

## Tealby, the Taifali, and the end of Roman Lincolnshire

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The origin of the Lincolnshire place-name Tealby – early forms of which include *Tavelesbi*, *Tauellesbi* and *Teflesbi*<sup>1</sup> – is not a topic that has, thus far, excited very much interest from historians of the late and post-Roman periods in Britain. In some ways this is understandable, given that the second element of Tealby is clearly Old Danish *-bȳ*, ‘farm, village’, which suggests that the name as a whole has its roots in the aftermath of the ninth-century Scandinavian settlements in eastern Britain. However, this impression may well be mistaken. Whilst the second element is easy to explain and relatively late in date, the etymology and origin of the first part of the name is rather more interesting, potentially carrying with it a number of implications for our understanding of the fifth and sixth centuries in this region.

Until relatively recently, the dominant theory as to the origin of the name Tealby (*Tavelesbi*, *Teflesbi*) was that of Eilert Ekwall. He argued that the initial element could be explained as a derivative of Old English *tæfl*/*tefl*, ‘a chess-board, a gaming-board’, compounded with Old Danish *-bȳ*, with the former element being used here in the sense of ‘a plateau’ or ‘a square piece of land’ in a manner that can be paralleled on the Continent.<sup>2</sup> A variant of this theory was subsequently offered by other researchers, whereby the first element would be Old Danish *tafl*, ‘a gaming-board’, instead of Old English *tæfl*/*tefl*, with this purely Scandinavian place-name then being subsequently influenced by the Old English word in order to produce those versions of the name Tealby which began *Te*.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, there are serious issues with such explanations. First, Old English *tæfl* is a feminine noun that has a genitive singular ending in *-e*, which meant that Ekwall had to invent an unrecorded Old English derivative of *tæfl* – *\*tæfli*, *\*tefli* – in order to explain what, on his etymology, would be a genitival *-es* in the early forms of the name Tealby, rather than the expected genitival *-e*. Second, whilst Old Danish *tafl* does seem to appear in Danish place-names with the sense ‘a square piece of land’, none of the resulting place-names are in fact genitival compounds of the sort envisaged as explaining the name Tealby. As John Insley has noted, this is problematical. If Tealby contained Old English *tæfl* used to form a place-name in the same manner as can

be observed on the Continent with Old Danish *tafl*, then we would expect this place-name to be morphologically similar to Danish names of same type (for example, Tavlgærde and Tavlov), and this is even more true if the first element was in fact Old Danish *tafl*.<sup>4</sup> In sum, the recorded early spellings of Tealby such as *Tavelesbi* and *Teflesbi*, with their regular medial *-es-*, are difficult to explain as deriving either from Old English *tæfl* or Old Danish *tafl*, and as a result recent commentators have tended to reject such an origin for the place-name Tealby.<sup>5</sup>

If the place-name *Tavelesbi*/*Teflesbi* cannot be explained in the above manner, how then ought it to be accounted for? At present, the only viable etymology for the name appears to be that advanced by John Insley and Kenneth Cameron. They argue that the early spellings of Tealby suggest that what we actually have here is an Old English tribal or population-group name, the *\*Tāflas*/*\*Tāflas*, this being the Old English form of the well-attested Continental tribal-name *Taifali*. This group-name was then, at some point, utilised as an Old English place-name, with the sense ‘(the settlement of) the *\*Tāflas*/*\*Tāflas*’, in just the same way as the place-name Wales in South Yorkshire derives from the Old English group-name *Walas* being used as a settlement-name. Finally, the Old Danish for village (*-bȳ*) was added to the resultant place-name at some point after the Scandinavian settlements in the ninth century, again in a manner that can be paralleled in other English place-names, thus producing the recorded early forms of the name Tealby.<sup>6</sup> Needless to say, this interpretation of the place-name Tealby not only satisfactorily explains the various early spellings we have of this name, but it is also of potential interest to historians concerned with this part of Britain and the people who lived within it.

At the most basic level, it needs to be emphasised that Tealby lies well within the likely bounds of the pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon kingdom of *Lindissi* (Lindsey), which was inhabited by a people known as the *Lindisfaran*.<sup>7</sup> As such, the above etymology offers evidence for a previously unsuspected sub-group existing within this larger population-group. The Wolds-based *\*Tāflas*/*\*Tāflas* therefore help to further elucidate the nature and structure of this Anglo-Saxon kingdom and people, and can be placed alongside other potential sub-groups within the *Lindisfaran*, such as the *Wintringas* (based on the south bank of the Humber) and the *Billingas* of the Sleaford region (assuming that the kingdom of *Lindissi* did indeed encompass this part of southern Lincolnshire).<sup>8</sup> Even more interesting, however, is the fact that *\*Tāflas*/*\*Tāflas* represents the Old English form of the Continental tribal-name *Taifali*. The *Taifali* are first mentioned in the third century AD, when they appear in the Carpathian region and are associated with the Goths there, though whether they were actually a Germanic group themselves or instead Asiatic nomads is disputed. From the fourth century onwards they are found within

the Roman Empire, with groups of *Taifali* being settled in northern Italy, Aquitaine and Poitou, where they were still recognizable as a distinct group in the mid-sixth century. According to the *Notitia Dignitatum*, some of these *Taifali* were subsequently used by the Romans as cavalry troops.<sup>9</sup> The question thus has to be asked, how did a group of *Taifali* come to be present within the post-Roman kingdom of the *Lindisfaran*?

With regard to this, it is certainly not impossible that the *Taifali*/\**Tāflas* had simply arrived in this region during the fifth and sixth century ‘migration period’, alongside the other immigrant groups who made up the *Lindisfaran* (literally ‘the people who migrated, *faran*, to the territory of \**Lindēs*’, that is the Lincoln region – see further below).<sup>10</sup> Whilst the immigrants to eastern and southern Britain in this era are usually termed ‘Anglo-Saxons’, and are described by Bede (in his eighth-century *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I.15) as coming ‘from three very powerful Germanic tribes, the Saxons, Angles and Jutes’,<sup>11</sup> it seems clear that other groups were involved too. Not only has a good archaeological case been offered for a significant

yet unrecorded influx of migrants from Scandinavia to eastern Britain in this period, and for smaller contingents of Franks and Thuringians in southern Britain, but Bede himself also later offers a revision of his earlier account when he appears to state that the Angles and Saxons in Britain derived their origin from the Frisians, the *Rugini* (the *Rugi* of southern Denmark), the Danes, the Huns, the Old Saxons, and the *Boructuarii* (the *Bricteri*, a Frankish or Saxon group).<sup>12</sup> Similarly, there are a number of place-names besides Tealby that appear to offer good evidence for yet other tribal groups having migrated to Britain from the Continent around this time – for example, the Norfolk and Cambridgeshire place-name Swaffham contains the group-name *Swāēfas*, which derives from the Continental tribal-name *Suebi*/*Suevi*.<sup>13</sup>

There would therefore seem to be a reasonable context for the *Taifali*/\**Tāflas* of Tealby having arrived during the post-Roman ‘migration period’. Moreover, if they were indeed Asiatic nomads then it is possible that they could constitute some of the ‘Huns’ mentioned by Bede, given that it has been suggested that Bede was here using the

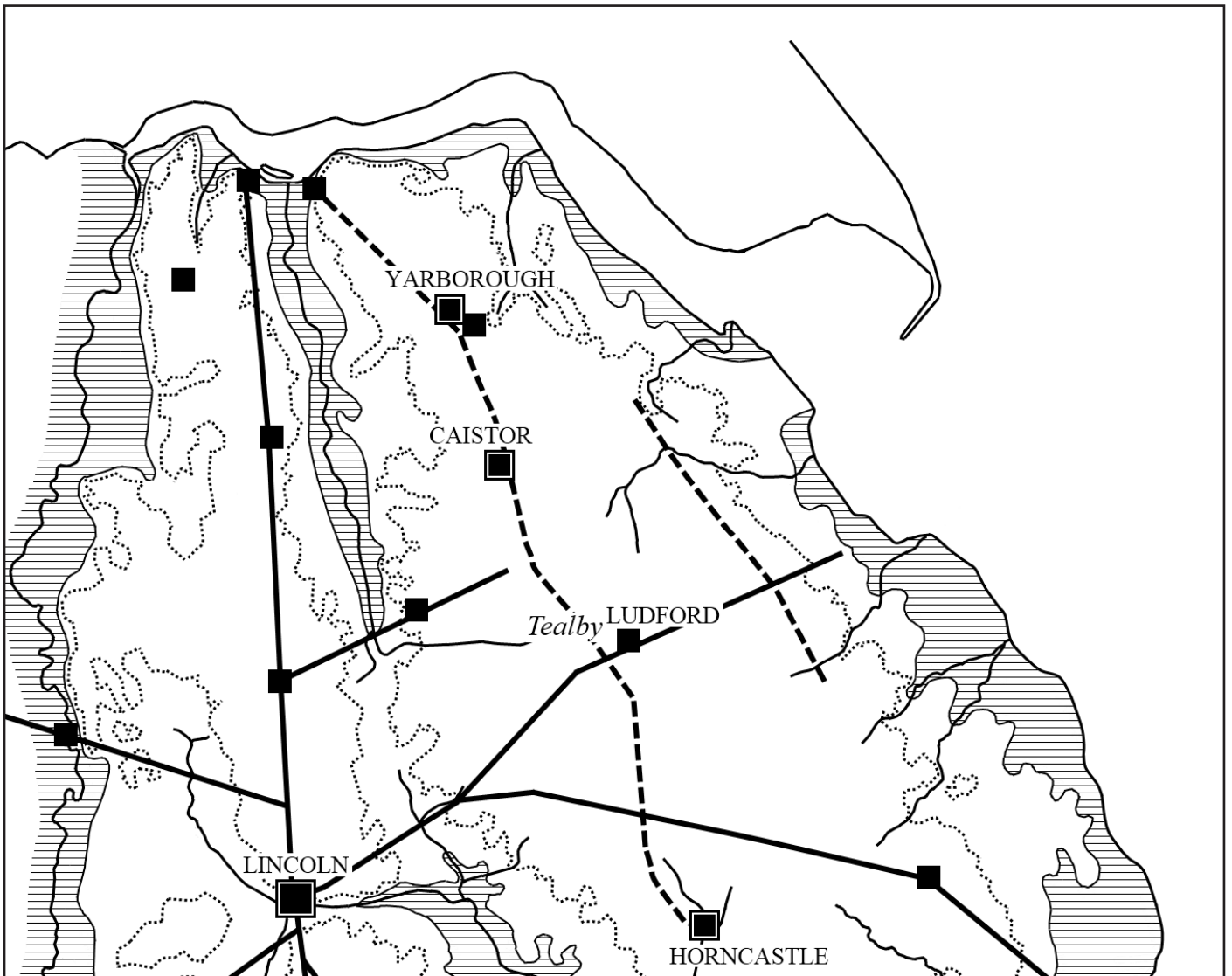


Fig.1. Northern Lincolnshire in the late Roman period (Tom Green).

tribal-name ‘Huns’ to refer generally to groups ultimately of Asiatic origin that he believed the Anglo-Saxons to be partly derived from.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, it is worth remembering that the *Taifali* in the ‘migration period’ appear to have been otherwise largely confined to those parts of Italy and Gaul – Poitou being the most northerly – where they had been earlier settled by the Romans and where the Visigoths were active.<sup>15</sup> As such, it might be wondered whether they were really that likely to have been involved in the fifth- to sixth-century ‘barbarian’ migrations to eastern Britain, which seem in the main to have involved groups who were based in north-western Europe and who lived beyond the boundaries of the Roman Empire. Furthermore, there may be a simpler and perhaps more satisfactory solution to the apparent presence of *Taifali* in post-Roman Lincolnshire, other than having an offshoot of this tribe travelling far to the north of their homelands in Gaul and Italy and somehow becoming involved in the ‘Anglo-Saxon’ settlement of Lincolnshire.

The key source for this alternative explanation of the *Taifali*/\**Tāflas* of Tealby is the late Roman *Notitia Dignitatum*, the western half of which was probably first compiled after 399 and then periodically updated until about 425.<sup>16</sup> This document specifies that a cavalry unit named the *Equites Taifali* was under the command of the *Comes Britanniarum* (‘Count of the Britains’) in the very late fourth to early fifth centuries.<sup>17</sup> This unit was part of the late Roman mobile field army in Britain, which was normally billeted in civilian towns rather than assigned to specific military forts, and is thought to have been established between 395 and 398 from the *Taifali* of northern Italy and Gaul.<sup>18</sup> Needless to say, this is of considerable interest in the present circumstances, constituting as it does solid evidence for the presence of *Taifali* in Britain. So, could the post-Roman *Taifali*/\**Tāflas* of Lincolnshire have been the descendants of members (or former members) of the early fifth-century *Equites Taifali* who remained in Britain into the mid fifth century and beyond, rather than returning to the Continent in the early fifth century as the vast majority of Roman troops in Britain are usually assumed to have done?<sup>19</sup>

Some potential support for such a scenario can be had from recent research into late Roman Lincolnshire. In particular, Adam Daubney has argued that finds of fourth-century gold coins in Lincolnshire are indicative of the final phase of official Roman military activity in this region. The distribution of these coins appears to imply that this final phase was mainly focussed on creating a defensive ‘ring’ around the fourth-century provincial capital and episcopal see of Lincoln (which remained relatively prosperous into the very late fourth century), with troops being stationed not in the walled forts of the region, but instead at rural strategic sites close to major routeways leading towards Lincoln and at sites close to

the coastline.<sup>20</sup> In this context, it is interesting to note that the neighbouring parish to Tealby – Ludford – has not only reportedly seen a find of one of these apparently diagnostic, later fourth-century gold coins, but it is also the site of a Romano-British ‘small town’ and lies on Margary 272, a Roman road which ran from the east coast to Lincoln. Similarly, the prehistoric and Roman High Street (Margary 270), which linked the two walled forts of Caistor and Horncastle, runs along the boundary between Tealby and Ludford parishes before crossing Margary 272 just to the south-west of modern Ludford.<sup>21</sup> There would, therefore, seem to be a plausible local and strategic context for an element of the late Roman mobile field army, such as the *Equites Taifali*, having been stationed in the area around Tealby, as part of a scheme for the defence of the provincial capital at Lincoln (as was noted above, late Roman field armies were usually billeted in civilian areas rather than assigned to forts). Indeed, it is worth observing here that the Ludford Romano-British ‘small town’ has actually seen three finds of late Roman spurs, items which have often been viewed as indicative of the presence of a cavalry unit when found elsewhere in Britain.<sup>22</sup>

The overall post-Roman context of this region is also of potential significance. There is now a reasonably substantial body of evidence to suggest that the former Roman provincial capital at Lincoln retained its centrality into the post-Roman period, becoming the focus of a British polity known as \**Lindēs*. This polity was eventually taken over by the Anglo-Saxon immigrants to this region (the *Lindisfaran* – ‘the people who migrated, *faran*, to the territory of \**Lindēs*’) to become the seventh-century kingdom of *Lindissi* (a name which derives from late British \**Lindēs* plus an uncertain Old English suffix), but as a British political territory it is likely to have survived right through the fifth century and at least some way into the sixth.<sup>23</sup> So, for example, not only is there a remarkable quantity of British high-status metalwork of the fifth and sixth centuries now known from Lincolnshire, especially given the general archaeological ‘invisibility’ of the Britons of the post-Roman period, but the old Roman *forum* at Lincoln also seems to have been used as the site for a British Christian church until at least the sixth century.<sup>24</sup> Most importantly, this fifth- to sixth-century British polity appears to have been able to control the Anglo-Saxon immigrants who arrived in its territory. Whereas Roman towns elsewhere in eastern and northern Britain, such as Leicester, York and Caistor-by-Norwich, often have Anglo-Saxon cremation cemeteries – and hence, by implication, significant immigrant communities – located very close-by them, this is not the case here. All of the major early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemeteries in Lincolnshire are sited at least twenty-five kilometres away from Lincoln, to both the north and the south. This apparent control only really begins to break down at some point after

the early sixth century, when Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries start to encroach upon Lincoln, although these are on a far smaller scale than the cremation cemeteries – ten or so burials at most, compared with thousands in some of the cremation cemeteries – and there is little to no archaeological evidence for Anglo-Saxon activity in Lincoln itself before the seventh century.<sup>25</sup>

The above picture of a late Roman provincial capital able to defend and maintain a significant territory all around it into the sixth century, controlling the Anglo-Saxon immigrants to the region for several generations, would seem to offer further support to the theory that the post-Roman *Taifali*/*\*Tāflas* of Tealby were descended from members of the late Roman *Equites Taifali*. On the one hand, it suggests an explanation for why members, or former members, of the *Equites Taifali* might have stayed in this region rather than returning to the Continent, via the clear need (apparently successfully met) of those in charge of the provincial capital at Lincoln to employ defenders for their territory as official Roman military activities in Britain drew to a close.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, the continued presence of former soldiers from the Roman mobile field army – the highest grade Roman troops – within the British territory of *\*Lindēs* might help to explain why the Britons here were so much more successful at resisting the immigrants and controlling them during the fifth century than many other Britons in eastern Britain seem to have been.

This, then, would appear to be the most credible explanation of the place-name Tealby (*Tavesbi*, *Teflesbi*) currently available to us: first, that it derives ultimately from the group-name *\*Tāflas*/*\*Tæflas*, the Old English form of the Continental tribal-name *Taifali*; and, second, that these Lincolnshire *Taifali*/*\*Tāflas* were the descendents of people who were once members of the late Roman *Equites Taifali* and who had played a role in the defence of the provincial capital of Lincoln, both at the end of the Roman period and during the post-Roman era. Although other etymologies for the place-name Tealby have been offered, a derivation from Old English *\*Tāflas*/*\*Tæflas* seems, at present, to be the only viable explanation of the early forms that this name takes. Similarly, whilst it is conceivable that the *Taifali*/*\*Tāflas* of Tealby arrived in Britain as part of the post-Roman ‘Anglo-Saxon’ migrations to this region, this explanation appears somewhat implausible and even unnecessary in light of the general character of post-Roman immigration to eastern Britain and its known participants; the documentary evidence for *Taifali* being present in early fifth-century Britain as part of the late Roman mobile field army; and the historical and archaeological context of both the Lincoln region and the area around Tealby in the later fourth to mid sixth centuries. Of course, it has to be admitted that there is no absolute proof of the above scenario; nonetheless, the context seems sound, and such a situation as outlined above fully explains the evidence that we have.

## Notes

1. K. Cameron, *The Place-Names of Lincolnshire, Part Three: The Wapentake of Walshcroft* (Nottingham, 1992), pp.131-32. I would like to gratefully acknowledge the encouragement and comments provided by Adam Daubney and Rob Collins; all errors and interpretations do, of course, remain my own.
2. E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, fourth edition (Oxford, 1960), p.462.
3. G. Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the East Midlands* (Copenhagen, 1978), p.74; A. D. Mills, *A Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1991), p.322.
4. John Insley, quoted in Cameron, *Place-Names of Lincolnshire III*, pp.134-35; see also V. Watts, *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Cambridge, 2004), p.602.
5. The following recent works either explicitly reject or ignore the suggestion of a derivation of Tealby from *tæfl/taft*: K. Cameron, *Dictionary of Lincolnshire Place-Names* (Nottingham, 1998), p.123; A. D. Mills, *A Dictionary of British Place-Names* (Oxford, 2003), p.453; Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p.602.
6. Insley, quoted in Cameron, *Place-Names of Lincolnshire III*, pp.135-36, and Cameron, *Dictionary of Lincolnshire Place-Names*, p.123; see also Mills, *Dictionary of British Place-Names*, p.453, and Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p.602. With regard to the addition of Old Danish *b̄y* to a pre-existing Old English place-name, compare, for example, Wyfordby (*Wivordebie*, *Wyvordeby*) in Leicestershire, which appears to be an Old English place-name – *Wigford* – to which Old Danish *b̄y* has been subsequently added; see, for example, Ekwall, *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p.540. Another interesting Leicestershire name is Beckingthorpe (*Beclingthorp*, first recorded 1272-1307), which could have its origins in an Old English *\*Beccelingas* – cf. Beckling (*Becclinga*, *Beclinges*), ‘(the settlement of) the *\*Beccelingas*’, in Suffolk – to which Old Danish *thorp* has been added: see B. Cox, *The Place-Names of Leicestershire, Part Two: Framland Hundred* (Nottingham, 1998), p.22.
7. On the kingdom of *Lindissi*, see S. Foot, ‘The Kingdom of Lindsey’, in *Pre-Viking Lindsey* edited by A. Vince (Lincoln, 1993), pp.128-40; P. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1998), pp.44-52; K. Leahy, *The Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Lindsey* (Stroud, 2007); and T. Green, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons: Lincolnshire AD 400-650* (Lincoln, 2012). On the pre-Viking group-name of the inhabitants of *Lindissi* being *Lindisfaran*, see further T. Green, ‘The British kingdom of Lindsey’, *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 56 (2008), pp.1-43, at 3-4 and fn.15, and especially Green, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons*, chapter six, *pace* R. Coates and A. Breeze, *Celtic Voices, English Places* (Stamford, 2000), pp.243-46.
8. For the *Wintringas* and *Billingas* sub-groups, see Cameron, *Dictionary of Lincolnshire Place-Names*, pp.14, 65-66, 141, and Green, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons*, chapters three and five. The case for the kingdom of *Lindissi* including a large proportion of southern Lincolnshire has been made in S. Bassett, ‘Lincoln and the Anglo-Saxon see of Lindsey’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 18 (1989), pp.1-31, at 2-3, and B. Yorke, ‘Lindsey: the lost kingdom found?’ in *Pre-Viking Lindsey* edited by A. Vince (Lincoln, 1993), pp.141-50, at pp.142-43 and 147-48; it is discussed in detail in Green, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons*, chapter four.
9. On the *Taifali* and the Goths, see particularly H. Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (Berkeley, 1988), and also P. Heather, *The Goths* (Oxford, 1996). On the *Taifali* of Poitou, see for example B. S. Bachrach, *Merovingian Military Organization, 481-751* (Minneapolis, 1972), esp. pp.12-13; Wolfram, *History of the Goths*, p.238; W. Goffart, *Rome’s Fall and After* (1989), p.287; and G. Halsall, *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West, 450-900* (2003), p.44. Peter Heather considers the *Taifali* to be ‘probably Germanic’ (*The Goths*, p.43), but others emphasise that

- there is no proof of this and point instead to their close links to the Sarmatians – see, for example, J. Otto Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns* (Berkeley, 1973), p.26, and Andreas Schwarcz, ‘Cult and religion among the Tervingi and the Visigoths and their conversion to Christianity’ in *The Visigoths from the Migration Period to the Seventh Century* edited by P. Heath (Woodbridge, 1999), p.125. Edward James refers to them as ‘the Asiatic Taifals’ and ‘Asiatic nomads’ in his ‘Merovingian cemetery studies and some implications for Anglo-Saxon England’ in *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries 1979* edited by P. Rahtz, T. Dickinson and L. Watts (Oxford, 1980), pp.35-55, at p.46, and his *The Origins of France, from Clovis to the Capetians 500-1000* (1982), p.15.
10. See further on this T. Charles-Edwards and P. Wormald, ‘Addenda’ in J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People: A Historical Commentary* (Oxford, 1988), pp.207-43 at pp.234-35; Green, ‘British kingdom of Lindsey’, pp.3-4; and Green, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons*, especially chapters two and six. Attempts to deny that there was a significant migration to eastern Britain are unconvincing – see, for example, C. Scull, ‘Approaches to the material culture and social dynamics of the migration period in eastern England’ in *Europe Between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* edited by J. Bintliff and H. Hamerow (Oxford, 1995), pp.71-83.
  11. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I.15: *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People* edited by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynor (Oxford, 1969), p.50.
  12. For the role played by immigrants from Scandinavia, see J. Hines, *The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England in the Pre-Viking Period* (Oxford, 1984). Bede’s second statement on the origins of the Anglo-Saxons is in *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V.9: *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History*, edited by Colgrave and Mynor p.476. I. Wood, ‘Before and after the migration to Britain’ in *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century* edited by J. Hines (Woodbridge, 1997), pp.41-64, has a good short discussion of both the various groups who appear to have migrated to Britain and Bede’s second passage. On the latter, see also J. Campbell, ‘The lost centuries: 400-600’ in *The Anglo-Saxons* edited by J. Campbell (1982), pp.20-44, at p.31, and J. Campbell, *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (1986), pp.123-24.
  13. Ekwall, *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p.455.
  14. Wood, ‘Before and after the migration to Britain’, p.41.
  15. Halsall, *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West*, p.44, suggests that the *Taifali* of Poitou – seemingly the most northerly contingent of this tribe within Gaul – arrived there with the Visigoths in the early fifth century. However, it seems more likely that they were actually settled there by the Romans, as Halsall himself has recently noted: Goffart, *Rome’s Fall and After* (1989), p.287; B. S. Bachrach, ‘Merovingian mercenaries and paid soldiers in imperial perspective’ in *Mercenaries and Paid Men: The Mercenary Identity in the Middle Ages* edited by J. France (Leiden, 2008), pp.167-92, at p.191; G. Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568* (Cambridge, 2007), p.229. Wolfram, *History of the Goths*, pp.92, 123-24, notes that members of the *Taifali* were settled in northern Italy and Aquitaine in the late fourth century.
  16. J. C. Mann, ‘The Notitia Dignitatum – dating and survival’, *Britannia*, 22 (1991), pp.215-19, esp. pp.217-19.
  17. The field-army under the command of the *Comes Britanniarum* was probably brought in sometime around 395 or 401: P. Southern, ‘The army in late Roman Britain’ in *A Companion to Roman Britain* edited by M. Todd (Oxford, 2004), pp.393-408, at pp.394, 405; Mann, ‘Notitia Dignitatum’, p.217 and fn.45; R. White, *Britannia Prima: Britain’s Last Roman Province* (Stroud, 2007), p.56. For the *Notitia Dignitatum*, see *Notitia Dignitatum* edited by O. Seeck (Frankfurt, 1962), Occ. VII 205.
  18. See Wolfram, *The Goths*, p.478, on the origins of the *Equites Taifali*. On the billeting of the mobile field army in towns, see, for example, Southern, ‘The army in late Roman Britain’, p.405; S. Esmonde-Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain* (London, 1989), p.54.
  19. The idea that the *Taifali*/\**Tāflas* of Tealby had their origins in the late Roman *Equites Taifali* was first proposed, though not discussed in any detail, by John Insley (in Cameron, *Place-Names of Lincolnshire III*, pp.135-36). It has subsequently been supported, without further elaboration, by other philologists: Cameron, *Dictionary of Lincolnshire Place-Names*, p.123; Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p.602.
  20. A. Daubney, ‘The use of gold in late Iron Age and Roman Lincolnshire’ in *Rumours of Roman Finds: Recent Work on Roman Lincolnshire* edited by S. Malone and M. Williams (Heckington, 2010), pp.64-74, esp. p.71; A. Daubney, ‘The use of precious metals in late Roman Lincolnshire’ (unpublished lecture, *The End of Roman Lincolnshire* conference, Lincoln, 20 March 2010), and personal communication. On the fortunes of late Roman Lincoln, see, for example, K. Dobney *et al.*, *Of Butchers and Breeds: Report on vertebrate remains from various sites in the City of Lincoln* (Lincoln, 1996), pp.2-4, 57-61, and K. Dobney *et al.*, ‘Down, but not out: biological evidence for complex economic organization in Lincoln in the late 4th century’, *Antiquity*, 72 (1998), pp.417-24. Good general discussions of very late Roman Lincoln include M. J. Jones, ‘The Colonia era: archaeological account’ in *The City by the Pool: Assessing the Archaeology of the City of Lincoln* edited by D. Stocker (Oxford, 2003), pp.56-138, esp. fig.7.69b and pp.130-34, and M. J. Jones, *Roman Lincoln: Conquest, Colony and Capital* (Stroud, 2002), pp.124-26; there is also a short discussion in Green, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons*, chapter one.
  21. Ludford ‘small town’ is Lincolnshire Historic Environment Record no.40610. My thanks are due to Adam Daubney for information on the recent coin find; see I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, third edition (1973), for the roads.
  22. Adam Daubney, personal communication; the Ludford spurs are PAS NLM5354 and NLM5355, and one recorded by Kevin Leahy in ‘Three Roman rivet spurs from Lincolnshire’, *Antiquaries Journal*, 76 (1996), pp.237-40 and Fig.1. Daubney observes that these and other late Roman spurs from Lincolnshire appear to have a similar distribution to the late Roman gold coins from this region. On their implications, see, for example, B. C. Burnham and J. Wachter, *The Small Towns of Roman Britain* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1990), pp.36, 115.
  23. See further Green, ‘British kingdom of Lindsey’, particularly pp.2-6, and Green, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons*. Richard Coates has suggested that the entire kingdom-name *Lindissi* is British in origin, not just the first element: R. Coates, ‘Reflections on some major Lincolnshire place-names. Part one: Algarkirk to Melton Ross’, *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, 40 (2008), pp.35-95, at pp.80-82. However, the traditional model as outlined in, for example, M. Gelling, ‘The name Lindsey’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 18 (1989), pp.31-32, seems more satisfactory; see Green, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons*, chapter two and fn.13.
  24. Green, ‘British kingdom of Lindsey’, pp.18-30, and Green, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons*, chapter two, offers a detailed discussion of both the recent metalwork finds and the evidence from the *forum*. See also M. J. Jones, ‘St Paul in the Bail, Lincoln: Britain in Europe?’ in *Churches Built in Ancient Times: Recent Studies in Early Christian Archaeology* edited by K. Painter (1994), pp.325-47; Jones, ‘Colonia era’, pp.127-29, 137; Jones, *Roman Lincoln*, pp.127-29; and Leahy, *Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Lindsey*, pp.83-84, 106.
  25. K. Leahy, ‘The Anglo-Saxon settlement of Lindsey’ in *Pre-Viking Lindsey* edited by A. Vince (Lincoln, 1993), pp.29-44, at pp.36-37; Leahy, *Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Lindsey*, p.50; Green, ‘British kingdom of Lindsey’, pp.18-30; Green, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons*, chapter two.
  26. See further Green, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons*, fig.21 and chapter three, and B. Yorke, ‘Anglo-Saxon *gentes* and *regna*’ in *Regna and Gentes: The Relationship Between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World* edited by H-W. Goetz *et al.* (Leiden, 2003), pp.381-

408, at pp.397-99, for the suggestion that Lincoln may have actually retained some degree of control over its entire province at least part of the way through the fifth century. It is noteworthy in this context that the presumed provincial governor's villa at Greetwell appears to have been maintained to a high standard and occupied right up until the end of the coin sequence in the early fifth century: Jones, 'Colonia era', pp.97-98, 130, 136; Jones, *Roman Lincoln*, pp.124, 127.