

SAXON SOUTHAMPTON: A REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE

PART I:

HISTORY, LOCATION, DATE AND CHARACTER OF THE TOWN

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SUMMARY

SAXON Southampton, known between the 8th and 11th centuries as *Hamwih*, *Hamtun*, *Homwic* and variations thereon, has been the subject of archaeological research since the second quarter of the 19th century. The accumulated evidence for the position, layout and character of the town is considered, and the dates of its foundation, floruit and desertion are reviewed. In Part II an assessment will be made of the town's metal, textile and bone-carving industries; its international trade in pottery, glassware, lava for querns, and whetstones; and the character of everyday life. A coin list and a corrected bibliography are given.

INTRODUCTION

The location of Saxon Southampton has never been lost. Tradition surviving to Leland and Camden's time (Toulmin-Smith 1907, 275-7) placed the site of Old Hampton 'a celebrate thing for fischar men and sum merchauntes' in the fields around St. Mary's church. Subsequent archaeological work has confirmed the tradition. The town thus lay near the banks of the River Itchen on low-lying flats of brickearth above gravel on the eastern side of the promontory between Itchen and Test (fig. 25). Though well drained and quite suitable for settlement the site has little defensive potential. The location here rather than on the high ground immediately west occupied by the later medieval walled town is probably to be explained by the former presence of a salt water lagoon (Crawford 1949, 45-6) formed by extension of the Itchen mouth shingle spit, and still salt marsh with tidal mill pools in the early 19th century. The lagoon would have formed 'a small natural harbour protected from the open sea'. For defence Saxon Southampton may, it seems, have depended on the deserted Clausentum (Hill 1969, 59-61), the Roman walled port a mile to the north.

Archaeological finds have been made at the site of Saxon Southampton since the second quarter of the 19th century, when parts of the area were developed first as brickfields and later for housing and other building. Excavations began on bombed areas shortly after the war and continued as large parts of the St. Mary's area were cleared for redevelopment in the 1960's. Reviews of knowledge thus gained have been made from time to time (Davies 1883; Crawford 1942, 1949; Maitland Muller 1949b; Burgess 1964). In addition many short notices have appeared on the results of the various archaeological excavations and on the finds from them. Definitive publication of the archaeological material is in hand, but excavation continues, and the present paper, published in two parts, summarises the evidence as it stands in mid-1969.

THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

By inference at least *Hamton* has an important place in the history of Wessex. The shire name, recorded as *Hamtunscir* from 755 onwards, bears witness to the pre-eminence of its eponymous settlement at a time before the rise of Winchester as an episcopal and royal centre (Stenton 1925, 15-24). '“Hamtunscir” and “Wiltunscir” are obviously,’ says Stenton, ‘the districts governed from Southampton and Wilton’ (1947, 333). The first recorded reference to the site, however, is under the name *Hamwih*, and occurs in the *Life of St. Willibald*. The saint left the monastery at Waltham to set sail across the channel from Hamble Mouth ‘near that mart called Hamwih’ in about 721 (Tobler 1874, 14, 308, 321, discussed in Crawford 1942, 39-40, and O. Holder Egger 1887). In later Saxon times Southampton seems to have suffered a relative decline in status. Winchester emerged as a national capital and trading sites multiplied throughout Wessex; moreover there was constant sea-borne harrying. The sources for the period are scanty. Charters were signed before a meeting of the Witanagemot in the town in 903, and the *Burghal Hidage*, a document of c. 919 (Hill, forthcoming) mentions a fortification. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records raids on the town in 840, 980 and 994, and another raid, in 842, is noted in the pages of Nithard. The two raids of Ethelred’s reign may have had some part to play in the town’s decline and transfer to a new site, but history is silent on the point, and the evidence for the transfer of the town from the Itchen-side site to that of the later walled town comes from archaeological and numismatic sources (75 to 77 below).

A South Stoneham charter of Ethelred II and one of Edward the Confessor (references in Sawyer 1968, 284 (944) and 301 (1012) respectively) mention the *wichythe*, and an added note to the latter refers to *thaet mynster aet Wic*. The Millbrook charters of King Eadwig and Edward the Confessor, moreover (Sawyer 1968, 217 (636) and 301 (1008)) mention a *haw* in Southampton. The charters still await a satisfactory elucidation, for attempts so far have taken too many liberties with accepted methods of identifying bounds. The identification of *Wic* as the Saxon town site is no more than a guess, though a plausible one. The minister may have been St. Mary’s church, perhaps, with that ‘chapel of S. Nicholas a poor and smaull thing yet stonding at the est ende of S. Marie church in the great cemiterie’ seen by Leland. Leland also records that St. Mary’s church was regarded as the mother church of Southampton in ‘token of the auncient [ness of Old-Hampton]’ and was the town’s common burial ground. It was already the mother church of Southampton in 1086, when it was held by the Lord of South Stoneham. The Domesday reference to Southampton itself is short and opaque, and since it presumably refers to the new town it has little relevance to an understanding of the Saxon site. To the more formal historical evidence must be added a considerable harvest of new information on *Hamwih*/*Hamton*, gleaned by the modern school of Anglo-Saxon numismatists (76 ff below), and very relevant to any interpretation of the site.

The historical account of Saxon Southampton has been ably interpreted in the light of a close familiarity with the locality, and with later local sources, by O. G. S. Crawford and, later, by L. A. Burgess. The latter has used the evidence effectively (Burgess 1964) to suggest a clear differentiation between *Hamwih* and *Hamton*. At the risk of over simplifying an exposition which is worked out with a deep knowledge and

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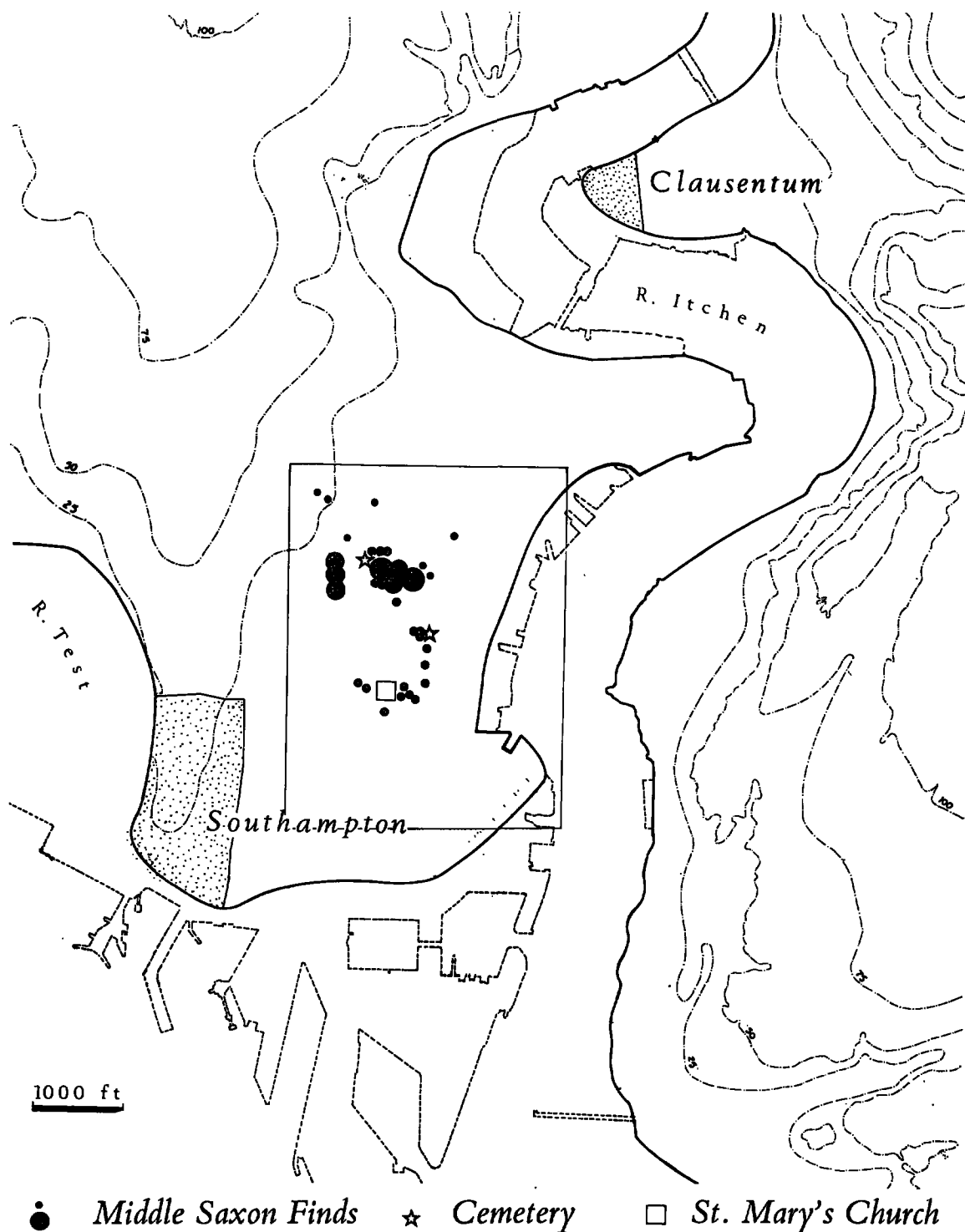


Fig. 25. Location Map of Saxon Southampton showing its relation to the Roman and Medieval Towns.

skilful use of the materials, the proposition is this: the placename *wih* follows a pattern common in N. and N.W. Europe, as expounded by Pirenne, that of an original fortified centre surrounded by a mercantile settlement, a *wik*. If the *wik* of Hamwih is at St. Mary's, as Crawford states, then the *tun* of *Hamtun* must be elsewhere, for the *wik* is a suburb to an earlier settlement. The charter evidence tends to refer to *Hamtun* when dealing with the western boundaries and *wic* when dealing with the eastern boundaries, and the *Burghal Hidage* points to a defended site which 'must occupy relatively higher ground or consist, as a whole or in part, of an artificial mound'. A wealth of later evidence points to a site for *Hamtun* in the parish of All Saints centred north of Bargate. *Southampton* presumably lies south of the original *Hamtun*.

The main concern of the present paper is with the archaeological rather than the historical evidence, and its authors cannot claim Mr. Burgess's command of the historical sources; nevertheless a note of caution is perhaps in order here lest the proposition be accepted as fully proven, for the facts do seem capable of another interpretation. Pirenne's theories have been hotly disputed, in particular when applied to England. (The controversy may be followed in Stephenson 1933, and Tait 1936.) Certainly it is difficult to cite a single English pre-Conquest example of a trading suburb outside a fortification, on the continental pattern. Further, the archaeological evidence points to a very large area for *Hamwih*, larger indeed than for any other known Middle Saxon settlement. *Hamtun*, however, has yet to be discovered archaeologically. If the *tun* must predate its suburb, as Burgess's argument implies, the search must be for a site dating before 720. Moreover *Hamtun* is the predominant placename throughout the Saxon period: it gives rise to Hampshire; the Chronicles always use it; and even at the end of the period it is often used as the mint name on coins. If the two settlements are as far apart as is claimed, *Hamtun* should clearly be a sizeable settlement for over four centuries. Yet a century's commercial development, supplemented latterly by continuous archaeological vigilance by the City Museums and the Southampton City Museums Archaeological Society, and by well-conducted excavation in all the relevant areas, has failed to locate it. Even the early coin from the Castle site may now be suspect (75 below). The only indisputably early find from the area is the 9th century cross, not mentioned by Burgess, from High Street.

The placename element *-tun* seems first to have led Burgess to place *Hamtun* on the most defensible part of the Southampton peninsular, on the assumption that it must imply a defence, even at the early period of its first occurrence. The point may be valid, but defences of any sort have yet to be demonstrated for the very many places with this element in their names, and moreover a case has been made for the *Burghal Hidage* fort of *Hamtun* being at quite a different location (Hill 1969). Recent work on the forts in general has demonstrated that they are unlike the sort of thing envisaged by Burgess.

As late as 1009-17, when the St. Mary's area settlement was declining, or had even, perhaps, largely shifted, the names *Hamwih* and *Hamtun* were being used indiscriminately on coins of the Southampton mint. This, the clearly early origins of both settlements, and the overwhelming archaeological evidence ought perhaps encourage a return to Crawford's original thesis for the identification of Saxon Southampton, and the admittedly uneasy assumption that *Hamtun* is either the same settlement as *Hamwih*, or so close to it that archaeology has yet to find the division between them. *Hamwih*

may have been but the local and merchants' name for the harbour area of the settlement *Ham tun*. There seems no reason to doubt that the placename Southampton appears at the same time as Northampton for a common reason, to differentiate between the two towns and the two shires (78 below). Nor is there any reason to wonder at the name Hampton Field in the All Saints Parish; for Hampton was in its new position well before the first occurrence of the field name; and well before the Conquest, as will be argued below.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The site of Old Hampton, fields in Leland's time, remained largely unoccupied until the early 19th century. Elizabethan maps (Welsh 1964, Map 1) show encroachment by the East Street suburb of Southampton, together with scattered houses along St. Mary's street and a pattern of roads whose origin and significance has been discussed by Crawford (1949, 45) and Burgess (1964, 20ff.). Development began first in the last decade of the 18th century with the digging of the Northam-Southampton portion of the Southampton and Salisbury canal which went east-west across the Saxon site. No finds are recorded from this work, nor, indeed, from operations when it was replaced in 1847 by the Southampton and Dorchester railway. The site first claimed the attention of antiquaries in about 1825, when brickearth digging began in the fields on either side of St. Mary's street. Successive 19th century maps of the area show the sites of brick kilns, quarry pits, the gaol constructed in 1854-5, and other buildings including the terraces which have been the subject of slum clearance in recent years. The progress of the development can be traced and areas which are likely to have escaped the attention of brickearth diggers, and are thus potentially still available for archaeological investigation can be defined. Many archaeological finds from the 19th century work doubtless escaped record, but there are a series of notices of finds made at the site in volumes of the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* between 1850 and 1866: Roach Smith (1857) publishes a letter from J. R. Keele summarising and illustrating his acquisitions from brickearth diggings made in New Gaol Field, and there are other notices in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Crawford's analysis of these accounts summarised the evidence for the location and identity of Hamwih, while that by Maitland Muller (1949b) repeated it in briefest note form. The material is restated below to provide a full account of the evidence, and to correct the various bibliographical errors which have been perpetuated from one account to the next.

Archaeological observation to modern standards began with Crawford's vigilance during wartime when 'many excavations, some of them violent' took place. Between 1946 and 1951 controlled archaeological work was undertaken by M. R. Maitland Muller and D. M. Waterman on a number of bombed sites. The work continued under A. Aberg and later J. F. Pallister when parts of the area were cleared for redevelopment in the early 1960's, and a campaign started in 1968 to excavate some of the very considerable areas currently scheduled for redevelopment. The main results of the various excavations are summarised below from published accounts, duplicated notes, unpublished reports and from personal communication with the excavators. All the information which can be mapped has been included on fig. 26, where the sites are

identified by arabic numerals corresponding with those of the gazetteer. The gazetteer also contains summary accounts of those excavations by J. S. Wachter, J. F. Pallister and C. P. S. Platt on the medieval town site which have produced late Saxon or Saxo-Norman material. To this are added such chance finds as have been made in that area.

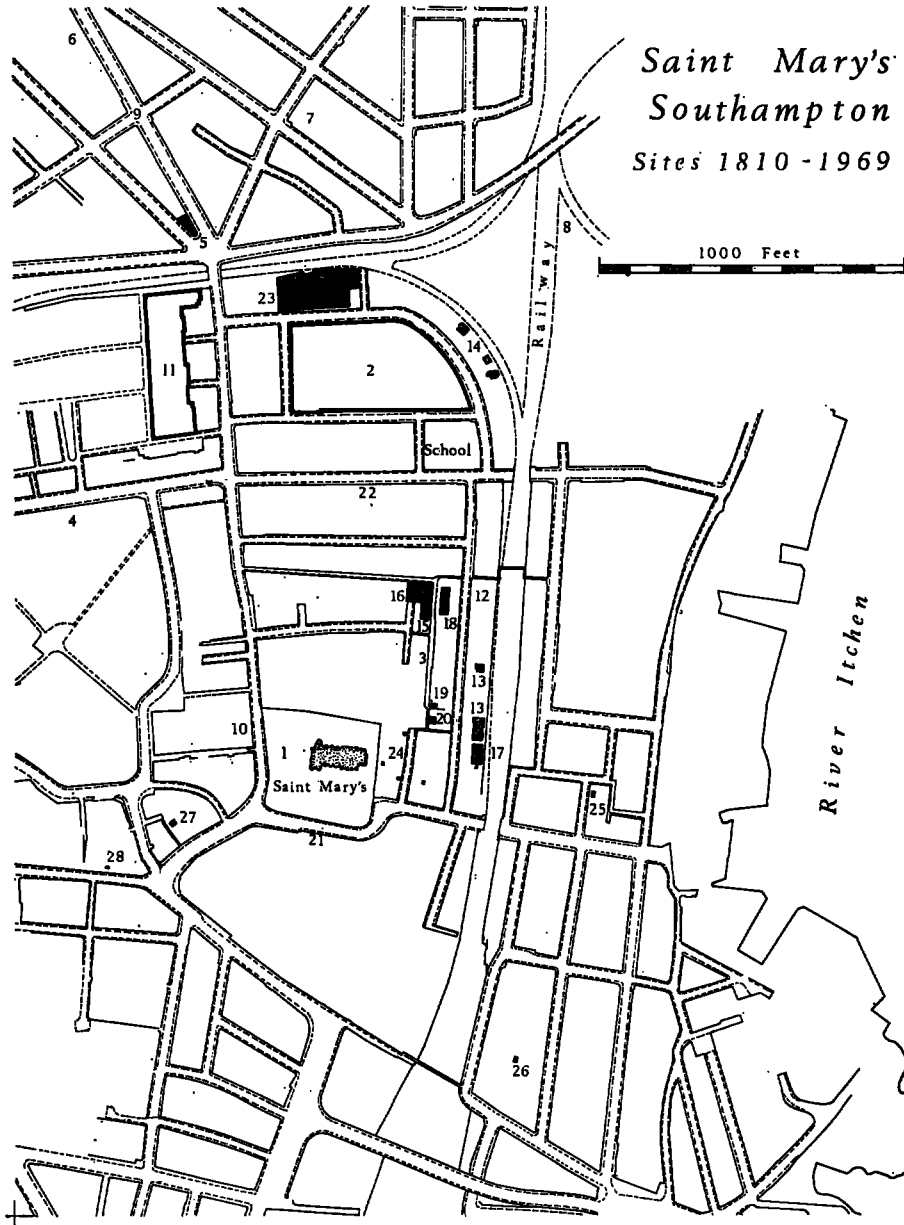


Fig. 26. Location Map of Sites at Saxon Southampton between 1810 and 1969.

GAZETTEER OF SAXON FINDS IN SOUTHAMPTON

- 1838 *St. Mary's Church*: Site 1. A sceatta of B.M. Type 49 was found 'in the churchyard of that place' (British Museum Accessions Register).
- 1825-1855 *New Gaol Field*: Site 2. Three contemporary accounts describe various stages of brickearth digging in what is now the Bevois Development area. Maps and assessments in Southampton City Archives, and observations during service-trench digging in 1969 show that the area can be fairly accurately located (fig. 26). Contrary to oft-repeated statements there is no other part of the Saxon site where brickearth can be shown, from documentation at least, to have been removed. Clay extraction was apparently continuous from 1825 until the erection of the gaol in 1854-5 (Atherley 1850; Keele in Roach Smith 1857; Kell 1864; summarised in Crawford 1942). (See Addendum p. 88 for another early site.)

The brickearth diggers removed a considerable area, coming across a network of six to eight streets from 20 to 30 feet wide, several of which crossed each other. The gravel on the surface of the streets was from 4 to 6 inches thick, and beneath it the brickearth had never been disturbed. Between the roads the diggers came across great numbers of pits, usually filled with dark soil, and often containing great quantities of bones. It proved profitable to sell the bones to bone merchants, and one estimate suggested 50 tons of bones had been sold by the end of 1849. The 'bone-pits', some of which were identified by the landowner as wells, must have produced vast quantities of occupation material, and many finds are recorded, including coins, glass, iron and bronze keys, metal pins with ornamented heads, forks, spoons, worked bones, and food refuse including bones of pig, deer, cattle, horses, fish and birds, oyster and other shells. At an early stage the workmen realised the value of the coins and curios, and many were sold to antiquaries and local shops. Few if any survive, at least to our knowledge. Large numbers of coins passed into local collections which cannot now be traced. Those recorded, as Kell regretfully implies, can only be a fraction of the total. They are listed below (85ff 3-28). Of the other objects only the briefest descriptions are given, with the exception of those figured by Roach Smith (1857, pl. xvi, republished in Part II of this paper).

Discovery of graves in the brickfield is noted by Atherley (1850), in 'a part of the field remote from the spot where the other objects are stated to have been found'. This does not seem to be the cemetery referred to by Keele (Roach Smith 1857, 60) who clearly indicates that the finds to which he refers were made to the south of the brickfield, in laying out the buildings of Grove Street. Though he gives a reference to Atherley's paper, it seems possible that there are two cemeteries, Atherley's perhaps being that found under Clifford Street in 1969, on what would have been the very limit of the brickfield; and Keele's being that located by Pallister in 1962-3 under Grove Street. It seems possible therefore that Captain

Bradley (*recte* Bradby), who owned the brickfields, obtained the finds he showed Kell (1864, 69) from the Clifford Street cemetery. They included two or three glass vessels 'similar to those figured 15 and 16 in Akerman's *Archaeological Index* . . . and also a large torque of metal silvered over'. The figures mentioned are not identifiable, but Kell probably meant fig. xiv, nos. 9 and 10 (Akerman 1847). They are discussed, with the other finds, in the second part of this paper.

- Before 1849 and 1962-63 *Grove Street Cemetery*: Site 3. Keele (Roach Smith 1857, 60) described the discovery of 'a great number of human bones . . . on a space now occupied by a row of houses called Grove Street' some years before the time of writing in 1855. One inhumed burial had a green glass vessel over the face of the skull (61), identified by Roach Smith as similar to that shown in vol. 3, p. 162 of his work, to be reproduced in part II. Muller and Waterman attempted unsuccessfully to locate the cemetery in summer 1950, but three graves were found by Pallister in 1962-3, one immediately east of Golden Grove, and the others under the roadway. They were orientated inhumations in shallow graves unaccompanied by gravegoods, and Pallister plausibly considers them the eastern extremity of the Grove Street burial ground.
- c. 1849 and c. 1859 *Hoglands*: Site 4. Kell saw 'large quantities of animal bones . . . when the portion of public land before South Front was converted into a park' and reported that a John Smith had observed bone pits in Hoglands about 1849 (Kell 1864, 69). Crawford was not inclined to place much weight on these reports having found nothing in excavations and bomb craters in the area during the war (Crawford 1942, 44).
- c. 1856 *The Edinburgh Hotel*: Site 5. 'Nearly a ton' of bones were removed from an area 45 by 30 feet when foundations were dug in 1856 for the Edinburgh Hotel, at the junction of St. Mary's and St. Andrew's Roads. The bones came from rectangular pits 6-8 feet long, 4-6 feet broad and 6-7 feet deep. They included those of horse, pig and ox, and antlers (Kell 1857, 207-8). Kell then excavated a pit himself some 90 feet away when the north wall of the hotel yard was built. It was covered by 2 feet of topsoil and cut through 7 feet 6 inches of brickearth to the gravel. He found bones as above, with bird and sheep bones in addition, oyster shells, antlers, boars' tusks 'in considerable numbers', fragments of brick or tile 'perforated by tubular holes about an inch in diameter' and pottery.
- c. 1859 *St. Mary's Road: Houses North of the Edinburgh Hotel*: Site 6. Following his observations on the Edinburgh Hotel site Kell watched building 'somewhat above' the Hotel in St. Mary's road (presumably to the north) (Kell 1860). Pits 6 to 8 feet by 4 to 6 feet were again revealed, but not dug away. Bones and refuse similar to that found before was seen, and three coins were recorded, of Constantine I, Constantine II and Offa (87 below, nos. 29, 30 and 31). A coin of Burgred probably from the same site came to Kell's notice later (Kell 1861).

- c. 1865 *Nichols Town*: Site 7. Kell observed the laying out of new streets on the east side of St. Mary's road in a market garden belonging to Queen's College, Oxford (now Nichols Town) (Kell 1866). Pits were again found, mostly oblong from 6 to 9 feet deep. Some round ones were probably wells. There were bones, antlers, oyster shells, 'three pieces of British ring-money', a 'clay whirl used in sinking nets' (perhaps a loomweight), a knife and fibula thought by Kell to be Roman, a bronze clasp and a key thought to be Saxon, a counter of 'Henry III and Edward I's time', glass thought by Kell to be 16th century (but possibly Saxon) and pottery.
- 1921 *Northam Station*: Site 8. Coin of Coenwulf, found by Mr. Batchelor (Museum Records).
- 1941 *Trinity Road. West of junction with St. Mary's Road*: Site 9. Crawford (Crawford 1942, 43) observed a 'bone pit' in a workman's trench in Trinity Road west of its junction with St. Mary's Road, 'clear of the camber of St. Mary's Road'. The pit, 10 feet deep and filled with made soil, produced bones, oyster shells, and a bone comb, later identified as part of the front bony structure of a Green Turtle (*Chelonia Mydas*) (Maitland Muller and Waterman 1951).
- 1941 *St. Mary's Church*: Site 10. Pottery was found 'just west of St. Mary's Church' in 1941, presumably in a bomb crater site (Maitland Muller 1949b, 71).
- 1946 *Kingsland*: Site 11. Maitland Muller trenched some 5,000 square feet (1949a, 13; 1949b, 67-8; Waterman and Maitland Muller 1949) and found two huts, the first an oval depression 14 by 18 feet and 3 feet deep with two 'steps' in the south part. There were two associated postholes, and the wattle and daub superstructure appeared to have collapsed inwards to form the fill of the pit. Finds included 8th-10th century glass (Maitland Muller 1949b, fig. 3) and the skeleton of a child under six weeks old. The second hut was 7 feet wide, 5 feet deep, and filled with clay, gravel and occupation debris including pottery, bun-shaped loomweights and lava of Niedermendig type. Other finds from the site included a sherd of imported Norman pottery and an 11th century bronze key.
- 1946 *Grove Street*: Site 12. Trial excavations (Maitland Muller 1949a, 13; 1949b, 68) between houses 48 and 53 exclusive located two or three large pits some 6 feet in diameter, filled with occupation debris producing animal bones, pottery similar to that from Site 10, and a penny of Berhtwulf of Mercia.
- 1947 *Kingsland*: Site 11. Continued excavation (Maitland Muller 1949a, 13; 1950c, 126-8) revealed a row of three successive rectangular pits published (1950c, 128, fig. 1) with a section. One, pit 13, was 5 feet square and contained a central circular shaft of diameter 2 feet 6 inches, with fist-sized stones at the bottom and clay and gravel packing around. Pit 15, from whose well stratified fill a hoard of sceattas was recovered (Blunt 1955, 27, 256-9), cut into pit 13, and was itself cut by pit 16. Objects found

above and below the sceattas have been published (Maitland Muller 1950c, plate II). Other finds from the site included hand-made Saxon pottery and wheel thrown Frankish imports, a bone comb and a bronze pin (plate II), bun-shaped loomweights, spindle whorls, lava and glass. Various other pits were also examined, at least one being similar to pit 13, and others perhaps being latrines.

- 1948 *Kingsland*: Site 11. In continued excavation (Maitland Muller 1949a, 13) a rectangular pit 12 by 6 feet, sunk 5 feet into the brickearth, interpreted as a hut, was examined, together with two associated pits. A further two 'huts' were partially investigated. All had been filled with occupation rubbish and finds included a glass funnel beaker, a piece of bronze chain, a whetstone, a diamond-shaped rivet plate and two sceattas. There were six fragments of non-Roman tile or thin brick.

In his summary report on the 1946-1948 work, Maitland Muller identified seven of the excavated pits as huts, and one as a latrine.

- 1949 *Kingsland*: Site 11. 1. Easter: In continued excavation Waterman and Maitland Muller (1949) investigated ten square topped pits averaging 6 by 6 feet of which one had evidence for timberwork, possibly a frame for a floor, 18 inches above the base. There was another example of the type of pit with central shaft and clay backing. The pits from the 1946-49 work seemed to be arranged in two parallel lines running North-South, while the internally revetted pits ran in line East-West across the alignment. The finds included much bone, pottery both local and imported, daub, lava, glass, crucibles, slag and a sceatta.

2. Summer: Maitland Muller and Waterman (1950a) investigated two areas. In the first, partly examined at Easter, six of the known pits were excavated and eight more discovered of which five were dug. Two rectangular pits with circular plank-revetted centres were interpreted as possible tanning pits from the willow or poplar bark, twigs, and a bundle of possible animal whiskers found in them, though use as latrines, cold-storage pits and wells is considered. Notable finds included a reconstructable Frankish pot 5 inches high in pink creamy paste (later published, Dunning, Hurst, Myres and Tischler 1959, 51, fig. 23, 20), a handled double-sided bone comb, two bone needles, three bone spindle whorls, a sceatta, a penny of Egbert and apparently a penny of Alfred (Blunt 1955 and briefly noted in *BNJ*. 26, 213).

- 1950 *Kingsland*: Site 11. In an area 150 by 20 feet, 18 pits were examined (Maitland Muller and Waterman 1950b) bringing the total found at Kingsland to 50; three were of the open revetted type, bringing the total of these found to six; and the remainder were of 'the usual storage or cellar variety'. The fillings, the interpretation of which is discussed, were unexceptional save for one pit filled with clean clay then 3 feet solid of burnt daub. Finds included much glass including a cone beaker; an iron key, bun-shaped loomweights, a sceatta, a penny of Berhtwulf of Mercia,

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imported pottery including spouted pitchers, and local hand-made sagging-based bowls. 'Rough' percentages for the Kingsland fauna based on 6,244 fragments are given as

ox/cow	58%
sheep/goat	29%
pig	9%
bird (all sizes)	3%
horse	0.5%
red deer	0.4%
dog	0.1%
fish (1 bone)	

1950 *Grove Street*: Site 13. In a vain attempt to locate the Grove Street Cemetery (Site 3, above) two bomb sites were excavated (Maitland Muller and Waterman 1951a). Personal communication from Mr. Maitland Muller indicates that the sites were nos. 70-72 and 82-87 Grove Street, both on the east side. Over 20 pits were found, including one of the timber revetted type, which led the excavators to doubt their interpretation of such pits as for tanning. There were three rectangular pits of which two had 1 foot high stumps of three posts rising from the floor, perhaps for roof supports, as part of stairs, or for a storage structure. The usual pottery, local and imported, and glass were found, as were two bronze pins, bronze tweezers, and, from some pits, much organic matter, including grass, twigs and over 1,000 fruit stones. For dendrochronology see Schove, Lowther, 1957.

1951 *Clifford Street*: Site 14. Maitland Muller and Waterman (1951b) excavated 'a quarter of a mile east and north respectively of the two sites dug in past years'. These excavations (personal communication from Mr. Maitland Muller) were on the sites of nos. 93-5 and 107-115 Clifford Street. Thirteen rectangular and circular storage pits from 2 to 8 feet deep were excavated. Finds were similar to those from other sites, but two sceattas, a bronze pin, the omphalos base of a deep green glass bowl with ribs with twisted yellow thread, and the footbone of a cow inscribed with runic letters in Anglo-Saxon style of c. 800, transliterated KATAE, a word perhaps related to O.E. K/CAT, cat, possibly used here as a personal name, were found.

The excavators' remark that even on this site, and by implication on all others, the brickearth digging had removed all traces of Saxon houses, and 'only the storage pits remain'. See p. 83 below.

1960-1962 *Golden Grove*: (N.G. Ref. 427118): Site 15. Aberg and the Southampton Archaeological Society excavated a considerable area revealing pits similar to those in previous excavations, and a comparable series of finds (Mockett and Culley 1962 a, b and c). The site is codenamed Hamwih D.

1960-2 *Cumberland Street* (N.G. Ref. SU 427116): Site 16. An area 120 feet long, and ranging from 25 to 38 feet wide was stripped (White and Greenhalgh 1962 a and b). It had not suffered from brickearth digging, though a brick-

kiln and debris was found in the excavation. Many overlapping pits were revealed, and postholes, though their significance was not apparent. The site, codenamed Hamwih E, adjoined Hamwih D, and at this point a beamslot was recorded. Finds included pottery, glass, a whetstone and many mussel shells.

- 1960-2 *88-95 Grove Street* (N.G. Ref. 4275/1165): Site 17. In a trench 39 by 60 feet excavated by Southampton University Archaeological Society (Morris and Prowting 1962) ten pits were located, and a normal series of finds including bones, pottery, three bone combs, a bone needle, an iron knife blade and an iron needle. The site is codenamed Hamwih F. The 1960-2 excavations on sites Hamwih D, E and F are the subject of an unpublished report by F. A. Aberg, unseen by the present authors. His plan, kindly loaned for the purposes of this report, includes three minor trenches, Sites 18-20, of which details have not been published.
- 1962-3 *Cumberland Street/Golden Grove*: Site 16. J. Pallister continued the excavation of Hamwih E, and his unpublished ms. report is deposited with Southampton City Museums. Three graves have already been described under Site 3, 68 above. In addition a beamslot running over one of the graves, a ditch, and various pits partly excavated before Pallister took over, were found. Pallister divides the pits into two types: oval or circular pits up to 9 feet diameter and 9 feet deep, cutting to the gravel layer below the brickearth, and rectangular pits, represented by a single example. Of the first group some had 'hard greenish coloured sides' and one had impressions of upright timbers on the sides. Pallister was reluctant to see the pits as rubbish pits, and preferred to see them as stores. The square pit he thought of as a small storage cellar. An exceptional pit, 147, was very shallow, but contained a remarkable series of finds suggesting it was filled with burnt down remains of a workshop-cum-dwelling. Finds from the site cover the normal range, with bones, local and imported pottery, iron objects (knives, nails, buckles, a hook, a spade tip, a chisel, a spike and a key); bronze objects (brooch, buckle, tag-end, and pins); bone objects (double and single-sided combs, bodkins, pins, thread-pickers, and a spindle whorl); loomweights, lava querns, hones, slags, bronze-working crucibles, and a sceatta and a Carolingian denarius.
- 1961 *Chapel Road between St. Mary's Church and the Deanery*: Site 21. Six pits were observed during pipe laying (F. A. Aberg 1962).
- 1963 *Bevois Street*: Site 22. Roman pottery, Saxon hand-made pottery and continental imported pottery was recovered from a sewer trench (Museum label).
- 1968-9 *Bevois Street North Development*: Site 23. An area of some 27,000 square feet was stripped in the area north of the former Clifford Street and west of Peto Street (Addyman, Hill and Lewis, forthcoming). Pits, postholes, stake-holes, beam and post trenches were found over most of the area except beneath a band of gravel some 25 feet wide, running E.S.E.-W.N.W.

HAMWIIH THE BEVOIS NORTH SITE

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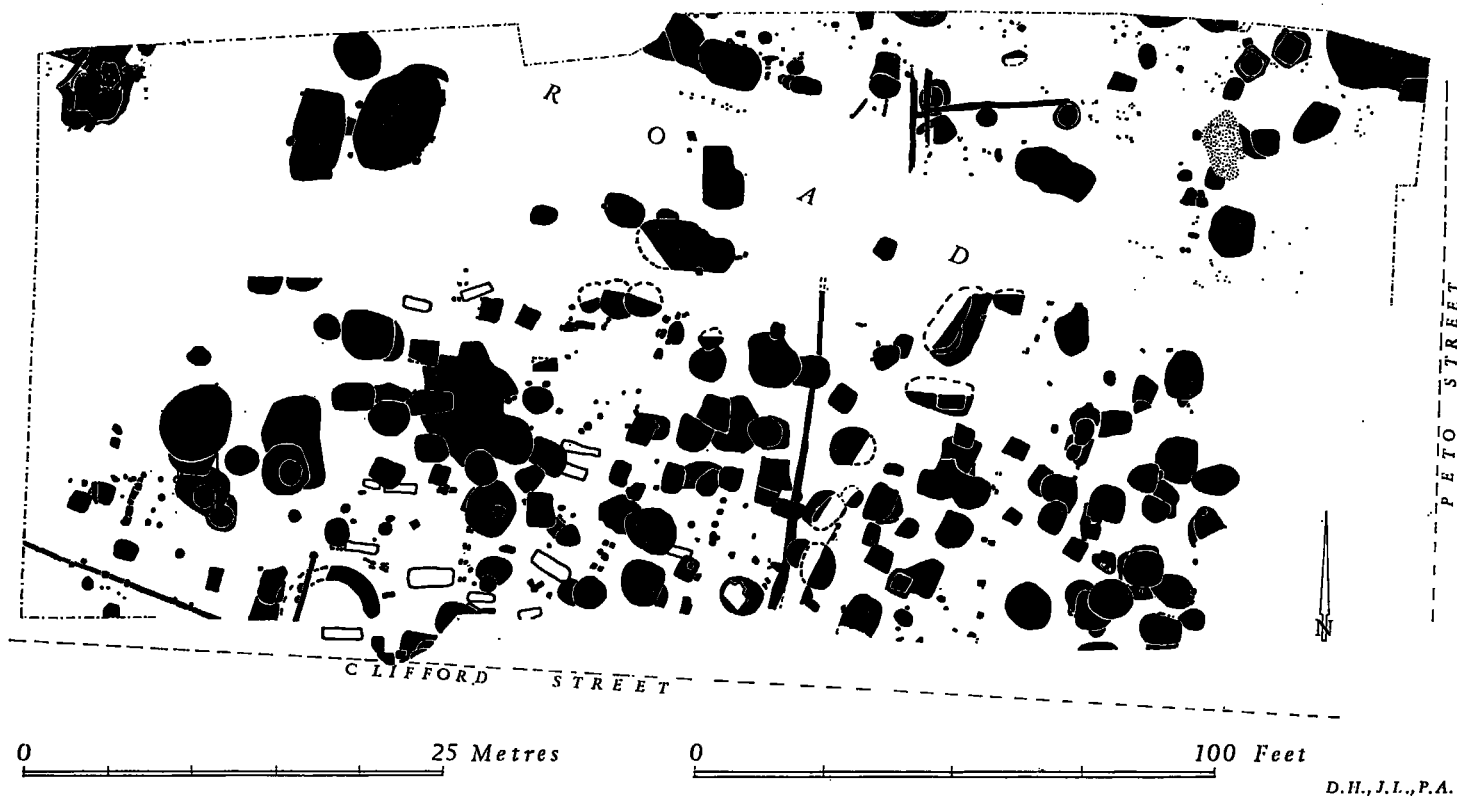


Fig. 27. General Plan of the Bevois North Site Excavation 1968-9.

across the site, presumably a road. The site is immediately north of the brick pit shown on the 1st Edition of the O.S. 1:500 plan, and the road is perhaps a continuation of one of those located in the 19th century (Site 2 above). The pits and other features were laid out for the most part parallel to the road, or at right angles to it. They occurred in groups, suggesting that areas within the now-indistinguishable properties had been reserved for pit digging. Very often pits were cut into by one or more later pits (plate II (a)). There seems little reason to doubt that the main structures in this area of the Saxon town were substantial timber buildings, and at least some details of several of these were recovered. The pits, therefore, have at best an ancillary function. Several were of the type noted on Kingsland (Site 11), with a circular central shaft revetted and backed with clay packing. One (plate II (b)) had been revetted with wickerwork, and others were probably also revetted in this way. Such pits always penetrated to the gravel, and there seems no reason to doubt that they were wells. Most of the pits, oval, circular or sub-rectangular, did not penetrate to the gravel, and it is difficult to suggest a function for many of them. A considerable proportion exhibited the thin hard green layer noted by Pallister on the sides of pits in Site 16. Similar deposits occurred on the sides of 19th century cess-pits associated with Clifford House, also found on the site, and the phenomenon has been recognised on cess-pits cut into brickearth at Portchester Castle. These pits are surely cess-pits. They presumably had some sort of covering, and surrounding structure, but none was found. A number of the remaining pits were large, rectangular, and, on superficial cleaning, apparently sunken floored huts. In no case could this interpretation be confirmed by excavation, and a reluctant conclusion must be that there are no such structures, at least as classically known, at Saxon Southampton. Whether any of the deeper rectangular pits could be covered stores or 'huts' as is suggested for the Kingsland examples is an open question, but no example excavated in 1968-9 had anything resembling a floor level, or lining, or superstructure. All were damp, and would have been unsuitable as stores except for commodities needing damp cool conditions.

A small cemetery was found in the S.W. corner of the site. Eleven possible graves were found, apparently all of extended roughly orientated inhumations, though trace of the bones had often all but disappeared. At least three burials were in plank-built coffins; one was accompanied by a sceatta; and another, a child, had a small necklace of paste beads. A particularly large grave was apparently set out in relation to a discontinuous (and incompletely excavated) ring-ditch. The cemetery clearly went out of use early in the history of the settlement, for 8th and 9th century pits cut into many of the graves.

The 1968-9 work was a rapidly conducted winter rescue excavation done under far from ideal conditions. Relatively few of the 650 or so features found in the area were excavated, since priority was given to recording the plan of a large area. Nevertheless finds were made in the

SAXON SOUTHAMPTON: A REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE

majority of the features, and the site has undoubtedly produced the largest series of objects yet recovered from Saxon Southampton. There are over 500 small finds, including examples of almost all artefacts mentioned in previous accounts. The three sceattas and a unique penny of Coenwulf of Mercia were also found.

- 1969 *Short Street*: Site 24. Four small trial trenches were dug on a cleared area east of St. Mary's Churchyard. All produced evidence of Saxon occupation and the area should clearly be excavated further.
- 1969 *Granville Street*: Site 25. A pit was dug to test whether lagoon silts were present. Fine apparently waterlaid silts above gravel were revealed.
- 1969 *Glebe Road*: Site 26. A test pit located silts, presumably lagoon silts, similar to those in Site 25.
- 1969 *St. Mary's Street*: Site 27. In the centre of the triangle formed by St. Mary's Street, Evans Street and Cook Street, a trial pit dug to define the limits of the Saxon town revealed a gravel filled former watercourse, which may itself have formed the limit at this point. There were no Saxon finds. This was confirmed at Site 28 (53, East Street), where brickearth was again found, and the earliest occupation, of the c. 12-13th centuries, was presumably a suburb of the town.

SAXON FINDS OUTSIDE THE ST. MARY'S AREA

- 1822 *The Castle Mound*: Davies (1883, 84) records that 'In 1822, a silver penny of Offa was found at the castle keep with the name of the moneyer, BANHARD, in two lines. It is preserved in the Hartley Institute'. Hearnshaw (1904, 26) amplifies this to 'a few Saxon coins, notably that of Offa . . . found when the great burh or mound was removed on the site of the former Zion Chapel'. Keele (1865, 206), in a history of the castle, described the lowering of the mound, but omitted any mention of coins. He would have recorded them had they been known to him, for he did so consistently and well in his accounts of the St. Mary's finds. There is now no record of these coins in Southampton Museum, holders of the residue of the Hartley Institute's Collection, and the find must be regarded with some suspicion.
- Early 20th century *High Street*: A cast bronze cross of 9th century date was found '10 feet down in High Street' (museum label). R. E. Nichalas collection.
- 1953-4 *Albion Place*: (Maitland Muller, 1949b, Site 3). In excavation on the site of the castle ditch Maitland Muller found a pre-castle turfline containing pre-historic material, cut in places by scoops and pits containing small quantities of pottery consistent with an 11th century date. The truncated castle bank sealed these deposits, and the ditch cut them. Two sherds of fine creamy pimply pottery from the turf line seem to be Normandy painted wares, perhaps dating to the later 11th century. The work will be published by C. P. S. Platt (forthcoming).

- 1956-8 *Bargate Street*: J. S. Wacher located extensive timber structures at the west end of the terrace overlooking the scarp to Western Esplanade. A small hut in Period I was replaced by a larger timber framed building in Period II. Pottery from Period I was 'consistent with the date in the 11th century' (information kindly provided by Mr. Wacher; Wilson and Hurst, 1959; Wacher, 1957). The excavation was completed by F. A. Aberg in later years. (Platt, forthcoming.)
- 1967-8 *High Street*: C. P. S. Platt located pits and timber structures with associated finds consistent with an early 11th century date. A coin hoard of c. 1030 is noted below. The stamped wares found on this site and on Site 31 may well be an indicator of early 11th century date in Southampton (Platt, forthcoming).
- 1968-9 *Winkle Street*: C. P. S. Platt found evidence similar to that at High Street (Platt, forthcoming).

NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE AND THE DATE OF SAXON SOUTHAMPTON

The special place of Southampton in Anglo-Saxon numismatics has been assured since Blunt's identification of the Southampton types of sceatta (Blunt 1955). The Southampton mint seems to have continued in production until its closure under Cnut when, as Dolley has argued, its mint signature disappears. The history of the Southampton mint is being studied at present by Mrs. P. D. A. Harvey as part of a larger study of the Winchester mint, with which it is intimately connected. It is not discussed here except insofar as its closure has a significance in interpreting the history of the town, and its mint signatures in establishing the placename. Our concern has been in the main to locate all recorded finds of coins within the Saxon area, or its immediate locality. There are at least 100 individual finds, of which three are hoards containing 46, 11 and 23 coins respectively. The total of known coins is probably about 184, an exceptional concentration in terms of Anglo-Saxon numismatics. The histogram (fig. 28) gives an indication of their distribution in date, and the schedule gives so far as is possible the circumstances of finding, the type, and the present location of the coin.

The histogram shows that Saxon Southampton was already flourishing during the currency of the sceatta series, and indeed sceattas make up the majority of the coins.

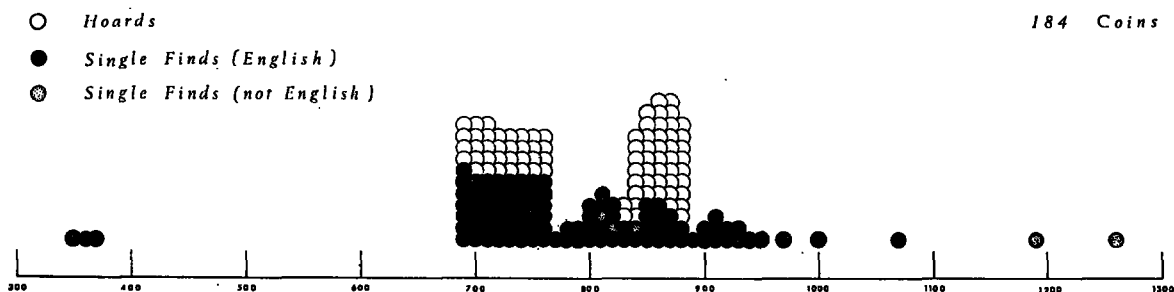


Fig. 28. Histogram showing occurrence of Coins in the Saint Mary's Area at Southampton.

The lack of coins in the reign of Offa is perhaps more apparent than real, for sceattas doubtless continued in use for trading purposes later than is shown. The two reversals in the histogram though statistically insignificant may, nevertheless, reflect the Danish raids of the 840's, when Southampton suffered twice, and the situation leading to temporary collapse in Wessex in 877, an emergency emphasised, if anything, by the 1837 hoard. The steady decline in numbers in the early 10th century may have a very particular significance. It may indicate the decline of the Saxon site until *c.* 940, and it certainly shows as clearly as any evidence could, that there was little occupation in the St. Mary's area after 970. That Saxon Southampton was by then somewhere else is self-evident.

Scholars have been tempted in the past to see in the recorded raids on Southampton a ready reason for the town's transfer to a more defensible site. In the light of the numismatic evidence this no longer seems possible. In any case a variety of reasons may have told on those who master-minded the change. Certainly by this time Southampton was losing its preeminence as a port in southern England. The late 9th century saw the rise of Hastings, Burpham and Chichester, and other Sussex ports; and further west, of Twynham, Wareham, Bridport and Exeter. New inland burhs served their own locality, while Winchester must have stifled many of Southampton's former industries, turning it into an entrepot. These are reasons for the absolute decline which Southampton suffered; there are others for the transfer of site. Crawford has suggested the silting of the lagoon which he has supposed formed Saxon Southampton's harbour. More plausibly the change in character of international trading vessels, in particular their deeper draught, made the lagoon unsuitable (Olsen and Crumlin-Pedersen 1967, where the evidence is reviewed) and necessitated the opening of new wharves on the Test side of the Southampton peninsular. A similar circumstance seems to have had similar results at Birka.

It would, moreover, have been entirely consistent with the policy of an English king such as Athelstan to have remodelled an open and defenceless burh. If Clausentum was used as a defence and a refuge, the trading site was open to destruction. A new *burh* and *port* built on the southern part of what we know as the walled town in the fourth or fifth decades of the 10th century would be in line with the policy which built Totnes and Barnstaple; which enlarged Exeter; and which refortified Dorchester.

The archaeological evidence for the occupation of the walled town in pre-Norman times will be discussed below. Here it is relevant to mention a hoard of coins discovered in 1967 in Dr. C. P. S. Platt's excavations at High Street. In a forthcoming paper Mr. Michael Dolley, M.R.I.A., of the Queen's University of Belfast, and M. Jacques Yvon, of the Cabinet des Medailles of the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris, discuss the coins at considerable length. Although no exact analogies appear to exist, the coins can be identified with confidence as *deniers* from Normandy struck *c.* 1030 or a very little later. Of particular interest is the fact that they appear to have been discarded along with domestic rubbish. Had this not been established by scientific excavation, one would have been tempted to associate their loss with the unrecorded cataclysm that might have been postulated to explain the cessation of minting at Southampton in the early 1020's. That the coins are at least a quinquennium later than the closure of the Southampton mint, however, seems indisputable, and a date of abandonment in the early

1030's may be taken as reasonably certain.¹ The hoard, from a pit, helps to assign associated and typologically similar artefacts to the early 11th century. Both the hoard, the pits, and the artefacts are a powerful help in establishing the presence of a flourishing Late Saxon settlement in the south part of the walled town.

Coins from the Southampton mint have a certain relevance to an understanding of the nature of the *Hamwih/Hamtun* placename, and to the origin of the prefix in the later name *Southampton*. Mr. Michael Dolley kindly contributes the following note:

THE COINS WITH THE 'HAMTVN' MINT-SIGNATURE

"In a forthcoming paper, C. E. Blunt and M. Dolley claim that the rare AMTVN coins of Æthelstan (924-939) can only be of Southampton. This is not to say that the Hampshire mint did not also strike coins without mint-signature, while it is not impossible that Northampton as well was putting out coins without the name of the mint. Under Eadmund (939-946) and Eadred (946-955) it was virtually unknown for English coins to bear the name of their mint, but there is no reason to think that the Southampton mint was closed, and if Northampton had not already opened under Æthelstan it is perfectly possible that it began striking at this time. Under Eadwig (955-959) a number of coins were put out with the mint-signature HAM. Blunt and Dolley divide these between Southampton and Northampton, assigning the majority to the latter. Again it is likely that both mints were striking coins without mint-signature. Under Eadgar (959-975) the position continued to be the same, but the HAM coins struck before the great reform of c. 973 seem all to be of Northampton. From c. 973 onwards all English coins were supposed to bear the name of the place where they were struck, and coins reading HAMTVN or an abbreviation thereof are known for Eadgar, Edward the Martyr (975-978), Æthelraed II (978-1016) and Cnut (1016-1035), and have to be divided between the two mints. Most of this work has been done by Dolley who has recently published details of a number of cases where the same die is used at Southampton and Winchester under Æthelraed II. Other HAMTVN coins are just as certainly of Northampton. A paper promised by F. Elmore Jones and C. S. S. Lyon will examine in detail the position under Cnut and endeavour to establish exactly when it was that the Southampton mint closed. There are Cnut coins of his first issue which are certainly of Southampton, but all the HAMTVN coins after c. 1025 at the very latest seem to be of Northampton, and this continues to be the position in the reigns of Harold I (1035-1040), Harthacnut (1040-1042), Edward the Confessor (1042-1066), Harold II (1066), William I (1066-1087), and William II (1087-1100). Towards the end of the reign of Henry I (1100-1135), however, the HAMTVN mint-signature disappears and is replaced by the unambiguous NORHAM. Finally, mention should be made of one complicating factor under Æthelraed II. As we have seen, a number of the HAMTVN coins of that reign are to be assigned to Southampton, but for the period c. 973-c. 1015 we also have coins with the mint-signature HAMÞIC. Dolley has found die links between these coins and those of HAMTVN and of Winchester, but is not as yet prepared to decide between the two alternatives that seem open at present. Is HAMÞIC an alternative name for HAMTVN, or were there two mints in the Southamp-

¹ We are indebted to Mr. Dolley for providing a summary of the conclusions of his joint paper.

ton area, 'Hamtun' and 'Hamwih'? Not affected, though, is the essential achievement of the last decade, our present ability to essay a reasoned attribution as between Northampton and Southampton of virtually every Anglo-Saxon and Norman penny on which there appears the mint-signature HAMTVN."

Though Dolley does not make the point the numismatic evidence is a pointer at least to the inevitable confusion perhaps even to contemporaries, between the towns later renamed Northampton and Southampton.

Blunt (1955) has discussed the various finds from the 1946-53 excavations, but no account has yet appeared of subsequent finds. We publish an important extract below from Mr. Pallister's ms. report on the Hamwih E site in which Mr. Dolley dealt with the two coins found in the 1962-3 excavations, with the generous consent of both authors. An account by Mr. Blunt of the coins from the 1968-69 work will appear in Addyman, Hill and Lewis, forthcoming.

"... At site 'E' in the 'Hamwih' area proper . . . rubbish pits of the 8th and 9th centuries have thrown up two coins of the Anglo-Saxon period which are of no little significance for numismatist and archaeologist alike.

From pit 144C has come a sceatta of *BMC* type 49. It is in good condition though very slightly chipped, weighs 0.67 grammes (10.3 grains), and we may even particularise the exact variety - a relatively rare one - where the number of roundels surrounding the head on the reverse side is ten, while on the reverse a rosette of pellets has been added to the right of the fantastic bird (*cf. BNJ*, XXVII, iii, 1954, 258, no. 6). In the paper quoted, Mr. C. E. Blunt, F.B.A., has drawn attention to the local associations of *BMC* type 49. The new coin from pit 144C is the ninth single-find of the class from Southampton itself (to Mr. Blunt's listing we may add *BMC* 194 *cf. BNJ*, XXVIII, i, 1955, 36), the only other find spots recorded being two from Dorchester (Dorset), though Carlyon-Britton provenances may not always be above suspicion. Hoard provenances, too, are significant. Coins of *BMC* type 49 are on record from only two coin-hoards, and both are from the presumed site of 'Hamwih', a rather shadowy find (*Inventory* 335) with perhaps three specimens which came to light in the 19th century², and the 1947 hoard (*Inventory* -, or is it polemical to remark so inexplicable an omission?) from Mr. Maitland Muller's excavations where coins of this particular type numbered 20.

BMC type 49, then, is now known from 34 specimens on record as having been found in Hampshire and (?) Dorset, and 32 of the coins have come to light on at least eleven different occasions in the general area of Southampton. It is becoming increasingly difficult to believe that *BMC* type 49 is not in fact a coinage of 'Hamwih' itself. It may be noted, too, that even as regards the 'ten-roundel' variant the latest discovery is not without interest inasmuch as it has proved to be from dies other than those readily available in illustration (*BMC* 194: *SCBI* Fitzwilliam 258 and 259; *BNJ*, XXVII, iii, 1954, Pl. II, 2 etc.), and it would seem that even the volume of issue of just the variety was considerable. As regards date, it must not be forgotten that the coins of this class present particular difficulties inasmuch as they are anepigraphic, but the

² But see Schedule, below, no. 37, and add nos. 5, 13, 25, 41, 45 and 46. P.V.A., D.H.

recorded weights do suggest that they belong late in the sceatta series, i.e. somewhere about the middle of the eighth century. Bearing in mind that 'Hamwih' was a port, with cross-channel trade a key to its importance, the absence of *BMC* type 49 from Continental finds is perhaps significant, and the writer feels that a possible explanation could be that it came into issue at the time when Pippin's France already was going over to the penny. In other words a date slightly after rather than before c. 750 might seem not implausible.

From pit 152 there has come a Carolingian *denarius* of the mint of Toulouse. The obverse type is a cross, and the legend reads:

+ CARLVS REX FR (*ancorum*).

The reverse type is also a cross, and the legend reads:

+ TOLVSA CIVI (*tas*).

There is a very slight chip, and the weight is 1.13 grammes (17.4 grains). Professor K. F. Morrison of the University of Chicago has been kind enough to inform the writer that the coin is one of the greatest rarity, being recorded as MG 1100 in his *corpus* of Carolingian coins on the strength of a single solitary find from Toulouse itself (K. F. Morrison, with H. Grunthal, *Carolingian Coinage*, ANS, New York). The authority there given is the De Saulcy collection, the reference being to the Cahn sale-catalogue (December, 1932), lot 1276.

The problem that now confronts the student is to determine to which Charles these two single-finds should be given. The two most likely candidates are Charlemagne himself (768–814) and Charles the Bald (840–877). A *terminus ante quem* is supplied in the latter case by the Edict of Pîtres which brought in the GRATIA D-IREX type, and the writer has little hesitation in accepting Professor Morrison's preference for a date after 840 and before 864, the Charlemagne attribution foundering alike on the absence of the *Karolus* monogram and on the form of the reverse legend – Toulouse coins undoubtedly of Charlemagne do not read beyond TOLVSA. Accepting, then, the attribution to Charles the Bald, we may suppose the coin to have been brought to England about the middle of the 9th century. From the pages of Nithard, it is known that 'Hamwih' was sacked by the Vikings in 842 (*cf.* F. M. Stenton 1947, 241), but earlier excavations have produced English coins in sufficient quantity to indicate that the commercial life of the place was no more than interrupted. If one had to particularise a decade when the Toulouse penny is most likely to have been struck, brought to England and lost, it is probably the sixth decade of the century which would come most readily to mind. As we have seen, the Edict of Pîtres provides a secure *terminus ante quem* of 864, while some sort of *terminus post quem* does seem to be afforded by the relaxation of the Viking menace to Southern France implicit in their abandonment of their great base at Noirmoutier in 846.

Finally a word may be said on the subject of Carolingian coins found in Great Britain and Ireland. A recent paper has argued that as regards England proper, the area under the effective jurisdiction of English kings, there was even in the 9th century a policy of deliberate exclusion of all foreign coin which is reflected in the circumstance that the find-spots are overwhelmingly coastal (*cf.* *BNJ*, XXXII, 1963, 75–78). The new find from 'Hamwih' fits in admirably with this hypothesis, and it is worth noting that in the nineteenth century precisely this area is known to have produced two early *denarii* of Charlemagne (*cf.* *BNJ*, XXVIII, iii, 1957, 464). As regards Carolingian

coins of Toulouse, this is only the fifth coin of the mint to occur in a find from these islands, the others, three of Odo (888-898) and one of 'Charles the Emperor' (? Charles the Fat (884-887) but the coins seem later), being all from the Cuerdale hoard from Lancashire which was concealed at the very beginning of the 10th century (*cf.* R. H. M. Dolley and K. F. Morrison, *The Carolingian Coins in the British Museum*, nos. 238 and 257; *BNJ*, XXXII, 1963, 80 and 81)."

Coins remain the prime evidence for the date at which the Itchen-side town flourished and declined. Few other finds are datable even within the broadest limits, although the general date-range of the pottery and the glassware does not conflict with that of the coins (Dunning, Hurst, Myres and Tischler 1959, 50-2; Harden 1956, 153-4). Perhaps negative evidence may be allowed a part, however, in establishing the date at which the town grew up. Not a sherd of that straw-filled hand-made pottery which characterised settlements in Central Southern England in the Early Saxon period has been found in recent excavations. Nor have examples of those decorated hand-made pots recently described by Myres as characteristic of the locality (Myres in Knocker 1956, 146-7) been distinguished. The earliest local-made sherds from the site may well be representing various stamp-decorated and incised pots, but there is no reason why these themselves should not have a Middle Saxon date, as their associations might suggest.

THE EXTENT AND LAYOUT OF THE SAXON TOWN

Excavated sites and recorded finds have indicated clearly enough the general location of the Saxon town, and the main areas of occupation within it are emerging (fig. 25). Since Crawford's survey excavation on the Kingsland site has shown that the western limits of the town at least do not seem to have been marked by any particular boundary; occupation petered out near the former Cross Street. Indeed there is no evidence from any part of the site of a defence; Crawford's bank may well be a late feature. The apparent absence of a defence should be tested in further excavation: but could it be that, in those erstwhile peaceful conditions suggested by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's laconic 787 [789] annal, no need for a defence had arisen? For the northern part of the town 19th century observations are the main source of evidence, together with Crawford's 1941 'bone pit', and the indication is that there occupation may peter out to the north of Trinity Street. It is a particular tragedy that the south part of Nichols Town has recently been developed with no concern for the archaeology, for here would surely have been found the north-west corner of the town. Much of the area is now utterly destroyed by deep foundations, and basements. The evidence of 'bone-pits' on Hoglands, recorded in the 19th century, has been questioned by Crawford, upon whose judgement it is surely possible to depend. Nevertheless it is tempting to see the town occupying an area which at least impinges on the eastern part of this open area. It is clear enough from the 1969 East Street excavations that no Saxon occupation occurs further south-west than Site 27; Site 27 suggested that the town may have been bounded at its south-west corner by one of the various tidal creeks which must have led into Crawford's postulated lagoon. The town certainly extends east of St. Mary's church (Sites 13, 17 and 24), and the limit here is presumably the edge of

the lagoon. Sites 25 and 26 were clearly within the lagoon, as the silts showed; and the edge in this vicinity remains to be found, it is hoped by systematic boring during forthcoming development. Careful contouring in this area may give some indication of the edge of the lagoon, and thus the possible site of the Saxon town's wharves. It certainly seems from the sewer trenches of the Bevois North site that a drop-away of the brick-earth immediately east of the Aberdeen Street School (as shown on fig. 26), could well be the edge of the lagoon at this point; and it may be found also in sites to be developed in the Britannia Road area. The possibility of finding the *hards* or wharves of Saxon Southampton in these areas is perhaps the most exciting single prospect in the forthcoming development. Financially and technically it is a daunting one.

If the location of the town is becoming clear, the internal layout is still, after three separate campaigns of excavation and a century and a half of observation, quite imperfectly understood. That there were internal streets in at least two directions is clear from 19th century observations on Site 2, and the 1969 work on Site 23 suggests that at least one set of these streets had a WNW-ESE alignment; if the others were parallel or at right angles, they would be parallel or at right angles to the presumed lagoon edge; a not unlikely circumstance; but this would rule out the Saxon date of St. Mary's Road and St. Mary's Street, an idea which has appealed to earlier workers, though presumably only because roads were already present on these lines in early Tudor times. The 1969 work makes it clear that there were subdivisions, either by post-fences, by stake lines, or by narrow ditches or foundation trenches, within the areas divided up by the streets, though even in Site 23 they were imperfectly understood. That buildings were also so laid out in relation to the roads cannot be doubted from the plans. Even the pits, where an axis can be established, exhibit the same parallelism. The same situation existed in the Kingsland site where the alignment of pits was remarked upon, though the excavated area was not large enough to allow generalisation. A similar situation seems to have held in the Grove Street/Golden Grove areas. The 1969 site has suggested a layout pattern for the Saxon town. It is now imperative that the tentative conclusions should be tested by excavation of another area, at least as large, under unhurried summer conditions which would allow the total evidence to be recovered; the various features to be excavated; and the sequence of features and structures to be established. If such a project is only a second priority in Saxon Southampton, it is nevertheless one of the major priorities in Middle Saxon archaeology. Again the task would be daunting and the cost considerable.

At least two Saxon burial grounds have been found within the town area, at Site 3 and Site 23. If St. Mary's Church is truly *thæt mynster aet Wic* then another presumably lies within its great churchyard. They are not necessarily all contemporary; that at Site 23 was clearly used at an early date in the town's history, then disused, and superseded by domestic or industrial occupation. Crawford has adduced evidence to give that at Site 3 a 7th to 9th century date; but these graves seem to have been superseded too by a later structure. It may well be that St. Mary's was already Southampton's common burial ground when the town migrated in the 10th century.

Though evidence enough has come from Saxon Southampton of the varied occupations of its townsfolk, and of their specialised industries and trades, it has never proved possible to identify any particular area where a single activity was practised.

THE STRUCTURES OF THE TOWN

Pits are a common factor in all recorded archaeological observation within the Saxon town area; the 'bone pits' of the 19th century brickearth workers, some at the time recognised as wells by antiquaries; the huts, tanning pits and cold stores of the 1946-51 excavations; the storage pits and storage huts of Pallister's work; and the great bulk of the 650 features found in the 1968-69 excavations. It is clear, however, from Sites 16 and 23 that the ubiquitous pits, were not the main structures of the Saxon town. The main structures were wooden huts which stood above ground. Only the main structural posts penetrated the subsoil, set either in postholes, or in post-trenches, or perhaps (here the evidence is ambiguous), morticed into foundation beams. Even these meagre remains were so much disturbed by later pit digging that interpretation was often impossible. Some attempt at interpretation of the 1968-69 structures is given in the interim report (Addyman, Hill and Lewis, forthcoming), where a claim is made for huts of up to 7 x 4 m., and for less substantial stake-constructed booths and fences.

Earlier excavators have claimed that brickearth digging has systematically destroyed such timber structures over a large part of the town. Contemporary records of brickearth digging, however, suggest that the digging was much less extensive than has been claimed; though one cannot contradict the observations of a series of workers it is nevertheless indisputable from the 1968-69 work that in at least one area examined before, Site 14, levels which reveal timber structures *were* present. It seems to us that very much more of Saxon Southampton survives than previous workers would allow.

Some of the linear features on the two sites may have been boundaries between properties; one at least at Site 23 if not interpreted in this way must otherwise be a very large building, some 17 m. or more long, of post and beam construction. There are contemporary analogies enough for this not to be impossible, and such long buildings are almost a typical feature of the later Saxon town at Thetford. Further excavations on the site must clearly be on a scale large enough for such massive structures to be recognised.

The pits, for all that they have baffled previous workers, seem to fall into recognisable types. Maitland Muller and Waterman early recognised the type, usually circular, but sometimes sub-rectangular, which had a central hole revetted either with timbers, planks (Site 11) or wattle (Site 23), with back-filled digging shaft. Such a pit is shown in pl. IIb. They almost invariably (so far as we have been able to see) reached the underlying gravels, whether at 6 feet or at 12 feet. They almost certainly also reached the water-table, which may today be lower than in antiquity. In at least two instances the inner shaft had a collection of stones at the bottom interpretable, perhaps, as the counterweights of well-buckets; for the pits were surely wells. Many of the pits exhibited a hard thin green lining, caused by staining. There is no reason to doubt that these were latrines. They occurred in various shapes and sizes, but most were square. Of the remainder a few had a specialised function, such as those broad shallow pits with *in situ* burning; and those straight sided shallow pits full of burnt daub, kiln debris and/or slag; and those small pits which may indeed be very large postholes. There remain a residue which are difficult to interpret. They may purely and simply be rubbish pits, as most of the others became in due course.

Acknowledgements

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Addendum

Through the kindness of Messrs. C. E. Blunt, R. H. M. Dolley and H. E. Pagan the following important reference has been brought to our attention.

The Gentleman's Magazine for September, 1825.

'Two small coins have lately been dug up at Southampton, in a field to the east of the path-way leading from St. Mary's Churchyard to the gas-works.

'These two coins are Saxon silver pennies. They were found near a considerable portion of wood-ashes, intermingled with burnt bones, in a kind of circular pit, which extended to a depth of about nine feet from the original surface of the mould, before the clay was removed '

The notice goes on to discuss the coins. These have been added, out of place, as nos. 100 and 101 in the coin list. It will be seen from the extract that this is the earliest record of a 'bone pit' at Southampton, as well as the earliest find of coins recorded as actually from the St. Mary's area. The find spot seems to have been in the Golden Grove area, perhaps near sites 18 to 20 on Fig. 26.

It should be noted that Moneyers in the coin list appear in the form given in the original references.

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DESCRIPTION	DATE OF FIND	PROVENANCE	AUTHORITY
1 Penny, William I BMC Type VII	1810	'Found near Southampton'	<i>BM Catalogue</i> – Norman Kings ¹ , Vol. 1, p. ccliv
2 HOARD 46 Anglo-Saxon Pennies Mercia: Berhtwulf 5; Burgred, 30. Wessex: Ecgbreht, 1; Æthel- wulf, 6; Æthelred I, 1. Archbishops of Canter- bury: Wulfred, 1; Ceolnoth, 2; (1 of Brooke gp. iv), 3 and 4 below may possibly form part of this hoard	Spring 1837 (or earlier)	H. E. Pagan (verbal communication) current research clearly shows this to be at least 2 separate hoards or a series of separate finds. All the coins are from Southampton.	Lindsay, (H), 123 Thompson, 1956, No. 182 Dolley, 1961, 66
3 Penny, Burgred, K. of Mercia Type D Var. Moneyer GENRED	1837	'Found at South- ampton, purchased of Mr. Cureton'	BM Accession Register ¹
4 Penny, Burgred, K. of Mercia	1837	'Found at South- ampton, purchased of Mr. Cureton'	BM Accession Register ¹
5 Sceatta, BMC Type 49	1838	St. Mary's Church 'found in the church- yard of that place'	BM Accession Register ¹
6 Sceattas, 'about half a dozen'	1825-55	Brickearth digging	Roach Smith, 1857, 58-62
7 Penny, Athelstan, K. of England	"	"	"
8 Penny, Coenwulf, K. of Mercia	"	"	"
9 Penny, Alfred, K. of Wessex	"	"	"
10 Pennies, 'some others which cannot be deciphered'	"	Gaol Site	"
11 Penny, Offa, K. of Mercia	"	"	"
12 Penny, Ecgbreht, K. of Wessex	"	"	"
13 Sceattas as fig. 7, plate xliv, Roach Smith, 1857, 2 (the coin re- ferred to is a BMC	"	Brickearth digging	"

¹ Deposited BM.

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DESCRIPTION	DATE OF FIND	PROVENANCE	AUTHORITY
Type 39 'found in the Thames' <i>op. cit.</i> p. 168). So these others must be also BMC Type 39			
14 Brass Sceatta?	1825-55	Brickearth digging	Roach Smith, 1857, 58-62
15 Penny, Burgred, K. of Mercia	"	"	"
16 Penny, Ceolwulf, K. of Mercia	"	"	"
17 Penny, Æthelweard?	"	"	"
18 Penny, Plegmund, Abp. of Canterbury	"	"	"
19 Penny, Edward the Elder, K. of Wessex	"	"	"
20 Penny, Athelstan, K. of Wessex	"	"	"
21 Penny, Edmund, K. of England (?)	"	"	"
22 Penny, Edred, K. of England	"	"	"
23 Penny, Edgar, K. of England	"	"	"
24 Penny, Ethelred II (?), K. of England	"	"	"
25 Sceattas, 3 silver and one brass <i>Brooke</i> Class 7; BMC Type 49 and resembles a variety found at Bitterne (nr. Southampton) 'published in the Volume of the Winchester Congress, p. 170'. This is BMC Type 39. These may be the same coins as listed in 6, 13 and 14 above	1825-55	Brickearth digging	Atherley, 1850, 162
26 Penny, Coenwulf, K. of Mercia	"	"	"
27 Penny, Ethelwulf, K. of Wessex	"	"	"
28 Penny, Alfred, K. of Wessex	"	"	"

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DESCRIPTION	DATE OF FIND	PROVENANCE	AUTHORITY
29 Constantine I	c. 1855	Edinburgh Hotel	Kell, 1860, 330
30 Constantine II	"	"	"
31 Penny, Offa, K. of Mercia, moneyer EADHVN	"	"	"
32 Penny, Ceolnoth, Abp. of Canterbury, moneyer HERE	"	"	"
33 Penny, Burgred, K. of Mercia, moneyer DVDPIH	c. 1860	Lower St. Mary's Road	Kell, 1861, 231
34 Penny, Ethelberht, K. of Wessex, moneyer DEGBEARHTS	"	"	"
35 Penny, Egbert, K. of Mercia, moneyer SWEFNERD	"	"	"
36 Sceatta, 'No. 5 in Ruding' plate not specified. Of the two coins possible BMC type 48 is most likely	"	St. Mary's Road	Kell, 1862, 386
37 HOARD 11 Sceattas found together 'in a little box and still look as new as if they had never been used'. From reading p. 71 <i>op. cit.</i> it does not appear that the coins listed make up this hoard. They certainly are not the 'hoard' listed in <i>Thompson</i> , 1956, no. 335 This hoard is listed as 'Southampton, Hants, date ? 1 Anglo-Saxon Thrymsa, 10 Sceattas, probably a hoard'. But the entry it apparently follows as a source (Sutherland, 1946, 42) lists only 6 of	1825-65	Brickearth digging	Kell, 1864, 68-73

PROCEEDINGS FOR THE YEAR 1968

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF FIND	PROVENANCE	AUTHORITY
these coins as 'apparently a hoard' Thompson has in error included all the coins listed. The confusion does not end there as no Thrymsa from Southampton is to be found in the BM Accession Register where the 'hoard' is deposited In view of the large numbers of sceattas found on the site it is unlikely this is a hoard, but one of the several sceatta collections made at the time in Southampton			
38 Sceatta, Brooke Class 7	1825-65	Brickearth excavations	Kell, 1864, 68-73
39 Sceatta, Brooke Class 21	"	"	"
40 Sceatta, Brooke Class 21	"	"	"
41 Sceatta, BMC Type 49	"	"	"
42 Sceatta, Brooke Class 9	"	"	"
43 Sceatta, Brooke Class 32	"	"	"
44 Sceatta, Brooke Class 27	"	"	"
45 Sceatta, BMC Type 39	"	"	"
46 Sceatta, BMC Type 39	"	"	"
47 Sceatta, Brooke Class 10	"	"	"
48 Sceatta	"	"	"
49 Sceatta	"	"	"
50 Penny, Cuthred, K. of Kent, 'PERHEARD' moneyer	"	"	"
51 Penny, Offa, K. of Mercia, reverse IENBERHT.AR.EP.	"	"	Kell, 1864, 68-73; Bergne, 1865, 353 ¹ . Dolley, 1961, pl. VII, no. 129 B.M. Accession register no. 188
52 Penny, Coenwulf, K. of Mercia, 'DVDA' moneyer	1825-65	Brickearth excavations	Kell, 1864, 68-73

¹ Deposited B.M.

SAXON SOUTHAMPTON: A REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF FIND	PROVENANCE	AUTHORITY
53 Penny, Coenwulf, K. of Mercia, 'HEREBERHT' moneyer	1825-65	Brickearth excavations	Kell, 1864, 68-73
54 Penny, Coenwulf, K. of Mercia, 'SEBERHT' moneyer	"	"	"
55 Penny, Burgred, K. of Mercia, 'TATEL' moneyer	"	"	"
56 Penny, Burgred, K. of Mercia, 'BERHTIEL' (?) moneyer	"	"	"
57 Penny, Abp. of Canterbury, 'LVNNING' moneyer c. 823	"	"	"
58 Penny, Ethelberht, K. of Wessex, BAEGMUND moneyer	"	"	"
59 Penny, Edward the Elder, VVLFGAR moneyer, Brooke Class 13	"	"	"
60 Penny, Edward the Elder, VVLFEARD moneyer, Brooke Class 13	"	"	"
61 Penny, Edward the Elder, GRINVALD moneyer, Brooke Class 13	"	"	"
62 Penny, Edward the Elder, AETHERED moneyer, Brooke Class 13	"	"	"
63 Charlemagne, Rev. MEDOLUS	"	"	"
64 Charlemagne	"	"	"
65 Penny, William the Lion, K. of Scotland	"	"	"
66 Penny, Offa, K. of Mercia, Reverse 'IENBERHT.AREP'	"	"	Bergne, 1865, 353
67 Counter 'of Henry III's and Edward I's time'	c. 1865	Nichol's Town	Kell, 1866, 455

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DESCRIPTION	DATE OF FIND	PROVENANCE	AUTHORITY
68 'Three pieces of British Ring-money'	c. 1865	Nichol's Town	Kell, 1866, 455
69 Sceatta, Brooke Class 5	19th cent.	'Near' or 'at' Southampton	BM Accession Reg. No. 224 ²
70 Sceatta, Brooke Class II	"	"	BM Accession Reg. No. 257 ²
71 Sceatta, BMC Type 27b	"	"	BM Accession Reg. No. 262 ²
72 Sceatta, BMC Type 39	"	"	BM Accession Reg. No. 269 ²
73 Sceatta, BMC Type 48	"	"	BM Accession Reg. No. 280 ²
74 Sceatta, BMC Type 49	"	"	BM Accession Reg. No. 283 ²
75 Sceatta, BMC Type 49	"	"	BM Accession Reg. No. 284 ²
76 Sceatta, BMC Type 49	"	"	BM Accession Reg. No. 285 ²
77 Penny, Coenwulf, K. of Mercia	1921	Northam Station	Southampton Museum Records
78 Penny, Berhtwulf, K. of Mercia. BURNWALD moneyer	1946	Grove Street	Maitland Muller, 1949b, 68
79 HOARD			Blunt, 1955, 256-259
23 Sceattas BMC Type 49, 20 coins	1947	Southern end of Kingsland Site	Maitland Muller, 1950, ³ 125-8
BMC Type 39, 3 coins			Blunt, 1955, 256-259
2 Sceattas associated, 80 and 81 below			<i>Num. Chron.</i> 6th Series 5-6 p. 73
80 Sceatta, BMC Type 49	"	"	"
81 Sceatta, BMC Type 49	"	"	"
82 Sceatta, BMC Type 49	1948	Kingsland	Maitland Muller 1949b ³
			Blunt, <i>op. cit.</i>
83 Sceatta, BMC Type 49	"	"	"
84 Sceatta, BMC Type 49	1949	"	Waterman and Maitland Muller, ³ 1949; Blunt, <i>op. cit.</i>
85 Sceatta, BMC Type 49	"	"	Maitland Muller and Waterman, ³ 1950a; Blunt, <i>op. cit.</i>
86 Penny, Egbert, K. of Wessex. TILRED moneyer	"	"	"

² Deposited BM, Ex. T. G. Barnett Collection.

³ Deposited Southampton City Museums.

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DESCRIPTION	DATE OF FIND	PROVENANCE	AUTHORITY
87 Penny, Coenwulf, K. of Mercia, ETHELMOD moneyer	1949	Kingsland	Blunt, <i>op. cit.</i>
88 Penny, Alfred, K. of Wessex. ETHELMOD moneyer? Type 5 variant	"	"	Maitland Muller and Waterman, ³ 1950a; Blunt, 1952, 213-5
89 Sceatta, BMC Type 49	1950	Kingsland	Maitland Muller and Waterman, ³ 1950a; Blunt, 1955, 256-7
90 Penny, Berhtwulf, K. of Mercia, DENEHEAH moneyer	"	"	"
91 Sceatta, BMC Type 49	1951	Clifford Street	Maitland Muller and Waterman, ³ 1951
92 Sceatta, BMC Type 49	"	"	"
93 Gloria Romanorum, c. 360	1963	Bevois Street trenches observed	Southampton Museum label ³
94 Sceatta, BMC Type 49	1962-3	Grove Street	Southampton Museum (report below) ³
95 Denarius, Charles the Bald	"	"	"
96 Sceatta, Frisian, BMC Type 30b variant	1968	Clifford Street North	Addyman, Hill & Lewis, forthcoming
97 Sceatta, BMC Type 49	"	"	"
98 Sceatta, BMC Type 54	"	"	"
99 Penny, Coenwulf, K. of Mercia, DAN moneyer	"	"	"
100 Penny, Burgred, K. of Mercia, BMC Type a. TATEL moneyer	1825		Gentleman's Magazine, 1825
101 Penny. DIORMOD moneyer. Canterbury mint	1825		"

³ Deposited Southampton City Museums.

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