

Fig. 1: location map of Saxo-Norman sites in Southwark, also showing major roads, the shoreline plus the probable extent of the settlement and the burh defences.

List of sites: 1. Hibernia Wharf (HIB79); 2. Fennings and St Olaf or Olave's Wharf (FW84/TW84); 3. 2 Southwark Street/1a Bedale Street (2SSB85); 4. 201–211 Borough High Street (207BHS72); 5. 106–112 Borough High Street (106BHS73); 6. Winchester Palace (WP83); 7. 15–23 Southwark Street (15SKS80); 8. 1–7 St Thomas Street (1STS74); 9. Battle Bridge Lane (BAB95); 10. St George's Church (SGY05); 11. Southwark Cathedral, Montague Close (MTA99); 12. Hunt's House (HHO97).

# Saxo-Norman Southwark: a review of the archaeological and historical evidence

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## Introduction

The Saxo-Norman period (c. AD 950–1150) is very important in Southwark's history; it was during this time-span that the derelict Roman settlement was

reoccupied and its roles as a burh, mint and port established the commercial foundations of this vivacious 21st-century London Borough. Yet despite these multiple roles and the existence of

a considerable volume of archaeological and historical data, surprisingly few publications have devoted much space to this period of Southwark's heritage.<sup>1</sup> One reason for

this is that the archaeological data for Saxo-Norman Southwark is not nearly as impressive as it is for the Roman, medieval and post-medieval periods. Generally, Saxo-Norman remains on archaeological sites in Southwark consist mainly of cess and rubbish pits, as the truncation of the contemporary land surface caused by the construction of post-medieval basements has often removed all trace of the contemporary buildings. These unimpressive pits have produced important ceramic assemblages and a growing body of evidence concerning the diet and health of the inhabitants of Southwark during this period, which is discussed below. However, this situation is changing with one new article devoted to the archaeology of this period, and the Saxo-Norman material relating to both London Bridge and Winchester Palace receiving prominence in recent publications.<sup>2</sup> The aim of this article is to provide an overview of the archaeological and historical evidence (apart from the Domesday material which is excluded for reasons of space) for Saxo-Norman Southwark, and to attempt to map the spatial extent of the settlement for the first time.<sup>3</sup>

### The reoccupation of Southwark: documentary evidence

The history of post-Roman Southwark is very closely linked with that of its larger neighbour London. Historically London was part of Middlesex, while Southwark was in Surrey, but these different allegiances have a much longer history.

King Cædwalla of Wessex (AD 685–88) conquered Surrey, and it remained part of Wessex until the 8th century when it passed into Mercian control.<sup>4</sup> During the 8th century, Middlesex also passed from East Saxon into Mercian control.<sup>5</sup> In AD 886 Alfred reoccupied the derelict Roman urban centre of *Londinium* and then refortified it.<sup>6</sup> The reoccupation of London was almost certainly the catalyst for the reoccupation of Southwark.

The Burghal Hidage of c. AD 915 contains the first recorded mention of Southwark; it was referred to in the various versions of this document as *Suthringa geweorche* and *Suðriganaweorc* (the fort or defence work of the people of Surrey).<sup>7</sup> Interestingly, this wording is not repeated in later documents. In Domesday *Sudwerche* (1086), the Old English for ‘the south fort or defence’ is used, presumably to distinguish it from the fortress of London on the opposite bank of the Thames.<sup>8</sup> Dyson has argued that this difference in wording could mean that Southwark in c. AD 915 was a planned or designated fortress rather than a completed one.<sup>9</sup> This change in etymology could be interpreted as a reflection of a change of role for Southwark from a burghal hidage fort, to part of an integrated defensive system for the Thames. Southwark with 1800 hides is the third largest total listed in the Burghal Hidage after Winchester and Wallingford (each with 2400 hides).<sup>10</sup>

Southwark’s original role as a

burghal hidage fort would have been required before any bridge was constructed, to secure the opposite bank of the Thames to London. The building of forts on opposite banks of navigable rivers, linked by a fortified bridge to deny access to ship-borne Viking raiders, was carried out in England and France from the 9th century onwards.<sup>11</sup> The large-scale ship-borne Viking attack on London, and the harrying of the surrounding area in AD 994, may have prompted a reorganisation of its defences.<sup>12</sup> After London Bridge was constructed, the function of the Southwark fort was transformed: it was now part of a more comprehensive system of defence, together with the bridge and the fortress of London at the opposite end of the bridge, intended to control access to the Thames to stop Viking raiders sailing upstream. In 1009 London was successfully defended against a series of sea-borne attacks, implying that the bridge existed by this date.<sup>13</sup> The earliest reliable documented mention of London Bridge is in a law code of c. 1000, although it may partly date from the last years of Cnut’s reign (1016–35).<sup>14</sup>

In the Great Saga of King Olaf the defences of the Southwark bridgehead in c. 1014 are described as ‘large ditches’ and a rampart of ‘wood, stone and turf’.<sup>15</sup> In 1016 the Southwark bridgehead was presumably defended again, as Cnut’s ship-borne army was unable to pass through London Bridge. Instead the Vikings ‘dug a great ditch on



Fig. 2: Peter Jackson's reconstruction of the Viking attack on London Bridge in 1014 (reproduced by the kind permission of the late Peter Jackson FSA)

the south side and dragged their ships to the west of the bridge' and then besieged London by apparently constructing a bank-and-ditch earthwork (Fig. 2).<sup>16</sup> As Southwark is not mentioned by name in this account is not certain if it too was encircled by this rampart, but the existence of a 'great ditch' to the south of the bridge certainly implies that it was. It is probable that Cnut's forces bypassed the bridge by digging short lengths of canal across north Southwark to connect the existing natural stream channels and tidal creeks, along which their emptied ships were then towed. Hauling ships short distances overland during this period was a fairly common procedure to avoid obstacles.<sup>17</sup>

The last reference to the Saxo-Norman defences of the Southwark bridgehead is in the autumn of 1066, when they were successfully defended against Duke William's victorious army, who in reprisal burnt down the undefended part of Southwark in October, before entering the City of London from the west in December.<sup>18</sup> Presumably Southwark's defences were slighted soon after the Duke William's capture of London, as there is no further mention of their existence.<sup>19</sup>

In the Domesday entry for Southwark, its port facilities were described as moorings in a 'tidal waterway' or creek (probably a forerunner of St Mary Overy Dock) and the Thames foreshore or 'strande', where vessels were being beached (probably the area around the bridgehead).<sup>20</sup> The arrangements for the collection of taxes and fines at the port were also described.<sup>21</sup>

### The reoccupation of Southwark: archaeological evidence

The low-lying nature of large portions of Southwark would have made these areas unsuitable for settlement during the post-Roman period, as they suffered from sustained flooding due to the rising sea-level. The settled area during the Saxo-Norman period was therefore likely to have been restricted to the area of relatively high ground on the gravel eyots of Bermondsey, Horselydown and the Southwark bridgehead area (the site of the Roman settlement).<sup>22</sup> The low-lying areas of Southwark were only utilised again during the medieval

period after they were drained and protected by river walls.<sup>23</sup>

The earliest artefactual evidence of Saxon activity in Southwark consists of three coins. The first find was a coin of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I (AD 527–65, alleged date of issue 537) found in King's Head Yard. The second was a 7th-century gold *thrymsa* from the Southwark foreshore.<sup>24</sup> The third was a halfpenny of Alfred found in a ditch at 11–19 St Thomas Street.<sup>25</sup> The two earlier coins are interpreted as either casual losses or lost heirlooms.<sup>26</sup>

The only archaeological evidence for the bridgehead defences found to date consists of ditches found at Hibernia Wharf, and Montague Close/Southwark Street. The ditch found at Hibernia Wharf in 1979 was aligned south-east to north-west (Fig. 1, site 1). The alignment of this ditch indicates that its western continuation was connected to the stream channel or inlet which later became St Mary Overy Dock (Fig. 3). The ditch was some 4.0 m wide, with a broad V-shaped profile. The original width of this ditch (before it was truncated by post-medieval cellars) was probably c. 10 m. The surviving portion of it was 2 m deep, but originally it would have been over 4 m deep. Stakes found along its south-eastern edge are interpreted as part of a revetment, probably to retain the internal rampart. Pottery from the lower fills of the ditch apparently consisted only of residual Roman material, but there was an oak timber *ex situ* which has been tree-ring dated to after AD 953.<sup>27</sup> The upper fills of the ditch, interpreted as systematic infilling, contained Saxo-Norman pottery. Other material discarded in the ditch included a charred wooden oar or paddle and fish bones (discussed below).<sup>28</sup> Other Saxo-Norman features present included cess and rubbish pits. The earliest evidence of occupation within the postulated extent of this defensive circuit consists of one rubbish pit at St Olave's Wharf dating from c. AD 900–1050 (Fig. 1, site 2). The ditch at Montague Close was discovered in 1985; it was aligned south-east to north-west and was over 4.0 m wide (Fig. 1, site 3).<sup>29</sup> The projected circuit of the burh defences indicates that some 5 hectares of the relatively high ground (approximately

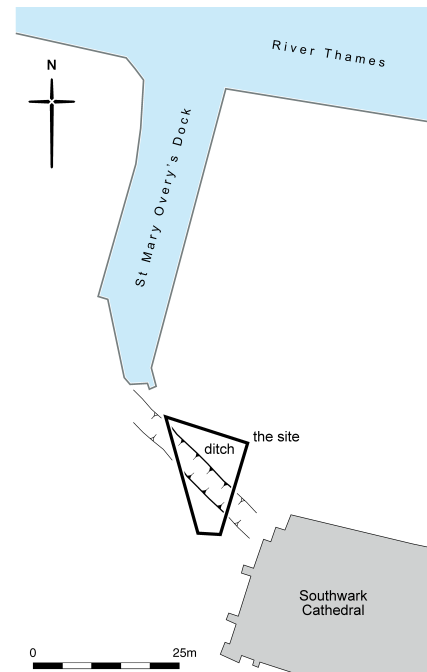


Fig. 3: plan of the Hibernia Wharf Saxo-Norman ditch

following the modern 5.0 – 6.0 m OD contour) around the bridgehead was defended. However, most of the settled area was undefended. The earliest phase of Saxo-Norman London Bridge dates from the very late 10th or early 11th centuries. Associated with the sequence of timber bridges were a series of up-stream waterfronts.<sup>30</sup>

Some idea of the spatial extent of Saxo-Norman Southwark can be determined from the distribution of archaeological features and even finds of residual pottery dating from this period. The southern extent of the settlement is indicated by residual finds of Saxo-Norman pottery at 201–211 Borough High Street (Fig. 1, site 4).<sup>31</sup> Excavations at 106–112 Borough High Street revealed some 11th-century pottery (Fig. 1, site 5).<sup>32</sup> The parish church St George the Martyr was first recorded in 1122.<sup>33</sup> Excavations within this baroque church (built 1734–36) in 2006, revealed that the earliest post-Roman activity was a pit dating from 1080–1300 (Fig. 1, site 10).<sup>34</sup>

The eastern and western limits of Saxo-Norman Southwark are uncertain; negative evidence suggests that the settled area may not have extended much further west than Winchester Palace or further east than Hays Wharf. Excavations at Winchester Palace revealed that from c. AD 970 onwards the site was reoccupied, cess and



rubbish pits were dug and Roman masonry foundations were robbed out (Fig. 1, site 6).<sup>35</sup> The Winchester Palace evidence shows that the settled area pre-1066 clearly extended some distance west of the defended bridgehead. Excavations at Southwark Street revealed Saxo-Norman rubbish pits, providing some idea of the western extent of the settlement (Fig. 1, site 7).<sup>36</sup> The eastern extent is indicated by finds of 11th- and 12th-century pottery at St Thomas Street (Fig. 1, site 8).<sup>37</sup> At Battle Bridge Lane during the 11th and early 12th centuries domestic rubbish was being dumped on wasteland on the edge of the tidal foreshore, implying settlement nearby (Fig. 1, site 9).<sup>38</sup> The south-eastern extent of the settled area is uncertain, as this area is naturally low-lying and therefore was prone to periodic flooding due to rising sea levels. Excavations at Hunt's House revealed that this area suffered from periodic flooding during the post-Roman period and was not utilised again until the 14th century, when drainage ditches were dug (Fig. 1, site 12).<sup>39</sup> Excavations at 211 Long Lane (not illustrated) show that this area was occupied during the Roman period, but suffered from flooding during the post-Roman period and was not utilised again until the late 12th century.<sup>40</sup>

The sites considered here are only a small selection of those in Southwark where Saxo-Norman material has been discovered; the other investigations fall within the postulated extent of the settled area. Ceramics from a number of sites confirm that by c. AD 950–1050 Southwark had been extensively reoccupied. The most common ceramic vessels found in Southwark during this period were hand-made jars which could have been used for cooking (hence the external sooting) and storing food. This implies that other vessels, probably wooden bowls and plates, were widely used for serving food.

### Diet and health

The Saxo-Norman pit fills at Winchester Palace and foreshore dumps at London Bridge contained a wide variety of cereal grains and fruit seeds (including *prunus*).<sup>41</sup> The animal bone assemblage from London Bridge and Winchester Palace was dominated by cattle, sheep/goats and pigs.<sup>42</sup> The bird bones

at Winchester Palace were dominated by chicken. One goshawk bone was present in the London Bridge material; this bird was probably used in falconry.

There was a wide variety of marine and estuarine fish remains present at Winchester Palace; herrings (39%) and white fish (cod and whiting) were the most numerous species.<sup>43</sup> A predominance of herrings (29%), smelt (14%) and cod (8%) was observed in the fish bones recovered from the Saxo-Norman pits at Milk Street, London.<sup>44</sup> Fish bones recovered from the Hibernia Wharf ditch included *Clupeid* spp (probably sprat), eel, herring and stickleback.<sup>45</sup> In the Domesday Survey it was recorded that a dwelling in Ditton, which belonged to Southwark, paid a rent of 500 herrings (*allecia*).<sup>46</sup>

The presence of a fruit wood (*prunus*) stake in an early 12th-century waterfront upstream of London Bridge, implies the existence of vegetable gardens in Southwark during this period.<sup>47</sup> Some of the plant remains from Winchester Palace included weeds of cultivated land.<sup>48</sup>

The cess and rubbish pits at Hibernia Wharf contained numerous eggs of tapeworm and other gut parasites.<sup>49</sup> Similarly high levels of gut parasites have been found in Saxo-Norman cess pits in London, indicating there was generally a poor standard of hygiene and water supply during this period, which resulted in endemic infestations of parasitic worms.<sup>50</sup>

### The Saxo-Norman mint in Southwark

Metcalf has argued from the study of *Crux* type pennies of c. AD 991–97 that during this period there was a newly established mint in Southwark, which was producing 8% of England's coinage, while 18% was produced in London. The relative importance of Southwark as a new mint might be explained by a decision to decentralise minting following the Viking attack on London in AD 994.<sup>51</sup> Where the mint was situated in Southwark is not known, but for reasons of security a location inside the defended bridgehead would seem sensible (Fig. 1).

Dolley argued from numismatic evidence that during c. 1009–23 there was again an important mint in

Southwark.<sup>52</sup> His argument centres on whether or not Southwark and Sudbury (Suffolk) both shared a mint signature during this period: 'the general opinion that almost all the relevant coins belong to Southwark is still not without its critics'.<sup>53</sup> Interestingly these coins suggest that Southwark was known both as 'south work' and the 'south burgh' during this period. The Southwark mint continued production under Cnut and finally closed during Henry I's reign.<sup>54</sup>

### Saxo-Norman Southwark: its extent and appearance

The present archaeological evidence suggests that Saxo-Norman Southwark was a relatively small suburban settlement, which consisted of a settled area around the port and bridgehead with some ribbon development extending southwards along Borough High Street. It occupied some 22.25 hectares or 54.9 acres (including the defended area of 5 hectares), compared with the 133.5 hectares of the Saxo-Norman walled City of London.

By 1086 there was a monastic church in Southwark, which was possibly founded during the 9th century as a minster. Claims that this monastic church was founded in AD 606 as a nunnery cannot be substantiated. Later this church became the priory of St Mary Overy.<sup>55</sup> Excavations within the precinct of the priory during 1999, revealed Saxo-Norman cess and rubbish pits, but no evidence of ecclesiastical buildings (Fig. 1, site 11).<sup>56</sup>

The types of buildings present in Saxo-Norman Southwark were presumably the same as the wooden sunken-featured and surface-laid buildings found in London.<sup>57</sup> However, the apparent absence of Saxo-Norman buildings from many sites in Southwark, as already pointed out, is due to the degree of post-medieval truncation. A small rectangular earth-fast posthole timber-framed building of unknown function and a length of cob walling were found at Fenning's Wharf.<sup>58</sup> At Winchester Palace there was a possible sunken-featured building of late 11th- or 12th-century date and a possible furnace or kiln of unknown function.<sup>59</sup> An early 12th-century waterfront associated with London Bridge included a reused timber interpreted as the top



plate of a house, and a stove which contains a small diamond-shaped hole interpreted as a peephole window, suggesting that these timbers were originally part of the cladding of a building.<sup>60</sup> In c. 1080–1129 a substantial masonry building (over 14 m long and 5.6 m wide internally) was constructed on the site of Winchester Palace. It is interpreted as the hall house of 'Orgar the rich'.<sup>61</sup> It is of a similar size to the 12th-century masonry building (over 15 m long and 5 m wide internally) found at Pudding Lane in London.<sup>62</sup>

The only evidence for water supply during the Saxo-Norman period in Southwark is an unlined well found at Winchester Palace.<sup>63</sup> While some water could have been extracted from creeks or the Thames, there were presumably other wells in Southwark, as not everyone would have lived near a source of fresh water.

### Previous descriptions of Saxo-Norman Southwark

Several historians have speculated on

the possible appearance of Domesday Southwark. Besant wrote: when 'William fired Southwark in order to give the citizens a "taste of his quality", and with intent to terrify them, we must remember that there was nothing to fire here except the thatch of a few huts'.<sup>64</sup> Johnson described Southwark thus: 'the fortifications ... were probably no more than wooden stockades erected behind convenient drainage ditches. A tidal creek, possibly the later St Mary Overy's Dock, provided anchorage for merchant ships whilst the herring boats tied up at jetties by the "strand", the shore of the Thames. Along the water street near by and down Stane Street clustered some forty or more houses, the property of manors elsewhere in the county. Scattered around lay fishermen's cottages and small farmsteads'.<sup>65</sup> Carlin described Domesday Southwark 'as a settlement of at least several dozen houses, ... a thriving commercial suburb with a dock, a trading shore like that of London, a fishery, a minster and an established property market'.<sup>66</sup>

### Conclusion

It is hoped that this article will generate more interest in this often overlooked period of Southwark's heritage. There is much scope for further research on the unpublished Saxo-Norman sites and their finds and environmental assemblages. Also it is hoped that this plan of Saxo-Norman Southwark will be tested and modified by future fieldwork and research.

### Acknowledgements

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1. The two exceptions are M. Carlin *Medieval Southwark* (London 1996); D.J. Johnson *Southwark and the City* (Corporation of London and Oxford Univ Press 1969).

2. T. Brown 'After the Romans: was there a Saxon Southwark?' in J. Clark, J. Cotton, R. Sherris and H. Swain (eds) *Londinium and Beyond: essays on Roman London and its hinterland for Harvey Sheldon* Council for British Archaeol Research Report (2008) No 156, 54–58; D. Seeley, C. Phillpotts and M. Samuel *Winchester Palace: Excavations at the Southwark residence of the bishops of Winchester*, Museum of London Archaeology Service Monograph 31 (2007); B. Watson, T. Bringham and T. Dyson *London Bridge: 2000 years of a river crossing*, Museum of London Archaeology Service Monograph 8 (2001).

3. This article is summary of a paper presented at the 2007 International Society of Anglo-Saxonists Conference by Tony Sharp and Bruce Watson 'Saxo-Norman Southwark: a review of the archaeological and historical evidence', which will be published by the Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies in 2009. It will include a full discussion of the Domesday material.

4. F.M. Stenton *Anglo-Saxon England*, (second edition) (1947) 69.

5. B. Yorke *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (1990) 46.

6. D. Keene 'Alfred and London' in T. Reuter (ed.) *Alfred the Great: papers from the eleventh centenary conferences* (2003) 235–49.

7. D. Hill 'The Burghal Hidage: the establishment of a text' *Medieval Archaeol* 25 (1969): 84–92; V. Watts *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names* (2004) 562.

8. Watts *op cit* fn 7, 562.

9. T. Dyson 'King Alfred and the restoration of London', *London Journal* 15 part 2 (1990) 99–110, fn 57.

10. Hill *op cit* fn 7, table 2. A hide was a unit of land taxation.

11. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, (ed and trans) M.J. Swanton (1996) 139.

12. ASC *op cit* fn 11, 126–8.

13. ASC *op cit* fn 11, 139.

14. Watson et al *op cit* fn 2, 57.

15. J.R. Hagland and B. Watson 'Fact or folklore; the Viking attack on London Bridge' *London Archaeol* 10, no 12 (2005) 328–32.

16. ASC *op cit* fn 11, 148–9.

17. Watson et al *op cit* fn 2, 54.

18. Johnson *op cit* fn 1, 10; P. Mills 'The Battle of London 1066' *London Archaeol* 8 no 3 (1996) 59–62.

19. In 1266 it is documented that the temporary defences which been constructed around Southwark during the recent civil war were destroyed, see Brown *op cit* fn 2, 58.

20. This dock, which is also known as St Saviour's Dock, now contains the scaled-down replica of the *Golden Hind*. It appears that most of the historic docks in Southwark started as stream channels or creeks used as sheltered moorings and landing places.

21. S. Wood (ed and trans) *Domesday Book: Surrey*, (1975), folio 5.28.

22. J. Drummond-Murray, P. Thompson with C. Cowan *Settlement in Roman Southwark: archaeological excavations 1991–8 for the London Underground Jubilee Line Extension Project*, Museum of London Archaeology Service Monograph 12 (2002) fig 12.

23. Carlin *op cit* fn 1, 38, 40, 56; J. Drummond-Murray, D. Saxby and B. Watson 'Recent archaeological work in the Bermondsey district of Southwark' *London Archaeol* 7, no 10 (1995) 255; Watson et al *op cit* fn 2, 152–54.

24. D.M. Metcalf 'Some finds of thrymsas and sceattas

in England' *British Numismatic Journal* 56 (1986) 1–15.

25. P. Stott 'Saxon and Norman coins from London' in A. Vince (ed.) *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London: II finds and environmental evidence* London Middlesex Archaeol Society Special Paper 12 (1991) 309, cat no 71 (11ST577).

26. Watson et al *op cit* fn 2, 56–57.

27. Excavations at Hibernia Wharf 1979–80, TQ 3275 8035, archive (HIB 79) in LAARC. The available dating evidence (Oracle database 2007) from this ditch (Group 17) is Saxo-Norman pottery (AD 970–1100) from the in-filling the ditch with organic rubbish (Sub-group 2019); the only dating evidence from the water-lain lower fills (Sub-group 2017), apart from residual Roman pottery is an oak timber [240] *ex situ* which has been tree-ring dated (heartwood only) to AD 943, in other words it was derived from a tree felled some time after AD 953 (Ian Tiers *pers comm* 2006).

28. P. Marsden *Ships of the Port of London: first to the eleventh centuries*, English Heritage Archaeology Rep No 3 (1994) 159.

29. This large ditch is provisionally interpreted as part of the Saxo-Norman burh defences, but this interpretation has not yet been confirmed by post-excavation analysis. Details in 2SSB85 archive, LAARC.

30. Watson et al *op cit* fn 2, 57–71.

31. J.C. Thorn 'Medieval and later pottery from 201–211 Borough High Street', in *Southwark Excavations 1972–74 (part 1)* London Middlesex Archaeol Soc and Surrey Archaeol Soc Joint Publication No 1 (1978) 128–140.

32. C. Orton 'Medieval and post-medieval pottery from 106–114 Borough High Street', in *Southwark Excavations 1972–74 (part 1)* London Middlesex Archaeol Soc and Surrey Archaeol Soc Joint Publication No 1 (1978) 177–220.

33. Carlin *op cit* fn 1, 94.



# Archaeology for London



For 16 days this summer, people all over London had the opportunity to participate in archaeology during the Festival of British Archaeology.

*London Archaeologist* set up its stall in the historic Wanstead Park, where excavations were underway to investigate a Roman villa site, and where local people tried their hand at making their own mosaics on magnetic boards – the lion-headed rabbit and the space snake were two of our favourites.

At the Museum of London, a venue for activities throughout the festival, our own London Bridge became crowded with houses, shops, pubs and a tower prickling with heads on sticks – all created by children and adults from as far afield as Dorset and Spain.

Community and archaeology groups are welcome to borrow our colourful magnetic mosaics or the amazing portable London Bridge: contact the Secretary (see p. 145).

LEFT: *London Archaeologist* attracted attention at the Museum of London with a conservation foam version of London Bridge made by committee member John Brown.

BELOW: With some help from her sister, this ambitious mosaicist filled her space with an abstract pattern, while others went for portraits, flowers, animals and monsters.



## continued from previous page

34. Sub-group 312, a pit dated to AD 1080–1350. Post-excavation work on this MOLA site is ongoing, details in SGY05 archive, LAARC.

35. Seeley et al *op cit* fn 2, 12.

36. C. Cowan 'A possible mansio in Roman Southwark: excavations at 15-23 Southwark Street, 1980-86' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 43 (1992) 3–192.

37. C. Orton 'The Medieval and later pottery from 1-7 St Thomas Street' in *Southwark Excavations 1972-74 (part 2)* London Middlesex Archaeol Soc and Surrey Archaeol Soc Joint Publication No 1 (1978) 379–385.

38. I. Grainger 'Excavations at Battle Bridge Lane in 1995: medieval and early post-medieval development along Tooley Street, Southwark' *Surrey Archaeol Collect* 87 (2000) 1–47.

39. R. Taylor-Wilson *Excavations at Hunt's House Guy's Hospital, London Borough of Southwark*, Pre-Construct Archaeol Ltd Monograph 1 (2002) 38.

40. J. McKinley 'Excavations at 211 Long Lane, Southwark Part II: Romano-British pasture to post-medieval tanneries' *London Archaeol* 11 no 4 (2005) 87–94.

41. J. Giorgi 'The plant remains from Fennings Wharf in Watson et al *op cit* fn 2, 223; J. Giorgi 'Plant remains' in Seeley et al *op cit* fn 2, 119–25.

42. K. Rielly 'The animal bones from Fennings Wharf' in Watson et al *op cit* fn 2, 214–15; K. Rielly 'Vertebrate remains' in Seeley et al *op cit* fn 2, 130–33.

43. K. Rielly 'Vertebrate remains' in Seeley et al *op cit* fn 2, 130–40.

44. A. Locker 1985 'Milk Street – the fish bones' unpublished report part of MLK76 archive LAARC.

45. HIB79 archive *op cit* fn 27.

46. Wood *op cit* fn 21, folio 19.2.

47. Watson et al *op cit* fn 2, 67.

48. J. Giorgi 'Plant Remains' in Seeley et al *op cit* fn 2, table 23.

49. C. de Rouffignac 'Parasite egg survival and identification from Hibernia Wharf, Southwark' *London Archaeol* 5 no 4 (1985) 103–5.

50. C. de Rouffignac 'Parasite remains from the sites in the area of Cheapside' (p 229–31) in J. Schofield, P. Allen, and C. Taylor 'Medieval Buildings and Property Development in the Area of Cheapside' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 41 (1990) 39–237.

51. D.M. Metcalf *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon and Norman coin finds c 973-1086*, Royal Numismatic Society and Ashmolean Museum Oxford (1998) 115–16.

52. R.H.M. Dolley 'A note on the mints of Sudbury and Southwark at the end of the reign of Æthelred II' *British Numismatic Journal* 28 part 2 (1956) 264–9.

53. D.M. Metcalf 'The ranking of Boroughs: numismatic evidence from the reign of Aethelred II' in D. Hill (ed.) *Ethelred the Unready* British Archaeol Rep 59 (1978) 159–212.

54. Carlin *op cit* fn 1, 15.

55. J. Blair 'Frituwoold's kingdom and the origins of Surrey' in S. Bassett (ed.) *The Origin of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms, Studies in the early history of Britain* (1989) 97–122; see also Carlin *op cit* fn 1, 67.

56. D. Divers, C. Mayo and N. Cohen (in prep) *Millennium Excavations at Southwark Cathedral*, Pre-Construct Archaeology Monograph.

57. V. Horsman, C. Milne and G. Milne *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London 1: Buildings and Street Development*, London Middlesex Archaeol Soc Special Paper 11 (1988) 100–7.

58. Watson et al *op cit* fn 2, fig 28.

59. Seeley et al *op cit* fn 2, 18.

60. Watson et al *op cit* fn 2, 70.

61. Carlin *op cit* fn 1, 32–33; Seeley et al *op cit* fn 2, 17.

62. Horsman et al *op cit* fn 46, fig 11.

63. Seeley et al *op cit* fn 2, 18

64. Sir W. Besant *London South of the Thames Survey of London* (1912) 16.

65. Johnson *op cit* fn 1, 10.

66. Carlin *op cit* fn 1, 18.