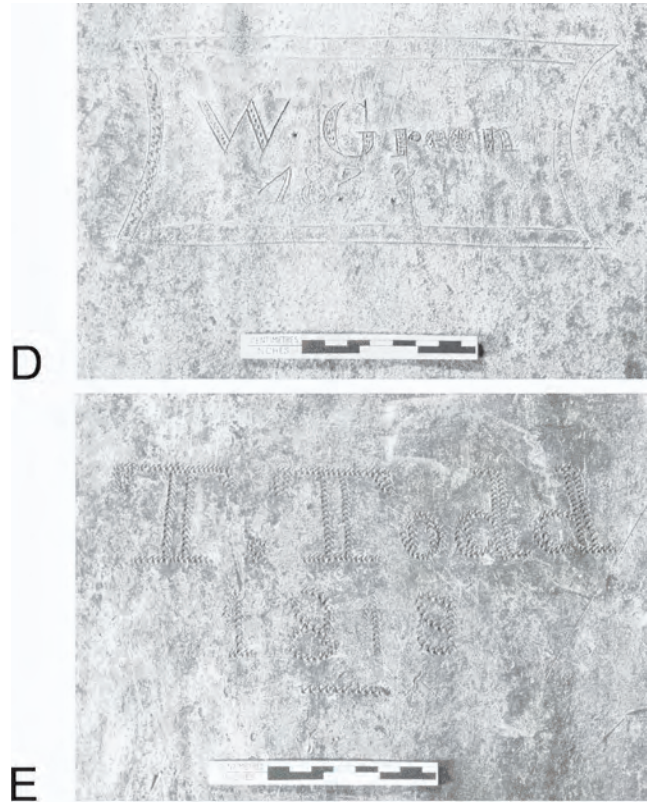

Fig. 594: Nave roof, 1978. Graffiti on lead. D, Panelled inscription, W. Green, 1833. E, Inscription, T. Todd, 1818. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

and precision; some early nineteenth-century head-stones 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 re-covered. 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 JUNᴿ / CHURCH WARDENS / 1833 / G NOBLE / PLUMBER
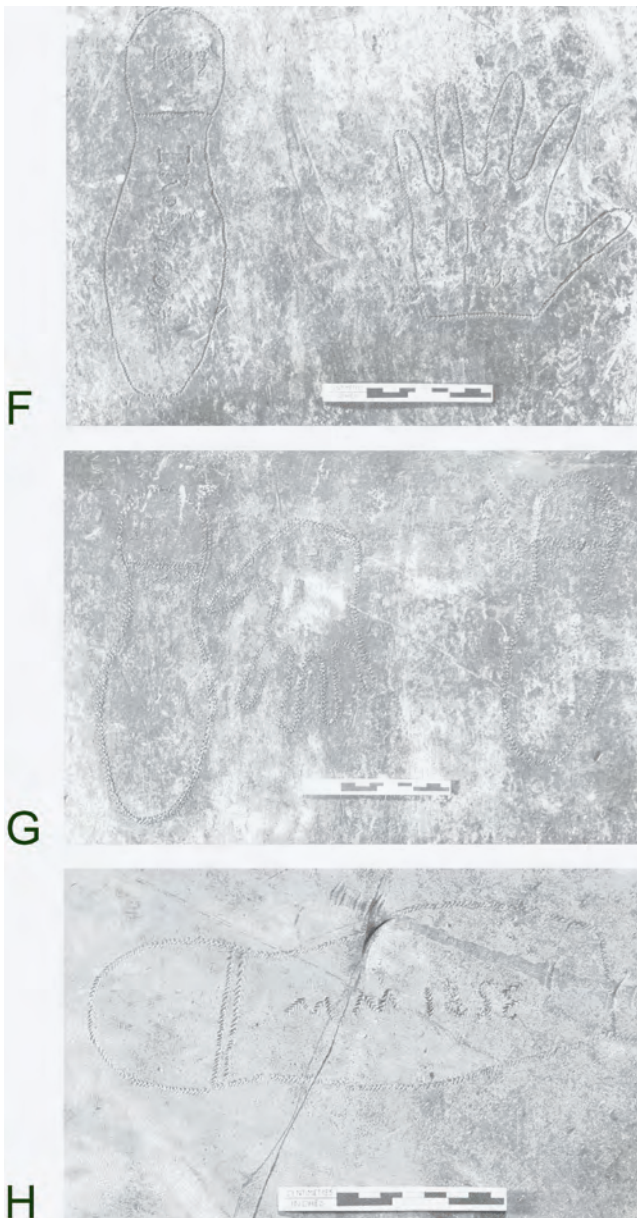
Fig. 595: Nave roof, 1978. Graffiti on lead. F, Inscriptions in a shoe and a hand, I. Robinson, 1833. G, Inscriptions in two shoes and a hand, I.H.F., 1831 and I.S.B., 1831. H, Inscription in a shoe, M.M, 1853. Photos: Warwick Rodwell

Fig. 596: North clerestory: graffiti scratched on window quarries. A, B, Glaziers' graffiti, 1853; C, Painter's graffito. Scale 1:2. Drawing: 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 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 wa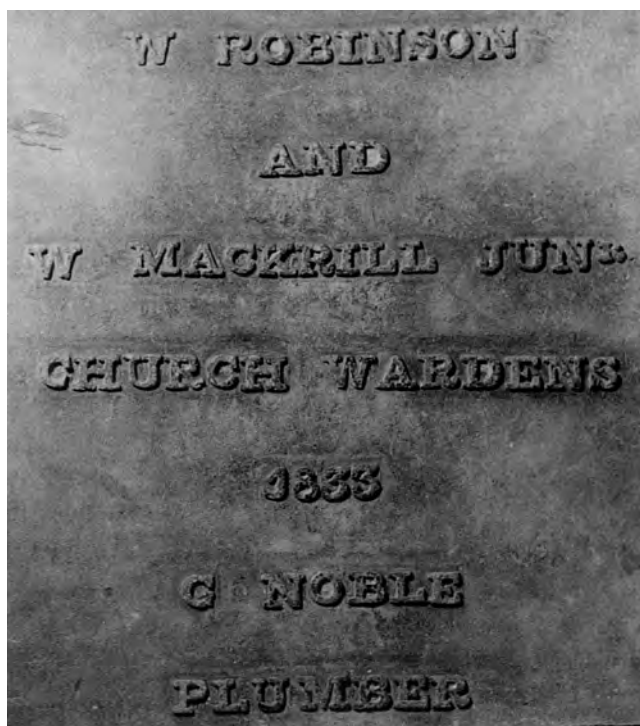s installed in the tower in 1852. The most plausible context for the removal of the stepped gables is the reroofing of the aisles in 1830s. Whether the east gable of the chancel was rebuilt at the same time, with a lower pitch, is uncertain. Nattes shows a moderately high-pitched, crow-stepped gable, but by the early 1860s it was certainly lower and a fragment of four-teenth-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 mix-ture 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 ter-minals, 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 construc-tion 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 horizon-tal 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 crackled. The keyhole has an oval iron escutcheon.

Restoration of the vestry, including partial rebuild-ing, 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, prob-ably 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.
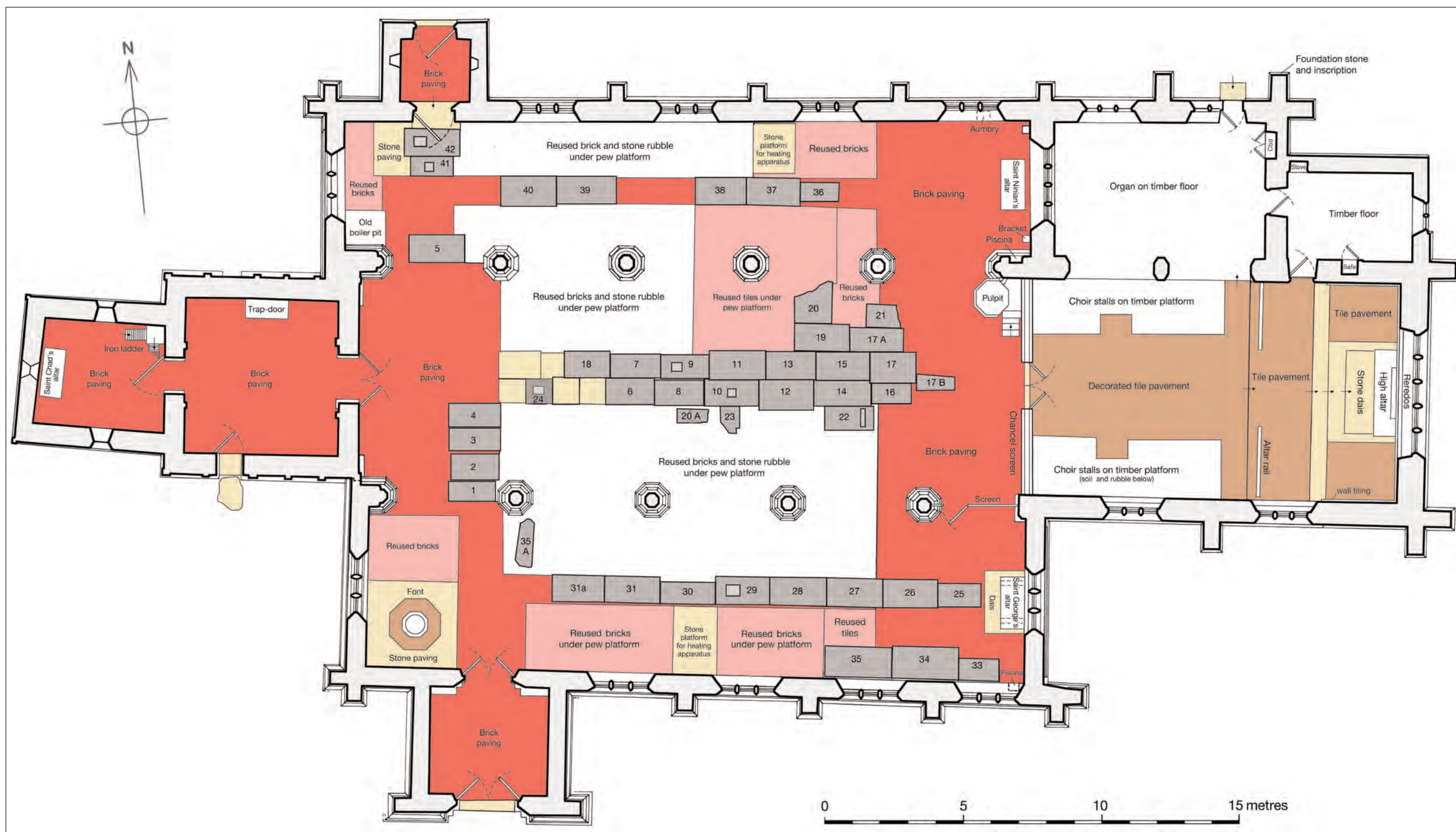>
> The estimated cost is upwards of £700 ...[63]

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
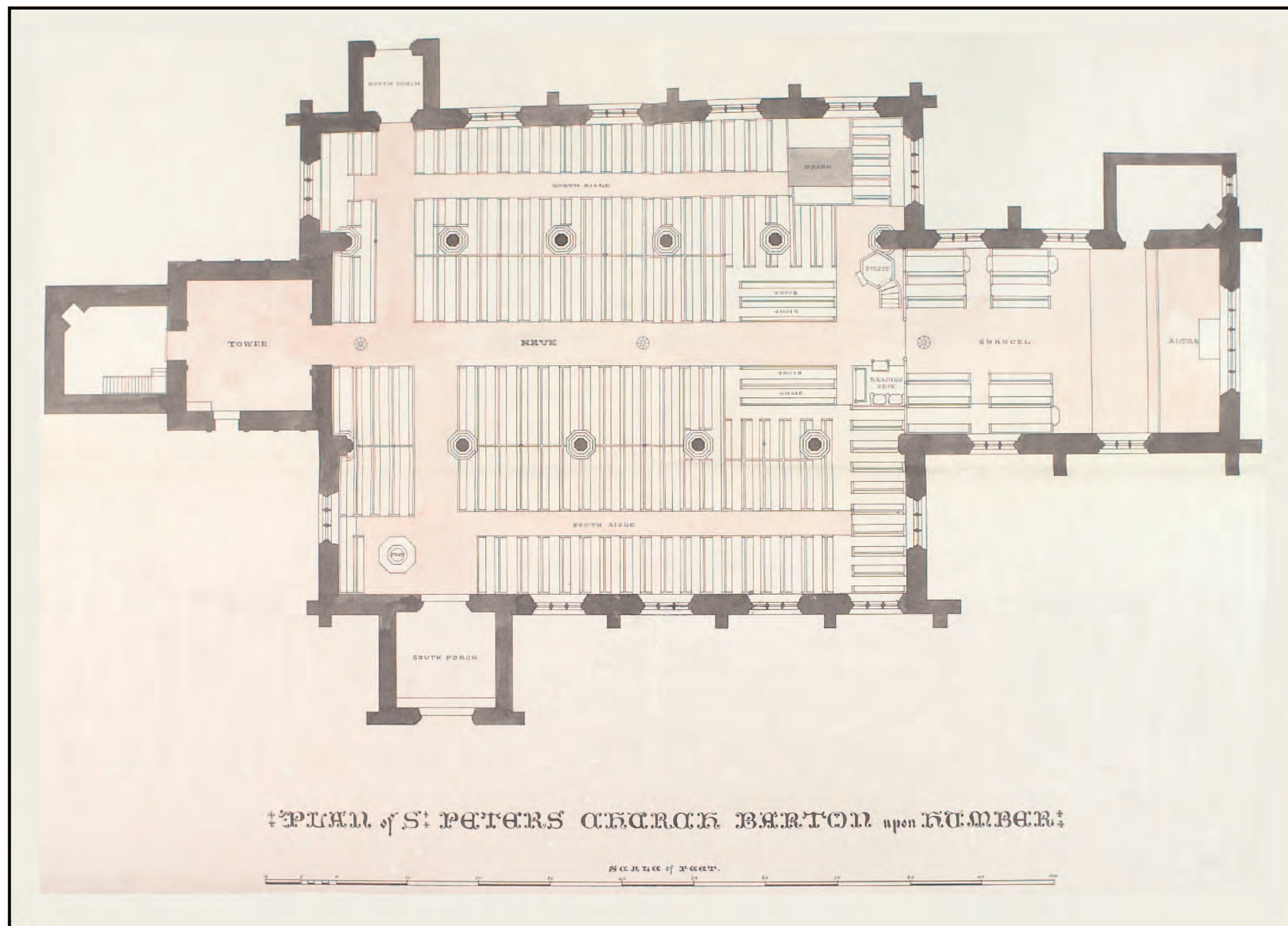
Fig. 600: Proposed reseating plan by Cuthbert Brodrick, 1858. Note: the three gas stoves shown here on the central axis were not installed. The Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library

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 115s/- 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 1897[69] (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 paviours, 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 paviours, 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 limestone[73] 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 Commandments[74] (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-lys 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 removed[84] (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
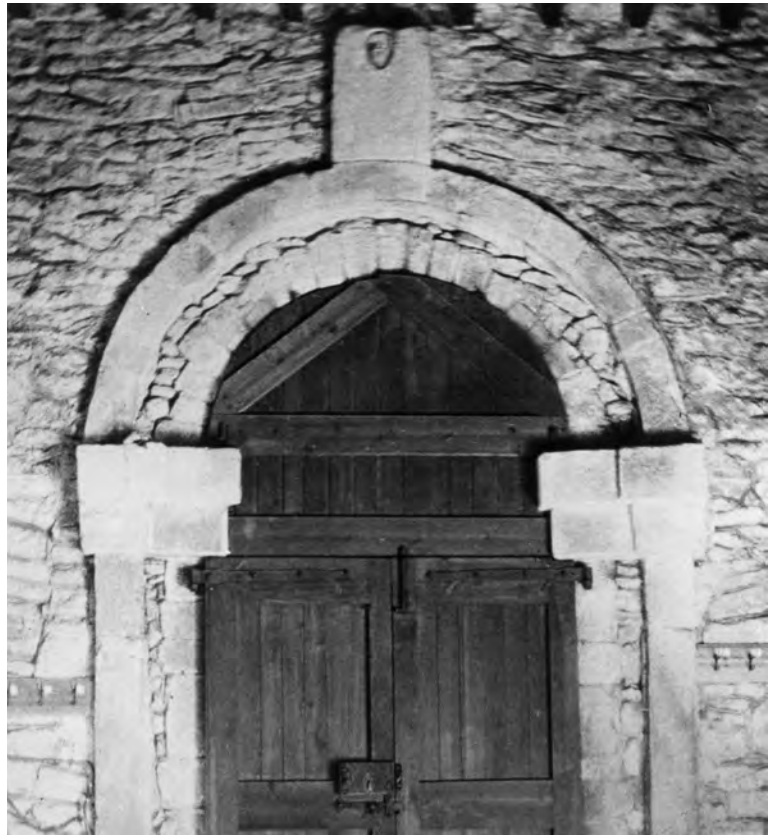
A   B

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 gritstone (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 morter *[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 morter 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]
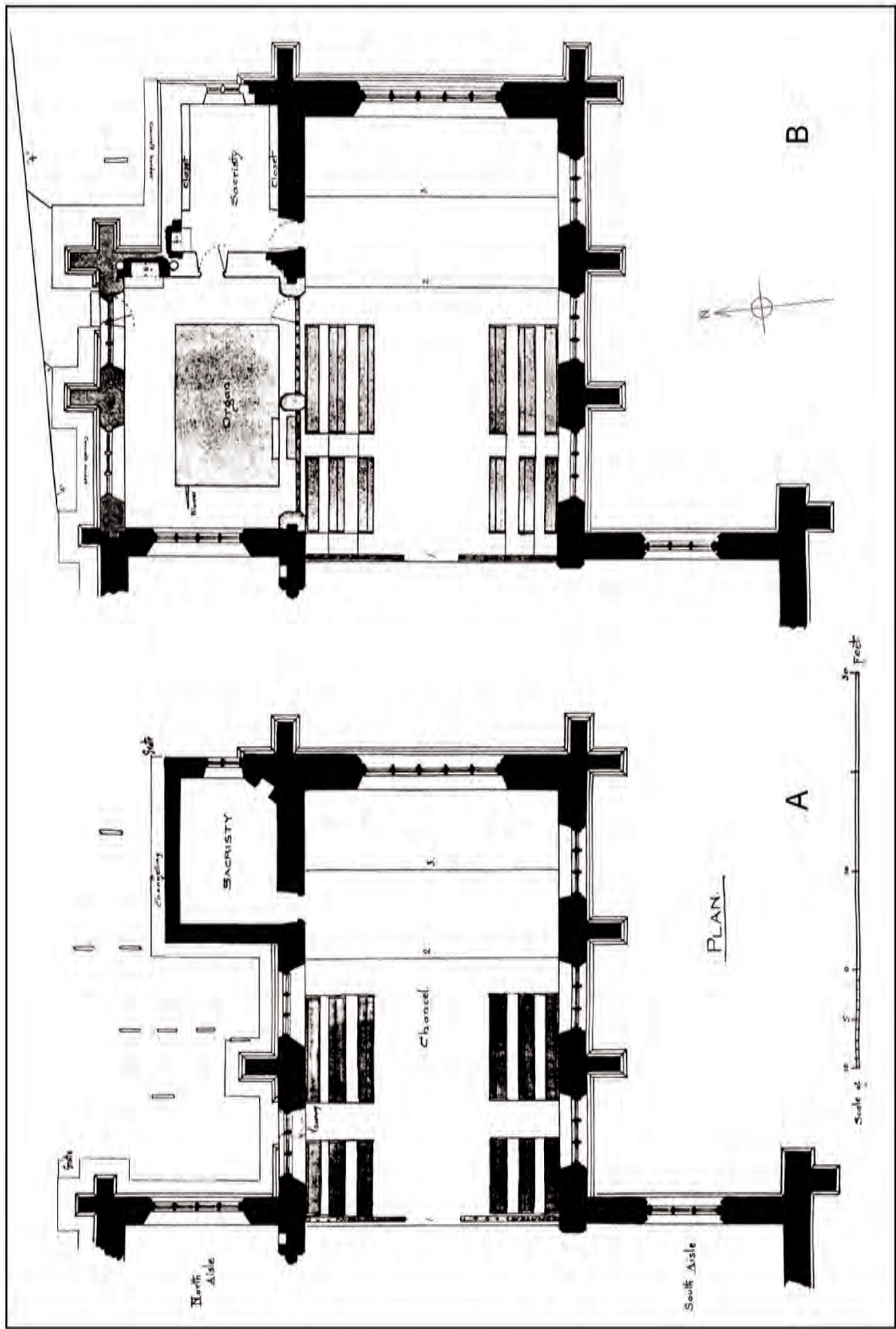
Fig. 611: C.H. Fowler's plans of the chancel, vestry and organ chamber, 1896, showing the existing arrangement (A) and proposed alterations (B). See also Figs. 616 and 617. NB the south side of the chancel is incorrectly shown with three windows and two intermediate buttresses, instead of two windows 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*
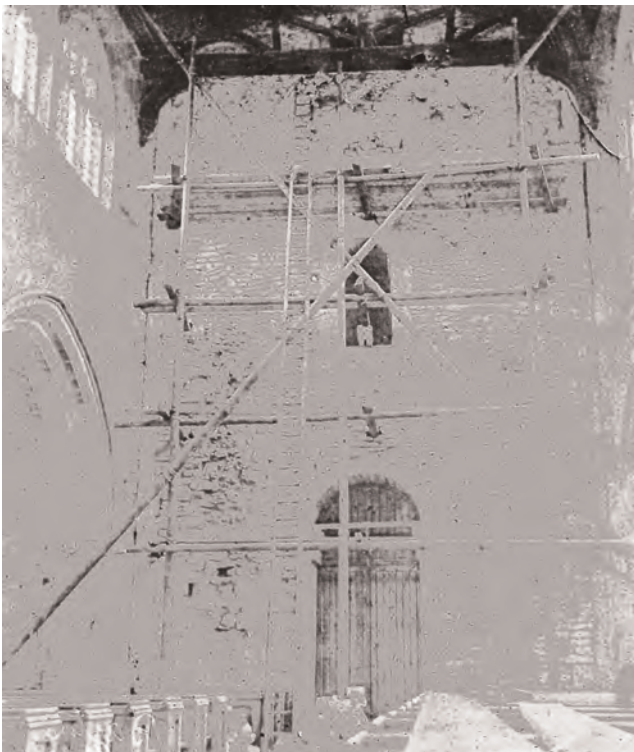

Fig. 615: West wall of the nave being stripped of plaster in 1898. Photograph possibly by J.T. Micklethwaite. Lincolnshire Archives: Taylor/Varah archive

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 Micklethwaite[127] (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 herringbone fashion.[128]

Organ chamber

The construction of the organ chamber involved demolishing two bays of the medieval north wall of the
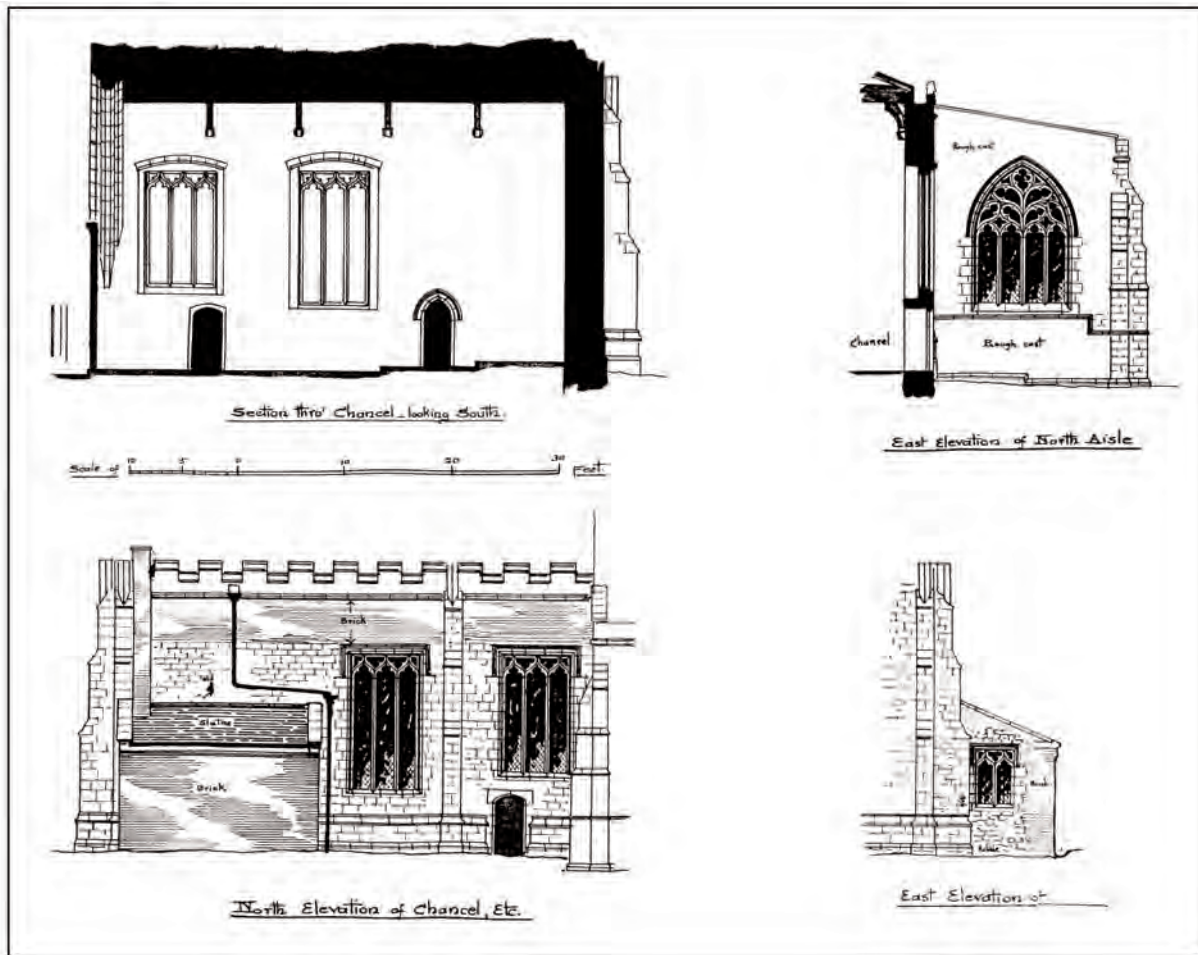
Fig. 616: C.H. Fowler's designs for the new organ chamber and vestry, 1896. Existing structure. See also Fig. 609. Lincolnshire Archives

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
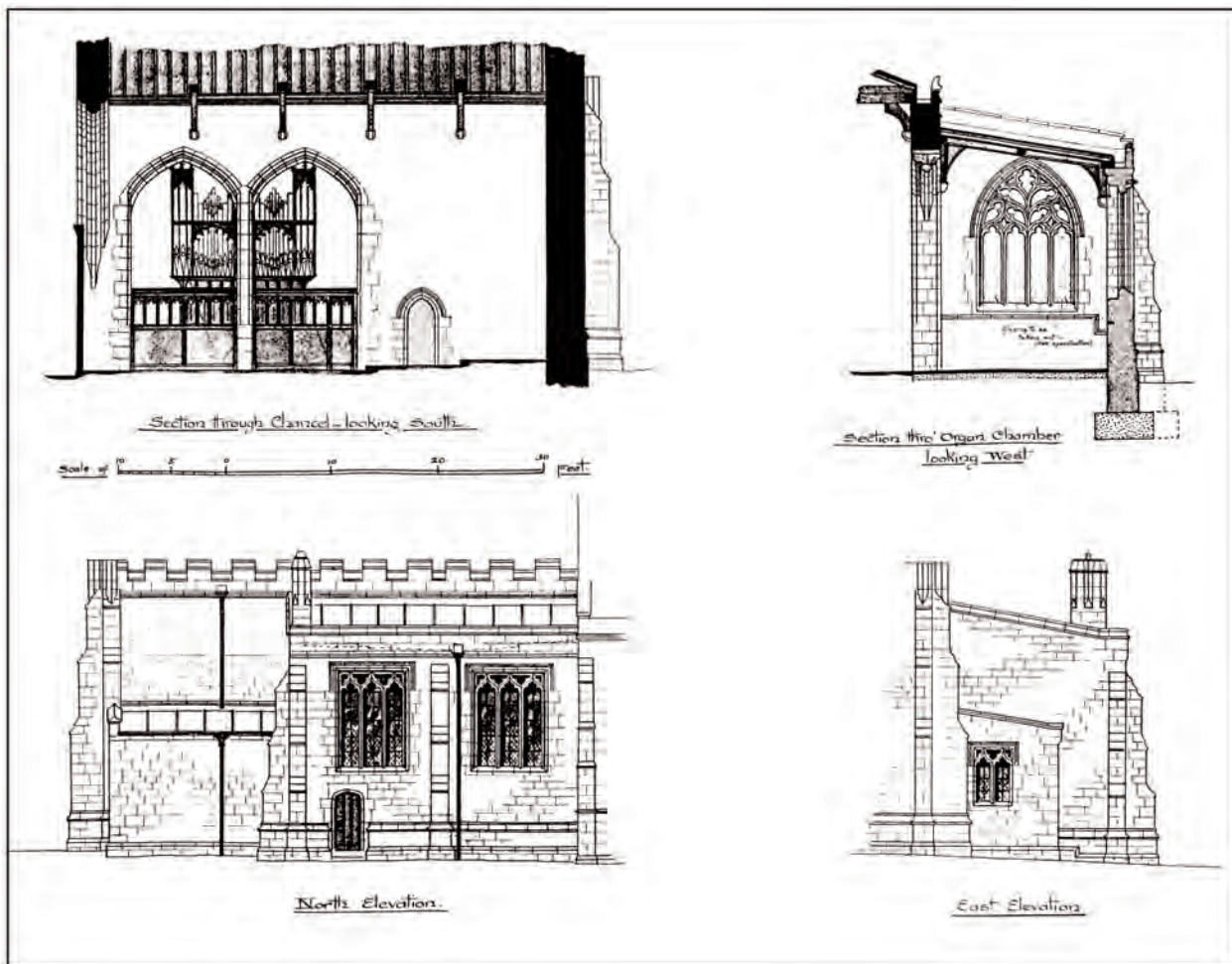
Fig. 617: C.H. Fowler's designs for the new organ chamber and vestry, 1896. Proposed alterations. See also Fig. 609. Lincolnshire Archives

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 releaded 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
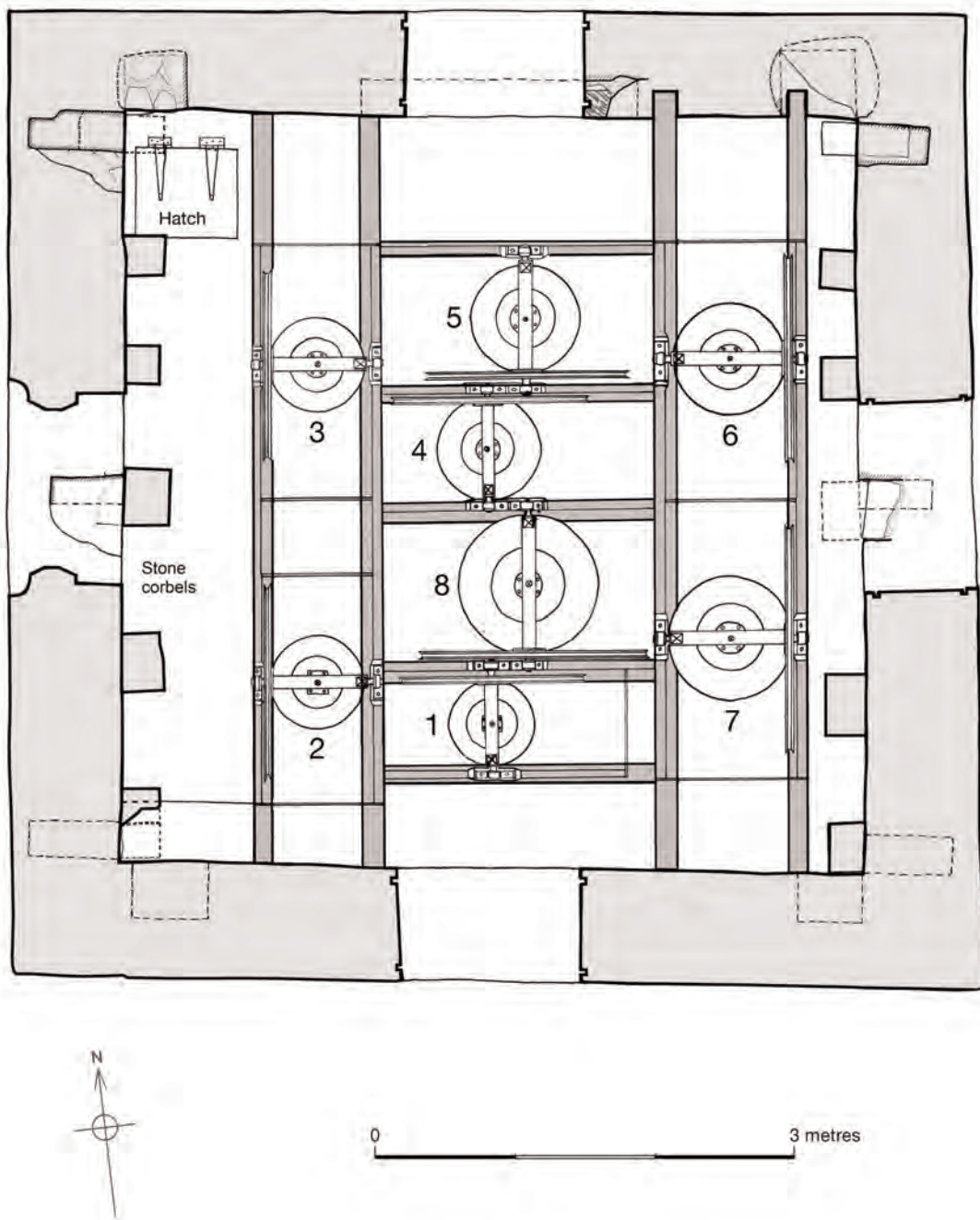
Fig. 622: Tower. Plan of the interior of the belfry, showing the ring of eight bells in the steel frame of 1914. Note the projecting stone corbels along the east and west walls, which supported the medieval timber bellframe. Scale 1:50. Drawing: Stephen Coll

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).
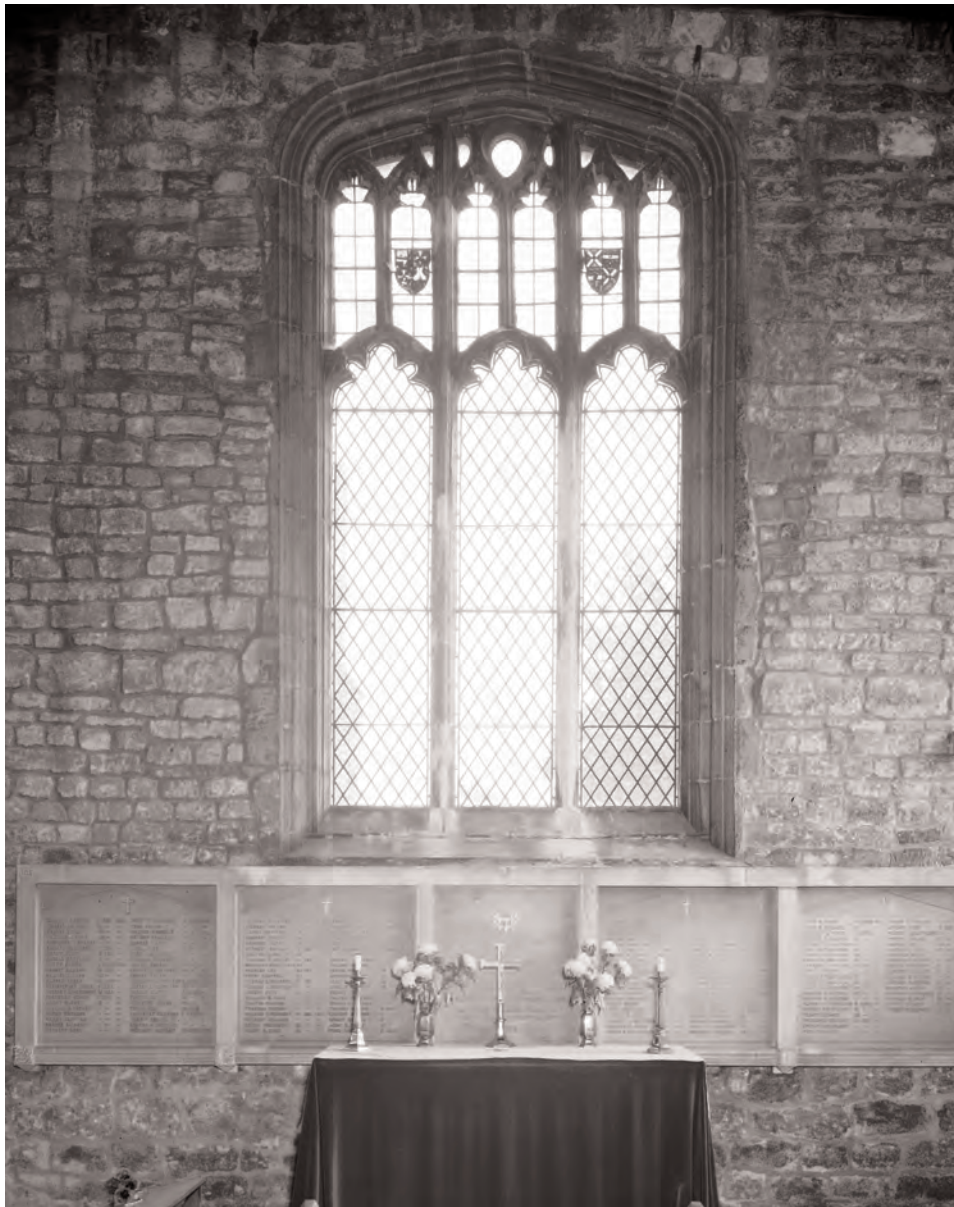

Fig. 624: South aisle chapel (St George), 1972. War memorial, furnishings and medieval heraldic glass. Photo: English Heritage, RCHME

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 gild-ed cockerel was apparently fitted.[165] The tower roof was releaded 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 recom-mended that bell-ringing be suspended. A brutal restoration followed: the decayed and fragmentary ren-dering on the tower was stripped and the present peb-bledash 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',

Fig. 625: Tower and western annexe scaffolded and stripped of rendering in 1965. View from the south. Photo: Eleanor Russell

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 fab-ric. 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 grit-stone ashlar in the aisles is regrettable from an archae-ological 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 bro-ken 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 sup-port 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, his-torically and architecturally, it was decided to relin-quish this and to retain St Mary's in use. The decision was primarily influenced by the parish's fear – unthink-able 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 demol-ished (either in their entirety, or in part), while others were mutilated by unsympathetic conversion to alter-native 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
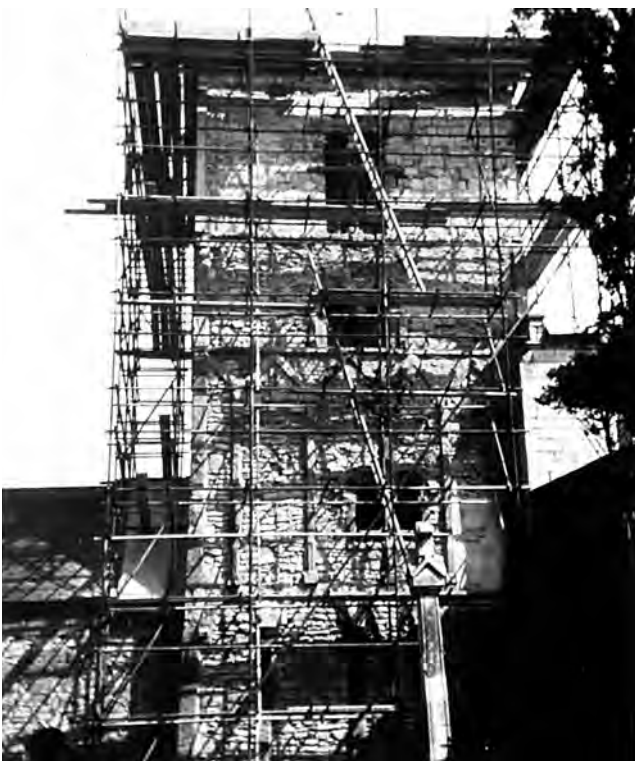
Pastoral Measure, 1968.[170] The structural condition was poor, the interior was extremely damp and vandalism was occurring, mainly to the windows. Any scheme for its future use had to recognize that a major repair programme was inevitable. It was locally anticipated that the building would probably 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 Archaeology[173] 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 releaded.[176] The lead rainwater 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
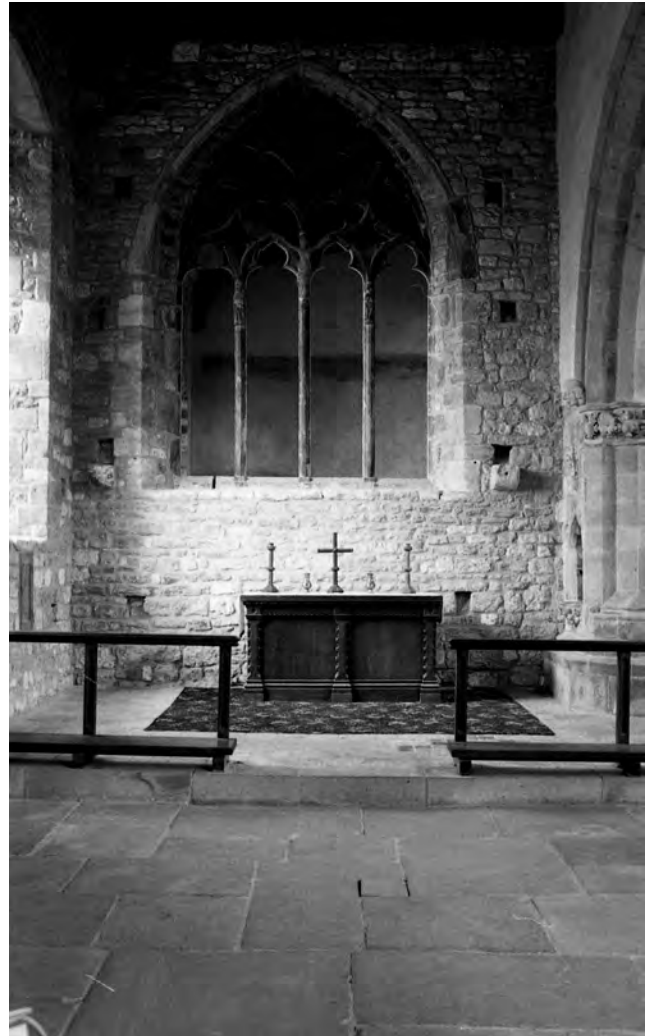

Fig. 628: North aisle chapel, looking east, 2005. Photo: Warwick Rodwell

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.