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***Hafdic*: a Lindsey name and its implications**

A. E. B. Owen (pp. 45–56)

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ABBREVIATIONS OF COUNTIES AND EPNS COUNTY SURVEYS

Co	Cornwall
Ha	Hampshire
He	Herefordshire
K	Kent
La	Lancashire
Nb	Northumberland
Sf	Suffolk
So	Somerset
Wt	Isle of Wight
CPNE	<i>Cornish Place-Name Elements.</i>
EPNE	<i>English Place-Name Elements, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN BdHu	<i>The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire.</i>
PN Brk	<i>The Place-Names of Berkshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN Bu	<i>The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire.</i>
PN Ca	<i>The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely.</i>
PN Ch	<i>The Place-Names of Cheshire, Parts 1–5.</i>
PN Cu	<i>The Place-Names of Cumberland, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN D	<i>The Place-Names of Devon, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN Db	<i>The Place-Names of Derbyshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN Do	<i>The Place-Names of Dorset, Parts 1–4.</i>
PN Du	<i>The Place-Names of County Durham, Part 1.</i>
PN Ess	<i>The Place-Names of Essex.</i>
PN ERY	<i>The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York.</i>
PN Gl	<i>The Place-Names of Gloucestershire, Parts 1–4.</i>
PN Hrt	<i>The Place-Names of Hertfordshire.</i>
PN Le	<i>The Place-Names of Leicestershire, Parts 1–7.</i>
PN Li	<i>The Place-Names of Lincolnshire, Parts 1–7.</i>
PN Mx	<i>The Place-Names of Middlesex (apart from the City of London).</i>
PN Nf	<i>The Place-Names of Norfolk, Parts 1–3.</i>
PN Nt	<i>The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire.</i>
PN NRY	<i>The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire.</i>
PN Nth	<i>The Place-Names of Northamptonshire.</i>
PN O	<i>The Place-Names of Oxfordshire, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN R	<i>The Place-Names of Rutland.</i>
PN Sa	<i>The Place-Names of Shropshire, Parts 1–9.</i>
PN Sr	<i>The Place-Names of Surrey.</i>
PN St	<i>The Place-Names of Staffordshire, Part 1.</i>
PN Sx	<i>The Place-Names of Sussex, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN W	<i>The Place-Names of Wiltshire.</i>
PN Wa	<i>The Place-Names of Warwickshire.</i>
PN We	<i>The Place-Names of Westmorland, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN Wo	<i>The Place-Names of Worcestershire.</i>
PN WRY	<i>The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Parts 1–8.</i>

HAFDIC: A LINDSEY NAME AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

The present article¹ has its origins in a study, begun more than twenty years ago, of changes in the Lindsey coastline since the early Middle Ages.² When I first embarked on that subject, I had found enough in printed sources to suggest that erosion on this coast in recent centuries had been more considerable than was generally realized, and was comparable in extent with the erosion of the Holderness coast.³ Subsequently, I have been exploring documentary sources to obtain the detailed evidence of date, place and extent both of erosion and accretion, which I needed to fill in my original outline. In Lindsey the banks erected as sea defences compare with the cliffs of Holderness as physical evidence for the position of the coastline at different periods. Because such banks have always been expensive to build and maintain, and are in effect public works, they stand a good chance of being well documented, though it is not always easy to relate existing banks to past work of which there is a documentary record: architectural historians have difficulties of the same sort. The dates when existing banks were constructed are often hard to determine. As against this, many former banks have been overrun by the sea and their position in relation to the present coastline can only be conjectured. Nevertheless, if the links can be established—if banks mentioned in documents can be identified on the ground, and those now existing can be dated from documents or by other means—much can be done to plot the former shape of the coast.

¹ I am particularly grateful to Professor Kenneth Cameron, who at a crucial stage in my enquiry assisted me over the meaning of *hafdic* (for his endorsement of my theory, see an account of the Society's work published in *The Times*, 8 April 1973), and later supplied additional examples of the term; to my wife, who has given me not only constant encouragement but much practical help, including some of the most important examples of *hafdic*; to the Earl of Scarborough for permission to consult his family papers; and to Mr J. McN. Dodgson for advice on the presentation of this article. The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes: *Alvingham* Alvingham Cartulary (Bodl. Laud MS 642); *Ancaster* Earl of Ancaster's MSS in the Lincolnshire Archives Office; DC *Documents illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw* ed. F. M. Stenton, British Academy, London, 1920; LAASR *Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports and Papers*; LH *Lincolnshire Historian*; LRS Lincoln Record Society; *Lumley* Lumley MSS belonging to the Earl of Scarborough at Sandbeck Park, Yorkshire; RA *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln* ed. C. W. Foster and K. Major, 10 vols., LRS 1931-73.

² A. E. B. Owen, 'Coastal Erosion in East Lincolnshire', LH i no. 9, 1952, pp. 330-41.

³ T. Sheppard, *The Lost Towns of the Yorkshire Coast*, London, 1912.

The geologist H. H. Swinnerton postulated the existence of an offshore barrier of shoals which had protected the Lincolnshire coast during and after the Roman occupation, but which was progressively eroded; it was assumed to have disappeared by the time when severe marine floods are first recorded in the Middle Ages.⁴ The first mention of such floods in Lindsey is in the mid-thirteenth century.⁵ When I first wrote on the subject of erosion it seemed natural to assume that the earliest sea banks were a direct response to these floods, for at that time I knew of no reference to the building of such banks in Lindsey earlier than 1272.⁶ But as I explored further it became clear that some banks at least were older, though only a few could be documented much before the middle of the century. Early references to defensive banks occur in English under the name of 'sea dike' at Marshchapel TF360988 (*le sedik* m13 *v. sǣ, dīc*),⁷ Somercotes TF423958 (*sedik* m13)⁸ and Skidbrooke TF440932 (*sedic* c. 1180–1200)⁹; in Latin, usually as *fossatum maris*, at Grainthorpe TF387966 (c. 1260),¹⁰ Skidbrooke (m13),¹¹ Anderby TF523754, Mumby TF515745 and Hogsthorpe TF534723 (c. 1200, 1257–63),¹² Skegness TF558639 (m13),¹³ Wainfleet TF497586 (1234)¹⁴ and Friskney TF461554 (112–e13).¹⁵ The work of collecting these references also brought to light early evidence of natural sand dunes at several places on this coast, and these, too, probably afforded some protection against the sea. They are variously recorded as dunes (*v. dūn*), sand-

⁴ H. H. Swinnerton, 'The Physical History of East Lincolnshire', *Trans. Lincs. Naturalists Union* ix, 1936, pp. 91–100. See also J. A. Steers, *The Coastline of England and Wales*, 2nd edn., Cambridge, 1964, chs. X, XXVI.

⁵ *Chronicon Abbatie de Parco Lude* ed. E. Venables, Horncastle, 1891. In 1253: a very great flood (*diluvium maximum*) in the parts of Holland, Lindsey and Holderness which came up as far as Alvingham; in 1287: the church of Mablethorpe St Peter was torn to pieces by the waves of the sea (*dirupta fluctibus maris*).

⁶ *Final Concords of the County of Lincoln* vol. ii, ed. C. W. Foster, LRS vol. 17, 1920, p. 272. The belief that any existing sea banks are Roman is now generally discredited: cf. A. E. B. Owen, 'The "Roman" Bank', *Lincolnshire Poacher* i no. 3, 1953, pp. 25–7.

⁷ D. M. Williamson [now Owen], 'Notes on the Medieval Manors of Fulstow', LAASR n.s. iv pt. 1, 1951, p. 38.

⁸ *Alvingham* f. 55. This charter relates to an area on the borders of Somercotes and Conisholme; the bank was possibly in Conisholme rather than Somercotes.

⁹ RA v, p. 173. Numerous e-m13 references to the bank in either English or Latin occur in Skidbrooke charters in RA and *Ancaster*. Cf. note 11.

¹⁰ *Alvingham* f. 108v.

¹¹ See note 9. In some m13 *Ancaster* charters (2 Anc 1/7/20, 23, 26) the forms *fossatum marinum* or *fossa marina* appear instead of the usual *fossatum maris*.

¹² B. M. Cotton Tib. C ix (Waltham Cartulary) f. 116; *Final Concords* ii, ed. Foster, pp. 140–1; B. M. Cotton Faust. B i (Barlings Cartulary) ff. 39v–40.

¹³ B. M. Add. MS 46701 (Stixwold Cartulary) f. 47.

¹⁴ D. M. Stenton, *English Justice between the Norman Conquest and the Great Charter*, London, 1965, pp. 134–5.

¹⁵ B. M. Add. MS 32101 (Pedwardine Cartulary) f. 58.

hills or 'meles' (v. **melr**) at Somercotes (*meeles* c. 1195),¹⁶ Skidbrooke (*meles* c. 1190-1200, *dunes* c. 1220-30),¹⁷ Theddlethorpe TF476888 (*sandhilles*, *dunis* c. 1200),¹⁸ Hogsthorpe (*les dunes* before 1232),¹⁹ Ingoldmells TF559688 (*in Guldelsmere* DB, second el. **melr**);²⁰ and at Skegness the hamlet of Westmells is first recorded in 112.²¹

In the Holland division of Lincolnshire H. E. Hallam found references to sea banks, specifically so named (*sedic* or *fossatum maris*), during the second half of the twelfth century—in Skirbeck wapentake not earlier than 1158, in Kirton and Elloe wapentakes not earlier than c. 1180. He believed that all three wapentakes were already protected by sea banks at the Norman Conquest, and this seems inherently probable.²² In Lindsey the evidence from direct references to sea banks seemed to me too fragmentary, and for the most part not early enough, for any similar conclusions to be drawn. On the other hand, it was necessary to account for the existence of a number of Domesday vills between the Humber and the Wash, since permanent settlement along a flat open coast could hardly be envisaged without some form of protection against the sea. The references to sand dunes suggested that conditions in the early Middle Ages might have resembled those in the province of Holland in the Netherlands, with villages sited on or in the lee of a chain of dunes occasionally broken by level stretches which needed the protection of banks.²³ However, the sum of early references to banks and dunes was not enough to support any complete or convincing reconstruction of the physical state of the Lindsey coast before about 1200.

A discovery made during research on the Skegness area has thrown new light on the matter. The present-day coastline in Skegness and the neighbouring Croft TF508618 runs almost due north and south, changing direction to the south-west at Gibraltar Point TF554576. But the old sea bank which now

¹⁶ RA v, p. 157.

¹⁷ RA v, pp. 141, 185.

¹⁸ RA vi, pp. 7, 10-11.

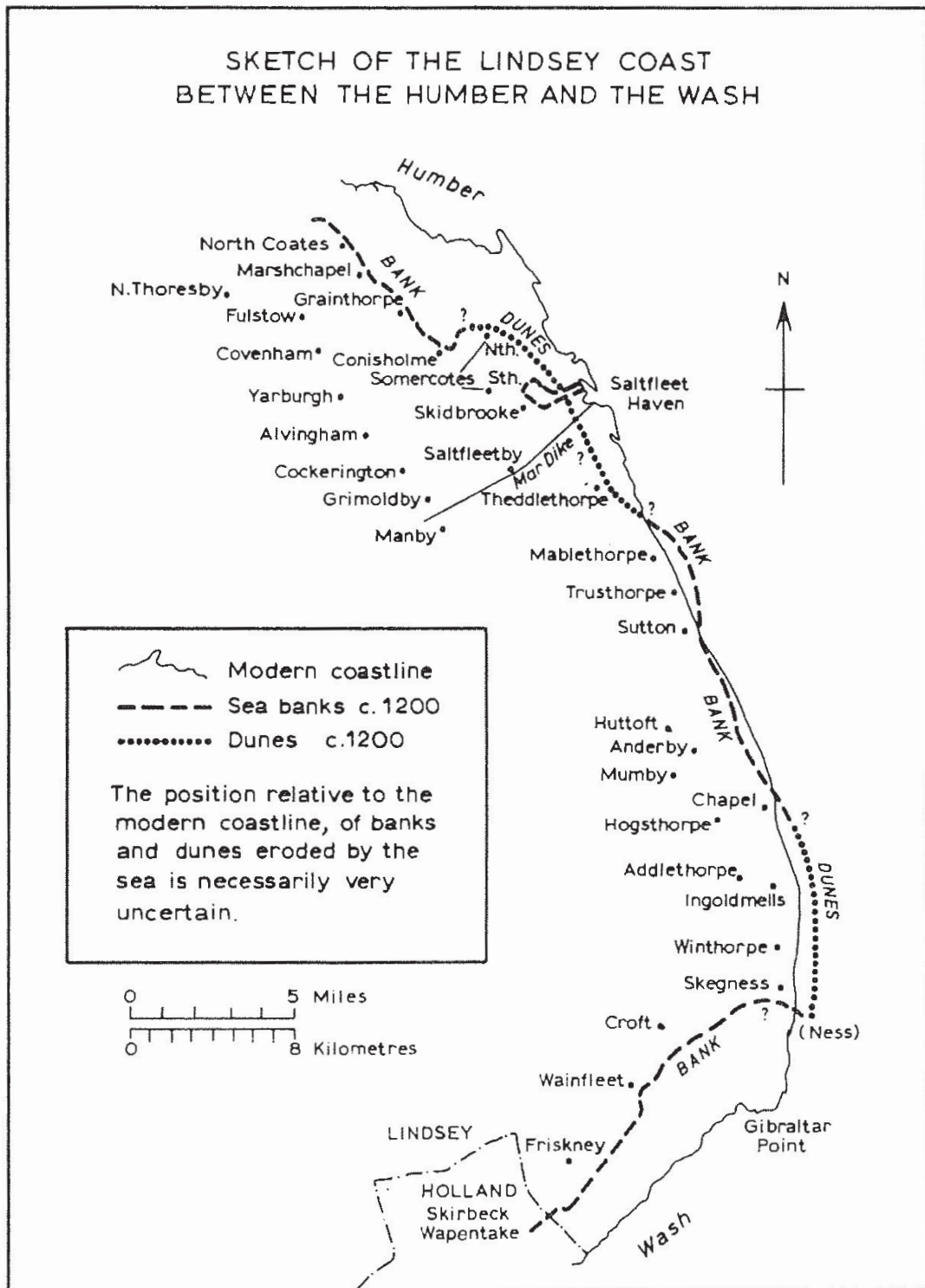
¹⁹ RA vi, p. 63.

²⁰ *The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey* ed. C. W. Foster and T. Longley, LRS vol. 19, 1924, p. 158.

²¹ Peter de Westmeles witnesses three 112 charters printed in DC pp. 15, 73, 370; the last of these is by a misapprehension indexed under Addlethorpe, which however was 'West Ingoldmells'.

²² H. E. Hallam, *The New Lands of Elloe*, Leicester, 1954; *Settlement and Society*, Cambridge, 1965, chs. I-III.

²³ Cf. A. M. Lambert, *The Making of the Dutch Landscape*, London, 1971, figs. 33, 36.



carries the main Wainfleet-Skegness road (A52) undoubtedly represents the early medieval coastline of Croft and of part of the south side of Skegness, from which the sea had so far retreated as to allow extensive reclamation in the sixteenth century. In Croft this bank is aligned roughly north-east/south-west, in Skegness it takes on an east-west alignment. East of Skegness railway station TF562633 the course of the bank is uncertain: it is perhaps continued in part by High Street and the eastern end of Lumley Road, but beyond where this ends at the Clock Tower TF568632 its course is a matter for speculation, as major changes took place in the coastline at Skegness during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These changes cannot be discussed here. It must suffice to say that in general the sea retreated on the south side but advanced on the east side, where much land was lost.²⁴

Among documents which show that the sea formerly came up to the south side of Skegness,²⁵ two have a special interest. They are deeds relating to two acres of pasture in Skegness called *Ryskplat* or *Rischeplate* (*v. risc, plat*). The first, of 1319, gives the southern boundary of this land as *le Hafdik*; the second, of 1439, calls it the sea bank (*fossatum maris*).²⁶ Three other grants of property in Skegness mention respectively land abutting west on the *South Haudikes* (1321); land bounded south by *le Grenhauedik'* (1344); and a messuage bounded south by *le Haudik* (1349).²⁷ The *Ryskplat* deeds in conjunction with these, and with the evidence for a sea bank on the south side of Skegness, together suggest that *Hafdik/Hauedik* was a name in general use for the sea bank or chain of banks in this locality, but no wider significance was at first seen to attach to it.

I then came upon a confirmation to Greenfield Priory *c.* 1175 of pasture for 300 sheep *in pastura ultra Hafdic de Mumbi*: Stenton, in editing this, added a note that *Hafdic* in the text was 'apparently corrected from *Haudic*'.²⁸ Speculating on the whereabouts of this dike, I recalled the similar Skegness name; and then further recalled (from a visit to Denmark and a little study of its language many years previously) that *hav* in modern

²⁴ See the article cited in note 2.

²⁵ E.g. Lumley MTD/B4/20, a grant in 1358 of a messuage with 5 acres abutting south *super fluxum maris*.

²⁶ Lumley MTD/B4/7, MTD/B4/41.

²⁷ Lumley MTD/B4/8, MTD/B4/17, MTD/B4/19.

²⁸ DC p. 78.

Danish means 'sea'. If this were the first element of these names, then might not *hafdic* itself mean 'seadike', instead of just being the name of one particular such dike in Skegness? This in turn suggested that other coastal parishes might contain such names which could be similarly explained, and so it proved. A search through the Lincoln *Registrum Antiquissimum*²⁹ brought several to light; translated as 'seadike', they made good sense in their context. Enquiries then made of Kenneth Cameron brought an encouraging reply. ODan *haf* was not previously known to occur in English place-names, but after enquiring of Danish place-name workers, he reported that *haf* 'sea' was found in ODan but did not seem to appear in Danish place-names; however, as OScand *dik* had the meaning 'ditch, dike', and the compound *havdige* 'seadike' was well known in Danish, the element in Lincolnshire names seemed fairly certain to be *haf* and the proposed interpretation was considered to be the right one.³⁰

This encouraged me to resume the search for such names. The list now offered, though based on a limited range of sources and certain to be incomplete, suffices to show that the term *hafdic*, variously spelt, was in general use along the Lindsey coast: some apparent gaps in its distribution are the subject of later comment. It occurs, sometimes with another element added, in at least eleven parishes between the Humber and the Wash in documents of the late twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. The order in which they are listed below is from north to south.

GRAINTHORPE. *Hauedic* temp. Henry II. Land between *Hafdyc* and a saltern 1189-99. c. 1200 (i) a croft one of whose bounds was *Hauedic*, (ii) one-third of a perch between *Couenham Landemare* ('boundary' v. **land-gemære**) and *Hauedich*, (iii) a perch between *Hauedich* and the sea. c. 1260 the sea bank (*fossato maris*) *que vocatur Hauedick*.³¹

SKIDBROOKE. Land in a deed of ?e13 extends *usque al Hauedic*. Land in *Meles* extends from the sea to *Hanedyk* c. 1230-40.³²

²⁹ See note 1.

³⁰ Correspondence with K. Cameron, 1968.

³¹ *Alvingham* f. 96v; F. M. Stenton, *Transcripts of Charters relating to Gilbertine Houses*, LRS vol. 18, 1922, p. 106; RA v, pp. 108, 113; *Alvingham* f. 108v.

³² *Ancaster 2 Anc* 1/7/8; RA v, p. 187 (I assume *Hauedyk* to be the better reading).

MABLETHORPE TF497846. Grant of lands *infra le Hauedic et extra* m-113.³³

SUTTON TF522808. In a deed of e13, three selions extending from *Hauedich* to *Waterlade* (v. **(ge)lād**) were granted *liberas et quietas de Hauedich et ab omni terreno seruicio*, which I take to imply freedom for the grantee from liability to maintain the sea bank. Another grant of the same period is of land *extra le Hauedich*. John son of Robert *alahafdik de Sutton* (early Henry III) is one of a number of examples of the term in use as a surname at Sutton. In another e13 grant, land in Sutton adjoining on one side the *Hauene de Trustorp* (v. **hafn**) extends in length *ab Hauedich usque ad mare*. A slightly later grant (m13) of the same property is interesting for its rendering of this as *ab le Heuiddic usque ad mare*, i.e. 'head dike' (v. **heafod**), suggesting that misunderstanding of the name began early.³⁴

HUTTOFT TF512764. A toft at *Havedich* (or *Hauedich*) not later than 1201. In 1235 pasture extends *ex westh parte del Havedyc*. In 1239, pasture *extra Hauedic* and *ab Hauedic de Hotoft usque ad mare*. In e13 three acres abutting on *Hauedic* and *Thweredic* ('cross dike' v. **pverr**).³⁵

ANDERBY. A series of deeds between c. 1220 and c. 1239 relate to common pasture *infra Hauedich* (or *Hauedik*) *et extra*.³⁶

MUMBY. A confirmation to Greenfield Priory by Henry II, c. 1175, of pasture for 300 sheep *in pastura ultra Hafdic de Mumby* (see above), and in 1203–6 another confirmation of the same pasture *ultra Hauedic*. In 1263 an agreement to maintain sea banks (*fossata maris*) and sewers in Mumby, Hogsthorpe and Anderby and to intercommon (*communicare*) within these parishes *infra le Hauedic et extra*.³⁷

HOGSTHORPE. In 1395–6 *le Hauedyk vocatum Torowd-hauedyk* was breached so that the salt water came through the breach.³⁸

³³ *Ancaster 2 Anc 1/18/1*.

³⁴ B. M. Cotton Vesp. E xx (Bardney Cartulary) ff. 144v–145; Harl. Ch. 47E4; *Ancaster 2 Anc 1/12/2, 3*.

³⁵ RA vi, p. 35; Harl. Ch. 44H48, 44A35; RA vi, p. 6.

³⁶ RA vi, pp. 52–60 *passim*.

³⁷ DC p. 78; Harl. Ch. 43H25; Cotton Faust. B i ff. 39v–40.

³⁸ *Ancaster 1 Anc 3/21*.

INGOLDMELLS VILL and MANOR. A grant *c.* 1290 of 608 acres in the vill of Ingoldmells with appurtenances *infra villa et extra infra le Hauedic et extra*. The Ingoldmells court rolls record in 1292 a lease of two acres at *Hauedik*, in 1325 a licence to hold the lord's marsh with *Hauedyk*, and from 1302 the personal name *del Hauedick* or *atte Hauedyk* (*Hafdick*, *Hauedik*). Ingoldmells, Addlethorpe TF 552692, Winthorpe TF559658 and Skegness were all comprised in Ingoldmells manor, so it is often difficult to know to which place the minor names occurring in the manorial records should be assigned.³⁹

SKEGNESS. *Le Hafdik* 1319, the *South Hauedikes* 1321, *le Grenhauedik'* 1344, *le Hauedik* 1349. The grantee in the first of these instances was to have *Ryskplat*, abutting south on *le Hafdik*, with free entry to this land through the grantor's land as far as the common way in autumn and *ultra le Hafdik* at other seasons.⁴⁰

FRISKNEY. A series of deeds, 112-e13, of lands abutting *super Hauedik*, including one abutting *super Hauedikes ecclesie*; in another, land abuts east on *Aukes* (or *Ankes*) *Hauedic* and west *super neuland Hug' de Friskeney* (*v. niwe, land*).⁴¹

As a body, these names in their context abundantly confirm the suggested meaning of *hafdic*, no example of which has been found outside coastal parishes. (Hogsthorpe is not now a coastal parish, but until the nineteenth century had an outlying portion on the coast north of Ingoldmells.) With the Dan word for a sea bank in general use along more than thirty miles of coast, it thus seems reasonable to assume that sea banks themselves were equally in general use in the period following the Danish settlement.⁴²

The physical character of our coast prior to the floods of the mid-thirteenth century can now be discerned. There appear to

³⁹ *Ancaster 2 Anc 3A/1; Court Rolls of the Manor of Ingoldmells* ed. W. O. Massingberd, London, 1902, pp. 12, 19 etc., 194.

⁴⁰ See notes 26-7.

⁴¹ B.M. Add. MS 32101 ff. 42-3, 53v. Hallam, *Settlement and Society*, p. 78, cites two of these deeds but with the interpretation 'head dyke or heading dyke'.

⁴² The scope of this article is limited to the coast between the mouth of the Humber and the Lindsey-Holland boundary. Some places further north on Humberside certainly had early banks, e.g. Habrough 112 (DC p. 201), Stallingborough e-m13 (*Coucher Book of Selby* ed. J. T. Fowler, ii, Yorks. Archaeol. Assoc., 1893, pp. 171, 193, 219). But no examples of *hafdic* have been found either there or in Holland. The apparent absence of the term from these areas is a matter of linguistic interest, but need not of course affect any arguments about the historical origin of the banks.

have been two main belts of natural dunes between the Humber and the Wash:⁴³ one beginning at North Somercotes and extending to Theddlethorpe, possibly to Mablethorpe, the other beginning probably at Hogsthorpe and ending at Skegness. These belts were not continuous, being interrupted by a number of small streams which traversed them to reach the sea, and whose outfalls served as havens—Mare Haven, Wilgrip Haven and others.⁴⁴ In particular, the northern dunes were broken by a considerable tidal inlet which gave its name to the port of Saltfleet Haven TF455935 (*v.* salt, flēot) in Skidbrooke, an inlet ringed by a bank: this, and not a bank facing the open sea, seems to be the bank recorded under Skidbrooke.⁴⁵ Spanning the gap between these dune belts, and to north and south of them, were sea banks. With a few exceptions, banks are not recorded at places where dunes existed and *vice versa*, so it can be inferred that the dunes were regarded as giving sufficient protection by themselves and that banks were originally built only where dunes were lacking.⁴⁶ The exceptions are Skidbrooke, noted above; Somercotes, where the northern dunes began, and Hogsthorpe, where the southern dunes probably began; and Skegness, where the coast turned from a north-south to an east-west alignment and a substantial area of dunes at the turn, constituting the *nes* ('promontory'), was flanked by banks.

On this basis we may attempt a classification of coastal settlements according to their situation. (I) *Middle Marsh settlements*. These include Huttoft, Anderby, Mumby and its hamlets (including Mumby Chapel, now Chapel St Leonards), Hogsthorpe, Croft. Though all of them have (or once had) lands bordering on the sea, the village sites themselves are not truly coastal but are akin to others further inland in the undulating

⁴³ The present extent of the dunes should not be taken as evidence of their position in earlier times. Sand and vegetation have been encouraged to accumulate over man-made sea defences since at least the sixteenth century, and banks of quite recent date can in this way assume the air of natural dunes surprisingly quickly.

⁴⁴ Mare Haven, mentioned in DB, was probably the outfall of a stream which marked the boundary —(ge)mære—between North and South Somercotes but fell into disuse before 1209: A. E. B. Owen, 'The Early History of Saltfleet Haven', LAASR n.s. v pt. 2, 1954, pp. 87–90. Wilgrip Haven was probably in Theddlethorpe: Owen, 'Wilgrip Haven and Theddlethorpe', LH ii no. 3, 1956, pp. 37–41.

⁴⁵ When writing on Saltfleet in 1954 (see note 44) I equated the bank (*sedyc*) in a charter of c. 1220–30 with the dunes: this was certainly an error. I now believe the bank in question was on the west side of the haven inlet.

⁴⁶ I must qualify this by adding that at some points, notably Saltfleetby, no early documentary evidence for either banks or dunes has yet come to light. But I believe one or other must have existed to make settlement possible.

boulder clay belt known as the Middle Marsh. Perched on outlying 'islands' of the clay, these villages could survive flooding without protection from either dunes or banks even though their lands might suffer. (2) *Wash margin settlements* comprise Wainfleet and Friskney, whose situation really groups them with the adjacent Holland villages on the low silt ridge between sea and fen. (3) *Dune settlements*. North Somercotes and Saltfleet—the principal focus of settlement in Skidbrooke parish—are founded directly on the dunes. Theddlethorpe and Mablethorpe probably originated as dune settlements, Ingoldmells and Skegness certainly so. Sutton and Trusthorpe have suffered so much from erosion that their original siting can only be guessed at: they may have been either dune or bank settlements. (4) *Bank settlements*. North Coates, Marshchapel, Grainthorpe and its hamlets, and probably Conisholme TF403954 owe their existence to the sea bank along which they are built, so cannot be older than the bank itself. But Grainthorpe is a Domesday vill, and the salterns entered in DB under North Thoresby TF290987 and Fulstow TF 324977 are assumed to have been at North Coates TA351006 and Marshchapel respectively,⁴⁷ so the bank was evidently in existence early in the eleventh century. Such an origin may be compared with the Netherlands and North Germany, where in each case historians accept that 'dike building was fairly widely under way by 1000'.⁴⁸

To this same period, in all probability, belong also the banks between Mablethorpe and Hogsthorpe and in the Skegness neighbourhood. Much of the former bank has been taken by the sea, but a considerable stretch survives, carrying the coast road between Sandilands in Sutton (TF530804) and Chapel Point (TF563733). This and the Skegness-Wainfleet bank both have the slightly sinuous character—due no doubt to following the lines of natural watercourses—which distinguishes many early banks; the land on their seaward side is markedly higher than on the inner side, implying deposits of tidal silt over a long period. There seems no reason to doubt their identity with the *hafdics* of the early charters. The surviving Sutton-Chapel bank coincides with that part of the coast which, in these charters,

⁴⁷ E. H. Rudkin and D. M. Owen, 'The Medieval Salt Industry in the Lindsey Marshland', LAASR n.s. viii, 1960, pp. 76–84.

⁴⁸ A. M. Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 81; A. Mayhew; *Rural Settlement and Farming in Germany*, London, 1973, p. 48.

is especially notable for grants of pasture *extra* or *ultra hafdic*, much in demand by the local religious houses as grazing for their sheep. The width of marsh outside the sea bank here in the early Middle Ages is implicit both in the size of the monastic flocks pastured on it,⁴⁹ and in the fact that even after several centuries of erosion a substantial acreage still lay unenclosed on the seaward side of the bank as late as the first decade of the nineteenth century.⁵⁰

At least one coastal village does not fit into any of the foregoing settlement categories. Saltfleetby TF436899, though it has a coastal frontage, is set back from the coast, standing uncompromisingly in the low marsh on no discernible elevation either natural or man-made. Though other coastal villages have some homesteads sprinkled over the low marsh, only South Somercotes, with which indeed it has features in common, gives the same impression of a village deliberately planted there. Saltfleetby is strung out along a 'spine' at right angles to the coastline, with much of its land laid out in a conspicuously regular pattern of long strips. This spine consists of a water-course, the Mar Dike (*Maredich*, *Mardic* 112),⁵¹ with a road alongside it. Mar Dike is a common name and refers normally to a boundary, (**g**e)mære, but this appears perverse for a feature which here serves an opposite purpose. However, if the dike is seen in relation to the Middle Marsh villages of Grimoldby TF393880 and Manby TF399867, an explanation suggests itself. The dike and road merely continue eastwards the line of the (?Roman) road which forms the boundary between those two villages,⁵² so the Mar Dike can be assumed to have served at one time as a boundary between their respective portions of low marsh. Saltfleetby must then be a colony upon the combined marsh of these villages, the former boundary being suppressed. Since it is a Domesday vill with a hybrid Anglo-Danish name, compounded of the nearby

⁴⁹ A series of agreements between Bullington Priory and others *c.* 1235-42, of which abstracts appear in Harl. Roll A29, show that at Huttoft alone three religious houses and at least two local families had until then been competing for rights of pasture *extra Hauedic*: in one instance, pasture rights for 900 sheep were involved.

⁵⁰ 80 acres at Anderby called the Out Marsh or Outer Dyke Ground were enclosed for the first time about 1807: A. E. B. Owen, 'The Barkhams of Wainfleet and their Estates', LH ii no. 8, 1961, p. 8. 44 acres adjacent to it called the Six Marshes in Chapel St Leonards were enclosed about the same time: *Royal Commission on Coast Erosion, 3rd Report*, London, 1909, Appendices p. 258.

⁵¹ RA v, pp. 123, 133.

⁵² This road is numbered 273 by I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain* vol. 1, London, 1955.

Saltfleet (see above) and ODan **bȳ**, we may further conclude that as a settlement it is probably contemporary with the sea banks already discussed: it can scarcely be earlier, since almost all its land lies ten feet or less above sea level.

This agrees with the general pattern of settlement in this part of the Marsh. From the lines of the parish boundaries it is apparent that the process of colonization closely resembled that in Elloe wapentake described by Hallam, where 'daughter' settlements grew up at the far end of each village's territory as reclamation was carried out. One such 'mother-daughter' relationship, between Fulstow and Marshchapel, has been studied in detail.⁵³ Others in the area which seem certain or probable are North Thoresby/North Coates; Covenham *plus* Yarburgh/Grainthorpe; Alvingham/Conisholme; Cockerington/North and South Somercotes and Skidbrooke.⁵⁴ To these we can now add Grimoldby *plus* Manby/Saltfleetby. Though some of these new settlements were still in embryo when Domesday was compiled, four at least—Grainthorpe, Somercotes (undifferentiated), Skidbrooke and Saltfleetby—were already in existence. We have seen that neither Grainthorpe nor Saltfleetby is likely to pre-date the building of the sea banks; on the other hand, as both are Domesday villis, the banks themselves cannot be much later in date than 1000. Since reclamation and settlement went hand in hand, any more precise dating of the one will help to date the other. As the properly coastal villages—that is, those categorized above as 'dune' and 'bank' settlements—recorded in Domesday bear names appropriate to the period of secondary Danish settlement, all the evidence seems to point to the origin of the banks at much the same time.⁵⁵

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⁵³ See note 7.

⁵⁴ W. G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape*, London, 1955, fig. 7, shows these relationships diagrammatically and purports to plot the course of the old sea bank, on the assumption that this can everywhere be deduced from the position of the 'daughter' settlements. But as shown in the present article, these were not invariably built on the bank.

⁵⁵ My best thanks are due to Mr H. F. Cartwright and the staff of the Cartography Dept. at the Department of Geography, the University of Nottingham, for the map which accompanies this article.