

Fig. 1: the Saxon defences of Southwark (drawn by Jessica Ogden)

Saxon defences of Southwark

Graham Dawson

Southwark's first appearance in documents is in the 9th- or 10th-century *Burghal Hidage*, which is a list of fortified settlements in southern England established by Alfred and his successors against the Danes. However, despite the large amount of excavation which has taken place in Southwark in the last few decades, the defences of the Saxon burgh at Southwark have not been certainly identified (though their position has recently been suggested).¹ Though the defences probably disappeared quite early, it is unlikely that they left no impression on the later layout of Southwark, and by drawing together a large number of small pieces of later evidence a picture of the defences can be arrived at which is rather different to that suggested in the

above article. All numbers with a 'C' before them refer to plot numbers on Figs 1 and 2.

The southern defences

Starting at the south end of the burgh, there was a feature called the Bar of Southwark or sometimes St George's Bar. This has been located by some historians at the south end of Tabard Street at a place called the Lock,² but there is a mass of evidence that it was in fact at St George's Church (C88). For example, in the bequest by Thomas Davy in 1478 of gravel 'to repair Long Lane between the bar of St Georges and Bermondsey',³ the king's order in 1395 that 'the street from London Bridge to the barriers of Southwark by St George's church to be cleaned'⁴ and the

witnessing of a deed in 1290 by Henry de Walworth 'rector of St George's next to the bar of Southwark'.⁵

Such bars occur in a number of towns, for example York and Beverley; Temple Bar in London is another example. The word means gate, which is the likely meaning here. In the period for which we have documents there is no evidence for a physical barrier, and in 1307 the Southwark jury explicitly stated that the burgh of Southwark was not closed by gates,⁶ so it may have become merely a place name by then, but it must date back to a time when it was the southern gate of the burgh (it may be significant that while York and Beverley, which both go back to the Saxon period, have bars, Hull, only a few miles from Beverley but not

founded until the late 13th century, has gates). It did not mark any sort of administrative boundary, for both the Great Liberty and the King's Liberty included areas north and south of it, as did the parish of St George, but the part of Southwark to the south of it was called Southwark beyond the bar,⁷ showing that it was somehow different to the area to the north. The Newington parish boundary is a puzzle, because it projects northwards between two parts of Southwark, and its northern point is marked today by a plaque on the south wall of St George's church.

On the west side of Borough High Street was a feature called the Bordych;⁸ it cannot be precisely located but it was in the general area of the Bar because it abutted north on a tenement called the Clement which itself abutted on a tenement described as at St George's Bar⁹ and it seems to have been incorporated into the grounds of Brandon's house opposite St George's church (C61). Bordych must mean the ditch of the burgh or borough, and a similar name (Bordykes) occurs in Tonbridge where it is part of the borough defences;¹⁰ it seems a good candidate for the south-west defence of the burgh. Besides its name, it is described in 1444 as a parcel of a dyke and plot of land adjacent about 100 ft long but only 24 ft wide. It was held directly of the king, though it lay in the Prior of Bermondsey's liberty, and it was only worth its 1d rent,¹¹ all showing that it was not a normal tenement.

On the east side there is the problem of St George's church, which seems to lie where the south-east defence would be expected. A church exists in a similar position at the north gate of Oxford, and it has been suggested that its tower was one of the towers of the gate of the Saxon town.¹² It is possible that St George's started in a similar way in the gatehouse, but it must be remembered that St George's was in private ownership when it was granted to Bermondsey Priory in the early 12th century.¹³ On the basis of the suggested arrangement at Oxford, the body of the church would originally have lain against the north face of the rampart, but the later church would have replaced the rampart. More of a problem is the road pattern. The road

from the south-east, Kent Street in the middle ages, does not aim for this putative gate position, but joins Long Lane which runs from the Bar to Bermondsey and then does a sharp left turn to reach the gate into the town. This has been obscured today by the construction of Great Dover Street to overcome the traffic problems it created.¹⁴ This stretch of Long Lane lies in the position where one would have expected the ditch of the southern defence to lie, which would mean that Long Lane is post-conquest (i.e. it was only created after the establishment in the late 11th century of Bermondsey Abbey, to which it leads) and thus the road from the south-east must be later still, as I have suggested elsewhere.¹⁴

The eastern defences

On the east side of Borough High Street between St George's churchyard and the cemetery of St Thomas' Hospital there were about 37 blocks of property in the middle ages. Most of them do not have abuttal evidence (17) and five of the others abut on the property to the north or the south which projects behind them, but the other 15 all abut eastwards onto a ditch. This ditch is variously described; sometimes as the common ditch (C89, C97, C118, C120), which means that it was a communal not a private asset, but it was sometimes called the 'common ditch of the vill of Southwark' (C108, C109, C125)¹⁵ or the (common) ditch of Southwark (C90, C100, C102, C119)¹⁶ and sometimes as the Tunditch (C102, C128)¹⁷ which must mean the same as Bordych, and twice, most significantly, as the ditch which runs round Southwark (C108 and C124).¹⁸ In a case in 1433 it is said that 'water of Thames flowed back and forth in this ditch up to Long Lane'¹⁹ and in 1416 as the 'ditch which flows to and from the Thames' (C99)²⁰. This ditch can still be seen on 17th- and 18th-century maps, and in the light of these descriptions is a candidate for the site of the eastern defences of the Saxon burgh.

The most easterly property within the manor that Bermondsey held in the middle ages (C85) was called in 1417 the common pond²¹ and in the early 16th century was the site of the cucking stool known as the Waterclose;²² was this a relic of the defensive ditch of the

burgh at this point or a natural feature utilised in the defences? There is one deed which describes the property immediately east of St George's churchyard (C87a) as abutting north on the 'ditch of the vill'²³ but the topography of this plot is confusing and there is evidence that it surrounded St George's churchyard on the north as well as the east. There are also problems with the property to the east (C87b), which in 1422 was said to be 'beyond the common ditch',²⁴ and in 1420 there is a reference to a common ditch in which water flowed to and from the Thames to Long Lane, though this may relate to C97 in Borough High Street, both of which were leased together.²⁵ The ditch appears to run between C87a and C87b. That it runs up to Long Lane rather than turning west to the north of St George's church, as the above abuttal might suggest, would support the idea that Long Lane overlies the southern ditch and that the ditch along the south-east segment of the defences was abandoned at a very early period, but it also shows that the ditch could not, by the 12th century, have 'run round Southwark', so the descriptions of it doing so must be a memory of its former function.

To the north of St Thomas' Street the topography has been confused by the development of St Thomas' Hospital precinct. The ditch can be seen on Lea and Morden's map of 1682 to run along the eastern side of the cemetery of St Thomas' Hospital. Some deeds for this area refer to the 'ditch made in time of war' (which means that it was either recognisably defensive or that a tradition existed that it had been); the topographical data in them do not allow its position to be identified with certainty but the ditch on the east side of the cemetery is the most likely candidate.²⁶ Beyond this the position is very obscure though there are some hints as to where the ditch might lie.

To the east lay the precinct of St Thomas' Hospital, the eastern part of which was described in 1213 as lying 'in the field next the court of the hospital towards the east';²⁷ it should therefore lie outside the defences. There was a ditch along the north boundary of the Hospital precinct which survived to the 17th century and there is one deed which refers to it as made in the time of

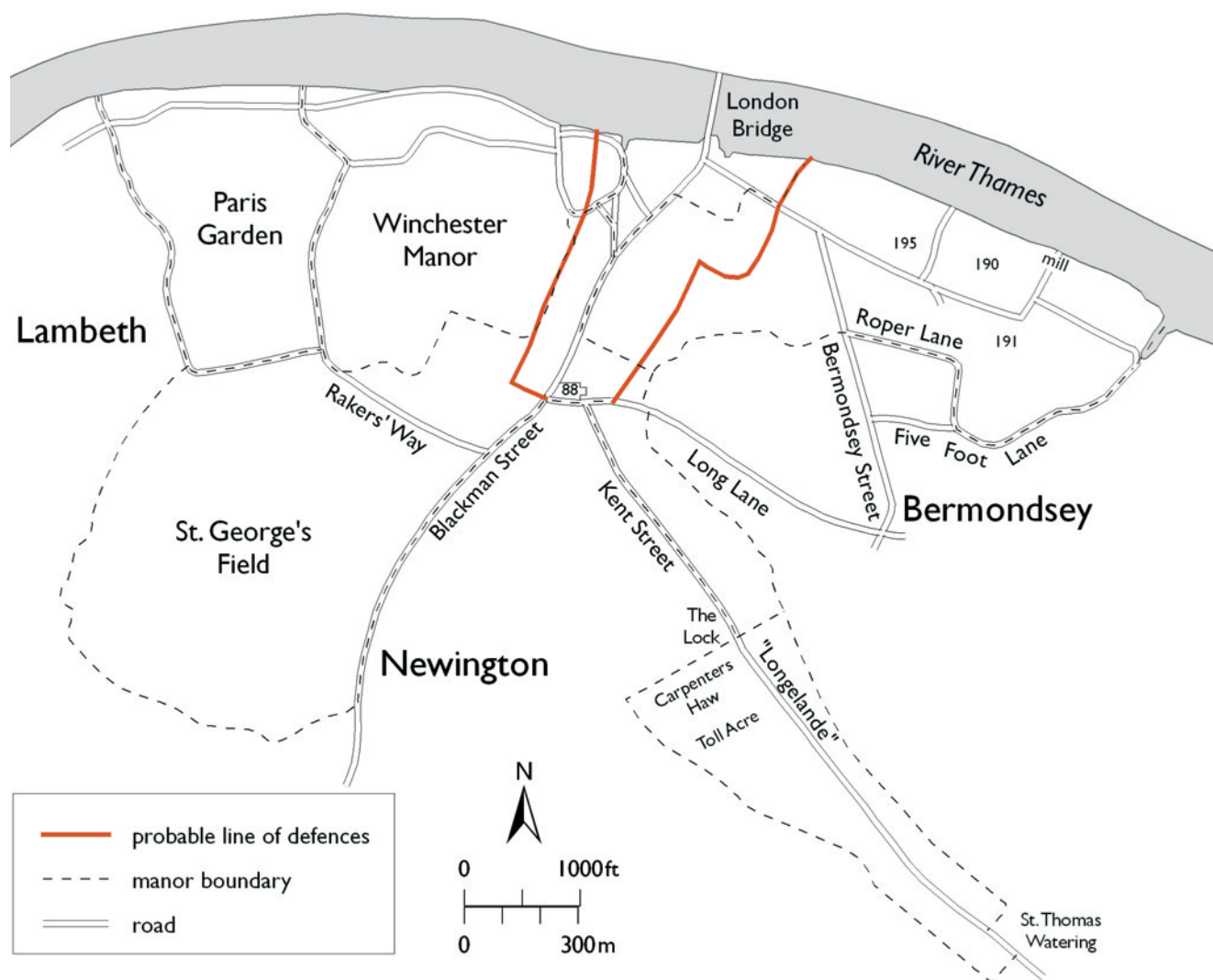


Fig. 2: the medieval burgh of Southwark showing the Saxon defences (drawn by Jessica Ogden)

war, but this is somewhat dubious because it does not occur in the text of the deed but only in the marginalia.²⁸

On the north side of Tooley Street, in 1197, the property of the monks of Rochester (Fig. 2, C195, which later belonged to the Dunleys) was described as 'beyond Southwark to the east'²⁹ so clearly the burgh defences would be to the west of this. But this property lay in an area called Grimscoft and the early 13th-century deeds relating to Battle Abbey's lands show that Grimscoft extended westwards at least as far as the boundary between the site of Battle Inn (C220-1) and the Bridge House³⁰ (C223-4), and in the 13th century there was a ditch between these two properties about which there was a dispute between Battle Abbey and the Bridge House.³¹ This ditch was called 'the common ditch of the vill of Southwark' in a charter of c. 1248x54³² and it therefore seems a likely site for the burghal defences; it was also the

boundary between the archbishop's liberty and the Guildable Liberty.

On the south side of Tooley Street there were also crofts. One of them, Stonildcroft, is first mentioned in 1198 and included at least part of the property which later became the inn of the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury (C162) who acquired it in 1198x1213.³³ The western boundary of this property is therefore a possible site of the defences, especially as it does not lie far from the western boundary of Battle Inn on the north side of the road. There was a ditch which separated Christ Church's property and that to its west which was originally part of the property to the west, but early in the 13th century the boundary seems to have been moved slightly westward.³⁴ The property to the west abutted south on the 'ditch of the town of Southwark' in a deed of 1378³⁵ which was the ditch on the north side of the precinct of St Thomas' Hospital. This property

lay well east of the Guildable Manor boundary, whose boundary south of Tooley Street was much further west than that on the north side.

Although this seems the most likely position for the defences, such a position would require a lengthy return to bring it back in line with the ditch on the east side of the hospital cemetery, and such a return would have been along the northern boundary of St Thomas' precinct since the 'field' mentioned above extends well to the west of Christ Church's inn. There is another ditch further west which ran to a point opposite the west end of the Bridge House property and though this is shown on Lea and Morden as stopping short of Tooley Street in the 13th century it separated two properties fronting onto Tooley Street and in one deed is called the 'common ditch of Southwark'.³⁶ This would still require a re-entrant, but a much smaller one. On the north side of Tooley Street the line

would be marked by Bridge House Lane/alley to St Augustine's house, though there is only indirect evidence for its existence as early as the 13th century and one deed of c. 1200 certainly ignores its existence³⁷ but this is a possible alternative to the line further east.

A caveat should be entered here that there was one ditch within Grimscoft and two (possibly the same ditch) within the Stonildcroft which were called the 'ditch of the vill of Southwark'³⁸ though what distinguished them from private ditches, of which there were many, is not clear unless it was some sort of extra defence on this side, which was where the principal threat lay from Danes sailing up the Thames.

The western defences

On the west side of Borough High Street the pattern is similar to that on the east, with the tenements abutting west onto either the tenement to north or south projecting behind it or on a ditch. But here the ditch is usually referred to as the Bishop of Winchester's ditch because it was the boundary of his manor of Southwark, later known as the Clink. Before the early 12th century, when the bishop acquired it, this was not a boundary but would be a suitable place for the western defences of the burgh and there is one deed³⁹ in which it is referred to as the townditch. Here there is some archaeological evidence. In 1988 an excavation at 16–18 Union Street⁴⁰ revealed part of this ditch, which was over 26 ft wide and at least 6½ ft deep (the western edge was not found); though this clearly served as the eastern boundary of the Clink it seems much too large to be a simple boundary ditch (there was a later medieval recut on a much smaller scale) and this may therefore be archaeological evidence for the Saxon defences of Southwark. It is also significant that although it is called the bishop's ditch, the tenements along Borough High Street seem to have been responsible for maintaining it, for in 1552 'all having land on the common sewer coming from place called le Kyng's Place [what had been Suffolk Place opposite St George's church] to le Park Gate' [just west of where the ditch meets Park Street] were

ordered by the court of the Kings's Manor to scour it,⁴¹ and in a lease of 1502 two fields of the demesne of the Clink Liberty abutted east on the common sewer from the Thames.⁴² As on the east side, the line at the north end is less clear cut. It is possible that it follows the eastern boundary of the Clink, as it did further south, but an alternative line may be represented by a sewer which ran along the western edge of the Bishop of Winchester's palace grounds, parallel to but a little way east of the north/south arm of Park Street, which would continue better the line of the ditch further south. Depending on which of these lines it took, the Bishop of Winchester's house would have lain without or within the burgh's defences respectively.

Quitrents

Many of the properties in Southwark owed a quitrent to their manorial lord and it is likely that all did originally. This has led some historians to assume that the manorial lord, particularly the bishop of Winchester, originally owned all the land in their manors but had alienated them (obviously at a very early date since no deeds for such alienation exists) but this is not so and is one of the perks which manorial lords enjoyed.

Since quitrents for the burgage plots should be different to those of the extra-mural fields, it should theoretically be possible to define the walled area by plotting the distribution of burgage quitrents against the ones for the holdings in the fields. However, the information about the rents is both too incomplete and too complex for this to be possible.

However, there are some traces of this. In the area 'beyond the bar', that is in St George's Field and along Tabard Street/Old Kent Road, the quitrents are commonly 4d per acre and this is particularly significant because these were in two different manors, the Kings Liberty and the Great Liberty respectively. Within the Great Liberty a number of plots occur with quitrents of 20¼d (plots C105–6, C111–2, C117–8, C119?, C120–3, C156–7). All but the last of these lie on the east side of Borough High Street, which supports the argument above for this area being within the walled area; the process by

which quitrents disappeared can be seen occurring for plot C106 when in 1359 the archbishop's bailiff in Lambeth said that Merton Priory owed a quitrent of 20¼d but he did not know from where to raise it.⁴³ The other two lie on the south side of Tooley Street which again supports the idea that that too lies within the walled area, though these both lie to the west of the western line, so throw no light on which of the two is correct. Elsewhere the data are either too variable (the quitrents in the King's Liberty vary from 1d to over 10s) or too few (there are few recorded quitrents for the eastern part of St Olave's parish) to detect any pattern.

There is evidence for a rent owed to the King of 5/4d from burgage plots in Southwark at plots C27, C138, for part of C140 and possibly C224a, which were all in the Guildable Liberty which remained in the hands of the King, but also at C35 which was in the King's Liberty (held by the Priory of Bermondsey) but due to the King not to the Prior of Bermondsey.⁴⁴ This is a similar burgage rent to those which occur in some other burghs.⁴⁵ It seems that after parts of Southwark were granted by the King to other lords they imposed extra quitrents, so the 20¼d rent mentioned above may be a composite of 5/4d to the King and 19d to the archbishop. This does not seem to have occurred with the rent of 4d an acre since these occur in the fields to the south-west and south-east which were in different liberties. It is not known when this happened but clearly at a very early date; the quitrents in the Clink Liberty, which are very variable like those in the King's Liberty, may have been imposed by Bermondsey Priory before they sold it to the Bishop of Winchester in the mid-12th century. It is not clear why the Priory should impose extra rents there and not in St George's Field, but it may be that the 'Bankside' area in which most of these occur was already built up rather than open fields by then.

It should also be remembered that besides the physical defences the burgh was a legal entity in which property was held by burgage tenure⁴⁶ and this survived into the post-medieval period though in a very attenuated form. But if the defences were in the position suggested by Watson⁴⁷, one would

have to assume that at some later period the area of the borough, i.e. that held by burgage tenure, was greatly expanded, an event for which we have no evidence and which seems very unlikely.

Gates

Besides the southern gate at St George's church and access across the bridge, there may also have been an east gate where Tooley Street crossed the line of the defences, at least from the 1080s when Bermondsey Priory was founded (though this could have been reached from the south gate via Long Lane) but probably from before that to give access to the crofts to the east which belonged to the burgh. A feature occurred in this position (where Tooley Street crosses the eastern of the two possible lines) in the District Heating trench in 1975 and though this is only dated as post-Roman it is possibly the eastern gate (and the only suggestion that the gates were in stone and not in timber) and it is difficult to see what else it could be.⁴⁸ A similar gate also probably existed to the west where Park Street crosses the line of the defences, to give access to fields in what was later the Clink Liberty and Paris Garden, which also belonged to the burgh.

Internal features within the defences

There is no trace whatsoever of intra-mural roads, which Biddle suggested was a characteristic of these late Saxon burghs; indeed it is difficult to see how the defences were accessed (but Christchurch in Dorset also has no intra-mural road). There is a little evidence for common ways leading off Borough High Street which would give access to the bank which presumably lay behind the ditch, though not much. The clearest case is one which lay south of the Tabard between C118a and C118.⁴⁹ What is now St Thomas' Street may have started life as another though its status as a common way was disputed in the late 14th century.⁵⁰ Another probably lay near the river to the north of the church of Southwark Priory (now the Cathedral) which was closed in the late 12th century⁵¹ and Tanhawe Lane, which certainly led to the west ditch, may also have been one, though by the 13th century it had become private property.⁵² Some of

Park Street may have begun as another, as may Bedale Street. There was also a lane running south from Tooley Street to the ditch between C160 and C161⁵³ though again this might have been created by the property owner to give access to the rear part of his plot rather than a common way.

The only structures for which we have even indirect evidence for are two churches. The minster for north-east Surrey was almost certainly on the site of the later priory (now the Cathedral)⁵⁴ but this was not the church mentioned in the *Domesday Book* which was probably St Olave's, which I have suggested Harold Godwinson founded just before the Conquest.⁵⁵ I have suggested that certain deep and large square pits excavated at Montague Close⁵⁶ were part of this minster church; although this has not been widely accepted there is certainly something different about this area, since such features have not been found elsewhere in Southwark, which would be expected if they were domestic. They are so deep that they would be discernable even if all post-Roman layers had been destroyed.

It is often stated that the Godwins had a house in Southwark which, as the local earl, would be likely, but the source is not clear-cut. It depends on a statement in the *Vita Aedwardi Regis* that Godwine was in his 'mansio' in 1052 and although he does not say that this is in Southwark, from the detail it clearly was and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says that he came to Southwark at that point but does not mention a 'mansio'.⁵⁷ Barlow, who published the *Vita*,⁵⁸ translated 'mansio' as manor though 'house' would be a more reasonable translation.

The Borough Fields

Most burghs have field attached to them, sometimes with prefix 'port' as in Port Meadow at Oxford and Portfields at Christchurch. There are no such names at Southwark but there are extensive extra-mural areas within the borough (see Fig. 2) and they must go back to the late Saxon period.

The most clear-cut was the area later known as St George's Field or, most confusingly, as Lambeth Field in the middle ages.⁵⁹ Even in the 16th century this was still a field but

originally it would have been more extensive, stretching along Borough High Street to where Borough Tube Station now is. North-west of this was the area later to be the Clink and Paris Garden, which again were largely fields into the post-medieval period. To the east of the defended area were at least three large fields: Grimscoft,⁶⁰ Stonildcroft⁶¹ and Haghenildcroft⁶² with a probable open area to the east, Horselydown; there was also a field in what became the eastern part of St Thomas' Hospital precinct,⁶³ though this may originally have been part of Haghenildcroft and Stonildcroft, and there may have been another to the east of Bermondsey Street. To the south-east of the burgh there was an area along the line of what became Kent Street (Tabard Street) and Old Kent Road, stretching as far as St Thomas Watering which was also a field belonging to the borough.

There is some evidence that these fields were divided at some time into strips; this is most obvious with St George's Field where traces of the strips survived into the 17th century, but there is also a hint that the same applies to Grimscoft⁶⁴ where a plot is described as stretching from Tooley Street to the Thames, though it is difficult to fit this into the later layout of the area. Horselydown is something of a problem; its name suggests an open area of grazing and many historians believe it was the common of the manor, but it was certainly in private ownership by the late 15th century⁶⁵ and probably throughout the middle ages. This point has been obscured because the parish (St Olave's) acquired it in the 16th century and it was then used in a way similar to a common.

With St George's Field there is also some evidence that it was a 'common field' because in a survey of 1553 an area of it is said to be enclosed but ought to be open after Lammas,⁶⁶ in 1548 a strip is said to be 'sometime of year common to tenants of field'⁶⁷ and in a survey of 1549 a strip is said to lie in the common field called St George's.⁶⁸ The early arrangements in the other fields were obscured by developments during the middle ages.

London Bridge

No discussion of late Saxon Southwark

would be complete without some mention of the bridge which was its *raison d'être*. There has recently been a trend to date the origins of the bridge, and with it the origins of Southwark, towards the end of the 10th century rather than the late 9th or early 10th century. I have argued elsewhere that this is wrong and the evidence for the bridge being there in the early 10th century, on which doubt was cast by David Hill, does in fact relate to London Bridge at London.⁶⁹ Haslam has suggested⁷⁰ that the burghs were all founded in a very short period in 878–9 and had their earthen defences faced in stone later in the 9th century, but that their defences were slighted under Cnut in the earlier 11th century. A number of burghs do have evidence for this sequence though the dating is controversial. In the absence of archaeological evidence, Southwark can throw no light on this,⁷¹ but a slighting in the early 11th century would certainly explain the lack of a defensive perimeter in Southwark from

at least 1066 onwards, when William burnt it without any apparent opposition. However, Haslam's idea that London Bridge existed in the earlier Saxon period built on the relics of the Roman bridge is not sustainable. First, there is no evidence for the Roman bridge being built of stone, and here absence of evidence is evidence of absence since the repeated dredging of the river would surely have produced some of the stone if the bridge had been built of it. Second, he assumes that the Roman roads leading to the bridge survived into the Saxon period, but I have argued elsewhere⁷² that they did not (in fact the course of Stane Street between the Elephant and Castle and St George's church is unknown). The constant repairs that even the later stone bridge required shows that without such constant maintenance, which could not have occurred in the 5th and 6th centuries, any Roman Bridge, especially if it was of wood, would not have lasted long after Roman authority was withdrawn. Building a

bridge on a new site, as Haslam suggests for London Bridge c. 1000, is a considerable operation since not only does the bridge have to be built but the roads on either side have to be repositioned and any structures alongside removed. Since the bridge was repeatedly rebuilt on the site of 'Old London Bridge' this was clearly the preferred option.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Bruce Watson for discussing this matter with me, though obviously his ideas are very different.

Dr Graham Dawson was Assistant/ Deputy Keeper of Cuming Museum for 25 years and is now Chairman of Southwark and Lambeth Archaeological Society. He directed a number of excavations in Southwark and Lambeth including Kennington Place, Guy's Hospital 1967 and Montague Close, and now undertakes documentary research on medieval Southwark and Lambeth.

1. B. Watson 'Saxo-Norman Southwark: a review of the archaeological and historical evidence' *London Archaeol* 12 no 6 (2009) 147–152.
2. For example M.B. Honeybourne 'The leper hospitals of the London area' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 21 part 1 (1963) 45; Carlin *Medieval Southwark* (1996) 24–25.
3. TNA PROB 11/Wattys f271.
4. CCR 1392–6, p. 345.
5. Canterbury Archives, Priory Register B f40d.
6. TNA Just 1.891 f2.
7. L. Drucker (ed) *St Thomas' Cartulary* (1932) deed 293.
8. CPR 1343–6 p. 562 et al.
9. TNA CI/24/105–9.
10. J. Newman *West Kent and the Weald* (1969) 547.
11. TNA C44/29/7, C135/84/13 et al.
12. A. Dodd (ed) *Oxford before the University* Thames Valley Monograph 17 (2003) 163.
13. *Annals of Bermondsey*, Roll Series *Annales Monastici* Vol III sa 1122.
14. 'Where was Trenet Lane' *SLAS News* 83 (Sept 2000) 4.
15. E.g. *op cit* fn 7, deed 63.
16. E.g. TNA CP40/806 f319.
17. E.g. *op cit* fn 7, deeds 151 and 167.
18. BL Add Ch 9001; *op cit* fn 7, deed 125.
19. TNA KB27/688 f68d.
20. TNA CP/40/874 f608.
21. TNA C138/29/53.
22. TNA SC6/Hen 8/6026 f6.
23. *Op cit* fn 7, deeds 277.
24. TNA KB27/774 f106.
25. TNA KB27/688 f68d.
26. *Op cit* fn 7, deeds 13 and 128–9.
27. *Op cit* fn 7, deeds 132 and 141; TNA CP25/1 225/3 96.
28. *Op cit* fn 7, deed 132.
29. Rochester Records Office T54/2 (one of many copies).

30. E.g. BL Add 6344 26.
31. TNA E210/240 et al.
32. *Op cit* fn 30, 14.
33. Pipe Roll Soc (1900) no. 124; Canterbury Archives Register B f234.
34. *Ibid* f234.
35. CCR 1377–81, 126.
36. Drapers' Company Archives A VI 15, 138, 161 and 164; LMA BH deeds B22.
37. BL Cott Claud DX f240 and Cott Faustina AVIII f239.
38. TNA DL/25/1873, E326/509; BL Add Ms 6344 47 and f398.
39. *Op cit* fn 7, deed 191.
40. S. Girardon and J. Heathcote 'Excavation Round-up 1988: part 2, London Boroughs' *London Archaeol* 6 no 3 (1989) 79.
41. LMA CLA/043/01/016 f97d.
42. Winchester Cathedral Lib Book of the Common Seal of Winchester Priory Vol 2 f33d; Hants Record Office 21M65/A1/20 f59.
43. Lambeth Palace Lib ED546.
44. *Op cit* fn 7, deed 97.
45. M.D. Lobel 'Notes on the history of Mediaeval Oxford' *Oxoniensia* 3 (1938) 85.
46. TNA C138/29/53.
47. *Op cit* fn 1.
48. A. Graham 'District Heating Scheme' in *Excavations in Southwark 1973–6 and Lambeth 1973–79*, LAMAS/SAS Joint publication no 3, 53 and Fig. 7.
49. CP40/112 f200.
50. Cal Inqu Misc 1377–88 196–7.
51. A.W. Goodman (ed) *Cartulary of Winchester Cathedral* (1927) 456.
52. *Op cit* fn 7, deed 191.
53. TNA CP40/669 f125 and KB27/673 f77d.
54. 'The Saxon Minster at Southwark: some later evidence' *SLAS News* 84 (Dec 2000) 4–6.
55. 'Southwark in Domesday Book' *SLAS News* 79

- (Sept 1999) 4–5; besides the evidence adduced there, Harold's mother founded a church of St Olave's in Exeter which suggests a family devotion to the saint.
56. 'Montague Close Excavation 1969–73: Part 1 – a general survey' *Res Vol Surrey Archaeol Soc* 3 (1976) 45–47.
57. Version D, sa 1052.
58. F. Barlow (ed) *Vita Edwardi Rex* (1962) 21.
59. E.g. *op cit* fn 7, deed 545; TNA PROB 11/Blamyr f169.
60. E.g. Canterbury Arch Register B f233d.
61. E.g. BL Add Ms 6344 42.
62. *Ibid* 38.
63. *Op cit* fn 7, deed 133.
64. BL Add Ms 6344 14 = TNA E326/3326.
65. See TNA PROB 11/Wattys f84.
66. LMA CLA/043/01/016 f137d.
67. CPR Edw 6 Vol 2 p 46; TNA E319/37/2035.
68. TNA LR 190 f156–7.
69. 'Some thoughts on London Bridge' *SLAS News* 119 (Sept 2009) 10–12.
70. J. Haslam 'The development of London by King Alfred: a reassessment' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 60 (2009) 130–137.
71. However, this date seems unlikely for Southwark, since a Viking army controlled London at the time, but it may be significant that the only Saxon coin found in excavations in Southwark was one of Alfred (A. Vince (ed.) *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London II Finds and Environmental Evidence* LAMAS Special Paper 12 (1991) 309, no. 71.
72. *Op cit* fn 14.

Abbreviations

- BL: British Library
CCR: Calendar of Close Rolls
CPR: Calendar of Patent Rolls
LMA: London Metropolitan Archives
SLAS: Southwark and Lambeth Archaeological Society
TNA: The National Archives