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 Edited by Malcolm Godden and Simon Keynes
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Record of the eleventh conference of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, at Arizona State University Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 4–9 August 2003

I The general theme of the conference was Conversion and Colonization. The following papers were delivered:

Adrian Papahagi, Fate and Destiny in Old English Poetry: the Interplay between Christian and Pagan Conceptions of Fate Revisited

Daniel C. Anlezark, Christian and Pagan in *Solomon and Saturn II*

Elaine M. Treharne, Collaboration or Resistance? The Role of Old English in the Post-Conquest Period

Jacqueline Stodnick, Lists of Places and the Place of Lists in Writing Anglo-Saxon England

Mercedes Salvador, Christological and Marian Imagery in the Advent Lyrics: Royalist Propaganda in the *Exeter Book*

Heide R. Estes, Conversion and Colonization in Cynewulf's *Elene*

Philip G. Rusche, Greek Medicine in Early Anglo-Saxon England: Dioscorides and the Laud Herbal Glossary

Christina Lee, Blistered Skin and Scabs on the Soul: a Comparison of Leprosy in Anglo-Saxon Archaeology and Literature

Lisi Oliver, The Development of Anglo-Saxon Personal Injury Tariffs

Thomas D. Hill, Herebeald, Haethcyn and Archery's Laws: *Beowulf* and the *Leges Henrici Primi*

John Hines, 'Final Phase' or 'Conversion Period'? Archaeological Evidence for the Initial Impact of Christianity in England

Kathryn Powell, Meditating on Men and Monsters: a Reconsideration of the Thematic Unity of the *Beowulf* Manuscript

Sara L. Higley, Thought in *Beowulf* and Our Perception of It: Interiority, Power and the Problem of the Revealed Mind

Nicholas Brooks, From British to English Christianity: Deconstructing Bede's Interpretation of the Conversion

Carol Braun Pasternack, Conversion and 'Sylf' in *The Seafarer*

Kanerva T. Heikkinen, The Vocabulary of Spiritual Kinship in Early English

Thomas A. Bredehoft, The Poetic Function of Anglo-Saxon Formulaic Rhyme

Christopher A. Jones, The Sermons and Exegetical Work Attributed to 'Candidus' Wizo

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- Andy Orchard, *Guthlac* and the Many Conversions of Cynewulf
 Matthew A. E. Hussey, The Ragyndrudis Codex and Boniface's Mission:
 Cultural Contacts, Material Contexts
 Glenn M. Davis, New Contexts for Violence: Soul and Body and the
 Undoing of 'Protection Literature'
 Robin Norris, The Resurrection of St Guthlac
 Craig R. Davis, An Ethnic Dating of *Beowulf*
 Robert D. Fulk, Some Contested Readings in the *Beowulf* Manuscript
 Joyce Hill, Shaping the *Regularis concordia*
 Mary Swan, Performing Gender and Identity in Ælfric's Preaching Texts
 Karolyn A. Kinane, Instruction and Imitation in Ælfric's Saints' Lives
 Hugh Magennis, *Lumen Christi*: the Enlightenment of Conversion in Ælfric's
 Saints' Lives
 Mechthild Gretsch, Cuthbert: Desert Saint, Saint of All England, Patron of
 the English Language
 Damian Fleming, 'Prickly as a Hedgehog': Ælfric's Life of St Sebastian
 Christopher LeCluyse, A Musical Bestiary in the Tiberius Psalter
 Joshua A. Westgard, The German Transmission of the *Historia ecclesiastica
 gentis Anglorum* of the Venerable Bede
 Joanna E. Story, The Frankish Annals of Lindisfarne and Kent
 Samantha Zacher, Converting the Hebrew in Anglo-Saxon England
 Anthony J. Adams, Alfred's Soliloquies and the Literary Development of
 Old English Learning
 Nicole Guenther Discenza, A Map of the Universe: Geography and
 Cosmology in the Program of Alfred the Great
 Kathleen Davis, Epistolary Method and the Concept of Empire in Bede's
Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum
 Guillaume Schiltz, The Canterbury Charm: Evidence for Mutual Exchange
 During Conversion?
 Carol L. Neuman de Vegvar, Let Us Be Frank: Changing Adaptions of
 Continental Imports in Southumbrian Material Culture

Three Special Lectures were delivered:

- Leslie Webster, Appropriating the Cultural Landscape: Mind, Body and
 Space in the Conversion Period
 Allen J. Frantzen, Drama, Confession and Conversion in *Juliana*
 John Blair, How Christian was early Christian England?

Reports on the following Projects were given:

- John D. Niles, *Klaeber's Beowulf*
 Antonette diPaolo Healey, *The Dictionary of Old English: A to F* on CD-ROM

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- David A. E. Pelteret, The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England Project:
 a Progress Report
 Catherine E. Karkov, Karen Jolly, *Sancta Crux Halig Rod* Project Report
 Malcolm R. Godden, The Alfredian *Boethius*
 Kevin Kiernan, Alfred the Great's *Boethius*: an Image-Based Electronic
 Edition
 Andy Orchard, The Anglo-Saxon 'Formulary' Project

II General Business Meeting held in the Mohave Meeting Room of the Conference Center at the Chaparral Suites Resort, on 9 August 2003, at 12.00 noon, President Robert Bjork presiding.

- A The President reported on behalf of the Executive Committee:
- 1 The twelfth conference of the Society is to be held at the University of Munich, 1–6 August 2005, hosted by Hans Sauer. Its theme will be 'England and the Continent'.
 - 2 The thirteenth conference of the Society will be held at the University of London, hosted by Jane Roberts and Warwick Gould.
 - 3 Gratitude was expressed to all those who had assisted in making the conference such a success.
 - 4 The Executive Director recorded the Society's great sorrow at the death of Professor Robert Farrell, and paid tribute to his life and work.
- B The Executive Director reported on behalf of the Executive Committee:
- 1 Membership dues and related interest have generated revenues of \$5917.35. The total assets as at 31 June 2003 were \$44,847.26 Of this amount, \$20,544.72 is retained in mutual funds.
 - 2 Officers of the Society. In accordance with the Society's constitution, Robert Bjork completes his term as President on 31 December 2003, after which Hans Sauer will assume the post of President. Jane Roberts will assume the post of First Vice-President. Elaine Treharne completes her term of office as Second Vice-President on 31 December 2003, and has been re-elected for a second and final two-year term.
 - 3 Membership of the Advisory Board. The term of office expires on 31 December 2003 for the following members: Leslie Abrams, Mechthild Gretsche, Catherine Karkov, Simon Keynes and John Niles. The following have been appointed as members of the Advisory Board from 1 January 2004 to 31 December 2007: Mary Blockley, Rolf Bremmer, Jr, Thomas N. Hall, John Hines, Joanna Story and Mary Swan. Jonathan Wilcox, as outgoing editor of the *Old English Newsletter*, is replaced by Roy Liuzza, and Michael Lapidge is replaced by Malcom Godden as editor representative of *Anglo-Saxon England*.

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- 4 Honorary Membership of the Society. The Honorary Membership consists of †Peter Clemons, Rosemary Cramp, André Crépin, René Derolez, Helmut Gneuss, †Edward B. Irving Jr, Tadao Kubouchi, † Henry Loyn, Bruce Mitchell, Sigeru Ono, †John Pope, Barbara Raw, Matti Rissanen, Jane Roberts, Fred. C. Robinson and Ute Schwab. George Hardin Brown, Matti Kilpiö and Donald G. Scragg have been accorded honorary memberships.
 - 5 The Advisory Board has established procedures for the publication of themed volumes arising substantially from ISAS conferences. The first, edited by Matti Kilpiö, will be based on the 2001 Conference at the University of Helsinki; the second, to be edited by Nicholas Howe and Catherine Karkov, will be based on the 2003 Conference at Arizona State University. The Executive Committee will oversee and monitor the production of the volumes.
 - 6 The Advisory Board approved a change to the membership cycle and dues. Dues are to be raised to \$50 (£30) for a two-year membership cycle (regular members), or \$35 (£20) for a two-year membership period (graduate students and retired members). The membership package will include the ISAS publication based on, and emerging substantially from, the Conferences.
 - 7 The Advisory Board approved a proposal to alter the constitution, such that the Second Vice-President, from 1 January 2006, will serve a four-year term of office to provide continuity within the Executive Committee. This proposal will be voted on by the Membership via paper ballot.
 - 8 The Executive Director reported on the constitutional amendment to the way in which Advisory Board members are elected, an amendment which has taken effect in the election of members for 2003.
 - 9 The Executive Director reported on the Advisory Board's recommendation that ISAS introduce publication prizes for its membership. The prizes, to be awarded every two years, will go to i) the best article; ii) the best first book; iii) the best scholarly edition. These will be judged by an *ad hoc* committee, and announced at the Society's conferences. The winners will receive a certificate of award and a cheque for \$150, in addition to being listed on the Society's website. Members can submit publications, in any language, for consideration to the Executive Director. Jonathan Wilcox will chair the first committee.
- C The Second Vice-President reported on behalf of the Executive Committee:
- 1 The thanks of all participants for a very successful conference.

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III The conference included receptions hosted by Professor and Mrs Robert Bjork at their home, and by the Richard Rawlinson Center for Anglo-Saxon Studies and Medieval Institute Publications. The conference dinner was held at the Rawhide Western Town, sponsored by the ASU Vice Provost for Research and the Dean of the College of Letters and Sciences. The excursion was to Sedona, the Grand Canyon and the Painted Desert.

IV Registration forms for the ISAS conference to be organized by and held at the University of Munich will be mailed to all paid-up members of the Society. The conference theme will be 'England and the Continent'. Membership dues payments may be made by cheque or postal money order for \$50 or £30 sterling (regular members) or for \$35 or £20 (student and retired members) and should be sent to Professor David F. Johnson, Executive Director, International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, Department of English, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida, 32306, USA. Payment may be made to the Executive Director by Visa or MasterCard or by personal cheque. For members outside the US transfers in sterling may be sent to the ISAS account, HSBC Bank plc, City Office Cambridge Branch, Cambridge, CB2 3HZ; sorting code 40-16-08, account no. 21241605. Members may arrange to pay dues for more than the two-year cycle. Payment forms are available from the Executive Director.¹

¹ This report was prepared by Elaine Treharne

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London and Droitwich, c. 650–750: trade, industry and the rise of Mercia

J. R. MADDICOTT

The rise of Mercia is usually ascribed both to the military dynamism which lay behind all territorial expansion in barbarian kingdoms and to adventitious circumstance. The first made possible the seventh-century absorption of peripheral regions and peoples from an original Mercian homeland which may have lain around Lichfield. It was exemplified by Penda's takeover of the Middle Angles, by Wulfhere's raising of 'all the southern nations' against the Northumbrians in the early 670s and by his brother Æthelred's ravaging of Kent in 676.¹ The second was best demonstrated by the fortuitous and near simultaneous removal of other powerful kings: Wihtred of Kent by death in 725, Ine of Wessex by abdication in 726. The rough equilibrium which had prevailed among the major southern kingdoms since the Mercian defeat of the Northumbrians at the battle of the Trent in 679 was thus disrupted, to Mercia's advantage.² The subsequent supremacy of its kings was first acknowledged by Bede's famous statement of 731 that 'all these kingdoms and the other southern kingdoms which reach right up to the Humber' were then subject to Æthelbald of Mercia. His words are more tentatively corroborated by the charters from the Worcester scriptorium which dignified Æthelbald with grand titles; most notably the Ismere charter of 736 which styled him 'king not only of the Mercians but also of all the peoples which are known by the general name South Angles'.³ By the 730s, and probably a good deal earlier, Mercian dominance south of the Humber was well established and generally recognized.

¹ D. Dumville, 'Essex, Middle Anglia and the Expansion of Mercia in the South-East Midlands', *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. S. Bassett (London, 1989), pp. 123–40, at 130–1; B. Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 42–3; *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, OMT (Oxford, 1969), IV.12, pp. 368–9. For the general process of Mercian expansion, see esp. B. Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1990), pp. 105–10.

² For this interpretation see, e. g., F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1971), pp. 85 and 203; S. Keynes, 'England, 700–900', *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, II: c. 700–900, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 1995), p. 28.

³ *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, V.23, pp. 558–9. For the charters, see esp. F. M. Stenton, *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. M. Stenton (Oxford, 1970), and the caveats of P. Wormald, 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas* and the Origins of the *Gens Anglorum*', *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. P. Wormald, D. Bullough and R. Collins (Oxford, 1983), pp. 99–129, at 106–7 and 109–10.

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Behind that dominance there must have lain other factors which are difficult to perceive but which everywhere underlay the successful exercise of early Germanic kingship. Chief among them were royal generosity and the related loyalty of the royal *comitatus*. Behind these again lay the king's ability to exploit his resources: not only plunder, bullion and weapons, the treasure which all warriors wanted, but also, and more mundanely, the natural and economic resources of his kingdom. Though the precise means by which these could be turned into power often eludes us, the evidence suggests that at least some kings were conscious of their importance and that they recognized their value for the security of their kingdoms. In particular, trade, industry, and their own oversight of both came to matter a good deal.

In what follows it is argued that the early Mercian kings drew upon these assets in order to promote their power and that they did so especially at two places: London and Droitwich. The first was England's greatest trading port, the second the country's chief source of an indispensable trading commodity, salt. It has long been known that by Æthelbald's middle years the Mercians controlled London and that their kings had also secured an early monopoly of the Droitwich brine-pits. Yet neither the processes which led to these outcomes nor the profits which they might yield have received much comment; nor have London and Droitwich been brought together within the same context of rising Mercian power and their connections both with each other and with the same royal masters, from Wulfhere to Æthelbald, been explored. There is room here for some new thoughts on what may have been an important link between economic enterprise, royal calculation and the emergence of the Mercian hegemony.

LONDON

Mercian control of London was part cause and part effect of the Southumbrian dominance which Æthelbald enjoyed. By the 730s, when his supremacy had become obvious, the settlement's Thames-side location had emerged as England's leading port and international market. The recent large-scale excavations at the Royal Opera House site have given us a much clearer picture of how this happened: of the stages of London's growth in the seventh and eighth century, of their economic significance, and of their correlation with the growth of Mercian power. From about the time of the conversion, with the founding of a see for Bishop Mellitus on the later site of St Paul's in 604, the old Roman city of London took on a renewed importance as a 'centre of authority', though not yet of population or trade. It was only from about 650 that economic activity resumed, as a port area, soon to be known as 'Lundenwic', began to develop on the unenclosed left bank of the river, west of the city, and settlement started to expand northwards towards the present-

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day Covent Garden.⁴ Between 675 and 730 the ‘expansion and growth’ – the archaeologists’ phrase – of Lundenwic took on a new impetus, with the construction of a waterside embankment south of the Strand about 679, the development of a street plan, and the close packing of buildings on what had formerly been open ground. Pottery from Normandy, the valleys of the Seine and Meuse, and the Rhineland, together with lava querns from the Eifel in Germany, suggests a growing range of foreign trading contacts; while the beginnings of textile production, possibly linen as well as woollen cloth, points to the sort of commodities which may have attracted traders.⁵ In the following period of ‘consolidation and prosperity’, from about 730 to 770, Lundenwic reached its zenith. Its population increased, there was a marked growth in the production of textiles, new industries such as tanning became evident, the production of both luxury goods and artisan work – jewellery, decorated bone, antler – exemplified a new range of crafts, and shops may now have fronted the settlement’s roads.⁶ The subsequent abandonment of buildings and a general decline in production, possibly linked to a great fire in 764, brought this period to an end.⁷

There are two other pointers to London’s increasing vitality during the ‘expansion and growth’ phase from 675 to 730 which coincided with the rise of Mercia: its coinage and its more frequent appearance in texts. The period saw the final disappearance of what had become a heavily debased gold coinage, and a massive expansion of the succeeding silver sceatta currency. In England as a whole the number of sceattas in circulation (to judge from stray losses) seems to have peaked between about 700 and 725, in terms both of locally minted coins and of foreign imports. Within London the peak came in the century’s second quarter rather than its first, supporting our other archaeological evidence for that period’s prosperity.⁸ The fifty-one sceatta finds from Lundenwic, including ten from continental mints, are a further testimony to

⁴ M. Biddle, ‘A City in Transition’, *The British Atlas of Historic Towns*, III: *The City of London from Prehistoric Times to c. 1520*, ed. M. D. Lobel (Oxford, 1989), pp. 22–3; G. Malcolm, D. Bowsher and R. Cowie, *Middle Saxon London: Excavations at the Royal Opera House, 1989–99* (London, 2003), pp. 26–8; L. Blackmore, ‘The Origins and Growth of Lundenwic, a Mart of Many Nations’, *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods*, ed. B. Hårdh and L. Larsson (Lund, 2002), pp. 273–301, at 281. For an excellent general account of London at this time, see R. Cowie, ‘Mercian London’, *Mercia: an Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. M. P. Brown and C. A. Farr (London, 2001), 194–209.

⁵ Malcolm, Bowsher and Cowie, *Middle Saxon London*, pp. 54–7 and 168–9; Blackmore, ‘Origins and Growth of Lundenwic’, p. 287.

⁶ Malcolm, Bowsher and Cowie, *Middle Saxon London*, pp. 77, 79, 101–2 and 105.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 109 and 122–4.

⁸ M. Blackburn, ‘“Productive” Sites and the Pattern of Coin Loss in England, 600–1180’, *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and ‘Productive’ Sites, 650–850*, ed. T. Pestell and K. Ulmschneider (Macclesfield, 2003), pp. 20–36, at 32–3.

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the range and intensity of the port's foreign contacts.⁹ A possibly more direct and clearly defined indicator of economic activity in the earlier phase is provided by the primary sceattas of Series B: a very prolific issue, the product of some 150 obverse dies and nearly 300 reverse dies, and minted between *c.* 685 and 710. Series B II, the later of the two main types into which the series is divided, has now been tentatively ascribed to a mint in west Norfolk. But the former attribution of the whole series to a general location within Essex, and most probably to the East Saxon 'metropolis' of London, still appears to stand firm for the earlier type, B I, perhaps minted from *c.* 685–700.¹⁰ If this is so, it provides another pointer to London's rapid development as a commercial centre in the years around 700.

Textual references to London and its trade make explicit what can be read only indirectly from the archaeological evidence and the coinage. They divide into two complementary categories: narrative sources, and charters and laws. Most crucial perhaps is the earliest reference in the former category, Bede's story of the captive Northumbrian nobleman, Imma, given over to a Mercian *comes* after the battle of the Trent in 679 and subsequently sold to a Frisian slaver in London: crucial not only because it is the first witness to the presence of foreign traders at the port but also as an indicator of the archaeologically invisible exports in which some of them dealt. Did London develop partly as a great slaving capital, rather like Viking Dublin, but in this case fuelled by the spoils of Mercia's wars?¹¹ If Æthelred's devastating raid on Kent in 676 had produced such gains, for example, where but in London are they likely to have been sold? For all the new evidence of industrial production, textiles and crafts alone seem insufficient to account for the rapid economic growth reflected in the expansion of the settlement and, more tentatively, in the coinage.

London's trade is referred to more generally in Willibald's account of the preliminaries to Boniface's first voyage to Frisia in 716. The future missionary, says his biographer, 'came to a place where there was a market for the buying

⁹ M. Metcalf, 'The Middle Saxon Sceattas', Malcolm, Bowsher and Cowie, *Middle Saxon London*, pp. 285–7.

¹⁰ D. M. Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, 3 vols., R. Numismatic Soc. and Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (London, 1993–4) I, 94, 102–4; P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage, I: The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 175 and 188; D. M. Metcalf, 'Monetary Circulation in England, *c.* 675–*c.* 710: the Distribution Pattern of Series A, B and C – and F', *BNJ* 74 (2004), 1–19, at 16. See p. 10 for a table which shows the predominantly East Saxon/south-eastern distribution of Series B I. For London as the East Saxon 'metropolis', see *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, II.3, pp. 142–3.

¹¹ *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, IV.22, pp. 400–5. For Dublin as a slave market, see A. P. Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles, 850–880* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 154–6, 158–9 and 166–8; and P. Holm, 'The Slave Trade of Dublin, Ninth to Twelfth Centuries', *Peritia* 5 (1986), 317–45.

London and Droitwich, c. 650–750

and selling of merchandise . . . called *Lundenwīc* and sailed thence on a ship homeward bound to Dorestad, the great port at the mouth of the Rhine. This mark of London's commercial links with Dorestad is confirmed by finds within the wic of the Series E porcupine sceattas which were very probably minted there.¹² On his second voyage in 718, en route to Rome, Boniface sailed again from *Lundenwīc*, this time taking a more southerly course to Quentovic, the Frankish trading port on the estuary of the Canche, from whose hinterland some London pottery of the period derives.¹³ Even these few glimpses of the port's trade and connections provide enough evidence to justify the most famous of these early comments on London's standing: Bede's remark, set in the context of his account of the see's foundation in 604 but written about 730, that London was 'an emporium for many nations who come to it by land and sea'.¹⁴ His words encapsulate the vigorous trading life of *Lundenwīc* as it was on the cusp between the archaeologists' early phase of 'expansion and growth' and the full bloom of 'consolidation and prosperity'.

The evidence of charters and laws is more local in its focus but more extensive in what it shows about authority and control within the wic. The first extant text to mention the trading settlement is a charter of 672 × 674, generally regarded as authentic, by which Frithuwold, *sub-regulus* of Surrey and possibly of a wider *provincia*, granted various lands to the Surrey minster of Chertsey, including ten hides 'by the port of London, where ships come to land, on the same river [Thames] on the southern side by the public way'.¹⁵ If the wording of the charter is to be taken literally, it seems to point to a second port area on the south bank of the river, opposite *Lundenwīc*.¹⁶ But no other evidence suggests that there was any such second port, and it is more likely that the land in question lay next to the Strand–*Lundenwīc* settlement, perhaps on the south side of the 'public way', the former Roman road which became Oxford Street;¹⁷ though the grant could as well relate to land actually inside the

¹² *Vita Bonifatii Auctore Willibaldi*, ed. W. Levison, MGH SS rer. Germanicarum (Hanover, 1905), p. 16, trans. in *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany*, ed. and trans. C. H. Talbot (London, 1954), p. 35; Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas* II, 174–5, 198; Metcalf, 'The Middle Saxon Sceattas', Malcolm, Bowsher and Cowie, *Middle Saxon London*, pp. 285–7.

¹³ *Vita Bonifatii*, ed. Levison, p. 20; *Anglo-Saxon Missionaries*, ed. and trans. Talbot, p. 38. For Quentovic, see *Wics: the Early Medieval Trading Centres of Northern Europe*, ed. D. Hill and R. Cowie (Sheffield, 2001), p. 109.

¹⁴ *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, II.3, pp. 142–3.

¹⁵ S 1165 (BCS 34). In references to Anglo-Saxon charters, S = P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated Handlist and Bibliography*, R. Hist. Soc. Guides and Handbooks 8 (London, 1968); BCS = W. de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 3 vols. (London, 1885–93). For this charter, see also J. Blair, 'Frithuwold's Kingdom and the Origins of Surrey', *Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. Bassett, 97–107, at 97–8, and for its authenticity, 263.

¹⁶ This is the interpretation of S. E. Kelly, *Charters of St Paul's, London*, AS Charters 10 (Oxford, 2004), p. 6, n. 15. ¹⁷ Malcolm, Bowsher and Cowie, *Middle Saxon London*, p. 18.