

LONDON AND THE SAXON SHORE

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SUMMARY

The term 'Saxon Shore' is known from only one contemporary source, the Notitia Dignitatum. The military stations on the Saxon Shore, popularly associated with defence against Saxon raids, appear to be distributed along the coast from the Wash to Portsmouth Harbour. Yet the antiquity of the command and indeed its precise function is unknown. The forts, probably built in the third century may have been constructed for other purposes and could have functioned for a considerable time before being incorporated within the Saxon Shore Command.

Recent archaeological work in London has produced new evidence of late Roman military installations including a probable signal station at Shadwell and the City's Riverside Wall, behind which lies a 'palatial' complex of buildings erected at the end of the 3rd century. The continuing importance of London in the later Roman period suggests that there should have been a link between the coastal forts and the City, although little direct evidence exists.

I would like to begin by saying a little about the Saxon Shore – where the name comes from, what it is understood to be, what characterises the remains on the 'Saxon Shore', the strengths and limitations of the evidence. It's a fascinating but difficult subject. Then I will move on to London to see in what ways, if any, the later Roman City and the Saxon Shore might be drawn together.

The late John Morris, an intellectual explorer whose mind moved at breathtaking speed through the problems of late Roman Britain, was wont to say about archaeological evidence, or at least its interpretation, that 'you pays yer money and yer takes yer choice!' As far as the Saxon Shore is concerned he was probably about right!

The term after all is known only from one classical source and it applies to a command operating in the very last years of Roman Britain, making use of installations built a good deal earlier.

WHERE THE NAME COMES FROM

The name 'Saxon Shore' comes down to us more or less directly from late antiquity. It is contained in a Roman document known as the *Notitia Dignitatum*.

This is perhaps best described as a handbook of offices, both civil and military, in the eastern and western part of the Empire. It survives in medieval manuscript copies thought to be three or four removes from an early 5th-century original.

For army commanders it lists principal officers, their subordinates, the military units at their command, and often the location or bases where the units were stationed.

WHAT THE DOCUMENT TELLS US

First, it provides a name, a rather evocative name, the *Litus Saxonicum*, or 'Saxon Shore', an area in Britain presumably of coastal land. It also gives us an equally evocative named commander in charge of the units stationed there. He is described as the '*Comes Litoris Saxonici*' – the Count of the Saxon Shore.

Counts, together with Dukes, emerge as military commanders in the late Roman Empire linked with the major reforms that Diocletian, and especially Constantine, carried out in order

to put Imperial administration and military organisation on a more secure footing.

In total the *Notitia* lists three military commanders in Britain: a Duke and a Count of Britain, as well as the Count of the Saxon Shore.

Usually Dukes are seen as frontier generals; Counts more in charge of mobile field armies able to respond particularly when frontiers are breached. Nevertheless our Count of the Saxon Shore is usually regarded by historians, rightly or wrongly, as a *frontier commander* in charge of a *coastal command* strip running south and then west from The Wash round to Portsmouth Harbour or the Solent.

The picture which accompanies this section of the *Notitia* shows nine named stations of the command and the text repeats seven of them listing the units which might be found there, such as the 1st cohort of Baetasi at Regulbio. Two other military units are named, including the II legion, and it is usually assumed that they were in the forts which appear in the picture but are not named in the text.

WHERE FORTS MIGHT BE FOUND

A number of imposing military forts remain on this stretch of coast – or at least in the case of Walton Castle near Felixstowe remained long enough to appear in prints or be described by antiquaries.

Their survival probably owes much to their use as castles and monasteries in the medieval period, for they would undoubtedly provide potential strongholds for military authorities.

It is these remains which, on the basis of a combination of evidence – including similarity of modern name or appearance in the other ancient geographical sources – are considered to be the forts of the Saxon Shore listed or shown in the *Notitia* (Fig 1).

Generally – though not universally – the identifications are as follows:

Branodunum is taken as Brancaster, on the north Norfolk coast, close to the Wash. *Gariannonum* is believed to be Burgh Castle about two miles in from the coast on the river Yare and some 50 miles south of Branodunum. *Othona* is taken as Bradwell, a further 50 miles to the south on the Blackwater estuary.

Regulbium, on the north Kent coast is identified as Reculver on the southern flank of the Thames estuary some 25 miles south of Bradwell and

possibly in view of it. *Rutupiae* is seen as Richborough, probably the main entry port into southern Britain, less than 10 miles south of Reculver and also on the Kent headland. *Dubris* appears to be Dover, another very important harbour, sandwiched between chalk cliffs little more than 10 miles south of Richborough. *Lemanis* is identified as Lympne, 20 miles or so west of Dover, close to the eastern edge of the Weald. *Anderita* is assumed to be Pevensey, thirty miles further to the south-west, and finally *Portus Adurni* is usually identified with Portchester, some 60 miles further west, at the head of Portsmouth harbour.

There are however difficulties here. There are – or were – at least two other substantial sets of remains that could also be candidates for Saxon Shore forts (Cunliffe 1977, fig 2).

One lies in the Solent, at Bitterne, close to Southampton, and is often thought to be *Claesentum*, a place recorded in an earlier Roman document known as the *Antonine Itinerary*.

A second is at Walton, near to modern Felixstowe close to where the Deben, Orwell and Stour empty in the sea. Some have argued that Walton was *Portus Adurni* and that the fort at Pevensey was the most westerly in the system listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum*.

But care needs to be taken with these interpretations. Recently Nick Fuentes has looked closely at the place-name evidence and has come up with a theory that would place the named Saxon Shore forts more or less entirely on the Kent, Sussex and Hampshire coasts (Fuentes 1991, p 61, fig 11).

Those remains north of the Thames, with the exception of Bradwell, which he suggests is *Portus Adurni*, he would place as unnamed coastal stations within an entirely different command.

Despite its bland title the *Notitia Dignitatum* is a notoriously difficult document to use, perhaps because of unconnected amendments and errors made in repeated copying. There are a number of questions that need to be raised about the *Litus Saxonicum*.

First, what does the name ‘Saxon Shore’ actually mean? To many it is a term that means a shore in danger of attack from beyond, presumably from the coasts of Europe north of the Rhine frontier. In that sense it would be an area of coast in danger from ‘Saxons’, whether the authorities meant precisely people from the area of ‘Saxony’ or used it interchangeably for all manner of barbarians who might spring out

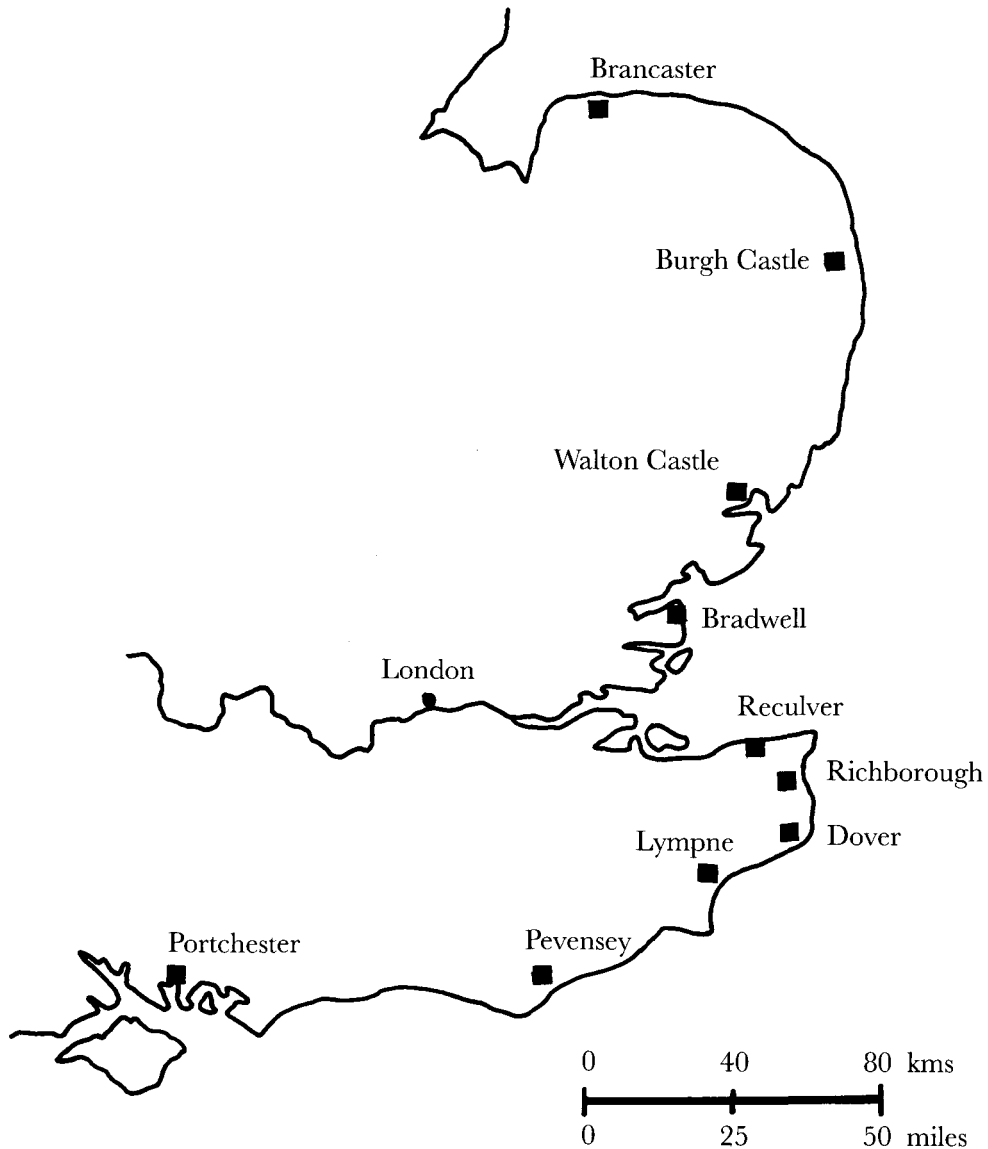


Fig 1. The Saxon Shore forts and London

from the coasts of what are today Holland, Germany and Denmark.

Yet it could be said that it was unusual – and not very good Imperial propaganda – to name an area of your land after actual or potential attackers. Could it be that this area of south-eastern Britain was already becoming Germanic?

The early 6th-century historian, Zozimus, tells us that Probus, emperor between 276 and 282, settled defeated Vandals and Burgundians in Britain in the aftermath of a rebellion, apparently giving them vacant land to farm. The tribesmen

must have been in Britain in some number for, according to Zozimus, they helped put down later rebellions. If only we could locate them!

A hundred years or so later, according to the 4th-century writer Ammianus, the Emperor Valentinian sent a German king, Fraomarius, to Britain to command ‘a large and strong force of Allemani’ here.

So, is the Saxon Shore (a term we know of only at the very end of the Roman period) an area of Britain already becoming ‘anglicised’, if that is the right word, named after the origin of

its contemporary inhabitants, even if they themselves were likely to cause problems – perhaps in alliance with others from beyond the frontiers?

There is a passage in Ammianus concerning dangerous events in Britain in the late 360s; he informs us that: ‘The areas [in Britain] facing Gaul were harassed by the Franks and the Saxons. They broke out *by land* [my italics] or sea, plundering and burning ruthlessly and killing all their prisoners.’

If the Franks and Saxons were breaking out ‘*by land*’ to cause problems in Britain, the possibility that they were already here ought at least to be entertained.

Secondly, the term Saxon Shore does not seem to be geographically confined to Britain. In the *Notitia* the name also appears in relation to two continental commands, which lie opposite to the coast of Britain, and were controlled by Dukes (Johnson 1979, fig 43).

The *Dux Belgia Secunda*’s command stretched along the Gallic coast from the Rhine down through what today is the Dutch and Belgian coast, through the Straits of Dover, to the mouth of the Somme, while that of the *Dux Tractus Armorica* lay further west, in what is now Normandy and Brittany down as far as the mouth of the Loire.

In the lists, each commander’s forts begin with a station stated to be on the Saxon Shore. *Grannona* in the westerly command, *Marcae* in the more easterly one.

This has been taken to mean that the Saxon Shore is a term once applied to the coastal lands on both sides of the channel. Further, that the command originally was unified but by the time of the *Notitia* (c.400) had been broken up, perhaps to make it less powerful, with the Count of the Saxon Shore now only retaining control of the coast in Britain.

This is a feasible interpretation but continental scholars have not yet, as far as I know, been able to locate firmly either of the two specifically mentioned Gallic forts, *Grannona* or *Marcae*.

I would like to suggest one other possibility – that these two forts were located in Britain (a hypothesis which might help to explain our embarrassment of potential coastal remains!).

After all the *Classis Britannica* (the fleet of Britain), firmly attested at many coastal sites in the 1st and 2nd centuries, had a major continental base at Boulogne, obviously necessary for its cross-channel operations. I wonder, therefore,

whether these two later continental commands had bases in Britain because of operational considerations. If so the Saxon Shore should be considered geographically as essentially a feature of the coast of Britain and not the Continent as well.

THE FORTS IN BRITAIN

Now I would like to say a little more about the forts themselves. They might best be described as substantial, both in area and in their defensive walls, but they are by no means identical (Cunliffe 1977, fig 3).

First, study of their designs has suggested that those at Reculver and Brancaster, with their rounded corners – similar in shape to the traditional late 1st and 2nd-century forts of the northern frontiers – are early in the series.

Secondly, the majority of the forts with their high walls and narrow gates indicate strongpoints built to withstand siege rather than springboards for attack. External bastions are found on most, an aspect of late Roman defensive works probably to provide additional firing positions and to prevent walls being breached during attack (Fig 2).

Thirdly, there is limited evidence for internal buildings, particularly when compared to other frontier forts in Britain.

One or two *principia* (headquarters buildings) as at Lympne are known, but evidence for the barracks, granaries, store houses, stables and other buildings that might be found within forts are noticeable by their absence.

The reason for this apparent emptiness within the Saxon Shore forts may lie in the method of construction. Most of the northern frontier forts that were long-lived, had stone foundations for their major internal buildings. The use of timber for construction, subsequent agricultural activities such as ploughing within the forts and the effect of earthworms are likely to have removed much of the evidence for buildings, together with any internal stratification that might once have existed (Fig 3).

WHEN THEY WERE BUILT

The lack of good stratification may help to explain why dating the actual construction and usage of the forts is so difficult. As Barry Cunliffe,



Fig 2. Portchester Castle, Hampshire. View west along the south wall showing bastions (Harvey Sheldon)

who has perhaps had more archaeological experience of the forts than anyone else, has written we suffer from a 'paucity of hard fact' (Cunliffe 1977, p 1).

A mixture of typological differences and excavation findings has led to the suggestion that Brancaster and Reculver were the earliest, perhaps built late in the 2nd century or early in the 3rd. Indeed an inscription from the Reculver *principia* is thought by some to belong to the early decades of the 3rd, though, it has also been argued that it could be as late as the end of that century, and that the style of fort building may reflect the conservatism of the military unit that built it, rather than the date of construction (Mann 1989, p 4).

The remainder of the forts are considered to have been commissioned during the last half of the 3rd century; thanks to dendrochronology,

even Pevensey which differs from the others in its 'oval', rather than rectilinear plan, and was considered to be as late as the middle years of the 4th has now been re-assigned to the late 3rd century (Fulford & Tyers 1995).

What does seem probable is that, even if these forts were, at the end of the 4th century, within a specific Saxon Shore command, they had been built considerably earlier, perhaps for purposes entirely unconnected with that command.

CHANGES IN GEOGRAPHY

One point that needs to be borne in mind when discussing the forts is the geographical changes that have occurred since the late Roman period which may obscure their locational advantage.

Coastal changes in Britain appear to have



Fig 3. *Burgh Castle, Norfolk. View from across the empty interior up the fort (Harvey Sheldon)*

been most marked around the south and east coasts (Jones & Mattingly 1990, p 8. map 1–12). Essentially they seem to have taken two forms. First the erosion of cliffs, which has the effect of pushing the high ground back, and secondly the silting of estuaries, caused probably by the relative rising of the sea level and storms inducing sand and gravel movements offshore.

The dramatic effects of erosion are seen in the loss of walls as well as parts of the interior of the forts. The northern wall of Reculver, for example, the western wall of Burgh Castle and the eastern wall of Richborough have all vanished. Erosion may also have caused the collapse of the cliffs at Lympne, leading to the marked irregularity of the ground plan of the surviving fort remains.

Silting may also have obscured the advantages of the original sites.

Lympne, now on the edge of marshland three miles from the sea, might, in the Roman period, have been a natural sea port for the river Rother which today runs into the sea near to Rye.

Burgh Castle lying close to the Yare, four miles from the sea at Yarmouth, would, in the Roman period, have dominated a large estuary formed

at the confluence of the Waveney, the Yare and the Bure, three important rivers flowing into the sea from East Anglia.

Reculver and Richborough, both lay to the west of the Wantsum channel, which then separated the Isle of Thanet from the mainland of Kent.

Pevensey, now landlocked, probably stood on a peninsula within a large sheltered bay where smaller rivers reached the sea from the centre of the Weald.

The site considered most likely to have remained unchanged is Portchester, at the head of Portsmouth harbour. This is probably because it is not on a river and that, together with tidal flow, may have prevented silt choking up the inlet.

At Portchester, both the scale of the standing fortifications and the sheltered harbour still in use, and close to the sea, give perhaps the best indication of what the forts once looked like and how they operated (Fig 4).

The forts therefore, now largely damaged by erosion and distanced from waterways by silting, are likely then to have occupied dominant positions commanding important natural harbours.

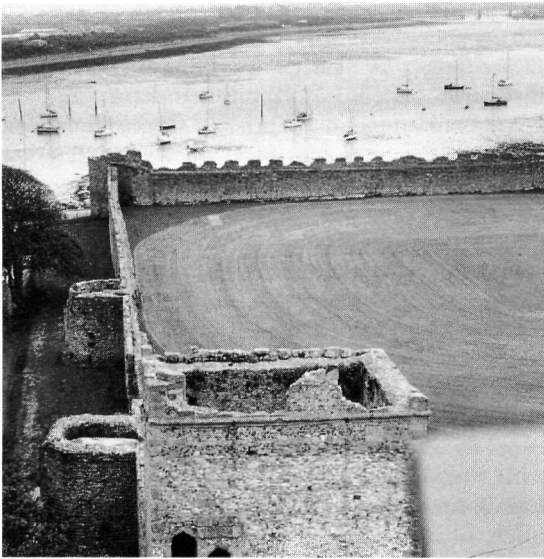


Fig 4. Portchester Castle, Hampshire. View east from the Norman keep towards the harbour, showing walls and bastions (Harvey Sheldon)

THE PURPOSE OF THE FORTS

Next we will turn to the question of what the purpose of the forts may have been. It may be that there is a distinction between their original function, or functions, and their use during much of the 4th century.

It is now generally accepted that most of the forts were built in the second half of the 3rd century, perhaps close to AD 300, although Reculver and Brancaster, dominating the Wash and the Thames may be earlier.

Only Cunliffe's excavations at Portchester have produced reasonably detailed information about internal occupation. His examination of that part of Portchester not occupied by castle, cricket pitch and church suggested a presence during the first half of the 4th century, possibly with timber buildings aligned along metalled streets. Discoveries of jewellery, women's shoes and infant burials though were somewhat surprising for the interior of a Roman fort in Britain (Cunliffe 1977).

John Mann has argued that a prime function of the forts would be to deal with piracy at sea and in this he sees them as extensions of the activities of the *Classis Britannica*, the fleet of Britain, for whose presence in the south we have little evidence after the beginning of the 3rd century, but which clearly had a major role here

before. The forts would therefore house or protect units of the navy, though in the *Notitia* no marine detachments are listed as serving in the forts.

An important result of Brian Philp's excavation at Dover was the discovery of a demolished 2nd-century *Classis Britannica* fort partly buried beneath the remains of the later 3rd-century Saxon Shore fort.

The Saxon Shore fort, Philp argued, was erected in about AD 270, perhaps 70 years after the earlier fort was pulled down, and clearly on a different alignment.

If indeed the Dover Saxon Shore installation and most of the other forts were erected towards the end of the 3rd century what might their original function have been?

Clearly they could have been intended to harbour protective naval units and contain garrison troops to deal with attackers who landed. Intrusions might be expected in the later 3rd century, particularly with the overrunning of Gaul from 'barbarians' beyond the Rhine in the 250s and 270s.

For much of the 3rd century, particularly between c.AD 235–285, the Empire is considered to be in a state of crisis, characterised by an ineffective military response to increasing barbarian invasions coupled with economic disintegration and weak fragmented leadership.

Nevertheless the Imperial response did improve and it is possible that a stronger emperor, such as Probus in the late 270s, was responsible for erecting some of the forts against external pressures. However Britain does appear to have been disaffected for much of the later 3rd century. It was part of the independent breakaway Gallic Empire between 259 and 274 under Postumus and his successors. Even after peaceful re-unification with Rome unsuccessful rebellions are reported under Probus, while a period of fierce independence again occurred between 286 and 296 under the usurpers Carausius and his successor Allectus.

We do know that this rebellion was ended when troops of the legitimate Caesar, Constantius, landed in Britain to recover it by military means in 296.

Consideration of this episode did, in the 1960s, lead to the suggestion by D. A. White that the forts might have been built by Carausius to deny use to the legitimate authorities of the harbours and beachheads that might be required by an invading army (White 1971). This thesis has been

generally rejected, principally because of the differing dates that were envisaged for most of the series.

With the new dating evidence that has come from excavation or re-interpretation at Richborough, Portchester and, most recently, Pevensey, the time might have come to revive White's thesis. If not Carausius, then perhaps his successor, Allectus, could be considered responsible for erecting many of these fortifications in his attempts, ultimately unsuccessful, to keep the legitimate forces of the Tetrarchy at bay.

There is also the question of the role of these forts during much of the 4th century, whether or not they were for much of the time incorporated within a 'Saxon Shore' command.

It is generally acknowledged that there was considerable wealth – at least for some – in Britain during the 4th century. This wealth is most marked by the opulent villas with their elaborate plans and mosaic floors. Much of this affluence could derive from the export of grain and wool, perhaps supplied officially, particularly to the army on the Rhine.

Ammianus informs us that corn was regularly shipped from Britain to the army and the Emperor Julian recorded how he achieved food supplies from Britain, implying the arrival during one year on the Rhine of some 600 ships.

Whatever the original purpose of the forts then, it is possible that during the 4th century they played a part in the movement of such commodities.

The forts are situated on or close to the coast, often at the confluence of major rivers coming from the interior and could have functioned as guarded warehouses where supplies arriving from the interior could be stored before being transported, perhaps in convoy, across the Channel and the North Sea to the Continent.

LATE ROMAN LONDON

It is generally accepted – on the basis of literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence – that London remained important as an official or governmental centre in the later Roman period. It is usually considered to have been not only a provincial but also a diocesan capital of Britain in the 4th century. There are a number of pointers to its pre-eminence.

First, the *Notitia* places the officer in charge of an Imperial Treasury at Augusta – a name which

Ammianus suggests has been given to London during the 4th century.

Secondly, by early in the 4th century a Bishopric had been established here, and its incumbent attended a Christian Council at Arles.

Thirdly, a mint had been opened in London under Carausius in the 280s and it continued to issue coins under Constantine, and then again during the revolt of Magnus Maximus in the 380s.

Fourthly, London was the central focus of Constantius's attempt to recover Britain from Allectus in 296. He issued a medallion, found at Arras, showing grateful Londoners thanking him for their timely deliverance.

Fifthly, we are told by Ammianus that senior generals with their armies, sent to Britain to deal with problems in the 360s, arrived at Richborough and marched to London to take stock of the situation before putting matters to rights.

Such examples, as Ralph Merrifield has argued, suggest that London served as a 'base and springboard' for affairs in Britain. It seems likely therefore that emperors drawn to Britain to deal with problems – Constantius again in 306, perhaps Constantine twice in the following decade, and his son Constans in 343 – would have been present in London at least for a time while strategies were devised (Merrifield 1983, p 213).

It would not be surprising therefore to envisage in London palatial buildings fit to house the Imperial household and their retinue, enclosed within, or supported by, appropriate defences.

Much of the recent archaeological evidence that might relate to this has come from close to the London waterside, depicted on Constantius's medallion.

The Shadwell Signal Station

The first indications of late Roman defensive arrangements came in 1974 when the partially robbed stone foundations of what appears to have been a signal station was found at Shadwell just under one mile down river from the eastern side of the City.

This was an 8m sq building with 2m thick walls of chalk and mortar with flint facing. Double ditches were found to the south and traces of timber buildings that might be barracks to the east. Many coins of Gallienus (253–268) were found together with a large group of East

Gaulish samian – thought to have been manufactured as late as the middle years of the 3rd century – and up to then unparalleled in that quantity in Britain (Bird 1987).

The building is reminiscent in style to the signal towers on the Yorkshire coast, and it might be one of a chain built along the Thames estuary to provide warnings to London about possible attack by river.

In 1974 no riverside defences to complete *Londinium's* landward circuit had been proven, but shortly afterwards excavations, near to the south-west corner of the City, located an extensive well-built wall, constructed above a chalk raft lying over oak piles (Hill 1980, pl 4).

The riverside wall was considered to have been built in the late 4th century, but subsequent dendrochronological study of the timbers found here and beneath other stretches of it, all point to the construction being c.AD 255–270. There is a fair chance that it was erected during Britain's period of independence under the Gallic Empire. It may be not dissimilar in date to the Shadwell signal station (Sheldon & Tyers 1983).

The subsequent history of the riverside defences may be complex. A second, and later wall – perhaps blocking an inlet – was found a few metres north of the riverside wall at the Tower, while, in the west of the City the wall seems to have been extended using monumental architectural ruins from nearby. This might also be a late Roman extension – perhaps blocking a dock – though it could of course have taken place in the post-Roman period.

A late Roman palace

The extension to the riverside wall in the west referred to above contained re-used monumental masonry, not necessarily all of one period. This included part of an arch and a 'Screen of gods', perhaps derived from a large temple complex. The style of the architecture was considered to suggest 2nd or 3rd century-monuments (Blagg 1980, p 126).

Other stones included fragments of altars, referring to the rebuilding of temples, in one case by an unknown governor, in the other by a freedman of the Emperor. The inscription on the former is considered by Mark Hassall to belong to the 250s, possibly to the joint reign of Gallianus and Valerian (Hassall 1980).

So there are now some suggestions of a large

monumental complex, perhaps partly early 3rd – partly mid 3rd, near to the river in the south-west corner of the City arising from those excavations that first revealed conclusive evidence of the riverside wall.

Dramatic additional information came from more excavations close by, at St Peter's Hill, in the early 1980s.

Here Tim Williams found evidence of massive foundations which he has suggested supported a series of individual buildings and monuments within an area of about four acres. The riverside wall seems to have formed a southern returning wall to this complex which, like the former, was supported on chalk and timber pile foundations (Williams 1991).

Dendrochronological dates suggest that the complex was being erected in 294, *ie* under the usurper Allectus, successor to Carausius. Williams has argued that it may have been intended to create a 'multi-functional palace' at the centre of his breakaway Empire, containing not only a palatial residence, but treasury offices, temples and other trappings of state, perhaps modelled on Diocletian's palace in Split.

Williams has drawn particular attention to the chalk foundations and the use of horizontal timber-framing. Similar work has been noted at a number of the Saxon Shore forts – including Richborough, Portchester, Pevensey and Burgh Castle. He suggests that all these constructions were the work of a single body of craftsmen, and asks whether they were redeployed from the Shore forts to undertake the London building as a prestigious project for Allectus. If so then the forts they built were presumably to protect the newly independent Britain from the legitimate forces of the Empire.

LONDON, THE FORTS AND THE SAXON SHORE COMMAND

How can these strands be drawn together? It seems likely that most of the forts identified in the *Notitia Dignitatum* as being on the Saxon shore were built towards the close of the 3rd century, though some may have been erected earlier, particularly Reculver and Brancaster. Britain was disaffected for much of the later part of the 3rd century and independent of Rome, on at least two occasions, between 259–274 and 285–296. It is therefore worth considering the possibility that forts were built to protect the usurper's

coastline from legitimate forces who might attempt to reconquer Britain.

It may be that a connection can be established between the time of building of a number of the coastal forts and the construction of the palatial complex in London, perhaps created to reflect the power and grandeur of the later 3rd-century usurpers.

Ralph Merrifield has argued that London, with its governmental role in later Roman Britain, would have been the 'nerve centre' for the Saxon Shore. As a walled city, he suggested, it would also form part of a second line of defence – a base from which counter-attacks could be organised if necessary. This view of course envisages the Saxon Shore as a defensive command directed against Germanic invaders into Britain. It also assumes an antiquity to the command, stretching back through the 4th century that cannot be proved through its appearance in the *Notitia* (Merrifield 1983, 216).

London with its considerable importance in the administration of late Roman Britain would have been of particular significance for usurper emperors who made it central to their affairs. The Shadwell Signal Station may be too early in date to have been established during the earliest of the two known periods of rebellion, although the Riverside Wall, which appears to complete the City's defensive circuit, may well have been erected during the period of the Gallic Empire.

Whether, after the fall of Allectus any links existed between London and the forts and their operations, either before or during their inclusion in the Saxon Shore Command remains, for the present, unknown. More information which could take us further forward is likely to come only, as at St Peter's Hill, through taking the archaeological opportunities offered by the process of redevelopment.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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dating evidence from Pevensey (Fulford & Tyers 1995). Thanks are due to Gill Clegg, Torla Evans and Wendy McIsaac for their assistance.

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