

St Paul's Cathedral, AD 604–1087

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This article brings together the evidence for St Paul's Cathedral in the City of London from its foundation in AD 604 up to its rebuilding in 1087. Much of the new or recent archaeological evidence is from the surrounding area. The research reported here is taken from work in progress on all the sightings of historic structures and strata

within and around St Paul's Churchyard, from which a history of the various cathedrals from AD 604 to 1714 is being constructed.¹ A principal part of this research comprises excavations or observations in and around the Wren cathedral in 1969 (called site A in the report and here) and 1994 to 2006 (sites B to H). For

discussion of the area in the Anglo-Saxon centuries, a further four sites (labelled I to L) excavated in 1975 to 1981 on the slope down to the Thames south and south-west of the cathedral have been added (Fig. 1).²

In AD 604 the first cathedral was established, probably somewhere on the present site, when St Augustine instituted Mellitus as bishop of London. The king of the London area at this time was Saeberht, king of the East Saxons or Essex. But when Saeberht died in AD 616, he was succeeded by three heathen sons, and Mellitus was expelled. The date of this expulsion is not known exactly, but the 'people of London, where Mellitus had been, became heathen'.³ Thus the working life of any first church of St Paul would only have been for about a decade after AD 604.

In London, Christianity was not restored until either AD 653, when Sigebert king of the East Saxons was converted, or under Bishop Wini in about AD 666 or Bishop Erkenwald (consecrated AD 675).⁴ Later tradition held that Bishop Erkenwald bestowed great cost on the fabric, and after his death he was jealously retained by the cathedral almost as its traditional founder. In about AD 694 Sebbi, king of the East Saxons, was buried in the cathedral, having paid to adopt the religious habit just before his death; perhaps he was then living nearby.⁵ The burial of Sebbi was in a stone sarcophagus, which miraculously adjusted its length to accommodate his body.⁶ It is possible that the sarcophagus in which Sebbi reputedly lay in the medieval cathedral, shown by Wenceslaus Hollar in the 1650s (Fig. 2), may even be the original sarcophagus of the late 7th century, though a 12th-century date is more likely.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle speaks of a fire in AD 962, after which the cathedral was refounded in the same year.⁷ It is likely that the cathedral was rebuilt several times in the four and a half centuries from AD 604 to 1087, when the Norman cathedral was begun after another fire.

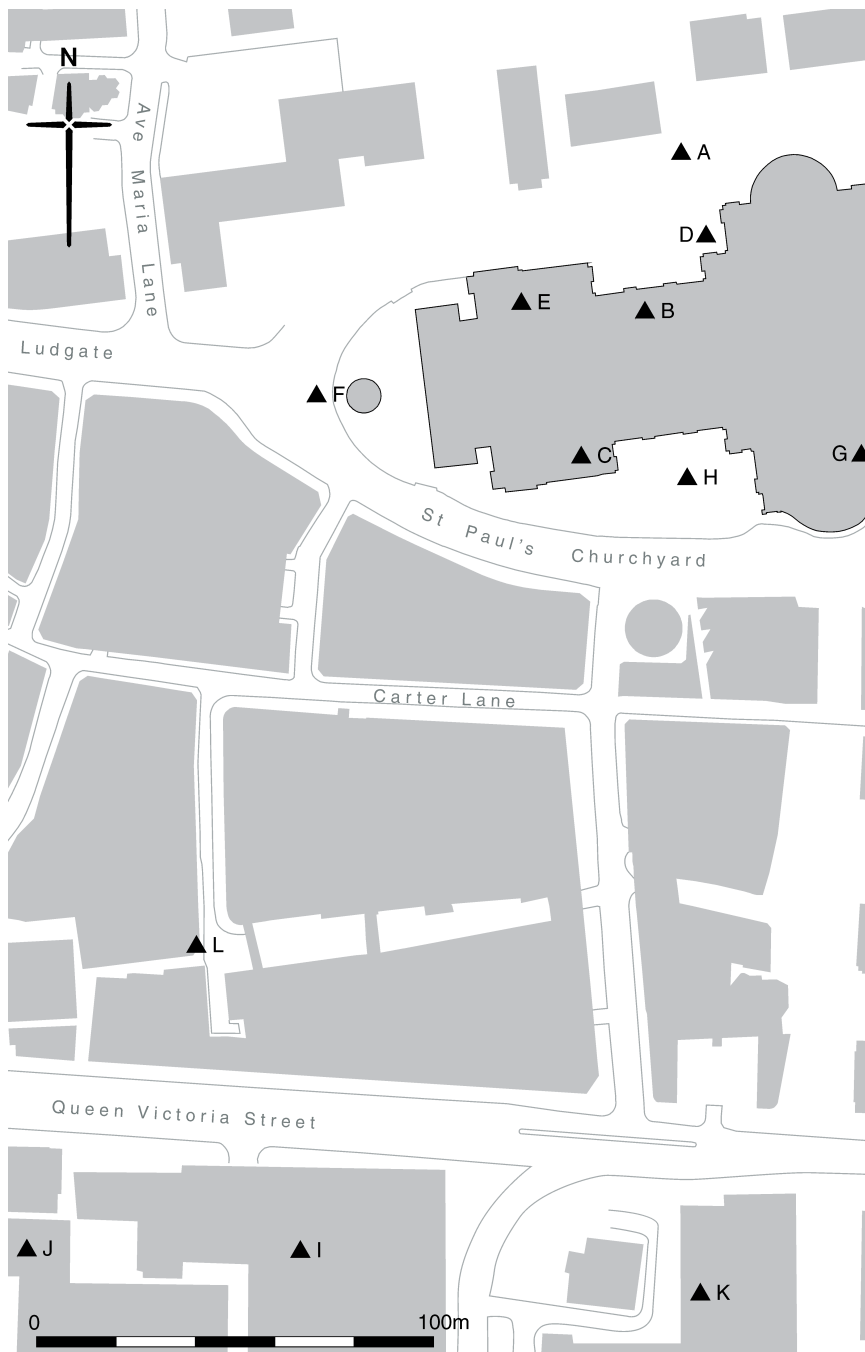


Fig. 1: location of the excavation sites A (1969) and B to H (1994 to 2006) in and around the cathedral; and of sites I to L (1975 to 1981) south-west of the cathedral (1:2500). For details of the sites see footnote 2.

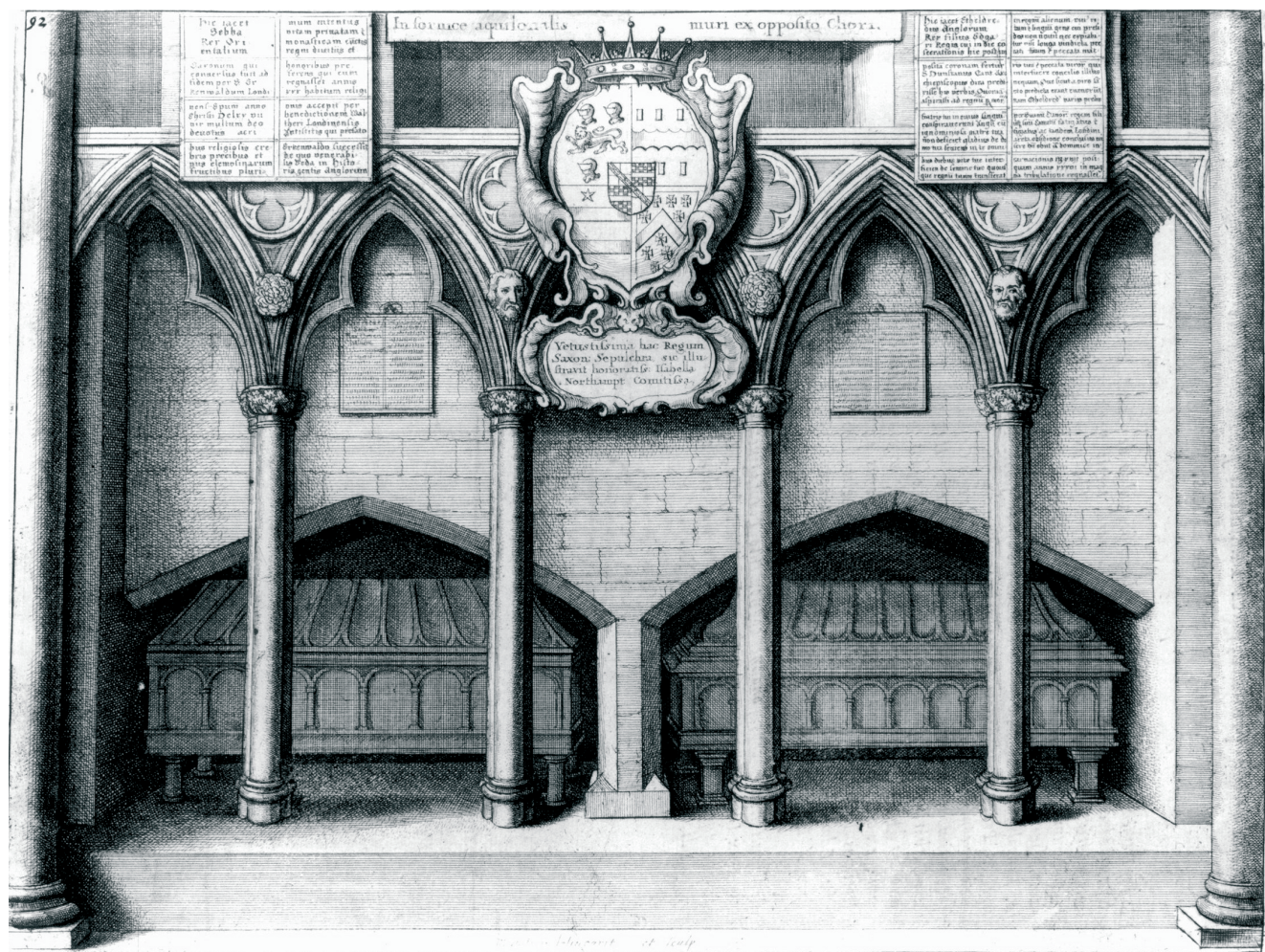


Fig. 2: the sarcophagi of Sebbi and Aethelred in the north aisle of the 13th-century choir (Hollar, 1657)

Bishop Theodred (bishop about AD 926 to AD 951) was buried in the crypt of St Paul's, near a window so that he might be seen by passers by; but this could perhaps refer to an internal window from a crypt ambulatory passage into a central crypt as much as to a window to external ground level. The architecture of the cathedral at this time need not have been provincial; Theodred had travelled in Italy, and not just to Rome.⁸ His translated tomb was to be found in the 13th-century choir until the Great Fire, along with the tomb of another bishop of the 8th century, Ecgwulf;⁹ some traces of their remains must have been translated possibly several times during the various periods of construction. The church was also the burial place of king Aethelred II (d. 1016) and his grandson Edward Aetheling (d. 1057).

By the early 8th century St Paul's had established its local saint Erkenwald, who was also venerated at Barking Abbey east of London, and probably also at Chertsey Abbey in

Surrey, both of which monasteries he had founded in AD 666. A 12th-century account by a St Paul's canon, Arcoid, says that before the fire of 1087 Erkenwald's remains lay in a wooden chest on a stone structure east of the high altar; but elsewhere Arcoid also says the tomb lay outside the church, so perhaps there was an original burial place outside, as with Swithun in 10th-century Winchester. Thus Erkenwald may have had more than one cult site at St Paul's.¹⁰

The rule adopted at St Paul's, a set of instructions about how the canons should conduct themselves in their spiritual and daily lives, dates from the mid-10th or early-11th centuries. It implies that they met in a chapter house and slept together in a dormitory; but there is no direct evidence for communal buildings, and there may never have been any.¹¹ Alternatively, there may have been shared accommodation such as a dormitory to begin with, but later a move to establish individual canons' houses. A chapter of

30 canons under a dean was established apparently by Bishop Maurice after 1085.

A speculative site plan is given as Fig. 3. No certain remains of the Saxon cathedral have ever been found, but the archaeological evidence is now considered.

A stream on the west

A large stream or managed watercourse along the west side of the precinct (seen at Sites 1, 23, 55) was still open in the Saxon period, since it seems to have contributed to the formation of ward boundaries, which followed its line. Work by MoLAS in 1999–2001 suggests that this channel was adapted in a documented definition of the precinct boundary here in 1111.¹²

Burials and graves of the 8th to 10th centuries

Human burials were recorded on the north side of the Wren nave, just outside it, in 1997 (Site D). In all, parts of 31 skeletons were recorded. Only

three were sufficiently within the boundaries of the narrow trench to be recorded in their full extent by individual photography. A first phase of burials was sealed by a gravel surface; above, in the dark soil, were subsequent burials, nearly all disturbed. These burials lay under the corridor leading out of the north transept at basement level, part of construction of a Works Department for the cathedral in 1909. Stone-lined coffins were found in the area at this earlier date, including some on the site of this corridor. It can therefore be suggested that the 1997 burials were lower than, and no doubt stratigraphically previous to, the stone-lined coffins.

Of the 31 individuals, seven could be sexed: two male and five female. This means that this small portion of the cemetery was for lay burials rather than for clerics only. There was no ceramic or artefactual dating material in the graves, except for a small amount of Roman pottery. Five samples of human bone were sent for radiocarbon dating, and the dates ranged from AD 773–883 to AD 894–986 AD (2 sigma),

suggesting a date for the burials in the 8th to 10th centuries.

Grave furniture of the 11th and possibly 12th centuries, and the Anglo-Scandinavian grave-marker

At least three pieces of grave furniture of 11th- or early 12th-century date have been found in the churchyard. The first is a complete grave-cover of 'hogback' type, of the late 11th or early 12th centuries, now in the south *triforium* of the Wren building, near the historic collection of medieval stones (Fig. 4). It has a small paper label on it, but this is impossible to read, and where it came from and when is not known.

The second (Fig. 5) is the famous Anglo-Scandinavian grave-marker of the first quarter of the 11th century, found in 1852 during construction of a warehouse at 21–22 St Paul's Churchyard. A runic inscription on one edge reads 'Ginna [or Kina] and Toki caused this stone to be laid'. The inscription does not mention the name of the person commemorated. The decoration in Ringerike style is usually dated to the second quarter of the 11th

century. It was painted with a base of brown or red gesso (plaster) and blue or black colour; the main animal ornament was picked out in brown or yellow, and the entangled serpent had white circles on its body. Although some accounts of its discovery in 1852 mention an associated grave, our new study (by David Stocker) will suggest that there is evidence of medieval reuse of the stone, probably in a wall (as one possibility, the site of its discovery was bordered on the south side by the former precinct wall); so although it is important, we do not know where in the churchyard it originally stood.

The third stone is part of a grave-cover of a group well known in the Fenland around Peterborough and Cambridge, datable to the early or mid-11th century. This seems to have been part of a group of finds given to the Museum by the Clerk of Works of St Paul's in the 1970s, and would therefore seem to be a find from the 1969 excavations at Site A (perhaps it originally lay on one of the stone coffins found at Site A in 1909). A fourth stone comprises two fragments of a tapering

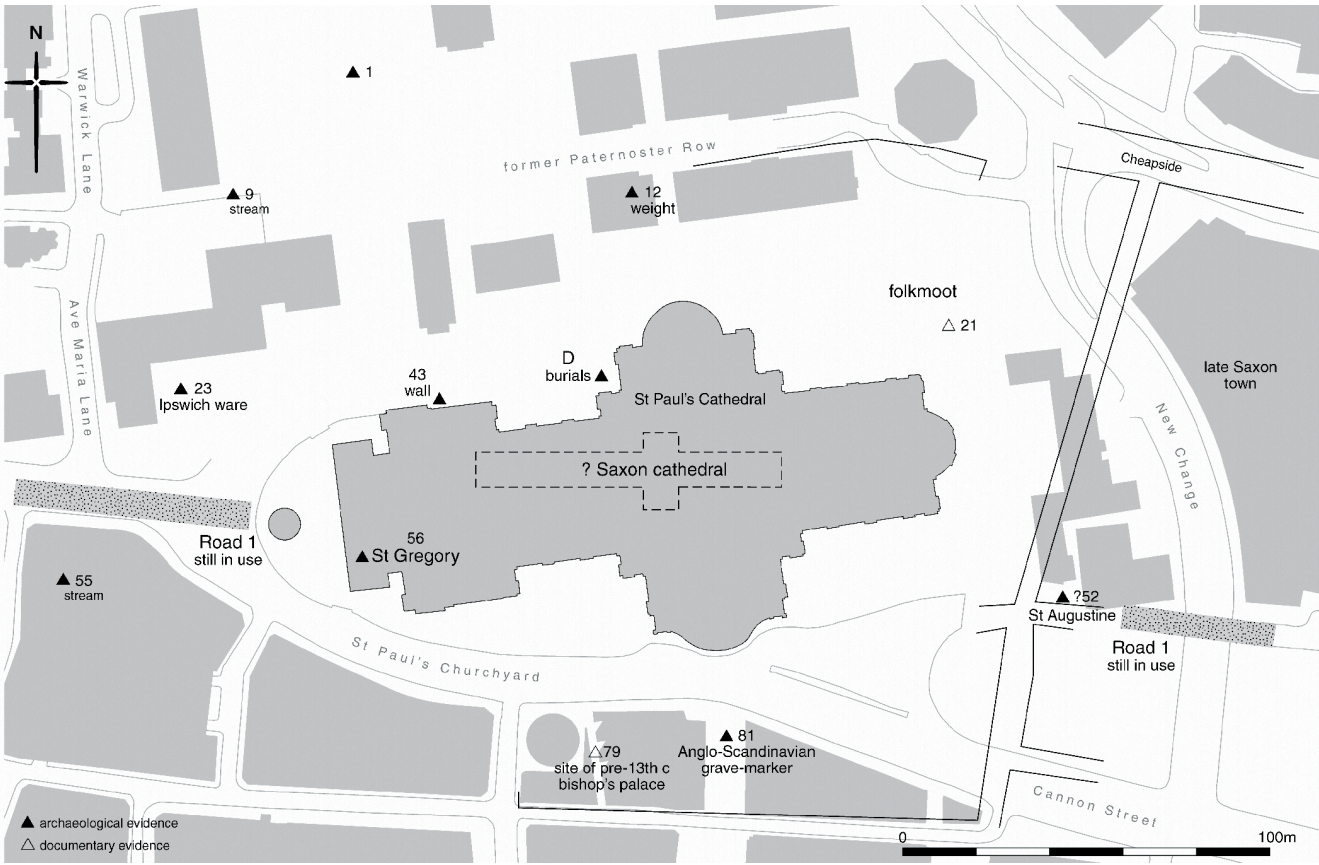


Fig. 3: site plan showing the sites relevant to the period AD 604–1087, on the modern street plan (scale 1:2000). The site numbers are from the gazetteer currently being compiled. Road 1 is the Roman road which seems to cross the site



Fig. 4: hogback grave-cover in the historic collection

11th-century grave cover, found somewhere in the City of London before 1884, now on loan from the British Museum and displayed in the Museum of London, next to the Ringerike stone; it was possibly carved by the same workshop as the latter, and may have come from St Paul's, but there is no evidence. This number of monuments, though small, is rare for a single site in southern England; and must indicate exceptional patronage of the cathedral in the 11th century, possibly its first half.

Possible buildings of stone

Evidence of buildings in the churchyard before 1087 is slim. There are two cases to consider: a foundation seen outside the north-west door of the Wren building in 1932, and the parish church of St Gregory.

A series of engineer's test-pits were dug within and on the perimeter of the Wren building in 1932, to record the Wren foundations, and records made in watercolour drawings. Testpit G (Site 43) was dug against the outside of the north wall of the nave, about 2 m east of the present north-west door into the crypt. Laid on to the brickearth was a 'chalk raft' comprising three base layers separated by gravel, a total of about 0.46 m thick, and then packed chalk in a single layer a further 0.86 m thick. The raft was recorded for a distance of 1.5 m to the north, and 1.3 m east–

west; its north side or edge, at right-angles to the medieval cathedral alignment, was seen in the pit for a length of about 2.4 m. This suggests that the raft was a foundation for a construction that ran north–south, or at

least had an east side. The construction technique is one found on church and secular sites in the City from the 10th century until the 12th century, but we cannot say what kind of building it represents.

The surviving top of the raft lay about 0.4 m above the level of the nearby floor of the Wren cathedral crypt. This confirms that horizontal archaeological deposits of these centuries, whatever they may contain, only survive outside the footprint of the Wren building, though there may be the lower parts of features dug into the ground, such as deep foundations and perhaps graves (none have yet been found within the footprint of the Wren building).

St Gregory's parish church is first mentioned in 1009; in the medieval period it stood at the west end of the cathedral, attached to the south side of the nave. Unless the church was moved to its medieval position when the west end of the Norman cathedral nave was finished (? about 1190), we must assume that the church was in place by 1009. This is relevant to the likely siting



Fig. 5: Anglo-Scandinavian grave-marker from Site 81: reconstruction of original form, with lower undecorated portion (Christina Unwin)

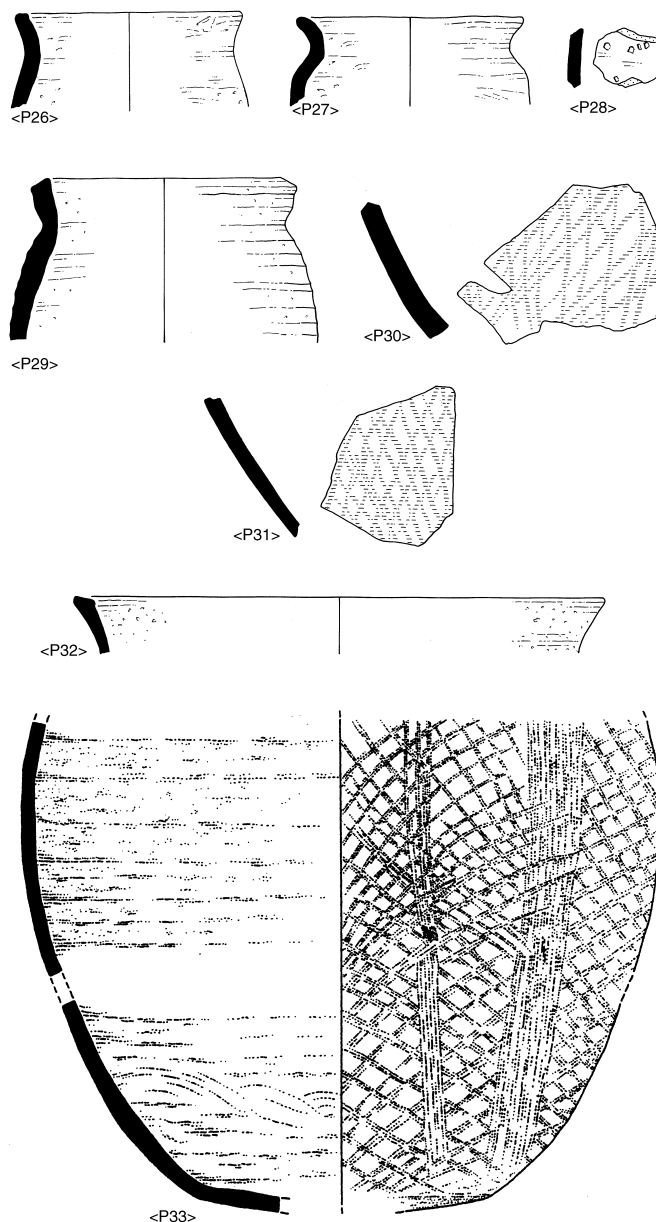


Fig. 6: Middle Saxon pottery from within and south of St Paul's churchyard: <P26>, <P27> chaff-tempered; <P28> sand-tempered; <P29>, <P30>, <P31> Ipswich ware; <P32> shell-tempered; <P33> Domburg-type ware (1:4; after Vince and Jenner 1991). The profile numbers are from the report in preparation.

of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral. Fragments of foundations have been recorded at various times beneath the south-west tower of the Wren building, but that is all we can say at present.

Pottery and artefacts

Two complete late 6th- or early 7th-century pots from Northern France are said to have been found in Gresham Street and at Christ's Hospital, Greyfriars, the latter only a short distance to the north-west of St Paul's. The findspots are uncertain, but it is of significance that both are from the western part of the City.¹³ For the

forthcoming study, a review of finds of Middle Saxon (AD 650–850) pottery from the area has been made. Of the few sites where Saxon pottery has been found, two are located immediately to the south of St Paul's, at 29–33 Knightrider Street (Site L), and at St Peter's Hill/223–225 Upper Thames Street (Site K). Two other sites lie to the west of Site K, Sites I (Baynard's Castle, excavations of 1975) and J (excavation at the Mermaid Theatre site in 1974), both near the Saxon shoreline along Thames Street; the pottery was considered by Michael Rhodes,¹⁴ but is discussed here again. A fifth site is the

recent MoLAS excavation at Juxon House, immediately north-west of the cathedral (Site 23, SLY00). The pottery profiles are illustrated in Fig. 6, and the material summarised in Table 1.

Dating the chaff-tempered wares from sites I and J is problematic. The fact that the find-spots are close to the late Roman riverside wall could point to an Early, rather than a Middle Saxon date, but the lack of other diagnostic Early Saxon fabrics might argue against this. The sherds from site J are from a sequence of layers containing a large amount of Roman pottery and building material, the lowest of which was dated to the 4th century; layer J[199] and two overlying deposits were interpreted as a deliberate dumped deposit of the 6th to 8th centuries to the north of the riverside wall on the edge of the river.¹⁵ The dumped layer K[402] was in a similar location but the dating is less certain as it contains later material. It is possible that, as at the Billingsgate bathhouse, these Saxon sherds represent a passing visit to one of the many derelict Roman buildings close to the river wall prior to its collapse.

The absence of fabrics such as Ipswich ware in the layers sealed by the wall at Baynard's Castle could be taken as showing that the dumps date from before the mid-8th century. A residual sherd identified as Ipswich ware, however, could point to activity in the area between about AD 730 and AD 850. No build-up of dark earth-type soil was noted and the dumped layers were directly sealed by a section of riverside wall that had collapsed northwards. The date at which this occurred is unclear. The wall had definitely fallen by the Conquest, but how much earlier is debatable. It has been suggested that the Baynard's Castle section of wall fell at some point between AD 888/899 and 1066/67, and probably after 1016.¹⁶ Furthermore, there was no road on the line of Thames Street at that time, the main east–west thoroughfare being along the line of Knightrider Street to the north. This suggests that the sherds from Site L may derive from Saxon features on or near the site (Site L is on Knightrider Street).

The Saxon assemblage from Site K is small, but indicative of a longer sequence of activity than was found at Sites I, J and L. Some sherds could date

from the 7th or 8th centuries, but the trellis-burnished pitchers and Mayen-type ware must date from the 9th or 10th centuries. The latter are of great interest as they are virtually absent from *Lundenwic*, and have not been recorded on any other site in the City (unless misidentified as Roman). Where the pottery came from is unknown as the only known building works before 886 are those of St Paul's and, at some point, the presumably associated buildings. A possible explanation is that they represent some trading activity in the late 9th or early 10th centuries. If so, they may be in some way connected with the documented trading shore established by Alfred at what later became known as Queenhithe, where a range of later 9th- and 10th-century

imported metalwork has been found. It is, however, also possible that they reflect the regeneration of the City before the reign of Alfred.¹⁷ This is the first time that Middle Saxon (AD 650–850) pottery other than chaff-tempered ware and Ipswich ware has been identified in the City, and the first time that the assemblages have been considered together. Taken together with the documentary evidence for property boundaries to the south of St Paul's, the pottery adds weight to the theory that the area between St Paul's and the Thames was of importance prior to AD 886, and that it was at the heart of Alfredian London. The grid of streets east and south of the cathedral, probably created after AD 886, took account of and wrapped

round the existing cathedral precinct. We might even suggest that the medieval gateways into the precinct on the east and south sides, represented by the medieval Watling Street and the predecessor of the present Godliman Street, were also the Saxon gates of the precinct; and as such, that they were the among the points which anchored the late 9th-century grid of new streets. If this is so, then these proposed gateways into the Saxon precinct (?and vestigial roads outside them) date from a period before any trading activity.

One contemporary artefact from the cathedral site is notable. In 1841 what was at first thought to be a lead trial piece, a proof of a die of a penny of Alfred cut by the moneyer Ealdulf, was found when a sewer was being cut 'opposite the pastrycook's shop at the corner of Canon Alley', which ran north–south from Paternoster Row to the Churchyard immediately east of the north transept of the cathedral (Site 12). Today there is more uncertainty about the function of this object, which is in the British Museum. It seems rather to be a lead weight, of 163.1 g or close to half a Roman pound, or the weight of 120 pennies. It bears the design of a penny called 'Cross-and-Lozenge' which was current throughout the 870s, and for some numismatists this is 'tangible proof that coins were minted in Alfred's name at London in the period before 886'.¹⁸

The cathedral and its precinct, 7th to 11th centuries

At the time of its crystallisation in the early 12th century, the cathedral's precinct was a rectangle, a unique shape for a cathedral close, and its area is small by comparison with other closes. There must have been hard boundaries which contained it, and which were in position perhaps from the 9th century if not before. This is the best explanation for the fact that the north side of the precinct did not go beyond Paternoster Row to Newgate.

There may have been some kind of royal palace or centre immediately north or north-east of the cathedral, of which the 11th-century monastery of St Martin le Grand was a trace or memory.¹⁹ Royal interest in the area, which would have included the cathedral, certainly waned when

Fabric	expansion	date	I bc75	J mm74	K pet81	L tav82	site 23 sly00
CHAF	chaff-tempered ware	450–750	•		•	•	
CHFS	chaff-tempered ware, sandy	450–750	•				
CHSF	chaff-tempered ware, fine, sparse/moderate chaff	450–750		•			
DOMB	Domburg-type ware	900–1000			•		
IPSF	Ipswich ware (fine)	730–850	•?		•		
IPSM	Ipswich ware (medium sandy)	730–850			•		•
NFEBD	north French/eastern Belgian greyware, type D	650–800			•		
MAYE	Mayen-type ware	770–850	•				
MSFGC	Mixed sand, flint and grit-tempered ware, type C	600–850			•		
MSS?	Middle Saxon shell-tempered ware	770–900	•	•	•		
SLGSA	Saxon, Lower Greensand-tempered ware, type C	600–850			•		
SSAN(?G)	Saxon sand-tempered ware (hard grey)	600–900			•		

Table 1: summary of types of 5th- to 9th-century pottery from sites south and north-west of St Paul's Cathedral. Presence is shown by a dot

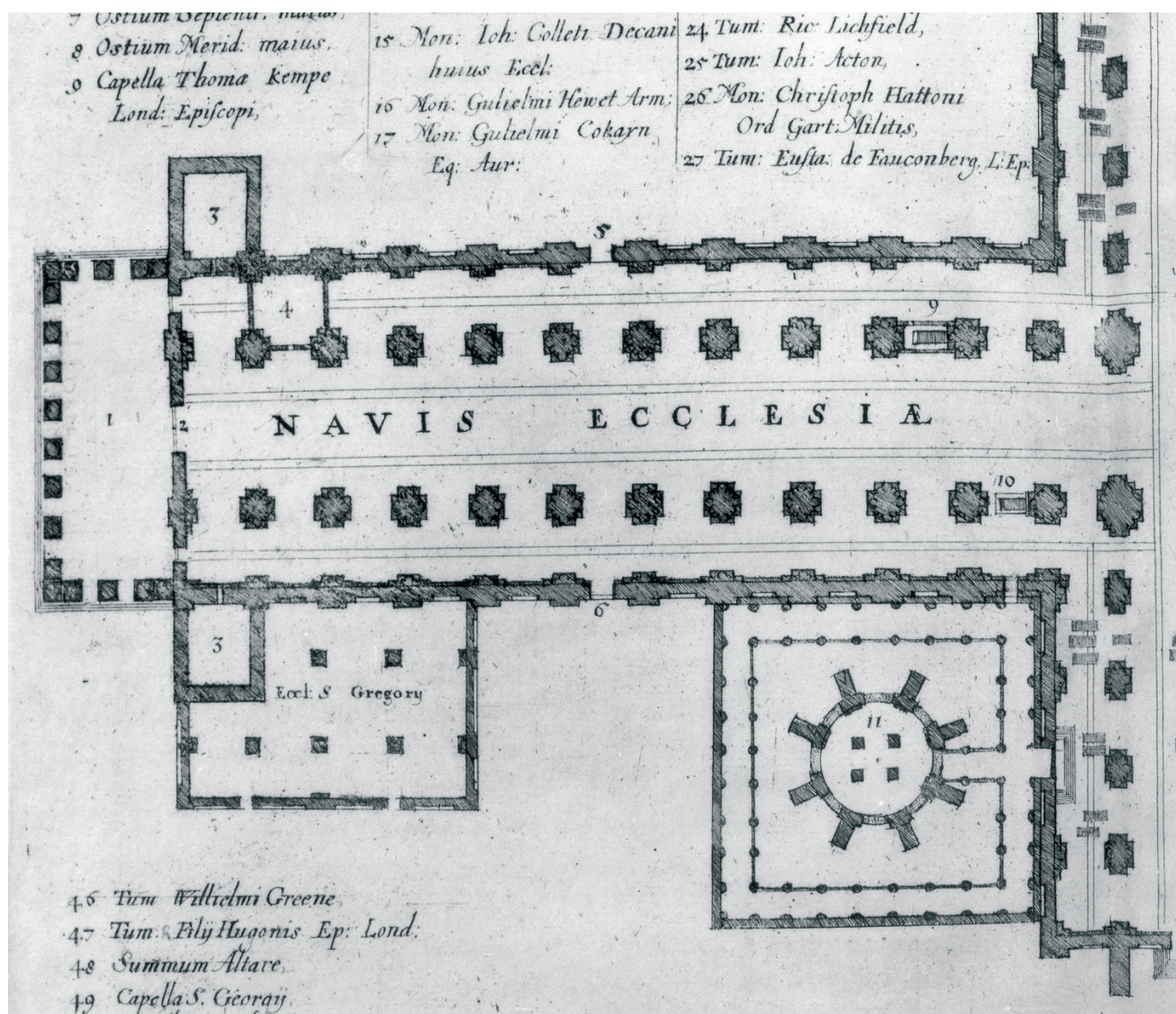


Fig. 7: the nave of the medieval cathedral in the plan by Hollar, 1657, showing the opposed doors in the 12th-century nave, marked as numbers 5 and 6

Edward the Confessor began to build Westminster Abbey in the 1050s. It has traditionally been thought that there was a royal Saxon palace within the former Roman fort at Cripplegate, 300 m north-east of the cathedral, and that the parish church of St Alban Wood Street was originally a chapel of Offa of Mercia within the palace. This has recently been doubted, since there is no archaeological evidence, and no certain documentary evidence, for such a palace there.²⁰ A palace near the cathedral, however, would find a parallel at Winchester, where from the 7th century a royal palace occupied a site within 40m of the west front of the contemporary church.²¹ The pattern of elite Saxon sites within Roman towns elsewhere would suggest that the church came first, the palace later.

As noted above, mid-Saxon pottery has been found on sites south of the cathedral, though in later contexts; and recently one sherd has been found just within the close itself, immediately north-west of the present cathedral. The new radiocarbon dates for human burials on the north side of the medieval cathedral indicate a lay cemetery broadly of the 8th to 10th centuries. Religious precincts at this time were not fixed entities.²² But within the St Paul's precinct, there were probably areas designated for certain uses. By the 11th century the folk moot in the open space north-east of the cathedral (Site 21) was a flourishing institution; here the citizens of London gathered on the site which was 'the principal expression of their collective power'.²³ Next to it again to the north-

east was the cathedral gate to the chief market street, Cheapside.

None of this evidence provides a firm basis for suggesting where the Anglo-Saxon cathedral lay in relation to its Romanesque successor of 1087. The burials found on Site D suggest only that it was nearby; they may have been north of a church which lay beneath the medieval nave and crossing, or east of a church which lay north-west of the medieval cathedral, as at Winchester. The first possibility is favoured here, if only because on physical grounds a cathedral more towards the north-west would have been close to the open stream which flowed along the west side of the precinct. But there is no hard evidence either way.

If we follow the suggestion that the Anglo-Saxon cathedral lay somewhere

beneath the nave and crossing of the medieval cathedral (rebuilt from 1087, its nave finished about 1190), then two hypotheses about its overall length may be put forward; both stem from proposals about where the west end of the building lay. The first or 'shorter' version would be 58 m (190 ft) long, with its west end coinciding with the opposed doors in the medieval nave walls and a well-used thoroughfare through the medieval cathedral (Fig. 7). It may be that the claim of the medieval citizens that this was an ancient right of way reflects a way past the west front of the Anglo-Saxon building. In this theory, the cathedral, perhaps not extended since its last known building in 962, might have resembled the cumulative mixture of units at Winchester, which by 984 was 76.5 m (251 ft) long.²⁴ It should also be noted, however, that opposed doors are a feature of some Anglo-Saxon churches, such as Reculver and Deerhurst,²⁵ and that therefore the medieval opposed doors might instead have been on the site of doors in either side of the nave of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral.

The second and 'longer' version of the pre-Conquest building, at least in its 11th-century form, draws on the position of St Gregory's parish church, probably in its medieval position by the time the medieval west end was finished about 1190. The church is first mentioned in 1009. We do not know

the relation of the earliest St Gregory's church to the Anglo-Saxon cathedral; but if we hypothesise that in the first half of the 11th century St Paul's was probably about as big as Edward the Confessor's Westminster Abbey, which has been reconstructed as 100 m (328 ft) long,²⁶ then St Paul's would fit in the 98.6 m (323 ft) between the medieval west end and the 14th-century choir screen (the entrance to the choir). St Gregory's position at the west end of the medieval building would mark the west end of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral also, at least in 1009. An interesting parallel is provided by the pre-Conquest Canterbury Cathedral, where a tower containing an altar of St Gregory formed the main south entrance into the cathedral.²⁷

These two lengths for the 11th-century cathedral (that is, with the west end marked either by the opposed nave doors or by the west end of the medieval cathedral) remain two speculations, and neither is preferred. It is also possible that both theories are correct, and that the opposed nave doors in the medieval cathedral reflect a stage in westward advancement of the west end of the Anglo-Saxon building. It is also likely that the cathedral changed its shape and size (and possibly even site) during the period from 604 to 1087. The 'shorter' reconstruction has been placed on the period plan. If the Norman cathedral was built totally

separate from the previous cathedral, though close by, it need not have shared the same alignment, as was the case at Winchester. Anglo-Saxon St Paul's may therefore be below the later, much larger medieval church, but on a different alignment influenced by unknown contemporary factors.

The prospects for finding out much more about the Anglo-Saxon cathedral in the ground are not great. The small amount of evidence now summarised is similar to that for the minster of St Frideswide in Oxford.²⁸ Traditions and documents suggest that the minster in Oxford was founded in the 8th century, and by the 10th century (if not earlier) there was a large cemetery now recorded on several sites around it. No firm structural evidence of the church, any associated buildings or features of its precinct have yet been identified (the Anglo-Saxon building was beneath its medieval successor, now Oxford Cathedral). In London, as in Oxford, further information on the Anglo-Saxon cathedral will probably come from sites immediately around it.

Acknowledgements

The maps here are by Carlos Lemos; the pottery was drawn by Lyn Blackmore (<P26–P32>) and Ann Jenner (<P33>), and the Anglo-Scandinavian grave-marker by Christina Unwin. Recording on several of the sites was by Robin Wroe-Brown of MoLAS.

1. J. Schofield *Archaeology of St Paul's Cathedral: survey and excavations up to 2006*, in prep.

2. The sites with their MoL sitecodes are: A, Works Department of the cathedral GM307; B, north aisle of crypt SPL94; C, middle and south parts of nave crypt SPU96; D, north corridor also SPU96; E, north-west crypt SPV98; F, drain outside west end PWT00; G, south transept crypt SAT00; H, south churchyard SCP04; I, Baynard's Castle BC75; J, Mermaid Theatre MM74; K, St Peter's Hill PET81; L, 29 Knighttrider Street TAV82. All archive information at LAARC.

3. G.N. Garmonsway (ed) *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (2nd ed 1954), 23.

4. S.E. Kelly (ed) *Charters of St Paul's, London*, Anglo-Saxon Charters 10 (2004), 1–122; P. Taylor 'Foundation and endowment: St Paul's and the English kingdoms, 604–1087' in *St Paul's: the cathedral church of London 604–2004* (eds D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint, 2004), 5–16.

5. A suggestion made by John Blair, *The church in Anglo-Saxon society* (2005), 273.

6. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (eds) *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* (1969), 367–9.

7. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 114.

8. F. Stenton *Anglo-Saxon England* (3rd ed 1971), 444, n3.

9. W. Page (ed) *Victoria County History of London I* (1909), 174.

10. Kelly *op cit* fn 4, 111; A. Thacker 'The cult of saints and the liturgy' in Keene *et al* 2004, 115.

11. Kelly *op cit* fn 4, 45 suggests 'we can assume that the St Paul's community in the late Anglo-Saxon period had a common refectory and dormitory'.

12. S. Watson, report in prep for MoLAS.

13. A. Vince *Saxon London: an archaeological investigation* (1990), 11–12; A. Vince and A. Jenner 'The Saxon and early medieval pottery of London' in A. Vince (ed) *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London II: finds and environmental evidence*, London Middlesex Archaeol Soc Special Paper 12 (1991), 113, nos 307–8.

14. M. Rhodes 'The Saxon pottery' in C. Hill, M. Millett, and T. Blagg *The Roman riverside wall and monumental arch in London: excavations at Baynard's Castle, Upper Thames Street, London 1974–76*, London Middlesex Archaeol Soc Spec Pap 3 (1980), 97–8.

15. M. Millett in Hill *et al*, *op cit* fn 14, 14.

16. *Op cit* fn 14, 72.

17. T. Dyson 'Two Saxon land grants for Queenhithe' in *Collectanea Londiniensia: studies presented to Ralph Merrifield* (eds J. Bird, H. Chapman and J. Clark), London Middlesex Archaeol Soc Spec Pap 2 (1978), 200–15; J. Ayre, R. Wroe-Brown and D. Malt 'Aethelred's Hythe to Queenhithe: the origin of a London dock' *Medieval Life* 5 (1996), 14–25; R. Wroe-Brown 'The Saxon origins of Queenhithe' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 50 (1999), 12–16.

18. S. Keynes 'King Alfred and the Mercians' in *Kings, currencies and alliances: history and coinage of southern England in the ninth century* (eds M.A.S. Blackburn and D.D. Dumville, 1998), 14–17 and n76.

19. D. Keene 'From conquest to capital: St Paul's c. 1100–1300' in Keene *et al*, *op cit* fn 4, 18–20.

20. G. Milne with N. Cohen *Excavations at medieval Cripplegate, London: archaeology after the Blitz, 1946–68*, English Heritage Archaeol Reports (2002), 127–8 (by Tony Dyson).

21. M. Biddle (ed.) *Winchester in the early Middle Ages*, Winchester Studies 1 (1976), 289.

22. J. Barrow 'Churches, education and literacy in towns 600–1300' in *The Cambridge urban history of Britain* (ed. D.M. Palliser 2000), 133.

23. *Op cit* fn 19, 20.

24. H.M. Taylor *Anglo-Saxon architecture* vol. 3 (1978), fig. 645.

25. *Ibid*, fig. 655.

26. E. Fernie *The architecture of Norman England* (2000), 97.

27. P. Collinson, N. Ramsey and M. Sparks (eds), *A history of Canterbury Cathedral* (1995), 35.

28. A. Dodd (ed.) *Oxford before the University: the Late Saxon and Norman archaeology of the Thames Crossing, the defences and the town* (2003), 17–19.