

**A RE-EVALUATION OF THE EVIDENCE OF
ANGLIAN-BRITISH INTERACTION IN THE
LINCOLN REGION**



Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy
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Abstract

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This thesis offers an interdisciplinary approach to the period between *c.* AD 400 and 650 in the Lincoln region, considering in depth not only the archaeological evidence, but also the historical, literary and linguistic. It is argued that by using all of this material together, significant advances can be made in our understanding of what occurred in these centuries, most especially with regard to Anglian-British interaction in this period. It is contended that this evidence, when taken together, requires that a British polity named **Lindēs* was based at Lincoln into the sixth century, and that the seventh-century Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Lindsey (Old English *Lindissi* < Late British **Lindēs-*) had an intimate connection to this British political unit. In addition to investigating the evidence for Anglian-British interaction in this region and the potential legacies of British **Lindēs*, this thesis also provides a detailed analysis of the nature of the Anglo-Saxon population-groups that were present in the Lincoln region from the mid-fifth century onwards, including those of **Lindēs-Lindissi* and also more southerly groups, such as the *Spalde/Spaldingas*. The picture which emerges is arguably not simply of importance from the perspective of the history of the Lincoln region but also nationally, helping to answer key questions regarding the origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, the nature and extent of Anglian-British interaction in the core areas of Anglo-Saxon immigration, and the conquest and settlement of Northumbria.

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Introduction

Previous Approaches, Sources and Methodology

Britons and Anglo-Saxons: Key Questions and Previous Approaches

The period between the end of the fourth century and the middle of the seventh looms large in the overarching narrative of British history. From the perspective of eastern Britain, the fifth and sixth centuries were undoubtedly important. As is discussed in the first chapter, this area entered them as part of a relatively peaceful diocese of the Roman Empire, but appears to have exited as a patchwork of aggressive kingdoms and over-lordships, largely ruled over by groups who claimed descent from north German and Scandinavian immigrants. Consequently, these centuries have been the subject of much discussion and research. The present study is intended as a contribution to this ongoing debate, examining the evidence from the Lincoln region with a particular focus on the question of how the former Romano-Britons interacted with the fifth- and sixth-century ‘Anglo-Saxon’ immigrants here.¹

Any investigation of this sort must inevitably build upon the work of earlier researchers, and the following section offers a brief overview of previous approaches to some of the key questions concerning this period that are addressed in subsequent chapters. The first of these is the question of whether the Anglo-Saxon immigrants

numerically dominated the Britons in the areas that they came to control. Certainly, such an assumption was widespread in the nineteenth century. E. A. Freeman probably describes the underlying model best in his mid-Victorian *Old English History for Children*, when he writes that:

we may be sure that we have not much of their [the Britons'] blood in us, because we have so few of their words in our language... Now you will perhaps say that our forefathers were cruel and wicked men... And so doubtless it was... But anyhow it has turned out much better in the end that our forefathers did thus kill or drive out nearly all the people whom they found in the land... [since otherwise] I cannot think that we should ever have been so great and free a people as we have been for many ages.²

Although such a view was never as explicitly outlined in academic work as it was in this children's history book, it would appear to underlie much of the work of Freeman and his contemporaries.³ It is also present, at least in its historical conclusion (that the Anglo-Saxon immigrants to the east and south of Britain didn't really interact with the Britons, except to drive most of them out whilst enslaving the surviving remnant as an underclass), in later work, including Geoffrey Elton's 1992 study, *The English*,⁴ and recent discussions by linguists specializing in the post-Roman period.⁵

In contrast, most recent archaeological and historical research has tended to argue against the Britons forming a minority of the population and being driven out in the above manner. Instead, it is contended that the vast majority of the population of early Anglo-Saxon England is likely to have been made up of Britons.⁶ Confirmation of such an alternative model has, for example, been sought in the environmental archaeology of eastern Britain, which is argued to be inconsistent with the sort of

massive collapse in population density that would have resulted from Victorian ideas of Anglian-British interaction.⁷ In consequence, even those archaeologists and historians who support a substantial, non-elite Anglo-Saxon migration to eastern Britain now usually assume that a significant proportion of the British population survived the ‘conquest’ and hence must have lived side-by-side with the immigrants.⁸ We thus have a situation in which different disciplines seem to support different models with regard to the question of Anglo-Saxon numerical dominance, and this debate extends even to new sources of evidence like genetics. So, for example, recent work on the genetic evidence from modern Britain has been interpreted as potentially reflective of either a near-total replacement of the male population by immigrants, or a post-Roman male immigration that made up only around five percent of the total male population at the time.⁹

Another key question concerning this period relates to the British context into which the Anglo-Saxons arrived, and their interaction with this. With regard to the former question, there is at present a general lack of certainty. On the one hand, a case has been made for Britain still having large-scale governance at a provincial or even a diocese level when the Anglo-Saxon immigrants arrived. On the other hand, it has also been argued that large-scale governance could have almost entirely decayed by this point, and that the Anglo-Saxons instead encountered local territories (probably derived from the Late Roman *civitates*) ruled by local British elites, with those in the west perhaps being ruled by kings whilst those in the east continued to be controlled by *judices*.¹⁰ Similarly, the nature of the interaction between whatever post-Roman British territories existed and the Anglo-Saxon immigrants remains a matter of debate.

In general, modern researchers have tended to place little faith in the ‘historical’ sources relating to this period. Most appear to contain only legends written down many centuries after the events they purport to describe,¹¹ and those few which seem to be contemporary or near-contemporary in date are vague in terms of their detail. Gildas’ account is perhaps the most useful, being probably written sometime between the late fifth and mid-sixth centuries. He states that Anglo-Saxons were initially employed by post-Roman British rulers for defence and then subsequently rebelled. However, the lack of detail in his account means that the question of whether this model applied generally to eastern Britain or instead to a specific (and uncertain) time and place remains a matter of debate.¹² Certainly some archaeologists have preferred a model involving largely free, rather than controlled, Anglo-Saxon settlement in parts of eastern Britain during the fifth century.¹³

With specific regard to the Lincoln region, previous research has tended to favour the idea of some sort of short-lived, local, British territory focussed on the city of Lincoln. Attention has been drawn to an apparent avoidance of Lincoln by some of the major early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of the region in their initial stages, and the archaeological evidence from the St Paul in the Bail site has been used to suggest the survival of a British centre at Lincoln into the middle of the fifth century, although the same evidence has also been interpreted as resulting from seventh- and eighth-century Anglo-Saxon activity.¹⁴ Similarly, it has been noted that the Lincolnshire kingdom-name *Lindissi* (‘Lindsey’)¹⁵ derives ultimately from British **Lindon*, which has been seen as potentially significant, although the exact import of this has not really been fully explored.¹⁶ As to the question of how the Anglo-Saxon immigrants who settled

in the Lincoln region interacted with any British polity/polities that existed here, this has attracted little serious comment. The major cemeteries of the region are usually viewed as central burial grounds serving large surrounding territories, but whether these were established by the immigrants as part of a hostile takeover or as a consequence of a controlled settlement by British rulers is unclear.¹⁷

A third key question relates to the origins of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms recorded in the seventh and eighth centuries. Once again, previous research fails to offer a consensus view on this matter. It has, for example, been argued that the Anglo-Saxon settlements and conquests of the fifth and sixth centuries resulted in an almost complete disintegration of the existing British political and administrative structures in the east of the country, with kingdoms and kings only re-emerging from the mid- to late sixth century as a result of the coalescence of many originally independent, local Anglo-Saxon territories and groups.¹⁸ Other researchers, however, have suggested that this model is fundamentally flawed, and that a more credible model is that the Anglo-Saxons simply took over the large British territories they encountered in order to form the recorded kingdoms.¹⁹ Which model the Lincoln region, with its history as the seat of a Late Roman provincial capital, best fits is obviously a matter of great interest, although it is also a topic only briefly touched on in previous work. What comment there has been suggests that the second model may be the most appropriate, in light of both the apparent relationship between the Anglo-Saxon kingdom-name and British **Lindon*, and the fact that the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of *Lindissi* seems to have been partly administered from the former Roman centres of Lincoln and Littleborough.²⁰ However, important questions regarding the nature of any potential takeover, whether

any underlying British polity was kept as a single unit, and how significant the Anglo-Saxon political debt to the British past was likely to have been, still need to be addressed in depth.

The fourth key question relates to the nature, extent and implications of Anglian-British interaction in the period after the immigrant-descended groups gained control of the region. It is now often argued, by archaeologists and historians at least, that significant numbers of Britons would have acculturated following the Anglo-Saxon takeover, adopting the material culture, language, and eventually the identity of the new ascendancy.²¹ Indeed, it has been suggested that most early Anglo-Saxon inhumation burials could be, in fact, those of acculturated Britons.²² Actually observing the process of acculturation has proven difficult, however. A small number of cemeteries appear to include both Late Roman and culturally early Anglo-Saxon burials, implying the acculturation of a local community, but these are few and far between.²³ Cases have also been made for seeing various artefacts and burial rites – such as crouched burial, male burial without weapons, and enamelling on brooches – as indicative of acculturated Britons, although some of these have proven controversial.²⁴ In the Lincoln region, previous work has touched on these topics, with crouched burials observed in some cemeteries and rites such as burial with bird bones identified as potentially ‘British’ in origin.²⁵ There has also been some linguistic analysis of the place-names of this region and the personal names in the Anglo-Saxon royal genealogy of *Lindissi*, both of which imply a degree of acculturation and interaction.²⁶ However, there has been little detailed discussion of acculturation in the Lincoln region, the potential nature of the Anglo-Saxon takeover here,²⁷ or of how the

process of acculturation might have worked and what effects it might have on our understanding of questions of continuity and discontinuity of activity between the Late Roman and Middle Saxon periods here.

The fifth key question relates to the Anglo-Saxons, in particular the population-groups and *regiones* they lived within during the fifth to seventh centuries. Small local or regional groups and territories have now been identified in most areas of pre-Viking England, and are often seen as originally independent or semi-independent units created by the immigrants in the fifth and sixth centuries, although some are believed to have their origins in former British territories that were taken over by the immigrants.²⁸ In general, there has been relatively little work done on such groups and territories within the Lincoln region, perhaps largely due to the absence of early documentary records and charters which might reveal such *regiones*. The exception here is in the south of the region, where attempts have been made to define two separate *regiones* and groups in the Fenland and the Fen Edge using the ‘Tribal Hidage’ and archaeology.²⁹ Further north in the region, it has been observed that the great cremation cemeteries all seem to possess their own distinct territories, and two distinct ‘groups’ of cemeteries have been identified in North Kesteven.³⁰ Here, however, there have been few attempts to define these territories and groups more closely, or to identify their origins. Equally, there has been little consideration of whether there is any evidence for Britons or acculturating Britons existing within these potential ‘Anglo-Saxon’ population-groups in the Lincoln region, which is a topic of considerable significance from the perspective of the present study.

The final key question relating to Britons and Anglo-Saxons in the post-Roman period is that of the apparent expansion of the Anglo-Saxon immigrant groups beyond the primary regions of immigration, into further areas controlled by British groups. This is one of the more difficult issues relating to the post-Roman period. That the immigrants' material culture did indeed spread both north and west of the initial areas of settlement is in little doubt, and can be observed from a phased mapping of early Anglo-Saxon cemetery sites.³¹ However, the major issue here is whether we are actually seeing the expansion of these immigrant groups, the spread of the immigrant material culture and ethnicity, or some combination of the two.³² Perhaps as a result, this question has often received only brief and general treatments in academic works. The chief exception to this has been in linguistic studies, where personal names and place-names have sometimes been used to suggest the possible movement of 'tribal' groups and powerful lineages in the early Anglo-Saxon period, most notably the suggested movement of the ancestors of the Mercian royal dynasty from East Anglia to the West Midlands.³³ With regard to the Lincoln region, discussion of the potential movement of groups from this area into either the north or the west of Britain has been largely confined to short notices in works such as Eilert Ekwall's *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, although such notices have sometimes been picked up on by historical commentators.³⁴ However, no serious attempts have been made to assess the historical context and credibility of such suggestions, nor to try and understand the role and significance that any such groups from the Lincoln region might have played in any 'expansion', or indeed what any such movement out

of the Lincoln region might tell us about post-Roman Anglian-British interaction here or in the areas they moved to.

Sources of Evidence and Methodology

The above, then, forms the historiographical context of the present study and highlights some of the key questions addressed throughout the following chapters. However, before starting to examine these questions in detail, we need first to confront the evidential problems of the post-Roman period. In particular, the paucity and difficulty of the available evidence is probably the major reason why even specialists in the period sometimes refer to the post-Roman centuries as a ‘Dark Age’.³⁵ Accordingly, before beginning our analysis it is worth examining the various classes of evidence that are available to us and the potential and difficulties associated with each of these, before briefly discussing the methodology consequently adopted here.

The first type of evidence to be considered is archaeological. Much of the research into the Lincoln region in the fifth and sixth centuries has tended to focus very heavily on this material, and particularly on the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of the region.³⁶ This is, perhaps, unsurprising. Not only are some of the largest Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Britain found in the Lincoln region, with Howard Williams suggesting that the Loveden Hill cremation cemetery originally contained well over 2000 burials,³⁷ but there are also a considerable number of cemetery sites of all sizes and

types recorded from here. Indeed, a thorough survey of the local Historic Environment Records (HERs) and the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) datasets puts the current total at around 150 Anglo-Saxon cemeteries known or suspected in Lincolnshire.³⁸ In addition to this cemetery evidence, we also have a large body of material recovered from field-walking surveys, most notably the Fenland Survey,³⁹ excavation reports on a number of non-cemetery sites of this period,⁴⁰ and a substantial body of chance finds recorded by both the PAS and the HERs.

Given the above, the archaeological corpus from post-Roman Lincolnshire clearly has considerable potential as a source of information on the fifth and sixth centuries. Certainly, the large quantity of culturally ‘Anglo-Saxon’ material found in this region is of particular interest from the perspective of the current work, testifying as it does to the penetration and spread of this culture here in the post-Roman period.⁴¹ It is also in many ways the easiest category of material to assemble and evaluate, not least because of the existence of the local HERs, which collate and index data from excavations, and the PAS, which has collected a vast amount of information on metal-detected and chance finds from our region since 1997, much of which has not been used previously in analyses of this period.⁴² By looking at all of this material together, we can, for example, increase the total number of finds deriving from early medieval hanging bowls in Lincolnshire from the fifteen recorded by Rupert Bruce-Mitford in 1993 to at least thirty-four at present, based largely on items reported to the PAS.⁴³ We can also see that the southern third of the county is not really entirely lacking in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, as one recent map of Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire suggests it to be.⁴⁴

On the other hand, it has to be admitted that the archaeological evidence also has a number of serious drawbacks and difficulties. At the most basic level, the quantity of the archaeological material belies its quality. Whilst some of the key sites have been properly excavated and published, notably the Cleatham and Castledyke South cemeteries,⁴⁵ many have not. Most of the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of the region are, in fact, only known from chance or metal-detected finds; crucial sites, such as the Loveden Hill and Elsham cremation cemeteries, remain unpublished; and a significant proportion of sites were antiquarian discoveries. The latter were sometimes remarkably well-excavated and reported for the period they were found in, as is the case with the exceptionally large Sleaford inhumation cemetery (originally *c.* 600 or more inhumations), but in other cases they were not.⁴⁶ So, barely anything is known of the apparently very extensive cremation cemetery at Quarrington, discovered in the early nineteenth century,⁴⁷ whilst the reportedly large Burton-upon-Stather cemetery was raided by treasure hunting ironstone miners in 1928 before it could be properly recorded.⁴⁸

More serious, from the perspective of the present work, is the fact that the archaeological material is overwhelming ‘Anglo-Saxon’ in character. The archaeological invisibility of Britons in the fifth and sixth centuries (and after) is well-known, but it is a key issue when it comes to using the archaeological evidence as the mainstay of any analysis of these centuries, particularly given the focus here on Anglian-British interaction.⁴⁹ This is not, of course, to say that there is no archaeological evidence relating to the Britons from this region. The excavations at the site of St Paul in the Bail in Lincoln have considerable potential in this regard, and

the survey of archaeological material undertaken for the present study has increased the total of known British fifth- and sixth-century penannular brooches in the Lincoln region from eleven examples in 2007 to twenty-three or twenty-four now.⁵⁰ However, such material is very much the exception to the rule, and the vast majority of the archaeological corpus is culturally Anglo-Saxon. As such, the corpus largely represents only one side of the equation if we are interested in the questions set out above and in what actually occurred and changed during the post-Roman period. Moreover, it also needs to be remembered that the interpretation of even the Anglo-Saxon archaeology is difficult. Whilst the corpus of material can tell us about the spread and penetration of the immigrants' material culture in this region, it often cannot easily tell us what this reflects. In particular, are the people using this material immigrants or descendants of immigrants, or are they Britons who are acculturating – adopting the immigrants' culture and ultimately ethnicity – and so re-emerging into archaeological visibility? The latter is now strongly suspected by many archaeologists, as is noted above, but it is potentially difficult to demonstrate from archaeological evidence alone.

A second type of evidence available to us here is linguistic evidence. In contrast to the archaeological evidence, this has only rarely been used as a major source of evidence by archaeologists and historians studying the post-Roman Lincoln region. Nonetheless, there are a large number of place-names, district-names, river-names and personal names that are potentially relevant here. The task of assembling and assessing these names is aided considerably by the late Kenneth Cameron's detailed investigations into the place-names of Lincolnshire.⁵¹ Although his multi-volume

survey remains only partially published, his single volume *Dictionary of Lincolnshire Place-Names* (issued in 1998) details his conclusions for those names not yet covered in the main survey volumes and is a valuable companion to the various national dictionaries that have been published.⁵² Recent years have also seen a significant body of work on the names of the Lincoln region by other researchers. In particular, Richard Coates has published significant and stimulating re-examinations of a large number of Lincolnshire place-names, district-names, and river-names.⁵³ Similarly, John Insley has published a number of important papers on the philological evidence (both place-names and personal names) relating to Lincolnshire in the *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*.⁵⁴

Needless to say, this material has considerable potential with regard to our understanding of the post-Roman period. Not only does it represent an additional large corpus of evidence that may help us to understand the situation in these centuries, but place-name evidence is also available for the whole region, unlike the Anglo-Saxon cemetery evidence, which is concentrated in certain areas.⁵⁵ So, for example, there are no early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries known from the entire Fenland district of Holland, and very few from the immediate vicinity of Lincoln; however, both areas contain several place-names that probably have their origins in the post-Roman period and are of potential significance for understanding Anglian-British interaction there.⁵⁶ Naturally, there are issues with this corpus, perhaps most notably the difficulty in identifying names that definitely or probably belong to our period of study. The mid-twentieth-century certainties regarding the relative chronology of place-name types have long-since been swept away, so that we can no longer

confidently say that, for instance, a name of the *x-ingas* type must reflect the presence of the first generations of Anglo-Saxon immigrants.⁵⁷ This change, and the resultant uncertainty, may explain why historians and archaeologists appear to rely less on the linguistic material than they once did. Nonetheless, there are still a significant number of names from this region that are likely to originate in the fifth to seventh centuries, most especially those involving Latin or Late British/Archaic Welsh words and names.⁵⁸ As such, the linguistic material remains of considerable interest in the current context.

Following on from this last point, the fact that the linguistic corpus includes a subset of names that derive from British or Latin words and/or reflect Anglian-British interaction is in itself significant when it comes to assessing the potential of the linguistic evidence for the present study. A good illustration of the importance of this material from this perspective can be had in the modern district-name Lindsey, which applies to the northern and eastern parts of Lincolnshire.⁵⁹ It is usually recognized in both linguistic and historical work that this district-name derives ultimately from the Anglo-Saxon kingdom-name *Lindissi/Lindesig*, and that this kingdom-name in turn derives, somehow, from a British word.⁶⁰ In addition, the analysis in Chapter Two of the present work indicates that the underlying British root is actually a Late British tribal- and territory-name involving a second element that is known to be a ‘kingdom suffix’, something which is naturally of considerable interest from the perspective of both the pre-Anglian political organization of this region and the origins of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of *Lindissi*.⁶¹ Equally noteworthy is that some Old English place-names from the Lincoln region appear to involve not only British words, but also

British personal names, whilst the Anglo-Saxon royal genealogy of the kingdom of *Lindissi* includes a name that seems to be wholly British in origin.⁶² Such cases obviously imply some sort of Anglian-British interaction, and potentially a degree of acculturation too. Finally, yet other names seem to reference the continued existence of Welsh speakers well into the Middle Saxon period in various parts of Lincolnshire, and some rivers within the region appear to have been known by both a British and an Old English name for a period of time, which is suggestive.⁶³ As such, the linguistic material clearly has considerable potential when it comes to addressing the key questions highlighted earlier in this introduction.

Of course, there are also a number of difficulties associated with the use of such linguistic evidence. The relative uncertainty over place-name chronology when compared to previous generations has already been mentioned. Another, related issue is that many names in use or originating in the fifth to seventh centuries have undoubtedly been lost, through either falling out of use or later renaming. This is a particular problem with regard to the British place-names of this period. Although we certainly have some evidence for them from this region, it is clear that the vast majority of the British place- and river-names that once existed have been lost. Similarly, it seems likely that a large number of early Anglo-Saxon place-names have also disappeared. In this context, it is worth observing that a large proportion of the place-names surviving from Lincolnshire have their origins in the Middle Saxon or Anglo-Scandinavian periods, and in many cases it is suspected that these later names replaced earlier ones which might have had something to tell us about the post-Roman period.⁶⁴ So, for example, Maltby near Louth bears a Scandinavian name (Old Danish

Malti + by, ‘Malti’s farmstead/village’) but has seen notable finds of early Anglo-Saxon and Middle Saxon metalwork,⁶⁵ and the modern place-name Skegness (Old Danish *Skeggi* + Old Norse *nes*, ‘Skeggi’s headland’) appears to have replaced an earlier-recorded name, *Tric*, which is thought to derive from Latin *Traiectus*.⁶⁶ A final problem with the linguistic evidence is its perceived difficulty. For most historians and archaeologists, the linguistic evidence represents an unfamiliar field with its own body of scholarship, and as such it can prove difficult to engage with and use effectively. Moreover, even English place-name specialists can struggle when it comes to names that derive from British, rather than Old English, roots.⁶⁷ Nonetheless, this material and body of scholarship is worth engaging with despite these difficulties, simply due to the relevance it has for any study of this period.

The final category of evidence available to us derives from literary and historical texts. The paucity of contemporary and near-contemporary historical documentation for the fifth and sixth centuries has already been mentioned. The Anglo-Saxon immigrant groups were effectively non-literate before their conversion to Christianity and, aside from a handful of very brief (and sometimes confused) Continental references to events in Britain in this era, extended contemporary and near-contemporary commentary is largely restricted to Constantius of Lyon’s ‘Life of St Germanus’, St Patrick’s *Epistola* and *Confessio*, and Gildas’ *De Excidio Britanniae*.⁶⁸ Whilst these works are certainly important, none of their authors intended to provide anything approaching a detailed outline of events in lowland Britain as a whole or the Lincoln region in particular, and they don’t. As such, the available corpus of historical and literary material is largely restricted to texts which post-date our period of study.

Nonetheless, despite this significant drawback, there is much of potential relevance in this corpus. So, for example, Bede (writing around 731) makes several references to the seventh-century Anglo-Saxon kingdom of *Lindissi* and the Anglo-Saxon population-group named the *Lindisfari* (Old English *Lindisfaran*) that inhabited it, and he makes it clear that the former Late Roman provincial capital, Lincoln, was both under the control of an Anglo-Saxon named Blæcca by the 620s and a major centre for the kingdom of *Lindissi*. Similarly, the much-debated ‘Tribal Hidage’ – which enumerates the large and small population-groups and territories of pre-Viking England south of the Humber, and is often considered a seventh-century document – lists the *Lindisfaran* alongside at least two additional Anglo-Saxon groups who can be located with confidence in this region (the *Spalde* and the *Gyrwe*).⁶⁹ Finally, Felix’s eighth-century ‘Life of St Guthlac’ offers yet another illustration of the potential of such later material, as it appears to imply that there were still people speaking a form of Welsh living in the Fens of south Lincolnshire in the early eighth century.⁷⁰ In sum, although the quantity of such historical and literary material is relatively small (especially when compared to some other areas of the country) and it is focussed primarily on the seventh century and after rather than earlier periods, it is nevertheless a valuable source for understanding the Anglo-Saxons of the Lincoln region. It can also help in answering some of the key questions outlined above, providing as it does potential information relevant to the nature and dating of the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon rule, the character of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of *Lindissi* and its potential British roots, the Anglo-Saxon

population-groups formed in this region, and the nature and duration of the process of British acculturation here.

Such Anglo-Saxon textual materials as the above are, in the main, well-known and frequently discussed.⁷¹ Less well-known is the Welsh literary and historical material which may also have some bearing on our understanding of the post-Roman Lincoln region. In particular, the possible reference to men from Lindsey in the important early Welsh poem *Y Gododdin* has not featured in discussions of the post-Roman Lincoln region, despite its potential import.⁷² Similarly, the significance and meaning of the reference to post-Roman battles fought in the ‘country of *Linnuis*’ in the ninth-century Welsh *Historia Brittonum* is rarely, if ever, seriously explored.⁷³ Of course, such materials can be problematic. *Y Gododdin*, for example, is only preserved in a single Welsh manuscript of the thirteenth century, although it is often argued that at least some portions of it could be as old as the seventh century.⁷⁴ In contrast, the composition of the *Historia Brittonum* is fairly securely dated to 829/30; the problem here is rather that the *Historia* appears to be in many ways unreliable when it comes to its account of supposed events in the fifth and sixth centuries.⁷⁵ However, whilst this material is undoubtedly difficult, this is not a reason to ignore it entirely. At the very least, we need to ask why the early medieval authors of these texts may have made reference to our region and what these references might signify.

These, then, are the materials that are available to us when we seek to understand the post-Roman period and Anglian-British interaction in the Lincoln region. In light of the above discussion, the most productive approach to the fifth and sixth centuries in this region is likely to lie with an interdisciplinary methodology that brings together

all of the above classes of evidence, despite the resultant burden of data collection and need to analyse material from across several disciplines which this would entail: such a methodology has been adopted in the present study. First and foremost, using all of the available evidence gives us a greatly increased corpus of data for analysis, which is of particular importance given the generally acknowledged paucity of evidence for the post-Roman period. Moreover, it is plainly the case that all of the various classes of evidence include material that is of potential value with regard to the post-Roman Lincoln region and addressing the key questions set out previously.

Second, using all of this material together can help to counteract some of the disadvantages and limitations observed above for the different classes of evidence. One example cited above was the ability of the linguistic evidence to provide us with useful evidence for those areas where no Anglo-Saxon cemeteries are known. Even more important is the fact that any coherent analysis of the questions outlined above requires us to ask what was happening with the Britons in these centuries, and the archaeological evidence on its own seems insufficient to allow us to address this fully. Whilst there is certainly some archaeological material relevant to the post-Roman Britons available from the Lincoln region, the quantity of this material is relatively small, and it has often proven difficult to properly understand and evaluate the significance or context of this material when it is treated in isolation.⁷⁶ However, by putting the archaeological evidence alongside the sort of linguistic, literary and historical material described above, sufficient material can be drawn together and evaluated to allow a detailed analysis of Anglian-British interaction and the situation

in the post-Roman Lincoln region to proceed, as the following chapters seek to demonstrate.

Finally, by using all of this material together, we are able to cross-check and validate theories arising from one type of evidence against the other types. Thus, for example, the linguistic evidence seems to contradict the archaeologically-derived theory of a British abandonment of the Fenland, whilst at the same time it adds weight to the archaeological evidence for significant post-Roman British activity in the area around Folkingham-Osournby.⁷⁷

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- 1 Without wishing to deny that ethnic and cultural identity in this period was both fluid and complex (with people able to switch their primary ethnic identity and simultaneously hold several different identities at once), or to assert that either the Britons or the Anglo-Saxons possessed a monolithic and unvarying culture in these centuries, it is felt that the terms Anglo-Saxon and Briton/British continue to be useful when considering the post-Roman era. Certainly, contemporary and near-contemporary authors, such as Gildas (Winterbottom, 1978), believed that there was a genuine distinction to be drawn between Britons and Anglo-Saxons, and this distinction is to a large degree reflected in both the archaeological evidence relating to material culture in this period and the linguistic evidence too.
 - 2 Freeman, 1871: 28–9.
 - 3 See, for example, Stubbs, 1913: 1–3, where he allows a degree of intermarriage, especially in the west of England, but little else, with the culture of the ‘English’ remaining untainted by the surviving ‘remnant of their predecessors’.
 - 4 Elton, 1992: 3, who has the Anglo-Saxons not mixing ‘significantly’ with the Britons and instead pushing them ‘back into the western and northern uplands’ over two generations of conflict.
 - 5 See, for example, Coates, 2007, who believes that the linguistic evidence can only be explained by the sort of large-scale population replacement envisaged by Victorian historians, with the Britons largely being killed or expelled from eastern Britain. For a discussion of this position, see below, especially pp. 96–8 and the associated notes.
 - 6 Higham, 1992, makes this case at length, as do a number of other authors, including Hodges, 1989, and Arnold, 1984.
 - 7 For example, see Dark, P. 1996, and Murphy, 1994. See further below, pp. 41–3, 98–9.
 - 8 Scull, 1995, especially pp. 77–9; Hamerow, 2005: 264–9; Härke, 2003. See also Woolf, 2007.
 - 9 Weale *et al*, 2002; Thomas *et al*, 2006. See below, pp. 99–100 and the associated notes.
 - 10 Welch, 1993; Dumville, 1995: 180–3; Yorke, 2003a: 395–401; White, 2007, especially pp. 197–201; Snyder, 1998: 225–32; Dark, 2000: 144–9; Woolf, 2003.
 - 11 See especially Yorke, 1993b, for a good overview of these sources.
 - 12 Yorke, 2003a: 381–2, and see further Dumville and Lapidge (edd.), 1984; Higham, 1994; and Sims-Williams, 1983.
 - 13 As does Scull, 1995: 75–6, for East Anglia.
 - 14 Leahy, 1993: 36–7; Jones, 1993: 25–6; Eagles, 1989: 207; Sawyer, 1998: 226–30. This is discussed at length below, pp. 59–62.
 - 15 See Foot, 1993. The name *Lindissi* is here used for the Anglo-Saxon kingdom more commonly known as ‘Lindsey’, in order to distinguish this pre-Viking polity from the modern district of

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- Lindsey (the northern half of the pre-1974 county of Lincolnshire). Although the two names are related, the district-name Lindsey is usually agreed to be only indirectly derived from *Lindissi*, and it is moreover argued here that *Lindissi* actually encompassed a much larger area than does the modern district of Lindsey. See, for example, Cameron, 1991: 2–7; Gelling, 1989: 31–2; and below, pp. 116–25. As such, it seems best to avoid the name ‘Lindsey’ for the kingdom, despite its frequent usage in modern research, and instead return to the earliest recorded form of the kingdom-name.
- 16 Yorke, 1993a: 141, 143; Bassett, 1989a: 7.
 - 17 Leahy, 2007a: 6; Leahy, 2007b: 48; Williams, 2002; Williams, 2004. Bassett, 1989a: 8, fn. 40, suggests that the immigrants could have arrived in the Lincoln region as mercenaries, but says no more than this. Yorke, 1993a: 142, similarly suggests that a period of controlled settlement is ‘possible’.
 - 18 Bassett, 1989b; Scull, 1993: 72–9; Hamerow, 2005: 271–88. Cf. Yorke, 2003a, especially pp. 396–401.
 - 19 Yorke, 2003a, especially pp. 396–401; also Yorke, 2000: 82–6. See further below, pp. 147–51.
 - 20 See especially Yorke, 1993a: 141–2, and Chapter Four, below.
 - 21 Scull, 1995: 78; Thomas *et al*, 2006; Härke, 1992a; Härke, 1992b; Loveluck, 1996: 30–2; Hamerow, 2005: 265–6, 269–70.
 - 22 Dark, 2000: 71–3, 75–8; Härke, 1992a; Härke, 1992b.
 - 23 Hamerow, 2005: 265.
 - 24 Faull, 1977; Lucy, 2000a; Härke, 1992b; O’Brien, 1999; Scull, 1985; Loveluck, 1996: 30–1.
 - 25 For example, Leahy, 2007b: 85–6; Drinkall and Foreman (ed.), 1998: 358–9. The paucity of recently excavated and published inhumation cemeteries from the Lincoln region (see further below) limits the availability of such evidence, unfortunately.
 - 26 Cameron, 1998: 135, 127, 128; Insley and Eggers, 2001: 477; Insley, 2003: 375; Insley, 2002: 164; Jackson, 1953: 244, n.3; Stafford, 1985: 87.
 - 27 The exceptions here are Eagles, 1989: 207, and Yorke, 1993a: 145, who briefly discuss some possible evidence for British Christian continuity in Lincoln.
 - 28 Bassett, 1989b, offers a detailed outline of these ideas.
 - 29 Lane and Hayes, 1993: 68–9; Hayes, 1988: 325.
 - 30 Leahy, 1993: 36; Leahy, 2007b: 48–9; Dickinson, 2004: 24–5. See also Eagles, 1989: 211.
 - 31 See Hines, 1990, especially pp. 28, 34–6. Dark, 2000: 11 and 49, offers an updated version of these maps.
 - 32 Dark, 2000: 71–3, 75–8, for example, argues against this material being purely indicative of immigrant groups moving into new territories.
 - 33 Martin, 1976; Williamson, 1993: 71–2. Cf. Brooks, 1989b: 164.
 - 34 Ekwall, 1960: 298–9; Myres, 1986: 199; Sawyer, 1998: 47. See further Chapter Six.
 - 35 Notable instances include Williams *et al*, 1991; Crawford (ed.), 1994; and Koch, 1997.
 - 36 For example, Eagles, 1989; Jones, 1993; Leahy, 1993; Fisher, 1995; Williams, 2002; Williams, 2004; Leahy, 2007a; Leahy, 2007b.
 - 37 Williams, 2004: 113; Williams, 2002: 344–5.
 - 38 See Fig. 27 and the Gazetteer on the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of the region. By way of comparison, Leahy, 1993, identified 54 cemetery sites in Lindsey and North Kesteven (not South Kesteven) in 1993, and Sawyer identified 75 from across the whole of Lincolnshire in 1998.
 - 39 Lane, 1992; Hayes and Lane, 1992.
 - 40 For example, Taylor, 2003; Steane, 2006.
 - 41 See, for an illustration of this ‘spread’, the phased maps in Hines, 1996: 262–3, and the discussions in Chapters Two and Five.
 - 42 With regard to both the PAS and HER data, the dataset on which the present analysis is based was finalized towards the end of 2009, although significant finds made after this time have also been included here. Where archaeological material is unpublished and is referred to specifically in the text or notes below, it is usually cited by either a Historic Environment Record/Sites and Monuments Record number or a Portable Antiquities Scheme number. The HER databases are available online at www.heritagegateway.org.uk, and the PAS database at finds.org.uk/database.

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- 43 Bruce-Mitford, 1993; below, pp. 64–5 and notes.
- 44 Vince, 2001. See below, Chapter Five, fn. 79, on this.
- 45 Leahy, 2007a, and Drinkall and Foreman (ed.), 1998.
- 46 Thomas, 1887.
- 47 See below, pp. 175–6 and associated notes; Trollope, 1887: 98–100; Creasey, 1825: 106–07.
- 48 Dudley, 1949: 224–6.
- 49 See, for example, Härke, 2003, and Hamerow, 2005: 265. Issues surrounding the Britons’ post-Roman archaeological invisibility are discussed in Chapters One and Five.
- 50 See further pp. 59–64. The 2007 total for the brooches is that of Kevin Leahy plus the two Type G brooches from the Sleaford inhumation cemetery – Leahy, 2007b: 83; Dickinson, 1982: 48, 50, 52 and figs. 1–4.
- 51 Beginning with his *Place-Names of Lincolnshire I*, published in 1985.
- 52 Cameron, 1998. Ekwall, 1960, is the original national place-name dictionary and is still very useful, especially when used alongside Cameron’s work and the more recent national dictionaries authored by Mills (1991) and Watts (2004).
- 53 Coates, 2000; Coates, 2005a; Coates, 2005b; Coates, 2008; Coates, 2009.
- 54 Insley, 2000b; Insley, 2002; Insley, 2003; Insley, 2006; Insley and Eggers, 2001.
- 55 See Fig. 27 and the *Gazetteer*.
- 56 These specific ‘gaps’ in the cemetery evidence are discussed at length below, pp. 57–8 and 163–71. On notable place-names in these areas, see pp. 92–3, 126–7, 156–7, 159–60, 164.
- 57 Dodgson, 1977; Cox, 1972–3; Kuurman, 1974–5; Gelling, 1988a; Gelling, 1988b.
- 58 See Fig. 28 for the distribution of names involving British and Latin elements, based largely on the works of Cameron, Insley and Coates cited above, along with Schram, 1950. It should be noted, for example, that four Lincolnshire place-names have their origins in Old English *wīchām*, a name which derives from Latin *vicus* and is believed to have its origins in the fifth or sixth centuries – see further below, pp. 133–4 and 159–60, and (for example) Gelling, 1977a: 14, and Gelling, 1988b: 67–74, 245–9.
- 59 See Fig. 19 for the modern boundaries of the three main divisions of Lincolnshire: Lindsey, Kesteven, and Holland.
- 60 For example, Cameron, 1998: 81; Sawyer, 1998: 44; Yorke, 1993a: 143.
- 61 Below, pp. 52–3 and associated notes. The second element in the underlying British tribal- and territory-name (**Lindēs*) became *-wys* in later Welsh; the description of *-wys* as a ‘kingdom suffix’ is that of John Koch, see p. 67, fn. 11.
- 62 On the place-names, see below, pp. 92–3, and (for example) Cameron, 1998: 135; Insley and Eggers, 2001: 477; and Insley, 2003: 375. On the name *Cædbæd* in the genealogy of the kings of *Lindissi*, see pp. 87–9 and Jackson, 1953: 244, n.3, and Koch (ed.), 2006: 60.
- 63 See below, pp. 101, 164, 202, and 207.
- 64 For example, Sawyer, 1998: 111–13, and generally Gelling, 1988b, and Gelling, 1997: 15–18.
- 65 See Cameron, 1998: 85, for the etymology of Maltby, and the *Gazetteer* for the small early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery that was probably located here. The Middle Saxon metalwork from Maltby near Louth has been recorded by Scunthorpe Museum.
- 66 Cameron, 1998: 110; Owen and Coates, 2003; Coates, 1988: 35–9.
- 67 See below, pp. 52–3 (and fn. 11) and 212–14 on this. With regard to Celtic philology and the chronology of the mutation of British into Old Welsh, Jackson, 1953, remains indispensable, although it needs to be paired with more recent research such as Sims-Williams, 2003. See also, for example, Sims-Williams, 1990b; Sims-Williams, 1991; and Schrijver, 1995.
- 68 See, for example, Snyder, 1998: 29–49.
- 69 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, for example at III.11, III.24, III.27, IV.3, IV.1; Dumville, 1989c. See further below, for example pp. 125–7, 152–71.
- 70 Colgrave, 1956: 108–11; see especially Graham Jones in Koch (ed.), 2006: 857.
- 71 See, for example, Foot, 1993; Yorke, 1993a; Stafford, 1985; and Sawyer, 1998.
- 72 Koch, 1988: 33; see further below, pp. 82–6.

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- 73 For some discussion of this source and the import of this reference, see below (pp. 54, 76–81) and Green, 2007, especially 210–15.
- 74 Williams (ed), 1938; Koch, 1997. See especially below, pp. 82, 109–10, on the dating of the poem and the stanza in question.
- 75 Dumville, 1986; Higham, 2002: 119–69; Green, 2007: 15–26, 30–8.
- 76 For example, finds of British Class 1 penannular brooches in Lincolnshire are discussed briefly in Leahy, 2007b, in a short section on ‘sub-Roman/British survival’ (pp. 83–4), but they are largely left to stand on their own, with little analysis of their potential context or implications.
- 77 Below, pp. 163–9, 198, 206 and Fig. 33.

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The Context of Post-Roman Lincolnshire

Any account of the fifth and sixth centuries in the Lincoln region is ultimately an attempt to describe how the world of the fourth century became that of the seventh century. Although both of these centuries are themselves somewhat opaque, they are nonetheless far better understood and evidenced than the period which lies between them and, in consequence, an awareness of what Lincolnshire was actually like then must necessarily shape any study of the fifth and sixth centuries, as well as being a valuable source of information for it. In this context, before the detailed analysis of the historical, archaeological, literary and linguistic evidence pertaining to the post-Roman period can begin, the situation in the Lincoln region at the end of the fourth century and during the seventh needs to be set out.

The Lincoln Region in the Fourth and Early Fifth Centuries

Although fourth-century Lincolnshire was merely the northern part of the Romano-British *Civitas Corieltavorum*, which then had Leicester as its *civitas* capital, it did nonetheless contain within it the important city of *Lindum Colonia* (British *Lindon*,

**Lindocolōnia*), modern Lincoln. This was not simply a *colonia* – a Roman colony of retired soldiers, the highest ‘rank’ of Roman town – but also, in the fourth century, a Roman provincial capital and the seat of one of *Britannia*’s four bishops, Adelphius, who was present at the Council of Arles in AD 314 (Fig. 1).¹ As such, Lincoln was one of the most important cities of fourth-century Roman Britain, and the surrounding region must consequently have been a fully integrated part of the Roman diocese, inhabited by Romano-Britons who spoke a mixture of Vulgar Latin and Brittonic, the ancestor of modern Welsh. Given the importance of Lincoln, it is only right that any attempt to ascertain the nature of Late Roman Lincolnshire begins here. The new capital status that Lincoln gained at the beginning of the fourth century appears to have ensured its prosperity and remarkable vitality, when compared with non-capitals, right through to the very end of the Roman period. Although Lincoln still saw the general ‘decline’ in public buildings that can be observed in cities across the Empire at this time, the peak in activity (as indicated by coin deposition) occurs later here than at most other Romano-British towns – well into the second half of the fourth century – and there is evidence from a significant number of excavated sites for continued occupation into the last quarter of the fourth century. Similarly, large-scale dumping of mainly butchered cattle bones in the very late fourth century has been seen as indicative of specialist industry, cohesive central organization, considerable population and a thriving market at this time.²

It cannot, of course, be denied that there is also evidence for the abandonment of some buildings in Lincoln and a reduction in scale of others, chiefly in the last quarter of the fourth century. This can hardly be dissociated from the increasing interruptions

of the coinage supply to Roman Britain and the effects that this had on the market economy (with which town life seems to have been intimately linked).³ Nonetheless, the very late fourth- to early fifth-century Roman coin finds that we have are enough to indicate that organized urban life, although impoverished and reduced in scale, probably did continue across Lincoln at least some way into the fifth century, with one street as a minimum being resurfaced after 395–402 and evidence for the continued official usage of the *forum*.⁴ Indeed, in this context it is worth observing that the nearby Greetwell Villa – which has been plausibly interpreted as the residence of the Roman Provincial Governor – appears to have been maintained to a high standard and occupied right up until the end of the coin sequence in the early fifth century too, which may both reflect and explain the surprising vitality of Late Roman Lincoln.⁵

These indications of governmental and official continuity to the end of the Roman period at Lincoln are significant for any study of the post-Roman era. Whilst Lincoln's role as a truly urban centre is unlikely to have long survived the final end of the coin supply and the withdrawal of official support *c.* 410, this need not necessarily be true for its role as a seat of secular authority and government functions, which was arguably the reason why urban life was sustained so long at Lincoln.⁶ However, although Lincoln was clearly important, it should not be forgotten that in Lincolnshire – as in the rest of eastern Britain – the vast bulk of the Romano-British population would appear to have lived on dispersed farmsteads and villas, not in the towns.⁷ The wide distribution of Romano-British material from the region is indicative of a densely settled and worked landscape in the fourth century, with farmsteads being on

average only around one kilometre apart and by no means restricted to just the best soils.⁸ Even in more marginal areas, such as the flood-prone Lower Trent valley and the Fenland, the wide distribution of potsherds where field-survey has been undertaken testifies to fairly intensive Roman-era exploitation of the landscape, although in these low-lying areas there does seem to be some reduction in activity in the fourth century, which has been associated with an environmental downturn.⁹ In this light, what gaps there are in the distribution of settlement evidence within the region – such as on the eastern Wolds – are consequently more plausibly explained as the result of varying intensities of fieldwork rather than an absence of Romano-Britons in these areas.

This extensive pattern of Roman-era rural settlement is partly so obvious because of the general richness of fourth-century material culture compared with earlier and later periods of British history: even rural farmsteads produce fine-ware pottery, coins and stonework. This must surely reflect an increasing participation by the general Romano-British population in the Romanized economy of the towns and villas at this time, and it is indicative of a prosperous society which had considerable areas of land under cultivation, producing a surplus that allowed the purchase of such luxuries. Indeed, it has been observed that the archaeology of the mid- to late fourth century in Britain ‘is almost overwhelming in its quantity and variety’.¹⁰ Nevertheless, it seems reasonably clear that some areas of Lincolnshire – such as the limestone uplands in the north and south of the region – were more prosperous than others, and these were home to the majority of the ‘villas’ that have been so far identified here. With regard to such sites, the exact distinction between a villa and a farmstead is open to debate.

Usually, villas are identified by British archaeologists from their ground plans or from the presence of ‘Roman’ features, such as mosaics, baths, sculpted columns, marble wall veneers, or painted plaster. Sites with such features as these – not necessarily classical in form, so much as aspiring towards a Roman ‘style’ – are generally interpreted as estate-centres, on the basis of a comparison with the relative wealth of other settlements present in the landscape in this period, and are termed ‘villas’ to fit in with the general pattern of Roman estate organization in western Europe.¹¹ As such, they are potentially informative with regard to the social structure and centres of power within the Lincoln region in the fourth century, although it is worth remembering that – whilst undoubtedly prosperous, especially in the fourth century – the majority of British villas would be considered poor indeed if found in the Mediterranean region.¹² Having said this, there are notably impressive villas from the region, including that found at Greetwell mentioned above, and many of the north Lincolnshire villas seem to have received new mosaic pavements in the mid- to late fourth century (for example, the Winterton Orpheus mosaic), which is strongly suggestive of continued vitality and prosperity here too.¹³

In terms of physical size, between the city of Lincoln and the dispersed rural farmsteads belongs a diverse class of roadside settlements and ‘small towns’ (Fig. 2). Included in this are unfortified but extensive sites such as that at Kirmington, which seems to have covered around 20 hectares and saw very high levels of activity right up until the end of the Roman era, with 1511 coins dated AD 364-388 and an impressive (given the context of the times) 102 from AD 388-402, as well as numerous belt fittings that may be indicative of the presence of a late fourth-century

Romano-British militia.¹⁴ Some of these sites probably acted as markets for the local area, whilst others may have been imperial posting houses, such as those on Ermine Street. Others, however – namely Ancaster, Caistor and Horncastle – were enclosed by impressive walls, which suggests that they had an additional role.¹⁵ It has been argued that the nature of the surviving fortifications at Horncastle and Caistor places them in the same class of sites as the ‘Saxon Shore’ forts located from north Norfolk to Portsmouth, with the thickness of their walls and the small enclosed areas being particularly noticeable.¹⁶ Why they were built and what exactly this means is open to debate. It should not be forgotten that Horncastle, for example, had extensive earlier occupation outside the later walls and has been described as ‘one of the leading settlements in the Lincoln area’; both sites are, indeed, likely to have been important elements in the administration of the Lincoln region in the fourth century.¹⁷ Nevertheless, it does seem plausible that in this century they took on a role both as fortified collection points for the *annona* and as garrisons involved in the defence of Roman Britain, with Caistor occupying a commanding position overlooking the Ancholme valley.¹⁸ In this context, mention also ought to be made of Yarborough Camp, an important earthwork fortification that was probably refortified in the late fourth or early fifth century and would have been used in the defence of north Lincolnshire.¹⁹ Indeed, a case has been made for several such earthwork fortifications being in use in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, including at Yarbrough (near Louth) and Grimsby, with the latter being one of the few points on the east coast where firm ground would have still reached the sea in the very Late Roman/post-Roman period.²⁰

We can thus extract from the available historical and archaeological evidence a picture of Lincolnshire as a fairly prosperous part of Roman Britain through the fourth century. It was home to a provincial capital and episcopal see – Lincoln – and it had a densely settled and exploited landscape, which included not only villas and farmsteads but also larger settlements of the type encountered at Kirmington, heavily fortified ‘towns’ such as Horncastle, and some earthwork fortifications as at Yarborough. The key question is, of course, how much of this continued to be occupied and function into the period of the present study, post *c.* 400, and especially how much after *c.* 410, when Britain ceased to be part of the Roman Empire. This is a very difficult question to answer definitively. There are, as has already been mentioned, signs of ‘decline’ and abandonment in the last quarter of the fourth century from Lincoln, and to some extent this can be observed across the rest of the region too. Such a situation is, in fact, common across lowland Britain as a whole, and how these changes should be explained has been a topic that has long exercised researchers.²¹ They may very well reflect, in part, an empire-wide movement of economic complexity outwards from Italy in the first century AD to Spain and Gaul in the second century, Britain and Africa in the third and fourth centuries and then to the Near East and the territories outside the borders of the Empire in succeeding centuries, with each area experiencing in turn prosperity followed by a subsequent decline.²² On the other hand, the internal unrest in Britain recorded by Ammianus Marcellinus in the late fourth century and, most especially, the increasing interruptions of the coinage supply to Britain in the last quarter of the fourth century – which was essential to the health of the urban and villa economy after the end of the

London mint in the early fourth century – are very likely to have played a significant role in any abandonment or ‘decline’ in Britain specifically.²³

However, such ‘decline’ was by no means absolute. Whilst some rural sites, such as the large settlement at Dragonby, may not have survived to the end of the fourth century, there is evidence for continued activity of some sort at Lincoln to the very end of the Roman period, as noted previously. This is also true of a number of rural sites too, including not only ‘small towns’ such as Kirmington and South Ferriby but also villas and farmsteads, such as that at Deepdale, Barrow-on-Humber.²⁴ Furthermore, it needs to be recognized that even an absence, or near absence, of potentially early fifth-century artefacts or layers from a Late Roman site (as at Winterton Villa) cannot be considered as conclusive evidence for the last phase of this settlement certainly ending before *c.* 400, nor for any fifth-century phase necessarily representing a serious decline of the site. Whilst this could be true, the nature of the evidence for this period is such that drawing conclusions about the character and date of the final stages of Late Roman settlements is a hazardous task.

One major factor in obscuring early fifth-century phases and their nature is the simple fact that modern agricultural activity has often removed or severely damaged the latest levels of these sites, as is the case at both Winterton Villa and Hibaldstow ‘small town’. This is a particular problem due to the shallow nature of very Late and post-Roman buildings, and even where the relevant levels do survive, the slight traces which these buildings leave behind mean that they can still escape notice.²⁵ In such circumstances, assumptions of abandonment before *c.* 400 – or serious decline if the site continued into the early fifth century – are obviously problematical. Moreover,

this is not the only difficulty that we face when dealing with Late Roman sites where the existence or extent of any early fifth-century activity is not clear. Equally important as a factor is the declining supply of Roman coinage referred to above, with there being no new bronze coinage at all after 402 and no new gold or silver by 411.²⁶ This situation not only robs us of the chief source of dating evidence for the latest Romano-British levels, but it also means that no sensible chronologies can be provided for the other types of artefacts traditionally used for dating, including pottery, as these are ultimately dated from the coins too. As such, there is a legitimate concern that the final phases of some Romano-British sites, especially those not fully excavated in the modern era, may have been either missed entirely or have had their significance underestimated due to the rarity of datable artefacts for this era, as opposed to any real lack of activity. Finally, even when there is good evidence for an early fifth-century phase, the absence of later coinage can lead to an assumption that this phase was short-lived and confined to the first decade or so of the fifth century on the basis of the coin dates, despite the fact that we have no way of knowing how long these coins continued in use and thus when they were deposited on our sites; certainly the late fifth-century Patching hoard (found in Sussex in 1997) contained coins that were over 100 years old when they were finally deposited, which is suggestive in this regard.²⁷

The end result of these evidential problems is that, from the very late fourth century onwards, British activity in the Lincoln region became at first difficult to observe and then effectively archaeologically ‘invisible’, with the result that we cannot easily know what was happening to them or their settlements in the landscape.

This is not, of course, to deny that ‘decline’ and abandonment did occur in the late fourth century – although we do need to be careful not to confuse changing fashions, priorities and practices with ‘decline’²⁸ – nor is it to argue for anything approaching complete continuity of fourth-century Romano-British urban and villa life through the fifth century or even beyond. Rather, it is to point out that we cannot be certain how widespread and significant the late fourth-century ‘decline’ was, nor how urban and villa life in Lincolnshire ultimately came to an end or, indeed, when it did. That major changes did indeed occur seems certain, however, as the archaeological ‘invisibility’ of the fifth-century and later Britons is not simply a result of the lack of new coins entering the region, but has far deeper roots. The vital economy and material culture of the fourth century was ultimately a function of the presence of the Roman Empire and its coinage through the revenue/payment cycle and its associated activities, as Simon Esmonde-Cleary has pointed out. The interruptions to the coin supply and the effects of these on the health of the Romano-British economy have already been noted as one reason for the apparent late fourth-century ‘decline’ observed on many sites, but the early fifth-century withdrawal and collapse of the imperial superstructure and coinage system seems to have removed completely the main engine of the Romano-British market economy, which had sustained Romano-British towns, mass-production industry, Roman-style villa life, and Romano-British material culture in general.²⁹ Thus, whilst evidence for continuing activity in Lincoln in the fifth and sixth centuries is discussed in subsequent chapters, there is no sense that Lincoln continued to be the well-populated urban centre it was in the late fourth century; these aspects of its role in the region had almost certainly been lost with the collapse of the

Roman market economy. Similarly, whilst villa-estates may well have continued to play an important role in fifth-century Lincolnshire, it is difficult to believe that the thoroughly Romanized villas themselves long survived the collapse of the Roman economy and building industry that were essential to their existence.³⁰ Finally, whilst a lack of fifth-century coinage means that we cannot observe the fifth-century stages of towns, villas or the pottery industry, this is not the only reason that fifth-century British activity is hard to identify archaeologically. Quite simply, in most parts of the country the post-Roman Britons appear to have adopted – probably largely out of necessity, due to the collapse of the mass-production industries – a very different type of material culture to that which had gone before, this being one which, aside from a few classes of high-status metalwork and pottery, left very little evidence for modern archaeologists to find.³¹

This, then, is the situation amongst the Britons (formerly Romano-Britons) of our region at the dawn of the period under investigation in subsequent chapters. On the one hand, theirs had been until very recently a remarkably prosperous society that enjoyed a rich material culture, although there were signs of ‘decline’ – or at least change – at the very end of the period. On the other hand, the withdrawal of the Roman Empire from Britain would seem to have both rendered the Britons and their settlements archaeologically ‘invisible’ whilst also precipitating a major collapse in their economy and material culture. Urban and villa life are likely to have been the chief casualties of this collapse in the Lincoln region, with there being little reason to believe that they continued into the second half of the fifth century, if they indeed survived so late. However, this is not to say that villa-estates ceased to exist, nor that

Lincoln and the fortified towns of the region were necessarily completely abandoned and functionless, and it seems unlikely that those elements of British life and society that were less suffused with *romanitas* – and dependent upon the Roman economy – were so severely affected.

The Lincoln Region in the Seventh Century

If a knowledge of the situation in Lincolnshire at the start of our period of study is valuable as a starting point for any investigation into the largely undocumented and obscure two centuries that follow on from the fourth, a knowledge of the situation in the seventh century is equally useful when it comes to assessing what exactly occurred in the years between 400 and 600. When we turn to look at the political landscape of the seventh century, there is a marked contrast with the situation observed in the fourth century, and knowing what the nature and extent of this is will be essential when approaching the question of what occurred in the fifth and sixth centuries. Fundamentally, it seems clear that the Roman diocese of *Britannia*, along with the relatively peaceful political unity that it represented, had long since dissolved by the time we reach the early seventh century. In the west of Britain, the descendants of the old Romano-British inhabitants of the island remained largely in charge of their own destiny as the rulers of, amongst others, the kingdoms of Gwynedd, Powys and Dumnonia, these being based ultimately around regional Romano-British political identities.³² In the east of Britain there had been a similar disappearance of political

unity by the seventh century. However, here the small and not-so-small kingdoms which now existed were, by and large, ruled by lineages that believed themselves to be descended from fifth- and sixth-century ‘Anglo-Saxon’ immigrants to this region, who had arrived from the area of present-day north Germany, Holland, Denmark and other parts of Scandinavia (Fig. 3).³³ The degree to which these Anglo-Saxon kingdoms reflected the earlier Romano-British and post-Roman British political geography of lowland Britain is open to debate, and it is a question which the present study aims to address. Equally open to debate is how widespread this immigrant ethnic identity and language was at the start of the seventh century in the Lincoln region – was it restricted to just the elite lineages, or was it far more common? Certainly, the available evidence suggests that the vast majority of the population must have spoken Old English, rather than a descendant of Brittonic like Archaic Welsh, by the end of the eighth century at the latest; how and why this change came about is, of course, another of the primary concerns of what follows.³⁴

From a political perspective, it would seem that a very significant area of Late Roman Lincolnshire – how great a proportion is discussed in Chapter Four – had, by the early seventh century, come to form the territory of an Anglo-Saxon kingdom named *Lindissi/Lindesig* (the latter name is the root of the modern district-name ‘Lindsey’). The evidence for *Lindissi* as a real seventh-century ‘Anglo-Saxon’ kingdom, rather than just an administrative unit of the larger kingdom of Mercia (whose heartlands lay south-west of Lincolnshire, on the Middle Trent), has been frequently rehearsed in recent years and is now beyond serious doubt.³⁵ Whilst we lack the detailed narratives of the deeds of its kings that we possess for the more

powerful seventh-century kingdoms of Bernicia (Northumbria), Mercia and Wessex, we do have a number of items which, when taken together, are convincing. Thus there is a genealogy of the kings of *Lindissi* preserved in the eighth-century ‘Anglian Collection of royal genealogies and regnal lists’, alongside those of the kings of Wessex, Kent, Mercia and Northumbria.³⁶ This is, naturally, of considerable importance, and its implications are supported by the ‘Tribal Hidage’, a list of pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon population-groups and their hidations (possibly tribute assessments, reflecting some uncertain mixture of size and status), wherein *Lindissi* is assessed at the same level as the better-attested kingdoms of Essex and Sussex (7000 hides).³⁷ Similarly important is the fact that Bede consistently describes *Lindissi* as a *prouincia* – his normal term for an Anglo-Saxon kingdom – in his early eighth-century *Historia Ecclesiastica* and that he portrays the people of *Lindissi* as a distinct and separate people, the *Lindisfari* (< Old English *Lindisfaran*).³⁸ Finally, there is the fact that Bede and other sources make it clear that the *Lindisfari/Lindisfaran* had their own bishop from the seventh until the ninth century, a point which is again indicative of *Lindissi* having been a kingdom.³⁹

Although it thus seems apparent that *Lindissi* was indeed a seventh-century Anglo-Saxon kingdom, saying anything further about it in this period is difficult due to the aforesaid lack of narrative sources. One thing we can say is that the last king of *Lindissi* was probably named Aldfrið (an Old English name), as his is the final name in the royal genealogy that we have for the kingdom. It used to be thought that this Aldfrið was also mentioned in a late eighth-century Mercian charter, but this belief now appears to be mistaken; instead, a good case has been made for thinking that he

was probably king up until *c.* 679, with there being no more independent rulers of *Lindissi* after him as the kingdom was henceforth under permanent Mercian lordship.⁴⁰

In addition to the *Lindisfaran*, there are three other population-groups recorded in the ‘Tribal Hidage’ who can be potentially placed in the Lincoln region. One of these is the *Bilmigas*, who were assessed at 600 hides and are often associated with the *Billingas* population-group that occurs in three Lincolnshire place-names: Horbling, Billingborough and Billingham.⁴¹ Another is the *Spalde*, who underlie the place-name Spalding. This population-group, again assessed at 600 hides in the ‘Tribal Hidage’, has been defined through the work of the Fenland Survey and seems to have included much of the modern Fenland district of Holland in Lincolnshire.⁴² Finally, there is the *Gyrwe* (from Old English *gyr*, ‘mud’), who were assessed in two equal parts of 600 hides each in the ‘Tribal Hidage’ and placed by Bede and other sources in the Fens of northern Cambridgeshire and southern Lincolnshire, with Crowland Abbey lying within their territory (Fig. 4).⁴³ All three of these groups are discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

Turning away from political matters to those of material culture, rural settlement and population, there is an equally large contrast with the situation in the fourth century. Where before there was abundant evidence of a densely settled landscape, filled with villas and dispersed farmsteads which extended even onto marginal land, the picture in the seventh century appears considerably impoverished. Certainly nothing approaching the astonishingly rich material culture of the fourth century is apparent in early seventh-century Lincolnshire. There is, for example, no reason to

think that rural settlements of any type made use of stone in their construction, nor is there any evidence for the widespread usage of fine-ware/wheel-thrown pottery or low-denomination coinage, although it does appear that some of the handmade Anglo-Saxon pottery was traded regionally and there are some prestige imports from the continent, which suggests that the rural economy was producing a surplus.⁴⁴ In fact, we really have to wait until the eighth century before we see significant evidence for inter-regional/international trade and coin usage appearing once more in the region.⁴⁵

Potentially equally important is the fact that one reading of the available archaeological evidence suggests a much-reduced density of settlement – and thus overall population – across the region in the early seventh century than was the case in the fourth century. However, caution must be exercised with regard to the conclusions that can be drawn from this latter observation. Excavated early Anglo-Saxon settlements from the region are extremely rare, whilst at the same time it is difficult to be confident that field-walking accurately reflects the real settlement density of this period. Largely this is a result of the aforementioned lack of the kind of rich and very visible material culture that the Lincoln area possessed in the fourth century, which is very easy to identify. In particular, attention should be drawn to the often-recognized difficulties in identifying early Anglo-Saxon pottery from field-walking, due to its poor quality and similarity to handmade Iron Age and Roman pottery.⁴⁶ Indeed, even when attempts have been made to rectify these issues with field-walking, the pattern produced is not always entirely convincing. Thus recent field-walking and pottery collection in the north of Lindsey suggests that there was a contrast between a high early Anglo-Saxon settlement density on the Lincoln Edge

and a lower one on the western part of the Chalk Wolds, but this does not seem to be reflected in the known distribution of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries or in the metal-detected finds recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme, which indicate relatively significant populations in both areas.⁴⁷ In fact, the only pattern of early Anglo-Saxon rural settlement in Lincolnshire that seems fairly well established is one in which the low-lying marginal land, such as that on the Fens or in the Trent valley, was far less intensively exploited in the post-Roman period than it had been previously. This was presumably at least partially due to an environmental downturn in the Late and post-Roman periods, and it is a point on which the distributions both of field-walked settlement evidence and of cemeteries and metal-detected finds all concur.⁴⁸ Other than this, it is hard to draw meaningful conclusions from the data currently available, especially when it comes to comparing the situation in the early Anglo-Saxon period (c. 450-650) with that in the fourth century.⁴⁹ Indeed, this is even more true once one takes account of the fact that, due to the post-Roman archaeological ‘invisibility’ of British material culture referred to above and the normal post-Roman British rite having been burial without any grave-goods, any settlements or graves of Britons living within the region who had not adopted the Anglo-Saxon material culture by c. 650 will simply not appear in the early Anglo-Saxon archaeological record, apart from in the most exceptional circumstances.⁵⁰

This concern that there can be a significant under-estimation of the density of early Anglo-Saxon rural settlement – and thus an assumption that the fifth to seventh centuries saw a sparsely populated countryside compared with the fourth century – is by no means confined to our study area. The above evidential issues mean that,

whether we are talking about Lincolnshire or lowland Britain as a whole, we simply cannot compare rural settlement densities in the two periods using the evidence that we have available, so no such assumptions of a major decline in population can be justified. This has not, of course, prevented such comparisons and assumptions inspiring theories of a catastrophic post-Roman population collapse due to plague or even to the kind of land-clearing genocide that was envisaged by Victorian historians and which still finds occasional supporters.⁵¹ That such radical explanations are unnecessary is not only implied by the problems with evidence outlined above. The available environmental and palaeobotanical material indicates that there was little post-Roman reforestation – as would have occurred if there had been any significant drop in population – anywhere in lowland Britain, aside from on the most marginal land.⁵² Rather what seems to have happened is a degree of de-intensification in land exploitation, chiefly manifested in a shift from arable to pastoral farming in some areas, which is best associated with the ending of Roman taxation and imperial demand – both of which required a significant agricultural surplus to be produced – rather than a population decline.⁵³ As such, it seems more than credible that the landscape of early Anglo-Saxon England (and Lincolnshire) was in fact almost as densely settled as it was in the Late Roman period, away from very marginal areas such as the Fens. This position would seem to be further confirmed by the evidence for the continued usage of Roman field-systems. As Oliver Rackham and others have observed, if, due to a major population collapse, a field is abandoned rather than its exploitation shifted from arable to pastoral, then in ten years ‘it will be difficult to reclaim; in thirty years it will have “tumbled down into woodland”’, and it will

probably be unrecoverable in terms of its boundaries.⁵⁴ In this context, not only is the lack of evidence for woodland regrowth from the pollen record (as noted above) highly significant, but so too is the fact that pre-Roman and Roman-era field systems and boundaries appear to be still in use through the medieval period and in some cases right up until the modern day, with one large system having been identified around Goltho in southern Lindsey.⁵⁵

If there seems little reason to doubt that the Lincolnshire countryside saw continuing activity at a similar level to that in the fourth century, the same cannot be said for the towns and central places of the Late Roman period. The intervening two centuries saw the disappearance of towns as densely-populated centres all across Britain, and whilst some have argued that urban settlements started to re-emerge in Britain from the seventh century onwards, there is no evidence for such a development so early in the Lincoln region.⁵⁶ However, this does not mean that the Roman-era pattern of central places, in the sense of political or administrative centres, had disappeared. With respect to Lincoln, for example, Bede makes it clear that it was one of the most important political centres for the region in the early seventh century – just as it had been at the end of the fourth – when he relates how it had a *praefectus* named Blæcca and that it was chosen as the site of the first stone church to be built in *Lindissi*.⁵⁷ Similarly, even though such early documentary evidence is lacking for the fortified ‘small towns’ of Ancaster, Horncastle and Caistor, archaeological and later historical evidence combines to suggest that these too may have played a significant role within early Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire (see further Chapter Four).

At the same time as we can observe a degree of administrative/political activity occurring on some of the same sites as it did in the fourth century, we can also see several new categories of ‘central place’ emerging by the end of the seventh century. The most significant of these, for the purposes of the present study, are those represented by the large fifth- to seventh-century Anglo-Saxon cremation cemeteries, such as are found at Cleatham (originally *c.* 1500 burials) and Loveden Hill (*c.* 1800 burials).⁵⁸ These cemeteries – discussed more fully in subsequent chapters – appear to have been the earliest burial sites used by the pagan Anglo-Saxon immigrants who arrived in the region in the fifth century, and their size and widely-spaced locations suggests that they possessed defined territories for which they acted as a central burial ground (Figs 5, 8).⁵⁹ The monasteries which begin to appear in the Lincolnshire landscape from the middle of the seventh century, as a result of the official conversion of the kingdom to Roman-style Christianity in *c.* 627/8, represent another new type of central place. Sometimes these were founded in remote areas, as at Bardney or Crowland, but at other times they were established near to pre-existing central places (for example, Louth is the location for both a pre-Viking monastery and a major early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery) or significant Late Roman sites (as with Hibaldstow, which was both the site of a Roman ‘small town’ and the presumed location of Hygebald’s monastery, mentioned by Bede).⁶⁰ As such, even though the monasteries – unlike the cremation cemeteries – were founded after the end of the period with which we are here concerned, their locations are worth investigating as a potential guide to sites that had a degree of importance in the fifth and sixth centuries (Fig. 6).

From Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon: Lincolnshire in the Post-Roman Period

All told, the fifth and sixth centuries in the Lincoln region do seem to have represented a momentous epoch. On the one hand, the political unity of the Late Roman period appears to have been fractured, and whilst the fourth century was marked by a prosperous rural economy, vital urban centres and a widespread use of money, the seventh century in contrast appears much impoverished. Moreover, the landscape was filled with whole new classes of ‘central places’ that were of no significance in the Late Roman period. At the same time, there is clear evidence for immigration into lowland Britain from continental Europe beyond the Roman frontiers, with both the material culture and language of these immigrant groups seemingly well on their way to domination of the region by the seventh century, whilst those of the former Romano-Britons seem largely conspicuous by their absence. On the other hand, there are also strong potential threads of continuity identifiable between the late fourth and the early seventh centuries. Thus, whilst seventh-century settlements are much harder to identify than Romano-British ones, there are reasons to think that the landscape of Lincolnshire probably continued to be extensively occupied into the seventh century and beyond. Similarly, Lincoln and some of the other key settlements of Late Roman Lincolnshire appear to have been important centres for the early Anglo-Saxon period too. The question is thus: how much really did change in the two centuries between *c.* 400 and *c.* 600, and is there enough evidence surviving to allow us to explain and understand the course of events which led to these changes?

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- 1 Wachter, 1995: 17–18, 87; Mann, 1998; Jones, 2003: 124; Thomas, 1981: 197.
 - 2 Jones, 2003: fig 7.69b and pp. 130–4; Jones, 2002: 124–6; Dobney *et al*, 1996: 2–4, 57–61; Dobney *et al*, 1998. On empire-wide urban trends leading to a decline in public buildings in all areas, including Britain, see for example Ward-Perkins, 1984, and Esmonde-Cleary, 2004: 418–9. Cf. Faulkner, 1998, for another Late Roman provincial capital which remained prosperous late into the fourth century.
 - 3 Jones, 2003: 133–4; Jones, 2002: 124, 126; Esmonde-Cleary, 1989, especially chapter 4; Esmonde-Cleary, 1993.
 - 4 Jones, 2003: 133–6; Jones, 2002: 125–9 – see below, pp. 59–62, on the usage of the *forum*.
 - 5 Jones, 2003: 97–8, 130, 136; Jones, 2002: 124, 127. The evidence of continuing urban life from Lincoln in the second half of the fourth century and into the fifth obviously suggests that Reece’s concept of fourth-century towns as essentially non-urban does not apply here, although Faulkner’s ‘post-classical urbanism’ may be relevant to the last late fourth-/early fifth-century stage, as Jones has observed: Reece, 1992; N. Faulkner, 1994; Jones, 2003: 125–7, 135.
 - 6 See Esmonde-Cleary, 1989, especially chapter 4, and Esmonde-Cleary, 1993, on how the collapse of the Roman market economy and withdrawal of the Roman army would have led to the rapid and final decline of towns as economic and residential *foci*.
 - 7 See generally Taylor, 1983; Dark and Dark, 1997.
 - 8 Jones, 1988: 21; Leahy, 2007b: 21.
 - 9 Van de Noort and Ellis, 1998; Lane, 1992; Whitwell, 1992: xxvi–xxviii; Owen, 1984: 46–9. This is also the situation in southern Lincolnshire: Hayes and Lane, 1992; Hayes, 1988.
 - 10 Esmonde-Cleary, 1995: p. 17; Esmonde-Cleary, 1989.
 - 11 Millett, 1995: 67–74; Dark and Dark, 1997: 43–51.
 - 12 See, for example, Potter, 1979.
 - 13 Whitwell, 1992: xxix–xxxi.
 - 14 Whitwell, 1988: 59; Jones and Whitwell, 1991; Leahy, 2007b: 30–1, 33; Leahy, 2007c.
 - 15 Caistor and Horncastle are the only surviving examples, but it seems plausible that there was a walled fort at Skegness too: see John Leland’s *Itinerary* (Hearne, 1770: VII, 152) and Whitwell, 1992: 51–3 on Skegness. The place-name *Tric* (< Latin *traiectus* ‘crossing point, ferry’) recorded at Domesday presumably applied to this lost settlement/fort at Skegness: Coates, 1988: 35–9; Owen and Coates, 2003: 42–4.
 - 16 Field and Hurst, 1983: 85–7 and tables 6–7; Clay, 2010: 41; Leahy, 1993: 29.
 - 17 Field and Hurst, 1983: 85.
 - 18 As suggested by Whitwell, 1981: 77. See particularly Cotterill, 1993, and Fulford and Tyers, 1995, on the origins of the ‘Saxon Shore’ forts, which probably have more to do with Carausius (286–93).
 - 19 Leahy, 2007b: 111–14.
 - 20 See, for example, Cox, 1994–5, and also Oliver, 2006.
 - 21 For differing views as to the degree and date of ‘decline’ in Britain, see for example Esmonde-Cleary, 1989; Dark, 1994; De la Bédoyère, 1999; Faulkner, 2000; Esmonde-Cleary, 2004: 424–5; Ward-Perkins, 2005: 123–4 and fig. 6.1; White, 2007, especially pp. 177–94 and table 8.1.
 - 22 Ward-Perkins, 2000.
 - 23 Thompson, 1990; Wood, 1991; and Esmonde-Cleary, 1989. In support of ‘unrest’ as a partial explanation are perhaps the large number of later fourth-century coin hoards from Lincolnshire: Higginbottom, 1980.
 - 24 May, 1996: II, 637–8; Whitwell, 1988; Whitwell, 1995; Whitwell, 1992: xxxi. See also below, pp. 62–4, on post-Roman British Class 1 brooches; three of these have been found on the site of Kirmington ‘small town’.
 - 25 Whitwell, 1988: 60; Whitwell, 1992: xxxv. See further Faulkner, 1996, especially 87, and White, 2007: 180, with regard to the difficulty of locating Late Roman timber structures without very careful excavation of an extensive area.
 - 26 Esmonde-Cleary, 1989: 138–9.
 - 27 Whyman, 1992; Dark, 1996: 58; Rahtz, 2000: 1; Dark, 2000: 53–7; White, 2007, especially pp. 20–9. Hilary Cool’s demonstration that very late fourth- to fifth-century assemblages differ in

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- composition and character from those of earlier periods may offer a partial solution to this problem: Cool, 2000; Cool, 2006: 222–38.
- 28 See, for example, Dark, 2000: 56–7, who has some sensible points to make here; cf. Esmonde-Cleary, 2004: 418–9, 424–5, on ‘decline’ versus ‘change’ in fourth-century British towns.
- 29 Esmonde-Cleary, 1989, chapter 4; Esmonde-Cleary, 1995; Dark, 1996a; Ward-Perkins, 2005, especially pp. 123–4, 128 and fig. 6.1.
- 30 Esmonde-Cleary, 1989, especially pp. 157–8; Dark and Dark, 1997: 136–7; Dark, 1993.
- 31 See, for example, Rahtz, 1977; Rahtz, 1982; Aston, 1994: 222; Ward-Perkins, 2005: 104, 108, 117–20. This ‘invisible’ material culture continues into the tenth century and even beyond in some areas.
- 32 Dark, 2000: 150–202; Dark, 1994; Snyder, 1998, especially pp. 225–32.
- 33 Attempts to deny that there was a significant migration to eastern Britain are unconvincing – see, for example, Scull, 1995. For the role played by immigrants from Scandinavia, see Hines, 1984.
- 34 See Gelling, 1993, and below (p. 101) on the place-name evidence for when British/Welsh began to die out as a spoken language in lowland Britain.
- 35 For example, Foot, 1993; Sawyer, 1998: 44–52; Leahy, 2007b. See Brooks, 1989a: 160–2 on Mercia.
- 36 Dumville, 1976; Foot, 1993: 129–35.
- 37 Dumville, 1989c. See further below, pp. 147–51, on the character and date of the ‘Tribal Hidage’.
- 38 Campbell, 1986a: 86, 88; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, for example at III.11, III.24, III.27, IV.3, IV.12. See below, pp. 53–4, 215–17, on the group-name *Lindisfaran*.
- 39 Foot, 1993: 136–7.
- 40 Stenton, 1971a: 129–31; Foot, 1993: 133–5, especially p. 135. For further discussion of this genealogy, see below pp. 87–9.
- 41 Dumville, 1989c: 226–7, 229; Davies and Vierck, 1974: 233–6, 283; Hayes, 1988: 324–5; Crowson *et al*, 2005: figs. 1–2a and pp. 99, 265–6, 297, but cf. Sawyer, 1998: 47, 220–1, and below, p. 172.
- 42 Hayes, 1988: 324–5; Crowson *et al*, 2005: figs. 1–2a and pp. 286, 298–9.
- 43 Dumville, 1989c: 226–7, 229; Dumville, 1989a: 130–1; Rollason, 1978: 89; Roffe, 1993.
- 44 Vince and Williams, 1997; Huggett, 1988.
- 45 Vince, 2003: 143; Blackburn, 1993: 83; Ulmschneider, 2000.
- 46 Everson, 1993: 93; Taylor, 1983: chapter 7. Even such a detailed and systematic field-survey as the Fenland Project apparently saw early to middle Anglo-Saxon pottery misidentified as Roman: Jane Young, personal communication.
- 47 Leahy, 2007b: 58, 127–8; Leahy, 1993: 31–2; Leahy, 2007a: 9.
- 48 Leahy, 2007b: 16–19, 58; Van de Noort and Ellis, 1998; Hayes and Lane, 1992; Hayes, 1998. However, see pp. 156–71 below on the Fenland. Whilst marine transgressions and the expansion of the freshwater fen in southern Lincolnshire would have undoubtedly led to the abandonment of some Late Roman settlements, the scale of this desertion can be vastly overestimated.
- 49 As also noted by, for example, Everson, 1993: 92–3.
- 50 There is a full discussion of this situation, and its implications, in Chapter Five, pp. 164–9; the points made there apply throughout the region. On British burial rites, see for example Rahtz, 1977; Rahtz, 1982.
- 51 Ward-Perkins, 2000a, has some good discussion, especially his quotation from E. A. Freeman. See Welch, 1992: 107, for a modern argument that the Anglo-Saxons inhabited ‘a relatively empty landscape’ and Wachter, 1995: 411–16, on plague. Against the notion of plague as a credible motor for fifth-century decline and population collapse, see especially Todd, 1977, and Esmonde-Cleary, 1989: 174–5.
- 52 Dark, 1996; Rackham, 1986: 75–85; Murphy, 1994; Rippon, 2009: for example pp. 166, 168–9.
- 53 See especially Murphy, 1994: 37. It ought to be noted here that another oft-deployed argument in favour of a massive post-Roman population collapse – the supposed contrast between the estimated population in the fourth century and at Domesday – is just as methodologically flawed as that based on a comparison of supposed settlement density in the Romano-British and early Anglo-Saxon periods. One recent estimate for the population of Late Roman Britain is around 4 million (Millett, 1995: 44–6), whilst that for late eleventh-century England is perhaps 2–2.5 million (see, for

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- example, Moore, 1997), suggesting a major population fall. However, it must not be forgotten that we are not comparing like with like: Millett's figures are, on fuller examination, figures for Roman-era England, Wales, Scotland *and* Ireland. If we remove from the calculation those living outside of England then the Late Roman settled population is estimated to be around 1.5 to 2 million, which obviously removes the necessity to postulate any such massive reduction in the population between c. 400 and 1086.
- 54 Rackham, 1986: 67; Rippon, 2009: 166–7.
- 55 See Williamson, 1988; Williamson, 1993: 24–5; Bassett, 1985; Rippon, 2009: 156–67.
- 56 Scull, 1997; Vince, 2003; Steane and Vince, 1993.
- 57 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II.16. On Blæcca's status and potential links to the royal family of *Lindissi*, see below (pp. 93–4, 126–7) and, for example, Bassett, 1989a: 11–12, and Leahy, 2007b: 114–15.
- 58 Leahy, 2007a; Leahy, 1993: 33, 36; Leahy, 2007b: 35–56.
- 59 See further pp. 55–6, 188–96 below; Leahy, 1993: 36; Leahy, 1999: 129–30; Leahy, 2007b: 49; Sawyer, 1998: 51; Williams, 2002.
- 60 Stocker, 1993; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV.3.

2

The British Country of **Lindēs*

Of the many questions that might be asked about the fifth and sixth centuries in this region, one of the most intriguing is how Lincoln changed from being a Roman provincial capital controlled by a military-bureaucratic elite and populated by Romano-Britons, to being a major centre of a minor Anglo-Saxon kingdom. The first part of the answer is fairly straightforward: with the withdrawal of the Roman legions in AD 410, the Britons were left to fend for themselves, Britain ceased to be part of the Roman Empire, and Lincoln thus lost its official position as an imperial provincial capital.¹ For what happened next across lowland Britain as a whole, various models have been proposed. One is that a degree of central control probably persisted through at least part of the fifth century, unifying the diocese – or at least several of its provinces – under the rule of one of the former members of the Romano-British elite.² Alternatively, it has been suggested that the British elites took over the governance of their individual provinces, or that large-scale governance decayed completely and each local elite simply took over its local city territory.³ In either case, there is additional uncertainty as to the fate of the resultant post-Roman British territories and whether they disappeared or were taken over by the Anglo-Saxon immigrants. It could be that, by and large, the immigrants simply overthrew the British elites in the fifth

century, but then lived in relatively unstratified communities until they began organically to form new, Germanic, kingdoms in the mid- to late sixth century.⁴ On the other hand, it has been suggested that control of the British territories passed, peacefully or otherwise, to the Anglo-Saxons – an event often, but not always, placed in the fifth century – who then took over their rule and made use of their underlying organization.⁵

Deciding between these options is generally exceedingly difficult for eastern Britain, but we are unusually fortunate in dealing with the Lincoln area. Here a variety of linguistic, historical, literary and archaeological evidence all combines to indicate that local British elites did, at the very least, take over the territory of Lincoln itself, and were furthermore able to retain control of both the city and its hinterland into the sixth century. In addition, it seems clear that when the local Anglo-Saxon immigrants did gain final control of the region, they did not destroy all that they found, but instead took over the British territory within which they had settled. Naturally, the evidence for all of this is fragmentary, but its implications are clear, and the present chapter offers a detailed discussion of some of the most important material in support of this scenario. The following chapter then examines additional evidence, which not only bolsters the case but also allows us to focus more clearly on the question of the relations between the Britons and the Anglo-Saxons in this region.

Language and History in Early Lincolnshire

Perhaps the best evidence for the existence of a significant British territory around Lincoln which was taken over, rather than destroyed, by the Anglo-Saxon immigrants of the fifth and sixth centuries comes from the Lincolnshire kingdom-name *Lindissi*. Many pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon kingdom-names from lowland Britain are of a descriptive type with solid Old English origins: for example, Wessex (the kingdom of the West Saxons), Essex (the East Saxons), Sussex (the South Saxons), East Anglia (the East Angles), and Mercia (the people of the border). *Lindissi* does, however, represent something rather different, and to understand this and its significance we have to look at the name in more detail.

The pre-Viking kingdom-name *Lindissi* (later *Lindesse*) is multiply attested in early sources, most notably throughout Bede's early eighth-century *Historia Ecclesiastica* (completed AD 731), but also in the very early eighth-century 'Life of St Gregory', in the mid-eighth-century 'Acts of the Council of *Clofesho*' (747), and in the earliest manuscripts of the 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle'.⁶ It is not, however, the only form of the name known: *Lindesig/Lindissig* is used for this pre-Viking kingdom in both Asser's very late ninth-century 'Life of King Alfred' (893) and a mid-eleventh-century manuscript of the 'Chronicle', and this form is ultimately the root of the medieval and modern district-name Lindsey.⁷ Although there has occasionally been some debate over which of these names is the 'original' form of the pre-Viking kingdom-name (the former having an uncertain suffix, the latter Old English *-īg/-ēg*, 'island'), there seems no cogent reason for either doubting the priority and antiquity

of the *Lindissi* form or treating it as being anything other than the kingdom-name it is in all of our surviving early sources. The form *Lindesig/Lindissig* is most credibly seen as simply the result of a late misunderstanding/false explanation of the kingdom-name *Lindissi*, which involved *Lindissi*'s obscure final element being wrongly connected with Old English *-īg/-ēg*, 'island'.⁸

Whatever the case may be, however, on the kingdom-name, the key point here is that the language of the consistent first element of this kingdom-name is not, in fact, Old English at all. It is instead Late British, the language of the post-Roman Britons and ancestor of modern Welsh, and this first element is actually a population group-name **Lindēs*, 'the people of *Lindon*'.⁹ With regard to this name, we do need to be careful to distinguish between the ultimate provenance of a name and its actual meaning. In the case of **Lindēs*, it is almost certainly the British city-name *Lindon*/**Lindocolōnia* – Lincoln – that is being referenced, not the local pool (British **lindo-*) from which the city ultimately took its name. Compare, for example, the fact that a modern-day Ludensian is someone associated with Louth (*Ludes* in Domesday), not someone associated with the 'loud river' (the Lud < Old English **hlūde*, 'the loud one') from which the town took its name. This is confirmed and taken further by an examination of similarly formed names in Welsh. Names such as **Lindēs* are never merely minor local names, nor indeed are they ever simply population group-names: they are always also district, or territory, names that refer both to a group of people *and* the territory that they inhabit.¹⁰ Indeed, the final element in the name – Late British/Archaic Welsh *-ēs* – became *-wys* in later Welsh, and is found in major names such as that of the medieval Welsh kingdom of Powys. In this light, the notion that

**Lindēs* referred only to a very small and specific group of people who lived in Lincoln, or by Brayford Pool, is untenable, and the Late British tribal- and district-name **Lindēs* should properly be translated as something more like ‘the people of (the territory of the city of) Lincoln’, with this territory being by necessity a reasonably extensive one.¹¹ This is, naturally, an important conclusion in the present context. The fact that the Anglo-Saxon kingdom-name *Lindissi/Lindesig* is derived from this Late British name does, on its own, require the pre-existence of a post-Roman British folk-group and territory called **Lindēs*, which had Lincoln as its focus and which controlled a region that extended to some unknown but significant degree beyond the city. It furthermore indicates that the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of *Lindissi* had some sort of intimate connection with this British territory, as it took on its name.¹²

Further confirmation of the reality of this British territory, and the close links between it and the subsequent Anglo-Saxon kingdom of *Lindissi*, is to be had from the collective group-name for the seventh-century and later Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of *Lindissi*. This, too, is found in two forms, *Lindisware* and *Lindisfaran* (Anglo-Latin *Lindisfari*), but the latter is clearly the original form, being multiply attested in, for example, Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*, all manuscripts of the ‘Tribal Hidage’, the eighth-century ‘Anglian Collection of royal genealogies and regnal lists’, the pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon episcopal lists, and the subscriptions attached to the report of the Papal Legates of 786, whilst the former is only attested once in a single early twelfth-century manuscript of the ‘Anglo-Saxon Chronicle’.¹³ This group-name shares its initial element with the kingdom-name *Lindissi* – that is, Late British **Lindēs* – but

this element is now paired with Old English *faran* and, in light of other similar compounds of *faran* and its continental cognates in the early medieval period and the usage of this word in Old English, the meaning of this group-name is clear: the Anglo-Saxons of seventh-century *Lindissi* were, quite literally, ‘the people who migrated, *faran*, to the territory of **Lindēs*’.¹⁴ As such, the Anglo-Saxons of *Lindissi* seem not only to have borrowed the name of a pre-existing British territory for that of their kingdom, but also their own group-name actually made reference to the fact that they had arrived as immigrants to an already existing British territory called **Lindēs*.

A final confirmatory piece of linguistic evidence comes from the Cambro-Latin *Historia Brittonum*, written in 829/30 in north Wales, where we find reference to events which apparently took place *c.* 500 *in regione Linnuis*.¹⁵ Despite the sometimes wild guesses that have been made as to the identity of this *Linnuis*, its location is beyond reasonable doubt. Just as *Lindissi* involves the regular Old English development of Late British **Lindēs*, so too is *Linnuis* the regular ninth-century Old Welsh development of the same tribal- and territory-name: Late British **Lindēs* regularly became first Archaic Welsh **Linnēs* and then Old Welsh *Linnuis*.¹⁶ The *Historia Brittonum*’s reference to *Linnuis* consequently suggests that some memory of a post-Roman British population-group and territory called **Lindēs* – ‘the people of (the territory of the city of) Lincoln’ – survived into early ninth-century Wales, something which is obviously of considerable significance in the present context; no other explanation seems plausible.¹⁷ Furthermore the meaning of the whole phrase *in regione Linnuis*, ‘in the country of *Linnuis*, **Lindēs*’, supports the conclusion that this must have been an extensive territory.¹⁸

*The Archaeology of the 'Country of *Lindēs'*

In Lincolnshire, the archaeological evidence for the settlement of significant numbers of Anglo-Saxons is initially concentrated in a number of large cremation cemeteries, which seem to have their origins in the middle of the fifth century. One of the best known of these is at Cleatham, near Kirton-in-Lindsey, where 1204 out of an original total of around 1528 burials were recently excavated, and cemeteries such as these are suggestive of a degree of large-scale immigration.¹⁹ Whether there were any Anglo-Saxons in the region much before the foundation of the cremation cemeteries is still very much a matter of opinion. There is a small, but fascinating, body of fourth- and early fifth-century 'Germanic' metalwork, which might be taken as indicative of a preceding stage of early and limited post-Roman 'federate' settlement (Fig. 7). However, the value of these pieces for establishing the date and nature of the settlement is questionable, given that they have usually not been found in excavated graves and thus the date of their deposition is impossible to ascertain; indeed, finds of a similar antiquity from elsewhere in Britain have been found in contexts as late as the last quarter of the fifth century and beyond.²⁰ Given this, it is to the large cremation cemeteries that we must turn if we wish to understand early Anglo-Saxon settlement, and these have an intriguing tale to tell in the context of the above linguistic arguments for a British territory existing in the Lincoln region.

Perhaps the most striking thing about these cemeteries is their distribution across the Lincolnshire landscape – rather than being concentrated in one area, they are instead found at widely spaced locations around the county, suggestive of each

cemetery being at the centre of a defined territory, for which it presumably acted as both a central burial ground and a sacred and social focus and place of assembly.²¹ That this supposition is not inaccurate is indicated by the subsequent history of the immediate vicinities of these cemeteries, most of which seem to have become the centres of later political and administrative territories.²² Thus the Cleatham cemetery is actually located just to the north of Kirton-in-Lindsey – the pre-eminent Anglo-Saxon administrative centre of the West Riding of Lindsey – and is close to the richest early Anglo-Saxon barrow-burial found in the region, at Caenby.²³ Similarly, the South Elkington cemetery (originally containing *c.* 1200 cremation urns) is located just to the west of Louth, which was not only the centre of a pre-Viking monastic estate and a major Late Saxon administrative centre, but also has place-name evidence – Ludborough (‘the *burh*, fort, belonging to Louth’), five miles to its north, and Ludford (‘the ford belonging to Louth’), eight miles to the west – suggestive of a defined Anglo-Saxon *regio* dependent upon it.²⁴ We find the same sort of situation elsewhere too. So, the West Keal cemetery, which may have covered up to two acres and is considered to have been of a similar size to that at South Elkington,²⁵ is next door to Bolingbroke, a major Anglo-Saxon soke centre, whilst Loveden Hill (the site of the second largest cremation cemetery in England, with over 1800 burials) was the meeting place of a Late Saxon wapentake, and Elsham cremation cemetery is located a couple of miles away from both the important manorial and soke centre of Barnetby-le-Wold and the meeting-place of Yarborough Wapentake, the probably Late/post-Roman fort of Yarborough Camp.²⁶

The key point here is, however, that these cremation cemeteries and their territories avoid Lincoln itself *entirely*, forming in effect a ring around the city. This ‘ring’ encloses a vast territory around Lincoln, with the closest of the large cremation cemeteries to the city being Loveden Hill, seventeen miles to the south, and Cleatham, nineteen miles to the north (Fig. 8).²⁷ This avoidance is most unusual when compared with the situation found at other Roman towns in the region: York has cremation cemeteries at Heworth and The Mount; Leicester has a cremation cemetery at nearby Thurmaston and a mixed cremation and inhumation cemetery just outside of its east gate; Ancaster has a cremation cemetery to the south of its walls; and Caistor-by-Norwich has a large cemetery just outside of its walls. As Kevin Leahy has argued, some explanation of this remarkable situation is consequently demanded and the only plausible scenario is that the distribution of the early cremation cemeteries reflects some sort of British authority based at Lincoln, which continued to control the city and a significant area around it throughout the fifth century and into the early sixth century, preventing the Anglo-Saxon groups represented by the cremation cemeteries from settling in this territory.²⁸

This control only really appears to break down at some point after the early sixth century, when the small inhumation cemeteries – which first supplement and then replace the cremation cemeteries – begin to encroach upon Lincoln in a way that the earlier type of Anglo-Saxon burial grounds did not: examples are found only a few miles to both the north and south of Lincoln by the mid-sixth century. Nevertheless, even though this was clearly a significant development, it needs to be recognized that these inhumation cemeteries represent a very different phenomenon from the large

urnfields. Whereas the latter could contain thousands of individual burials and are indicative of large-scale migration and settlement, these new inhumation cemeteries are always far smaller in scale, and this is particularly the case with regard to those that were founded near to Lincoln. Thus, for example, the excavated sixth-century inhumation cemeteries at Welton and South Carlton only have, respectively, eleven and four burials so far known from them. The contrast with the cremation cemeteries, such as Loveden Hill and Cleatham (*c.* 1500-2000 burials), is striking, but so too is that with the other local inhumation cemeteries that were located further away from Lincoln, such as Castledyke South (196 burials excavated out of *c.* 436), Sheffield's Hill I and II (129 burials), Welbeck Hill (77 burials), Ruskington (*c.* 180 burials) and Sleaford (241 graves excavated out of *c.* 600). Indeed, within Lincoln itself and its immediate hinterland there is little to no archaeological evidence for any pre-seventh-century Anglo-Saxon activity at all.²⁹

There seems little reason to divorce the post-Roman British territory that is thus suggested by the distribution and nature of the early Anglo-Saxon burial evidence here – and which appears, on this basis, to have been a sufficiently powerful force that it could control Anglo-Saxon settlement within its region into the early sixth century – from the post-Roman British ‘country of **Lindēs*’ that emerges from the linguistic evidence, and it obviously offers considerable further support for the existence, significance and longevity of this territory. However, the distribution of the cremation cemeteries is not the only possible source of archaeological evidence for the British ‘country of **Lindēs*’: even though the archaeological invisibility of the post-Roman

Britons is generally a reality, we do actually have some positive evidence from Lincolnshire for the presence of British elites in the fifth and sixth centuries.

The first element of this comes from Lincoln itself. Whilst Lincoln may have produced little to no evidence for a pre-seventh-century Anglo-Saxon presence, this does not mean that there are no indications of activity in the city from that time. In particular, attention should be drawn to the site of St Paul in the Bail, inside the former Roman *forum*. Here there is a highly complex sequence of burials and buildings orientated east-west; one of the latter is now generally agreed to have been an apsidal timber church, and it overlays an earlier structure which belonged to the same building tradition, had the same orientation, and potentially had the same function too.³⁰ Although there have been some attempts to identify the second of these churches as the one which Bede records Paulinus building in Lincoln *c.* 630, and which was still standing in his own day (*c.* 730), such a scenario requires an unreasonable degree of special pleading and strains both the evidence and credulity to breaking point. A far more convincing position is rather to see this sequence of churches as beginning perhaps as early as the late fourth century and continuing into the post-Roman period.³¹

Various points might be made in support of this. Of particular interest in this context is the position and orientation of the churches within the Roman *forum*. Both were located in the centre of the *forum* and were orientated with reasonable precision to follow the alignment of the *forum* itself; in addition, the proximity of the unexcavated west ends of both churches to the western portico of the *forum* strongly suggests that they were designed to be entered from between its columns (Fig. 9).³²

This obviously offers considerable support for the scenario outlined above, and the radiocarbon dates of a number of the burials which are found surrounding, within and cutting the walls of the second church are similarly noteworthy. One of the most important of these appears to be a foundation deposit for the second church, and this has a medial date of cal AD 441 within a likely date range from the very late fourth to the mid-late sixth century.³³ Also highly relevant are three burials which must postdate the demolition of the second church, as two of them cut the wall line and the third comes from what had been the interior of the church, cutting a post-church layer.³⁴ The calibrated radiocarbon date ranges of these burials indicate that they were amongst the earliest burials from the graveyard stage of the site, which, as Brian Gilmour has demonstrated, almost certainly only began after the demolition of the second church had taken place.³⁵ What is especially significant here, however, is that whilst there is certainly a chance that each of these three post-church burials dates from after *c.* 600, the ‘joint probability’ that *all three* do so is, in fact, far lower than the probability that any single one of them does. Indeed, Bayesian modelling of the radiocarbon dates of these burials indicates that there is a high probability (>85%) that the second church was demolished before AD 600, given their relationship to this structure. Furthermore, if the graveyard stage as a whole postdates this church, as it is believed to, then an end to the church sequence before 600 becomes even more likely, although the available evidence would still just allow for a demolition as late as the early seventh century.³⁶

In light of the above, it seems more than credible that we have here a late fourth- or fifth-century Romano-British church set up in a significant area of the city (the

centre of the *forum*) and that this was rebuilt at some point, possibly in the mid-late fifth to early sixth centuries, into a larger apsidal structure. It then continued in use into the sixth century and perhaps a little beyond. Such a sequence of Late and post-Roman churches would certainly have a plausible context within Late and post-Roman Britain, as well as the Empire at large. After all, just about the only sin that Gildas does not accuse his fellow sixth-century Britons of is paganism, indicating that he considered them to be Christians, albeit sinful ones: any significant British polity based at Lincoln might thus be expected to have contained at least one church.³⁷ Indeed, one attractive interpretation of the role and importance of the St Paul in the Bail churches stems from the fact that Lincoln seems to have had its own bishop from the early fourth century, when Adelphius, Bishop of Lincoln was sent to the Council of Arles (314); in this context, the St Paul in the Bail sequence could be seen as part of a continuing episcopal establishment in what had been one of the capital towns of Late Roman Britain and was now the centre of a British territory.³⁸ Parallels for the continuing existence of such religious centres into the fifth century and beyond are to be had from the West Midlands, where Steven Bassett has shown there to be a strong probability that there were British bishops in places such as Gloucester and Lichfield before there were Anglo-Saxon ones, and in other areas of Britain, such as at Exeter.³⁹

Once again, then, the picture drawn from the archaeology accords very well with the linguistic evidence for a post-Roman British ‘country of **Lindēs*’, whilst also adding yet more weight to the arguments for the existence, significance and longevity of this polity made previously. With these two successive churches in the centre of the *forum*, we have credible evidence for the existence of a British Christian community

at the centre of late fourth- to sixth-century Lincoln. Furthermore, this community not only appears to have continued to use the *forum* and had a timber church there, but they also at some point decided to replace the first church with a somewhat larger structure, capable of holding around 100 worshippers, an action which was indicative of both power and confidence. Finally, the likely period in which the second church was demolished and replaced by a graveyard is also telling, given that the Anglo-Saxon cemetery evidence discussed previously is indicative of a decline in the ability of Lincoln to control the settlement of Anglo-Saxons in the region during the course of the sixth century.

The second major element of positive archaeological evidence for the British ‘country of **Lindēs*’ is represented by finds of post-Roman British metalwork, especially brooches, from the county. Such brooches are nationally rare, a consequence to some degree of the material-culture collapse suffered by the Britons in the first decades of the fifth century, and this is especially true for those areas which lie within the archaeologically-described limits of fifth-century Anglo-Saxon settlement.⁴⁰ However, whilst this rule generally holds good, it fails in one specific area, namely Lincolnshire. The most important illustration of this comes from the seventeen or eighteen post-Roman British Class 1 penannular brooches which are now known from the Lincoln region, all of which probably belong to the fifth and sixth centuries.⁴¹ This total is comparable in size with not only the total number of these brooches known from all of the rest of the zone of Anglo-Saxon settlement, but also with the number recorded from the individual core areas for this class of brooch in northern and western Britain (Figs 10 and 11).⁴² This situation naturally suggests

that something quite unusual is happening in Lincolnshire at this time, and this sense is heightened when one realizes that Class 1 brooches are considered to be British elite objects used for high-status symbolic display, and that there is evidence for the local production of at least some of the corpus in the Lincoln region itself.⁴³

Consequently, we have in fifth- and sixth-century Lincolnshire a very active local tradition of not only wearing but also of making these obviously non-Anglo-Saxon pieces of British elite symbolism. Given the number of Class 1 brooches involved, their rarity elsewhere in the zone of Anglo-Saxon settlement, and the evidence for their local production in the Lincoln region, it is very difficult to consider them as merely the product of trade or exchange between western/northern Britons and Lincolnshire Anglo-Saxons. A more credible alternative explanation for the significant concentration of these fifth- and sixth-century brooches in the Lincoln region is that they were being imported by and made for local British elites within the ‘country of **Lindēs*’, who wished to signal and reinforce their ethnic identity and status in response – and in opposition – to the very visible material culture of competing local Anglo-Saxon groups who had settled on the edges of this British territory in the mid-late fifth century. Certainly in this context their quantity within Lincolnshire accords well with other early medieval evidence for the exceptional use of ethnic status symbols by elites who felt themselves threatened by neighbouring groups. This is true too of their distribution, with the brooches being found in those areas where local British elites would have directly encountered Anglo-Saxons, rather than in the apparently immigrant-free zone around the centre of the British territory, Lincoln (Figs 8 and 12; compare, for example, the distribution of Frankish elite

display-objects in the Merovingian Frankish kingdom, which follows the same pattern).⁴⁴

If the Class 1 pennanular brooches thus offer further support for the existence and longevity of the ‘country of **Lindēs*’ and are indicative of fifth- and sixth-century British elites existing in the more peripheral parts of this, they are not the only potential positive evidence from metalwork for the existence of such elites in the Lincoln region. One might also cite, for example, the very significant concentration of British high-status fifth- to sixth-century Type G penannular brooches in the Lincoln region in support of the above, particularly as their distribution seems to both accord well with and reinforce that of the Class 1 brooches (Figs 12 and 13).⁴⁵ Similarly important is the fact that there are an astonishing number of ‘late Celtic’ hanging bowls, or fragments of the same, known from the region too. As with the Class 1 and Type G brooches, we again have a situation in which many more examples of these items of prestige metalwork have been found in Lincolnshire than in any other comparable area of Anglo-Saxon England, with twenty-three now known from Lindsey alone and another eleven from the south of the county (Fig. 14).⁴⁶ Although around a third of these bowls have been found in late sixth-/seventh-century ‘Anglo-Saxon’ graves, it is important to recognize that this does not reflect their original function and should instead be considered a secondary usage of these items. As has recently been reaffirmed by Rupert Bruce-Mitford and Susan Youngs, hanging bowls were probably originally high-status pieces of British tableware, made chiefly for British patrons in the fifth to seventh centuries.⁴⁷ As such, the remarkable concentration of these items all across the Lincoln region is extremely interesting and

requires explanation. Although seventh-century British-Anglian trading and importation is perhaps more credible as a possible mechanism for bringing some of these pieces of British prestige metalwork into Lincolnshire than is the case with the Class 1 brooches,⁴⁸ it does still seem insufficient as an overall explanation for their presence, given the sheer number of items involved and the likely early dates of manufacture of some of the Lincolnshire bowls (notably those from Caistor and Sleaford, both probably of fifth-century date).⁴⁹ Moreover, as with Class 1 brooches, such a scenario would not address the question of why these British hanging bowls seem to have been so much more popular in this particular region than they were in other comparable parts of eastern and southern Britain. All told, it is very difficult to avoid seeking a solution to these issues in the context established above, with the number and concentration of finds in Lincolnshire thus being considered to ultimately reflect, once again, the presence here of a significant British elite in the fifth to sixth centuries, who would have commissioned, made use of and popularized such items of high-status British tableware, with the later Anglo-Saxon usage and demand for these pieces then stemming from this situation.⁵⁰

*The 'Country of *Lindēs': A New 'Lost Kingdom' Found?*

The evidence discussed above does not stand alone, but it is enough when taken together to require that a British 'country of *Lindēs' must have been based at the former provincial capital, Lincoln, in the post-Roman period: no other explanation can

carry conviction. Further supporting material is discussed in the following chapter, but the picture presented above is consistent and convincing. This was a polity of sufficient significance that not only does its existence appear to have been remembered in ninth-century Wales, but the Anglo-Saxons of seventh-century *Lindissi* also used its name for their own kingdom and made explicit reference to their origins as migrants into the ‘country of **Lindēs*’ in their group-name, the *Lindisfarān*. Similarly, the avoidance of Lincoln by the large Anglo-Saxon cremation cemeteries seems indicative of an important British polity. This looks to have encompassed a substantial territory both to its north and south, within which significant Anglo-Saxon settlement was prevented, and this situation was maintained not only throughout the fifth century but also into the early sixth century. This ‘core’ territory is only really notably encroached upon by Anglo-Saxon sites from this point onwards, and even then the small Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries that do come close to Lincoln by the mid-sixth century – still not within it or its immediate hinterland – are on nothing like the scale of the earlier cremation cemeteries or even that of the contemporary inhumation cemeteries which were sited further away from Lincoln. Further confirmation of a powerful and confident British elite in post-Roman Lincolnshire is provided by the sequence of churches in the centre of Lincoln's Roman *forum* – most especially the post-Roman rebuilding of the first church into a more impressive apsidal structure, which could hold around 100 worshippers – and the astonishing concentration of British fifth- to sixth-century elite metalwork in this region.

Accepting the reality of this ‘British kingdom of Lindsey’, the Late Roman context established in the previous chapter provides a credible answer to the natural

question of why a British polity powerful enough to survive into the sixth century might have emerged at Lincoln. Not only was Lincoln a former Roman provincial capital and the seat of one of *Britannia*'s four metropolitan bishops (a potentially very significant point, given the evidence for Late and post-Roman Christian activity in the town), but the city also appears to have remained prosperous and centrally-organized to a remarkably late date. Thus there is evidence from Lincoln for specialist industry, cohesive central organization, a considerable population and a thriving market right into the very late fourth century, and both the *forum* and the likely residence of the Provincial Governor – Greetwell Villa – seem to have remained in use into the fifth century. In this light, the existence and longevity of the 'country of **Lindēs*' is at least partly explicable as a function of both the high status of the city in the Late Roman period and its surprising vitality when compared with other towns at that time. The question is, if the 'country of **Lindēs*' has its origins as a polity formed out of the territory dependent upon Late Roman Lincoln (presumably by members of the local Romano-British aristocracy), how did it finally come to an end, and what was the nature of the relationship between the Britons of **Lindēs* and the Anglo-Saxons who had settled in their territory?

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- 1 Esmonde-Cleary, 1989: 136–61; see, however, Wood, 2004, for the suggestion that at least some Britons continued to see themselves as part of the Roman world well into the fifth century.
 - 2 Morris, 1973; Welch, 1993; Dumville, 1995: 180–3.
 - 3 Dumville, 1995; Yorke, 2003a: 395–401; White, 2007, especially pp. 197–201; Snyder, 1998: 225–32; Dark, 1994: 144–9.
 - 4 See the discussion in Yorke, 2003a: 382–5; Hamerow, 2005, especially pp. 281–6; Bassett, 1989b.
 - 5 For example, Yorke, 2003a: 396; Brooks, 1989a: 57–8; Bassett, 1989b: 24.
 - 6 *The Earliest Life of St Gregory*, chapter 18 – Colgrave (ed. and trans.), 1968: 69, 102; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Preface, II.16 etc.; Haddan and Stubbs, 1869–79: III, 362; and, for example, 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle' MS A, s.a. 838, 873 and 874.
 - 7 Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, chapters 45 and 46, *Lindesig/Lindissig* – Stevenson (ed.), 1904: 34; 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle' MS D, s.a. 838, *Lindesige*. Note, the interest is in the use of this form for

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- the pre-Viking kingdom, not for the post-Viking and medieval district of Lindsey. See further Chapter Four, pp. 115-25, on the question of the relationship between *Lindissi*'s borders and the boundaries of the district of Lindsey, and also on what the form *Lindesig/Lindissig* can tell us with regard to this (especially fn. 10). That *Lindesig/Lindissig* is a separate form from *Lindissi*, with the name 'Lindsey' deriving from *Lindesig/Lindissig* rather than from *Lindissi*, is accepted by all recent commentators, including Cameron, 1991: 2–7 (who includes a selection of the attested forms of *Lindissi/Lindesig*); Gelling, 1989; and Watts, 2004: 374.
- 8 Sawyer, 1998: 9–10; Stevenson (ed.), 1904: 242; Cox, 1994b: 54–6; Coates, 2008: 80; Watts, 2004: 374; and Green, 2008: 2, fn. 6. Cf. Bassett, 1989a, and Gelling, 1989. With regard to why the name *Lindissi* was connected with *-īg*, beyond its unintelligible second element, see below, p. 143, fn. 10.
 - 9 Jackson, 1953: 332, 543; Cameron, 1991: 2–7; Rivet and Smith, 1979: 393.
 - 10 See Jackson, 1953: 543; Jackson, 1945: 48; Koch, 1997: 133.
 - 11 See, for example, Koch (ed.), 2006: 1158, and 1498, where Koch refers to 'the *-wys* kingdom suffix'; see Bassett, 1989a: 7–8, for the rejected suggestion that **Lindēs* might refer only to the people who lived in Lincoln.
 - 12 A comparison might usefully be made here with the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Kent, the name of which similarly had its origins in the British past: Brooks, 1989a, especially pp. 57–8. With regard to *Lindissi*, it should be noted that Richard Coates has suggested that, rather than an uncertain Old English suffix being added to *Lindis-* (for Late British **Lindēs* > Old English *Lindis-*, compare Leeds – **Lātenses* > **Lōdēs* > *Loidis* in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II. 14, see Jackson, 1946), the entire kingdom-name *Lindissi* should potentially be seen as British in origin, deriving from **Lindēssi*, 'place/territory of **Lindēs*' (Coates, 2008: 80–2). On the whole I would consider this unlikely, given the difficulty in finding appropriate parallels for such a construction and the plentiful evidence for *-ēs/-wys* names standing on their own as territory- and group-names. Indeed, having a British place-name suffix used to form – extremely infrequently – district-names added to a name which was already implicitly a district-name would not only be unparalleled but also perhaps a little odd. On the other hand, the suggestion at least has the merit of fully explaining the form *Lindissi* without relying on an uncertain Old English suffix.
 - 13 See Insley and Eggers, 2001: 475, and below, p. 215. *Lindisware* is almost certainly a false creation intended to bring the *Lindissi* group-name into line with others of the type *X-ware*: for example, the *Meanware* of east Hampshire and the *Cantware* of Kent. The notion that *Lindisware* is the original form and *Lindisfaran* the false one, somehow borrowed from the name *Lindisfarne* (Coates and Breeze, 2000: 243–6), is both far-fetched and untenable, being utterly out of accord with the evidence we actually possess for this group-name and, moreover, relying upon a 'Celtic' origin for the name *Lindisfarne*, which is itself an extremely dubious proposition: see further below, pp. 212–20, on the origin of the name 'Lindisfarne' and its relationship to the group-name *Lindisfaran*.
 - 14 See particularly T. Charles-Edwards and P. Wormald, 'Addenda' in Wallace-Hadrill, 1988, pp. 207–43 at pp. 234–5; Green, 2008: 3–4; and especially below, pp. 216–17. With regard to Gelling's suggested etymology for *Lindisfaran*, 'the people who resort to a place named *Lindis-*' (Gelling, 1989: 32), this ceases to be at all credible once we (1) reject Bassett's hypothesis that the names **Lindēs* and *Lindesig/Lindissi* were all restricted originally to Lincoln alone, rather than being the genuine territory-/kingdom-names they clearly were (see above), and (2) give a more detailed consideration to the potential meaning of Old English *faran* in such a group-name.
 - 15 *Historia Brittonum*, chapter 56, in Morris (ed. and trans.), 1980: 76; Koch and Carey, 2003: 299. See on the date and provenance Dumville, 1974 and 1986.
 - 16 Green, 2008: 5; Jackson, 1945: 47–8.
 - 17 Old Welsh *Linnuis* cannot be derived from Old English *Lindissi/Lindesig*, and no **Lindēs* other than that which underlies the pre-Viking kingdom-name *Lindissi* is known from Britain for *Linnuis* to develop from. All other suggestions, when not philologically impossible, are purely hypothetical with no evidence of their real existence outside of the *Historia Brittonum*, and most that have been made despite this fall foul of the fact that 'folk-names in *-wys* [*<* Old Welsh *-uis* < Archaic Welsh/Late British **-ēs*] are not formed from minor localities' (Koch, 1997: 133).

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- 18 Jackson, 1945: 48; Koch and Carey, 2003: 299. Compare the usage of this term for various kingdoms – including Gwynedd – in the *Historia Brittonum*, for example in chapter 40.
- 19 See Leahy, 2007a; Scull, 1995.
- 20 Leahy, 1999: 129; Welch, 1993; Hines, 1990: 21–2.
- 21 Leahy, 1993: 36; Leahy, 2007b: 48. See generally on the role of cremation cemeteries as early Anglo-Saxon ‘central places’, Williams, 2002, and Williams, 2004.
- 22 Leahy, 2007b: 49; Leahy, 2007a: 6; Sawyer, 1998: 51; Eagles, 1989: 211; Everson, 1993: 98; Williams, 2002. See also below, Chapter Five; for a comparable situation in Norfolk, see Williamson, 1993: 68, 102–4.
- 23 Everson, 1993: 96–8; Leahy, 2007b: 49, 95–6; Leahy, 2007a: 6. Leahy suggests that Caenby may well have been a royal burial and notes that its mound (excavated in 1849) was larger than that which covered the famous Sutton Hoo ship burial.
- 24 See below, pp. 191–2 and Fig. 37; Sawyer, 1998: 51; Cameron, 1996a: 25–6; Owen, 1997b: 263; Owen, 1997a.
- 25 Thompson, 1956: 190.
- 26 Leahy, 2007b: 49, 114; Leahy, 2007a: 6; Everson, 1993: 98.
- 27 Leahy, 1993: 36–7; Sawyer, 1998: 44; Leahy, 2007b: 50 and fig. 8; Leahy, 2007a: 11.
- 28 Leahy, 1993: 36–7; Leahy, 2007b: 50; Sawyer, 1998: 44; Leahy, 2007a: 11. This avoidance of Lincoln by the large cremation cemeteries is replicated by the distribution of all pre-c. 525 Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, inhumation and cremation, something which helps to confirm its reality; see Hines, 1996: 262–3 (figs. 17.1–2), and below. See also below on the fact that cemeteries in the Lincoln region remain tiny throughout the early Anglo-Saxon period when compared with those in the areas where the cremation cemeteries were founded, which is again a significant point in this context (see Fig. 27 for a density map of all early Anglo-Saxon cemetery evidence from Lincolnshire).
- 29 Leahy, 2007b: 50, 59; Leahy, 1993: 37; Sawyer, 1998: 46; Leahy, 2007a: 10–11; Hines, 1996: 262–3 (figs. 17.1–2); Vince, 2003: 145–6, 152. See also Fig. 27. In addition to the three cemeteries near Lincoln cited here, there may well have also been another very small inhumation cemetery at North Hykeham (to the south of Lincoln). The evidence for this consists of four or five metal-detected brooches, a pin and a girdle-hanger, which are indicative of perhaps two female graves (Adam Daubney, personal communication, and, for example, Portable Antiquities Scheme LIN-DB6F46, LIN-DB1483). Although one of the women was buried with a mid-fifth-century brooch, all of the other associated finds are later in date, indicating that this was an heirloom piece. Taken together, the assemblage as a whole suggests that the two burials had probably taken place by the middle of the sixth century.
- 30 Jones, 1994: 328–30 and fig. 5; Jones, 2003: 127–9, 137; Steane, 2006: 192; Jones, 2002: 127; *pace* Gilmour, 2007.
- 31 See Jones, 1994; Steane, 1990–1; Jones, 2003: 127–9, 137; Jones, 2002: 127–9; Green, 2008: 19–20. Sawyer, 1998: 226–30 offers the theory of a seventh- to eighth-century date for the second church, on which see further Green, 2008: 19–20, especially fn. 85; Vince, 2003: 150–1. It should be noted that this theory, somewhat bizarrely, would still have the *first* church as a Late Roman or post-Roman British church, as Alan Vince has noted (2003: 149). Gilmour’s (2007) suggestion of a mid-sixth-century *de novo* start for the church-stage of the site seems less plausible than the scenario supported here, especially given both the points made below and the fact that British **Lindēs* probably came to end around this time (below, pp. 105–06).
- 32 Jones, 2003: p. 129 and fig. 7.70; Steane, 1990–1; Jones, 1993: 25; Eagles, 1989: 207, *pace* Gilmour, 2007. See the excellent visualization in Jones, 2002: 128.
- 33 Sample number 34, see Gilmour, 2007: 247–9, 252; Steane, 2006: 157; Jones, 2003: 129; Sawyer, 1998: 230.
- 34 Sample numbers 30, 29 and 26 – see Steane, 2006, especially pp. 160–1; Gilmour, 2007: 249, 252.
- 35 Gilmour, 2007: 248–50, 252–3. See below, fn. 36, on the calibrated date ranges of these burials.
- 36 The three post-church burials have date ranges, at the 95.4% confidence level, of cal AD 420–690 (sample 30), cal AD 450–770 (sample 29), and cal AD 390–680 (sample 26), according to the

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- recently published excavation report (Steane, 2006: 161, 210; see Gilmour, 2007: 247, for a recalculation of these, which adjusts them slightly). It should be noted that, whilst each post-church burial on its own could conceivably date from after AD 600 on the basis of the above date ranges, all three would need to post-date 600 in order for the apsidal church to have been in use after the end of the sixth century, and this is where issues over ‘joint probability’ come into play. My thanks are due here to Alex Bayliss, the Head of Scientific Dating at English Heritage, for constructing a preliminary Bayesian model of the St Paul in the Bail site to look at this issue for me, and for her analysis and advice with regard to the radiocarbon dates and chronology of this site. The exact figures for the probability of the church being demolished before AD 600 are known, but are withheld at the request of Alex Bayliss pending a full Bayesian modelling of this site, although the preliminary results are believed to be almost certainly in the right area. See also Jones, 2003: 129; Vince, 2003: 150; Jones, 2002: 129; Jones, 1994: 332–3, 344; Steane, 1990–1: 30–1. Note, Gilmour, 2007: 248, has a revised diagrammatic representation of the probability of each grave being buried in any specific year.
- 37 Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae*, ed. and trans. Winterbottom (1978).
- 38 Jones, 1994; Jones, 2003: 127–9, 137; Thomas, 1981: 197; Leahy, 2007b: 117.
- 39 Bassett, 1992a; Bassett, 1992b; Yorke, 1993a: 145; Jones, 2003: 137.
- 40 See Laycock, 2008: 173 for a recent plot of fifth-century Anglo-Saxon sites, which updates Dark, 2000: 11, fig. 1.1; see also Hines, 1990: 34. S. Youngs, 2007: 96, gives the distribution of Class 1 brooches, as does Dark, 2000: 131.
- 41 On the Lincolnshire examples and the dating of Class 1 penannular brooches (Fowler’s type F/F1), see Leahy, 2007b: 83–4, 106; Green, 2008: 24–5, 27 and fn. 101; Dark, 2000: 132; Graham-Campbell, 1991; Collins, 2010; however, cf. Youngs, 2007: 82. As a group, Class 1 brooches are usually dated to the fifth and sixth centuries and this is followed by Kevin Leahy for the Lindsey finds (see Leahy, 2007b: 106, for an illustration of some Class 1 brooches from Lindsey assigned to the sixth century). Similarly, Ken Dark dates them generally from the fifth to seventh centuries and is sceptical as to whether the one example from Britain thought to potentially pre-date *c.* 400 actually does so (2000: 132). With regard to date, see also below, pp. 91 and 111 (fn. 45), on some Lincolnshire examples found in sixth-century contexts; the hybrid British Type G/Class 1 brooch from Norton Disney (Portable Antiquities Scheme, DENO-DD5FA4) may be of some significance here too. Most recently, Rob Collins has argued that an analysis of northern finds of Class 1 brooches supports the view that they are a post-Roman class, perhaps first emerging in the mid- to late fifth century (Collins, 2010, especially pp. 72–3). In addition to the fourteen Lincolnshire examples of Class 1 brooches noted by Green, 2008, and Leahy, 2007b, we can now add an additional find from Folkingham (PAS LIN-1AB297; this was found at a different site from the first example), one apparently found in the Louth area (Geoff Hill, personal communication), and another located to the south of Lincoln, just outside of the county (see Fig. 12; Susan Youngs, personal communication). A fragment of a probable Class 1, to judge from the decoration and implied diameter, has also been recently found near Miningsby, south-east of Horncastle (PAS NCL-1D90A3; Rob Collins, personal communication).
- 42 Youngs, 2007: 96, and personal communication. Note, the Portable Antiquities Scheme database was checked for all British finds of Class 1 brooches, not just those from Lincolnshire.
- 43 Leahy, 2007b: 84 and personal communication; Youngs, 2007: 86–9; Dark, 2000: 133; Collins, 2010. See also Niecke, 1993, and Janes, 1991.
- 44 Green, 2008: 26–8; Hedeager, 1992, especially figs. 53–5 and pp. 299–300. See also, for example, Halsall, 1992, especially fig. 49 and p. 275. Susan Youngs would similarly see these brooches as being made for and worn by British elites living in Lincolnshire, and she additionally considers that the vast majority of the Lincolnshire examples are likely to have been made locally rather than imported from the west, emerging from a local British tradition of wearing penannular brooches (personal communication; Youngs, 2007).
- 45 There are now more of these known from Lincolnshire than from any other part of early Anglo-Saxon England: see Dickinson, 1982: 48, 52 and figures 1–4; Portable Antiquities Scheme,

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- NLM1052, LIN-7866F3, DENO-DD5FA4 and perhaps NLM6301; and compare the national distribution of these brooches in Fig. 11 and Youngs, 2007: 96.
- 46 Bruce-Mitford, 1993; Youngs, 2001: 216–20; Leahy, 2007b: 84–5 and p. 106 for a distribution map of fifteen of the bowls from Lindsey, to which need to be added two from Flixborough (Youngs, 2001, and Kevin Leahy, personal communication) and Portable Antiquities Scheme LIN-75B9C3 (Lissington), NLM6251 (Winterton), NLM-3D8081/NLM-A6E546 (Binbrook), LIN-B86833 (Blyborough), and NLM-C057A6 (Swinhope). Note that the find-spots of the hanging bowl rim and escutcheon from Willoughton are sufficiently widely separated to necessitate that they be considered representative of two different bowls: see Lincolnshire Historic Environment Records 50941 and 50942. For the south of Lincolnshire, the following need adding to Bruce-Mitford's total: Lincolnshire Historic Environment Record 60962 (Bracebridge Heath) and Portable Antiquities Scheme LIN-E64595 (Walcot), NLM948 (Ancaster), NLM716 (Bourne), LVPL-300957 (Boothby Graffoe), LIN-836777 (Osbourneby), and LIN-36AFB5 (Morton and Hanthorpe). Yet another hanging bowl mount has been recently found just outside the south-eastern county boundary, at Whatton: DENO-E207B6.
- 47 Youngs, 2001: 219–20; Dark, 2000: 132–3; Bruce-Mitford, 2005, especially pp. 32, 34–40; Susan Youngs, personal communication. On the use of these bowls in Anglo-Saxon graves, see Geake, 1999.
- 48 In general, Anglo-Saxon interest in these bowls is chiefly a seventh-century phenomenon: Geake, 1999.
- 49 Bruce-Mitford, 2005: 26.
- 50 See further pp. 135–6, below.

3

Anglian-British Interaction and the End of the 'Country of *Lindēs'

The Origins of Anglian-British Interaction: Invasion or Invitation?

That there must have been some interaction between the Britons and Anglo-Saxons of Lincolnshire is implicit in the evidence discussed in the previous chapter. The distribution of the great cremation cemeteries – in particular the fact that there is no significant Anglo-Saxon encroachment into a large area around Lincoln until after the early sixth century – is strongly suggestive of the Britons of the 'country of *Lindēs' actually being able to physically constrain the immigrants to the region at this time. This apparent ability to control the Anglo-Saxon settlement from the mid-fifth century onwards is most intriguing, and it naturally raises the question of whether the textually-derived 'Gildas model' of Germanic immigration to fifth-century Britain – wherein the actual settlement of the immigrants was directed and controlled by the elites of post-Roman Britain, rather than being simply a matter of invasion and the military conquest of land by the immigrants – might not be an inappropriate one for understanding the situation in the 'country of *Lindēs'.

Two points can be made in support of this position. First, not only do the immigrants appear to have been prevented from settling within a significant area surrounding Lincoln, but the distribution of fifth- and sixth-century British metalwork (especially Class 1 brooches) is indicative of British elites also continuing to exist in those areas of fifth- and sixth-century Lincolnshire where the Anglo-Saxons did settle, these elites using such items there to signal and reinforce their identity and status as a reaction to the presence of these new immigrant groups (see Figs 8 and 12). Such arguably defiant ‘Britishness’ close-by and surrounding the immigrant centres does, of course, carry with it the strong implication that these peripheral areas remained at least nominally within the borders of the ‘country of **Lindēs*’ through the fifth century and into the sixth century, in order that the British elites there should have been able to maintain their identity and status so late.¹ This in turn argues that the British control over the Anglo-Saxon settlement was not limited to simply using military force to prevent invading immigrants from encroaching upon the core of their territory. Whilst military force may very well have played a part (see below), the suggestion must be that the Anglo-Saxon immigrants were actually deliberately settled within the boundaries of the ‘country of **Lindēs*’ by the leaders of this territory, for whatever reason, and were controlled within this into the sixth century.

An explanation of this situation, along with further support for its correctness, is provided by the second point. The large Anglo-Saxon cremation cemeteries are not only distributed in a clear ring around Lincoln – they are also often close-by likely strategic sites for the defence of British **Lindēs*. So, for example, Elsham cremation cemetery is located around two miles away from the important earthwork fortification

known as Yarborough Camp (Old English *eorð-burh*, ‘earthen fortification’). This was probably refortified in the late fourth or early fifth century with Roman-style bastions, is on a major east-west route, and would have been crucial in the defence of post-Roman northern Lincolnshire (Fig. 15). In the same way, the South Elkington cremation cemetery is located south-west of another *eorð-burh* (Yarburgh), which may have been similarly used in the late/post-Roman period; West Keal is at a high and imposing point overlooking the Witham valley, one of the major entry-points for Lincolnshire and Lincoln itself; and Cleatham is placed just off the chief road-route from the Humber estuary to Lincoln.² As such, the distribution and siting of the great cremation cemeteries is – like the distribution of the Class 1 brooches – suggestive of the deliberate direction of Anglo-Saxon settlement *within* the British ‘country of **Lindēs*’ by its rulers, with this being done in order to provide for the defence of their territory from other, hostile, groups. This would certainly offer an explanation for why these cemeteries appear to have remained, at least into the early sixth century, within the borders of the ‘country of **Lindēs*’, and taken together these points seem to indicate that a model of invitation and directed settlement is more plausible than one of simply invasion when it comes to explaining the presence of Anglo-Saxons in the Lincoln region.³

*In Regione Linnuis: Anglian-British Battles in Post-Roman *Lindēs*

If the ‘country of *Lindēs’ did indeed include the Anglo-Saxon cremation cemeteries within its bounds, at least into the early sixth century, and was able to control, direct, and initially utilize Anglo-Saxon settlement in the region, perhaps for the purposes of defence, this does not mean that relations between the British elite and the Germanic immigrants were always necessarily harmonious, even before the balance of power in the region began to shift decisively away from the Britons (as it must have). When making this observation, we do not have to rely solely on the traditional but non-specific Gildasian narrative, in which the controlled settlement of Anglo-Saxons by British authorities (for the purposes of defence) was subsequently followed by a breakdown in relations and military conflict – we can instead look to the context of the early ninth-century Welsh reference to events *in regione Linnuis* (*Lindēs). So, what did the early ninth-century Welsh claim happened in the post-Roman British ‘country of *Lindēs’? The answer is quite simple: four battles between the Britons and the Anglo-Saxon immigrants, fought around the year 500, all of which were won by the Britons.

In general there have been two approaches to this supposed ninth-century remembrance of post-Roman Anglo-British warfare: the first is uncritical credulity, and the second is dismissive scepticism. Whilst there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the name *Linnuis* and hence the implications that it carries for the existence of a British territory of *Lindēs, the problem is that there are numerous reasons to be dubious of the *Historia Brittonum*’s claim to be a repository of genuine

information about fifth- and sixth-century events.⁴ Furthermore, it does need to be recognized that the British victor of the battles fought *c.* 500 *in regione Linnuis* was said by the author of the *Historia* to have been a *dux bellorum* ('leader of battles') named Arthur. The latter point in particular is the reason for the widely variant attitudes to the question of whether the *Historia*'s account can be used as any sort of proof that battles were indeed fought in the 'country of **Lindēs*' in the fifth or sixth century. If one is inclined to accept that the list of twelve 'Arthurian' battles that the ninth-century *Historia* provides is broadly trustworthy and reflects post-Roman realities and the deeds of a real war-leader – a not unknown position in academia a generation or two ago and still predominant amongst amateur researchers today⁵ – then there is little barrier to accepting that battles were fought *in regione Linnuis*, and by no less a personage than the *dux bellorum*, Arthur, himself. On the other hand, present-day historians and Celticists are usually considerably more cautious with regard to questions of both Arthur's existence and the historicity of his associated battle-list. Put simply, on the basis of a study of all the surviving early references to Arthur, it seems far more credible that Arthur was originally a folkloric – or even a mythical – Hero Protector of Britain from supernatural threats who was historicized by the author of the *Historia*, with the battle-list being invented as part of this process.⁶ Certainly such a situation is far from unparalleled; the portrayal of fictional or mythical heroes as historical is a relatively regular occurrence in both classical and medieval literature.

Given the above, the adoption of a thoroughly sceptical approach to the reality of the *Linnuis* battles is understandable. However, it may well be a mistake to simply

leave these battles in a state of limbo without further investigation: after all, even if the battle-list as a whole and its victor, the ‘historical Arthur’, were ninth-century inventions with no genuine historicity, it is still worth asking how the list was created and whether it included – at some level – genuine information about fifth- and sixth-century events. An investigation of this sort does, in fact, suggest that there is a solid core of history in the list, albeit well hidden. Of the twelve battles ascribed to Arthur in the *Historia Brittonum*, only one definitely did take place *c.* 500, namely the Battle of Badon Hill, but its context is telling. In Gildas’ sixth-century *De Excidio Britanniae*, Ambrosius Aurelianus is given prominence as the initiator of the British counter-attack against the Anglo-Saxon invaders which, after the fighting of several battles, culminates in the Battle of Badon, just as Arthur in the *Historia Brittonum* initiates the British counter-attack against the Anglo-Saxon invaders which, after the fighting of several battles, culminates in the Battle of Badon.⁷ This is both striking and important. The most credible explanation is that the ninth-century historicization of Arthur was fundamentally based around a framework of deeds borrowed from the genuinely historical Ambrosius Aurelianus.⁸ Moreover, both Oliver Padel and Michael Wood have recently argued that a re-examination of the earliest manuscript of Gildas has the Battle of Mount Badon – the crowning victory of Arthur in the *Historia Brittonum* – now reading ‘naturally as the victory that crowned the career of Ambrosius Aurelianus’, which places this contention on an even sounder footing.⁹

How was this basic framework filled out? Three mechanisms seem to be at play. Some of the battles – those with no easily-identifiable real world location – may very well have been spontaneously invented for the purposes of bulking out the battle-list.

Others appear to have been originally mythical or folkloric Arthurian conflicts – involving demonic monsters, fighting trees, former pagan gods and werewolves – which were historicized alongside Arthur himself. And, finally, some look to have been genuine historical battles of various dates, which had become part of a generalized corpus of stock battles, whose original details, dates, and victors had become obscured, and which were freely used and re-attributed by medieval Welsh authors in their own works.¹⁰ In this context, the etymology of the four *Linnuis* battles means that they most plausibly belong in the latter of these categories, which in turn suggests that they are based on real battles fought at some point *in regione Linnuis*. Furthermore, given that this British territory had certainly disappeared by the early seventh century (when the Anglo-Saxon Blæcca was *praefectus* of Lincoln¹¹), the implication must be that these are remembrances of at least one genuinely fifth- or sixth-century battle, a conclusion of considerable importance here. Indeed, it is difficult to avoid associating such a remembrance of post-Roman battles fought by the Britons of the ‘country of *Lindēs’ with the archaeological evidence for these Britons being able to physically constrain the areas of Anglo-Saxon settlement in their region.

Can this be taken any further? Perhaps. The battles *in regione Linnuis* are the only ones from the *Historia*’s list for which an origin as a genuine remembrance of battle/battles against Anglo-Saxon settlers of *c.* 500 – as opposed to later enemies – actually seems defensible, aside from the Battle of Badon itself. This coincidence is intriguing and naturally leads to the question of whether one or more battles *in regione Linnuis* might not actually have been part of the same framework of historicization that Badon was. In other words, it is possible that one or more battles

in the ‘country of **Lindēs*’ were, in fact, remembered as part of the historical campaign of Ambrosius Aurelianus too.¹² With regard to this possibility, it needs to be recognized that neither Ambrosius Aurelianus’s general area of operations nor the site of the Battle of Badon Hill have ever been satisfactorily established, beyond the obvious requirement that both must have been located near to where we know Anglo-Saxons were in the late fifth century. In this context it is worth noting that Baumber in Lindsey, *Badeburg* at Domesday, has as good a claim to be the site (or near to the site) of the Battle of Badon Hill as any of the other candidates which have been proffered over the years: all rest almost exclusively on etymological grounds, and *Badeburg* – located at a high point on the likely Roman road route from the fortress of Horncastle to Lincoln – is one of several names which might potentially derive from *Badon* + Old English *burh*, ‘fortress’.¹³

The above is potentially important, not least from the perspective of establishing what was happening in the Lincoln region in the fifth and sixth centuries, as it would imply that the Gildasian narrative was indeed directly applicable to the Lincoln region. Certainly in light of the evidence discussed in the previous chapter, the former provincial capital Lincoln – with its continuing Christian establishment in the centre of the *forum* and its apparent ability to control the Anglo-Saxon immigrants of the region – does not appear to be an inappropriate nor an implausible place for Ambrosius, ‘the last of the Romans’, to have been based.¹⁴ Furthermore, there are some slight indications that Lincoln could be even more appropriate for Ambrosius’ base than the evidence for a powerful ‘country of **Lindēs*’ alone allows. Barbara Yorke, following the lead of Alan Vince, has recently argued that Lincoln may have

actually retained control of its whole province at least partway through the fifth century. In particular, she notes that the probable course of the boundary between the fourth-century provinces centred on Lincoln and London broadly corresponds with the archaeologically-observable boundary between ‘Anglian’ and ‘Saxon’ cultural areas in the fifth century – with the vast majority of the Anglian material being found within the bounds of Lincoln’s province and the vast majority of Saxon lying within the bounds of London’s – something which is suggestive of individual provinces being still in existence and able to exercise control over fifth-century Anglo-Saxon settlement (Fig. 16).¹⁵ In such circumstances, a link between Ambrosius Aurelianus and the provincial capital of Lincoln is more than credible.

Of course, both Ambrosius and Badon could have been located in some other area of the country, and the *Linnuis* battles may not be part of the framework of historicization at all but instead simply ‘stock events’ that became associated with it by the author of the *Historia Brittonum*. Nevertheless, the possibility raised above deserves some serious consideration, and even leaving it to one side, the fact still remains that there seems little reason to doubt that the four battles *in regione Linnuis* do ultimately reflect a ninth-century Welsh remembrance of at least one fifth- or sixth-century battle fought by the Britons of the ‘country of **Lindēs*’ to control the Anglo-Saxon immigrants who were settled in their territory.

Y Gododdin and the ‘men of Linnuis’

From the materials examined so far we can begin to construct an outline narrative of events in the Lincoln region in the fifth and sixth centuries; however, we do still have to address the key questions of when and how the British ‘country of **Lindēs*’ came to an end. In this context, there is one further Welsh reference to *Linnuis*/**Lindēs* which may be of relevance, namely that contained in the Welsh poem (strictly speaking, a collection of heroic death-songs) known as *Y Gododdin*.

Although this poem is now only preserved in the thirteenth-century ‘Book of Aneirin’, it is traditionally ascribed to a sixth-century poet named Aneirin and John Koch has made a good linguistic case for believing that at least some of its stanzas had their origins in the seventh and eighth centuries.¹⁶ The poem as a whole is concerned with a disastrous mid- to late sixth-century battle fought at *Catraeth* (usually thought to be Catterick, in the Vale of York) by the war-band of the British kingdom of the Gododdin and their allies against another British kingdom and its allies.¹⁷ It is these various allies that are of interest to us here: according to *Y Gododdin*, they included not only Anglo-Saxons (potentially on both sides) but also warriors from other British kingdoms, such as Elmet, Aeron, Strathclyde, and quite likely *Linnuis* (**Lindēs*) too.¹⁸ The stanza in question (A.15), which John Koch considers to date from the mid-seventh century, has been translated as follows:

It is concerning *Catraeth*’s variegated and ruddy [land] that it is told –
the followers fell; long were the lamentations for them,
the immortalised men; [but] it was not as immortals that they fought for territory
against the descendants of Godebawg, the rightful faction [*or* ‘an evil people’]:

long biers bore off *lynwyssawr*.¹⁹

In all mainstream translations of the poem, the obscure Middle Welsh word *lynwyssawr*, which would have been **linuissaur* in Old Welsh, is rendered as something akin to ‘blood-stained bodies’. However, the translation of Middle and Old Welsh is a difficult matter and several different readings are often possible, a fact that can be obscured by modern translations which are forced to choose one single version, and this is the case here: *lynwyssawr*, **linuissaur*, could be at least equally legitimately translated as ‘men of *Linnuis* (< **Lindēs*)’, as a number of researchers have pointed out, resulting in the line ‘long biers bore off men of *Linnuis*’. Given that the presence of men from British kingdoms other than the Gododdin in the poem is now widely recognized, and the fact that the ‘country of *Linnuis*/**Lindēs*’ now appears to have been a significant – potentially a very significant – British polity of the fifth and sixth centuries, there is no obvious reason why this reading should not in fact be adopted, and such a reading would indeed have a good context not only in the poem as a whole but in the stanza itself too.²⁰

Pursuing this further, if this reading is indeed adopted then we do need to ask who these warriors were thought to be and on what side they were considered to have fought. With regard to the second of these questions, the most natural reading of the above passage is that the author considered the British *meibyon godebawc*, ‘descendants of *Godebawc*’, to have been the enemy against whom the Gododdin warriors were contending (whilst their description as *gwerin enwir* might be translated as ‘the rightful faction’, they are perhaps more plausibly ‘an evil people’²¹) and the ‘men of *Linnuis*’ to have been part of the Gododdin’s own war-band, with the above

lines being a lament for their loss at *Catraeth*. Certainly such a scenario would accord well with the rest of the poem, with other stanzas similarly claiming that the Gododdin's doomed war-band contained non-Gododdin warriors.²²

Given that the 'men of *Linnuis*' ought thus to be probably considered the much-lamented 'followers' of the second line and so, reputedly, fallen members of the Gododdin war-band at *Catraeth*, what then of their identity? One very credible solution here is that the men from the British 'country of *Linnuis*/**Lindēs*' were simply conceived of in the same way as were those from the other British kingdoms (for example, Aeron, Gwynedd and Strathclyde) which were said to have provided warriors in *Y Gododdin*: that is to say, they were all thought to be British warriors from British kingdoms beyond the Gododdin's borders, who had joined the sixth-century Gododdin war-band and took part in the assault on *Catraeth*.²³ In such circumstances, a claim that 'men of *Linnuis*/**Lindēs*' were present at *Catraeth* would indicate that the author of these lines must have believed that the British territory of **Lindēs* continued in existence until at least the mid-sixth century, in order that he could consider that British warriors from this territory might have been killed at *Catraeth*. Needless to say, if the present reading is correct then this is a point of considerable interest.

In addition, if the claim that the Gododdin war-band included *lynwyssawr* was more than merely the contention of a later author and British warriors from the British 'country of *Linnuis*/**Lindēs*' really were at *Catraeth* in the sixth century, fighting for the Gododdin, then this would naturally raise the question of why they were doing this so far from home. In this context, Craig Cessford's theory that the *lynwyssawr* of

this stanza were kingdom-less British warriors who had found a place at another British court after the recent final loss of their homeland to the Anglo-Saxon immigrants would be both attractive and plausible.²⁴ Not only would it fit well with the other available evidence for the end of the British ‘country of **Lindēs*’, such as the presence of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries within a few miles of Lincoln by the mid-sixth century and the likely demolition of the apsidal church at Lincoln before *c.* 600,²⁵ but it would also imply that some members of the British warrior-elite from **Lindēs* had felt it necessary to leave their homeland behind when the balance of power shifted to the immigrant groups, which would be telling from the perspective of the present chapter.

On the other hand, all of the above does depend upon the *lynwyssawr* of *Y Gododdin* having been considered not only ‘men of *Linuis*’, but also Britons from the British ‘country of *Linnuis*/**Lindēs*’. Whilst such an origin would undoubtedly have had a good context within the poem, it ought to be acknowledged that if ‘men of *Linnuis*/**Lindēs*’ really did fight and die at *Catraeth* then they could conceivably have been Anglo-Saxons rather than Britons. Put simply, if a group of Anglo-Saxons moved into the Gododdin region from **Lindēs* sometime before *Catraeth* in the mid-sixth century and fought alongside the Gododdin warriors in this battle, then it is not impossible that a contemporary or near-contemporary Welsh poet would have described them as ‘men of *Linnuis*/**Lindēs*’, despite their non-British origins. This possibility would perhaps not be worth pursuing except for the curious fact that there is linguistic and archaeological material indicative of just such a mid-sixth-century movement into what is likely to have been the southern part of the Gododdin kingdom

(the area around Lindisfarne and the Tweed valley) by Anglo-Saxons from the Lincoln region.²⁶ Of course, the arrival of these Anglo-Saxons could be entirely unrelated to the occurrence of *lynwyssawr* in *Y Gododdin*, but the coincidence is arresting. As such, if the claim that ‘men of *Linnuis*’ fought for the Gododdin was based in reality rather than in later poetic speculation as to the participants in this battle, then the possibility that these *lynwyssawr* were actually Anglo-Saxons from *Linnuis*/**Lindēs* would deserve to be taken reasonably seriously. Indeed, such a scenario may even be able to help to explain how and why the archaeologically- and linguistically-evidenced Anglo-Saxon migrants from the Lincoln region were able to establish a lasting and important foothold in an area far to the north of any other early Anglo-Saxon activity.²⁷

All told, the Welsh poem *Y Gododdin* may be a source of considerable potential interest for the present study if the reading argued for here is adopted. If the *lynwyssawr* were considered Britons from *Linnuis*/**Lindēs*, then this would add yet more weight to the case for British **Lindēs* having continued at least partway into the mid-sixth century, and it may even hint at the reactions of some of the Britons of the region to the Anglo-Saxon takeover of their homeland. If they were thought to be Anglo-Saxons, then it may help us to understand better the evidence for a secondary Anglo-Saxon migration from Lincolnshire to Northumbria, which is discussed in subsequent chapters.

*From *Lindēs to Lindissi: the Nature of the Transition*

Although there may be hints that some of the Britons of **Lindēs* decided to leave, rather than remain in the Lincoln region, as power shifted from British to Anglo-Saxon hands, this need not mean that the transition was solely characterized by antipathy and hostility between the two groups. In fact, there is good reason to think that, sometimes at least, the opposite might have been the case.

Of all the available sources of evidence for such a scenario, undoubtedly the best known is the royal genealogy of the kings of *Lindissi*, which ends with the name Aldfrið. This document is preserved in the late eighth-century ‘Anglian Collection of royal genealogies and regnal lists’ along with the genealogies and regnal lists of the Anglo-Saxon kings of Wessex, Kent, Mercia and Northumbria.²⁸ It used to be thought that this Aldfrið was also mentioned in a late eighth-century Mercian charter, where Sir Frank Stenton followed Birch in reading one *Ealdfrid rex* as a witness, but this position now appears to be untenable.²⁹ As such, the question of Aldfrið’s *floruit* is open to debate, although Sarah Foot has made a good case for presuming that he was king *c.* 679 and that after this there were no more (semi-)independent rulers of *Lindissi*.³⁰

The interest in this genealogy comes seven generations down, where we find a certain *Cædbæd* named as one of Aldfrið’s ancestors who would have probably lived in the early to mid-sixth century. This name is now generally considered to be an Anglicized form of a wholly British Celtic name, its origins lying in British **Catuboduos*, Archaic Welsh **Cadbodu*, and as such it is extremely suggestive.³¹ It

does, of course, have to be asked whether the *Lindissi* genealogy can be trusted to preserve genuine information from the sixth century. Certainly parts of the Lindsey genealogy have been viewed with some suspicion in the past, most particularly due to the fact that the names alliterate in groups of two and three.³² On the other hand, such alliteration between generations seems to have been a common practice and is found in other Anglo-Saxon genealogies too, and it might even be viewed as a positive argument in favour of the antiquity of the genealogy.³³ Similarly, whilst the presence of the name *Biscop* in the genealogy has occasionally worried some, this seems to have been a perfectly good Old English name and the fact that it was also borne by a famous seventh-century Northumbrian noble ought not to be considered a serious cause for scepticism. Indeed, this is particularly the case given that the Northumbrian elite arguably had their origins in the early Anglo-Saxon Lincoln region, with the suggestion recently being made that the Northumbrian Biscop was actually so-named due to his descent from the royal house of *Lindissi*.³⁴ In this light, it is worth pointing out that the fact that the genealogy is not standardized to the suspicious fourteen generations back to Woden found in all the other ‘Anglian Collection’ genealogies, instead consisting of only eleven generations, has been credibly seen as a reason to consider it untampered with,³⁵ as has the very rare and obscure nature of many of the names found within it, such as *Cueldgils*, *Cretta*, *Bubba* and *Winta*. Stenton long ago observed that there ‘can be no doubt that a series like this represents a genuine tradition.’³⁶

All told, it seems not unreasonable to treat the genealogy as representing something like the genuine lineage of a probably late seventh-century king of *Lindissi*

named Aldfrið, reflecting his own concept of his own ancestry. However, even if this were not the case, the most significant consideration from our perspective is the simple fact that – whether the genealogy is otherwise tampered with or not – it is extremely difficult to see what possible motivation there could have been for the late fabrication of a sixth-century ancestor with an Anglicized British Celtic name in the *Lindissi* royal line. As a consequence of the above, the majority of modern historians have been inclined to see ‘the Celtic *Cædbæd*’ as the most trustworthy element in the entire genealogy, aside from Aldfrið’s immediate family, and indicative of sixth-century contact and very likely intermarriage between local British elites and the Anglo-Saxon group which provided the ruling lineage of *Lindissi*.³⁷ This is naturally of considerable import in the present circumstances. Not only would it, once again, offer support for there having been high-status Britons in the Lincoln region in the early sixth century, but it would also imply that relations between these Britons and the immigrants could be more than cordial, or at least not consistently marked by violence and antagonism.

It is worth asking, in this context, where the Anglo-Saxons involved in any such Anglian-British rapprochement might have been based, before they took over **Lindēs*; after all, the evidence discussed previously suggests that the Britons were still the dominant power in the region at the time that *Cædbæd* would have probably been named, and the kind of intermarriage envisaged above would in any case perhaps most credibly belong to a period in which the immigrants were gaining in influence but had not yet taken control of the British ‘country of **Lindēs*’. In order to answer this, we need to direct our attention to the major fifth- and sixth-century

cremation cemeteries of the region; each of these cemeteries appears to have had a large territory dependent upon it that was probably inhabited by a distinct early Anglo-Saxon group, and the lineage which eventually took over **Lindēs* presumably emerged from the most influential or powerful of these groups.³⁸ One group in particular stands out as a likely candidate here, namely that based around Cleatham-Kirton in Lindsey. Not only was this group focussed upon an exceptionally large cremation cemetery, but the richest barrow burial in Lincolnshire appears to be associated with this group (Caenby, Fig. 17) and Kirton was clearly an extremely important centre in the Anglo-Saxon period.³⁹ Furthermore, the place-name ‘Ingham’ occurs around three miles to the south of the Caenby burial. This name appears to denote a major early Anglo-Saxon royal possession and perhaps cult centre, deriving from Germanic **Ingwia-haimaz*, which can be read as either ‘the estate of the *Inguione*’, a tag to mark places as the royal property of a king who claimed to be of an *Inguionic* dynasty, or ‘the estate of the devotees of the deity *Ing*’.⁴⁰

In addition to such solid arguments, it can also be observed that this group is centred on the main north-south Roman road from the river Humber to Lincoln, and at the point where this road meets the Humber we find two neighbouring place-names, Winterton and Winteringham. Both contain the rare name *Wintra*, which is found in the variant form *Winta* in the *Lindissi* royal genealogy, where it is the first name to appear after the mythical Woden.⁴¹ Whilst not conclusive, this is certainly suggestive, especially as the latter place-name, at least, would be considered to have its origins in the ‘pagan’ period on the basis of current place-name chronologies, referring to a settlement or estate belonging to an early Anglo-Saxon population-group named the

**Wintringas*, ‘the family, or dependants, of *Wint(r)a*’.⁴² Such a group-name is, needless to say, more than plausible as the otherwise-unrecorded collective name for the royal dynasty of *Lindissi*; compare, for example, the Kentish royal *Oiscingas*, named from their early supposed ancestor Oisc, and the Mercian royal *Iclingas*, named from their early supposed ancestor Icel.⁴³

If the name *Cædbæd* probably provides good evidence for some degree of relatively civil interactions between the British elite of **Lindēs* and the immigrants at the start of the period in which the balance of power shifted from the Britons to the Anglo-Saxons, it does not stand alone. So, for example, whilst some of the seventeen or eighteen fifth- to sixth-century British Class 1 brooches from the region have been found at sites such as the Roman ‘small town’ at Kirmington (which, incidentally, also has a very strong coin-sequence right up until that point in the early fifth century at which coins ceased to be available, and its British name may well survive in the name Kirmington, *Chernitone* at Domesday⁴⁴), three of these British elite items were actually recovered from local Anglo-Saxon cemeteries: one was unearthed during the excavation of Cleatham cremation cemetery; another was found in a sixth-century inhumation at Sheffield’s Hill cemetery; and the last was metal-detected from the site of a large but unexcavated sixth- to seventh-century inhumation cemetery at Osbournby.⁴⁵ This is most curious; as we have already seen, these brooches were probably primarily made for and worn by local high-status Britons, who lived close to the sites where the Anglo-Saxon immigrants had been settled and who felt sufficiently threatened by them that they wore these brooches (and whatever associated clothing) to help reinforce and assert their ethnic identity and status.⁴⁶ However, such arguably

defiant Britishness would presumably only be practical for local peripheral British elites whilst there were British leaders of influence at Lincoln who could support them. After the point at which the balance of power in the region shifted decisively away from the Britons in the sixth century, it is quite conceivable that some members of these same elites would have then felt a need to align themselves with the new ascendant power and adopted the immigrant culture in order to survive and protect their status. In this context, the presence of three of these British Class 1 brooches in local Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Lincolnshire is perhaps explicable: they would simply be there as testimony to the ultimate acculturation and assimilation of some members of the local British elite by the immigrants' ascendancy.⁴⁷

A consideration of the place-name Washingborough is similarly instructive. This place-name is found close-by Lincoln, on the south bank of the Witham, and it derives from Old English **Wassingaburh*, 'the fortified place of the **Wassingas*, i.e. the family or dependants of **Wassa*'. However, whilst **Wassingas* is a perfectly regular Old English group-name, **Wassa* is not a Germanic personal name. Rather, it is a British Celtic name deriving from Celtic *vasso-*, equivalent to the attested Cornish name *Was(s)o* and related to the Continental Celtic names *Vasso-rix* and *Dago-vassus*.⁴⁸ This strongly suggests that the founder of the **Wassingas*, a fort-owning 'Anglo-Saxon' population-group based close to Lincoln, was either a locally powerful Briton who adopted the immigrant culture and language after the Anglo-Saxon takeover in order to successfully maintain his status and local influence, or that he was the product of the same type of intermarriage which arguably produced the name *Cædbæd* in the *Lindissi* royal genealogy. Both scenarios are, of course, of

considerable interest to us here. Furthermore, Washingborough is not the only instance of a Lincolnshire early Anglo-Saxon population-group taking its title from a founder whose name appears to be of British derivation. Such a combination of an *-ingas* group-name plus a Brittonic personal-name probably also underlies both Threekingham (**Tric-*) in the south of the county and Cameringham (**Cadmor*) in the north.⁴⁹

A further possible instance of this situation is had from the place-name Torksey, Old English *Turces ige*, ‘**Turc*’s Island’, which must have originally referred to an extensive island of land alongside the river Trent. **Turc* is otherwise unrecorded as an Old English personal name and both Kenneth Cameron and John Insley have argued that it derives from British **torco-*, Archaic Welsh **turc*, ‘boar’ (compare, for example, the Old Breton name *Turch*, which derives from this root).⁵⁰ However, this is somewhat less clear-cut as an example of either intermarriage or assimilation than Washingborough, Threekingham and Cammeringham. Whilst **Wassa* founded an ‘Anglo-Saxon’ population-group, the **Wassingas*, there is no evidence to suggest whether **Turc* was similarly integrated in early Anglo-Saxon society or if he was just remembered as a former British owner of the island in question. On the whole the former situation seems the more plausible, not least because the latter sort of commemoration would be highly unusual in eastern Britain, but certainty on this matter is impossible.

Alongside the above we can also set the evidence from Lincoln. Although an Anglo-Saxon named Blæcca – whose name alliterates with some of the ancestors of Aldfrið, leading to the reasonable speculation that he may have been a member of the

royal family of *Lindissi*⁵¹ – was in charge of Lincoln in the 620s, various factors suggest that at least some of the high-status British Christian community based there remained *in situ* when control passed from British to Anglo-Saxon hands. In particular, attention should be drawn once again to the St Paul in the Bail site, with its sequence of two churches and a succeeding Christian graveyard which continued in use into and through the Middle Saxon period.⁵² Whether this cemetery was founded and the second church demolished before the end of the sixth century – the most probable scenario – or in the early seventh century, the implication of this sequence remains the same: that there were Christian Britons still in Lincoln after the Anglo-Saxon takeover around the middle of the sixth century, and that the new Anglo-Saxon rulers of Lincoln and *Lindissi* therefore tolerated British religious practices and perhaps even organization, at least until the Anglo-Saxons themselves were converted by the Roman church in the 620s.⁵³

Certainly such a scenario is not unparalleled within Britain. There are hints that St Augustine encountered a British Christian community in Kent which had survived under pagan Anglo-Saxon rule, venerating an otherwise unknown (probably Romano-British) St Sixtus, and reference has already been made to British bishoprics which probably continued to function under similar circumstances in the West Midlands until the Anglo-Saxon rulers there converted to the Roman brand of Christianity in the mid-seventh century.⁵⁴ Moreover, it has been suggested that Bede's curiously undetailed allusion to miracles taking place in Lincoln (despite the fact that he seems very well informed about the region and was usually keen to give a detailed account of such happenings) is explicable if these were associated with the continued

veneration of a (Romano-)British saint – the Lincoln equivalent of the Kentish St Sixtus – with Bede being consequently unwilling to go into details due to his own opposition to insular ‘Celtic’ Christianity.⁵⁵

That such a peaceful accommodation between pagan Anglo-Saxons and British Christians in the region could occur is further signified by recent work on dedications to St Helen, which are usually found in association with springs and watercourses. Dedications to St Helen are more common in Britain than in anywhere else in the Christian world, and the Lincoln region has been shown to be in the core zone of British sites with such dedications, alongside Elmet and Deira (Yorkshire). It has been plausibly argued that these dedications actually have nothing to do with St Helen, the mother of Constantine the Great, and instead represent a Christianization of the well-attested Romano-British pagan veneration of springs, wells and watercourses, in this case of sites dedicated to the British goddess *Alauna*, whose name could easily deform to ‘Helen’; compare, for example, the river Ellen (< *Alauna*) in Cumbria.⁵⁶ Such Christianization is likely to have been undertaken by fourth- and fifth-century British Christians, given Gildas’s lack of knowledge of sixth-century British paganism, and the Christian veneration of these sites must then have continued throughout the period in which the Lincoln region was ruled by pagan Anglo-Saxons in order for the dedications to have survived.

*After *Lindēs: the Fate of the Britons*

It thus appears that, in the course of the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon dominance, some of the Britons of **Lindēs* may have chosen to intermarry with the immigrant groups; others may have decided to leave the region to join the war-bands of other British kingdoms (assuming that *Y Gododdin*'s reference to *lynwyssawr* reflects real British warriors from **Lindēs*); and yet others may have accepted the changing circumstances and adopted, over time, many aspects of the Anglo-Saxon ethnicity, even if most perhaps kept their own religion whilst the Anglo-Saxons remained pagan. In addition, it is certainly not implausible that some of the Britons may have fought and died in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the final end of the 'country of **Lindēs*' via a repetition of the kind of victories that the *Historia Brittonum* suggests that the Britons of **Lindēs* won around the year 500. There is, however, no surviving evidence for this other than supposition, and the above indications that British religious practices were tolerated suggests that the takeover, when it came, was not primarily characterized by antagonism and violence. However, whilst these different approaches to the demise of **Lindēs* and the transition to Anglo-Saxon rule can be enumerated, this still leaves open the question of what actually happened to the vast majority of the Britons who inhabited the Lincoln region after the Anglo-Saxon takeover? Did they follow one of the paths outlined above? If so, which one did they follow, how many of them did this, and over what period of time?

Earlier generations of historians imagined that the virtually all of the Britons of eastern England must have either fled to the west or died in the course of the 'Anglo-

Saxon conquest', largely on the basis of a belief that a lack of British words in Old English could only be explained by near-complete population replacement and the consequent racial and linguistic purity of the English.⁵⁷ Such a scenario does not, however, accord well with the evidence discussed above for at least some of the British elite being able to survive and adapt to the new ascendancy and perhaps become part of it, nor does it appear to offer any plausible context for the indications of continued Christian worship which we find in this region. Moreover, recent studies of the question of language replacement in early Anglo-Saxon England have offered more sophisticated and nuanced explanations (and analogues) for the lack of influence of Late British/Archaic Welsh on Old English, explanations which do not require either genocide or numerical dominance on the part of the Anglo-Saxons. It is instead argued that the replacement of Late British with English could just as credibly have resulted from a situation in which Old English-speakers socially, politically and linguistically dominated the British/Archaic Welsh-speakers of lowland Britain (note, for example, the social and legal discrimination against Welsh-speakers evident in the late seventh-century 'Laws of Ine'), against a background of such factors as a pre-existing low social and political status for the Brittonic language and the Britons having just experienced, over the course of 30 years or so, the kind of economic and material culture collapse which took several centuries to complete in southern Italy. Indeed, it has also recently been suggested that the degree to which Late British/Archaic Welsh influenced English as a whole has, in any case, potentially been greatly underestimated by previous commentators, with the available evidence of this influence actually appearing to imply both Celtic-English bilingualism in the

early to middle Anglo-Saxon periods and the eventual assimilation of a British majority by the Anglo-Saxon ascendancy.⁵⁸

Accepting that linguistic arguments can thus no longer be used as a source of support for the idea that all lowland Britons were ‘killed or driven out’,⁵⁹ leaving a virtually empty landscape for true Englishmen to inhabit, we must look to the other available evidence for indications of the true situation. Perhaps the best indication that most of the Britons of lowland Britain did indeed stay where they had always been, adopting the Anglo-Saxon ethnicity over time, comes from the environmental and palaeobotanical evidence discussed in the first chapter.⁶⁰ This material indicates that models which would include a very significant population drop at some point in the post-Roman period are not credible; as such, if we were to assume that the majority of the Britons disappeared when the Anglo-Saxons took control, then we would also have to assume that a large proportion of any short-fall in population was made up by immigrant Anglo-Saxons. However, whilst few would nowadays dispute that there had certainly been a notable degree of mass-migration to eastern England in the post-Roman period (particularly in Lincolnshire, with its large cremation cemeteries), such a proposition is highly improbable. As Bryan Ward-Perkins has observed, even if we go out of our way to overestimate greatly the number of Anglo-Saxons who might have possibly migrated to Britain – putting them at 200,000, the approximate number of Goths on the move in Late Antiquity, a very much larger grouping of people than the ‘Anglo-Saxons’ – and to underestimate greatly the likely number of Britons who were living in lowland Britain (800,000 to 1,000,000), we still end up with a situation in which the missing Britons simply cannot have been replaced by an equal number of

immigrant Anglo-Saxons.⁶¹ Given that the real figures are more credibly in the region of 50,000-100,000 Anglo-Saxons and perhaps 1.5 million Britons, there seems little chance that the death or disappearance of the majority of these Britons would not have made an impact on the environmental evidence. In other words, the available evidence cannot be explained away, except by an assumption of a large-scale British survival in England.

We thus have a situation in lowland Britain whereby the most credible scenario is that there was both large-scale Anglo-Saxon immigration from the continent *and* large-scale British survival, with these Britons then adopting the Anglo-Saxon ethnic identity. In general such a scenario is in harmony with the data obtained from genetic studies of the modern populations of England and Wales. Although early attempts at using genetic material as a means of understanding events in the post-Roman period were claimed to indicate an extraordinary replacement of the male population of lowland Britain by Anglo-Saxon immigrants (fifty percent at a minimum), these studies suffered from a host of methodological problems and dubious assumptions.⁶² In contrast, more recent studies have far greater credibility, not least because they take account of the likely reproductive advantage that the immigrants would have had once they were in control and the Britons were at an economic, social, legal and political disadvantage, as they clearly were in the seventh-century 'Laws of Ine' and quite possibly in the early Kentish law-codes too. In this light, the present-day genetic evidence is actually readily explicable in terms of an Anglo-Saxon male immigration totalling as little as five percent of the total male population.⁶³ In other words, current interpretations of the genetic evidence similarly would seem to imply that, whilst

there must have certainly been mass-migration to eastern England, so too is it entirely credible that the vast majority of the native Britons remained in place there after the Anglo-Saxons took over.

With specific regard to our study area, as one of the primary areas of Anglo-Saxon settlement it is likely to have had a higher ratio of immigrants to native Britons than was found in areas further to the west. However, this is not sufficient reason to remove Lincolnshire from the general judgement on British ‘survival’ offered above, and we do need to be careful not to overestimate how many Anglo-Saxons would have arrived here and how many Britons would have left or died resisting the takeover. As was noted above, there is evidence from Lincolnshire for Britons living under Anglo-Saxon rule (including, potentially, a significant rural British Christian population), with a suggestion that the transition may have been relatively free of violence. Although we need to acknowledge that there were almost certainly more Anglo-Saxon immigrants here than there were in more westerly and northern parts of Britain, this does not mean that the Anglo-Saxons formed anything like the majority of the population. Indeed, as Kevin Leahy has recently observed, even if we interpret the plentiful early Anglo-Saxon (*c.* 450–650) cemetery evidence from Lindsey very generously indeed, the total number of ‘Anglo-Saxons’ it represents can, given the lack of evidence for woodland regeneration on non-marginal land, scarcely have made up much more than around five percent or so of the likely total population of Lindsey in the post-Roman period, with the ‘missing thousands’ who do not appear in the burial record being most credibly seen as archaeologically-invisible Britons who had

not yet adopted the Anglo-Saxon material culture by the end of the early Anglo-Saxon period (c. 650).⁶⁴

The positive evidence for such a large British element in the population of Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire, which was beginning to adopt the immigrant material culture but was not fully acculturated by the mid-seventh century, is not merely limited to that discussed above. We might also cite, for example, such Lincolnshire place-names as Walcot (three instances, near Folkingham, Billingham and Alkborough), Walton, *Cumbre hole* (lost, Barrow on Humber area), Cumberworth, and perhaps *Walcroft* (lost, Fleet parish), Walesby and Walshcroft (Wapentake), all of which seem to imply the presence of Welsh-speakers in the region. Kenneth Cameron and Margaret Gelling have both argued that place-names involving *walh/cumbre*, ‘Briton’ or ‘Welsh-speaker’, are generally of a mid- to late eighth-century coinage and reflective of a period at which Welsh-speakers had finally become rare enough in the landscape to inspire comment in place-names.⁶⁵ In this context it may well be significant that there are hints in Felix’s ‘Life of St Guthlac’ that there were still people speaking a form of Welsh living in the Fens of south Lincolnshire in the early eighth century.⁶⁶ Certainly this should not surprise us overmuch; current models for the ‘Anglo-Saxonization’ of the Britons suggest that it would have been several centuries before the process was complete, beginning probably first with the elites and only later moving on to encompass the rural agricultural population.⁶⁷ This does, of course, raise the question of whether we have been right in the past to dismiss that large number of Romano-British settlements from Lincolnshire which have later sixth-, seventh- or even eighth-century Anglo-Saxon material on top of (or close-by) them as potential sites where

there is continuity of occupation, preferring to treat them as simply later re-occupation of a deserted farmstead.⁶⁸

Other material which might be brought to bear includes the potential evidence for Romano-British burial rites in the ‘Anglo-Saxon’ cemeteries of the region, most especially the use of bird bones, as found in six graves at Castledyke South cemetery, Barton-upon-Humber.⁶⁹ It is also worth noting that the sequence of buildings and burials at St Paul in the Bail (Lincoln) and the wells and churches dedicated to St Helen (cited above) may not be the only indications from the region for a degree of continuity in British cult practices and sites into the Anglo-Saxon era and beyond: there now appears to be good evidence for the continued use of the river Witham for ritual deposits from the pre-Roman through to the medieval period, which is similarly strongly suggestive of such continuity.⁷⁰ Finally, we ought not to forget the very limited but intriguing evidence for some degree of continuity in the Romano-British pottery industry around Lincoln. Attention has recently been drawn to a sixth-century Anglo-Saxon stamped pot found in the flue ashes of a supposedly fourth-century Romano-British pottery kiln near Lincoln, which has been considered potentially both to date and represent the last firing of this kiln. In addition, some of the urns used in the Cleatham cremation cemetery now look to have been Anglo-Saxon pots made using Roman wheel-throwing techniques (Fig. 18).⁷¹ When we put alongside this the possible evidence for a Romano-British kiln at Lea, near Gainsborough, having last been fired in the mid-late fifth century, and some of the intriguing chance finds of pots from the county that appear Anglo-Saxon in form but Romano-British in fabric, we have a potentially very interesting situation.⁷² On the whole the best explanation

may be that the absence of fifth-century and later coinage has obscured the final phase of the Romano-British pottery industry in the region, as has been suggested is the case elsewhere in Britain, and that the British potters of the Lincoln region not only continued to work through the fifth century for the Britons of **Lindēs*, but also subsequently started to produce pottery for the ascendant immigrant groups.⁷³ In the present context, this would once again appear to be indicative both of peaceful relations between the Britons and the Anglo-Saxons, and of the willingness of Britons to work with the new ascendancy.

*Reconstructing the Past: The British Kingdom of *Lindēs*

As was noted earlier, the chief problem with any attempt to understand the period between *c.* 400 and 600 in Lincolnshire is not that we lack material to study, but rather that what material we do have is fragmentary and often complex. Nonetheless, this does not mean that no progress is possible, if a conscious attempt is made to utilize all the different strands of potential evidence. Each of the above pieces of evidence is, on its own, intriguing and suggestive. However, when taken together and put alongside each other, a clear and convincing picture of a fifth- and sixth-century British polity based around Lincoln begins to emerge. Consequently, whilst no detailed narrative of the post-Roman period in the Lincoln area survives to us – unless Ambrosius Aurelianus really was based in the region, as is tentatively suggested

above – the following would seem to be a reasonable reconstruction of events based on all of the evidence discussed so far.

The ‘country of **Lindēs*’ which appears in the linguistic evidence is best seen as the post-Roman British successor to the territory associated with Lincoln, one of the four Late Roman provincial capitals of *Britannia* and notably prosperous in the very-late fourth century. This polity would have had British leaders, drawn almost certainly from the remnants of the Late Roman aristocracy, and potentially a British bishop too, the old *forum* of the town being given over to a church which was entered from its western portico. Furthermore, continued commitment to both the town and its church by the Britons of the ‘country of **Lindēs*’ is indicated by an expansion and elaboration of this church in the post-Roman period. How long Lincoln maintained control over its entire province rather than just an extensive area around the city is uncertain, but there are hints that its wider territory did not immediately disintegrate and that Anglo-Saxon settlement in eastern Britain was – initially at least – influenced by the Late Roman provincial arrangements.

Whatever the case may be on the above, Anglo-Saxon immigration and settlement into Lincolnshire looks to have begun at some point around the mid-fifth century, quite possibly as part of a deliberate strategy of territorial defence. Judging from the distribution of the large cremation cemeteries and their implied territories, these immigrant groups to the ‘country of **Lindēs*’ seem to have been controlled by the Britons and prevented – at least into the early sixth century – from significantly encroaching upon the Britons’ chief settlement of Lincoln. The Welsh *Historia Brittonum* suggests that military action *c.* 500 may well have played a role in this

containment, and it is certainly not beyond the realms of possibility that such action was led by Ambrosius Aurelianus and that the Battle of Badon Hill could have been fought in **Lindēs*. In any case, it seems credible that the British leaders based at Lincoln in this period were able to exert some degree of political control over not only the immediate area around Lincoln but also the peripheral regions settled by these Anglo-Saxons. There is, after all, evidence for the local British elites in these areas being able and willing to assert their ethnic identity in opposition to the immigrant groups there – in particular via the use of Class 1 British penannular brooches – through the fifth century and into the sixth. The potential survival of rural British Christian cult-sites throughout the Lincoln region, indicated by dedications to St Helen, might also be explicable as a result of such a degree of continued British control not only in the core of **Lindēs* but also in the immigrant-settled areas.

The power and influence of this British ‘country of **Lindēs*’ seems to have deteriorated from the early sixth century onwards. The most obvious evidence for this is that there are no indications of a deliberate avoidance of Lincoln by the small Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries which supplemented and replaced the large cremation cemeteries, with examples being found only a few miles to both the north and south of Lincoln by the mid-sixth century. However, it must be recognized here that these sites are not on anything like the scale of the earlier cremation cemeteries or even other contemporary inhumation cemeteries from the region, and there is no evidence for such sites from Lincoln itself or its immediate hinterland. Equally, a few of the find-spots of the Class 1 penannular brooches may reflect some of these outlying elites having aligned themselves with a new ascendant power in the sixth

century and adopted the immigrant culture in order to survive, which in turn implies that this period was one in which the dominant power within **Lindēs* had passed, or was beginning to pass, from British to Germanic hands. The sixth century is also very probably the period in which the apsidal church at Lincoln was demolished. Even though Christian and presumably British burial occurred at the site subsequently, this demolition might well be taken to suggest the decline or disappearance of the leading British elites in the city.

On the whole, the best explanation of the above evidence is that the Britons of Lincoln finally lost control of the ‘country of **Lindēs*’ at some point during the sixth century, perhaps around its middle. Certainly Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica* indicates that there was an Anglo-Saxon (Blæcca) in control of Lincoln by the early seventh century. It is also noteworthy that the bearer of the British name in the genealogy of Aldfrið, king of *Lindissi*, would have probably lived in the early-mid sixth century. The name *Cædbæd* is, after all, suggestive of intermarriage between the British elite of **Lindēs* and the pre-eminent Anglo-Saxon group in the Lincoln region, and such intermarriage would most credibly belong to a period in which the immigrants were gaining in power but had not yet taken over the ‘country of **Lindēs*’. Finally, if the *lynwyssawr* of *Y Gododdin* were Britons from *Linnuis*/**Lindēs* placed at the battle of *Catraeth* in the mid-late sixth century, then at the very least this suggests that the Welsh author of this stanza believed that **Lindēs* still existed up to that point or had only recently been lost.

The potential evidence of high-status intermarriage mentioned above may, of course, indicate that when the takeover came it was relatively peaceful, or at least not

entirely violent. This interpretation is supported by other evidence too. Most importantly, at least some of the territory of **Lindēs* was subsequently part of a kingdom whose name, *Lindissi*, was clearly taken from that of the preceding British polity, and the rulers of *Lindissi* seem to have also been happy to retain both their very descriptive Anglo-Saxon folk-name *Lindisfaran* ('the people who migrated, *faran*, to the territory of **Lindēs*') and a British name in the political document that was their genealogy, which might well be taken to indicate that they were comfortable with the British past of their kingdom. It also appears likely that British Christianity was at least tolerated by the new Anglo-Saxon rulers of the Lincoln region, with the St Helen dedications apparently surviving in the countryside despite the change, and either the British apsidal church at St Paul in the Bail being maintained into the early seventh century or, more probably, the Christian cemetery which succeeded it being in use from the sixth century through into the Middle Saxon period. Furthermore, if some of the local British elites acculturated and 'became' Anglo-Saxon in order to protect their own status, as noted above, then this too is suggestive of a takeover not entirely characterized by antipathy, and we can additionally cite here the evidence of the place-names Washingborough, Cammeringham, Threekingham and perhaps Torksey; such acculturation and/or intermarriage may also be reflected in the British Type G brooches which have been found in Lincolnshire Anglo-Saxon cemetery contexts too.⁷⁴ Finally, a relatively peaceful transition to Anglo-Saxon rule, with some members of the British elite joining the new ascendancy and a degree of toleration or sympathy towards the British past and culture, can potentially also help explain some other aspects of early Anglo-Saxon material culture in the region. In particular, not

only is there evidence to suggest that British potters turned their hand to making items for the new ascendancy, but ‘late Celtic’ hanging bowls – probably originally high-status pieces of fifth- to seventh-century British-manufactured tableware – appear to have been remarkably popular as grave-goods within Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire, which is highly suggestive, as is an enamelled buckle from West Ravendale which looks to be of British manufacture but is Anglo-Saxon in form.⁷⁵

Of course, whether the takeover was violent or not, it is probable that the vast majority of the Britons who lived in rural communities throughout the ‘country of **Lindēs*’ remained in place after the transition to Anglo-Saxon rule, adopting over time the Anglo-Saxon ethnicity and material culture. This is, however, likely to have been a long process, given the great discrepancy that exists between the number of highly-visible early ‘Anglo-Saxon’ (c. 450–650) burials and current estimates of the total population of the region at this time. Indeed, the place-name evidence and hints provided in Felix’s ‘Life of St Guthlac’ suggest that the British language, at least, was only becoming rare enough in the Lincoln region to prompt comment by the eighth century.

In sum, it is clear that the Anglo-Saxons of the region took over a significant British territory, the ‘country of **Lindēs*’, at some point probably around the middle of the sixth century, and thereafter they ruled over a large proportion of British-speakers who took until perhaps the eighth century to fully adopt the immigrant ethnic identity and language. The question is, whilst there is clearly a strong British background to the Anglo-Saxon territories of the region, in particular that of *Lindissi*, just how indebted were they to the British past? And what were the Anglo-Saxons of

the region doing – besides taking control of the territory of **Lindēs* and intermarrying with British elites – in the period before they were converted to Christianity?

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- 1 See further Green, 2008: 27–9.
 - 2 Leahy, 2007b: 111–14; Cox, 1994–5; Cameron, 1991: 8. See also Green, 2008: 30, fn. 120.
 - 3 That the immigrant Anglo-Saxon groups were thus in some way used to fill a military and defensive role previously filled by the Romans may be further indicated by some recent work by Adam Daubney. He considers fourth-century gold coins in Lincolnshire to be indicative of the final phase of Roman military activity in the region, and in this context it is interesting to note that the distribution of these coins seems to similarly form a ring around Lincoln: Daubney, 2010, especially p. 71; A. Daubney, ‘The use of precious metals in Late Roman Lincolnshire’ (unpublished lecture, *End of Roman Lincolnshire* conference, 20 March 2010) and personal communication. Although this ‘ring’ extends much further to the south of Lincoln than does that formed by the Anglo-Saxon cremation cemeteries (to the Spalding-Bourne area), in the north the coins often seem to be found in the same general area as the later cremation cemeteries and Daubney has suggested that the Anglo-Saxon ring of cemeteries may actually reflect a contraction of an earlier, late fourth-century, defensive system focussed on Lincoln.
 - 4 Dumville, 1986; Higham, 2002: 119–69; Green, 2007: 15–26, 30–8.
 - 5 Alcock, 1971; Morris, 1973; Phillips and Keatman, 1992.
 - 6 See especially Green, 2007, particularly pp. 8–130, 177–201; Padel, 1994. The change in dominant academic attitudes to Arthur from credulity to scepticism can be largely dated from 1977, when a seminal paper by David Dumville was published (Dumville, 1977a).
 - 7 Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae*, chapters 25–6, ed. and trans. Winterbottom, 1978.
 - 8 Green, 2007: 204–16.
 - 9 Padel, 1994: 16–18, quotation at 17; Wood, 1999: 34–8.
 - 10 Padel, 1994: 21; Bromwich, 1975–6: 171–2; Green, 2007: 62–7, 84–5, 119–21, 207–9, 214.
 - 11 See Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II.16.
 - 12 See Green, 2007: 213–15, and 2008: 8–10, for some discussion of this point.
 - 13 Jackson, 1953–8; Gelling, 1988a: 60–1; Green, 2007: 213; and Owen, 1997b: 257, 262. Cf. Coates, 2008: 41–3 for an alternative view of this name. Although there have been no detailed archaeological investigations within the parish, an Anglo-Saxon sword pommel dated to c. 450–500 has been found which may or may not be relevant here: Lincolnshire Historic Environment Record 43147. Note, the second element, Old English *burh*, indicates that there was a fortification of some sort at Baumber in the Anglo-Saxon period at least.
 - 14 Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae*, 26.1.
 - 15 Yorke, 2003a: 397–9. See also White, 2007: 197–9. Fig. 16 compares the fourth-century British provinces as reconstructed in Mann, 1998: 340, with the distribution of Anglian and Saxon brooches of c. 450–500 (after Higham, 1992: 163) and Anglian cremation-predominant cemeteries (after Williams, 2002: 344, with additions).
 - 16 Williams (ed), 1938; Koch, 1985–6; Koch, 1991; Koch, 1997. John Koch’s work on the dating and textual history of *Y Gododdin* has been the subject of much discussion amongst Celticists, but as Oliver Padel observes in his detailed review, ‘linguistically we feel safe in his [Koch’s] hands’: Padel, 1998: 45; see also Caerwyn Williams, 1998 – who considers it to be, linguistically, ‘scholarship of the highest standard’ (291) – and Green, 2007: 47–8, 50–2, 251–2. Padel’s main criticism with regard to Koch’s *Gododdin* is that he does not separate out stanzas dated on good linguistic grounds clearly enough from those dated using other, more debatable, methods, such as textual history (see Isaac, 1999: 55–78, for another sceptical review of Koch’s suggested textual history of *Y Gododdin*). In this context, it is important to note that the stanza we are concerned with below is one of those which appear to contain some Archaic Welsh features indicative of a written origin in the seventh or eighth centuries, though Koch does argue that this dating should be

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- narrowed to the mid-seventh century on the basis of his understanding of the textual history of *Y Gododdin*: Koch, 1997: 189–90.
- 17 Koch, 1997: xxxv–xlii; Cessford, 1995.
 - 18 Cessford, 1997: 220–1; Koch, 1997: xiii–xlii
 - 19 Koch, 1997: xxv, 67. On Koch’s dating, see above, fn. 16, and Koch, 1997: 189–90; see Cessford, 1997: 220, for the alternate reading of ‘an evil people’.
 - 20 See Koch, 1988: 33; Cessford, 1997: 220–1; Green, 2008: 11–12.
 - 21 See *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (University of Wales Dictionary of the Welsh Language), s.v. *Enwir*¹. If the positive description of these *meibyon godebawc* as ‘the rightful faction’ is still to be preferred, despite the fact that they look to have opposed the Gododdin war-band (see further Koch, 1997: xxv, on the *meibyon godebawc* here), this might be explained as resulting from this stanza being a summarizing interpolation composed after the text of *Y Gododdin* left the north and came into Wales, where members of the *meibyon godebawc* were probably to be found in the mid-seventh century: Koch, 1997: xxiii–xxvi, 189–190.
 - 22 Koch, 1997: xxx–xxxii.
 - 23 Cessford, 1997: 220–1; Green, 2008: 11–13. Whilst it is certainly likely that much of the defence of **Lindēs* was undertaken by the Anglo-Saxon groups settled at strategic points around the periphery of the territory, as discussed above, it does not necessarily follow that the British population of **Lindēs* was entirely civilian. Indeed, that there were at least some British warriors in **Lindēs* is, of course, implied by the *Historia Brittonum*’s reference to Anglian-British battles fought c. 500 in *regione Linnuis* and the fact that the Britons were actually able to control Anglo-Saxon activity in the Lincoln region through into the sixth century.
 - 24 Cessford, 1997: 221; Green, 2008: 12–13.
 - 25 Above, pp. 57–62.
 - 26 Chapter Six discusses the evidence for this movement in detail. See also Dark, 2000: 206–07.
 - 27 See further pp. 231–2.
 - 28 Dumville, 1976; Foot, 1993: 133–5.
 - 29 Stenton, 1971a: 129–31; Foot, 1993: 133; Kelly (ed.), 1998: 54.
 - 30 Foot, 1993: 133–5, especially p. 135.
 - 31 Jackson, 1953: 244, n.3; Stafford, 1985: 87; Koch (ed.), 2006: 60; and Dumville, 1977b: 90, *pace* Stenton, 1971a: 129, who thought *Cædbæd* might be an Anglian-British hybrid. Although Stenton’s idea is now often dismissed as a possibility, it has recently been revived by John Insley (Insley and Eggers, 2001: 477); however, his chief reason for doing so – a disbelief that a name **Catuboduos* could exist – is undermined by Koch’s observation that the name **Catuboduos* is probably also the root of the attested Old Breton name *Catuuodu*: Koch (ed.), 2006: 60.
 - 32 Dumville, 1977a: 90; Foot, 1993: 132; Sawyer, 1998: 49.
 - 33 Dumville, 1976: 30–7; Foot, 1993: 132. See Stenton, 1971a: 128, for the latter viewpoint.
 - 34 See Foot, 1993: 132–3, who argues convincingly against the concerns of Stenton, 1971a: 128–9; see also Leahy, 2007b: 98. On the Lincolnshire connections of the Northumbrian elite, see Chapter Six below, and for the suggestion that Biscop (and Bede) was descended from the royal *Lindisfaran*, see Campbell, 2004, and Thacker, 2006: 40.
 - 35 Leahy, 2007b: 98. Note, the suggestion that the Lindsey genealogy was in fact standardized to (or had) the suspicious fourteen generations to Woden and then saw three removed due to the addition of generations below Woden to that genealogy in the ‘Anglian Collection’ seems implausible and is further undermined by the testimony of the genealogies appended to the twelfth-century chronicle of John of Worcester: Forester (trans.), 1854: xii–xiii, 440. There we are given the Lindsey genealogy without the generations below Woden but still with only eleven generations to him, whilst the form of the name Aldfrið (*Ealdfrith*) found there suggests an origin for this genealogy separate to that of the ‘Anglian Collection’ (via a West Saxon source? See Insley and Eggers, 2001: 477, 478).
 - 36 Stenton, 1971a: 128.
 - 37 Stafford, 1985: 87; Insley and Eggers, 2001: 477; Green, 2008: 15; Dumville, 1977a: 90. The exception is the unwarranted hyper-scepticism of Sawyer, 1998: 50. An interesting comparison

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- might be made here with the West Saxon royal genealogy, which similarly seems to include at least one ‘Celtic’ name in its lower reaches: Coates, 1990; Parsons, 1997; Koch (ed.), 2006: 392–3.
- 38 Leahy, 1993: 36; Leahy, 2007b: 48–9; Leahy, 2007a: 6; Sawyer, 1998: 51; Everson, 1993: 98; Williams, 2002; Williams, 2004; and Chapter Five below (especially pp. 188–96).
- 39 Leahy, 2007b: 93–6; Everson, 1993: 97–8; Sawyer, 1998: 52–3.
- 40 Sandred, 1987: 235–6; Cox, 1994: 48; Mills, 1991: 187; Watts, 2004: 33; Cameron, 1998: 69; Cameron, 2001: 184.
- 41 Stenton, 1971a: 128; Insley and Eggers, 2001: 477; Cameron, 1998: 141.
- 42 Gelling, 1988b: 111–12.
- 43 Dumville, 1977a: 91.
- 44 See Coates, 2005: 33–4.
- 45 Incidentally, the fact that the Sheffield’s Hill and Osbournby contexts for these brooches are both sixth-century (or, in the case of the latter, just possibly seventh-century) helps confirm that Class 1 brooches do indeed belong to the fifth and sixth centuries (see above, pp. 62, 70 fn. 41). Note, neither of the two Class 1 brooches from Folkingham comes from the sixth-century metal-detected cemetery in the parish.
- 46 Above, pp. 63–4.
- 47 See further Green, 2008: 27–9.
- 48 Cameron, 1998: 135; Insley and Eggers, 2001: 477; Insley, 2003: 375; Insley, 2002: 164.
- 49 Coates, 2008: 50–1; Cameron, 1998: 127.
- 50 Cameron, 1998: 128; Insley and Eggers, 2001: 477; Insley, 2002: 163; Watts, 2004: 622. The earliest spelling of Torksey (*æt Tureces iege*, c. 900) implies that the place-name derives from a personal name **Turoc* rather than **Turc*, but all other spellings from the later tenth century onwards point instead to **Turc* (for example, *æt Turces ige*, in *Turcesige*), which suggests that the earliest form is probably an error.
- 51 Leahy, 2007b: 115; Bassett, 1989a: 11–12; Gilmour, 2007: 252–3.
- 52 See Steane, 2006; Gilmour, 2007: 248, fig. 15. Note, David Stocker has suggested (in Stocker (ed.), 2003: 157–8) that we cannot rule out the possibility that the earliest burials at this site were all ‘final phase’ – seventh- to eighth-century – pagan Anglo-Saxon interments, which could account for the seemingly-Christian lack of burial goods and the east-west orientation. However, this interpretation seems unlikely, particularly in light of the fact that the cemetery is universally agreed to follow on from an apsidal church and that the site was subsequently a Christian focus in the city. In addition, it ought not to be forgotten that a re-evaluation of the radiocarbon data actually indicates that the cemetery very probably began in the sixth century rather than the seventh: see above, pp. 59–60.
- 53 See above, fn. 52 and p. 60, on the dating of the graveyard. If the apsidal church did manage to survive into the early seventh century, then the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon rulers of *Lindissi* to Roman-style Christianity by Paulinus might provide a plausible context for the demolition of the church and Paulinus’s building of a new stone church in the city (Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II.16). Certainly Steven Bassett has suggested that British ecclesiastical organization continued in the West Midlands until the seventh century, when the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon rulers there led to the silent replacement of British bishops with Anglo-Saxon ones: Bassett, 1992.
- 54 Brooks, 1984: 20; above, fn. 53, and p. 61.
- 55 Yorke, 1993a: 145; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II.16.
- 56 Jones, 1986; Yorke, 1993a: 142. See Jackson, 1953: 309, and Ekwall, 1960: 163, for *Alauna* > *Ellen*.
- 57 For example, the great Victorian medieval historian E. A. Freeman wrote of the Britons in the late nineteenth century that ‘we may be sure that we have not much of their blood in us, because we have so few of their words in our language’: Freeman, 1871: 28.
- 58 See especially Bryan Ward-Perkins’ excellent study, ‘Why did the Anglo-Saxons not become more British?’ (Ward-Perkins, 2000); Charles-Edwards, 1995, particularly pp. 729–33; Woolf, 2007; Filppula *et al*, 2008; and Tristram, 2007. Cf. Coates, 2007, for an unconvincing attempt to reassert the Victorian position, which allows no validity to evidence other than linguistic, fails to engage

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- properly with Ward-Perkins' points or proposed analogues, and is potentially undermined at its core by Filppula *et al* and Tristram's discussions of the evidence for Late British influence on the English language. For another analogue to the lack of British influence on Old English, see the recent and seemingly definitive decoupling of an apparently complete language change from theories of migration/population replacement, in this case relating to the arrival of Common Celtic (the ancestor of British/Welsh) in Britain: McEvoy *et al*, 2004. For the pre-existing low social and political status of Brittonic/Welsh and how this helps explain the extent of the linguistic acculturation of the Britons, see Charles-Edwards, 1995: 729–36. For the Italian post-Roman material culture collapse, see Ward-Perkins, 2000: 354–5 (also p. 325 of the same volume), Christie, 1995, and Ward-Perkins, 2005, especially pp. 123–4 and fig. 6.1 – needless to say, such a rapid culture collapse in eastern Britain cannot but have had a concomitant destabilising effect on all aspects of post-Roman lowland British culture and identity. For further probable factors in the linguistic acculturation of the Britons, see for example Ward-Perkins, 2000, especially pp. 527–30, and Charles-Edwards, 1995: 732–3.
- 59 Freeman, 1871: 28; note, he allows that the British men might have left behind a few of their womenfolk, who would have been – in his view – made into slaves or forced to marry their new masters.
- 60 Above, pp. 42–3. See also, for example, Härke, 2003: 16–17.
- 61 Ward-Perkins, 2000: 522–3. See also Jones, 1996: 8–9, 26–8, 266–8.
- 62 Weale *et al*, 2002: 1008–21, is a good example of such a flawed study, which was characterized by a small and very restricted sample set and a remarkable degree of historical naivety which resulted in poor models of events and a lack of awareness of how circumstances over the intervening 1500 years might have affected the results they took. So, for example, no awareness is shown of the fact that their two Welsh 'control' sites are in areas which medieval texts claim saw major post-Roman immigration from Ireland and southern Scotland (see, for example, Koch, 1997: xcvi–xcix; Koch, 2003); they allow for a single post-Roman migration event with Britons and Anglo-Saxons thereafter breeding at the same rate, both of which assumptions are implausible (see Thomas *et al*, 2006); their central England site is at the meeting point of six eighteenth- and nineteenth-century coaching roads and thus likely subject to much population churn, which they show no awareness of; and their east of England sites are all from areas where mass-migration is readily admitted anyway and, furthermore, where there was a second major immigration from the continent (the Vikings) in the intervening period. See also McEvoy *et al*, 2004: 699, for some further points.
- 63 Thomas *et al*, 2006; see also Woolf, 2007, and Charles-Edwards, 1995: 732–3.
- 64 Leahy, 1993: 38; Leahy, 2007b: 82–3. It should be noted that some, at least, of the 'Anglo-Saxons' buried in these cemeteries are likely to have been Britons who *had* already acculturated before the mid-seventh century, see further below.
- 65 See Cameron, 1980; Gelling, 1993: 54; and Gelling, 1988b: 95–6 – with regard to the dating of such names, a key point is that the second elements are indicative of these compound-names being formed 'in the mid to late eighth century' (Gelling, 1993: 54, see also Cameron, 1980: 33–4). See for the Lincolnshire examples, Balkwill, 1993: 11; Cameron, 1991: 30; Cameron, 1992: 172; Cameron, 1998: 134, 135; Mills, 1991: 99; Schram, 1950: 431; and Crowson *et al*, 2005: 298.
- 66 Felix, *Life of St Guthlac*, ed. and trans. Colgrave, 1956: 108–11. Such an interpretation of this passage has been most recently advocated by Graham Jones in Koch (ed.), 2006: 857. See also Vince, 2003: 143; Stocker, 1993: 101, 106.
- 67 Scull, 1995: 78; Thomas *et al*, 2006; Härke, 1992a; Härke, 1992b; Härke, 1997.
- 68 Everson, 1993: 91; see below, pp. 164–8.
- 69 Leahy, 2007b: 85–6. See also O'Brien, 1999.
- 70 Stocker and Everson, 2002. See further Chapter Four, pp. 136–7, and Fig. 20.
- 71 See Dark, 1996b: 58–9, for the pot from one of the Swanpool kilns. See Leahy, 2007b: 52–3 and 86, and Leahy, 2007a: 126–7, on the Cleatham urns.
- 72 Field, 1984; Green, 2008: 23–4.
- 73 Compare, for example, Whyman, 1992.

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- 74 Dickinson, 1982: 48, 50, 52 and figs. 1–4 for the two Sleaford brooches; the Keelby and Osbournby examples are probably also from early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.
- 75 Susan Youngs, personal communication; Youngs, 1997: 192–4, and Youngs, 1993. See also Ulmschneider, 1998: II, 363, and Portable Antiquities Scheme LIN-3702B0 (an enamelled cruciform brooch from Baston) and NLM4745 (an enamelled head of a cruciform brooch from Tathwell). See further below, pp. 135–6.

4

Lindissi and the Legacy of **Lindēs*

*The Political Legacy of *Lindēs*

The previous chapter was concerned with both the end of the British ‘country of **Lindēs*’ and the question of the fate of its British inhabitants during the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon rule, and the points made in that chapter apply to the whole of **Lindēs*. However, whilst the British experience of, and reaction to, the change in rulers was treated at length there, the political results of this transition were not. In particular, although it seems clear that the transition to Anglo-Saxon rule may have been relatively peaceful, with British elites and others joining with the Anglo-Saxon ascendancy throughout the region and eventually adopting the immigrants’ ethnicity – perhaps aided by a degree of tolerance for British cultural practices from the new rulers – we do need to ask exactly what form the post-**Lindēs* Anglo-Saxon lordships they now lived under took. Was, for example, **Lindēs* taken over as a single whole with little change aside from an Anglicization of its name to *Lindissi*, or was it split (perhaps along pre-existing internal divisions) into a number of polities of which *Lindissi* was but the major one? And, in either case, just how much did the Anglo-

Saxon administration and organization of the region owe to this earlier British kingdom?

Perhaps the most obvious approach to answering the first of these questions is to look at boundaries of Anglo-Saxon *Lindissi*. When we first have the means to accurately define the medieval extent of the district of Lindsey, whose name is closely related to the kingdom-name *Lindissi*, it appears like the modern district to cover only Lincolnshire to the north and east of Lincoln and the river Witham.¹ In contrast, the distribution of both post-Roman British metalwork and early Anglian cremation cemeteries in the region indicates that the British ‘country of **Lindēs*’ probably encompassed a substantial area all around Lincoln into the sixth century, including the whole of modern Lindsey and northern Kesteven – the district to the south of Lincoln and the Witham – down to the Folkingham area.² The question therefore becomes, when did the southern third of the territory of **Lindēs* become detached from that portion which still bears a name derivative of **Lindēs*? Unfortunately, this is extremely difficult to ascertain. In particular, opinion is currently very much divided as to whether Lindsey, as defined in the twelfth-century ‘Lindsey Survey’, was coterminous with seventh-century *Lindissi* or not, and thus whether the areas south of the Witham were lost during the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon rule or at some point subsequent to this.

If the first scenario is correct, then one might hypothesize that a south Lincolnshire immigrant group based around the exceptionally large cremation cemetery at Loveden Hill perhaps took advantage of the temporary uncertainty and instability engendered by a north Lincolnshire – probably Cleatham-Kirton in Lindsey

– group’s final takeover of the British ‘country of **Lindēs*’ to seize control of some of the territory to the south of Lincoln.³ The most common arguments in favour of such a sequence of events include the fact that all of the places which Bede names as being within the kingdom of *Lindissi* are within modern Lindsey and that the Witham and its surrounding fen seem a credible kingdom-boundary.⁴ Unfortunately, these points are not as powerful as they might appear. Bede, for example, only actually identifies three sites other than Lincoln itself as being definitely within *Lindissi*, and so the significance of this point must be in doubt. Similarly, whilst the Witham is certainly a very significant landscape feature for the region, it does not necessarily follow that it *must* have been the southern boundary of *Lindissi*.⁵ The existence of **Lindēs* demonstrates that an early medieval polity could exist on both sides of the river, and the archaeological and landscape evidence for numerous causeways linking the solid ground to the north and south of the Witham from the pre-Roman period until the later Middle Ages (with continuous ritual use of the river itself) suggests that too much can be made of the river as a divisive feature in the landscape – it may even have been a unifying focus.⁶ In this context, it should be noted that both Steven Bassett and Barbara Yorke have considered that it is entirely plausible that *Lindissi* did include a substantial territory to the south of the Witham throughout its lifespan, and that the restriction of its territory to just the region north and east of Lincoln and the Witham post-dates the end of the kingdom and was even potentially an Anglo-Scandinavian development.⁷

Some of the other arguments which have been occasionally made in support of *Lindissi* being coterminous with modern Lindsey are more credible than those noted

above, but they are still in no way conclusive or convincing. Thus the fact that the Archbishopric of York doesn't seem to have laid claim to ecclesiastical authority in Lincolnshire south of the River Witham in the tenth and eleventh centuries is potentially suggestive, given that York had probably inherited the authority of the pre-Viking bishops of *Lindissi*.⁸ However, even if accepted as evidence, this can only rule out a post-Viking separation of northern Kesteven from *Lindissi*, not one which occurred at some point before the middle of the ninth century, perhaps during the final absorption of *Lindissi* into Mercia in the late seventh century (the period in which, incidentally, the diocese of *Lindissi* was actually created).⁹ Similarly, if Lissingleys' probable role as the rural meeting-place for the whole of Late Saxon Lindsey really can be pushed back into the pre-Viking period (see below), this would necessitate that Lindsey was a distinct territory at that time too. However, whilst this is interesting if it can be sustained, even then it would only actually tell us that Lindsey existed as an administrative unit with a meeting-place in the pre-Viking period, not whether this unit was coterminous with the kingdom of *Lindissi* or if it was instead simply an important but subordinate territory within a more extensive kingdom which inherited the lands of **Lindēs* to both the north and the south of the Witham.¹⁰

All told, it is perhaps not unreasonable to treat modern Lindsey, representing around two thirds of the likely area of the 'country of **Lindēs*', as a distinct core territory of the kingdom of *Lindissi*. Such would explain much of the available evidence discussed above, and the two names are obviously related. However, this does not mean that the kingdom of *Lindissi* did not also encompass other areas before its late seventh-century end, nor that it did not actually include almost all of the

territory of the British ‘country of **Lindēs*’ – both to the north and the south of the Witham – within its bounds. There is, quite simply, no credible evidence to suggest that this was not in fact the case, and one can moreover make several points in favour of such a scenario.

The first point is relatively straightforward, but important nonetheless. Essentially, it might be thought likely that at least some of the territory immediately to the south of Lincoln (that is, northern Kesteven) did actually lie within the kingdom of *Lindissi*. If not, then what would seem to have been the chief centre of *Lindissi* was located on a hill on the very borders of its territory, overlooking lands belonging to another kingdom, which is a problematical proposition.¹¹ Equally, the apparent continued maintenance/renewal of most of the British votive causeways on both the northern and southern banks of the Witham after the end of the ‘country of **Lindēs*’ is perhaps most readily explicable if the Witham had not become a kingdom-boundary and both banks remained within a single polity, first *Lindissi* and later Mercia.¹²

In this context it does need to be remembered that we don’t actually have any positive historical evidence whatsoever to suggest that northern Kesteven was under the rule of a kingdom other than *Lindissi* from the mid-sixth to the late seventh century, other than the contention that *Lindissi*’s territory *must* have been coterminous with Lindsey (on which, see both above and point two below) and therefore that someone else *must* have ruled northern Kesteven. So, whilst one can hypothesize a Loveden Hill-focussed kingdom which had taken possession of the whole of the southern part of the territory of **Lindēs* in the sixth century, preventing *Lindissi* from occupying it, there is in fact no reason to think that such a kingdom ever existed. The

only potential Kesteven-based pre-Viking ‘kingdom’ which we know of is that of the *Bilmigas*, who are mentioned in the ‘Tribal Hidage’ and have often been associated with the *Billingas* of south Lincolnshire, an Anglo-Saxon population-group recorded in the Fen Edge place-names Billingham, Horbling and Billingham.¹³ However, there are serious problems with the equation of the *Bilmigas* and the *Billingas*, and if this cannot be sustained then there is no credible basis for thinking that the *Billingas* were ever an independent kingdom or ‘people’.¹⁴ Furthermore, even if they are equatable, there seems no justification for considering the resulting *Bilmigas/Billingas* to have been anything more than a small Fen Edge group whose territory extended not much further inland than the Sleaford area.¹⁵ Indeed, the idea that the small ‘Tribal Hidage’ groups like the *Bilmigas* must have originally been independent ‘kingdoms’ does, in any case, no longer appear as convincing as it once did.¹⁶ As such, any attempt to make the *Billingas* the Loveden Hill-focussed kingdom conjectured above, covering the whole of northern Kesteven, would be both unwarranted and highly speculative. Of course, it might be alternatively suggested that the recorded Mercian kingdom took control of northern Kesteven in the mid-sixth century; however, this suggestion would once again be purely speculative and without any evidential support. In the consequent absence of any actual evidence for northern Kesteven having belonged to an early Anglo-Saxon polity other than *Lindissi*, and bearing in mind both Lincoln’s location and the continuing causeways across both sides of the Witham Fens, any hypothesis that the area south of Lincoln had become separated from the rest of the former territory of British **Lindēs* in the mid-sixth century would seem to be both unnecessary and even problematical, if the contention that *Lindissi*’s

territory *must* have been coterminous with Lindsey from the mid-sixth century onwards is unsound.

The second point relates directly to the preceding one, arguing that we do actually have some solid evidence which indicates that Lindsey was indeed just the core of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of *Lindissi*, rather than its entirety. Although present-day Lindsey is largely bordered to the west by the Trent, another apparently ‘natural boundary’ like the Witham, there is a good case to be made for *Lindissi* having included within it a sizeable district beyond the Trent, with the attachment of the Isle of Axholme to modern Lindsey being but a small remnant of this. In the pre-Viking era the Isle of Axholme is thought to have been the north-eastern part of a district known as *Hæthfelth* (Hatfield), this being described in the early eighth-century ‘Life of St Gregory the Great’ as a *regio*, a term for an administrative district of a kingdom in Anglo-Latin texts.¹⁷ The actual extent of this *regio* of Hatfield is uncertain but it seems to have included not only the Isle of Axholme and Hatfield in South Yorkshire, but also the large Hatfield Division of Bassetlaw Wapentake in Nottinghamshire and at least the North Clay division of the same too (Fig. 19).¹⁸ The key point here is not simply that Axholme remains a part of Lindsey, although this is undoubtedly significant, but rather that the whole district of Hatfield is in fact clearly linked to the kingdom of *Lindissi* as a subordinate unit in the ‘Tribal Hidage’, which refers to *Lindes farona syfan þusend hyda mid hæþ feld lande*, ‘[the territory of] the *Lindisfaran*, seven thousand hides with Hatfield land’.¹⁹ In light of the above and the attachment of Axholme to present-day Lindsey, it is consequently more than credible that the main kingdom of which Hatfield was an administrative district (*regio*) was

the kingdom of *Lindissi*, and thus that *Lindissi* did indeed extend beyond the borders of modern Lindsey.²⁰

How long the *regio* of Hatfield had been a sub-division of the kingdom of *Lindissi* is uncertain. Some recent commentators have assumed that the fact it is mentioned specifically in the ‘Tribal Hidage’ implies that it was an originally independent unit which had somehow become attached as a sub-unit to *Lindissi*.²¹ However, the most detailed study of the *regio* of Hatfield considers it to have been a ‘lower tier of organization’ within *Lindissi* rather than anything else, with the specific reference to ‘Hatfield land’ as part of *Lindissi*’s assessment in the ‘Tribal Hidage’ being due to the status of Hatfield – ‘open country of the heath, waste-land’ – as marginal land west of the Trent, unlike the rest of the kingdom of *Lindissi*, rather than it being any indication of previous independence.²² Indeed, the character of Hatfield in the Early Medieval period renders as somewhat implausible any attempt to see the district as an originally independent territory. Not only is the name itself indicative of its marginal quality but environmental evidence points to both an increase in wetness and significant woodland regeneration during the post-Roman period there, whilst at the same time there are no early or middle Anglo-Saxon cemeteries excavated from this district. Although chance finds indicate that Hatfield was not abandoned in this era, it was clearly not an area which saw significant pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon settlement activity.²³

Whatever the case may be on its origins, that Hatfield was indeed a subdivision of the kingdom of *Lindissi* and fully-integrated into this finds additional support from the sequence of events surrounding Hatfield narrated in the ‘Life of St Gregory the

Great'. Here it is related that, at some point between 675 and 704, a Deiran priest named Trimma was told in a dream to go and retrieve the body of King Edwin from the site where he was slain 'in that district (*regio*) which is called Hatfield'. When Trimma asks how he is to locate the body without further details, he is instructed to go to a 'village in *Lindissi*' where he will find a peasant householder who can show him the exact spot, something which he eventually does.²⁴ This is, it can be suggested, significant. The natural question here is why would a peasant householder from the kingdom of *Lindissi* have been able to identify where Edwin's body lay, given that the site was almost certainly Edwinstowe – located well within the Hatfield Division of Nottinghamshire's Bassetlaw Wapentake – and that around fifty years or more had passed since Edwin had died?²⁵ Such a knowledge might be more than remarkable if the peasant lived many miles from the site in a village in the modern district of Lindsey, but not if his 'village in *Lindissi*' was actually close-by the site in question, because the village, the battle-site, and the *regio* of Hatfield were all within the normal and recognized seventh-century boundaries of the kingdom of *Lindissi*.

The third and final point is that a situation wherein Lindsey was the core of a kingdom which also included areas south of the Witham would not actually be unparalleled. As Jeffrey May has argued, modern Lindsey seems to have been the core territory of the *Corieltavi*, the British tribe which inhabited Lincolnshire and Leicestershire in the pre-Roman and Romano-British eras. Although the Romans made Leicester the nominal tribal capital, the original Iron Age focus of *Corieltavi* power seems to have lain in modern Lindsey, with a southward spread to the Ancaster-Sleaford area and beyond occurring in the late first century BC.²⁶ Given the

evidence for both high-status post-Roman Britons in the Lincoln region and some revival of British tribal identities in the post-Roman period, this may be of particular relevance here.²⁷

This is the limit of the available evidence, but it is probably enough to reach some conclusions on the question of the political fate of the ‘country of **Lindēs*’. Especially in the light of the second point set out above, it seems clear that it can no longer be plausibly argued that *Lindissi*’s territory *must* have been coterminous with modern Lindsey – and thus that northern Kesteven *must* have become detached from the rest of **Lindēs* during the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon rule in the region – as it clearly wasn’t. The arguments in favour of such a position were already weak and sometimes dubious, and the evidence of Hatfield renders them largely untenable. Lindsey may very well have represented a distinct core district within *Lindissi*, as it appears to have done for the earlier kingdom of the *Corieltavi*, but there is no need to see it as being anything more than this. Furthermore, not only do we no longer have any reason to *a priori* place the complete separation of northern Kesteven from Lindsey in the sixth century rather than in, say, the late seventh or the ninth, but there is in any case no evidence for this region ever having actually been in the possession of a kingdom other than *Lindissi* before the late seventh century, whilst there are positive indications that *Lindissi* probably did include at least a part of northern Kesteven within its bounds (as noted in the first point above). All told, the most credible scenario in our present state of knowledge may well be that the fifth- and sixth-century British ‘country of **Lindēs*’ was taken over largely intact in order to

form the kingdom of *Lindissi*, just as the linguistic origins of the kingdom-name *Lindissi* (< **Lindēs*-) would suggest (Fig. 20).²⁸

The Organization and Administration of Anglo-Saxon Lindissi

From a political perspective, the legacy of **Lindēs* in the ‘post-British’ period was not simply limited to the name and territory of the kingdom of *Lindissi*; as might perhaps be expected given the likely nature of the takeover, there are also reasons to think that some aspects of the internal organization of *Lindissi* similarly owed a debt to the British past. In particular, attention has recently been drawn to the role that Late/post-Roman ‘central places’ played in Paulinus’ early seventh-century evangelization of Lindsey and its northern and western neighbours, Elmet and Deira. All three kingdoms appear to have been British territories taken over by Anglo-Saxon rulers, and in all three cases Paulinus seems to have worked primarily from former Roman forts or towns which were apparently being used for early Anglo-Saxon royal administration. As Barbara Yorke has argued, this would seem to suggest that there was a degree of British-Anglian continuity in terms of the internal organization and administration of all of these formerly British territories.²⁹ With specific regard to the kingdom of *Lindissi*, the case does not seem unreasonable. Bede, after all, makes it very clear that the focus of the British ‘country of **Lindēs*’, Lincoln, was a principal centre of the kingdom of *Lindissi* in the early seventh century too, being under the control of an Anglo-Saxon named Blæcca. This is where Paulinus began his mission

to the kingdom and it was where he completed a new stone church, seemingly before even York was accorded this honour, this church being later used to consecrate the next Archbishop of Canterbury.³⁰ Similarly, the mass-baptism of the *Lindisfaran* by Paulinus in the Trent is most credibly seen as occurring near to the Roman fort of Littleborough (*Segelocum*), which was probably within Lindsey's boundaries at that time, given the evidence discussed above.

Such potential continuity in the likely internal organization of **Lindēs* and *Lindissi* is obviously of considerable interest from the perspective of the political legacy of **Lindēs*. Indeed, that Lincoln was of considerable importance to the Anglo-Saxons of *Lindissi* is not only apparent from Bede's testimony, it is also evident in the unusual history of the name 'Lincoln' itself. This name appears to derive directly from the British form of the name, so that Late British **Lindogolunia/*Lindgolun* was preserved as *Lindocolina*, *Lindcylene*, and **Lindcolun*, unaltered apart from the expected Old English vowel substitutions and mutations (the latter form is the root of present-day 'Lincoln'; the other two forms are attested in Anglo-Saxon England but have no Modern English descendants).³¹ This contrasts greatly with the situation found at other Roman cities in eastern and southern Britain where the (Romano-)British name is often lost either wholly or partially; indeed, Lincoln's name even lacks the usual addition of Old English *ceaster*, 'Roman walled town/fort', which suggests that the second element of Late British **Lindogolunia/*Lindgolun* (< Latin *colonia*, 'colonial town', the highest rank of Roman town³²) was actually recognized by the Anglo-Saxons of the region as making the addition of *ceaster* unnecessary.³³ In this context, it may also be worth pointing out that the description of Blæcca – who

may have been a member of the royal family of *Lindissi*, or even one of its kings – as the *praefectus ciuitatis* of *Lindocolina* (the ‘Prefect of the City of Lincoln’) has been seen as potentially indicative of the new Anglo-Saxon rulers not only taking on the physical rule of Lincoln and its territory but also a post-Roman British title that went with this.³⁴ Certainly this does not have to be the case: *praefectus* was used in Anglo-Saxon England for people of varying status, including sub-kings, and as such it would not be unlikely that an Anglo-Saxon ruler of Lincoln and/or Lindsey in a period of Northumbrian domination of the kingdom would be described thus.³⁵ On the other hand, the notion of an inherited title is not impossible and deserves some consideration.

If Lincoln and Littleborough’s role in the administration of early seventh-century *Lindissi* is thus potentially a legacy of their status as British/Romano-British ‘central places’, what of the other sites which were important to the internal organization of *Lindissi*? Certainly a case has recently been made that the Late Roman fortified ‘small town’ of Horncastle was the focus of a seventh-century Anglo-Saxon royal estate which was centred on the Roman fort but stretched down to the Witham, with a royal residence perhaps inside Horncastle’s walls where the manor house is now.³⁶ Horncastle was the centre of an Anglo-Saxon royal soke (a type of Anglo-Saxon administrative unit often thought to have its origins in the pre-Viking period³⁷), and recent finds of early and middle Anglo-Saxon metalwork from the town and its hinterland – most especially a late sixth- to seventh-century gold and garnet pendant (Fig. 21) and a silver boar’s head mount from a helmet of the same period – strongly suggest that members of the local Anglo-Saxon elite were present in the Horncastle

area in the period after the probably mid-sixth-century Anglo-Saxon takeover of the region.³⁸ It thus seems probable that Horncastle had a significant role to play in the administration of *Lindissi* in the early Anglo-Saxon period, and in such circumstances it is not implausible that its importance – like that of Lincoln – resulted from British-Anglian continuity in the internal organization of the region. In fact, such would help explain the fact that the Romano-British name of this fort, *Bannovallum*, appears to be preserved in the name Horncastle, with Old English *horn* apparently directly translating British **banno-*, a point which is indicative both of local bilingualism and a degree of continued significance for the site.³⁹

Another site which is likely to have been of central importance to the administration of Anglo-Saxon *Lindissi* was Lissingleys. Up until enclosure in 1851, Lissingleys was the name of an area of pasture situated ten miles to the north-east of Lincoln, the common use of which was shared between a number of surrounding settlements which lay in different Wapentakes and Ridings of Lindsey. However, its original import would seem to have gone far beyond this. As David Roffe has demonstrated, this common land was located at the exact point where the three Anglo-Scandinavian Ridings of Lindsey met, and a consideration of the available evidence and relevant parallels suggests that it is very likely that Lissingleys was actually the rural meeting place of the whole of Late Saxon Lindsey.⁴⁰ This is, of course, a point of considerable significance, and it naturally raises the question of whether such a Late Saxon role for Lissingleys could have developed from a similar or related function for the site in the pre-Viking period. Certainly in this context the West Riding does have a rather odd and artificial eastern boundary which looks to have

been deliberately adopted in order to ensure that all three of the Ridings converged at Lissingleys (Fig. 22), something which indicates that this site already had some considerable significance before the Ridings were created,⁴¹ and such a proposition finds additional support in the known early Anglo-Saxon archaeology of this area. Thus metal-detecting over a number of years by Keith Kelway and others has discovered evidence for as many as three early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in the immediate vicinity of Lissingleys. This is, in itself, quite remarkable, and some of the Anglo-Saxon material recovered from these cemeteries is moreover clearly indicative of the presence of members of the Anglo-Saxon 'elite' in the Lissingleys area. Although an enamelled mount from a 'late Celtic' hanging bowl is, of course, suggestive, the most impressive finds have been a rare mid-late sixth-century silver sword ring and a silver sword mount, both probably from the same weapon. Such 'ring-swords' have an almost exclusively Frankish and Kentish distribution and are thought to be symbolic of exalted social status even in those areas where they are more common. Furthermore, this particular example has a malachite setting at the apex of its pyramidal mount, the use of which is extremely rare in the post-Roman period and otherwise unknown in an early Anglo-Saxon context.⁴²

Taken together, the historical and archaeological evidence for Lissingleys does thus imply that this site was probably some sort of pre-Viking 'central place' for the Anglo-Saxons of *Lindissi*, and potentially one which had a crucial role in the internal structure of the kingdom (or at least of its core district, modern Lindsey). The question is, was this apparent status as a 'central place' a new development or is it possible that this too was partly a legacy of the British and/or Romano-British

background to *Lindissi*? Whilst metal-detecting has revealed Anglo-Saxon activity in the immediate area of Lissingleys, this is not all that it found – the major discovery was actually a very significant and extensive concentration of Iron Age and Romano-British material located to the south of where the Ridings meet. Finds from here include pre-Roman brooches, pottery and five gold and silver coins, along with extremely large numbers of Roman-era brooches and coins (primarily third to fourth century), pointing to a site in constant use from the pre-Roman Iron Age through to the late fourth century.⁴³

As to the nature of this activity, the limited excavations to date have unfortunately avoided cutting any buildings and are largely inconclusive. Finds of roof tile, box flue tile and wall plaster imply a substantial Romano-British building somewhere on the site and there is some evidence of domestic, military and small-scale industrial activity, but what exactly this represents remains unclear.⁴⁴ Perhaps potentially more informative is a sub-set of the metal-detected material, however, which constitutes a collection of finds indicative of votive and ritual activity. In particular, a sceptre head in the form of a helmeted Mars has been found in the southern part of the site, which is strongly suggestive of there being a rural temple or shrine of some sort here, and in this context it is interesting to note that two silver rings bearing the inscription TOT in reference to the Romano-Celtic deity Mars Toutatis have also been recovered (this deity appears to have been particularly venerated by the *Corieltavi* of Lincolnshire). In addition to such votive finds, there are also some which look to be ceremonial in origin, including a fine bronze bowl and a high-quality bronze ox-head spout from a shallow bowl, perhaps used for wine-pouring on special occasions, which is again

suggestive (Fig. 23).⁴⁵ In sum, the number and nature of finds from this site is intriguing, and at present the most convincing suggestion is that, in addition to any other activity at the site, there was also a Romano-Celtic rural temple/shrine here, which it is tempting to speculate was particularly associated with Mars Toutatis, an important tribal deity for the region.

Could this potential pre-Roman and Romano-British significance for the Lissingleys area at least partially explain its importance under Anglo-Saxon rule from the second half of the sixth century onwards? Certainly the coincidence is noteworthy, and it is not impossible that the site might have retained a degree of local and tribal importance even after the conversion of the British to Christianity, which was probably largely complete by the end of the fifth century on the basis of the testimony of Gildas (note here the continued local importance of rural Romano-British pagan cult sites after the conversion suggested by dedications to St Helen and post-Roman votive deposition in the Witham). In support of some sort of relationship between the Romano-British activity and the early Anglo-Saxon, two pieces of evidence can be cited.

The first is the distribution of the probable sixth-century Anglo-Saxon cemeteries: these are found immediately to the north of the Romano-British site, immediately to its south, and – still close but a little further away – to its east.⁴⁶ In other words, early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries have been found all around and close to the Romano-British site but not on it, which might well be taken to imply that their location was dictated by this earlier centre but that the Anglo-Saxons were avoiding burying on the site itself for some reason, both points implying that the site still had a recognizable

function in the sixth century. The second piece of evidence comes from the name Lissingleys and the neighbouring and clearly related name Lissington; early forms of the latter – the earliest recorded of the two – include *Lessintone*, *Lissigtuna*, *Lissingtun*, *Lissington*, and *Lissinctona*.⁴⁷ These place-names mean, respectively, the *lēah*, probably ‘clearing’, and the *tūn*, ‘village’, associated with (medial connective -*ing*-) **Lissa*.⁴⁸ Usually **Lissa* is thought to be an unrecorded shortened (hypocoristic) form of the Old English personal-name *Lēofsige*.⁴⁹ However, an origin for **Lissa* in the word which produced the place-name Liss (early forms include *Lis*, *Lissa*, *Lisse*, *Lyssē*⁵⁰) in Hampshire seems worthy of consideration too. This word is Late British/Archaic Welsh **liss-*, the root of Welsh *llys*, for which the *GPC* offers early-attested definitions including ‘court, hall’ and ‘parliament, gathering of nobles’, with Lissingleys/Lissington becoming on this model ‘the clearing/village associated with the **Liss*’.⁵¹ Such an origin for Lissingleys/Lissington would obviously strengthen the notion that this site was an important (and multi-purposed) centre in the Late Roman and post-Roman periods and perhaps offer a context for this importance; it would also provide considerable support for the view that Lissingleys’ probable role as a meeting place within pre-Viking *Lindissi* was another example of British-Anglian continuity in the internal administration of the region.

It would therefore appear that Barbara Yorke’s case for at least a degree of continuity in terms of the internal organization and administration of *Lindissi* is more than credible. Lincoln, Littleborough, Horncastle and Lissingleys were all arguably significant elements in the internal structure of Anglo-Saxon *Lindissi*, and in all four cases it seems likely that this significance ought to be related to their importance in

the preceding British and Romano-British periods. Such a situation would, of course, accord well with the evidence discussed in previous chapters for a relatively non-destructive Anglo-Saxon takeover, which saw continuity not only in the kingdom-name and territory, but also potentially in other aspects of post-Roman British life too, including pottery production, metalworking, landscape exploitation, and religion.

Needless to say, we do need to be wary of pressing this too far – some early Anglo-Saxon administrative centres, such as Loveden Hill and Bolingbroke, have no immediately obvious earlier antecedents. On the other hand, there is a credible case to be made for the early Anglo-Saxon ‘central place’ of Sleaford-Quarrington having inherited its territory and significance from the Roman ‘small town’ of Old Sleaford. Similarly, if Caistor’s demonstrable Middle Saxon importance as an ecclesiastical centre resulted from an early Anglo-Saxon secular significance, then it would not be implausible that this too was a legacy of the (Romano-)British organization of the region, given the importance of this fortified ‘small town’ in the Late Roman period.⁵² It ought to be noted here that Caistor was, like Horncastle, the centre of an Anglo-Saxon royal soke, that it has three early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries located close-by it, and that there is a deserted medieval village named ‘Wykeham’ in the neighbouring parish. This name derives from Old English *wīchām*, which in turn comes from Latin *vicus* + Old English *hām*, which probably means ‘estate’ in this context. *Vici* were Roman settlements which were often the administrative centres for the *pagi* (subdivisions of the *civitates*) in the Romano-British period, and names which derive from *wīchām* have often been plausibly considered to be indicative of some sort of administrative continuity between the Late Roman and early Anglo-Saxon periods,

which is obviously a point of considerable interest given the proximity of Wykeham to Caistor.⁵³ It might equally be seen as suggestive that Hibaldstow ‘small Roman town’ – occupied from probably the first through to the fifth century, and another likely Late Roman *vicus* – lies just to the north-east of Cleatham-Kirton in Lindsey, a major Anglo-Saxon administrative centre from the very early Anglo-Saxon period onwards;⁵⁴ that the fortified ‘small town’ of Ancaster had a small fifth- to sixth-century cremation cemetery founded just outside of its walls, which Howard Williams has recently considered indicative of Ancaster having functioned as an early Anglo-Saxon ‘central place’;⁵⁵ and that both the Elsham and South Elkington cremation cemeteries – which were early Anglo-Saxon funerary, social and sacred foci – are located near to the probable Late/post-Roman forts of Yarborough Camp and Yarburch.⁵⁶ Indeed, Elsham is also only three miles from Kirmington ‘small town’ (itself a mile to the south-east of Yarborough Camp), which seems to have been a significant British centre in the Late and post-Roman period on the basis of the very strong and late coin sequence there, the three high-status Class 1 brooches found on the site, and the fact that the name Kirmington – *Chernitone* at Domesday – may well preserve the town’s British name.⁵⁷

All told then, it would not seem unreasonable to argue that the type of British-Anglian continuity in the internal administration of the region discussed in detail above was potentially more the general rule than the exception, and that *Lindissi*’s administrative debt to the preceding British ‘country of **Lindēs*’ was thus potentially both considerable and widespread, just as might in fact be expected given the

longevity of **Lindēs* and the apparent nature of Anglian-British interaction in the region.

Material Culture and Religion

The political and administrative legacy of **Lindēs* described above was not, of course, the only lasting impact that the British past had on the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of *Lindissi*. One other probable inheritance was a large British population of Archaic Welsh-speakers, the management and integration of whom would most likely have remained an issue well into the eighth century, to judge from the place-name evidence and hints in Felix's 'Life of St Guthlac'. Lincolnshire was not, of course, unique in this regard; such must have been the case throughout much of lowland Britain. However, there are reasons to think that the fact that these Britons had been in charge of an extensive territory around Lincoln some way into the sixth century may have meant that this population legacy had a more noticeable effect here than it did in some other parts of Anglo-Saxon England.

On the material culture front, one might, for example, point to the West Ravendale enamelled buckle – with its implications of Anglian-British 'cultural fusion in the workshop'⁵⁸ – and the British hanging bowls used as Anglo-Saxon grave-goods. With specific regard to the hanging bowls, although they are indeed found elsewhere in eastern and southern Britain, the quantities found in Lincolnshire are remarkable, and this is true both in terms of the overall corpus of bowls and of that

subset of this which has been discovered in late sixth-/seventh-century Anglo-Saxon funerary contexts.⁵⁹ It might, of course, be argued that the reason why the Anglo-Saxons of the Lincoln region had such exceptional access to these pieces of elite British tableware is simply that they inherited them from the sixth-century ‘country of **Lindēs*’ and its elites. This is certainly very likely to be a major factor in explaining the Anglo-Saxon usage of these pieces.⁶⁰ However, it cannot represent the entire story, as some of the hanging bowls from the region actually post-date the sixth century and thus the likely end-date of **Lindēs*, implying that a rich material inheritance was not the only thing dictating the popularity of such British metalwork in Lincolnshire, a conclusion supported by the West Ravendale buckle and other such items.⁶¹ All told, the number and date-range of the Lincolnshire hanging bowls points to the Anglo-Saxons of the region having developed a particular interest in obtaining and possessing such pieces of British prestige metalwork, and it is difficult to disassociate this especial interest from their unusually extended contact with – and, perhaps most importantly, probable partial absorption of – the British elite of the ‘country of **Lindēs*’, discussed in the preceding chapters.

In addition to indicating a suggestive and long-lasting fascination with ‘Celtic’ elite metalwork in the Lincoln region, one of the find-spots of these hanging bowls can also point us to another potential arena in which the British background to *Lindissi* left a major cultural legacy. As David Stocker and Paul Everson have recently argued, the river Witham appears to have been a major votive cult site for the people of Lincolnshire from the prehistoric era onwards. Detailed landscape research has managed to identify ten prehistoric causeways leading out into the Witham, which

appear to have been used for the ritual deposition of various items in the river. Seventy percent of these causeways and deposition sites look to have continued in existence through the Romano-British period and then into the medieval, with the famous Witham hanging bowl probably representing one Middle Saxon instance of this recurring ritual activity (Figs 20 and 24).⁶² Such continuity in ritual activity from pre-history into the Anglo-Saxon period and beyond (the last votive depositions date from the fourteenth century) is, of course, most unusual, and it seems reasonable to once again relate its survival to both the apparent lateness of the Anglo-Saxon takeover in the region and the other available evidence for the Anglo-Saxon rulers of *Lindissi* being tolerant of British religious practices. In particular, attention might once again be drawn to the Christian continuity evidenced at the St Paul in the Bail site and the possible continuity in rural British cult-sites that appears to underlie the many dedications to St Helen in the region.

The Importance of Lindissi: A Symbolic Inheritance?

If the British background to *Lindissi* may have left a cultural legacy as well as a political and administrative one, this is not necessarily the end of the matter. Some aspects of the seventh-century history of *Lindissi* suggest that there may also have been a symbolic legacy too.

One of the most curious aspects of the seventh-century history of *Lindissi* is the apparent eagerness of the great Anglian kingdoms of Mercia and Northumbria to

control and lay claim to the kingdom. The likely late seventh-century final annexation of *Lindissi* by Mercia came at the end of a number of decades in which the kings of *Lindissi* appear to have been under the constant over-lordship of either Mercia or Northumbria. When Bede first mentions the kingdom of *Lindissi* it is under the over-lordship of Edwin, king of Northumbria, who sponsored a mass-baptism of the *Lindisfaran* in the Trent and the building of a stone church at Lincoln *c.* 627/8. It is not subsequently clear whether *Lindissi* passed under Mercian over-lordship after the death of Edwin (633) at the hands of Penda, king of Mercia, or whether it regained its independence; whatever the case may be, the people of *Lindissi* remembered Oswald, king of Northumbria 634–42, as a ‘conqueror’, so he must have retaken the kingdom at some point soon after its escape from Northumbrian over-lordship.⁶³ After the death of Oswald, it is generally assumed that *Lindissi* continued to be subordinate to the two larger kingdoms, being first under Mercian over-lordship until Penda’s death in 655, then Northumbrian until 658, and then once more Mercian under Wulfhere until *c.* 674.⁶⁴ At this point it appears that the Mercians were defeated in battle by the Northumbrians and Bede relates that Ecgrith of Northumbria won the kingdom of *Lindissi* around this time, presumably as a result of this same battle. Finally, Æthelred of Mercia defeated Ecgrith at the battle of the Trent in 679, which appears to have been the final change in fortune for the kingdom of *Lindissi* – from this point onwards it remained firmly under Mercian control.⁶⁵

Quite why *Lindissi* was so contested in the seventh century is, of course, a matter of considerable interest here. Its changing over-lordship may simply have been a by-product of the larger conflict between Mercia and Northumbria in the seventh century,

with its proximity to the contested boundary where these two over-lordships met and location on the Roman road network between them resulting in it being a natural but coincidental prize for the victor after each battle. On the other hand, it may well be that the over-lordship of *Lindissi* was, in fact, specifically part of what was ultimately being fought over in these repeated battles, as has sometimes been suggested. Certainly the latter is implied by Bede's account of this period and its battles, for instance his reference to 'the kingdom of *Lindissi*, which King Ecgfrith had recently won by conquering Wulfhere and putting him to flight'.⁶⁶ In this context it ought to be remembered that a number of the key battles between Mercia and Northumbria do actually seem to have been fought either on the borders of the kingdom of *Lindissi* or even within the westernmost marches of it. So, given that *Lindissi* appears to have extended west of the Trent to take in the district of Hatfield in the seventh century, it is clear that at least one of the above major battles – that of Hatfield, *Hæthfelth*, at which Penda and his allies defeated and killed Edwin of Northumbria in 633, removing Lindsey from Northumbrian over-lordship – took place within the borders of the kingdom. Furthermore, it is quite likely that the site of the battle at which Æthelfrith of Northumbria, another over-lord, was taken by surprise and killed c. 616 similarly lay within the *regio* of Hatfield. A case has also been made that the unidentified site of the battle of *Maserfelth* – at which Oswald of Northumbria was killed by Penda in 642 – ought also to be looked for within *Lindissi*, and the same could well be said for that of the Battle of the Trent (679) too.⁶⁷

In this light, the idea that the over-lordship of *Lindissi* was one of the primary considerations in motivating these battles (as is implied by Bede) may not seem so

strange, and if control of this kingdom was indeed the major bone of contention in the seventh-century wars then this, of course, raises some intriguing questions about the status and role of Lincoln and its territory in the fifth, sixth and early-seventh centuries. So, why might *Lindissi* have been so important to Mercia and Northumbria? On the one hand, it is certainly quite credible that *Lindissi*'s location, controlling the north-south Roman road network as well as both banks of the lower Trent (which was navigable into Mercia at least as far as Nottingham⁶⁸) and the southern bank of the Humber, made it an attractive strategic conquest for both kingdoms rather than simply a coincidental one. Moreover, *Lindissi* appears to have been both wealthy and well-connected to the outside world – not only are a remarkable number of high-status 'late Celtic' hanging bowls known from *Lindissi*, but there are also notable concentrations of continental gold coins and imported Baltic amber too.⁶⁹ Such a situation would, of course, have made the kingdom an even more desirable prize, especially from the perspective of land-locked Mercia.⁷⁰

On the other hand, it might well be wondered whether strategic advantage and the control of an economically significant region, whilst undoubtedly powerful motivating forces, fully explain the Mercian and Northumbrian interest in controlling *Lindissi*. Obviously no certainty can be had on this matter, but if **Lindēs* really did have some measure of post-Roman provincial control over the initial Anglian settlement in the fifth century and continued to remain a powerful force in the region into the sixth century, then a remembrance of this might have made the control of Lincoln and *Lindissi* a symbolic prize of sufficient interest to be disputed between the two leading *imperium*-building Anglian dynasties of the seventh century. Such would

certainly explain *Lindissi*'s manifest attraction to these two kingdoms, and it can be observed that there appears to have been a direct road-route between Mercia and Deira which ran considerably west of the Trent, a point which might undermine the case for *Lindissi* as simply a strategic conquest.⁷¹

In support of such a symbolic legacy of British **Lindēs* lying at the root of *Lindissi*'s turbulent seventh-century history, two tentative points might be made. The first is the curious fact, noted above, that the early seventh-century overlord of *Lindissi*, Edwin of Deira (whose interest in establishing an *imperium* which hearkened back to the Roman era is well-established⁷²), oversaw the completion of a stone church in Lincoln before even York, and that it was in this church that the consecration of the next Archbishop of Canterbury, Honorius, took place. This would seem to suggest that Lincoln was considered a very significant location by Edwin, and perhaps more suitable for the symbolically important consecration of Honorius as archbishop than any place within his Northumbrian kingdom proper.⁷³ The second is the possibility, mentioned above, that the Anglo-Saxon rulers of *Lindissi* were making use of an inherited 'sub-Roman' title; if so, this would suggest that the British past of the kingdom was indeed acknowledged and of symbolic value in the early seventh century.

It is also conceivable that the control of *Lindissi* could have had a more personal symbolic content for the rulers of Mercia and Northumbria too. As is argued at length in Chapter Six, there is a good case to be made for significant population-groups within Northumbria and quite possibly Mercia having actually originated in the Lincoln region – to give but one example here, the kings of Bernicia are most credibly

seen as in origin *Lindisfaran* who had migrated to the Lindisfarne-Bamburgh region in the middle of the sixth century.⁷⁴ Indeed, it is not beyond the realms of possibility that members of the Northumbrian elite up to and including the Bernician ruling house itself could even have had blood links to the kings of *Lindissi*; certainly such a link has been recently suggested for one powerful mid-seventh-century Northumbrian noble.⁷⁵ Naturally all of this is very suggestive from the present perspective, and in this context it is surely likely that both the Northumbrian and the Mercian kings would have felt that they had a legitimate claim on the kingdom of *Lindissi* and would have seen its possession as a personal symbolic victory.

*The Significance of *Lindēs*

This is probably as far as we need to go. The following chapters touch on some additional indications of the lasting impact of **Lindēs* on the internal structure of the region, the early history of Anglo-Saxon England, and the legends which surround the post-Roman period, but they do not fundamentally alter the overall picture provided by the material discussed above. Essentially, it is clear that the ‘country of **Lindēs*’ cannot be considered a mere historical curiosity. Instead, there seem to be good reasons to think that the Britons based at Lincoln in the fifth and sixth centuries left a political, administrative, cultural, and even potentially a symbolic, legacy for the succeeding centuries. This is, naturally, something which is of considerable interest in the overall context of Anglian-British interaction in this region: such interaction

appears not to have simply consisted of Britons adapting to the new Anglo-Saxon ascendancy (acculturating) but also the new ascendancy being influenced – to some greater or lesser degree – by the British context from which it emerged. The question is, can we know anything more about those who were thus affected by these legacies of **Lindēs*?

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- 1 Stenton, 1971a: 133–4; Foster and Longley (ed), 1924. See above, pp. 51–2, on the relationship between the names ‘Lindsey’ and *Lindissi*.
 - 2 The southern limits of the British **Lindēs* are best defined by the distribution of the cremation cemeteries and the Class 1 and Type G brooches – the most southerly of which come from Folkingham – given that it was argued in previous chapters that these all belong to the peripheral regions of **Lindēs*. Indeed, all but two of the Lincolnshire hanging bowls and all of the Old English *-ingas* group-names formed from British personal-names fall within this area too, and ‘Kesteven’ itself appears to be a Scandinavianized British district-name deriving from British **cēto-*, ‘wood’. For the latter, see Cameron, 1998: 72; Green, 2008: 35 and fn. 132, and on the extent of post-Roman **Lindēs* see also fn. 131.
 - 3 For example, Green, 2008: 35 and fn. 133; Eagles, 1989: 211; Yorke, 1993a: 142. See above, pp. 89–91, on the royal family of *Lindissi* perhaps having their origins in the population-group focussed on the Cleatham cemetery.
 - 4 Stenton, 1971a: 132–5; Leahy, 2007b: 11–14; Sawyer, 1998: 45; Roffe, 2000a.
 - 5 Stenton, 1971a: 134.
 - 6 Stocker and Everson, 2002; Everson and Stocker, 2003.
 - 7 Bassett, 1989a: 2–3; Yorke, 1993a: 142–3, 147–8.
 - 8 Roffe, 2000a; Sawyer, 1998: 149–53.
 - 9 The final conquest of *Lindissi* by Mercia probably took place in 679: Foot, 1993: 135. Although the diocese of *Lindissi* was first created in 678, this was an act of Northumbrian overlordship and it is likely that the boundaries of this diocese under Mercian rule would have only been finally established after the division and reorganization of the Mercian see *c.* 690: Keynes, 1994; Keynes, 2000: 7; Keynes, 2005: 56–7.
 - 10 Roffe, 2000a; the available evidence suggests that Lissingleys was an important pre-Viking ‘central place’/meeting place of some sort, but not necessarily that it was used as the meeting-place of the whole of Lindsey before the late ninth century: see below, pp. 128–9. If the Lindsey place-names involving Old English *burh* (‘fortress’) really did all date from early in the seventh century and represent a coherent defensive network for Lindsey, then this too might support the notion that Lindsey and *Lindissi* were coterminous (Cox, 1994, especially 54 and 56). However, this hypothesis seems both unlikely and implausible: Sawyer, 1998: 84–6; Blair, 2005: 250 – note, Cox actually missed at least one *burh* name in Kesteven (a lost site, east of Sleaford), and in light of this his ‘network’, if it existed in a meaningful way, might be thought to have extended down the Kesteven Fen Edge in any case. A more plausible argument may be found in the fact that *Lindesig/Lindissig* looks to be an unhistorical form of the kingdom-name *Lindissi*, created when the final element of *Lindissi* was wrongly connected with the Old English word for island, *-īg* (above, p. 52; Sawyer, 1998: 9–10). This connection between *Lindissi* and *-īg* most credibly results from the then island-like properties of the district of Lindsey (see Stenton, 1971a: 134) and, as such, the new name *Lindesig/Lindissig* is most likely to have been created only after the name *Lindissi* had become restricted to the district of Lindsey. However, as the first instance of the name *Lindesig/Lindissig* being used for *Lindissi* occurs in the late ninth century, this can tell us little more

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- than that – once again – the loss of northern Kesteven to *Lindissi* is likely to have occurred before the late ninth century.
- 11 See, for example, Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II.16, on Lincoln's centrality to *Lindissi*.
 - 12 See Stocker and Everson, 2002, especially p. 275 for a summary of the evidence; Fig. 20.
 - 13 Dumville, 1989c: 226–7, 229; Cameron, 1998: 14, 65–6; Davies and Vierck, 1974: 233–6, 283. See further Chapter Five.
 - 14 See Sawyer, 1998: 49, 220–1, and further below, p. 172.
 - 15 The low assessment of the *Bilmigas* in the 'Tribal Hidage' (600 hides compared to *Lindissi*'s 7000) combined with the Fen Edge focus of the *Billingas* place-names suggest that it is most unlikely that the *Bilmigas/Billingas*, if they existed, covered the whole of northern Kesteven; see further Chapter Five on the likely extent of the *regio* of the *Billingas*, which can be defined with a reasonable degree of confidence due to an unusual coincidence of evidence.
 - 16 Recent studies have challenged the very notion that most of the smaller population-groups which occur in the 'Tribal Hidage' and other documents, such as the *Bilmigas*, were originally independent 'peoples' and polities rather than merely distinct but always subordinate population-groups which existed within the borders of larger kingdoms like *Lindissi*: Yorke, 2000: 82–6; Yorke, 2003a, especially p. 401; Woolf, 2000. This question is discussed further below, pp. 147–51.
 - 17 Parker, 1992; *The Earliest Life of St Gregory*, § 18 – Colgrave (ed. and trans.), 1968: 102–03; Campbell, 1986a: 86–7.
 - 18 See Parker, 1992, on the extent of the *regio* of Hatfield.
 - 19 Dumville, 1989c: 226–7; Parker, 1992: 46.
 - 20 As also observed by Yorke, 1993a: 142–3; Sawyer, 1998: 72–3; Parker, 1992: 46–9; and David Roffe, personal communication. Such a situation is also implicit in Bassett, 1989a: 2.
 - 21 Higham, 1993: 87–9; Davies and Vierck, 1994: 281.
 - 22 Parker, 1992: 46–8, 60.
 - 23 Van de Noort, 2004: 129; Dark, 2000: 11; Lucy, 2000b: 141–3.
 - 24 *Earliest Life of St Gregory*, § 18 (Colgrave, 1968: 102–03, 151), written by a monk of Whitby. The event is said to have occurred 'in the days of their [the Mercian's] king Æthelred' (p. 103), who ruled from 675–704. Colgrave (p. 47) suggests that it must have occurred after 680 as the 'Life' also dates the event in relation to Eanflæd (Edwin's daughter), who took control of Whitby with her daughter Ælfflæd when Hild died in 680. However, the 'Life of St Gregory' only actually says that the event in question happened 'while Eanflæd was still living and in the monastic life' (p. 103), which she probably was from the death of her husband in 670 (Yorke, 2003b: 32), and Colgrave himself considers the reference later in the chapter to Whitby as the monastery of Ælfflæd to be the Whitby author's own comment, not part of the tale he was relating (Colgrave, 1968: 47–8).
 - 25 See Parker, 1992: 45–6, on the location of Edwin's body.
 - 26 May, 1996: II, 638–44; May, 2001.
 - 27 Snyder, 1998: 232; Yorke, 2003a: 396–7; Laycock, 2006; Laycock, 2008.
 - 28 With regard to when northern Kesteven was actually split off from the core territory of *Lindissi*, see further below pp. 185–8.
 - 29 Yorke, 1993a: 141–2, see also Blair, 2005: 271–2. On the British origins of Deira and Elmet, see Gruffydd, 1994; Higham, 1993: 81; Koch, 1997: xxxi–xxxii, xl.
 - 30 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II.16 and II.18 (see *HE*, II.14, for York's stone church being still unfinished at the time of Edwin's death).
 - 31 Jackson, 1953, especially p. 309.
 - 32 Wachter, 1995: 17–18, 87.
 - 33 Cameron, 1985: 1–3.
 - 34 Gilmour, 2007: 252–3; Leahy, 1993: 36. On Blæcca and the possibility that he was a member of the ruling family of *Lindissi*, see above pp. 93–4; as Kevin Leahy (2007b: 115) rightly points out, we possess a genealogy rather than a king-list for *Lindissi* and so the absence of Blæcca's name from this genealogy does not mean that he was not in fact the king of the *Lindisfaran* during Edwin's overlordship, only that Aldfrið was not descended from him.
 - 35 Sawyer, 1998: 51; Bassett, 1989a: 11–12; Leahy, 2007b: 115; Eagles, 1989: 210.

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- 36 See further Hinton, 2000, especially pp. 103–04, 114.
- 37 Sawyer, 1998: 51, 84, 108, 113–14; see also below, pp. 177–8.
- 38 Leahy, 2007b, p. 59 and plates 13 and 16, for the early Anglo-Saxon finds (see also NLM-B895B4 from Thimbleby), and pp. 131, 144–45 and 159, for the Middle Saxon; see Härke, 1992b, on the status-symbolism of Anglo-Saxon ‘military’ items.
- 39 Cameron, 1998: 66.
- 40 Roffe, 2000a.
- 41 Roffe, 2000a; see also the map in Roffe, 2001. Roffe argues that the Ridings may be pre-Viking in origin too, but this is not necessary for Lissingleys to have had pre-Viking significance, as noted above, and a pre-Viking origin for them has been in any case doubted (as Sawyer, 1998: 137–9).
- 42 Keith Kelway, personal communication; DCMS, 2003: 49; DCMS, 2004: 66–7; Portable Antiquities Scheme, LIN-75B9C3. On ring-swords, see Stuer, 1987, and Evison, 1967.
- 43 Keith Kelway, personal communication; Adam Daubney, unpublished finds report; Wessex Archaeology, 2008.
- 44 Wessex Archaeology, 2008: 2, 10, 17; Lincolnshire Historic Environment Record 55173; Adam Daubney, unpublished finds report.
- 45 Adam Daubney, unpublished finds report; Keith Kelway, personal communication; Wessex Archaeology, 2008: 2–3; Lincolnshire Historic Environment Record 55193; Portable Antiquities Scheme NLM-5FBEB7, NLM-5DF5D6 and SWYOR-6429A2; Daubney, forthcoming, catalogue numbers 8 and 62. Note, a sceptre foot is also known from this area (LIN-A7EF01), as is a small figurine of Mercury (LIN-3A2272). On Mars Toutatis and Lincolnshire, see Daubney, forthcoming; Daubney, 2007.
- 46 Keith Kelway, personal communication.
- 47 Cameron, 1998: 81.
- 48 That the first element is **Lissa* is apparent from the early forms; see Ekwall, 1960: 30; Coates, 2008: 82. See, however, Gelling and Cole, 2003: 237, on the second element of ‘Lissingleys/Lissinglea’ having the potential meaning ‘pasture, meadow’ rather than ‘clearing, wood’, which might fit well with its historical character.
- 49 Ekwall, 1960: 300; Cameron, 1998: 81. Coates, 2008: 82, very tentatively offers **Lindis(s)ing-leas/*Lindis(s)ing-tun*, ‘the clearings/village associated with the [polity of] Lindsey’, as an alternative; however, as he notes, **Lindis(s)-* would require a very drastic reduction to get to **Liss-* and is thus unlikely.
- 50 Watts, 2004: 375.
- 51 Jackson, 1953: 285; *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (University of Wales Dictionary of the Welsh Language), s.v. *Llys*. On the potential names ‘the clearing/village associated with the **Liss*’, compare Toynton All Saints and Toynton St Peter, *Totintun* and *Totingtun*, arguably ‘the estate/village associated with the *tōt*, the look-out hill’: Mills, 1991: xvii, 333; Green, 2008: 30, fn. 120. Kirmington (*Chernitone*, *Chirningtun*) may well provide a comparable example of a British place-name compounded with *tūn*, see Coates, 2005: 33–4. Cf. also perhaps Penistone in South Yorkshire (*Pengestone*, *Peningestone*), which appears to derive from Archaic Welsh *penn* (Mills, 1991: 256).
- 52 See below, pp. 183–4, on Sleaford. On Caistor, see Stocker, 1993: 117; Leahy, 2007b: 125–6, 205.
- 53 Balkwill, 1993; Yorke, 2003a: 396; Gelling, 1977a; Gelling, 1988b: 67–74, 245–7; Gelling, 1977b: 1–5; Oosthuizen, 1998: 95–6.
- 54 See Leahy, 2007a, and pp. 192–3 on Cleatham-Kirton in Lindsey, and see also Williams, 2002; Williams, 2004. On Hibaldstow, see Whitwell, 1995: 98–9 (Hibaldstow ‘town’ covers over half a square mile). Note that Anglo-Saxon ‘pagan’ pottery has been recorded from the site of the town itself, and that there is notable evidence of British-Anglian continuity from this area: see Green, 2008: 24 and 28, fn. 114.
- 55 Williams, 2002: 347–50. See also perhaps the Roman fort at Skegness, whose name appears to have survived into the eleventh century: Owen and Coates, 2003; Coates, 1988: 35–9.
- 56 Cox, 1994–5; Leahy, 2007b: 111–14; above, pp. 74–5. On cremation cemeteries as ‘central places’, see Williams, 2002; Williams, 2004; and further below, pp. 188–96.

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- 57 Whitwell, 1995: 100–02; Leahy, 2007b: 84; Coates, 2005: 33–4; above, pp. 29–30.
- 58 Susan Youngs, personal communication; Youngs, 1997: 192–4, and see also Youngs, 1993.
- 59 See Youngs, 2001: 216–17, and Geake, 1999: 3 and 4, for the fifty bowls known from Anglo-Saxon graves to 1999, to which we should add the recent find from Bracebridge Heath (Lincolnshire Historic Environment Record 60962); a disproportionate 20% of the total known from all funerary contexts across the whole of Anglo-Saxon England come from Lincolnshire graves.
- 60 See, for example, the probably fifth-century hanging bowl found in what seems to be a seventh-century grave at Sleaford: Geake, 1999: 13.
- 61 See Bruce-Mitford, 1993, for some examples of probably seventh-century British hanging bowls from the region. See also the enamelled cruciform brooches mentioned above, p. 113, fn. 75.
- 62 See Stocker and Everson, 2002; Everson and Stocker, 2003.
- 63 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II.16, III.11; Leahy, 2007b: 114–15, 117; Sawyer, 1998: 57, 58.
- 64 Foot, 1993: 135; Sawyer, 1998: 57; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV.3; Tyler, 2005.
- 65 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV.12, IV.21; Foot, 1993: 135; Sawyer, 1998: 58.
- 66 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV.12. See, for example, Stancliffe, 1995: 55; Higham, 2006: 400.
- 67 *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II.12, IV.12; Thacker, 1995: 99; Parker, 1992.
- 68 Sawyer, 1998: 18.
- 69 See Huggett, 1988: 64–5; Drinkall and Foreman, 1998: 262; Vince, 2006: 527; and Chapter Five, below.
- 70 See especially below, pp. 185–8.
- 71 Parker, 1992: 46–7.
- 72 See Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II.16.
- 73 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II.16, II.18; Higham, 1995: 59.
- 74 See below, pp. 222–29.
- 75 Campbell, 2004; Thacker, 2006: 40. It should perhaps be noted here that there is place-name evidence suggestive of the kings of *Lindissi* considering themselves an *Inguionic* dynasty, deriving from continental Anglian *Inguiones*, a claim which may also be embodied in the Bernician royal genealogy: see below p. 238, fn. 54, and Miller, 1980: 213; North, 1997: 42–3; and Sandred, 1987: 234–5. An alternative possibility – that the Bernician kings considered the pagan god *Ing* to have been their divine patron and that the cult of *Ing* was an important one within early Anglo-Saxon *Lindissi* (see above, p. 90) – would, of course, be equally intriguing. However, in either case we do need to be cautious with regard to how much can be read into the Bernician pedigree, given the differing versions of this which survive and the evidence for tampering/invention in the generations below Ida (see p. 237, fn. 35 below).

5

The Population-Groups of Early Anglo-Saxon

Lincolnshire

The 'Tribal Hidage', Population-Groups and Kingdoms

Any attempt to understand what political identities existed within early Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire will inevitably come up against the 'Tribal Hidage'. This document consists of a list of Anglo-Saxon population-groups which are given hidations (possibly tribute assessments, reflecting some uncertain mixture of size and status) ranging from 300 to 100,000 hides. On the whole, there is general agreement that at least parts of this list must have their origins in the pre-Viking period, perhaps in seventh-century Mercia, and as such it is a potentially very valuable resource.¹ Some of the population-groups named are the peoples and kingdoms which we know of from other early sources, such as Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, including the *Lindisfaran*, the Mercians and the East Saxons. However, in addition to these the list also includes a large number of much smaller groups, nearly all of which are both mentioned only in this document and look to be chiefly locatable in the East Midlands, including some which may belong to southern Lincolnshire (Fig. 25).²

These small groups are probably to be related to other small Anglo-Saxon population-groups and *regiones*, such as the *Stoppingas*, who appear in charters and other documents as sub-groups within the boundaries of the recognized larger kingdoms. However, what the actual significance of these smaller groups was in the early Anglo-Saxon period is at present unclear, depending to a large degree upon the model of early Anglo-Saxon kingdom formation which is adopted. The first model has the Anglo-Saxons lacking leaders with more than local authority before the middle of the sixth century, on the basis of an apparent absence of evidence for significant social stratification and kingship in the archaeological record.³ It is argued that the immigrant Anglo-Saxons of the fifth and earlier sixth centuries generally ignored or destroyed all but the most local of British territories which they encountered, living instead in small population-groups like those found in the ‘Tribal Hidage’ and charters, which may have had local leaders but not permanent dominant lineages/dynasties, at least until the second half of the sixth century. These groups are consequently considered to represent genuine ‘peoples’ and once-independent territories, with most of the larger kingdoms attested in the seventh century being formed through the coalescence of these smaller units via a process of conquest and absorption which also produced the first kings. The ‘Tribal Hidage’ would, on this model, represent a stage in the evolution of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms wherein the majority of these small units had already coalesced into the larger historical kingdoms, with the exception of those based primarily in the East Midlands (the area termed Middle Anglia in Bede and other sources), which still retained a degree of their original independence for some uncertain reason.⁴

Such an interpretation, although in many ways attractive, has nonetheless been seriously challenged. The original independence of the small population-groups in the above model is largely an assumption, and it has been recently demonstrated that seventh- and early eighth-century sources such as Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* appear to have drawn a clear distinction between such small groupings and genuine, larger, kingdoms and peoples, with evidence for most of the small population-groups we know of as truly autonomous units being chiefly conspicuous by its absence. In the light of this, it can be argued that many of the smaller Anglo-Saxon groups are better seen as simply having always been what they are in these sources: distinct but subordinate population-groups, who inhabited settlement units/sub-districts (*regiones*) within larger kingdoms and territories and who never actually had any fully independent existence.⁵ If this is the case, then the presence of large numbers of subordinate groups in the 'Tribal Hidage' can be explained in one of two ways. On the one hand, this document could have its origins in the region where most of these groups are locatable, the East Midlands (Middle Anglia), reflecting an especial interest in the organization of this area. On the other hand, the 'Tribal Hidage' might be more credibly considered a tenth-/eleventh-century antiquarian composite of pre-Viking hidations, created primarily from a survey of the internal sub-divisions of the kingdom of Middle Angles (which ought to be considered a genuine large kingdom and people, to judge from Bede's testimony, that just so happens to be missing from the 'Tribal Hidage'), to which were added aggregate hidages for the other large kingdoms along with the data for a few additional small groups that happened to be available to the compiler, obtained from unknown pre-Viking materials.⁶

This interpretation of both the ‘Tribal Hidage’ and the small population-groups and *regiones* of pre-Viking England would obviously imply a very different general model of kingdom formation to that outlined above, as the recorded Anglo-Saxon kingdoms cannot have resulted from the coalescence of many originally-independent smaller groups and territories if there is no reason to think that these independent groups ever existed. Indeed, in this context the notion that there was an almost complete disintegration of the Late Roman and post-Roman British administrative framework followed by a gradual rebuilding from the ground up – which is largely based on the supposed evidence for numerous small independent population-groups and territories in the early Anglo-Saxon period⁷ – would also seem to be unnecessary and even unlikely. As Barbara Yorke has suggested, in such circumstances the most credible solution may well be that the recorded Anglo-Saxon kingdoms actually had their origins in the takeover of sizeable British territories, such as those of the *civitates*, with the small population-groups simply being groups which inhabited sub-districts within these. Certainly there is nothing inherently implausible in this. Both Deira and Bernicia are, in fact, usually seen as originally British kingdoms, and a credible relationship can also be posited between, for example, the kingdoms of Kent, East Anglia, Essex and Sussex and the *civitates* of the *Cantiaci*, *Iceni*, *Trinovantes* and *Regni*.⁸ Moreover, the lack of archaeological evidence for the existence of true early Anglo-Saxon kings and dynasties before the middle of the sixth century need not be a major problem here; on this model, it is envisaged that any large territories taken over before the mid-sixth century would have been first administered along the same lines as the continental Old Saxon province – which had no kings but was

instead made up of a number of semi-autonomous sub-districts which were controlled by local leaders (*satrapes*) who might temporarily unite under one leader in times of war – with this situation then developing into true kingship during the course of the sixth century.⁹

Which of these two models is correct is perhaps too complex an issue to pursue more fully here. Nonetheless, it is worth pointing out that the relationship between British **Lindēs* and Anglo-Saxon *Lindissi* argued for in the present study would offer considerable support for the second model, and this model is more in line with the evidence we actually possess regarding the nature of the small population-groups. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the territory of the Middle Angles does actually coincide to a striking degree with a coherent and archaeologically-identifiable late fifth- to sixth-century cultural group, which is distinct from that of the surrounding regions and seems to represent ‘an economic, a social, and an ideological unit’.¹⁰ Given that most of the small ‘Tribal Hidage’ groups are found in this area, this is especially suggestive and it would once again seem to offer significant support to the second model of early Anglo-Saxon kingdom-formation and political-organization, wherein the smaller population-groups were never truly independent but rather always part of a larger whole. However, whether or not the small population-groups in the ‘Tribal Hidage’ were originally independent units or merely important population-groups within larger territories and kingdoms, the key point is that they were clearly of some considerable significance within lowland Britain in the early Anglo-Saxon period. So the question becomes, what small population-groups do we have evidence for in the Lincoln region?

1. *The Gyrwe of Southern Lincolnshire*

The first Lincolnshire population-group to be considered here is also the one about which we know the most, namely the *Gyrwe*, whose name derives from Old English *gyr*, ‘mud’, and should be taken to mean something akin to ‘the fen dwellers’. In the ‘Tribal Hidage’ this group is split into two halves, the ‘North’ and the ‘South *Gyrwe*’ (600 hides each), and it has the distinction of being the only small East Midlands group named in that document which unambiguously occurs outside of it too. So Bede, for example, refers to a *princeps* of the South *Gyrwe* named *Tondberct*, who married the daughter of a king of East Anglia at some point before *c.* 660, and he also notes that *Medeshamstede* (Peterborough) was in territory of the *Gyrwe* and that the first bishop of East Anglia came from the *prouincia Gyruiorum*.¹¹ Exactly how much of the territory of this group lay within Lincolnshire is unclear, but some of it – probably the most northerly part – certainly did: Crowland Abbey, which was likely a cell of *Medeshamstede* founded *c.* 700 by St Guthlac, was said to have lain in the midst of the fen belonging to the *Gyrwe* (*on middan Gyrwan fenne*) in a text which probably has its origins in the late ninth century.¹²

Just what the nature of this north Cambridgeshire and southern Lincolnshire population-group was is an important question, given how much we actually know of it compared to other small population-groups. On the one hand, Bede’s references to *Tondberct*’s marriage and to the territory of the *Gyrwe* as a *prouincia* have been taken to suggest that this is one of those very few cases where we actually have some reason to think that a small Anglo-Saxon population-group was an independent, rather than

subordinate, political unit.¹³ On the other hand, the evidence we have regarding the *Gyrwe*'s possible independence is not conclusive, and a case might be equally made for them being instead an important but still subordinate unit within the kingdom of the Middle Angles.¹⁴

One element of this case is that the evidence in favour of autonomy is less secure than is often admitted. Thus whilst *prouincia* is certainly Bede's normal word for a kingdom, he does sometimes use it for sub-divisions and subordinate population-groups too, for example his mention of the *prouincia* of the *Meanware* and the *prouincia Undalum*.¹⁵ Confirmation that he was using it in this latter sense when referring to the *Gyrwe* comes from the fact that he later describes the *Gyrwe*'s territory as a *regio*, a term which, in contrast, he uses without exception to refer to subordinate districts rather than known kingdoms.¹⁶ Similarly, whilst the South *Gyrwe* were certainly assigned a mid-seventh-century ruler named *Tondberct* by Bede, something which has been seen as very significant, *Tondberct* is actually described as a *princeps* of the South *Gyrwe*, not their king. This term, *princeps*, is a difficult one, but Bede seems to have consistently used it for those who had authority over extensive lands but who were also subordinate and inferior to a king, with the normal Old English equivalent of the term being *ealdorman*.¹⁷ The strong implication is thus that *Tondberct* was not truly autonomous but rather subordinate to some larger unit and its king; this might be speculated to be a king of all of the *Gyrwe*, North and South, but we have no reason to think that it must have been or even that such a king or kingdom ever existed, especially given that Bede refers to the territory of the *Gyrwe* as a *regio*. Indeed, even if we could be sure that *Tondberct* was a member of a

royal dynasty – something perhaps implied by his marriage to an East Anglian princess¹⁸ – it would not necessarily follow that he was a representative of an independent Gyrwean royal house, as has often been assumed. He could instead have been, for example, a minor member of the lost Middle Anglian dynasty – which probably existed before Peada was made king of the Middle Angles by his father (Penda of Mercia) in 653 – who had simply been appointed as a *princeps* to take charge of ‘the fen dwellers’ (*Gyrwe*) within the kingdom, or even a member of the Mercian or Northumbrian dynasty who had been appointed to this position during their mid-seventh-century over-lordships.¹⁹

The other element of this case consists of positive evidence in favour of *Gyrwe* lying within the borders of Middle Anglia. This evidence comes in the form of Felix’s early to mid-eighth-century ‘Life of St Guthlac’, which includes two important points. The first point is that Crowland, located in the midst of the Fen of the *Gyrwe*, appears to have been under Middle Anglian ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as the bishop of Mercia and Middle Anglia (Headda) ordained Guthlac and consecrated his church. This is, of course, suggestive, though it is not conclusive. More interesting, however, is the fact that, as Bertram Colgrave noted, the two manuscripts of the ‘Life of St Guthlac’ which are most closely connected with Crowland describe the fen which Crowland lay in (‘the Fen of the *Gyrwe*’) as being in the land of the Middle Angles.²⁰ Taken together, these two points do seem to indicate that the territory of the *Gyrwe* was indeed thought to have been located within the bounds of Middle Anglia in the first half of the eighth century. When combined with the fact that Bede refers to the territory of the *Gyrwe* as a *regio* and the issues raised with regard to assumptions

about both the meaning of *prouincia* and *Tondberct*'s status and origins, there consequently appears to be a reasonable case to answer for the *Gyrwe* having been an important but subordinate population-group within Middle Anglia, rather than a truly independent kingdom.

Whatever their status, the *Gyrwe* do only just qualify as an early Anglo-Saxon population-group of the Lincoln region. Their primary focus is generally thought to lie in Cambridgeshire, and Crowland – a parish on the Lincolnshire side of the border with Cambridgeshire – probably lay within their northern periphery, especially in view of the fact that the territory of the *Gyrwe* seems to have extended at least as far south as Conington (Huntingdonshire) and it has often been suggested that Ely represents the territory of the South *Gyrwe*.²¹ As such, it is unlikely that the *Gyrwe* were within the area directly ruled by the British 'country of **Lindēs*' in the later fifth and sixth centuries, given that the Loveden Hill and Ancaster cremation cemeteries are best seen as having been both inside this territory but within its peripheral zone. On the other hand, it is not impossible that the Anglo-Saxons of the middle and southern Fens would have been influenced by this British polity, especially if Anglian settlement as a whole was initially controlled from Lincoln; some possible evidence for such a situation is discussed in the next chapter.

2. *The Spalde/Spaldingas of Holland*

Another population-group mentioned by the ‘Tribal Hidage’ is the *Spalde/Spaldas*, assessed at only 600 hides. The exact location of this group has been an occasional cause of dispute, with some trying to place it in the vicinity of Spaldwick (Huntingdonshire) or Spalford (Nottinghamshire), largely on the basis that these names may involve the group-name *Spalde*; that the Fens around Spalding in the Holland district of Lincolnshire were uninhabitable in the early Anglo-Saxon period; and that the place-name ‘Spalding’ derives from the group-name *Spaldingas* rather than *Spalde* directly.²² Such a rejection of a south Lincolnshire location for the *Spalde* is, however, made dubious on several grounds. First, both Spaldwick and Spalford are more credibly seen as simply local topographic names rather than ones involving the group-name *Spalde*, meaning respectively ‘the dwelling or farm by a trickling stream or ditch’ and ‘the ford over a trickling stream or ditch’.²³ Second, the Fenland Survey has clearly shown that the Fenland around Spalding was permanently inhabited in the early Anglo-Saxon period.²⁴ Third, the group-name *Spalde* refers to the inhabitants of a district whose name derived from Old English **spald*, ‘ditch’; as such, a Fenland location for the *Spalde* would be more than appropriate. And fourth, there is little obvious reason why the name ‘Spalding’ cannot be used to localize this population-group, especially in light of the first point above. Modern ‘Spalding’ derives from the group-name *Spaldingas*, which can be either read as a name which means ‘the people of the *Spalde*’ or – better, perhaps – as an alternative form of the group-name *Spalde*, formed from the underlying district-name (**Spald*), meaning ‘the dwellers in (the

district of) **Spald'*; whatever the case may be, Spalding would consequently be a settlement belonging to the *Spalde* and the existence of this name and its origins would thus seem reasonable grounds for localising the *Spalde* of the 'Tribal Hidage' in the Lincolnshire Fenland.²⁵

Given the above, the association of the *Spalde/Spaldas* with the area around Spalding seems secure; the question is, are we able to say any more about them than this? Although we lack further explicit documentary references to the *Spalde*, the work of the Fenland Survey means that we do actually know a reasonable amount about this group. The crucial point here is that the evidence for early and middle Anglo-Saxon settlement in the Lincolnshire Fens recovered from this project is not distributed evenly across the surveyed Fenland; rather it falls into two separate and distinct groups, one on the western Fen Edge and another on the Wash Silts. These silts – on which modern Spalding is also located, although it was outside of the area of the Fenland Survey – appear to have formed, in effect, an island in the early and middle Anglo-Saxon periods, isolated from the rest of Lincolnshire and the Fen Edge by an intervening stretch of uninhabited freshwater peat fen (Fig. 26).²⁶ As such, the finds from the silts would appear to reveal the existence of a previously-unevidenced and distinct early and middle Anglo-Saxon settlement unit based on the siltland of the Spalding region, clearly separated from the rest of Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire by a physical barrier. This is obviously of considerable importance in the present context, and the geographical impression of a separate pre-Viking Spalding-area settlement-unit and community is furthered firstly by the fact that the settlements on the Wash Silts seem to have remained dispersed into the eighth century whilst those on the

Kesteven Fen Edge look to have nucleated around the middle of the seventh, and secondly by the medieval documentary evidence which suggests that the Late Saxon and earlier Lincolnshire siltland originally constituted a discrete single unit, which was neither dependent on the surrounding upland nor had any significant tenorial relationship with it. In the light of all of this, it can be very credibly maintained that the 600 hide territory of the *Spalde* is relatively easy to identify: it was the Lincolnshire siltland and its associated settlements, which later became the district of Holland.²⁷

If the territory of the *Spalde* is thus reasonably easy to define, what then of its origins? Unfortunately the Fenland Survey produced few artefacts from the siltland beyond animal bone and pottery, but those sherds of early Anglo-Saxon pottery recovered which are more closely datable than to simply the early Anglo-Saxon period in general suggest that some of the settlements had their beginnings in the sixth century, if not before.²⁸ The origins of the *Spalde* population-group and its territory presumably belong to the same period and this is supported by the available place-name evidence (see below), but the exact circumstances of their emergence must remain a matter of debate. However, given the evidence discussed earlier for a degree of continuity in the Lincoln region between (Romano-)British administrative centres and territories and those of the early Anglo-Saxon period (not least **Lindēs/Lindissi*), it may be worth considering whether the territory of the *Spalde* was the successor to some sort of Roman administrative unit based in the Fens around Spalding, perhaps originally a sub-unit within the hypothesized Roman imperial estate which covered

the whole Fenland or simply an administrative unit for the extensive Romano-British Lincolnshire Fen settlements, if the existence of this estate is rejected.²⁹

There are certainly some indications that the area immediately around Spalding – which, although outside the area investigated by the Fenland Survey, is reasonably presumed to have been an important centre for the *Spalde* in light of its etymology³⁰ – had a degree of significance in the Roman period: it is strategically placed on the probable common estuary of the prehistoric courses of the rivers Glen and Welland; it appears to have been a focus for Roman-era activity in the Fenland; and there seems to have been a Roman road leading from Roman King Street to the Spalding area, known as the Baston Outgang, which is highly suggestive of something of note existing here.³¹ Perhaps the most significant point from our perspective, however, is the survival of the place-name ‘Wykeham’ just to the north of Spalding. This place-name derives from Old English *wīchām*, which in turn comes from Latin *vicus* and the early Old English element *hām*, and it is of particular interest here for three major reasons.³² First, place-names with this derivation are generally agreed to date from the fifth or sixth century, an extremely important point in and of itself when it comes to considering the origins of the *Spalde*.³³ Second, these names are all considered to derive their Latin first element from their close proximity to a Romano-British settlement which was known colloquially as a *vicus* in the Late and post-Roman periods, with *vici* in this context being probably Romano-British settlements which functioned as local administrative centres.³⁴ The existence of such a name next to Spalding consequently implies the presence of a Romano-British administrative centre of some sort in its immediate vicinity, a situation which would provide a

context for the Roman road heading in this direction noted above. Third and finally, it has been argued that such names not only reflect the nearby presence of a *vicus* but are also indicative of some sort of administrative continuity between the Late Roman and early Anglo-Saxon periods, which is very significant in the present context.³⁵ All told, in the absence of further survey work and excavation specifically in the Spalding area no certainty is possible, but what little evidence we do have is perhaps sufficient to suggest that an origin for the *Spalde* in a Romano-British administrative unit based in the Lincolnshire Fens deserves at least some serious consideration.

Turning to the look at the nature and political affiliations of the *Spalde*, any conclusions in this regard do to a large degree depend upon our attitude to the ‘Tribal Hidage’, as this contains the only documentary reference to the *Spalde*. If all of the small ‘Tribal Hidage’ population-groups are considered to represent originally independent polities and tribes, then the *Spalde* ought to be seen in this light too.³⁶ However, if the legitimacy of assuming that a population-group was originally independent based purely on their presence in the ‘Tribal Hidage’ is rejected, along with the model of kingdom-formation which goes with it, then the *Spalde* could well be an important early and middle Anglo-Saxon population-group inhabiting a geographically-defined settlement unit and *regio* within a larger ‘true’ territory or kingdom, rather than a genuine ‘tribal polity’.³⁷ On the whole, the arguments in favour of the latter approach to both the ‘Tribal Hidage’ and the *Spalde* seem the more convincing, but this naturally raises the question of which Anglo-Saxon kingdom the *Spalde* consequently belonged to. With regard to this, we have two credible options, namely *Lindissi* and Middle Anglia. In favour of the former is the proximity of the

very north of the likely territory of the *Spalde* to areas which are placed within *Lindissi* based on the discussion in the previous chapter, that is northern Kesteven and the south-eastern part of modern Lindsey. However, there is little beyond this proximity which can be offered in support of the case, and the lands of the *Spalde* are not only geographically and tenurially separated from Lindsey and northern Kesteven (Fig. 20) but they also extend far to the south of the probable southern periphery of both **Lindēs* and *Lindissi*.³⁸ In contrast, the case in favour of the *Spalde* being a sub-group within the Middle Angles has at least some potential points in its favour.

The first of these is that, if the ‘Tribal Hidage’ is not seen as a single pre-Viking document which just so happens to record the unexplained survival of archaic small ‘kingdoms’ or ‘sub-kingdoms’ in the East Midlands (those elsewhere having already coalesced into the historically-recorded large kingdoms), then it ought probably to be seen as a composite document which was based primarily around a survey of the internal sub-divisions of the kingdom of Middle Angles, to which had been added both pre-Viking aggregate hidages for the large kingdoms and information on a few other small groups which just happened to be available to the compiler.³⁹ The *Spalde* could be, on this basis, one of the last category of groups, but their location in the East Midlands immediately to the north of the probably Middle Anglian *Gyrwe* suggests that they too were a sub-group within Middle Anglia rather than a haphazard addition to the list. The second point is that the manuscripts of Felix’s ‘Life of St Guthlac’ mentioned previously actually have the entire Fenland ‘as far north as the sea’ as part of the land of the Middle Angles, a description which is suggestive for the *Spalde*, who were located on the Wash Silts between the Fen and the sea, although we do need

to recognize that the siltland around and east of Wisbech also borders onto the sea and could be meant here (these silts were almost certainly the lands of the *Wisse*, a population-group mentioned in Felix's 'Life' and the *Spalde*'s eastern neighbour, probably to be identified with the Middle Anglian *Wille* and/or *Wixan* in the 'Tribal Hidage').⁴⁰ In addition to these two points, if the territory of the *Spalde* was indeed related to a Late and post-Roman Fenland administrative unit, then a southerly connection may be more plausible for this group than a northerly one in any case. Thus the Roman road which travels into the Fens towards Spalding and Wykeham runs north-east and is connected to the main road network near to Kate's Bridge, in the very far south of the county, suggesting a southern outlook for the Roman-era Lincolnshire Fenland (Fig. 26).⁴¹ Equally, one major theory with regard to the Fenland is that it was a single imperial estate, whose centre probably lay in the south, first at Stonea and later at *Durobrivae*, whilst at the same time there are indications from Ptolemy that the Fenland was not actually considered part of the territory of the *Corieltavi* of Lindsey and Kesteven, instead belonging to the *Catuvellauni* tribe in the Late Iron Age and early Roman periods.⁴²

On the whole then, the available evidence suggests that the *Spalde* were a significant early and middle Anglo-Saxon population-group who inhabited the whole of the Lincolnshire siltland of Holland. Their territory may have had its origins in a Late and post-Roman administrative unit based in the Spalding/Wykeham area, with the earliest artefacts and place-names from the region indicating Anglo-Saxon influence and settlement from at least the sixth century. Finally, although it is possible that the *Spalde* constituted an originally independent 'tribe' controlling this territory,

it seems more credible that they were actually the inhabitants of a *regio* – an important sub-district – of the Middle Anglian kingdom, as were their neighbours to the east (the *Wisse*) and to the south (the *Gyrwe*). This is really the limit of the available positive evidence; the only other potential source of information is that of Anglo-Saxon burial archaeology, and this is mostly notable by its absence rather than anything else. Quite why we currently know of no early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries from the siltland associated with the *Spalde*, despite the fact that there is some evidence for Anglo-Saxon settlement here from at least the sixth century, is uncertain.⁴³ It may well be that we simply haven't yet found the cemetery sites, perhaps due to a lack of fieldwork on the silts not immediately bordering the peat fen, and it is worth noting in this context that away from Lindsey and northern Kesteven early Anglo-Saxon burial sites in the region do become much scarcer and far smaller in size (Fig. 27).⁴⁴ However, a simple failure to look in the right places is not fully convincing; we would still expect to find at least *some* evidence of Anglo-Saxon graves, if only from antiquarian discoveries or via modern metal-detecting.

One possibility is that the paucity of known cemeteries from within the territory of the *Spalde* may reflect a greater than normal British element within this 'Anglo-Saxon' population-group, with some of these Britons perhaps making pragmatic use of early Anglo-Saxon everyday material culture, such as pottery, but not taking part in the distinctive and archaeologically visible Anglo-Saxon burial rite. The normal post-Roman British rite appears to have been burial without any grave-goods, thus making British graves of this period effectively archaeologically invisible in most circumstances, and it is certainly likely that the majority of the Britons who lived

within the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of *Lindissi* do not appear in the early Anglo-Saxon burial record there, with the recorded graves of this period representing only five percent or so of the likely total population.⁴⁵ Consequently, if the ratio of Britons to Anglo-Saxons in the territory of the *Spalde* was significantly higher than it was in *Lindissi* – a ‘primary’ area of Anglo-Saxon settlement, unlike Holland – then this situation might well help to account for the lack of ‘Anglo-Saxon’ graves here, and an absence of identifiable Anglo-Saxon burials has indeed been associated with the significant presence of Britons elsewhere in eastern England.⁴⁶ In this context it is worth recalling the hints in Felix’s ‘Life of St Guthlac’ that there were still people speaking a form of Welsh living in the Fens of south Lincolnshire in the early eighth century, and such a situation could well underlie the names *Walcroft* and (less certainly, perhaps) *Bretlond* recorded in Fleet parish to the east of Spalding.⁴⁷ Such a scenario would also accord well with the argument that the district-name Holland is of Neo-Brittonic (Archaic Welsh) origin, as may be the Fenland place-name Tydd and the first element of Lutton too (Fig. 28). Similarly, it has often been observed that the river-names of the Fenland are overwhelmingly pre-English in origin, with some having both a Celtic and an Old English name which co-existed and competed for dominance; so, the Lincolnshire Glen was known as both the Glen (< British **glanos*, ‘pure, clear (water)’) and the Baston Ea/Edyke (< Old English *ēa*, ‘river’, compare the Barlings Eau in Lindsey) in the medieval period.⁴⁸

Of course, such a situation as the above would seem to conflict with claims that there was a ‘profound discontinuity’ in terms of settlement within the Lincolnshire Fenland at the end of the Roman period.⁴⁹ Certainly many Romano-British

settlements in the Fenland would have been badly affected by the spread of the freshwater fen, marine transgressions, and other environmental changes, with some being found buried under two metres of silt, and it is very likely that a de-intensification of production associated with the end of the Roman state and its demands would have also had an effect.⁵⁰ However, this is a long way from saying that the post-Roman Britons virtually abandoned the whole of the Holland district, not just those areas most significantly affected by the environmental changes, with subsequent early Anglo-Saxon activity in the region being on a smaller scale and largely unrelated to that which had gone before, as sometimes seems to be suggested.⁵¹ The evidence in favour of such a scenario as this consists almost entirely of two observations, namely that only a small number of Romano-British Fenland sites have produced early Anglo-Saxon material during field-walking, and that early Anglo-Saxon sites discovered by the Fenland Survey are far less numerous than Romano-British ones, even in areas not directly affected by the environmental downturn; as such, the hypothesis of a post-Roman British abandonment of the Fenland does need to be viewed with considerable suspicion.

The concern here falls into two parts. Leaving to one side the important point that large areas of the Fenland, including the Spalding area, remain unsurveyed, it has to be recognized that early Anglo-Saxon settlement-patterns derived from field-walking can sometimes bear only a very dubious relationship to reality.⁵² In particular, the notion that Romano-British and early Anglo-Saxon settlement patterns recovered from field-walking can be directly compared to produce conclusions about changing landscape exploitation and settlement-density (and thus population levels) is open to

serious doubt: after all, on this basis a dramatic decline in the post-Roman settlement-density and population might be observed and hypothesized for most areas of eastern Britain, despite the fact that environmental and palaeobotanical evidence indicates that this did not occur.⁵³ Part of the problem is that Late Roman artefacts are so much easier to identify and more numerous than their early Anglo-Saxon counterparts, and the poor quality of early Anglo-Saxon pottery and its similarity to handmade Iron Age and Roman wares causes significant difficulties in terms of locating both sites of this period and evidence for Anglo-Saxon activity on Romano-British sites.⁵⁴ This is, needless to say, a point of considerable importance in the present context. However, it is not the whole story, as the notion that a simple comparison of Romano-British and early Anglo-Saxon find-scatters enables us to say anything useful about whether the Britons abandoned this region is vulnerable to a more fundamental methodological objection.

Essentially, the only ‘early Anglo-Saxon’ period (that is, *c.* 450-650) sites which will be revealed by field-walking – or even, in many cases, excavation – are those whose inhabitants made at least partial use of early Anglo-Saxon material culture, as post-Roman British settlements and settlement-stages are effectively archaeologically ‘invisible’ and aceramic in this period.⁵⁵ In such circumstances, observations based on the relative frequencies of early Anglo-Saxon ‘sites’ versus Romano-British ones, or – most especially – the number of Romano-British sites with early Anglo-Saxon material on them, cannot be credibly used to hypothesize a near-complete disappearance of the Britons from the Lincolnshire Fenland after the fourth century or a general collapse in settlement-density. The problem is quite simply that the field-

survey will firstly miss any settlements of ‘early Anglo-Saxon’ unacculturated Britons – and it should be noted here that it seems likely that many Britons did not actually acculturate until after the mid-seventh century (that is to say, not until the ‘Middle Saxon’ period) and some not even until the mid-late eighth century or possibly a little later⁵⁶ – and secondly miss any post-Roman British stages to the early Anglo-Saxon sites which are discovered. Thus, for example, supposedly abandoned Romano-British settlements might have indeed been abandoned *c.* 400, but even if they had in fact continued in use for several centuries they would still be indistinguishable on the ground from those which really were abandoned then, so long as their inhabitants had not acculturated whilst they lived there (and if they had, this could easily be misread as ‘re-occupation’). Similarly, if the Britons of the Fenland had relocated to new settlement sites in the face of marine transgressions, the general environmental downturn, or as a result of other factors – such as the well-established phenomenon of early medieval settlement mobility and drift across the landscape – in the period before they acculturated, these new sites would not appear in the record at all, until or unless the Britons who lived there began to adopt the Anglo-Saxon material culture, at which point the settlement might be easily misinterpreted as one founded *de novo* in the early or middle Anglo-Saxon period.⁵⁷

In this context, it is worth noting that it is usually agreed that almost all of the sites discovered by the Fenland Survey were abandoned before the end of the Middle Saxon period, with settlement relocating and nucleating onto the unsurveyed high silts at the sites of the present villages.⁵⁸ Although ‘by the early ninth century’ is the date most recently given for this, a number of settlements look to have been abandoned by

c. 700 and, although there is a very small quantity of Ipswich ware (dating *c.* 725-850) from some of the sites, it is perfectly credible that the relocation and nucleation was well underway by the middle of the eighth century.⁵⁹ If so, then the general abandonment of almost all dispersed settlements within the Fenland Survey area would have been begun before any process of British acculturation was completed, on the basis of both the general chronology proposed for this acculturation by modern commentators and the hints of surviving Welsh-speakers provided in the eighth-century 'Life of St Guthlac' and Holland place-names.⁶⁰ Needless to say, any Britons who moved to the nucleated settlements on the high silts before they acculturated would be completely invisible to the Fenland Survey.

None of this is, of course, to deny that there was a significant decline in settlement-density in some parts of the Fenland in the post-Roman period, to be associated with environmental changes and a de-intensification of production, with some Romano-British settlement sites being buried by marine transgressions. However, any claims of a post-Roman British near-abandonment of the whole district of Holland followed by an unrelated early Anglo-Saxon resettlement do rest on dubious evidential and methodological grounds. Fundamentally, the Fenland Survey results could just as easily arise from a situation in which there continued to be a significant number of Britons living in the Lincolnshire Fenland, who only gradually acculturated over the course of the pre-Viking period, as they could from a wholesale British landscape abandonment in the early fifth century, particularly as we do actually have reason to think that post-Roman Britons were present in this area and there is a conspicuous absence of diagnostic early Anglo-Saxon graves from the

region, despite evidence for ‘early Anglo-Saxon’ settlement activity. Indeed, it ought to be noted here that not only do the apparent references to Welsh-speakers in both the eighth-century ‘Life of St Guthlac’ and place-names suggest that unacculturated Britons still lived in the Lincolnshire Fenland until a relatively late date, but some of the Celtic etymologies for Fenland names also appear to actively require the survival of Welsh-speakers into at least the sixth century or after in order to account for the forms taken.⁶¹ Moreover, for what it is worth, the author of chapter 56 of the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* certainly seems to have considered there to have been British activity in the area north of Spalding in the post-Roman period, as he refers to a battle fought *c.* 500 between the Britons and the immigrant Anglo-Saxons *in ostium fluminis quod dicitur Glein*, ‘at the mouth of the river called *Glein*’.⁶² This river-name derives from British **glanos* (‘pure, clear’) and would be **Glain* in Modern Welsh, but no river with this name currently exists. The only two possible identifications of the *Glein* generally admitted are the Glen in Northumberland and the Lincolnshire Glen; of the two, only the latter is credible if this is to be considered a real battle against Anglo-Saxons fought *c.* 500, given that there is no evidence for Anglo-Saxon activity in the area of the Northumberland Glen before *c.* 550, and the case for its reality is perhaps bolstered by the possibility of a Lincolnshire core for this chapter, as discussed above.⁶³

Of course, a theory of a very large British element in the territory of the *Spalde* can potentially be pushed too far as well. When all is said and done, the *Spalde* seem to have been at least nominally an ‘Anglo-Saxon’ population-group, not a ‘British’ one, to judge purely from their name and the occurrence of probably early place-

names in their territory such as Wykeham, which indicate the presence of Old English-speakers. This does, however, still leave the question of the absolute lack of burials. A large British element within the population-group can certainly help to explain the severe paucity of early Anglo-Saxon burials in Holland when compared with *Lindissi*, along with the reference in the ‘Life of St Guthlac’, but perhaps not the total absence of graves. What, then, are we to make of this? There are only really two possibilities which seem credible, if we consider it likely that there were at least some immigrant-descended Anglo-Saxons in the region from the sixth century onwards. The first is that, once again, we haven’t yet found the graves, and if immigrant-descended Anglo-Saxons were in far more of a minority here than elsewhere then this might certainly make finding their graves even more difficult.

The second, speculative, possibility is that the graves may not actually be on the siltland itself. If one follows the Roman road running south-west from the likely Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon centre of the Fenland, Spalding/Wykeham, then just after it crosses the Car Dyke and exits the Fenland to join the main Roman road network, we do actually find not one but probably two significant fifth- to sixth-century cemeteries just to the south of the probable junction. One of these is Baston small cremation cemetery, which is usually considered to have been fully excavated and contained 44 cremations and two inhumations, dating from the late fifth and sixth centuries; the other is a sizeable fifth- to sixth-century inhumation cemetery recorded via metal-detecting a little distance away from the cremation cemetery, with finds including two mid-fifth-century Aberg group I brooches.⁶⁴ These cemeteries need not, of course, have anything to do with the *Spalde*, but their location just to the south of

the junction of the road leading into the *Spalde*'s territory is certainly intriguing, and they do stand out in terms of size in southern Kesteven (Figs. 27, 29).⁶⁵ In this context, it might be speculated that the graves of those of the *Spalde* who did bury in an Anglo-Saxon manner and probably considered themselves descended from fifth- and sixth-century immigrants are invisible in the Fenland not only because they were potentially few in number, but also because they chose to inter their dead on the beginnings of the uplands at the very edge of their territory next to the route into their *regio*.⁶⁶ This would, of course, require that the *Spalde*'s territory included at least this small part of southern Kesteven, something which might seem to conflict with the historical indications that pre-Norman Holland was a distinct territory which was not dependent upon the surrounding upland and Fen Edge.⁶⁷ On the whole there seems no good reason to challenge this judgement, but it is perhaps worth wondering whether a relationship in the opposite direction, wherein a small part of the Fen Edge was dependent on the siltland, would be as problematical. It would certainly not seem impossible that the Roman route across the Fens to Spalding/Wykeham, along with any attendant maintenance obligations, lay wholly within the jurisdiction of the *Spalde* in the post-Roman period, with this Fen Edge dependency perhaps being lost once the road went out of use (as it is now suggested to have done, rather than survive into the twelfth century and beyond as was once thought).⁶⁸

3. *The Bilmigas and the Regio of the Billingas*

The only other small ‘Tribal Hidage’ population-group to be considered in detail here is the *Bilmigas*.⁶⁹ The *Bilmigas* have often been equated with a Kesteven-based group called the *Billingas*, ‘the people of *Billa*’, who are known from the place-names Billingham (‘the island of the *Billingas*’), Billingham (‘the fort of the *Billingas*’) and Horbling (‘the muddy settlement of the *Billingas*’), all of which lie within the boundaries suggested previously for **Lindēs/Lindissi*.⁷⁰ Unfortunately, this equation is debatable at best. Not only would it require that *Bilmigas* is in error for an original **Bilingas*, but all of the manuscripts of Recension C of the ‘Tribal Hidage’ actually give the group-name a consistent extra syllable (*Bilmiligas*, *Birmiligas*, *Biliniligas*, *Silimligas*, *Bilmiligas* and *Biliniligas*), which makes an emendation to **Bilingas* difficult to sustain.⁷¹ As such, an equation between the *Bilmigas/Bilmiligas* and the *Billingas* is probably best left to one side as unconvincing and unsafe on present evidence, with the *Bilmigas/Bilmiligas* simply being one of the several groups mentioned in the ‘Tribal Hidage’ whose location is unknown.⁷² However, whilst such a rejection of an equation of the *Bilmigas/Bilmiligas* and the *Billingas* is important to note, it nonetheless leaves unanswered the question of what the three *Billingas* place-names actually represent, and whether they have any historical significance.

In general, the meaning of *-ingas* group-names which are recorded in a single place-name is very much open to debate, and in many cases they may well only represent very local kin-groups who inhabited the area in the immediate vicinity of that place-name.⁷³ On the other hand, where we have more than one place-name

referring to a single *-ingas* group, and especially when these are spread over a sizeable area, the situation is somewhat different. We are likely then to be dealing with a more substantial grouping and we do need to bear in mind here that *-ingas* names are in fact found as those of significant population-groups and *regiones* in pre-Viking England, for example the *Stoppingas*, the *Feppingas*, the *Hæstingas*, the *Geddingas*, the *Sunningas*, and probably the *Hroðingas*.⁷⁴ In light of this, it is worth asking whether there is any evidence which might support a contention that our three *Billingas* place-names reflect such a significant population-group and *regio* within the kingdom of *Lindissi*.

Certainly in this context the wide separation of the *Billingas* place-names, which are found at opposite ends of a thirteen-mile stretch of the northern Kesteven Fen Edge, indicates that the *Billingas* were a population-group who encompassed an area comparable in extent with the territories of the known *-ingas* population-groups and *regiones*, such as those of the *Sunningas* or the *Hroðingas*.⁷⁵ This in itself is very suggestive, and a reasonable working hypothesis might consequently be that Billingham and Billingborough represented the northern and southern limits of the *Billingas* population-group and *regio* within *Lindissi* (something supported by the fact that the southern boundary of **Lindēs/Lindissi* is unlikely to have been located much further south than Billingborough⁷⁶), with this *regio* then extending to some unknown degree inland from the Fen Edge between these two places.⁷⁷ Such a hypothesis finds very considerable support in the early Anglo-Saxon archaeology of Kesteven. As has often been observed, most recently by Tania Dickinson, the early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of northern Kesteven fall into two clearly distinct geographic groups: one

on and to the west of the limestone edge in the centre of northern Kesteven between Lincoln and Ancaster (the largest of these cemeteries being the Loveden Hill cremation cemetery), and another on the lower ground to the east of the uplands stretching to the Fen Edge, focussed around Sleaford and Ruskington.⁷⁸ The distribution maps which reveal this pattern do, it has to be said, need updating to include the early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries discovered in recent years by metal-detecting and excavation, along with a number of other cemeteries which have sometimes been missed off the distribution maps, and this has been done in Fig. 30.⁷⁹ However, these additions only serve to both confirm and strengthen the pattern of two discrete groups previously observable, with the only significant changes being that the Loveden Hill region appears as more of a focus for the first group than it did previously, and the second group can now be seen to have extended south of Sleaford to the Osbournby and Folkingham area. What is particularly interesting here is that the second geographic group does in fact fall between and inland of Billingham-Billingborough. In other words, these cemeteries seem to represent a coherent and discrete grouping – distinct in terms of distribution from the other early Anglo-Saxon cemetery group in Kesteven – which just so happens to cover a significant proportion of the sort of territory which might be predicted for any *regio* of the *Billingas*.

The sense, derived from their distribution and separation from the other cemeteries of northern Kesteven, that the Ruskington-Sleaford-Folkingham group of cemeteries may represent a genuine early Anglo-Saxon ‘settlement unit’ and territory is heightened by a closer examination of the archaeology of this part of northern Kesteven, in particular the fact that the large cremation cemeteries of **Lindēs/Lindissi*

not only formed, in effect, a ring around Lincoln, but they also seem to have been spaced out across the landscape. In the light of recent research into the nature and role of such exceptionally large cemeteries in early Anglo-Saxon England, it seems likely that each of these sites functioned as a social and sacred ‘central place’ for a sizeable territory and its inhabitants – many of whom were actually buried in the main cemetery whilst others were buried in surrounding subordinate small inhumation and mixed cemeteries, perhaps because they were excluded from the main burial ground – with this centrality to a large degree confirmed by the fact that most of these same sites are at or close-by the centres of documented early political and administrative territories.⁸⁰ As such, it is important to note that the most easterly of the three cremation cemeteries known from northern Kesteven is in fact found at the heart of our Ruskington-Sleaford-Folkingham group of cemeteries, close-by Sleaford itself, which was a Late Saxon soke-centre and the focus of a documented pre-Viking estate.⁸¹

The cemetery in question was discovered at Quarrington, just to the west of Sleaford, during gravel-digging in the early nineteenth century, and looks to have been in use from the fifth through to the seventh century. Although specific details are thin on the ground due to the date and method of discovery, it appears to have been primarily a cremation cemetery with some accompanying inhumations (as is also the case at the Cleatham, Elsham and Loveden Hill cemeteries) and the description of the site suggests that it was probably comparable in extent to the other large cremation cemeteries of the Lincoln region.⁸² Furthermore, only one and a half miles to the east, at Sleaford, we also find one of the largest early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries

in England, dating from the late fifth to the sixth/early seventh century, which on its own seems to have been equivalent in size – *c.* 600+ burials – to many cremation cemeteries (Elsham cremation cemetery, for example, contained 625 cremations and five inhumations).⁸³ Given both the evidence from the other large cemeteries in Lincolnshire and current perspectives on the role which such large cemeteries played as social and sacred *foci* in early Anglo-Saxon England, it would thus appear very likely that Sleaford-Quarrington represented the ‘central place’ of a significant fifth- to seventh-century Anglo-Saxon population-group and territory,⁸⁴ and in the present context it is difficult to avoid relating this population-group and its territory to the geographically distinct early Anglo-Saxon cemetery group/‘settlement unit’ focussed on Ruskington-Sleaford-Folkingham discussed above. In other words, it seems probable that we can here identify archaeologically both an early Anglo-Saxon ‘central place’ (Sleaford-Quarrington) and also the likely extent of its territory, as observable from the separate and coherent grouping of small cemeteries which occurs to the north and south of this centre, these credibly representing the burial grounds of those who made use of the social and sacred functions of the ‘central place’ but not, for whatever reason, its funerary function.

This is obviously of considerable interest to the present investigation. Not only does the suggested territory of any *regio* of the *Billingas* happen to coincide reasonably well with a geographic group of fifth- to seventh-century cemeteries, but it seems very likely that the distribution of these cemeteries actually reflects the territory of a major early Anglo-Saxon group focussed on Sleaford-Quarrington. In such circumstances, the above contention regarding the existence of a *regio* of the *Billingas*

would seem to be largely confirmed: there is good archaeological evidence for an early Anglo-Saxon territory and population-group existing in the area which is hypothesized as the likely territory of the *Billingas*, and as such there seems little obvious reason not to consider the *Billingas* of our three widely-spaced place-names to have been – like other multiply-attested *-ingas* groups – a real early Anglo-Saxon population-group and *regio*, to be identified with the Sleaford-Quarrington territory and group.

Whether the Sleaford-Quarrington group was indeed known as the *Billingas* or something else entirely, however, we do still need to ask if anything else can be learnt about this population-group and its territory/*regio*, as it was clearly a significant element within the kingdom of *Lindissi*. One way of approaching this is to look at the evidence for Middle Saxon and later territories existing in this region, to see whether there are any later echoes of this early Anglo-Saxon territory. With regard to this, the area of the Ruskington-Sleaford-Folkingham early Anglo-Saxon cemetery group actually seems to fall wholly within the likely territories of two neighbouring Anglo-Saxon estates, which is intriguing. The first of these estates was based at Sleaford; an estate here is mentioned in a genuine ninth-century charter, and although we certainly cannot assume that all Domesday sokes reflect much earlier estates, it has been argued that the sokes based at and around Sleaford (and possibly Ruskington) do derive ultimately from a pre-Viking estate focussed on Sleaford which probably originally straddled the wapentakes of Flaxwell and Aswardhurn.⁸⁵ The second estate is the Soke of Folkingham, which encompassed both the settlements in the northern part of Aveland wapentake and most of those in the southern half of Aswardhurn wapentake

as well; once again, whilst not all sokes derive from Middle Saxon estates, it has been suggested that this one may well do so.⁸⁶ That these two estates together seem to have covered all of the area of the fifth- to seventh-century cemetery group is unlikely to be a coincidence, and as such they are probably best seen as confirming that this geographically separate cemetery group did indeed represent the early Anglo-Saxon territorial unit dependent upon Sleaford-Quarrington, with this territory having been split in two in perhaps the Middle Saxon period. In this context it is important to note that David Roffe has argued that the site of a recorded late seventh-century royal monastery, Stow Green, is found only one and a half miles to the north-east of Folkingham village; the Middle Saxon foundation of this would provide a convincing explanation for the division of the territory dependent upon Sleaford-Quarrington, as one would expect that at some point an estate would have had to be created out of the lands of the *regio* which Stow Green lay within in order to cater for the needs and maintenance of this royal ecclesiastical centre.⁸⁷ Certainly the carving up of early *regiones* in order to provide estates and minster territories for monasteries appears to have been a common occurrence elsewhere in Middle Saxon England; we might, for example, compare here the carving of the Chertsey monastic estate out of the *regio* of the *Woccingas*, or the Farnham estate out of the *regio* of the *Godhelmingas*.⁸⁸

If the evidence for pre-Viking estates based at Sleaford and Folkingham can thus help to both confirm and potentially further delimit the extent of the early Anglo-Saxon territory/*regio* dependent upon Sleaford-Quarrington and also tell us something of its later history and division, what of the archaeological evidence? Although we know too little about the Quarrington cemetery to comment any further, several points

can be made with regard to the neighbouring large inhumation cemetery at Sleaford. In particular, it needs to be recognized that this cemetery was not only exceptionally large but also exceptionally well-connected to the outside world. Thus, for example, many more amber beads (*c.* 981) have been found in the Sleaford cemetery than in any other Anglo-Saxon cemetery in England, these being mainly used in the sixth century and probably imported from the Baltic.⁸⁹ Similarly, there is a notable concentration of imported walrus- or elephant-ivory rings in the Sleaford cemetery, and this cemetery also has more than twice the number of probably-imported crystal beads (again, primarily a sixth-century artefact) as any other Anglo-Saxon cemetery.⁹⁰ Needless to say, this all adds yet more weight to the case for Sleaford's importance in the early Anglo-Saxon period. Fundamentally, it seems that at least some of the people who buried their dead in the Sleaford inhumation cemetery had far greater access to imported and high-status items than did those in the surrounding region, where such luxury imports are considerably rarer, and it has been credibly suggested on this basis that Sleaford may have been the burial ground used by local leaders who had a tight control over the regional redistribution of these prestige items.⁹¹ Certainly the fact that around 250 of the amber beads were found in a single grave in the Sleaford cemetery (the average was 16 beads per grave) might well support the view that access to these luxury imports was tightly controlled and preferential, and the fact that those graves at Sleaford which lacked imported amber beads also appear to have had restricted access to other types of artefacts too, such as disc brooches, earrings, bracelets, pendants, small-long brooches and bags, is also important in this regard.⁹²

One interesting question in view of the above is where the trading point used by these leading members of the local early Anglo-Saxon community might have been; although no absolute certainty can be had, one extremely good possibility is that it was at Heckington, located on the Fen Edge halfway between Billinghay and Billingborough. Heckington was part of the probably Middle Saxon estate focussed on Sleaford and Adam Daubney has recently revealed that the famous ‘South Lincolnshire Productive Site’ was actually located in this parish.⁹³ Although in Lindsey there appear to have been numerous minor markets and trading sites found all across the region, testified to by the presence of Middle Saxon coinage and other finds, in Kesteven almost all trading activity appears to have been channelled through this single site.⁹⁴ Katharina Ulmschneider recorded over 90 coins in total from here in 2000, but this number has continued to increase; as of 2009, there were about 160 very late seventh- to mid-eighth-century *sceattas* known in addition to other types, making this, after the *Hamwic* finds, the largest non-hoarded group of Middle Saxon coins in England.⁹⁵ In this context, it may well be significant that the finds have actually been made to the east of Heckington village, at a hamlet on the very Fen Edge – just beyond the Car Dyke – called Garwick, either ‘the *wīc* (trading site) on a triangular piece of land’ or ‘belonging to **Gæra*’.⁹⁶ What is particularly relevant here, however, is the fact that the site was in use before the late seventh century. In particular, a mid-seventh-century gold shilling, thirteen high-status continental gold coins (*tremisses*), which date from the late sixth/early seventh century onwards, and a gold blank flan have all been found at Garwick; given the rarity of these coins, this is a very significant concentration indeed and certainly a far greater quantity than is

found on any other ‘productive site’ in the region or, in fact, across the whole of Lindsey.⁹⁷ Moreover, there is also a sixth-century ‘Pressblech’ Style I die from the site for making foil mounts, which is suggestive of very early trading activity here, whilst other finds are indicative of the presence of a sixth- to seventh-century Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery (Figs. 31 and 32).⁹⁸

All told, this is an exceedingly interesting site, not least because there is evidence for trade activity here much earlier than on most other ‘productive sites’, even into the sixth century on the basis of the ‘Pressblech’ die. Two points are of especial relevance to the present focus. First, the history of the site, its context within Kesteven, and the fact that some sort of trading activity seems to have been taking place here from potentially as early as the sixth century, mean that the suggestion that the luxury imports found in sixth-century graves at Sleaford – such as amber and ivory – came through here must be seen as more than credible. Second, even without reference to its probable role in the importation of the luxury goods used in the Sleaford cemetery, it seems likely that this site was linked to the local early and middle Anglo-Saxon ‘central place’ at Sleaford-Quarrington. So, for example, Garwick seems to have been part of the probably pre-Viking Sleaford estate and the Ruskington-Sleaford-Folkingham cemetery group, and it may be worth noting here that the only other seventh-century gold *tremissis* known from Kesteven comes from the Sleaford area, as does the only other notable concentration of Middle Saxon coins.⁹⁹ Similarly, the high status of the early finds in particular suggest that Garwick probably had considerable political significance, and a link between this site and the local leaders who seem to have been buried at Sleaford – the local ‘central place’ – is consequently

very plausible. Of course, if the amber and ivory found in the Sleaford graves did come through this trading site, as seems likely, then it ought to be recalled that local leaders are usually considered to have controlled both the supply and redistribution of these luxury imported items in the region in the sixth century, which would in turn presumably indicate some sort of direct control over this trading site as well.¹⁰⁰

Another important question regarding the early history of the population-group and territory/*regio* focussed on Sleaford-Quarrington is that of the relationship here between the immigrant Anglo-Saxons and the post-Roman Britons. Given that this territory lay within the probable bounds of both *Lindissi* and **Lindēs* there seems no good reason why the general model of Anglian-British interaction within **Lindēs* proposed in the previous chapters should not be applied here: all of the major cremation cemeteries and their territories in the Lincoln area are most credibly seen as being the result of a deliberate fifth-century settlement of immigrant groups on the periphery of the ‘country of **Lindēs*’, with the Britons probably maintaining at least a degree of control over these territories and groups some way into the sixth century.¹⁰¹ The evidence we have from the Sleaford-Quarrington region accords well with this picture, and when we turn to look at the transition to Anglo-Saxon rule, the picture is again in harmony with that established generally for **Lindēs/Lindissi*.¹⁰² Thus, for example, one of the instances of an Anglo-Saxon *-ingas* group-name formed from a British personal-name occurs in the south of the *regio*, at Threekingham; similarly, high-status British brooches are known from probably sixth-century Anglo-Saxon graves here – something which may reflect acculturation and/or intermarriage – and there is place-name evidence for British/Welsh-speakers still existing within the

landscape as late as the eighth century from the two Walcots, one in Billingham parish and the other close-by Threekingham (Fig. 33).¹⁰³

This naturally raises the question of whether the territory and *regio* of Sleaford-Quarrington itself, as an element in the internal organization and administration of *Lindissi*, owed anything to the British past; after all, *Lindissi* seems to have been a British political unit taken over by an immigrant group, and it was suggested in the previous chapter that at least some elements of the internal administration of **Lindēs* were carried over with this. In this context it would be remiss not to point out that 500 metres to the north-east of the Sleaford inhumation cemetery is found the ‘small town’ of Old Sleaford, which was occupied from the first century BC through to at least the late fourth century AD.¹⁰⁴ Romano-British local administration is likely to have been based around the ‘small towns’, and as such it might be legitimately wondered whether the *regio* focussed on Sleaford-Quarrington might not have been the Anglo-Saxon successor to the authority and territory of Old Sleaford.¹⁰⁵ Certainly the likely extent of the Anglo-Saxon *regio*, as indicated by the cemetery group, bears a credible resemblance to that which might be suggested for the territory administered from Old Sleaford using Thiessen polygons (Fig. 34).¹⁰⁶ There is, of course, no absolute certainty possible here, but such a situation seems plausible in the general context of *Lindissi*’s apparent administrative debt to **Lindēs*, and it may well be relevant here that there seems to be a similar coincidence between Hibaldstow ‘small town’ in the north of the county and both the Cleatham cremation cemetery and the Anglo-Saxon soke centre of Kirton in Lindsey. In this light it may be finally worth pointing out that Sleaford’s *wīc* site at Garwick also appears to have Romano-British

and earlier antecedents, with finds through to the fourth century including three British gold ‘stater’ and material which is indicative of the presence of some sort of votive shrine.¹⁰⁷

In sum, therefore, it seems quite credible that the *Billingas* were indeed a genuine pre-Viking population-group and *regio* within the kingdom of *Lindissi*, to be identified with the early Anglo-Saxon population-group who were focussed upon the sizeable cremation cemetery at Quarrington and the exceptionally large inhumation cemetery at Sleaford. The origins of this group ought to be sought in the Anglian-British interactions of the Lincoln region discussed in previous chapters, and the extent of their territory is probably reflected in both the spread of the discrete Ruskington-Sleaford-Folkingham cemetery group and the bounds of the probably Middle Saxon estates of Sleaford and Folkingham. Whether this territory bears any relationship to that controlled in the Late Roman period from Old Sleaford is open to debate, but there are hints that this might be the case and such a situation would have a good regional context; in any case, there is some evidence for British elites either intermarrying or acculturating within this *regio*, most especially from the place-name Threekingham and the British high-status brooches found in Anglo-Saxon graves. That Sleaford-Quarrington was the ‘central place’ of this population-group is not only indicated by its large cemeteries and later status as an estate centre, it is also implied by the wealth of some of the sixth-century graves in the Sleaford inhumation cemetery when compared to those in the surrounding area. This wealth was primarily expressed through imported luxury items, most especially amber beads, the use and redistribution of which appears to have been tightly controlled by leading members of

the local community who buried at Sleaford. The same may also be true for the *wīc* (trading site) where this material was probably obtained, namely the ‘South Lincolnshire Productive Site’ – located at Garwick – which appears to have functioned as a trading site from perhaps as early as the sixth century through to the mid-eighth.

If we are thus able to know a reasonable amount about the nature and origins of this early Anglo-Saxon *regio* and population-group, can anything worthwhile be said about its history after the final conquest of *Lindissi* by Mercia in 679? It should be noted here that this event does actually provide a very credible context for the separation of northern Kesteven from the rest of **Lindēs/Lindissi*, something which is likely to have taken place by the mid-late ninth century at the latest and which would obviously have been of considerable significance to the northern Kesteven-based *Billingas*.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, not only would the kingdom of *Lindissi* probably have been particularly vulnerable to such a loss of territory in and around 679, but it may well also be that Mercia would have had an especial interest in separating and absorbing northern Kesteven at this time rather than at any other point.¹⁰⁹ In particular, Mercia, due to its location, appears to have had no substantial trading site (*wīc*) of its own, and from *c.* 675 until some point between *c.* 689 and 733 the Mercian kings lost their control over the originally East Saxon *wīc* at *Lundenwic* (London).¹¹⁰ In such circumstances, the acquisition (through annexation) of northern Kesteven – and therefore of the important high-status trading site at Garwick – could well have seemed a particularly attractive proposition to the Mercian kings in the aftermath of their conquest of *Lindissi* in 679. The question therefore becomes, is there any

evidence which might indicate that there was indeed a royal Mercian takeover and exploitation of Garwick at this time?

With regard to this, it has to be said that a late seventh-century onwards royal Mercian interest in the *wīc* at Garwick, perhaps prompted by their loss of control of *Lundenwic*, would certainly help to explain some of the very exceptional features of this site. Thus, whilst Garwick looks to have been an important local prestige trading site through until *c.* 675 (based on the fifteen gold coins – including one blank – and the ‘Pressblech’ die found there, along with the amber and ivory found in the Sleaford cemetery), this doesn’t really prepare us for the sheer quantity of very late seventh- to mid-eighth-century coinage which has been found. The current total of *c.* 160 *sceattas* plus other types is remarkable. Not only does it significantly exceed the total known from the whole of Lindsey (123 *sceattas*) – an area which is often considered to have been one of the richest parts of Middle Saxon England¹¹¹ – but it is actually the largest non-hoarded group of Middle Saxon coins from England other than that from *Hamwic*, and it dwarfs the total of 51 *sceattas* known from *Lundenwic*.¹¹² Similarly suggestive is the fact that an examination of the Garwick coins by series indicates a very heavy Mercian and continental influence at this trading site, whilst Northumbrian issues are conspicuous by their absence, something which is not true on the ‘productive sites’ found across the Witham in Lindsey.¹¹³ Indeed, around half of the Garwick *sceattas* have continental origins, which is probably further indicative of the importance of this trading site in the late seventh to mid-eighth centuries, given that the fact that one fifth of the *sceattas* from *Lundenwic* are continental has been seen as a ‘testimony to the range and intensity of the port’s foreign contacts’.¹¹⁴ Finally, it is

worth observing that whilst there are a considerable number of large, medium and small Middle Saxon ‘productive sites’ in Lindsey from which multiple *sceattas* have been found, this is not the case in southern Lincolnshire; instead, virtually all trading activity here appears to have been channelled through Garwick.¹¹⁵

In light of Mercia’s late seventh-century loss of control of *Lundenwic*, the exceptional character of the very late seventh- to mid-eighth-century finds from Garwick, and the apparent failure of other significant Middle Saxon trading/market sites to develop in southern Lincolnshire (in contrast to the situation in Lindsey), it appears more than credible that Garwick had indeed been taken over by the Mercian kings in the late seventh century, who then proceeded to exploit the site to its fullest potential. This does, of course, offer considerable support for the above position that the final conquest of *Lindissi* in 679 had led to the annexation and absorption of northern Kesteven by Mercia, with this occurring then rather than later because of the Mercian interest in directly controlling Garwick.¹¹⁶ Such a scenario certainly helps to explain the available evidence, and a Mercian takeover of the *Billingas* in the late seventh century may also provide a good context for other aspects of the history of this *regio*, such as the probable carving up of its territory into a late seventh-century Mercian royal monastic estate focussed on Stow Green in the south and a ‘multiple estate’ focussed on Sleaford in the north. The nature of the resultant Sleaford estate is particularly intriguing here, as it has been argued that the estate probably functioned as a major corn-milling centre for the region from perhaps as early as *c.* 700. Certainly the neighbouring parish to Sleaford – Quarrington, *Corninctune* at Domesday – bears a name which appears to derive from Old English **cweorning*, probably ‘the mill-

place', plus the common element *tūn*, giving something akin to 'the village near to the mill-place'.¹¹⁷ Whether there is any direct link between the product of this possible pre-Viking corn-milling centre and the trading taking place at Garwick is uncertain, but it is tempting to see both the intensive exploitation of this *wīc* and the emergence of the Sleaford 'multiple estate' as being the result of a considerable Mercian royal interest in this area and its economy.¹¹⁸

This is just about as far as we can go with the evidence presently available, but it is enough to present a reasonably detailed and compelling picture of one of the *regiones* which made up the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of *Lindissi* and its later history. The question is, can any more such *regiones* be credibly identified?

4. *Beyond the 'Tribal Hidage': Possible Regiones and Population-Groups Within Lindissi*

The probable *regio* of the *Billingas*, as outlined above, can provide a basis for understanding the internal organization of the kingdom of *Lindissi*; we have here a fortunate coincidence of evidence which allows us to observe the coherence and character of the sub-districts and population-groups which lay within early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms such as *Lindissi*. Identifying other comparable early Anglo-Saxon population-groups and *regiones* within *Lindissi* is not, however, an easy task. With the *Gyrwe* and the *Spalde* to the south we have documentary evidence which attests to their existence and even – in the case of the *Gyrwe* – the extent of their Fenland and

Fen Edge territory, whilst with both the *Spalde* and the *Billingas* we are in the unusual position of being able to delimit the territory of the *regio* using a combination of historical, geographical and archaeological data. By and large we lack these advantages for the rest of *Lindissi*; nonetheless the quest is not without hope.

A good place to start looking for *regiones* within *Lindissi* is with the large cremation cemeteries of the Lincoln region. The wide separation of these sites has often been seen as suggestive of them acting as ‘central places’ for large early Anglo-Saxon territories and groups, a position which garners considerable support from recent research into the role that large cremation cemeteries played as funerary, social and sacred *foci* for their surrounding regions and the fact that the vicinity of these cemeteries often coincides with the centres of historically-documented Anglo-Saxon estates and administrative units.¹¹⁹ Certainly the evidence from Sleaford-Quarrington can be interpreted in this manner, and in this context the simplest solution to the question of early *regiones* and population-groups within *Lindissi* would perhaps be to use Thiessen polygons to reconstruct the likely territories dependent on both these cemeteries and the four centres discussed in the previous chapter (Lincoln, Littleborough, Caistor and Horncastle), which don’t seem to have had major cremation cemeteries near to them but which were arguably British administrative centres which retained their importance into the early Anglo-Saxon period (Fig. 35). This is certainly an interesting exercise, but it has to be admitted that it is plagued by doubts. Not only is the legitimacy of using Thiessen polygons to reconstruct early medieval territories open to debate, but there are specific questions here too, for example, what should be done about the ‘minor’ cemeteries where cremation

predominated, such as Wold Newton; should these be given their own polygon, or treated as off-shoots of the larger cemeteries and subordinate to them?¹²⁰ Similarly, it might be wondered whether one should somehow weight the polygon focussed on Lincoln, given that the location of the cremation cemeteries within the region may well have been dictated by the Britons based here.¹²¹ Finally, whilst the pattern produced appears reasonably credible in some areas, notably to the south of Lincoln, in others it fails to respect apparent natural boundaries, as is the case with the northern part of the River Ancholme.

In such circumstances, we do need to look to the area around the actual ‘central places’ themselves, to see if there is any less-theoretical evidence available which might help to delimit and analyse the groups and territories dependent upon these centres. Given that the sites of the Lincolnshire cremation cemeteries were probably used as meeting-places and ritual sites for the regional communities which they served, it is perhaps worth considering whether the wapentakes of pre-Norman Lincolnshire might be relevant here, given that they seem to have had a similar function (Fig. 36). Wapentakes were, in origin, assemblies of free men from the surrounding region who met at a specific site to discuss and arrange the business of the locality, and whilst the name of these institutions is Scandinavian in origin (Old English *wæpengtac* < Old Norse *vápnatak*, ‘the taking of weapons’, denoting the symbolic taking or brandishing of weapons at an assembly), in many cases both the units themselves and the local groups and territories which were served by them probably had their origins in the pre-Viking period, as is indicated by the Old English origins of many of the names of the Lincolnshire wapentakes and their meeting-

places.¹²² In this context it is intriguing to note that most of the fifth- to seventh-century ‘central places’ and meeting-places under consideration here were either located at or near to the meeting-place of a later wapentake or, alternatively, on the very borders of its territory, something which might well be taken to imply that the wapentakes either inherited the social role and quite possibly the territory/group associated with the cremation cemeteries, or were alternatively created via a division of this role and territory/group.¹²³

The cemetery at West Keal, for example, was probably of a similar size to South Elkington cremation cemetery (*c.* 1200 burials) and is located on Hall Hill, overlooking Old Bolingbroke village and the surrounding low-lying ground.¹²⁴ Not only was Bolingbroke the centre of a sizeable Anglo-Saxon soke, but it also gave its name to the large wapentake in which both it and the cremation cemetery lay, and it is likely that Hall Hill was actually the meeting-place for this wapentake.¹²⁵ As such, it would not seem unreasonable to consider Bolingbroke wapentake to be in some way related to the territory inhabited by the population-group for whom the West Keal cemetery was a focus and meeting-place; certainly the wapentake is of a credible extent for such an early Anglo-Saxon *regio*. Similarly, the South Elkington-Louth cremation cemetery is located on a hill overlooking the town of Louth, which was the centre of the large wapentake that met at Louthesk, ‘the ash-tree at Louth’ (the location of which is unknown).¹²⁶ Indeed, the existence of a pre-Viking territory focussed on Louth would seem to be confirmed by the Old English place-names Ludborough and Ludford (‘the fort/ford belonging to Louth’) to the north and west of Louth and perhaps Meers Bank (< Old English *(ge)mære*, ‘boundary’) to the south-

east, and the fact that all three lie on or just outside of the recorded bounds of Louthesk wapentake is highly suggestive in the present context.¹²⁷ In consequence, it seems more than credible that the early Anglo-Saxon population-group that was dependent upon South Elkington-Louth inhabited a territory which was broadly equivalent to the later territory of Louthesk wapentake (Fig. 37).¹²⁸ Finally, the cremation cemetery at Elsham is located just two miles away from the meeting-place of the large wapentake of Yarborough, and the notion that there was thus a degree of administrative continuity between the community who inhabited this territory and met here and the early Anglo-Saxon population-group for whom Elsham was the primary burial centre is supported by the fact that the meeting-place of the wapentake was Yarborough Camp. This important earthwork fortification seems to have been refortified in the late fourth or early fifth century with Roman-style bastions, and it can be argued that the Anglo-Saxons who buried at Elsham had probably been initially settled in this area in order to make use of this fort in the defence of northern *Lindēs; as such, they were intimately associated with this site from the very start.¹²⁹

In contrast, the third largest Anglo-Saxon cemetery in Britain, located at Cleatham (c. 1528 burials), is sited on the boundary between Corringham and Manley wapentakes and just a few miles to the north of the boundary between these two wapentakes and that of Aslaoe.¹³⁰ In this light, it might be tentatively suggested that these three wapentakes had originally constituted a single territory which looked to Cleatham as its primary social, sacred and funerary centre, in the manner suggested above. Certainly it is potentially significant that the exceptionally large soke based at Kirton in Lindsey, which may well have had its origins in the pre-Viking period and

be related to Cleatham's role as a 'central place' (Cleatham cemetery lies between the villages of Kirton and Manton), covered all three wapentakes.¹³¹ Similarly, the 'princely' barrow-burial at Caenby in the north of Aslaoe wapentake – which originally had a mound larger than that which covered the Sutton Hoo ship burial – is probably to be associated with the Cleatham group too.¹³² Moreover, an analogous situation can also be observed at Sleaford-Quarrington, with the Quarrington cremation cemetery and the Sleaford large inhumation cemetery lying very near to the boundary between Flaxwell and Aswardhurn wapentakes, and here the territory of the population-group dependent upon Sleaford-Quarrington does certainly seem to have originally stretched across both of these wapentakes.¹³³

Another probably comparable instance of a cremation cemetery sited near to the borders of later wapentakes is that of the largest cremation cemetery in the Lincoln region, Loveden Hill. Over 1800 burials have been excavated from this site, with the cemetery itself being located on top of a notable hill which would have been visible for many miles around, and its centrality in the early Anglo-Saxon period is clearly apparent in the early Anglo-Saxon archaeology of the surrounding region (Fig. 38).¹³⁴ Not only do the other cemeteries in the western half of northern Kesteven appear to have been far smaller in scale, containing at most around 80 burials, but Loveden Hill is actually centrally located within the general distribution of cemeteries here, a point underlined by the fact that a phasing of these cemeteries indicates that it is in the Loveden Hill area that the earliest of them are found, with those to the north and the south of this site appearing to be generally later in date (post-c. 525).¹³⁵ With regard to the relationship between this 'central place' and the later wapentakes, it is important

to note that Loveden Hill was actually the meeting-place of Loveden wapentake, a key point in and of itself.¹³⁶ However, it was also located in the very far south of the wapentake, within a mile or so of the border with the wapentake of Threo and only a few miles from the boundary with Winnibriggs wapentake. This is most intriguing, and it raises the possibility that we have here another instance of the territory served by a cremation cemetery having been divided up, although here the cemetery-site retained its role as the meeting-place for one of the resultant divisions, unlike at Cleatham. In considerable support of this interpretation is the fact that the probable meeting-place of the wapentake to the south-east of Loveden, Threo, appears to have been located in the very far north-west of *its* territory, on the high ground above – and only a mile and a half to the south-east of – Loveden Hill. This would certainly seem to be suggestive of these two wapentakes, at least, having been originally part of a single pre-Viking territory which was focussed on Loveden Hill, and on this basis it seems quite credible that the territory of the population-group based around Loveden Hill included much of the wapentake of Loveden whilst also extending south from this into the neighbouring wapentakes of Threo and Winnibriggs.¹³⁷

The above scenario gains additional weight from a consideration of the available archaeological evidence. So, for example, one possible way of identifying the community who made use of the Loveden Hill cemetery is to look for pyre sites indicative of bodies being cremated close to the settlements they came from before being transported to the main cremation cemetery for interment. One such site has been identified from the cremated remains of a sixth-century small-long brooch found around one and a half miles from Loveden Hill, but another possible example is

represented by a foot of a cremated cruciform brooch from Great Ponton.¹³⁸ Although this is located some distance (around nine miles) to the south of Loveden Hill, it may similarly represent a pyre site associated with this cemetery and, if so, it is suggestive of the population-group using Loveden Hill having extended considerably to the south of Loveden wapentake – in this context it may well be relevant that there is no local cremation cemetery known from the vicinity of this find-spot, and the territory dependent upon Sleaford-Quarrington looks to have been of a similar extent to that which would be implied for Loveden Hill by this find (Fig. 39).¹³⁹

The general distribution of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in the western half of Kesteven is also potentially informative, especially given that such evidence was used above to help define the Sleaford-Quarrington population-group and that Loveden Hill appears to lie at the centre of this distribution, both geographically and temporally. Of course, caution must be urged here: the geographically distinct distribution of cemeteries around Sleaford-Quarrington, which can be plausibly suggested to reflect a single early Anglo-Saxon population-group and its territory, is relatively unusual.¹⁴⁰ Certainly it is worth noting that there do seem to have been at least two distinct ‘groups’ within the distribution in the west, with the cemeteries from Welbourn northwards looking to be geographically distinct from those to the south (including Loveden Hill) and probably being representative of the post-c. 525 northwards Anglo-Saxon encroachment into the territory controlled from Lincoln, discussed in previous chapters.¹⁴¹ On the other hand, the southern ‘group’ of cemeteries, although somewhat spread-out, is actually distributed within the wapentakes of Loveden, Threo and Winnibriggs; as such, they might be tentatively

seen to reflect and offer further confirmation of the territory of the Loveden Hill population-group proposed above.¹⁴²

All told, there do seem to be grounds for thinking that it is possible to gain at least a general idea of the extent of the population-groups dependent upon the cremation cemeteries of the Lincoln region, through a combination of Thiessen polygons and the available historical and archaeological evidence. Of course, giving a name to any of these groups is rather more difficult; the Sleaford-Quarrington group was probably known as the *Billingas*, but beyond this it is presently impossible to go. Although most of the population-groups based around the cremation cemeteries have place-names derived from *-ingas* group-names within their probable territories, these are best seen as simply being the names of local late fifth- to late seventh-century sub-groups which existed within the larger units, inhabiting the area in the immediate vicinity of that place-name.¹⁴³ Thus, for example, there was a group named the *Ælfingas* who had a settlement at Alvingham, but there is no good reason to think that this name applied to the whole of the population-group dependent upon South Elkington-Louth, whilst within a five-mile radius of Cleatham-Kirton in Lindsey we find settlements belonging to the *Mæssingas*, the *Grægingas*, and the *Wadingas*, which only serves to underline this point.¹⁴⁴ However, even if we cannot name most of the population-groups and their *regiones* which existed within the kingdom of *Lindissi*, we can identify their 'central places' with a high degree of confidence and also their likely territories, which is an important point for the history of pre-Viking Lincolnshire.

Conclusion: A Question of Origins

As the preceding discussion demonstrates, we are actually able to know a reasonable amount about the Anglo-Saxon population-groups which inhabited the pre-Viking *regiones* of the Lincoln region, if we make full use of the historical, linguistic and archaeological evidence which is available. Several key points emerge from this evidence, but one in particular deserves some brief final comment before we move on, given the over-arching interests of the present study. Fundamentally, whether or not such *regiones* and their groups represented originally independent territories and ‘peoples’ (a proposition which seems generally dubious and specifically implausible in the case of those located within *Lindissi*, given its origins in the British ‘country of **Lindēs*’), we do need to ask just how much they owed to the British past. It was argued in the previous chapter that many of the early Anglo-Saxon ‘central places’ in the region – including most of the cremation cemeteries – were at or very close-by sites which were highly likely to have played a significant role in the Late Roman and British administration of this area, with the consequent implication that there may well have been a significant degree of internal administrative continuity between Anglian *Lindissi* and British **Lindēs*. This perhaps should not be too surprising, given the longevity of **Lindēs* and the apparently intimate relationship which existed between these two polities and their inhabitants, and there is certainly other evidence aside from the coincidence of sites which would appear to offer support for this position.¹⁴⁵ The present chapter, with its detailed investigation into the extent and character of the *regio* of the *Billingas*, reinforces this. Not only is the ‘central place’

of this population-group/*regio* probably to be found at Sleaford-Quarrington, just to the west of the Roman ‘small town’ of Old Sleaford, but there is a case to be made for the extent of this *regio* being broadly equivalent to the territory administered from Old Sleaford in the Late Roman period as well. Indeed, such local administrative continuity would appear to be credible even outside of **Lindēs/Lindissi*, with the probable ‘centre’ of the Middle Anglian *Spalde* – Spalding – being at or close-by a Roman *vicus*. How much more widely this might have applied is an interesting question; no suggestions were made above with regard to the origins of the *Gyrwe*, ‘the fen dwellers’, but in the present context it may be at least worth pondering the fact that the important Gyrwean monastery of *Medeshamstede* (Peterborough) was located only around four and a half miles west of the Roman town of *Durobrivae*, a probable Late Roman administrative centre for the Fenland.¹⁴⁶

Such indications of potential British-Anglian continuity are also encountered when considering the Anglo-Saxon population-groups who made use of these ‘central places’ and inhabited the *regiones*. Even in an area of apparently significant Anglo-Saxon immigration such as northern Kesteven, we find evidence to suggest that the resultant ‘Anglo-Saxon’ population-groups included considerable numbers of Britons, and not merely as slaves or agricultural workers. One can, for example, point to the interesting concentration of post-Roman British high-status Class 1 and Type G brooches and hanging bowls in the south of the probable territory of the *Billingas*, which looks to be associated both with an ‘Anglo-Saxon’ *-ingas* group whose founder had a British name and place-name evidence for the continued use of Archaic Welsh into the eighth century.¹⁴⁷ With regard to those Anglo-Saxon population-groups who

were based away from the major immigrant centres, in areas where early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries are considered large if they contain tens of graves, never mind hundreds or thousands, such a scenario seems even more credible. Thus, for example, the available evidence from the territory of the *Spalde* suggests that this population-group is likely to have included a very substantial ‘British’ element, and something similar has recently been argued for north Nottinghamshire, whose *regio* of *Hæthfelth* (Hatfield) was almost certainly part of *Lindissi*.¹⁴⁸

In sum, an investigation into the population-groups of the Lincoln region not only can help us to establish a clearer picture of the internal structure of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms based here, but it can also help to flesh out some of the conclusions reached earlier in this study with regard to the nature of Anglian-British interaction in the region and the territorial and administrative relationship between British **Lindēs* and Anglo-Saxon *Lindissi*.

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- 1 Opinion on the origins of at least some parts of the ‘Tribal Hidage’ do, needless to say, vary enormously, but a seventh-century Mercian one is still clearly the majority interpretation: Davies and Vierck, 1974: 226–7; Dumville, 1989a: 132–3; and Hamerow, 2005: 282. See Featherstone, 2001: 28–9 on the hidations.
 - 2 Hart, 1971; Davies and Vierck, 1974; Featherstone, 2001: 28.
 - 3 See especially Hamerow, 2005: 271–88, and Scull, 1993: 72–9.
 - 4 Bassett, 1989b, especially pp. 17–18, 26; Scull, 1993; Hamerow, 2005, especially p. 282.
 - 5 Yorke, 2000: 82–6; Yorke, 2003; Woolf, 2000.
 - 6 See especially Blair, 1999: 456, and Kirby, 2000: 9, on a composite origin; see also Keynes, 1995: 21–5. I would agree with James Campbell (1986a: 88, 90), D. P. Kirby (2000: 8–9), Barbara Yorke (2000: 74) and others that Middle Anglia was probably a genuine large early Anglo-Saxon kingdom, not one ‘invented’ in the mid-seventh century, on the basis of Bede’s references to them as a genuine early Anglo-Saxon *gens* (Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III.21). Chadwick, 1924: 7–10, though now rarely read, includes a very useful survey of the evidence for Middle Anglia as a real kingdom and the ‘Tribal Hidage’ groups as sub-units of this.
 - 7 As Hamerow, 2005: 284.
 - 8 See Yorke, 2003a, especially pp. 396–401, and also, for example, Higham, 1993: 80–1, on Deira and Bernicia; Bassett, 1989b: 24, on Essex; Brooks, 1989b: 57–8, on Kent; and Warner, 1996: 148, and Oosthuizen, 1998: 89–90, on East Anglia. See also Laycock, 2008: 197–236, especially p. 204 onwards.
 - 9 Yorke, 2003a, especially from p. 400; see Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V.10 on the Old Saxons.
 - 10 Hines, 1999: 136–44, quotation at p. 144.

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- 11 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. 20, IV.6 and IV.19. See Potts, 1974, for the argument that the seventh-century estate of *Medeshamstede* was equivalent to the territory of the North *Gyrwe*.
- 12 Davies and Vierck, 1974: 231; Dumville, 1989a: 130–1; Rollason, 1978: 89; Roffe, 1993: 82–3.
- 13 Dumville, 1989a: 130–1. Barbara Yorke has suggested that the reason why the *Gyrwe* may have had some autonomy, whilst most other small population-groups did not, may be because of their unusual geographical situation (see their name, ‘the fen dwellers’): Yorke, 2000: 83–4.
- 14 Chadwick, 1924: 9.
- 15 Campbell, 1986a: 86; Chadwick, 1924: 9; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV.13, and V.19.
- 16 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV.6; Yorke, 2000: 74–5; Campbell, 1986a: 86–7.
- 17 Campbell, 1986a: 89; note, *princeps* is in fact translated as *ealdorman* in the Old English translation of Bede: T. Miller (ed.), 1890–98: I, 316.
- 18 Dumville, 1989a: 131.
- 19 See Kirby, 2000: 8–9, and Chadwick, 1924: 7–10, on the kingdom of Middle Anglia; if it was a kingdom before Peada, as suggested, then we should expect there to have been a pre-Peada dynasty too. Note, *Tondberct*’s death is placed, in the twelfth-century *Liber Eliensis*, at some point between 652 – the year of his marriage – and 654–5; could his death have been linked somehow to Peada’s takeover of Middle Anglia? If so, it might support the case for seeing him as a member of a lost Middle Anglian dynasty. With regard to the notion that he could have been a member of the Mercian or Northumbrian dynasties, it is interesting to note that the first element of his name (*Tond-*) has been described as a ‘characteristically Northumbrian’ name-element (Insley, 1999: 230), though this circumstance might alternatively be explained in terms of the links between the *Gyrwe* and Northumbria discussed in Chapter Six (below, pp. 224–5).
- 20 Colgrave (ed. and trans.), 1956: 2, 86–7, 142–5 – see especially Colgrave’s comments on p. 2 with regard to the reference to Crowland being in Middle Anglia; Insley, 1999: 231; Chadwick, 1924: 9–10. Cf. Hines, 1999: 144.
- 21 With regard to the *Gyrwe*’s southern frontier, we do know that in a tenth-century charter, *Gyruwan fen* formed part of the boundary of Conington, Huntingdonshire, around 35 kilometres south-east of Peterborough, which would tend to confirm that the vast majority of the *regio* of the *Gyrwe* lay south of Crowland: Davies and Vierck, 1974: 231. Although the *Liber Eliensis* suggests that the lands of the South *Gyrwe* included or were equivalent to the island of Ely, and John Hines (1999: 144; see also Courtney, 1981: 95–6) has considered such an identification to be ‘highly plausible’, this may well be a late invention and speculation by the author of the *Liber Eliensis* rather than a reflection of seventh-century reality: see especially Hart, 1971: 143, and Yorke, 2003b: 32–3.
- 22 Davies and Vierck, 1974, for example pp. 232, 234, 285.
- 23 Mills, 1991: 304; Watts, 2004: 564.
- 24 Hayes and Lane, 1992; Hayes, 1988; Crowson *et al*, 2005: figs. 1–2a, pp. 18–48, 211, 214–15. Note, although it has been suggested that the early and middle Anglo-Saxon settlements discovered by the Fenland Survey in the Lincolnshire Fenland were seasonal rather than permanent in nature, recent archaeological work indicates that this position is untenable: Ulmschneider, 2000: 70–1; Crowson *et al*, 2005: 217–18, 228, 261–2, 293.
- 25 Cameron, 1998: 114; Mills, 1991: 303. Old English **spald* is cognate with Old High German *spalt*, ‘a ditch, trench’. See also Courtney, 1981: 97.
- 26 Hayes and Lane, 1992, especially pp. 213–15, 257; Crowson *et al*, 2005: figs. 1–2a.
- 27 Hayes, 1988: 324–5; Lane and Hayes, 1993: 66, 68; Crowson *et al*, 2005: 277–80, 283, 285–6. See further below on the date of nucleation in Holland.
- 28 Hayes, 1988: 323–4; Crowson *et al*, 2005: 215; Hayes and Lane, 1992: 249, 252.
- 29 On the debate over the reality of this estate, see Salway, 1970: 10; Millett, 1990: 120–3; Lane and Hayes, 1993: 65; Rippon, 1999: 113–17. See also Potter, 1989: 172, on the Fenland probably being administered from several centres. In this context it is perhaps worth recalling that Ptolemy places a centre called *Salinae*, ‘saltworks’, near the coast of the Wash; in the past, this has been seen as a mistake, but given the considerable evidence for Iron Age and Romano-British saltworking discovered by the Fenland Survey in the Spalding region, there now seems to be no good reason to reject Ptolemy’s testimony: Hayes and Lane, 1992: 218–29; Lane and Hayes, 1993: 64–5;

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- Whitwell, 1992: xxviii; Lane, 2001: 463. Strang, 1997: 23, identifies *Salinae* with the probable fort at Skegness, but place-name evidence suggests rather that this was called *Traiectus* (Owen and Coates, 2003) and Ptolemy puts *Salinae* in the territory of the *Catuvellauni*, whilst Skegness is most credibly associated with the *Corieltavi*.
- 30 See especially Campbell, 1986b: 113 here; also Yorke, 2000: 84–5. See, for example, Sawyer, 1998: 49, for support for the idea that Spalding ‘may well have been a centre of some local importance’ in the pre-Viking period.
- 31 Whitwell, 1992: 48; Hallam, 1965: 111–13; Hayes and Lane, 1992: 171–2, 257; Malone, 2010: 8. See also below, p. 170 and 203 (fn. 68), for its survival into the post-Roman period, but perhaps not as late as has been claimed (twelfth century).
- 32 Cameron, 1998: 145; Gelling, 1988b: 246.
- 33 On the date of *wīchām* names, see for example Gelling, 1977a: 14. Spalding is another name from this area which seems likely to have its origins in this period, and the same may possibly be true too of the name Quadring (the ‘fen *Hæferingas*’), if it refers to a sub-group within the *Spaldingas/Spalde*. See Cameron, 1996b: 71, on *-ingas* group-names necessarily pre-dating the name of the settlement to which they eventually become attached and probably mostly belonging to the late fifth to seventh centuries.
- 34 Gelling, 1977a; Gelling, 1988b: 67–74, 245–9, especially pp. 70–1; Gelling, 1977b: 1–5; Cameron, 1996b: 42; Yorke, 2003a: 396; Balkwill, 1993, especially p. 11. See also Oosthuizen, 1998: 95–6.
- 35 See especially Balkwill, 1993; Yorke, 2003a: 396; Gelling, 1988b: 71–4.
- 36 As they are in Lane and Hayes, 1993: 68, and Hayes, 1988: 325.
- 37 Note, the different dates of settlement-nucleation on the Fen Edge and the siltland have been used as evidence for the *Spalde* being a semi-independent tribe, apparently on the basis that the Fen Edge communities were fully conquered in the seventh century and forced to nucleate, whilst the *Spalde* of the siltland retained ‘a fair degree of independence’, so they did not nucleate and instead became a buffer-state between East Anglia and Mercia (Lane and Hayes, 1993: 68–9; Hayes, 1988: 325). Needless to say, there is absolutely no necessity to posit such complex political machinations lying behind the nucleation/lack of nucleation observed. That the two areas represent distinct settlement units with their own histories and trajectories is clear, but it is impossible to say anything more than this on the basis of this evidence alone without veering off into the realms of pure speculation. At best, the above scenario relies fully on the presumption of the *Spalde*’s original independence before it can even begin to have any credibility; it certainly cannot be used to prove this independence.
- 38 See above, pp. 116–25.
- 39 Blair, 1999: 456, and above, pp. 147–51.
- 40 See especially Roffe in Crowson *et al*, 2005: 285–6, also p. 298; Hart, 1971: 144; Colgrave (ed. and trans.), 1956: 2, 86–7, 168–9. Note, the group-names here are the nominative plural forms (for example, *Wixan*); the forms in the ‘Tribal Hidage’ (for example, *Wixna*) are genitives – the same applies, incidentally, to the group-name *Spalde* (‘Tribal Hidage’ *Spalda*).
- 41 Hayes and Lane, 1992: 172.
- 42 Rippon, 1999: 113–17; Potter, 1989: 171–2; Lane and Hayes, 1993: 65; Whitwell, 1992: xxviii.
- 43 Welch, 1989: 78, faces a similar situation with the *Hæstingas* of Sussex, who look to be a pre-Viking population-group and *regio* but who are located in a region without any early Anglo-Saxon burials; his suggestion is that they emerged in the Middle Saxon period, a solution which doesn’t seem to be available in this case, given the presence of both early Anglo-Saxon pottery and settlements on the siltland and the place-name Wykeham.
- 44 It might be suggested that the lack of cemeteries indicates that the siltland settlements were seasonal rather than permanent, belonging to people normally living on the uplands. However, as noted above (p. 200, fn. 24), the excavation results from these settlements indicate that this is not the case and that they were instead used year-round as permanent settlements. Hallam, in Phillips (ed.), 1970: 294, notes a possible ‘Saxon’ cremation cemetery at Donington (in Holland), but if one follows up the references this is clearly a case of mistaken identity, with a possible cemetery from

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- Donington on Bain (in Lindsey) noted in 1834 being wrongly assigned to the Fenland in the gazetteer due to 'on Bane' being omitted in an intermediate source used to create it.
- 45 On British burial rites see, for example, Rahtz, 1977; Rahtz, 1982; Härke, 2003: 19. See above, pp. 96–103, on Britons within *Lindissi*; also Leahy, 2007b: 82–3. It would seem that even acculturated Britons buried within early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were not accorded the full normal Anglo-Saxon burial rites: see Härke, 1992a and 1992b, and also, for example, Brooks, 1991: 10, for the frequent suggestion that 'Anglo-Saxon' burials without grave-goods were those of Britons living within Anglo-Saxon communities.
- 46 For example, Dark, 2000: 97–103, and Baker, 2006.
- 47 Colgrave (ed. and trans.), 1956: 108–11; such an interpretation of this passage has been most recently advocated by Graham Jones, in Koch (ed.), 2006: 857. For the names, see Schram, 1950: 431, and Crowson *et al*, 2005: 298; see generally Cameron, 1980, and Gelling, 1993: 54, on names involving *walh* and similar being suggestive of the presence of Welsh-speakers into perhaps the mid-late eighth century. In addition, H. C. Darby has some possible evidence for there still being 'Britons' in the Fenland as late as the Late Saxon period: Darby, 1934: 192–4.
- 48 Coates, 2000: 162–4; Coates, 2007: 181; Coates, 2008: 83; Coates, 2009: 85–7; Schram, 1950: 430; Coates, 2005. For the Glen/Baston Ea (Edyke) in the medieval period and after, see Hayes and Lane, 1992: 161; Cameron, 1998: 50. Something similar to the Glen/Baston Ea situation can perhaps also be seen in the fact that there seem to be two district-names for the Lincolnshire Wash Silts: Holland and **Spald*. Schram also notes a lost *ad Cricum* in Freiston on the Wash Silts, which may also be relevant here as it contains the Archaic Welsh *cruc*, 'hill, mound, barrow' (Schram, 1950: 430; cf. Coates, 2007: 181, and Gelling and Cole, 2003: 159–63). See also the place-name Wykeham, above.
- 49 Hayes, 1988: 324.
- 50 On environmental change in the Fenland and its effects, see for example Crowson *et al*, 2005: 10, and Hayes and Lane, 1992: 213. On the end of the Roman state, compare Murphy, 1994: 37, on East Anglia; de-intensification may have played a particular role if the Fenland remained an imperial estate to the end of the Roman period.
- 51 For example, Hayes, 1988: 324, who refers to an abrupt and universal 'discontinuity between Roman and Saxon' (a 'profound discontinuity') which cannot be explained as a 'simple response to environmental change'. He further contends that the frequent close proximity of Saxon and Roman sites in the Fenland is not evidence for continuity but instead merely results from coincidence. This notion of a landscape 'mostly abandoned' by the Britons at the end of the Roman period has influenced later commentators, including Jones, 1996: 200, fn. 45, and Crowson *et al*, 2005, especially pp. 291–2.
- 52 See above, pp. 40–1.
- 53 See the discussion in Chapter One, above, pp. 41–3. See also, for example, Higham, 1992: 111–13 on a similar situation in Suffolk.
- 54 Everson, 1993: 93; Taylor, 1983: chapter 7. The difficulty in identifying Anglo-Saxon material from Romano-British sites has been an issue across the East Midlands, and one which has only really been fully addressed in recent years; thus if we look to neighbouring Leicestershire, it is striking that in the last 20 years there are numerous instances of Romano-British sites with 'Anglo-Saxon' material coming from them recorded in the *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, but if we examine the finds recorded in the 1970s and 1980s in the same journal, hardly any are noted. Note, with regard to the problems of misidentifying early Anglo-Saxon pottery as Romano-British or Iron Age, a subsequent examination of some of the Fenland Survey finds suggests that this project, despite its careful design, was certainly not immune from issues of misidentification: Jane Young, personal communication.
- 55 Indeed, Somerset appears to have remained aceramic from the end of the Roman period right through until the tenth century, whilst Devon is aceramic until the eleventh, causing significant issues in terms of identifying early medieval settlements in these areas: Rippon, 2009; Aston, 1994: 222.

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- 56 See Chapter Three, above; Härke, 1992a; Härke, 1992b; Härke, 2003: 23; and Gelling, 1993, who suggests that there were still Welsh-speakers in eastern England in the mid-late eighth century on the basis of the place-name evidence. Darby, 1934: 192–4, details hints of post-Viking Britons in the Fenland, though we should be right to be sceptical here.
- 57 See, for example, Hamerow, 1991, on pre-Viking settlement drift; the examples are, obviously, all Anglo-Saxon, but we have no good reason to think the same imperatives wouldn't have led to a similar drifting of post-Roman British sites in eastern England too. Certainly many of the early-middle Anglo-Saxon sites on the Fens are close-by Romano-British ones.
- 58 Hayes, 1988: 325; Crowson *et al.*, 2005: 292, 293.
- 59 Crowson *et al.*, 2005: 14, 211–16; the 'by the early ninth century' dating is given on p. 293.
- 60 One might compare here the situation on the heavy clays of Suffolk, where it has been suggested that the Britons who lived here only really began to acculturate in the eighth and ninth centuries: Härke, 2003: 23.
- 61 For example, Coates, 2008: 83; Coates, 2000: 163. Note also, to the east of Holland, the names Nene and (King's) Lynn (see Coates, 2005: 317, on the Nene).
- 62 *Historia Brittonum*, chapter 56, ed. and trans. Morris, 1980: 73.
- 63 Jackson, 1945: 46; Green, 2007: 214–15; pp. 76–81, above. See Fig. 26 for the mouth of the Glen in the early Anglo-Saxon period. On the origins and date of Anglian settlement north of Hadrian's Wall, see below, pp. 221–3.
- 64 For the cremation cemetery, see Mayes and Dean, 1976, on the excavation and Lincolnshire Historic Environment Record 33387 on the full extent of this cemetery having been discovered. On the inhumation cemetery, see Williams, 2002: 350–2 (who also considers that the cremation cemetery may have originally been larger but destroyed by quarrying), and the Portable Antiquities Scheme. The two mid-fifth-century brooches, both of which consist only of the lower portions, are Portable Antiquities Scheme, NLM960 and NLM959. See also NLM975 for a fragment of a fifth-century great square-headed brooch which comes from another site in Baston; note, there are indications of two additional small burial sites in the parish.
- 65 If the two cemeteries are not to be associated with the *Spalde* then they might be alternatively – and very tentatively – linked to either the North *Gyrwe* or the *Wideriggas* (below, fn. 69). See, for example, Williams, 2002: 350–2, who relates the cemeteries to other evidence for early Anglo-Saxon activity in the area around the junction of these Roman roads, suggesting that they belong in a south Kesteven context.
- 66 That neither cemetery appears to contain seventh-century burials is interesting; it is possible that the Anglo-Saxons of the *Spalde* could have ceased to use their distinctive rite by the seventh century under the influence of their British neighbours. Certainly this seems to have occurred in other areas where Anglo-Saxons lived alongside very large numbers of Britons, such as in the West Midlands, where it is suggested that the Anglo-Saxons abandoned their burial rite at the end of the sixth century as a result of them being converted to Christianity by the Britons: Sims-Williams, 1990: 64–83.
- 67 Crowson *et al.*, 2005: 277–80, 283, 285–6.
- 68 The case for this road – the Baston Outgang – surviving into the medieval period has been made in Hallam, 1965: 111–13, but has been seriously challenged in Hayes and Lane, 1992: 172, who argue that the supposed references to it in the twelfth century and afterwards are illusory. However, whilst the evidence for it still existing in the twelfth century has been called into question, there is no especial reason to think that the road would not still have been used and maintained in the immediately post-Roman period, particularly given the evidence for the continued maintenance of the Roman and pre-Roman causeway roads across the Witham Fens and the location of the important names Spalding and Wykeham at the apparent siltland endpoint of the road.
- 69 It is possible that Stamford and its immediate vicinity belonged to the probably Middle Anglian *Wideriggas* – assessed at 600 hides in the 'Tribal Hidage' – if this population-group is correctly associated with the place-name Wittering (variously *Witheringaeige*, *Witheringham* and *Witeringa*) which is found only three miles to the south of Stamford, just over the county boundary: Dumville, 1989c: 226–7; Davies and Vierck, 1974: 233, 234, 292; Hart, 1971: 134, 152–3; Mills, 1991: 366.

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- The most detailed discussion of this group is in Foard, 1985: 195–6 and fig. 5, where it is tentatively associated with Rutland and the adjacent parts of Northamptonshire and southern Lincolnshire.
- 70 For the names and forms, see Cameron, 1998: 14, 65–6, and Mills, 1991: 35, 178; an origin for all three of these names in a population-group called the *Billingas*, ‘the people of *Billa*’ – with *Billa* being either a personal-name or Old English *bill*, ‘sword’ – certainly seems far more credible than Victor Watts’ (2004: 56) suggestion that they were all independently generated from a place-name **Billing*, ‘place at/by the ridge’. For the link between this group and the *Bilmigas* of the ‘Tribal Hidage’, see for example Davies and Vierck, 1974: 234–6. On the boundaries of **Lindēs/Lindissi*, see above, pp. 116–25 and Fig. 20.
- 71 Davies and Vierck, 1974: 292; Sawyer, 1998: 221 – note, the MS C versions are given in the nominative plural form.
- 72 Sawyer, 1998: 49, 220–1; Rumble, 1994: 23.
- 73 Davies and Vierck, 1974: 239; David Roffe in Crowson *et al*, 2005: 280.
- 74 Yorke, 2000: 84–5; Davies and Vierck, 1974: 239–40; Fellows-Jensen, 1995: 69; Bassett, 1989b: 18–19, 21–3; Bailey, 1989: 114–19; Blair, 1989; Dumville, 1989a: 133–4; Dodgson, 1977: 36–7.
- 75 See Bassett, 1989b: 19 and 22, and Blair, 1989: 99 and 104, for maps of the likely extent of some of these *regiones* bearing *-ingas* names.
- 76 On the basis that Loveden Hill, Ancaster and Quarrington cremation cemeteries were all probably within the peripheral zone of **Lindēs*, as were probably Folkingham and Threkingham: above, pp. 116, 143 (fn. 2).
- 77 Note, the surviving *Hæstingas* place-names similarly seem to be located on the margins of their territory – Welch, 1989: 78.
- 78 Dickinson, 2004: 24–5; Davies and Vierck, 1974: 274.
- 79 I have followed, in producing this map, the methodology set out by Kevin Leahy in creating his gazetteer of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries from Lindsey: Leahy, 1993: 39–42. The non-metal-detected cemeteries to the south of Loveden Hill are missing from Leahy’s gazetteer and map (pp. 31–2), but this is because he was only concerned with Lindsey and the most northerly sites in Kesteven; however, this distribution has been carried over into other publications concerned with the whole of Lincolnshire or just with Kesteven, producing a somewhat skewed view of the archaeology of the region: Vince, 2001: 23; Dickinson, 2004: 25.
- 80 See above, p. 56, and especially Williams, 2002, and Williams, 2004. See Williams, 2004: 114–15, on the relationship between the large and small cemeteries in these territories. Note, it might well be wondered if some, at least, of these smaller and probably subordinate cemeteries didn’t include the burials of acculturating Britons: see Härke, 1992a and 1992b, on Britons in other parts of the country not being assigned the full normal Anglo-Saxon burial rites even after acculturation, and compare Scull, 1995: 78. Another group which might have been buried in such small cemeteries rather than the central urnfield might be any of John Hines’ ‘second wave’ of late fifth-/early sixth-century Scandinavian immigrants (see Hines, 1984) who moved into already established Anglian territories.
- 81 The three cremation cemeteries (that is, those where cremation predominated rather than where it was a minority rite, as it is at a number of inhumation cemeteries) are Loveden Hill, Ancaster and Quarrington: Leahy, 1993: 31. See on Sleaford as a soke-centre and the focus of a large and probably Middle Saxon estate, Roffe, 1979, particularly 15–17 and fig. 7; Roffe, 2000b; and Pawley, 1988. Note that an estate at Sleaford is mentioned in a genuine Middle Saxon charter (S 1140) of 852: Sawyer, 1998: 231; Robertson, 1939, no. 7.
- 82 Leahy, 1993: 41; Sawyer, 1998: 217; Trollope, 1887: 98–100, especially p. 99. Trollope indicates both that cremations predominated and that, although the gravel pit where the finds were initially made (see Creasey, 1825: 106–07) lay to the north of the Sleaford-Grantham road, the cemetery extended ‘over some portion of the field on the other [southern] side of that road’ too. See also Dickinson, 2004: 42–3, who identifies two possible gravel pits north of the road which may be that referred to; whichever is the correct one, the implication is of a very sizeable cemetery. A second cemetery (‘Quarrington II’), containing 15 inhumations, was excavated around 400 yards to the

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- west in 2000–2001; this is likely to be either a separate site or a separate inhumation-only cluster of the original cemetery, see Dickinson, 2004: 42.
- 83 Leahy, 1993: 41; Sawyer, 1998: 217; and Geake, 1999: 13, who argues for at least one grave belonging to the early seventh century. See further on this cemetery Thomas, 1887, and Mike Turland's unpublished paper 'The Anglian Cemetery at Sleaford'. On the size, Thomas excavated 242 graves containing 247 bodies along with 6 cremations, and estimated that he had excavated less than one third of the cemetery which therefore contained 'at least six hundred': Thomas, 1887: 385. It should be noted here that there are also various other graves from Sleaford which may suggest additional burial clusters, helping to confirm the centrality of this locality: see the Gazetteer of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. Quite why this exceptionally large cemetery existed just to the east of a probably similarly large and contemporary cremation cemetery is a matter of speculation (perhaps based around the two groups mentioned in fn. 80), but its existence does offer additional strong support for the Sleaford-Quarrington area being an extremely significant social/sacred/funerary focus for the region.
- 84 Potentially beginning early in the fifth century too. Not only is cremation an early rite, but just to the north of Sleaford there has been found a 'heavy bronze cicada shaped mount, probably of Germanic type and of late 4th–5th century date': Lincolnshire Historic Environment Record, 65301.
- 85 Roffe, 1979, particularly 15–17 and fig. 7; Roffe, 2000b; Pawley, 1988; Pawley, 1997: 68–9; Sawyer, 1998: 231; Robertson, 1939, no. 7. What the exact relationship is between the sokes and the Sleaford estate mentioned in the charter is open to debate.
- 86 Roffe, 2000c; Roffe, 1977, especially p. 31.
- 87 Roffe, 1986. Such an estate could have been created at the supposed first foundation of the site in honour of St Æthelthryth in the late seventh century, or perhaps most credibly when King Æthelred of Mercia entrusted the site to St Werburg, his niece, at some point before the end of the seventh century (she died c. 700 in this community): see Roffe, 1986, and further below, p. 187.
- 88 Blair, 1989: 102–05; Blair, 2005: 154–5.
- 89 Huggett, 1988: 64–5; Arnold, 1997: 103–05.
- 90 Huggett, 1988: 68–71; Arnold, 1997: 105.
- 91 Arnold, 1997: 121; Huggett, 1988: 89, 91; Hamerow, 2005: 285.
- 92 Huggett, 1988: 64–6, 91; Hamerow, 2005: 285; Arnold, 1997: 123.
- 93 Roffe, 1979, particularly fig. 7; Roffe, 2000b; Daubney, 2009. My thanks to Adam Daubney for allowing me access to the unpublished text of his 2009 lecture to the CBA; page numbers cited below are taken from the printout of this. The location of the 'South Lincolnshire' findspot has been previously narrowed down to the 'Sleaford area' in Leahy, 2007b: 130.
- 94 See especially Ulmschneider, 2000: 64; Leahy, 2007b: 130.
- 95 Ulmschneider, 2000: 63–5 (she records 90 coins in total, some of which are not *sceattas*); Vince, 2006: 527; Daubney, 2009: 3, and personal communication. For examples, see Portable Antiquities Scheme LIN-DEC3F4 (Series C, c. 680–710); LIN-EEFB05 (Series E, variant D, c. 700–735); LIN-B3D8D0 ('Saroaldo' group, c. 705–715); LIN-DEE7D1 (a copper alloy copy of a Series E *sceatta*, c. 680–710); and LIN-DE6F30 (Series J, c. 710–750).
- 96 Daubney, 2009: 1–2, 6. See Cameron, 1998: 49, for the early forms (*Gerewic*, *Gerewik*, *Gerwyk*) – he sees the first element as a personal name (**Gæra*) rather than Old English *gāra*, 'triangular plot of land', and treats *wīc* as having one of its other meanings. The first is certainly very possible (cf. the trading settlement at Ipswich: *Gipeswic*, 'the *wīc* belonging to **Gip*'), though Adam Daubney argues for a derivation from *gāra* on the basis of the shape formed by the surrounding parish boundaries; on the meaning of *wīc*, the revelation that Garwick is the location of the 'South Lincolnshire Productive Site' makes it virtually certain that it has the meaning 'trading settlement, trading centre' here (compare *Hamwic*, Southampton, and the other *wīc* sites). Ekwall, 1960: 192, lists the site as 'Garrick' and suggests the first element is *gāra*, noting that the attested spellings of this element would indicate that the place-name has been 'Scandinavianized' at some point.
- 97 Daubney, 2009: 2, notes ten *tremisses* plus one additional recent find (July 2009) via personal communication; the Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds (EMC), based at the Fitzwilliam Museum (<http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/dept/coins/emc/>), lists the gold shilling – 2000.0537 –

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- and twelve *tremisses*, not including the most recent find, hence the total given here (note, one of the coins may have been minted in Ipswich rather than on the continent: 2000.0069); Sawyer, 1998: 258, lists the gold blank flan. See also Vince, 2006: 527, and Abdy and Williams, 2006: 44–5, 49, 52, 53, 55, 61. Leahy, 2007b: 158, notes two gold shillings and eight *tremisses* from Lindsey; using Sawyer’s list, the EMC, the PAS and Abdy and Williams, the total of *tremisses* from Lindsey can be increased to twelve, including one *tremissis* of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice, 582–602 (Portable Antiquities Scheme LVPL-9C93A2).
- 98 Style I die: Portable Antiquities Scheme LIN-4F6CE7; Daubney, 2009: 2. Other finds include a sword pommel (Portable Antiquities Scheme LIN-7B7528) which was possibly originally gold-plated.
- 99 Abdy and Williams, 2006: 54; Vince, 2006: 527; Ulmschneider, 2000: 64, 70. The gold *tremissis* is Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds item 1998.0041; this database also lists 11 eighth-century *sceattas*, one ninth-century *styca*, and two coins of Offa from ‘near Sleaford’.
- 100 For example, Hamerow, 2005: 285.
- 101 See above, Chapters Two and Three, especially pp. 104–06.
- 102 With regard to the Sleaford-Quarrington district, not only do we have a probably sizeable cremation cemetery and associated territory located some considerable distance from Lincoln, but all three types of post-Roman British metalwork – Class 1 brooches (Folkingham and Osbournby), Type G brooches (Sleaford and Osbournby) and hanging bowls (Sleaford, Walcot, and Osbournby) – are found in this region. See further pp. 62–5 for the implications of these items.
- 103 Above, pp. 91, 92–3, 101, 113 (fn. 74). Is there some link between the two Class 1 brooches from Folkingham; the group-name which underlies Threekingham and almost certainly pre-dates *c.* 600 given the origins of its first element; the Welsh-speakers referenced in the place-name Walcot and the escutcheon from a sixth-/seventh-century hanging bowl found there; and the Class 1 brooch, Type G brooch, and hanging bowl fragment found at Osbournby, given that all four parishes abut each other? This is certainly an extremely intriguing coincidence of evidence, if nothing else. The other two British brooches from Anglo-Saxon graves in this region are from the Sleaford cemetery, as is the other hanging bowl: Dickinson, 1982: 48, 50, 52 and figs. 1–4; Bruce-Mitford, 2005: 26, 34–5, 212–14.
- 104 Elsdon, 1997, especially pp. 39, 76.
- 105 Wachter, 1995: 40; Yorke, 2003a: 396–7.
- 106 Based on Ben Whitwell’s map (Whitwell, 2001: 15), on the assumption that most Romano-British ‘small towns’ in Lincolnshire are now known and thus an analysis of likely territories for these ‘towns’ using Thiessen polygons is legitimate; as Helena Hamerow observes, in such circumstances territories reconstructed using these techniques can correspond well with reality: Hamerow, 2002: 101–02.
- 107 Daubney, 2009: 7. Sawyer, 1998: 258, lists two ‘staters’, the third is the recent find Portable Antiquities Scheme LIN-F4A8B4. It is tempting to compare the finds of Late Iron Age gold coins, evidence for a Romano-British votive shrine, and the presence of a sixth-century cemetery, with the Iron Age/Romano-British/Anglo-Saxon site at Lissingleys discussed above, pp. 128–32. The chief difference seems to be the use the site was put to subsequently: a ‘*wīc*’ here and a meeting-place at Lissingleys. There is also more Romano-British material currently known from the latter site, though Roman and Iron Age material continues to be found at Garwick.
- 108 See further above, pp. 116–25.
- 109 A date of separation before *c.* 690 would also be helpful with regard to explaining why York never claimed ecclesiastical authority south of the Witham, see pp. 118, 143 (fn. 9).
- 110 Maddicott, 2005, especially 16–21; Cowie, 2001, especially p. 195. The documentary *terminus ante quem* for the re-establishment of full Mercian control over *Lundenwic* comes in 733, when Æthelbald of Mercia granted remission on tolls due on one ship ‘*in portu Lundeniae*’ to the Bishop of Rochester.
- 111 Leahy, 2007b: 159. Ulmschneider, 2000: 78; Blackburn, 1993: 83.
- 112 Daubney, 2009: 3; Maddicott, 2005: 9–10 – of course, Middle Saxon coins are almost certainly easier to recover from the Garwick site than they are from *Lundenwic*.

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- 113 Ulmschneider, 2000: 63–5, 66; Daubney, 2009: 4.
- 114 Maddicott, 2005: 9–10; Ulmschneider, 2000: 66.
- 115 Ulmschneider, 2000: 63–5 (especially fig. 6), 67–9; Leahy, 2007b: 129–30.
- 116 Whether Garwick ever made the move from being a ‘trading site’ to being a permanent trading settlement – as found at London, Ipswich and Southampton – is impossible to say without detailed field-walking and excavation; there is a significant quantity of lead melt, spindle whorls and weights from the site, but the Fen Edge location and lack of subsequent significant settlement may suggest that it did not. On the whole, Garwick appears to be an unusually tightly controlled market on a marginal site, rather than a true trading settlement.
- 117 Pawley, 1988; Pawley, 1997: 69. See also Roffe, 2000b. On the name Quarrington, see Cameron, 1998: 99, and Mills, 1991: 266.
- 118 As to why there is no evidence for Garwick continuing to function as a major regional trading site after the middle of the eighth century, various explanations seem possible (Daubney, 2009: 4–5); one additional possibility is that, if this was a royal Mercian site, then the kings of Mercia may have simply begun to favour *Lundenwic* once they had established full control over it (by 733).
- 119 Leahy, 1993: 36; Leahy, 2007b: 48–9; Leahy, 2007a: 6; Sawyer, 1998: 51; Everson, 1993: 98; Williams, 2002; Williams, 2004.
- 120 On Thiessen polygons, compare Dark, 1994: 113–15, and Hamerow, 2002: 101–02. It might also be wondered whether Skegness/*Tric* ought to have its own polygon too, on account of its probable Late Roman fort and the place-name evidence discussed in Owen and Coates, 2003; note also the recent find of a late sixth- to mid-seventh-century gold *tremissis* – EMC 2001.0741 – and the significant quantity of eighth- and ninth-century metalwork from ‘near Skegness’ (Ulmschneider, 2000: 65).
- 121 Above, pp. 55–8, 73–5.
- 122 Sawyer, 1998: 84, 125–6, 134–6, 138; Leahy, 2007b: 49, 113; Hadley, 2006: 90–2; Insley, 2006: 251; and especially Turner, 2000.
- 123 Cf. Balkwill, 1993.
- 124 Williams, 2002: 352–5; Thompson, 1956: 189–92, especially p. 190.
- 125 Everson, 1993: 98; Roffe, 2001; Lincolnshire Historic Environment Record 43906.
- 126 Roffe, 2001: 39; Cameron, 1998: 82; Cameron, 1996a: 26.
- 127 Green, 2008: 16, fn. 72; Sawyer, 1998: 51; Cameron, 1996a: 25–6; Owen, 1997b: 263, 267; Owen, 1980; Owen, 1997a. I would thus consider Ludborough wapentake to be a late creation, carved out of Louthesk, as its size and relationship to the northern boundary of Louthesk would suggest; similarly, it is not implausible that the parts of the wapentake of Calcewath north of Meers Bank were an addition to this wapentake: see further Fig. 37 and Roffe, 2001: 39, for the wapentake boundaries.
- 128 It is perhaps worth observing here that although Louth takes its name from the river Lud (**hlūde*, ‘the loud one’), North Cockerington (*Cocrinton* at Domesday) is located further downstream and seems to preserve the British name for the river in its etymology, ‘the village, *tūn*, associated with the (river) Cocker’, as Cocker is a Celtic river-name: Cameron, 1998: 32, 82. Given that place-names involving *tūn* are now considered to be chiefly of a mid-eighth-century or later date (see Cox, 1976), this suggests that both the British and Old English names for the river were in use throughout much of the pre-Viking period. In this context it is similarly interesting to note that a spring dedicated to St Helen lies in the heart of the town and that one of the tributaries of the Lud – the Crake, which runs along Welton le Wold parish boundary – appears to bear a Celtic river-name (Ekwall, 1928: 261, 101-02). See the Cleatham cemetery for another major cremation cemetery which has potential evidence for post-Roman Britons living in its immediate vicinity: Green, 2008: 24, 28 and fn. 114.
- 129 Leahy, 2007b: 111–14; Cox, 1994–5; above, pp. 74–5. It is certainly conceivable that Yarborough Camp could have always been the meeting-place for the Elsham group, particularly as the cemetery site is not topographically distinct, unlike those at (for example) Loveden Hill, West Keal and Louth. Although not within modern Lincolnshire, the Newark Millgate cemetery is also relevant here as it forms part of the ‘ring’ of cremation cemeteries around Lincoln. The evidence from here

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- accords well with the relationship described above between cremation cemeteries and wapentakes, with Newark being the centre of an Anglo-Scandinavian wapentake. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that the wapentake of Newark was actually independent of Nottinghamshire before c. 950 and possibly attached to Lincolnshire: D. Roffe, 1987/2002: chapter 8, fn. 21.
- 130 Leahy, 2007a: 6; Leahy, 2007b: 49; Roffe, 2001: 39.
- 131 See Everson, 1993: 97–8.
- 132 Leahy, 2007b: 93–6; Everson, 1993: 97–8; Sawyer, 1998: 52–3.
- 133 See especially above, pp. 173–85 and also Pawley, 1988: 37. The northern half of Aveland wapentake also looks to have been originally dependent upon Sleaford-Quarrington, though this relationship may have been severed by the probable carving up of the *regio* of the *Billingas* in the late seventh century by the Mercian rulers (above, pp. 185–8).
- 134 On the location, see Williams, 2002: 355, and Williams, 2004: 111, 119–20.
- 135 Hines, 1996: 262–3 (figs. 17.1 and 17.2), phases the early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries known to the mid-1990s into those which were certainly in existence by c. 525 and those which were certainly in existence by c. 560. An examination of the finds from the most recently discovered sites (listed in the *Gazetteer*) gives us no good reason to dispute this conclusion; although there are a very small number of individual ‘early’ items from the north and south of the cemetery group, these may well be heirloom pieces (see above, p. 69, fn. 29, on the North Hykeham brooch) and the early cemeteries are still all in this central zone, with Loveden itself being the most obvious example. In terms of the early Anglo-Saxon centrality of Loveden Hill, it may also be relevant that there seem to have been some very high-status burials in this cemetery in the seventh century, as indicated by finds of a Coptic bowl and a sceptre: Williams, 2004: 123–4; Page, 1986; Lincolnshire Historic Environment Record 30280.
- 136 Williams, 2004: 123–4; Williams, 2002: 353.
- 137 For the probable meeting-place of Threo wapentake, Spellar Wood (first recorded in the early twelfth century), see Lincolnshire Historic Environment Record 35331; Roffe, 2001: 39, maps the medieval wapentake boundary here.
- 138 Portable Antiquities Scheme NLM6073 and NLM963; Williams, 2002: 356–7; Williams, 2004: 121. See also Williams, 2004: 114 and fig. 5.7, on pyre sites.
- 139 See Leahy, 2007a: 12, for the argument that we are now aware of most – if not all – significant cremation cemeteries in the region; as such, the Great Ponton pyre site seems likely to be associated with Loveden Hill to the north (although there is a mixed cremation and inhumation cemetery at Woolsthorpe, this is still a significant distance from Great Ponton and it is likely to have only served a local community).
- 140 See, for example, Courtney, 1981: 94, on the general issues with assuming that all ‘cemetery groups’ relate to only a single population-group.
- 141 This expansion is discussed above, pp. 57–8. See above, p. 193 and fn. 135, on the phasing and dating of cemeteries in this region. All of these cemeteries fall to the north of Loveden wapentake, which may be significant (see Roffe, 2001: 39).
- 142 One possible problem with treating these southern cemeteries as a single coherent ‘group’ focussed on Loveden Hill is that the small Ancaster cremation cemetery, containing 40 or so burials, has been considered indicative of an early Anglo-Saxon ‘central place’ in its own right: Williams, 2002: 347–50. However, this cemetery does seem to have been far smaller in scale than that at Loveden Hill and it could perhaps therefore be treated as a subordinate cemetery within the eastern edge of Loveden Hill’s territory, potentially laying claim to the Roman fort there. One might compare here the small cremation cemetery of Wold Newton (containing 20 or so burials) which probably lay on the northern edge of the territory dependent upon South Elkington-Louth, and the possible small cremation cemetery just to the north of Hibaldstow Roman ‘small town’ which was almost certainly within the territory of Cleatham-Kirton in Lindsey.
- 143 See Davies and Vierck, 1974: 239; David Roffe in Crowson *et al*, 2005: 280. On the date of the *-ingas* names, see Cameron, 1996b: 71.
- 144 Cameron, 1998: 2 (Alvingham), 53 (Grayingham), 88 (Messingham), and 133 (Waddingham). As was noted already (pp. 172–73), we can only really be confident in seeing an *-ingas* group as having

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- more than local import when we have several instances of it in place-names or a documentary reference to a *regio* named after it. The three *Billingas* names are the only clearly convincing case of this from within *Lindissi*, although the two neighbouring *Wintringas* place-names (Winteringham and Winterton) are potentially interesting given the coincidence of the name *Wint(r)a* in the *Lindissi* royal genealogy (above, pp. 90–1). Whilst we do have two settlements or estates named after groups called the *Willingas* (Cherry Willingham and South Willingham), they are around twelve miles apart and a coincidence cannot be easily discounted. Similarly, there are two settlements or estates linked to groups called the *Wifelingas* (Willingham by Stow and North Willingham), but these are eighteen miles apart and the *Wifelingas* in both instances are perhaps better treated not as early Anglian ‘population-groups’ but rather as *Kultverbände* under the leadership of pagan priests (Old English **Wifel*): Insley, 2000b: 426, but cf. Fellows-Jensen, 2004.
- 145 See Chapter Four, pp. 125–35, above. There does, for example, seem to be an unusual amount of evidence for the survival of the names of (Romano-)British ‘central places’ in the Lincoln region. Thus the name Lincoln derives directly from the Late British **Lindgolun*; the first element of the name Horncastle directly translates the first element of the British name of this site (Old English *horn-*, British *banno-*); Lissingleys looks to derive from Late British/Archaic Welsh **liss-* (see Welsh *llys*: ‘court, hall, parliament, gathering of nobles, etc.’); the name of the fort at Skegness looks to have been preserved in the eleventh-century place-name *Tric* (< Latin *Traiectus*); and the name Kirmington may well derive from the British name of Kirmington ‘small Roman town’. It is also perhaps worth noting here that Caistor Roman fort and town has a *wichām* (< Latin *vicus*) close-by it, which is equally suggestive.
- 146 Potter, 1989: 171–2; see, for example, Courtney, 1981: 96, for the suggestion that Peterborough lay at the heart of at least the North *Gyrwe*.
- 147 Above, pp. 182–3, 206 (fn. 103).
- 148 Bishop, 2000: 1–2. On this *regio*, see above, pp. 121–23.

6

Lindisfarne, the *Lindisfaran*, and the Origins of Anglo-Saxon Northumbria

When considering the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of the kingdom of *Lindissi* and their historical significance, it has often been wondered whether there is some sort of relationship between the place-names Lindsey/*Lindissi* and Lindisfarne and, if so, what the import of this might be.¹ That such thoughts are not illegitimate is to a large degree confirmed by an examination of both the group-name for the inhabitants of *Lindissi* (Anglo-Latin *Lindisfari*, Old English *Lindisfaran*) and the early forms of the place-name Lindisfarne (Anglo-Latin *insula Lindisfarnensis*, Old English *Lindisfarnae*, *Lindisfarena ea*).² In what follows the evidence for such a relationship is examined in detail, looking first at the linguistic case for and against this and then moving on to the historical and archaeological evidence which might have some bearing upon its plausibility, before examining the question of the significance of any such relationship.

The Etymology of Lindisfarne

Broadly speaking, there have been two main approaches to the question of the etymology of the name Lindisfarne. The first of these has been to consider that any morphological similarity between Old English *Lindisfarnae/Lindisfarena ea* and the Lincolnshire group-name *Lindisfaran* is entirely coincidental. Such explanations independently derive the first element of the place-name *Lindisfarnae/Lindisfarena ea* from British **lindo-* ('pool, lake'), with reference to either the stretch of water which lies between the island of Lindisfarne and the mainland or alternatively some pool of fresh water on the island itself. The second element of the name is then either left as an unidentified British word, for a wholly British etymology of Lindisfarne, or treated as Old English *faran*, in which case Lindisfarne would probably be the island belonging to the people who travelled across the water between the island and the mainland.³

Whilst such an independent British or part-British etymology for Lindisfarne has proved convincing for some commentators, there are in fact a number of very serious problems with such a hypothesis. One is quite simply that we actually already know both the British and the Irish names for the island of Lindisfarne, and whilst they are clearly related, in neither case do they resemble anything remotely like *Lindisfarnae/Lindisfarena ea*. Rather, the name of the island was in Old Welsh *Medcaut/Metcaud* and in Old Irish *Inis Medcoit/Insula Medgoet*, both of which derive from a Latin place-name *medicāta (insula)*, the 'island of healing', borrowed in the

Late or post-Roman period. The significance of this point is, needless to say, considerable.⁴

Another major problem stems from the notion that the first element of *Lindisfarnae/Lindisfarena ea* is independently generated from British **lindo-* ('pool, lake'). On the one hand, in those theories where **lindo-* would refer to the waters between the mainland and the island, such a usage of the word would be highly unusual and unparalleled in either Welsh or Irish place-names.⁵ On the other, in those theories where **lindo-* would refer to a fresh-water pool on the island itself, *faran* would not be a plausible second element and instead we would have to leave the entire second half of the name unexplained, which is hardly a satisfactory situation.⁶ Even more important, however, is the fact that it is extremely unlikely that any independent derivation of Old English *Lindisfarnae/Lindisfarena ea* from British **lindo-* would actually produce either of these forms rather than the non-existent forms ***Linnisfarnae/**Linnisfarena ea*, whatever **lindo-* referred to.

The issue here is that, if one wishes to independently derive the English place-name Lindisfarne from British **lindo-*, then one must place the adoption of the name Lindisfarne by the Bernician Anglo-Saxons before the mutation of *-nd-* to *-nn-* in Late British/Archaic Welsh, as otherwise the name should be recorded as ***Linnisfarnae*, not *Lindisfarnae*.⁷ If this mutation was only complete by around 600, as is usually assumed in studies of the name Lindisfarne, then the form *Lindisfarnae* causes no problems, as both the written and the archaeological evidence suggests that Anglo-Saxons were in the Lindisfarne region from about 550 or a little later and so would have adopted the name before *-nd-* became *-nn-*.⁸ Unfortunately, however, such an

end-date for this mutation refers to the orthographically-conservative British epigraphic and written evidence, and any mid- to late sixth-century Anglo-Saxon borrowing would have instead occurred orally: the significance of this is that, orally, the change from *-nd-* to *-nn-* in Late British/Archaic Welsh is likely to have been completed much earlier, by around 500 at the latest. As such, the notion that a name for the island independently derived from British **lindo-* and adopted by the Anglo-Saxons around 550 or a little later would take the Old English form *Lindisfarnae*, rather than non-existent ***Linnisfarnae*, is open to very serious doubt indeed.⁹ When taken together with the other concerns outlined above, most especially the fact that we already know the post-Roman British name for the island, the theory of a British origin for the place-name Lindisfarne must consequently be rejected.

The second approach to the question of the etymology of Lindisfarne has been to admit that there is almost certainly a direct relationship between either *Lindissi* or *Lindisfaran* and the place-name *Lindisfarnae/Lindisfarena ea*. However, where we go after this is somewhat disputed. Most have argued that *Lindissi/Lindisfaran* are the earliest and primary names and that *Lindisfarnae/Lindisfarena ea* is a secondary Old English formation based upon one of them; on the other hand, Richard Coates has recently suggested that *Lindisfaran* is the later, secondary, name and that it was actually borrowed from the island-name *Lindisfarnae/Lindisfarena ea*. This latter theory is based around two related hypotheses: one, that the group-name *Lindisfaran* is not the ‘true’ form of the name for the inhabitants of the kingdom of *Lindissi* (which was ‘correctly’ *Lindisware*) and is instead a false misapplication of the name of Lindisfarne to the people of *Lindissi*, with *Lindisfaran* being inherently implausible

as a group-name; and, two, that whilst a British root for *Lindisfarnae/Lindisfarena ea* must be rejected, we have a plausible alternative to seeing *Lindisfarnae* as etymologically derivative of *Lindissi/Lindisfaran* in an hypothetical Archaic Irish **Lindis-feranna*, ‘domains at/of (a stream named) *Lindis*’.¹⁰

Starting with the first hypothesis, it has to be said that the suggestion that *Lindisware*, not *Lindisfaran*, is the original form of the name of the population-group which inhabited *Lindissi* strains credulity beyond breaking point. Quite simply, *Lindisware* (‘*Lindis*-dwellers’) is attested as the group-name for the inhabitants of *Lindissi* only a single time, in one early twelfth-century manuscript that reflects in part an early eleventh-century recension of the ‘Anglo-Saxon Chronicle’.¹¹ In contrast, *Lindisfaran* is multiply attested in, for example, Bede’s early eighth-century *Historia Ecclesiastica*, all manuscripts of the originally pre-Viking ‘Tribal Hidage’, the eighth-century ‘Anglian Collection of royal genealogies and regnal lists’, the pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon episcopal lists, and the subscriptions attached to the report of the Papal Legates of 786.¹² In other words, it is quite clear which is the correct and original pre-Viking form, and it is not *Lindisware*. Rather than adopting a frankly far-fetched and untenable hypothesis wherein the ‘true’ group-name of the people of *Lindissi*, *Lindisware*, is somehow mysteriously replaced in all Anglo-Saxon documents – other than a single twelfth-century manuscript of the ‘Chronicle’ – by the name of the island of Lindisfarne, it is far simpler to treat *Lindisware* as a false and very late creation intended merely to bring the *Lindissi* group-name into line with others of the more familiar *X-ware* type, for example the *Meanware* of east Hampshire and the *Cantware* of Kent.¹³

As to the claim that *Lindisfaran* is inherently implausible as a group-name, it ought to be acknowledged that the name has caused problems in the past and there have consequently been some implausible translations of *Lindisfaran* (for example, ‘*Lindis*-goers, the people who resort to a place named *Lindis*-’), about which we would be right to be sceptical.¹⁴ However, this is not to say that the name *Lindisfaran* itself is in any way implausible as a group-name for the inhabitants of *Lindissi*, only that some of the suggested translations of this name are implausible, and this has more to do with an insufficient consideration of the potential meanings of Old English *faran* in such a group-name than anything else.¹⁵ In fact, if one does consider more carefully the range of meanings possible for *faran*, based on the Anglo-Saxon and Continental evidence, then *Lindisfaran* is actually readily and clearly explicable as a group-name which would be more than appropriate for an Anglo-Saxon population-group of the ‘migration period’: the Anglo-Saxons of *Lindissi* were, on this basis, quite literally ‘the people who migrated (*faran*) to the territory of **Lindēs* (> Old English *Lindis*)’.¹⁶ Furthermore, this notion that *Lindisfaran* is in no way implausible as an early Anglo-Saxon group-name is strongly supported by the evidence for the existence of other closely related group-names in the early medieval period. One might, for example, point to the *Burgundofarones*/*Burgundaefarones* who appear in the seventh-century ‘Chronicle of Fredegar’ as the ruling group within Frankish Burgundy, and it is worth observing here that the eighth-century Franco-Burgundian *Passio sancti Sigismundi regis* states that *Burgundofarones* was actually the original group-name for the Burgundian tribe.¹⁷ Similarly very relevant are the Lombard *faerae*, the name apparently given to the Lombard groups (clans, extended kin-groups and/or

military ‘followings’) which migrated into northern Italy in the sixth century and took over territories there; indeed, it has been argued that this organization of the migrating groups into *fares* was common to not only the Lombards but also the Burgundians and the Ostrogoths too.¹⁸ Finally, it should be noted that in the Old English poem *Widsið* we do actually find reference to another supposed kingdom and population-group whose name involves Old English *faran*: *Hringweald wæs haten Herefarena cyning*, ‘Hringweald was called the king of the *Herefaran*’.¹⁹

Taken together, the above two points – that *Lindisfaran*, not *Lindisware*, was clearly the original name for the population-group which inhabited the kingdom of *Lindissi*, and that *Lindisfaran* is in no way implausible as a group-name – do fatally undermine the case for the similarity between the place-name *Lindisfarne* and the group-name *Lindisfaran* being due to a bizarre misapplication of the place-name *Lindisfarne* to the people of *Lindissi*. In such circumstances, *if* the name *Lindisfarne* is potentially of Irish origin – as the second hypothesis which underpins this theory holds, seeing it as coined by the seventh-century Irish monks who founded the monastery at *Lindisfarne* – then we would need to start thinking about a rather remarkable coincidence having occurred in order to produce two rare and near-identical but unrelated names. The question is, does the evidence for an Irish origin for *Lindisfarne* justify positing such a coincidence? There are, needless to say, once again several very serious issues with such an etymology, which suggest that the answer to this must be in the negative.

One of these is the question of redundancy. As was noted above, we do actually know of both the Welsh name for *Lindisfarne* (*Medcaut/Metcaud* < Latin *medicāta*

(*insula*)) and the Irish one too, *Inis Medcoit/Insula Medgoet*, this appearing to be an Archaic Irish borrowing of the Welsh form of the name.²⁰ As such, it might well be legitimately wondered how credible it is that the Irish monks would have felt the need to coin a second Archaic Irish name for the island.²¹ This would not, perhaps, be so much of a stumbling block as it is if the suggested Archaic Irish etymology for Lindisfarne – **Lindis-feranna*, ‘domains at/of (a stream named) *Lindis*’²² – was clear, plausible, and uncontentious, but it is not. Thus, for example, the hypothetical Irish form **Lindis-feranna* would involve a first element that was a derivative of Archaic Irish **lind-* (‘pool, lake’) utilized as a stream-name, which is dubious, and its first and second elements would moreover be used in a way which is effectively unique and unparalleled in other Irish place-names.²³ Indeed, even leaving to one side such considerable linguistic concerns, there are other sound reasons for rejecting this Irish etymology for Lindisfarne. Quite simply, the name ‘domains at/of (a stream named) *Lindis*’ seems implausible as a name for the island chosen by its new monastic owners; the plural ‘domains, territories’ (*feranna*) is curious to say the least, and there were surely other far more obvious defining geographical features which could have been referenced in any such name than a stream, especially as the stream supposedly known as *Lindis* is only two feet wide.²⁴ All told then, not only do we already know the Archaic Irish name for the island, but the proposed etymology would seem to involve an exceptional degree of special pleading and produces a name which does, in any case, seem implausible. In consequence, it is impossible to see a derivation from a hypothetical Archaic Irish **Lindis-feranna* as a credible explanation of the name Lindisfarne.²⁵

We thus have a situation in which the proposed British and Irish etymologies of Lindisfarne must be rejected as far too problematical and speculative, but at the same time an explanation for both the name Lindisfarne and its similarity to the group-name *Lindisfaran* is still very much required. Fortunately, there is a more than credible solution to this dilemma available to us, in the form of a perfectly legitimate and frequently-noted Old English etymology for *Lindisfarnae/Lindisfarena ea* that consists simply of Old English *Lindisfaran* plus Old English *ēg*, giving ‘the island (*ēg*) of the *Lindisfaran*’, with the first element taking the genitive plural form (*-ena*). Given that this etymology would easily and fully explain the name Lindisfarne and that – in the light of the above discussion – there is no plausible alternative to it available nor any other way of explaining the similarity of the names *Lindisfaran* and Lindisfarne, it must therefore be asked why Lindisfarne was named the ‘island of the *Lindisfaran*’.²⁶

One hypothesis is that the group-name *Lindisfaran* could here be an independent coining formed from the first part of the Old English kingdom-name *Lindissi* plus Old English *faran*, meaning something akin to ‘the people who have been to or regularly go to *Lindissi*’.²⁷ This, however, seems both implausible and problematical as an explanation of the name: not only would it require a remarkable coincidence whereby the group-name *Lindisfaran* was independently coined not just once but twice over (and with a different meaning on each occasion), but it is very difficult to see why *Lindissi* would have been so immensely important to the people of Lindisfarne that they would have chosen to name themselves (or were named) the *Lindisfaran* after their supposed travels back and forth to this kingdom far to their south.²⁸ It is surely

far more convincing and credible to treat the *Lindisfaran* referenced in the name *Lindisfarnae/Lindisfarena ea* ('the island of the *Lindisfaran*') as simply members of the well-attested Lincolnshire population-group called the *Lindisfaran* who had taken possession of this island at some point. The appearance of this group-name in the only acceptable etymology for Lindisfarne is, after all, both singular and striking, and the notion that there was a second, independent, coining of this group-name for the people of Lindisfarne might well be seen to be special pleading designed to avoid the obvious implications of the etymology 'the island of the *Lindisfaran*'. As Thomas Charles-Edwards and Patrick Wormald have noted, a direct link between the *Lindisfaran* of Lincolnshire and the *Lindisfaran* of Lindisfarne is 'as certain as anything in place-name studies can be', and there consequently seems little credible option but to accept Eilert Ekwall's primary interpretation that the name *Lindisfarnae/Lindisfarena ea* signified that the island was settled by the *Lindisfaran*, that is to say migrants or colonists from *Lindissi*, presumably at some point before the foundation of the monastery at Lindisfarne in 635.²⁹ Rather than trying to think up alternative etymologies in order to avoid this conclusion, we would perhaps do better to ask what the context and implications of this transparent etymology might actually be.

The Lindisfarne in Northumbria: the Historical and Archaeological Context

The above conclusion that the name Lindisfarne is almost certainly Old English in derivation and probably means ‘the island (*ēg*) belonging to/settled by members of the *Lindisfarne* population-group of Lincolnshire’ gains a very credible context from a consideration of the history and archaeology of early Anglo-Saxon Bernicia and Deira, the two kingdoms which made up later Northumbria.

The key point is that, whilst the available archaeological evidence clearly indicates that there was a notable degree of Anglo-Saxon activity in the Lindisfarne region from the middle of the sixth century onwards (as evidenced by, for example, the settlements and cemeteries at Yeavinger, Milfield, Thirlings and Bamburgh), south of this region there is no convincing evidence for significant pre-seventh-century Anglo-Saxon activity until we reach Hadrian’s Wall. Even here the significance and meaning of the Anglo-Saxon material discovered is open to debate, perhaps being best explained as a result of a continued British control of the Wall that involved a partial employment of Anglo-Saxon mercenaries, rather than anything else (Fig. 40).³⁰ Needless to say, this is suggestive in the present context; it might well be taken to imply that the area around Lindisfarne was indeed settled by an Anglo-Saxon group which had arrived there via the sea. Certainly the alternative hypothesis, that the Anglo-Saxon settlements and cemeteries of the Lindisfarne region were the result of a northwards land-based expansion of Anglo-Saxon rule from the area around Hadrian’s Wall – this thus being the original ‘core’ of the kingdom of Bernicia – would seem implausible, given both the distribution of the sixth-century finds and the

nature of the evidence from the Wall.³¹ Moreover, such a scenario would also conflict with the evidence for the Lindisfarne region being itself the early ‘core area’ of the kingdom of Bernicia, not an outlying and later northern dependency. Bede’s testimony strongly implies that, for him at least, Lindisfarne and Bamburgh (four miles to the south of the island, on the mainland coast) represented very significant royal possessions and the historical core of the kingdom of Bernicia, and this is supported by the legends included in the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum*, where both Bamburgh and Lindisfarne feature as the chief strongholds of the Bernician kings from the middle of the sixth century onwards (Figs 41 and 42).³² Indeed, even if the literary references are left to one side, it has to be recognized that the archaeological evidence is fully in accord with the idea that it was the Lindisfarne-Bamburgh region, not that around Hadrian’s Wall, which was the main heartland of the kingdom of Bernicia in the sixth and earlier seventh centuries: not only are several early ‘palace’ sites, such as that at Yeavering, known from this region, but the cemeteries at Bamburgh and Sprouston dwarf all other known Bernician cemeteries.³³

All told, the etymologically derived notion that Lindisfarne was settled by *Lindisfaran* – colonists from *Lindissi*, far to the south – finds some very considerable support in the archaeology of the region, as the available evidence strongly suggests that Anglo-Saxon activity in the Lindisfarne region was not part of a natural and gradual northwards expansion of Anglo-Saxon rule from a base around Hadrian’s Wall, but rather the result of a sixth-century marine migration to the Lindisfarne region, just as the etymology of the name would require.³⁴ The problem is that the written and archaeological evidence additionally indicates that this same area was a

crucial heartland of the late sixth- and seventh-century Bernician kings. It is consequently difficult to avoid associating the archaeologically observed mid- to late sixth-century migration to the region around Lindisfarne with the arrival of either the founders of the kingdom of Bernicia or the ancestors of the same.³⁵ If this is correct, it is unlikely that another group would be subsequently allowed to settle the island of Lindisfarne, given the apparent status of the island as a royal territory and the fact that the neighbouring fortress of Bamburgh was ‘the royal city’ of the Bernicians.³⁶ Furthermore, the archaeological and textual evidence does not support the idea of a previous Anglo-Saxon migration to the region that took place before the mid-sixth century. The natural conclusion would thus seem to be that the migration of the *Lindisfaran* to Lindisfarne (recorded by the place-name ‘the island of the *Lindisfaran*’) was probably identical with the settlement of the ancestors of the historically-recorded Bernician kings, as no other instance of migration to this area is recorded or plausible. That is to say, it seems quite possible that the Bernician royal *Idingas* were ultimately *Lindisfaran* who had migrated to this region from the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of *Lindissi*.³⁷

This conclusion is, it has to be said, nowhere near as problematical as might be supposed. No explicit statement of the origins of the ancestors of the historical *Idingas* is found in the early medieval narrative sources which might contradict the idea that they were *Lindisfaran*, and at the same time it can scarcely be doubted that any mid-sixth-century group which migrated to the Lindisfarne-Bamburgh area must have come from the older Anglian settlements to the south (rather than directly from the Continent), of which those in *Lindissi* were very significant examples.³⁸ At

present, therefore, we have no good reason to reject the suggestion that the founders of the kingdom of Bernicia were *Lindisfaran* who had moved up the coast to Lindisfarne-Bamburgh. Moreover, a further argument can actually be offered in support of both the credibility of the above derivation of Lindisfarne from ‘the island of the *Lindisfaran*’ and the suggestion that Anglo-Saxons from the Lincoln region were of central importance to the origins of Northumbria.

Although the Lindisfarne-Bamburgh region certainly seems to have been the early ‘heartland’ of Bernician power, by the latter part of the seventh century a secondary royal ‘heartland’ also existed (and had perhaps come to dominate) in the south of the kingdom around the River Tyne, with the famous monastery at Jarrow being a significant centre within this.³⁹ This monastery was royally endowed on a substantial scale in 681–2, possibly with the intention to create a royal family minster close-by an important royal residence, and it has been argued by Ian Wood that Jarrow was in fact located next to the main base of the late seventh-century Northumbrian royal war fleet.⁴⁰ In the light of all of this, it is important to note that the name ‘Jarrow’ is actually an Old English population-group name, *Gyrwe*, with the early spellings all involving the dative plural ending, so that the name means ‘at the settlement of the *Gyrwe*’.⁴¹ The significance of this in the present context cannot be underestimated, as the existence of a significant Middle Anglian population-group named the *Gyrwe* in southern Lincolnshire and northern Cambridgeshire has been discussed at length in the previous chapter.⁴² Whilst it is not impossible that an identically formed population-group name – deriving from Old English *gyr*, ‘mud’ – was coined in both the Fenland and the Jarrow region, the coincidence is arresting; quite simply, it would

seem that at the centre of both of the historically-recorded Bernician ‘heartlands’ there was a place whose name appears to transparently involve an Anglo-Saxon group-name which is well attested in the Lincoln region.

This pattern is replicated when we turn from historically defined major centres of early Northumbria to those observed archaeologically. In Bernicia most early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries seem to have been small. The three largest known cemeteries were all located at early royal sites in the Lindisfarne-Bamburgh region (Bamburgh, Yeavering, and Sprouston); aside from these, by far the largest cemetery so far found is that at Norton in what was probably the far south of the Bernician kingdom, where 117 inhumations and three cremations have been excavated (compare, for example, the fifteen inhumations from Howick Heugh).⁴³ Although the cemetery itself began in the early sixth century, the place-name Norton was probably coined in the ninth century or afterwards; as such it cannot reflect the name of the settlement or estate which this cemetery served.⁴⁴ However, only half a mile to the east of the cemetery is Billingham, a pre-Viking ecclesiastical estate-centre that bears a name which is ‘one of the earliest Old English settlement forms to survive’ in the region and which current place-name chronologies would place securely within the early Anglo-Saxon period.⁴⁵ Needless to say, this name – *Billingham* in 1085, ‘the estate/homestead of the *Billingas*’⁴⁶ – once again references a group-name which is also attested in Lincolnshire, where it seems to have belonged to a significant population-group who inhabited a major *regio* of *Lindissi*.⁴⁷ This is, of course, intriguing, and in this context it may be worth noting that the excavators considered the cemetery at Norton to have been founded by settlers ‘from a region further south in Anglian England, such as

Yorkshire or Lincolnshire'.⁴⁸ Of course, an independent generation of this group-name in Northumbria is possible, but the coincidence is thought-provoking.

Turning to the southern part of Northumbria, we find a similar situation once again. Here the probable original centre of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Deira was located in the vicinity of Sancton. This is not only the location of the largest and earliest Anglo-Saxon cemetery in Deira, which seems to have its origins in the fifth century and from which the remains of 454 cremated individuals have been excavated, but Goodmanham – the site of the principal heathen shrine of Deira according to Bede – is found only a few miles to the north.⁴⁹ Both Nick Higham and Christopher Loveluck have suggested that the position of Sancton on the Roman road running north from the Humber, combined with its characteristically Southumbrian burial rite, are suggestive of the foundation of Deira by immigrants who arrived via the Humber, probably from northern Lindsey, and there are certainly close links between the cremation urns found at Sancton and those from the Lincolnshire cremation cemeteries of Cleatham, Elsham, South Elkington, and Baston.⁵⁰ This, in itself, is highly noteworthy in the present context, and the situation becomes even more interesting when it is recognized that, just to the west of Sancton, there is an extensive district known as Spalding Moor (*Spaldinghemore* in 1172) that includes a hamlet called Spaldington on its south side, both of which names contain the population-group name *Spaldingas*.⁵¹ Once again, the same group-name has been studied in the previous chapter as that of an important group within pre-Viking Lincolnshire, the *Spalde/Spaldingas*, and once again the coincidence is arresting,

particularly as the Baston cremation cemetery has been tentatively associated with the Lincolnshire *Spalde/Spaldingas*.⁵²

Whilst these instances of population-group names occurring both in Northumbria and in southern Lincolnshire might be individually dismissed as independently generated names, with their similarity to the Lincolnshire group-names being the result of coincidence, the combined weight of these coincidences is difficult to explain away. Furthermore, in each case the group-name is found at or next to some of the most important sites in Northumbria, as identifiable both from the archaeological and textual evidence (Fig. 40). Given this, the simplest and most credible solution may well be that Anglo-Saxon population-groups from Lincolnshire did indeed play a major role in both the settlement of Northumbria and the foundation of the kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira, as the place-name Lindisfarne implies. Although this evidence is not sufficient to put the case beyond all doubt, unless all three of the above names are held to be mere coincidences then these place-names do suggest that a migration to Lindisfarne might be plausibly seen as part of a larger role played by the Anglo-Saxon population-groups of the Lincoln region in Northumbrian prehistory, with this perhaps being a further indication of the importance of the Lincoln region in the early Anglo-Saxon period, as argued for earlier in this study.⁵³

Conclusion: Lindisfarne and the Lindisfaran

The argument pursued in the present chapter has covered a number of areas and its findings can be summarized as follows. First and foremost, it has to be said that attempts to avoid deriving the place-name Lindisfarne from the group-name *Lindisfaran*, relying instead upon a British or Irish etymology, fail to carry conviction and are beset by problems. The only credible solution to the name Lindisfarne would appear to be that it does indeed involve the Old English population-group name *Lindisfaran*, and moreover that the *Lindisfaran* of Lindisfarne ('the island of the *Lindisfaran*') are identical with the *Lindisfaran* who lived in *Lindissi*: in other words, it would seem that at some point Lindisfarne was settled by migrants from *Lindissi*. Furthermore, this conclusion does not stand alone. The archaeological evidence from Bernicia, for example, offers considerable support for this etymology, insofar as the area around and inland from Lindisfarne looks to have been settled by mid-sixth-century Anglo-Saxon immigrants, who – given the paucity of early Anglo-Saxon material to the immediate south of this region – probably had arrived there as the result of a marine migration from more southerly Anglo-Saxon centres. Equally, the idea that these migrants originated in the Lincoln region gains further credence from the fact that other major Lincolnshire population-group names are all similarly attested in place-names found at or close-by key sites within Northumbria, whilst Sancton cremation cemetery – probably the original 'central place' of the kingdom of Deira – had strong links to the cemeteries of the Lincoln region.

The available evidence also raises the possibility that not only was Lindisfarne founded by *Lindisfaran* who had moved up the coast from Lincolnshire, but that these *Lindisfaran* went on to provide the Bernician ruling dynasty, the *Idingas*. Fundamentally, the archaeologically evidenced sixth-century migration to, and settlement of, the Lindisfarne-Bamburgh region is difficult to dissociate from the supposed foundation of the kingdom of Bernicia in the mid-sixth century, with both the literary and the archaeological evidence indicating that the core of the Bernician kingdom did indeed lie in the Lindisfarne-Bamburgh region. Given that Bamburgh, ‘the royal city’ of Bernicia, is only four miles from Lindisfarne, and Lindisfarne seems to have been a significant early Bernician royal possession, it is hardly credible that any migration of *Lindisfaran* to Lindisfarne would have post-dated the foundation of Bernicia. At the same time, however, there is no archaeological or early textual support for a migration of Anglo-Saxons from *Lindissi* to the Lindisfarne region that antedated the middle of the sixth century. The implication would therefore seem to be that the founders of the Bernician kingdom or their ancestors were themselves the *Lindisfaran* embodied in the etymology of Lindisfarne argued for here. Certainly there is no early medieval evidence which might contradict this notion, and such an interpretation once again seems more than credible given the Lincolnshire links of the probable original centre of the kingdom of Deira (Sancton) and the apparent presence of other major Lincolnshire group-names at or next to some of the most important sites in early Northumbria.⁵⁴

This is just about as far as we can go with the available evidence. Such an arguably major role for the Anglo-Saxon population-groups of the Lincoln region in

the settlement and conquest of Northumbria is, needless to say, intriguing. Not only can it enable us to develop a more detailed understanding of the expansion of the area under Anglo-Saxon control in the fifth and sixth centuries, but it is potentially useful in other ways too. So, for example, a movement into the north by groups from the Lincoln region offers a very good context for recent suggestions that at least some members of the Northumbrian elite in the seventh century were somehow descended from the ruling house of *Lindissi*.⁵⁵ Similarly, an origin for the *Gyrwe* of Jarrow in the *Gyrwe* of southern Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire can help to explain why Bede – who was based at Jarrow monastery – seems to have been so interested in the Middle Anglian *Gyrwe* and accorded this *regio* a higher-than-normal status, referring to it a number of times, including once as a *prouincia*.⁵⁶ Lastly, a Lincolnshire origin for the rulers of Northumbria would provide a credible context for the considerable Northumbrian interest in controlling *Lindissi* before 679, as was discussed in Chapter Four.⁵⁷

As to why population-groups from the Lincoln region were motivated to move into Northumbria and form settlements and communities there, this is very much open to debate. It is, of course, likely that simple proximity was a significant factor, especially with regard to Sancton and Deira, but other factors could well have played a role too. It might be worth considering, for example, whether the continued existence and regional dominance of the British ‘country of **Lindēs*’ into the sixth century might have acted to restrict the political and military freedom of action of the immigrant groups in the Lincoln region and so encouraged at least some of their members to seek more fruitful opportunities for military adventure and advancement

in the British North.⁵⁸ Such a scenario is certainly not impossible, though its potential importance ought not to be overstated. There was, after all, a general expansion of Anglo-Saxon control and cultural influence in eastern Britain in this period, and the links between Lincolnshire and Northumbria may largely result from this process; indeed, the archaeologically attested migration into the Lindisfarne-Bamburgh region actually broadly coincides with the suggested period in which British **Lindēs* came to an end.

Perhaps more significant is the possibility of some sort of ‘pull’ factor encouraging members of Anglo-Saxon population-groups from the Lincoln region to move into the north, particularly with regard to the Lindisfarne region, which was so far beyond the pre-existing zones of major Anglo-Saxon activity. It has certainly been argued in the past that the evidence for a limited early Anglo-Saxon presence both around Hadrian’s Wall and in southern Scotland best fits a model wherein the Anglo-Saxons were somehow employed by the Britons of these regions as a military force – is it credible that such a situation might explain the presence of *Lindisfaran* in the Lindisfarne-Bamburgh region too?⁵⁹

In considering this possibility, we do need to be wary of venturing too far into the realms of speculation. On the other hand, the notion that the *Lindisfaran* were allowed to settle in the far north in return for military service to the British rulers of the Gododdin, within whose territory Lindisfarne and Bamburgh probably originally lay, is not entirely without merit.⁶⁰ Firstly, it is perhaps difficult to see the recorded ‘dispersed and unfortified’ sixth-century Anglo-Saxon settlements which existed inland of Lindisfarne as those of aggressive Anglian invaders who had seized control

of the coast from a still-powerful British kingdom, as Ken Dark has recently pointed out.⁶¹ Secondly, the early Welsh poem *Y Gododdin* would seem to imply that men from the Lincoln region fought in the mid- to late sixth-century Gododdin war-band at *Catraeth*, on the basis of the reading proposed earlier in this study. If this does reflect reality, rather than later poetic speculation as to the participants in this battle, then the coincidence is most intriguing and it would not seem unreasonable to associate the *lynwyssawr*, ‘men of *Linnuis*/**Lindēs*’, in the Gododdin war-band with the *Lindisfaran* from **Lindēs*/*Lindissi* who were settled in the south of the Gododdin’s territory at this time. Indeed, such an association may gather some additional support from stanza A.47 of *Y Gododdin*, where the attacking army at *Catraeth* is referred to as ‘the army of Gododdin and Bernicia’.⁶² Of course, the matter is impossible to establish with certainty, given the nature of the materials available to us, but the above points are at least suggestive and it hardly needs mentioning that such an arrangement with the rulers of a British kingdom would probably have been more than familiar to members of the *Lindisfaran*.

Epilogue: Beyond Northumbria – Mercia and the Hrepingas

If there are strong indications that the Anglo-Saxon population-groups of the Lincoln region played a central role in the process of conquering and Anglicizing Britain north of the Humber, founding settlements bearing their group-names at or close-by some of the key sites in early Northumbria and even potentially providing the Bernician

royal dynasty, what of other areas located away from the primary regions of immigration, such as Mercia and the West Midlands?

There is certainly some evidence suggestive of the origins of the ‘Anglo-Saxons’ involved in the conquest and Anglicization of the Midlands. For example, attention has been directed in the past to place-name evidence which would seem to indicate that the Mercian royal *Iclingas* were initially based in East/Middle Anglia before moving to their later middle Trent heartlands.⁶³ Similarly, the Worcestershire names Conderton (*Cantualetun*), Whitsun Brook (*Wixenabroc*) and perhaps Phepson (*Fepsetnatune*) imply the presence of members of the *Cantware* of Kent and the Middle Anglian *Wixan* and *Feppingas* in this part of the West Midlands.⁶⁴ With regard to a possible role for population-groups from the Lincoln region in all of this, the evidence we have is limited compared with Northumbria, but it is nonetheless important, focusing as it does on Repton in Derbyshire, the site of a major seventh-century monastic estate-centre and the burial ground of the eighth- and ninth-century Mercian kings.⁶⁵

The place-name Repton (*Hreopa dune/Hrypadun*) derives from a group-name *Hreope/Hrype* and means the ‘Hill of the tribe called *Hreope/Hrype*’, but what is particularly interesting is that this seems not to have been the only form of this group-name in existence in the pre-Viking period. It is now usually agreed that the group- and territory-name *Hrepingas*, which is recorded as the name of a large territory granted to Breedon monastery c. 675, was an alternate form of this group-name (compare *Spalde* and *Spaldingas*) and that the grant of the territory of the *Hrepingas* to Abbot Hædda probably records the foundation of Repton monastery.⁶⁶ This is

significant for two reasons. The first is that the *Hreope/Hrepingas* have been consequently considered to be one of the major population-groups of the original Mercian kingdom, alongside the *Tomsætan* and the *Pencersætan*.⁶⁷ The second is that the *-ingas* form of this group-name – *Hrepingas* – also occurs in Lincolnshire in the place-name Rippingale (*Repinghale*, *Repingehale*), ‘the *halh* (valley) of the *Hrepingas*’, where it seems to refer to a group who occupied a territory to the south of the *Billingas*.⁶⁸

Ideally, of course, one would wish to have several more examples of such dual occurrences of a group-name in Mercia and the Lincoln region, as is found in Northumbria, in order to avoid the risks of being misled by coincidence or a relationship in the opposite direction.⁶⁹ On the other hand, the evidence of the *Hreope/Hrepingas* is at the very least intriguing in the context of the material discussed above, and the Rippingale area certainly seems to have seen notable and high-status activity in the early Anglo-Saxon period.⁷⁰

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- 1 An early instance is found in Gervase of Tilbury’s *Otia Imperialia*, II.25, edd. and trans. Banks and Binns. 2002: 528–9, where he tries to solve the apparent similarity by claiming that Lincoln was once called Lindisfarne.
 - 2 See above, pp. 53–4 and Green, 2008: 3–4 and fn. 15; T. Charles-Edwards and P. Wormald, ‘Addenda’ in Wallace-Hadrill, 1988: 207–43 at pp. 234–5; Ekwall, 1960: 298; Watts, 2004: 374; Coates and Breeze, 2000: 247–8.
 - 3 See, for example, Watts, 2004: 374; Koch (ed.), 2006: 1158; Cox, 1976: 24; Wallace-Hadrill, 1988: 234.
 - 4 See Koch (ed.), 2006: 1158; *Historia Brittonum*, chapters 63 and 65, ed. and trans. Morris, 1980: 79, 80; Coates and Breeze, 2000: 241–2; and Breeze, 2005.
 - 5 Wallace-Hadrill, 1988: 234.
 - 6 As in Watts, 2004: 374; Koch (ed.), 2006: 1158.
 - 7 Watts, 2004: 374.
 - 8 See below, p. 221; Jackson, 1953: 696.
 - 9 The *-nd-* stage ‘is only found in eastern names that may easily have been borrowed well before 500’: indeed, it had already become *-nn-* in the British-loan place-name (King’s) Lynn (< **lindon*), which can scarcely have been first encountered by Anglian immigrants much after 500: Sims-Williams, 1990b: 247; Sims-Williams, 2003: 283; Jackson, 1953: 513. Compare, for example, the diphthongisation of Late British/Archaic Welsh *-ē-* to *-ui-*, which was only complete in Welsh

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- writing by the second half of the eighth century, but must have occurred orally in the early sixth century: Sims-Williams, 1990b; Sims-Williams, 2003, especially pp. 281–90.
- 10 Coates and Breeze, 2001: 243–59.
 - 11 The group-name *Lindisware* occurs in ‘Anglo-Saxon Chronicle’ MS E, s.a. 678, ed. Irvine, 2004: 33, and trans. Whitelock *et al.*, 1961: 22.
 - 12 Insley and Eggers, 2001: 475; Green, 2008: 3–4, fn. 15.
 - 13 See, for example, Brooks, 1989a: 68, 69, 72; Dumville, 1989a: 127.
 - 14 Gelling, 1989: 31–2, especially 32; Coates and Breeze, 2000: 243–4.
 - 15 As with Gelling, 1989: 32, whose etymology seems to have been the product of desperation rather than conviction, and is not credible for this and other reasons (above, p. 68, fn. 14)
 - 16 See especially the discussion by Charles-Edwards and Wormald in Wallace-Hadrill, 1988: 235; also above, pp. 53–4, and Green, 2008: 3–4. The key point is that *faran* can certainly refer to people who undertake or have undertaken temporary journeys after which they return/returned to their homes, but it can also refer to people who have undertaken permanent journeys (migrations) too: Wallace-Hadrill, 1988: 235. See, for example, the ‘Laws of Ine’, ed. and trans. Attenborough, 1922: 56, 57; the ‘Vespasian Psalter’, 10.2, ed. Sweet, 1885: 198, 461; and the ‘Old English *Exodus*’, line 555. In light of its meaning and the continental cognates cited below, the name is likely to have been a very early coinage, perhaps either as a general collective name for the immigrants engaged by the Britons of **Lindēs* to defend their territory (note, there is evidence for links between the Lincolnshire cremation cemeteries from the earliest phases of these sites: Leahy, 2007b: 50–1; Leahy, 2007a: 127–8) or, alternatively, as that of a single immigrant group which later took control of **Lindēs* and so had their name more widely adopted (*i.e.* the group which provided the royal line of *Lindissi*, see above pp. 89–91).
 - 17 ‘Chronicle of Fredegar’, IV.41, 44 and 55, ed. and trans. Wallace-Hadrill, 1960; Murray, 1983: 89–97; Innes, 2006: 72; Lupoi, 2000: 81; Halsall, 1998: 151; Goffart, 1989: 114.
 - 18 See, for example, Wallace-Hadrill, 1988: 235; Herlihy, 1985: 45–6; Goffart, 1980: 252–8; Murray, 1983: 89–97; Althoff and Carroll, 2004: 30; Tabacco, 1989: 93–4; Burns, 1984: 167–8.
 - 19 Malone, 1962: 24. Note, however, that whilst this might offer further evidence in support of *faran* as a credible and legitimate group-name element, it probably has a different meaning from ‘the people who migrated, moved permanently’ in this instance.
 - 20 Coates and Breeze. 2000: 242.
 - 21 Perhaps, like New York, the site was ‘so good they named it twice’? (Gerard Kenny, *New York, New York*, RCA 1978).
 - 22 Coates and Breeze, 2000: 249–55, partly inspired by the etymological speculations of Symeon of Durham in the twelfth century (*Libellus de Exordio*, II.5).
 - 23 See Coates and Breeze, 2000: 250–5, for some acknowledgement of these and other issues. Here it is admitted that the name **Lindis-feranna* is – if it ever existed – likely to be ‘unique, created in a special way’ and the reader is invited to decide whether the supposed necessity for and plausibility of the etymology proposed can justify such ‘specialness’ (p. 252). If there ever was a stream called *Lindis*, then its name is surely more likely to simply derive from that of the island than *vice versa*, particularly given that *Lindis* as a standalone stream-name is etymologically dubious.
 - 24 Coates and Breeze, 2000: 243. With regard to the plural ‘domains, territories’ (*feranna*), this is required in order to construct an hypothetical Archaic Irish form which would produce the recorded Old English forms with a final *-a* (Coates and Breeze, 2000: 254–5), but one struggles to see why *ferann* (‘domain, territory’) would be plural in this hypothetical place-name other than for the convenience of the etymologist, despite Richard Coates’ speculations (pp. 252, 254).
 - 25 Needless to say, this rejection of an Irish etymology for Lindisfarne is a further argument against the theory that we can somehow have the group-name *Lindisfaran* as derivative of the place-name Lindisfarne, as this theory depends upon there being a credible non-Old English etymology for the island-name. Note, Coates’ proposed Irish etymology for the Farne Islands (Coates and Breeze, 2000: 255–6) cannot be used in support of his Lindisfarne etymology, as it is derived from it, and if the latter is rejected then so must the former be too; however, his suggestion that their name means

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- simply the islands ‘of (Lindis)farne’ may be worth consideration, whatever the origins of the name Lindisfarne.
- 26 This Old English etymology has been frequently suggested and discussed, although its implications have not usually been followed through: Ekwall, 1960: 298–9; Mills, 1991: 211; Watts, 2004: 374; Sawyer, 1998: 47; Bassett, 1989a: 8 and 30. The only real case to be offered against it has been that of Coates (in Coates and Breeze, 2000: 241–59), which depends fundamentally upon the group-name *Lindisfaran* having never really existed and instead being falsely derived from the place-name Lindisfarne, a position rejected above; otherwise there are only some very minor possible issues with a few variants of the name Lindisfarne (discussed in Coates and Breeze, 2000: 246, 253), and these are of debatable significance and meaning.
 - 27 For example, Ekwall, 1960: 299, and Bassett, 1989a: 30, for this treatment of *Lindisfaran* within the name Lindisfarne; see also Watts, 2004: 374, who offered ‘the island of the travellers to and from Lindsey’ as an alternative to his British etymology of Lindisfarne.
 - 28 Bassett, 1989a: 30, speculates that frequent voyaging to and fro as a result of trading activity might explain this, but this doesn’t really seem very credible given the early period we are here concerned with (if the name Lindisfarne derives from an Old English population-group name *Lindisfaran*, it seems unlikely to have had its origins after 635, when the island was given to Bishop Aidán for a monastery: Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III.3).
 - 29 Charles-Edwards and Wormald in Wallace-Hadrill, 1988: 234–5; Ekwall, 1960: 298–9.
 - 30 On the Lindisfarne region, see, for example, Scull, 1992, especially pp. 60–1; Miket, 1980; Sherlock and Welch, 1992: 1–9, 103–6; Cramp, 1983; Scull and Harding, 1990; Dark, 2000: 205–7; Ziegler, 2001. The evidence for sixth-century activity in this area derives from both mortuary and settlement archaeology. Whilst there is some debate over whether the earliest stages at Yeavinger were British or Anglian (although Scull’s argument for an Anglian origin appears persuasive), both models have the site as an Anglian settlement in the mid- to late sixth century: Scull, 1992: 60; Hope-Taylor, 1977: 150–8, 310–13. Although such debates about origins are, due to the nature of the evidence from these sites, possible for other early Bernician settlements too – for example, the sixth-century site at Thirlings –, the presence of *Grubenhäuser* at these settlements is (as Scull has pointed out) indicative of Anglian occupation: Scull, 1992: 61. On the nature of the Anglo-Saxon activity around Hadrian’s Wall, see Dark, 1992; Dark, 2000: 193–200; Snyder, 1998: 168–73. With regard to the early Anglo-Saxon material found in the area between the Lindisfarne region and the Wall, the 15 inhumations at Howick Heugh (Northumberland) can be no more closely dated than the early Anglo-Saxon period generally and are unlikely to antedate the seventh century (Miket, 1980: 293, 295, 298), and the same is probably true too of the handful of burials from Great Tossion (Northumberland): Sherlock and Welch, 1992: 2; Cramp, 1983: 269; Miket, 1980: 294, 298; though cf. Lucy, 1999: 34–5, 39.
 - 31 This is suggested in Higham, 1993: 82; Higham, 1986: 254, 256–60.
 - 32 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III.3, III.6, III.12, and III.16. Bede makes it clear that he considered Bamburgh (named, he says, after an early Bernician queen of c. 600) to have been ‘the royal city’ of seventh-century Bernicia – both an *urbs* and a *ciuitas* – and his notice of the granting of neighbouring Lindisfarne to the Ionan missionaries who were closely associated with the Bernician royal house implies that this island was also a significant royal possession in the early seventh century. Wood, 2006: 76, 79–80, 83, sees the Lindisfarne-Bamburgh area as the earliest Northumbrian centre, with the Wall/Tyne area becoming key in the latter part of the seventh century, taking over from Bamburgh. Interestingly, Bede also names two important Bernician ‘royal palaces’, Yeavinger and *Maelmin*, both of which seem to have been located just inland of Lindisfarne and Bamburgh: *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II.14. For the *Historia Brittonum* references, see chapters 61 and 63, ed. Morris, 1980: 37, 38, 78, and 79).
 - 33 On Yeavinger, see Hope-Taylor, 1977, and Scull, 1992. See especially Ziegler, 2001, on Bamburgh (with a potential total of around 1000 burials), and Smith, 1991, on Sprouston as a late sixth-/early seventh-century Anglian royal centre with a cemetery containing at least 380 burials. Miket, 1980, and Sherlock and Welch, 1992: 1, discuss the other known Bernician cemeteries, which are far

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- smaller in scale; Norton is one of the largest, with 120 burials, but it is located well to the south of Hadrian's Wall.
- 34 It should be noted here that Higham, 1993: 82, has suggested that the statement in *Historia Brittonum* that a mid-sixth-century Bernician king named Ida *iunxit Dinguayrði guurth Berneich*, 'joined Bamburgh to Bernicia' (§61: Morris, 1980: 37, 78) means that the core of Bernicia lay elsewhere, and therefore that Ida was expanding into this region from southern Bernicia. However, even if this ninth-century legend could be relied on to recount events which occurred three hundred years earlier, this is by no means a necessary conclusion. For example, the statement could mean rather that Bamburgh was part of Ida's original territory and from it he conquered the British kingdom of *Berneich*, so that he thus could be said to have 'joined Bamburgh to *Berneich*'. Indeed, even if it does mean that Bamburgh was a secondary possession, then the 'original' core to which Ida – if he existed – was adding could simply be the island of Lindisfarne. In the light of all this, any attempt to overturn this rejection of a land-based migration from the Wall on the basis of this statement in *Historia Brittonum* is unlikely to be credible.
- 35 This is particularly the case given that Bede places the origins of the Bernician kingdom in the mid-sixth century and associates it with Ida: Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V.24. See also the Northumbrian king-list found in the 'Moore Memoranda', which seems to confirm this dating: Blair, 1950. Whilst a mid-ninth-century chronicle fragment says that Ida's grandfather, Oesa/Oessa, was the first to come to Britain, too much has sometimes been made of this. Even if we had complete confidence in our accounts of Oessa and Ida and the historicity of these annals, this chronicle couldn't be used to argue that (contrary to the archaeological evidence) Bernician settlement began two generations before Ida, only that Ida's ancestors arrived somewhere in Britain – not at all necessarily Northumbria – c. 500. However, it might well be suspected that this is not a 'genuine' Bernician legend at all, never mind an accurate historical record. The name Oesa/Oessa can hardly be separated from the name Oese/Ossa that occurs as a spelling of the name Oisc, the ancestor of the *Oiscingas* rulers of Kent, around whom 'first migrant' traditions certainly were gathered. In consequence, this supposed grandfather of Ida needs to be viewed with considerable suspicion, and such a borrowing would fit in with other apparent attempts to tie Bernician origins in with Kentish ones, as seen in the *Historia Brittonum*, chapters 38 and 56. See further Dumville, 1973; Higham, 1993: 77; Brooks, 1989a: 59–60, 63.
- 36 See Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III.6, III.12, and III.16, on Bamburgh and its status, and above, fn. 32.
- 37 J. N. L. Myres is one of the few who have explicitly recognized this implication of a derivation of *Lindisfarnae/Lindisfarena ea* from *Lindisfaran* + *æg*: Myres, 1986: 199. Ida is first named as the ultimate ancestor of the Bernician royal dynasty in Bede's early eighth-century *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V.24.
- 38 It is occasionally suggested that the *Idingas* could have come to Lindisfarne-Bamburgh from the kingdom of Deira – as by Sherlock and Welch, 1992: 9 – but there is no early evidence in favour of this proposition, in contrast to the notion that the *Idingas* were *Lindisfaran*.
- 39 Rollason, 2003: 50–1; Wood, 2006, especially pp. 79–80, 83–4.
- 40 Wood, 2006, especially pp. 71–3; Blair, 2005: 88.
- 41 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V.21; Insley, 2000a: 38.
- 42 Above, pp. 152–5.
- 43 Sherlock and Welch, 1992: 1, 3; Smith, 1991: 280–1; Ziegler, 2001; Miket, 1980: 295, for Howick Heugh. On the boundary between Bernicia and Deira, see Blair, 1984: essay V; Sherlock and Welch, 1992: 6; and Wood, 2006: 77–9. The number of people buried in this cemetery may have been greater than reported, if antiquarian records of at least one body (with artefacts) being found in this area in the early nineteenth century relate to this cemetery: Brewster, 1829: 10.
- 44 As noted by Sherlock and Welch, 1992: 9.
- 45 Sherlock and Welch, 1992: 9 and fig. 1, for the location of the cemetery relative to Billingham; Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio*, ii.5–6, iii.20, ed. and trans. Rollason, 2000: 92–4, 98–9, 198–200; Rollason also notes – p. 94 – an eighth- and a ninth-century grave-marker from

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- Billingham church). On place-name chronologies, see for example Cox, 1972–3; Kuurman, 1974–5; and Gelling, 1988b: 111–12.
- 46 As Mills, 1991: 35, and Ekwall, 1960: 43, *pace* Watts, 2004: 56.
- 47 Above, pp. 172–88. See, for example, Woolf, 2000, on sub-groups within larger groups being able to have their own identities.
- 48 Sherlock and Welch, 1992: 105.
- 49 Higham, 1993: 66–7; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II.13; Loveluck, 1996: 29–30. See also Williams, 2002.
- 50 Higham, 1993: 67; Loveluck, 1996: 29. The links between the cemeteries have been recently discussed by Kevin Leahy in Leahy, 2007b: 50–1, 101, and 2007a: 127–8. See also Myres, 1937, and Arnold, 1983.
- 51 Ekwall, 1960: 432–3; Mills, 1991: 175, 303–04. Spalding Moor was drained in the eighteenth century and it is now chiefly remembered by the place-name Holme on Spalding Moor: Strickland, 1812: 29, 199; Sheahan and Whellan, 1856: I, 576 and 584. It was partially mapped by John Cary on his map of the East Riding of Yorkshire, published in Cary, 1787.
- 52 Above, pp. 156–71. It is certainly tempting to wonder whether the Sancton-Baston links might not help to explain and/or reflect the presence of *Spaldingas* in the Sancton area.
- 53 We might also mention here the place-name Wintringham in North Yorkshire, found only around two miles to the south-west of the significant early Anglo-Saxon settlement and cemetery complex at West Heslerton, which seems to refer to a settlement of the *Wintringas* (Ekwall, 1960: 525; Mills, 1991: 364 – note, whilst the name Wintringham is likely to have been coined in the early Anglo-Saxon period, Heslerton probably belongs to a later period, see Cox, 1976 and above). The personal-name *Wintra* occurs more than once in an Anglo-Saxon context and so an independent coinage of the group-name *Wintringas* in Deira is certainly not impossible; however, if the *Wintringas* mentioned in the Lincolnshire place-names Winteringham and Winterton were indeed a significant group within *Lindissi* (see above, pp. 90–1), then this would constitute yet another intriguing coincidence to add to those discussed previously. See also below, fn. 70.
- 54 The suggestion, derived from the Bernician royal genealogy, that the Bernician kings considered the pagan god *Ing* to have been their divine patron – or considered themselves to be an *Inguionic* dynasty, deriving from continental *Inguiones* – may also be of relevance here (Miller, 1980: 213; North, 1997, especially pp. 42–3; Sandred, 1987: 234–5). This is due to the fact that the most northerly of the four occurrences of the place-name Ingham is in *Lindissi*, three miles from the richest barrow burial in the kingdom (at Caenby), and this name means either ‘the estate of the devotees of the deity *Ing*’ or ‘the estate of the *Inguione*’, a tag to mark places as the royal property of a king who claimed to be of an *Inguionic* dynasty (Cameron, 1998: 69; Cameron, 2001: 184; Sandred, 1987: 235–6).
- 55 Campbell, 2004; Thacker, 2006: 40; above, p. 142.
- 56 See above, pp. 152–5 on the *Gyrwe*; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. 20, IV.6 and IV.19. The link between the two might also explain Bede’s exceptional interest in St Æthelthryth, given that she was once married to a ruler of the South *Gyrwe* named *Tondberct* and later founded the monastery of Ely on what is often thought to have been South Gyrwean lands (above, pp. 155, 200 (fn. 21)).
- 57 Above, pp. 137–9. In light of the above, it may also be worth reconsidering J. N. L. Myres’ suggestions with regard to the origins and significance of the name *Humbrenses*, which is used for the Northumbrians in the seventh century (Myres, 1986: 174–6; Myres, 1935, cf. Wallace-Hadrill, 1988: 226–8).
- 58 Note, this would, of course, require that the Britons of **Lindēs* not only exercised a degree of control and influence over the Anglo-Saxon groups within their borders but also those beyond them too, such as the *Spalde* and the *Gyrwe*. However, this does not seem necessarily implausible, particularly if Anglian settlement as a whole was initially controlled from Lincoln (see above, pp. 80–1). We might also note, tentatively, the claim of British military success on the river Glen *c.* 500, discussed above, p. 169.
- 59 Dark, 1992; Dark, 2000: 193–200; Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly, 1996.

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- 60 On Lindisfarne and Bamburgh having originally lain within Gododdin territory, see for example Dumville, 1989b: 217; Dark, 2000: 205; Kirby, 2000: 58.
- 61 Dark, 2000: 206–7. For the interpretation of the Anglo-Saxons of the Lindisfarne-Bamburgh region as ‘a band of pirates’, see Blair, 1977: 43–4; cf. Dumville, 1989b: 218.
- 62 Above, pp. 82–6; Koch, 1997: xviii–xxi, xxxviii–xxxix, xli.
- 63 For example, Myres, 1986: 185; Martin, 1976; Williamson, 1993: 71–2. Cf. Brooks, 1989: 164.
- 64 Sims-Williams, 1990a: 32; Hooke, 1990: 125–9, 167–9, 190–3; Ekwall, 1960: 120, 365, 514; Watts, 2004: 154.
- 65 Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle, 1999: 390–2.
- 66 Mills, 1991: 271; Rumble, 1977; Dornier, 1977: 158. On *Spalde/Spaldingas*, see above, pp. 156–7.
- 67 Kirby, 2000: 8; Welch, 2001: 147.
- 68 Watts, 2004: 501; Cameron, 1998: 102; Crowson *et al*, 2005: 297.
- 69 A relationship in the opposite direction has been invoked to explain the presence of place-names involving the group-name *Hwicce* in Middle Anglia (Rutland and Northamptonshire), given that the *Hwicce* are far better known as a people and kingdom recorded in the West Midlands from the seventh century: Sims-Williams, 1990a: 30; Hart, 1971: 138; Stenton, 1971b: 269–70. However, it should be noted that recent work has considerably strengthened the place-name evidence for the *Hwicce* in Rutland, suggesting that A. H. Smith’s interpretation of the *Hwicce* as a Middle Anglian group who moved westwards may be worthy of reconsideration: Insley and Scharer, 2000: 288–9; Cox, 1994a: xxv–xxvi, 55–6, 61, 221–2; Smith, 1965a: 60–2; Smith, 1965b: 42.
- 70 See DCMS, 2004: 83 (a high-status gold sword pommel of the sixth century found in Rippingale parish in November 2002) and also Crowson *et al*, 2005: 56–69, 297; Portable Antiquities Scheme NLM997, NLM4277. It should be noted that the group-name *Hreope/Hrype* is also present in the place-name Ripon (*Hrypum*, *Hreopum*) and related names in North Yorkshire (Watts, 2004: 501; Rumble, 1977: 170–1 – note especially Riponshire, *Ripeshire*). If the *Hrepingas* of Rippingale are indeed to be linked to the *Hreope/Hrype/Hrepingas* of Repton, with the Repton group being an offshoot of the Lincolnshire group, then the same interpretation should almost certainly be applied to the *Hreope/Hrype* of Ripon too. Certainly a Lincolnshire origin for this Northumbrian population-group would have a very good context in the evidence discussed above. In addition, this scenario for explaining the relationship between the Ripon and the Repton *Hreope* might well be thought to be more plausible than the notion that the group in the Mercian heartlands was an offshoot of the Deiran group, as suggested by Watts (2004: 501) and Stenton (1971b: 270).

Conclusion

The Significance of **Lindēs* and *Lindissi*

The period which falls between the withdrawal of the Roman army from Britain and the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity has been given many names over the years, perhaps the most evocative of which is the 'Dark Ages'. Although this particular name is now less favoured in academic work than it once was, it is still occasionally used and it provides an interesting testament to some of the problems and assumptions which surround any study of the fifth and sixth centuries in Britain.¹ On the one hand, the period has often been judged 'dark' insofar as the sources for the fifth and sixth centuries are considered sufficiently unreliable and meagre that there is some considerable difficulty in establishing even the general outline of events with confidence, never mind the specifics.² On the other hand, the period has also been so judged from a cultural perspective: the name 'Dark Ages' has always implied a strong pejorative judgement of these centuries, with their 'darkness' contrasting with the 'light' of Rome.³ In this context, the name 'Dark Ages' for the fifth and sixth centuries refers to the supposed abandonment of Roman civilization and descent into barbarism that resulted from the Germanic conquests of the various provinces of the Western Roman Empire, with Britain seeing the Romano-British culture, institutions and even people swept from the land.

The present study does not, it has to be said, completely remove the basis for either of the above judgements with regard to the Lincoln region. The available 'historical' sources remain meagre and difficult, and whilst one can quibble over 'decline' versus 'change', there can be little doubt that true urban life failed to survive the fifth century, or that the material culture of the post-Roman period was not in many ways much impoverished when compared with that of the fourth century. However, such judgements can certainly be taken too far. There is now a sizeable corpus of both Anglo-Saxon and British archaeological material available for the fifth and sixth centuries from Lincolnshire, and if this is used in concert with the available historical, literary and linguistic evidence, then considerable progress can potentially be made in terms of understanding and explaining at least the general course of events which took place in the Lincoln region in this period. Similarly, the results of such an approach suggest that there are likely to be far stronger threads of what might be termed 'continuity' joining the seventh-century kingdom of *Lindissi* to the (Romano-)British past than has sometimes been assumed. As such, the fifth and sixth centuries in the Lincoln region might be said to look a little less 'dark' at the end of this study than they did at its start, and it is consequently worth finally asking whether the conclusions reached in the preceding chapters have any implications for some of the general questions which confront historians of this period.

Perhaps the most important of these questions is that of how the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms came into being. On the one hand, it has been suggested that the Anglo-Saxon conquests resulted in an almost complete disintegration of the existing British political and administrative structures in the east of the country, with

kingdoms and kings only re-emerging from the mid-late sixth century as a result of the coalescence of many originally independent local Anglo-Saxon territories.⁴ On the other hand, there is little actual positive evidence in favour of such a scenario, and a credible alternative model has been suggested whereby the Anglo-Saxons simply took over the large British territories which they encountered in order to form the recorded kingdoms, with the local units (*regiones*) which have been identified as existing within the pre-Viking kingdoms being merely administrative sub-districts rather than fossilized ‘building blocks’.⁵

All told, the evidence from the Lincoln region would appear to strongly support the second of these competing scenarios, especially with regard to the transition from **Lindēs* to *Lindissi*: the implication of the material analysed in the preceding chapters is, after all, that a Lincoln-based British polity (**Lindēs*) managed to survive and even prosper as late as the sixth century in an area of significant Anglo-Saxon immigration, before being taken over almost intact by the Anglo-Saxons to form the kingdom of *Lindissi*. Indeed, even outside of **Lindēs-Lindissi* there is little obvious support for any theory which involves the recorded Anglo-Saxon kingdoms having their origins in tiny ‘proto-kingdoms’ which gradually coalesced over time. Thus, for example, it seems likely that the *Gyrwe* were always a subordinate group inhabiting a sub-district of the kingdom of Middle Anglia, rather than a truly independent ‘kingdom’. This is a point of some importance given that the *Gyrwe* have often been considered a prime example of the sort of independent small groups and ‘kingdoms’ which the first scenario envisages existed all across eastern and southern Britain.

The situation in Lincolnshire may also be of interest in other ways when it comes to questions of Anglo-Saxon kingdom-formation and the existence and annexation of British polities in post-Roman Britain. Firstly, it can assist in explaining how the Anglo-Saxon takeover of British polities (as envisaged in the second scenario) might have progressed, given that the Anglo-Saxon takeover of **Lindēs* arguably resulted from a British use of such immigrant groups to help defend their territory, with their control over these groups then apparently weakening from the early sixth century until the Anglo-Saxons became the dominant political as well as military force within **Lindēs*.⁶ Secondly, the evidence from **Lindēs-Lindissi* can provide a useful comparison for those areas of eastern and southern Britain where there are similarly ‘gaps’ in distribution of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. It has often been suspected that some of these gaps reflect post-Roman British polities, most especially that around London and the Chilterns, and such suggestions gain a very good context from the conclusions reached in the present study. In other words, it may well be that the situation in the Lincoln region both reflects and illuminates a broader pattern whereby at least some British polities in lowland Britain, based around major Late Roman centres (such as Lincoln, London, Verulamium and Silchester), survived the initial period of Anglo-Saxon immigration for some considerable period and were able to exert a degree of continuing control over Anglo-Saxon activity in their territories.⁷

Another key question is that of the extent of Anglian-British interaction and acculturation in the early Anglo-Saxon period. Most commentators now accept that there were large numbers of both Anglo-Saxons and Britons present in eastern Britain in the post-Roman centuries, with all that this implies with regard to interaction and

acculturation.⁸ The results of the present study tend to confirm this position and, moreover, point to evidence for a British influence on aspects of pre-Viking culture which might result from such interaction. In addition to this, however, they raise two further points which may be of a wider significance. One is that there does seem to be at least some evidence for members of the British elite of **Lindēs* joining with the new ascendancy and eventually being absorbed into Anglo-Saxon society. This may, of course, result from the unusual history of this region, and so not be applicable more widely – the archaeological evidence for post-Roman British elites in the Lincoln region is, after all, exceptionally rich in comparison with the rest of eastern Britain. Nonetheless, it is worthy of note. The other is that we do need to be careful to take full account of the implications of such potentially widespread British survival and acculturation across much of eastern and southern Britain. Most especially, it seems likely that many Britons living within eastern Britain would not have acculturated before the end of the early Anglo-Saxon period (*c.* 650) and so would have remained effectively archaeologically ‘invisible’ throughout this period. This is, needless to say, potentially problematical when it comes to attempts to rely upon the distribution of early Anglo-Saxon artefacts (and their presence or absence on Late Roman settlement sites) to reach conclusions about topics such as early Anglo-Saxon population density and landscape abandonment, as was discussed above in reference to the *Spalde* and the district of Holland.⁹

The last question to be highlighted here is that of the origins of the Anglo-Saxon groups and kingdoms that were located away from the primary regions of immigration. This question has often received only the briefest of treatments in

academic studies of the kingdoms in question, largely due to the perceived difficulty in finding anything solid to say on the matter. However, the discussion in Chapter Six strongly suggests that it is possible to make at least some progress on this issue, with the available evidence indicating that the Anglo-Saxon population-groups of the Lincoln region probably played a key role in the conquest and Anglicization of northern Britain, perhaps even providing the Bernician royal dynasty itself. This is, of course, of considerable significance for the history of regions other than that of Lincoln, and a case might additionally be made for a similar situation with regard to the origins of the Midland kingdom of Mercia.

More could undoubtedly be said about the potential implications of the material discussed in the present study for our understanding of the post-Roman situation in general, but the above must suffice. Fundamentally, not only is there a case to be made for this region having been an influential part of the fifth- and sixth-century political landscape in its own right, something which belies its relative lack of direct influence over events in the seventh century, but it seems likely that the evidence from the Lincoln region can also be used comparatively to help shed light on the history of other parts of ‘early Anglo-Saxon England’ too. In such circumstances, it can hardly be denied that both **Lindēs* and *Lindissi* do indeed possess a measure of wider historical significance.

1 Harden (ed.), 1956, is an obvious example of the name ‘Dark Age’ being used for this period by twentieth-century academics, but there are many more recent academic books which feature the term too, such as Hodges, 1982; Williams *et al*, 1991; Crawford (ed.), 1994; and Koch, 1997.

2 As in Young, 2009: 14.

3 See, for example, Mommsen, 1942.

4 Hamerow, 2005: 271–88; Bassett, 1989b; Scull, 1993: 72–9.

5 See Yorke, 2003, especially pp. 396–401; Yorke, 2000: 82–6; and above, pp. 147–51.

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- 6 See further above, pp. 73–5, 104–06. This does, of course, suggest that the traditional Gildasian model of the Anglo-Saxon arrival and conquest of eastern Britain may deserve more consideration than it is sometimes granted.
 - 7 See, for example, Dark, 2000: 97–103, on such British polities in southern and eastern Britain.
 - 8 This is in contrast to earlier studies – such as Hodges, 1989, chapter two – which tended to treat a large-scale Anglo-Saxon migration and a large-scale British survival as mutually exclusive scenarios for post-Roman Britain.
 - 9 This applies equally to conclusions on supposedly ‘British’ burial rites in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. Without making any judgements as to whether ‘crouched burial’ – which occurs chiefly in seventh-century graves – is a British rite or not, the specific argument that ‘it seems nonsensical to suggest that such practices can... represent ‘native survival’, as crouched burial is not found to any great extent during the preceding two centuries’ (Lucy, 2000a: 14), seems problematical in light of the above; indeed, given that many Britons arguably didn’t acculturate until the seventh century or after, the above might actually be an argument in *favour* of it having British origins.

A Gazetteer of Fifth- to Seventh-Century Cemeteries in Lincolnshire

The following gazetteer is based upon Kevin Leahy's 1993 survey of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries known from Lindsey, which is expanded and updated using the data collected by the Historic Environment Records and the Portable Antiquities Scheme. As was the case with the earlier survey, single finds of metalwork have been omitted unless they are associated with human remains or likely to have come from a grave.

With regard to further details of the sites discussed in this gazetteer, cemeteries that were recorded in Leahy's list are associated with the number that they were given there. Cemeteries not recorded by Leahy but present in the Historic Environment Records are cited by their respective record number(s) – the prefix HER indicates sites in the Lincolnshire Historic Environment Record, whilst NLSMR indicates sites in the North Lincolnshire Sites and Monuments Record. Finally, probable or possible cemeteries not listed by Leahy and known only from metal-detected finds are cited by their associated Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) record numbers.

It should be noted that the PAS records single finds, rather than 'sites', and, as such, the latter cemeteries derive from a complete survey of all early Anglo-Saxon material on the PAS that had been found in Lincolnshire through until late 2009. Following Leahy's lead from the earlier list, this dataset was examined for certain and potential concentrations of metal-detected material that might represent such

cemeteries. Because the PAS assigns a separate record number to each find, some of these cemeteries have a considerable quantity of PAS numbers associated with them. Consequently, each of the cemeteries identified from this material is cited by only a handful of its associated PAS record numbers, which are intended as illustrative of the site as a whole. In most cases, full details of all of the relevant finds can be obtained from the new (2010) PAS database – finds.org.uk – by using its ‘Find objects with a 2km radius of this artefact’ option. Note, however, that finds with only a parish provenance also need to be taken account of, and these are usually assigned auto-generated findspot grid references in the PAS database, something which has the potential to confuse the results of the above search option if allowance is not made for it.

Ancaster – Small Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery found 100 metres south of the Roman walls on the east side of Ermine Street; 40 urns found before 1870, with others since. (Leahy, 1993: no. 1).

Ancaster – A fifth-century brooch and another small-long brooch are recorded as having been found at Ancaster. In addition, recent metal-detecting has recovered five pieces of the sixth to seventh centuries, including part of a hanging bowl and a sixth-century gilded great square-headed brooch. (HER 30335; PAS NLM951).

Asgarby – A sixth-century female grave was discovered in 1811 and an unusually rich male grave in 1915, along with pottery suggesting the presence of cremations. (Leahy, 1993: no. 2).

Aswarby and Swarby – An early Anglo-Saxon sleeve clasp and two sixth-century

brooches (one a great square-headed brooch) suggest a small burial ground belonging to the sixth century. Other finds from the parish include a buckle and a cremation pot stamp from the east. (PAS NLM5662, LIN-E47E27, LIN-6C7948).

Aylesby – Four sixth- and seventh-century brooches have been recovered via metal-detecting in the parish, probably from at least two separate sites. (PAS NLM201, NLM2879, NLM6071)

Barkston – Six late fifth- or sixth-century items (including two cruciform brooches and a girdle hanger) have been metal-detected from this parish. (PAS LIN-8AB2D7, NLM-C70454).

Barnetby le Wold – A sixth-century cruciform brooch and a fragment of a possible cremation urn, found close together, suggest the presence of a small sixth-century cemetery. (PAS NLM-202521, NLM-E8A768).

Barton on Humber (Castledyke South) – A very large sixth- to seventh-century cemetery, with finds including two hanging bowls. 196 burials excavated from a total of around 436. (Leahy, 1993: no. 3; Drinkall and Foreman, 1998).

Barton on Humber (West) – An inhumation cemetery of the sixth century indicated by seven metal-detected finds, including small-long brooches, cruciform brooches and a girdle hanger. Further metal-detecting also indicates another small sixth-century inhumation cemetery to the south of Barton. (Leahy, 1993: no. 4; PAS NLM-2A14D4, NLM-AF5483).

Baston – Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery, dating from the late fifth to late sixth century. When excavated in 1966, 44 cremation urns were found along with two inhumations; an investigation and watching brief in 1989 and 1994 indicated that the

full extent of the cemetery had been found in 1966. (HER 33387; Mayes and Dean, 1976).

Baston – Large number of metal-detected finds testify to a separate and sizeable early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery in the parish, to the south-east of the cremation centre. The finds are chiefly of the sixth century, but two Aberg Group I brooches (early to mid-fifth-century) suggest the possibility of a fifth-century start. In addition, there are indications of perhaps two further (and much smaller) burial sites in the metal-detected corpus from the parish, to the north and north-east of the cremation cemetery. (PAS LIN-9089F4, NLM960, NLM712, NLM4645).

Belton and Manthorpe – Anglo-Saxon finds; at least five knives and part of a spearhead found in 1883. Probably part of an Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery. (HER 30433).

Binbrook – Metal-detecting has recovered five brooches (including a fifth-century cruciform) from the parish, which are indicative of a small inhumation cemetery. (PAS NLM-0F8313, NLM-580982).

Blyborough – Two brooches, two beads and a hanging bowl fragment have been found via metal-detecting in two separate locations in this parish. (PAS LIN-E2D1A5, LIN-B86833).

Bolingbroke – Recent metal-detecting has recovered three finds, including a fifth-century cruciform brooch and a cremation urn fragment, from two sites located north-east of the West Keal cemetery. (PAS NLM-276356, NLM-616AB3).

Bonby – Three metal-detected cruciform brooches from here suggest the presence of a sixth-century inhumation cemetery. (PAS NLM-14CBE4, NLM-EB2B44).

Bottesford – Evidence of a mixed inhumation and cremation cemetery, of unknown size, including two brooches and a documented discovery of a cremation urn. (Leahy, 1993: no. 5).

Bourne – Three fifth- to sixth-century brooches from a single site are suggestive of the presence of early Anglo-Saxon burials. A probable enamelled hanging bowl escutcheon has also been recovered from the parish, as has a late sixth- or seventh-century sword pyramid. (PAS LIN-34C004, LIN-666425, NLM716).

Bracebridge Heath – High-status ‘warrior burial’ of the seventh century, found with sword, shield and hanging bowl. (HER 60962).

Branston and Mere – Four early Anglo-Saxon items metal-detected from the parish, suggestive of a small sixth-century cemetery. (PAS LIN-8B0F05).

Brocklesby – A sixth- to seventh-century inhumation cemetery indicated by 13 pieces of early Anglo-Saxon metalwork, recovered via metal-detecting. (Leahy, 1993: no. 6).

Burgh-le-Marsh – A late sixth- or early seventh-century male grave; possibly a barrow burial, although this has been disputed. (Leahy, 1993: no. 7; HER 43596).

Burton upon Stather (Bagmoor) – A late fifth- to sixth-century cremation cemetery, containing ‘many urns’, destroyed by ironstone mining around 1928. (Leahy, 1993: no. 8).

Caenby – The richest barrow burial in the region, with a mound which would seem to have been larger than that at Sutton Hoo; early seventh-century in date and excavated in 1850. (Leahy, 1993: no. 9).

Candlesby – Armour, swords and shields found before 1882, which may be associated with a cruciform brooch. (Leahy, 1993: no. 10).

Careby, Aunby and Holywell – Possible Anglo-Saxon cemetery, indicated by finds of ring brooches, a bead and a steelyard. (HER 33604, 33605).

Carlton Scroop – One or two fifth- to sixth-century Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries (some confusion), with reports of 30–40 bodies. Finds include a spearhead and a brooch of *c.* 500. (Leahy, 1993: no. 11; HER 30380, 30381).

Castle Bytham – Early Anglo-Saxon burial (female) found in 1850, well-furnished with beaver tooth set in metal, silver-gilt ring brooch inset with four gems, and other items. (HER 33614).

Caythorpe – Mixed inhumation and cremation cemetery, probably discovered during ironstone mining. Ring brooches, square-headed brooches, cruciform brooches, spearheads, shield boss etc. (Leahy, 1993: no. 12).

Claxby – Four sixth-century brooches from Claxby indicate the presence of an inhumation cemetery of this date. (PAS NLM7022).

Cleatham – Between 50 and 60 cremation urns discovered in 1856, with a very detailed excavation conducted in the 1980s by Kevin Leahy. 1204 burials excavated out of a likely total of 1528; probably mid-fifth- to seventh-century in date. (Leahy, 1993: no. 13; Leahy, 2007a).

Cleethorpes – An excavated pot may indicate an early Anglo-Saxon inhumation inserted into a Bronze Age barrow. (Leahy, 1993: no. 14).

Coleby – Around 80 inhumations, probably of early Anglo-Saxon date, excavated in the early nineteenth century. Accompanied by knives, spears, brooches, beads and pots. (Leahy, 1993: no. 15).

Denton – Two bodies buried in a Roman villa, one associated with early sixth-century

pottery. (HER 30019).

Donington-on-Bain – A field a mile and a half north-east of the village apparently ‘frequently turned up’ cremation urns and partially burnt human and animal bone during ploughing in the nineteenth century; possible early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery? (HER 40725).

East Barkwith – Two sixth-century cruciform brooches have been recorded from here via metal-detecting. (PAS LIN-290724, LIN-E85576).

Eagle and Swinethorpe – Two sixth-century cruciform or small-long brooches from this parish, of sixth-century date. (PAS LIN-D196E5, LIN-D172B3).

Edenham – Two cruciform brooches found; one of the fifth century and one of the sixth. The latter looks to have been cremated. (PAS NLM993).

Edlington with Wispington – Fragments of two late fifth- to late sixth-century cruciform brooches have been recovered from a single site in this parish; a gilded sixth-century great square-headed brooch has also been found in the parish. (PAS LIN-415104, LIN-CA81C6).

Elsham – Large cremation cemetery of the fifth to sixth centuries; 625 cremations excavated along with five inhumations. (Leahy, 1993: no. 16).

Elsham – Recent metal-detected finds suggest an inhumation cemetery apparently located west of the cremation cemetery. Finds include three sixth-century cruciform brooches and a seventh-century Merovingian strap fitting. (PAS NLM2894, NLM24)

Farforth – A small sixth-century inhumation cemetery indicated by a bronze-bound bucket and two brooch fragments. (Leahy, 1993: no. 17).

Fillingham – Possible early Anglo-Saxon cemetery indicated by antiquarian

references to spears and swords, along with finds of a cruciform and a small-long brooch. (Leahy, 1993: no. 18).

Flixborough – Early Anglo-Saxon cremation urn and possible burial mound. (NLSMR 1982).

Folkingham – A sixth-century inhumation cemetery discovered via metal-detecting. Finds include a Group V cruciform brooch, a great square-headed brooch, a spear and a rock-crystal bead. (PAS LIN-CF1D82).

Fonaby near Caistor – A late fifth- to seventh-century mixed cemetery; 49 inhumations and 17 cremations recovered in 1956–7. (Leahy, 1993: no. 19).

Foston – Five Anglo-Saxon gilt square-headed brooches found by metal-detectorists, along with a sherd of stamped early Anglo-Saxon pottery and fragments of two brooches from nearby. Probable sixth-century inhumation cemetery site. (HER 34739, 30183).

Gayton le Wold – A seventh-century buckle and a late fifth- to sixth-century sleeve clasp have been metal-detected from a site in this parish. (PAS NLM-0399A2).

Grantham – Spitalgate early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery. Said to be many spearheads, knives, shield bosses, and square-headed brooches found at this site. Recent metal-detecting has also recovered two early Anglo-Saxon small-long brooches from Grantham. (HER 30516).

Grantham – A probable early Anglo-Saxon inhumation; part of a bronze buckle and a spearhead found. (HER 30529).

Grayingham – Single early Anglo-Saxon female grave (with a necklace of amber beads) found around 1888. In recent years, two late fifth- to sixth-century items – a

sleeve clasp and a girdle hanger – and a possible early Anglo-Saxon box-mount have been found by metal-detectorists in the parish. (Leahy, 1993: no. 20; PAS LIN-E22045, LIN-E3F5E6, LIN-E3C3A3).

Great Limber – A probable Anglo-Saxon round barrow destroyed in 1787, which contained two cremation urns, one with a bone comb. (HER 50432).

Harlaxton – Anglo-Saxon pots are recorded here, which may be indicative of an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery. Metal-detecting has recovered a late fifth- or early to mid-sixth-century circular brooch. (HER 30034; PAS NLM-861E47).

Harmston – Four early Anglo-Saxon items metal-detected in this parish, including an annular and a small-long brooch. These suggest the presence of sixth-century grave(s), although only two items have rough locations and these are different. (PAS LIN-F71235, NLM6124).

Hatton – A sixth-century pin fragment and a Group IV cruciform brooch have been discovered here via metal-detecting. (PAS LIN-FD3305).

Heckington – Small number of probably early Anglo-Saxon graves reported; ‘Butts Hill’ – now destroyed – may have been an Anglo-Saxon barrow. There are also an early Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooch, buckle and bracelet from the vicinity of the Cobham Roman villa. (Leahy, 1993: no. 21; HER 60866, 60325, 60870).

Heckington – Modern metal-detecting has recovered numerous items which indicate a probably reasonably sizeable early Anglo-Saxon cemetery in the east of the parish, associated with the trading site at Garwick. Finds include a high-status seventh-century sword pommel, late fifth-/sixth-century small-long and cruciform brooches, and a mid-fifth-century brooch. (PAS LIN-7B7528, LIN-946BA2).

Heighington – Up to six early Anglo-Saxon brooches found here via metal-detecting, which is suggestive of a small sixth-century cemetery, though not all items have locations recorded for them. (PAS LIN-0FD375, LIN-FA40C2).

Hemswell – Four metal-detected brooches suggest the presence of a sixth-century cemetery somewhere in this parish. (PAS LIN-DE43D7).

Hibaldstow – Metal-detecting has recovered five early Anglo-Saxon items from at least two sites within this parish, including a sixth-century great square-headed brooch. (PAS NLM-A81975, NLM6964, NLM-2C6AB6).

Holton le Moor – Four metal-detected items are known from the parish, including part of a sixth- or seventh-century buckle and a strap fitting. (PAS NLM-0669D4, NLM-ED2FA1, NLM6574).

Honington – Early Anglo-Saxon brooches, one cruciform and one small-long. (HER 30361).

Horncastle – Sixth-century graves are known from the town, one with a sword and two spearheads; also remains of a small-long brooch found. More recently, metal-detecting has recovered other early Anglo-Saxon items from the parish. (Leahy, 1993: no. 22; PAS NLM6211).

Hougham – Three early Anglo-Saxon items found by metal-detector: an early to mid-sixth-century cruciform brooch; a nice early to mid-sixth-century harness mount (a high-status piece); and a cremated sixth-century small-long brooch, probably indicative of a pyre site. (PAS NLM6090, NLM6073).

Ingham – Metal-detected finds indicate the presence of an inhumation cemetery: a hanging bowl and fragments of a cruciform brooch and a sleeve clasp. (Leahy, 1993:

no. 23).

Irby upon Humber (Welbeck Hill) – A sizeable inhumation cemetery of the sixth century; 72 inhumations and five cremations. (Leahy, 1993: no. 24).

Keelby – Kevin Leahy records a significant quantity of fifth- to sixth-century metal-detected material from Keelby in his gazetteer; subsequent finds have developed this picture further, revealing two significant cemeteries at separate locations in the parish. Finds include a sixth-century British Type G brooch and a very early fifth-century cruciform brooch, which was probably an heirloom piece. (Leahy, 1993: no. 25; PAS LIN-AC3AB3, NLM5759).

Kirkby la Thorpe – Part of a probably seventh-century Anglo-Saxon cemetery recovered in 1999; nine inhumations excavated. A find of Anglo-Saxon shears in the nineteenth century may be associated with this site; in addition, metal-detecting has recovered a cruciform brooch and a fifth- or sixth-century small-long brooch from two separate sites in this parish. (HER 62057, 64333; PAS DENO-E0E7F5).

Kirton in Lindsey – A seventh-century warrior burial, containing a sword, seax and bridle bit, was found *c.* 1920. Recent metal-detecting has also recovered two late fifth- to sixth-century cruciform brooches to the east of the village. (Leahy, 1993: no. 26; PAS NLM-554291).

Laceby – A sixth- to seventh-century inhumation cemetery, with skeletons and early Anglo-Saxon grave-goods discovered between 1934 and 1939. Recent metal-detecting has recovered four sixth-century items from the parish. (Leahy, 1993: no. 27; PAS NLM-73C251).

Langtoft – ‘Post-Roman brooches’, presumably early Anglo-Saxon, recorded here in

the late 1980s. More recent metal-detecting has recovered a fifth- or sixth-century small-long brooch and a sixth- or seventh-century sleeve clasp. (HER 34752; PAS NLM992).

Leasingham – Two fifth- or sixth-century small-long brooches discovered in this parish from metal-detecting. (PAS NLM752).

Legsby – Metal-detecting has recovered ten items dating to the late fifth or sixth centuries, including three small-long brooches, a mid-fifth- to mid-sixth-century button brooch, and a fragment of a gilded great square-headed brooch. (PAS LIN-5D6605, LIN-A5AEE7).

Lenton, Keisby and Osgodby – Large inhumation cemetery discovered via metal-detecting; mainly inhumations, but some cremation urns. Finds indicate that it dates chiefly to the sixth and seventh centuries, although there is one early (heirloom?) cruciform brooch; also part of a seventh-century drinking horn. (PAS LIN-273A14, LIN-43B873).

Little Ponton and Stroxtun – A fragment of a small-long brooch dating from *c.* 450–550 recorded via metal-detecting, along with a late fifth-century knob from a cruciform brooch and an early to mid-sixth-century small-long brooch, all from the same area. Also a scramasax, a shield boss and a gilt stud from the River Witham from this parish, at Saltersford. (HER 33970; PAS NLM5236).

Lissingleys – Metal-detecting has revealed three Anglo-Saxon cemeteries around this site, located in the modern parishes of Lissington and Wickenby. Significant finds include a hanging-bowl mount, a silver sword ring and a silver sword mount. (PAS LIN-75B9C3, LIN-F2C275, LIN-3B4676).

Louth – Metal-detected finds (including three small-long brooches) from just within the parish boundary suggest a sixth-century inhumation cemetery. (Leahy, 1993: no. 28).

Loveden Hill – Second largest Anglo-Saxon cemetery in England with over 1700 cremations excavated; also 44 inhumations. The cemetery appears to have been in use from the fifth to the seventh centuries. (Leahy, 1993: no. 29).

Lusby with Winceby – A sixth-century inhumation cemetery is indicated by sixteen metal-detected items, including a Frankish radiate-headed brooch and four cruciform brooches. (PAS LIN-9B0C06).

Maltby – A fifth-century cruciform brooch, a mid-sixth- to mid-seventh-century sword pyramid, and an early Anglo-Saxon annular brooch have all been found at Maltby near Louth. (HER 40833, K. Leahy, personal communication).

Manthorpe – Two spearheads, a buckle and a pot found during building work; possible early Anglo-Saxon cemetery site. (HER 30538).

Manton – A hanging bowl discovered during sand-extraction probably comes from an inhumation grave. More recent metal-detecting has also recovered early Anglo-Saxon items from elsewhere in Manton parish, including a seventh-century disc brooch. (Leahy, 1993: no. 30; PAS NLM-013882).

Market Rasen – Kevin Leahy records two mounts from a hanging bowl, along with finds of sleeve clasps and a fragment of cruciform brooch, which indicate the presence of an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery, though the hanging-bowl mounts and the other finds may not be from the same site. More recent metal-detecting has continued to add to this total from the parish, with the PAS recording four fifth- or sixth-century

brooches. (Leahy, 1993: no. 31; PAS NLM-CDD252, NLM-CDB1D0).

Melton Ross – A sixth-century inhumation cemetery, with some cremations indicated by burnt objects: between six and ten brooches, a sleeve clasp, a girdle hanger, an annular brooch and two knives were discovered whilst metal-detecting. (NLSMR 20333).

Middle Rasen – A significant number of metal-detected finds indicate a sizeable early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery; notable finds include a fifth-century cruciform brooch. A gold sheet panel from a high-status seventh-century object has also been found in the parish. (PAS NLM-ED5CD1, NLM-A2D701, NLM-7CDDF5).

Navenby – Five early Anglo-Saxon inhumations, probably seventh-century in date. (HER 61152).

Nettleton/Caistor – Finds of skeletons and early Anglo-Saxon grave-goods were made in 1855, with a possible outlier of this cemetery excavated in 1972 within Caistor parish. The hanging bowl from this cemetery is probably of the fifth century, and the cemetery as a whole is likely to date from the late fifth to perhaps the early seventh century (the latter date is suggested on the basis that use of hanging bowls in Anglo-Saxon graves seems to be a seventh-century rite). More recent metal-detecting has retrieved further sixth-century artefacts that probably belong to this site. (Leahy, 1993: no. 32; PAS NLM2815).

Newton and Haceby – Six metal-detected items (including a fifth-century cruciform brooch) from this parish are suggestive of an early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery. (PAS LIN-61D118).

Normanton – A sixth-century Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery: 30 burials have

been excavated and there are indications that the cemetery extended beyond the area of excavation. (HER 35401).

North Hykeham – Four or five brooches, a pin and part of a girdle hanger discovered via metal-detecting, which are probably indicative of two female burials interred by the middle of the sixth century; one of the brooches is mid-fifth-century in date, but the other items are later; as such, it ought to be considered an heirloom piece. (PAS LIN-DB6F46).

Northorpe – Eight metal-detected finds (six of them fragments of cruciform brooches) indicate the presence of an inhumation cemetery. (Leahy, 1993: no. 34).

North Ormsby – Three metal-detected finds, including a cruciform and a small-long brooch, suggest a sixth-century inhumation cemetery. (PAS NLM-50C8F2).

North Willingham – Metal-detecting here has recovered a sixth-century small-long brooch and two different fifth- to seventh-century sleeve clasps. (PAS NLM-8439E4).

Osournby – Large Anglo-Saxon cemetery, with very many finds being discovered through metal-detecting, including part of a hanging bowl. The artefacts are generally indicative of a sixth- to seventh-century inhumation cemetery that included a small cremation element. (PAS LIN-EB33A6).

Osournby – Three cruciform brooches, a small-long brooch and two other pieces indicate a small sixth-century cemetery, which was separate from the main site noted above. In addition, items from elsewhere in the parish suggest that there may have other, smaller, burial sites here in the early Anglo-Saxon period too. (PAS LIN-18E954, LIN-F68575, NLM4229).

Osgodby – Metal-detecting in the parish has recovered evidence of a sixth- to

seventh-century cemetery, including two cruciform brooches and a sleeve clasp. (HER 54324).

Partney – A barrow burial excavated in 1950, containing at least four burials (two adults and two children). Dated to *c.* 600, based on two cruciform brooches and other finds. (Leahy, 1993: no. 35).

Pointon and Sempringham – Two cruciform brooches recovered through metal-detecting: one belongs to the sixth century and the other to the late fifth or sixth century. (PAS NLM997).

Quarrington I – Sizeable fifth- to seventh-century cremation cemetery (discovered in the early nineteenth century), with an inhumation element as found at other local cremation cemeteries. (Leahy, 1993: no. 36).

Quarrington II – A small inhumation cemetery of the fifth to sixth century has been recently excavated here, containing 15 inhumations. (Dickinson, 2004; HER 42790).

Revesby – Three metal-detected finds, including a seventh-century sword pommel and a mid-sixth-century belt plate. (PAS NLM4176).

Riby – Small seventh-century inhumation cemetery found during 1915 and 1916. (Leahy, 1993: no. 37).

Roxby (Sheffield's Hill) I and II – A sixth-century cemetery with a single cremation has been excavated here. A seventh-century cemetery was also found ten metres to the south of the sixth-century cemetery. Together they totalled 129 burials. (NLSMR 15987).

Roxby – Metal-detecting has recovered early Anglo-Saxon items from several sites within the parish, suggesting that there is at least one small sixth-century burial site

here in addition to the cemetery known from excavation. (PAS NLM-DE6635).

Ruskington – 180 sixth- to seventh-century Anglo-Saxon inhumations, discovered at various times through the twentieth century, along with a small number of cremations. Metal-detecting continues to recover sixth- to seventh-century metalwork from the parish. (Leahy, 1993: no. 38; PAS LIN-D245D8).

Scotter – Inhumations found before 1892, associated with an ‘Anglian knife’ and buried in the ‘early Saxon manner’. Two sixth-century items – a bead and a small-long brooch – have also been found in the parish. (HER 50050; PAS NLM4499).

Searby – A probably large, late fifth- to sixth-century inhumation cemetery discovered during chalk-digging between 1849 and 1864. Finds include a cruciform brooch and a garnet-set radiate-headed brooch. (Leahy, 1993: no. 39).

Silk Willoughby – Anglo-Saxon pottery found in this parish, along with a sixth-century cruciform brooch, a small-long brooch and an early Anglo-Saxon spearhead. A Roman-coin pendant has also been found in the parish; these are usually early Anglo-Saxon in date. (HER 65167; PAS NLM4548).

Sixhills – An inhumation cemetery indicated by significant quantities of metal-detected finds, which suggest a primarily sixth-century cemetery. (HER 54302).

Skendleby – Two small-long brooches and a sixth- or seventh-century mount suggest the presence of a small inhumation cemetery. (PAS LIN-52AFE5).

Sleaford – Very large inhumation cemetery of the late fifth to sixth/early seventh centuries: 242 out of *c.* 600 or more burials excavated. Some of the burials are extremely well furnished; six cremations were found at the site too. The next items may well be part of, or separate clusters of, this apparently very large cemetery, as

may be the stray finds of a Roman-coin amulet and part of a sixth-century cruciform brooch from the parish. (Leahy, 1993: no. 40; HER 61960, 65290, 65288).

Sleaford – A single female grave of the seventh century was found at Old Sleaford in 1916; other undated graves may also have been found in the area, according to the HER. (HER 60374, 60884).

Sleaford – A small collection of early Anglo-Saxon grave-goods, which are suggestive of a single female burial, were found during the construction of the Bass Maltings. (HER 65300).

South Carlton – Small sixth- to early seventh-century cemetery; metal-detected finds led to the excavation of three inhumations and an urned cremation burial. Trenches dug in an attempt to establish whether there were any further burials failed to turn up evidence of such. (HER 54979).

South Elkington-Louth – A very large mid-fifth- to sixth-century cremation cemetery; 290 urns excavated out of an estimated total of 1200 original burials. (Leahy, 1993: no. 41).

South Ferriby – A sixth-century inhumation cemetery, known from modern metal-detecting and finds recorded in 1907. (Leahy, 1993: no. 42).

South Rauceby – Early Anglo-Saxon finds (a brooch of the fifth to sixth century, girdle hangers and a strap end) from a single site; probably indicative of a grave or small cemetery. (HER 60471).

South Willingham – A cremation cemetery of unknown size; no finds survive. (Leahy, 1993: no. 43).

South Witham – Probable early Anglo-Saxon mixed cremation and inhumation

cemetery, destroyed in the mid-eighteenth century. Bodies, knife, urns and spears found. (HER 33616).

Spridlington – A single sixth- or early seventh-century male burial with a shield boss was found at Spridlington House in 1974. (HER 51438).

Stamford – Probable early Anglo-Saxon inhumation, found 1854. An urn, spear and bone found; the pottery is said to be sixth-century in date. (HER 30676).

Stenigot – At least three individuals found in a seventh-century barrow. Finds include a bronze cauldron. (Leahy, 1993: no. 44).

Stickford – Metal-detected finds, including three sixth-century cruciform brooches and a seventh-century girdle hanger. (PAS NLM2745).

Sudbrook – Anglo-Saxon finds (tweezers, bracelet and beads) from Newton Sandpit suggest a probable early Anglo-Saxon female grave. (HER 30346).

Swaby – Four Anglo-Saxon burials, unaccompanied so perhaps of seventh-century date. (HER 42837).

Swallow – A very high-status female grave assemblage, probably of the early seventh century, discovered and semi-excavated by metal-detectorists. (PAS LIN-E8F0C7).

Swaton – A late fifth- or sixth-century buckle and a cremation urn have been found close to each other in this parish. (PAS LIN-74D863, LIN-7E3054).

Swinhope – Three Roman coins re-used as pendants, a small-long brooch, some tweezers and a hanging-bowl mount indicate the presence of an early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery. (PAS NLM6560, NLM-C8EF70).

Tallington – Around 25 inhumations have been excavated here over several decades, representing a cemetery that apparently began in the sixth century and continued into

the Middle Saxon period. (HER 33511).

Tathwell – Nine metal-detected items, including a great square-headed brooch, have been found in Tathwell parish, indicating the presence of a sixth- to seventh-century cemetery; the earliest-reported finds seem to have been assigned the centre of the parish as a grid reference, but the later items have what appears to be a true NGR. (PAS NLM-85B475, NLM4737).

Tattershall Thorpe – A smith's grave of the mid-seventh century. (Hinton, 2000).

Tetford – Eleven graves discovered in 1958, via a partial excavation of what was probably a large seventh-century cemetery; finds include a seax and a bucket. Some distance to the south of this site, metal-detecting has recovered a seventh-century copper-alloy mount. (Leahy, 1993: no. 45; LIN-0825B6).

Thimbleby – Two sixth-century cruciform brooches and other items recorded by Kevin Leahy have been supplemented by a number of more recent metal-detected finds discovered on at least two separate sites. These include a number of sixth-century brooches, sleeve clasps and some gold beaded wire, which is probably from a seventh-century triangular buckle. (Leahy, 1993: no. 46; PAS NLM-B895B4, LIN-F461F8, NLM4743).

Threekingham – A fragment of a probably sixth-century small-long or cruciform brooch and a sixth-century sleeve clasp have been found very close to where two similar items were found previously; they may perhaps be associated with the 'many skeletons' found at Threekingham from 1780–1826. (HER 60899, 60041; PAS LIN-021528).

Torksey – Three metal-detected items suggest the presence of a sixth- to seventh-

century inhumation cemetery. (PAS NLM5772, NLM-B69663).

Waddington – Eleven sixth-century graves found in 1947, with further graves excavated in recent years, including some of the seventh century. (Leahy, 1993: no. 47; HER 60377).

Walcot near Folkingham – Four early Anglo-Saxon items (including part of a hanging bowl), metal-detected from two separate sites in this parish, are perhaps indicative of two sixth-century burials/small cemeteries. A sixth-century bucket mount has also been discovered from this parish. (PAS LIN-E64595, LIN-3394E7, LIN-679DD6).

Walesby – A small sixth- to seventh-century inhumation cemetery, with 23 graves excavated and others probably yet to be uncovered. (Leahy, 1993: no. 48).

Welbourn – Various early Anglo-Saxon artefacts found 1847; one or more female graves of *c.* 600. (Leahy, 1993: no. 49).

Wellingore – A single female burial of the second half of the sixth century was excavated here in 2002. In addition, metal-detecting has recently found five early Anglo-Saxon items from a separate site nearby, indicative of a small cemetery of the sixth and seventh centuries. One of these was a seventh-century copper-and-gold sword pommel. (HER 62628; PAS LIN-87E077, LIN-871CD5).

Wellingore – Fragments of three sixth-century brooches (two cruciform and one small-long) have been metal-detected in the far south of the parish. (PAS LIN-C66A27).

Welton-by-Lincoln – Eleven graves found in 1971. Finds include a shield boss and annular brooches. (Leahy, 1993: no. 50).

Westborough and Dry Doddington – Possible Anglo-Saxon cemetery. Anglo-Saxon pottery reported from the churchyard and near to a barrow. Metal-detecting has recovered seven sixth-century items: five cruciform brooches, one square-headed brooch, and a sleeve clasp. (HER 30205; PAS NLM-C2D9C4).

West Keal – Very limited excavations and a pottery scatter covering around two acres suggest a large cremation cemetery of the fifth to sixth centuries. (Leahy, 1993: no. 51).

West Rasen – Four metal-detected cruciform brooches, a disc brooch, a small-long brooch and a sleeve clasp indicate the presence of an inhumation cemetery. (PAS NLM-5E1AF5, NLM-1E18C6, NLM-242A81).

Winceby – Finds of skeletons with what may have been Anglo-Saxon shield bosses suggest an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery, possibly associated with barrows in this area. (Leahy, 1993: no. 52).

Wold Newton – Small cremation cemetery. Over 20 urns found in 1828 along the line of a ‘tumulus’. (Leahy, 1993: no. 53).

Woolsthorpe – Mixed cremation and inhumation cemetery, with ‘numerous cinerary urns’, discovered in 1885 during ironstone mining. (HER 30580).

Worlaby – A sixth-century inhumation cemetery; twelve graves excavated and more ploughed out. Also, a single disturbed cremation. (Leahy, 1993: no. 54).

Wrawby – A probable early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery, containing nearly 100 burials, was recorded in antiquarian notes of the nineteenth century. Finds include spear heads, weapons, harness-buckles and coins. (NLSMR 20332).

Figures

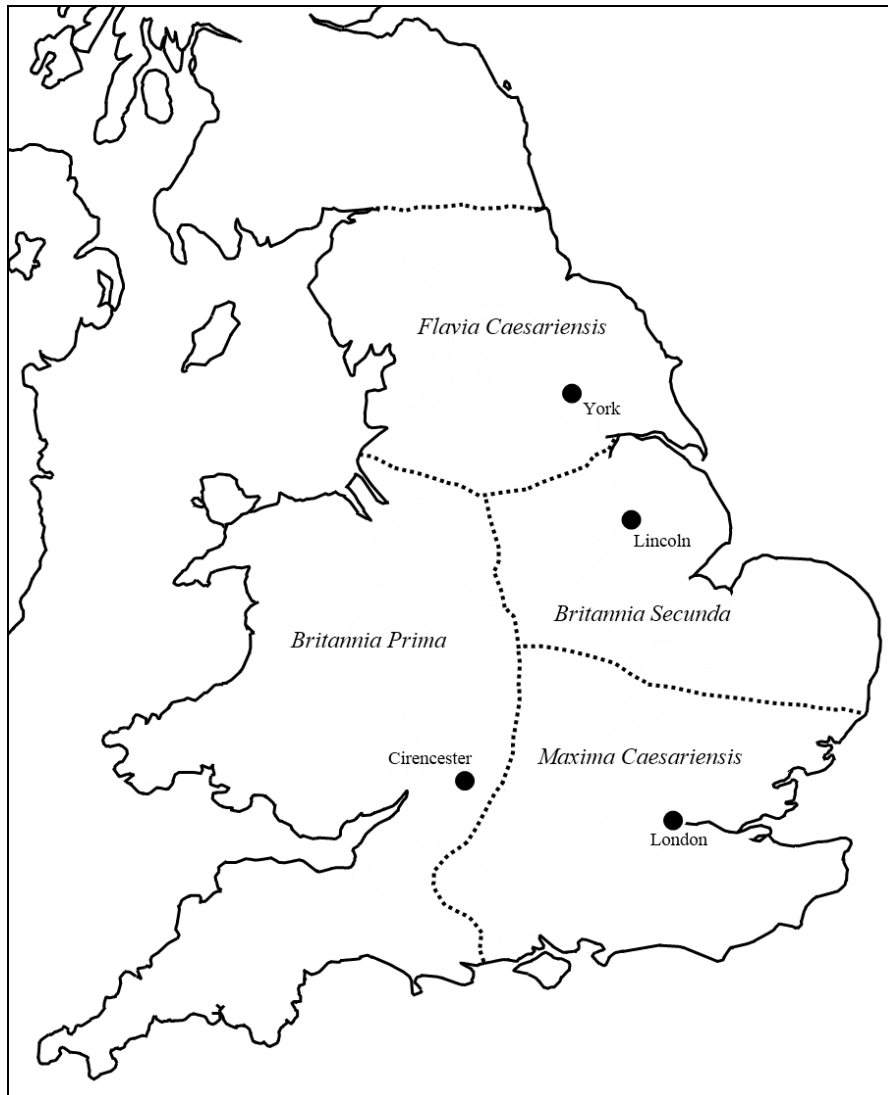


Figure 1: The Roman provinces of Late Roman Britain (after Mann, 1998).

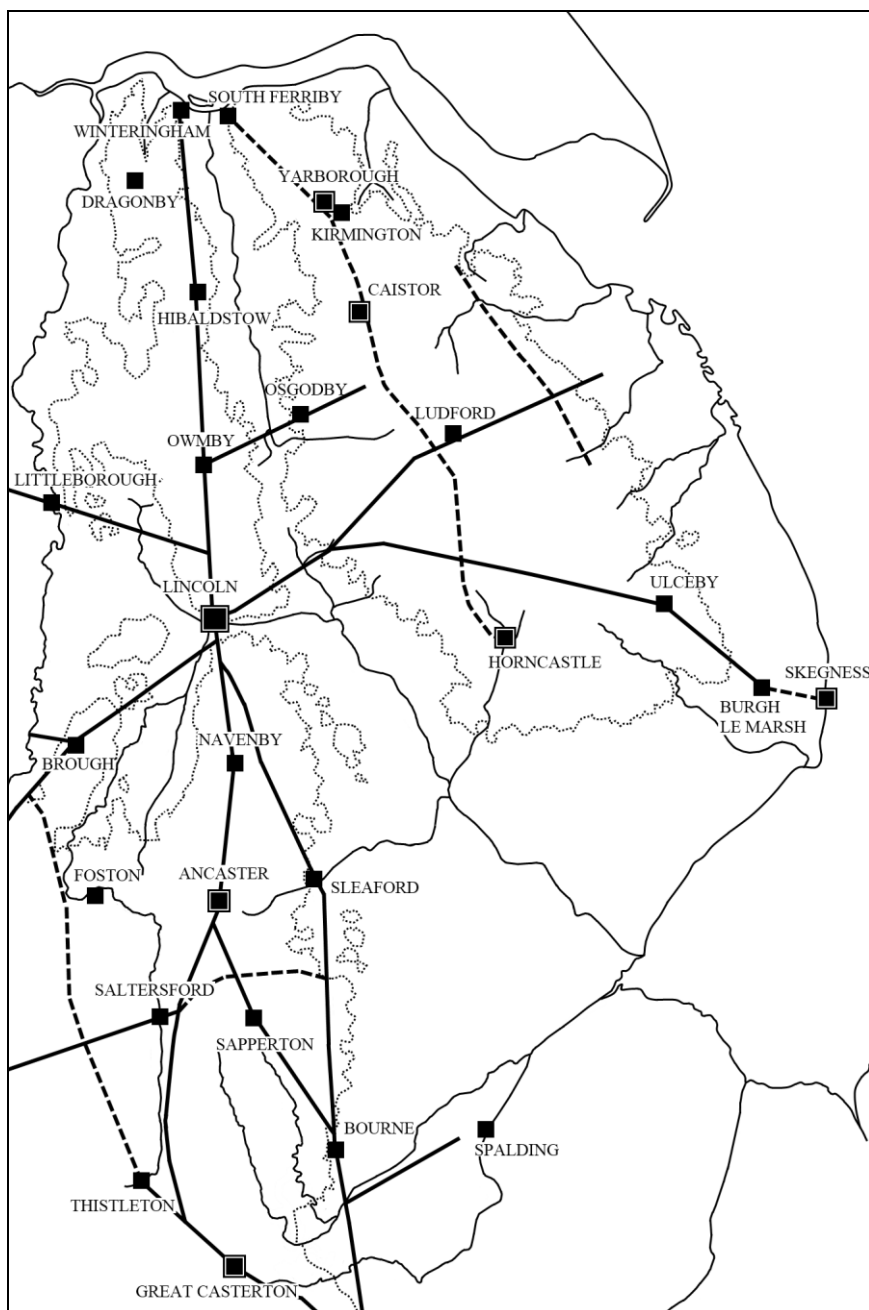


Figure 2: Roman Lincolnshire, showing the major settlements and road-routes in the region against the modern coastline (after Whitwell, 1992, with additions). Fortifications are indicated by a box around the symbol; it should be noted that several additional Late Roman fortifications have been suggested along the east coast, including at Yarburgh (near Louth) and Grimsby.



Figure 3: Post-Roman Britain in the seventh century, showing both the British and Anglo-Saxon kingdoms; the names of the former are in italic type.

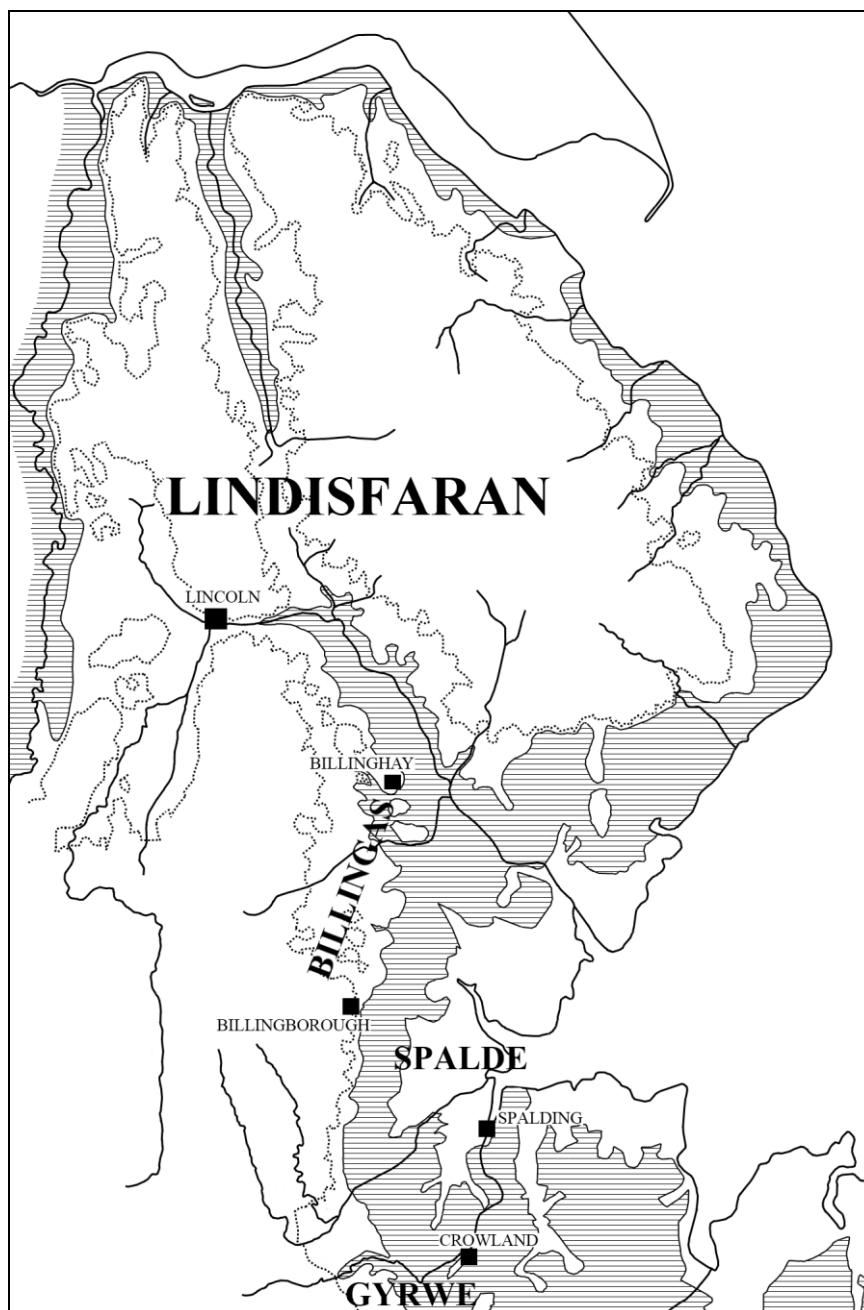


Figure 4: Suggested locations for the Anglo-Saxon Lindisfaran, Billinggas, Spalde and Gyrwe population-groups; the estimated Anglo-Saxon coastland along the Fenland and marshes is shown (after Crowson et al, 2005, and Ulmschneider, 2000) along with low-lying land (hatched) and ground above fifteen metres.

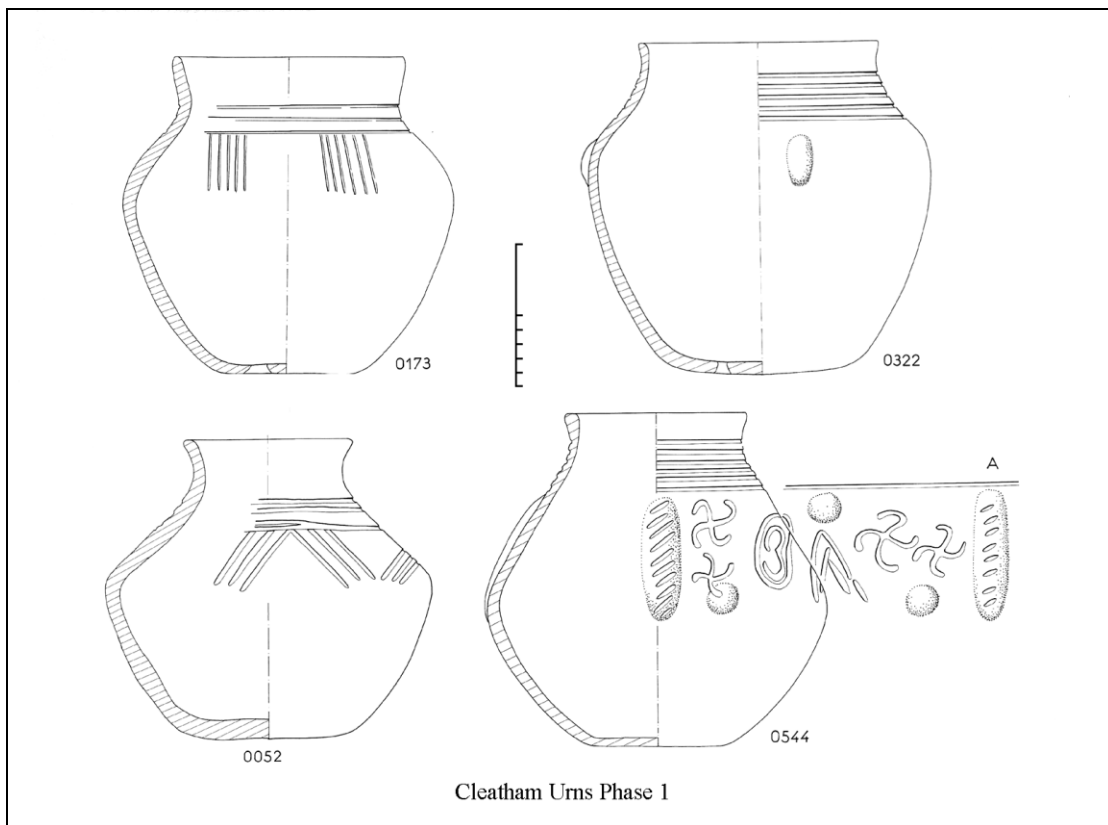


Figure 5: Cremation urns from the first phase of the Cleatham-Kirton in Lindsey Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery (Source: Kevin Leahy).

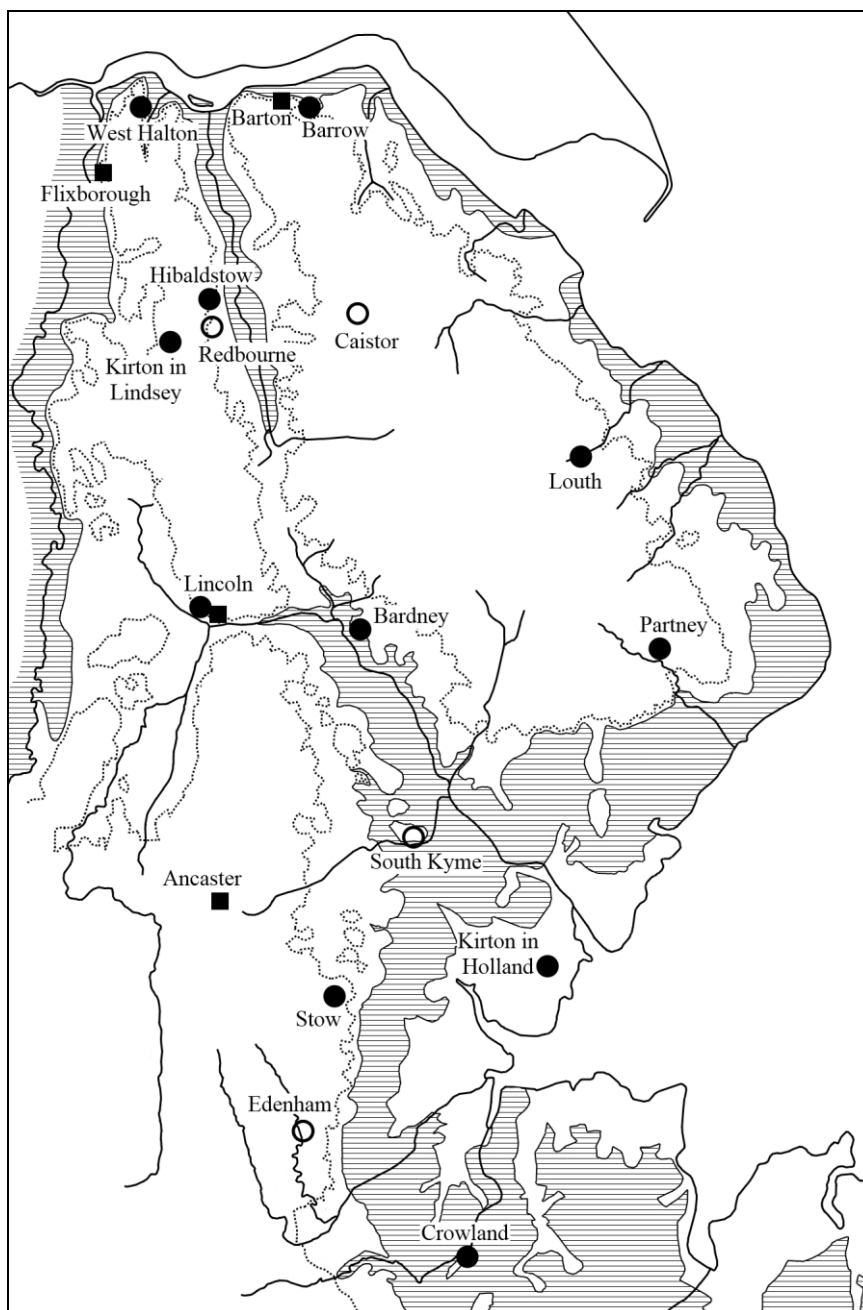


Figure 6: Map of the evidence for pre-Viking ecclesiastical centres in Lincolnshire (after Stocker, 1993). Filled circles indicate those deduced from documentary or place-name evidence; open circles those known from sculpture; and squares those known from excavation.

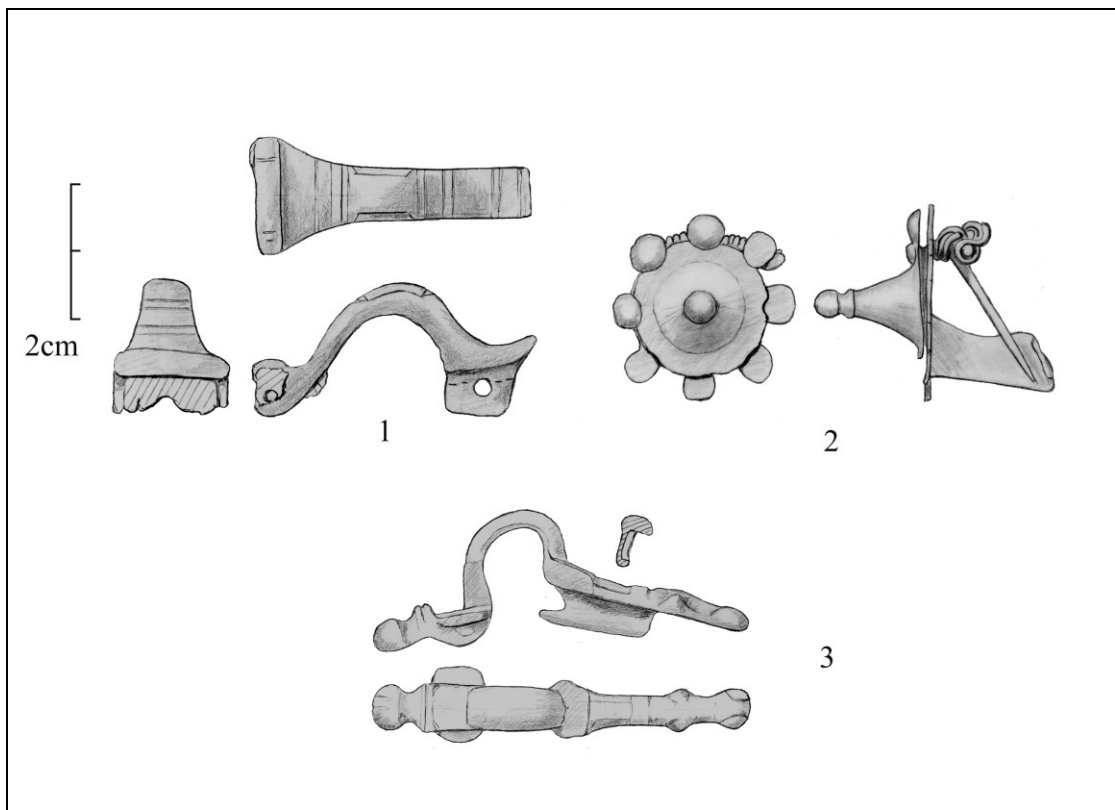


Figure 7: Early Germanic brooches from Lincolnshire. 1: Supporting-arm brooch, Newball. 2: Tutulus brooch, Kirmington. 3: Group I cruciform brooch, Clixby (Source: Kevin Leahy).

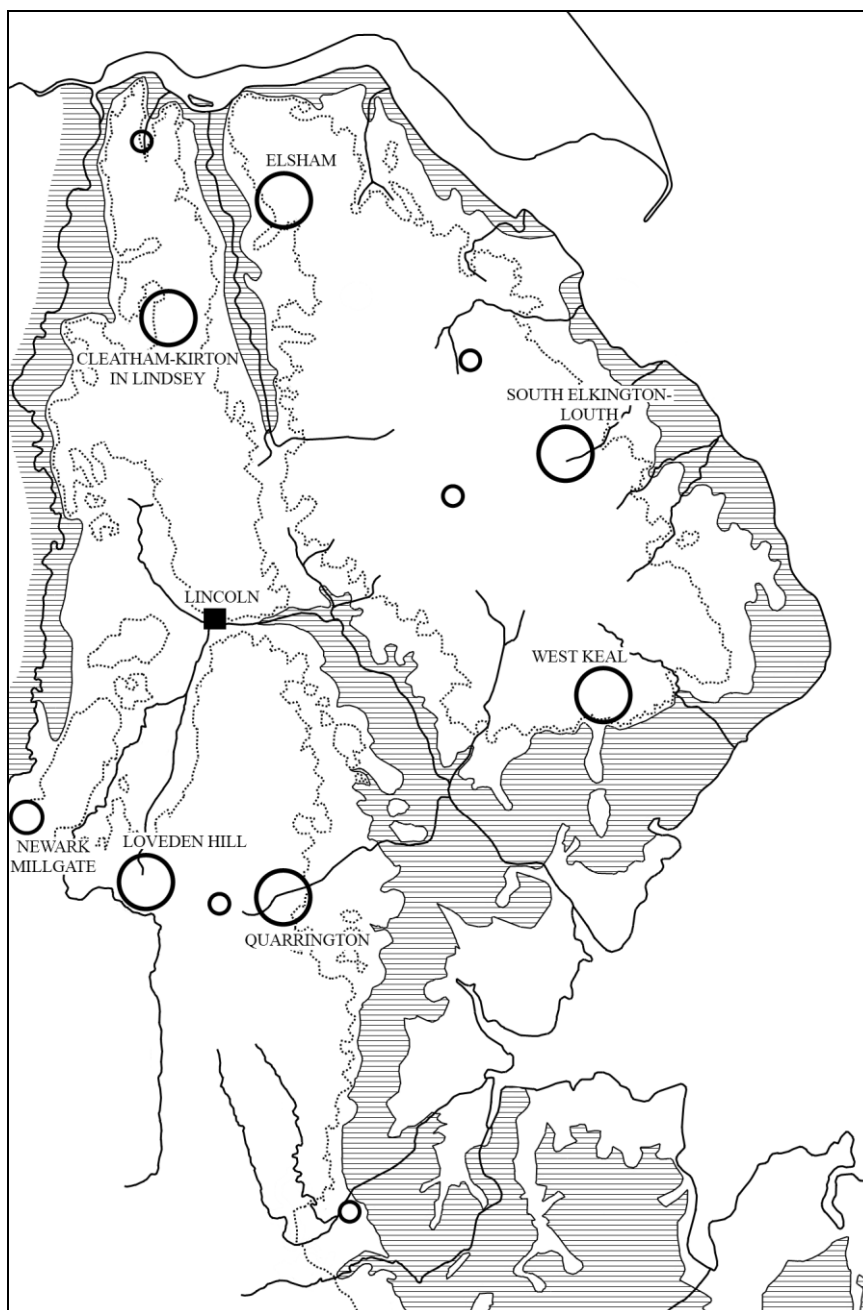


Figure 8: The cremation cemeteries of early Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire. The larger cemeteries are, clockwise from the top left, Cleatham-Kirton in Lindsey; Elsham; South Elkington-Louth; West Keal; Quarrington; Loveden Hill; and Newark Millgate.

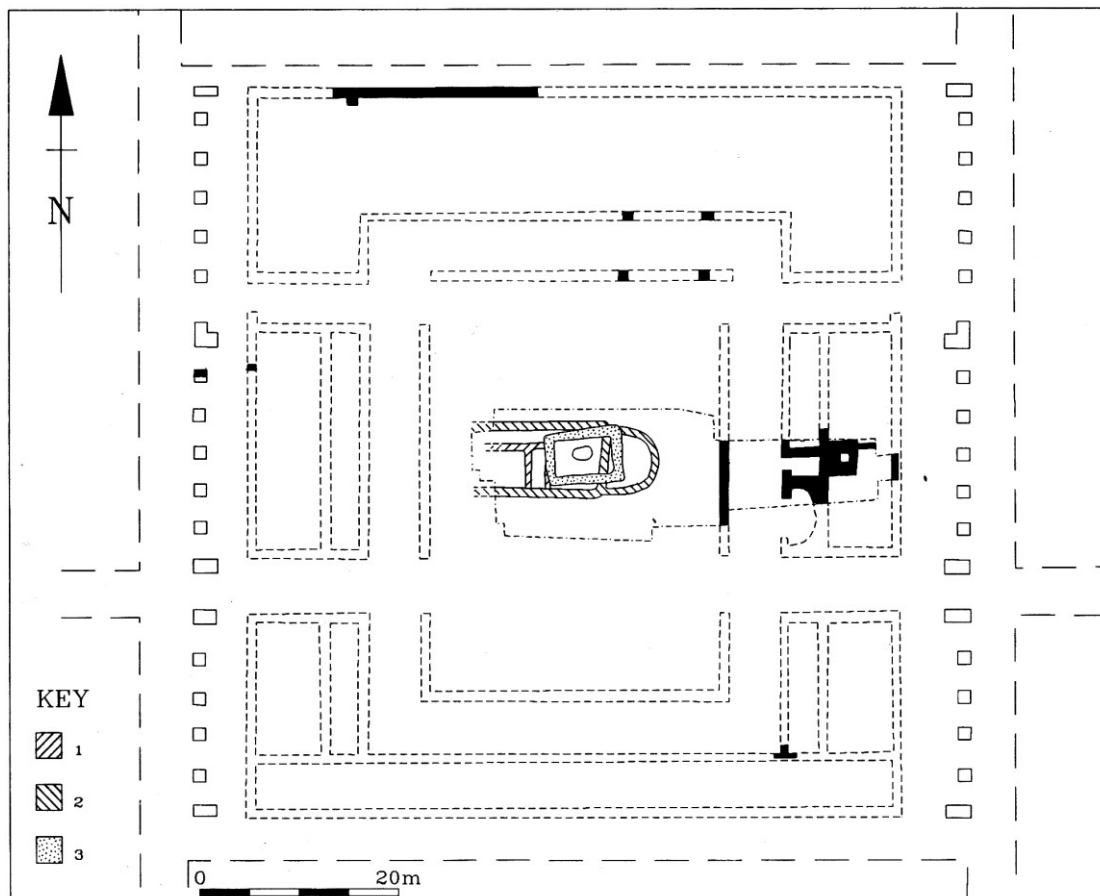


Figure 9: The sequence of two timber churches at St Paul-in-the-Bail, showing their relationship to the Roman forum. The plan also shows a subsequent third small church/chapel/mausoleum, built later on the same site. (Source: City of Lincoln Council and Mick Jones).

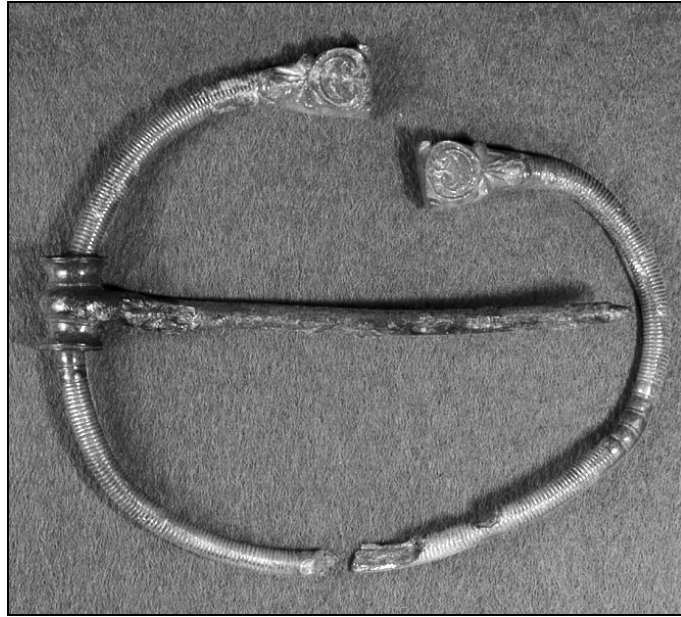


Figure 10: A British enamelled Class 1 brooch from East Ravendale (Source: Kevin Leahy).

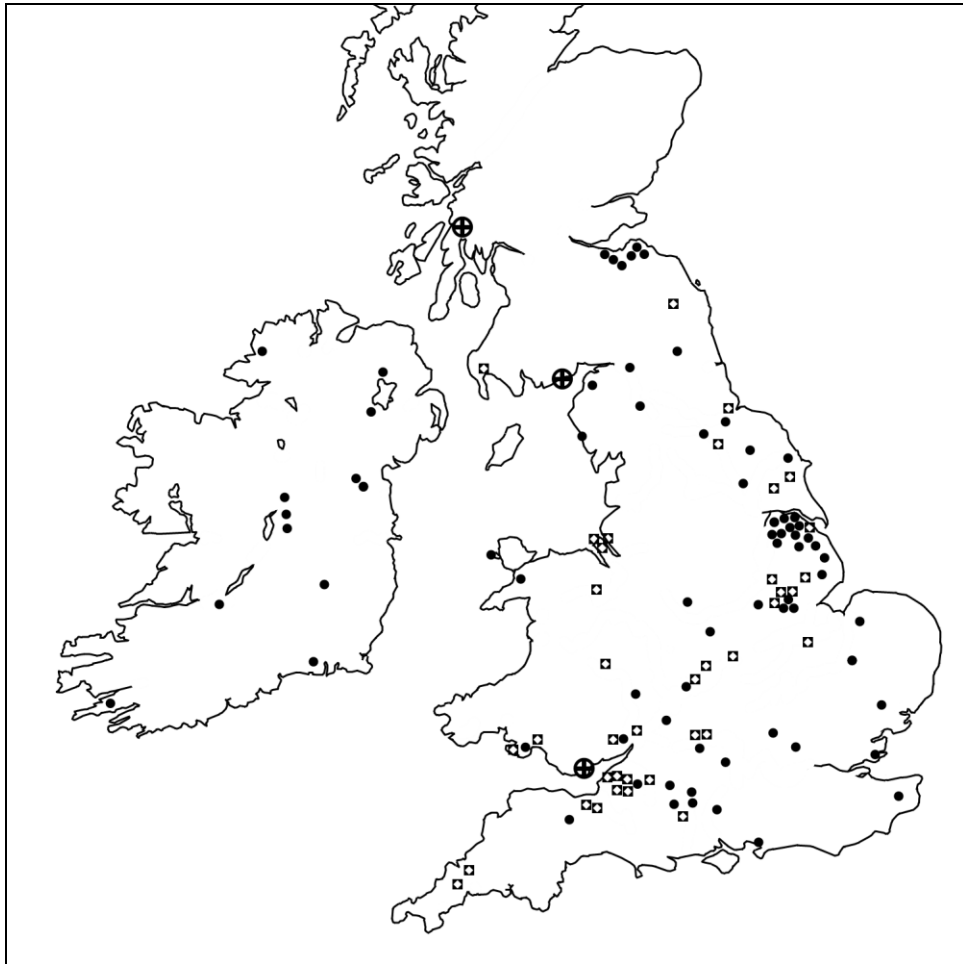


Figure 11: The distribution of British Class 1 (filled circles) and Type G (enclosed diamonds) brooches across Britain and Ireland; three workshops are marked at Dinas Powys, Dunadd and the Mote of Mark (after Youngs, 2007, and Collins, 2010, with additions).

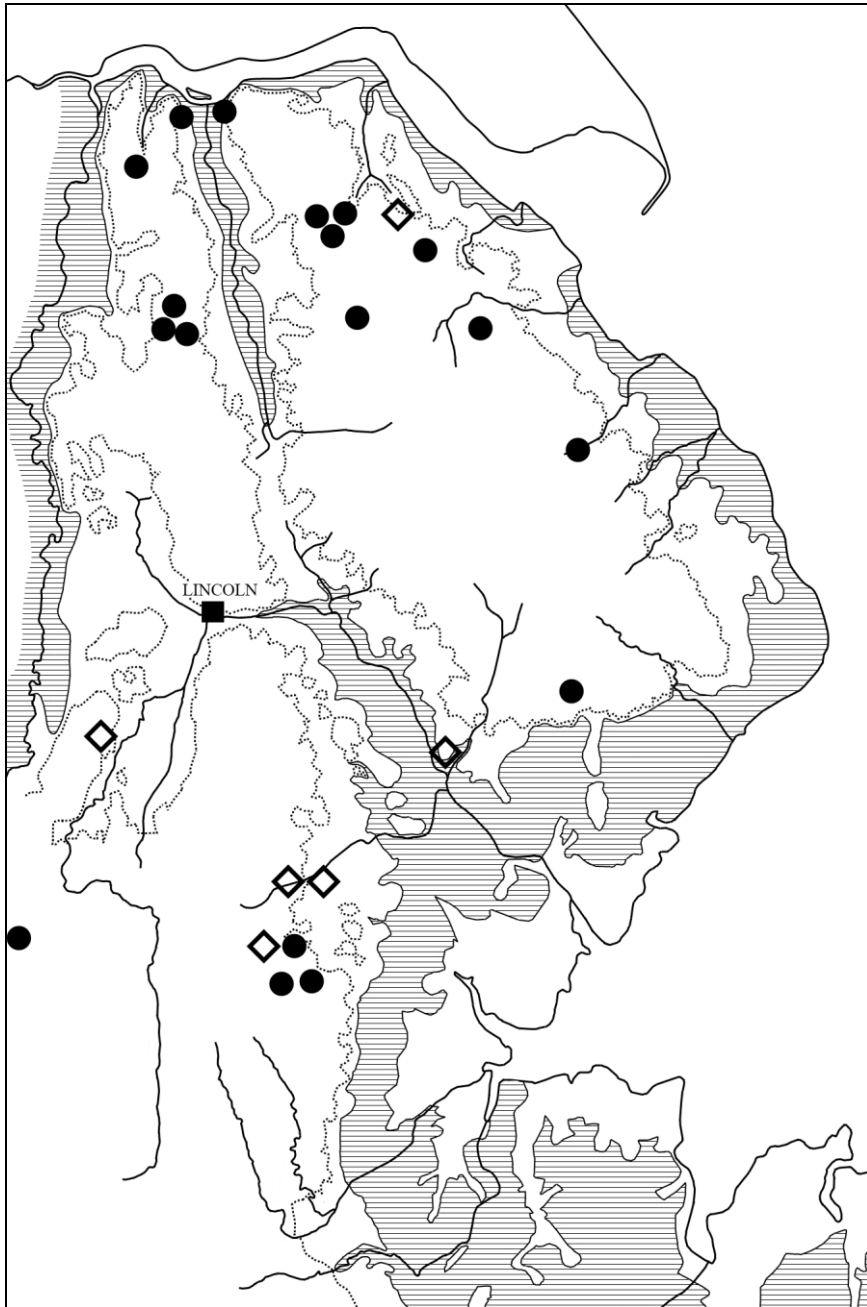


Figure 12: The distribution of British Class 1 and Type G brooches in the Lincoln region; the former are represented by filled circles and the latter by diamonds.



Figure 13: A British Type G brooch from Keelby in Lincolnshire, top, and an apparent hybrid Type G/Class 1 enamelled brooch from Norton Disney, bottom (Source: Adam Daubney).

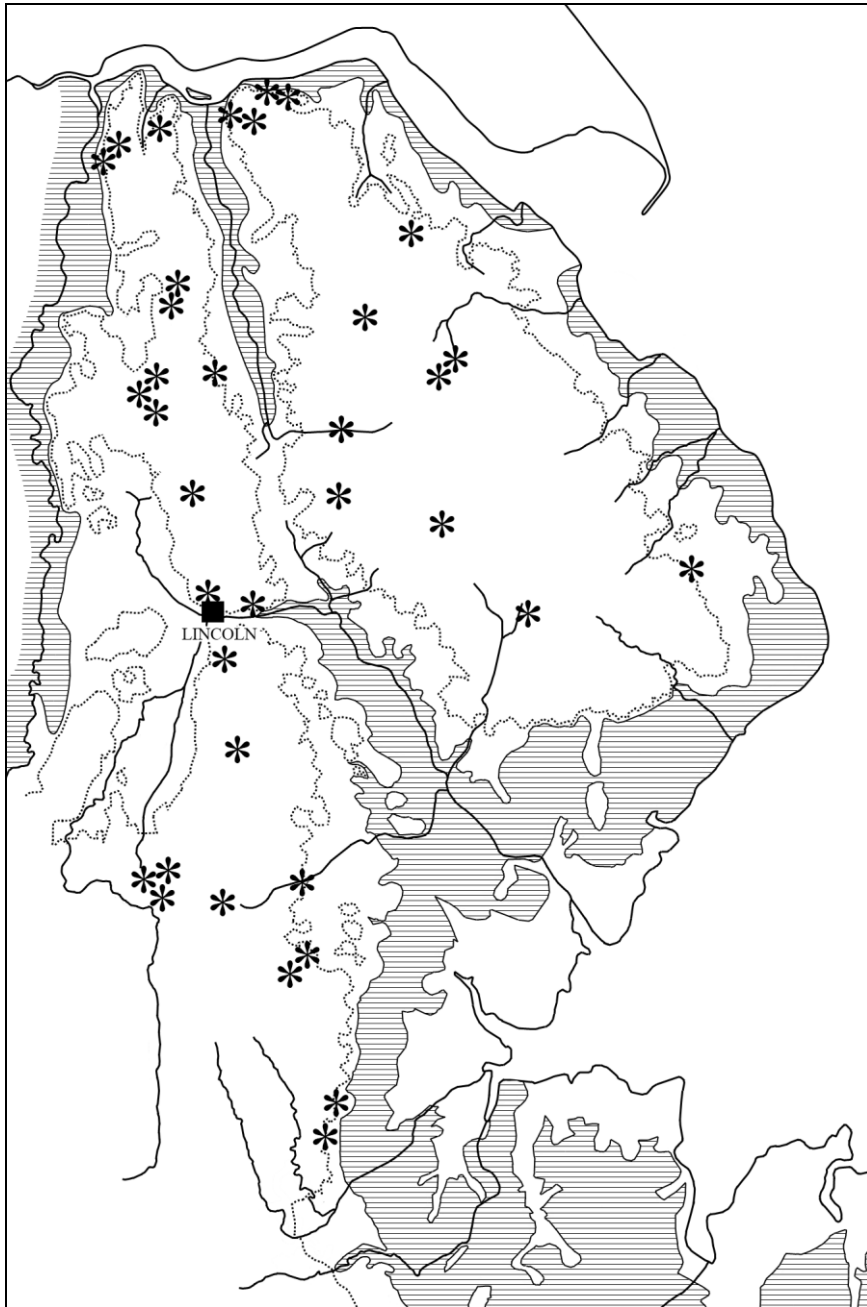


Figure 14: The distribution of 'late Celtic' hanging bowls in Lincolnshire.

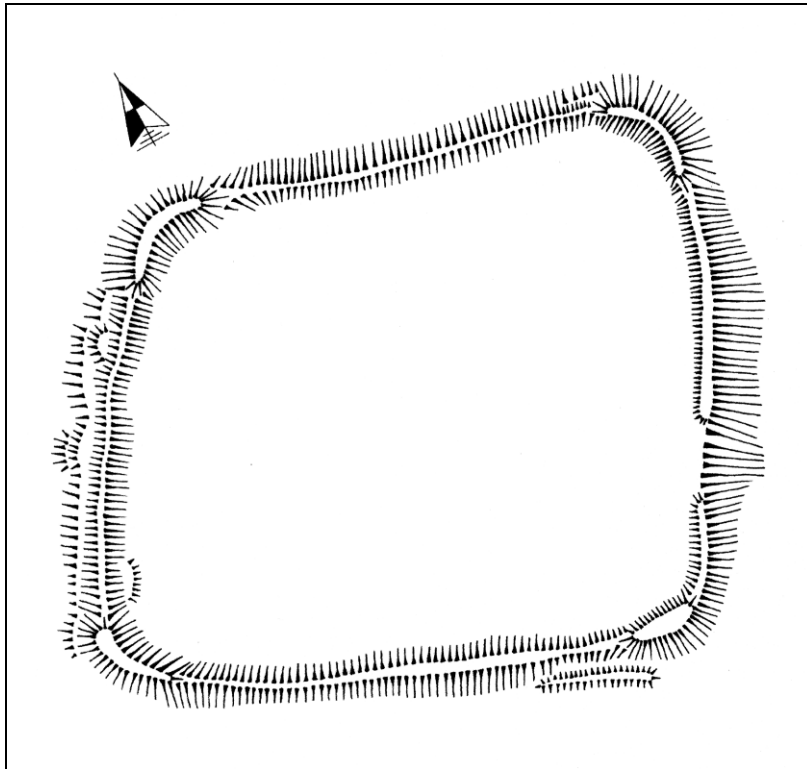


Figure 15: Plan of Yarborough Camp, which is positioned on the important east-west Kirmington Gap (Source: Kevin Leahy and G. C. Dyson).

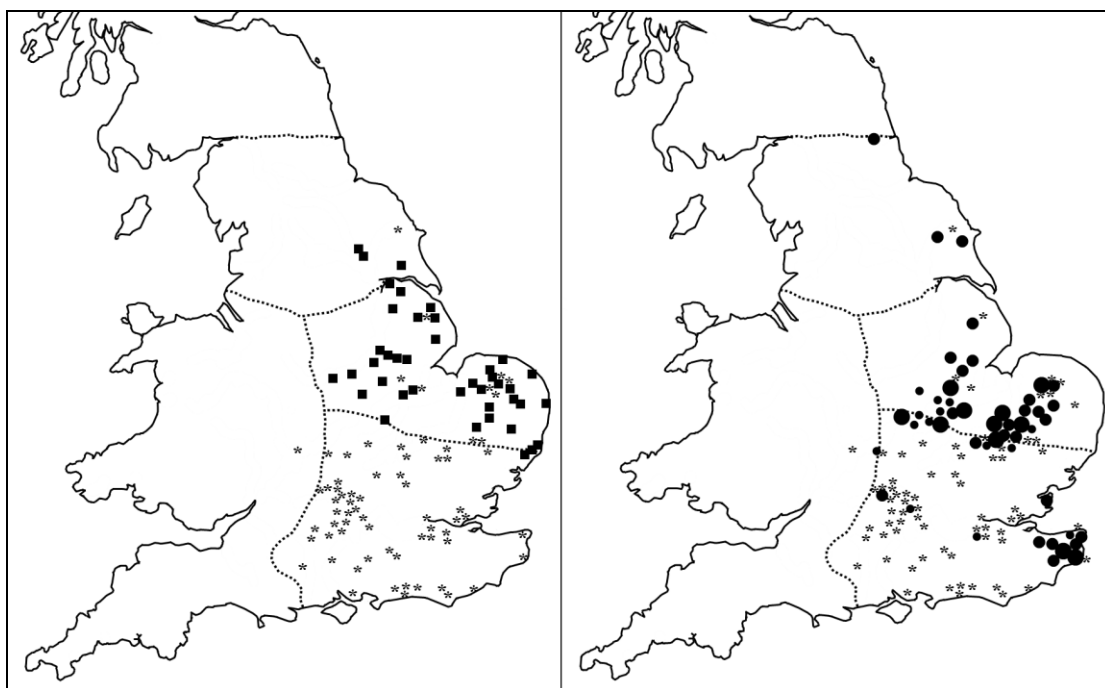


Figure 16: The distribution of 'Anglian' archaeology plotted against the probable Late Roman provincial boundaries. The maps plot, respectively, Anglian cremation-predominant cemeteries (squares, after Williams, 2002) and Anglian artefacts of the second half of the fifth century (circles) against 'Saxon' artefacts of the same period (stars, both after Higham 1992). Note, the apparent scarcity of early Anglian brooches in northern Lincolnshire up to the early 1990s has been corrected in recent years via excavations and metal-detecting.

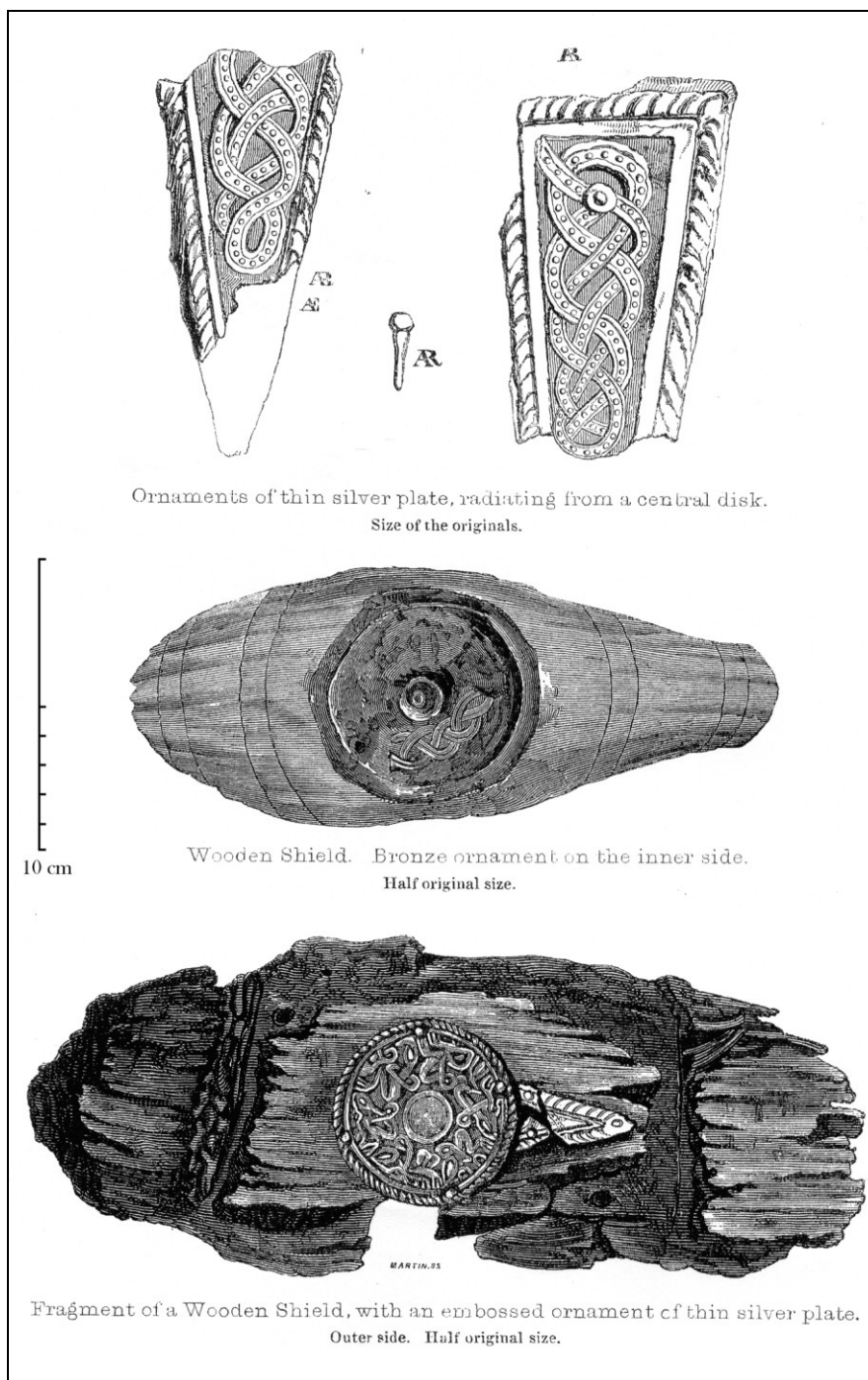


Figure 17: Mounts from the great Caenby barrow; what they were originally attached to is uncertain. (Source: Society of Antiquaries of London).

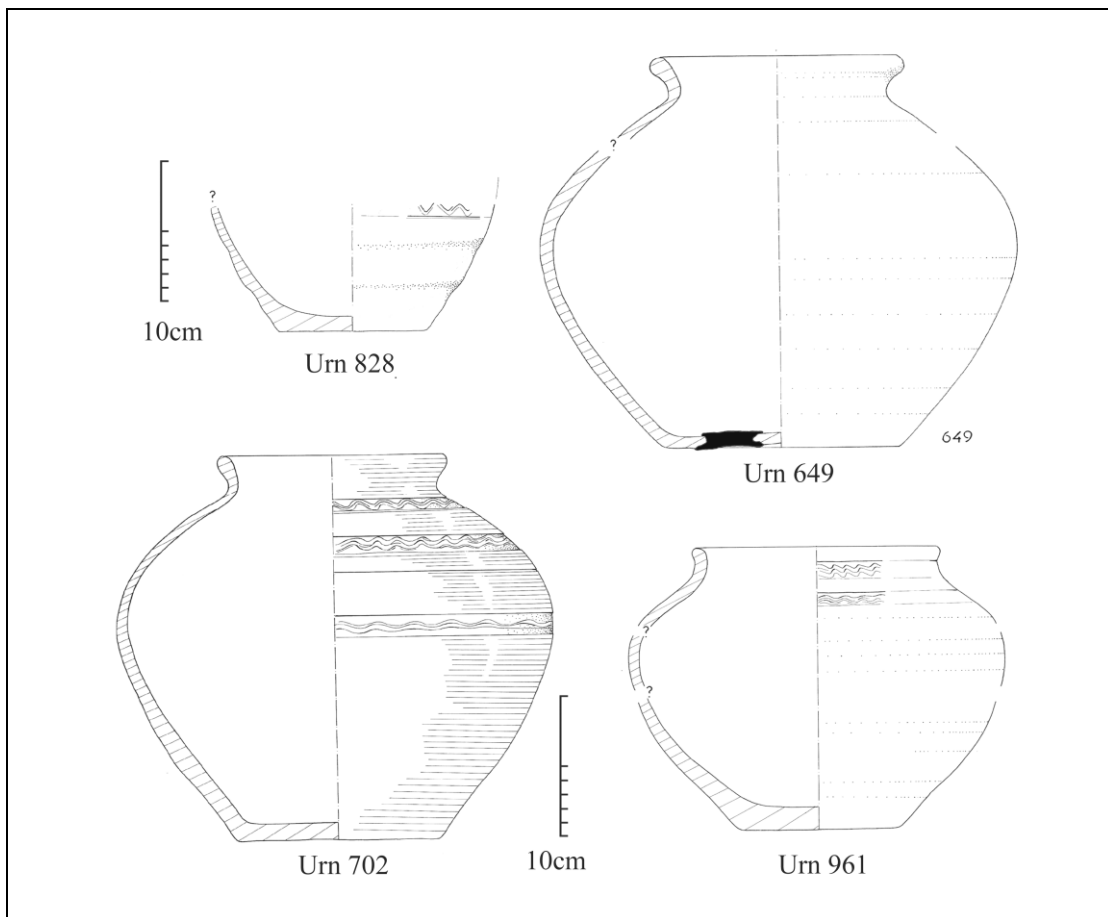


Figure 18: Roman-type pots used for cremations at the Cleatham cemetery (Source: Kevin Leahy).



*Figure 19: The three divisions of Lincolnshire, plotted alongside the suggested original extent of the regio of Hatfield (after Parker, 1992). The south-eastern boundary of Hatfield is open to debate, with two possibilities shown; the star indicates the location of Edwinstowe. The dashed line bisecting Kesteven reflects the southern limit of *Lindēs, as it can deduced from the distribution of cremation cemeteries and British brooches.*

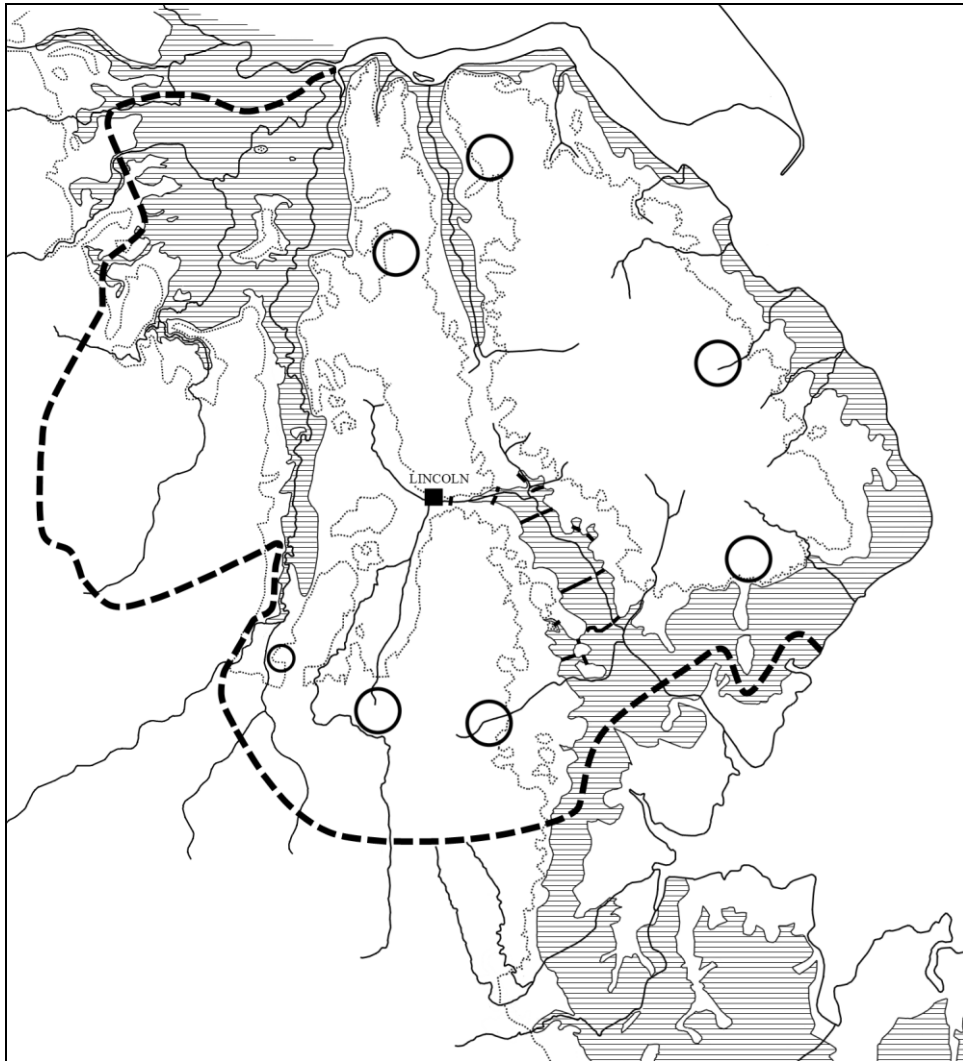


Figure 20: The suggested boundaries of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Lindissi, on the basis of the argument offered here. Also shown are the causeways across the Witham (after Everson and Stocker, 2003), low-lying land (hatched) and ground above fifteen metres.

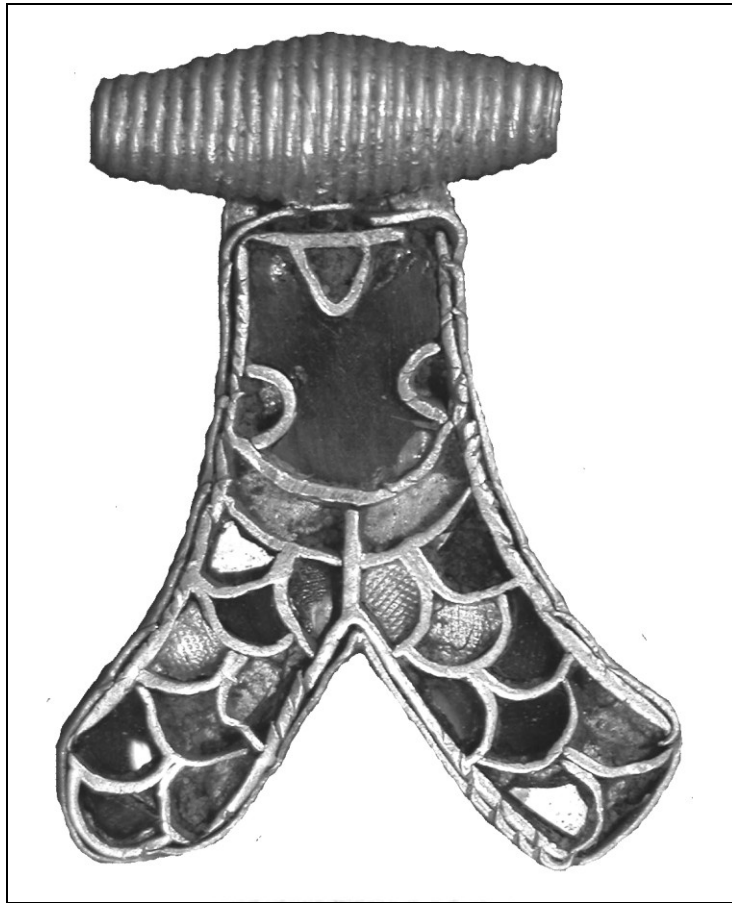


Figure 21: An early Anglo-Saxon gold-and-garnet pendant in the form of a stylized insect, discovered near Horncastle (Source: Kevin Leahy).

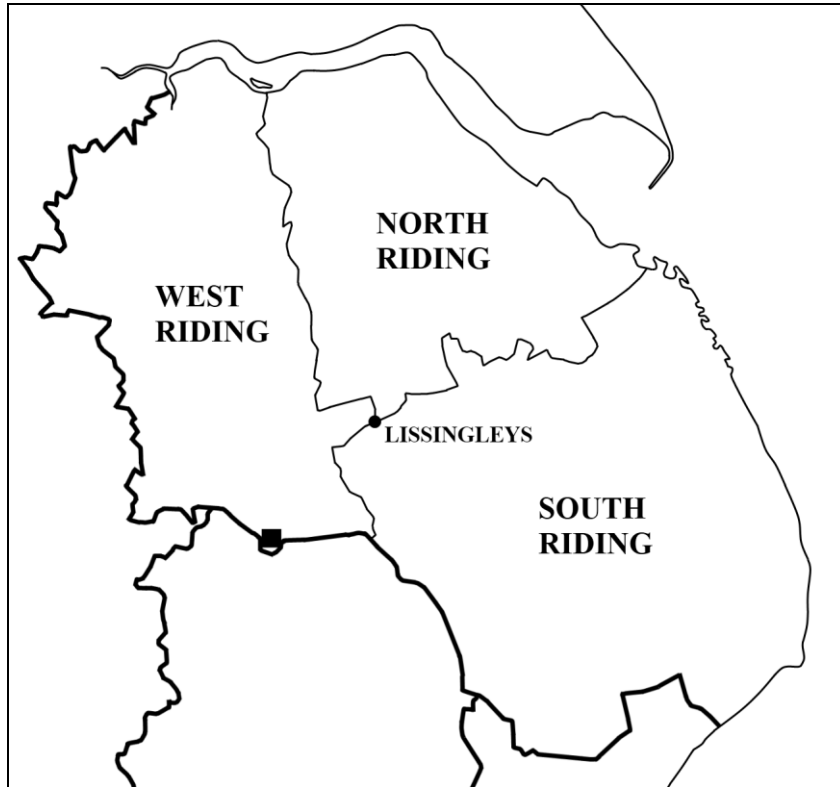


Figure 22: Map of the Ridings of Lindsey along with the location of Lissingleys.



Figure 23: A sceptre head in the form of a helmeted Mars and an ox-head spout, found on the Roman site to the south of Lissingleys (Source: Keith Kelway).

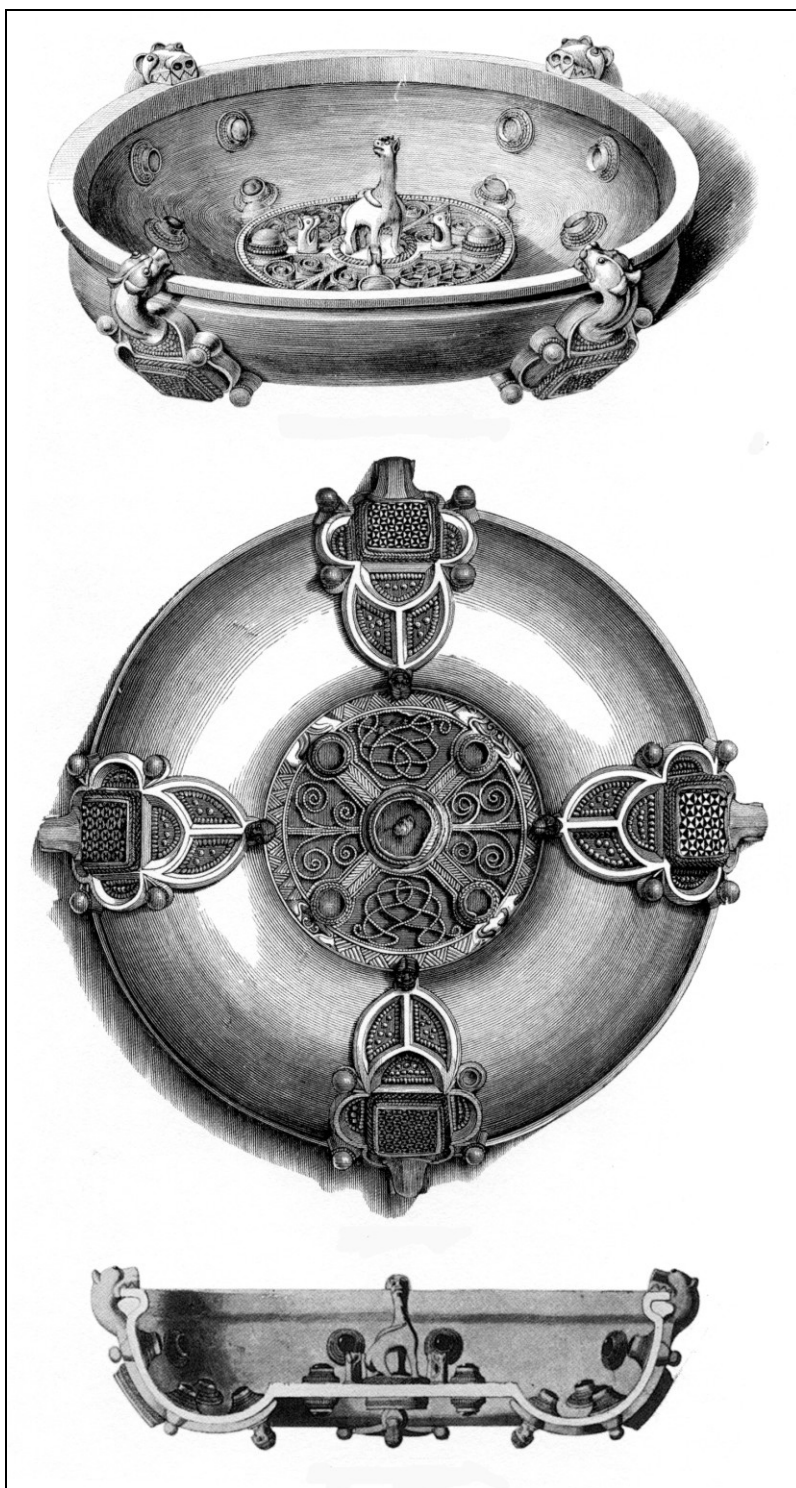


Figure 24: The famous Witham hanging bowl, discovered during drainage works on the River Witham in 1816 but since misplaced (Source: Society of Antiquaries of London).



Figure 25: One possible reconstruction of the locations of the Tribal Hidage population-groups (after Hart, 1971). The vast majority ought probably to be placed in the Middle Anglian area between Mercia and East Anglia.

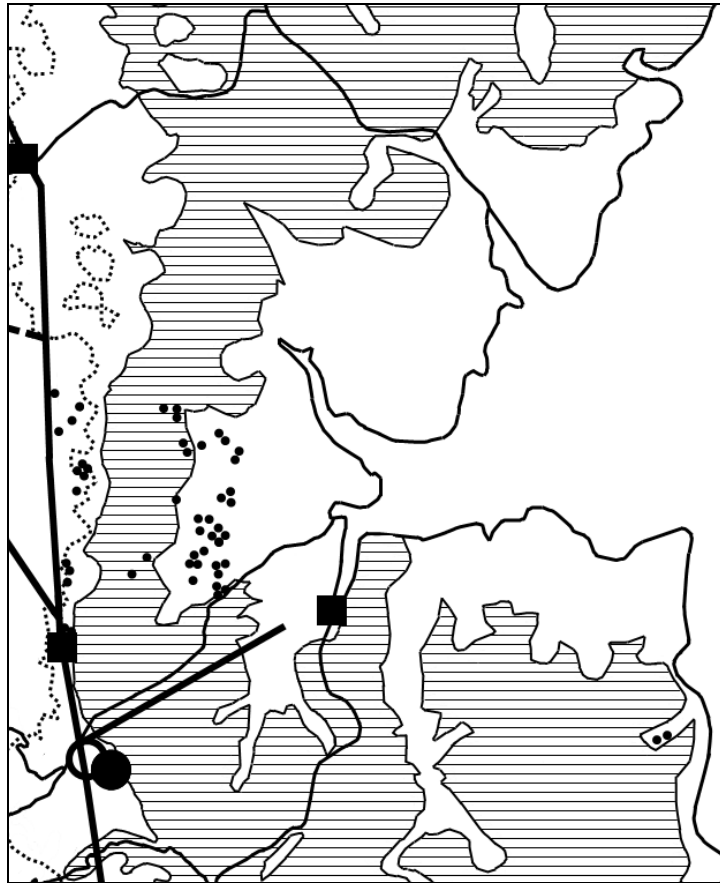


Figure 26: Map of the south Lincolnshire Fenland Survey results (after Crowson et al, 2005), showing the siltland of Holland, the Roman background, and the two large Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at Baston (the open circle is the cremation cemetery, the filled the inhumation).

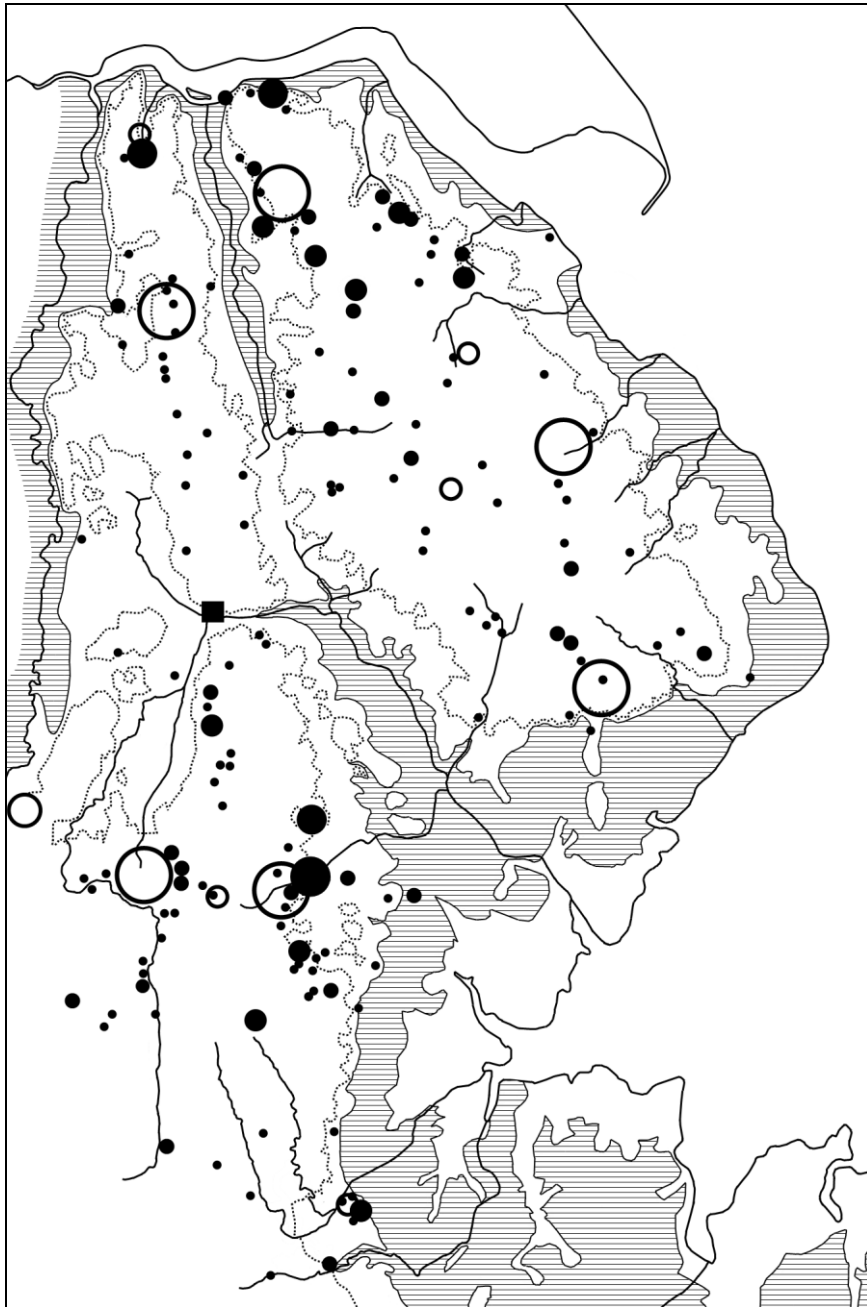


Figure 27: The distribution of all fifth- to seventh-century Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Lincolnshire. The diameter of the circles reflects the likely size of each cemetery; filled circles represent inhumation cemeteries and open circles cremation cemeteries.

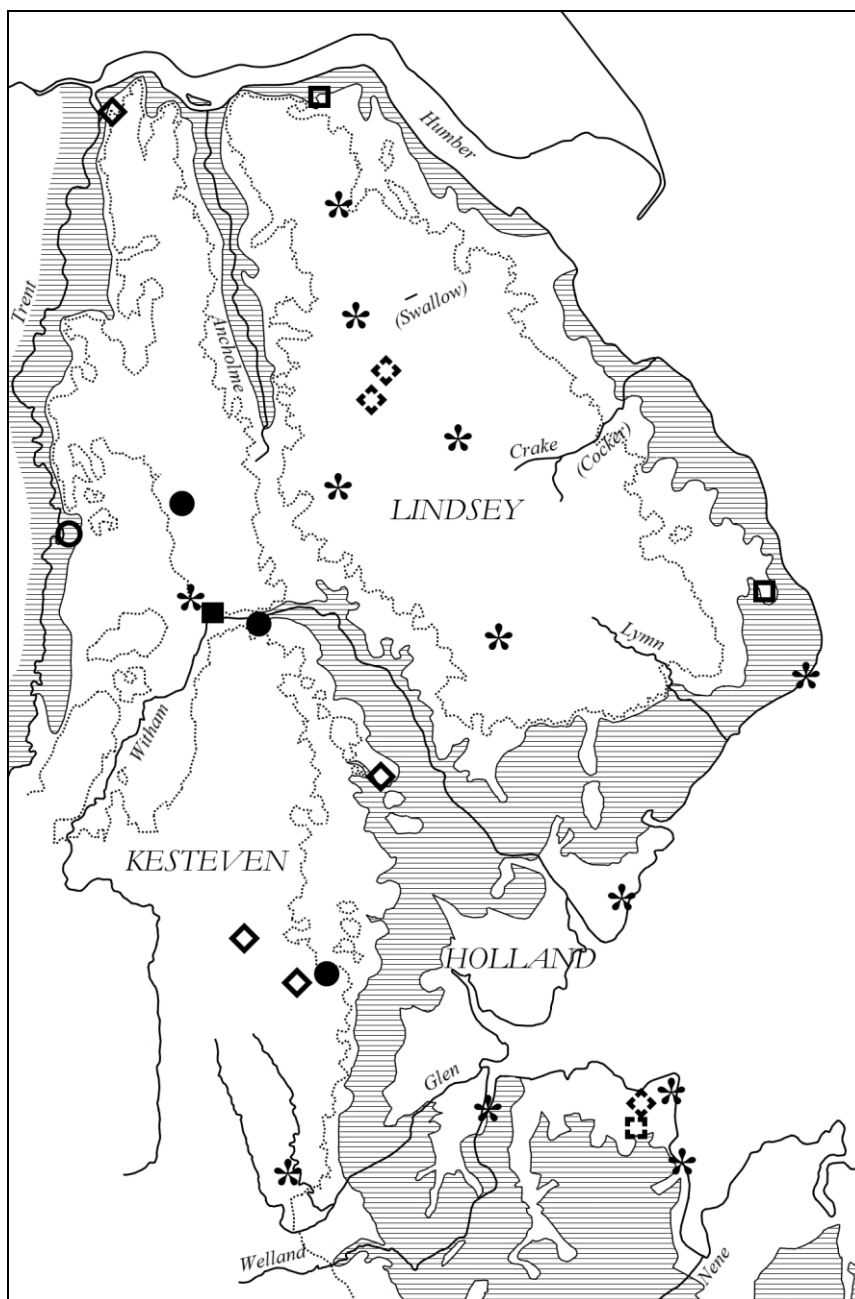


Figure 28: The distribution of linguistic evidence for Anglian-British interaction in Lincolnshire. The icons reflect possible survivals of British place-names (stars); names indicative of the presence of Welsh-speakers (squares, names involving *walh*, and diamonds, *cumbre/bret*: possible examples have a broken line); and place-names which appear to involve British personal-names (circles: where filled, this name was attached to an *-ingas* population-group). Districts and rivers with pre-English names are also marked; where enclosed by brackets, the name survives only in a settlement-name.



Figure 29: A sixth-century gilded great square-headed brooch from the Baston inhumation cemetery (Source: Adam Daubney).

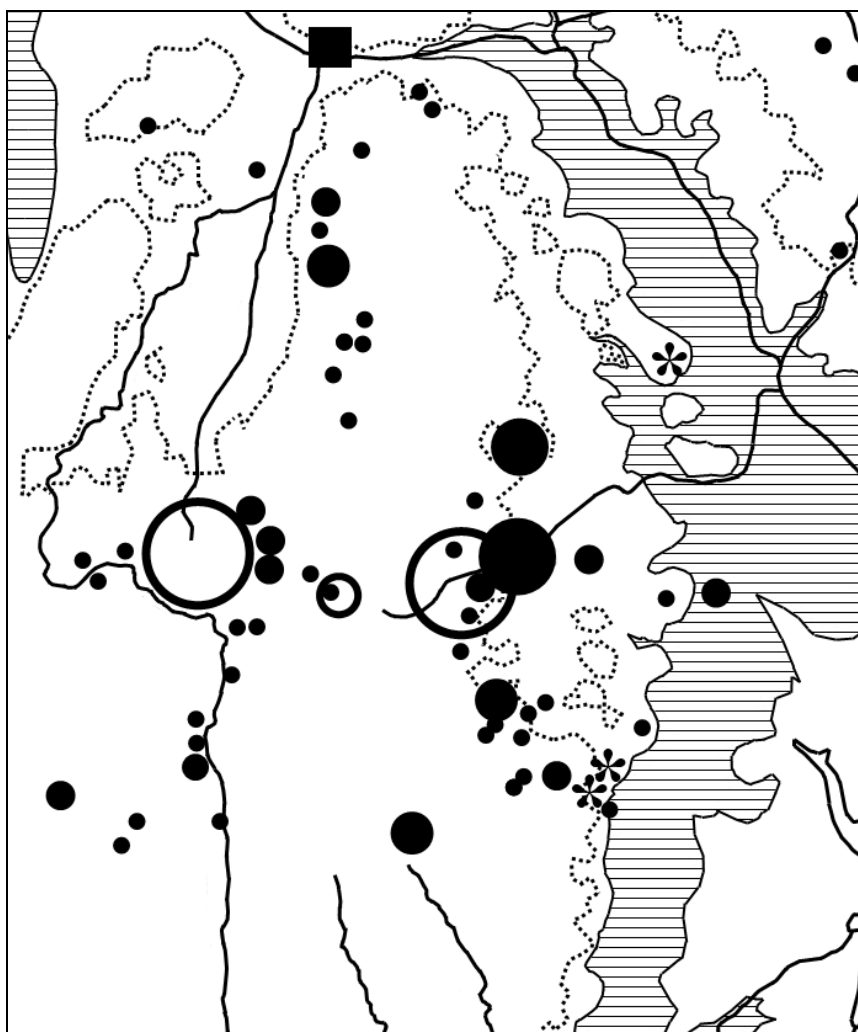


Figure 30: The Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of southern Kesteven, overlaid with the Billingas place-name evidence, marked by stars (north to south: Billingham, Horbling, Billingborough).



Figure 31: The sixth-century 'pressblech' Style I die from Garwick, used for making foil mounts (Source: Adam Daubney).

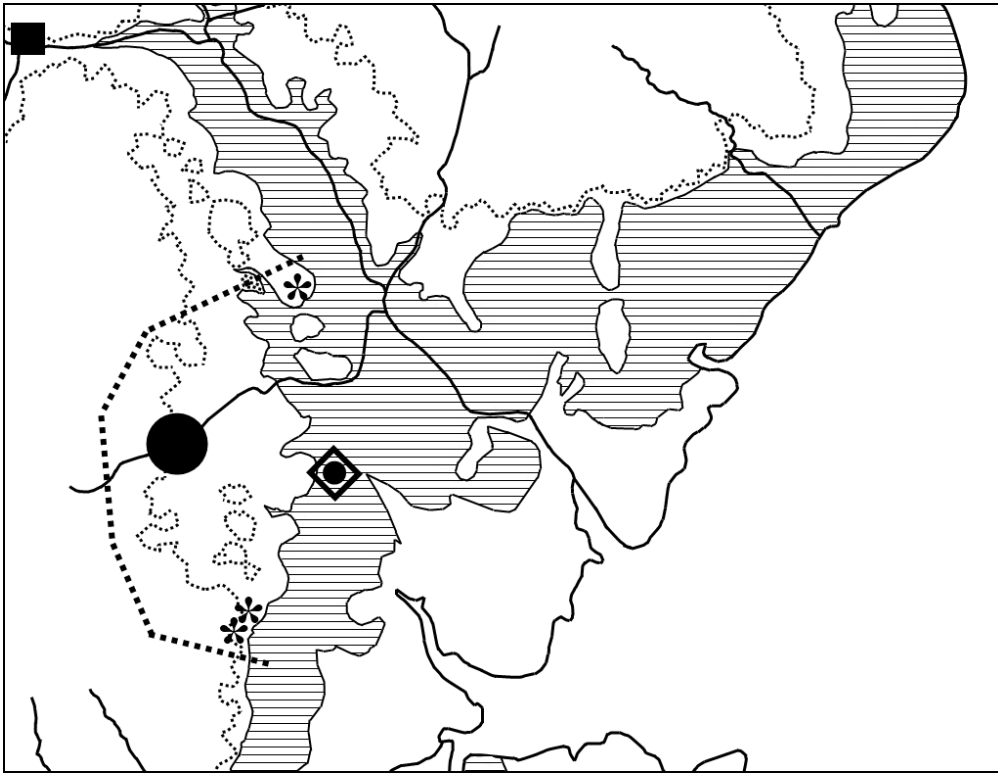


Figure 32: Garwick and the Billingas. The cemetery and trading site at Garwick are indicated by the small filled circle and the diamond. Also shown is the Sleaford inhumation cemetery, which contains a significant quantity of probably imported amber, and the suggested minimum extent of the Billingas, based upon the place-name and cemetery evidence.

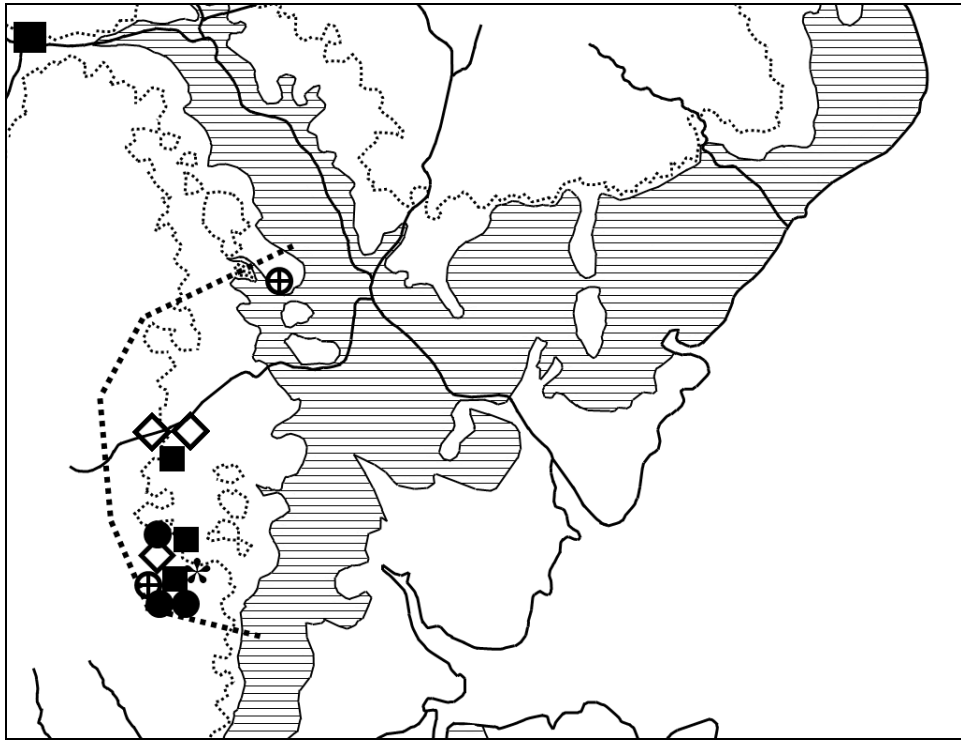


Figure 33: The distribution of British metalwork and place-name evidence for Britons in the territory of the Billingas. Metalwork: filled circles indicate British Class 1 brooches; diamonds British Type G brooches; and squares 'late Celtic' hanging bowls. Place-names: crosses within circles indicate names involving walk, and the star indicates the place-name Threekingham.

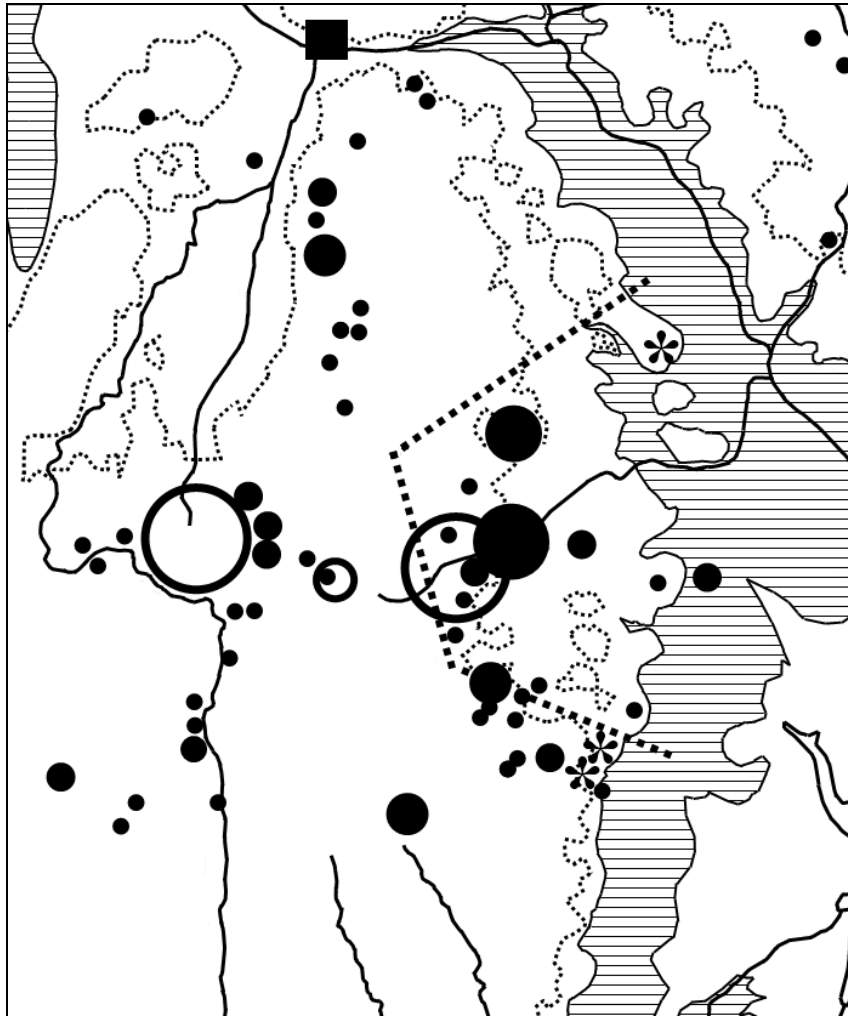


Figure 34: The territory of Roman Sleaford as suggested by Thiessen polygons, plotted against the early Anglo-Saxon cemetery evidence.

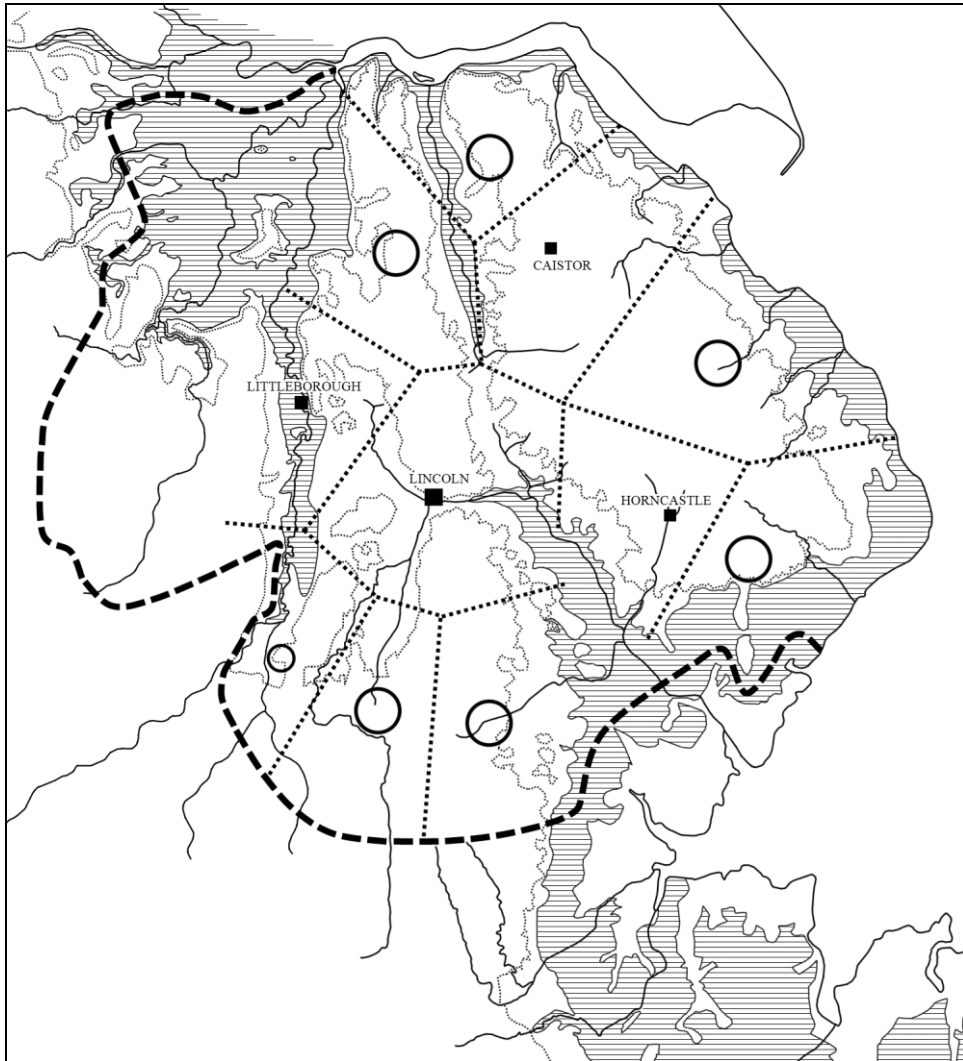


Figure 35: Map of the kingdom of Lindissi, showing probable central places and their hypothetical territories, as reconstructed using Thiessen polygons.

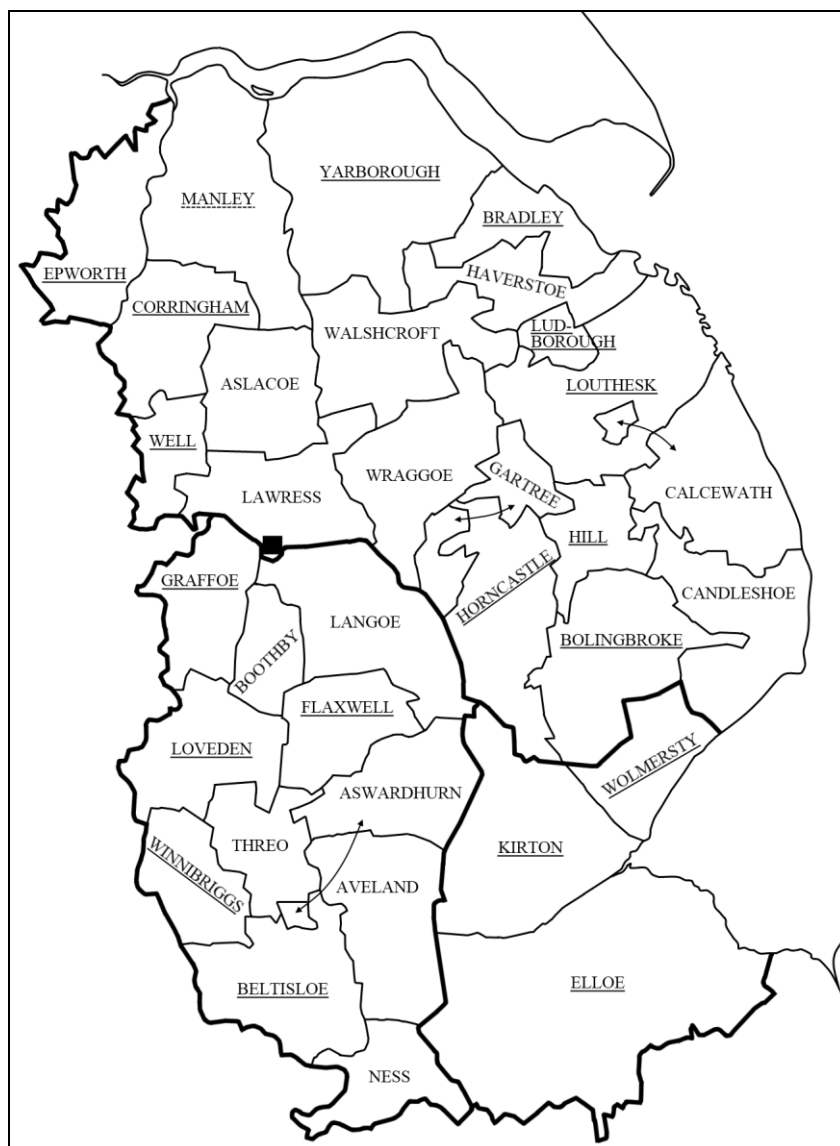


Figure 36: The medieval Lincolnshire wapentakes (after Foster and Longley, 1924, and Turner, 2000). Wapentake-names of Old English derivation are underlined; those of mixed or debatable origins are underlined with a dashed line.

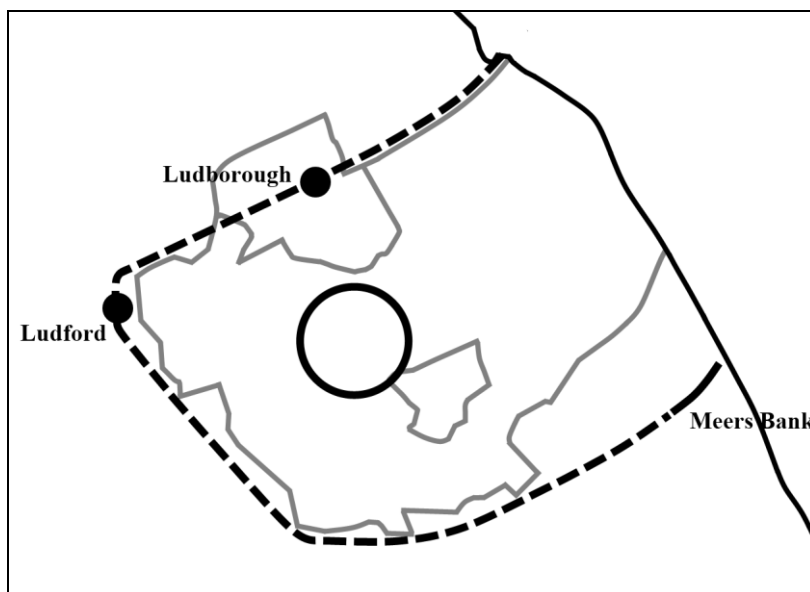


Figure 37: The territorial context of the South Elkington-Louth cremation cemetery. Shown here are the cemetery; the later wapentake boundaries of Louthesk (in grey); and the place-name evidence for a pre-Viking territory focussed on Louth, together with its suggested boundaries.



Figure 38: The site of Loveden Hill Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery.

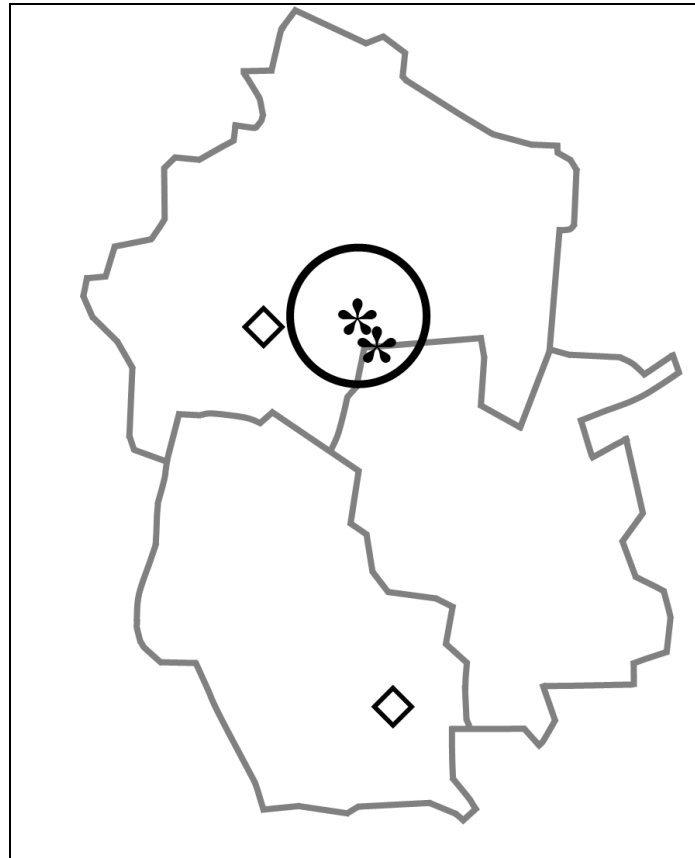


Figure 39: The territorial context of the Loveden Hill cremation cemetery. The surrounding wapentake boundaries are shown in grey, with the meeting-places of Loveden and Threo wapentakes indicated by stars; possible pyre sites are marked by diamonds.

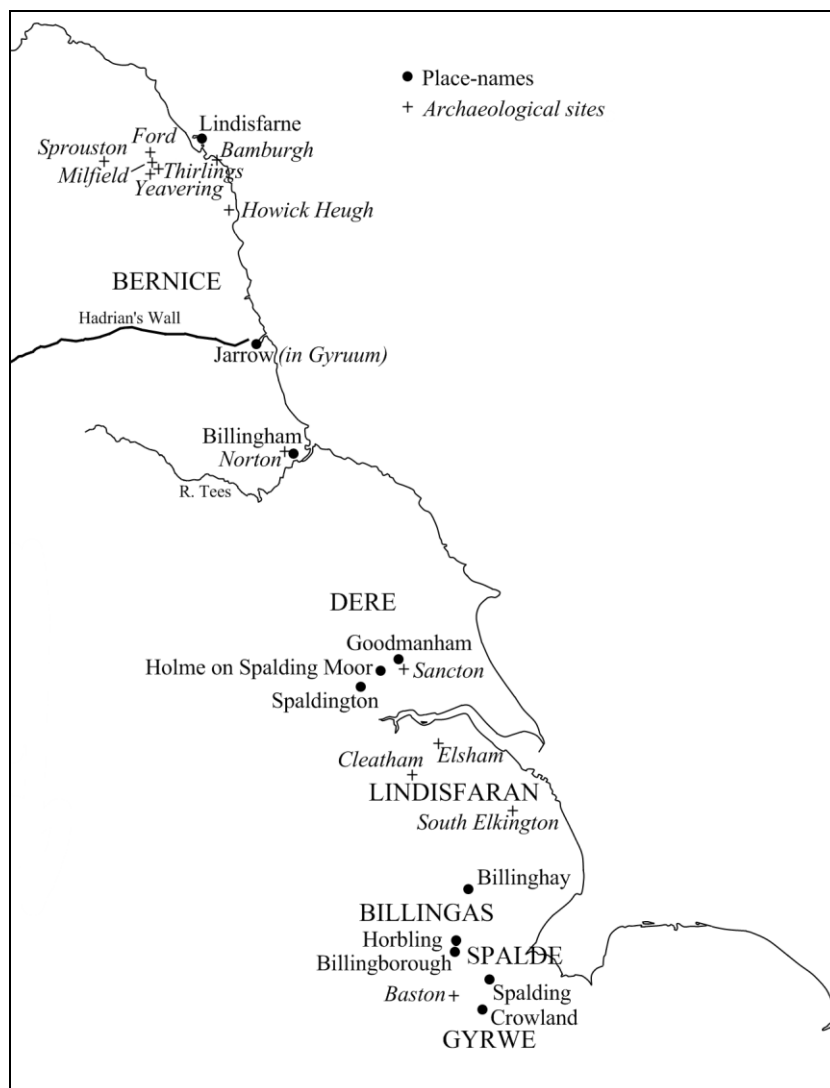


Figure 40: Map of Lincolnshire, Lindisfarne and the North, showing key sites, groups and place-names discussed in chapter six.

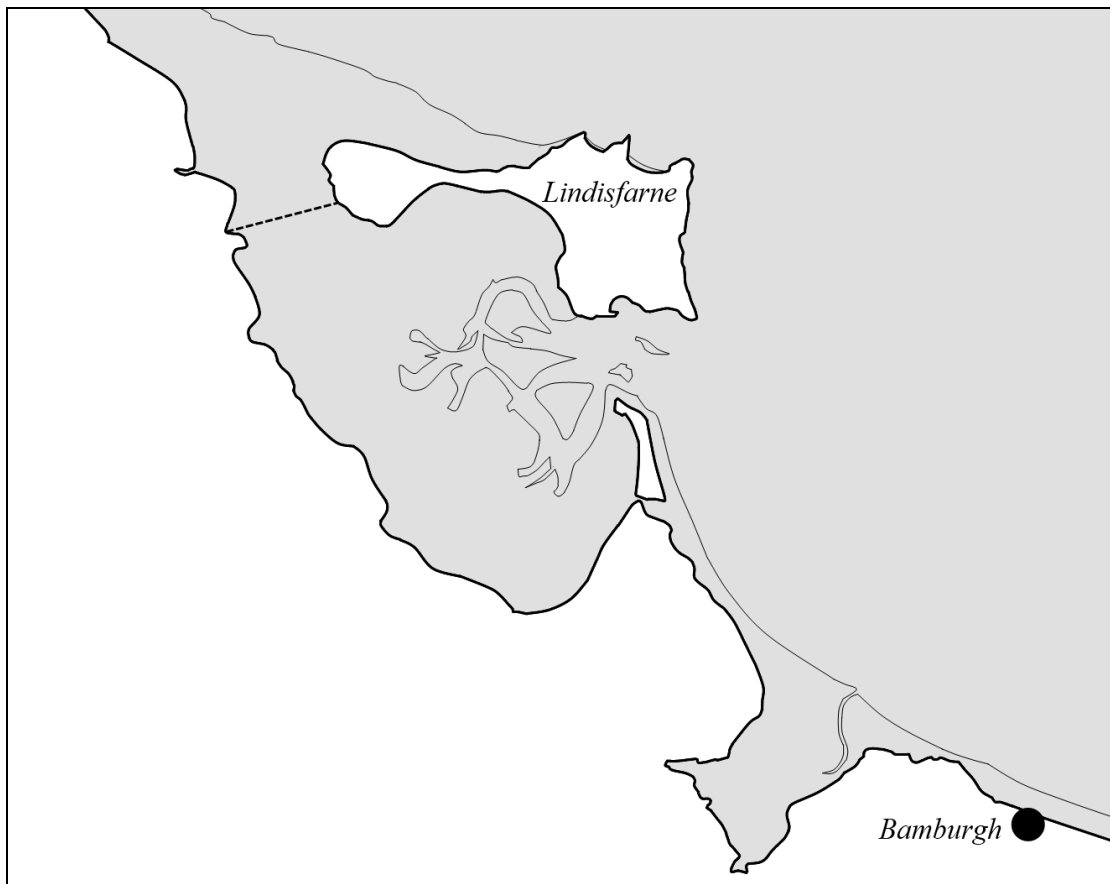


Figure 41: Map of Lindisfarne, showing the island, sands and causeway, along with the position of the fort of Bamburgh.



Figure 42: Bamburgh castle, as seen from Lindisfarne, showing the proximity of these two early Bernician sites (Source: Akuppa).

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