
Article:
Willmott, H. orcid.org/0000-0002-7945-7796 (2022) Re-evaluating the landscape of early ecclesiastical foundation in the Kingdom of Lindsey. Church Archaeology, 21. pp. 33-52. ISSN 1366-8129

https://doi.org/10.3828/churcharch.2022.21.33

Re-evaluating the landscape of early ecclesiastical foundation in the Kingdom of Lindsey

Hugh Willmott

In 1993, David Stocker published a review of the evidence for the early church in Lincolnshire, proposing a series of models explaining the pattern behind the documented foundations of the 7th and 8th centuries. Over the last three decades, excavations at West Halton, Partney, Little Carlton and the long-awaited publication of those from Flixborough, in addition to new research at a range of other sites, make a re-evaluation of his arguments possible. By focusing on the historical Kingdom of Lindsey, this paper revisits some of Stocker's propositions, and in particular the notion of the close pairing of ecclesiastical and secular settlements. Further attention is drawn to the close connection between newly established churches and pre-existing ritual features, as exemplified by the recently excavated pre-Christian shrine at West Halton.

Introduction

Excavations undertaken between 2003-2009 at West Halton, Lincolnshire, by the University of Sheffield, and co-directed by the author, revealed extensive evidence for archaeological activity in the heart of the village dating from the early Bronze Age to the 15th century.

In particular, well-stratified deposits demonstrated the site's intensive occupation throughout most of the early medieval period (6th-11th centuries AD), a time when the settlement went through a series of distinct phases of remodelling. Whilst the results of these have been briefly reported (Hadley et al., 2016), their broader significance has thus far gone unrecognised more widely, particularly given the historical context in which they can now be viewed. Several scholars have suggested that West Halton was the location of an ecclesiastical community founded by St Æthelthryth in AD 672/3 (eg Stocker, 1993, 114; Leahy, 2007, 143), and the recent archaeological evidence seems to corroborate this hypothesis. Furthermore, based upon these excavations, it is now possible to suggest why Æthelthryth might have chosen West Halton as the location for an early church. The excavations at West Halton provide a rare opportunity to examine the genesis of a religious site and lay the foundations for a re-evaluation of the landscape evidence for the establishment of the early Church throughout the Kingdom of Lindsey.

The last two decades have seen intensification in the debate about how a monastery or minster might be identifiable archaeologically, especially in the absence of any corroborating historical sources (for a summary see Gittos, 2011; Pickles, 2019). On one side of the argument, scholars such as Ulmschneider (2000, 104- 5) and Blair (2005, 204-11) have argued that metal- rich assemblages that include items associated with literacy must indicate the presence of an ecclesiastical rather than a secular settlement. This position has been challenged by Pestell (2004, 40-8) and Loveluck (2007, 144-64), amongst others, who have pointed out that such assemblages would not be out of keeping with activities taking place on a secular site. Furthermore, if they were exclusive to ecclesiastical sites, then royal estate centres would effectively be invisible archaeologically. The truth probably lies somewhere between these positions, and there was more of a functional blurring than the entrenched terms 'minster' and 'secular estate' allows (Willmott and Wright, 2021, 182-3). That having been said, as Blair notes (2005, 211), the historical sources are clear that during the 7th and 8th centuries, there was a contemporary perception that distinct ecclesiastical settlements did exist.

It is not the purpose of this paper to revisit the argument of how an undocumented monastery might be identified archaeologically, as Hines (1997, 391) has noted the value of such speculations is dubious at best. Instead, this paper focuses on those sites for which confirmed documentary evidence for a minster

or monastery survives (Figure 1). The paper is intended to build upon, and further test, the work of David Stocker (1993), who reviewed the evidence of the early Church in Lincolnshire. In doing so, it revisits some of his largely hypothetical positions, incorporating the recent archaeological work that has taken place over nearly three decades since his publication. In particular, two of the models Stocker constructed are worthy of reconsideration. The first was that most, if not all, of the earliest Christian sites were monastic and suggestive of 'royal' foundation (Stocker, 1993, 115-6). Most of the first abbots and abbesses were drawn from elite circles and were often related to each other and the ruling houses. Given this, he proposed an interconnected network of foundations, often with subsidiary houses, and these were closely linked, or even paired with secular royal estate centres. The second model concerned the choice of location and form of the settlement itself. Stocker (1993, 106-9) noted the important concept of monastic isolation from the secular world, either through the use of the vallum to physically separate the site or in the choice of location on actual, or perceived, 'islands.' Here, he introduced the idea, most extensively developed at Bardney, of the whole island being the conceptual monastery, which could often cover many hectares, and thus one that was polyfocal in nature. Finally, this paper will seek to develop the discussion of why certain landscape locations were chosen for the site of an ecclesiastical foundation. Potential 'islands' could be found right across the Kingdom of Lindsey, but it seems that particular pre-existing features influenced their precise location, as the early church sought to establish itself in both a physical and a historically defined landscape of belief. Nowhere is this demonstrated more clearly than at West Halton, where St Æthelthryth's church was founded in a pre-Christian landscape already rich in ritual significance.

Although Stocker's work examined the whole of the county of Lincolnshire, this study focuses on those areas that fell within the traditional boundaries of the Kingdom of Lindsey. This is in part because this region has seen the most recent archaeological work, including the excavations at West Halton, but also it allows discussion to be centred within the context of a recorded political territory. Lindsey is traditionally defined by the River Humber to the north, the North Sea coast to the east, the Foss Dyke and River Witham to the south, and the River Trent to the west, although some lands west of the Trent were also included within it (see the discussion of Adlingfleet below). However, Green (2019, 128-36) has convincingly argued that the original kingdom of Linsissi occupied the far larger area previously controlled by the Roman provincial capital of Lindum (Lincoln), and that Lindsey was just a surviving rump of this larger polity, created following Mercian annexation of the region in the late 7th century.

St Æthelthryth's Minster at West Halton

The traditional connection between West Halton and a minster founded by St Æthelthryth in AD 672/3 is based upon a detailed account in the Liber Eliensis. Although compiled by a monk in the 12th century it drew upon earlier sources. Daughter of King Anna of the East Angles, Æthelthryth was married to Ecgfrith of Northumbria, from whom she absconded in order to preserve her virginity, fleeing south to the sanctuary of her native kingdom. According to the Liber Eliensis; 'Arriving at the river which is called the Humber, she made crossing of its channel, thanks to the blowing of a light breeze, and arrived successfully at the port of Winteringham. But, about ten furlongs on from there, she turned aside for a little village called Alftham, more or less surrounded by marshes, like an island, and, accompanied by aforementioned girls, she sought and found lodgings. Staying there for a few days, she could not be inconspicuous because of the signs of her merits: she constructed a church for the Lord (Domino ecclesiam construxit), in which, through her intercessions, many benefits are brought to the people who live there.' (Fairweather, 2005, 38). Although the identification of Alftham, translated by Roffe (2007, 138) as 'island frequented by swans,' as modern-day West Halton is not certain, the geographical detail presents it as a very real possibility.

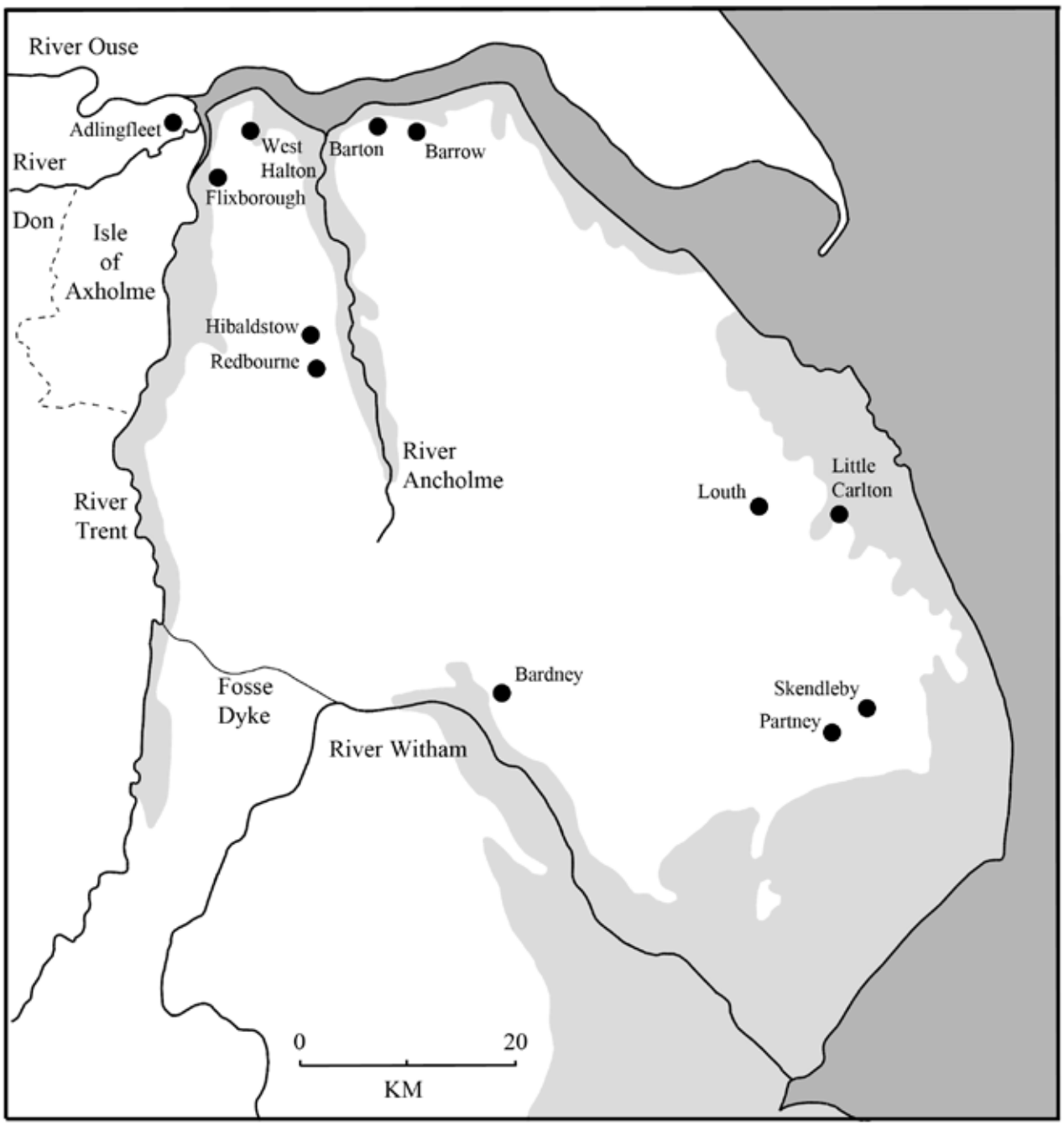

Fig 1
Map of the location of possible early ecclesiastical sites in Lindsey

As the crow flies, West Halton lies about 2.5km from the historic centre of Winteringham, so just a little over the ten furlongs mentioned in the Liber Eliensis. Furthermore, the village's original approach was by a turnoff from the main road leading south from the Humber port, fossilised in the modern-day Winteringham Lane. Additional evidence for this being the location of the early medieval minster is the unusual dedication of the post-Conquest parish church to St Etheldreda, the later variant of Æthelthryth, indicating a persisting association of the saint with the parish. It is the only such dedication to occur in Lincolnshire, and only a tiny number are known nationally (Venables, 1881, 377). Furthermore, whilst the current church in West Halton is largely a Georgian rebuild of modest proportions (Pevsner et al, 1989, 792), when the antiquary Abraham de la Pryme visited in 1697, five years after its destruction in a fire, he described the ruins 'to have been very stately, magnificent, and larger than any one for a great many miles aroundit' (Jackson, 1870, 140). He further noted that 'This church at first cost, in all

likelihood, some thousands of pounds in building […] there having been a great deal of excellent workmanship about it'. This sum is in stark contrast to the £840 de la Pryme said was required for its replacement. All this suggests that in the later Middle Ages the church at West Halton was unusually large for its setting, perhaps hinting at its earlier origin and status.

Whilst it is true that the village of West Halton does not occupy a true 'island' location as its early name might suggest, it is located on a well-defined promontory bounded by the Trent to the west and the wide marshy plain of the Winterton Brook to the east, jutting into the Humber at a particularly strategic location. Consequently, given the balance of the geographical and historical evidence, it can be said with some confidence that West Halton was indeed the location of the documented settlement of Alftham. There is no other site in the vicinity for which there is any evidence to make a counterclaim. Furthermore, there is an additional possible reference to it being the location of a prominent church. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle mentions a minster at Ælfetee (swan island), where Pehtwine was consecrated Bishop of Whithorn (Foot, 2007, 136). Alftham and Ælfetee are of sufficiently close derivation and meaning to be the same place, although no geographical indications are given in the Chronicle as to where Ælfetee might have been been located. Late medieval tradition held that this was at Elvet in Durham, but Richardson (1985, 17-20) has argued that there is no early evidence for this, and the monks of Durham probably fabricated the association to support a claim to a more remote past. Instead, Richardson suggests that Ælfetee lay in the Humber region and places it at Adlingfleet, as this was a suitable location for the foundation of a Northumbrian monastery (see below for a further discussion of Adlingfleet as a possible early settlement). While this argument has been generally accepted by other scholars (eg Foot, 2007, 136; Roffe, 2007, 138), there is no reason why Ælfetee might not have been situated just six kilometres to the east of Adlingfleet at West Halton; arguably a more strategic point on the Humber, and close to the crossing at Winteringham.

There are later indications that West Halton might have been a place of early ecclesiastical significance, not just focused on the current village but spread across the surrounding area. Several authors have commented upon the unusual size and shape of the later medieval parish. Roffe (2007, 138) noted that West Halton lay at the heart of an extensive pre-Conquest estate, and this seems to have included most, if not all, of the peninsular area defined by the Trent, Humber and Winterton Brook.

Furthermore, there was a later medieval connection between the parish church at West Halton and North Conesby; the location of a subsidiary chapel next to the site of Flixborough. In 1455 a protracted legal case sought to ensure that the parish continued to maintain its ancient obligations to serve the altar at this chapel (Owen DM, 1975, 134). The connection between West Halton and Flixborough is potentially very significant. Excavations at Flixborough revealed a wealth of archaeological evidence for high status 7th-century and later occupation, including material culture explicitly relating to literacy and the Church, although the site is interpreted as a secular rather than ecclesiastical one (see Evans and Loveluck, 2009). As Foot (2007, 136) has noted, if Flixborough was an early monastic site, it was certainly never mentioned in any historical records. Nonetheless, Flixborough was clearly a significant location in the political landscape of Middle Saxon Lindsey, and thus must have had a developed relationship with contemporary settlement at West Halton, just four miles away.

The strong association between West Halton and Flixborough has been further argued by Leahy (2007, 142). He notes that in the later Middle Ages a detached element of the parish, Halton Park, adjoined the site of Flixborough, and this was a surviving remnant of a much larger territorial unit out of which the neighbouring parishes were carved in the 10th century. Leahy interprets the apparent connection between West Halton and North Conesby/Flixborough in reference to Stocker's suggestion that monastic and royal sites were paired at their foundation (Stocker,1993, 115-6). This, he argues, can be confirmed through place-name evidence, with Conesby translating as 'King's settlement' (Leahy, 2007, 143). If correct, this establishes West Halton as the main ecclesiastical centre, while Flixborough was the focus of secular estate power. Flixborough mirrors the situation at Little Carlton, discussed further

below, and high-status secular settlements would equally be expected to have had aspects of the church present.

Fig 2
7th-century gold pendant from West Halton

A further tentative piece of evidence survives to suggest that West Halton was already established as an important centre before the arrival of Æthelthryth in the 670s. In 2016 a solid gold decorative pendant, originally set with a sizeable, now-missing stone, was found in a field south of the parish, almost equidistant between West Halton and Flixborough (Figure 2; PAS NLM-DD07EF). Dating to c. AD 625-75, the pendant in all likelihood came from a plough-damaged 7th- century burial, and if this is indeed the case, represents the internment of an individual of some significant status. That this possible cemetery was located in between the putative ecclesiastical and secular centres, is further possible evidence for their apparent connection at this time.

As tantalising as such documentary, place name, and occasional metal detected evidence is, only after excavation can a more definitive connection between West Halton and St Æthelthryth be made. The excavations not only revealed a complex pattern of settlement and ritual activity on the site, including a phase of significant settlement reorganisation taking place in the 7th century (Hadley et al., 2016), but also demonstrated why Æthelthryth might have chosen this particular site to be the location for her church.

During the fieldwork, two trenches were excavated that provided evidence relevant to this discussion. The first, measuring 17x20m, focused on the southern end of the current village green. Despite significant later medieval disturbance and a very shallow depth of stratified deposits that suggest the area may have been subject to ploughing at a later date, two clear phases of early medieval occupation could be discerned from features cut into the bedrock (Figure 3). The first consisted of a series of post-built buildings (Buildings A-D) broadly on a north-south alignment. It is far from certain whether these were all contemporaneous owing to the lack of surviving floor deposits, and few finds could be directly associated with them. However, in the absence of earlier residual material and given the later developments that took place, they can be dated to the 6th or early 7th centuries (Hadley et al., 2016, 96-9). A significant remodelling of the site then saw the digging of a large U-shaped rock-cut ditch curving from the southeast corner of the trench north-westwards.

Between 2-2.8m wide, and up to 1m deep, this ditch truncated the earlier phase of post-built structures. At the same time as the cutting of this ditch, or shortly after, a new building was constructed (Hall 1). Shallow gullies about 0.8m wide defined this building, dug to take either sleeper beams or the wall plates for a plank- built structure, with a pair of central supporting posts, 4.5m wide. The southern end of

the hall was beyond the edge of the trench, although from the central posts it can be estimated to be around 9m in length. Significantly, the new building was placed parallel to and respected the alignment of the rock-cut ditch, and at its northern end an adjoining east-west gully seemed to define a new internal site partition.

The second phase boundary ditch was subsequently deliberately backfilled and finds within this fill included earlier residual late 5th-6th-century stamped pottery, animal bone, and pottery of later Anglo-Saxon date (Hadley et al., 2016, 96-9). Given this sequence, it can be assumed that the site's remodelling took place at some point in the 7th century and remained in use until the late 8th or 9th century. Interestingly, a small number of metal finds were recovered, hinting at an increase in status possibly associated with this remodelling. Unfortunately, these almost all came from later or unstratified contexts (Figure 4). However, they include a Middle Saxon dome-headed pin, a pyramidal sword scabbard mount dating to the 7th century (Paul Mortimer, pers. comm.), a Series E Variety G sceatta of c. AD 695-715 (Blackburn and Bonser, 1987), and two strap ends; one with silver-wire scrollwork and the other Trewhiddle-style decoration, both of which date to the 9th century (Thomas, 1996; Thomas, 2000, 34). A final find of interest was a small lead coin weight. At almost exactly 3g, its weight and surface markings of three raised dots indicate it was intended to measure three silver sceattas, and parallels two similar finds from Little Carlton (Willmott and Wright, 2021, 199-202).

There are also hints that West Halton continued to be a place of significance right up until the 11th century. At the Conquest it was one of the very few manors in the region belonging to Earl Harold and was the largest Domesday estate recorded in the area (Roffe, 2007, 137). Archaeological evidence for this latter occupation was scant, yet the excavations did produce two 11th-century silver coins: a penny of Edward the Confessor and a rare Harold 'Pax' penny from the Nottingham mint (Figure 4).

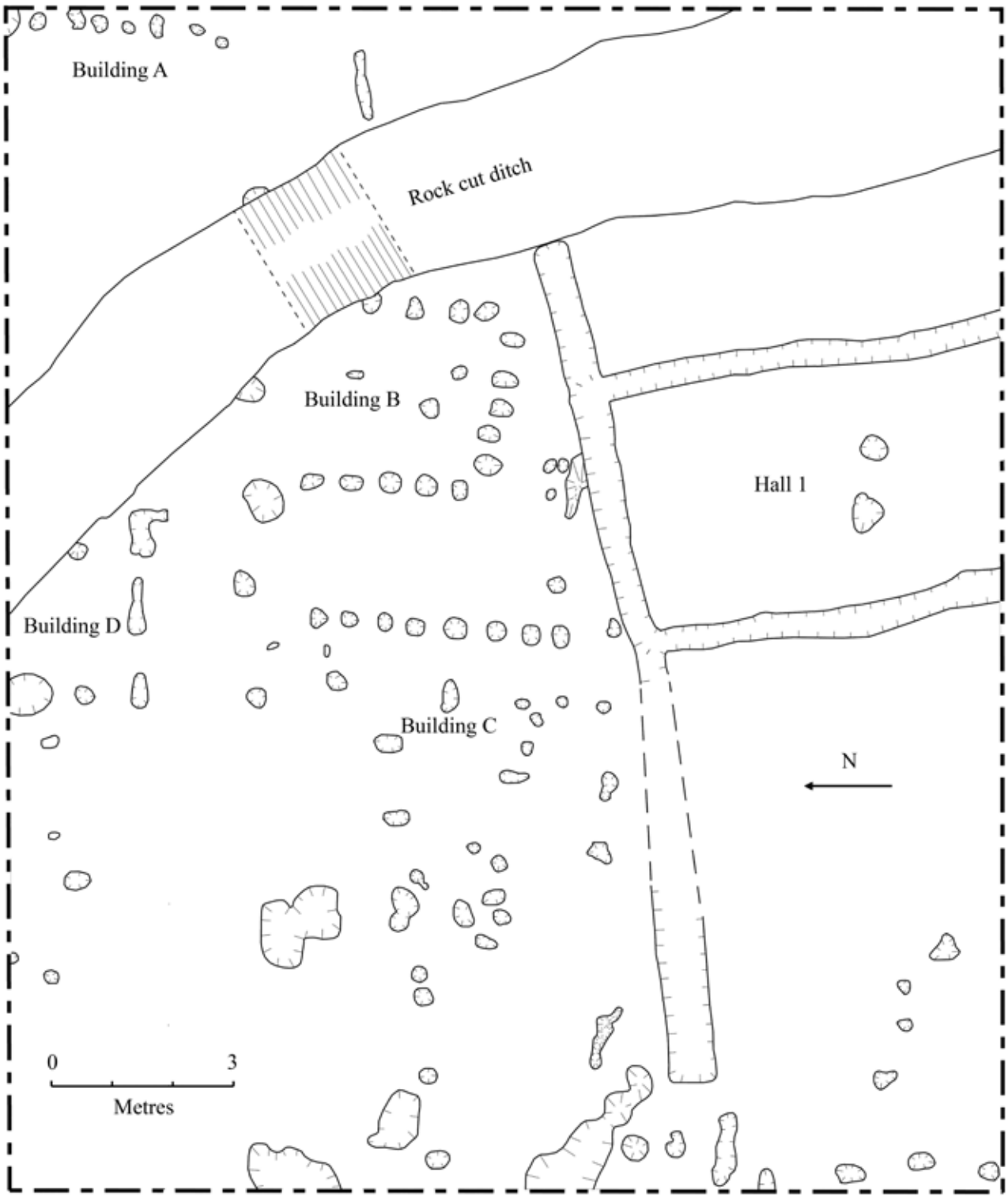

Fig 3
Plan of the excavated settlement at West Halton

Fig 4
Finds from excavations at West Halton

It is, of course, impossible to directly equate this remodelling of the site at West Halton with the account of Æthelthryth's sojourn at Alftham, especially given only a limited area of the settlement has been excavated. No definitive evidence for an early church has yet been identified, although one distinct possibility is that this lies beneath the current parish church to the immediate south of the site. Furthermore, the 7th and 8th centuries are now widely recognised as a period of settlement restructuring and enclosure more generally (eg Reynolds, 2003; Wright, 2010), so it is risky to relate changes observed at West Halton to a single visit recorded in the Liber Eliensis. Nonetheless, the possibility is an intriguing one. The enclosure of the site with a vallum echoes other putative ecclesiastical sites at this time, and is a feature often seen as typically 'monastic' (Stocker, 1993, 106). Furthermore, the relative paucity of high status or 'ecclesiastical' finds from the 7th to 9th centuries does not rule out West Halton as having been the newly founded minster's location. Excavations at Flixborough and Lyminge have demonstrated that most diagnostic material culture was deposited in closely defined areas or contexts (Evans and Loveluck, 2009; Thomas, 2017), and these might be outside the excavated area at West Halton. Furthermore, as Leahy (2007, 143) has observed, many well-documented ecclesiastical sites, such as Jarrow, have produced relatively small assemblages of finds, despite their historically attested status and the fact they have been subject to much more extensive excavation.

However, excavations at West Halton have revealed further evidence for why a minster might have been located here. In addition to being a pre-existing settlement, there is evidence that the site was already a focus for ritual and cult activity. Little over 10m to the northeast of the settlement boundary is a distinct mound, known locally as 'Bunker's Hill', which rather prescient local rumour held to be the burial location of a 'Saxon warrior' (Andrew, 1836, 70; Jackson, 1870, 140). Being such a prominent monument (Figure 5), it unsurprisingly attracted antiquarian interest and was investigated in 1837 by several gentlemen of the parish, although they reported finding nothing and concluded it was a natural feature (Dudley, 1931, 28). This 19th- century intervention is still clearly visible on the east side of the mound, and re-excavation of the antiquarian spoil heap revealed several fragments of human bone including the left side of a mandible, which was 14C dated to AD 600-670 at 95% probability, and AD 620-665 at 68% probability (Lab. No. WK18117), although whether the mound was erected at this time is uncertain. Furthermore, immediately to the south of Bunker's Hill a second mound that had been flattened by a later medieval building was found during excavation, and this contained the remains of a primary inhumation burial, along with a secondary inserted cremation, both early Bronze Age in date (Hadley et al., 2016, 28-32). It is now clear that at least one of these mounds had been used for burial just prior to the supposed establishment of a church by Æthelthryth, presumably by a member of the local elite.

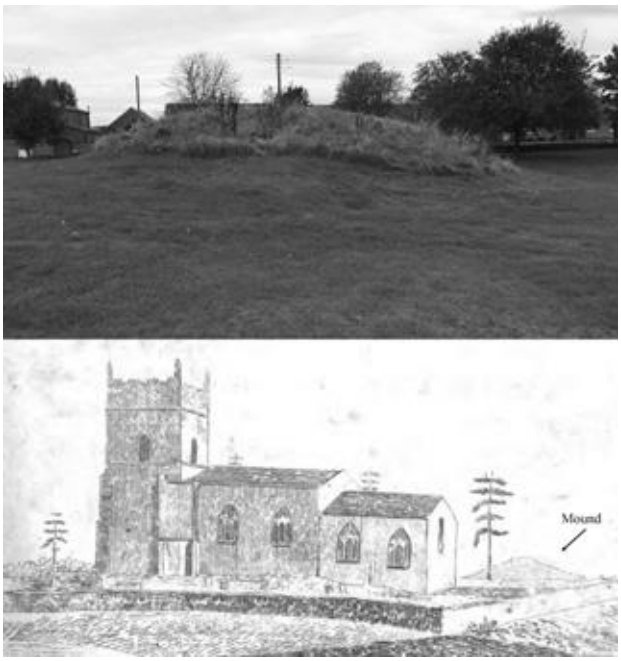

Fig 5
The mound at West Halton, today and as depicted in 1836

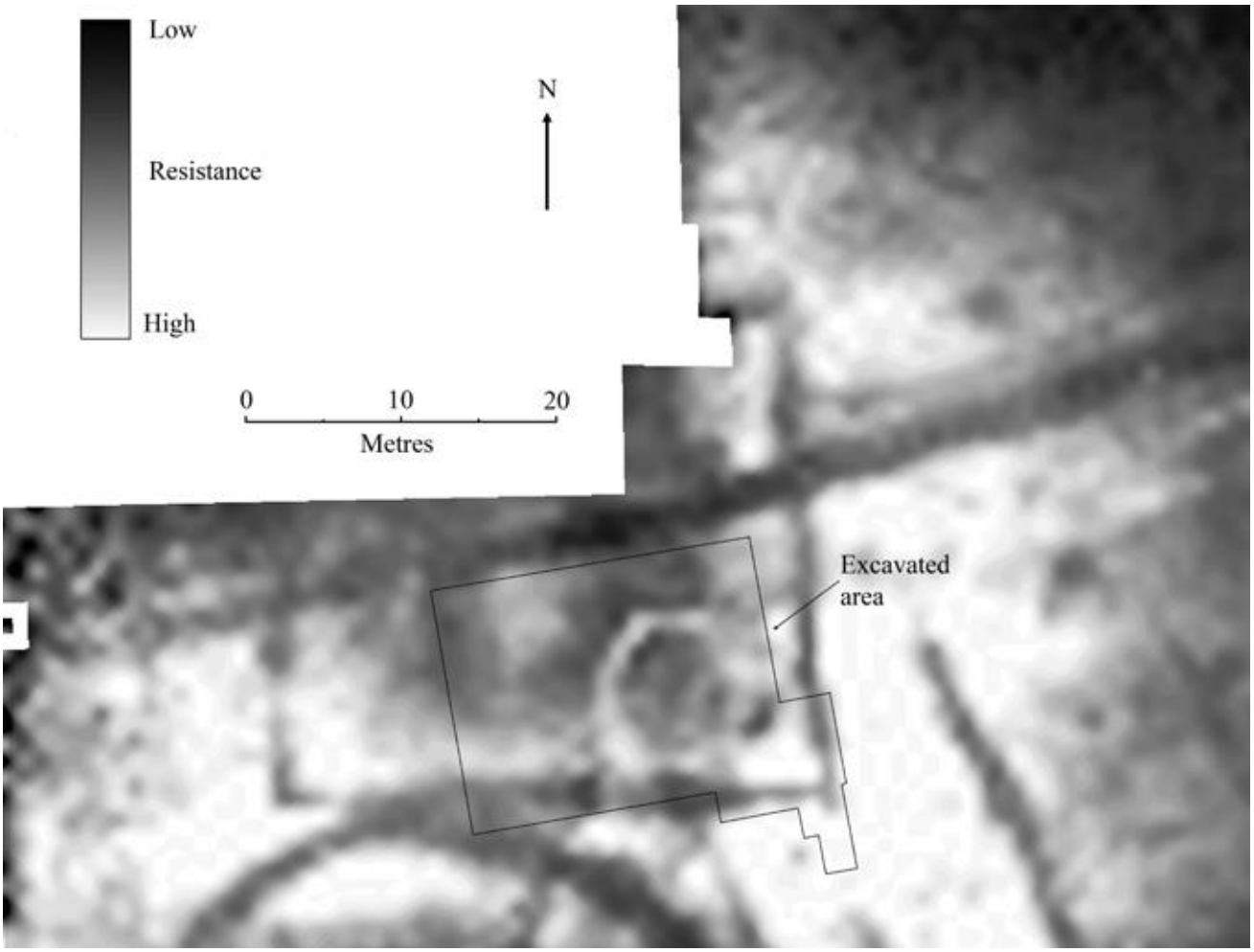

Fig 6
Earth resistivity survey of the shrine at West Halton

The second feature that might have influenced the siting of a church was found unexpectedly in a geophysical survey immediately to the north of Bunker's Hill, an area that had been levelled almost to the natural bedrock in recent years to form an area of car parking. Here an earth resistivity survey showed a square ditched feature measuring 30 x 34m, apparently respecting the northern edge of the upstanding mound's ring ditch (Figure 6). This enclosure was partly obscured by modern hard standing to the north, cut west-east by a service trench, and overlain in its south- eastern corner by a modern circular concrete ring that acted as a bonfire base. Despite this later interference, excavation across its southern side revealed well- preserved rock-cut features, although all surfaces and other layers had been completely removed by subsequent activity (Figure 7).

On excavation, the square enclosure ditch proved to be of one phase and uniform construction, measuring consistently around 1.5-1.8m wide, 1m deep with steep sides, and a narrow-flattened base. The ditch was backfilled with a mixture of topsoil and broken- up bedrock and contained virtually no finds except some heavily abraded and residual late Roman pottery (Hadley et al, 2016, 118). This suggests that the ditch had been dug to hold a large fence, which at a later date was dismantled and backfilled.

Internally, the enclosure contained a considerable number of stake holes, post holes, and small pits. Given the truncation of almost all stratigraphic layers overlying the bedrock, ascertaining the relationships between these was difficult. However, the relative lack of intercutting between these features, except for a pit group in the far south-eastern corner, suggests that they were broadly contemporary. Elsewhere, a series of postholes represented the remains of several small buildings, although the full extent of their plan was not always clear. More clearly defined was a single sunken-featured building measuring 4 x 3.5m, oriented southwest- northeast and with a pair of opposed and recut posts at either end. Across the remainder of the internal area and concentrated to the east of the sunken-feature building and the south of the most prominent post-built building were many small, but deeply dug stake holes. These formed no coherent pattern and seemed to have been dug separately to hold individual slim poles for a purpose that was clearly not structural.

Fig 7
Plan of the excavated shrine at West Halton

Given the general lack of overlying stratigraphy, few datable finds were recovered from the post fills beyond some small, abraded fragments of residual Roman ceramic and a fragment of the folded rim from a 6th- or 7th-century glass palm cup. The only feature that contained a more extensive assemblage of material culture was the sunken-featured building, which had been backfilled with a large assemblage of animal bone. This included a range of domesticates: cow, sheep, horse, chicken and goose, with the portions of larger animals consistent with butchery waste, and placed among them the articulated skeleton of a dog (Vickers, 2011). Some fragments of early to mid-Anglo-Saxon pot, a bone comb fragment, and an iron knife blade were also found within this context.

From the sparse dating evidence available, this complex appears to have been in use for a relatively short time during the 6th or 7th century; certainly, no later finds were found within stratified or associated contexts. Its interpretation is challenging, but it appears to belong to a class of monument identified by John Blair as a pre-Christian ‘shrine’ (Blair, 1995). Although they have precedents stretching back into Roman period, Blair suggests that their reappearance in the 7th century, when they are documented by contemporaries such as Bede, might have been a reaction against Christianity’s arrival.

In particular, Blair draws attention to a class of square monument, often in association with earlier prehistoric monuments, as is the case at West Halton, that seem to have been the focus of cult practice. A compelling parallel can be made with the early medieval site at Blacklow Hill, Warwickshire; where adjoining rectangular and circular enclosures, mirroring the position of the mound and square enclosure at West Halton, were found to contain numerous empty pits with no obvious function (Blair, 1995, 18). Likewise, another square shrine excavated on Therfield Heath, near Royston, Hertfordshire, in 2019 is remarkably similar to the one at West Halton (Billington and Browne, 2020). Measuring 26 x 27m, it is nearly identical in size, and 14C dating of the primary ditch fill indicates that it was constructed in the late 7th century. Blair has drawn attention to the documented practice of 'post worship,' possibly topped with animal heads, alluded to in a few early sources, and suggested that shrines could be enclosed by hedges or fences (Blair, 1995, 2). To simply transpose such an explanation onto the square enclosure at West Halton would be rash. However, given that the enclosure does not resemble an ordinary domestic settlement, was in use during the 6th to 7th centuries, and appears to have been deliberately dismantled and the sunken featured building backfilled with butchery waste, suggests that it may have fulfilled a more ritual purpose. Furthermore, the presence of a shrine might have been reason enough for Æthelthryth to turn aside from her flight south to construct a church, at such a visible symbol of the old religion.

Other Documented Ecclesiastical Sites in Lindsey

The most important early Christian site in Lindsey is the monastery at Bardney. Founded towards the end of the 7th century, it is best known as having become the resting place for St Oswald's relics (Thompson A, 1913, 35). The current village and the later medieval monastery occupy the northern end of an elongated 5km long 'island' delineated by the River Witham and its tributary the Tupholme Beck. The topographic location led Stocker to suggest that the early medieval monastery might not have been located at a single site but rather occupied multiple locations across the whole island landscape, many of which retained importance in the later medieval period (Stocker, 1993, 107-110). However, this hypothesis is problematic, as to date there is virtually no archaeological evidence for Anglo-Saxon occupation on this island, despite the later medieval abbey having been subject to extensive clearance (Brakspear, 1922). Whether this is purely happenstance, or whether the earlier monastery lay elsewhere, has yet to be demonstrated. At the time of writing, Bardney and the wider Witham watershed is the focus of a major AHRC funded research project (Everson and Stocker, 2018), and the results of this work are still some years away, so any attempt to pre- empt these would be foolish. However, it is interesting to note that in the 16th century the monks of Bardney expressed their belief to John Leland that the earlier ecclesiastical centre was 'at a graunge or day(re) of theirs a myle of' (Toulmin Smith, 1910, 36). This grange can be located in an area known today as Bardney Dairies, which occupies a prominent position 2km away to the northeast of Bardsey's 'island' (Stocker, 1993, 108).

Wherever the monastery's precise location may be, it is useful to consider why one was sited in this particular landscape. The Witham Valley has long been recognised as the focus of rich Iron Age and Roman votive deposits (eg May, 1976, Stocker and Everson, 2004), and more significant is the presence of a rather enigmatic mound on the northern boundary of the island, known as 'Kings Hill.' Resembling a large barrow, its construction date is unknown, but as noted by Stocker (1993, 110) it seems entirely likely that it was already a prominent landscape feature in the 7th century when the first monastery was founded. Consequently, when the monks arrived for the first time, they were entering and appropriating a landscape with an already rich history of ritual use.

After Bardney, perhaps the most widely recognised monastic foundation in Lindsey is Peartenau, or Partney. Bede mentions its abbots Deda and Aldwin on two separate occasions (Bede, 1969, Bk II Ch. 16; Bk III Ch. 11), and thus it seems to have been a well- established foundation. The precise location of the monastery within the current landscape is, however, somewhat less certain. Stocker (1993, 110) was the first to suggest that it might have been located in the same place as the historically documented post-

Conquest monastic cell and a hospital dedicated to St Mary Magdalene, which in the later Middle Ages was dependent upon the monastery at Bardney. At the time of Stocker's paper this cell's location was unknown, but he suggested it lay to the south of the village in an area known more recently as 'Chantry Close'. However, excavations in 2003 to the east of the modern village in advance of the construction of a bypass revealed the extensive remains of the hospital and its associated cemetery (Atkins and Popescu, 2010). Despite an extensive open area excavation, no pre-Conquest remains were encountered, and thus the early medieval monastery must have been elsewhere.

Following these excavations, Glyn Coppack (2003) suggested that the Anglo-Saxon monastery probably lay to the east, where several fields contain 'Monk' within their names (High Monks, Eddish Monks, and Monks Close). Whether this is the precise location of Peartenau is unknown, and of course the intriguing possibility exists that the monastery was, in fact, polyfocal, with both sites being potential nodes of early ecclesiastical activity. Still, both Coppack and Stocker have stressed the important connection between the original early monastery and the later holding of Bardney Abbey.

The original motivation for siting an early medieval monastery at Partney is probably explained by its broader topographical location, in what again appears to have been a pre-existing ritual landscape. On the southern tip of the Wolds, Partney was both on the edge of the kingdom and well connected to the wider world through riverine and marshland transport links. Indeed, there was already a high-status presence here in the decades immediately before its foundation in the last quarter of the 7th century.

Road improvement works in 1950, 1km to the east of the current village, disturbed what transpired to be a large barrow. Although a professional excavation was not undertaken, it was clear that this contained several well-furnished burials of late 6th and early 7th-century date (Thompson F, 1954). Furthermore, in 1988, a large hoard of 84 late Iron Age silver and gold coins was found to the south of the village (PAS CCI-900823), close to the Partney Beck, suggesting the location had an even earlier ritual significance.

Partney was not the only later medieval cell that was dependant on the refounded 11th-century monastery at Bardney; there was a second in the nearby village of Skendleby. Coppack (2008) has drawn attention to the significance of the gifting of both related cells to Bardney and suggests that it might have been a conscious effort by the post-Conquest (re) founder of Bardney, Gilbert of Ghent, to reinstate an earlier pre-Conquest monastic holding. Both Skendleby and Partney were originally sokeland of Gilbert's manor of Bardney, suggesting that they were at one point part of a large much earlier dispersed estate. The 7th-century monastic connection between Partney and Abbot Aldwin made by Bede (1969, Bk III Ch. 11) has already been mentioned. However, in the same chapter, Bede also recounts the story of Æthelhild, the sister of Aldwin and abbess of a house 'near Partney', who was paying a visit to Bardney shortly after the miracle of St Oswald had taken place.

Given that both Partney and Skendleby shared a pre-Conquest connection, Coppack (2008, 14) has suggested that Skendleby might have been the location of Æthelhild's monastery. Lying just 3km northeast of Partney, it is undoubtedly close by, as Bede intimated. Excavations in 2005 of the cell at Skendleby uncovered the plan of the later medieval buildings (Clay, 2006). However, as fieldwork was conducted as a community project only the demolition layers were removed and no later medieval or earlier deposits excavated. Consequently, it is still unknown whether there is an early medieval phase of activity underneath this later cell. However, there are hints that Skendleby was indeed a prominent location by the end of the 10th century. Metal detecting recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme in the fields around the chapel has recovered several fragments of early 11th-century metalwork, including a prick spur, a bridle cheekpiece, and three stirrup strap mounts (PAS LIN-DD4333; LIN-52BF53; LIN-DC6E82; PUBLIC-511E6E; PUBLIC-589DA1; LIN-528217), all suggestive of the elite activities of riding and hunting (Figure 8). These finds indicate that Skendleby's occupation may stretch back several centuries earlier.

The presence of an 8th-century monastery at Louth is also well attested, being recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in AD 790 as Hludensis, and usually assumed to be located in the centre of the modern town, perhaps in close association with one of the two later medieval churches. Although other locations have been proposed, including at the site of the Cistercian abbey of Louth Park (Stocker, 1993, 114), this is now thought unlikely. The recent identification of two fragments of a substantial pre-Conquest cross in the centre of Louth seems to confirm the monastery's presence in the western part of the town and it lay on both sides of the River Lud (Everson and Stocker, 2017, 351). Although the recently identified cross is dated to the 10th century, Everson and Stocker argue that it was erected on the location of a new bishop's market, which in turn had been re-established on the earlier monastic site.

Fig 8
Late Anglo-Saxon riding equipment from Skendleby

The precise size of this ecclesiastical centre has been subject to some debate. Owen (1997, 60-4) noted that St Mary's chapel on the north bank of the Lud, which he previously assumed to have Anglo-Saxon origins (and thus contributing to Everson and Stocker's topographical reconstruction), was in reality never an independent church and just a later medieval chapel of ease. Likewise, Green (2019, lxix) has proposed that the settlement was confined to south of the river, citing a suggestion from John Blair that this might have been within an oval enclosure fossilised in the curved course of the modern-day Mercer Row. In the absence of further archaeological evidence, while none of these hypotheses can be proven, for now it seems most likely that Hludensis lies beneath the modern town.

What has changed our understanding of the landscape context of the monastery at Louth is the recent discovery and excavation of the contemporary 7th-8th-century site at Little Carlton. Excavations by the author between 2015-17 revealed that although unlikely to be a monastery or minster per se, it was a site with strong Christian associations (Willmott and Wright, 2021). Lying just 7km to the east of Louth and positioned on the very edge of the Lindsey Marsh, the site proved to be located in an elliptical enclosure measuring approximately 250 x 350m. It includes the late medieval church of St Edith on its southern side, which, like Barrow-upon Humber (see below), appears to be sited on a low artificial mound. Despite their limited nature, excavations revealed a high-status settlement, with evidence for at least one hall and a naturally occurring spring-fed pool that had been used for the deposition of a range of food waste and higher status finds. Excavations also uncovered part of a cemetery containing at least 58 individuals, some of which were buried in log coffins. This cemetery was deliberately focused on, and overlays, a low disc barrow of early Bronze Age origin.

However, it is the material culture assemblage derived from both the surface collection and excavated

trenches, which is particularly remarkable. These finds include over 300 dress pins, 28 hooked tags, 40 strap ends, and 113 coins spanning the period AD 680-870, with a 'peak' of deposition around c. AD 710-40. More significantly for this discussion, 28 silver, copper and iron styli, and a lead plaque inscribed with the name 'Cudburg' were recovered, along with a solid gold finger ring, which had seemingly been deliberately deposited in the natural pool (Figure 9). Finally, a minimum of 15 copper-brazed handbell fragments were identified, an artefact form recently argued to play a liturgical role in the Insular Northumbrian church (Willmott and Daubney, 2020). Although the lack of corroborating historical documentation means that Little Carlton cannot be said definitively to be the site of a monastery or minster, it was a high-status settlement with a powerful Christian presence in the late 7th and 8th centuries.

Fig 9
Ecclesiastical and high status finds from Little Carlton

The location of Little Carlton and its possible paired connection to Louth is worth considering. Situated on the edge of habitable land, as both an isolated island and located on navigable waterways, Little Carlton was simultaneously separated from the monastic centre at Louth, yet well connected to external long-distance trade networks. As such, it could have operated as a secular estate, but inevitably had a close connection to the monastery at Louth, similar to what has already been argued here for the relationship between Flixborough and West Halton.

Barrow-upon-Humber is traditionally thought to be the location of the monastery of Adbaruae, founded by St Chad in AD 669 according to Bede (1969, Bk IV Ch. 3). Although Stocker (1993, 114) has cast some doubt upon this interpretation, there is still some merit to this suggestion. The core of the present town is on a noticeable rise, and the later medieval church sits on an artificial platform or sizeable flattened mound, which predates it (Figure 10). Excavations between 1977-8 initially seemed to provide evidence for a small apsidal church and burials from the supposed monastic cemetery (Boden and Whitwell, 1979). However, subsequent 14C dating has shown that these date to the 10th-11th centuries and are considerably later than St Chad's foundation (Grainger, 1978).

Despite these excavations, the village's built-up nature and the presence of the later churchyard are likely to preclude any further meaningful work on what could have been the core of the monastery. However, a final consideration is a close connection that must have existed between the monastery at Barrow and the settlement at Barton-upon-Humber, just over 3km away. Barton was not a new

community; the excavated Castledyke cemetery contained numerous burials from the 5th to 7th centuries, but the settlement itself seems to have become enclosed by a new boundary ditch in the 7th or 8th century, perhaps suggesting a significant reordering at this time (Rodwell and Adkins, 2011, 4). Whether there is a direct connection between the establishment of the monastery and the enclosure of the pre-existing settlement is uncertain, but just as in the case of West Halton and Flixborough, and Louth and Little Carlton, there seems to be a visible pairing of a more overtly secular site with an ecclesiastical one. Interestingly, in all three cases the seat of lordship occupied a riverine or marsh edge location, whilst the ecclesiastical site was a little further removed and located more inland.

The last documented site within Lindsey which is often said to be ecclesiastical, although on tangential historical evidence, is the monastery in, or around, Hibaldstow. Bede briefly mentions Hygbald as a holy and austere abbot from Lindsey (1969, Bk IV Ch. 3), and an early 11th-century list of saints' resting places indicated that his burial was at Cecesege near the River Ancholme, presumably in his monastery (Rollason, 1978, 89). Hibaldstow has long been seen as the possible location for Cecesege due to three of the four medieval churches dedicated nationally to Hygbald being in immediate geographical association: Scawby, Manton and Hibaldstow itself (Venables, 1881, 369-70). Manton appears to have been a focus of pre-existing elite burial during the 6th and 7th centuries. In 1920 a 'princely' grave which included riding equipment was disturbed during quarrying (Meaney, 1964, 159-60), and close by in 1939 a late 6th-century hanging bowl of exceptional quality was again found accidentally. Presumably it originally accompanied a rich burial (Bruce-Mitford, 1993, 54-6). Stocker has further noted the presence of 8th-century sculpture at Redbourne church, 2km to the south of Hibaldstow, and drawn attention to a plateau-like hill called Haynes immediately to the east of Redbourne, which he suggested was an appropriate 'island-like' location for a monastery (Stocker, 1993, 113). Recent LiDAR data helps illustrate the point that Haynes was a distinctive feature in the landscape (Figure 11), as does the presence of a later Gilbertine foundation here, perhaps a conscious preservation of an earlier monastic memory. However, to date, no archaeological work has been undertaken that might corroborate this hypothesis.

Fig 10
The church and low mound at Barrow-upon-Humber

An alternative possibility is that the 7th-century ecclesiastical centre might lie at Hibaldstow itself. Metal detecting in the fields immediately to the northeast of the modern village has revealed a concentration of mid to late Anglo-Saxon finds, including strap ends and mounts. Although not direct evidence for an ecclesiastical settlement, it implies that there was occupation of some form at Hibaldstow from the Middle Saxon period onwards, which might have started life as Hygbald's monastery. A final hint of the origins of Hibaldstow was encountered during the restoration of St Hybald's church in 1864, when an ancient coffin containing the skeleton of a man buried with a crozier was found in a location where there had been a pre-Reformation shrine to the saint (Cox, 1924, 165-6). Whether the burial was actually the mortal remains of the 7th-century saint or a later concoction, at the very least it indicates that there was a later medieval belief that Hygbald was associated with Hibaldstow in the post-Conquest period.

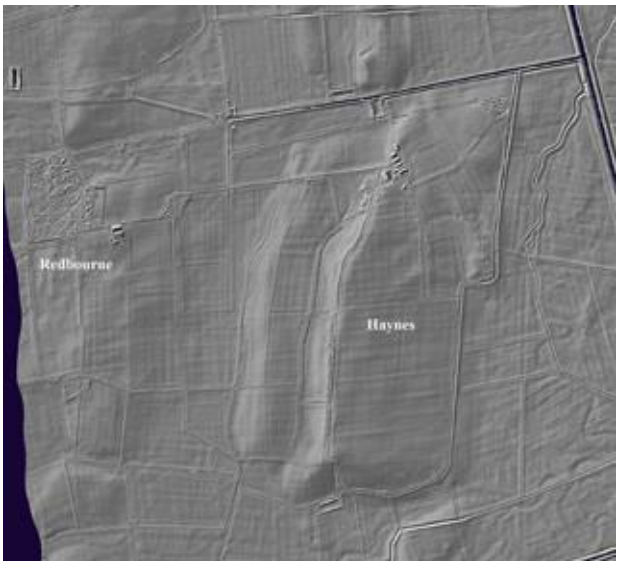

Fig 11
LiDAR of the hill at Haynes, the possible location of Cecesege

Although the evidence here is indeed slim, it is possible to suggest again that there was a close relationship between a monastic settlement focused on Hibaldstow and a secular estate centre, perhaps at Redbourne just 2.5km to the south. Although, unlike the examples already discussed, the secular centre of Redbourne does not lie on a major watercourse, it is interesting to note that it lies adjacent to the Roman road of Ermine Street, arguably an equally important communication and trade route.

A final site worthy of consideration in this discussion is Adlingfleet. Now in the East Riding of Yorkshire, the settlement is located on the edge of the Isle of Axholme, and originally lay within the political sphere of the Kingdom of Lindsey. As Leahy (2007, 14) has noted, the Lindsey Survey of AD 1115-18 included the Isle of Axholme within its boundaries, whilst the late 7th-century Tribal Hidage lists 'Hatfield' west of the River Trent as part of Lindsey.

The identification of a possible early minster at Adlingfleet rests upon a reference in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; where it was recorded that in AD 794 the Danish plundered Ecgfrith's minster at Donæmuthan, or 'Don mouth.' Following the incident, divine retribution befell the Danes as their ships were wrecked in stormy weather, and those that made it to the shore 'were immediately killed at the mouth of the river' (Foot, 2007, 134). Traditionally this incident has been associated with the well-known monastery at Jarrow, where a small stream called the Don empties into the River Tyne. However, both Parker (1985) and Richardson (1985) convincingly argued that the River Don in South Yorkshire is a more probable location. The County Durham Don was only named as such in the post-Conquest period, and the monastery more likely to have been referred to as Tynemouth in the 8th century, as this was by far the larger river. However, the two historians disagree as to where precisely the minster was located in Yorkshire. Parker (1985, 27) argues for Stainforth on the edge of the now drained Thorne mere, whilst Richardson (1985, 20) suggests it was at Adlingfleet. The situation at Stainforth seems a little out of place with the place name and the description in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; it is 10km from the mouth of the River Don, and while the Danish might have sailed on the inland lake, the description of their wrecking and murder does not fit this location. Adlingfleet seems much more credible, as at the mouth of the Don it is also strategically located where the confluence of the rivers Ouse and Trent form the Humber, and all three rivers would have been key routes used by the Scandinavian raiders.

There is also a growing amount of archaeological evidence for a pre-Conquest settlement of some status at Adlingfleet. Recorded as Adelingesfluet at Domesday, the name itself is suggestive, deriving from 'Prince's inlet' or 'estuary.' The current village sits on the north bank of the original course of the Don,

before it was diverted by Cornelius Vermuyden in the 17th century, and just over 1km from the point where it fed into the Trent. In the late 16th century, the antiquary William Camden noted the village to be an island floating in the surrounding marsh and 'raised up as the waters rise' (Richardson, 1979, 4). Such a topographic location certainly fits a conceptual island location for an Anglo-Saxon monastery, as does the morphology of the original settlement, which is fossilised in the topography of the current village still visible through LiDAR (Figure 12). The settlement's eastern boundary was defined by the old River Don, while the remainder was surrounded by a D-shaped enclosure. The enclosure's northern boundary is preserved today in the line of Manor Road, which curves around the raised platform of the later medieval church. The boundary then continues as an earthwork feature through the garden to the south, curving southeast before re-joining the old course of the Don, and enclosing a total area of just under one hectare.

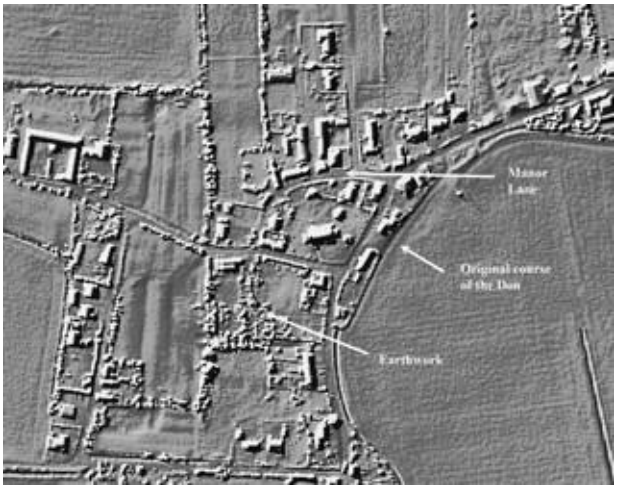

Fig 12
LiDAR showing the enclosure at Adlingfleet

Although no excavations have thus far taken place at Adlingfleet, fragments of 7th or 8th-century Maxey- type ware and 9th to 10th-century Torksey-ware jars have been found in garden soils within the southern area of the enclosure. Furthermore, during the course of digging graves at the end of the 19th century, it was reported that substantial masonry footings were encountered up to 30m from the east end of the present church, indicating that an earlier church may have originally stood there (Richardson, 1979, 9). A final hint of Adlingfleet's former importance can be found in the post-Conquest value of its clerical living. As late as the 13th century, the rector of Adlingfleet commanded an income of £153 6s. 8d., the fourth highest in England after those of Lindisfarne, Bamburgh, and Bakewell, all of which were important pre-Conquest ecclesiastical and estate centres (Moorman, 1945, 136). Consequently, given the geographical similarity to the description of the minster at Donæmuthan, its island location, the style of enclosure ditch, and finds of mid-late Anglo-Saxon ceramics, the possibility that Adlingfleet was the location of a high-status ecclesiastical settlement must now be considered a distinct possibility.

Conclusion

Following the excavation of the early medieval settlement at West Halton and its confirmation as the likely location of Æthelthryth's minster, this paper has reviewed the recent evidence for the early Christian presence in the Kingdom of Lindsey. For some historically attested sites, such as Cecesege, little more than their name is still known for certain. For others such as West Halton and Louth which have received more in-depth investigation, recent archaeological research has enabled a greater understanding of their character and setting to be gained. Finally, in the last two decades archaeological excavation, survey, and metal detecting have suggested that Little Carlton, Skendleby, and Adlingfleet may have formed important nodal points of the early ecclesiastical landscape in Lindsey.

What is quite remarkable is that, despite being speculative by his own admission, some of the models originally proposed Stocker can still broadly be supported, albeit with useful modification and elaboration. Perhaps the least sustainable argument is that early ecclesiastical foundations predominantly favoured island locations, a premise originally drawn through examination of the topography of known Northumbrian monasteries (Stocker, 1993, 105). While, in his discussion of West Halton in particular, Stocker acknowledged that some sites might vary from this pattern, he suggested that the island location was the expected norm. However, in addition to West Halton, it can now be suggested that Partney occupied a valley side location, as does the potential site at Skendleby, and Barrow's 'island' is little more than a flattened mound. That having been said, all these foundations could be seen as having been set upon conceptual islands, which may have been bounded by more than just physical topography.

The suggestion that ecclesiastical institutions did not operate in physical or social isolation, and that connections existed both between monasteries and secular centres in Lindsey is still a strong one (Stocker, 1993, 116), and further reinforced in light of this more recent research. Indeed, similar patterns of this symbiotic relationship are increasingly being identified elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon England (eg Blair, 2005, 204-11; Leggett, 2017; 76). If the premise that ecclesiastical and secular sites were distinct entities is accepted, albeit with the caveat that there would have been a degree of functional blending, then the 'pairing' of settlements becomes even more apparent (Table 1). This paper has discussed in detail the seemingly close ties between the sites at West Halton and Flixborough. The same can also be said for the relationship between Partney, Skendleby and Bardney, even if these three sites are all described as monasteries in the contemporary documents. A similar relationship can now be suggested for the historically attested minster at Louth and the newly discovered high-status site at Little Carlton. Likewise, there was almost certainly a close connection between St Chad's monastery at Barrow and the settlement at Barton-upon- Humber, given their close geographical and chronological proximity. In the case of Cecesege, presumed to be at Hibaldstow, a pairing is less obvious, but given their shared church dedications it is possible that another 7th-century settlement was located at Redbourne, where a fragment of 8th-century sculpture has been identified (Stocker, 1993, 113). The only example where direct pairing is not apparent is at Adlingfleet, but given its comparatively close geographical proximity, it may well have had a more developed relationship with West Halton and Flixborough.

Monastery or minster	Paired site(s)
Adlingfleet	Flixborough?
Bardney	Partney, Skendleby
Barrow	Barton
Hibaldstow	Manton/Redbourne
Louth	Little Carlton
West Halton	Flixborough

Table 1
Possible paired, or interconnected settlements

One conclusion strengthened by the recent excavated evidence from West Halton is that there seemed to be, in most cases, a clear connection between the placement of an ecclesiastical site and a pre-conversion landscape feature, particularly one that was ritualistic in nature. This perhaps should come as no surprise, as Morris suggested that early Christians were drawn to pagan burial places (Morris, 1989, 114). In the case of West Halton, in addition to at least two burial mounds, the existence of a pagan shrine would provide such an incentive. A clear parallel for such practice is described in Felix's Life of St Guthlac, where the saint deliberately chose to construct his cell at Crowland in the middle of a robbed-out burial mound, and continued to dwell there despite the near- continuous torment of evil

spirits and the Devil which followed (Colgrave, 1956, 93-4). Such an account was far from hagiographic trope; survey of the hermitage site has revealed the presence of a circular barrow overlain by later activity, which almost certainly includes Guthlac's original dwelling as well as a later medieval cell (Cope-Faulkner, 2004).

The notion that Anglo-Saxon communities were eager to appropriate past monuments for their own cultural and political reasons is a well-established one (eg Bradley, 1987; Williams, 1997, 1998; Semple, 1998), and it is likely that the Church was similarly motivated. Indeed, except for Adlingfleet, all the other sites discussed in this paper have clear associations with earlier landscape features, and burial mounds in particular (Table 2). Most of these are round barrows, but in the case of Skendleby there is a remarkable concentration of four Neolithic long barrows, known as Giants' Hills, located in a single section of the same valley (Phillips, 1936; Evans and Simpson, 1991). It is also worth noting some of these early ecclesiastical sites' locations in close proximity to places associated with pre-Christian veneration and votive deposition. The finding of the Iron Age and Roman hoards in the Witham Valley close to Bardney, and the Iron Age hoard at Partney have already been mentioned, but in Louth the dedication of St Helen's well has been argued to represent a Christianisation of a water source dedicated to the pagan goddess Alauna (Green, 2011, 52-3; Green, 2019, 106). While there was no evidence from the excavation that the pool at Little Carlton had been used for votive deposition prior to the late 7th century, and the site appears to be more secular in focus, the findings of the range of Anglo- Saxon metalwork discarded there does seem to echo the continuation of a much earlier practice (Willmott and Wright, 2021).

Monastery or minster	Earlier feature
Adlingfleet	Uncertain
Bardney	Round barrow
Barrow	Large mound
Hibaldstow	Round barrows (Manton)
Louth	Possible sacred well
Partney	Round barrow
Skendleby	Long barrows
West Halton	Round barrows, shrine

Table 2
The relationship between ecclesiastical settlements and existing ritual monuments

However, when considering the connection between these ecclesiastical settlements and earlier features, it is important to realise that their placement was not just because these monuments came from a distant prehistoric past occupied by devils and spirits. Instead, such places might have been singled out precisely because they were active foci for ritual activity in the 7th century. This can be most clearly seen at Partney, and Hibaldstow, whose barrows may well have been Bronze Age in origin, but which were still being used for burial in the 7th century, and at West Halton where a pre-Christian shrine was present. The origins and function of the low mound or platform probably occupied by the monastery at Barrow is uncertain.

However, it is distinctly possible that this too was a focus for ritual or community activity in the earlier 7th century. Given this, the Christian challenge was not to a distant and unclear past but to the established status quo that had existed immediately prior to the arrival of the religious.
One final observation concerns the location of all of these settlements. Without exception, all of the sites where there is a clear early ecclesiastical presence are located around the edges of Lindsey's traditional

boundary, where the chalk or limestone uplands met the flooded marsh or river basins. The reasons for this might be varied; it could be that the elites in Lindsey were making a reinforcing statement about their independence, using Christian sites as a way of defining their increasingly precarious political position. However, the opposite was almost certainly the case, for where documentary evidence survives, it is clear that many, if not all, of these foundations, were established by members of the Northumbrian, Mercian, and East Anglian royal houses. Not only did placing ecclesiastical foundations at important pre-existing features on the edges of Lindsey help erode its former identity through creating institutions that were naturally connected to a wider Christian world, but it also made the territory open to external influence and control. Thus, when St Æthelthryth fled from Northumbria and crossed the Humber into Lindsey in AD 672/3, she made the conscious decision to found her minster not only at a pre-existing site of ritual significance, but one that was at a symbolic point just inside the kingdom; an overtly spiritual and political act

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to all the students and staff from the University of Sheffield who participated in the original excavations at West Halton, and The Church Commissioners and Parish Council who gave permission for the fieldwork to take place. The resistivity survey was undertaken by Prof Kate Welham, Bournemouth University. The original report, records and finds from the excavation are held by the North Lincolnshire Museum, Scunthorpe (Acc. No. NOLMS:2019.100) and the final excavation report is deposited in the North Lincolnshire HER. Dr Caitlin Green, Dr Kevin Leahy, Dr Duncan Wright and the anonymous reviewers all provided many useful comments on earlier drafts of this paper, but needless to say any errors or omissions remain my own.

Bibliography

Andrew, W, 1836, *A History of Winterton and Adjoining Villages, in the Northern Division of Manley, in the County of Lincoln; with a Notice of Their Antiquities*, Hull: AD English

Atkins, R, and Popescu, E, 2010, Excavations at the Hospital of St Mary Magdalene, Partney, Lincolnshire, 2003. *Medieval Archaeology* 54(1), 204-70. [Accessed

25 February 2022]. Available at: https://doi.org/10.117 9/174581710X12790370815896

Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, Edited by B. Colgrave and R.A.B Mynors, 1969, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Billington, L, and Browne, D, 2020, An Enclosure to the North of Baldock Road, Royston, Hertfordshire. Archaeological Excavation Report. Unpublished Oxford Archaeology Report 2296. [Accessed 25 February 2022]. Available at: https://eprints.oxfordarchaeology.com/5936/1/OAE_Report%20 2296_XHTBKR19_LR.pdf

Blackburn, M, and Bonser, M, 1987, The 'porcupine' sceattas of Metcalf's variety G. *British Numismatic Journal* 57, 99-102

Blair, J, 1995, Anglo-Saxon pagan shrines and their prototypes. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 8, 1-28

Blair, J, 2005, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Boden, J, and Whitwell, J, 1979, Barrow-upon- Humber. *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 14, 66-7

Bradley, C, 1987, Time regained: the creation of continuity. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 140, 1-17. [Accessed 25 February 2022]. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1179/jba.1987.140.1.1

Brakspear, H, 1922, Bardney Abbey, *Archaeological Journal* 79, 1-92. [Accessed 22 March 2022].

Available at: doi.org/10.1080/00665983.1922.10853384

Bruce-Mitford, R., 1993, 'Late Celtic Hanging-Bowls in Lincolnshire and South Humberside', in A. Vince (ed.), *Pre-Viking Lindsey*, 45-70, Lincoln: City of Lincoln Archaeological Unit

Clay, C, 2006, The Park, Skendleby, Lincolnshire. Unpublished Archaeological Excavation Report, Lincoln: Pre-Construct Archaeology

Colgrave, B (Ed.), 1956, *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Cope-Faulkner, P, 2004, Assessment of the Archaeological Remains from Evaluation at Anchor Church Field, Crowland, Lincolnshire, Unpublished Report. Lincoln: Archaeological Project Services Report No. 173/4. [Accessed 22 March 2022]. Available at: https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/library/browse/issue.xhtml?recordId=1112964&recordType=GreyLitSeries

Coppack, G, 2003, 'The origins, foundations and development of the Partney hospital and cell' in Excavations at the Hospital of St Mary Magdalene, Partney, Lincolnshire, 2003, by R. Atkins and E. Popescu, 208-14, *Medieval Archaeology* 54(1), 204-70

Coppack, G, 2008, 'Origins', in Skendleby Heritage Society, *The Mystery of the Chapel of St. James, Skendleby*, 14-5, Horncastle: Skendleby History Society

Cox, J, 1924, *Lincolnshire* (2nd Ed.), London: Methuen

Dudley, H, 1931, *The History and Antiquities of the Scunthorpe and Frodingham District*, Scunthorpe: Caldicott

Evans, D, and Loveluck, C, (Eds.) 2009, *Life and Economy at Early Medieval Flixborough c. AD 600–1000: The Artefact Evidence, Excavations at Flixborough* Volume 2, Oxbow Books: Oxford

Evans, JG, and Simpson, D, 1991, Giants' Hills 2 Long Barrow, Skendleby, Lincolnshire, *Archaeologia* 109, 1-45. [Accessed 25 February 2022]. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261340900014016

Everson, P, and Stocker, D, 2017, 'The cros in the markitte stede' The Louth Cross, its monastery and its town, *Medieval Archaeology* 61(2), 330-71. [Accessed 25 February 2022]. Available at: https://doi.org/10.108 0/00766097.2017.1375127

Everson, P, and Stocker, D, 2018, Saucepans and saints? The sacred and the mundane in forest landscapes, *Landscapes* 18(1), 25-42. [Accessed 25 February 2022]. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/14662035.2019.1 619351

Fairweather, J, (Ed.) 2005, *Liber Eliensis. A History of the Isle of Ely from the Seventh Century to the Twelfth. Compiled by a Monk of Ely in the Twelfth Century*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press

Foot, S, 2007, 'The historical setting of the seventh- to tenth-century settlement within Northern Lindsey', in C. Loveluck (ed.), *Rural Settlement, Lifestyles and Social Change in the Later First Millennium AD. Anglo-Saxon Flixborough in its Wider Context. Excavations at Flixborough* Volume 4, 131-6, Oxford: Oxbow Books

Gittos, H, 2011, 'Christian sacred spaces and places', in D. Hinton, S. Crawford and H. Hamerow (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*, 824-42. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Grainger, G, 1978, Excavations at St Chads, Barrow- upon-Humber 1977-8, Unpublished Excavation Report, Hull: Humber Archaeology Partnership

Green, C, 2011, *The Origins of Louth. Archaeology and History in East Lincolnshire 4000 BC-AD 1086*, Louth: The Lindes Press

Green, C, 2019, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons: Lincolnshire AD 400-650*. Studies in the History of Lincolnshire 3, (2nd edition), Lincoln: The History of Lincolnshire Committee.

Hadley, D, Willmott, H, Crewe, V, and Howsam, C, 2016, Fieldwork in West Halton, Lincolnshire from 2003-2009, Unpublished Archive Report, Sheffield: University of Sheffield

Hines, J, 1997, 'Religion: the limits of knowledge', in J. Hines (Ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration period to the Eighth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective*, 375-410, Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer

Jackson, C (Ed.), 1870, *The Diary of Abraham de la Pryme. A Yorkshire Antiquary*. Surtees Society 54, Durham: Andrews and Co.

Leahy, K, 2007, *The Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Lindsey*, Stroud: Tempus Publishing

Leggett, S, 2017, The power of place: colonization of the Anglo-Saxon landscape by royal and religious ideologies, *Journal of Literary Onomastics* 6, 79-94. [Accessed 25 February 2022]. Available at: https://doi. org/10.17863/CAM.9830

Loveluck, C, 2007, *Rural Settlement, Lifestyle and Social Change in the Later First Millennium AD: Anglo-Saxon Flixborough in its Wider Context. Excavations at Flixborough* Volume 4, Oxford: Oxbow Books

May, J, 1976, Prehistoric Lincolnshire, History of Lincolnshire. *History of Lincolnshire I, Lincoln*: The History of Lincolnshire Committee

Meaney, A, 1964, *Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites*. London: George Allen and Unwin

Moorman, J, 1945, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Morris, R, 1989, Churches in the Landscape. London: JM Dent and Sons Owen, A, 1997, *Louth Before Domesday*, Lincolnshire History and Archaeology 30, 60-4.

Owen, DM, 1975, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, Lincolnshire Local History Society

Parker, M, 1985, An Anglo-Saxon monastery in the lower Don valley, *Northern History* 21(1), 19-32. [Accessed 25 February 2022]. Available at: https://doi. org/10.1179/007817285790176183

Pestell, T, 2004, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation: The Establishment of Religious Houses in East Anglia c.650-1200*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 5, Woodbridge: Boydell

Pevsner, N, Harris, J, and Antram, N, 1989, *The Buildings of England: Lincolnshire* (2nd Ed.), London: Penguin Books

Phillips, CW, 1936, The Excavation of the Giants' Hills Long Barrow, Skendleby, Lincolnshire, *Archaeologia* 85, 37-106. [Accessed 25 February 2022]. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1017/ S0261340900015162

Pickles, T, 2019, *Kingship, Society and the Church in Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Reynolds, A, 2003, 'Boundaries and settlements in later 6th to 11th century England', in D. Griffiths, A. J. Reynolds, S. Semple (eds.), *Boundaries in Early Medieval Britain*, 97-139, Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology

Richardson, W, 1979, *Some Useful Consumers of Waste. History in Two Marshland Parishes Adlingfleet and Whitgift*, York: William Sessions

Richardson, W, 1985, The Venerable Bede and a lost Saxon monastery in Yorkshire. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journa*l 57, 15-22. [Accessed 25 February 2022]. Available at: https://archive.org/details/ YAJ0571985

Rodwell, W, and Adkins, C, 2011, *St Peter's Barton- upon-Humber, Lincolnshire. A Parish Church and*

its Community, Volume 1 Part 1, Oxford: Oxbow Books

Roffe, D, 2007, 'Flixborough – the later history', in C. Loveluck (Ed.), *Rural Settlement, Lifestyles and Social Change in the Later First Millennium AD. Anglo-Saxon Flixborough in its Wider Context. Excavations at Flixborough* Volume 4, 136-9, Oxford: Oxbow Books

Rollason, D, 1978, Lists of saints' resting places, *Anglo-Saxon England* 7, 61-93. [Accessed 25 February 2022]. Available at: doi.org/10.1017/S0263675100002866

Semple, S, 1998, A fear of the past: the place of the prehistoric burial mound in the ideology of middle and later Anglo-Saxon England, *World Archaeology* 30(1), 109-126. [Accessed 25 February 2022]. Available at: doi.org/10.1080/00438243.1998.9980400

Stocker, D, 1993, 'The early church in Lincolnshire', in A. Vince (ed.), *Pre-Viking Lindsey*, 101-22, Lincoln: City of Lincoln Archaeological Unit

Stocker, D, and Everson, P, 2004, 'The straight and narrow way: fenland causeways and the conversion of the landscape in the Witham Valley, Lincolnshire', in M. Carver (ed.), *The Cross Goes North. Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300-1300*, 271- 88, York: York Medieval Press

Thomas, G, 1996, Silver-wire strap-ends from East Anglia, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 9, 81-100

Thomas, G, 2000, A Survey of Late Anglo-Saxon and Viking Strap-Ends from Britain. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, UK. [Accessed 25 February 2022]. Available at: https://discovery.ucl. ac.uk/id/eprint/1317562/

Thomas, G, 2017, 'Monasteries and places of power in pre-Viking England: trajectories, relationships and interactions', in G. Thomas and A. Knox (eds.), Early Medieval Monasticism in the North Sea Zone. Proceedings of a Conference Held to Celebrate the Conclusion of the Lyminge Excavations 2008-15. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 20, 97-116, Oxford: Oxford School of Archaeology

Thompson, A, 1913, Notes on the history of the abbey of St Peter, St Paul and St Oswald, Bardney, *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers* 32i, 35-96

Thompson, F, 1954, Anglo-Saxon discoveries at Partney, Lincolnshire, *The Antiquaries Journal* 34, 229-32. [Accessed 25 February 2022]. Available at: https:// doi.org/10.1017/S0003581500059916

Toulmin Smith, L, 1910, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535-1543*. Parts IX, X, and XI, London: George Bell and Sons

Venables, E, 1881, The dedications of the churches of Lincolnshire as illustrating the history of the county, *The Archaeological Journal* 38, 365-90

Vickers, K, 2011, Note on Animal Bone from SFB (12089) in Trench 12 and Context (6191) in Trench 6, Unpublished Archive Report, University of Sheffield

Williams, H, 1997, Ancient landscapes and the dead: the reuse of Prehistoric and Roman monuments as early Anglo-Saxon burial sites, *Medieval Archaeology* 41, 1-32. [Accessed 25 February 2022]. Available at: doi.or g/10.1080/00766097.1997.11735606

Williams, H, 1998, Monuments and the past in early Anglo-Saxon England, *World Archaeology* 30, 90–108. [Accessed 25 February 2022]. Available at: doi.org/10.1 080/00438243.1998.9980399

Willmott, H, and Daubney, A, 2020, Of saints, sows or smiths? Copper-brazed iron hand bells in early medieval England, *The Archaeological Journal* 176, 336-55. [Accessed 25 February 2022]. Available at: doi. org/10.1080/00665983.2019.1567970

Willmott, H, and Wright, D, 2021, Rethinking early medieval 'productive places': trade, wealth and tradition at Little Carlton, East Lindsey, *The Antiquaries Journal* 101, 181-212. [Accessed 25 February 2022]. Available at: doi.org/10.1017/ S0003581521000160

Wright, D, 2010, Restructuring the 8th-century landscape: planned settlements, estates and minsters in pre-Viking England, *Church Archaeology* 14, 15-26