

SAXON SOUTHAMPTON: A REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE

PART II:

INDUSTRY, TRADE AND EVERYDAY LIFE

By P. V. ADDYMAN and D. H. HILL

SUMMARY

SAXON Southampton has been the subject of archaeological research since the second quarter of the 19th century. In Part I (Addyman and Hill 1968) the accumulated evidence for the position, layout and character of the town was considered. A coin list and a corrected bibliography were given. In Part II an assessment is made of the evidence for the town's metal, textile, bone carving and other industries; for its local and international trade in pottery, glassware, whetstones and lava for querns; and for the character of everyday life in the town. There are specialist contributions on metal working, bronze objects, glass, pottery and a runic inscription.

INTRODUCTION

The excavations of the past 140 years, both those undertaken for archaeological purposes and those undertaken for economic reasons, have produced an important series of finds from Saxon Southampton. Undoubtedly a wealth of material must have been unearthed in the 19th century excavations. There are, however, but a few short notices of it, a handful of surviving finds, and the intriguing possibility that some of the objects lie still unrecognised in collections. Even so it is clear from the 19th century reports, summarised in Part I, that all categories of object revealed in better documented recent excavation were represented. Explicit descriptions were only given for those categories which interested the antiquaries of the time. The coins, thus, which entered local cabinets in some numbers, were recorded in sufficient detail to allow their identification by modern scholars. Unusual or beautiful objects were often described and illustrated, as for instance the fork-spoon, bone pins and keys from Site 2 (Roach Smith 1857). Similarly glass vessels, perhaps from the Clifford Street Cemetery, Site 2, were compared to vessels figured elsewhere (Akerman 1847). By contrast pottery only achieved incidental mention though it must have been the most frequent find.

Since the 19th century development of the St. Mary's area sporadic finds have been made for which the only source of information is the Accession Record of Southampton City Museums. The finds themselves usually survive. Those which can be located to a particular site have been mentioned in Part I, but the museum collections also contain a series of objects derived from the collection of the Late the Reverend John H. Austen. Mr. Austen was Curate of St. Mary's in the 1930s. It cannot at present be established whether he found the objects in excavations within the parish, or whether he perhaps obtained them from parishioners whose families had acquired them in the 19th century excavations.

The bulk of the material discussed here comes from excavations carried on for archaeological purposes since 1946. All exceptional finds are in the Southampton

City Museums Collections, and are referred to by their accession number (a number prefaced by A and followed by the year of accession, e.g. A.999.69). Most of the excavated material, however, remains in the hands of the various site directors pending the preparation of the final report. The present survey would not have been possible without Mr. Waterman's generous co-operation in allowing us to see the imported pottery from the excavations of 1946-51. Mr. Aberg has kindly allowed us to study his find records for the 1961-62 excavations. Mr. Pallister has magnanimously placed his ms. report on the 1962-63 excavations at our disposal, and we have had the benefit of discussions with Mr. Wachter, Dr. Platt and Mr. Coleman Smith about the Late Saxon material from the site of the later Medieval town. We have ourselves seen every relevant artefact unearthed since 1962. We have not, however, seen the coarse pottery, the less important objects, the organic materials, the bones and some other finds from the earlier post-war excavations. A little of this material has already been reviewed. The earlier finds of glass were considered by Dr. Harden (Harden 1956) and the imported and some local pottery by Dr. Dunning (Dunning *et al.* 1959). An important group of finds associated with a sceatta hoard has also been described (Maitland Muller 1950, 127-8).

The artefacts provide specific evidence for various economic activities within Saxon Southampton, but they often also seem to imply a more complex economic substructure for which no specific evidence exists. Many of the sources of raw material for objects manufactured in the settlement are far distant. Other materials, while presumably obtainable locally, were used on such a scale as to suggest organised means of supply. The market itself, while presumably serving a local area, was the node of a complex of national and international trade routes. Corroborative evidence for all of this activity, valuable though tantalisingly meagre, comes from certain documentary sources. The *Abingdon Chronicle* for instance (Sawyer 1968, 701) shows a Berkshire abbey with interests in the port of Southampton. Sources which show that the Witan met in the town in 825, 840 and 903 and that charters were witnessed and writs promulgated there by the King (Sawyer 1968, 273, 360 and many others) are but another indication of the place's importance in later Saxon times. It was still a major burh under Aethelstan (Whitelock 1955, 384). An indication, moreover, that Southampton in common with many other Domesday boroughs contained houses of local manors is to be found in the Millbrook charters (Sawyer 1968, 636, 1008 and 1009). Unhappily most of the documentation relates to a period when the Saxon town had perhaps been re-established in the area of the later walled town, and it is of doubtful use in illuminating an earlier period. More valuable, perhaps, is the evidence of coins from the Southampton mint, be they the sceattas of BMC Type 49, supposed from their distribution to have been made at Southampton (Blunt 1955, 256-9), or Late Saxon pennies with the Southampton mint signature.

INDUSTRY

The paucity of archaeological evidence from settlement sites has long been a weakness of Saxon studies. In the decade since Radford's survey of the evidence (Radford 1957) a start has been made on the excavation of several sites on the large scale necessary for their comprehension; comparable continental sites have shown the sort of

evidence to be expected. On most of the known sites it seems that industry was organised on the basis of the family unit. Most settlements have, for instance, produced evidence of domestic cloth manufacture; and Dr. Myres has recently suggested convincingly, that many settlements produced their own pottery (Myres 1969, 125-6). Most settlements also engaged in metal working, at least in the later stages of the various processes. Saxon Southampton shared all these features. It seems, however, to have differed from other known settlements in a number of ways. Thus the various industrial activities took place over a very considerable area, some 30 hectares. All the areas examined consistently produced evidence of industrial activity of some sort. Most parts of the site gave a hint of the secondary working of materials brought from far afield, even abroad. There was, too, a great diversity of product. From the first, Saxon Southampton seems to have been an industrial centre.

The town, ideally situated for local and international trade, is not particularly well endowed with the natural resources and raw materials for Saxon industry. Though the underlying brickearths seem to have provided clay for potting, for loomweights and for daub, no other extractive industry seems to have been carried on in the settlement. If Domesday evidence can be read backwards even salt extraction seems to have taken place in coastal lagoons some way off (Darby and Campbell 1963). The Domesday salterns were at Totton, Eling and Dibden on the Test estuary, up to four miles from the site. Southampton doubtless put a constant demand on these or other salterns. If the number of fishbones encountered in the town's rubbish pits are any indicator fishing was a major industry: if analogies from other sites, for instance Anglo-Danish York (Cramp 1967, 18-19), are admissible, fish-preserving and processing would also have been carried out. The salt supply, wherever the source, must have been organised and assured.

In common with most Saxon sites Southampton has produced quantities of metal objects, mostly in iron, some in copper alloy, and a few in lead. There is clear evidence of smelting on the site, and blooms may also have been brought in from the sources of ore, a practice documented in Anglo-Saxon times. Ore sources have not yet been established. Evidence from medieval Milton (in Hurst 1967, 63-64) indicates that nodules of ironstone from the local Plateau Gravel and Bagshot Beds (Bournemouth area) were utilised. Most of the iron objects found were doubtless made in the town. Small scale copper working, at least, alloying and casting, was also carried on; lead working also took place, if the evidence of a small ingot and several objects be accepted. If Southampton was the mint site for BMC Type 49 sceattas and the associated Type 39, then silver working was carried on.

Iron Working

All excavated sites at Southampton have produced at least some iron slags. Mr. Leo Biek of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory, Ministry of Public Building and Works has kindly examined a proportion of the great quantity of slag from Site 23. We have also had the benefit of comments from Dr. P. J. Ovenden, of the Department of Chemistry, University of Southampton, on slags from Site 16, as presented in Mr. Pallister's ms. report. Mr. Biek has made the following assessment:

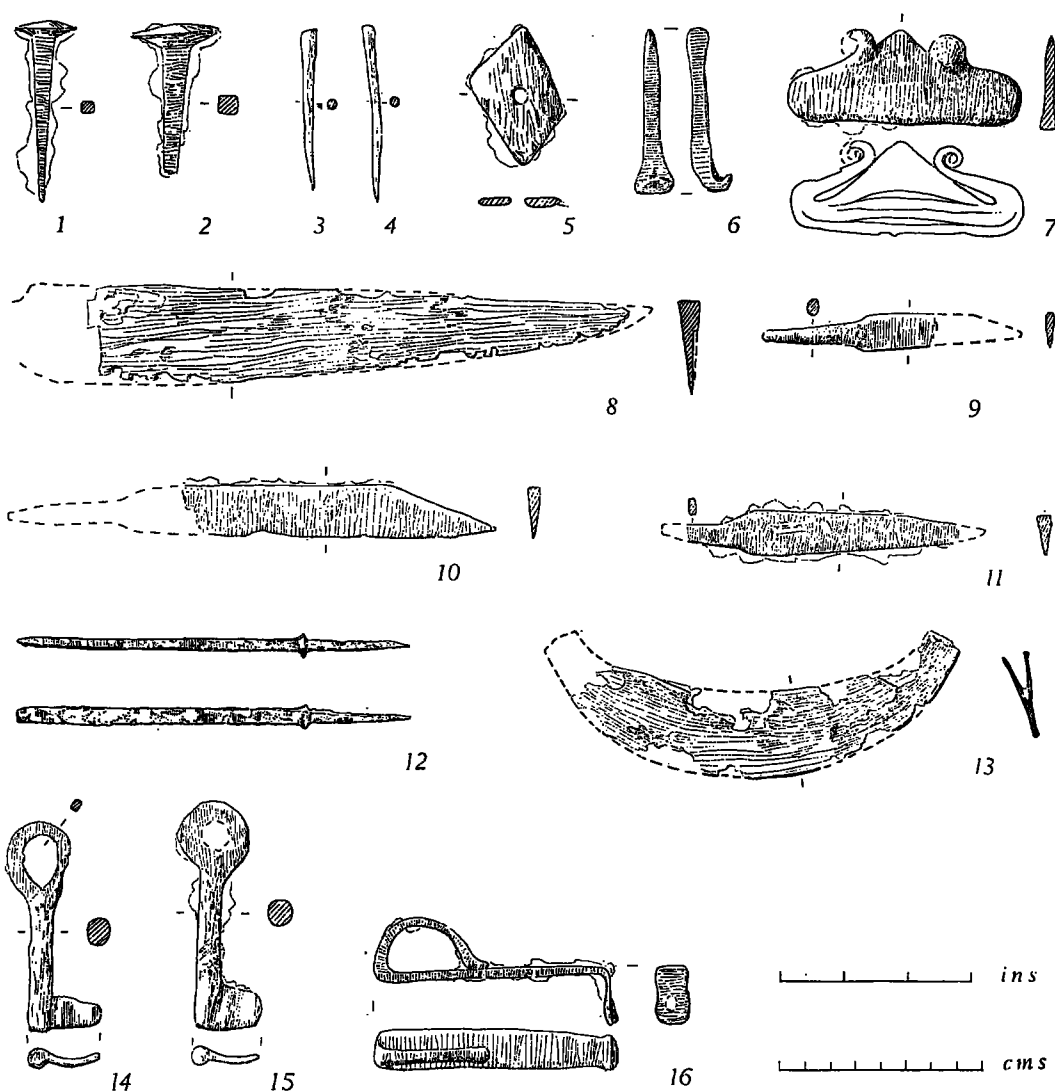


Fig. 24. Iron objects: nails (1-4), rivet plate (5, A.367.69) and hook (6, A.368.69); strike-a-light with structure diagram (7, A.369.69), knives (8-11), a chisel (A.356.69), a spade tip (13, A.34.65), keys (14-15, A.302.69; A.35.65), and a barrel-lock key (A.302.69). Scale 1/3.

SAXON SOUTHAMPTON: A REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE. PART II

Cursory examination of some 200 specimens showed the presence of the following types: (a) cinder in various forms, including furnace bottoms and similar 'cakes'; (b) both rough and smooth surfaced 'saucer' shapes of mamillated fayalite ('pseudo-tapslag'); (c) slagged furnace lining; (d) both haematitic and limonitic cinder suggestive of roasted and sometimes part-slagged ore. Confirmation must await analysis, but the evidence clearly indicates iron smelting. There is also a suggestion of smithing, and one example of 'bronze drippings' similar to A.308.69, below, p. 68.

The following analytical results were provided for a sample of 'bloomery cinder' from Pit 147 on Site 16:

Appearance: shapeless hard vesicular fragment of a dark brown colour with orange brown specks. (This could be referred to group (a) as above.)

Analysis: Silica 44.1 per cent (with any insoluble alumina)

Iron Oxide 52.3 per cent (with any soluble alumina)

Calcium and Magnesium Oxides 2.0 per cent

Weight loss on ignition 1.6 per cent (mainly carbon dioxide).

Conditions for the preservation of iron are not good in Southampton, and most of the many hundred iron objects have only been identified after X-radiography. Of these most are nails and pins. The nails are normally headless, of lengths ranging up to 7 cms. (fig. 24, 3-4). A few have flat beaten heads and there is a well defined category of shorter nails with very large flat heads (fig. 24, 1-2). A few of the nail-like objects may in fact be pins. Such pins are well known from Middle and Late Saxon settlements (Addyman 1969, 86-7). Site 11 produced a 'diamond shaped rivet plate probably from a ship' (Maitland Muller and Waterman 1949, 13) and there are other examples of clench nails, a type which might be expected on a site so closely connected with the sea. They were used in ship building throughout the period, and are frequent finds in the later town.

Knife blades were a common find, and included small and medium sized examples (fig. 24, 8-11). A few were straight backed, but most had an angled back; and all the blades were of triangular cross-section. A few, not figured, had simple inlaid decoration. Most had broken off at the tang, but in the few examples where a tang was preserved it had a rectangular cross-section. Such knives are known from many Saxon contexts, and have little use for dating or, except in the most general terms, as cultural indicators. A fine near-contemporary local series has recently been published (Meaney and Hawkes, 1970). No knives of the common long-tanged 'viking' type were found at Southampton.

A few more specialised tools have been found, and others can be inferred. Site 16 has produced a fine narrow chisel, presumably for wood or bone working (fig. 24, 12). It must be one of a range of such tools used in the various industrial processes carried on in the town. Iron saws of varying degrees of fineness were also used, as is inferred below (p. 75) from the saw marks on bone combs. The use of rasps and files, presumably in iron, can similarly be inferred. Though axes and adzes have not been found on the site they were doubtless common possessions, if not actually locally made. Iron-tipped spades must have been similarly frequent, though represented amongst the finds by but a single example (fig. 24, 13). The surviving tip is from a broad round-ended spade, somewhat different in type from known later medieval ones, though the diversity of spade types even today (Gailey and Fenton 1970, for contemporary examples) shows that this need cause no surprise.

Most of the iron keys from Southampton are of quite simple manufacture, and all could have been made on the site. The nine or ten keys of bronze and iron found in the 19th century (Roach Smith 1857, 60) do not seem to survive, but illustrations

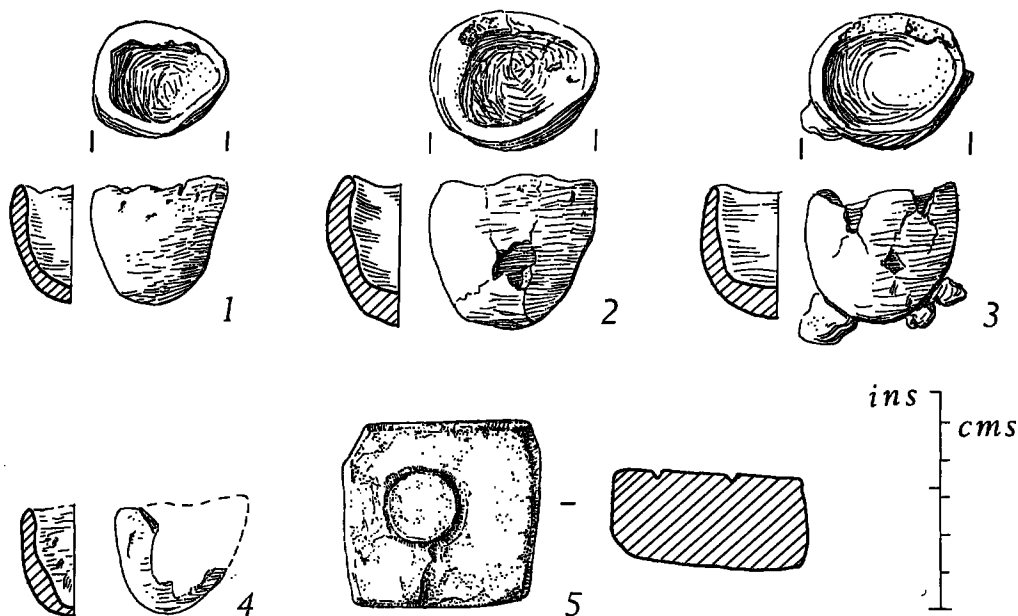


Fig. 25. Crucibles (A.304.69 to A.307.69) and a mould for casting rings (A.309.69). Scale 1/2.

(pl. VIII) show they resemble examples from recent excavations which have simple loop handles, hollow shanks of round cross-section and simple single wards (fig. 24, 14-15). What may be a latch lifter (fig. 24, 16) or barrel lock key was also found. Other minor ironwork, hooks, chain-links, mounts, plates and so on were doubtless made locally. What is apparently a small iron bell from Site 23 is a type of object less well known in Saxon contexts (Baldwin Brown 1915, 418) though they are found in West Britain. The practice of metal inlaying on iron objects was also known, as preliminary X-radiography shows, and X-rays have also revealed complex welding, as in the strike-a-light (fig. 24, 7).

Bronze working

Evidence for minor bronze working is unequivocal. An important pit on Site 16, Pit 147, has produced five small crucibles (fig. 25, 1-4), some complete, some fragmentary, and all with a slight pouring lip. All have been used. Mr. Leo Biek has kindly examined them and has provided the following descriptions of four of them.

A.304.69. Complete crucible. Outside: Completely covered with translucent glaze, mostly pale green appearing white in places where light is scattered by a high concentration of bubbles, with smaller isolated patches of yellow-brown, amber and one area of dark brown. The latter colours seem to be associated with greater 'decay' (as indicated by iridescence) and more crazing, although a very fine network of cracks can be detected in most areas.

Superimposed on this is a colour typical of cuprous oxide, ranging from bright red to red with mauve tinges, sometimes directly on the surface (i.e. appearing dull), occasionally glazed over, but mostly giving the impression of having been absorbed into the immediate surface of the fluid but setting glaze.

Inside: The same glaze extends over the rim, becoming wholly red immediately below it all round except in

the area of the rudimentary 'lip' where the colour is very dark brown to black (charcoal?). The red colour continues for approximately one third of the distance down the inside surface at the wide end; the next third appears pale yellowish semi-'glost' over a dark glaze similar to that by the 'lip' (but may be merely an 'earthy' dusting over the same), and the rest seems to be very dark brown, overfired but *not* vitrified crucible fabric, left as 'ravaged' by the process. No clearly diagnostic residue was seen, but small blobs of green (copper) corrosion product were noted on the rim and just below it, both inside and out. The progression of coloured bands is raised up higher as the narrow end ('lip') is approached, so as to give the impression of a 'black level' inside when the lip is held level with the base, i.e. as it would be in pouring.

The evidence is consistent with the use of the crucible for small scale copper (or alloy) melting in minor bronze working, such as casting small fittings or jewellery etc. The details are *visually* comparable with effects observed on similar crucibles (e.g. from Cheddar, Rahtz forthcoming) where analysis has established such use.

A.305.69. Similar crucible, larger but less complete. The fracture shows clearly the wholly vesicular section associated with heating this type of fabric to the high temperatures involved. Although the cuprous oxide colour is more prevalent, no clear greenish glaze was seen; instead there is a large component of very pale buff, dull (i.e. 'earthy', unglost) coating, in places relieved by small glassy patches of pale yellowish brown to dark brown. This

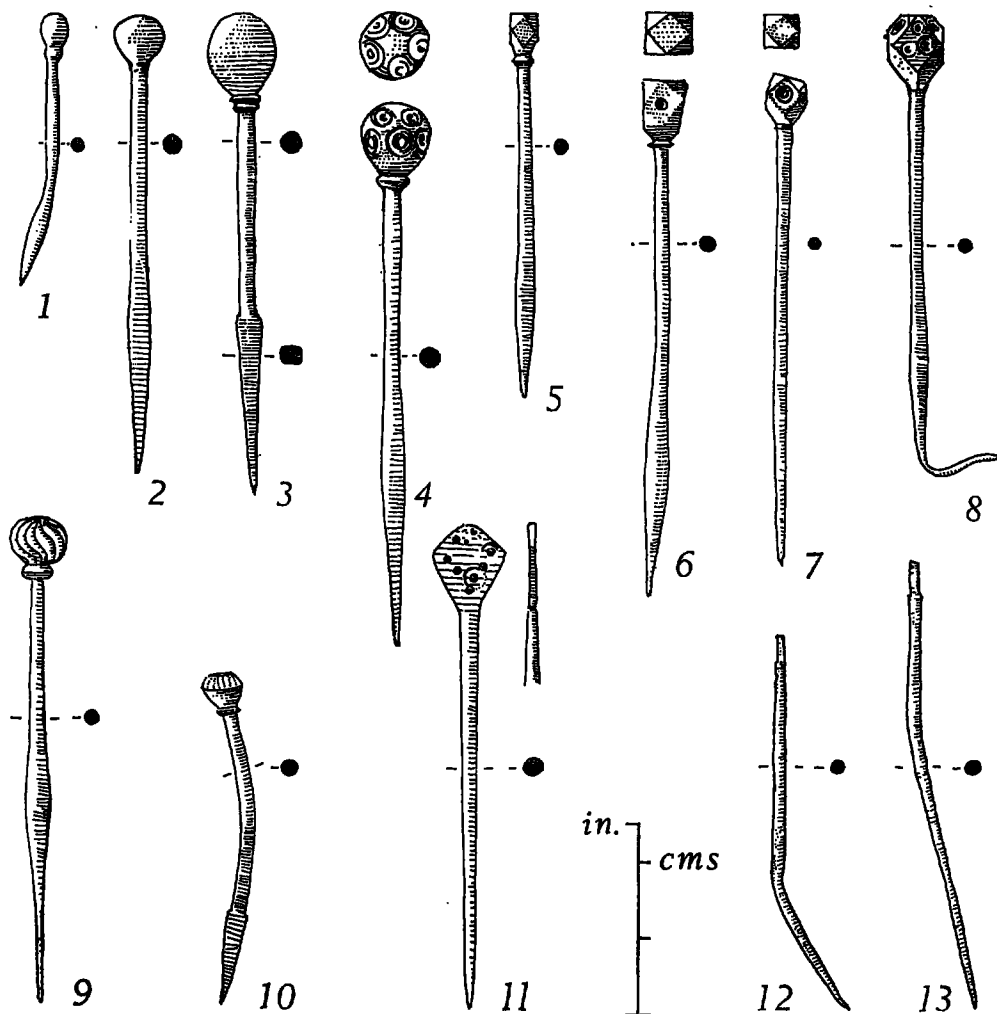


Fig. 26. Pins of copper alloy. Scale 1/1.

would be consistent with use for alloys containing tin, possibly with some lead. The blobs of green are larger and more numerous.

A.306.69. Similar but even less complete crucible. Attached to the outside in two areas, both near (but not at) the base, are two lumps of superficially similar material which are fused or slagged onto the main body, but in such a manner as to suggest that they are possibly overfired bits of the same material, fluxed and picked up at the time of heating. The outside carries red patches but is largely pale grey, with an undulating surface; this effect would appear to be due to complete cover by clusters of bubbles (*cf.* A.304.69). The inside is uniformly coated by a thin skin which appears a dull lustrous pale golden brown overall. Under the microscope this gives the impression of consisting of a thin continuous glassy layer, undulating over the rough surface, with highly (specular-) reflecting spots in the pockets in which the glass overlies areas of bright metal. This is most likely, however, to be an optical illusion due to effects such as are known in 'lustre' ware and similar finishes (often wrongly referred to as 'metallic' lustre) resulting from iridescence.

A.307.69. Small portion of crucible most similar to A.304.69. In section this shows a very high degree of vitre-fraction from the outside, extending more than halfway into the fabric in places.

A.308.69. 'Bronze drippings': Collection of fragments mostly of copper corrosion products – probably *bronze* runs (tin is present) from casting etc., totally mineralised – but including at least one fragment of almost solid metal and one certain artefact (fragment of decorative pin or rivet head?). It could indicate waste from both casting and working.

On Site 23 one valve of a small rectangular bi-valve mould in post-Glacial Chara marl, or Tertiary marl from the Isle of Wight (fig. 25, 5) was found. It may come from an industry producing small metal objects such as was envisaged on Site 16 for bronze by Mr. Biek, but there is no direct evidence, and it could not have withstood the heat from bronze casting. 'Bronze drippings' superficially similar to those from Site 16 have been found on other sites, and there are a number of examples from Site 23. Site 11 also produced crucibles.

It is not possible directly to link the objects of copper alloy found on the sites with the industrial evidence. They are, however, for the most part quite simple objects, and doubtless give some indication of the industry's products. One indeed, A.319.69, p. 70 below, was unfinished. Pins were by far the most common find. They range (fig. 26, 1–13) from simple round-headed wire pins, tapering at the tip; through those with a slight collar below the head; to a great series with medium or large head, decorated or undecorated. Of the last group a considerable number had a slight swelling to the shank about one third of the distance from the tip. One indeed had a stepped and faceted swelling (fig. 26, 3). The pins with medium or large spherical heads are either undecorated (1–3), or have narrow whorled segments (9), or have punched ring and dot ornament (4). Ring and dot is most commonly reserved, however, for pins with faceted heads, often with chamfered corners (5–8). There are single examples, amongst the finds examined, of a pin with a flat, lozenge-shaped head (11); a pin with a spherical head with flattened decorated top (10); a pin with a biconical head; and one with a spherical head with gold foil decoration. A pin with 'brambled head' from Site 11 (Maitland Muller 1950, pl. II) has already been published. A considerable number of pins were headless. Some may have lost their heads accidentally; some may be part of the waste of the pin-making process; still others may represent a class of their own, an awl-like pin (26, 12–13). The pins seem to belong to a country-wide series in use in Middle and Late Saxon times. The best comparable assemblages are those at York and Whitby (Waterman 1959, 78–9; Peers and Radford 1943, 63), which between them contain most of the Southampton types.

Small usually rather undistinguished strap-ends or tag-ends are also a common find (fig. 27, 1–2). Such small strap-ends are difficult to date but their incipient

SAXON SOUTHAMPTON: A REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE. PART II

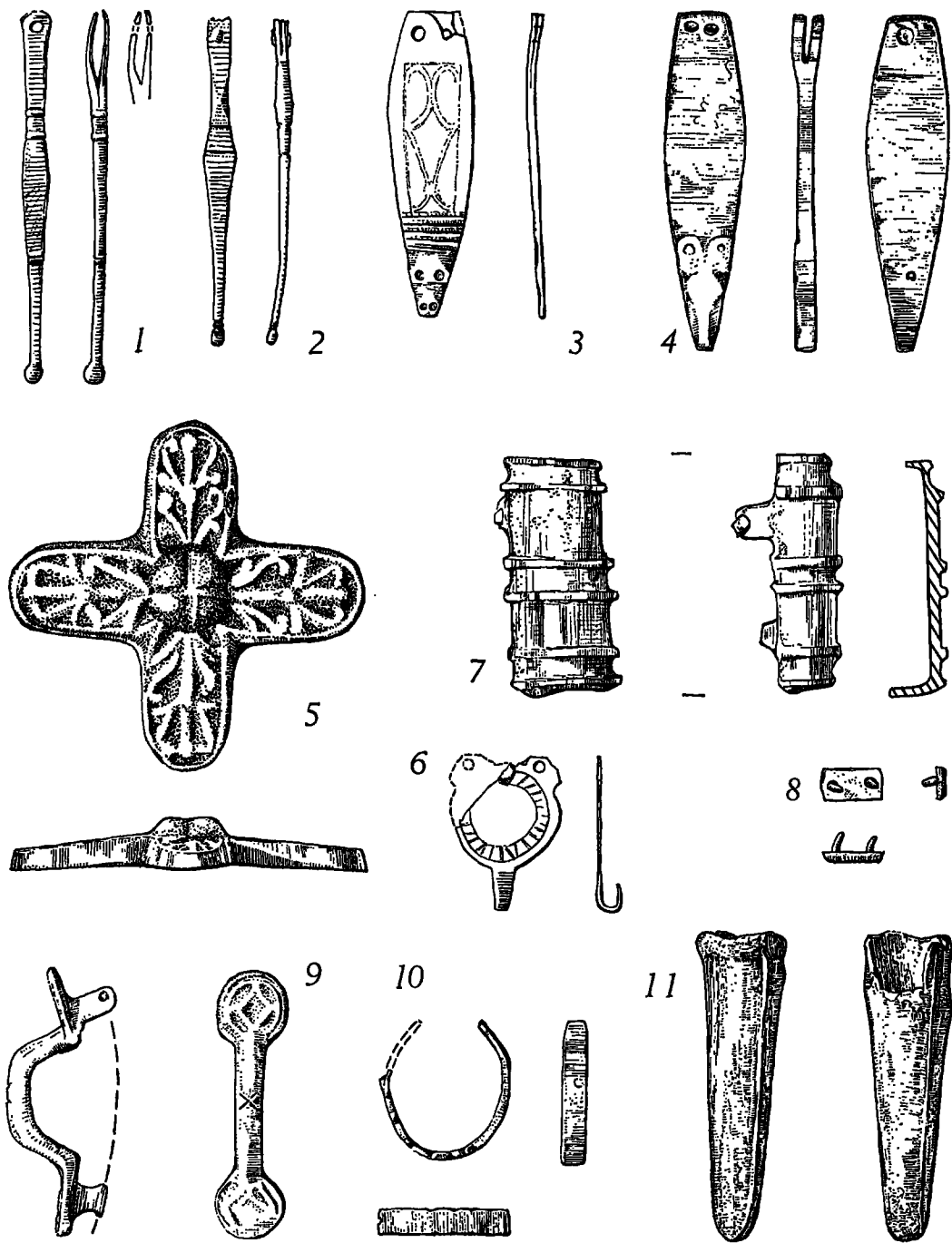


Fig. 27. Objects of copper alloy. Tag or strap ends (A.316.69 to A.320.69); cross (A.26.56) and various objects (7, A.322.69; 8, A.323.69; 9, A.366.69; 10, A.370.69; 11, A.321.69). Scale 1/1.

zoomorphic terminals associate them with the series of strap-ends (e.g. fig. 27, 3-4) of the 9th century. A somewhat similar strap-end was found at Maxey, Northants (Addyman 1964, 62-3) where an 8th or 9th century date is possible.

Two strap-ends and a tag-end of common Later Saxon types were also found (fig. 27, 3-4). One seems to have been unfinished, and doubtless anyway such objects were made in the town. Mr. D. M. Wilson kindly provides the following account of the objects.

A.318.69. Bronze strap-end in very fragile condition. At the tip is a slightly moulded animal-head with borings at nostrils and ears. Behind the ears are four incised lines. The split end is broken but there were originally two rivet holes, only one of which survives. The field appears from an X-ray photograph to be decorated with an incision consisting of a V which continues as a pair of backed curves, set within a plain incised border. The back is plain. *Length*: 4.5 cm. Fig. 27, 3.

Strap-ends of this form are the commonest type of late Anglo-Saxon metal antiquity (Wilson 1964, 62-3). This particular example cannot be accurately paralleled, but all its individual features can be compared with those of other strap-ends (Wilson 1964, pl. xlii, 136 and pls. *passim*). It should date to the 9th century.

A.319.69. Bronze strap-end with tip in the form of an animal mask. The snout is moulded and the ears are of oval form with indistinct incisions. The main field is apparently plain and there are two rivet holes at the split end. The back is plain with a single, unfinished, rivet-hole at the split end. *Length*: 5.0 cm. Fig. 27, 4.

This strap-end seems to be unfinished, an hypothesis demonstrated by the unused rivet-hole. It belongs to a well-known 9th century class of object. Similar unfinished strap-ends have been discovered in a hoard buried c. 850 at Sevington, Wilts. (Wilson 1964, pl. xxx, 72-78.)

A.320.69. Bronze tag originally consisting of a circular plate from which is produced a hook. It had two pierced lugs at the butt end - one of the lugs and part of the plate are now missing. The plate is decorated with a billeted border and with an indeterminate pattern in the centre. *Length*: 2.4 cm. Fig. 27, 6.

This object belongs to a well-known class of Anglo-Saxon hooked objects which are of 9th and 10th century date (Wilson 1964, 64 and Wilson 1965, 263-4).

A variety of other bronzes have come from Saxon Southampton. Those from Site 23, described by Mr. Wilson below, represent the main, usually undistinctive, categories. A.26.65, a bronze cruciform object, seems exceptional, but could well still be a local product. There is also a bronze 'crossbow' brooch of 'early' form, usually considered to be of 3rd century date when found in England (not illustrated) and the presumably imported equal armed brooch described below (p. 71).

A.321.69. Socketed bronze object cast in two-piece mould; the casting ridges are plainly visible. *Length*: 4.6 cm. Fig. 27, 11.

This object is without ornament and has no exact parallel in the Anglo-Saxon period. It is presumably the tip of a ferrule or staff.

A.322.69. Hollow object of semi-circular cross-section, bearing pairs of lugs laterally at either end; one lug is missing and two are complete. One of the lugs carries the remains of an iron pin. The face of the object is decorated with plain transverse mouldings in groups of two - one pair at either end and the other in the middle. The ends of the object are closed. *Length*: 3.9 cm. Fig. 27, 7.

The object is unparalleled but is perhaps related to similarly-shaped objects of pagan Anglo-Saxon date (usually considered to be belt mounts) from King's Field, Faversham (British Museum Guide 1923, fig. 39), which have rivets at the terminals. The lugs presumably pierced the belt or other base and were fastened by a transverse bar of iron of which traces survive. The object cannot be dated.

A.323.69. Rectangular bronze strip, pierced at either end by rivets. The edges of the bar are chamfered. *Length*: 0.9 cm. *Length* of rivets, 0.4 cm. Fig. 27, 8.

This small binding strip is of a type which cannot be satisfactorily dated or identified. An Anglo-Saxon parallel might be cited in the small strips sometimes used to strengthen cracked cups of wood, most notably seen at Sibertswold, Kent (Faussett 1856, 113).

A.324.69. Bronze penannular strip forming three-quarters of a circle; it tapers slightly towards one of the broken ends. The contour is roughly scalloped. Diameter: 2.0 cm. This ring could equally be a binding strip or a finger ring. There is no significant detail for dating or localising the object. Fig. 27, 10.

A.366.69. Bronze equal-arm brooch, the bow being decorated with an incised saltire flanked by transverse lines. The bow is of plano-convex section. The terminals are circular and bear a cast pattern made up of a lozenge within a circle. They are much corroded. The catch-plate and hinge-plates survive and the remains of the loop of an iron pin carried on a bronze rivet are to be seen within the latter. *Length*: 3.9 cm. Fig. 27, 9.

Brooches of this type are commonly found in seventh- and early eighth-century Merovingian contexts (cf. e.g. de Loë 1939, fig. 115; J. Ypey 1967, 129; Costa 1964, 313-315; Roes 1954, Pls. 16-17), the terminals taking various forms. An almost exact parallel comes from Chateau-Thierry, Marne, France and is now in the Diergardt Collection (Werner 1961, pl. 47, 288).

A.26.65. Cast cruciform object in coppery coloured bronze. The arms have rounded ends and in the centre is a solid boss moulded into quarters by indented lines. Each arm is decorated with a balanced acanthus-leaf ornament of four leaves separated by a vertical stem. The back of the object is plain. *Length*: 5.1 cm. Fig. 27, 5.

While trefoil brooches and mounts with acanthus-leaf decoration are reasonably common on the continent (cf. e.g., Arbman 1937, pls. 45, 48 and 52) and, while objects of similar form are not unknown in England (e.g. Baldwin Brown 1915, iii, pl. xlviii, 4), this object appears to be unique in that it is a quatrefoil mount which may well have been manufactured in England. The ornament clearly belongs to the Winchester style. The foliage is completely different from the lush acanthus leaves found on the continental objects quoted above and must belong to a late phase of the Winchester style when such leaves achieved attenuated proportions. A date in the late 10th or early 11th century would seem reasonable if a parallel is drawn with the ornament of such manuscripts as the Charter of the New Minster at Winchester (Kendrick 1949, pl. II).

Wilson's date for this object, formerly assigned to the 9th century, removes from the later town site its 'only indisputably early find' (Addyman and Hill 1968, 64).

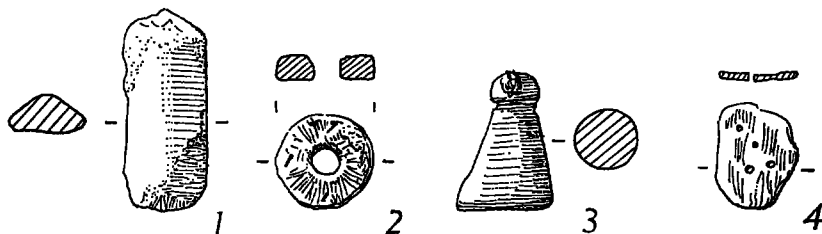


Fig. 28. Objects of lead. Ingot (A.324.69); weights (A.31.65; A.325.69) and disc (A.326.69).
Scale 1/2.

Lead and silver working

Lead objects were very infrequent at Saxon Southampton, but three have been examined (fig. 28, 1-3). There is little doubt that local metalsmiths worked with the material, for lead waste was recovered from Feature 484 on Site 23, and so was what seems to be a small ingot (fig. 28, 1). From visual examination the ingot seems to be virtually pure lead. It was found unstratified on the site but probably came from a Saxon context, and is not dissimilar to other Anglo-Saxon ingots (Jope 1958, 72). What may be an ingot mould was found in the 1946-51 excavations; it is a tile in hard reddish fabric reminiscent of Roman tile with a rectangular countersunk hole which would have produced an ingot of rectangular cross-section. Most Saxon ingots are of the D form.

Lead working might, perhaps, be expected at Southampton as an ancillary activity of silversmiths working in the mint postulated by Blunt for the production of BMC Type 49 sceattas (pl. VIIIb) and possibly sceattas of other types (Blunt 1955, 256-9) and at the reopened mint in the early 10th century. There were at least two moneyers in the reign of Athelstan. The later history of the mint has already been sketched (Addyman and Hill 1968, 78ff.).

Pottery production

No specific evidence of pottery production ever seems to have come to light at Southampton, though the character of the hand-made pottery from the site accords well with that of the local clays; the various fabric inclusions, flint, chalk and fine sands, can all be obtained locally. A bone stamp giving a 4 mm. circular impression with cross motif was found during the destruction of Site 24 in 1970. It is almost certainly connected with pottery manufacture. The loomweights, indeed, can readily be reproduced using the site brickearth and a bonfire. If bonfires were used no particular trace need remain as successful experiments have shown. Even when kilns were used in making Anglo-Saxon pottery (Arthur and Jope 1962-3, 1-14) the remains are often vestigial. Local pottery types which may have been produced on the site are discussed below (p. 84). The common finds of fire-crackled flints may be connected with the pottery industry, or even with smelting. Nor is there evidence for glass production on the site unless a glass-filled crucible from Mr. Thomson's 1970 rescue excavations on Site 24 is an indicator. The great number of glass vessel fragments are doubtless mostly imported.

Wood working

Carpentry must have been a common trade in the town. The carpenters, however, are betrayed by precious little direct evidence, and it is only by inference that anything can be surmised: from the timber buildings; by the clear indication of carpentered joints in the burnt daub from such buildings; by the preserved shavings from Site 13; the supposition that some buildings may have had shingle roofs; and that some of the boats which plied between the continent and Southampton may have been built locally. Lathes were certainly being used, but this is only known because they were sometimes applied to bone, which survives (pl. VIIIa). Actual tools are as rare at Southampton as anywhere (fig. 24, 12; Wilson 1968).

Textiles (figs. 29-30, and pl. VIIIa)

The local textile industry was by contrast well represented in the surviving material remains. No textile has survived, but every site has produced spindle whorls, either of bone or of stone, which indicate the production of yarn in all parts of the town, presumably as a cottage industry. Doubtless as well as the durable whorls there were countless thousands in wood, the substance most commonly used for whorls in areas where spindle and distaff are used today. Whether wool alone was being spun, or whether flax was also available cannot be shown; linens are known from Anglo-Saxon contexts and there is also documentary evidence. Some, at least, of the fabrics were woven on upright looms and loomweights are common finds (fig. 29, 1-6). They include unusual and abnormally heavy disc-shaped weights of rectangular cross-section, flat disc-shaped weights with domed upper surfaces; and true bun-shaped weights. There are none of the early Anglo-Saxon annular type (Dunning *et al.* 1959, 24). They presumably cover the whole period of occupation, though it may well be that the bun-shaped weights were in use only in Late Saxon times. The many double ended highly polished bone pins (fig. 29) are also normally thought to be weavers' tools, used as thread lifters or alternatively as beaters (Dunning 1953, 50). Sunken floored huts,

SAXON SOUTHAMPTON: A REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE. PART II

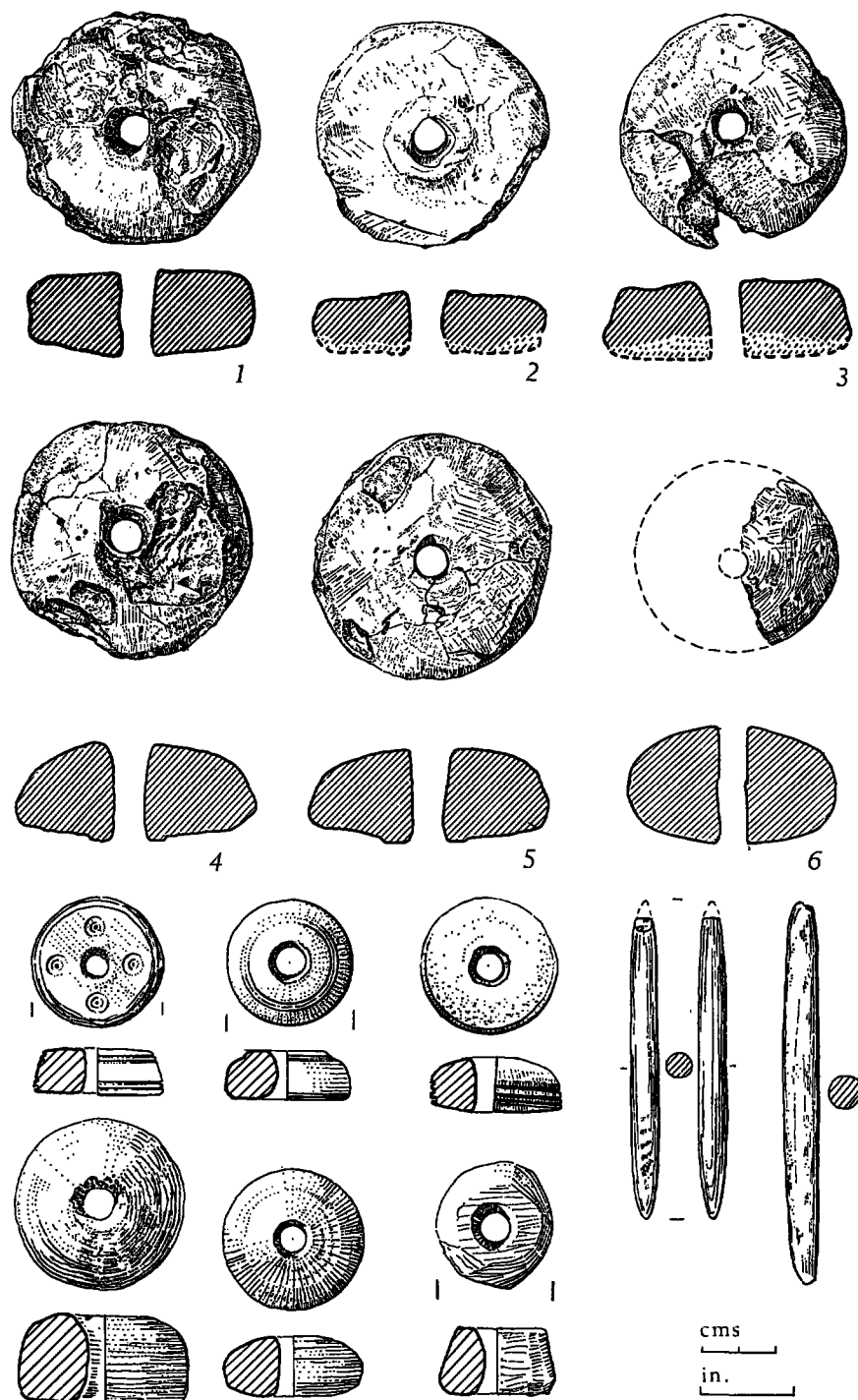


Fig. 29. The textile industry: disc- and bun-shaped loomweights, spindle whorls (A.336.69 to A.339.69 bone; A.340.69 mudstone; A.30.65 chalk) and 'thread-pickers' (A.342.69 to A.343.69).
Scale: loomweights 1/4; remainder 1/2.

'Grübenhauser', now becoming a familiar feature of Anglo-Saxon settlement sites (Jones *et al.* 1968; Davison 1967) have been identified as weaving sheds (Radford 1957, 36-7). No sunken floored huts have yet been positively identified at Saxon Southampton, though weaving equipment comes from all parts of the site. Whereas sunken floored huts *may* be weaving sheds, weaving clearly went on in other structures as well.

Fig. 30, esp. 1-2, shows various polishing stones, some hardly distinguishable from natural pebbles, some carefully formed and finished. They may be tools for the finishing process for textiles; or they may be part of the leather-workers toolkit. Doubtless too the various pins of bronze (68 above) or of bone (76 below) were used in making up garments from textiles. No shears have been found but the type is common enough in Middle Saxon settlement sites (Addyman 1964, 60-1) and they presumably played a part in garment making.

Apart from the polishing stones, which could have had a variety of uses, no specific evidence of leather working has been found. It may well be that bone pins of the

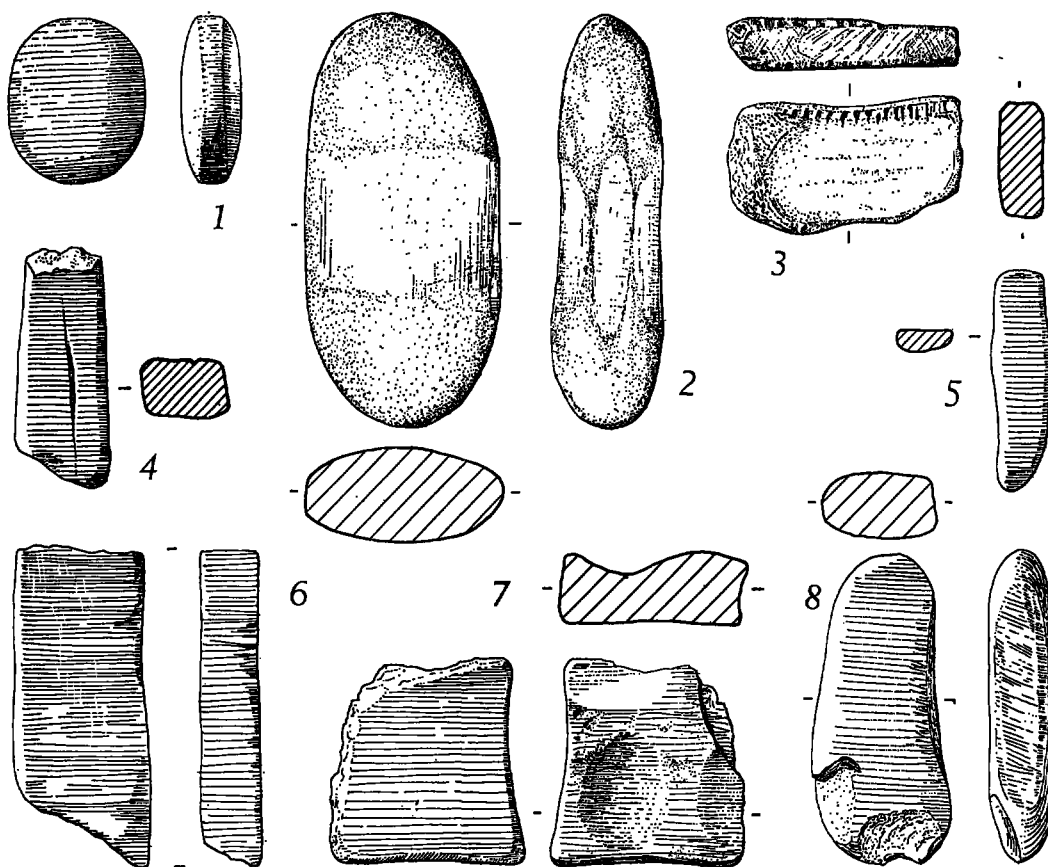


Fig. 30. Polishing stones (A.345.69 to A.347.69) and whetstones (A.348.69 to A.352.69).
Scale 1/3.

unpierced type had a role as awls, and the awl-like bronze pins may similarly have been used in leather working. Tanning pits have been claimed (Addyman and Hill 1968, 70) but the evidence is equivocal.

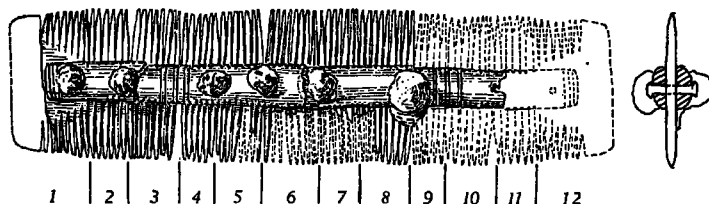


Fig. 31. Comb, annotated to show construction (A.357.69). Scale 1/2.

Bone and antler working

If specific evidence for most of Southampton's industries is lacking this is not true of the bone and antler working trades. Every part of Site 23 produced waste, off-cuts, incomplete or broken bone and antler articles and completed objects. Other sites have been similarly prolific. Products included many types of bone comb and bone pin. The debris makes it possible to reconstruct stages in the manufacture of these articles. In addition the bone workers produced spindle-whorls, often turned on a lathe, but of these only finished examples were found.

Both double and single sided bone combs are represented among the finds. All are composite, usually having comb blades made of a number of closely fitting and carefully graded individual sections held together by two ribs. The manufacturing process can be followed in pl. VIa and fig. 31. Individual billets of bone were first sawn (pl. VIa) from a prepared and pared down long bone; they were then further pared by chisel (VIa) and shaped by filing (VIIIa) to make the elements of the comb blades. Before assembly they seem to have been finished by fine polishing. The individual pieces of the comb blades were then assembled between two longitudinal ribs, of shallow D cross-section, usually already finished and, where applicable, decorated. Pl. VIa, centre is apparently an unused rib of this sort. The elements were held together by small rivets usually inserted at the joints between individual pieces of the comb blade. Fig. 31 shows a near complete comb, of the type which would perhaps commonly be called three pieces; it is in fact 'fourteen piece', with two ribs and twelve sections. The annotated drawing indicates the method of assembly. The teeth of the comb were then cut by saw (pl. VIIIa, rt.) and pared off at the tip (pl. VIIIa, l.). In many cases the sawmarks cut into the ribs (pl. VIIa) indicating that the teeth were cut after assembly. Most combs showed indication of final polishing of the teeth (p. 74). All combs so far examined are composite articles manufactured in this way. Most are double sided, though various types of single sided comb have been found. There is a considerable range in size, breadth of blade and fineness of tooth. Some combs are decorated, most commonly with groups of incised transverse lines on the rib, or with criss-cross lines (pl. VIIa, b). Scribed circles are also common. One single sided example (pl. VIIa)

uses a combination of incised lines and scribed circles in a design of intentional ambiguity, which exhibits various fishy themes and even in its general shape has piscine overtones, apt, perhaps, in a maritime town. The composite object (pl. VIIb, centre r.) may also be part of a comb. It has the common form of rib decoration, but on a projecting uncut blade there are skilfully set out intersecting scribed circles.

Combs are among the commonest finds on Anglo-Saxon settlement sites and, sometimes, in monastic cemeteries (e.g. Ripon, Yorks., unpublished). Types have a long life and are found at all periods. They thus have little value for dating. It is perhaps significant, however, that the hog-backed combs associated with Viking contexts in Britain and the Continent are conspicuous at Southampton by their absence. Perhaps also the presence of at least one handled example, pl. VIIa, is significant, for Frisian associations have been suggested for the type (Waterman 1959, 89; where a general discussion is also given, 87-90). Nor are manufacturing sites unknown. Bone workers may have been producing combs at Sutton Courtenay (Leeds 1923, 182-3). There was evidence of the activities of a comb maker at Clifford Street, York (Waterman 1959, *passim*) and a comb factory which continued in production into the later Middle Ages has recently been found at Coileagan an Udail, North Uist (Crawford, monograph forthcoming). Comb manufactories are well known in contemporary continental towns, where excavation on an adequate scale has often revealed more than have the chance discoveries in English settlements (Blomquist 1942, 160-1; Jankuhn 1963, 249).

Southampton boneworkers also produced a range of pins with pierced and unpierced heads; bodkins; 'threadpickers'; and spindle whorls. Plate VIb shows a series of blanks sawn out of longbones ready for the final whittling and, in some cases, polishing which would have turned them into pins of the types shown below. Many excavated pits contained debris, off-cuts and discarded blanks, from the manufacture of small objects of this sort, and some, particularly Pit 147 on Site 16, even produced the chips of bone detached in preliminary chiselling. In the same pit were found upwards of 30 strips, made mainly from split ribs. Their use is not clear, though some may have been intended for comb ribs. Doubtless polishing stones (74 above) had a role in producing the finish seen on some pins and on most of the threadpickers. Use of the lathe can be inferred in the production of another common product of the boneworkers, the spindle whorl. Plate VIIIa shows a lathe-turned example.

Of the more exceptional decorated bone objects those shown in pl. VIIb, centre l. and r. may both be parts of combs. The former is perhaps the end of a ceremonial two-ribbed two sided comb; its back is completely unworked, and cannot ever have been intended to be seen. It has a suspension hole, and the object may, in fact, have been a comb case. So too may the highly decorated object VIIb, lower r., comparable with examples among the exceptionally fine York series of comb cases. (Waterman 1959, 90 and pl. XIX, 7.) The double-ended pin with restrained incised line decoration (VIIb, top), is perhaps a 'threadpicker'. An incomplete elongated object with expanded lozenge-shaped end is decorated with groups of transverse incised lines, and diagonal incised notches along the edges. The shaft is perforated and the object is broken across the perforation. It may be a spoon handle of the type seen at York, but doubtless there are a multitude of other specialised implements, perhaps more usually made in wood,

of which this could be a representative. Less distinguished objects, too, were common. Bones were often pared down to make the simplest of awls, and points; perhaps even cheek pieces are represented, though they are by no means as common as on some Anglo-Saxon settlements.

NON-LOCAL TRADE

A series of important and well-known papers has drawn attention to various types of artefact commonly found in Saxon Southampton which point to the town's participation in the expanding European trade of the 9th and 10th centuries, and to certain international trade contacts at an earlier date. Pottery has formed the bulk of the evidence (Maitland Muller 1950, 128; Dunning *et al.* 1959, 25, 32-4, 50-2) but lava from the Middle Rhineland (Dunning 1956, 232) and germanic glass (Harden 1956, 152-4 and Harden 1961, 52-4) have been noted. Bones have recently been discussed by Ellis (1969). It is clear from a preliminary examination of the finds from the site, however, that there is a far greater potential in them for tracing the growth of that import trade which has always been one of Southampton's main sources of commercial prosperity. The pottery, for instance, clearly comes from diverse origins. Much of it, hand-made and coarse, is local, but every deposit produces some sherds at least of wheel-thrown wares of a wide variety of types, provisionally defined by Dunning (1959). The sources of these have for the most part not yet been located. Most must certainly be on the continent, though a few may be in England. It is premature to discuss here possible origins. Work currently in progress in France and Belgium will doubtless shortly provide at least some of the answers. Others may come from a study of the pottery itself. It sometimes contains characteristic inclusions in the fabric. Some vessels must, for instance have come from cretaceous areas, for flints and chalk are visible in the fabric. Where relevant therefore the pottery will be included in a programme of petrological, granulometric and heavy mineral analysis at present in progress at Southampton University (Peacock 1970). It is hoped that, in some cases at least, its origins may be pinpointed with an accuracy even greater than might be achieved by typological study. An example is a pot with general, though by no means close, similarities with 'Souterrain Ware' pots of north-east Ireland. This at first sight unlikely attribution is supported by identification of rock inclusions deriving from the Dalriadan Series in the fabric of the pot. (Addyman forthcoming. We are indebted to Dr. D. P. S. Peacock for the identification.) Another sherd, with shell filler, most closely compares with Lincolnshire Middle Saxon Wares (Addyman and Whitwell 1970). This review confines itself, so far as pottery is concerned, to a few corrections of detail in previously published work; to the presentation of a few important sherds and two important groups from the recently excavated finds (Appendix A); and to illustration of selected sherds to express the range and character of the non-local pottery from the site.

Pottery from the Rhineland has long been recognised amongst the finds. Tating ware (pl. IXa, top row) presumably reached the site from Dorestad in the early 9th century, and there are numerous undecorated pots in hard light grey ware with dark blue-grey surfaces which might have come from the same source. Wheel-thrown pots with stamped and incised decoration may also have come from Dorestad. Rhenish

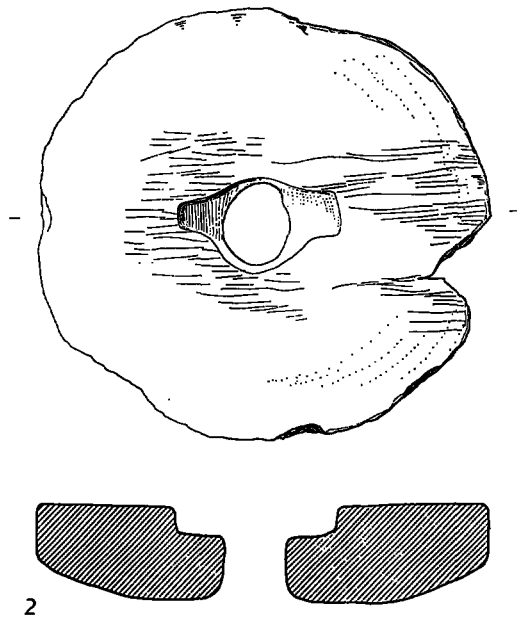
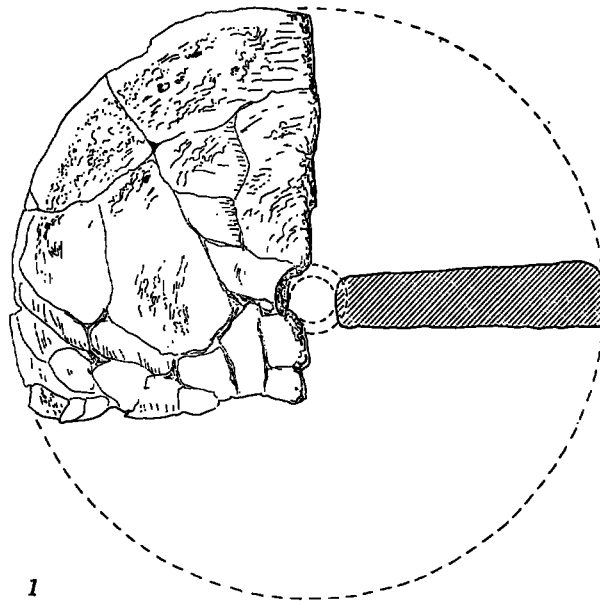


Fig. 32. Querns of lava (A.353.69) and granite (A.354.69). Scale 1/6.

contacts are, however, betrayed in almost every context at Saxon Southampton by the querns, or chips, or weathered fragments of vesicular lava of Niedermendig type (Dunning 1956, 232; for a discussion of the specific origin of such lavas see Biddle 1964, 82-3). Few complete querns survive anywhere but fig. 32, 1 shows the size of a lower stone. The Southampton querns probably range in date from the late 7th century, if not earlier, to the 10th. As such they must include some of the earliest known Anglo-Saxon examples, though the trade in querns was clearly flourishing in eastern England by the 8th-9th centuries (Addyman 1964, 59). Doubtless it is to the trade in lava that Charlemagne referred in the oft-quoted letter of A.D. 796 to Offa (Whitelock 1955, 781), in which he says that if the Mercians complained about the size of stones that were sent to them he must in turn complain about the length of cloaks sent in return. Even stones bound for Mercia may have entered through Southampton at this time, for stones from Mercia itself reached Southampton, perhaps in some sort of return trade.

The very frequent finds of glassware in Southampton, well over 200 since 1946, also show the extent of trade with Carolingian Europe. The range of types represented has been demonstrated by Harden (1956) and the best indication of sources comes from comparison with Scandinavian finds, themselves derived from Merovingian and Carolingian glass factories, and discussed by Arwidsson (1942) and Arbman (1937) respectively. Doubtless much of the glass came from the Rhineland, but other sources within the Empire seem possible, and the trade seems to have a chronological range from perhaps the 7th century to the 10th. Of particular interest are two or three grave finds, made in the 19th century (Addyman and Hill 1968, 68). The glasses do not survive, so far as is known, but they are apparently compared in a contemporary account to the vessels shown in pl. VIIId (Akerman 1847). They are palm cups which might well have a 7th century date.

Southampton's Rhenish connections may have been over-emphasised in this account solely because objects of Rhenish origin can at present more readily be characterised. Geographical likelihood points to Quentovic and Rouen as ports with which contact would have been continuous. It was indeed to the famous mart at Rouen that St. Willibald went on the recorded journey from Southampton which gives us the first reference to the settlement's name *Hamwih* in 721. Nor is there any reason why Brittany, or even Poitou and Aquitaine, which in the later Middle Ages shipped pottery and wine to Southampton in such quantities, should not prove the source of some at least of the enigmatic Frankish and Carolingian pottery. Some of the latest imports found on the Saxon site, and the earliest from the later town (85 below) may have such an origin. Other finds may result from a special circumstance, or the passage of a traveller from afar. Such may be the explanation of the 'Souterrain Ware', for many an Irish ecclesiastic must have passed through Saxon Southampton. Such may be the explanation of the bone of the Green Turtle, now found no nearer to Southampton than the Canary Isles, but perhaps capable of accidentally being washed to our shores. Such may be the explanation of the handle of a classical cup, perhaps brought back from the Mediterranean as an antique souvenir.

Southampton also had extensive contacts within Britain, both with its immediate hinterland, and with the more remote areas. They can be epitomised by reference to the diverse series of stone objects from the site. Dr. D. P. S. Peacock has kindly made

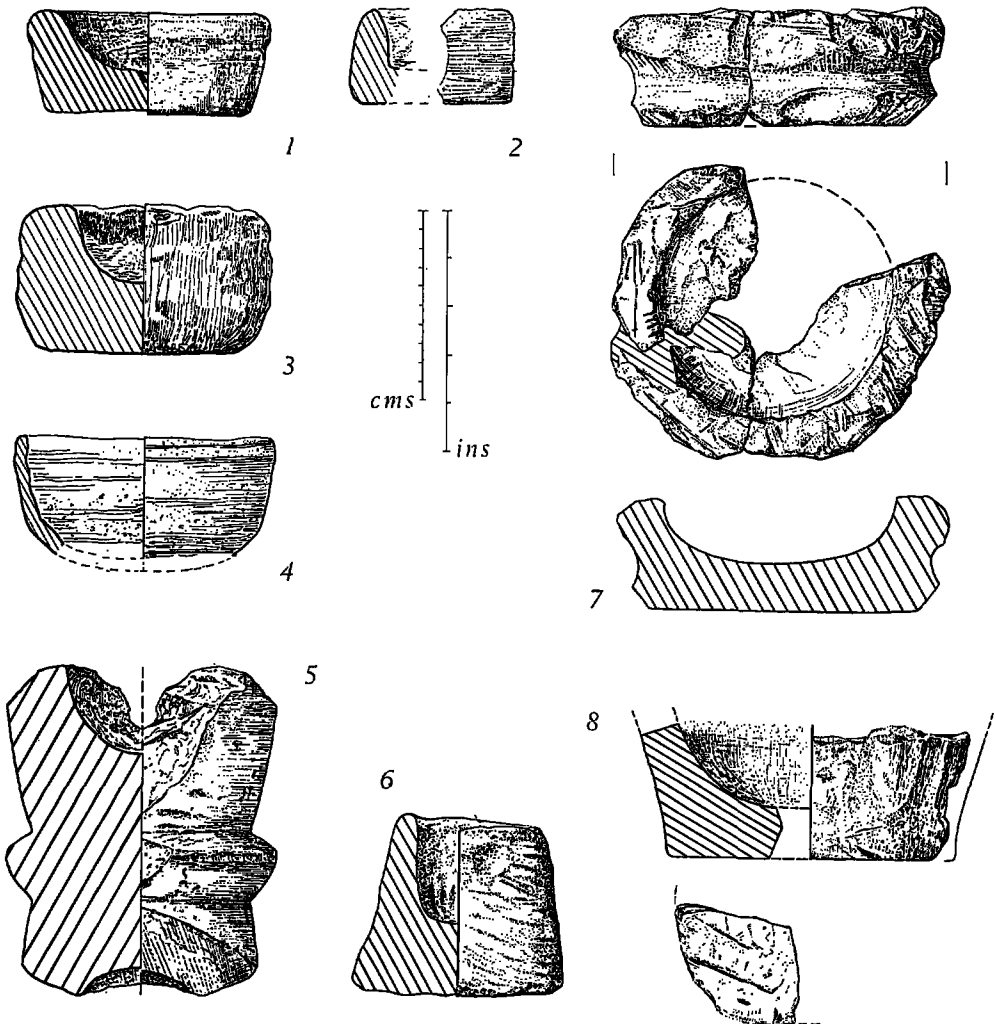


Fig. 33. Lamps in pottery (1-3, A.371.69 to A.373.69) and stone (5 and 6, A.374.69 and A.71.64) and mortars in chalk (A.375.69) and pottery (A.376.69). Scale 1/4.

provisional identifications of a random sample of whetstones, grinding and polishing stones, querns, lamps and other vessels, and stone spindle whorls. The following remarks are written in the light of his work, though we are of course responsible for assumptions read from the evidence. Apart from the lavas most of the stones seem to have come from rock sources within the British Isles. By far the majority come from sources at no great distance from the site, usually within the Hampshire Basin. Such rocks include chalk, used for spindle whorls and vessels, and perhaps as a flux in the smelting processes. Flints were similarly used in industrial processes, and as a filler in pottery. Greensand often occurs. In one case a large piece had been carefully shaped into the counterweight for a well winding gear. Sandy limestones and sandstones were used for whetstones. The

Purbeck beds also seem to have provided limestone for the site, for use as whetstones, grinders and, fig. 33, 5, as a fine double-ended lamp. A spindle whorl in reddish mudstone is perhaps of the Kimmeridgian series, also from the Purbeck area. A granite quern (fig. 32, 2) and fragments of fine-grained granite clearly come from further afield. The nearest sources are in Devon, Cornwall and, even closer, Brittany, though sources further afield are possible. Greywacke pebbles were often used on the site, either as whetstones or polishers. Some come from the Caledonian Series of Northern Ireland, Scotland, the Lake District or Wales; or conceivably the Ardennes; but whether naturally, as ballast in boats, or by trade, is impossible to say.

At least two of the whetstones are in Paleozoic limestone, for which the English sources are to be found in South Wales, the Mendips and Derbyshire. There is a quern or grinding stone in Old Red Sandstone which, in the hand specimen, compares closely with Old Red Sandstones of the Mendips. A fragment of Millstone Grit emanates from Yorkshire, Derbyshire or South Wales, and a fragment of carboniferous limestone, perhaps a quern, may come from South Wales, the Mendips or other parts of Northern England. In general the picture is confirmed by Ellis' work on other hones from the site (Ellis 1969). Interestingly none of his Norwegian series have been found.

The occurrence of Hampshire Basin rocks in Southampton need occasion no surprise, and the rocks from various parts of the Jurassic Ridge are welcome corroborative evidence of the expected trade contacts of Saxon Southampton with a wide hinterland. Rocks from the Midlands raise much broader questions. They might suggest the presence already in Anglo-Saxon England of the well known routes that ran in later medieval times from Southampton through Oxford to the central Midlands. The Midlands salt industry may have contributed to the early development of such axes of communication. Anglo-Saxon and later medieval routes are discussed by Lady Stenton (1958: there is little relevant pre-conquest evidence). The west country granites, if that be their origin, are more readily explained, perhaps, by coastal seaborne trade. It will be of some importance clearly to establish specific sources of all the Southampton foreign rocks.

While artefacts themselves provide evidence for Southampton's activities as an entrepôt there is much historical evidence to suggest that the trans-shipping may have been in the hands of others, perhaps Frisians for the most part, at least in the earlier part of the site's history. The historical problems have been discussed often (Grierson 1940; Levison 1946; Dunning 1956; Lewis 1958). There is little enough archaeological evidence to betray a domination apparently so complete. Most of it lies in the sceatta series and has been discussed by Sutherland 1942; Rigold 1962 and Metcalfe 1967. It is perhaps of interest to note that some of the Southampton sceatta finds are of so-called Frisian type, and the 'Southampton type' of sceatta, BMC Type 49, itself has Frisian associations. One of the sceattas described as an addendum to this paper (pl. VIIIb) indeed is of Frisian type. Waterman, moreover, has suggested Frisian associations for handled bone combs (Waterman 1959, 90, n.5). Dr. R. I. Page suggests below that a runic inscription from Southampton (p. 86) may include a rune of Frisian type, if it be not a slip of the graver. The equal-arm brooch (p. 71) finds its closest parallel in Frisia. Finally the general character of the settlement is more reminiscent of contemporary Dorestad, with which as we have seen it anyway had trading contacts, than of any other site known to us.

It is an unfortunate aspect of the archaeological evidence that a very large part of the trade of the town can have left no mark. Exports must have been very considerable, but there is scarcely a hint of them; and passengers may have been a welcome source of income to the ship owner. There is some historical evidence to supply the gap, but only of a general nature. Cloaks and cloth were clearly exported (79 above). Livestock certainly went abroad, but the hunting dogs and horses of which we have documentary evidence are perhaps only the luxury part of the trade. Foodstuffs we have no evidence for except from documentary sources (Loyn 1962, 96); dried fish seems a possibility though Aelfric's Colloquy, perhaps referring to Winchester, might suggest that there was a local market for more even than could be produced in the late 10th century.

The passenger trade is more interesting, though we know tantalisingly little. A constant and not inconsiderable stream of pilgrims left these shores. Some were of high status, and doubtless took with them a retinue; others were more lowly, struggling to Rome (Guild Statutes), or succumbing to various perils on the way. Some English pilgrims were massacred, as records indicate, in the Alps. Others suffered a fate worse even than death; there is a complaint that every town between the coast and Rome had its English harlot. Constant references are made, moreover, throughout Anglo-Saxon times to the export of slaves, some in the hands of Frisian merchants. There is no archaeology for these aspects of Southampton's trade.

THE CHARACTER OF EVERYDAY LIFE

Attempts to understand the structure of society in Saxon Southampton and to reconstruct the character of life in the settlement will always be seriously at a disadvantage until an adequate series of the town's dwellings, workplaces, places of worship and administrative buildings have been excavated. This remains a priority for future work even though some structures were found on Sites 16, 23 and 24. The site seems to have been an administrative centre for the county from the mid-8th century at least and there can be little doubt that it had by that time the character of a town.¹ It had a major concentration of people whose occupations included fishing, manufacturing and the import, export and distribution of goods. There were certainly specialist craftsmen amongst them. To what extent they were dependent upon their own agricultural efforts for subsistence is not clear, and it would be anyway difficult to show; but it may be significant that evidence of agricultural activity is lacking. There is evidence for systematic layout of the town, rudimentary at least, with made roads, and permanent property boundaries within which certain areas were traditionally reserved for certain activities, well digging, the digging of latrines, perhaps the building of houses. The position of wharves may itself have governed the general layout of the town, though these have not yet been located. At the moment no evidence is available to suggest neighbourhoods associated with any particular activity and, apart from the possible church and its cemetery on Site 23 no group of structures can be assigned any particular function.

The various excavations have, however, provided a vast range of artefacts which serve to illustrate contemporary conditions, together with organic materials, coprolites

¹ It was well enough known in Northern England remarked upon by Simeon of Durham (Whitelock a century later for its destruction by fire in 764 to be 1955, 242).

and samples which, when examined, should give evidence of the immediate environment. Huge quantities of animal bones will provide dietary data. Fishbones and shells, especially oyster and mussel, indicate other popular foods. There are rare finds which give a hint of the artistic aspirations of the townsfolk though, unless a wealth of carved or painted wood eludes us, cultural standards do not seem to have been high. There is a brief sidelight on the level of literacy.

A number of artefacts have already been described which give some indication of the fittings of Southampton houses. Burnt daub reveals that the houses were timber structures with the main timbers squared and adequately jointed. Bronze and iron keys and an iron barrel-lock key (fig. 24, 14-16, pl. VIIIe) argue for door locks, though some of the keys could come from chests. There are one or two items which may be structural ironwork – pivots and fittings. The latrines lay outside the houses and it seems likely that they were covered, and sometimes perhaps even framed. Wells often had timber or wicker lining, and some sort of winding gear would have been needed, for they reached depths of up to 6 metres. Possible counterweights for such gear have been found.

Little is known of lighting in Anglo-Saxon buildings. The fine window glass from Miss Cramp's excavations at Jarrow seems at present exceptional, though Bede refers to Benedict Biscop's Gallic glassmakers at Monkwearmouth and makes it clear that the craft was taught to the English. Glass was inserted into the windows of the York church by Wilfred to keep out the birds; and Dr. Radford has found a Mid to Late Saxon glassworks at Glastonbury; but skilled glaziers were apparently rare (Whitelock 1955, 766). Doubtless Southampton's timber buildings had for the most part window openings rebated for wooden shutters. Such an arrangement is common in Late Saxon churches (Johnston 1918, 34n. for a local example, Poling, Sussex, with a surviving shutter; Birstall, Leics., Baldwin Brown 1925, 444, is another). There are, however, a few fragments of window glass from securely stratified deposits in Southampton. It is muff glass, not made by the Roman roller-mould process, and is flat on both sides. It and other Saxon window glass, has recently been discussed by Harden (1961, 52-4). Windows glazed with such glass were, however, clearly rare in the town.

Most households presumably owned lamps, and a number of examples have been found (fig. 33) both in pottery (1-3) and limestone (5-6). No. 5 is in limestone of the Purbeck series and is unusual both in its double-ended design and in the moulding at its mid-point. Such mouldings have been used to argue a pre-conquest date for churches, for example the elaborate examples at Stopham, Sussex (Taylor and Taylor 1965, II, 578-9), and it is useful to have this example, from a Middle or Late Saxon context in Site 24.² Double-ended stone lamps are a well known later medieval type (Adams 1967, 47 ff.), but an example from Steyning (Worthing Museum colls.) is given a 10th century date. Two pottery lamps 1 and 3 are of a type new to the repertory of Middle Saxon ceramics. The strike-a-light (fig. 24, 7) was presumably the normal means of obtaining a flame.

Most of the everyday objects from the site have been alluded to above in other contexts. They include knives, a possible bone spoon (pl. VIIb) and bronze spoons

² We are indebted to Mr. R. G. Thomson for permission to mention this and other important finds from his 1969-1970 excavation.

and a fork/spoon revealed in 19th century excavations (pl. VIIIe). The fork/spoon was compared even in the 19th century (Roach Smith 1857, 62) to the well-known fork/spatula and spoon/spatula from the Sevington Hoard deposited *c.* 850 (Wilson 1964, 168-9). Saxon spoons have been discussed by Waterman (1959, 85-6) and Wilson (1964, 60-2) though the present examples should be added to Wilson's list. Roach Smith's illustration of the Southampton example (pl. VIIIe) also shows various other finds from the site. The present location of the articles is not known, if indeed they still survive. Querns in lava and granite were used (fig. 32) and there is an unusual chalk mortar (fig. 33, 7).

The glass and imported pottery vessels found frequently in Southampton have already been noted, but utensils were more normally in hand-made pottery presumably of local origin, perhaps even made on the site itself. Fabrics range from very thick and coarse to quite fine, and fall broadly into three classes: sandy fabrics; fabrics with grit or broken flint inclusions; and fabrics with chalk inclusions. There is none, or next to none, of the very common straw-filled pottery of early Saxon contexts in southern England such as are found at Downton and other places to the west (Rahtz 1964, 124 ff.; Fowler 1966, 31-7) or at Portchester to the east (Cunliffe 1970). This seems extraordinary since the fabrics were apparently still in use at Portchester in the 8th century,³ by which time Southampton was certainly flourishing. There is some indication that the sandy wares at Southampton form, in general, an earlier element and that they cease to occur in contexts of the 9th century and later. Similarly though most hand-made pots from Southampton are rather generalised in form there are variations in the rim form and general profile of the cooking pots which may be seen to have some chronological significance. It would be premature to suggest a local ceramic sequence before the several hundred pit groups, with all their hazards of rubbish survivals, have been evaluated. Certain characteristics of the local pottery come out in the discussion of two important groups from Sites 23 and 24 (Appendix). It is perhaps worthwhile to point to a trick of thickening the angle of rims with sharp eversions, which seems peculiarly characteristic of the Southampton series (fig. 35, 4, 10). There is also a remarkable group of locally made decorated wares. They apparently imitate, in an inferior way, the incised lines and panels of stamps on a certain type of imported pottery (pl. IXb). Associations suggest a 9th century date for this practice, and it is presumably echoed in such pots as that from Pagham churchyard (Collins 1957, 123-5).

Excavations within the area of the later medieval town and its suburbs have produced several groups of pottery which extend the ceramic series from Southampton into late Saxon times, and into the Saxo-Norman period. Fig. 34, 11-13 shows examples of stamped wares in rough gritted fabric. Mr. R. Coleman Smith kindly informs us⁴ that they were found in contexts that could be pre-Norman. They fall into the general series discussed by Dunning (1953) and shortly to be reviewed by Barton (forthcoming), where they are assigned on a number of grounds, including their occurrence with

³ Professor Cunliffe has kindly discussed his important Portchester sequence with us in advance of publication.

⁴ Dr. Platt and Mr. Coleman Smith have generously allowed us to refer to this important material in advance of their own publication (Platt and Coleman Smith, forthcoming). Mr. Coleman Smith kindly provided the drawings for fig. 34, 11-13.

SAXON SOUTHAMPTON: A REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE. PART II

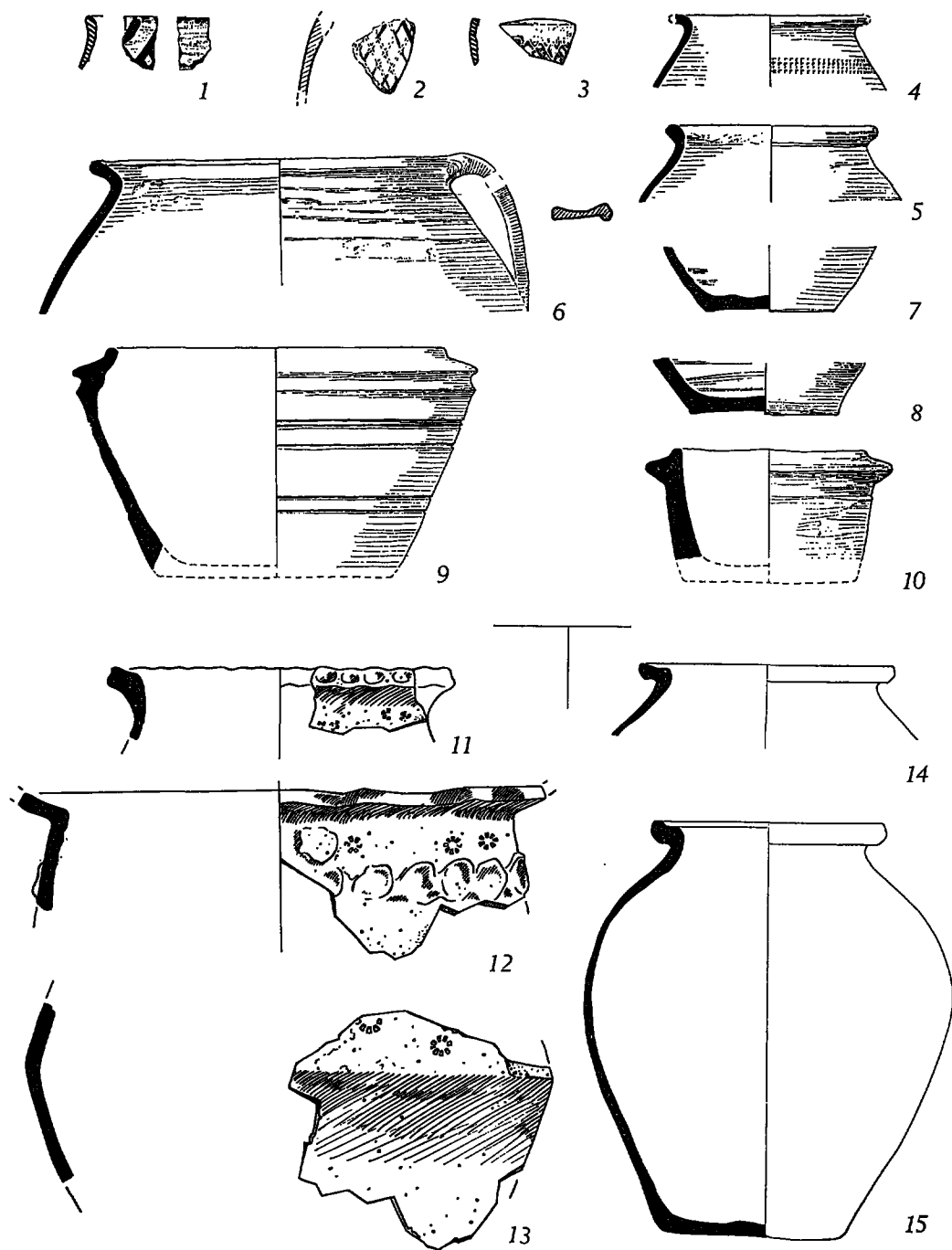


Fig. 34. Pottery from Site 23, Pits 3 and 4 (1-3); wheel-thrown pottery from Site 24, Pit 8 (4-10); selected imported sherds and Saxo-Norman wares from the later town (11-15). Scale 1/4.

Winchester ware, to a date between 950 and 1100. They contribute to the evidence (89 below) that the town must have shifted to the area of the later walled town before this period, for no single example was found on the earlier site. Hand-made pottery from Wachter's excavations outside Bargate (Addyman and Hill 1968, 76) also belongs to the Saxo-Norman series, but it had with it a series of wheel-thrown cooking pots (fig. 34, 15) which also occur with imported North French painted wares. At least one sherd of such pottery (fig. 34, 14) occurred at the earlier town site and we feel that such pottery may well have an earlier starting date than is implied by Wachter's uncommitted comment 'consistent with a date in the 11th century'.

The great series of local pottery from Southampton, however it is eventually subdivided, provides a vital body of material for understanding the ceramic sequence of south central Hampshire from the late 7th century to the mid-10th, when the site seems by and large to have been abandoned.

Small metal objects, brooches, tag ends, pins, indicate that Southampton enjoyed standards which were common in England in Middle Saxon times, but none of the items are exceptional. In addition one of the graves on Site 23 produced a few glass beads, again not exceptional, though attractive enough with their complex multi-coloured designs. There is nothing in the finds to suggest any particular degree of luxury in the town, except perhaps the general availability of imported goods.

An important find which has a bearing on standards of literacy is the runic inscription (pl. VIIIc) from Site 14. Dr. R. I. Page has kindly allowed us to include here his discussion of the object, in advance of the appearance of his forthcoming *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Runic Inscriptions*.

The Southampton bone was found in 1951 when pits connected with the Anglo-Saxon settlement of *Hamwih* were excavated. No detailed find report is yet (1967) published. The bone comes from Pit 66A, level I, Grove Street, Southampton (National grid reference SU 427116). There were no coins to assist in dating this pit, and the pottery from it and the intersecting Pit 66A has not yet had close analysis. Consequently we cannot date the piece on archaeological grounds more nearly than to the period of occupation of *Hamwih* which seems to have been from the mid-7th to the 10th century. Pit 66A was probably near the site nucleus, and its contents may therefore be early rather than late in that period.

The inscription is on a cattle bone, a proximal phalange otherwise unworked. The runes were cut with a sharp tool probably when the bone was fresh. They form a neat line running parallel to the long axis of the bone, and look like a single word.

𐌺 𐌽 𐌰 𐌿

'c a t æ'

1 2 3 4

7 mm. ('c'), 9 mm. ('t'). The letters are carefully cut. Only 2 calls for comment since it resembles 𐌺, the Frisian variant 'a' form used on the Arum sword and the Westeremden A weaving-slay. This effect may be intended, or may result from overcutting by accident the stave which slopes from the stem top. There is a faint trace of a continuation of this line crossing the stem of 3 and perhaps running into the lower arm of 4.

The ambiguity of rune 2 produces an immediate and as yet unanswerable question, whether this inscription is Frisian or English. *Hamwih* had close commercial links with the Rhine mouth (Dunning 1956, 219-21 and 232-3), and the bone could have been cut by a visiting Frisian merchant or could have been brought to England already inscribed if, as seems unlikely, its text had a particular importance. Equally well, however, the bone could fit into that small group of runic objects - the others are the Chessell Down scabbard-mount and the Selsey gold fragments - which centre around the Isle of Wight and which may be linked with the Kentish runes.

The difficulty of achieving a certain interpretation arises from our ignorance of any appropriate context for this inscription. There is nothing quite like this inscribed bone on the Continent or in early Scandinavia, despite the presence of runes on such bone objects as the Lindholm amulet. The only comparable runic object in England is the Caistor-by-Norwich astragalus whose legend is regrettably obscure of meaning and whose use is undetermined. The Caistor-by-Norwich astragalus must have been an object of some importance for it was preserved by

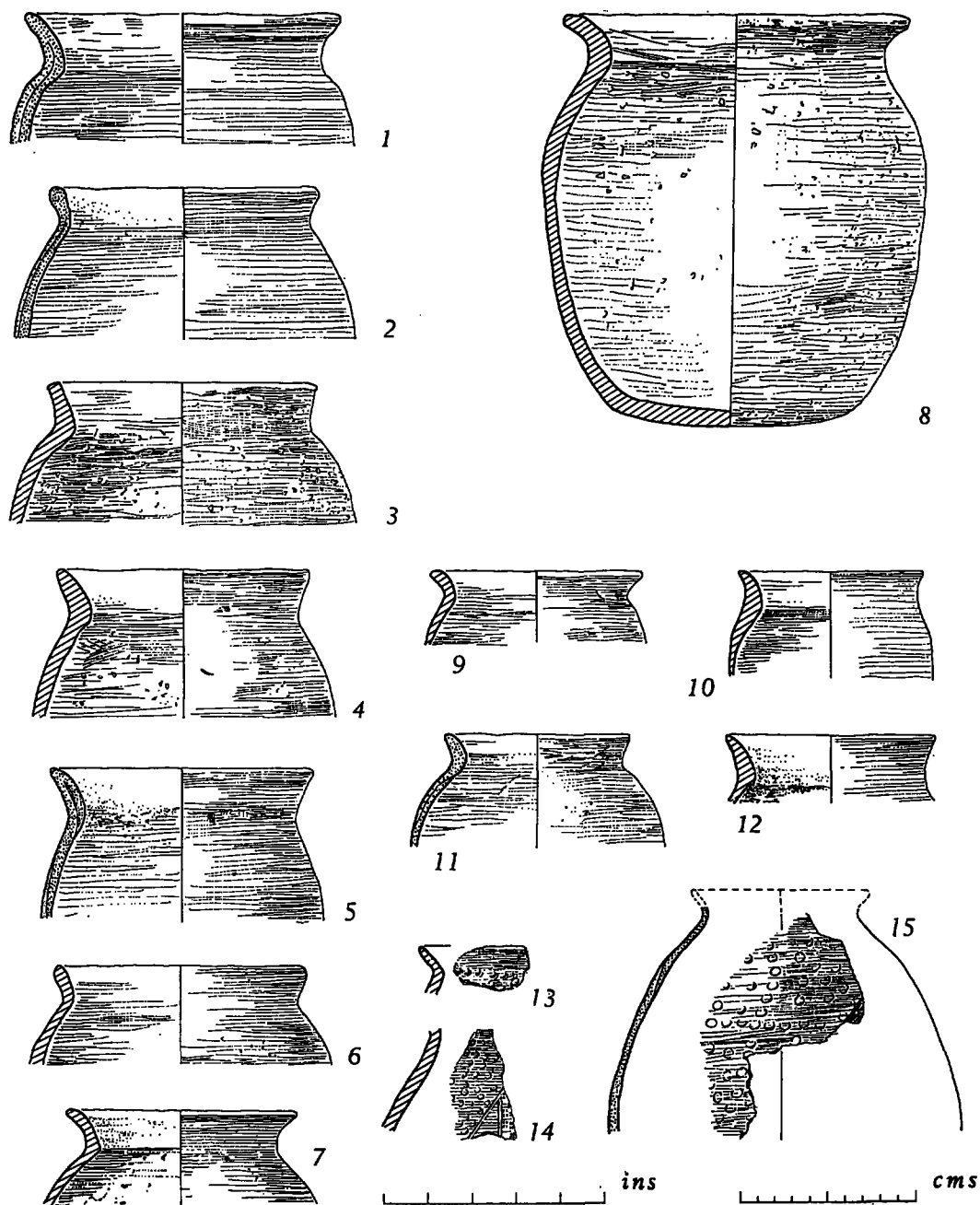


Fig. 35. Hand-made pottery from Site 24, Pit 8. Scale 1/4.

placing it in a funerary urn, and it is reasonable to assume that the runes created part of the importance. There is no sign that the Southampton bone was significant in this way. Its text could have been casually (though carefully) cut like that on a rib-bone found at Old Bergen, presumably from some tavern or eating-house, on which one of the patrons has placed the descriptive *nu er skora mykyl*, 'now there is a lot of brawling'. (Liestøl, 1964, 20).

OE has the words *cat(t)*, 'cat', *cattle*, 'she-cat', and the Southampton inscription could give one of these, either dat.sg. of the first or nom.sg. of the second, in each case with the archaic ending -ae. There was probably also a personal name *Cat(t)* preserved only in place-names. It is hard to separate this from the common noun 'cat, wild-cat', but Smith argues that a personal name is more likely with a habitative second element as in Catton, Yorks. E.R. (*Caton DB*, *Cattuna* 1170-85)⁵, while a place-name like Catwick, Yorks. E.R. (*Catinuic*, *Cotinguic DB*) and a late patronymic like *Ranulphus cattessone*, Winchester *DB*, both add probability to the suggestion that *Cat(t)* is a personal name. OE records a number of personal names derived from animal names, masculine as *Wulf*, *Welp*, feminine as *Culfre*, *Duua*, while *kpttr*, 'cat' is an ON nickname. Presumably related to OE *Cat(t)* is the weak *Catta* in *Cattan ege* in Crowmarsh, Oxfor., and perhaps too *Ceatta* and *Ceattuc*. Southampton 'cate' could be dat.sg. of *Cat(t)* with either phonological or orthographical simplification of the double *t*, or nom.sg. of a feminine equivalent *cattle*.

These suggestions are little help in establishing the purpose of the bone and its text. If anything they imply that the inscription was rather a casual piece of work – a personal or animal name – cut merely as a pastime. Maitland Muller and Waterman think the bone may have been a trial-piece or a charm. There is no reason to believe the latter, while it would be a very unskilled rune-master who needed a trial-piece for such a slight text as this, and the letter forms and their lay-out are hardly a novice's.

Only a few Saxon burials have been recovered from Southampton in recent years. The bones are for the most part badly preserved, and the sample is not likely to add much information about the population. Burial practices in what may be a very early Christian cemetery on Site 23 are more interesting. In particular the carpentered coffins, and the occasional practice of setting them on a pair of cross baulks is of note. The inclusion in one grave of a sceatta with cruciform motif may point to an explanation of the many occurrences of sceattas in cemeteries. This can now hardly be fortuitous, and arguably points to a ritual intent; even, perhaps, to a practice lying behind soul-scot (Godfrey 1962, 324). One may speculate also on other rituals. If, as can be argued, post-holes in the cemetery area of Site 23 represent a church, then a particularly large post-hole found within it may represent the site of a cross, either contemporary with the structure or raised on the altar site when, as was clearly the case, the church was abandoned (Godfrey 1962, 319). The abandonment of the structure and the cemetery may point to rationalisation of the town's churches in the 8th or 9th century, and to centralisation of burial at St. Mary's, long to remain the 'common burial ground' of Southampton.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

The main purpose of this paper has been to draw together material from diverse sources, some published, some not yet published, to make quickly available an overall account of one of the earliest English towns. It has not, in itself, changed the generally accepted views on Southampton, and it will doubtless anyway be superseded by a definitive publication of the various excavations, now under preparation but still unhappily many years away. The evidence reviewed together with that from the later medieval town does, however, make clearer the interrelationship of the two sites; the various points are drawn together below.

⁵ Smith (1956, i, s.v. *cat(t)*). There is some danger of confusing here the ON name *Katr*, *Kati*, which is unrelated to OE *Cat(t)* and derives from the adjective

katr, 'merry'. See also in this general connection Mawyer 1919, 236-7.

The location of Saxon Southampton seems clear (Addyman and Hill 1968) but no signs of a defence around its 30 or so hectares have ever been found. It has been argued (Hill 1967) that the *Burghal Hidage*, a document of c. 919, implies the use of Clausentum as a refuge at this time, leaving the St. Mary's area unenclosed. The annal of 842 in Nithard's *History of the Sons of Louis the Pious* (Whitelock 1955, 314) could be read to suggest the same situation. 'At about the same time the Northmen ravaged Quentavic' (in northern France) 'and then crossed the sea and likewise plundered Hamwig and Northunwig.' Sir Frank Stenton rendered this as Hamwih and Northam, now a nearby cispontine suburb. It is as likely to refer to Hamwih and Clausentum. This would certainly be more in keeping with the archaeological record. The Roman site has produced several Saxon finds (Cotton and Gathercole 1958, 29 and 30); a cemetery there may also be Saxon; and it had a perfectly usable defence. In the absence of a definitive account of the placenames of Hampshire we have been unable to follow up the placename evidence.

The excavations in later medieval Southampton have shown that the site was occupied on more than a random basis before c. 1030 (Platt and Coleman Smith, forthcoming), and there is perhaps enough evidence to suggest a considerable settlement at this date. At the Bugle Street site, excavations have shown that the earliest structures found already related to the regular pattern of streets which characterises the southern part of the town. This regular, rectilinear pattern might be linked with the examples in a forthcoming paper (Biddle and Hill, forthcoming) which are used to argue the presence of rectilinear street patterns in certain West Saxon towns founded before c. 930. To this might be added the charter evidence. It might be possible to argue that the Millbrook charter of 1045 (Sawyer 1968, 301 (1009)) is granting a *haga* in the medieval town which is the same as that *haga* granted in 956 (Sawyer 1968, 217 (636)). This *haga* is an urban feature, not the 'game enclosure' of Grundy (1926), and refers to an enclosure pertaining to Millbrook within the *burh*. Such enclosures are a feature of many pre-Conquest boroughs. If the two are the same, and the medieval site was settled, as the coin and pottery evidence suggests, by 1030, then we can postulate that the *burh* containing the *haga* was there by 956.

All the evidence for the date of the shift of site is ambiguous, but it tends to suggest a time sometime after 919 and before the mid-10th century. It would fit a date in the reign of Athelstan when a certain amount of urban reorganisation took place. The view that it was the result of any one cataclysm would anyway no longer be tenable. It is more likely the result of planned change, the new town site being laid out by Athelstan or his ealdorman because the old site was too vulnerable, and for economic reasons. Clausentum was too cramped and anyway had all the economic disadvantages of the old town. (Addyman and Hill 1968, 77). Such a change is entirely within the policies hinted at in the laws of the time (Whitelock 1955, 384).

Late Saxon charters tend to speak of Hamwih, or the wic, when dealing with the eastern bounds of Southampton, while Hamtun is used in talking of the west (Burgess 1964). This might also be the sense of the ambiguous Abingdon charter, which grants rights at Southampton either at *Hwitan Clife* or at *Portmonna Hythe* (the landing place of the traders). The site thus may not have been totally abandoned; its demise may only have come with the increased prosperity of the new town following the Conquest, and even then may not have been complete.

The review articles purported to draw together evidence about the Saxon town available in 1969. In fact it also includes a few discoveries made in 1970 as yet another area at the heart of the Saxon town was destroyed, without prior excavation, in a public authority building project. It is clear enough from the evidence reviewed that Saxon Southampton has a paramount importance in English and European archaeology of the 8th to 10th centuries. The port was the node of continental trade into Wessex and much of the rest of England. It is directly comparable to the great trading towns of Quentovic in the Pas de Calais and Dorestad on the Rhine. Amongst English towns of the time it is one of the very few major centres in which trade and crafts seem to have been flourishing and developing. Alone of those located to date, it retains its Saxon levels uncontaminated by intensive later medieval occupation. On the local level it is the centre around which the shire first grouped itself, the centre of England's earliest recorded shire. The remaining archaeological evidence is now imminently threatened as redevelopment of the St. Mary's area gains momentum. We can foresee, in the next few years, the final loss of a town story which cannot be written anywhere else unless appropriate action, on a scale commensurate with the importance of the site, and the magnitude of the destruction, is taken.

Acknowledgements

Even more so than for Part I of this paper we are indebted to earlier excavators at Saxon Southampton for their generosity in allowing reference to be made to their discoveries in advance of their own publication. We would particularly thank Mr. R. G. Thomson of Southampton City Museums for permission to make extended description of his 1969-1970 finds from Site 24, in particular the important bone stamp, crucible and coin. We owe a debt to Dr. Platt and Mr. Coleman Smith for discussion of and permission to refer to the results of their recent work on the later town. Beyond this we owe a debt to the many people who have helped us prepare the material. Mr. Thomson gave continuous help; the photographs are a tribute to the skill of Mr. David Leigh of the University Archaeology Department, and the drawings fig. 24, 12; 25, 5; 27, 3-11; 34-35 are the work of Mr. Ken Penn. Figs. 29, 30 and 33 are based on drawings prepared by Southampton City Museums. The paper owes much to the expertise of many specialists; we particularly thank Mr. Leo Biek, Dr. D. B. Harden, Dr. R. I. Page, Dr. D. P. S. Peacock, Mr. D. M. Wilson and, for continuous discussion of the problems, Mr. J. G. Hurst. To Dr. F. W. Anderson of the Institute of Geological Sciences we owe the identification of the mould (p. 68). These and a host of others have contributed help throughout, and encouragement without which we could hardly have persevered.

It would be wrong to forget the many workers in the field whose exertions have enabled so much to be recovered of Saxon Southampton's story. Mr. Maitland Muller has asked us to give his thanks to the various members of his excavation committees, to the many volunteers, to the owners of the land concerned, and to all others who helped. We offer similar thanks to those who helped with the 1968-69 excavations, and pay tribute to the skill and stamina of Mr. Gerry Lewis, who supervised them for most of the time in the face of overwhelming difficulties, to Mr. Trevor Hurst, his photographer and to Miss Alycen Taylor.

Additions and Corrections

As we had hoped publication of this paper has started to reveal material hitherto unrecorded in local collections. There are, in addition, new coin finds from Mr. R. G. Thomson's excavations, and a sceatta from the 1961-2 excavation. These are given in the table below as Coins nos. 102-105.

We have been asked to point out the modified date used by Lowther and Schove in later interpretations of their dendrochronological data from the site (Schove 1959) and we give a corrected reference to Dr. Platt and Mr. Coleman Smith's forthcoming work in the bibliography accompanying this paper.

<i>Description</i>	<i>Date of Find</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Authority</i>
102. Sceatta, BMC Type 49	1961-62	Site 15	It is hoped that these coins will be published in advance of the main report
103. Sceatta BMC Type 49	1969	Site 24	
104. Sceatta, Frisian, Runic	1969	Site 24	
105. Penny, Offa (imitative)	1970	Site 24	This important coin is being studied by Mr. C. E. Blunt in relation to other somewhat irregular Offa pieces for which a continental origin has been suggested

In addition to the above it is possible that four sceattas in the possession of Mr. H. de S. Short will prove to have Southampton provenances.

APPENDIX I

TWO POTTERY GROUPS AND SELECTED IMPORTED POTTERY

A particular importance attaches to two groups of finds from the 1968-69 excavations for the light they throw on the date of certain types of continental pottery, and for its importation into England. They are briefly described here. In addition a short account is given of distinctive imported sherds.

Pit 3 on Site 23, a rectangular latrine with well defined fill layers of black clayey soil and of brickearth produced 27 sherds of pottery. Twenty-two were in hand-made soft or medium-hard gritty or sandy fabrics typical of Middle Saxon deposits in the area. Five sherds, however, were in hard wheel-thrown fabrics alien to the indigenous tradition, clearly representing pots imported to the site from cross-channel sources. Closely associated with the imported

sherds was a penny of Coenwulf of Mercia (Coin List no. 99) kindly identified by Mr. C. E. Blunt as probably a contemporary forgery of a well known type (e.g. *BMC* 92 ff.) showing a tribracht moline dated in a recent study to c. 798 to c. 805. Blunt thinks a date c. 805 $\pm$ 5 seems reasonable for the present coin. If a single coin can be allowed any significance at all in dating associated finds the discovery would mean that the imported sherds were in use at the beginning of the 9th century. One of the sherds seems to be of red-painted French or painted Badorf ware, which is not otherwise known at so early a date. A similar sherd comes from the top of Pit 4, into which Pit 3 had been cut. It thus presumably antedates Pit 4. Interestingly rescue excavation in 1970 produced a similar association, of pink painted pottery with a coin of Offa (no. 105, datable to the 780's).

Imported pottery from Bevois North Pits 3 and 4 (fig. 34, 1-3)

1. Small beaker (?) in hard white wheelthrown fabric with lightest pinkish tones in the core and small sandy inclusions. The exterior and inside of the lip are lightly burnished and decorated in dark reddish brown paint, apparently in a lattice pattern on the exterior, with dashes along the rim top. Mr. J. G. Hurst kindly states that this is comparable to the earliest red-painted ware (Hunneschans Ware) which was made at Badorf in the Rhineland in the early 9th century before the start of Pingsdorf ware, but in view of recent finds of early red-painted wares in France (Hurst ed. 1969) it is more likely to come (with no. 2 below) from an as yet unidentified source in Belgium or France. Pit 3, layer 3.
2. Body sherd in fabric similar to that of no. 1 above, with much worn painted decoration in a lattice pattern. From Pit 4.
3. Body sherd in hard fine light grey fabric with darker grey surface skins and broad diamond roulette decoration. Pit 3, layer 4.

Pit 3 also produced undecorated body sherds of pots in fine hard pinkish white fabric, thrown on a fast wheel, and having grey streaks in the core. These are again comparable though perhaps not identical to some Badorf wares.

Local and imported pottery from Site 24, Pit 8

Pit 8, a vertical sided latrine some 3 m. deep, produced 27 iron objects, three small pins with decorated heads, seven bone combs, bodkins, spindle whorls, decorated objects in stone and bone, imported granite and lava, and seven fragments of imported glass vessels. The abundant pottery included fragments of Tating ware and a number of types which represent fabrics often found at Saxon Southampton, but the sources of which have not yet been defined. They are unlikely to come in the main from Rhenish sources as has been indicated above.

The ceramic traditions of Middle Saxon England are still so imperfectly understood that it has seemed worth-while to illustrate here a selection of vessels, all from Pit 8, which represent the main types in use at Saxon Southampton in the first half of the 9th century. It seems that by this time certain sandy wares with occasional surface burnish frequent in many of the excavated contexts, had gone out of currency. It is equally certain that straw-filled wares had gone out of currency in Saxon Southampton before the main settlement phase, for no sherds have been noted from the sites. In this and in other respects the evidence from Southampton seems to be at variance with that from other local Saxon sites (*cf.* Portchester, Cunliffe 1970), but ceramic traditions may have been quite localised at the time.

Sherds of 30 or more hand-made pots were found in Pit 8. Most were large and unabraded and, though only one complete profile has been reconstructed, there is no doubt that the assemblage contains few rubbish survivals and can for all intents and purposes be regarded as

a contemporary group. In fabric the sherds represent well the range present in most Southampton contexts, with the exception of the sandy wares. Most are coarse or very coarse with fillers either of broken up flint or of waterworn flint or quartz grit. Some have a smaller proportion of flint but a substantial amount of chalk; and very occasionally there is a little crushed shell or a few small snail shells. Some fillers perhaps came from local river sands. The sherds are predominantly grey in colour, often dark grey or almost black, but there are few which do not have localised pink areas. Surface finish is normally little more than a peremptory wipe.

The forms represented among the pots from Pit 8 included many medium sized cooking pots with rim diameters in the range 15–18 cms. (fig. 35, 1–5) but one has a diameter of 20 cms. (8). There is also a number of smaller jars, perhaps used for culinary purposes, perhaps for drinking (fig. 35, 9–12) with rim diameters in the range of 10–12 cms. The now quite extensive series of stamped wares from Saxon Southampton is represented in Pit 8 by three sherds in fabrics identical to those of undecorated vessels. The stamps (fig. 35, 13–15) are mostly circular, impressed perhaps with a metal tube, cut quill or hollow plant stalk. 14 has small quadripartite stamps in addition, and trace of triangular panel layout, defined by incised lines. These pots are of the type (84 above and pl. IXb) copied from imported wares. From their condition it seems the decorated pots also had a culinary use.

In addition to the vessels noted above Pit 8 produced a few small sherds of fine sandy partly burnished and slightly micaceous wares known extensively in earlier deposits; here they may be rubbish survivals. There were also several sherds of fairly hard sandy ware with harsh pimply surface and waterworn quartz and flint grits, a recurrent Southampton type of which the main series may have a somewhat later date than the Pit 8 group. And there was a single sherd of soft rather soapy shell-filled pinkish pottery which resembles wares of St. Neots type, or, since it has an upright squared rim, and is hand-made, of Maxey type (Addyman and Whitwell 1970).

The imported pottery, useful in suggesting an early 9th century date for the assemblage, nevertheless has an individual interest. There are two sherds of Tating ware (pl. IXa, top row), one bearing the distinctive tin-foil diamonds, and another bearing the marks where such diamonds had been attached. There is also a handle perhaps from the same pot. In addition pottery representing most of Dunning's classes of Frankish imports (Dunning *et al.* 1959, 50–2) were found. Fig. 34, 6, in hard whitish ware with dark grey surfaces, and a characteristic partial burnish, perhaps represents his Class 1. It has strap handles, and a separate fragment exhibited the handle overturn characteristic, at a later date at least, of certain south-west French pottery. Sherds in similar fabric but with pinker core and bright brown burnished surfaces (pl. Xa, bottom), represent Dunning's Group 5. The fabric seems to have a surface wash, and dribbles from this led Dunning to identify a sherd in this fabric as Pingsdorf ware (Dunning *et al.* 1959, fig. 23, 27 and p. 56). Other recent finds from Southampton (pl. Xa, bottom) show that the vessels had strap handles similar to that in fig. 34, 6, and they doubtless come from a related source, perhaps in France, but they are not Pingsdorf ware as classically known.

Various cooking pots and jars in fine fairly hard whitish fabrics with two-band roller stamped decoration on the shoulder resemble, but are by no means identical with, early Badorf wares (information from Mr. J. G. Hurst), and they will doubtless too be attributed, as current work progresses, to a continental source much nearer Southampton than the Rhineland. These vessels represent Dunning's Class 3. His Class 4 vessels are represented in Pit 8 by fig. 34, 9 and 10. The former is a deep bowl in hard whitish fabric with yellowish or creamy surfaces and occasional quartz inclusions. The inturned rim and pronounced external paired girth grooves will doubtless prove distinctive, though of what it is not possible at present to say. The smaller somewhat rougher vessel may have been a lamp.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, J. H., 1967. 'A new type of Cresset-stone?' *Cornish Archaeol.*, 6, 1967, 47 ff.
- Addyman, P. V., 1969. 'Late Saxon settlements in the St. Neots area II: The Little Paxton settlement and enclosures', *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.*, LXII, 1969, 59-93.
- Addyman, P. V., 1964. 'A Dark Age settlement at Maxey, Northants', *Med. Archaeol.*, VIII, 1964, 20-73.
- Addyman, P. V., forthcoming. *Ulster J. Archaeol.*, forthcoming.
- Addyman, P. V., and Hill, D. H., 1968. 'Saxon Southampton: A Review of the Evidence, Part I', *Proc. Hants F.C.*, XXV, 1968, 61-93.
- Addyman, P. V., and Whitwell, J. B., 1970. 'Some Middle Saxon pottery types in Lincolnshire', *Antiq. J.*, L, 1970, 96-102.
- Akerman, J. Y., 1847. *An Archaeological Index*, London, 1847.
- Arbman, H., 1937. *Schweden und das Karolingische Reich*, Stockholm, 1937.
- Arthur, B. V., and Jope, E. M., 1962-3. 'Early Saxon Pottery Kilns at Purwell Farm, Cassington, Oxfordshire', *Med. Archaeol.* VI-VII, 1962-3, 1-14.
- Arwidsson, G., 1942. *Valsgärdestudien I: Vendelstile, Email und Glas im 7-8 Jahrhundert*, Uppsala and Stockholm, 1942.
- Baldwin Brown, G., 1915. *The Arts in Early England*, III, London, 1915.
- Baldwin Brown, G., 1925. *The Arts in Early England*, 2, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, London, 1925.
- Biddle, M., 1964. 'The Excavation of a Motte and Bailey Castle at Therfield, Hertfordshire', *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, XXVII, 1964, 53-91.
- Biddle, M., and Hill, D., forthcoming. 'The Late Saxon Planned Towns', *Antiq. J.*, forthcoming.
- Blomquist, R., 1942. *Kulturen*, Lund, 1942, 160-1.
- Blunt, C. E., 1955. 'Saxon Coins from Southampton and Bangor', *Brit. Num. J.*, XXVII, 1955, 256-9.
- British Museum, 1923. *British Museum, Guide to the Anglo-Saxon and Foreign Teutonic Antiquities*, London, 1923.
- Burgess, L. A., 1964. *The Origins of Southampton*, Leicester, 1964.
- Collins, A. H., 1957. 'Saxon Cinerary Urn from Pagham Churchyard', *Sussex Notes and Queries*, XIV, 1954-7, 123-5.
- Costa, D., 1964. *Nantes musée Th. Dobrée, art merovingien*, Paris (*Inventaire des collections publiques françaises*) 1964.
- Cotton, M. A., and Gathercole, P. W., *Excavations at Clausentum, Southampton, 1951-54*, London 1958.
- Cramp, R., 1967. *Anglian and Viking York*, York 1967.
- Cunliffe, B. W., 1970. 'The Saxon culture-sequence at Portchester Castle', *Antiq. J.*, L, 1970, 67-85.
- Darby, H. C., and Campbell, E. M. J. *Domesday Geography of South East England*, Cambridge, 1963.
- Davison, B. K., 1967. 'The Late Saxon Town of Thetford: An Interim Report on the 1964-6 Excavations', *Med. Archaeol.*, XI, 1967, 189-208.
- de Loë, 1939. *Belgique Ancienne*, Bruxelles, 1939.
- Dunning, G. C., and Wilson, A. E., 1953. 'Late Saxon and Early Medieval Pottery from Selected Sites in Chichester', *Sussex Archaeol. Colls.*, 91, 1953, 140-64.
- Dunning, G. C., 1953. 'Anglo-Saxon Discoveries at Harston', *T. Leics. Archaeol. Soc.*, XXVIII, 1953, 50.
- Dunning, G. C., 1956. 'Trade relations between Britain and the Continent in the late Anglo-Saxon period' in Harden, D.B. (ed.), *Dark Age Britain*, London, 1956.

- Dunning, G. C., Hurst, J. G., Myres, J. N. L., and Tischler, F., 1959. 'Anglo-Saxon Pottery: A Symposium', *Med. Archaeol.* III, 1959, 1-78.
- Ellis, S. E., 1969. 'The petrography and provenance of Anglo-Saxon and medieval English honestones, with notes on some other hones', *Bull. Brit. Museum (Natur. Hist.): Mineralogy* 2 (3), 1969, 133-87.
- Faussett, B., 1856. *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, London, 1856.
- Fowler, P. J., 1966. 'Two finds of Saxon Domestic Pottery in Wiltshire', *Wilts Archaeol. Mag.*, 61, 1966, 31-7.
- Gailey, A., and Fenton, A., 1970. *The Spade in Northern and Atlantic Europe*, Belfast, 1970.
- Godfrey, C. J., 1962. *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge, 1962.
- Grierson, P., 1941. 'Relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest', *T.R. Hist. Soc.*, XXIII, 1941, 71-112.
- Grundy, G. B., 1926. 'The Saxon Land Charters of Hampshire', *Archaeol. J.* XXXIII, 103-36.
- Harden, D. B., 1956. 'Glass vessels in Britain and Ireland, A.D. 400-1000' in Harden, D. B. (ed.), *Dark Age Britain*, London, 1956.
- Harden, D. B., 1961. 'Domestic window glass, Roman, Saxon and Medieval' in E. M. Jope (ed.), *Studies in Building History*, London, 1961, 39-63.
- Hill, D. H., 1967. 'The Burghal Hidage - Southampton', *Proc. Hants F.C.* XXIV, 1967, 59.
- Hurst, D. G. and J. G., 1967. *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, XXX, 1967, 48-86.
- Hurst, J. G. (ed.), 1969. 'Red-painted and glazed pottery in Western Europe from the eighth to the twelfth century', *Med. Archaeol.*, XIII, 1969, forthcoming.
- Jankuhn, H., 1956. *Haithabu, Ein Handelsplatz der Wikingerzeit*, Neumünster, 1956.
- Johnston, P. M., 1918. 'An early window and wall painting in Witley Church, Surrey', *Surrey Archaeol. Colls.*, 31, 1918, 28-44.
- Jones, M. U., Evison, V. I., Myres, J. N. L., 1968. 'Crop-Mark sites at Mucking, Essex', *Antiq. J.*, XLVIII, 1968, 210-230.
- Jope, E. M., 1958. 'The Clarendon Hotel, Oxford, Part I', *Oxoniensia*, XXIII, 1958, 1-83.
- Kendrick, T. D., 1949. *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, London, 1949.
- Leeds, E. T., 1923. 'A Saxon village at Sutton Courtenay, Berkshire', *Archaeologia*, 73, 1923.
- Levison, W., 1946. *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, Oxford, 1946.
- Lewis, A. R., 1958. *The Northern Seas*, Princeton, 1958.
- Liestol, A., 1964. 'Runer fra Bryggen', *Viking*, XXVII, 1964.
- Loyn, H. R., 1962. *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest*, London, 1962.
- Maitland Muller, M. R., 1950. 'The Southampton Excavations: Second Interim Report, 1947', *Proc. Hants F.C.*, XVII, 1950, 125-8.
- Maitland Muller, M. R., and Waterman, D. M., 1949. 'The Saxon Town of Hamwih (Hamton) at Southampton, Hants. Report of Excavations 1946-1948', *Archaeol. News Letter*, 2 (no. 1), May 1949, 13-14.
- Mawer, A., 1919. 'Animal and personal names in OE placenames', *Modern Lang. Rev.*, XIV, 1919, 236-7.
- Meaney, A. L., and Hawkes, S. C., 1970. *Two Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries at Winnall*, London, 1970.
- Metcalfe, D. M., 1967. 'A Stylistic analysis of the "Porcupine" Sceattas', *Num. Chron.*, 7th Ser., VI, 1967, 179-205.
- Myres, J. N. L., 1969. *Anglo-Saxon Pottery and the settlement of England*, Oxford, 1969.
- Peacock, D. P. S., 1970. 'The Scientific Analysis of Ancient Ceramics: a Review', *World Archaeol.*, I, no. 3, 1970, 375-389.
- Peers, Sir C. and Radford, C. A. R., 1943. 'The Saxon Monastery of Whitby', *Archaeologia*, LXXXIX, 1943, 27-88.

PROCEEDINGS FOR THE YEAR 1969

- Platt, C., and Coleman Smith, R., forthcoming. *Excavations in Medieval Southampton 1953-69*, 1 and 2, Cambridge, forthcoming.
- Radford, C. A. R., 1957. 'The Saxon House: A Review and some parallels', *Med. Archaeol.*, I, 1957, 27-38.
- Rahtz, P. A., 1964. 'Saxon and Medieval Features at Downton, Salisbury', *Wilts. Archaeol. Mag.*, 59, 1964, 124-9.
- Rahtz, P. A., forthcoming. *Excavations at Cheddar*.
- Rigold, S. E., 1962. 'The Two Primary Series of Sceattas', *Brit. Num. J.*, XXX, 1962, 6-54.
- Roach Smith, C., 1857. *Collectanea Antiqua* IV, London (printed for subscribers), 1857.
- Roes, A., 1954. 'Les trouvailles de Domburg (Zélande)', *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*, V, 1954, 65-9.
- Sawyer, P. H., 1968. *Anglo-Saxon Charters, An Annotated List and Bibliography*, London, 1968.
- Schove, D. T., 1959. 'Crossdating of Anglo-Saxon Timbers at Old Windsor and Southampton', *Med. Archaeol.* III, 288-90.
- Smith, A. H., 1956. *English place-name elements*, Cambridge, 1956.
- Stenton, Lady, 1958. 'Communications' in Lane Poole, A. (ed.), *Medieval England*, Oxford, 1958, I, 196-208.
- Sutherland, C. H. V., 1942. 'Anglo-Saxon sceattas in England: Their Origin, Chronology and Distribution', *Num. Chron.*, 6th Ser., II, 1942, 42-76.
- Taylor, H. M., and Taylor, Joan, 1965. *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, Cambridge, 1965.
- Waterman, D. M., 1959. 'Late Saxon, Viking and Early Medieval finds from York', *Archaeologia*, XCVII, 1959, 59-105.
- Werner, J., 1961. *Katalog der Sammlung Diergardt, Die Fibeln*, Berlin, 1961.
- Whitelock, D., 1955. *English Historical Documents*, I, London, 1955.
- Wilson, D. M., 1964. *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork, 700-1100, in the British Museum*, London, 1964.
- Wilson, D. M., 1965. 'Late Saxon Metalwork from the Old Minster 1964', *Antiq. J.*, XLV, 1965, 262-4.
- Wilson, D. M., 1968. 'Anglo-Saxon carpenters' tools' in Claus, M., Haarnagel, W., and Raddatz, K., *Studien zur Europäischen Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, Neumunster, 1968, 143-50.
- Ypey, J., 1967. 'Archaeologica uit de collectie M. J. W. Frederiks . . .', *Bull. Museum Beumans-van Beuningen*, XVIII, 1967.