

SPIRIT OF SUTTERBY PROJECT

Report on an Archaeological Excavation at Sutterby Church

23rd - 30th May 2015



SUMMARY

A chance discovery of buried stone foundations two metres to the west of the west wall of Sutterby church in May 2014, led to a week long community excavation in May 2015 to establish their origin and date.

Four main phases of activity were identified by the excavation and have been assigned speculative dates.

- Phase 1 (before 1150) represents the churchyard in use for burials with either no church or a smaller church. A radiocarbon date from a truncated skeleton was obtained.
- Phase 2 (1150 - 1320) is the first (or maybe an enlarged) stone church represented by a rough stone foundation which cuts a burial from Phase 1.
- Phase 3 (1320 - 1600) is the base of a substantial stone wall, c. 0.8m thick, with an external chamfered plinth, faced interior and mortared rubble fill. This was the stonework found by chance the year before and it is interpreted as the west wall of a rebuilt stone church. A buttress may have been added later at the south west corner.
- Phase 4 (1600 - 1743) The present west wall of the church which was shortened by 2.1m from its Phase 3 length. Only the base of this wall survives; the upper parts have undergone several subsequent phases of repair and rebuilding.

Finds from the excavation constituted pottery, building materials, metals, glass and both human and animal bone. Pottery in the topsoil was dominated by post-medieval material, but lower down, more medieval pottery was found. At the lowest levels, small quantities of Anglo-Saxon and Saxo-Norman pottery were collected. The earth floor inside the abandoned part of the church sealed a make-up deposit containing only pre eleventh century pottery with fragments of animal bone.

Human remains were scattered through the deposits due to later disturbance. Many seemed to derive from one or more juveniles. Animal bones were also present throughout the deposits.

All structural masonry was recorded and left *in situ*. Therefore, the excavation was incomplete in that the deposits below the upper stonework were not fully examined and thus some relationships were uncertain. Natural deposits were not located anywhere in the excavated area.

It is not clear why the shortening of the church took place. The buried foundation of Phase 4 seemed robust and undamaged except for areas of stone robbing. It is surprising that such good quality building stone was allowed to be buried and not reused.

The excavated area was left open for inspection for five weeks and backfilled on 3 July 2015.

CONTENTS

1.	INTRODUCTION	3
1.1	Location	3
1.2	History	3
1.3	Sutterby Church	4
1.4	Background to the Excavation	5
2.	EXCAVATION METHODOLOGY	5
3.	EXCAVATION RESULTS	6
3.1	Masonry Structures	6
4.	PHASING	11
4.1	Phase 1	11
4.2	Phase 2	12
4.3	Phase 3	13
4.4	Phase 4	20
4.5	Summary of the Excavation Phases	22
4.6	An Alternative Phasing Scheme	22
5.	THE FINDS	23
5.1	Pottery	23
5.2	Glass	25
5.3	Metals	25
5.3.1	Lead	25
5.3.2	Iron	25
5.3.3	Brass, Bronze and miscellaneous materials	26
5.4	Building Materials	26
5.5	Stone Tooling	26
5.6	Bone	27
6.	DISCUSSION	29
7.	ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	34
	NOTES	35
	APPENDICES	38
App. 1	Context List and Groupings	39
App. 2	Radiocarbon Dating Certificate	41
App. 3	Chamfer Angles Record	43
App. 4	Church West Wall Chamfer Course Description	46
App. 5	Characterisation of Sediment Associated with 'Iron Crust'	47
App. 6	Pottery Report - Sutterby Excavation	49
App. 7	Glass Finds Catalogue	52
App. 8	Lead Finds Catalogue	53
App. 9	Iron Finds Catalogue	54
App. 10	Brass, Bronze and Misc. Finds Catalogue	56
App. 11	Building Material Finds Catalogue	57
App. 12	Stone Tooling Analysis	58
App. 13	The Excavation Archive	61
App. 14	Bone Finds Catalogue	62
App. 15	Details of the churches in the parishes around Sutterby	64

---ooo000ooo---

Report on an Archaeological Excavation at Sutterby Church

Sutterby, near Spilsby, Lincolnshire

23rd - 30th May 2015

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Location

Sutterby is a hamlet in the Lincolnshire Wolds c. 6.5km (4 miles) north of Spilsby (N.G.R. TF3856472409). It is located along a spring-line on a small plateau on the south facing slope of a valley side at about 60m O.D. It has a medieval church (now redundant), three dwellings, a large modern farm complex and a shooting lodge. The area of the parish totalled around 471 acres in 1856.¹ Sutterby was a parish in its own right until 1935 when it was combined with Langton by Spilsby. (Figure 1).

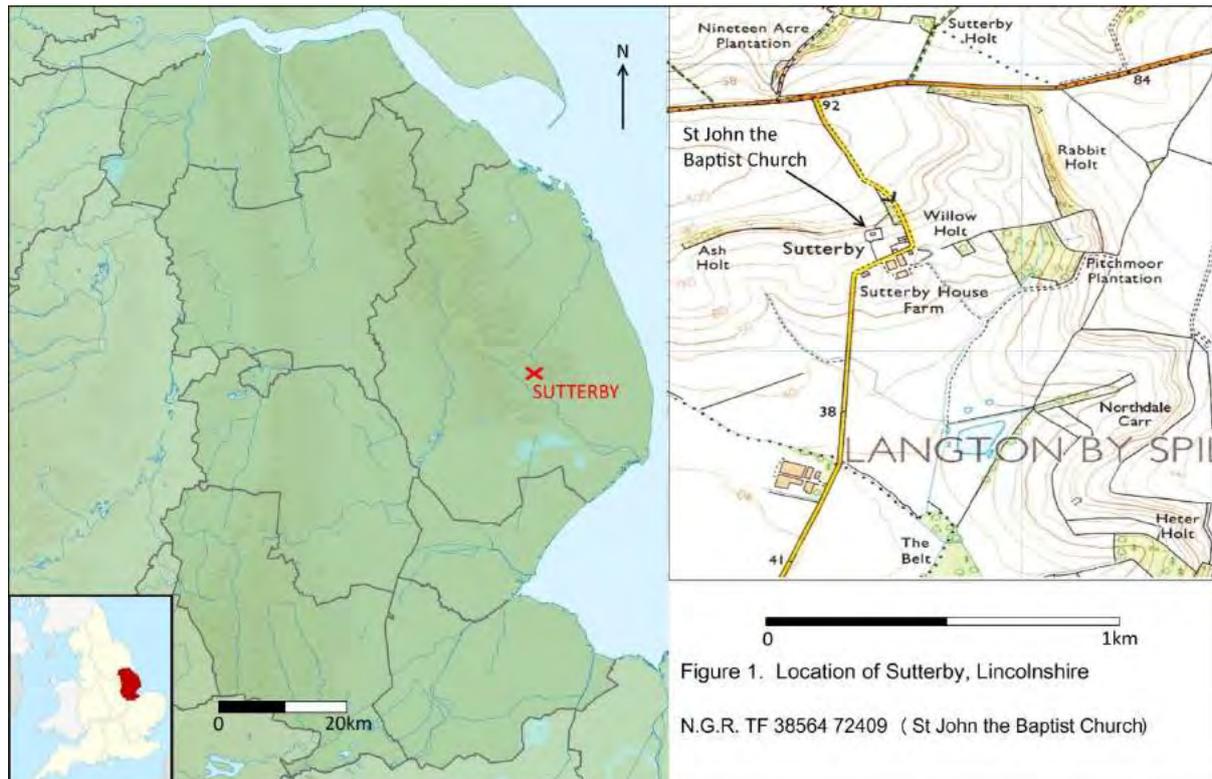


Fig. 1. Location Map: Sutterby is a hamlet at the southern end of the Lincolnshire Wolds

1.2 History

The place-name could indicate a Danish origin. Cameron suggests it may be derived from *sútari*, Old Norse for shoe-maker and *bý*, Old Danish for a farmstead or village.²

Sutterby is mentioned in Domesday (1086) as part of the manor of Greetham belonging to Earl Hugh of Chester. It appears in a joint entry with Dalby and Dexthorpe. The entry reads:

*In Sutterby and Dalby and Dexthorpe there is sokeland of this manor, 15 carucates of land assessed to the geld. There is land for 16 teams. There are 47 sokemen and 8 villeins and 11 bordars there having 11 teams. In Dalby, the earl has one team in demesne and 2 churches, and 80 acres of meadow.*³

Sutterby is assessed separately in the Lindsey Survey of 1115-18 (Candleshoe wapentake). The entry reads: *Earl Richard in Sutterby 2 carucates and 4 bovates ...*⁴ Hugh's son, Richard d'Avranches (1094-1120) succeeded as second Earl of Chester in 1101. Two carucates and four bovates equate to approximately 300 acres (c.121ha).⁵

The Earls of Chester remained Tenants in Chief in Sutterby throughout the medieval period, but by 1242 the de Hastings family are also given as Sutterby landowners.⁶ Both Chester and Hastings sub-let Sutterby lands to demesne tenants including Thomas de

Turribus, Hugh of Harrington, John of Sutterby, Roger de Copeldyke and John Topcliffe,⁷ thus these may be the local lords of Sutterby in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

An archaeological field-walking survey carried out by the Spirit of Sutterby Project in fields to the west and south of Sutterby Church in 2014 and 2015 indicates land-use beginning in Anglo-Saxon times and growing to a small but thriving village community in the medieval period. (c. 1100 - 1500).⁸ The Lay Subsidy return of 1334 suggests Sutterby is one of the smallest villages in the area⁹ (Figure 43) and in the 1377 Poll Tax returns it only records 29 taxpayers over the age of fourteen (indicating a total population of perhaps about 45 people).¹⁰ In 1428 the church pays a parish subsidy (tax) which was only applied to villages with at least ten households present at that time,¹¹. Population continues to decline in the post medieval and early modern periods and the Diocesan census of 1715 records only five families in Sutterby,¹² a figure borne out by eighteenth century estate maps of the parish.¹³

1.3 Sutterby Church

It is possible that one of the two churches noted in the Domesday account of Sutterby, Dalby and Dexthorpe was the church of St John the Baptist at Sutterby. The north wall has a blocked Norman doorway and the building may have originated in the eleventh or twelfth centuries.

The church comprises a simple nave and chancel constructed from Spilsby sandstone with many repairs and alterations, some in brick. A photograph of the south elevation of the church is given and an outline plan is shown below. (Figures 2 and 3)

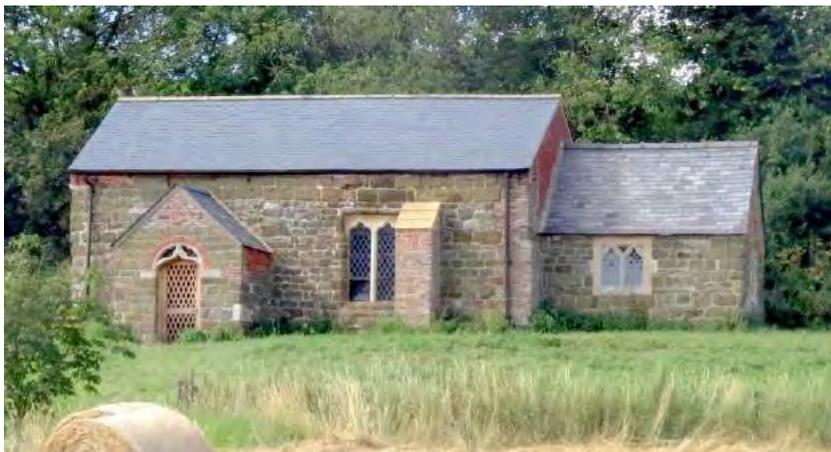


Fig. 2. South elevation of St John the Baptist's church at Sutterby

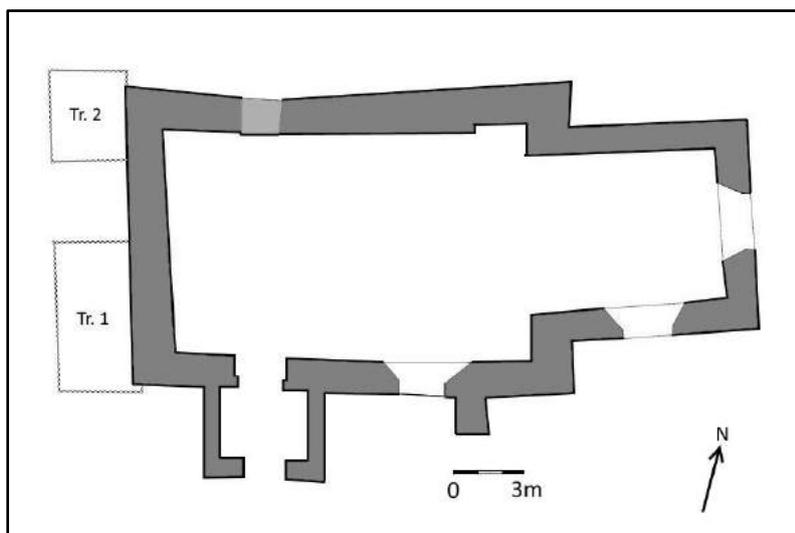


Fig. 3. Outline plan of Sutterby church showing position of excavation trenches

The church was declared redundant by the Diocese of Lincoln in 1972, and gifted as a monument into the care of the charity the Friends of Friendless Churches (FoFC), in 1981.

1.4 Background to the excavation

In November 2013 a community heritage project entitled 'The Spirit of Sutterby' was launched with the aim of studying the church and its lost village. The project has four study areas:

The village	including fieldwalking survey, examining aerial photography and map research
The church	including study of the fabric and documentary research
The churchyard	including gravestone survey, genealogy, and research into wills, inventories and registers
Natural History	including survey of species and management for diversity.

In May 2014, a team of volunteers was recording standing gravestones and surveying for buried gravestones by probing. While probing c. 2m from the west wall of the church, stones were detected and uncovered. Initially thought to be a fallen gravestone, what was subsequently discovered was a row of chamfered stones running north south which appeared to be the remains of an *in situ* wall. Further probing suggested that the feature extended the full width of the church. The initial view of the chamfered stones is shown below. (Figure 4)



Fig. 4. Part of the row of chamfered stones as first discovered in May 2014 while probing for buried gravestones. [View looking south. The hand-tape scale has 40cms showing]

Following cleaning and recording of the exposed stones, the area was backfilled while advice was sought. Subsequently, it was decided to carry out an archaeological excavation adjacent to the west wall of Sutterby church to clarify the function and date of the stones. Permission was sought from the Friends of Friendless Churches and a faculty requested from the diocese.¹⁴ The excavation was carried out during 23 to 29 May 2015.

2 EXCAVATION METHODOLOGY

Two trenches were excavated, leaving a portion of the archaeology intact. A trench plan is shown below. (Figure 5) Trench 1 was nominally 4m x 3m and Trench 2 was 2m x 3m.

The excavation was carried out by volunteers participating in the Spirit of Sutterby Project under the supervision of a professional archaeologist. The volunteers had attended a lecture on the aims and proposed methods of the excavation, but most were otherwise untrained. For this reason, the majority of the excavation was carried out by digging spits of about 8cms depth. All spoil was hand-sieved through 10mm sieves. Context numbering was by spits and area, and levels were taken each day to record progress. A full list of context number allocations is given at Appendix 1. The site code is SUT15. The Lincolnshire Museums accession number is LCNCC : 2016.194.

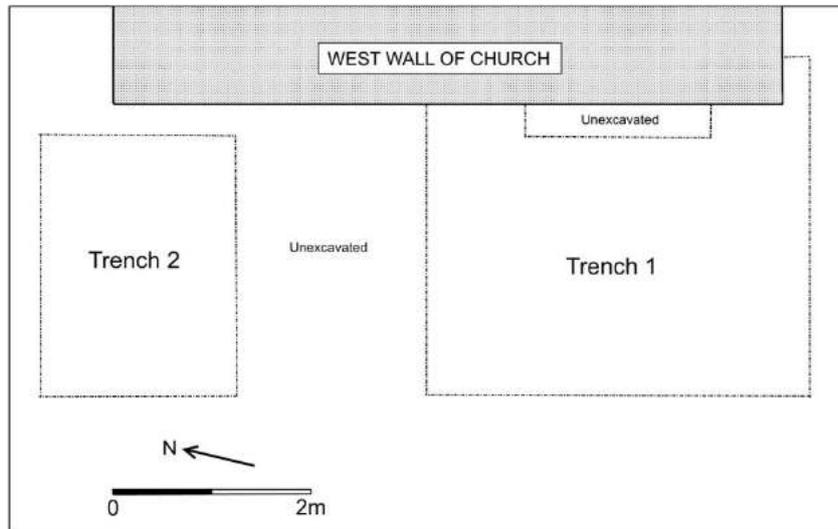


Fig. 5. Plan of excavation trenches

The trenches were de-turfed and the exposed surface cleaned and photographed. An 8 cm spit of topsoil was removed from both trenches [004] and [005]. The area was then divided into one metre strips (A to F) for excavation of a second spit [006] to [011].

Removal of the second spit revealed the top of the chamfered stones previously discovered. It was presumed that these formed the bottom course of a wall, indicating a shortening or rebuild of the west end of the church so excavation then proceeded on the basis of 'inside church', 'church wall' and 'outside church'. Digging in 8cm spits continued and in all, about eight spits were removed giving levels at the base of the excavated trenches 0.6m to 0.7m below the original ground surface.

The excavation was not complete. Time was limited to seven days excavation and the decision not to remove *in situ* stonework had been made at the planning stage. Thus only some of the archaeology present in the area was revealed and the true relationships between the stone structures uncovered could not be fully ascertained. Natural geology was not exposed anywhere in the excavation trenches, nor was it known how far the natural lay beneath the excavated surfaces.

The exposed masonry was photographed, drawn in plan and levels were taken on all major stones. Photographs were also taken for stone-tooling analysis and the angles on accessible chamfered stones were recorded.

Finds were collected by excavation and sieving and sent to appropriate specialists for report. A bone sample (c. 5gms) taken from the left femur of the truncated inhumation found in Trench 2 was submitted for radiocarbon dating.

Following the close of the excavation on 29 May 2015, the area was left open and on display for visitors until 3 July 2015 when the excavation was backfilled.

3. EXCAVATION RESULTS

3.1 Masonry Structures

The row of chamfered stones that had been discovered during the 2014 gravestone survey was relocated on the second day of the excavation at about 0.24m below the original ground surface. By the fourth day all of the masonry of this wall had been exposed. It formed the base of a wall built on the same alignment as the standing west wall of the church but 2.1m to its west. The wall was constructed from outer (chamfered) and inner (faced) sandstone blocks, with a rubble and mortar fill.

In Trench 1, there were ten chamfered blocks of the outer face of the wall, including a chamfered corner. Three large blocks survived on the internal face, an area of stone robbing having removed the inner face at the north end of the trench. (Robbed Area 1).

At its south end the wall turns east in alignment with the existing east-west church wall. Only one small chamfered block survives on the south side beyond the chamfered corner. It

is adjacent to a second robbed area. East of this robbed area two faced blocks survive in the wall alignment, but the transition from chamfered to non-chamfered is lost. The inner face of the wall is represented by three faced blocks.

In the corner formed between the west and south walls, was a large squared block of masonry. Its upper surface was smoothed and worn and its south east corner had a square cut section removed. It is probable that it had been made for some primary (unknown) function and reused in the corner of the church as a base or stand for something. The excavated wall in Trench 1 with the corner-stone *in situ* is shown below, followed by a detailed photograph of the corner stone. (Figures 6 and 7)



Fig. 6. Trench 1 (looking south) showing the excavated wall with chamfered blocks on the outside (west) and faced blocks on the inside. Two areas of stone robbing were evident. A large squared block of stone was found in the corner formed by the walls. [Scales are 2m]



Fig. 7. Detail photograph of the stone placed in the corner of the excavated wall. (N at bottom) It is squared, but much worn, and has a square portion cut from its south east corner with a small circular depression adjacent to its corner. Note how close it sits to the inner stones of the west wall. It is presumed to be a reused stone, serving as some form of base or pedestal. [Scale is 30cm]



Fig. 8. Trench 2, showing the two surviving chamfered blocks - the left hand is chamfered to form the corner, but no worked stones survive on the north wall return. A line of rough stones were at too high a level to be a foundation for robbed chamfer stones and probably belong to an earlier phase. Note the two surviving faced blocks from the inner wall face (top right). [Photo looking east - scales are 2m and 30cm]

In Trench 2, a pipe trench containing a 100mm ceramic drainpipe had destroyed much of the archaeology. It ran from a rainwater gully at the north west corner of the church diagonally across the trench. The pipe had been installed as part of a repair programme carried out in 2002 to solve severe rainwater problems. Only two chamfered blocks from the west wall remained *in situ*, including a block chamfered on two angles forming the north west corner. On the inner face, two faced blocks survived from the inner north wall. There were no faced or chamfered stones forming the return on the north side. (Figure 8).

With the chamfered stones fully exposed in Trench 1, the surfaces of several other pieces of worked stone were evident in the excavated surface to its west. Initial thoughts were that these might form a surfaced path around the end of the church and excavation continued in order to expose the feature. However, it was soon clear that the stones might be a remnant of a second chamfered wall base c. 0.6m west of the first, (c. 2.7m west of the standing wall) (Figure 9).

Five stones from this course survive at the south end of the west wall. Only the corner stone and the second stone are convincing wall masonry and, seen alone, this row of stones seems superficial. But when the lower courses of the south wall are examined, there is a possibility that these stones are continuous with the chamfered course that underlies the later wall and presumably also the standing south church wall (Figure 10).

However, there is no trace of this second wall in Trench 2 and no sign of any foundations or footings for it so, unless it has been substantially robbed, it seems unlikely that it formed the basis of a structural phase. Some possible origins and function are discussed in more detail under Phase 3a, below.

In both trenches, a row of roughly squared stones was discovered below and c. 0.5m to the west of the upper chamfered row. This row, which is potentially a wall foundation, is aligned through the central baulk and forms a gentle slope dropping 0.5m down the length of the course (Figures 9 and 11). The deposits excavated 'outside' the church wall were generally homogenous and features that were expected to be present (e.g. foundation trenches for the standing wall or the stone footings) were not detected.

On the final day of excavation (Day 7) an inhumation was discovered in Trench 2 which was cut through by the construction of this foundation. (Figure 12). The body was laid east-west (head to the west) and the trench section was dug at the point where the tops of two femurs met the pelvis. A group of what appeared to be metacarpals or proximal phalanges was noted in the pelvic area as if the body had been laid with the hands crossed over the pubis. (Figure 13) The femurs had been truncated just above the knees by the construction

of the stone foundation. No grave cut was observed around this inhumation but there was a general scatter of disarticulated human bone in the area, suggesting the ground had been disturbed on a regular basis.

In accordance with the faculty under which the archaeological work was being carried out, the articulated bones were left *in situ* and reburied at the end of the excavation. A small sample of bone was taken from the left femur for radiocarbon dating.



Fig. 9. Trench 1 (looking south) showing a second remnant row of five stones (some chamfered) located below and 0.6m west of the first wall. These in turn overlie a third row of (roughly squared) stones which may form an earlier foundation. [Scale is 2m]



Fig. 10. Trench 1 looking east along the line of the south wall. The possible second chamfered wall appears to run under the first shortening of the wall and probably runs under the existing standing south wall. [Scale is 2m]

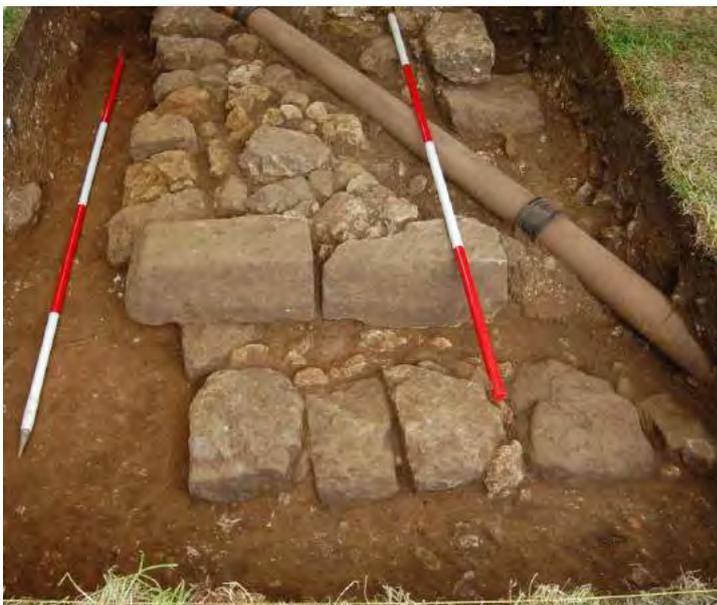


Fig. 11. Trench 2 looking east showing the two chamfered blocks with a row of roughly squared stones (stratigraphically below them) in the foreground. [Scales are 2m]



Fig. 12. Two femurs from a medieval inhumation protrude from the western section of Trench 2. The pelvic bones are under the section. The femurs had been truncated at the knee joint by the construction of the stone foundation. The inhumation was discovered 50-55cm below the modern ground surface. [Scale divisions are 0.5m]



Fig. 13. Detail of the truncated femurs in Trench 2. Note the finger/hand bones across the pelvic area. The stone foundation cuts the bones just above the knee.

4. PHASING

The excavation identified several phases of activity which offer an interpretation of the sequence of events evidenced by the archaeology. A plan showing all the features discovered, with the main phases coloured, is given below. (Figure 14). Description and analysis of the phases and possible dating follows.

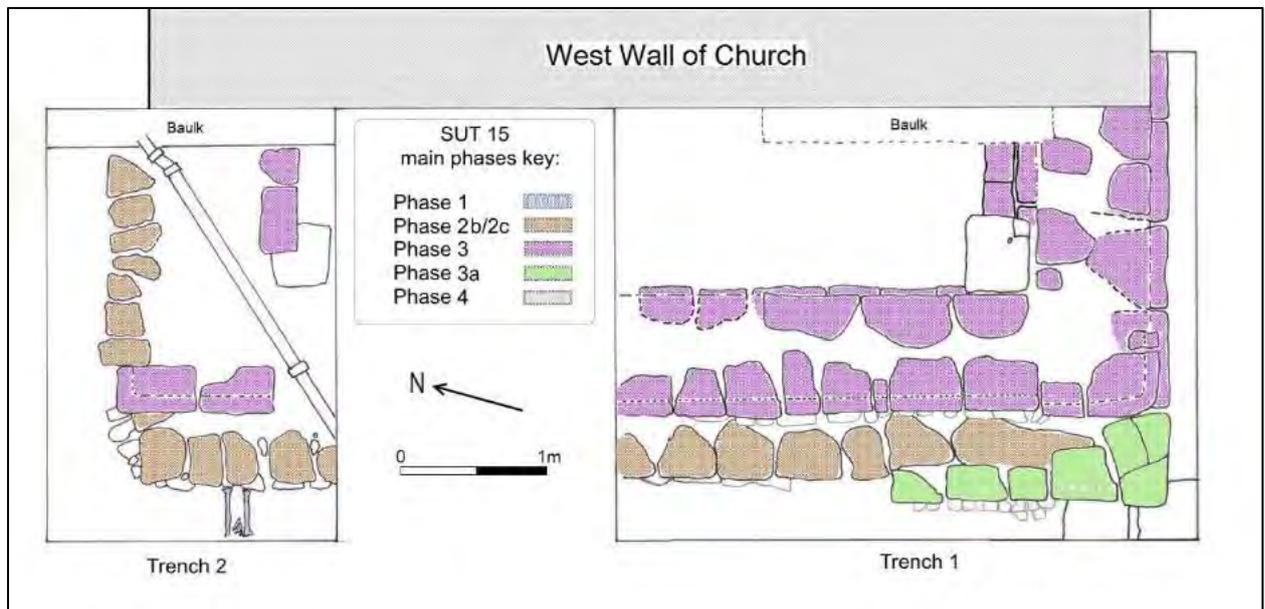


Fig. 14. Plan of Trenches 1 and 2 showing all the excavated features with the main phases defined in colour.

4.1 Phase 1 (before c.1150?)

A Christian cemetery at Sutterby with either no church, or a smaller church which could have been of timber or stone.

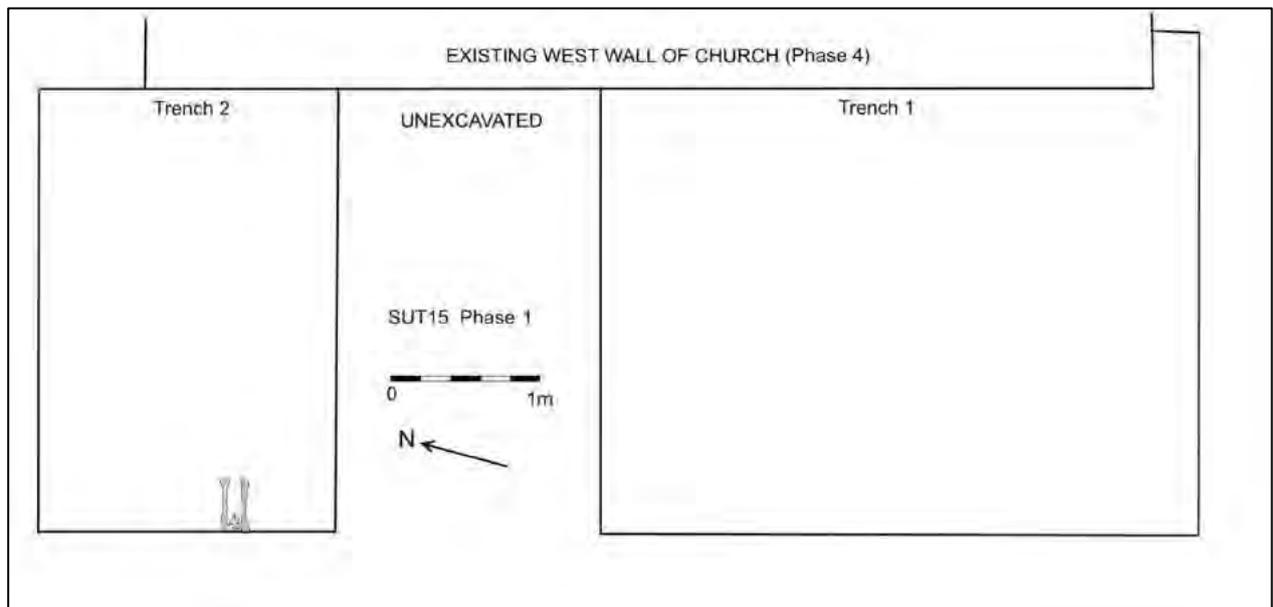


Fig. 15. Archaeological features relating to Phase 1 of the excavated evidence at Sutterby Church. Only the femurs (upper leg bones) of the inhumation were recorded. The torso and head were outside the excavated area and the lower legs and feet had been cut away by later building works. The burial was dated by radiocarbon analysis to the mid eleventh to early thirteenth centuries.

Phase 1 is evidenced by the partial inhumation found in Trench 2, which had been cut through by the construction of the earliest stone footing discovered. The burial was located c. 0.50 - 0.55m below modern ground level. It was aligned east-west with the head to the west in the Christian tradition. (Figures 13 and 15)

We do not know when Sutterby church was first built. As noted above, it is possible that Sutterby was one of the two churches recorded in Domesday (1086) within the parishes of Dalby, Dexthorpe and Sutterby.¹⁵ Stylistically, Sutterby has a north doorway of Norman or Romanesque type suggesting construction (or alteration) some time in the late eleventh or twelfth centuries. The doorway is probably not in its original position, but there is no reason to suspect it came from elsewhere.

The inhumation discovered during the excavation was sampled and analysed by radiocarbon dating. A copy of the dating certificate is given at Appendix 2. The analysis established that the body was buried sometime from the mid-eleventh to the early thirteenth century. The wall footing that cuts the burial was probably not constructed until the knowledge of the location of that burial (and probably others) had faded from local memory (say 40- 60 years). This could place the wall construction somewhere between the late eleventh and the mid thirteenth century.

The idea of a 'great rebuilding' of English churches taking place in the period covering the mid eleventh to the mid twelfth century is commonly accepted and may also fit this suggested chronology.¹⁶ Thus we might speculate that Sutterby had a smaller church with a cemetery prior to c. 1150 and that this precursor constitutes Phase 1 of our sequence.

4.2 Phase 2: (c. 1150 - 1300)

A structure represented by the stone foundation that cuts the Phase 1 burial. (Figures 9, 12 and 17). Possibly Sutterby's first stone church.

This phase has been divided into three sub-phases: 2a (possible ground levelling), 2b (north-south foundation) and 2c (east-west foundation). (Figure 16)

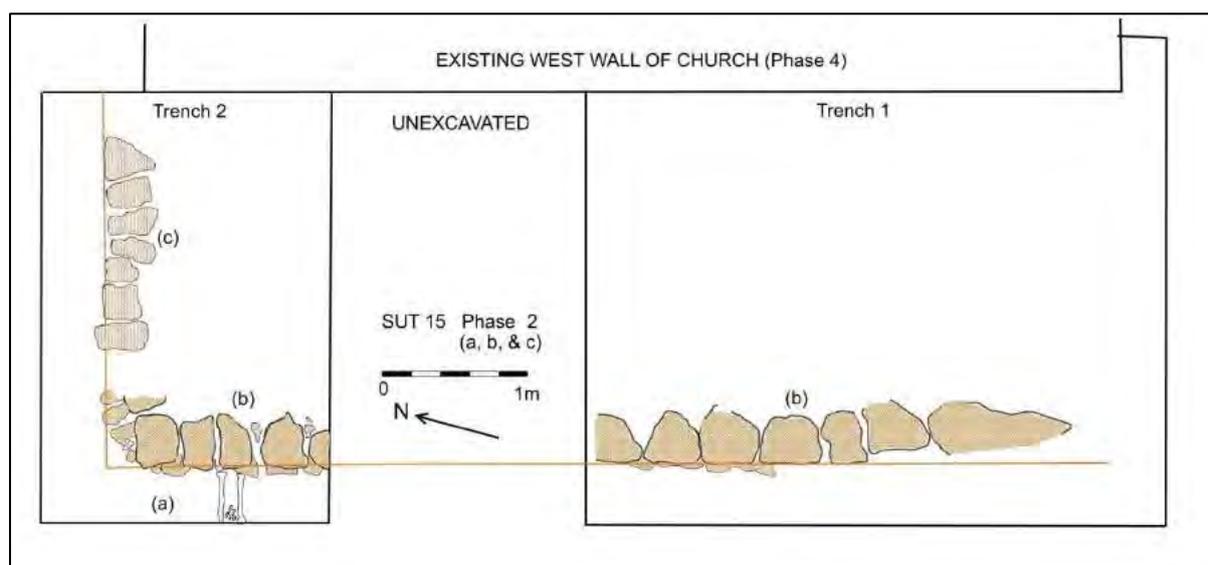


Fig. 16. Archaeological features relating to Phase 2 of the excavated evidence of Sutterby Church. Phase 2a is a possible levelling of the original cemetery ground surface. Phase 2b is the setting of a north-south stone foundation for the church. The inclusion of the east-west foundation is more speculative as the levels of 2b and 2c are not directly compatible. The position of the Phase 1 bones is shown for reference.

Phase 2a (possible ground levelling) derives from the inference that there was probably some ground levelling at Sutterby before the building of the Phase 2 church/foundations. This idea is based on the levels observed for the Phase 1 inhumation (c. 0.5m below modern ground level) and the estimated floor levels of the old and new church (c. 0.7m below modern ground level). Given that it is highly likely that the ground level of the churchyard has increased over the centuries, the grave seems to have been far too shallow. It seems more likely that overburden was removed in a ground-levelling episode prior to the construction of the stone church. Church floor levels are discussed below under Phase 3 (church floor).

Phase 2b (north-south wall foundation) is evidenced by the row of roughly squared stones located in Trenches 1 and 2. (Figures 9, 11 and 16) Based on their alignment and recorded

levels it has been assumed that these stones are all part of the same feature, presumed to be the remnant of foundations for a stone church built after c. 1150.

The stones are parallel to the line of the existing west wall of Sutterby Church. They do not exhibit any mortar between them or remaining on their upper surface. They were not lifted and it is thus not possible to establish whether they lay over another course or on hardcore, but in some places it is clear there are intentionally laid stones beneath. (Figures 12 and 13)

Phase 2c (east-west wall foundation) There is a similar row of roughly squared stones running east-west and potentially forming a foundation for the north wall. (Figures 16 and 17) These stones resemble the N-S row in form and appearance but sit at a slightly higher level (all are c. 10-15 cm higher than the N-S row). However, they are too high to form a base for a lost chamfered course belonging to Phase 3 (see below). On the basis of form they have been cautiously assigned to Phase 2.

It has been speculated (above) that the building or rebuilding of the Norman church may have taken place around 1150 thus this forms the start date for Phase 2.



Fig. 17. The east-west row of roughly shaped stones forming a foundation for the north wall. They are similar in form to the north-south row which constitute phase 2b of the sequence and have been included as Phase 2c although their levels are not directly comparable. [Scale sections are 0.5m]

4.3 Phase 3 (1320 - 1600)

A substantial mortared sandstone wall base c. 0.8m wide with chamfered blocks externally, rubble and mortar fill and squared blocks internally.

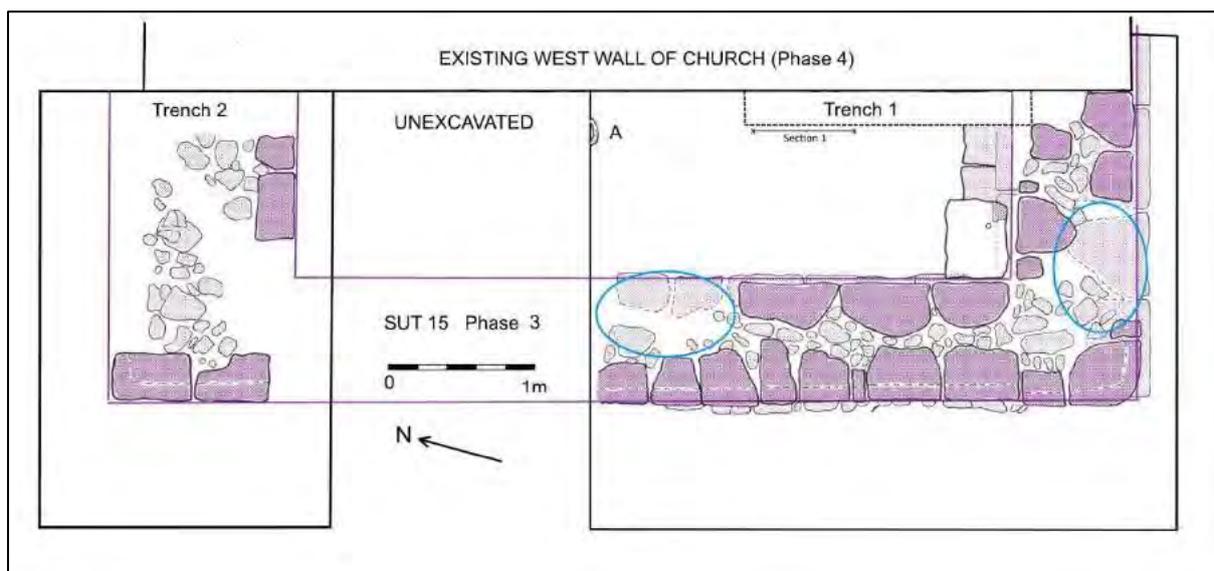


Fig. 18. The Phase 3 wall base has a row of chamfered blocks on its outer (west) elevation with faced blocks forming the inner wall. The main upper stones are shown in a darker shading with the lower blocks and rubble fill in a lighter shade. The two areas of stone robbing are outlined in blue.

The wall was 6.25m long (north-south) and its external face was c. 2.1m west of the standing west wall of Sutterby church. The south return aligned precisely with and incorporated the standing south wall. The north return had been damaged by drainage works, but was essentially aligned with the existing church, although the wall looked to be wider (c. 1.2m) here).

It was the discovery of this feature, found while searching for buried gravestones in 2014, that prompted the excavation. The top of the masonry was located between 0.25 - 0.30m below present ground level. Across Trenches 1 and 2 the ground level drops to the south by about 0.5m (about 1:16) and the wall follows this same gradient. The stones are mortared into place with rubble fill bound by mortar between the faces. Remnants of mortar are visible on the upper surfaces of the worked blocks. (Figure 19). The mortar is still hard and well-adhered to the blocks.



Fig. 19. Trench 1 looking north - Phase 3 wall base. Mortar stains were clearly visible on the upper surfaces of the worked masonry. The mortar in the rubble fill was still structurally sound. The chamfer was regular and well formed. [Scale divisions are 0.5m]

The chamfered blocks were well formed and regular. The chamfer angles were recorded and are given at Appendix 3. The average chamfer angle for the Phase 3 masonry was c. 47°.

In Trench 1, two areas of the wall had been disturbed - presumably by stone robbing, as worked blocks were missing. In Trench 2, much of the structure of the wall had been lost due to the insertion of the drainage pipe in 2002 with at least two internal and one external blocks removed by the digging of the pipe trench.

The robbed areas in Trench 1 were emptied and cleaned. The backfill of the robbed area in the south wall had material steeply inclined as if a hole had been dug, stone pulled out and the material dumped back in. The stones taken from this hole formed the join between chamfered blocks and squared blocks thus removing the evidence for how and where the transition was achieved. (Figure 20)

The robbed area in the west wall had removed faced internal blocks, giving a view of the slightly stepped-out course of masonry below. The contents of these robbed areas included lead came, iron nails and medieval pottery - these materials were ubiquitous in most of the excavated contexts. A clay pipe bowl datable to 1830-1850 was recovered from the fill of the west wall robber area (Figure 36) and there were fragments of thin hand-made brick thought to date to a 1740s repair programme in both pits. Although all of this is quite probably residual it does hint at the disturbances being in the nineteenth century.

All the stonework was left *in situ* thus there was limited opportunity to inspect or record the courses and foundations below the upper course. The three elevations of this phase presented three different sequences and are dealt with separately below:



*Fig. 20. Trench 1 Phase 3 south wall, looking east. The robbed area in the south wall, showing the chamfered blocks to the west and the squared blocks to the east. The lower row of chamfered stones can be clearly seen.
[Large scale 2m, small scale 30cm]*



*Fig. 21. Trench 1 Phase 3 west wall, looking south. The robbed area in the west wall - faced inner blocks have been taken showing the stepped course beneath.
[Scale division 50cms]*

Phase 3 south wall: On the south side, the chamfered blocks sat on top of another chamfered course, but the limitations of the excavated area prevented seeing more of this masonry. (Figure 20) However, on the inner face of the wall, two courses of masonry acting as a stepped foundation, could be observed extending down from the level of the upper surface of the lower chamfered block.

The lower chamfered course appears to be continuous with the standing south wall, thus it seems likely that phase 3 represents a shortening of an existing structure rather than a remnant of an earlier structure.

As noted above, the upper course of chamfered blocks convert to plain squared blocks, but the method of this alteration is lost due to stone robbing. (Figure 20) There is no chamfer course visible in the present south wall of the church although it may well be there, but buried.



Fig. 22. Trench 1. Phase 3 wall looking south at the inner face of south wall just to east of the 'cornerstone'. On the external face the lower chamfered course begins at the level of the slight step (on which the scale sits). Internally there are two courses below this level, set on a footing. [Scale is 30 cm]



Fig. 23. Trench 1. Phase 3, looking south. A narrow, irregular step foundation underlay the chamfered blocks on the west side. [For scale c.f. Fig. 9]

Phase 3 west wall: The external blocks were set on a narrow, irregular step foundation which may have been underpinned by buried masonry from the Phase 2 foundation. (Figures 23 and 9) The internal faced blocks were set on a step foundation of two courses in a similar fashion to the south wall. (Figures 21 and 24)



Fig. 24. Trench one, Phase 3, looking west. Part of the elevation of the inner face of the west wall. The faced blocks sit on a slight stepped foundation comprising two courses - a similar arrangement to that shown in Fig. 25. [Scale sections are 50cms]

Phase 3 north wall: The north wall seems to be different from the west and south, although it is so disturbed that it is difficult to be certain of its form. Two chamfered blocks survive from the north end of the west elevation. If they are in their original positions the corner block defines the turn of the wall. No chamfered blocks survive in the north wall. Two blocks presumed to form the inside face of the north wall survive, also seemingly in position. If a line is extended from the outer corner block it defines a north wall which is wider than the

west or south walls - c. 1.15m (not including the chamfer) compared with c. 0.7m for the west and south walls. (Figure 18)

There is a row of stones in the north wall which have been included as Phase 2c although their levels are not directly compatible with the Phase 2b footings. (Figures 16 and 17) Nor are the levels compatible for them to be a base for the lost Phase 3 chamfered blocks (if they ever existed?) but it should be borne in mind that these stones may belong to Phase 3.

Phase 3 the church floor: The Phase 3 wall defines an 'inside' and 'outside' for a previous west end of Sutterby church allowing investigation of possible interior floor surfaces. A reasonable portion of the interior fell within Trench 1 (1.0 x 2.9m) but the location of Trench 2 did not include a large enough area inside the church to permit examination.

The inside deposits were generally homogenous and features that were expected, such as the foundation trench for the Phase 4 wall, were not identified. Some potential foundation trench features (e.g. [039] and [052]) proved to be spurious.

Spits were dug through the floor deposits but no obvious floor materials or surfaces were encountered. It is presumed that the church had an earth floor but there was no single distinctive deposit identified. A thin layer of chalky/mortar material [043] was encountered and recorded within the makeup, as was a more compact deposit [044] which had many small fragments of charcoal, chalk, limestone and pot within it. Below [043]/[044] the interior deposits were looser and easily worked. Finds from beneath the presumed floor layer contained no material later than twelfth century.

The step foundation encountered around the walls is a good indicator of intended floor level, and the corner-stone is useful as it probably sat on the contemporary floor surface (although it could have been sunk into it). The heights of various indicators for possible floor levels including possible floor contexts (in metres O.D.) are listed below, and it should be remembered the floor slopes from north to south:

Level of step foundation (West wall)	69.73/69.70/69.67/69.62
Level of step foundation (South wall)	69.60
Base of 'Corner-stone'	69.62
Chalky/Mortar layer [043]	69.64/69.60/69.65
Compacted layer [044]	69.76/69.68

The structural features (stepped foundation and corner-stone), place floor level at 69.6m at the south west corner, rising to 69.7m around the middle of the nave. The potential earth floor deposit [044] gives slightly higher levels at 69.76/69.68 but in broadly the same area. It is possible the chalky/mortar layer [043] represents a construction/repair phase, but was too ephemeral for analysis. A section was drawn through the deposits inside of the church. (Figure 25)

The floor levels within the standing church nave were recorded as part of this process:

north side nave	69.68
middle nave	69.66
south side nave (door threshold)	69.63
threshold to porch	69.49

These are remarkably similar, although the current church floor seems to present less of a N-S slope than its medieval counterpart.

It is interesting to note that the present ground surface outside the west wall (mid point) is c. 70.3m O.D. which is about 0.64m above the ground level inside. We might speculate that ground level has risen in the Sutterby churchyard (which is often the case) but the inhumation cut by the Phase 2b footings was only c. 0.50 - 0.55m below modern ground level (i.e. slightly above the level of the church floor). The burial predates the church in its current form and it has been suggested above (Phase 2a) that there was some ground levelling over the early cemetery which has reduced its overburden.

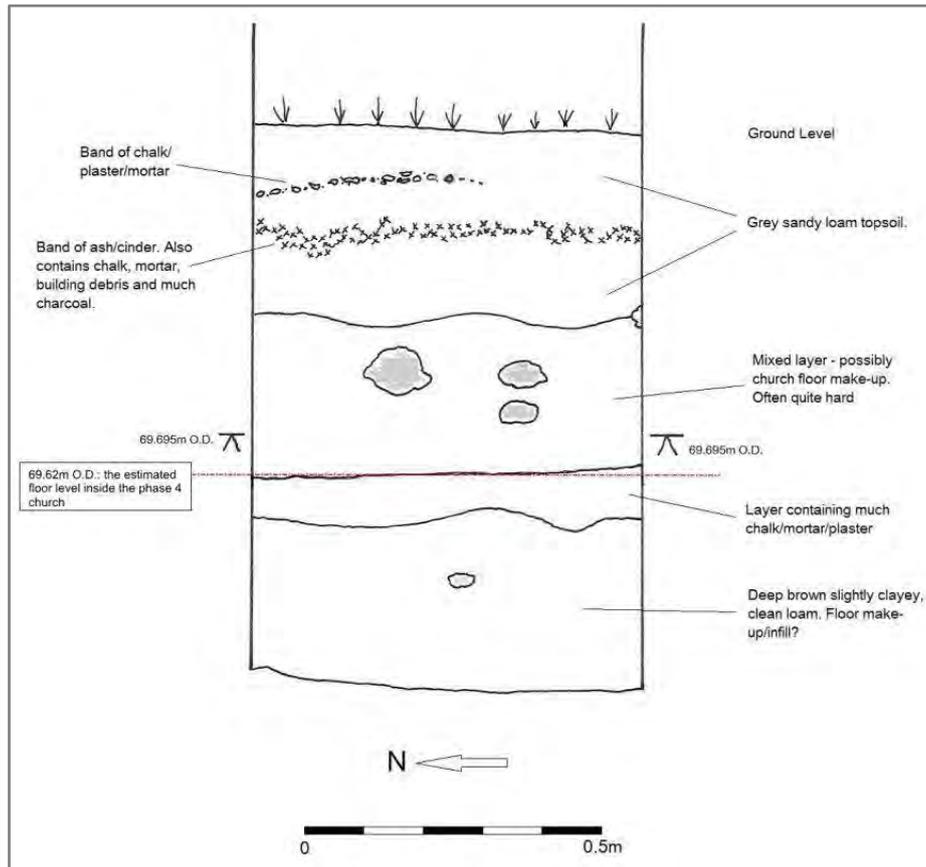


Fig. 25. Section 1 - west facing section showing stratigraphy in the floor make-up deposits inside the Phase 3 church. Estimated original floor level shown at 69.62m O.D. The position of section 1 is marked on the plan at Fig. 18.

An unusual feature was noted within the floor make up layers in the northern section of Trench 1. (Marked at 'A' on Figure 18) A partly globular concretion of reddish brown sandy material was noted containing a loose, greenish sandy sediment within. The concretion contained cm-sized fragments of chalk and was very heavy and hard but did not exhibit any signs of burning or human manufacture. The upper surface of the concretion was at 69.47m O.D. placing it at about 0.25m below the estimated floor level at that location. Samples were taken for geological inspection (see Appendix 5) and the analysis suggested a local hematite cementation of sub-floor deposits. The feature is illustrated below: (Figure 26)



Fig. 26. The enigmatic concretion containing a green sand, located 0.3m below the estimated Phase 4 floor level. Geological analysis suggested it was a natural feature. [Scale is 0.3m]

The concretion may be entirely natural in its formation, but its position, central to the nave, is intriguing. Parsons has written on the presence of pits for 'holy' rubbish and soakaways for the water from piscina and fonts.¹⁷ Such features have been given the name *sacraria* and it

is possible that this concretion formed as a result of ceremonial activity; however it is equally possible that its origins are mundane or natural.

Dating Phase 3: The building of the Phase 3 church is a substantial operation. The quality of the stonework and its working is good and probably represents a major reconstruction of the building. One of the broadly datable features of the church is its south door which is a two centred arch with a simple chamfer. (Figure 27) Doors of this type were popular from the mid thirteenth to the late fourteenth centuries and it is feasible that the rebuild of the church would have included the incorporation of this door. The earlier, round headed doorway may have been relocated into the north wall at this time.

In general the second half of the thirteenth century was a time of prosperity and growing population in medieval rural England, before the decades of famine and plague that undermined the economy of so many medieval villages between 1320 to 1350.

Therefore, although purely speculative, it is suggested that a major rebuild of Sutterby church may have taken place around 1320 and that the Phase 3 structures are part of that church.



Fig. 27. The doorway in the south wall of the nave has a chamfered, two centred arch. It may date from a major re-modelling of the church in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries.

Phase 3a (1320 - 1600)

A row of masonry which is probably related to Phase 3; possibly a temporary or repair measure. (Figures 28 and 29)

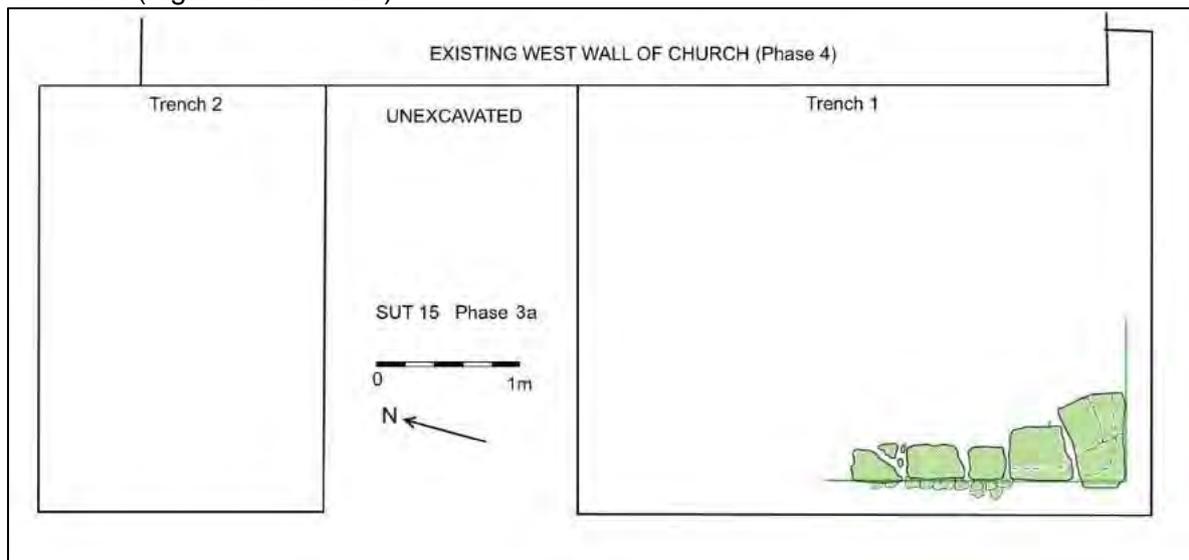


Fig. 28. Archaeological features included as Phase 3a comprise a row of stones, some chamfered, in the south of Trench 1, which could represent a fragment of wall. Whilst these stones may link to the lower masonry in the standing south wall, the poor quality of the masonry and its settings, and the lack of any other surviving elements of this feature, suggest it is more likely to represent an ephemeral repair or modification to Phase 3.



Fig. 29. The row of masonry comprising Phase 3a. It sits above the stones of Phase 2b and some blocks are chamfered. [North to the left. Small scale is 30cm. Joined photographs]

The row of five possible wall stones which form the basis for this phase are intriguing. As mentioned above, they do not sit together well as a masonry course and yet, when viewed down the south wall of the church (Figure 10), it seems quite possible that the south wall is founded on this phase of masonry which forms a lower chamfered plinth visible along the excavated portion of the south wall. These stones were initially thought to represent a separate building phase, but on reconsideration, the idea does not hold up. The only convincing stone in this context is the corner stone. Although broken into three segments, it still displays a shallow but heavily worn chamfer on its south and west edges. The second stone in the row is reasonably substantial and chamfered, but the chamfer is more similar to that on the Phase 3 masonry and does not match the corner stone. The third stone is insubstantial but appears to have a slight chamfer on both its north and west faces. The fourth stone is a roughly shaped block and the fifth is similar but fragmentary. There are no other surviving stones from this course in Trenches 1 or 2 and there are no footings for additional stones. The five blocks teeter on the edge of the Phase 2 stones below them, while their western edge exhibits a rather odd substrate of small chalk lumps. (Figure 30)



Fig. 30. Stones 5, 4 and 3 of the Phase 3a masonry shown in the foreground, sitting on a row of small irregular chalk cobbles. The Phase 2 stones beneath are visible in the background. [North to the left. Scale is 10cm]

Thus it seems unlikely that these stones represent a wall line; however, they might be interpreted as part of the base of a shallow buttress erected to support a collapsing corner. When the feature is viewed in Figure 9, it can be seen that the shallow stepped foundation under the chamfered blocks appears to have been disturbed or cut back in the area of the possible buttress. If this feature does represent a buttress its construction probably originates in the second half of the Phase 3 period which has been speculated as c.1320 - 1600.

4.4 Phase 4 (c. 1600 - 1743)

The standing west wall of the church.

At some point the west end of Sutterby church (represented by Phase 3) was taken down, or fell down, and a new wall (Phase 4) was constructed, shortening the nave by 2.1m. This new

wall, as viewed today, is complex with several phases of repair and alteration in its structure. The wall was drawn and analysed in 2015 and a survey drawing giving suggested phases was made.¹⁸ (Figure 31) On that drawing, Phase 1 of the wall is equivalent to Phase 4 of the excavation.

The first phase of the standing west wall is represented by four courses of buried masonry set on a rough mortar and rubble footing. The upper course is a row of chamfered blocks detailed in Appendix 4.

The dating of the phases in the analysis of the west wall is inconclusive and speculative and based largely on a single faculty report of 1743 and Jean Claude Nattes drawing¹⁹ of Sutterby Church of 1790. The report suggests the following dating sequence:

Phase 1 - original rebuild of west wall in present position	1600s
Phases 2 & 3 - rebuild of west wall from chamfer up	1743
Phases 4a & 4b - collapse and repairs of corners	mid to late 1800s
Phase 5 - lintel failure	mid to late 1800s
Phase 6 - string course and rebuild of gable in brick (and re-roof)	mid to late 1800s
Phase 7 brick repairs replaced in stone	1980
Phase 8 repairs to west window	2011

On this basis the SUT15 Phase 4 is dated to the early seventeenth century.

The reason for the rebuild remains unclear - the excavated foundations look sturdy and well made and do not show obvious signs of slip or subsidence. It may be that the nave corners collapsed necessitating the rebuild (Phase 3a is a speculative buttress), but why was it shortened? Perhaps a significant amount of the Spilsby sandstone (a mediocre building stone) had decayed and with limited resources for new stone, shortening was necessary? If so, it seems remarkable that so much good, faced building stone was left in the buried foundation.

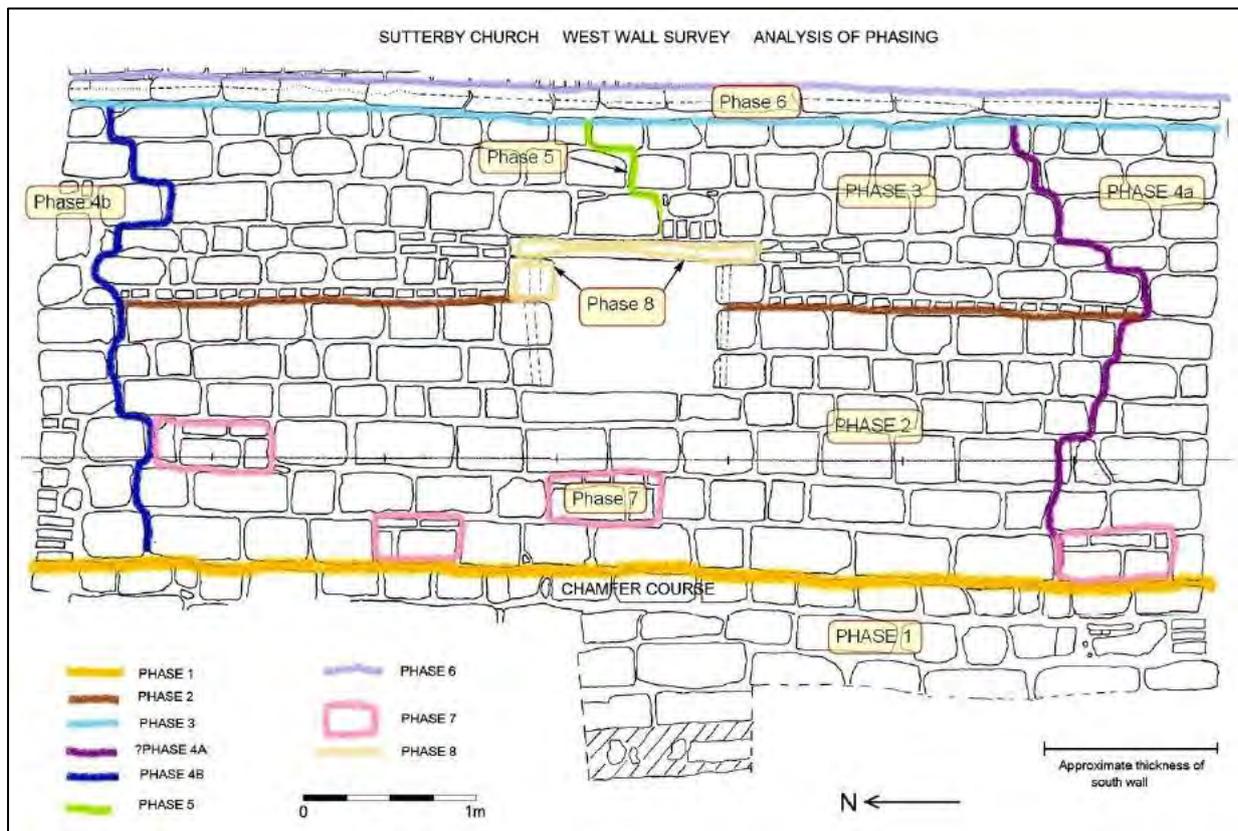


Fig. 31. Survey of the standing west wall of Sutterby Church showing many phases of repair and alteration. The first phase of this sequence (Phase 1) equates to Phase 4 of the excavation sequence. The dating of the phases is given in the table above.

4.5 Summary of the Excavation Phases

Phase	Main features	Possible interpretation	Suggested dates
1	Truncated inhumation	pre-church or early church burial ground	before 1150
2a	Ground levelling in preparation for new church	west wall of first stone church	1150 - 1320
2b	Rough stone foundation N-S		
2c	Rough Stone foundation E-W		
3	Stone wall with chamfered lower course	rebuilt church	1320 - 1600
3a	Row of stones - some chamfered	base of buttress supporting south west corner of nave	1500 - 1600
4	Standing west wall of Sutterby church	shortened church (with many repairs and changes)	1600 - 1743

4.6 An Alternative Phasing Scheme

As discussed in section 2 above, undisturbed masonry was left in situ and it was thus impossible to understand fully the relationships between the various built elements. In particular, there exists the possibility that the foundations noted at Phase 2 were constructed in order to receive the Phase 3 wall. Although there is quite a wide margin between the two courses, (c. 0.45m) apparently this is not uncommon as foundations were often laid by a different team of workers some months before the building of the walls began.²⁰

The arguments in favour of merging these phases are (i) the linear alignment of Phase 2 and Phase 3 masonry, and (ii) the alignment between the levels of the top of the Phase 2 stones and of the interior step foundation of the Phase 3 wall.

The arguments against include: (i) there is no mortar in the Phase 2 foundations but mortar is plentiful in the Phase 3 wall; (ii) the Phase 2 foundations are not evident below the Phase 3 south wall (but observation is very limited. see Figure 10) and, (iii) Phase 3 blocks are not laid directly onto Phase 2 - there is a small step foundation between them, although this could be interpreted as a 'levelling course'.

If the Phase 2 foundation and the Phase 3 wall were taken to be coeval then there would only be three main structural phases and a revised phasing scheme could be created, thus:

Phase	Main features	Possible interpretation	Suggested dates
1	Truncated inhumation	pre-church or early church burial ground	before 1150
2a	Ground levelling in preparation for new church	New/first stone church	1150 - 1500?
2b	Rough stone foundations		
2c	Stone wall with chamfered lower course		
2d	Row of stones - some chamfered	base of buttress supporting south west corner of nave	1400 - 1500?
3	Standing west wall of Sutterby church (lowest courses)	shortened church (with many repairs and changes)	1500 - 1743?

However, this is not the phasing scheme that will be adopted but it must be borne in mind that, because of the methodology adopted and the short time available for excavation, relationships are not clear and these options must be considered.

5. THE FINDS

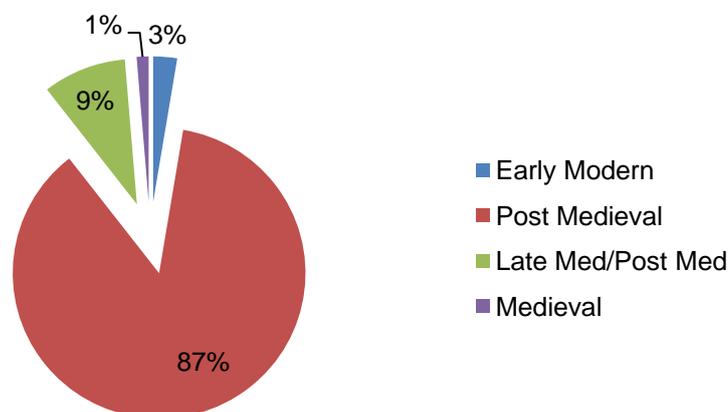
5.1 Pottery

One hundred and forty four potsherds were collected during the excavation and were analysed by ceramics specialist Alex Beeby at Heritage Lincolnshire. A full report on the pottery appears at Appendix 6.

The ground within a churchyard is generally subject to regular disturbance and one expects there to be a high level of mixing and residuality of artefactual material within any given context. Sutterby churchyard has had its share of disturbance even in recent times: the last recorded burial was in 1948 and the latest gravestone dates from 1908. There were thirteen burials in the twentieth century and 39 burials in the nineteenth century (only nine of which have memorials). Normally, regular grave digging would move much older artefacts around the site and mix them with modern material. That was not the case at Sutterby where the topsoil from the excavated area contained 76 potsherds but remarkably little (c. 1%) medieval material. (Figure 32)

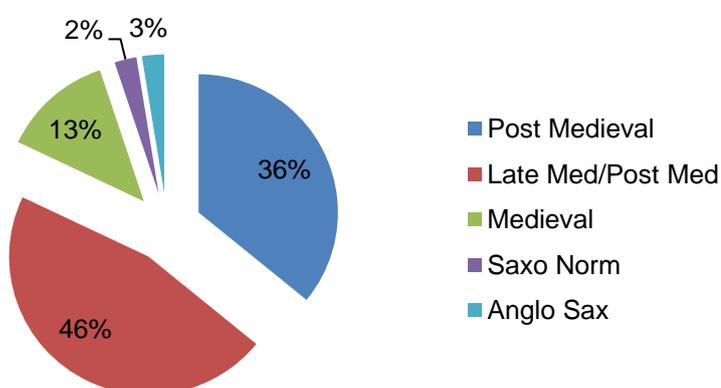
One might question how or why domestic pottery comes to be deposited in churchyards and Jennings and Young have argued that much of it may be redeposited in soil brought in for levelling the uneven surface that develops due to subsidence over graves.²¹ This may explain the high late and post medieval pottery content of the topsoil.

Fig. 32: SUT15 Topsoil Pottery



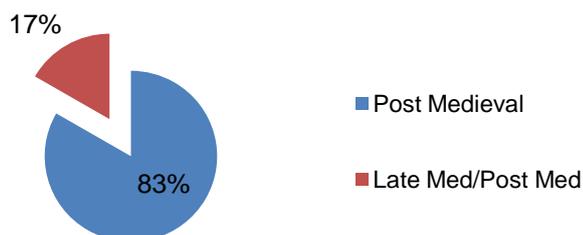
Below the topsoil, outside the Phase 2/Phase 4 church foundations, the amount of later pottery decreases sharply and some Saxo-Norman and Anglo Saxon sherds are noted from the lower spits. Thirty nine sherds were collected from the 'outside' contexts. (Figure 33)

Fig. 33: SUT15 Pot from outside church



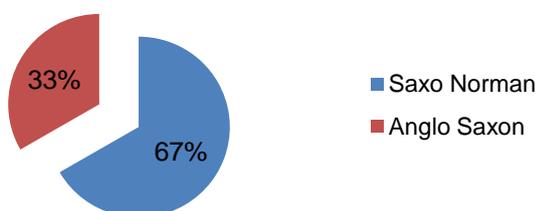
Inside the church, the deposits above the beaten earth floor are similar to those outside. (Figure 34)

Fig. 34 SUT15 Pottery from inside, above floor contexts



Below the layer of the church floor, later pottery disappears leaving only Anglo-Saxon and Saxo Norman types. (Figure 35)

Fig. 35: SUT15 pottery from beneath church floor



The pottery specialist was particularly interested in this early group and comments:

" ... contexts (044), (046), (047), (048) and (049) produced a very interesting small assemblage of Later Saxon and/or Saxo-Norman pottery, with types including Thetford ware (THETT), Maxey ware (RMAX), Torksey ware (TORK), Lincoln Kiln type fabric (LKT) and Lincoln fine shelled ware (LFS). This is a really interesting group. Whilst some may have been produced as late as the mid 12th century, all of these fabrics are contemporary to the 10th century and the lack of Bourne, Stamford and other early medieval wares is interesting and may indicate an early date, before the 12th century, for this sub group. A fine Thetford ware type jar with a finger pressed rim decoration is of particular note."

Pottery recovered from fieldwalking surveys on the land around Sutterby church suggests that there was settlement in the area in Anglo-Saxon times and that the village may have started to develop in the Saxo-Norman period. The early pottery from these deeper contexts inside and outside the church supports this suggestion.

Amongst the pottery collected, was a decorated clay pipe bowl, found in the area of stone robbing on the west wall. It is datable to 1830-50 and is probably from Lincoln. A very similar bowl, found in Lincoln, is illustrated.²² (Figure 36)

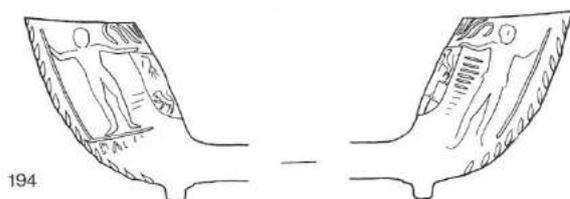


Fig. 36. Decorated clay pipe bowl of 'standing native' type with arms of Prussia on rear and banners below the figures - one containing 'LINC' other containing 'HURST' or 'NURST'. Dated to 1830-50. Probably a Lincoln product

194

5.2 Glass

A total of 760 fragments (895 g.) of window glass and 28 fragments (419 g.) of other glass was collected during the excavation. A summary catalogue of the glass finds is given at Appendix 7.

All the window glass was clear glass, with the exception (possibly) of a few fragments in [027] (Phase 3, inside, above floor), which may have had some colouring or applied paint. The window glass was widely spread through the topsoil, the outside wall, and the inside wall deposits. The only place it was absent was beneath the Phase 3 floor deposits [043]/[044]. To some extent, this hardly surprising as there is a window in the centre of the existing (Phase 4) west wall and no reason to suppose that there was not a similar window in the preceding Phase 3 wall. Thus regular breakage and replacement and subsequent mixing in the archaeological deposits is to be expected and a similar statement is relevant to the fragments of lead window came discussed later. Virtually all the window glass was fragmentary and shattered but there was one good, cut corner piece in [029].

The other glass came from a variety of nineteenth and twentieth bottles and vessels and, intriguingly there were quantities of electric light bulbs from six (mostly topsoil) contexts. There has never been an electricity supply to Sutterby church and one can only assume they date to a twentieth century repair programme when, perhaps, a generator was brought to light the church interior.

5.3 Metals

5.3.1 Lead

A total of 34 fragments (277 g.) of lead window came and fourteen (824 g.) other lead objects were collected during the excavation. A summary catalogue of the lead finds is given at Appendix 8.

As with the window glass the lead comes were mixed throughout the deposits below the Phase 3 and Phase 4 windows. Most were fragmentary, but there was one larger piece, still with some glass *in situ*, found in [027] which was a layer above the floor level inside the Phase 3 church. (Figure 37)

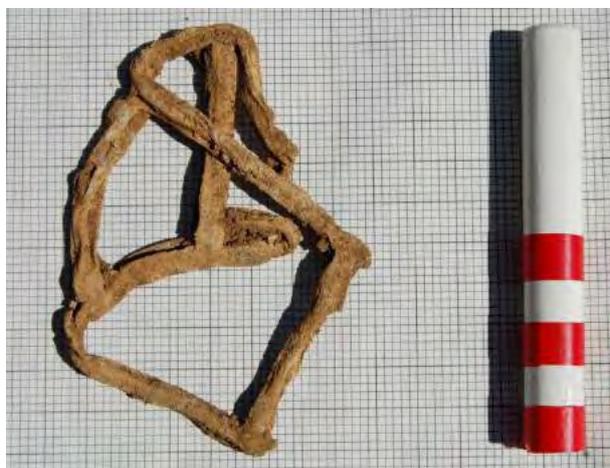


Fig. 37. Piece of articulated lead window came found in [027]. When found, there were still fragments of glass in the lead. [Scale 10cm]

Of the other fourteen lead objects, most were plates or straps of various types, sometimes with nail holes, for roof and building repairs, including 'tingles' for repairing slipped slates. One larger piece was a molten lead splash. Perhaps we might have expected more fragments of lead, for the drawing of Sutterby church in 1790 by Jean Claude Nattes, shows the nave with a sheet lead roof.

5.3.2 Iron

A great many fragments and objects of iron totalling 18 kg were collected during the excavation. A summary catalogue of the iron finds is given at Appendix 9.

Topsoil contexts close to the building contained large quantities of cast-iron rainwater goods including guttering and pipe. These had been placed in a pile beneath the window in the west wall and had become buried by natural processes. This material was recorded but not retained. Topsoil contexts ([001] - [012]) contained a range of modern repair materials

(nails and screws) and almost every context contained square-shanked iron nails which could date anywhere from the medieval to early twentieth-century periods. A total of 364 square-shanked iron nails were recovered. Three of these came from [044] which is at/below the floor level inside the Phase 3 church.

5.3.3 Brass, Bronze and Miscellaneous Materials

A total of 34 (371 g) brass, bronze and miscellaneous objects were collected during the excavation. A summary catalogue of these finds is given at Appendix 10.

The majority of this material came from topsoil contexts and included copper nails and wire, fragments of electric light bulbs (see above) and shotgun cartridges and eleven thin rectangular sheets of bone or ivory (c. 42 x 22mm). The function of these bone sheets was unclear; they may have been the surface of piano or harmonium keys from an instrument once housed in the church.

5.4 Building Materials

A range of building materials including brick, tile, stone, slate and plaster was recovered during the excavation. A summary catalogue of these finds is given at Appendix 11. Building materials were recovered from many of the excavated contexts with no specific concentrations or absences.

A quantity of brick and tile was collected; most of the identifiable brick fragments recovered were from the earlier, hand-made bricks, thought to have been introduced in the 1743 repair programme.

The tile was all thought to be roof tile and was of both flat and curved (pantile) profile. A significant proportion of the tile had mortar traces on one or more surfaces. There is no record of tile roofs at Sutterby church; the 1790 nave appears to have a lead roof in Nattes's drawing,²³ but it is possible that the porch (thought to have been constructed in 1743) was roofed with tile.

A considerable amount of fragmentary slate was noted in topsoil contexts but was not collected as the church roof is presently covered in slate and is known to have been repaired several times in the twentieth century. The Sutterby entry in White's Directory for 1882 notes that '*The roof has recently been repaired and covered with fresh slates.*' implying that it was already slated in 1882.²⁴ The change from lead to slate probably took place in the mid-nineteenth century, with an accompanying rebuild of the gables and an increase in pitch.

Below the topsoil contexts (from context [016]) slate was collected and examined. Relatively few fragments (about 30) were collected and were later discarded.

Five pieces of worked limestone were collected. One small piece from [038] was carved; possibly a fragment of window jamb, exhibiting what may be a glazing groove.

5.5 Stone Tooling

Most of the *in situ* dressed masonry exhibited marks of tooling to a greater or lesser extent. Stones exhibiting tooling were photographed and later examined during a teaching workshop organised for the group by Professor David Stocker. A key to the stone locations and a summary of the analysis of the photographs is given at Appendix 12. The photographs are included in the excavation archive (which is detailed in Appendix 13).

The church is constructed from the local Spilsby sandstone which is relatively soft and tooling marks on external faces have largely eroded away but marks persisted on protected surfaces. As the stone is easily marked/damaged, care was necessary to distinguish tooling from more modern activities.

Some interesting observations emerged from the analysis:

- There were several types of tooling identified - in particular most stones showed marks of a broad bladed tool without teeth (unornamented), but there was also a group dressed with a claw tool with broad teeth and narrow gaps (Figure 38). This may represent two phases of building, one pre c. 1200 and one post c. 1200.
- Some stones might exhibit both types of working suggesting re-dressing of masonry for reuse.
- It may be possible to measure tool blade width from the photographs and define different tooling groups.



Fig. 38. Stone tooling marks made with a claw, visible on the upper surface of stone 5. [Scale is 10 cms]

5.6 Bone

Fragments of human and animal bone were collected from most of the excavated contexts. It had been agreed prior to the start of the work that disturbed human bone would be collected and analysed, and that any inhumations encountered would not be lifted but would be excavated, recorded and reburied.²⁵

A total of 268 bone fragments (1139 g), including teeth, was collected during the excavation. These were submitted for analysis and 76 fragments were identifiable - 44 animal and 32 human bone fragments. The bone analysis was carried out by Ryan Austin, a post-graduate forensic anthropology student from Lincoln University. An extract from his report is given at Appendix 14. The full report is available in the excavation archive. A table giving a summary of the material and generalised contexts is given below:

Context group (See App 1)	Total bone	Animal bone		Human bone		No bone ID
		Tr. 1	Tr. 2	Tr. 1	Tr. 2	
Topsoil	16	4	2	2	2	6
In/on Ph 4 Wall	4	2	-	-	-	2
Outside Ph 3 wall	106	9	3	3	22	69
Inside Ph 3 wall	16	5	-	2	-	9
Below Ph 3 floor	118	16	-	1	-	101
mixed contexts	8	3	-	-	-	5
TOTALS	268	39	5	8	24	192

Most of the identifiable bone in the topsoil contexts was of animal origin, with just four human bones (two metacarpals and two radial fragments) recovered. There was a significant quantity of fragmentary bone sealed beneath the floor of the Phase 3 church but only about 14% was identifiable. The majority was animal bone including goat, sheep, pig, dog and bird.

Context [016] contained an unusual piece; a fragment of skull, probably from a sheep, showing the horn base sawn through and snapped off, but also with a square-shanked iron nail piercing the horn base and cranium. Was this once part of a trophy on display, and the horn removed later? (Figure 39)



Fig. 39. Fragment of animal skull, probably sheep, showing horn sawn through and snapped at base and an iron nail (arrowed) hammered through the bone. [Scale in cms]



Fig. 40. The face of the right pubic symphysis found in [050]. The billowing ridges across the surface, with no boundaries, suggests the individual was 15-24 years of age at death. [Scale in cms]

Most of the human bone was found in Trench 2 in the lower contexts [046] and [050]. (Figure 41) These were close to the truncated inhumation noted as Phase 1 above and probably derive from the same construction activity evidenced by the stone footings of Phase 2b. (Figures 12 and 13) The material recovered from these contexts included fragments of skull (maxilla and zygoma), pelvis, ribs, vertebra, clavicle, femur, humerus, radius, metacarpals and phalanges. No bones were diagnostic for the sex of the individual(s) concerned. One bone (pubic symphysis in [050]) was diagnostic for age at death, giving a figure of 15 - 24 years.²⁶ (Figure 40)



Fig. 41. Context [046] in Trench 2, showing the scatter of disarticulated human remains close to the north west corner of the Phase 2b footings. Pieces of skull, rib, humerus and metacarpal are visible. [Scale is 30cm]

There are conjoining bones (e.g. femur shafts) in contexts [046] and [050] and it is quite possible that most of the bones in these two layers come from one individual, disturbed by the construction of the Phase 2 footings. Many of the bones look relatively small in scale and one of the individuals may have been a juvenile.

The *in situ* inhumation located in Trench 2 is discussed in 3.1 and 4.1 above. A small sample of the left femur sent for radiocarbon dating gave an estimate for date of death of mid-eleventh to early thirteenth century.

It is common in medieval churchyards for burials to be disturbed by later grave-digging, and for fragmentary bone to be scattered through the topsoil. It is thus no surprise that human bone occurs in nine of the excavated contexts. Similarly, the likelihood of

encountering an *in situ* burial was known to be high. The inhumation in Trench 2 was shallow (50 - 55cms below modern ground level) and while medieval burials are often shallow, especially (as on this Sutterby hillside) where the bedrock is close to the surface, in this case it is thought that the site may have been levelled in preparation for rebuilding the church (Phase 2a) resulting in a loss of topsoil over the grave.

Given that our earliest (Phase 2b) footings cut this medieval burial, it is not surprising that there was considerable scatter of fragmentary human bone around them, but it is interesting that there was so little human bone in the floor make-up deposits inside the Phase 3 church. This may be coincidental, or it may be because burials had been cleared from the area of the new church prior to construction, in a form of cleansing ritual.²⁷

6. DISCUSSION

The excavation at the west end of Sutterby church identified four phases of activity as discussed in section 4, above. These phases involve rebuilding or remodelling the church and might be interpreted thus:

Phase 1	pre 1150 small wooden church with active graveyard
Phase 2	c.1150 first stone church built
Phase 3	c.1320 church rebuilt and modernised (but not significantly enlarged)
Phase 4	c.1600s Church repaired or rebuilt on slightly smaller plan

6.1 Earliest Church

Our first phase could represent a graveyard without a church, but Morris considers this unlikely.²⁸ He argues that the majority of parish churches were already in existence by 1050, but that most were probably built of timber at that time.²⁹

Dyer and Everson have commented on a 'village moment' when village nucleation stimulates the creation of communal open field systems and church foundation.³⁰ For Lincolnshire they speculate that the timing of parish formation might be in the late tenth century, with the appearance of Anglo-Saxon funerary sculpture produced to furnish newly created church graveyards.³¹

The Domesday record gives evidence for two churches in the parishes of Sutterby, Dalby and Dexthorpe.³² These three parishes all had ancient churches; the site of Dexthorpe church is known, but no image or description of it exists;³³ Dalby church was rebuilt by Fowler in 1862, but an eighteenth century drawing of it exists (reproduced in Appendix 15) showing a potentially medieval church (much repaired), but with no definitively eleventh or twelfth century features visible.³⁴ Sutterby does exhibit early features in its Romanesque doorway, now in the north wall, although this quite probably post-dates any Domesday church. It must be kept in mind that Domesday book often under represents the number of churches and the presence of a church in a manor was not necessarily a question explored by the Commissioners.³⁵

The dating for Phase 1 is interpolated from the radiocarbon analysis of the burial cut by the stone footing of Phase 2. The burial of the skeleton analysed occurred in the bracket of 1039-1217 (Appendix 2). We might speculate, therefore, that the burial occurred in the graveyard of an existing (probably timber) church in the period 1050-1100 and was cut through by the rebuilding of the church some 40 to 60 years later.

6.2 c.1150 Church Rebuilt in Stone

The years following the Norman conquest are thought to have been a time of great church building: Morris asserts: 'The years 1050-1150 witnessed a great rebuilding when almost all churches were reconstructed in stone'.³⁶ At Raunds in Northamptonshire Boddington has shown the smaller tenth century church overlain by the larger eleventh century church, cutting through earlier burials just as at Sutterby.³⁷ (Figure 42)

We do not have any evidence for the size of an earlier church at Sutterby, but Morris suggests that 'the great rebuilding' usually results in a larger structure, but often still, at this stage, a two cell church.³⁸ The suggestion from the recorded Phase 2b/c stone footing is that the first stone church was the same width as subsequent phases, and if we assume that the position of the chancel arch stayed constant through successive rebuildings³⁹ this would give a chancel size of c. 6.75m x 12.5m externally.

The Romanesque doorway is also possible evidence for an eleventh or twelfth century building/rebuilding phase and its plainness suggests it is unlikely to have originated later than the first quarter of the twelfth century.

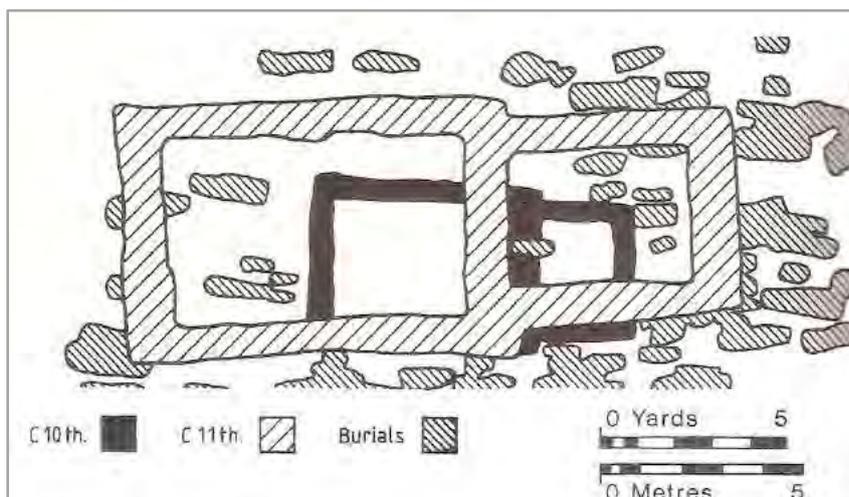


Fig. 42. The later church at Raunds (Northants) cuts through the burials in the earlier graveyard (after Boddington - see n.37)

The first documentary records concerning Sutterby church appear in the thirteenth century in the rolls of Bishop Hugh of Wells (Bishop of Lincoln 1209-1235).⁴⁰ Here we read of the grant *'Monialibus de Cestria: advocacionem ecclesie de Suterby, anno x^o* [To the convent of nuns at Chester: the advowson of Sutterby, 10th year (i.e. 1219)]. Also, on 12 April 1286 it is recorded that Ralph of Sausthorpe was *'appointed by [the] Priory of Chester because John of Skeffington who had custody of the church did not want to be instituted'*.⁴¹ There are records of Chester presenting to Sutterby (i.e. they chose the incumbents) into the mid-fourteenth century,⁴² and it is likely that did so until their dissolution in 1540 when the advowson passed to the Crown.⁴³

We know who made the gift of the advowson of Sutterby to Chester Priory as the grant is confirmed in Bishop Hugh's Register. The record states:

'Confirmation of the grant made Matilda de Mouhaut to the prioress and nuns of [St Mary's] Chester, of the advowson of the church of Sutterby, Newhouse, 22 May 1219'.⁴⁴

It seems that Matilda was the wife of Ralph de Mouhaut (c. 1155-1200) (a.k.a. de Monte Alto; de Monhaut etc.). The de Mouhauts are recorded as holding land in Sutterby in 1212⁴⁵ and they had other holdings in Lincolnshire including the advowsons of Harmston and Mablethorpe.⁴⁶

Matilda confirms the granting of the advowson of Sutterby church to the Priory of Chester in 1219 so the advowson had already been granted at an earlier date. It seems likely that this was done while her husband, Ralph, was still alive (i.e. before 1200).

Or perhaps Matilda had the advowson as part of her dower as a widow and she is passing this to the Chester priory herself, possibly as part of an agreement to allow her to take the veil and retire to the nunnery. In such a circumstance, the granting of the advowson might be the occasion for the building of the first stone church so that the nuns were receiving a gift that was not going to cost them money for upkeep? The gift must be made after the marriage of Matilda to Ralph and this would appear to be perhaps in the 1170s or 1180s given Ralph's birth in c.1155.⁴⁷

These are tentative suggestions in the face of limited evidence.

6.3 c. 1320 Church Modernised

In the thirteenth century many parish churches respond to growing population and prosperity by enlarging; classically with added aisles and a lengthened chancel.⁴⁸ But not so at Sutterby. Although we see a rebuilding with the adoption of contemporary (thirteenth century) styles it seems that the size remains the same. There is no suggestion in the fabric or in the surrounding churchyard, that an extended church existed. Many churches go on to expand further with tower, chapels etc. but Sutterby remains a two cell church, patched and repaired through the centuries to the present day.

Why does it not grow? - Possibly because Sutterby lacked wealthy patronage or possibly because the village itself does not grow. Sutterby does not appear to be the seat of a wealthy lord and there is no known manor site in the village. There do not appear to be any potential patrons to sponsor repairs to the church until 1666, when John Dawson (of Sutterby) is rewarded for Royalist loyalty by Charles II, with the grant of an Irish castle and estate.⁴⁹

As to the size of Sutterby at this time, there are few population estimates for the medieval period but some available records can give a hint of what is going on; amongst them, a type of taxation which was introduced c. 1334 known as the Lay Subsidy. Sutterby can be compared with its surrounding parishes to look at its contribution to the Lay Subsidy as a measure of prosperity which, in turn, may give an indication of village population.⁵⁰ (Figure 43). The sample group is Sutterby's six surrounding parishes plus the further group of eleven surrounding those.

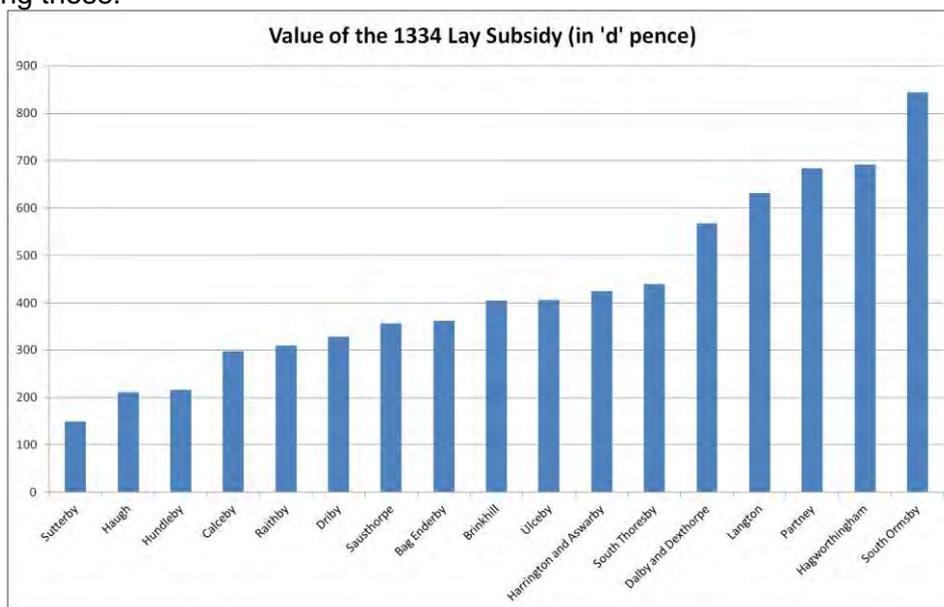


Fig. 43. The amount of tax paid by Sutterby and the seventeen parishes surrounding it for the Lay Subsidy of 1334. Sutterby appears to be the poorest (and smallest?) parish in the group.

It is evident that Sutterby remitted the smallest return in the 1334 tax. As noted earlier (Sections 1.1 and 1.2) the size of the estate in the Lindsey Survey (1115-1118) is around 300 acres and the eventual size of the parish is 471 acres. This is a small parish. If we look at the land area of the same group of parishes (in 1856) we see that, once again, Sutterby is the smallest of the group.⁵¹ (Figure 44)

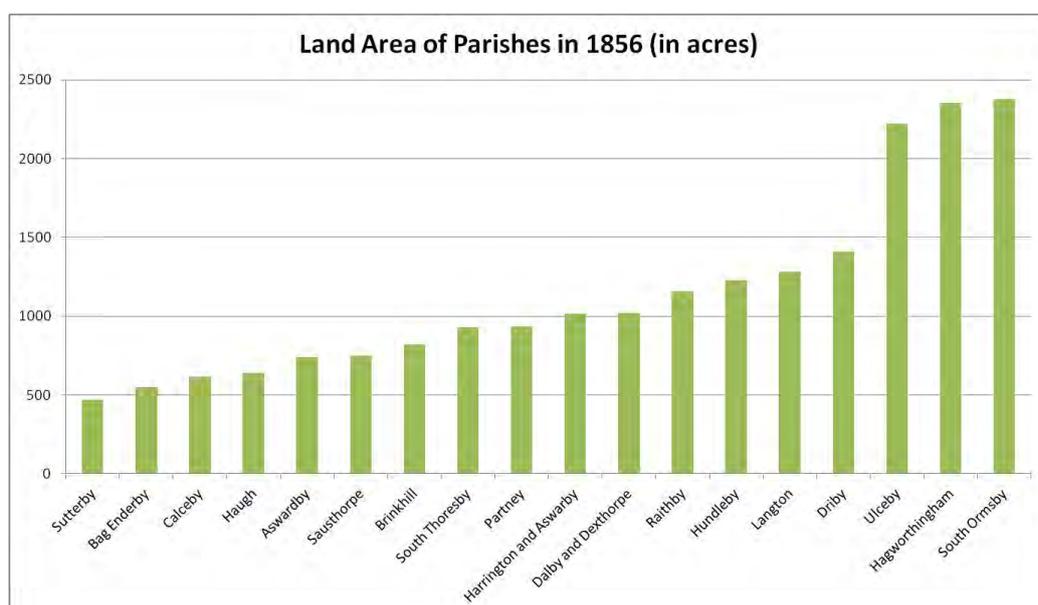


Fig. 44. The land area of Sutterby parish and the seventeen parishes surrounding it, as given in White's 1856 Directory of Lincolnshire. Sutterby is the smallest in the group.

Some might argue 'size doesn't matter' but when it comes to economic sustainability, it does. As Sutterby entered the fourteenth century, the great boom in population and prosperity that had characterised the 1100s and 1200s was about to end. In the second decade of the fourteenth century a famine (due to a climatic 'blip') severely weakened the population, and before they could fully recover from it, disease (the Black Death of 1349/50) swept the country killing nearly half the population. By the 1380s there were not enough people left to populate and farm England's villages. (Figure 45 after Hatcher⁵²)

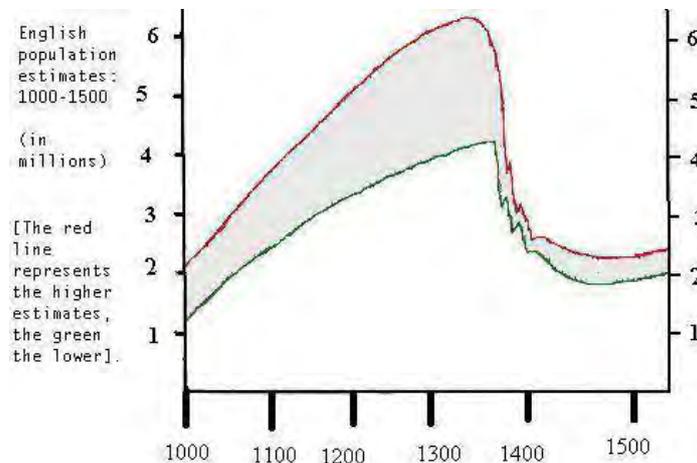


Fig. 45. Population decline in the fourteenth century, based on Hatcher, 1977.

Whilst we have very little data for Sutterby's population in the medieval period see Section 1.2), we can get some measure of the growth of the settlement through the analysis of the pottery collected by archaeological fieldwalking surveys carried out in the fields around the church.⁵³ They show limited Anglo-Saxon (fifth to ninth century) activity slowly increasing into the Saxo-Norman period (tenth to twelfth centuries) with the nucleation of the village then increasing massively in a medieval (twelfth to fifteenth century) peak which probably ends during the mid to late fifteenth following the demographic and economic upheavals of the time. We can be reasonably sure that the village survived the Black Death because Sutterby church paid tax of 6s 8d in 1428.⁵⁴ Only villages with more than ten households paid the 1428 tax so Sutterby must have retained at least ten households.

Life in the village continues through post medieval and into modern times, but in a much reduced state, and it would probably be more correct to refer to Sutterby as a hamlet from the post medieval period. (Figure 46)

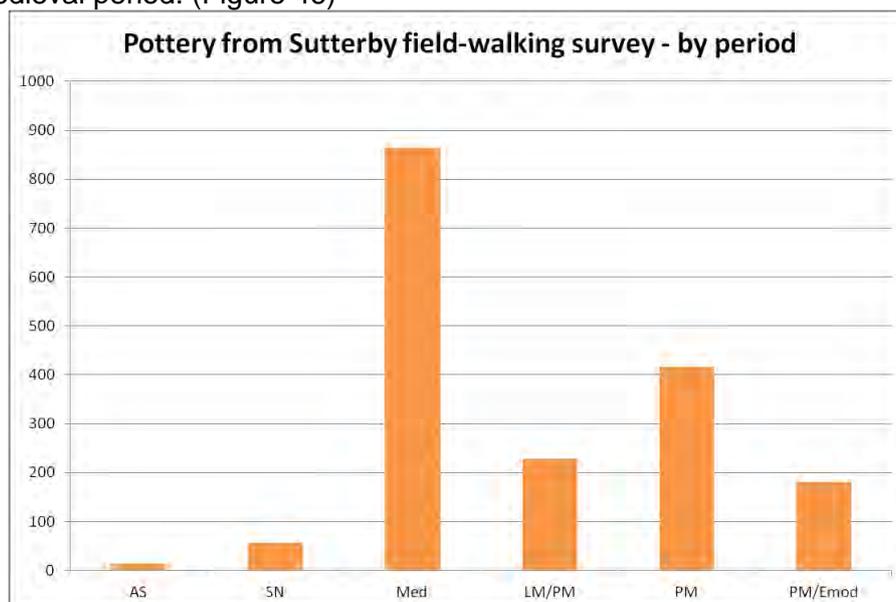


Fig. 46. The combined results of fieldwalking surveys in the area around Sutterby Church, showing medieval growth and subsequent decline. Pottery quantities are not directly proportional to population numbers (under-represented earlier, over-represented later) but are a useful indication of population and activity trends. [Axes show numbers of sherds collected against period]

So it seems that Sutterby was a thriving medieval community, although always small in area and population ... and perhaps this is reflected in its ecclesiastical aspirations. We have speculated that Sutterby rebuilt its church in the early fourteenth century, but did not enlarge with an aisle, a tower or a larger chancel as many similar churches did. Seemingly they maintained the same size and shape that they had established in c. 1150.

Sutterby church today has a nave area of c. 46.3 sq m. If we add the extra 2.1m by which it appears to have been shortened, the nave area rises to 57.2 sq m. In his work at Raunds, Boddington postulated a formula for calculating the capacity of churches, which, if applied to Sutterby would suggest a seating capacity of 52 to 71 or a standing capacity of up to 150 (neither figure allows for the font or other fixed features such as nave altars).⁵⁵ These figures appear adequate as, at its medieval peak, the population of Sutterby may have been in the region of 80 - 100 inhabitants.⁵⁶

The capacity of the present church is stated by the Revd Thomas Owston for the 1851 religious census as 36 sittings.⁵⁷ This figure seems very low and makes one wonder if he misunderstood the census form (maybe 36 was the census attendance?). White's Directory for 1872 states that the church ' ... was resealed about 1858, and has accommodation for over 40 persons.'⁵⁸ Presuming that this seating arrangement is the same as that shown in English Heritage archive photographs of 1964,⁵⁹ a conservative estimate for Sutterby's capacity with these pew arrangements would be in the region of 46 (allowing for the font, pulpit, stove and coat-rack).

Sutterby is not alone in the surrounding area in remaining as a two cell church. The table in Appendix 15 shows the group of parishes discussed above and gives a summary of their church form and history. Only one other church in this group, at Haugh, survives in anything like its medieval form. Here, the nave is 7.25 x 4.83m giving it an area of c. 35 sq m - even smaller than Sutterby. From the drawings of J C Nattes, we can deduce that three other churches in the group were similar to Sutterby in form and style (Brinkhill, Driby and Dalby) but all were rebuilt in the mid nineteenth century. Copies of Nattes's drawings of Sutterby and of these four churches (Haugh, Brinkhill, Driby and Dalby) are included in Appendix 15. There were probably many other similar churches in the group but the evidence is now lost.

It seems then, that Sutterby may have gone into an economic decline in the later fourteenth century from which it never recovered. The village was never completely depopulated, remaining home to a small group of tenant farmers and their families into the twentieth century but Sutterby had become a sparsely populated hamlet, lacking the critical mass necessary for real village life.

6.4 Church Rebuilt or Repaired c. 1600

It is in this context that the Phase 4 alterations to Sutterby Church are undertaken. The west wall is taken down (or did it fall down?) and was rebuilt 2.1m to the east thus shortening the church. The lowest level of dressed stone from the Phase 3 wall, the chamfered plinth footing, was largely left *in situ* and abandoned, although it is mostly good quality and well dressed stone. It may be that the whole church was rebuilt at this time as it may have deteriorated during the period of depopulation and there was clearly no pressure to increase the space available.

Writing on the fate of Lincolnshire churches, Morris notes '*...fabrics, adjudged too wretched for repair, were pulled down and replaced by smaller buildings ... Elsewhere, late and early post-medieval decay helps to explain the extraordinarily large numbers of minor Georgian churches in Lincolnshire ... in Lindsey ... about forty-five survive from a total that was once larger.*'⁶⁰

That said, it is interesting to speculate that there may have been considerable wealth around Sutterby in the second half of the seventeenth century. Following the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. Mr John Dawson, a resident of Sutterby, had inherited *one messuage, one cottage and forty acres of land, &c. in Sutterby* on the death of his father Charles Dawson in 1640.⁶¹ John Dawson was a staunch Royalist and raised a Troop of Horse under the command of the Marquis of Newcastle. He was captured, imprisoned and fined several times. At the Restoration, Dawson was rewarded for his loyalty with a grant of land in County Tipperary (Ireland) exceeding 2,900 acres, including the castle of Ballinacourty.

Descendants of Dawson (the Massy Dawsons) held land in Sutterby until 1803 when they sold to Charles Burrell Massingberd. Could it be that John Dawson used some of his new-found wealth in the 1660s to repair and remodel Sutterby Church? And was he responsible for commissioning the massive (relative to Sutterby church) Royal Arms of which a fragment still survives over the chancel screen? If there was plenty of money available for the work, it could also explain why the good quality stone of the chamfered plinth was left *in situ* and not recovered for reuse.

A few records survive of the condition of Sutterby church around this time:

Date	Comment	Source
Aug 1602	The church and chancel of these several parishes are well repaired and kept decently.	LRS vol 23, p. 223
1709	The rectory has fallen into ruin. The chancel needs repair.	LRS vol 4, p. 120
6 May 1743	faculty to sell two bells in order to repair the church.	LAO DIOC/FB/1/55

If true, these records suggests that the church was in good condition in 1602. It is possible that the vicissitudes of the Civil War and Commonwealth may have altered that status such that John Dawson might have chosen to fund major repairs and/or remodelling in the 1660s. He would presumably focus his efforts on the nave and not the chancel which was, by now, the responsibility of the Crown. Thus the report of 1709 that the chancel was in need of repair may not reflect the status of the rest of the church.

Following the Phase 4 repair/rebuilding, the subsequent faculty of 1743 which authorises the sale of two bells to fund repair of the church heralds major works but does not seem to alter the dimensions of the church, except for the addition of the porch.⁶² It is thought that the 1743 repair programme largely rebuilt the east and west walls of the nave (and east wall of the chancel), using a thin, hand made brick where necessary. A porch was added, constructed of reused worked stone (including some limestone) with a tumbled brick gable and the south wall was propped with a robust brick buttress.

In the mid-nineteenth century (probably 1858 - see below) the east and west nave gables were rebuilt in machine made brick, and the lead roof (seen in the Nattes 1790 drawing in Appendix 15) was replaced with Welsh slate with an increased pitch achieved by lowering the north and south nave walls. White's Directory for 1882 notes that the church '... was repaired about 1858 and has accommodation for about 40 persons. The roof has recently been repaired and covered with fresh slates'.⁶³

The fate of the village and church of Sutterby seems, then, to rest on the dictates of geography which defined the shape of the medieval estate that evolved into the parish of Sutterby. It was just too small to survive the economic and social misfortunes that were visited upon it and was ultimately destined to shrink to a hamlet and be absorbed by a neighbouring parish. However, unlike most depopulated villages its tiny church survived, battered and patched, into the twentieth century. Whilst now formally redundant, it has received more care and attention in the last thirty years than in the past three centuries and through the care of the Friends of Friendless Churches and the research of the Spirit of Sutterby project, it is slowly giving up its secrets.

7. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Sutterby excavation was made possible by the generosity and co-operation of a wide variety of individuals and organisations.

First and foremost I would like to thank the participants from the Spirit of Sutterby Project: assistant supervisor: Julia Brocklehurst, stone survey and recording assistant: Geoff Wheatley, and the excavators: C Aldington, C Ayers, J Ayers, R Bakewell, P Bankes, B Clare, J Day, P Dixon, A Healey, M Holmes, S Holmes, S Jennings, B King, K Larcombe, J May, K Mitchell, P Mobbs, C Morgan, G Perkins, S Shotton, D Stonehouse, V Stonehouse, M Tagg, D Wheatley, G Wheatley and P Young.

For access and permissions I am grateful to Matthew Saunders at the Friends of Friendless Churches, William Price of Harrington Estates, Canon Peter Coates (our Rural Dean) and the Lincoln Diocesan Advisory Committee.

Our funding came from the Heritage Lottery Fund via the 'Down Your Wold' project which was jointly managed by Heritage Lincolnshire and the Lincolnshire Wolds Countryside Service. Archaeological and surveying equipment was loaned by the archaeology section (APS) of Heritage Lincolnshire and the marquee was on loan from the MG Car Club (Lincolnshire).

The material and finds specialists were Alex Beeby (pottery), Prof David Stocker (worked stone), Ryan Austin (bone) and Drs John Aggett and Andrea James (geological samples). My thanks to them, and also to farm manager Kevin Hyde, for advice and mechanised assistance.

The radiocarbon dating was carried out by the Scottish Universities Environmental Research Centre, Glasgow. The funding for the radiocarbon date was anonymously donated by a small group of members of the Spirit of Sutterby Project group and is greatly appreciated.

Mark Bennet and Prof David Stocker read early drafts of the report and gave invaluable advice and guidance. Many others offered helpful comment both during the excavation and subsequent analysis, including Dr Matthew Godfrey, Dr Beryl Lott and Dr Richard Halsey.

Finally, my thanks to Susan Holmes who exercised her editorial skills on the completed report.

David Start MCIFA FSA
December 2016

Notes:

¹ White, W, 1856, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Lincolnshire*, p.532.

² Cameron, K, 1998, *A Dictionary of Lincolnshire Place-Names*, English Place-Name Society, Nottingham. p. 120.

³ Foster, C W, and Longley, T (eds), 1924, *The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, Lincoln Record Society vol 19, Lincoln, p 74.

⁴ *Ibid* p. 253.

⁵ The size of a carucate varied, but is generally taken at c. 120 acres. A bovate is one eighth of a carucate.

⁶ Liber Feodorum. The Book of Fees, commonly called Testa de Nevill, part II. (A.D.1242-1293) (HMSO, 1921), p.1057.

⁷ Book of Fees Part I (AD 1198-1242) HMSO 1920, pp.164; The Book of Fees, Part II (AD 1242 - 1293), H.M.S.O. 1921, pp.1056, 1057, 1058, 1077, 1085; Feudal Aids 1284-1431, Vol 3 (Kent - Norfolk), H.M.S.O. 1904, pp.143, 156, 231, 234, 259, 284, 294, 346.

⁸ Reports on field-walking surveys in Sutterby are available on the Spirit of Sutterby Website at: [/www.spiritofsutterby.co.uk/#!/village-documents/c1xkc](http://www.spiritofsutterby.co.uk/#!/village-documents/c1xkc)

⁹ Glasscock, R E, 1964, 'The Lay Subsidy of 1334 for Lincolnshire' in *Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports and Papers*. vol.10.2, pp.115-133.

¹⁰ Platts, G. 1985. *Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire*. Hist of Lincs Comm. Lincoln, App.2, p.308.

¹¹ *Feudal Aids 1284-1431*, 1904, Vol 3 (Kent - Norfolk), H.M.S.O. p.320.

¹² Cole, R.E.G., 1913, *Speculum Dioeceseos Lincolniensis sub Episcopis Gul: Wake et Edm: Gibson A.D.1705-1723. Part I Archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow*. Lincoln Record Society Vol 4, p.120.

¹³ e.g. Lincolnshire Archives Office (LAO) 1-MM/4/9/1, map of Sutterby in 1763.

¹⁴ Diocese of Lincoln, Faculty 4035 granted 20 January 2015.

¹⁵ Foster, C W, and Longley, T (eds), 1924, p 74.

¹⁶ Morris, R, 1989, *Churches in the Landscape*, London. p. 165.

17 Parsons, D, 1986, *Sacrarium: ablution drains in early medieval churches* in Butler, L A S and
18 Morris, R K (eds) *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, CBA Research Report No. 60. pp. 105-120
19 Start and Wheatley, 2016, Analysis and Discussion of the West Wall of Sutterby Church,
20 unpublished report, Sutterby Web site: www.spiritofsutterby.co.uk/#!churchdocuments/c224u
21 LAO, Nattes/4/79.
22 Pers. comm. David Stocker December 2016.
23 Jennings, S and Young, J, 1986, 'The Pottery' in Gilmour, B J J and Stocker, D A, *St Mark's*
24 *Church and Cemetery*, The Archaeology of Lincoln, Volume XIII-1, CBA. pp. 38-39.
25 Mann, J E, 1977, Clay Tobacco Pipes from Excavations in Lincoln 1970-74, Lincoln
26 Archaeological Trust Monograph Series Volume XV-1, p.31 No.194
27 Ibid.
28 White, W, 1882, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Lincolnshire*, p.742.
29 Diocese of Lincoln, Faculty 4035 granted 20 January 2015.
30 Brooks, S and Suchey, J M, 1990, Skeletal age determination based on the os pubis: A
31 comparison of the acsádi-nemeskéri and suchey-brooks methods. *Human Evolution*, 5(3)
32 pp.227-238.
33 e.g. see Bryant, G F, 1994, *The Early History of Barton-upon-Humber*. p.116.
34 Morris, R, 1989, p.164.
35 Ibid p.148.
36 Dyer, C and Everson, P, 2012, 'The Development of the Study of Medieval Settlements 1880-
37 2010' in Christie, N and Stamper, P (eds), *Medieval Rural Settlement: Britain and Ireland, AD*
38 *800 - 1600*, Oxford Windgather Press, pp.11-30.
39 Everson, P and Stocker, D, 1999, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, Vol. 5, Lincolnshire*,
40 Oxford British Academy, pp. 76-79.
41 Foster, C W, and Longley, T (eds), 1924, p.74.
42 The Lincolnshire HER Ref No 42034 gives the location and a description of the remains of
43 Dexthorpe DMV. There is a fuller description of Dexthorpe church in the NMR under Monument
44 No. 355612 where it notes a priest was last instituted in 1451 and the church and parsonage
45 still stood in 1577 but all the other buildings of the village had gone.
46 LAO Nattes/2/3.
47 Morris, R, 1989, p.141.
48 Ibid, p. 165.
49 Boddington, A, 1980, 'A Christian Anglo-Saxon Graveyard at Raunds', in P Rahtz, T Dickenson
50 and L Watts (eds) *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries*, BAR 82, 373-8.
51 Morris, 1989, p. 294. Fig. 90 gives a diagrammatic sequence of areal development and use of
52 space in a parish church between c. 1000 and c. 1400.
53 Pers. comm. David Stocker, December 2016.
54 Davis, F N, 1908, The Rolls of Hugh of Welles, Bishop of Lincoln 1209-1235, *The Canterbury*
55 *and York Society*, Vol III. p. 95.
56 Hill, R M T, (Ed), 1948, *The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton 1280-1299*, Vol 1,
57 Lincoln Record Society (Lincoln), Vol 39, p.81 (see also p.226).
58 Bennett, N, (ed), 1999, *The Registers of Bishop Henry Burghersh 1320-1342. Volume I*
59 *Institutions to Benefices in the Archdeaconries of Lincoln, Stow and Leicester*, Lincoln Record
60 Society (Lincoln), Vol.87, no.512, p.65.
61 Foster, C W, (ed), 1912, *Lincoln Episcopal Records in the Time of Thomas Cooper*, Lincoln
62 Record Society (Lincoln), Vol. 2. p.189.
63 Smith, D M, (ed), 2000, *The Acta of Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln 1209-1235*, Lincoln
64 Record Society (Lincoln), Vol 88, no.110. p.52.
65 Liber Feodorum, p.164.
66 Phillimore, W P W, (ed), 1914, *The Rolls of Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln 1209-1235,*
67 *volume 3*, Lincoln Record Society (Lincoln), Vol.9, pp.208, 209, 217; Davis, F N, (ed), 1915,
68 *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste Episcopi Lincolnensis A.D. MCCXXXV-MCCLIII necnon Rotulus*
69 *Henrici de Lexington Episcopi Lincolnensis A.D. MCCLIV-MCCLIX*, Lincoln Record Society
70 (Lincoln), Vol.11, p.77.
71 Pers. comm. Mark Bennet, October 2016.
72 Morris, 1989, p. 294.
73 Oldfield, E, 1829, A Topographical and Historical Account of Wainfleet and the Wapentake of
74 Candleshoe in the County of Lincoln. p. 272.
75 Glasscock, R E, 1964, pp.127-8.
76 White, W, 1856, p.532.
77 Hatcher, J, 1977, Plague, Population and the English Economy, 1398-1530.

53 Reports on the fieldwalking surveys carried out in the fields around Sutterby church can be
54 found on the Sutterby website at: www.spiritofsutterby.co.uk/#!village-documents/c1xkc.
55 *Feudal Aids 1284-1431*, 1904, p.320.
56 Boddington, A, 1987, 'Raunds, Northamptonshire: analysis of a country churchyard', *World
Archaeology*, 18.3, pp. 411-25.
57 This figure is based on an estimation of c. 15 - 20 households in Sutterby, using the population
multiplier of 4.5 to 5 persons per household for medieval England suggested in Darby, H. C.
(1977), *Domesday England*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
58 Ambler, R W, (Ed) 1979, *Lincolnshire Returns of the Census of Religious Worship 1851*,
Lincoln Record Society (Lincoln), vol 72, p. 170.
59 White, W, 1872, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Lincolnshire*, p.288.
60 Photographs taken in 1964: NMR reference Nos. bb64_00085 and bb64_00086.
61 Morris, 1989, p. 334.
62 Oldfield, E, 1829, p.272.
63 LAO DIOC/FB/1 (1713-1995): 55: Sell 2 Bells and repair church 6 May 1743.
White, W, 1882, p.742.