

Notes and News

THE EVIDENCE FOR ROYAL SITES IN MIDDLE ANGLO-SAXON LONDON

The aim of this survey is to review the evidence for royal sites or ‘palaces’ in London during the Middle Anglo-Saxon Period (c. A.D. 650–850), with particular reference to recent reappraisals of archaeological investigations in the Cripplegate area of the City and at the Treasury, Whitehall.

It is probable that royal sites in London would have had similar uses to documented royal estate centres and residences elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon England. They would have provided residences for the king and his family and retinue during periodic visits and administrative bases for his reeves. They would also probably have been places where feasts and councils were held, charters issued or confirmed, transactions witnessed, disputes judged, and taxes and food-renders (the royal *feorm*) gathered and stored.

Unequivocal evidence for a Middle Anglo-Saxon royal site in London is provided by the law code issued by the Kentish kings Hlothhere and Eadric between 673 and 685, which refers to a king’s hall in London, where the sale of property was witnessed by the king’s town-reeve.¹ Other Middle Anglo-Saxon documents do not mention royal sites in London *per se*, but clearly indicate royal interests there. One of these, a charter issued by the Mercian king Coenwulf in 811, intriguingly describes London as ‘a famous place and royal town’.² The epithet ‘royal’ is, in this case, open to various interpretations. It may, for example, be taken to mean that London was a royal creation, or that it was owned by kings, or that royal authority was exercised there, or indeed all of these things. Other charters imply the presence of a royal representative (and, arguably, a residence) in London to regulate trade and to tax merchants. These were issued by King Æthelbald of Mercia (716–57) exempting leading clerics from tolls on ships landing in London or, in some cases, throughout Mercia.³ Two of Æthelbald’s charters were later confirmed by the Mercian kings Offa (757–96) and Berhtwulf (840–52).⁴

As yet no Middle Anglo-Saxon royal site has been conclusively identified in central London by archaeological investigation, but four likely locations may be postulated (Fig. 1). One is the area enclosed by the walls of the former Roman town of *Londinium* (now the City), another is the extramural trading port of Lundenwic (now the area around the Strand), which lay about 1 km to the west. A case may also be made for royal sites in the immediate environs of Lundenwic, and the two remaining locations considered here respectively lie between the walled area and the port (now the area around Fleet Street) and the riverside upstream from the port (now Westminster and Whitehall).

¹ Translation in D. Whitlock (ed.), *English Documents Vol. 1 c. 500–1042* (London, 1955), 360–1.

² P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968), No. 168. Although nominally East Saxon, London for much of the Middle Anglo-Saxon Period was under Mercian control, although occasionally it came under Kentish (in the 7th century) or West Saxon domination.

³ Sawyer, *op. cit.* in note 2, Nos. 86–88, 91, 98, 1788.

⁴ Sawyer, *op. cit.* in note 2, No. 143; Whitlock, *op. cit.* in note 1, No. 66.

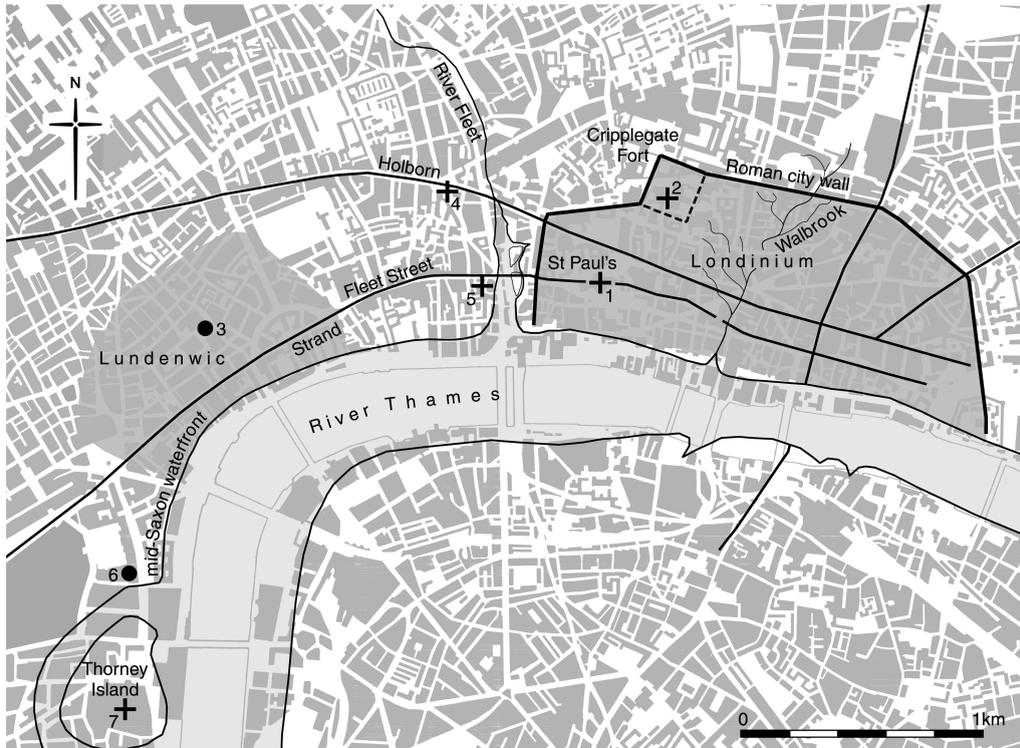


FIG. 1

Principal sites mentioned in the text. 1: St Paul's; 2: St Alban's, Wood Street; 3: Royal Opera House; 4: St Andrew's, Holborn; 5: St Bride's, Fleet Street; 6: The Treasury, Whitehall; 7: Westminster.

THE CITY

The walled area has traditionally been considered the most likely site for a royal palace.⁵ Although archaeological evidence indicates that most of the intramural area was deserted between the early 5th and late 9th century the abandoned Roman town apparently retained considerable symbolic importance, possibly because of its former status as provincial capital and the seat of a 4th-century bishop. These associations and the survival of the Roman town defences may account for the siting of the Saxon episcopal church (St Paul's) in a prominent position within the walled circuit — probably on or near to the site now occupied by Wren's cathedral. The founding of this church in 604 by the Kentish king Æthelberht provides the earliest recorded example of royal influence and patronage in London.⁶ There is also limited place-name, documentary and numismatic evidence for the presence of mints and high-status enclosures in the City.⁷

The evidence for a royal site in the walled area is, however, at best slight and at worst misleading. It is not clear, for example, what the significance is (if any) of the street name *Athelingstrete* (now Addle Hill), which was in use by 1244 but contains the Old English word

⁵ M. Biddle, 'A city in transition: 400–800', 20–9 in M. D. Lobel (ed.), *The City of London from Prehistoric Times to c. 1520: The British Atlas of Historic Towns*, 3, (Oxford, 1989), at p. 23.

⁶ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ii.3. Ed. and trans. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969), 142–3.

⁷ Biddle, op. cit. in note 5, 22–25.

æpeling meaning prince. Similarly, the name Lothbury has a tenuous royal association in that its prefix derives from the personal name Hlotha, which, it has been suggested, might be synonymous with the name of the Kentish king Hlothhere.⁸ Furthermore, its suffix derives from the Old English word *burh* meaning a fortified dwelling, enclosure or manor.

Another possibly significant place-name is Aldermanbury, meaning the enclosed residence of the alderman, which some have speculated might allude to the Mercian ealdorman Æthelred entrusted by Alfred in 886 to rule London.⁹ This small district, in the north-west corner of the walled area, was seriously considered as the site of 7th- and 8th-century royal palaces. The main basis for this was two written sources, which have been regularly cited by archaeologists since Dr R. E. M. (Mortimer) Wheeler published the first archaeological survey of Saxon London in 1935.¹⁰ One is the 13th-century chronicler Matthew Paris who, quoting a dubious 12th-century source, records that the church of St. Alban's, Wood Street, had once been the chapel of the palace of Offa. The other is in the accounts of St Paul's for 1531, which refer to Aldermanbury as the site of King Æthelberht's palace in the mistaken belief that this Kentish king had granted the land to the church.¹¹

The view was further encouraged by two archaeological discoveries resulting from the post-war excavations of Professor W. F. Grimes and the Roman and Medieval London Excavation Council.¹² The first came in 1949 with the identification of the Cripplegate Roman fort in the Aldermanbury area, which led to the suggestion that its stone walls, assuming they had survived into the 7th century, would have provided a ready-made enclosure for a royal palace. The second was the discovery in 1961–2 of the foundations of the first church at St. Alban's, Wood Street, which were tenuously dated to the 8th or 9th century and presumed by Grimes to belong to 'the chapel of King Offa'.¹³

Recent reassessment of archaeological evidence from the area and the documentary sources seriously undermines the view that the Cripplegate Fort was the site of a Middle Anglo-Saxon royal palace. The main arguments presented by Gustav Milne and Tony Dyson are compelling.¹⁴ First, it now appears that the southern and eastern defences of the Roman fort had been levelled in the 3rd century leaving no enclosure for re-use. Secondly, no physical remains of Middle Anglo-Saxon date have been found in the locality. The earliest post-Roman artefacts comprise pottery dated to the Late Anglo-Saxon Period, and their distribution suggests that settlement gradually spread northwards across the Cripplegate area between the mid-10th and 11th century. Nevertheless, this negative evidence should perhaps be treated with caution given the general paucity of Middle Anglo-Saxon remains in the City. Thirdly, the earliest phase of St. Alban's, Wood Street, is now thought to date to the 11th century — more than two centuries after the reign of Offa. This date is mainly based on the similarity of the church to early to mid-11th-century phases of the churches of St Nicholas Acon and St Bride's, and on the presence of Late Anglo-Saxon loomweights and pottery in the churchyard, which probably relate to domestic activity on the site prior to its consecration.¹⁵

⁸ Biddle, *op. cit.* in note 5, 23. The earliest recorded use of the placename is in the parish name of St Margaret Lothbury in 1180–92; see M. Carlin and V. Belcher, 'Gazetteer to the c.1270 and c.1520 maps with historical notes', 63–99 in Lobel (ed.), *op. cit.* in note 5, 79.

⁹ Biddle, *op. cit.* in note 5, 23; Aldermanbury is first mentioned in 1108–c. 1130; see Carlin and Belcher, *op. cit.* in note 8, 63.

¹⁰ R. E. M. Wheeler, *London and the Saxons* (London Mus. Catalogue, 6, London, 1935), 102–4. Also see M. Biddle and D. Hudson with C. Heighway, *The Future of London's Past* (Worcester, 1973), 20; T. Dyson and J. Schofield, 'Saxon London', 285–313 in J. Haslam (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England* (Chichester, 1984), 307–8.

¹¹ G. Milne with T. Dyson, 'The tradition of a Saxon palace at Cripplegate', 127–9 in G. Milne, *Excavations at Medieval Cripplegate, London* (Swindon, 2002), at p. 128.

¹² W. F. Grimes, *The Excavation of Roman and Medieval London* (London, 1968).

¹³ Grimes, *op. cit.* in note 12, 207. The results of the excavation of the church are reassessed in N. Cohen, 'St Alban's, Wood Street', in Milne, *op. cit.* in note 11, 86–100.

¹⁴ Milne and Dyson, *op. cit.* in note 11, 127–9.

¹⁵ Cohen, *op. cit.* in note 13, 91–4.

The possibility of an intramural royal site should not, however, be entirely dismissed, especially on the western hill of the City, which was not only the site of the episcopal church but also the closest part of the walled area to Lundenwic. Moreover, the few City finds of known or probable Middle Anglo-Saxon date mainly come from this part of the City.¹⁶ They include a small quantity of residual chaff-tempered pottery recovered from four sites between St Paul's and the Roman riverside wall in Upper Thames Street. Another part of the western hill worth considering (although perhaps more plausibly as a possible location for a Late Anglo-Saxon royal site) is the area to the north of St Paul's, where the college of St Martin-le-Grand was founded in c. 1056 on what may previously have been royal land.¹⁷

LUNDENWIC

In recent years attention has turned to Lundenwic as a possible location for a palace. Excavation has shown that this was the main centre of population and industrial activity in Middle Anglo-Saxon London, with traces of relatively dense occupation covering up to 60 ha. Numerous artefacts show that the port was actively engaged in trade with the Continent and other parts of Anglo-Saxon England. Arguably the control of trade and the collection of dues from merchant vessels would have been most easily managed from a royal site in or very close to the *wic*, as would other activities that may have been undertaken at the behest of the king. The latter may have included the provisioning of the settlement from royal food-rents and the construction and repair of the settlement's extensive network of well maintained streets.¹⁸

So far only a very small area of Lundenwic has been excavated, and therefore it is hardly surprising that current archaeological evidence from the settlement does not include anything that might be interpreted as a royal site. Excavated buildings have been generally unremarkable rectangular ground-level structures. Those at the Royal Opera House, where most buildings were found, were on average 11.74 m by 5.48 m.¹⁹ Buildings B23 and B26 were the widest, with respective widths of 8.5 m and 7.0 + m, but were atypical and problematic. B23 was almost square in plan, suggesting that elements of two buildings on contiguous plots may have been unintentionally recorded as a single structure, and the limits of B26 were poorly defined. Like most of the buildings at the Royal Opera House, B23 and B26 had been built on cramped plots, and were set close to other structures and, in the case of B23, near a group of tanning pits.

THE AREA BETWEEN THE CITY AND LUNDENWIC

On topographical grounds the area between the City and the extramural port would appear to be a likely place for a royal site. The proximity to both foci of Middle Anglo-Saxon London would alone have made this a prime location, but the area also had the advantage of good communications, as it overlooked the Thames and the Fleet and was crossed by two extant Roman roads roughly on the lines of High Holborn and Fleet Street. Significantly, there may have been churches on these routes at St Andrew's, Holborn,

¹⁶ R. Cowie, 'Mercian London', 194–209 in M. P. Brown and C. A. Farr (eds.), *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe* (London and New York, 2001), 196.

¹⁷ A. Vince, *Saxon London: An Archaeological Investigation* (London, 1990) 57; Milne and Dyson, op. cit. in note 11, 128–9.

¹⁸ See R. Cowie, 'Londinium to Lundenwic: Early and Middle Saxon Archaeology in the London region', 175–205 in I. Haynes, H. Sheldon and L. Hannigan (eds.), *London Under Ground: The Archaeology of a City* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 189 and 194.

¹⁹ Calculated from the widths of 48 buildings excavated at the Royal Opera House: G. Malcolm and D. Bowsher with R. Cowie, *Middle Saxon London: Excavations at the Royal Opera House 1989–1999* (London, 2003), 157–8, tab. 17.

described in a charter of 959 as an 'old wooden church',²⁰ and St Bride's, where an early rubble foundation could conceivably date to the Middle Anglo-Saxon Period.²¹

As yet no clear archaeological evidence for Middle Anglo-Saxon settlement has been found in the area, although a number of chance finds suggests activity there. They include an exquisite silver sword-hilt dated to the later 8th century from Fetter Lane (to the north of Fleet Street),²² which is clearly from a prestigious weapon and might indicate the presence of a high-status site in the locality.

WESTMINSTER AND WHITEHALL

The fourth possible location for a royal site is on the riverbank immediately upstream from Lundenwic, which later became Westminster and Whitehall. Generally this area has produced few Middle Anglo-Saxon finds. A notable exception, however, is the Treasury site in Whitehall, where rescue excavations undertaken by Michael Green between 1961 and 1963 revealed the remains of a high-status settlement dated to the late 8th to mid-9th century.²³ A recent reassessment of the evidence from this site considers the possibility that it was a royal palace.²⁴ The settlement appears to have stood on a spur of land where the Tyburn joined the Thames roughly mid-way between Lundenwic to the north and a putative minster on Thorney Island to the south, where according to the 11th-century monk Sulcard there had been Middle Anglo-Saxon precursors to Westminster Abbey.²⁵ The presence of a Middle Anglo-Saxon minster on the island has yet to be verified by archaeology, but fits well with the discovery beneath the abbey of residual pottery dated to c. 730–850,²⁶ and a coin of Ecgberht of Wessex.²⁷ In this regard 19th-century finds of a hypocaust and Roman building debris at the abbey may also be significant given the frequent association of Anglo-Saxon churches with Roman buildings.²⁸

Although Green's investigations were carried out under very trying circumstances during extensive renovation work at the Old Treasury Building, the Privy Council Offices and No. 10 Downing Street, he was able to record evidence for Middle Anglo-Saxon occupation in five areas (two contiguous) (Fig. 2). The main features comprised a possible boundary ditch, a few pits, a sunken hut and the remains of two successive timber buildings (Fig. 3). The latter were discovered beneath Treasury Green (Area 17) and consisted of a sunken-floored building over which a large annexed hall was later erected. The settlement site appeared to extend west to Area 7, where the ditch was discovered, and north as far as Areas 1 and 2, while the river Thames and the northern branch of the Tyburn probably respectively defined its eastern and southern limits.

²⁰ Sawyer, *op. cit.* in note 2, No. 670.

²¹ G. Milne, *St Bride's Church London: Archaeological Research 1952–60 and 1992–5* (London, 1997), 100.

²² L. Webster, 'Metalwork', in L. Webster and J. Backhouse (eds.), *The Making of England, Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600–900* (London, 1991), no. 173.

²³ H. J. M. Green, 'Secrets of Whitehall: evidence of Roman, Saxon, and mediæval Westminster revealed during the current rebuilding of the Treasury and Downing Street — Part 1', *Illus. London News*, 242 (1963), 1004–7.

²⁴ The reappraisal was undertaken with the intention of publishing a final report on the Anglo-Saxon phase of the site — H. J. M. Green with R. Cowie, 'Whitehall', in R. Cowie and L. Blackmore, *Early and Middle Saxon Rural Settlement in the London Region* (London, in prep.). A full account of the post-mediæval phases is given in H. J. M. Green and S. J. Thurley, 'Excavations on the west side of Whitehall 1960–2, part 1: from the building of the Tudor palace to the construction of the modern offices of state', *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.*, 38 (1988), 59–130.

²⁵ G. Rosser, *Medieval Westminster 1200–1540*, (Oxford, 1989), 12; D. Sullivan, *The Westminster Corridor: The Anglo-Saxon Story of Westminster Abbey and its Lands in Middlesex* (London, 1994), 24 and 59.

²⁶ L. Blackmore, 'The Middle Saxon Pottery', 80 in P. S. Mills, 'Excavations at the dorter undercroft, Westminster Abbey', *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.*, 46 (1995).

²⁷ P. Stott, 'Saxon and Norman coins from London', 279–325 in A. Vince (ed.), *Aspects of Saxon-Norman London: II, Finds and Environmental Evidence* (London, 1991), 309, No. 62.

²⁸ See T. Bell, 'Churches on Roman buildings: Christian associations and Roman masonry in Anglo-Saxon England', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 42 (1998), 1–18.

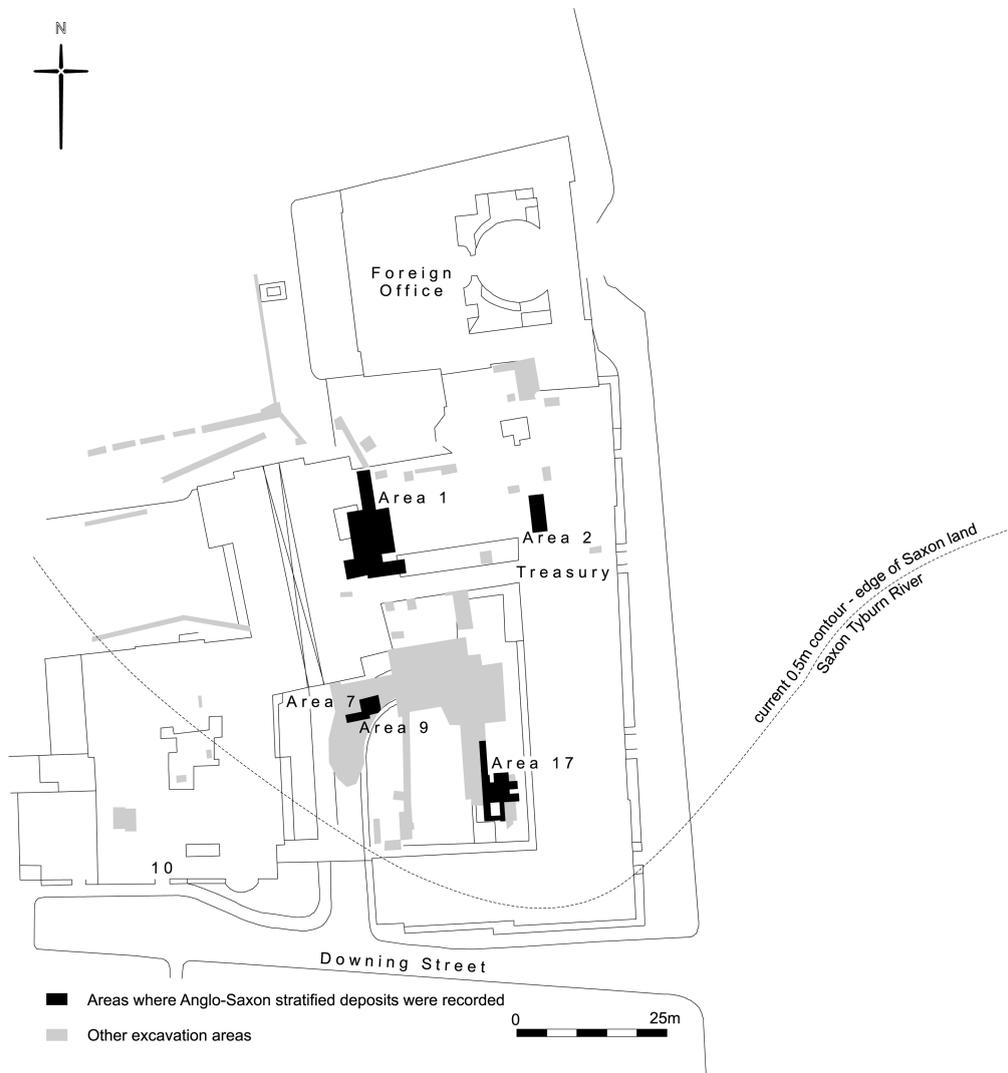


FIG. 2

Location of the excavation site at the Treasury, Whitehall.

The structural features of the annexed hall comprised postholes and shallow slots, which marked the position of external walls, and an area of clay floor. Resting on the floor were two successive features made of fragments of Roman tile that were roughly circular and about 0.60 m in diameter. The first comprised pieces of tile set in a thick bed of mortar, and was covered in charcoal, while the second was made of dry-laid tile.

Over the intervening years the interpretation of the hall and its structural elements has changed as new data have come to light. From the outset it was clear that the features represented the east end of a rectangular hall, with an eastern annexe (then referred to as a porch). It was also thought that the building was of considerable size, measuring some 26

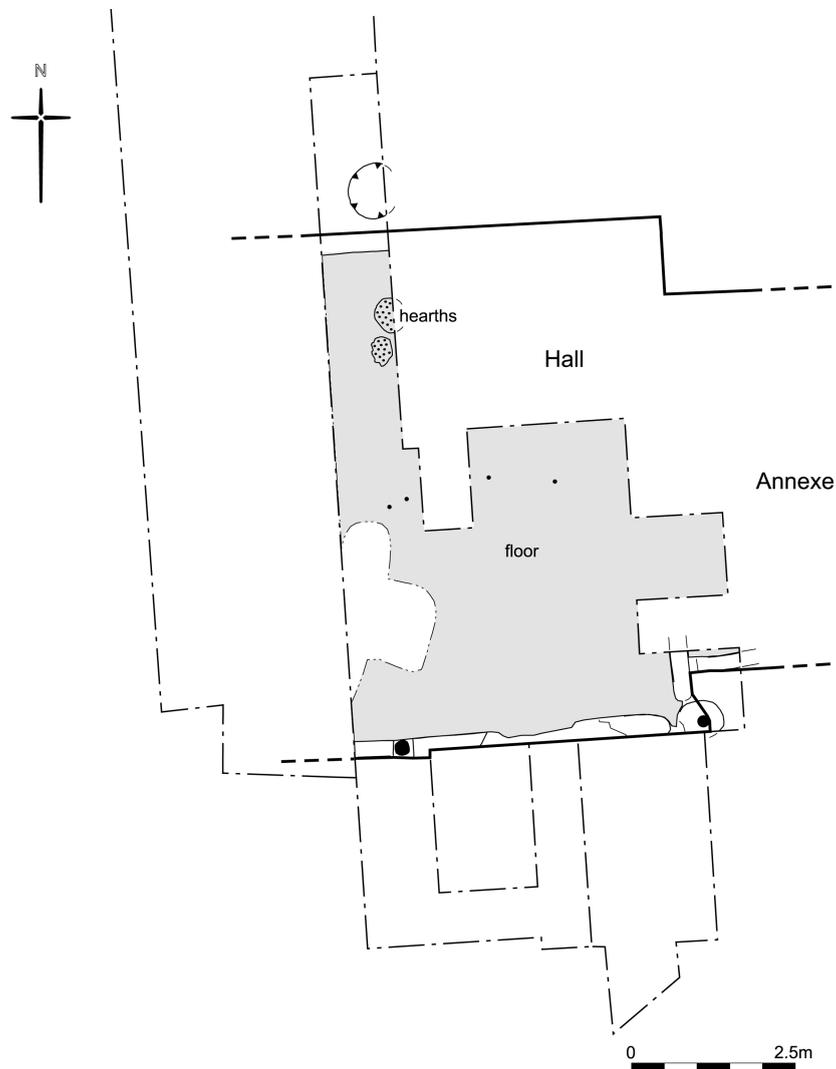


FIG. 3

Plan of possible royal hall in Area 17 at the Treasury, Whitehall.

ft (7.92 m) in width. However, in the early 1960s no Anglo-Saxon halls of comparable size had been published, and some held that a 9th-century building of this span was technically impossible. Consequently, the evidence was reinterpreted and it was proposed that the hall might have been only 18.5 ft (5.64 m) wide, and that a porch projecting from its northern long wall accounted for the greater width originally suggested.²⁹ The features of Roman

²⁹ This interpretation was presented in a draft report by Michael Green, briefly summarised in L. Blackmore, 'Early and Middle Saxon buildings in the Greater London area', *London Archaeol.*, 5.8 (1986), 207–16 at p. 214; R. Cowie, 'A gazetteer of Middle Anglo-Saxon sites and finds in the Strand/Westminster area', *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.*, 39 (1988), 37–46 at p. 40.

tile were interpreted as padstone bases for the northern porch, and the charcoal overlying the first of the two was thought to be the charred remains of a post. This would still have been a substantial building, prompting Green to suggest that it may have been a thegn's hall.

This was not, however, the end of the matter, for a number of problems with this interpretation were identified when the site archive was re-assessed in 2002 — by which time there was a wealth of published comparative material with which to work. Re-examination of the data suggested that the original interpretation and dimensions of the annexed building had been accurate. In the latest model the northern porch is dispensed with and the 'post-pads' of Roman tile have become internal hearths of a type commonly found in Middle and Late Anglo-Saxon London.³⁰ The clay floor is now thought to have lain entirely within the hall, and its extent suggests that the building had an internal width of 7.40 m. Thus, allowing for walls at least 0.10 m thick, the external width would have been nearly 8 m.

On this basis the building appears to have been considerably wider than most excavated examples of Early or Middle Anglo-Saxon ground-level buildings in Greater London, which were generally about 5 m wide on rural sites,³¹ and slightly more in Lundenwic (above). Indeed, the Whitehall building is only comparable in size to a small number of Anglo-Saxon halls found at high-status sites elsewhere in England. The latter include annexed buildings at Atcham (21 × 8 m; 24 × 8 m), Hatton Rock (1E, c. 30 × 8 m), Malmesbury (B, 23 × 8 m), Northampton (Phase 1, 29.7 × 8.6 m) and Yeavinger (Alb, 25 × 7 m).³² The sites at Yeavinger and Northampton were extensively excavated and identified as royal palaces, although it has subsequently been suggested that the timber building at Northampton may have been a church.³³ The other sites, which may also have been royal palaces, were recorded by aerial photography, supplemented at Hatton Rock by geophysical survey and limited fieldwork. Another probable high-status site with three buildings that are comparable in width to the Whitehall building is Cowdrey's Down (C14, 19.5 × 8 m; B/C15, 17.4 × 8.2 m; C12, 22.1 × 8.8 m).³⁴ Considering this comparative evidence it might be argued that the Whitehall settlement was of high status, perhaps the thegn's residence suggested by the excavator, but quite possibly a royal palace. Can the latter interpretation be justified? On the size of the annexed hall alone arguably not, but there are other factors that make such a hypothesis more plausible.

First, the juxtaposition of the site to Thorney Island, where there may have been a Middle Anglo-Saxon monastery, could be significant in that some Anglo-Saxon royal sites seem to have been deliberately sited next to minsters.³⁵

Secondly, the presence of items imported from the Continent, especially Tating Ware, suggests that the rural settlement was of high status. A gilded silver fitting (probably from a scabbard), dredged from the Thames near Westminster Bridge in 1866, is a prestigious object that might be associated with the settlement. This particularly fine piece, which is

³⁰ Malcolm and Bowsher with Cowie, *op. cit.* in note 19, 155; V. Horsman, 'Hearths and ovens', 97–9 in V. Horsman, C. Milne and G. Milne, *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London: I, Building and Street Development* (London, 1988).

³¹ Cowie and Blackmore, *op. cit.* in note 24.

³² A. Marshal and G. Marshal, 'A survey and analysis of the buildings of Early and Middle Anglo-Saxon England', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 35 (1991), 29–43 at pp. 36–37, fig. 4; J. K. St Joseph, 'Air reconnaissance results, 39', *Antiquity*, 49 (1975), 293–5; P. Rahtz, 'Possible Saxon palace near Stratford-upon-Avon', *Antiquity*, 44 (1970), 137–43; J. N. Hampton, 'The evidence of air photography: elementary comparative studies applied to sites at Mount Down, Hants, and near Malmesbury, Wilts.', *Antiq. J.*, 61 (1981), 316–21; J. H. Williams, M. Shaw and V. Denham, *Middle Saxon Palaces at Northampton* (Northampton, 1985), 9–15 and 30; B. Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinger, an Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London, 1977).

³³ J. Blair, 'Palaces or minsters? Northampton and Cheddar reconsidered', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 25 (1996), 97–121.

³⁴ M. Millett with S. James, 'Excavations at Cowdrey's Down, Basingstoke, 1978–1981', *Archaeol. J.*, 140 (1983), 151–279.

³⁵ Blair, *op. cit.* in note 33.

dated to the late 8th century, had a striking dragon's-head terminal and a runic inscription.³⁶

Thirdly, when the animal bones from the site were first studied it was observed that head and foot bones of cattle and foot and lower leg bones of sheep were particularly common in the assemblage.³⁷ These were interpreted as 'commercial debris' representing body-parts of little value that had been trimmed off and discarded before carcasses were sent elsewhere for consumption. From this it was concluded that the site was a farm that probably sent some of its produce to 'the city of London'. In the late 1980s, however, the putative destination of the produce changed to Lundenwic, which was much closer to the site and had a large population to support.³⁸ The description of the waste as 'commercial' may also need to be revised given that the local economy in the early 9th century may not have been entirely governed by market forces. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that Lundenwic and other Anglo-Saxon trading centres were provisioned from food-rents.³⁹ Thus, it may be argued that the Treasury site was a royal centre from which the redistribution of food-rents may have been organised.

From the evidence it would seem that the Treasury is the strongest candidate for a Middle Anglo-Saxon royal site in central London, although this view needs to be tested by further fieldwork. In particular, it would be helpful to undertake a controlled excavation of the western half of the annexed hall, which lies beneath a tree on the Treasury Green. Given the problems of access to such a high-security site there may be a long wait ahead. In the meantime it is sobering to reflect that the royal association with Westminster and Whitehall might antedate the founding of Edward the Confessor's palace on Thorney Island by more than two centuries, and that nearly 1,200 years ago a king's reeve may have been collecting taxes there much as Gordon Brown and the Treasury staff do today.

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NORWICH CASTLE FEE

Norwich Castle was one of more than forty Norman urban fortifications founded before 1100. By the mid-14th century, it lay at the heart of a walled city that covered an area larger than intramural London (Fig. 4). The castle overlies a substantial part of what had become one of the dominant towns in England by 1066 and was to remain the only royal castle in Norfolk and Suffolk for nearly a century. This was one of the finest Norman fortifications in England, serving as the administrative centre of an extremely wealthy area, and was constructed in two major building campaigns (c. 1067/70–c. 1094; c. 1094–c. 1121). A substantial area of Crown land (*Feodum Castellii*: the Castle Fee or Liberty) was defined immediately around it and royal jurisdiction was maintained over the whole

³⁶ Webster, *op. cit.* in note 22, no. 179.

³⁷ R. E. Chaplin, *The Study of Animal Bones from Archaeological Sites* (London, 1971), 135–6.

³⁸ R. Cowie and R. Whytehead, 'Lundenwic: the archaeological evidence for Middle Saxon London,' *Antiquity*, 63 (1989), 706–18, at p. 714.

³⁹ T. O'Connor, 'On the interpretation of animal bone assemblages from *wics*', 54–60 in D. Hill and R. Cowie (eds.), *Wics: The Early Mediaeval Trading Centres of Northern Europe* (Sheffield, 2001).